

**VIETNAMESE AS HERITAGE LANGUAGE:
WRITTEN PERFORMANCE OF VIETNAMESE-GERMAN
ADOLESCENTS**

Dissertation
zur Erlangung des Grades der Doktorin der Philosophie
der Fakultät Geisteswissenschaft der Universität Hamburg

vorgelegt von
Thi Minh Tran

aus Tuyen Quang, Vietnam

Prüfungskommission:

Gutachter: Prof. Dr. Engelbert

Gutachterin: Prof. Dr Magdalène Lévy-Tödter

Prof. Dr. h.c. mult. Ingrid Gogolin

Prof. Dr. Jan van der Putten

Prüfungsdatum: 06.06.2019

List of figures	vi
List of tables	viii
1. Introduction	1
1.1. Problem statement	1
1.2. Brief history of the Vietnamese community in Germany	5
1.3. Vietnamese-German adolescents in Germany	8
1.4. Research design	13
1.5. Research methodology	14
1.6. The structure of the study	16
2. Research on Heritage Languages in Multilingual Contexts	17
2.1. Heritage language: term and principle	18
2.2. Heritage language studies: from the margins to a central focus	20
2.3. Heritage language acquisition	23
2.4. Heritage language written performance: acquisition, identity and strategies	27
2.5. Heritage language – a variant language of standard language	33
2.5.1. Language variation in multilingual contexts	33
2.5.2. Linguistic characteristics of the heritage language	36
2.6. Language transfer – a common feature of heritage language varieties	47
2.6.1. Language transfer in multilingual contexts	48
2.6.2. Transfer at different linguistic levels	54
2.7. Summary	63
3. Research on Language Assessment in Multilingual Contexts	64
3.1. Multilingualism and language proficiency in multilingual contexts	64
3.1.1. The complexity of multilingualism	64
3.1.2. Language proficiency in multilingual contexts	71
3.1.3. Writing skill in multilingual contexts	73

3.2. Language assessment in multilingual contexts	76
3.2.1. The development of language test	76
3.2.2. Assessment of written productions	78
3.2.3. Assessment of the “language of schooling”	80
3.3. Reliability and validity of language testing	85
3.3.1. Definition of reliability and validity	85
3.3.2. Assessment of language testing	88
3.4. Summary	97
4. Research on Vietnamese Diaspora and Vietnamese Heritage Language	99
4.1. Research on Vietnamese diaspora communities	99
4.1.1. Vietnamese diaspora	99
4.1.2. Common topics in research on Vietnamese diaspora	101
4.2. Research on Vietnamese diaspora in Germany	105
4.3. Research on Vietnamese heritage language	109
4.3.1. Common topics in research on the Vietnamese heritage language	110
4.3.2. Research on characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language	118
4.4. Language-specific indicators for assessing Vietnamese as heritage language	132
4.4.1. Vietnamese writing system	134
4.4.2. Vocabulary	138
4.4.3. Address and reference forms	145
4.4.4. Passive form	148
4.4.5. Classifier	149
4.5. Summary	156
5. LiPS – A Project of Vietnamese Written Data	158
5.1. Research design	158
5.1.1. Sample	158
5.1.2. Materials	163
5.1.3. Survey Procedure	167

5.1.4. Formation, transcription and translation of Vietnamese language corpus	169
5.1.5. Methods of analysis	170
5.2. LiPS test analysis	171
5.2.1. Writing task “Fast Catch Bumerang”	172
5.2.2. LiPS evaluation of Vietnamese writing	178
5.3. Discussion	210
5.3.1. Discussion of the empirical tasks of LiPS	211
5.3.2. Discussion on LiPS analytic scoring	213
5.3.3. Discussion on reliability and validity of LiPS test	218
5.4. Summary	221
6. Analysis of Characteristics of the Vietnamese Heritage Language of Vietnamese-German Adolescents	223
6.1. Language transfer	224
6.2. Orthographic characteristics	228
6.2.1. Deletion of diacritics	230
6.2.2. Word initial capitalization	234
6.2.3. Replacement	238
6.2.4. Confusion	243
6.2.5. Omission	246
6.2.6. Addition	247
6.3. Lexical transfer	248
6.3.1. Code-switching	249
6.3.2. Hybrids/Blend	252
6.3.3. Loan translation	254
6.3.4. Semantic extension	256
6.4. Semantic-syntactic characteristics	259
6.4.1. Classifier use	259
6.4.2. Preposition use	261

6.4.3. Word order	262
6.5. Address forms	264
6.5.1. Overview	265
6.5.2. Frequent use of personal pronoun <i>mình</i>	267
6.5.3. Frequent use of kinship terms	267
6.6. Summary	270
7. Second Empirical Study: Translation Test	272
7.1. Translation/Interpretation in second language research	273
7.2. Research design	275
7.2.1. Sample	275
7.2.2. Test instruments	278
7.2.3. Survey procedure and analysis methods	279
7.3. Translation test analysis	281
7.3.1. Orthography	281
7.3.2. Lexis	293
7.3.3. Semantic-syntactic interface	309
7.3.4. Address forms	321
7.4. Summary	328
8. Discussion about Written Performance in the Vietnamese Heritage Language of the Vietnamese-German Adolescents	330
8.1. Vietnamese as heritage language: Linguistic characteristics across different linguistic levels	331
8.1.1. Orthographic characteristics	331
8.1.2. Lexical characteristics	337
8.1.3. Semantic-syntactic characteristic	345
8.1.4. Address forms	349
8.2. Writing strategies	354
8.3. Transfer as a parameter	357

8.4. Vietnamese as heritage language: teaching literacy skills	359
8.5. Summary	363
9. Conclusion	365
9.1. Research question and analysis	365
9.2. Limitations of the study	368
9.3. Recommendations for future research	369
Abstract in English	371
Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch	373
REFERENCES	375
Appendix	431
Appendix 1: “Boomerang” writing tasks in Vietnamese	431
Appendix 2: LiPS evaluation formula	436
Appendix 3: Translation task	443
Appendix 4: Some questions about background data of Vietnamese-German adolescents in LiPS (CaPI)	444
Appendix 5: Questionnaire in translation test for Vietnamese-German adolescents	450

List of figures

Figure 2.1.	Typical development of a heritage language (L1) in a majority language context	24
Figure 2.2.	Simplified model of co-activation of syntactic procedures in the Ambon-Maly case study	62
Figure 3.1.	Practicality (Bachmann/Palmer 1996:36)	93
Figure 3.2.	The six components of the framework for the valid use and development of exported assessments (Oliveri et al. 2015:8)	94
Figure 3.3.	Toulmin diagram for domain definition	96
Figure 5.1.	LiPS indicators for measurement of Vietnamese writing competence	179
Figure 5.2.	Average score of task accomplishment of three text groups	183
Figure 5.3.	Average number of address form usage of two groups	185
Figure 5.4.	Average number of passive usage in three text groups	188
Figure 5.5.	Average number of compounding use in two groups	189
Figure 5.6.	Frequency of the use of Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary	191
Figure 5.7.	Average number of impersonal expression usage in two groups	193
Figure 5.8.	The use of text features of text's organization	195
Figure 5.9.	Classifier use of VB	199
Figure 5.10.	Classifier use of VM	199
Figure 5.11.	Average score of vocabulary use of two groups	201
Figure 5.12.	The proportion of conjunction use in two groups	204
Figure 5.13.	The proportion of usage of sentence structures in two groups	207
Figure 5.14.	Average numbers of words in three text groups	208
Figure 5.15.	Average numbers of sentences in three text groups	209
Figure 5.16.	The average score of test-retest of Vietnamese-German bilinguals	210
Figure 6.1.	Language use of 20 Vietnamese-German adolescents	225
Figure 6.2.	Code-switching occurrence of 20 Vietnamese-German adolescents	226
Figure 6.3.	Transfer direction in 20 Vietnamese written texts of Vietnamese-German	227
Figure 6.4.	Diacritics and tone marks use in the written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	231
Figure 6.5.	Correlation between capitalization errors and language performance	237

Figure 6.6.	Proportion of address form use of 20 Vietnamese-German adolescents	266
Figure 7.1.	Diacritics and tone marks use in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	282
Figure 7.2.	Average number of words in two translated text groups	294
Figure 7.3.	Average number of compounding use in the translated texts of two groups	295
Figure 7.4.	Average number of Sino-Vietnamese in the translated texts of two groups	297
Figure 7.5.	Translation of paint in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	307
Figure 7.6.	Translation of paint in the translated texts of the Vietnamese monolingual adolescents	307
Figure 7.7.	Classifier errors in the translated texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents	310
Figure 7.8.	The proportion of sentence structures in translated texts of two groups	318
Figure 8.1.	A pedagogical model for developing literacy skills	361

List of tables

Table 2.1.	The categories of error in alphabetical writing	38
Table 2.2.	Summary of findings on the lexicon	40
Table 2.3.	Possible features in semantic-syntactic level of an isolating language	47
Table 2.4.	Orthographic errors and transfers in Turkish texts of Turkish heritage students	55
Table 2.5.	Overt cross-linguistic lexical influence in production	57
Table 3.1.	Academic literacy tests	83
Table 3.2.	Facets of Validity	86
Table 3.3.	Mc Namara/Roever’s interpretation of Messick’s validity matrix	87
Table 3.4.	The relationship of a selection of fundamental considerations in language testing	87
Table 3.5.	Task characteristics	90
Table 4.1.	Studies on Vietnamese as heritage language	110
Table 4.2.	Self-report of competence in Vietnamese	117
Table 4.3.	Summary of published studies on Vietnamese HL characteristics	118
Table 4.4.	Linguistic-specific indicators for assessment	133
Table 4.5.	Six Vietnamese tones	135
Table 4.6.	Phoneme and grapheme with diacritics in Vietnamese	137
Table 4.7.	Specific German graphemes in comparison to Vietnamese graphemes	137
Table 4.8.	Summary of Sino-Vietnamese layers	143
Table 4.9.	Personal pronouns used as address forms in Vietnamese	145
Table 4.10.	Noun phrase internal order a complete Vietnamese nominal phrase	151
Table 4.11.	Classifier in use	152
Table 4.12.	Differences between CL “cái” and the extra “cái”	154
Table 5.1.	Vietnamese-German participants in writing test	160
Table 5.2.	Vietnamese monolingual participants in writing test	162
Table 5.3.	Analysis categories	166
Table 5.4.	The grid of task performance “Fast Catch Boomerang”	180
Table 5.5.	The Likert scales of measurement of task performance	182
Table 5.6.	LiPS assessment of the use of Vietnamese classifiers	196
Table 5.7.	Classifier use of Vietnamese bilinguals and Vietnamese monolinguals	199
Table 5.8.	The difference between usage of Vietnamese and German vocabulary	202
Table 5.9.	The difference of sub-categories of vocabulary use in Vietnamese and German texts	202
Table 5.10.	Meeting expectations at LiPS specific-linguistic indicators	214
Table 6.1.	Orthographic errors in boomerang texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents	229
Table 6.2.	Types of lexical transfer in the boomerang texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	248
Table 6.3.	Distribution of lexical transfer from parts of speech	249
Table 6.4.	Lexical transfer in written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	258
Table 6.5.	Frequency of SVO structure in two text groups (n = 20)	263

Table 6.6.	Semantic-syntactic features in written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	264
Table 6.7.	Features of the use of address forms in written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	270
Table 7.1.	Characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language in the boomerang written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	272
Table 7.2.	Vietnamese-German participants in translation test	276
Table 7.3.	Monolingual Vietnamese participants in translation test	278
Table 7.4.	Orthographic errors of translated texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents	292
Table 7.5.	Types of lexical transfer in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	299
Table 7.6.	Distribution of lexical transfer from parts of speech in translated texts	300
Table 7.7.	Lexical characteristics in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	309
Table 7.8.	Frequency of SVO structure in translated texts of two text groups	319
Table 7.9.	Semantic-syntactic features in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	320
Table 7.10.	Frequency of the translated address forms in the translated texts	322
Table 7.11	Features of the use of address forms in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	329
Table 8.1.	Orthographic features in the written texts and the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	332
Table 8.2.	Lexical features in the written texts and the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	337
Table 8.3.	Semantic-syntactic features in the written texts and the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	346
Table 8.4.	Characteristics of Vietnamese as heritage language in the two sets of collected data of the Vietnamese-German adolescents	352

Abbreviations

ADV	Adverb
CAPI	Computer Assistant Personal Interview
CONJ	Conjunction
CL	Classifier
FT	free translation
GIZ	Deutsche Gesellschaft für internationale Zusammenarbeit
HL	Heritage language
IL	interlinea translation
LiMA	Language Diversity Management in Urban area
LiPS	Lima Panel Studies
LT	literal translation
MT	morphological transliteration
OC	Orthographic correctness
PL	Plural
PREP	Preposition
TE	translation of expression
VB	Viet Bilingual
VM	Viet Monolingual
VSL	Vietnamese standard language
1s	First person singular pronoun

Acknowledgement

Writing this thesis has been not only an amazing adventure but also an exercise in sustained suffering. After a long time of working on it I couldn't possibly come up with a full list of all the people who had helped.

An erster Stelle gilt mein Dank meinem Doktorvater Herr Prof. Engelbert für seine Unterstützung in der gesamten Bearbeitungsphase meiner Dissertation.

Besonders möchte ich an dieser Stelle meine Doktormutter Frau Prof Lévy-Tödter für die unermüdliche Stärkung und Motivierung danken, sowie für das stets offene Ohr für meine Gedanken. „Merci beaucoup ma Professeure”!

Allen Mitarbeitern der Projekt LiMA-LiPS, sowie allen Beteiligten meiner Studien bin ich sehr dankbar für die gute und zahlreiche Unterstützung und die konstruktive und angenehme Zusammenarbeit.

I am also hugely appreciative to Eliana, Neil, and Bryanna for spending time to read my thesis and gave a lot of useful comments, Gregor for checking the format of the last version.

A very special gratitude goes out to all down at Research Fund of Ministry of Education and Training, Promotionsstipendium Geisteswissenschaften, and Gleichstellungsfonds der Universität Hamburg for helping and providing the funding for the work.

Cảm ơn các thầy cô và đồng nghiệp ở khoa Việt Nam học trường Đại học Sư phạm Hà Nội đã luôn tin tưởng và tạo điều kiện để tôi hoàn thành luận án này.

Cảm ơn những người bạn ở Hamburg đã luôn bên cạnh, giúp đỡ, động viên, hỗ trợ, khuyến khích tôi.

Tôi sẽ không đủ sức lực và tinh thần để vượt qua những khó khăn nếu không có sự động viên, sự yêu thương vô điều kiện của bố mẹ, em gái, bố mẹ chồng, các anh chị chồng tôi. Những lời âu yếm của Sam Súp, sự thông cảm và chia sẻ của chồng tôi đã giúp tôi có động lực để không bỏ cuộc. Xin dành tặng luận án này cho gia đình yêu thương của tôi, và cũng đặc biệt dành tặng Sam, Súp, Bi, Cún, Linh, Nhật, Vũ – những bạn nhỏ lớn lên trong lời ru tiếng Việt của mẹ và vẫn đang khẳng định mình trên nước Đức.

Declaration

The work presented in Chapters 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 7, 8, 9 is entirely my own.

I am the principal author of Chapter 5 but it is supported by Birger Schnoor who provided me the statistical data of LiPS study. However, the data contained in the paper were compiled by myself and I performed all initial analyses.

Appendix 1, 2 were the instruments and collected data of LiPS. I helped by developing the LiPS evaluation form for written performance in Vietnamese. I also completed 7/20 interviews with Vietnamese-German adolescents and coordinated the survey for Vietnamese group in this project in 2012.

In addition, Eliane Lorenz and Bryanna Hebenstreit contributed by proof reading the text.

The writing of this dissertation is a long journey and this work needs more than 2 years to be published because of my health problem. However, the research findings are still valid and useful in language education and linguistics.

Eidesstattliche Erklärung

Ich versichere an Eides Statt durch meine eigene Unterschrift, dass ich die eingereichte Arbeit selbständig und ohne fremde Hilfe angefertigt und alle Stellen, die wörtlich oder annähernd wörtlich aus Veröffentlichungen entnommen sind, als solche kenntlich gemacht und mich auch keiner anderen als der angegebenen Literatur bedient habe. Diese Versicherung bezieht sich auch auf die in der Arbeit verwendeten Zeichnungen, Skizzen, bildlichen Darstellungen und dergleichen.

Hamburg, den 01. November 2018



Trần Thị Minh

1. Introduction

1.1. Problem statement

The effects of globalization can be observed everywhere in our multicultural world, especially in Europe and Northern America (Busch 2011). The bilingual individuals on our planet are estimated to be more than half of the world's population (Ansaldo et al. 2008; Bialystok et al. 2012). In Europe, over half of European citizens are at least bilingual (European Commission 2012:5). Therefore, multilingual education has evolved to meet society's needs in conjunction with language policies and educational systems (Busch 2011). Shifting paradigms in the study of multilingual education have led to a distinction of two major phases, the first one being the critique of linguistic hegemony in the 1960s, while the second one represents the trend of transmigration, global mobility, and the multidirectionality of communication from the 1990s onwards (Bush 2011:544). The dramatic increase in the number of immigrant language students has led to debates on how to respond to the cultural and linguistic diversity of students (Cummins 1983:5). It is important to give attention to a right for students' heritage language and also a prerequisite for teachers/administrators to be able to teach multilingual students, because it can be a resource for both the individual and society (Lo Bianco 2001, cf. Busch 2011:544).

Numerous terms have been used to define non-dominant languages. The most common terms are minority language (e.g., Thornberry/Amor Estebanez 2004), community language (e.g., Clyne 1991), home language (e.g., Genesee 1999), and heritage language (e.g., Cummins 1983, Montrul 2016). The term *heritage language* was originally coined in Canada to refer to any "language other than English and French" and the languages spoken by indigenous people or immigrants (Cummins 1991:601-602). Later, in the late 1990s, this term gained prominence in the United States to refer to minority languages (Cummins 2005:585). Though the term heritage language is fairly new, the study by Fishman (1964) on language maintenance and shift reminds us about the long history of research on these languages. In order to define the special acquisition conditions of a minority language in the context of migration, the term *Herkunftssprache* (heritage language) has been used in Europe in multilingual studies since last decade (Flores/Rinke 2016:22), especially in Germany

that is considered to have developed into a migratory country (Keim 2012:1-3; Limbird 2006:44; Stanat et al. 2010:200-210).

In Germany, about 50% of the students of second generation immigrants speak their language of origin (heritage language) at home (Stanat et al. 2010:209-210). The proportion of 15-year-old students with a migration background has increased in OECD countries significantly from 9% in 2006 to 12% in 2015 (OECD 2016:242). Particularly in Hamburg, where the majority of the data in the present study has been collected, 46% of the population under the age of eighteen have a migration background (Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein 2011). Immigration and emigration are always connected to multilingualism and contact between different language and cultural groups. As such, research on language contact and multilingualism have received attention in sociolinguistics, a discipline that focuses on language change, language variation, language mixing and the emergence of new contact languages (Keim 2012:1).

The concept of heritage language has therefore gained attention in Germany in the past decade as following research. Research on heritage languages in Germany focuses on transfer effects from the heritage language to the language of the environment (Keim 2008, 2012; Peukert 2015), and discusses whether heritage languages can be seen as resources (Fürstenau 2005). Other investigations examine the issue of the heritage language in the school system or in a dual program of bilingual schools (Duarte 2011; Lengyel/Neumann 2016). Heritage languages that have been extensively studied include Turkish (Dollmann/Kristen 2010; Kalkavan 2014; Keim 2008, 2012), Russian (Anstatt 2011; Brehmer/Usanova 2017), and Portuguese (Duarte 2011; Flores et al. 2017; Fürstenau 2005). However, the research question of how the first language (i.e., the heritage language) influences literacy development (i.e., reading and writing) in the societal language (i.e., German) and vice versa has only recently started to be investigated and needs to be empirically studied in more detail (e.g., Brehmer/Usanova 2017, Griebhaber/Kalkavan 2014).

Literacy belongs to later language development which is strongly connected to future educational achievement, because of its substantial contribution to academic and vocational success throughout one's lifespan (Nippold 2007). Therefore, it has currently become a topic of expanding interest. However, it still seems to be “under-researched” in general, and especially in multilingual contexts (Duarte 2015:222). Recent studies on language development of migrant adolescents in Germany mainly

focus on: (1) the relationship between language proficiency, educational achievement and a successful life that involves especially the acquisition of German as the language of the environment (Gogolin/Neumann 2009; Fürstenau 2005; Stanat et al. 2010); (2) the language varieties that are normally analyzed basing on collected oral data/communicative data (Hinnenkamp 2003; Keim 2012); (3) transfer effects that examines the correlation of first language to the second, as well as the third language and vice versa (Duarte 2015; Griebhaber/Kalkavan 2014; Peukert 2015; Siemund/Lechner 2015).

In sum, research on heritage languages, although beginning to be prominent in sociolinguistic and language acquisition studies, is so far principally focused on a few very popular languages; for example, Spanish or Chinese in the United States, as well as Turkish and Russian in Germany. Other heritage languages, therefore, also require detailed research and new policy approaches. Vietnamese heritage language also needs more attention.

Vietnamese migratory communities with roughly 4 million people are living, working and studying in over 100 countries and territories (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam 2012), which has a strong influence not only on the host countries to which they have immigrated, but also on the home country such as sending money back to home (Small 2012) and maintenance of heritage language and culture in the host country (Liễu Thị Nhi 2013, Szymańska-Matusiewicz 2015). The number of second and third generation Vietnamese immigrants cannot be estimated properly, due to widely varying protocols of census data collection across different countries (Cunningham/Nguyễn 2006). The large number of diaspora Vietnamese issues such as acculturation of different generations (Zhou/Bankston 1998), psychological problems (Bùi 2003), language development (Nguyễn et al. 2001), and role of different groups (GIZ 2015) for Vietnam development (e.g., business people for investment and scientists for academic development) also requires detailed research and new policy approaches (Đào Mục Đích 2012).

The majority of Vietnamese nationals have settled in English-speaking countries such as the United States, Australia and Canada. Other major host countries include France, Germany, and the Netherlands (Cunningham/Nguyễn 2006). In Germany, there are currently 163,000 individuals with a Vietnamese migratory background (GIZ 2015:6). Vietnamese immigrant students have actually achieved impressive success in German schools (Beuchling 2007:1076), as well as in the United

States (Bankston et al. 1997; Zhou/Bankston 1998; Saito 2002). Approximately 59% of all Vietnamese students in Germany attend high school (Gymnasium); they are considered more successful than German children because only 43% of German students attend this type of school (Peters 2011). The Vietnamese-German group, therefore, is often described as a group with high educational aspirations which are referred to as “elite migration” (König 2014:107). Investigations on social and historical aspects of the Vietnamese migration in Germany can be found in studies by Beth/Tuckermann 2008; Beuchling 2003; Búi 2003; Downs 2014; Fachinger 2013; Hüwelmeier 2010, 2014; Müller 2017. Nevertheless, a few linguistic analyses have recently been conducted, for example, Gogolin et al. 2017; König 2014; Schnoor et al. 2017. A set of longitudinal studies in Hamburg on Vietnamese immigrant children (1st and 2nd generation) in comparison with different immigrant groups (Turkish and Russian), such as LiPS in 2009-2013 (LiMA Panel Study), HeBe 2013-2015 (Herkunft und Bildungserfolg) and KiBis 2014-2015 (Mehrsprachige Kinder auf dem Weg zur Bildungssprache) have also shown that the attention concerning Vietnamese immigrants in general and the Vietnamese language in particular has recently been increasing.

Overall, studies on Vietnamese as a heritage language in major host countries focus on some following topics: (1) loss and shift of Vietnamese as heritage language (Zhou/Bankston 1998; Maloof et al. 2006); (2) maintaining the heritage language is not a barrier for the acquisition of a second language (Nguyễn et al. 2001); (3) the role of the Vietnamese heritage language school in cross-cultural adaption (Maloof et al. 2008); (4) attitudes of parents and students toward maintaining Vietnamese as a heritage language (Lam Ha Le 2011, Lewis et al. 2011, Nguyễn et al. 2001, Schnoor et al. 2017); (5) Vietnamese as a heritage language proficiency assessment (Maloof et al. 2008, Nguyễn et al. 2001); (6) features of Vietnamese as heritage language in different communities (Đào Mục Đích 2015, Hồ Đắc Túc 2003, Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2013); (7) language use including code-switching in the immigrated Vietnamese community and within the family (Hồ Đắc Túc 2003, Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2013). However, the evaluation of Vietnamese as heritage language has mainly been based on self-assessment, and the characteristics of the heritage language in host countries has been principally dependent on oral or communicative data.

Language policies of the home country (i.e., Vietnam) also play an important role for the research and development of cultural and language programs in diasporic

communities. Recently, an annual training course for improving Vietnamese teaching skills for Vietnamese teachers abroad has been held by the Department of Overseas Vietnamese and the Ministry of Education and Training since 2013 (online ussh.vnu.vn, 13.08.2016, last access 17.10.2017). Moreover, the project “Enhancing the effects of Vietnamese teaching and learning of overseas Vietnamese” was approved by the Prime Minister of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on 06.01.2017. These events show that the Vietnamese government has an interest in the language and culture maintenance of Vietnamese diaspora communities.

To summarize, heritage language acquisition has “moved from the margins to become a central focus of study within linguistics and applied linguistics” (Montrul 2016:6, Page/Putnam 2015). However, studies on Vietnamese in particular and other isolated languages in general concerning heritage language acquisition in all linguistic domains are rather preliminary and incomplete so far (Bennamoun et al. 2013), because research on Vietnamese as heritage language has principally focused on oral data (Đào Mục Đích 2012; Pham Giang 2011; Pham Giang/Kohnert 2014; Hồ Đắc Túc 2003; Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2013; Phan Ngọc Trần 2017). Vietnamese in terms of heritage language proficiency was defined in studies of Min Zhou/Bankston (1998) and Nguyễn et al. (2001), but principally based on self-assessment. The present study, however, attempts to examine an evaluation tool for measuring Vietnamese language proficiency of Vietnamese bilingual adolescents, in order to gauge its validity, and also to see how Vietnamese heritage language is performed and measured through this task. In order to have a comprehensive view of Vietnamese heritage language acquisition and performance, an analysis of characteristics of Vietnamese heritage language used by Vietnamese-German adolescents in comparison to different groups worldwide is carried out. In other words, the most important objective of this work is to contribute to the understanding of Vietnamese as heritage language performed by adolescents in the German context to drive creation of Vietnamese as heritage language evaluation, heritage language and cultural programs, and language policies like shedding some light on possible teaching methods of heritage languages for migrant children.

1.2. Brief history of the Vietnamese community in Germany

Vietnamese migrants in Germany is represented by many different reasons for migration such as education, job opportunity, political view. Therefore, this diaspora

community might be described by the term “super diversity” (Vertovec 2010:86). Past Vietnamese migration flows include the “Moritzburgers”- school children aged between 10 and 14 in 1955-1956, students, boat people, contract workers, family reunification, asylum seekers, and illegal migration (GIZ 2015). Present Vietnamese migration flows consist of two main groups, family reunification and training purposes (ibid:11).

To some extent, until the reunification of North and South Vietnam in April 1975, only a few hundred Vietnamese lived in the Federal Republic of Germany (FRG) and in the German Democratic Republic (GDR) (Wolf 2007). Most of them came from the upper social strata of South and North Vietnam respectively and had come to study or train in one of the two German states. Most of the Vietnamese who studied in the GDR returned to Vietnam on completion of their degree, whereas Vietnamese students in the FRG were granted asylum and generally integrated successfully into West German society.

Two major groups of Vietnamese migrants who arrived in Germany after 1975 were the boat or contingent refugees who arrived in the FRG between 1975 and about 1986, and the contract workers who were employed in the GDR as of about 1980, o (Wolf 2007). Contingent refugees (well-known as ‘boat people’) are refugees accepted within the context of humanitarian aid activities. Under the provisions of the law of 22 July 1982 they were granted a right of abode in the Federal Republic of Germany without first undergoing the standard procedure to be recognized as refugees. They have the legal status of refugees as laid out in the 1951 Geneva Convention relating to the Status of Refugees. Since 1991 they have been granted an unlimited residence permit; from 1979 to 1990 they were first granted a five-year residence authorization; after this period, they could apply for an unlimited residence authorization (GIZ 2007). The contract employees or contract workers arrived to the GDR on the basis of an agreement entered into by the government of the GDR and the government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam relating to the temporary employment and training of Vietnamese workers in industrial enterprises in the GDR, dated 11 April 1980 (Downs 2014:23). Due to the variety of backgrounds, the Vietnamese population in Germany cannot be viewed as a homogenous group.

Current major Vietnamese groups migrating to Germany because of the purposes of family reunification and training (GIZ 2015:11) also contribute stable number of Vietnamese migrant population in Germany between arriving and returning.

The number of members who belong to the Vietnamese-German Friendship Association is about 7,000 individuals (GIZ 2015:6). These returning immigrants are familiar with cultural practices in both countries, Vietnam and Germany, and hence feel connected to both countries (Nguyễn Phương-Dan/Caham 2011). They also bring the innovative models back to their home country (Schaland 2012). It is evident that the so-called brain drain phenomenon does not always occur when people leave their home country. Transnational networks of the diaspora communities and home countries might be also viewed as a key role of economic, social and political developments (Kuznetsov 2006). Therefore, research on the management of contacting the home country and the home culture of this group need to be taken into consideration. For example, the formal and informal migrant associations established in the destination country help their members to integrate better in the new country, to maintain language and culture, and also set up activities or projects involving the development of their home country. However, there has recently been little attention paid to Vietnamese migrant organizations in Germany. Research on the integration of these organizations in development-related activities in Vietnamese have not been taken into consideration (GIZ 2015:6).

According to GIZ (ibid.), 163,000 individuals with a Vietnamese background are currently living in Germany. Of this total, 104,000 individuals are first-generation migrants. The rest of the population without migration experience (61,000 individuals) can be second and third-generation immigrants (ibid.:13). About 35% of the population of second and third generation immigrants still obtain Vietnamese national passports or Vietnamese nationality (ibid.). There is also little information with regard to the second and third generation of Vietnamese diaspora in Germany (Beuchling 2003; Beth/Tuckermann 2008; Luong/Nieke 2014).

The second and the third generation which have grown up in Germany from birth and have completed their education in the German education system often distance themselves from the Vietnamese community (Lê Diễm Quỳnh 2010). Contrastingly, the 1.5 generation who came to Germany after they acquired the Vietnamese language quite fluently, often keep contact with the Vietnamese community. Therefore, they can use both German and Vietnamese fluently (ibid.). However, social, cultural and religious organizations of Vietnamese diaspora in Germany are facing a lack of young people (GIZ 2015:18).

It is necessary, therefore, to have more understanding about these generations such as their self-identities, their attitude towards Vietnamese language and culture, and also their Vietnamese language acquisition. The current study attempts to answer one piece of the complex puzzle related to these generations: their written language performance.

1.3. Vietnamese-German adolescents in Germany

Academic achievement/educational success so-called “schulischer Erfolg” (Beuchling 2011:22) in Germany is one of the prominent characteristics of Vietnamese-German children and adolescents, although their heritage language, history and culture were not the focus of academic inquiry in West Germany in comparison with other migrant groups, for example, Turkish migrants. The discrimination that Vietnamese migrants experience could not obstruct the success of this group. It was explained by cultural orientation (Beuchling 2011) which implied parents’ expectation and sharing of information between members in the community and the help of family members. Often it was not the parents who were able to support the children directly, but other caregivers such as relatives or friends of the family, who had already been living in Germany longer, or were studying or had already studied in the German school system (ibid.:283).

The success of this group was illustrated by the amount of Vietnamese adolescents that attend Gymnasium in comparison with the native population and other migrant groups. About 53% of Vietnamese school aged adolescents attend Gymnasium, the schools for students who plan to go to university in the German education system (Hegele 2014:7). In the second generation, the number of employees in manual works tends to decrease, whereas the number of academics, scientists, and technicians increases (Baumann 2000:40). The Vietnamese adolescents who belong to the 1,5 generation (entered Germany before or during their early teens) often choose professions in business administration, media and communication, and tourism in relation to Vietnam. Additionally, fashion, graphics, and art are often chosen, if the adolescent is able to convince their parents (Tückermann answered the interview in Ha Kien Nghi 2012:176). These people are seen as a positive influence for German society and also for the Vietnamese community in Germany (Pham Thi Hoai answered in an interview in Ha Kien Nghi 2012:176).

The success of Vietnamese children and adolescents in school, which was portrayed in media as “Musterschüler” (model students) (Ha Kien Nghi 2012:177), was explained by the influence of Confucian tradition that emphasizes the importance of the next generation obtaining a better education than the last generation. Vietnamese children and adolescents also found that education and learning is very important.

Another aspect is modes of behavior in social interaction of Vietnamese-German children and adolescents, also mentioned in Beuchling’s study (2011). The attitude of students with Vietnamese migrant background were assessed by the majority population (i.e., German) as positive or at least as not negative. Their passivity, willingness, and cooperativeness originated from the particular forms of social behavior in Vietnamese refugee communities and families. For example, the avoidance of physical violence, and affective control. Vietnamese parents required that their children give due respect to and were polite towards teachers and authority figures because “cheeky”, “aggressive”, or “obtrusive” behaviors could give a bad impression of the family (ibid.:288).

Like the interest of researchers in other host countries, the study of Vietnamese-German children and adolescent identity is the most interesting topic that has been investigated since the late 20th century. In 1998, Nguyễn Thị Minh Đài attempted to describe the problems of identity development of Vietnamese children and adolescents in Germany. Through analysis of family communication and interview, the situation of Vietnamese immigrant groups was described: status, the reasons for leaving their home country, language ability, and attitude towards their new society. The relationship between socialization and identity development of children and adolescents were defined by examining the social situation and their private life, socialization and individual life, language and communication, issues of acculturation and assimilation, coping with cultural change, importance of school and peer-group relationships. The factors such as age of arrival, family education (i.e., mother-child-dyads) strongly influence on their attitude towards home culture (ibid.:158ff). For example, children who were born in a host country (i.e., Germany) or arrived before the age of 4, often found that they belong to a mixed culture. Other children who arrived in Germany at eight or nine years of age found it difficult to identify themselves as foreigner or Vietnamese. They said they felt comfortable in both cultures, and liked speaking both languages. However, there were also other children who arrived in Germany at the same age but felt out of place in the host country.

Therefore, they wanted to return to Vietnam. For them, family was a protected area where their “old identity” was kept.

Particularly, the results of Beuchling’s study (2003) showed that about 80% Vietnamese in the first generation found that they identify as “Vietnamese”. In the next generations, there was a shift of perception of cultural identity. Interestingly, however, in the third generation, about 20-30% diaspora Vietnamese identified themselves as “Vietnamese”, even though their Vietnamese language proficiency was deficient and their contact with other Vietnamese and visits to the home country were also very limited. Indeed, “adapting” to a particular culture is a process that occurs more or less automatically and unconsciously and often manifests itself on an emotional level, as does the alienation from the culture of origin (Beth/Tuckermann 2008:290).

In 2014, based on the previous research of Beuchling (2003), Hegele (2014) developed a questionnaire, and also conducted a narrative interview to understand different stories and personal topics of Vietnamese-German adolescents. All three participants in his interview were aged 17 and 18, in grade 12, and neither in the “boat people” group nor in the contract worker group. In Hegele’s study (2014), most of the participants found that they were more German than Vietnamese. Vietnamese culture was in their life perhaps only in Vietnamese foods (10). However, the cultural identity regarding the country of origin probably unconsciously seems to be much more powerful than those the participants thought. It was evident by keeping the Vietnamese passports to feel they are not “strangers” when entering Vietnam (ibid.:11).

Another study by Müller (2017) described and analyzed the transnational process of the second generation of the Vietnamese diaspora in Berlin. Through 13 interviews with young adults from 20 to 24 years old, he attempted to define the transnational practices of identity construction of the second generation of Vietnamese diaspora in Berlin. The identity of this generation was demonstrated through different criteria such as contact with homeland, multilingual experience, educational style of parents, and also educational achievement in Germany. These participants seldom contacted with the home country, but they often used Vietnamese language at home and German language in the school. They usually had strict parents who still kept the traditional rules such as children do not allow to go out late at night or children have to obey parent. Nevertheless, the cultural struggle between parents and children about learning results occurred frequently. The author also demonstrated the relationship between identity and heritage language that will be elaborated upon in section 4.3.

In terms of the 1,5 generation, Pham Thi Hoai (in the interview in Ha Kien Nghi 2012) said that the question of identity of this generation occurred at the beginning of their new life in new destination. She viewed that as a great chance rather than as a disadvantage of being “homeless” or obtaining many “homelands” (ibid.:176).

Another important factor of the development of identity is peer-group-relations. These relations of Vietnamese-German children and adolescents in the study by Nguyen-thi (1998) were also very different. Some of them (Tung, Lam, Ba Nha) had neither Vietnamese nor German friends because they had to accept their parents’ rules that required them to stay home and learn. Some, like Vuong, had many German friends, however it was not a real friendship like he had in Vietnam. (ibid.:183). Other children and adolescents like Van, Thang, Thien who had German friends, thought that friendship with German people is very important, because they helped them to master the German language and to solve school problems. Thao who was born in Germany did not have any difficulties with German peers. She could understand her friends very well and they exchanged trusted secrets, talked about everything, helped each other and understood each other (ibid.:184).

The differences between Vietnamese youths in the second generation was mentioned in Beth/Tuckermann (2008) and in an interview in Ha Kien Nghi (2012), for example, the conflict between Northern and Southern Vietnam or Osten (East) and Westen (West) Germany in the second generation. The second generation of Vietnamese immigrants differ from each other by status of their parents as students, as Boat People or as contract workers. They were distinguished by their place of birth, in Deutschland or in Vietnam. These differences between children and adolescent Vietnamese groups lead to different views on this conflict: Some found that all Vietnamese are nice; some had friends in both groups, however for them boat people are considered German because they speak with each other only in German, and Northern Vietnamese still live in Vietnamese style; others only had friends in their own group, although they have only known the history through their parents’ stories (Beth/Tuckermann:2008). It is said that, a trauma is often transmitted in three generations (Beth in Ha Kien Nghi 2012:174). However, as mentioned and described above, there is also a controversy and emotional discussion about the different histories between different members of the second generation. Because they have little contact

with the other Vietnamese groups, they also have a different perspective than the first generation.

In Ha Kien Nghi (2012), Pham Thi Hoai, a Vietnamese writer in Germany, stated that for all Vietnamese children who were born and grew up in Germany, the conflict did not exist (ibid.:171). The separation between different groups is not really serious although in Germany there is an unintentionally geographical division of Vietnamese migrant groups: Vietnamese contract workers in Eastern Germany, and Vietnamese Boat People in Western Germany.

The relationship between children and parents also have been investigated, because it strongly influenced the character development and identity of teenagers. Beth/Tuckermann (2008) asked how young people live and what their parents expect and require from them. What are generations actually able to give and want to give each other? The findings showed that the educational style of a traditional Vietnamese family is very different than the modern German educational style. The parenting styles of Vietnamese mothers is considered authoritarian (Nauck/Lotter 2015). This comes from the philosophy of education of many Vietnamese families is “yêu cho roi cho vọt, ghét cho ngọt cho bùi” (Spare the rod and spoil the child – If you love the children, you take the beating. If you hate them, you give them a sweet words). Therefore, it is not surprising when there are conflicts between the different Vietnamese generations (Müller 2017).

In addition, many Vietnamese parents often work about 14 hours per day, therefore, they do not know what happens in the school. The language barrier also prevents them from understanding what occurs with their children. Some participants in the study by Beth/Tuckermann (2008) expressed that love is often not expressed between parents and children. Sometimes the adolescents felt that they do not have a chance to express their opinions. Pham Thi Hoai as a mother of Vietnamese-German adolescents had a different view about the conflict between parents and children. She said that it is very positive, because parents can learn from the children. However, her case might be a special case in Vietnamese communities in Germany, because she is an author in modern literature who has an open view about the life and the culture, whereas most of the other parents only have a basic education that did not extend into higher education or university study. The conflicts between the parents and adolescents also occurred by the different attitudes for language and cultural maintenance that will be discussed more in section 4.3.

1.4. Research design

The present study draws on data of two empirical studies. The first collection of data are written texts that have been collected within the *LiMA Panel Study* (LiPS) of the Hamburg cluster of excellence *Linguistic Diversity Management in Urban Areas* (LiMA), which was funded from 2009 to 2013 by the Federal State Agency for Education and Research of the City State of Hamburg (see more at <http://lips.uni-hamburg.de>). The participants were chosen randomly from a list provided by Hamburg registration office. There were 30 Vietnamese-German adolescents who attended the test and the survey. However only 20 Vietnamese texts were collected because of the language ability of the participants. These 20 Vietnamese texts were the main data of the current study.

In addition, 20 other Vietnamese written texts of these bilingual participants have also been used in order to examine the correlation between test - retest. Moreover, 20 written texts of Vietnamese monolingual peers were collected for the comparison between the language performance between bilinguals and monolinguals.

The task used for both groups is called “Fast catch boomerang” that requires participants to introduce how to create a boomerang for readers of a youth magazine. This task, which has been used in former linguistic studies, was chosen to see how the participants deal with ‘language of schooling’ for LiPS, and to find patterns of Vietnamese language use by the Vietnamese-German adolescents. Moreover, through the analysis of written texts of a monolingual group and a bilingual group via various models of language assessment, the reliability and validity of LiPS evaluation can be discussed. In other words, the first empirical studies are carried out to tackle the following objectives:

- (1) Evaluating the LiPS formula for measuring Vietnamese proficiency/ Vietnamese performance based on the theoretical frameworks of standard Vietnamese, concentrating especially on the registers of the language of schooling;
- (2) Determining and describing the characteristics of the Vietnamese language variety of Vietnamese-German adolescents; especially the transfer from

societal language (i.e., German) and first foreign language in school (i.e., English) to heritage language (i.e., Vietnamese).

The second empirical study is a translation test which were carried out with 20 bilinguals as well as 20 monolinguals at the age of 15 and 16. The translation task, that participants had to translate an English text into a Vietnamese text was developed based on the patterns which were analyzed in the written texts. This task was first done as a pilot study by three Vietnamese-German students to examine whether the factors that had appeared in their written texts also occurred in the translated texts. The translation test was carried out with the assumption that features of Vietnamese language that had been identified in written texts are also found in translated texts. The analysis of these texts can help to compare the Vietnamese production of bilingual students with those of monolingual Vietnamese students growing up in Vietnam, and also help to confirm the findings of the analysis of the written text. Therefore, the third objective can be seen as follows:

- (3) Checking/Testing whether the characteristics of the Vietnamese language usage of the Vietnamese-German adolescents from LiPS data set can be considered representative samples of Vietnamese language use.

Tackling the above aims in the present study will finally contribute to a broader understanding about Vietnamese as heritage language of the Vietnamese-German adolescents often referred to as “elite migration/migrants” (König 2014:107). The present study specifically looks into the strategies of this group of students for how they compensate for their lack of knowledge in Vietnamese to complete their tasks. The study explores the style of heritage language and looks at transfer phenomena and how they are represented in the Vietnamese texts. Moreover, the efforts made by participants to complete the given tasks are considered as “strategies” in order to develop the future heritage language and cultural programs.

1.5. Research methodology

This research applied a combination of multiple methods in order to overcome the limitations of each single method and to enhance the validity and the reliability of the

results, and to draw true and insightful conclusions (Kane 2013). Therefore, “mix method” will be used in this study to analyze the collected data, but quantitative method was used less often than qualitative one. In the last few decades, the interest in qualitative research has been growing, due to the fact of the pluralization of life worlds (Flick 2014:12). The limitations of quantitative approaches have often been taken as starting point to give reasons why qualitative research should be used for the following purposes: to clearly isolate causes and effects, to properly operationalize theoretical relations, to measure and to quantify phenomena, to create research designs allowing generalization of findings, and to formulate general law (ibid.:13)

An exploratory study with open interviews precedes the collection of data with questionnaires, but its results is only seen as preliminary (ibid.:24).

In many cases, qualitative studies have developed because of the critique of quantitative methods and research strategies. The choice of mix method for the present study also started with the limitation of quantitative method due to the limitation of sample number, and the influenced factors of data.

Due to the difficulty of data collection, the number of core participants of the present study is only 20, then it is too small to do a pure quantitative study. However, 20 participants with various information from paper questionnaire, language test and computer based questionnaire could be measured by quantitative method to explore trends of the group. How is the reliability and validity of the quantitative results? To answer this question, it is necessary to do qualitative study to examine the findings which are gained by quantitative steps. Furthermore, deep study about the language performance needs to do with qualitative content analysis. In this case, the quantitative number can be supported by the qualitative exploration. In fact, “qualitative and quantitative methods should be viewed as complementary rather than as rival camps” (Jick 1983:135, cf. Flick 2014).

The linking of qualitative and quantitative results can bring three sorts of outcomes of this combination: (1) Converge, support the same conclusions in combination; (2) focus different aspects of a problem, but are correspondent to each other and give a fuller picture; (3) are divergent or contradictory (see Kelle/Erzberger 2004:55). In our study, three above aims of the combination between quantitative and qualitative methods will be applied. Specific methods for analysis of boomerang written texts and translated texts will be introduced in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7.

1.6. The structure of the study

The present dissertation comprises nine chapters. After the introductory chapter of the thesis, the three following chapters introduce three aspects of theoretical background of this study. Chapter Two discusses the term ‘heritage language’ and some other relevant terms. This chapter also introduces the situation/state of the research on heritage language “from marginal to central” (Montrul 2016:6). The universal outcomes of heritage language acquisition of heritage speakers, such as incomplete acquisition, attrition and transfer from dominant language are also discussed in this chapter. The most important discussion is related to studies on different linguistic levels of heritage languages to characterize features of heritage language performance of heritage speakers. Having established the frameworks for assessing the language evaluation, Chapter Three discusses language proficiency in multilingual contexts, and introduces the progress of language testing and the validity arguments of language testing. In particular, assessing literacy is focused due to the fact that the data in this research are text-based data. A brief introduction to research on Vietnamese diaspora in Germany in Chapter Four gives an overview of studies on Vietnamese heritage language among other research. This chapter also focuses on relevant studies of Vietnamese as heritage language worldwide, to have a universal view of the characteristics of Vietnamese heritage language. Vietnamese orthography, lexis and syntax in Chapter Four is also proposed to give basic knowledge for developing the evaluation of Vietnamese as heritage language of LiPS. In addition, this linguistic knowledge also represents specific-linguistic indicators to analyze the language performance of heritage speakers qualitatively. Comparison between findings of the present study and previous studies may draw a comprehensive picture of Vietnamese as heritage language throughout the world.

Chapter Five introduces the first empirical study that has been conducted in the frame of LiPS. Firstly, it describes the methodology including the instruments, the samples, and the methods of analysis. The qualification of the LiPS formula to evaluate Vietnamese written production is also discussed. Chapter Six analyzes the written data qualitatively and looks for common and specific features in the Vietnamese variety used by Vietnamese-German adolescents. Chapter Seven proposes research design and the analysis of the translated texts that have been collected in the second empirical study. The analysis of the translated texts is based on the comparison to the findings

of Chapter Five and Chapter Six to identify and to confirm the features of the Vietnamese variety used by German-Vietnamese adolescents. Chapter Eight discusses the outcomes of Vietnamese as heritage language performed in both written and translated data in comparison with previous studies on the Vietnamese language in other countries (i.e., the United States, Australia, and France). Chapter Nine summarizes the results, explains the limitations of the current study, and suggests possible paths for future research. The nine chapters in this study overlap or could be seen to exist on a continuum; the individual topics could have been placed in more than one section, given that they cover diverse, yet interrelated topics. For example, the analysis of the first empirical study – boomerang written test is analyzed in two chapters due to the two objectives of the study: to examine the LiPS evaluation and the characteristics of Vietnamese written performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents by both quantitative and qualitative analysis. The findings in Chapter Five and Six will be used to define specific-linguistic indicators for the analysis in Chapter Seven. All nine chapters obtain strongly interwinded correlation.

2. Research on Heritage Languages in Multilingual Contexts

The heritage language, as a language form associated with special sociolinguistic circumstances involving migratory communities, is becoming an important study object in its own right, recognized not only by the existence of a journal dedicated to such languages (*Heritage Language Journal*, www.heritagelanguages.org) but also by various series of publications, for example, *Theoretical and Experimental Aspects of Syntax-Discourse Interface Heritage Grammars* by Invanova-Sullivan (2014), *Moribund Germanic Heritage Language in North America* by Page/Putnam (2015), *The Acquisition of Heritage Languages* (Montrul 2016), and *Advances in Spanish as heritage language* (Cabo 2016). Vietnamese as a heritage language of about 4 million migrated Vietnamese should also be taken into account in the research on heritage languages. In order to analyze Vietnamese as a heritage language with data collected in Germany, this chapter will introduce the term heritage language, as well as the changes in the scope of studies on the societal language to the heritage language in multilingual contexts. Findings concerning the acquisition of heritage languages from previous investigations, and related to other heritage languages, are also introduced. Because the performance of a heritage language by heritage speakers in all linguistic

domains often differs from the performance of this language by native speakers in the home country, heritage language performance is considered in sociolinguistics as a new language variety, which is a variant of the standard language. Therefore, a study on heritage language from the language variety perspective is also proposed here.

Research on differences at all linguistic levels between the use of the heritage language of heritage speakers and the use of the standard language of native speakers are additionally discussed in detail.

2.1. Heritage language: term and principle

The term *heritage language* appeared in educational research on the acquisition of languages other than English and French by bilingual students in Canada in the 1970s. Later, this term was broadly used in the United States in the late 1990s to indicate minority languages (Cummins 2005:585). Other commonly used terms to refer to the heritage language of bilinguals are first language (L1), mother tongue, ancestral language, ethnic language, third language, non-official language, etc. (Cummins 1983:7, Montrul 2016:13).

The term *heritage language* usually refers to the ethno-cultural language of a specific community (Cummins 1983:7). A heritage language may include immigrant languages (German in the United States, Vietnamese in Germany), national minority languages (Basque in Spain, Hmong in Vietnam), and aboriginal languages (Navajo in the United States, Dyirbal in Australia). More precisely, Rothman (2009:156) defines a heritage language as follows:

A language qualifies as a *heritage language* if it is a language spoken at home or otherwise readily available to young children, and crucially this language is not a dominant language in the larger (national) society. Like the acquisition of a primary language in monolingual situations and the acquisition of two or more languages in situations of societal bilingualism/multilingualism, the *heritage language* is acquired on the basis of an interaction with naturalistic input and whatever in-born linguistic mechanisms are at play in any instance of child language acquisition. Differently, however, there is the possibility that quantitative and qualitative differences in *heritage language* input and the introduction, influence of the societal majority language, and differences in literacy and formal education can result in what on the

surface seems to be arrested development of the *heritage language* or attrition in adult bilingual knowledge. (Italics in the original)

In many countries, especially in the United States and Europe, languages other than the official language are often considered “foreign” languages. Nevertheless, these languages are not “foreign” to many individuals or communities because many people who live in those countries have cultural connections to them and know other languages than the official ones (Cummins 1983). Whether these people have a high proficiency in these languages or they cannot understand them, they always belong to a family or a community where the language is used (ibid., Montrul 2016). Kelleher (2010) emphasizes: “The term ‘heritage’ language can be used to describe any of these connections between a non-dominant language and a person, a family, or a community” (1). The literal meaning of the term *heritage language* already expresses the connection of the immigrant group with the home country and the language of a country of origin.

In Germany, the term *Herkunftssprache* (heritage language) has been used in studies on multilinguals and multilingualism since last decade (Flores/Rinke 2016:22) to define the special acquisition conditions of a minority language in the context of migration. Reich (2010:445) defined “Herkunftssprache” (language of origin) to be „Migranten als ihre Muttersprachen in anderssprachige Einwanderungsländer mitbringen” (Migrants bring their mother tongues to other immigration countries). However, Fürstenau (2011:31) criticized that the term “Hekunfsprache” is problematic because the regional origin does not always imply the actual language used, for example, there is sharp separation between the Turkish populations due to their 40 minority languages (Brizić 2006:36). In addition, the language of an emigrated group may differ from the language used in the country of origin (Lüttenberg 2010:306). Due to mentioned reasons, in the studies on the language of origin of migrants, the terms “Muttersprache” (mother tongue), “Erstsprache” (first language), and “Familiensprache” have been often used in Germany despite of their differently potential meanings that can include the language that was firstly acquired, the language that is frequently used in everyday communication, the language that is used fluently, the language that was preferred or the language that can associate migrants to their certain cultural affiliation (König 2016:286, Lüttenberg 2010:307). However, unlike the German term

“Herkunftssprache”, the English term “heritage language” refers to the connection between the migrants with their home culture and language (König 2016:286). The current study therefore uses the term heritage language to define Vietnamese language of the Vietnamese-German adolescents living in Germany.

2.2. Heritage language studies: from the margins to a central focus

Nowadays, thanks to the so-called “social turn”, “the acquisition of heritage languages has moved from the margins to become a central focus of study within linguistics and applied linguistics” (Montrul 2016:6, Page/Putnam 2015). While merely some languages as Spanish and German heritage languages in the United States were vastly investigated in the last decades, there has recently been a series of publications concerning Korean, Japanese, and Chinese as heritage languages (Cho et al. 1997, He/Xiao 2008, Lee 2002, Mu 2015, Park/Sarkar 2007, Yamanda-Yamamoto/Richards 1999, Zhang/Slaughter-Defoe 2009). In addition, the list of dissertations on heritage language education from 2000-2012 of the *Alliance for the Advancement of Heritage Languages*, Center of Applied Linguistics, impartially supplies evidence for this trend. Moreover, the *Heritage Language Journal* (HLJ) was established in 2002 to provide a forum for researchers to exchange research results and knowledge about heritage and community languages.

The dramatic change of research on heritage languages may have emerged from the argument of language as a resource since 2001 (cf. Lo Bianco 2017, Wang/Green 2001). The benefits of multilingualism for individuals and societies are manifold, including the realms of intellectual life, culture, family, and economy. A brief review of intellectual resources will be introduced in Chapter Three. Other aspects have been briefly explained by Lo Bianco (2017) as following: multilingualism benefits cultural diversity for both the entire society and minority communities, due to the increasing of intercultural understanding through learning and practicing languages (65). Multilingualism, especially the maintenance of heritage languages, entails strong intergenerational ties for immigrants who can benefit substantially in terms of health and psychological development, especially concerning adolescent safety, i.e., sharing emotions and maintaining the authority of parents and caregivers. Aiko (2017:106) also states that learning a heritage language and culture helps heritage speakers to gain a sense of belonging, which supports a positive sense of identity and the development

of self-confidence. Therefore, heritage language use encourages learners to transmit their own culture from one generation to the next. However, it is very difficult to maintain a language and a culture in a context of inappropriate/lacking education. Aiko (2017) cites information of Nakajima (2003) according to which around 30% of second generation children do not know their parents' language and 70% of third generation children have completely forgotten their heritage languages. A question that emerges in this context is to what extent the maintenance of a heritage language should or can be encouraged, e.g., by organizing a formal learning environment or offering interesting learning activities. Nevertheless, research on heritage language in both languages indicates that internal and external factors are essential to develop the appropriate programs.

One of the most widely studied topics of heritage language concerns the attitudes of heritage speakers for maintaining and learning a heritage language from different perspectives, because "language attitudes are collectively historically shaped and can also be politically co-determined" (Franceschini 2011:346). Attitudes are considered as "powerful variables" (ibid:346) that co-govern the development of multilingual language use. Numerous studies have investigated the attitude towards heritage language from parents' perspectives (Lao 2010, Nesteruk 2010, Zhang/Slaughter-Defoe 2009), teachers' perspectives (Cummins 2001, Liu 2006, Rodríguez 2007, Szecsi et al. 2015), and students' points of view (Liao et al. 2017, Oh/Nash 2014) on heritage language and bilingual language learning experiences. Cummins (2001) noted that international students enrolled at the University of Toronto (Canada) frequently complained about their elementary school children rejecting their home language and culture. Many children refuse to use the first language at home and want to anglicize their names in order to belong to the culture of the school and peer group. In the case of immigrant parents with a low proficiency in the language of the environment, the refusal of the home language of children/adolescents often leads to parent/child conflicts, decreased levels of parental authority, and overall family cohesion issues (Chapman/Perreira 2005, Driscoll/Torres 2013, Valdez et al. 2013). However, the attitude of heritage speakers may change in the course of their lifespans. For example, in a study on Chinese as heritage language, Mu (2016) cited a statement by an Australian-Chinese young adult:

I am completely lost. I am struggling with my belongingness. I am different in Australia because I look Chinese. I am also different here because I look Chinese but I can't speak Chinese. I wish I had learned (Chinese) harder when I was in Saturday schools.

(Mu 2016: xxi)

Regarding the educational perspective, it has been said that “bilingualism is good for the rich, not for the poor” (Cummins 2001:10). Nevertheless, later inquiries indicate that it is also good for the poor; for example, all bilingual programs in the United States and Canada function very well and have proved that children can acquire two languages well at the same time (ibid.). Due to research on cognitive advantages of being bilingual in recent years, heritage language education has taken into consideration an increasingly large number of researchers and has emerged as an autonomous discipline (e.g., Cummins 2001, Nguyễn et al. 2001, Pham Giang 2011). However, heritage language was viewed closer to foreign language teaching (Fishman 2001, Valdés 2001). Therefore, the need to develop new programs and pedagogical materials to address the specific requirement of heritage speakers has been shared by many language practitioners (Brinton et al. 2008). One of several new pedagogical approaches already approved is service learning (Moreno/MacGregor-Mendoza 2017: ii) that “integrates community service with academic study to enrich learning, teach civic responsibility, and strengthen communities” (National Commission on Service Learning 2002:3).

In Europe, in the second shift of multilingual research from the 1990s onwards, learning a heritage language is a necessary right for all learners, because it can be a resource for individuals and society (Busch 2011:544). With around 30% of the students in primary school speaking other languages than German at home, Germany is a leading country of immigrant population, and also a leading country which promotes heritage language programs for immigrant children. Nevertheless, heritage language programs have been merely organized in some states of Germany, such as Bayern, Hessen, Nordrhein-Westfalen and Sachsen, and only 19 different languages have been taught as an additional language in school (Altmayer 2009). Obviously, not every child receives instruction in his/her heritage language (Flores/Rinke 2016). Even, in research on multilingualism, a question has been raised whether maintenance of heritage language that cannot be developed in literacy

competence and complex manner for every individual speaker over a long time makes sense (Heimken 2017:15).

However, as mentioned in Introduction, the increasing of the interest in heritage languages in Germany in the last decade showed that research on heritage languages have received attention. As a heritage language of more than 160,000 Vietnamese individuals that have been considered an “elite migration” (König 2014:107), Vietnamese has been studied since last five years. The research designs and findings of these research are proposed in Chapter Four in more detail. The present study also aims to contribute a voice to research on Vietnamese as heritage language.

2.3. Heritage language acquisition

Many researchers have often argued that bilinguals have an incomplete acquisition, or exhibit attrition (Benmamoun et al. 2013, Montrul 2016). Incomplete acquisition refers to the deficiency of some aspects of the language in the process of acquiring the family language; attrition implies the decreasing process of heritage language proficiency (Montrul 2016:34).

The development of languages of bilinguals are always unbalanced, even when they are simultaneous bilinguals (who acquired both languages at birth) or sequential bilinguals (who acquired additional languages at the age of 5 or 6) (Montrul 2012:21). Some studies argue that perhaps after beginning formal education in the dominant language, some heritage speakers lose the fluency of the first language, whereas others may keep on speaking the heritage language consistently at home and with family (Polinsky/Kagan 2007). Montrul (2012) provides a function shift of the languages as the child grows up that shows that the first and primary language may become completely secondary in language use.

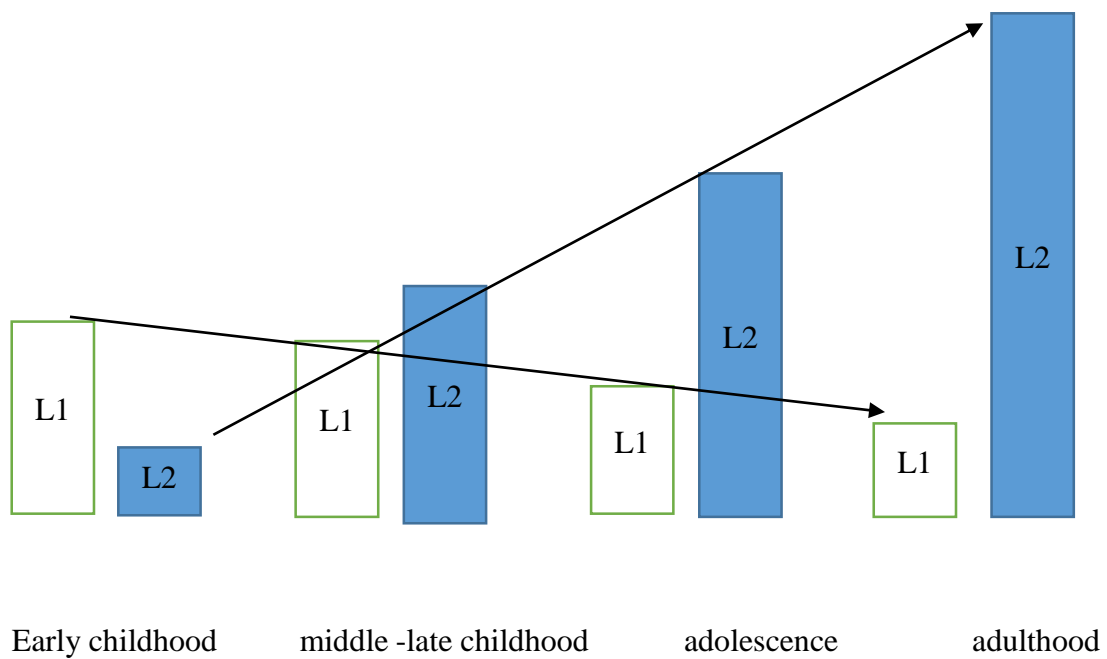


Figure 2.1. Typical development of a heritage language (L1) in a majority language context (Montrul 2012:5)

Figure 2.1 illustrates the shift of heritage language and majority language acquisition in a bilingual's life span. The linguistic competence and fluency in the heritage language become less proficient in comparison with the language of the environment, and function more as a secondary language.

This aspect can be attributed to the restriction of heritage language input in early childhood, and specifically to the lack of academic support in the heritage language at school during the age of later language development (Montrul 2012; Polinsky/Kagan 2007). When the majority language is officially fostered while the home language is not, immigrant bilingualism is unlikely to lead to advantages, as the two languages coexist in competition (De Angelis 2007). Language input is considered a crucial variable that shapes linguistic performance in different ways (Flores et al. 2017). The reduction of contact with formal registers of the heritage language, which may contribute to high levels of variation in language proficiency, leads to the disappearance of this factor in the heritage language acquisition and use of bilinguals (Flores/Rinke 2016). For example, the inflected infinitive in Brazilian Portuguese is merely presented in the standard norm of Brazilian Portuguese taught at school, even though this structure no longer exists in colloquial dialects (Pires et al. 2006). Heritage

language speakers, therefore, may only acquire the source linguistic input which is used by their communities (Pires/Rothman 2009). This situation is defined as “incipient changes in the input” (Benmamoun et al. 2013:170), in which the immigrant community uses an altogether different variety of the heritage language than the one used in the home country.

Another important factor that impacts the loss of fluency in a heritage language is age. Various studies have shown that younger bilingual children are more susceptible to fluency loss than older ones (Montrul 2008:21). The older bilinguals usually have more knowledge in their heritage language, thus the heritage language will more likely remain their primary language (Polinsky/Kagan 2007). Due to the critical role of the memory in language acquisition, latter children are learnt the societal language, better they can maintain the heritage language (Montrul 2016). Through two experimental studies on German verb placement of Spanish-German bilinguals, Flores (2010) identifies a stabilization phase in bilingual acquisition around the age of 11. In other words, at the age of 11, children may have completely acquired core syntactic and other grammatical features. Therefore, these systems are hardly vulnerable to the influence of other languages leading to language change and loss (Flores 2010:534). In addition, heritage language speakers often use the registers and vocabulary which they acquired at a younger age; therefore, their language proficiency might not exhibit age-appropriate academic levels.

Other common factors having a strong influence on heritage language proficiency are social economic status, education, age of immigration, language practice within the home and community, and motivation. Heritage speakers can have proficiency in both productive and receptive abilities, or in the receptive ability only, due to differences among individuals (Montrul 2016). It is hard for many *receptive bilinguals* (Bui Chau Giang 2016, Gogolin et al. 2017) to speak their heritage language, but they still can comprehend it and translate it to another language. In contrast, other heritage speakers can read and write in their heritage language. Therefore, the representation of language skills of heritage speakers in the productive and receptive modes and in oral and written languages are asymmetrical. Their heritage language proficiency varies along three dimensions: productive/receptive skills (listening, speaking, reading, and writing), communicative ability by discourse type (formal/academic and informal), and grammatical domain (vocabulary,

phonology, morphology, syntax, semantics, and discourse) (Montrul 2016:44). However, in general, an imbalance is found in the specific language skills of heritage speakers; for example, oral and aural skills are often stronger than literacy skills (Bui Chau Giang 2016, Gogolin et al. 2017).

The acquisition of different areas of the grammar of heritage speakers in heritage languages is mostly incomplete. In terms of vocabulary, heritage speakers normally know words related to specific semantic fields, for example, common home objects, body parts, and childhood vocabulary. Academic terms and many abstract concepts are often not exhibited in heritage speakers' vocabulary use (Montrul 2016:48, Danzak 2011a:501). Syntactic domains such as word order and dependencies between elements, such as pronoun interpretation, relative clauses, and passives are difficult for heritage speakers to both comprehend and produce (Montrul 2016:76). Danzak (2011a:501) also reports/states that bilingual adolescents tend to produce sentences with more independent clauses and single subordinate clauses, rather than multiple, embedded clauses, in both the societal language (i.e., English) and the heritage language (i.e., Spanish).

Because of the argument of the incomplete acquisition of a heritage language, a question raised is whether the heritage language is a kind of second language (Montrul 2012). More than a few investigations have attempted to show that the acquisition of a heritage language differs from the acquisition of a second language (Montrul 2011, Flores et al. 2017). While no standard agreement structures may be maintained in bilingual communities across multiple generations (Bousquette 2016), heritage learners often outperform in comparison with foreign language learners at many linguistic competences: perception and production of phonology and pronunciation (Au et al. 2002, Chang/Yao 2011, Saddah 2011), as well as pragmatic aspects (Ahn 2005, Elias 2016, Taguchi et al. 2013). Other areas of linguistic knowledge such as lexicon, syntax, discourse-syntax, semantics and morphology have been identified as showing no advantages for heritage speakers in comparison with second language learners (for a review of this aspect, see Montrul 2012). In general, Campell/Rosenthal (2000:169-170) proposes the following characteristics of "typical" heritage language speakers:

- They have native pronunciation and fluency

- They are able to use a wide range of syntactic structures (80% to 90% of grammatical rules)
- They have obtained an extensive vocabulary
- They are familiar with implicit cultural norms for effective language use

Nevertheless, they have to borrow lexicon from the majority language, and also have these typical divergences in their heritage language knowledge:

- They have a lack of formal registers in language use.
- Their writing skills tend to be poor
- They likely learned a non-standard variety (ibid.)

Consequently, possible patterns that are important for shaping heritage language competence can be defined as following: divergent (or incomplete) acquisition, attrition over a lifespan, transfer from dominant language, and incipient changes in parental/community input that become amplified in the heritage language variety (Benmamoun et al. 2013, Montrul 2012, Scontras et al. 2015). Heritage language speakers, therefore, seem unable to reach native abilities in heritage language proficiency. Clearly, this calls for the need to study heritage languages used by immigrant communities. The next section of this chapter will introduce more aspects about studies on language variation in general, as well as studies on phenomena which characterize heritage languages in particular.

2.4. Heritage language written performance: acquisition, identity and strategies

In the traditional psychological approach, literacy was viewed as a mental or cognitive process in the human brain. In the 1980s, against the traditional view, the new literacy studies (NLS) that includes the work of different disciplines written in different theoretical languages viewed literacy as primarily a sociocultural phenomenon, rather than a mental phenomenon (Gee 2015:36). Therefore, language users do not only read and write, but also do things with them (ibid.). Acquiring new discourse patterns, for example, learning new forms of literacy, may change the learners' identities or self-perceptions. In the same vein, Street (2003:77-78) suggested that literacy always originates, both its meanings and its practices, from a particular world-view, hence it

is always ideological. Thus, due to acquiring two languages simultaneously and maybe additional literacy systems later, bilinguals may have a hybrid identity. In addition, the complex discourse patterns of heritage languages in other countries where another language is the societal language may also impact the identity of heritage speakers, especially the second and third generations who grow up in new societies.

Consequently, in recent years, the specific features in written language acquisition of multilingual children have also received attention. Numerous studies have attempted to explore the influence of the home language or heritage language on the societal language (Grießhaber 2012; Schroeder 2007; Şahiner 2012; Brehmer/Usanova 2017). However, writing competence belongs to a later stage in the development of language competence hence the question about the mutual relationship between both languages in terms of written language development has been raised. In a study on the writing competence of German-Turkish bilingual children, Şahiner (2012) identified specific outcomes for three phases of writing acquisition in this group: logographic phase, alphabetic phase, and orthographic phase. However, writing in both languages is still a challenge for bilingual children because of different writing systems between languages (e.g., pictographic or ideographic scripts, logographic writing systems, syllabaries or alphabetic scripts, see Coulmas 1996; Berkermeier 1998, 2003), such as Latin versus Hanzi of German-Chinese bilinguals, or more simply because of different character sets such as Latin characters in Vietnamese and German languages of Vietnamese-German adolescents. In addition, they have to struggle with the orthographic principles of different languages. They also have to meet the difficulties in constructing complex sentences (Montrul 2010). Correct word order and the use of conjunction words can also be challenging. As an evidence, Nakajima (2003) pointed out that written tasks tend to be lists of short sentences with a mix of different forms (e.g., polite and plain forms) and a wrong writing system. However, overcoming the difficulties of acquiring multilingual literacies in a multilingual context depends on many extra-linguistic factors, such as motivation, emotion, and home language literacy practice.

To continue, Danzak (2011b:507) argued that there are mutual impacts between literacy practices and the social identity of adolescents. For example, a study on Latino students suggests the importance of knowledge, interest, and identity when it comes to literacy acquisition (Moje 2008). Additionally, a study on Chinese as heritage language by Wei/Hua (2010) claims that “knowing” the Chinese language is

an integral part being Chinese (158). The notions of “knowing” are oral understanding, as well as reading and writing abilities. The emphasis on literacy is one of the most consistent findings in many studies on heritage Chinese worldwide (He/Xiao 2008), because of the strong belief among the Chinese people that there are intricate cultural values inherent in their language. The specific written form of Chinese over other languages may have a strong influence on parents’ language ideology. Some children think it is essential to know how to write Chinese to be “properly” Chinese. Others think they are still Chinese, even though they are not good enough in their heritage language (Wei/Hua 2010:166). In general, Mu (2015:104) proposed that most Chinese heritage speakers think that they have better opportunities when they can use the Chinese language. There is also a stereotypical perception that Chinese-looking people have to be able to use Chinese, if not they are considered “bananas”, yellow outside but white inside (Mu 2015:6).

Regarding the role of Vietnamese as heritage language in defining identity, a native Vietnamese speaker, in a communication with Scott Harris, an American journalist, did not hesitate to declare that if Vietnamese-American bilinguals cannot speak Vietnamese, they really are not Vietnamese (tuoitrenews.vn/city-diary/on-Vietnamese-and-the-Vietnamese-identity, December 23, 2013; assessed December 10, 2017). Tomingas-Hatch (2009), another journalist, introduced an insightful perspective from a Vietnamese-American, Joseph Doan, who pointed out that many different cultural activities held in southern Louisiana by Vietnamese people have been performed in the Vietnamese language. The heritage language may be seen as the most important feature of Vietnamese cultural maintenance, because the desire to learn the Vietnamese language is considered a desire to maintain the Vietnamese culture. Many Vietnamese heritage learners in Lam’s study (2006) want to learn Vietnamese to be able to be in contact with their family members either in the United States or in Vietnam. Moreover, they want to distinguish themselves from other diaspora groups, such as German, French or even Indonesian heritage language learners. Only a small number view the Vietnamese language as a resource for their future career (6).

In another comprehensive study on Vietnamese-American identities, Nguyễn Thị Xuân Trương (2011) reported that many parents of Vietnamese-American adolescents want their children to understand and speak the Vietnamese language to keep their roots. Most of them attempt to bring/connect their children to their culture and language of origin through music and video. Some of them are successful and thus

feel proud because their children respect their culture and language. Contrastingly, some parents lose their maternal power and face cultural and emotional disconnection with their children, because their children refuse to listen to Vietnamese, and even to communicate with their parents. In a study on the language ideology of Vietnamese-German, König (2014:336) claims that there is a confrontation/conflict between parent's expectations and children's expectations concerning the maintenance of the heritage language. However, the observation of public music videos published by Vietnamese adolescents in Germany presents a different view on the ideology of language, culture and nation of Vietnamese bilingual adolescents. Music videos by Vietnamese-German immigrant adolescents on YouTube, such as "Viet world wide" (Fawng Daw, Two Tee, and Lee 7), "Việt kiều" (Vietnamese diaspora) (Fawng Daw), are evidence for the argument that they feel "hybrid" but not alienated. Language is a bridge to help them to identify themselves.

Although the mentioned studies on the attitudes towards Vietnamese as a heritage language do not directly involve the relationship between the self-perceived identities of heritage speakers and the written competence of the heritage language, "knowing" a heritage language is argued to be an important facet of "being" Vietnamese from the point of view of Vietnamese native speakers, Vietnamese parents (i.e., the first generation of immigrants) of Vietnamese immigrant children, and even the 1.5, and the second migratory generations themselves.

To some extent, Nguyễn Thị Xuân Truong (2011) stated that it is not guaranteed for Vietnamese youths growing up in American culture to develop an American identity, even though they speak English fluently and understand the mainstream culture. Various interviewees (Pat Nguyen, Patrick Vu) said that they had never thought that they belonged to (the) Vietnamese culture. However, they began to recognize that they are different from others because of their skin color. Hence, their attitude may change in the future (44-45). There is also a specific case of a Vietnamese-Amerasian, Diana Ly. Her appearance is "American"; however, she cannot speak English well and she also feels alienated in the mainstream life and culture of the United States, while having to face many challenges, such as language, finance and child nurturing (70-71). Along the same line, Mu (2015) describes how some young Australian-Chinese feel familiar with the Chinese language and culture and others do not. He concludes that "the same root can vegetatively spread into different routes and the same past can develop into different presents" (ibid.: xxi). He also argues that

although the young heritage speakers have different presents, they cannot elude questions such as: How and why do I learn my heritage language? What does language mean to me? Does this language tell me where I came from and who I am and where I belong?

These examples allow to initially argue that neither appearance nor language proficiency alone can define exactly by which aspects/traits/characteristics/identity a person identifies her-/himself and is identified by other people. The notion of identity is therefore complex and complicated. The self-identification and also the identification via other people are subject to changing, based on changes concerning one's attitude towards language, one's language proficiency, and one's contact with society. A more complex issue concerns the fact that even perfect proficiency in the societal language may not be considered a decisive factor in helping a Vietnamese immigrant adolescent feel like they are completely “American” or “German”. On the other hand, a high level of proficiency in the Vietnamese language may help them to identify themselves as Vietnamese: hybrid but not alienated. In addition, in order to improve the motivation of language learners in writing, Danzak (2011c) developed a project related to graphic novels and graphic journal writing to encourage students to write their own stories and explore their identities.

Written competence belongs to later language development and is normally considered a challenge for bilinguals because they have to acquire at least two languages at the same time. According to the concept of the idealized educated bilingual, a bilingual is fully literate in both languages in all possible contexts and in all registers. However, in reality most bilinguals show an incomplete language acquisition process (Montrul 2016) and/or rather limited competences (Danzak 2011a) in all skills, especially in literacy. The spoken language is normally restricted to the home; hence heritage language speakers have no formal knowledge of their written language (Chevalier 2004:5). Thus, immigrant children can often be confident in listening and speaking in their heritage language, while feeling incompetent when it comes to reading and writing (Boon/Polinsky 2014; Montrul 2012). As can be seen in the personal histories of heritage language speakers, most of them often do not have formal schooling in their heritage languages, hence literacy is usually gained in the dominant languages (Boon/Polinsky 2014:7, Montrul 2016). It is difficult to completely separate the written part of the heritage language of bilinguals from the oral language (Gee 2015:36). There are heritage language students who can write but

with minimal training, so they “tend to write the way they speak” (Chevalier 2004:4). Bilinguals, when using their “weaker” language, especially in writing, often use a more streamlined, knowledge-telling strategy (Danzak 2011a:501), rather than composing and revising their texts in a strategic manner. They tend to compose a text by “simply writing down everything” (ibid:501). Transferring knowledge from other, better acquired languages is also a common strategy of bilinguals when writing in their heritage language (Boon/Polinsky 2014; Danzak 2011a; Montrul 2016).

Regarding composition strategies in L2 writing, Karim (2013) states that in L2 composition, the use of the L1 is viewed as a compensatory mechanism (Poullisse 1997; Poullisse/Bongaerts 1994). In other words, L1 writing strategies such as generating ideas, searching for topics, developing concepts, and organizing information, also for planning purposes (Karim/Nassaji 2013:129), are used to compensate for possible deficiencies in their L2 knowledge, and to improve the L2 writing process (see review in Karim/Nassaji 2013). Translation is also found to be a common strategy when L2 texts are composed by learners with lower levels of L2 proficiency. In a summary of the findings of studies on transfer strategies from L1 to L2, Karim claims that advanced learners tend to be better in the use of their L1-based strategies (Karim/Nassaji 2013:129).

To some extent, Chevalier (2004) suggested a pedagogical model to develop heritage language literacy skills by expanding familiarity with genres of written discourse. The strategies for composing are also initially received/taken from the dominant language (i.e., English), for example, by identifying the linguistic conventions of genres and text types. Written discourse styles must also be provided to the heritage language learners because they are substantially different from and tend to be excluded in informal spoken discourse. The learners need to improve their strategies for connecting ideas in syntactically complex sentences. Learning the use of punctuation and logical connectors to mark semantic relationships between clauses is viewed as a central strategy.

To sum up, “knowing” a heritage language is considered a decisive factor when it comes to belonging to the heritage community in both the host and the home country, and, more importantly, to not feel alienated in either culture. A better competence in a heritage language, particularly in terms of possessing literacy skills, may help heritage language speakers to better identify themselves in a bilingual world, because neither a perfect competence of the societal language nor one's appearance alone can guarantee

a stable self-identification as a “real” American or German in our current times where different forms of racism are still rather prevalent (Nguyễn Thị Xuân Trương 2011). Heritage speakers, although they may possess literacy skills in the heritage language, likely perform better at reading than at writing (Boon/Polinsky 2014:7). However, it is difficult to fully differentiate the interaction between all language skills, because oral and reading abilities can influence the competence in writing. The performance of the written heritage language is often transferred from the oral heritage language, because most heritage language speakers have not had contact with a formal language environment (school, teachers, peers) (Chevalier 2004:4, Heimken 2017:15).

2.5. Heritage language – a variant language of standard language

2.5.1. Language variation in multilingual contexts

In 1963, the work of Labov “The social motivation of a sound change” reported the strong relationship between linguistic variants and social factors. He argued that linguistic variation may be activated by one or two people. He also described the sociolinguistic data collecting as the “observer’s paradox”: “our goal is to observe the way people use language when they are not being observed” (Labov 1972:61).

A historical perspective indicates that linguistic forms (i.e., grammatical and stylistic correctness) obtain a limited value since the interactive goal could be reached without ‘perfect’ language use (Braunmüller 2007). Language variation, language change and language conflict are the consequences of multilingualism (Beckert et al. 2016:7). Language variation is apparently viewed as a potential effect of language change, especially in multilingual contact (Eichinger 2016:13, Rieh 2016:34). The progress of recurrence and imitation of some factors could lead to induce a new form which is different from the old form (Grosjean 2008:39-41). Code-switching has been considered important because of the emergence of new forms (Hồ Đắc Túc 2003:2, Lüttenberg 2010:307). According to Romaine (1986), it is possible for a third system to emerge in situations of language contact with more than one language, as “through the merger or convergence of two systems, a new one can be created” (56).

Linguistic variation provides a reliable set of resources for marking and conceptualizing social affiliation and differentiation (Cohen 2012). We are all

members of groups that are characterized by a shared linguistic code, including those associated with our social class (e.g. Labov 1966), ethnic identity (e.g. Dubois and Melançon 1997), political orientation (e.g. Hall-Lew et al. 2010), or a myriad of other aspects of self-identity. While not all variations have social meaning, unlikeness in language use often grows into resources for controlling the borderline between in-groups and out-groups (Boudreau/White 2004; Cohen 2012).

According to Kallmeyer/Keim (2003), the emergence of a mixed language of an immigrated group is a strategy to find a specific way of sharing information within a group with the same background knowledge of language and culture. Therefore, it can be claimed without doubt that studies on bilingual speakers have been important to variation sociolinguistics. However, recently, studies on this area have focused on monolingual speakers (Nagy/Meyerhoff:2008). There are currently more studies dealing with the language variation of bilinguals, both in societal languages – e.g., the German variety of Turkish-German (Eksner 2006, Keim 2008, Keim/Knöbl 2011) - and in heritage languages, such as the Volga German variety of German heritage speakers living in Russia (Keel 2015), or the Cantonese variety of Cantonese heritage speakers living in Canada (Nagy 2012).

Concerning varieties of the societal language, in Germany some new language varieties have been created by migrant youths. For example, the so-called Mannheim version is one example of the simplified form of the regionally spoken German standard where some characteristics occur regularly, others rather infrequently. Keim (2008) investigates the language use of Turkish-German adolescents who are referred to as “Turkish power girls” and proposes the following regular characteristics of the Mannheim variety of this group: deletion of the preposition and article in locatives and directives, for example, *isch muss Toilette, isch geh Schwimmbad* (I must toilet, I go pool); the generalization of the verb *machen* (to make), for instance, *isch mach disch Krankenhaus* (I beat you up so badly that you have to go to the hospital); the use of some formulas such as *isch schwör* (I swear) for confirmation, and *isch hass des* (I hate it) for a negative evaluation. Moreover, the use of Turkish lexemes as address forms such as *lan* (man) and *moruk* (oldman) are also detected in German conversations of this group.

Other characteristics that occur less frequently in the language use of this group are defined as follows: the deletion of the article in noun phrases and in prepositional phrases *gib mir [ne] Kippe, isch war [die] schlechteste, bevorsch von [aus dem]*

Klassenzimmer rausgeh (give me cigarette, I was worst, before I leave classroom); the deletion of the pronoun, *wann has du fotografiert* instead of *wann has du sie fotografiert* (when did you take a photo of her); gender change, for example, *rischtiges tee* ('real tea', neutral instead of masculine), *meine Fuß* ('my foot', feminine instead of masculine); word order change, for example, *Hauptsache lieb isch ihm* instead of *Hauptsache, ich liebe ihn* (the main point is, I love him). This German variety has developed and stabilized in multilingual groups (e.g., in school classes, youth centers, and sports or music groups) where Turkish adolescents play an important role. It is the sharing code for the in-group communication of children and youth groups (Eksner 2006, Keim 2008, and Keim/Knöbl 2011).

These languages have been termed as "Türkendeutsch", or "Kanaksprak" (Dirim/Auer 2004). The form of these languages is defined as a so-called ethnolect of German (Riehl 2016:35). The particular way of speaking differs from the spoken language of German mother tongue speakers by some typical features at different linguistic levels which have been reviewed in the research on ethnolects of German (i.e., Androutsopoulos (2001), Dirim/Auer (2004), Keim (2007, 2012), Şimşek (2012), and Riehl (2016). According to Riehl (2016), these features have been defined as following:

- Phonetic features:
 - Displacement of the place of articulation in the pronunciation of the palatal fricative /ç/ (*isch* instead of *ich*)
 - Non-vocalization of final /r/ (*mach weiter*)
 - Reduction of affricate /ts/ in initial cluster to fricative /s/ (*swei*)
- Morphological and syntactic features:
 - Making mistakes in the use of prepositions, articles and pronouns (*da wird Messer gezogen, ich gehe Hauptbahnhof*)
 - Making mistakes in inversion (*jetzt ich bin 18*)
- Lexical and phraseological features
 - Vocabulary of Turkish: *lan* (Mann), *siktir* (fuck off)
 - Meaningless phrases: *weißt du, ich schwör, (h)ey Alter*
- Use of Turkish spoken particles (*yani* 'also', *işte* 'halt', *hani* 'doch') and recipient signals (*ha, he, hi, ay* 'hm')

- Language innovation: *machst du rote Ampel* ('du gehst bei Rot über die Ampel')

(Rieh 2016:35)

In a study on another multilingual society in Europe, Schlaak (2016) attempted to define linguistic characteristics of French speaking by Cameroon migration in the lexical and semantic domains. Cameroon migrants in France have developed neologisms and derivations in specific contexts. For example, specific verbs are created based not only on the French but also on the English system. The term *Whiteiser* (to be like a white man, speak like a white man, a white man who speaks French in France as in France) is an example (Schlaak 2016:189). The language contact between the African local language, English and French has brought the young generation of this community to reach an astonishing level of linguistic creativity (ibid.:191).

In sum, in multilingual contexts all languages can be changed because of the interaction between the languages and the demands of the language users. As mentioned above, societal languages in migratory contexts, such as German in Germany or French in France, are constantly being changed and are developing new varieties, which can be seen as the result of these creative processes. Heritage languages which are practiced in a completely new environment may also create new forms, thus developing a variant of the standard language which is used in the home country. Section 2.5.2 will discuss the issue of heritage language varieties in multilingual contexts in more detail.

2.5.2. Linguistic characteristics of the heritage language

With a focus on investigating heritage language varieties in Toronto, Canada, the project Heritage Language Variation and Change in Toronto was realized (HLVC; Nagy 2009, 2011). This study explores the types of interspeaker and cross-generational grammatical variation that occur in a set of heritage languages spoken in Toronto, a city where 46% of the population (2.8 million people) speak a language other than English as their mother tongue (Statistics Canada 2013). The goals of the project are to better understand the types of variable patterns that are found in bilinguals' conversational speech and to understand the roles of social factors at the individual

and community levels. A multilingual corpus for inter-generational, cross-linguistic, and diatopic (heritage vs. homeland varieties) comparisons has been developed in order to make generalizations of the features of “new dialect” (Nagy 2011). Particularly, this project addresses the question of whether linguistic variation and change in minority languages are governed by the same factors as the more frequently studied majority languages. In this domain, it is important to consider the possible interplay of language internal and language contact-influenced effects. Social factors may have a different influence on minority languages than on the majority languages. Therefore, heritage languages have increasingly become a subject for sociolinguistic analysis of language variation (Stanford/Preston 2009:8).

Because the heritage language input received by the speakers is deficient, the heritage varieties may not exactly be performed like the homeland varieties (Mrak 2011, Polinsky 2008). Incomplete acquisition is sometimes referred to as *fossilized first language development* (Larsson/Johannessen 2015:158). Incomplete heritage language acquisition and competence can be observed in different areas of the grammar/linguistic levels (Cutler et al. 2017; Montrul 2016:48). The reason for these divergences can only be defined through a direct comparison with a monolingual control group (Montrul 2016; Polinsky 2008). However, as bilinguals grow up with at least two languages, these divergences of their languages may be defined better through a comparison with two monolingual control groups of the language of environment and the heritage language. The comparison can bring the whole picture of the competence of bilinguals in different languages.

Nagy (2011) considers heritage languages as dialects with the patterns of dialects; for example, they lose their “oddest features” (Berruto 1995, cited in Nagy 2011:23): the loss of certain word order options or pro-drop optionality. The loss of “oddest features” can be viewed as the simplification progress of the grammar, for example, “invariable word forms, as well as the loss of categories such as gender, the loss of case marking, simplified morphophonemics (paradigmatic leveling), and a decrease in the number of phonemes” (Kerwill/Trudgill 2005:198). Auer et al. (2005) suggested that mixing, leveling, and simplification are the essential patterns of new dialect formation (199).

Transfers from the dominant language are often found in heritage language learners’ speech. For example, Vleet (2010) argued that learners often cannot control codeswitching between Japanese and the dominant language. A study in heritage

language classes argues that students often use informal speech and writing, acquired in their early years, in school where formal language is required (Krashen 2000; Wiley 2001). In a study on Japanese as heritage language, Aiko (2017) describes the difficulties of heritage learners in learning Japanese, such as the use of various registers in casual forms, polite forms and honorific forms, or the use of particles, as well as the Kanji writing system.

The present study, therefore, analyzes the written production of Vietnamese as a heritage language, in order to recognize its status as a new variety with specific linguistic features in comparison with those of the homeland language, and to examine the difficulties as well as the advantages of heritage language youths in the use of Vietnamese, and concerning the practice of writing skills. Following is a review of the research on characteristics of heritage languages at all linguistic levels.

2.5.2.1. Orthography

Following studies on orthographic strategies of children, writing errors such as adding an epenthetic vowel between <F> and <l> in <Fulukzoeuk> by part of the Turkish students may happen because of the common strategy to “write as one speaks” (Bardel 2014:134). Additionally, in order to examine orthographic transfers in student texts, an analysis matrix for the acquisition of the alphabetic strategy has been presented by Löffler (2007) and Jeuk/Schäfer (2009). In this matrix, standard deviations and other varieties in grapheme sequences and in grapheme selections are distinguished. This analysis matrix was initially designed for German monolingual children, yet it is also applied for bilingual children in Jeuk's (2015) study.

Table 2.1. The categories of error in alphabetical writing

	Possible interpretation	Examples
Omission	1. Omission of (similar) syllables	<i>Anas</i> (<i>Ananas</i> ‘pineapple’), <i>Krokdil</i> (<i>Krokodil</i> ‘crocodile’)
	2. Reduction of consonant cluster	<i>Kokdil</i> (<i>Krokodil</i> ‘crocodile’)
		<i>Fenstr</i> (<i>Fenster</i> - window)

	3. Omission of grapheme (e.g. in the reduction of a syllable)	<i>HSE (Hase – ‘rabbit’)</i>
	4. Omission of vowels belonging to the “name” of consonants	
Replacement	5. Sound similarities (assimilation)	<i>Kurke (Gurke – ‘cucumber’)</i>
	6. Confusion between similar graphemes (phonetically equivalent)	<i>Vaiarten</i>
	7. Confusion between voiced and voiceless consonants (special case of 6)	<i>Trachen (Drachen - dragon)</i>
	8. Dialect-related writing	<i>Gorke (Gurke – ‘cucumber’)</i>
	9. Sound continuum of vowel (i.e., o–u, ö–ü)	<i>Wörfel (Würfel – ‘cube’)</i> <i>Kenda (Kinder - children),</i>
	10. Grapheme confusion (i.e., b-d, p-q, etc.)	<i>Aqfel (Apfel - ‘apple’)</i>
Transition	11. Anticipation	<i>wrame (warme - ‘warm’)</i>
	12. Other conversions	
Addition	13. Exact sound analysis of stretched speaking	<i>Raeitea (Reiter - rider)</i> <i>Koyze (Kreuz - ‘cross’)</i>
	14. Other additions of graphemes	
Orthographic strategies	15. Omission of orthographic elements (vocal quality and syllable cut)	<i>Te (Tee - ‘tea’), gefallen (gefallen - ‘like’)</i>
	16. Hardening of final sound	<i>Munt (Mund - ‘mouth’)</i>
	17. Redundancy of orthographic element	<i>Munnd (Mund - ‘mouth’),</i>
		(Jeuk/Schäfer 2009:146)

The analysis matrix is translated from the German original table of Jeuk/Schäfer (2009). The standard example forms were added here by the author of the present

thesis. The examples in (9) are replaced from (10). It is possible that the author of this matrix originally placed them in the wrong example. The writing of capital letters versus small letters is ignored in this matrix (Jeuk 2014:114). However, this matrix provides a number of general criteria to evaluate orthography in a language. For example, based on this matrix and the possible differences between German and Turkish orthography, Jeuk (2014:116) proposes a specific matrix for analyzing German texts of Turkish heritage children living in Germany. Therefore, this matrix can be used for developing criteria to evaluate the Vietnamese orthography of Vietnamese-German bilinguals.

2.5.2.2. Lexicon

The lexicon use in the heritage language of heritage speakers is summarized by Montrul (2016) as in Table 2.2.

Table 2.2. Summary of findings on the lexicon

-
1. Smaller vocabularies than first generation speakers in both comprehension and production.
 2. Vocabulary size and productivity is related to level of proficiency (i.e., lower proficiency and smaller vocabulary).
 3. Knowledge and retention of early-acquired concrete words.
 4. In some studies, nouns seem to be retained and accessed better and faster than verbs and adjectives (cf. Polinsky 2006).
 5. The cognate status of words also facilitates knowledge and retention.
 6. There are errors of misanalysis (chunking) of derivational morphology and there are errors of over-generalization of regular processes of word formation to irregular forms.
-

(Montrul 2016:53)

Table 2.2 illustrates possible features of lexicon use in heritage languages which may be presented in both receptive and productive modes. These features are specifically

represented in the vocabulary domain. Montrul (2016:48) describes that heritage language words possessed/used by heritage speakers are usually related to specific semantic fields that are familiar to their daily lives, for example, common objects in the home, basic nature terms, body parts, and childhood vocabulary. In addition, many abstract concepts are not known, or are difficult to acquire for a second or further heritage speaker generations. However, the lexicon has been still understudied (ibid.:53).

2.5.2.3. Syntax and Syntax-Semantic Interface

The syntax–semantics interface refers to linguistic phenomena that are the result of the combination between principles of syntactic organization and principles of semantic interpretation. Such interactions can occur in all languages. However, in an analytic language such as modern English, or a synthetic language such as German, the simplification of the syntactic domain can occur separately from the semantic domain, whereas in an isolating language (i.e., Vietnamese, Chinese) the changes in syntax are often combined with semantics (Cao Xuân Hạo 2006). Therefore, for analytic and synthetic languages, there is a significant number of studies dealing with the morphosyntactic use of heritage language speakers. These studies have argued that changes in the heritage language often become resources of simplification of the grammar (Auer et al. 2004; Page/Putman 2015). Below is an example from Volga German dialects which reduce the system of case marking. The Standard German variety is presented in Example (1a) and (2a). Volga German dialects are shown in Examples (1b) and (2b).

(1a) *der Mann ist ins Wasser gefallen*
 The man has in + the water fallen
 The man fell into the water

(2a) *der Mann ist im Wasser gestanden*
 The man has in + the water stood
 ‘The man was standing in the water’

Volga German dialect of Victoria, Ellis County, Kansas:

- (1b) *der Mann is in + den Wasser gefallen*
 The man has in + the water fallen
 ‘The man fell into the water’
- (2b) *der Mann hot in + den Wasser gestanden*
 The man has in + the water stood
 ‘The man was standing in the water’

(Keel 2015:135)

Example (1b) and (2b) present the reduction of case. The loss of the dative case also occurs in the German language speaking of German heritage speakers in East Franconian and Michigan (Born 2003:155). Additionally, in (1b) and (2b), the noun phrase is marked in a special way (Keel 2015:135).

The reduction of case is an example for the theory of *Minimize Domains* (Hawkins 2004:31) that states that minimizing the associated sequences of linguistic forms and their regularly combined syntactic and semantic properties is often used. Vietnamese is an isolating language, in which words are not inflected. However, the morphosyntactic domain in German may influence the linguistic production in Vietnamese. Moreover, the *Minimize Domains* approach can be approved for many different syntactic domains, because the simplification of the grammatical system is recurrent across different heritage languages (Boon/Polinsky 2014).

With regard to languages with isolating morphology, the question emerges to what extent morphological deficits in a heritage language are represented in the language production of heritage speakers of such languages as Cantonese, Mandarin, and Vietnamese. In the nominal domain, the requirement of the use of classifiers in noun phrases defining numerals and demonstratives has been taken into account because in these languages obtain numerous classifiers that can be combined with different nouns.

The tendency of omission of classifiers or the use of wrong classifiers has been found to appear frequently in these heritages languages. Examples (3) and (4) illustrate two popular errors of classifier use of heritage speakers in Mandarin:

- (3) *women cong yi*(-ge) dao bie de*

we from one-CL to other AND
guojia jiu zuo huoche
 country then sit train

We take the train from one country to another. (Ming/Tao 2008:173)

- (4) *Xiangzhang dui-mian you yi-ge si de shu*
 XZ opposite-face have one-CL die ADN tree
 There is a dead tree opposite Xiaozhang. (Ming/Tao 2008:173)

Example (3) shows an unacceptable classifier omission (*ge*) and Example (4) presents the use of the wrong classifier (general classifier *ge* instead of *ke*). Tang Giang (2007), Nguyễn Linh Chi (2009), Nguyễn Thiện Nam (2006), and Phan Ngọc Trần (2018) also found that making mistakes in the use of classifier in Vietnamese of heritage speakers or second language learners appeared frequently. These studies will be proposed in more detail in Chapter Four.

Additionally, in the nominal domain, the use of the preposition has been also viewed to be difficult for heritage speakers because they often made mistakes in its practice as in Examples (5) and (6) below:

- (5) *Wo zai Taiwan liou liang-ge duo *(cong)*
 I at Taiwan stay two-CL many from
yue shu-jia kaishi dao shu-jia guo le
 month summer-vacation start to summer-vacation pass
 I stayed in Taiwan for two months, from the start to the end of the summer vacation. (Ming/Tao 2008: 173)

- (6) *Shengyin zai shu de hou-mian lai (cong)*
 Sound at tree ADN back-face come (behind)
 The sound came from the back of the tree. (Ming/Tao 2008: 173)

The preposition *cong* (from) was completely omitted in a wrong way in Example (5). An inappropriate preposition was used in Example (6): *zai* (at) instead of *cong* (behind).

In the domain of verb use, the main error observed in heritage Mandarin production has to do with the inappropriate use, omission, or overgeneralization of the perfective marker *le* (Ming/Tao 2008; Jia/Bailey 2008). Benmamoun et al. (2013:147) claims that the functional categories of isolating languages, which conceivably plays an important role in syntax, are likely more vulnerable than lexical categories.

Other aspects of the syntax-semantic interface, such as word order and dependencies between elements in the sentence such as pronoun interpretation have been taken into account. In research on word order in Norwegian possessive constructions, Westergaard/Anderssen (2015) state that Norwegian heritage speakers living in the United States organize this construction differently from European Norwegian. Example (7) illustrates the change of word order of a possessive construction.

- (7) *nei, ikke min kjole* (Norwegian language: *kjole min*)
 No not my dress
 No, not my dress.

(Westergaard/ Anderssen 2015:30)

There are pre- and post-nominal possessives in Norwegian language. These structures are used in different contexts, based on whether the possessive is topical or focal. Post-nominal possessives are more popular, representing about 75% of the total (Westergaard/Anderssen 2015:25). However, heritage speakers tend to use prenominal possessives. The reason for this non-targeted construction may originate from the English possessive construction.

Another example originates from Spanish heritage speakers. In some situations, the reversal of subject and verb is accepted by Spanish native speakers. An optional verb-initial sentence structure such as in Example (8) is an illustration:

- (8) *Siempre hablan los niños*
Always speak the children
 Children always speak

Heritage speakers, however, preferred to use the subject-verb order, for example, *niños hablan siempre* (children speak always) (Boon/Polinsky 2014:9). The findings

suggested that their heritage Spanish is likely to use a more rigid sentence structure, for example SVO (Boon/Polinsky 2014; Montrul et al. 2015; Montrul 2016). The predominance of the SVO order could be transferred from English, but it could also be due to the complexity of the word order in the native language.

Another vulnerable syntactic area are complex sentences such as passives, relative clauses, and other referential dependencies (Montrul 2016:76). These domains tend to be difficult for heritage speakers with a lower proficiency in their heritage language to both comprehend and produce. The loss of passive voice constructions in the German heritage language of heritage speakers in Kansas, United States, is reported in a study of Putnam/Salmons (2013). Eleven participants were asked to do a translation task from English to German, and a comprehension task in German with passive voice. Passive voice constructions, however, occur merely in translated texts. Regarding relative clauses, O’Grady et al. (2011) and Polinsky (2011) examined the comprehension of subject and object relative clauses by Korean and Russian heritage speakers. The findings of both studies show that object relative clauses (*The cat that the dog is chasing*) constitute a greater challenge for heritage speakers than subject relative clauses.

Additionally, heritage speakers of many languages often reach native-like levels in their use of high-frequency fossilized forms that is a firm phrase or “frozen” expression in a language (Boon/Polinsky 2014:9). *At home, go to school* or *on Tuesday* in English, and *xuống bếp* (go (down) to Kitchen), *vào mùa xuân* (in spring) in Vietnamese are examples of this forms.

Lexical semantics embedding the relationship of word meaning with syntactic encoding is an interface phenomenon. Montrul/Ionin (2010, 2012) studied the semantic interpretation of definite articles with plural noun phrases in Spanish heritage speakers living in the United States, due to the differences in expression and interpretation of articles in plural phrases in these languages. In English, plurals with definite articles can only have a specific reference (i.e., *the orchids on this balcony are very beautiful*), while plurals with bare noun phrases imply a generic reference (i.e., *orchids are the most beautiful flower*). In Spanish, definite articles can be used for both specific reference and generic reference. Therefore, the misuse and omission of articles with plural phrases occurs frequently in written compositions of heritage speakers with intermediate to advanced Spanish skills. Another study on Italian heritage languages

in Germany reported that Italian heritage speakers accept incorrect bare plurals in Italian, possibly due to the influence of German.

Vietnamese plural noun phrases has a full structure as following *numeral + CL+ Noun + DEM* (Nguyễn Tài Cẩn 1975:175) can express a specific reference as in (9), whereas a generic reference is expressed with bare single noun phrases and a generic classifier as in (10).

(9) *Những bông hoa lan ở ban công này rất đẹp*
 Adjunct CL flower orchid on balcony DEM
 very beautiful

The orchids on this balcony are very beautiful.

(10) *Lan là loài hoa đẹp nhất.*
 Orchid is CL flower beautiful most

Orchids are the most beautiful flower.

In Vietnamese written productions of the Vietnamese heritage speakers living in Germany, the expression and interpretation of German articles may influence the use of numeral and classifier in Vietnamese noun phrases. The data analysis in the following chapters will examine this phenomenon.

Studies on pragmatic competence in the production of speech acts (e.g., request, complaints, and refusals), for example, Ahn 2005, Elias 2016, Hong 1997, Pinto/Raschio 2007, Taguchi et al. 2013, Youn 2008, reveal heritage learners' unique pragmatic characteristics, which fall somewhere in between two monolingual groups in home country and in immigrated country (Li et al. 2017). However, the data of this thesis will not be able to explain pragmatic features.

Recently, there have been some relevant studies on these Vietnamese varieties, for example, Vietnamese heritage language in France (Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2006, 2013), in Australia (Hồ Đắc Túc 2003, Thái Duy Bảo 2007, Đào Mục Đích 2012, Đào Mục Đích/Nguyễn Thị Anh Thư 2015), and in the United States (Phạm Giang 2011 Pham/Kohnert 2014; Phan Ngọc Trần 2017, 2018). Studies on varieties of Vietnamese language above performed by different Vietnamese diaspora communities could help the Vietnamese, particularly the younger Vietnamese generation, both in Vietnam and

abroad, to understand the changes of the Vietnamese language worldwide (Đào Mục Đích/Nguyễn Thị Anh Thư 2015:298). However, research on Vietnamese heritage language varieties above including particular methodologies and their results will be reviewed in the next section of this chapter.

In sum, syntactic and syntactic-semantic interface domains seem to be the most vulnerable domain which present challenges for heritage speakers in both comprehension and production of their heritage languages. Table 2.3 summarizes possible features in semantic-syntactic level in heritage language performance of heritage speakers of isolating languages (i.e., Vietnamese and Chinese). However, each domain may be exhibited in heritage languages across different levels of language proficiency of heritage language speakers.

Table 2.3. Possible features in semantic-syntactic level of an isolating language

General nominal domain	(1) Simplification of the grammatical system (2) Omission of classifiers or use of wrong classifier (3) Omission of preposition or use of inappropriate preposition regarding particular noun
Verbal domain	(4) Inappropriate use, omission, or overgeneralization (5) Preference of rigid word order (i.e., SVO) (6) Loss of passive voice constructions/Avoidance of use of these constructions

(Summarized by the author of the thesis)

2.6. Language transfer – a common feature of heritage language varieties

The transfer process in language contact of multilingual speaker is a fact, because languages cannot be saved in one's mind separately (Riehl 2016:23). The heritage language performance of heritage speakers is deficient in many linguistic domains, for example, in gender agreement, verb paradigms, pronouns, case marking, word order, and preposition (Montrul et al. 2012, O'Grady et al. 2011, Song et al. 1997). Therefore, like L2 learners, heritage speakers show signs of transfer from the dominant language and “apparent” fossilization (arrested development) of the heritage language (Montrul

2012:6). *Code-mixing* or *cross-linguistic influences* are characterized as a common feature in communication practices of bilinguals, both in oral communication and in written forms in which the spoken language prevails, for example in SMS, emails or on Facebook (Keim 2016:13, Lüttenberg 2010:307). Educationists have viewed *Halbsprachigkeit* (half language competence) (Gogolin et al. 2005:116) that contains code-mixing has been not accepted in multilingual education (Heimkein 2017:15), whereas sociolinguists have accepted code-mixing as a natural outcome of multilingual contexts (Keim 2008, 2012; Lüttenberg 2010:307).

Code-mixing has been studied largely due to its natural occurrence in bilingual contact (Cheng/Butler 1989). Code-mixing may happen because of such factors as “effective communication, expediency and economy of expression, availability of repertoire, or situational triggers” (Cheng/Butler 1989:297, Keim 2016:13). Therefore, it is impossible to write/present a whole history of research on this issue here. Hence, this section briefly introduces and discusses relevant studies and approaches which can provide the frameworks to analyze the most common features in the performance of heritage languages.

2.6.1. Language transfer in multilingual contexts

2.6.1.1. Language transfer: Variety of terms

The influence of one language upon another in the language acquisition and language performance of bilinguals occurs frequently. This phenomenon has been named with a variety of terms such as *code-switching*, *interference*, *borrowing*, and in a broader meaning as *language alternation*, *code-mixing*, *cross-linguistic influence*, and *transfer*. There is no clear-cut separation between the different terms, because they are often used interchangeably and without precision.

Historically, the term ‘language switching’ was introduced by Haugen (1956) in his study on interlingual contact. He describes that code-switching “occurs when a bilingual introduces a completely unassimilated word from another into his speech” (ibid.:40). A further definition of code-switching is proposed by Myers-Scotton (1993) who describes that “code-switching is the selection by bilinguals or multilinguals of

forms from embedded variety (or varieties) in utterances of a matrix during the same conversation” (3).

Transfer is another term that was used in a study of Johnson and his colleagues on problems in interpretation of an unfamiliar language (Johnson et al. 1933:580). In 1953, Weinreich used the term *transfer* to refer to the usage of knowledge from one language in another language. A further definition of transfer was proposed and popularized by Odlin (1989) who defined *transfer* as the influence of similarities and differences between the target language and any other languages that has been previously (and perhaps imperfectly) acquired (27). He claims that although transfer can occur in all language subsystems, it cannot be accessed equally; for example, orthography can be tested and detected much more easily than transfer at the level of discourse (ibid.:28).

The term interference was first defined by Weinreich (1953) as “those instances of deviation from the norms of either language which occur in the speech of bilinguals as a result of their familiarity with more than one language, i.e., as a result of language in contact” (1). Dulay et al. (1972) use the term *interference* as the automatic transfer, due to habit, of the surface structure of the first language onto the surface of the target language. In the context of multilingual research, interference is used as naturally limited to the negative effects of transfer, which may refer only to a minority portion of the ways one language affects another (Jarvis 2013:1).

The definition of the given terms and their usage and their correlation have been part of a lively and ongoing debate. The relationship between code-switching and transfer have been discussed by Pfaff (1979) and Clyne (1987). Pfaff (1979) claimed that code-switching may lead to convergence, whereas Clyne implied that convergence may lead to code-switching. Similarly, the application of such terms has been largely discussed, i.e, whether these terms should be seen as different and can merely be used in specific contexts, or if they can be considered similar terms in that they involve the occurrence of elements of language A in stretches of speech of language B (Treffer-Daller 2009:52).

Since the definitions of given terms overlap each other, Auer (1988) has proposed the term *language alternation* that covers all given term. This view has been supported by Treffer-Daller (2009) who wrote that the consideration code-switching

and transfer as similar phenomena is helpful for further investigation in reference to how speaker/writer can control code-switching and transfer (61).

Overall, the influence of one language upon another in language acquisition and language performance of bilinguals occurs frequently. Such terms as *cross-linguistic influence* (Odlin 1989), *language transfer* (Weinreich 1953), and *interference* (Dulay et al. 1972) are roughly synonymous. However, these terms are not equivalent. *Interference* principally refers to negative transfers such as production errors (Odlin 2013:1). Therefore, *interference* is a part of cross-linguistic influence, because positive transfer is also important for the development of language acquisition. Although the term *transfer* is criticized because it rather implies a physical meaning (moving somewhere) instead of psychological and social implications of a linguistic phenomenon (ibid.), its metaphorical meaning and its shortage of form is chosen in the present thesis to cover/refer to the mutual influencing and interaction of languages.

2.6.1.2. Language dominance in language transfer

Because of the incomplete acquisition of heritage languages (Montrul 2016), especially in writing competence, transfer and code-switching from dominant language to heritage language has been expected to occur at all linguistic levels. Code-switching is considered a result of a transfer process/cross-linguistic influence process. Therefore, this study will use the term *language transfer* to refer to the influence of the dominant language (i.e., German) and the acquired foreign language (i.e., English) in the use of Vietnamese.

The acquisition of languages of bilinguals is not always balanced (Montrul 2012). This means that at each phase of language development there is always one language better than the other, which can lead to a dominant transfer situation (Montrul 2016:268). In the literature on bilingual acquisition, the notion of language dominance is used, theoretically, to describe a situation in which one language of a bilingual child is more advanced or developing faster than the other. Dominance patterns may change over time depending on individual experiences (Romaine 1995).

The term *dominant language* is often defined in terms of language proficiency to refer to the language in which the bilingual is informally considered to be most proficient (Petersen 1988; Deuchar/ Muntz 2003, Genesee et al. 1995). However, the

issue of language dominance in studies on transfer and code-switching of bilinguals has been much debated. Data from several sources have identified a non-relation between child mixing and language dominance (Cantone 2007, Gumperz 1976). In other words, dominance cannot be determined by the directionality of the mixing process. These studies explained the fact that a child mixes more in one language than in another as the possible result of socio-linguistic and pragmatic aspects, for example, one language being more accepted than the other. The key problem with this discussion is how to classify affecting aspects in clear-cut categories, and how to prove that socio-linguistic and pragmatic factors are not in relation with dominance.

In contrast, Genesee et al. (1995) argued that mixing and the issue of language dominance are correlated. The preferred language or dominant language actually depends on the condition of a society and the context of language usage. Another study by Hulk/Müller (2000) finds that language dominance as a variable in cross-linguistic influence through examining object drop of Dutch-French and German-Italian bilingual children. The allowance of empty object topics under certain contextual conditions in Dutch and German language gives the input for children to use this strategy for French and Italian. For example:

je sais EC
I know

EC was used to indicate empty object. In the data of Hulk/Müller (2000), the influence of Germanic languages on Romance languages seem to be stronger than vice versa through the occurrence of object drop in Romance languages.

Because of the imbalance of language proficiency in languages of bilinguals, it is assumed that the stronger language will have an influence on the weaker one (Montrul 2016:43). Dominance comprises a linguistic proficiency component, an external component (input), and a functional component (context and use) (ibid.). The present study follows the approach by Hulk/Müller (2000) and Montrul (2016) to detect and define language dominance in the interaction of the Vietnamese and German language of Vietnamese-German adolescents, as well as the existence of a direction of transfer from the dominant to the non-dominant language.

Usually, the environment in the country of residence hardly allows bilinguals to acquire the heritage language equally as well as the official language of the same country. Therefore, at each age, the child usually possesses one dominant language

which is stronger than the other one (Genesee 1998, Montrul 2012). Thus, code-switching from one language to another language in a bilingual context occurs naturally. However, researchers' attitudes toward code-switching include both positive and negative positions (Cheng/Butler 1989). It has been argued that code-switching may "take away the purity of the language" (Sanchez 1987:138). This point of view has suggested that bilinguals should stick to one language at a time without mixing or switching, so that the language may be "kept pure" (ibid:138).

On the other hand, code-switching has been investigated as a norm rather than the exception (Grosjean 1982). The consequences of cross-linguistic influence have been positive in many cases, such as when it leads to conventional language use and accelerated language acquisition (Jarvis/Pavlenko 2010:11). There are many reasons to code-switch from one language to another language, because in a bilingual mind there are always at least two languages readily available/active. Another argument for considering transfer as the norm or a natural phenomenon is the emergence of the notion "relief strategies" that was proposed by Genesee (1989). Genesee states that like monolingual children, bilingual children use whatever linguistic resources that enable them to express their thoughts and feelings, the only difference being that, unlike monolingual children whose resources are limited to one language, bilingual children can draw on two (Genesee et al. 1995:629). Some further studies - for example, Meisel (1989), Müller (1998), and Keim (2016) - agreed with this approach. Transfer has also been considered both a learning device and a strategy to solve communication problems (Karim/Nassaji 2013:120). Specifically, in writing, the first language can be used as a tool not only to compose but also to simplify the complexity of the second language in a bilingual context (ibid:120).

In an investigation on language practices in Vietnamese families in France, Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2013) also found that code-switching is an important strategy to overcome difficulties in communication between Vietnamese-French people in the Vietnamese community or in a family where Vietnamese is expected to be used more than French. Other studies by Hồ Đắc Túc (2003), Thái Duy Bảo (2007) and Đào Mục Đích (2012) also supported the argument of the natural occurrence of code-mixing and transfer. In these studies, this phenomenon is used by heritage speakers to compensate the lack of their knowledge of the heritage language.

As mentioned above, code-switching and transfer is considered a natural phenomenon of using languages in multilingual contexts across language levels. A question has been hence emerged about the relationship between language transfer and language proficiency. Regarding this issue, Jarvis/Palvenko (2010:11) stated that at a higher level of language proficiency, transfer does not simply serve the objective of reduction. Some types of transfer occur merely at later stages of development. For example, a transfer of the use of negation from German does not appear at the beginning of English negation learning, but shows up at a later stage (Wode 1977). In addition, Jiang (2011:179) reviewed that transfer between languages does not occur similarly at all language skills. Particularly, reading skills are highly independent between first and second language.

The observation and analysis of different levels and different skills have been therefore not similar. Transfer effects in lexical level may be less difficult to observe, especially formal lexical transfer, compared to syntactic transfer that needs complex research designs (Bardel 2015:113). Hence, the relationship between lexical transfer and language proficiency has been received more attention than such relationship between syntactic transfer and language proficiency. For example, Lindqvist (2009) found that lexical formal transfers including code-switching and word construction attempts/hybrids were mostly exhibited in the lower proficiency group of Swedish learners of French as the third language. These transfers tended to decrease at higher proficiency levels.

In other studies, on the different types of transfer at different stages of language development, Ringbom (2007) and Bardel (2015) also reported that formal transfer is dominant in the beginning stage, while semantic transfer or meaning-based cross-linguistic influence is likely to occur later. These findings have been explained by the restriction of vocabulary of language learners at an early stage. The lack of vocabulary requires learners to use word knowledge from the languages that they already acquired, either whole words in code-switching, or lexical morphology in word construction attempts. At a further stage of language development, the growth of vocabulary can reduce the formal borrowing. However, as deep knowledge of words may be not complete, transfer of meaning can therefore occur more frequently. Another study of Lindqvist (2009) also confirmed that transfer of meaning is more common than transfer of form in the case of fourteen advanced learners, especially semantic

extension. To be consistent with this finding, Lindqvist (2012) found that transfer of meaning is outperformed by transfer of form in advanced learners.

Regarding different linguistic levels, Jarvis (2000) reported that there are strong relationships between orthographic transfers, semantic transfer and language competence: if the bilinguals obtain more orthographic transfers, they seem to have less competence in the languages; if they show more semantic transfers, they seem to have more competence in the languages. However, it is still a challenge to define the relationship between transfer and language proficiency in all linguistic levels. Overall, Jarvis (2000) argued that the language in which transfer appears more frequently is the weaker language, or the language proficiency in this language is lower than in the other in which the speaker/writer has less transfer.

To summarize, language knowledge and language competence of a multilingual individual is considered an inseparable system or a holistic dynamic system, in which each change has effects on all subsystems (Riehl 2016:24). The ability of the use of language resources is viewed as *multicompetence* (ibid.). Code-mixing and transfer are therefore not only a common feature of language performance of bilinguals in particular, but also a measured indicator of language proficiency in several linguistic domains.

2.6.2. Transfer at different linguistic levels

As reviewed in section 2.6.1, transfer may occur at all linguistic levels. However, the different types of transfer are exhibited at different stages of language development in a rather complicated manner. In order to examine transfer in heritage language written texts, this section introduces the criteria for defining transfer in different linguistic levels/subsystems.

2.6.2.1. Orthographic transfer

With regard to orthographic transfer, Jarvis/Pavlenko (2010) stated that orthographic transfer may show interesting and complex ways, in which the L1 writing system and its phonology can influence a learner's ability to read and spell an L2 word. For example, Van Berkel (2004) found that orthographic transfer may help to reduce

difficulties in spelling English of the Dutch-speaking learners by using the same sound-symbol correspondences in Dutch orthography.

In addition, orthographic transfer can apparently have an influence on one's writing ability. For example, Kalkavan (2014) examined transfer from the German language to Turkish by analyzing written texts of two Turkish heritage speaker groups in grade 3 and grade 5. Comparing the problems of Turkish orthographic skills between two grades, and defining the influence of transfers on the orthographic problems were two main objectives of this study. The study examined orthographic errors due to not only transfer from German orthographic rules and principles, but also intralanguage resources from specific features of Turkish, for example, the use of <ğ>. Additionally, Kalkavan (2014) examined whether transfers in children's texts are consistent or sporadic. The primary analysis of written texts showed that there are both transfers from the German language and intralanguage errors of Turkish, as shown in Table 2.4.

Table 2.4. Orthographic errors and transfers in Turkish texts of Turkish heritage students

-
1. Word initial capitalization
 2. <s> - <z> confusion
 3. Wrong transcription /ɪ/
 4. Wrong diacritics
 5. Wrong <ğ>
 6. <v>-<w>-<f> confusion
 7. Double consonants (thanks to German rules)
 8. Replacement of <ş>-<ç> to German spellings
 9. <y> - <j> confusion
-

(Kalkavan 2014:61)

Word initial capitalization is a consistent transfer of the capitalization rule from the German writing system, because this transfer appears in 100% of the texts of children in grade 3, and in 85% of the texts of children in grade 5. The result supported Griebhaber's (2002) finding that the initial letter of most of Turkish nouns in his collected data were capitalized according to the German orthographic rule (165).

Another frequent error in Kalkavan's study (2014) is wrong diacritics. About 50% of the students did not use diacritics in their texts. Additionally, participants in grade 5 had more errors than their compared group in grade 3 (44% and 53%, alternatively). The non-existence of similar diacritics of the German grapheme system may be the reason for the occurrence of this error. Likewise, most other errors also occurred by the similarities and differences of phoneme-grapheme correspondence of German and Turkish (see more Kalkavan 2014:61ff). For example, the phoneme voiced /z/ in Turkish is written by the grapheme <z>, the phoneme voiceless /s/ is written by the grapheme <s>, whereas in German the grapheme <s> is used to write both voiced and voiceless /z/ and /s/. Therefore, about 80% of the phoneme /z/ in Turkish texts is written by the grapheme <s>, such as *kisgin* (*kizgin* – angry), *saman* (*zaman* – time), *vaso* (*vazo* – vase) (ibid.:61).

In contrast, Selmani (2014), in another study about German and Albanian orthography of Albanian adolescent heritage speakers in Germany, argued that there is no evidence for transfer from Albanian to German in terms of orthographic errors. A strong influence of German on heritage language writing competence was also not found (93). Only a few cases have been defined to be the result of the transfer from the German orthographic rules, for example, <Max> instead of <Maks> or the use of <tsh> of the German grapheme system.

In sum, the occurrence of orthographic transfer is caused by similarities and differences of phoneme-grapheme correspondence between languages that learners have acquired. However, the features of this type of transfer may also be characterized by the language proficiency of speakers of both languages, and the similarity and difference of the orthographic system of the languages. The present study will analyze orthographic transfer from German in Vietnamese written texts of Vietnamese heritage adolescents living in Germany to find general and specific features at orthographic level.

2.6.2.2. Lexical transfer

Lexical transfer can be simply defined as the influence of word knowledge in one language on a person's knowledge or use of words in another language (Jarvis/Palvenko 2010). Word knowledge comprises six domains: accessibility – the

ability to access a word in one’s mental lexicon; morphology – the knowledge of how the word is pronounced and spelled in its various forms; syntax – knowledge of the word’s grammatical and syntactic constraints; semantics – knowledge of the meaning(s) of the word; collocation – knowledge of the multiword combinations in which the word conventionally occurs, and association-knowledge of the word’s associations with other words and notions (Ringbom 1987:37). Additionally, the conceptual knowledge involving extra-linguistic mental representation (Javis/Pavlenko 2010) is also included in word knowledge.

Regarding bilingual and second language research, an important question is whether the knowledge of a word in different languages can be mentally interconnected. If words in different languages are interconnected with each other, then the knowledge of one language may influence the reception and production of the other language (Javis/Pavlenko 2010:74). In a study on transfer in the area of lexis, De Angelis (2007:41) stated that these types are often visible and simply recognizable. Ringbom's investigation (1987) on lexical transfer has viewed one of the most influential works in this area. Based on the analysis of 11,000 English written essays, he categorized cross-linguistic influences into lexical transfer and borrowings as in Table 2.5.

Table 2.5: Overt cross-linguistic lexical influence in production

<i>Lexical transfer</i>	
Loan translation:	Semantic properties of one item transferred in a combination of lexical items. E.g. <i>child wagen</i> for <i>pram</i> (Swedish <i>barnwagn</i>)
Semantic extension:	Semantic properties extended to L2-word. E.g. “He bit himself in the <i>language</i> ” (Finnish <i>kieli</i> = both tongue and language)
Cognates (as seen in false friends):	Formal cross-linguistic similarities between items with varying systematic relationships: (a) wholly different meaning: “at the time he works in a <i>fabric</i> ” (Swedish <i>fabric</i> = factory); (b) Similar, but in no context-identical meaning: “The next day we <i>grounded</i> a club” (Swedish: <i>grunda</i> = found); (c) In some, but not all context-identical

or near-identical meaning: “The hound is the best friend of man” (Swedish *hund* = dog, occasionally also hound);

Borrowings

Hybrids, blends and relexifications Morphological or phonological modification of item: according to L2-norms. E.g. “In the morning I was tired and in the evening I was *piggy*” (Swedish *pigg* = refreshed);

Complete language shifts: No modification of item according to L2-norm. E.g. “I’m usually very *pigg* after the diet” (Swedish *pigg* = refreshed)

(De Angelis 2007:41 modified from Figure 12 Ringbom (1987:117))

Lexical transfer and borrowing has been classified by Ringbom (1987) based on form and meaning. However, he explained that these two categories are not clear-cut but rather form a continuum. The distinction of form and meaning can help to identify language dominance, because transfer of meaning as mentioned above often occurs in weaker languages from a dominant language which learners have already acquired to an advanced degree (Ringbom 1987, 2001). For example, in the English production of a speaker with L1 Chinese, L2 Japanese with advanced level, semantic transfer from Japanese has been found as in “when I’m sick, when I’ve cold I eat medicine, cold medicine” (Wei 2003:65). The word *eat* is probably obtained from Japanese.

One lexical domain related to transfer of form is borrowing content words and function words. Studies on speech of the second language indicated that function words are easier to borrow than content words, because function words are used more frequently in speech (Poulisse/Bongaerts 1994). Another reason proposed by these authors is that due to the more meaning embedded in content words compared to function words, learners tend to be more cautious in the use of content words.

In multilingual contexts, when the number of languages is more than two, it is suggested that function words are no longer transferred from the L1 but may instead be borrowed from one of the speakers’ non-native languages (Ringbom 1987, Williams/Hammarberg 1998). For example, in a total of 11,000 English L3 essays, only five function words from L1 Finnish have been found, whereas function words from L2 Swedish appear much more often, such as 13 instances of the word *fast*

(although), 10 instances of *men* (but), and 8 instances of *och* (and). These results have been explained by a distinction between knowledge and control. Ringbom (1987:128) stated that “with function words [. . .] the attention given to control procedures tends to slacken, since the learner gives only peripheral attention to them, normally focusing on those other words in his utterance which are communicatively the weightiest”. Another study of Williams/Hammarberg (1998) found that 92% of the switches are from German L2, while only 4% are from English L1, for example, the use of the preposition *mit* (with) in German (Williams/Hammarberg 1998:308; italics in the original). Contrastingly, Jarvis/Odlin (2000) proposed examples from a study on this issue, and claimed that the use of the preposition in L1 can indeed influence on the third language.

Additionally, preposition has been viewed to be able to transfer from the societal/dominant language to the heritage/weaker language. Examples of the use of English prepositions in Norwegian illustrate this argument:

- (11) *Hå va re di gjorde **during** recess?*
 (Norwegian: i)
 What was it you did during recess?
 What was you doing during recess?

- (12) *Papa hade gikt **för** många år innan hand*
 Father had gout for many years before he
dog. (Swedish: i)
 died
 Papa had gout for many years before he died.

(Larsson/Johannessen 2015:157)

Example (11) and (12) illustrate the borrowing of prepositions in English such as *during* and *för* (for) in Norwegian and in Swedish. If in (11), the preposition *during* was a code-switching from English in Norwegian, then in (12) the preposition *för* (for) was a semantic transfer. In (12), *i* (in) is native-like preposition in Swedish, but the heritage speakers used *för* (for) due to the way of use this preposition in English.

A more recent study, De Angelis (2005), claimed that not all function words are transferred equally. A conclusion of non-native language transfer in function words

therefore is not completely reliable, and further investigations need to be carried out to examine to what extent different types of function words, such as determiners, prepositions, and conjunctions are used in heritage language, second language, and additional language.

Although the use of content words in the interaction of more than two languages has been also investigated, there has been little research or little evidence of transfer in content words in comparison to those of function words. Stedje (1977), as reported in Williams/Hammarberg (1998), proposed that 55 participants with L1 Finnish, L2 Swedish, and L3 German preferred to use content words from the L2 Swedish rather than the L1 Finnish. Generally, since 1963, Vildomec has argued that multilinguals tend to use words from their non-native languages even when both items are dissimilar in sound.

Lexical transfers may be the result of combined factors from languages that speakers have acquired in different language proficiency levels. Vildomec (1963:212) was the first to claim that: “if two or more tongues which a subject has mastered are similar (both linguistically and psychologically), they may “co-operate” in interfering with other tongues”. For example, Clyne (1997) examined the language use Italian/Spanish/English trilingual, and found an example of the combined transfer as *‘ecco diceva che no che c’affettava un po’ alla scuola il bambino allora piu’ per questo* (here (the teacher) said that it affected him a little at school – more for that reason). In this example, the word *affettava* (affect) is the result of the influence of Spanish *afectar* and English *affect*. Formal similarity between two languages is viewed as a reinforcement effect “to extend it to the third language” (Clyne 1997:110–111).

2.6.2.3. Syntactic transfer

Syntax is a complex domain, especially in transfer between more than two languages in multilingual contexts. For this situation, researchers have discussed three hypotheses of syntactic transfer, such as the L1 transfer (Schwartz/Sprouse 1996), the L2 transfer/ “L2 status” (Bardel/Falk 2007), and Cumulative Enhancement Model (Flynn et al. 2004). Additionally, (psycho)-typologically-motivated transfer (Kellerman 1983) has also been taken into consideration. The L1 transfer hypothesis is that the L1 fully influences the development process of any non-native language.

The L2 transfer hypothesis is that L2 plays a more important role, even a privileged status in L3 acquisition. The Cumulative-Enhancement Model proposed by Flynn *et al.* (2004) supposes that all languages acquired may act as a source for transfer, but the L2 only becomes privileged if the required structure does not exist in the L1.

Examining the transfer hypotheses, Leung (2005) analyzed some grammatical properties such as determiner, number, and article in a wide range of oral and written tasks. His findings arguably supported the full transfer of L1 in the L2 initial state and the partial transfer of L2 in the L3 initial state (Leung 2005:39). Contrastingly, the results of Bardel/Falk (2007) that examined the acquisition of negation in L3 supported “L2 status”. However, most of given studies focused on the initial state of a language acquisition. A question is to what extent these mentioned hypotheses function in other states/phases of language acquisition. This study focuses on the Vietnamese heritage language of heritage adolescents who may have already acquired the heritage language to an intermediate or advanced degree to contribute to a broader understanding about the transfer between languages of a multilingual. However, theories of first, second and third language acquisition should be applied with caution in the study of heritage languages (König 2016, Lüttenberg 2010, Montrul 2016).

In order to examine the hypotheses mentioned above, or simply to describe syntactic transfer between languages, particular grammatical aspects such as negation (Bardel/Falk 2007), word order (Brehmer/Usanova 2015), relative clauses (Chan 2003), the use of copula (Chan 2003), adverb placement (Chan 2003), verb placement (Håkansson 1995, Flores 2010, Larsson/Johanessen 2015), and subject placement (Argyri/Sorace 2007) have been discussed. Syntactic transfer occurs when languages show structural overlap at the onset, but also depending on the grammatical domain (Argyri/Sorace 2007). For example, Argyri/Sorace (2007) reported that English-Greek bilinguals show transfer from English in the placement of subjects that has been found in the overextendibility of *what*-embedded interrogatives in the use of Greek heritage speakers, despite of the rare use of preverbal subjects of Greek native speakers.

Another study of Moro/Suchtelen (2017) discussed the nature of structural transfer in heritage languages through two case studies in the Netherlands, one about datives in heritage Spanish, and another about resultatives in heritage Ambon Malay. The study indicated that a structural transfer may be plausibly explained as a consequence of changes at the level of lemmas and conceptual structure. The model of bilingual processing of Hartsuiker/Pickering (2008) has shown that syntactic

procedures are not always language-specific but can be shared. Therefore, the co-activation of associated linguistic information from languages occurs in particular co-active lemma. The illustration of Moro/Suchtelen (2017), based on a simplified model of Hartsuiker et al. (2014), is illustrated in Figure 2.2. HL stands for heritage language and DL is Dutch language.

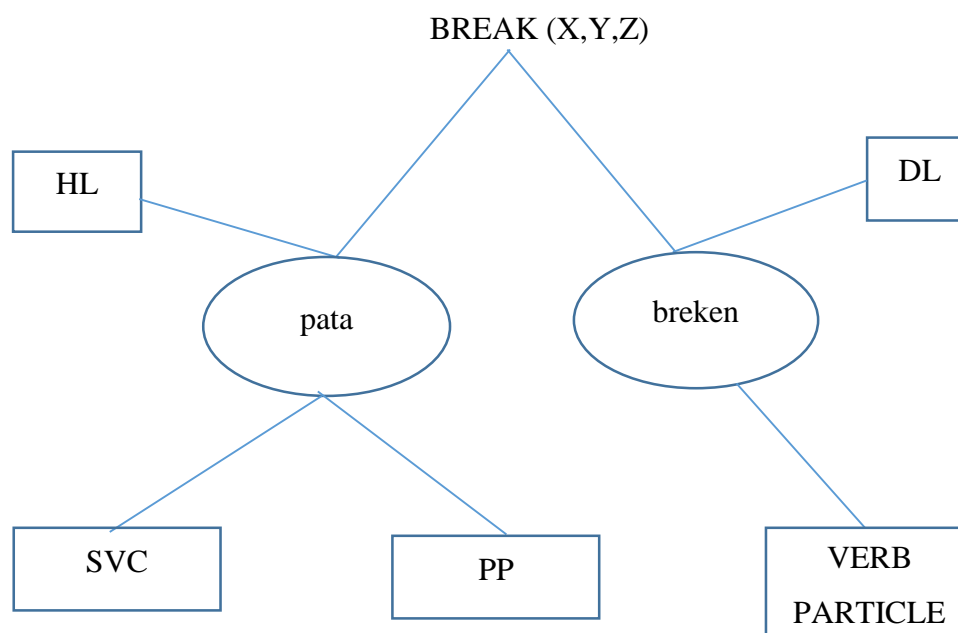


Figure 2.2. Simplified model of co-activation of syntactic procedures in the Ambon-Maly case study (Moro/Suchtelen 2017:157)

The model presents that all knowledge of linguistic processing is organized in nodes which are interconnected in a network. The conceptual information is represented at the top of the picture. Lexical information can be introduced in the ovals. The morpho-syntactic information is in the rectangles. The Dutch language in this model can be replaced by other national languages. The activation of a lexical node can cause the activation of another lexical node, which means that co-activation occurs in a node including a morpho-syntactic procedure or some other type of information. A morpho-syntactic procedure, therefore, might be activated by connected nodes belonging to two languages. To what extent the co-activation of syntactic procedures between German or English and Vietnamese? A broader understanding of this issue can be found by the analysis of written performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents in Chapter 6 and Chapter 7.

2.7. Summary

This chapter firstly introduced the definition of heritage languages that will be used in the rest of the thesis, and discussed the differences of this terms among other terms that have been used for defining minority languages. An overview of the research on heritage languages was secondly presented. In this section, the reasons of the movement/emergence of heritage language studies “from the margins to a central focus” (Montrul 2016:6) in recent years were presented. The next section (section 2.3) reviewed the possible outcomes of heritage language acquisition, such as incomplete acquisition, attrition, and frequent transfer from dominant language to heritage language. However, changes in the heritage language sometimes may be separate from language transfer, but due to intralanguage errors. Composition skills which are developed in the later stage of language acquisition have viewed as a social practice which we presented in section 2.4 to give more understanding about the complex relationship between written language ability, motivation and writing strategies of adolescents. Section 2.5 proposed frameworks for the research on different heritage language varieties, which will help to develop criteria for analyzing the data of this study. Finally, the most common features found in heritage language varieties, code-switching and transfer, was presented and discussed in detail in section 2.6.

3. Research on Language Assessment in Multilingual Contexts

This chapter provides the theoretical background for the present study on evaluation of language performance in multilingual contexts. It presents the complexity of multilingualism from the definition of the related terms such as multilingualism and bilingualism, multilingual education, and the classification of multilingual individuals. The concepts of language proficiency in multilingual contexts are also introduced. A review and discussion about relevant approaches and models related to language assessment in multilingual contexts are principally provided in order to choose the appropriate basis and procedure for analyzing the collected data in the present thesis.

3.1. Multilingualism and language proficiency in multilingual contexts

3.1.1. The complexity of multilingualism

Since Sumerian (ca. 2600BC), there has existed a huge number of multilingual vocabularies and grammars on clay tablets (Franceschini 2012). Multilingualism, which can stand for an extended view of the earlier research on bilingualism and second language acquisition (De Angelis 2007), has been a social phenomenon since a long time ago, due to cohabitation, intermarriage, conquest, exploration, travel, or shared interests. These contexts may create the conditions for language loss and shift, as well as new language contact (Franceschini 2012:8). Therefore, multilingualism is not only natural, but “doubly natural”, because language contact must happen between people and language skills that develop in various ways are biologically part of every individual (Franceschini 2011:345). However, the currently prevailing forms of multilingualism are not the same as those of the past because they affect society as a whole (Aronin 2015). The regular and rapid transformations of our communities are directly reflected in the development of multilingualism, such as changes in the number of multilinguals in different areas. In the past, large numbers of multilinguals lived in areas where minority languages were used or in border regions, whereas today the number of multilinguals has been increasing in urban areas. An important characteristic of multilingualism nowadays is complexity (Zarobe Leyra/Zarobe Yolanda 2015: 393).

The unclear boundaries between the two terms “multilingualism” and “bilingualism” make this topic additionally complex. On the one hand, “bilingualism” and “multilingualism” are considered similar terms. “Bilingualism” is the term which has been often used in studies that focus on two languages rather than further languages (Cenoz 2015:7). Although this term commonly refers to two languages, it can cover more than two languages (Cook/Bassetti 2011). The term “multilingualism” has been used in recent years to refer to two or more languages (Aronin/Singleton 2008). This term includes both concepts of bilingualism and multilingualism. On the other hand, bilingualism and multilingualism are regarded as different terms. An individual or a community which uses two languages is bilingual, and when using more than two languages it is multilingual (De Groot 2011). In the present study, multilingualism is used as a cover term including bilingualism, because the participants in this study are not homogeneous. Some grew up with two languages from birth, some are using three languages or more. The proficiency of the different languages of the participants can vary in terms of environment, motivation, and other factors.

Another dimension of the complexity is the difficulty of finding a proper definition for “multilingualism”. Based on different criteria in reference to language proficiency, the number of languages used, and language contact, and so on, there are many definitions of bilingualism and multilingualism. The individual’s level of language competence has been used as a measurement of defining bilingualism. Bloomfield (1973), in early studies on this issue, defines bilingualism as “native-like control of two or more languages” (56), which is considered a very high level of language competence. To broaden the definition of bi- and multilingualism, Comanaru/Dewaele (2015) defined it as “proficiency to various degrees in more than one language” (23). However, language proficiency is a very complex factor which requires a process of exact evaluation. Based on language contact, Franceschini (2011) proposes the following definition:

Multilingualism conveys the ability of societies, institutions, groups, and individuals to have regular use of more than one language in their everyday lives over space and time. Language is impartially understood as a variety that a group admits to using a habitual communication code (regional languages and dialects are also included; such as sign languages) (346)

Multilingualism is considered a fundamental human ability, because in the communicative environment, the ability to communicate in various different languages is natural. As “a phenomenon embedded in cultural developments” (Franceschini 2011:346), multilingualism reflects societies and vice versa. Vietnamese-German adolescents use at least two languages in their everyday lives to communicate in school, at home and in other places to attain their purposes, for example, learning, sharing, or entertaining. In this context, the following questions emerge: How often do they use each language? When and with whom do they use this or that language? Or how do they feel when they use this or that language? When do they code-switch? How do they think about code-switching? In order to answer these questions, a lot of factors that influence on the language use of the participants have to be analyzed, such as gender, motivation, attitude, language proficiency of the adolescents, and language proficiency of the parents.

In Franceschini's definition (2011) of multilingualism, language is “a variety that a group adopts as a habitual way for communication” (346), which is considered “self-determination codes” (ibid.:346). It means that the development of a new variety of the language of a group is shared and transferred between the individuals in the group. The members of the community can recognize each other through their own language variety and feel comfortable with the language style. Particularly, an ethnic minority group often uses at least one language apart from the dominant one. The selection of different languages for different purposes partially represents their language choice and ethnic identity (Hazen 2002). A considerable amount of literature has been published on language choice, language mixing and variation. The research of Keim (2007, 2016) examined the language use of a Turkish group living in Mannheim, Germany. In different contexts, the Turkish adolescents practice different languages. In the family, they usually learn the languages and dialects of their home country or that of their parents or grandparents. In daily life, they have contact with different German regional dialects with different people, different contexts, and different purposes, for example, they use “Mannheimerisch” (German in Mannheim, a city in the southwestern part of Germany) with friends, and standard German in school. Moreover, they are also in contact with youth language (Keim 2016:8). The language profile of teenagers with migratory background, therefore, is very complex.

The language use of Vietnamese diaspora communities in different countries might also be complex. For example, code-switching is a common feature that all

groups at every levels of language proficiency and age have been used (Đào Mục Đích 2012, Hồ Đắc Túc 2003, Thái Duy Bảo 2014, Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2013). For reasons of “self-determination”, each group has specific ways to express themselves; for example, the first generation of Vietnamese immigrants in Australia has used obsolete terms when they have discussed about government and politics (Đào Mục Đích 2012:146-151); the second Vietnamese diaspora generation in France has often used extra “*cái*” to emphasize or to make coherence (Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2013: 196-201).

The complexity of the current multilingual situation is also represented in the classification of multilinguals in the literature; bi- and multilinguals have been classified based on different criteria: the functional ability (receptive and productive bilinguals), the age of acquisition (simultaneous, sequential and late bilinguals), the relationship of language proficiencies in different languages (balanced and dominant bilinguals), the effect of second language learning on the maintenance of the first language (additive and subtractive bilinguals) (Butler 2012). The concepts of additive versus subtractive bilingualism have been developed by various social scientists such as Cummins, Lambert, Landry and Allard (see Maloof et al. 2006). This classification is strongly related to studies on the acculturation of migrated communities. Additive bilingualism refers to the group in which the first language and culture is retained, valued and developed, while the second language is added. Subtractive bilingualism is a group in which the second language is added at the loss of the first language. The Vietnamese-German bilingual adolescent group that is studied in this thesis is not a homogeneous group, due to differences in time of their respective stays in Germany, as well as differences in language proficiency in the societal language and the heritage language.

Multilingual education has been also a rather complex issue. In the 1970s, a dramatic increase in the number of students whose first language is another than the language used in school in many Western industrialized countries led to debates about how to respond to the cultural and linguistic diversity of the students (Cummins 1983:4). Busch (2011) discusses two critical shifts of multilingual education in Europe: the first shift was in the 1960s, which criticized linguistic hegemony and claimed for linguistics rights; the second shift can be identified from the 1990s onwards, in which linguistic diversity is the normal condition, language varieties are accepted in multilingual contexts, and non-dominant language education is a necessary

right for all learners. However, the debate about the advantages and disadvantages of becoming bilingual/multilingual is not yet finished.

There have been studies on unsuccessful experiences of multilingual children in comparison with monolinguals; for example, an American politician in Newt Gingrich, did not hesitate to say that immigrants should “make a sharp break with the past” to ensure the acquisition of English (Nguyễn et al. 2001:35). This statement can be interpreted in the sense that immigrants should forget and reject the languages and cultures of their home countries in order to concentrate on the integration to the new environment (i.e., United States). In Germany, various studies before PISA showed that children with a migration background have fewer educational chances (Stanat et al. 2010). The underrepresentation of children with a migration background in most parts of Germany in higher secondary education is a reliable example (cf. Auernheimer 2013). Deficits in the language of the environment (i.e., German) have been considered the main reason for this situation (Siedmund/Lechner 2015:148). It supported Bernstein's (1971) two-code-theory (“restricted” and “elaborated code”) which concerns the influence of language barriers on the educational and professional advancement of working-class children (migrated children) because of the restrictions of complying with the linguistic and cognitive requirements of educational institutions based on middle-class norms.

In the debate about the advantages and disadvantages of multilinguals, studies that look at the advantages and the positive effects of being bilingual have been increasing. Bialystok (2007) stated that for almost a century there was a small but consistent research on bilingual children's cognitive and intellectual development (46). The study has suggested that bilingualism as a positive childhood experience. Advantages in non-verbal cognitive functions, for example, executive functions - the interrelated processes of inhibition, working memory, and attentional control (see Bialystok et al. 2012; Ross/Melinger 2017; De Cat 2018) - and metalinguistic awareness (Barac/Bialystok 2012) in bilingualism have been suggested by experimental reports.

Particularly, studies testing basic processing of nonlinguistic visual information indicated that in visual recognition memory, bilingual infants outperform their monolingual peers (Barac et al. 2014, Singh et al. 2015). Moreover, growing up as a bilingual has been shown to delay the symptoms of Alzheimer dementia (Bialystok/Craik 2010, Diamond 2010). This advantage can be explained by the

increased brain activity of bilinguals in comparison with monolinguals (Diamond 2010).

Studies on the benefit of growing up as a multilingual in language development have gained much attention. For example, Cummins (1980) introduced the interdependence hypothesis which strongly suggests that the academic skills of the L1 and the L2 are interdependent: “Instruction in Lx is effective in promoting proficiency in Lx, transfer of this proficiency to Ly will occur provided there is adequate exposure to Ly (either in school or in the environment) and adequate motivation to learn Ly” (12).

In the same vein as Cummins, Allman (2005) argued that young bilingual students get consistently positive correlations between first and second language literacy development (23). One study by Nguyen et al. (2001) examined the language development of first to eighth-grade students of Vietnamese origin in California, in the United States. The outcome of this study demonstrates that the use of the heritage language does not impair the development of the language of the environment. The results of a study of Pham Giang (2011) that examined the developmental change over time of L1 (i.e., Vietnamese) and L2 (i.e., English), and cross-linguistic relationship among school aged bilingual children (average age 7,3) have been also consistent with the previous findings.

In addition, bilingual children adapt more easily to a new set of rules and also master more easily two grammatical structures than their monolingual peers (Kovács/Mehler 2009). Bilinguals outperform monolinguals in detecting and remembering those perceptual cues that distinguish one unfamiliar language from another (Sebastián-Gallés et al. 2012). Bilingual-monolingual comparisons at many linguistic levels have supported the hypothesis that bilinguals are not less proficient than monolinguals; for example, they gain equal vocabulary size, even obtain a greater total vocabulary, which is the combined vocabulary of all the languages multilinguals can speak (Allman 2005, Bialystok 2001). In addition, Boos-Nünning/Karakasoglu (2005) proposed that immigrant children can develop a wide communicative repertoire and use their linguistic resources in very creative ways.

Furthermore, findings from multilingual studies that have focused on third language acquisition indicated that bilinguals have an advantage over monolinguals when acquiring foreign languages (Maluch et al. 2015, Maluch/Kempert 2017). Bilinguals obtain high competences in both languages and have been claimed to be

able to perform significantly better in learning additional languages across different contexts (see Cenoz 2013, for a review). Among the earliest are studies on the acquisition of French as a third language in Canada (Bild/Swain 1989, Genesee 1983). More recent studies on English as a third language have also confirmed the advantages of multilinguals in English acquisition (Cummins 1983, Siemund/Lechner 2015). However, there are many factors that may affect the acquisition of a third language, such as proficiency of the previously acquired languages, or typological similarities (Cenoz 2013, Maluch/Kempert 2017).

The discussion about which of the previously acquired languages, the first and/or the second language, acts as the source language for transfers in third language acquisition at different linguistic levels has not been completely answered. The Cumulative Enhancement Model for multilingual transfer was proposed by Flynn et al. (2004). This model shows that all previous linguistic knowledge can influence the third language syntactic development. Another model “L2 status factor” that suggested that the L2 principally affects third language development has advanced by Bardel/Falk (2007). This model has been also supported by a study on syntactic transfer by Rothman/Amaro (2010).

The discussion on the advantages of being bilingual has recently been revisited (e.g., Goldsmith/Morton 2018, Heimken 2017). Particularly, Heimken (2017) agreed with Gogolin et al. (2005) that multilinguals are not “doppelte Halbsprachigkeit” (double half languages) (15). He, therefore, had a doubt about the meanings of maintenance of heritage languages through a long time. The complexity of multilingualism may cause this debate to be impossible to resolve. In any case, the seemingly never-ending discussion of the topic has created controversial views about multilingual education.

However, multilingualism is the natural way of human life (David Crystal 2006). Therefore, it is necessary to study multilingual individuals, multilingual societies, and multilingual education continuously. Opposed to the traditional way, that is, to analyze all factors of multilingual education separately, the holistic approach is introduced in order to “take into account all of the languages in the learner’s repertoire” (Cenoz/Gorter 2011:339). The approach is applied to the process of learning multiple languages, literacy practices, and the assessment of multilingual competencies.

3.1.2. Language proficiency in multilingual contexts

Hulstijn's (2012b) reviewed of published studies in the journal *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* from the first issue of volume 1 (1998) up to volume 14 (2011), and showed that the trends in studies on multilingualism principally tend towards group comparisons (142/224 empirical papers). For example, comparisons of bilinguals with native speakers of either language who do not know the other language (i.e., Vietnamese-German bilinguals with German monolinguals and Vietnamese monolinguals who have no knowledge of the other languages); comparisons of groups of bilinguals or groups of L2 learners with a different first language (i.e., Turkish, Russian, Vietnamese migrants in Germany); comparisons of bilinguals of different ages (i.e., early childhood bilinguals, later bilinguals), or combinations of these designs/approaches/categories have been taken into account (Hulstijn 2012b: 423).

Of those 142 investigations, 140 are concerned with the category *language proficiency*. In other words, language proficiency assessment in bilingualism has gained special attention among researchers.

Language proficiency is the ability to speak and comprehend a language on a continuum from non-proficient to native-like proficiency (Smyk et al., 2013:252). Based on Guilford's model (1967, 1982), namely the Structure of Intellect model with a total of 150 factors, Hernandez-Chavez et al. (1978) proposed a linguistic model in which language proficiency encompasses many aspects along three dimensions: (1) linguistic components including phonology, syntax, semantics, and lexicon; (2) modality involving comprehension and production; (3) sociolinguistic performance consisting of style, function, variety and domain (cf. Cummins 1980:176). The components of language proficiency, therefore, are extremely complex. Studies on language proficiency that refers to the measurement of language proficiency as an independent or moderating variable are a necessary or preferred requirement (Hulstijn 2012b: 423).

The other extreme appeared in works of Oller/Perkins (1978), in which the global language factor that has a strong correlation with individual IQ has been claimed to be the most essential. Cummins (1980) argued that Oller's approach could be distinguished into a convincing weak form and a less convincing strong form which seem to be complicated to analyze. The term *cognitive/academic language proficiency* (CALP), therefore, was proposed in place of the term *global language proficiency*.

Cummins (1979, 2008) proposed a model of *basic interpersonal communication skills* denoting conversational fluency versus *cognitive academic language proficiency* including academic and literacy concepts. In the same vein, Hulstijn's studies (2011a, 2011b, 2012a, and 2012b) investigated the differences between *basic and higher language cognition*.

The distinction between conversational fluency and academic language proficiency in BICS/CALP has been criticized by a number of scholars because it is oversimplified (e.g. Scarcella 2003, Valdés 2010); it reflects more an "autonomous" rather than an "ideological" notion of literacy (Wiley/Lukes 1996), and a "deficit theory" of the academic difficulties of bilingual students (e.g. Edelsky/Adams 1990, MacSwan 2000). Cummins (2008) responded that "no theory is 'valid' and 'true' in any absolute sense" (79). Therefore, examining the distinction of two components between different groups and different contexts is considered to contribute a more complete picture of language acquisition when studying bilinguals. For example, one could compare the use of the societal language and the heritage language of bilingual students with their monolingual peers.

The distinction between conversational fluency and academic language can be defined by analyzing the distinction between *primary* and *secondary discourse* (Cummins 2001), *language in playground* and *language in classroom* (Gibbon 1991). However, levels of language proficiency cannot be accurately defined by any linguistic, psycholinguistic or sociolinguistic theory alone. Yet, in educational practice and in linguistic research, levels such as *beginning*, *intermediate* and *advanced* are commonly utilized for distinguishing the different groups of learners/speakers. The present study sometimes refers to the language proficiency of the participants, despite of it not being understood as an accurate indicator because of the complexity of any assessment.

According to Hulstijn (2015), BICS have never been discussed in detail by Cummins, probably because he focused on literacy skills that are captured in CALP (31). A definition of BICS has not proposed by Cummins. He only characterized this notion generally: "Basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) in L1 such as accent, oral fluency, and sociolinguistic competence may be independent of CALP" (Cummins 1980b:177). Hulstijn (2015), therefore, claimed that his definition of BLC is much more specific than Cummins' definition of BICS (31). Moreover, the purposes of Cummins' theory and Hulstijn's theory are different. Cummins has constructed

language into BICS and CALP to point out the importance of CALP in students' achievements, whereas Hulstijn proposed BLC/HLC to describe “commonalities and differences in language ability between people, as mediated by other cognitive abilities” (Hulstijn 2015:32).

Basic language cognition (BLC) pertains to (1) the largely implicit, unconscious knowledge in the domains of phonetics, prosody, phonology, morphology and syntax, (2) the largely explicit, conscious knowledge in the lexical domain (form-meaning mappings), in combine with (3) automaticity with which these types of knowledge can be processes. BLC is restricted to frequent lexical items and frequent grammatical structures, that is, to lexical items and morpho-syntactic structures that may occur in any communicative situation, common to all adult L1 learner, regardless of age, literacy, or educational level. (Hulstijn 2011b:230)

High language cognition (HLC) is the complement or extension of BLC. HLC is identical to BLC, except that (a) in HLC, utterances that can be understood or produced contain low-frequency lexical items or uncommon morpho-syntactic structures, and (b) HLC utterances pertain to written as well as spoken language. (Hulstijn 2011b: 231)

His studies concentrated on the comparison between L1 speakers and L2 learners. Hulstijn stated that all L1 speakers have basic knowledge of their L1, and he asked to what extent L2 learners can achieve this basic language cognition. In the domain of *high language cognition*, the comparison is more complex due to the influence of educational, intellectual and motivational factors as well as personal interests. The BLC/HLC theory and its corollaries proposed “an *instrument* to help solve the big issues concerning language acquisition and bilingualism” (Hulstijn 2015:54). Hence, the present study uses Hulstijn's (2012b) model to explain heritage language production (i.e., Vietnamese).

3.1.3. Writing skill in multilingual contexts

Literacy (defined broadly as reading and writing) is often measured to provide an evaluation for entering educational programs or applying to jobs. The requirement of defining and assessing literacy therefore changes and develops because of the change

of societies. The term *multiliteracies* (New London Group 1996) has been used to adapt to the changes in the conception of literacy and literacy pedagogy (Danzak 2011b). This term refers to the diversity of texts which can be created by various means such as media and multimedia, and by the individuals of different cultural and linguistic communities. At different ages and in different languages, literacy assessment is carried out by specific methods (Weigle 2014).

In many countries and regions, many children have received education in another language rather than their home languages/heritage languages. Therefore, children who speak a non-official variety usually face difficulties to achieve a high literacy level (Heimken 2017). The research to date mainly has been interested in studying literacy in dominant or standard languages. However, since last decade, research on bilingual writing including not only standard languages but also heritage languages.

Regarding bilingual writing, 56 studies were reviewed by Fitzgerald (2006) in a meta-analysis of the last 15 years of research on multilingual writing in school. He reported a transfer of knowledge and skills from L1 to L2 which supports the independent hypothesis of Cummins (1981). Concerning adolescents, it has been suggested that abilities of spelling skills, strategies for creating meaning, and text-composition are transferred from their L1 to their L2 (Fitzgerald 2006). Transfer effects between the different languages in a bilinguals' mind often concern many aspects; for example, the benefit of learning to read in two languages which share a writing system (Luk/Bialystok 2008), or the facilitation of the experience of narrative skills (Uccelli/Páez 2007). Normally, transfer effects happen in all areas of the dominant language to the non-dominant language (Montrul 2010, Clynes 2012) that were proposed in Chapter 2. In the case of adolescents, specific aspects of transfer in the writing process has been not well known (Danzak 2011a:492). Therefore, Danzak compared lexical, syntactic, and discourse levels of 20 sequential bilinguals, ages 11-14 years. The participants had to write two narrative texts and two expository texts: Narrative 1 (Family memory), Expository 1 (A person I admire), Narrative 2 (First day of school), and Expository 2 (Letter to a new student). The results indicated that the choice of the topic is the main factor leading to significant differences between the texts on the lexical level; both topics and genre influence the level of the texts in terms of syntax. The letter format (Expository 2) was perhaps more difficult for these learners, thus they achieved lower levels in the text structures for this task. More

importantly for the present study, Danzak (2011a) found that there are no significant differences among texts produced in the two languages (i.e., English and Spanish). This finding also supported prior research regarding the ability of transference at higher level skills (knowledge of genre, text structure, and general composition skills) from L1 to L2 (Fitzgerald 2006). In another study, Danzak (2011b) examined the identity of bilingual teenagers by qualitatively analyzing written texts of students (Danzak 2011b). In order to examine the relationship between writing and the identities of bilinguals, Danzak (2011c) developed a graphic project where bilingual can write about themselves.

In addition, translanguaging that is the act performed by bilinguals with different linguistic features or various modes in order to maximize communicative potential (García 2009: 140) has been studied widely in recent years. These studies have suggested that the use of multiple resources of multiple languages in writing process is positive for multilingual students (Bush 2014; Canagarajh 2011; Gracia/Wei 2014; Smith et al. 2017). Particularly, study on the narrative writing of a bilingual student, Canagarajh (2011) found that when his student was aware that she allowed to use translanguaging such as adding Arabic words, emoticons, italics, and even Islamic to her English text, she developed her voice, and managed her ideas to her intended audience in a more complex way. The use of the entire linguistic repertoire has been viewed as her creativity and criticality.

Similar arguments have been held by Bush (2014), who identified the linguistic needs of multilingual children to discuss and negotiate their ideas in the situation that they are required to use only one language in her study on culturally and linguistically diverse students in a state primary school in Vienna. Hence, she advocated for creating a space for these children that encourage the resources from different languages.

A study of Smith et al. (2017) that is a multimodal project of three eight-grade students whose parents originated from different countries - Iraq (Bahdini language), Spain and Vietnam – “My Hero” was consistent with given arguments. The data collection, including computer screen recordings, video observations, design interviews, artifacts and materials were analyzed to describe the level of translanguaging of bilingual students. The findings of this study showed that the students can individualize their composing processes through the integration of the heritage languages and the freedom offered through different resources.

Taken together, the studies mentioned above (Bush 2014; Canagarajh 2011; Danzak 2011a, 2011b, 2011c; Smith et al. 2017) suggest that the encouragement of multiple linguistic repertoires in writing in order to enable writers to express their own voice and identity is necessary.

3.2. Language assessment in multilingual contexts

According to McNamara (2000), language testing is an uncertain process, even at the best of times, not only because of the test itself, but also because of the problems of the outsider, for example, the difficulties of new technical implication (85-86). However, language test has to be carried out to respond to society's needs. One of the most important aspects of language test development is to "provide evidence of quality control in the form of assessment reliability and validity to the outside world" (Shaw/Weir 2007:14).

3.2.1. The development of language test

According to Davies (2014), Robert Lado's publication "Language testing" (1961) is considered the starting point of this field, because it clearly defines the purpose of language testing to control the problems of learning a language, especially new languages (3). The development of language testing is divided into four main periods: 1960-1978, 1978-1989, 1989-2002, 2002-2012 (see Davies 2014:4-14).

In the last decade, Cumming (2004:5) encouraged "widening", "deepening" and "consolidating", i.e., to broaden the scope of inquiry and contexts that inform about language assessment, to deepen the theoretical premises and philosophies of language assessment, and to consolidate through systematic, critical reviews the information base about prior research on language assessment. At that time, there was a large amount of published studies on language assessment of English, as well as some widely taught international languages, such as Arabic, French, German, Italian, Japanese or Spanish, but most of the investigations were done in foreign language courses in universities or secondary schools in the United States, Canada and Europe. The lack of research on international comparisons of second and foreign language achievements called for more studies about cross-cultural comparisons of language assessment, especially with particular populations (Cumming, 2004:7-8). Studies on

heritage language assessment in multilingual contexts has been also necessary for expanding the “scope” of language proficiency assessment.

In the epilogue of *Language Assessment Quarterly* 11, McNamara (2014) argued that *communicative language testing* and the *testing of languages for specific purposes* since 1980 has been in a state of continuous development. However, there are also a number of challenges because of (1) the technical development concerning the automatic scoring of speech and writing; for example portfolio assessment which presents a learner-empowering alternative to computer-based testing (Cummins/Davesne, 2009:848), and for associating the psycholinguistic factors, then to create models of proficiency; and (2) the reflection of language test constructs and the reality of English as lingua franca communication (McNamara 2014: 226).

Assessments of multilingual language proficiency published in 14 volumes (volume 1 to volume 14 from 1998 to 2011) of the journal *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* were related to objective tests, fluency tasks, self-assessed L2 proficiency, and L2 C-tests. However, the problems of evaluating language proficiency appear in all articles (Hulstijn 2012b). Therefore, a proposal for assessing language proficiency between languages in bilinguals has been suggested: native speakers need to be selected with great care. First, a native speaker control group should not consist of participants with a higher intellectual profile than the profile of the bilingual group. Secondly, if the research questions are related to basic language cognition, it is necessary to offer three scenarios: the first with native speakers of lower intellectual profiles, the second with native speakers of a variety of intellectual profiles, and the third with native speaker of high intellectual profiles (Hulstijn 2012b). He also recommended that the evaluation of language proficiency in multilinguals' language should be conducted repeatedly, i.e. in longitudinal studies, within-subject designs. For the measurement of language proficiency in bilingualism, he pointed out that the researchers should distinguish tests for basic and high language cognition.

This study focuses on the assessment of heritage language proficiency of Vietnamese-German adolescents. In order to draw the characteristics of Vietnamese usage (i.e., writing competence in particular) of the target group (i.e., Vietnamese-German adolescents), the written texts of the target group are compared with the written texts of a control group (i.e., Vietnamese monolinguals). Because of the requirement of the task “boomerang”, the language of the written texts of Vietnamese monolinguals is considered high language cognition, quite different from basic

language cognition. However, the translation test requires more performance of basic language cognition that consists of frequent lexical items and frequent grammatical structures that may occur in any communicative situation (Hulstijn's 2011b:231).

3.2.2. Assessment of written productions

According to Alderson/Banerjee (2002), until the late 1970, in order to avoid the subjectivity, the assessment of second and foreign language writing ability was created by indirect means, for example, multiple-choice, test of grammar, cohesion and coherence, and error detection. Due to the dominant view of the extension of writing ability beyond the vocabulary and grammar, direct writing was used more and more commonly instead of indirect ones. The writing tasks have been getting more realistic such as writing letters, memo, and academic essays. The assessment of writing, therefore, have looked at not only vocabulary and grammar but also discourse.

In language testing, analytic and holistic scoring are two popular evaluation methods to assess writing tasks in second language teaching. Analytic scoring measures different aspects of writing texts, such as content, organization, cohesion, vocabulary, and grammar and scores them separately (Zhang et al. 2015:1). On the other hand, holistic evaluation measures writing impressionistically and quickly (Cooper/Odell 1977:13). Holistic grading is a method of scoring a composition based on its overall quality focusing on four features: content/organization, usage, construction, and mechanics (Cerf et al. 2013). There is a holistic guide of evaluation including language features at three levels: high, middle, and low quality. Training raters well is a condition for the high reliability of this scoring method (ibid.).

The debate on the reliability and validity of both methods in measuring writing has been long. The drawbacks of holistic evaluation are that it is “highly general and subjective” and therefore “threaten reliability” (Mayo 1996:53). In order to increase reliability of this method, a clear scoring rubric has been suggested for different raters (Diederich et al. 1961). However, these criteria of assessing writing put holistic evaluation in the same line with analytic scoring (Zhang et al. 2015:1).

In contrast, analytic scoring has been considered more objective than holistic evaluation (reviewed by Zhang et al. 2015). Nevertheless, this method of scoring has

been criticized for drawbacks such as spending more time for training raters than holistic scoring, and mental fatigue in the repetition of scoring (ibid.).

In 2015, Zhang et al. applied the generalizability theory (Shavelson/Webb 1991) to analyze the scoring reliability of these two scoring methods: analytic and holistic evaluation in second language writing. Through analysis of the scoring of 300 writing samples by 14 raters, their study found that both methods can achieve high rater reliability. However, scores are inconsistent when only the analytic or holistic method is used in isolation. Individual students whose written production is scored using either analytic or holistic methods can receive vastly different scores from each method despite their language proficiency level. For example, written production of lower level students may be scored as very deficient as a whole, but some elements may be seen as decent when graded separately using analytic evaluation. In contrast, written production of higher level students may get good scores as a whole, but may get lower scores for some aspects under analytic grading (Zhang et al. 2015:8).

In recent years, there has been a number of studies related to the assessment of literacy (e.g., Brookhart 2011, Gruhn/Weideman 2017). An important international test of student literacy is the Program for International Student Assessment (PISA) in which reading, math, and science have been tested in 15-year-olds in 65 countries (Weigle 2014). Gruhn/Weideman's investigation (2017) has focused on accessing and developing the academic literacy of adolescents. Research in the last decade, however, has tended to focus on the acquisition of early skills, mainly on oral skills or cognitive skills, such as phonological processing, word reading and inventive spelling (Amato/Watkins 2011:195; Bialystok 2007; Danzak 2011a). However, in recent years, an increased number of studies on the area of written expression have been conducted (Amato/Watkins 2011; Chapelle et al.2015; Gormally et al. 2012).

Particularly, Amato/Watkins (2011) reviewed that there is difference in writing strategies and the characteristics of written production of skilled and unskilled writers. One of the common characteristics of a composition of an unskilled student is the length of her/his texts that tend to be shorter and to provide little detail in comparison to a skilled writer (ibid.:165). Curriculum-based measurement (CBM) is an assessment method that has been used to measure the lower level skills in writing. CBM is intended to examine basic skills such as spelling, punctuation, and grammar. Applying CBM including total words written in three minutes, words spelled correctly, number

of correct word sequences (CWS), number of sentence, number of correct capitalization, number of punctuation marks and number of correct punctuation marks to measure English written productions of 447 students in the eighth grade in the United States, Amato/Watkins (2011) found limited support for the use of CBM for the evaluation of written productions of secondary students (201). The findings of Amato/Watkins (2011) suggested that other qualitative and quantitative methods of writing measurement should continue to be used to assess student writing.

3.2.3. Assessment of the “language of schooling”

The “*language of schooling*” (Christie 1998) or “*academic literacy*” (Weideman 2014), the language children learn in classroom and in formal contexts, is not simply words or grammar, it requires language users to “explain, define, compare, contrast, classify, agree, disagree, illustrate, elaborate, make claims, see implications, infer, exemplify, anticipate, and conclude” (Weideman 2014: iii). Therefore, the language of schooling registers is very different from the ordinary language (Duarte 2015:222). Studies on the development of child language show that during the first years in school children use the grammar of informal interaction, and later, when they become successful in the school-based ways of language use, they can go beyond (Schleppegrell, 2004:112). The language of schooling develops slowly during the ages of late childhood and adolescence in the secondary school years (Christie 1998:69). The use of technical lexis and grammar in causal and consequential processes does not emerge in students’ writing until the secondary school years (Schleppegrell 2004:112). In this study, the term “language of schooling” is used, because “school” can cover both narrow and broad understandings; one is a unitary construct of classroom and school, another is conceptualized as the institutional framework in which children are socialized into ways of formal learning in our society (Schleppegrell 2004:5).

With regard to multilingual contexts, where students acquire more than one language in the form of a language of schooling, specifically when this occurs in the home language, literacy is more complicated to analyze, because only few heritage language children are exposed to written registers in their home language, while the vast majority is not (Montrul/Ionin 2012:71). Research on the performance of multilinguals in the language of schooling of their weak language (i.e., heritage language), however, could bring interesting results, for example, transfers from the

language learned at school to the home language. This section introduces various approaches which concentrate on defining and accessing the language of schooling.

Literate texts: decontextualized, explicit, complex

The school features of “literate” texts have been defined as *decontextualized*, *explicit*, and *complex* (see Schleppegrell 2006:7). *Decontextualization* is the possibility to understand a written text without context and speaker presuppositions (ibid.:7-8). *Explicitness* focuses on linguistic features such as the use of full noun phrases instead of pronouns, the avoidance of deictic expressions that require situational context for understanding, and the use of markers of an organizational structure as evidence for greater explicitness (Schleppegrell 2004:10). However, it is impossible to make a written language fully explicit because contextual assumptions for interpretation always exist.

Complex is another feature of the language of schooling, which means that the language in literate texts is different than the language of ordinary spoken interaction. Halliday (1987, 1989) argues that speaking and writing have different kinds of complexity. In spoken language, the use of conjunctions and discourse markers creating coherence, and the use of intonation marking information structure are important. In academic written language, the use of clause structure such as nominal phrases with pre- and post-modification, or adverbial phrases that can embed a lot of meaning are common patterns (Chafe 1985; cf. Schleppegrell 2004).

In educational and linguistic research, a construct such as subordination has been frequently used as an evaluation tool of language complexity because it performs the embedding of one clause within another in a hierarchical relationship. Relative clauses, complementary clauses and adverbial clauses introduced by subordinators such as *because*, *although*, *if*, *before*, *since*, and others are typically considered subordinate clauses (Schleppegrell 2004:13-14). Similar arguments are held by Romaine (1984), who identified a struggle with subordinating and embedding sentences of the children in the process of language development (145). Therefore, a text has been considered complex when it contains complex structures.

Schleppegrell (2004): field, tenor, mode

Based on the works of Halliday related to functional linguistics, Schleppegrell (2004:1) analyzed a text collection which students were asked to read and write at school, then found common linguistic features of the school-based tasks and defined

the possibility of the construal of increasingly specialized knowledge of those features as students' progress through school by simultaneously "learning language" and "learning through language". She suggested Halliday's functional linguistic analysis as an alternative perspective for analysis of the language of schooling. According to functional linguistics, the notion of linguistic register explains the relationship between language and context. Therefore, registers cannot be considered as fixed features, they are different across varieties and change from context to context (Schleppegrell 2004:20). Register variation such as lexical and grammatical choices is suitable for differences of the context in terms of *field* (what is talked about), *tenor* (the relationship between speaker/hearer and writer/reader), and *mode* (expectations for how particular text types should be organized) (Schleppegrell 2004:46). With an increasing experience in language learning, skills such as generalization, abstraction, argument, and reflection are developed and handled. They have been also viewed as the features of language of schooling (Christie 2002:46).

FörMIG (2011-2013), LIPS (2011-2014): the features of language of schooling in the German language

According to Habermas (1977), *Bildungssprachliche Elemente* (elements of the language of schooling) in German are linguistic registers that are gained by learning in school. The following features have been often used to measure the language of schooling performance in the German language (Gogolin 2007, Reich 2009):

- (1) *Nominalisierung* (nominalization) is the process of producing a noun from another parts of speech, for example, *bohren* (drill) – *der Bohrer* (drill), *aussagen* (state) – *das Aussägen* (statement). (Reich 2009:17)
- (2) *Komposita* (compound words) are made up of two or more whole words that function as a single unit of meaning, and that these words give clues to the meaning of the compound words, for example, *Holzplatte* (wooden plate), *Bumerangschablone* (boomerang template). (ibid.)
- (3) *Attributkonstruktionen* (attribute constructions)
Attribute is an addition to specify a noun, for example, *die schwarze Edding* (the black Edding), *das anstrengende Sägen* (the hard saw), *die Schablone des Bumerangs* (the template of the boomerang). (ibid.)
- (4) *Passive (passive)* is used to show interest in the person or object that experiences an action rather than one that does the action, for example, *Der*

Quark wird unter Rühren langsam erhitzt (The quark is heated under stirring slowly). (Feilke 2012:5).

(5) *Unpersönliche Ausdrücke* (impersonal expressions) express someone's opinion or value judgment in order to focus on the subjectivity of the statement, for example, the use of *man* (man) in *Man braucht viele Dinge, ein Boomerang zu bauen*. (Man need a lot of tools to create a boomerang).

In order to examine the indicators of language of schooling used in FörMIG, Feilke (2012) compared written texts of a German monolingual and a Turkish-German student in the seventh grade. The results showed that the monolingual student used third personal pronoun, suppression of the speaker (i.e., passive use, *man* use, or *lassen* (let) constructions), generic article, generic passive, and lexical support (adjective use, adverb use), whereas the bilingual peer did not use these registers Feilke (2012:9). The findings of Feilke (2012) provided similar indicators to the criteria of FörMIG. Therefore, the indicators of assessing language of schooling in the German language of FörMIG can be initially considered appropriate indicators, because they reflect language use accurately (ibid: 9).

Weideman (2014): 10 components for testing

Weideman (2014) emphasized that writing is a complex process that contains 10 components in language. Hence, the measurement of academic literacy need to be carried out in different subtests as Table 3.1.

Table 3.1. Academic literacy tests (Weideman 2014: vii)

Component	Subtest
Understanding academic vocabulary	Vocabulary knowledge; Text comprehension; Grammar and text relations
Metaphor and idiom	Text comprehension; (and sometimes) Grammar and text relations
Understanding relations between different parts of a text	Scrambled text; (and sometimes) Text comprehension; Grammar and text relation; Register and text type

Understanding text type (genre)	Register and text type; Interpreting graphs and visual information; Scrambled text; Text comprehension; Grammar and text relations
Interpreting graphic and visual information	Interpreting graphs and visual information; (sometimes) Text comprehension
Distinguishing between essential and non-essential information	Text comprehension; Verbal reasoning; Interpreting graphs and visual information
Sequencing, ordering, and simple numerical computation	Interpreting graphs and visual information; Text comprehension
Finding evidence, making inferences, and extrapolating	Text comprehension; Verbal reasoning; Interpreting graphs and visual information
Understanding communicative function	Text comprehension; (and sometimes) Grammar and text relations
Making meaning beyond the sentence	Text comprehension; Register and text type; Scrambled text; Interpreting graphs and visual information

The given model introduces the language of schooling development as a cognitive process including many different cognitive skills. This complex model allows practitioners to develop a test with “rich a construct as academic literacy” (Weideman 2014:41) in both reading and writing, and beyond.

Bilingual children who speak a different home language than the language of the environment usually have a lower language proficiency in the societal language. Moreover, they face more difficulties in acquiring academic literacy than in the daily language (Fornol et al. 2015). Therefore, many studies on academic literacy or the language of schooling are related to the standard language/language of environment/school language. Heritage language academic literacy is normally given very little attention. The questions, such as whether bilinguals can develop academic literacy in all languages which they acquire at the same level of proficiency and how

academic literacy indicators are transferred from one language to another language still need answers from empirical studies.

In the present study, based on Weideman (2014) and also the analysis of Feilke (2012) about FörMIG indicators, will initially examine the features of language of schooling that were proposed in the evaluation of LiPS. The transfers of the patterns of language of schooling from other languages (German, English) to the heritage language (i.e., Vietnamese) will be also attention in the analysis.

3.3. Reliability and validity of language testing

3.3.1. Definition of reliability and validity

The accuracy of a test cannot be evaluated only by assumption. Therefore, it needs to be examined at least by two criteria: *reliability and validity* (Hughes 2003). *Reliability* can be seen as the consistency of assessment across different characteristics of the test; for example, if the same test is applied to the same group of individuals on two different occasions, in two different settings, it should not make any considerable difference in the results (ibid.29, Bachman/Palmer 1996). Validity is the correlation between the expected response and the response/the results that are analyzed from the collected data. Validity consists different aspects. First, *content validity* concerns to a proper sample of the relevant structures upon on the purpose of the test. Second, *criterion-related validity* is the agreement between the results of the test and those provided by the independent assessment. When the criterion is administered at the same time of the test, for example, measurement of oral competence, criterion related validity is *concurrent validity*. When the criterion is administered future performance, for example, a placement test, criterion related validity is *predictive validity*. Third, *construct validity* refers to the ability of measurement of the test (Hughes 2003:27).

The study of validity has become one of the most significant topics in psychological, educational, and language testing since Messick (Fulcher/Davidson 2007). In one of the most important work on validity, Messick (1989:20) stated that due to the contribution of content- and criterion-related for score meaning, they should be recognized as aspects of construct validity that is the extent to which the scores actually represent the variable they are intended.

In the last decade, much work on assessing educational testing in general has approved the validity approach developed by Messick (1989, 1994, 1996). The prominently influential theory of Mesick (1989) is a multifaceted theory of the construct validity of a test (Table 3.2).

Table 3.2. Facets of Validity (Messick 1989:20)

	Test Interpretation	Test Use
Evidential Basis	Construct validity	Construct validity + Relevance to the specific applied purpose/utility in the applied setting
Consequential basis	Value implications of the construct label, of the theory underlying test interpretation, and of the ideologies in which the theory is embedded	Social consequences (both potential and actual) of the applied testing

This unified approach can be used as a framework for formal language testing (cf. Cumming 2004:10). However, if the language measurement encompasses all perspectives of educational, social policies and practices in every situations worldwide, then additional theories, for example, Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice since 1972 (2010), Freire’s approaches on pedagogy, cultural action and conscientization (Nyirenda 1996), or Foucault’s Theory of Power/Discourse in 1976 (Schneck 1987) must be applied, since these theories concern, respectively, the social value of linguistic capital, the potential empowerment of disadvantaged groups, and the socio-historical basis of ideas (Cumming 2004:11).

There have been also researchers who wanted to reinterpret Messick’s theory. For example, Mc Namara/Roever (2006) reinterpreted and translated the matrix of Messick (1989) in Table 3.2 into a more specifically matrix in Table 3.3:

Table 3.3: Mc Namara/Roever’s interpretation of Messick’s validity matrix

	What test scores are assumed to mean	When tests are actually used
Using evidence in support of claims: test fairness	What reasoning and empirical evidence support the claims we wish to make about candidates based on their test performance?	Are these interpretations meaningful, useful and fair in particular contexts?
The overt social context of testing	What social and cultural values and assumptions underlie test constructs and the sense we make of test scores?	What happens in our education systems and the larger social contexts when we use tests?

(Mc Namara/Roever 2006:14)

This table is maybe not really attributable to Messick’s theory, however, it helps to explain validity more clearly: The validity of a test is understood as an interpretive process of examining test scores, in order to know whether a test is “fair” (Kunnan 2000) or meaningful (Bachman/Palmer 1996).

Weideman (2009) also proposed a reinterpretation of Messick’s model as in Table 3.4:

Table 3.4. The relationship of a selection of fundamental considerations in language testing

	<i>adequacy of...</i>	<i>appropriateness of...</i>
inferences made from test scores	depends on multiple sources of empirical evidence	relates to impact consequences of tests
the design decisions derived from the	is reflected in the usefulness/utility or	will enhance and anticipate the social justification and political

interpretation of empirical evidence	(domain) relevance of the test	defensibility of using the test
---	-----------------------------------	------------------------------------

(Weideman 2009:240)

The terms *adequacy* and *appropriateness* in Weideman’s model have been used from the original texts of Messick (1989) to describe validity. Weideman (2012) explained that *adequacy* is “a concept that is linkable directly to the effects (or effectiveness) if applying a technical instrument in a language test” (5). *Appropriateness* is considered a concept-transcending idea that involves the desire of technically qualified language testing of the social dimension (ibid:5).

According to Weideman (2009), a test simply comprises its intended purpose that can be achieved though the intended measurement. It is a cause and effect relationship. In the field of testing, the influence of technical force, “results could become the evidence or causes for certain desired (intended or purported) effects” (ibid: 241).

3.3.2. Assessment of language testing

The accuracy of a test cannot be evaluated only by assumption. Therefore, it needs to be examined at least by two criteria: *reliability and validity* (Hughes 2003). There are three well-known methods to examine test reliability. First, *test-retest/stability estimate* is used to identify the *consistency across time* by doing a same test twice for a group of participants. Second, *split half* method is used to find *internal consistency* by giving two scores for the test, one score for the first half of the test, and one score for the second half of the test. If two scores are coefficient, then the test is considered reliable. Thirdly, *interrater reliability/equivalence estimate* can be applied by scoring a test by more than one rater.

Hughes (2003) also suggested that increasing of test reliability needs more control tasks, unambiguous items, clear and explicit instructions, familiar format and techniques for participants, perfectly legible tests, uniform and non-distracting conditions of administration, a detailed scoring key, trained scorers, anonymous participants, and independent scoring.

Validity has been viewed as “the degree to which evidence and theory support the interpretations of test scores for proposed uses of tests” (AERA, APA, and NCME

2014:11). Test validity, therefore, is evaluated not by the test itself, but rather the inferences of the interpretation of test scores, for example, observing or documenting behaviors or attributes (Chapelle 2012, Messick 1994, Reeves/Marbach-Ad 2016). In a given definition, validity is considered a matter of degree. It means that a test should be evaluated whether it has a high or low degree of validity, rather than whether it is valid or not (Reeves/Marbach-Ad 2016:2). Especially, a test is considered valid only if it provides consistently accurate measurement. It means it must be reliable (Hughes 2003:36). However, a reliable test can be invalid due to the requirement of performance task. For example, if a task requires the participants write down 500 words in their own language without the restriction of scope, then it is likely to be a reliable test, but it could not be a valid test of writing.

In addition, according to Hughes (2003), there are many factors that affect language test score such as test method facets (testing environment, the test rubric, the nature of input and expected response, the relationship between input and response); personal attributes (cognitive styles and knowledge of particular content areas), group characteristics (sex, race, and ethnic background); random factors: unpredictable and largely temporary conditions (mental alertness and emotional areas) and uncontrolled differences in test method facets (changes in the test environment from one day to the next or differences in the way different test administrators carry out their responsibilities). Therefore, in order to examine the validity of a test, the given factors need to be also discussed. Following is a review of the different theories and the methods of defining the validity of a test.

Bachman/Palmer (1996): Test usefulness

Regarding the practice of doing and evaluating language testing, the works of Bachman (2003) and Bachman/Palmer (1996) shifted the emphasis from validity to test usefulness, declaring that their work makes “Messick’s work more accessible” (Xi 2008:179). Bachman (2003) suggested an *interactional model of language test performance*, in which language ability (language knowledge and metacognitive strategies) and test method (environment, input, expected response, and the relationship between input and expected response) interact with each other (Leung/Lewkowicz 2006:214). For tests to be useful, Bachman/Palmer (1996) proposed “task

characteristics” and a model of language test usefulness with all four skills and any language test content.

Table 3.5: Task characteristics (Bachman/Palmer 1996: 49-50)

Task characteristics

Characteristics of the setting

Physical characteristics

Participants

Time of task

Characteristics of the test rubrics

Instructions

Language (native, target)

Channel (aural, visual)

Specification of procedures and tasks

Structure

Number of parts/tasks

Saliency of parts/tasks

Sequence of parts/tasks

Relative importance of parts/tasks

Number of tasks/items per part

Time allotment

Scoring method

Criteria for correctness

Procedures for scoring the response

Explicitness of criteria and procedures

Characteristics of the input

Format

Channel (aural, visual)

Form (language, non-language, both)

Language (native, target, both)

Length

Type (item, prompt)

Degree of speediness

Vehicle ('live', 'reproduced', both)

Language of input

Language characteristics

Organizational characteristics

Grammatical (vocabulary, syntax, phonology, graphology)

Textual (cohesion, rhetorical/conversational organization)

Pragmatic characteristics

Functional (ideational, manipulative, heuristic, imaginative)

Topical Characteristics

Characteristics of the expected response

Format

Channel (aural, visual)

Form (language, non-language, both)

Language (native, target, both)

Length

Type (selected, limited production, extended production)

Degree of speediness

Language of expected response

Language characteristics

Organizational characteristics

Grammatical (vocabulary, syntax, phonology, graphology)

Textual (cohesion, rhetorical/conversational organization)

Pragmatic characteristics

Functional (ideational, manipulative, heuristic, imaginative)

Sociolinguistic (dialect/variety, register, naturalness, cultural references, and figurative language)

Topical Characteristics

Relationship between input and response

Reactivity (reciprocal, non-reciprocal, adaptive)

Scope of relationship (broad, narrow)

Directness of relationship (direct, indirect)

“Task characteristics”, elaborated by Bachman/Palmer (1996:49-50), is an extensive outline for delimiting the test setting, test rubric, input and response of a task.

McNamara/Roever (2006) said that this study can guide practitioners in the process of test development (471), and in the process of the assessment of the test.

The qualities of test usefulness are defined by Bachman/Palmer (1996:18) in six categories, which are *reliability*, *validity*, *authenticity*, *interactiveness*, *impact* and *practicality*. The “boomerang” test of the study is to be administered to the same group of Vietnamese-German adolescents in two different time tests. During two occasions of the test, any language trainings have been carried out. Therefore, it is possible to look at the reliability of the test based on the test score in two time tests. Another example would be if two reciprocal tests are used for a same test taker, he/she should get the same score on both tests, if not, the reliability of the tests should be checked. Depending on the test objectives, the consistency of the measurement should be evaluated differently. It is impossible to “eliminate inconsistencies entirely” (Bachman/Palmer 1996:20). However, the inconsistencies can be minimized by focusing on a relatively narrow range of components of language ability (Bachman/Palmer 1996:35).

Construct validity is related to the meaningfulness and the appropriateness of the interpretations based on test scores. The validity of a test can be evaluated through the question if the test score is considered as an indicator of the language ability which the test developers want to measure, or whether the test scores can be interpreted in a generalized way. Test validity is an on-going process because of the interaction between test score and the interpretation, therefore “test scores can never be considered absolutely valid” (Bachman/Palmer 1996:21). Nevertheless, the gathering of evidence such as content relevance and coverage, concurrent criterion relatedness, and predictive utility as a part of the validity process can help to achieve better results.

Authenticity can be understood as the extent “to which a test or assessment task relates to the context in which it would normally be performed in real life” (Leung/Lewkowicz 2006:214), because it is a matter of perception: what some consider as authentic, others perceive perhaps as inauthentic. Thus, the language would need to be “authenticated” by learner or test participants (Widdowson 2003:105).

Interactiveness is defined as the relevance between the test and test takers’ individual characteristics, for example, language ability (language knowledge, metacognitive strategies) and topical knowledge. Therefore, a test should be characterized in terms of analyzing the individual characteristics of test takers

(Bachman/Palmer 1996:25). However, based on the objective of the test, it could be seen as a test that is “relatively more interactive” or “relatively less interactive”.

Another quality of the test usefulness is *impact* which refers to the implementation of the test for the development of educational and social systems, or to the influence on the individuals in those systems. That means that all tests should include values and goals, for example, serving the needs of educational systems or society (Bachmann 2003:279). An aspect of impact that is relevant for both researchers and practitioners is “washback”, which is defined as a direct effect (either beneficial or harmful) on teaching and learning language (Bachman/Palmer 1996: 29, Messick 1996).

Practicality, the last test quality proposed by Bachman/Palmer (1996), is completely different from the five other qualities. If the other qualities are more related to test scores, practicality is relevant to the implementation of test results in education or society. In addition, the development of the test for the extended usage in another assessment also refers to the practicality quality. The consideration of practicality seems to logically follow the five other qualities. However, it does not mean that this quality is less important than the others. Bachman/Palmer (1996) also proposed a way to determine practicality as follows:

Practicality

If practicality ≥ 1 , the test development and use is practical

If practicality ≥ 1 , the test development and use is not practical

Figure 3.1. Practicality (Bachman/Palmer 1996:36)

In order to evaluate the test practicality, resources are defined including three general types such as human resources (e.g. test writers, scores of raters, test administrators, clerical support), material resources (for example, space such as rooms), equipment (e.g., typewriters, tape and video recorder, computer), materials (e.g., paper, pictures, library resources), and time (Bachman/Palmer 1996:37).

The six qualities of test usefulness are considered to be balanced because they interact with each other. The qualities should be studied in specific tests, and not solely with respect to an abstract situation. In addition, the test qualities should be analyzed

rather as a whole process than only with regards to specific factors (Bachman/Palmer 1996:38).

Kane (2006, 2013): interpretive arguments

In order to illustrate a general methodology for validation, Kane’s (2006, 2013) interpretive arguments contain six components have been proposed: *domain definition, evaluation, explanation, generalization, extrapolation, and utilization*. These components have been used in studies on language proficiency assessment such as TOELF (Chapelle et al.2008, Xi 2010), IELTS (Ebadi et al. 2014), and academic writing evaluation (Chapelle et al. 2015). Based on experience gained in using of the interpretive argument, Chapelle (2012) suggested that “Kane’s approach advances professional knowledge by offering specific guidance and conceptual infrastructure for doing so” (20).

Oliveri et al. (2015) used Kane’s theory as a framework for the validity analysis in exported assessments to multiple populations. This study focused on the ability of obtaining valid score of a test for the new test taker group/the new population because they may possess culturally and linguistically different from the originally intended population. Figure 3.2 illustrates the components in the interpretive arguments and their interconnectivity.

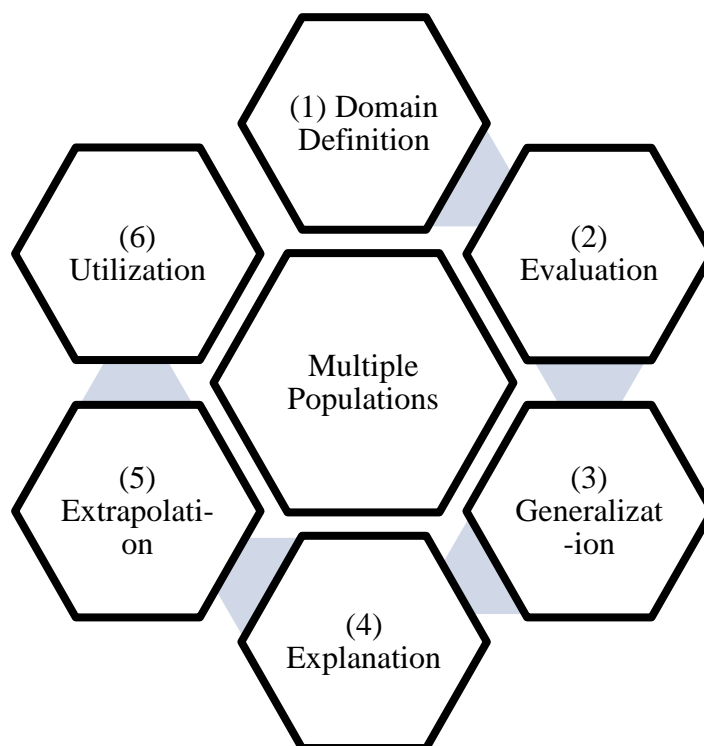


Figure 3.2. The six components of the framework for the valid use and development of exported assessments (Oliveri et al. 2015:8)

In Figure 3.2, the participants of the test are considered the central of the argument process to examine the use of the test in both originally intended group and the new groups. Six components are also interconnected with each other. The *domain definition/observation* is the measurement of the knowledge, skills, and abilities in the tested domain by instruments without the bias caused by linguistically and culturally specific content in order to assess the uniformity of scoring procedures (Oliveri et al. 2016:10). The *generalization* refers to the expanding of the interpretations and observed scores to a larger domain. The *explanation* addresses the attribution of a score to a theory-defined construct. The *extrapolation* examines the similarity of the results across different indicators of ability of a test participant. The *utilization* is the use of the score gained in the analysis.

In order to have a specific guide for practice, Oliveri et al. (2015) described the six components of Kane's approach (2013) in a Toulmin diagram (Toulmin 1958, cf. Oliveri et al 2015). Figure 3.3 is an example of the use of a Toulmin diagram to explain each of six components in the interpretive arguments.

As seen in Figure 3.3, the *grounds* on the bottom are considered the first information that provides basic for the argument in *claim* in the top of diagram. Followings the arrows, the *warrant* presents the accurate interpretation of test scoring that bridges grounds and claim. The warrant is supported by particular *assumptions* and *backing* statements. *Rebuttals* that are placed on the right side of the diagram (opposite the warrant) are evidence for not supporting claim.

In closing, as discussed in this section, validity and validation are both complex factors that are "simple in principle, but difficult in practice" (Chapelle 2012:15). Regarding validity, the theory of Messick (1989) continues to be seen as difficult and abstract for applying in practice (Weideman 2012), whereas Bachman's works have been only considered the extended studies of Messick (Hulstijn 2015). However, for practitioners, Bachman/Palmer (1996) is still an excellent guide for the process of test development (Mc Namara 2004:471). Moreover, in the study on the effectiveness of language tests, Piggin (2012) states that Bachman/Palmer's (1996) model facilitates a more adequate basis for the assessment of language proficiency, because of its consideration of the participants' cognitive processing and the situational context of both language use and the test performance (86). Regarding the validation process that examines whether a test gains validity, Bachman/Palmer (2010) chose the expression

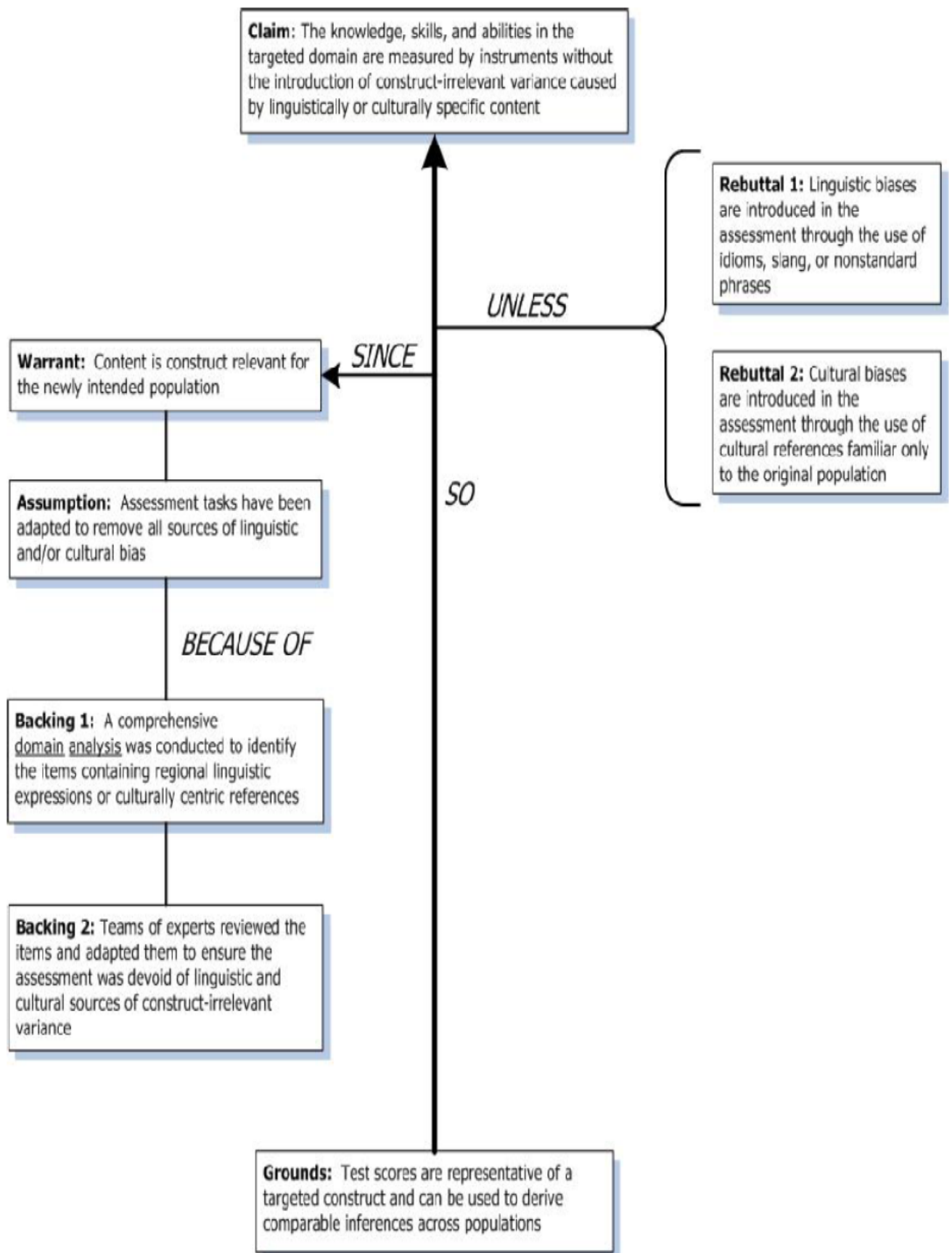


Figure 3.3. Toulmin diagram for domain definition (Oliveri et al. 2015:10)

“assessment use” argument rather than “interpretive argument” (Kane 2013) to emphasize the need to justify first and foremost the test uses rather than the test score meaning.

However, the interpretative argument of Kane (2013) is a specific guidance not only for defining the validity of the test but also for examining the possibility of the use of the test across different populations. In addition, Mislevy (2016:266) proposed validity challenges that researchers have to face when developing a test such as (1) What do we want to assess? (2) What kinds of performances do we need to observe, in what kinds of situations? (3) How should we think about constructs? (4) How do we assess higher or lower skills? (5) What is the role of measurement models? (6) How do we “score” complex, interactive, performance on a scale? (7) How do we assess interactional skills? (8) How do we take advantage of complex performance tasks?

In the present study, the intended purposes are: assessing the LiPS evaluation of Vietnamese written performance and examining the use of this test in the future for the new populations, and defining the heritage language performance of Vietnamese-German adolescents. Bachman/Palmer's model (1996) will be used as guidance for the analysis of the task characteristics that are strongly related to the reliability and the validity of a test (Hughes 2003). Mislevy's approach (2016) is also used to identify the level of appropriateness of the boomerang writing task, and to develop the translation task in the second empirical study. The interpretive arguments of Kane (2013) and the specific guidance of Oliveri et al. (2015) are used not only to demonstrate the validity of the LiPS assessment, but also to examine the exported assessment for the new populations of LiPS language test.

3.4. Summary

This chapter reviewed the research on language proficiency in literacy in multilingual contexts. The research to date has hardly investigated the writing of adolescents because reading assessment in school-aged children has been more attention than writing. The acquisition of literacy in a weak language (i.e., home language) has often been studied from the perspective of educational policy (e.g., Hispanic children with a weak command of spoken English in school). In addition, the assessment of written

productions and language of schooling have been discussed. Theories in the assessment of reliability and validity of language testing have been also provided such as Bachman/Palmer's (1996) model of Task Characteristics and Test Usefulness, Kane's (2006, 2013) interpretive arguments.

4. Research on Vietnamese Diaspora and Vietnamese Heritage Language

Existing research on the Vietnamese language as a heritage language is at the preliminary stage of identifying characteristics of Vietnamese heritage language (Đào Mục Đích 2012; Hồ Đắc Túc 2003; Phạm Giang 2011; Phạm, Giang/Kohnert 2014; Phan Ngọc Trần 2017, 2018; Thái Duy Bảo 2007; and Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2006, 2013). Đào Mục Đích and Nguyễn Thị Anh Thư (2015) have suggested that the Vietnamese government should introduce appropriate policies to encourage research in this field. In order to have an overview of research on Vietnamese as a heritage language in different Vietnamese diasporic communities in western industrialized nations such as the United States of America, Australia, France, or Germany, this chapter reviews studies on Vietnamese heritage language that have been conducted worldwide. Due to the strong relationship between language and other factors related to the development of diaspora communities, section 4.1 of this chapter briefly presents recent studies research on Vietnamese diaspora. Section 4.2 presents a review of literature on Vietnamese diaspora in Germany. Section 4.3 discusses relevant studies on Vietnamese as a heritage language in greater detail. The last section 4.4 introduces language-specific indicators for the assessment of Vietnamese as a heritage language.

4.1. Research on Vietnamese diaspora communities

4.1.1. Vietnamese diaspora

The concept *diaspora* has been developed to distinguish the immigrated community from a “stabilized minority” such as French in Canada (Đurovič 1995:7). Đurovič (ibid.) stated that: “Diaspora consist of dispersed groups of compatriots, who settled in the new country most often according to the needs of local industry”. Based on Clifford’s definition of *diaspora as* “displaced people who feel (maintain, revive, invent) a connection with a prior home” (1994:255], Ben-Moshe et al. (2016:113) stated that the concept of *diaspora* differs from the concept of *immigrant*, which mainly refer to relocation into a country for the purpose of settlement.

Việt kiều/ Người Việt hải ngoại (overseas Vietnamese or Vietnamese diaspora) refers to Vietnamese people living outside Vietnam. Since the mid-1970s, a

significantly increasing number of Vietnamese who have migrated abroad (Đào Mục Đích 2012:1) for economic and ideational purposes: work, study, marriage, and political reasons (Chan 2012, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam 2012). According to the State Committee of Vietnamese in foreign countries, there are currently about 4 million Vietnamese nationals living, working and studying in over 100 countries and territories; developed countries have the largest number of Vietnamese migrants (80%) (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Vietnam 2012:29). The number of second and third generations who have a Vietnamese mother or father might not be exactly calculated due to the differing census and statistical models between countries.

The majority of Vietnamese nationals have settled in the United States. There are about 1.8 million Vietnamese immigrants and their children living in this country (Migration Policy Institute RAD 2015:1). Australia, Canada, France and Germany are other major host countries. In comparison to other communities, “Vietnamese diaspora communities are young, active, adaptive” (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam 2012:29). Vietnamese communities in the United States and in Germany are examples. The median age of the first generation of Vietnamese immigrants in the United States is 44, and the median age of the children born to these immigrants is 13 (Migration Policy Institute RAD 2015:1). In Germany, people between the ages of 15 and 55 comprise a larger portion of the total immigrant population (GIZ 2015:15).

Vietnamese diaspora communities in many countries are considered well-integrated communities. Although the first generation of Vietnamese immigrants faced the challenge of going to school without acquiring language proficiency of the host country, they have managed to achieve high class ranks (König 2014, GIZ 2015, Min Zhou 2008, Migration Policy Institute RAD 2015, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam 2012, Saito 2002). At higher education level, members of the Vietnamese diaspora have also achieved successes. It is estimated that 300.000 to 400.000 Vietnamese living abroad possess university and postgraduate degrees (Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam 2012:29). Specifically, about 22% of Vietnamese immigrants, aged 25 and older, have a bachelor's degree, whereas about 20% of the general United States population have this certificate respectively (Migration Policy Institute RAD 2015:1). The Vietnamese diaspora in Germany is also viewed as “Elitenmigration” (König 2014:107), which began to appear in educational

(Nauck/Lotter 2014, 2015), linguistic (Birger et al.2017; König 2014), literature research (Fachinger 2013) and other research fields.

4.1.2. Common topics in research on Vietnamese diaspora

As mentioned above, in the history of Vietnamese emigration, one of the most prominent groups are the boat people who directly experienced the Vietnam War. It is argued that “the war with the difficult memory” (Espiritu 2014:1) has still influenced the lives of the people who left their home country due to the war. Therefore, research on the Vietnamese diaspora over the last several decades has continuously addressed their memory, and their political views as well as challenges they faced in the new environment (Espiritu 2006, 2014; Kaus 2016; Valverde 2012; Vu Anna 2017). These studies used the methods of ethnographic interviews or literary analyses.

Another issue that received significant attention is the social integration or acculturation of the different Vietnamese diaspora communities in their host countries (Hlinčíková 2015; Zhou/Bankston 1998; Nowicka 2015; Saito 2002). The Vietnamese diaspora is widely viewed as a well-integrated and educationally successful group (Zhou/Bankston 1998, Saito 2002, König 2014). One of the most influential studies on Vietnamese-American children is “Growing up American: How Vietnamese children adapt to life in the United States” (Zhou/Bankston III 1998). This study focused on the “new second generation” – those who were born in the United States or arrived in the country when they were still very young. They were growing up in America. However, the integration success of the diverse Vietnamese migrant population is indeed a complex issue. It might be varied across different generations, genders, and migrant groups with different purposes.

Through 26 interviews with Vietnamese immigrant women aged between 18 and 33 living in Poland, Nowicka (2015) claimed that these young women, especially the women who had spent their childhoods in Poland, face endless pressures from norms of the two cultural systems as though they were “between the devil and the deep blue sea” (78). In a study on Vietnamese migrants in Bratislava (Slovakia), Hlinčíková (2015) argued that this community is a stable community and its members are well received by local population. However, they do not feel “inside” nor have a sense of belonging to the mainstream culture of the host country. “Relation between Vietnamese and non-Vietnamese inhabitants of the neighborhood lead to a distinction

between ‘us’ and ‘them’” (ibid.:47). At least among adults, language barrier obstructs a close relationship between migrants and other residents (ibid.:48). A strategy on how to integrate to the host culture by the Vietnamese community is presented in study of Szymańska-Matusiewicz (2015). The objective of organizing Vietnamese festivals in cooperation with the institutions of the host country is to promote Vietnamese culture and integration to the host culture (ibid.:60). In a study on the acculturation of Vietnamese immigrants living in the United States, Nguyễn Thị Xuân Trương (2011:103) found that both Vietnamese diaspora parents and their children do not completely integrate into the mainstream culture due to language, educational, and economic hardships.

To some extent, Vietnamese cultural preservation and change were also explored by academics through the ways of analyzing cultural meanings of the beauty pageants that are organized by ethnic and marginalized communities (Liễu Thị Nhi 2013). Liễu Thị Nhi (2013) argued that these contests enable the Vietnamese community to proudly demonstrate ethnic pride and attempt to maintain their cultural lifeways (ibid.:25). However, the removal of the Vietnamese language as an eligible criteria of the contests and the loss of ethnic symbolic meaning of the *áo dài* (long dress) indicate that these beauty pageants have prioritized commercial demands over cultural practices. In order to attract more candidates for those competitions, by the late 1990s, Vietnamese language as a requirement to participate in them was eliminated. Heritage language ability would allow young women to retain cultural knowledge, hence, it should have been being continuously considered as a mandatory requirement in the beauty pageants. However, pageant organizers attempted to recognize the assimilation of the Vietnamese diaspora, so they chose the language of the environment (i.e., English). Another change in those competitions is in regards to the traditional clothing, *áo dài*. The symbolic meaning of *áo dài*, the traditional dress of Vietnamese women, can function as a factor that distinguishes a Vietnamese diaspora pageant from any other beauty pageant. *Áo dài* plays an important role in the diaspora culture in the United States due to its symbol of ethnic authenticity (Liễu Thị Nhi 2013). Although *áo dài* has often been seen as fashionable, young Vietnamese-American designers attempted to modify its form to be more modern for young women. The dynamics within these beauty pageants is a lens to learn about the Vietnamese diaspora and their attempt to forge new identities.

Another major topic of studies about the Vietnamese migrant groups is their cultural identity. Analysis of literary works has been often used to examine the identity of the Vietnamese diaspora (Nguyen Nathalie Huynh Chau 2003; Smith 2010; Wang 2013). For example, Nguyen Nathalie Huynh Chau (2003:8) focuses on the treatment of place and displacement, self-image, and identity in works of Francophone Vietnamese writers. She finds that in diasporic male writers appear to identify with the colonial culture (ibid.:175), while the female writers identify themselves much closer to their Vietnamese heritage culture (ibid.:179). However, as inheritors of the combination between East and West, the Vietnamese-French writers demonstrate cultural and literary hybrids that embed the complexity of the association between the two traditions (ibid.:179). Smith (2010) analyzes the works of Linda Lê, who refuses to identify as a Vietnamese or Vietnamese-French writer, and sees herself as a stranger in both cultures, to understand to what extent she presents herself in her literary works. The results reveal that common dislocation and diasporic diffusion are evidence of “a grounded cultural hybridity” (72).

There are also several cases and empirical studies on the identity of Vietnamese diaspora. Zhou/Bankston (1998:234) argued that defining identity of second-generation migration is not simple due to its slippery matter related to an individual’s feeling. Particularly, the case of Vietnamese migration in Versailles Village shows that identifying strongly with an ethnic minority do not obstruct members of the second generation to achieve in American institutions (i.e., in schools). Therefore, it is emphasized that “the two parts of an American ethnic identity can come to seem complementary rather than contradictory” (ibid.:234). Another study was conducted in Australia in 2016 by Ben-Moshe et al. In order to examine the identity of Vietnamese diaspora in Australia, this research group sent 55 open and closed questions to 466 participants. The results show that a majority of participants identify themselves as Vietnamese (88% of respondents). However, 34% feel “neither close nor distance to Vietnam” (ibid.:118). That ambivalence is principally expressed by the Australian-born Vietnamese. The emerging issue in this study is the way identity perception differs between the generations of immigrants. These changes are mediated by the importance of age, place of birth, and purpose of migration (ibid.:125). Australian-born migrants and those who arrived in Australia as young children have a different perception of the home land than either their parents or grandparents. They are growing up in a hybrid cultural diaspora (ibid.:125).

Focusing on adolescents, who are also the subjects of the current study under investigation in this dissertation, Nguyễn/Williams (1989) developed a study about the transition from East to West through a large survey which included 830 adolescents, ranging in age from 12 to 19 years old in Oklahoma City, OK, USA. The findings showed that Vietnamese parents wanted to maintain traditional Vietnamese cultural values (ibid.:512). Contrastingly, Vietnamese adolescents tended to reject traditional Vietnamese family values.

Another study by Nguyễn Thị Xuân Trưng (2011) conducted oral interviews with 57 total participants to represent voices of Vietnamese-Americans, especially Vietnamese-American women to recognize their identities. The results showed that a few educated women wanted to maintain traditional roles but also embraced their independence by attending the volunteer activities in church or pagoda. However, there are still many struggles experienced by Vietnamese American men and women.

Many other themes are also investigated; however, these are mainly based on ethnographic interviews. One of these subjects is transnational connections, for example, two Tết festivals (New Year Festivals) of Vietnamese migrant communities (Szymańska-Matusiewicz 2015), Vietnamese immigrant organization connecting with home country (GIZ 2015), and cultural activities such as Vu Lan season (Truit 2015). Religious practices of Vietnamese immigrants have also been an area of considerable research: Buddhism practice of Vietnamese diaspora (Beuchling/Van Cong 2013, Beuchling 2014), Caodaism rebuilding in California (Hoskins 2011, 2013), and an overview of the religious practices of this diaspora community (Ninh Thị Thiên Hương 2017). In addition, defining Vietnamese migration in different countries is also an important topic (GIZ 2007, 2015; Ministry of Vietnamese Foreign Affairs 2012; RAD 2015; Smith 2010).

In 2016, Bui Chau Giang proposed a comprehensive study on the history and development of Vietnamese diaspora communities in the United States and in Germany. The changing lives and identities of the Vietnamese communities in both countries have been analyzed and discussed in this study. Specifically, this study provided the difference in acculturation and self-identification of their ethnic identities of the different generation. Regarding language acquisition, she argued that the first generation in the United States is limited bilingual, it means they cannot use English well. Whereas, the first generation in German is divided into two groups that are former students and boat people, who could use German fluently, and contract

workers, who spoke broken German (241). The second generation in both countries are fluent in the societal languages (i.e., English and German), but are differently fluent in the heritage language. In terms of identity, the first generation in both countries identified themselves as Vietnamese. Majority of the second generation in the United States defined themselves as Vietnamese-American. Whereas 50% of the second generation in Germany considered themselves as Vietnamese-German, 28% as German, and 14% as Vietnamese (242). The rest percentage of second generation in Germany might belong to the participants, who did not answer the question of the interview or did not know who they were.

In this study, Bui Chau Giang focused on the Vietnamese community in the United States rather than the one in Germany. Specifically, she mentioned bicultural (American-Vietnamese, German-Vietnamese) stress, especially of young Vietnamese, who decided to join gangs in order to avoid stress. Regarding Vietnamese heritage cultural maintenance of both communities, this study demonstrated that Vietnamese people retained their own beliefs and customs of the original country (128). For example, religious buildings such as temples and pagodas are the important places for Vietnamese people not only to practice religion but also to gather and maintain their own identities.

To date, research on Vietnamese diaspora mainly focuses on war memories, acculturation progress of different generations, identity ideology, and cultural activities. Many Vietnamese diaspora communities in the United States, Canada, Australia, Germany, France, and Eastern Europe have been taken into account. Due to the scope of the present study on Vietnamese-German in Germany, research on Vietnamese communities in this country is proposed in section 4.2. Research on heritage language competence and language performance will be introduced in more detail in section 4.3. The current study focuses on adolescents who mostly belong to the second generation of Vietnamese immigrants to contribute to the gap in this research.

4.2. Research on Vietnamese diaspora in Germany

In the last few decades of the 20th century, publications and scholarly works about Vietnamese migrants in Germany have concentrated on the integration efforts, for

example, the effects of social programs for Vietnamese refugees migrating to West Germany in the 1980s (see review in Bui Pippo (2002:11)). Bui Pippo (2002), with ethnographic research, interviewed Vietnamese people about their financial and social privilege. Bui Pippo's research (2002) represents Vietnamese migrants living in Germany in the 1990s from different perspectives such as the perspective of German media and the perspectives of native Germans and of Vietnamese immigrants. First, she looked at three popular ethnographic corpora that describe Vietnamese diasporas in Germany including newspaper articles in a mainstream press, a booklet and an exhibit that were presented by Vietnamese ethnic organizations (ibid.:19). Second, the difference between "the former contract worker" and "former refugee" was discussed. Finally, so-called Chinese and Asian snack bars or restaurants run by Vietnamese were viewed as a strategy of this community to interact with native German people and to represent themselves in a positive light to the German audience.

The image of Vietnamese people in German media in the past was not positive, they principally covered the cigarette black market and Vietnamese criminal gangs which created an ethnic stigma for Vietnamese migrants, particularly those in Berlin and in Eastern Germany (Bui Pippo 2002:70). For example, the Vietnamese immigrants who were not represented in the media had felt that they "lost face" for years: "pictures of Vietnamese in local and national periodicals usually depicted them with their faces obscured by shadows, a hat, a hand, a black anonymity mark, or worse, as a mugshot or a corpse covered by a sheet" (ibid.). It might be the reason why many minor Vietnamese characters in contemporary German fiction are depicted as "faceless" (Fachinger 2013:58). On the other hand, Bui Pippo (2002) looked at another representation of Vietnamese refugees in Münster that is the booklet, titled 10 Jahre (ten years). It was created to memorialize the ten-year anniversary of the refugees' arrival. The stories in this booklet imply that the Vietnamese group in Münster in particular and the Vietnamese group in West Germany is different from the Vietnamese group in East Germany. They made a great effort at integration and also tried to help others in a similar situation. Another Vietnamese migrant group consisted of contract workers who came to Germany according to an agreement between the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and German government (Bui Pippo 2002:116). Bui Pippo's analysis of posters exhibited in Marzahn proposed that former contract workers also be separated from the Vietnamese cigarette vendors and gang groups. They had many difficulties in their new life in Germany, for example, eating German

cuisine, struggling to stay in Germany, and being discriminated from the native community.

Returning to the integration issue of Vietnamese migrants living in Germany, it is necessary to focus on the difference between various Vietnamese migrant groups which is partially mentioned in Bui Pippo's research (2002). The integration of the Vietnamese diaspora into German society is therefore still an attractive topic for academics securing the maintenance of heritage culture through organizing heritage language courses, cultural activities, and meeting points for communities has been considered important for the integration of the Vietnamese migrants (Beth/Tuckermann 2008). GIZ (2015:6) reported that recently there has been little attention paid to Vietnamese migrant organizations in Germany. Research on the integration of these organizations through development-related activities in Vietnamese have not been comprehensively taken into consideration.

The organizations or cooperation of Vietnamese diaspora in Germany that are well studied are those that are principally related to religion. For example, Hüwelmeier (2010) observed lower class Christian Vietnamese women to see their perspective of the religious organizations in which they participated. The author realizes that Vietnamese female Pentecostal believers in Germany criticized religious authority. They made a complete break with the past as a new born Christians. In another scholarly work, Hüwelmeier (2014) briefly introduced the religious life of different Vietnamese groups. For example, contract workers tend to believe in Buddhism; and boat refugees mostly attend Christian churches. Beuchling/Cong (2013) analyses the ways through which the Vietnamese diaspora maintained their Buddhist life in Germany. Taking a pagoda run by Vietnamese nuns as a case study, the two authors described contemporary historical backgrounds, religious practices and everyday lives of a Buddhist monastery in Hamburg.

Corporation among members of Vietnamese diaspora was also studied by Cahyandari (2015). By observing and interviewing five participants in families of refugees and contract workers in which four families belong to the second generation and one family belongs to the first generation, Cahyandari stated that the migrants tend to create their home image by sharing a mutual sameness that are embodied in many cultural activities such as gathering at karaoke night or celebrating their traditional festivals. However, they found that the second generation hardly engaged in their Vietnamese community.

Transnational perspectives and transnational networks of the Vietnamese migrants in Germany have also been given attention in research. For example, the transnationality of the Vietnamese diaspora in Germany was viewed as a research source by Schmiz (2011). His study focused on the social and economic strategies of Vietnamese migrants in Berlin. The analysis centers on economic activities of the Vietnamese enterprises that deal with transnationality in diverse contexts. These contexts include the economic and social inclusion of Vietnamese migrants in Germany, the relationship with the development of home country, and the development of transnational communities and habitats. In another study, Hüwelmeier (2014) continued to find the transnational networks of Vietnamese diaspora in Germany through their money transfers to Vietnam and their donations for religious organizations in Germany where they practiced their religion and belief. Additionally, Schwenkel (2014) attempted to trace the socialist pathways of labor migration between Vietnam and East Germany.

Social capital in relation to educational success of the Vietnamese community in Germany has also been studied in comparison with other migrant communities, such as Turkishes and Russians (Nauck/Lotter 2014, 2015, Schnoor et al. 2017). Vietnamese and East Asians are seen by greater German societies as engaging only with their own families and communities. They are not interested in cultural or social activities outside (Nauck/Lotter 2014).

Two contrasting stereotypes of the Vietnamese diaspora that prevailed in Germany, the cigarette smuggler and the educational achievement minority, were further studied in by Fachinger's analysis of German contemporary literature and film (2013). He found that the Vietnamese diaspora was characterized by a "mask of their identity behind a Chinese or Asian one" (ibid.:55). The Vietnamese women in some literature works, as pointed out by Fachinger, were portrayed as vulnerable people in the global economy and the transnational world. Whereas, portrayals of Vietnamese diaspora in mainstream German media continued to be illustrated as subaltern, some literary works and films satirized these stereotypes from a transnational and diasporic perspective (ibid.:61). However, the novelists' and filmmakers' lack of insider information about the Vietnamese diaspora community perpetuates the dominant image that this group is the "displaced outsider" (ibid.:50).

As briefly mentioned above, one of the many stereotypes of Vietnamese migrants in the German public eye is that the Vietnamese are "good migrants"

(Fachinger 2013:50) or belong to the category of “elite migration” (König 2014:214) and that the Vietnamese migrants’ children are over-achievers. Research on this topic often deals with the “Bildungserfolg” (educational success) of the second generation of Vietnamese migrants which will be discussed in the next section.

In sum, due to the relatively diverse ethnic nature of the Vietnamese migrant groups in Germany (Fachinger 2013), the two contrasting stereotypes of this population as the cigarette smugglers (Bui Pippo 2002) and as members of the elite migration with over achievement in education (Walter 2011) have prevailed in the German public imagination. These are, however, only “two pieces of a much larger puzzle”. One must remember that the social, economic, and religious ties among Vietnamese migrants in Germany continue to be characterized by divergent political attitudes, legal status, class, education, gender, family background, region of origin, and religion (Hüwelmeier 2014:92). The Vietnamese diaspora group in Germany therefore needs to be further studied to make not only Germans, but also the Vietnamese in the home country, and their Vietnamese diasporic population themselves understand the multiple piece puzzle, and that would be further studied in this dissertation.

4.3. Research on Vietnamese heritage language

With 1.8 million individuals with Vietnamese immigration background living in the United States (RAD 2015), and about 4 million across the world (Ministry of Foreign Affairs Vietnam 2012), it is expected that research on heritage language issues of this diaspora group is able to be brought “from the Silence to the Voice” (Boom/Polinsky 2014:1) or “from margins to a central focus” (Montrul 2016:45). However, in a comprehensive work by Wiley et al. (2014) about 300 years of heritage language research in the United States, Vietnamese as heritage language was not given its own section. Vietnamese heritage language is merely mentioned in some statistics tables such as “Language other than English most commonly spoken in the home” (2005-2009; 2010-2011), and “Language most commonly spoken in the home 5-18 year olds” (2007-2011). In these tables, Vietnamese as home language places respectively the seventh, sixth and fifth most important language. Despite being an important home language in the United States, research on Vietnamese as heritage language has been lacking attention (Lewis et al. 2011, Lam Ha Le 2011, Maloof et al. 2006, Nguyễn et

al. 2001, Pham Giang 2011, Zhou 2001). In Australia, another major host country of Vietnamese diaspora with over 185,000 individuals (Ben-Moshe et al. 2016), research on the change undergone by the Vietnamese language of Vietnamese Australian in contact with Australian English has also received little attention (Ben-Moshe et al. 2016, Đào Mục Đích 2012, 2016, Đào Mục Đích/ Nguyễn Thị Anh Thư 2015, Hồ Đắc Túc 2003, Hoang Tinh Bao 2013). In other countries such as Germany, France, and Canada, there have been several studies on Vietnamese as a heritage language (Gogolin et al. 2017, Hegel 2014, Heller 2012, König 2014, Pham Cong Viet 2015, Schnoor et al. 2017, Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2006). This section will point out comment topics in the literature on Vietnamese as a heritage language (section 4.3.1), specifically it will focus on the methods and outcomes of the studies that define language characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language at different linguistic levels and in different host countries (section 4.3.2).

4.3.1. Common topics in research on the Vietnamese heritage language

As mentioned above, Vietnamese as a heritage language began to be studied in the United States at the beginning of the 20th century. In recent years, studies on Vietnamese as a heritage language have been carried out in many host countries. Table 4.1 shows the common topics in research on the Vietnamese heritage language.

Table 4.1. Studies on Vietnamese as heritage language

Topic	Study
Vietnamese heritage language loss and shift	Ben-Moshe et al. 2016, Maloof et al. 2006, Pham Giang 2011, Zhou 2001
Attitudes of parents and students toward maintaining Vietnamese as heritage language	Beth/Tuckermann (2008), Lewis et al. 2011, Nguyễn et al. 2001, Schnoor et al. 2017, Nguyễn Thị Xuân Truong 2011, Young/Tran (1999)
Language ideology and language practice	Ben-Moshe et al. 2016, Bui Chau Giang (2016), Gogolin et al. 2017, Hegele 2014, Heller 2012, König 2014, Nguyễn Thị

	Xuân Trương 2011, Pham Cong Viet 2015, Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2006
The heritage language maintenance is not barrier to acquire the second language	Hồ Đắc Túc 2003, Lam Ha 2011, Nguyễn et al. 2001, Pham Giang 2011
Heritage language education	Lam Maria Beevie 2006, Potter 2014, Nguyễn Thị Thu Hà 2016, Trần Anh 2008, Yeh et. al. (2015),
The Vietnamese heritage language proficiency assessment	Maloof et al. 2006, Nguyễn et al. 2001, Trần Thị Minh (2016)
Characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language	Đào Mục Đích 2012, 2016, Đào Mục Đích/ Nguyễn Thị Anh Thư 2015, Hồ Đắc Túc 2003, Hoang Tinh Bao 2013, Nguyễn Thanh Phương 2012, Phan Ngọc Trần 2017, 2018, Thái Duy Bảo 2007, 2011, Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2013, Trần Thị Minh (2018)

(Own research)

Table 4.1 shows that the Vietnamese heritage language has been studied in recent years on its different aspects and from various perspectives. The topic of language loss and shift were studied earlier than other topics. Zhou (2001) conducted a study with 363 Vietnamese teenagers in San Diego through questionnaires and self-reports related to language proficiency. As a result, heritage language is argued to be declining among Vietnamese youths aged 14. English proficiency increased with the decrease in heritage language literacy skills (speaking, listening, reading and writing).

Maloof et al. (2006) claimed that language loss in the Vietnamese community is estimated to occur within 1.5-2 generations of residing in the United States. In the second generation, only 15% of participants only use Vietnamese with siblings.

Pham Giang (2011) collected Vietnamese and English data of Vietnamese bilinguals in the United States in four different times to examine the language change of this target group. The results showed one of the two languages of the children at school-age time grew positively. Particularly, during the middle childhood, the dominant language shifted from the L1 (i.e., Vietnamese) to the L2 (i.e., English) (67).

To some extent, during the high school years, Andrew, a Vietnamese-American writer, lost his grasp on Vietnamese (Lam Andrew 2005). “Mouthfuls of consonants began to reform his tongue, his teeth, his lips” (ibid.: ix). Despite writing many books about his two worlds, Vietnamese and American, he used only English, the language that made him feel more confident to write. It is an example of language loss experienced by the 1,5 and 2nd generations.

The loss and shift of heritage language can differ among diasporic individuals because of their own views and their parents’ attitudes toward the maintenance of the Vietnamese heritage language. Through self-reports of the participants, Nguyễn et al. (2001) found that most of his subjects felt that it was important to speak, read and write Vietnamese, and it was important to maintain their Vietnamese culture and language, and would like to learn Vietnamese in school.

Lewis et al. (2011) also considered two case studies on Vietnamese heritage language maintenance, the first is “The role of parent involvement in heritage language maintenance within a Vietnamese heritage language school setting”, the second is “Vietnamese American parents’ and students’ attitudes toward maintaining Vietnamese as a heritage language”. The findings from the above case studies showed that parent involvement and heritage language maintenance are key components for preserving cultural identity and academic and economic success.

Lam Ha (2011) examined the experiences of parents in mixed marriages (Vietnamese married to non-Vietnamese) in their maintenance of the Vietnamese heritage language. Although there are at least three different family types and language shift was occurring in these families, parents were still trying to pass on the heritage language to their children.

The attitudes towards the maintenance of the heritage language are strongly related to the language ideology and language practice. In terms of this topic, Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2006) paid attention to language practices of the Vietnamese diaspora community in her analysis of the communication between family members in immigrant families in Nice, Paris and Lyon (10 registered families). With the semi-structured interview and participant observation, the study proposed a detailed picture of language practices in Vietnamese families in France. That is, in family interactions, in order to overcome the difficulty in Vietnamese communication at home, the children used various strategies, for examples, generalization, approximation, loans, structuring, and code-switching. Through the language practices of members of the

Vietnamese diasporic community, the researcher identified their culture, their identity, and behavior.

Another study on the maintenance of heritage language is by Beth/Tuckermann (2008). He argued that maintenance of heritage language is key to cultural preservation. For example, to help her younger sister avoid the loss of their heritage language, an older sister aged 20 attempted to construct a pleasant and supportive atmosphere of learning Vietnamese for her. The reasons for this strong effort include: she felt “very uncomfortable” and “painful” when the mentality of her sister was changing (i.e., only know about 10% Vietnamese and has a German boyfriend); and she thought learning Vietnamese language would remind her sister of “where does she come from?” (Beth/Tuckermann 2008:319). Vietnamese language skills are, therefore, sometimes viewed as a way of retaining a heritage culture: “Of course, in Germany, Vietnamese is not as necessary as German. However, I told her that that is our language. She actually can. She has it in her stomach. If she forgets or unlearns these, then someday she will not be able to do that anymore. And that is just too bad, because she never knows when she will need it again. She never knows if she might come back to Vietnam later. Not now, but to work or in a relationship” (ibid.)

In terms of language ideology, König (2014) examined the statement about language setting expressed by bilingual Vietnamese-Germans during his language biographical interviews in search of conversational features. The study also focused on the linguistic construction of different “language spaces” in which the participants positioned themselves as multilingual individuals. She found that the parents wanted their children to be proficient in both languages, Vietnamese and German, however they thought that children need to practice German to fit in at German schools (298). In addition, she examined the motivation of the teenagers and young adults to maintain their heritage language. The case of Andrea showed that despite frequent use of the heritage language before going to school, she had to give up learning it in her courses because she did not have enough time (304). The results of König (2014) were case by case that mainly were viewed as evidence for the reliability of research methodology.

KiBis (Kinder auf dem Weg zur Bildungssprache) is another study in Germany that attempted to describe heritage language literacy practices of Vietnamese-German teenagers through a qualitative analysis. As a case study, this research introduced the case of Tai and Trang. In Tai’s case, he wrote Vietnamese without diacritics or tone marks. He also couldn’t distinguish between tones such as thanh huyền (falling tone)

and thanh sắc (rising tone). He wrote Vietnamese as though he were writing German (Gogolin et al. 2017:42). Unlike Tai, Trang had to learn to write in both languages correctly. Her parents checked her spelling in both languages. In addition, she dictated with Vietnamese children once per week. Therefore, she can write quite well in Vietnamese.

Bui Chau Giang (2016) also provided a better understanding about competence in Vietnamese heritage language of adolescents. In order to examine the interest in the Vietnamese language of the Vietnamese immigrant adolescents in the United States and in Germany, she conducted two small surveys. The first one was carried out in the United States with 22 Vietnamese-Americans aged 14 and 35. The findings showed that 50% participants understand and speak Vietnamese well, but only 14% can read and write this language (146). The second one was done in Germany with 21 Vietnamese-German aged 13 and 29. The results demonstrated that 50% participants are proficient Vietnamese language in all four skills, especially about 50% can read and write well due to the expectation of their parents and the frequent practice of Vietnamese at home (230).

Should a child who is growing up in a country different than their parents' homeland maintain their heritage language? Could they experience some difficulties in the development of the societal language? Nguyễn et al. (2001) carried out a survey with 304 boys and 284 girls in first-to-eighth grade in California, USA that examined the correlations between first and second language literacy. The finding showed that there is a correlation between the high levels of competence in spoken Vietnamese, as well as high levels of communication with their parents in this heritage language and English competence. First-language use is, therefore, not detrimental to the development of spoken English. Additionally, the correlation between English literacy and self-reported competence in Vietnamese was close to zero. There is no evidence that Vietnamese is holding back English language literacy development. Similarly, Hồ Đắc Túc (2003) did not find any evidence for the relation between the intense contact between Vietnamese and English and the death of the Vietnamese language. In his study, code-switching was viewed as a strategy to overcome the difficulties in communication of Vietnamese immigrants living in Australia. Code-switching features will be introduced in more detail in the next section related to the characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language. In the same vein, Pham Giang

(2011) found that children in bilingual contexts can develop both languages, the heritage language, and the societal language at the same time (68).

Heritage language school or programs of heritage language education have also received attention from researchers. First, language use and cultural programs have been examined in terms of their quality. Maloof et al. (2006) selected 50 registered students in the Vietnamese Outreach Center in Atlanta, GA which was developed for fostering the maintenance of Vietnamese culture and language, and for promoting biculturalism, to explore students' integrated cultural identities. Participants range in age from 9 to 18 and have lived in the United States for at least two years. The research used a questionnaire to identify bicultural competencies and cultural identities as well as background data such as class participation, length of attendance and pattern of attendance. The findings show that there is a positive correlation between a strong cultural ethnic identity and the ethnic language proficiency as well as English language proficiency. Students who have particularly positive attitudes toward the ethnic culture tend to have especially positive attitudes toward the English language use. Therefore, it is undoubted that positive feelings towards the home cultures enables students to embrace the host culture language. Additionally, the cultural program can help to develop this advantage.

However, the Vietnamese heritage language program has had many difficulties. The problems can be defined as follows:

- (1) a broad, uneven range of instructors' skills levels and pedagogical training,
- (2) a diversity of students' skill levels and immigration patterns,
- (3) a lack of cultural sensitivity to diasporic acculturation issues regarding homeland politics,
- (4) the U.S. national neglect of embedded regional politics that play out in the classroom,
- (5) the possible geopolitical slant of resource and instructional materials,
- (6) U.S. federal and local funding systems, and
- (7) academic institutional infrastructural problems that affect interest in language study.

(Lam Maria Beevie 2006:2)

Another study by Trần Anh (2008) also introduced Vietnamese language education in the United States in language schools and teaching programs from some institutions such as Vietnamese literacy training program of the Parker Williams Branch Library

in Harris County in Texas, and teaching courses in universities that were mostly organized by the lobby of professors or teaching staff with Vietnamese migrant background. Due to limited funding, these schools usually lack well-trained teachers and teaching materials (ibid.:264). These problems were solved by the development of new materials, especially language software, cultural software and media. However, there are still a lot of difficulties in teaching the Vietnamese heritage language. Specifically, as Nguyễn Thị Thu Hà (2016) stated, some heritage learners felt uncomfortable learning Vietnamese because they did not self-identify as Vietnamese. Another difficulty came from the feelings of heritage speakers about dialect accents. For example, Jane grew up in a family from Central Vietnam, she often listened Hue accent. The Northern accent sounds “foreign” and “strange” (ibid.:44) to her. In addition, her classmates mostly spoke with the Southern accent. She felt more comfortable with this accent than the Northern one. Therefore, she tried to learn this accent to avoid becoming “an oddball” (ibid.). The problems of heritage learners can bring difficulties for heritage language teaching.

In language teaching, assessment of language competence is important. The assessment of Vietnamese heritage language was often carried out by a self-assessment. In terms of language competence of Vietnamese-German adolescents, Hegele (2014) found that most migrant children can speak German almost fluently, whereas their parents often have problems with this language. The participants of this study can speak Vietnamese well, but they have difficulties in reading and writing because they have not learned Vietnamese at school (11). For example, a participant said:

“I can understand all, it is sometimes for me difficult with vocabulary, and then I must sometimes ruminare. Actually, I can talk quite well, but writing and reading are hard for me... I learnt this at home, we speak Vietnamese. That’s why I also have problems in reading and writing, because I did not learn it in a school. However, I firstly learnt Vietnamese, therefore it is my mother tongue”. (Student 1 in Hegele 2014:11)

In another study, Nguyễn et al. (2001) used self-reports of participants to assess heritage language proficiency. Vietnamese is measured through self-report as following table:

Table 4.2. Self-report of competence in Vietnamese (n=588)

	Vietnamese	English	Both	Don't know
What is your first language?	352 (60%)	39 (7%)	152 (26%)	45 (8%)
Do you speak Vietnamese?	Very well or well 376 (67%)	Okay 141 (25%)	Little or none 12 (7%)	
Do you read and write Vietnamese?	Very well or well 130 (23%)	Okay 104 (19%)	Little or none 327 (58%)	

(Nguyễn et al. 2001:162)

The results in Table 4.2 showed that most of participants thought Vietnamese is their first language. Their speaking competence was self-assessed to be good, but the reading and writing competence/literacy competence was thought to be worse. The findings in this study were also in the line with the results shown by Gogolin et al. (2017) and Hegele (2014).

In addition, Maloof et al. (2006) measured Vietnamese heritage language proficiency by self-reports in two domains: communication and cultural content. The communicative domain is accessed by self-reported competence in four skills: understanding, speaking, reading and writing with nine-interval Likert scales (1 = not at all, 9 = very well). The cultural content was identified by inquiring into some cultural language aspects such as proverbs and ethnic holidays. Additionally, the cognitive competence was completed through reports about four student skills that are conducted by language centers' teachers.

In sum, most of the studies about Vietnamese language concentrated on the relationship between heritage language and social issues such as academic achievement, the role of heritage language school, and the attitudes of parents and students. In some studies, language proficiency assessment, if measured, usually includes self-reports. Some other studies examine Vietnamese language practices to identify the identity of the participants. In Germany, there are a few studies that refer to Vietnamese immigrant adolescents in general and their heritage issues (LiMA 2009-2013, König 2014, Gogolin et al. 2017 about KiBis 2015-2016). Nevertheless, the LiMA reports have mainly discussed the relationship between L1 and L2 through descriptive statistic. The current study, by examining the LiPS test, first and foremost

attempts to contribute to the area of language assessment with a concrete evaluation of the Vietnamese heritage language.

In addition, research on characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language has been paid attention to in recent years. Section 4.3.2 will review concrete studies on this topic.

4.3.2. Research on characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language

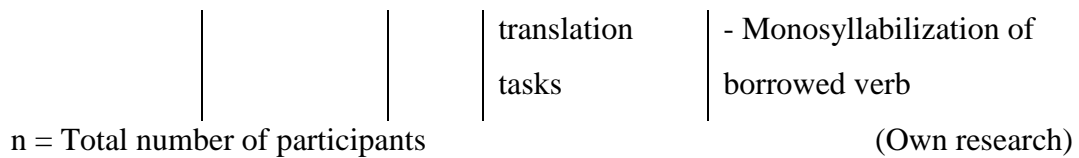
Studies on the language use of the Vietnamese diasporic community from the perspective of social linguistics have been recently expanded. Research on characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language of the different Vietnamese immigrant populations are proposed in this section. Table 4.3 briefly summarizes investigations in social linguistics.

Table 4.3. Summary of published studies on Vietnamese HL characteristics

Study	Subjects	n	Methods	Findings
Hồ Đắc Túc (2003)	First generation/ natural speech (Australia)	60	Analysis of interview and natural speech recording	- Frequent occurrence of code-switching, especially in the use of nouns (50%) - Frequent occurrence of code-switching in some communication topics such as book and film (21.51%), daily work (16.22%), and Australian picture (12.04%) - The signal of attitude change in code-switching of personal pronouns
Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2006, 2013)	First generation	12 21	Analysis recording conversation and	- The use of complex address forms was still maintained.

	1.5 Second generation Third generation	- 7	observation in family communicatio n.	- The use of address forms establishing both of horizontal and vertical relationship was influenced by French language and culture. - The wrong use of classifiers.
Thái Duy Bảo 2007	Aged 20-62	28	Analysis of 37 interviews and daily life conversations and 120 journalistic texts	- The renewal of lexical forms by code-switching - The maintenance of old vocabulary
Đào Mục Đích (2012, 2016)	first generation aged 35-54, second generation aged 18-25 (Australia)	10 10	Analysis of language background questionnaire, phonetical test, and journalistic data.	- The divergence of tone and vowel production of the second generation - The maintenance of obsoletes, especially of the old people
Hoang Tinh Bao (2013)	First generation aged 18-28 Second generation aged 45-60	30 31	Analysis data collected by Discourse Completion Test Role- plays, the language tests on idioms and proverbs,	- Significant shift from the indirectness of the first generation speakers to the directness of the second generation speakers. - Characteristics of the shift: an equality-based relationship instead of traditionally hierarchical Vietnamese customs;

			questionnaire and interviews	rational basis instead of an emotional intuitive basis; and clear-cut style of speech instead of indirect.
Phan Ngọc Trần (2017)	The second generation aged 22,5	6	Analysis data collected through participants' narratives about a series of pictures of a given story and through the participants' interviews.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Consistent use of the aspect markers of <i>đã/rồi</i>, <i>đang</i> - Wrong use of verbum denoting the direction of movement (<i>ra</i> (out), <i>xuống</i> (down))
Phan Ngọc Trần (2018)	The second generation aged 22,5	6	Analysis data collected by participants' narratives for a series of pictures of a given story and through the participants' interviews.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frequent occurrence of missing, misusing and overusing of classifiers - Consistent use of the indefinite determiner <i>một</i> (a), the indexical <i>cái</i> (unlike classifier <i>cái</i>) and the aspect markers of <i>đã/rồi</i>, <i>đang</i>
Trần Thị Minh 2018	Second generation aged 15-16	45	Analysis of written data collected through writing and	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Frequent use of basic verbs such as <i>làm</i> (make), <i>nhìn</i> (see), <i>nói</i> (talk) - Frequent use of infinitival forms of verb in borrowings



Most of the above studies were based on oral data and focused on young adults or adults. My study examines the characteristics of Vietnamese heritage language Vietnamese-German adolescents in written data, of which was explored partly in verb use in Trần Thị Minh (2018).

The most prominent feature that appears frequently in language use of all generations and also all data is code-switching and transfer. Hồ Đắc Túc (2003) analyzed patterns of code-switching of Vietnamese-English bilinguals in Melbourne, Australia through face-to-face interviews in Vietnamese and natural conversations that occurred in informants' houses.

The questionnaire for interviews is comprised of twenty-five questions in reference to the informant's personal information such as birthplace, age, year of arrival in Australia, area of residence, language spoken at home, and self-identification. He also asked whether they saw themselves as Vietnamese or ethnic Chinese, because about 33 percent of Vietnamese people living in Australia have Chinese ancestry (Hồ Đắc Túc 2003:24). In addition, the questionnaire included questions about information medium and cultural resources such as television, radio programs, books and newspapers, especially in relation with the language of each medium. The key questions were related to their experience in Vietnam, their experience in the Australian education system, work and family environment, current issues in their Vietnamese community, knowledge of current issues in Vietnam and Australia, involvement in Vietnamese community activities, and their participation in Australian-related activities. The informants' circle of relatives and friends is also asked to access the social networks through which they can be influenced.

In order to describe the language behavior through the participants' speech in a different cultural context, the informants in Hồ Đắc Túc's study (2003) were asked to talk about pictures of a typical Vietnamese and a typical Australian scene that had already been implemented by Clyne (1967). The interviews were mostly done in Vietnamese. Additionally, eleven informants were asked to record their natural communication in their homes.

The objective of this study was analysis of code-switching at many linguistic levels such as syntax, tonal facilitation, and personal pronouns. Code-switching was viewed as an important feature of the Vietnamese language of registered informants in Hồ Đắc Túc (2003). I will be reporting the three major findings in this study.

Firstly, the frequency of code-switching by word classes was discussed. The proportion of English nouns that exclude proper nouns was more than 50 percent of the total switches. The switched nouns distribute among some of the following semantic categories such as accommodation (flat, bedroom, motel), landscape (city, park, tram), work-related (team, office, boss), food (milk, cereal, dinner); institution (tax, court, police), household (furniture, kitchen, cook), shopping (shopping center, sale, op-shop), education (Maths, library, exam), and Australian way of living (cricket, pub, safari). English nouns in the collected data were treated like non-count nouns in English as seen in Example 11:

- (11) *Có hai GROUP.*
 Have two group
 There are two groups.
 (Example 40, Hồ Đắc Túc 2003:57)

In 11, the switched English noun *group* was in singular form despite preceding the unit number *hai* (two). The use of an incorrect form of the switched noun was explained simply by the transnumeral in Vietnamese grammar. (ibid.)

In addition, an English noun can be placed in the syntactic position of a verb in the sentence as in Example 12.

- (12) *Nó sẽ analysis như là công việc thằng*
 It will analysis like be work fellow
này có đúng không.
 this has right not

It will analyse the efficiency of this fellow's work. (Example 45, ibid.: 58)

In 12, *analysis* in noun form was placed in the verb position. This phenomenon was explained by showing that the speaker violated the equivalence of word order and word classes, and also by showing that there is the morphological typology of Vietnamese (ibid.:59).

The percentage of verb code-switching is about 13 percent with a high percentage of invariable forms (infinitive without *to* for third person-singular, past or past participle forms). The most frequent borrowed verbs were *go, check, finish, pick, look, and run*. The occurrence of code-switching adjectives, adverbs and interjections accounted for more than 3 percent for each word class. In English, adjectives are placed before the noun in the noun phrase (adjective + noun), whereas in Vietnamese the word order is opposite with the adjective placed after the noun (noun + adjective). English adjectives in a Vietnamese sentence were put in the same position as the Vietnamese adjective in the Vietnamese grammar structure as shown in Example 13.

(13) Một người LUCKY.

one person lucky

A lucky person.

(Example 58 *ibid.*: 64)

In 13, the English adjective was placed in the syntactically correct place in the Vietnamese language. It means heritage speakers wanted to borrow only the meaning of the word, not the syntactic characteristic of the word in practice (*ibid.*).

Moving on to other parts of speech, *very* was the most widely switched adverb. *Oh my Godness, yeah, so* were the most popular interjections of females who had lived in Australia for more than 10 years. The proportion of conjunctions and prepositions that were switched is quite low at 0.57 and 0.77 percent.

Secondly, the relationship between code-switching patterns and topics was examined. The results suggested that code-switching happens frequently in topics such as the description of book and film (21.51%), the description of daily work in Australia (16.22%), and the description of Australian picture (12.04%) (*ibid.*:73).

Finally, Hồ Đắc Túc (2003) found that code-switching in personal pronouns was a strategy to handle identities. Specifically, the switch of a Vietnamese address form to an English personal pronoun signaled the attitude change of the speakers (see Example 97-102, *ibid.*:124). In these examples, the Vietnamese pronouns *mày – tao* as informal address forms appeared dominantly to show the close and intimate relationship between friends. One speaker changed address forms to the English pronouns *me* to create distance between herself and her friend.

To sum up, Hồ Đắc Túc (2003) viewed code-switching as a critical feature of the Vietnamese language variety of heritage speakers living in Australia. Code-

switching was seen as a strategy to make conversation in Vietnamese in an English environment. At the grammatical level, code-switching of content words such as noun, verb, and adjective occurred more frequently than in function words. However, the usage of English words was influenced by the rule of using Vietnamese grammatical structure, such as the lack of word change in all positions in a sentence. In addition, the code-switching of address forms could express the change of speakers' attitudes which are traditionally implied in the Vietnamese language and culture.

Another study that focused on code-switching and transfer as prominent characteristics of bilingual conversation is Thái Duy Bảo (2007). In this study, he examined the relationship between code-choice, code-mixing and identities. In this study, 53 conversations were recorded. There were 28 participants aged 22 – 62 who had lived in Australia for at least 5 years (Pritchard, Springvale and Belconnen). Participant's professions varied, ranging from doctors, IT engineers, writers, students to housewives. 12 of the participants were fluent Vietnamese-English bilinguals.

Based on the collected data, he attempted to describe the forms of lexical renewal. The creation of new words was based on an English lexical vocabulary:

- (14a) *đi làm pham*
 go make farm
 seasonal fruit picking
- (14b) *tách phom*
 separate form
 separated couples
- (14c) *làm neo (nail)*
 make nail
 manicurist

In 14abc, English words as *farm*, *form* and *nail* were Vietnamized at the phonetic level. However, their meanings were mostly broadened. For example, *đi làm ruộng* (working on the farm) is understood in a general sense and includes manual planting, pouring and harvesting in the standard Vietnamese, whereas *đi làm farm* in the Vietnamese variety in Australia refers to seasonal fruit-picking or sometimes as cash-paid seasonal labor. Semantic expansion occurred frequently because of the impact of English homonyms or the preference of archaism in the migrant language (Clyne 1985). In

contrast, vocabularies that had no longer been used in Vietnam since 1975 was still spoken and written in some talks and some papers produced by the Vietnamese diaspora such as *thủ lĩnh* (leader), *nhật trình* (daily newspaper), or proper names of many countries as *Hoa Lục* (China), *Hoa Thịnh Đốn* (Washington), *Úc Kim* (Australian Dollar). In Vietnam, other new vocabularies are currently used instead of those above. For example, *lãnh đạo* (leader) has been used for *thủ lĩnh* (leader), *Trung Quốc* for *Hoa Lục*, *Washington* for *Hoa Thịnh Đốn*, *Đô la Úc* for *Úc Kim*. However, in the Vietnamese diaspora community, especially for people over the age of 50 who still maintained the knowledge of the Vietnamese language of previous decades and did not have contact with the language change in Vietnam, these vocabularies were still available for use. Another characteristic of lexical use in the Vietnamese variety in Australia is the lack of new vocabularies that emerged after 1975 such as *bao cấp* (budget subsidies), *hộ khẩu* (number of inhabitants), *quần chúng* (the masses).

In addition, Thái Duy Bảo (2007) described some different patterns such as the use of passive voice in the written and spoken language of educated bilinguals; the adoption of address forms as *you* and *me*, and the frequent use of *thank you* and *sorry*.

In 2006, Trần Thanh Bình Minh examined language use in daily conversations of Vietnamese immigrant families in France, particularly in Nice, Lyon and Paris. The study examined the use of teknonymies as well as the use of classifiers across different generations. The teknonymies in the Vietnamese language is a complex system with pronouns, kinship terms and other nouns. The use of teknonymies between different generations showed that Vietnamese-French still used the complicated traditional address forms, particularly in the communication between first and second generation. Example (15) and (16) exemplified by Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2006) show some complicated usage of teknonymies with emotional express.

(15) Ly: **Bà** nói như vậy là tâm bậy rồi!
 You talk like that is wrong already.
 What you talk is wrong! (Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2006:95)

Ly and Thao, the two speakers in this conversation are siblings. Ly is Thảo's younger sister. Normally, Ly should address Thảo as *chị* (older sister). However, she called Thảo *bà* (grandmother) instead because she wanted to express the uncomfortable feeling and the disagreement between them. This emotional meaning can be explained

only in the particular context and is usually utilized by native speakers who have acquired Vietnamese for a long time and feel that they belong to this language (ibid.:95).

Another example for the use of traditional ways of address in the specific context is in (16):

- (16) Đường to My: *Ngồi đây! Ngồi đây đàng hoàng cho tôi.*
 Đường to My: Sit here! Seat here carefully for me.
 Đường to My: Sit down here! Sit down here carefully as I asked. (ibid.:99)

Đường is My's father. Normally he should use the kinship terms *bố, ba* (father) to address My. In this context, Đường utilized *tôi* (I) to get his daughter to obey him. *Tôi* in this case expresses the emotional meaning and disagreement or challenge in the given context (ibid.:99).

Nevertheless, in general, the usage of teknonymies establishing both horizontal and vertical relationships is influenced by French language and culture. Frequency of using the pair address *mày-tao* (*moi-tu* in French, *you-I* in English) and the limitation of pronouns are considered to be the characteristics of teknonymies use of Vietnamese-French speakers. Elimination of the pronoun occurred quite often, because speakers were not confident that they would find the exact teknonymies to use in the context as in Example (17):

- (17) Mợ Thủy: *hút XX mười mấy điếu?*
 Smoke XX ten how many CL
 How many cigarets do you smoke?
 Long: *Thì cỡ ba ngày một gói!*
 Copula about three day one pack!
 About one pack three days. (ibid.:104)

Long's response to mợ Thủy did not include any pronouns because he may be felt it was difficult to find the suitable pronoun/ form of address, then his solution was to eliminate the pronoun.

To sum up, Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2006) argued that the teknonymies use of the Vietnamese diaspora in France is an "innovative system" (103). The Vietnamese

teknonymies were changed and innovated in communication between different Vietnamese-French generations.

Đào Mục Đích (2012, 2017) and Đào Mục Đích/Nguyễn Thị Anh Thư (2015) examined the characteristics of phonetic and lexis of Vietnamese language used in the Vietnamese-Australian community, particularly in Queensland, which is distinctive from contemporary Vietnamese language in Vietnam, particularly in Southern Vietnam (Cần Thơ, Hồ Chí Minh city). Đào Mục Đích wanted to study the Vietnamese heritage language in Australia, because Vietnamese community is one of the largest ethnic groups in Australia. The Vietnamese language is also one of the fastest-growing languages and is one of the most common languages other than English spoken at home. In order to describe the usage of Vietnamese tones and vowel productions, as well as lexis, four sample groups were set up as follows: 10 older Vietnamese bilinguals who arrived in Australia as adults (the first generation) aged between 35 and 54, 5 females and 5 males; 10 younger Vietnamese bilinguals who were born or have grown up in Australia (the second generation) aged between 18 and 25, 5 females and 5 males; 10 older Vietnamese living in Vietnam who were the same age as participants in the first group; 10 younger Vietnamese living in Vietnam who were the same age of participants in the second group. Additionally, an extensive data-base of Vietnamese journalistic language was collected in Vietnam and Australia.

Test instruments included a *Language Background Questionnaire* and phonetic tests. The Questionnaire contains questions about personal information, the Vietnamese dialect that they use at home, and a self-assessment of their Vietnamese and English proficiency.

The phonetic experiment used open syllables with the initial stop consonant /t/ and nine Vietnamese vowels (ibid.:65). These vowels were put into the carrier words such as *tì, tu, tô* and then paired with five Southern Vietnamese tones, e.g. *tì, tì, tí, tĩ/tĩ, tị*. There are six tones in the Northern standard dialect. However, in the Southern dialect, there are only five tones, because two tones, the *broken* tone (ngã) and the *curve* tone (hỏi) were merged. The combined tone, therefore, is called as ngã-hỏi (broken-curve tone). (ibid.:66)

The target words were elicited in two contexts, in a citation form or in a sentence form with all the carrier sentences having similar grammatical structure, for example:

Đọc lại từ tô đi nhé!

Read again word *tô* please!

Read the word *tô* again please! (ibid.)

In addition, the target words were elicited in a picture naming task that has the Vietnamese target word and its corresponding English to help the younger Vietnamese-Australian bilinguals how to pronounce the target words.

The vowel productions were also examined in the same way. Praat software was used to record the samples. Both tonal and vowel data were analyzed through both quantitative and qualitative methods and EMU Speech Tools.

The results showed the divergence of production of the tones and vowels between the young Vietnamese residents in Australia and the older Vietnamese residents in Australia (ibid.: ii). Specifically, young Vietnamese Australians are unable to produce the *broken-curve* tone of Southern Vietnamese dialect. They are also confused by tones in the same register and/or of similar characteristics such as the *level* and *rising* tone. They also confused the tone diacritics: the *falling* tone was mispronounced as the *rising* tone. The vowel productions of young Vietnamese-Australians were also distinct from the older Vietnamese-Australians and native speakers, due to the influence of transference of English. Despite of the existence of the close mid /e/ in Australian English, young bilinguals tended to produce the English vowel /e/ instead of the Vietnamese vowel /ɛ/. It was explained by the difficulty of distinguishing between /ɛ/ and /e/ in the Vietnamese language. These two vowels are described as front, mid, unrounded, but /ɛ/ is pronounced more open than /e/ (Đào Mục Đích/Nguyễn Thị Anh Thư 2015:302). In addition, the graphemes of the two phonemes are slightly different, /ɛ/ is written as [e], and /e/ is written as [ê] that confused the participants when they saw the written word form. The misjudgment of the vowel /x/ instead of /o/ also originates from the slightly different orthography of these two vowels, /x/ to [o], /o/ to /ô/. (ibid.:303)

In term of characteristics of lexis, Đào Mục Đích (2016) collected monolingual Vietnamese newspapers published in Australia such as *Việt Luận* (Vietnamese Herald), *Chiêu Dương* (the Sunrise), and *Nhân Quyền* (Human Rights). They also collected monolingual newspapers published in Vietnam such as *Tuổi Trẻ* (the Youth), *Thanh Niên* newspaper (the Young people), and *Tin nhanh Việt Nam* (Express News of Vietnam). Four monolingual Vietnamese dictionaries were used for reference and to check lexical items: *Việt Nam Tân Từ Điển* (Vietnamese New Dictionary) of Thanh

Nghi (1952), Saigon, Khai Trí Publishing House for the older Vietnamese dictionary; *Từ điển Hán Việt* (Sino-Vietnamese dictionary) of Đào Duy Anh (2004), Hanoi, Social Science Press; *Từ điển Tiếng Việt* (Vietnamese dictionary) of Hoàng Phê, Hanoi-Danang, Danang Press and Trung tâm Từ điển (Dictionary centre) for the contemporary dictionary; and *Từ điển từ ngữ Nam Bộ* (Southern Vietnamese words dictionary) of Huỳnh Công Tín (2007), Hochiminh city, Social Science Press. The lexical items were counted as type and analyzed by SPSS.

Đào Mục Đích (2016:204) found that obsolete vocabulary was still used frequently in Vietnamese newspapers in Australia (79%). The proportion of obsolete nouns were higher than for obsolete verbs (13.8%) and adjectives (5.7%). The vocabulary surrounding political institutions such as government, politics and legal matters were preserved in this medium. About 18.3% belonged to the older South Vietnamese dialects that were replaced by *từ ngữ toàn dân* (expression for all the Vietnamese people). Their orthography was maintained as the older dialect, for example: *chánh phủ* (government) instead of *chính phủ*, *cá nhân* (individual) instead of *cá nhân*. About 60.5% of the obsolete vocabulary used in Vietnamese newspapers in Australia is Sino-Vietnamese. Almost all of them are no longer used in contemporary Vietnamese, such as *chiếu khán* (visa) for *thị thực*, *Lã Phụng Tiên* (La Fontaine) for La Fontaine.

In addition, Đào Mục Đích (2016) attempted to define characteristics of English loanwords in the Vietnamese lexis of Vietnamese-Australian immigrants. Nouns had the highest proportion of English loanwords in the Vietnamese vocabulary of Vietnamese-Australian immigrants, about 87.6% (ibid.:209). The semantic fields of English loanwords were from a wide range of places. The semantic fields of health, business and economy, cars/vehicles/aviation, and housing and dwelling had the highest proportions, respectively about 8.8%, 8.1%, 7.7%, and 7.6% (ibid.:210).

Interestingly, in Đào Mục Đích's study (2016), the orthography of English loanwords were based on the Vietnamese orthographic system with tones, diacritics and/or hyphens between syllables, for example, *σ-cao* for *account*, *chạc* for *charge*. Many words were borrowed in order to “designate new things, persons, places, and concepts” (Weinreich 1974:56). However, Vietnamese-Australian immigrants used English words for many things that already had their own names in the Vietnamese language such as *casino* for *song bạc*, *seat belt* for *dây an toàn*. It is evidence of the high level of “penetration of English loanwords in the Vietnamese language in

Australia” (ibid.:213). In addition, about 39.1% of loanwords are loan translations. For example, *pension age* is translated to *tiền già* (lit. old money).

In summation, the phonetic changes of the younger bilingual Vietnamese-Australians, the preservation of obsolete vocabulary of the older bilingual Vietnamese-Australians and in the Vietnamese newspapers of Vietnamese-Australian, as well as the use of English loanwords were defined as the distinctive characteristics of the Vietnamese language variety in Australia.

In 2017 and 2018, Phan Ngọc Trần published two papers that focus on the linguistic characteristics of the Vietnamese language in the United States. 24 illustrated frames of a wordless children story were used as the test instrument to collect participants’ oral data. Like in the other studies already discussed by Hồ Đắc Túc (2003), Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2006, 2014), Thái Duy Bảo (2007), code-switching was found to appear frequently in Vietnamese production of Vietnamese-American English. These loanwords were mostly used in Vietnamese syntactic frames despite the different levels of Vietnamese fluency of participants. It supported Montrul’s (2012) argument about “the most resilient areas” (20) that were passively obtained during their constant contact with the heritage language in usage between family members (Phan Ngọc Trần 2018:8).

Specifically, he examined the use of classifiers, the use of the indefinite determiner *một*, the use of the indexical *cái* within noun phrases, the use of *đã/rồi*, *đang*, and the use of causative constructions. In terms of classifier use, errors such as missing, misusing, and overusing occurred differently from one participant to another. Classifier *con* was mostly used correctly despite its frequent occurrence in the language production of participants. It can be explained by the meaning [+animate] of *con* that separates this classifier itself from different classifiers. In contrast, *cái* – general classifier (Trần Jennie 2011) was often misused instead of other specific classifiers. For example:

- (18) *Tiếp tục, bé trai leo lên cái đá.* (LT)
Continue CL boy climb up CL rock

Then the boy climbed up a boulder. (Phan Ngọc Trần 2018:11)

In (18), *cái* was used instead of the appropriate classifier *tảng* due to oversimplifying the combination of *cái* with any [-animate] mass noun (ibid.:11).

In addition, he found the overuse of the indefinite determiner *một* and the indexical *cái* (not CL *cái*) that is also called “extra *cái*” (Trần Jennie 2011). The wrong use of the indefinite determiner *một* can be a result of the transference of the use of the indefinite article *a/an* in the English language. Heritage speakers had a significantly higher usage of the indexical *cái* as compared with native speakers, however the author did not explain or discuss this finding much at all.

In terms of defining characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language in Germany, Trần Thị Minh (2018) examined the verb use of Vietnamese-German adolescents. A nine-picture set of building a boomerang was used as the instrument to collect written data of 25 participants. Another English text was used for a translation test with 20 different participants. The results showed the strategy of simplification in their use of verbs, i.e., using basic verbs (*làm* (make), *nhìn* (see), or *nói* (talk)) instead of specific verbs. For example:

- (19) *Anh làm màu đỏ.*
He make color red.
He paints it red. (ibid.: in press)

(19) is an example of translation from the English sentence “He painted it red”. *Paint* in this case should be translated directly to the specific verb *son* in Vietnamese. However, due to the lack of Vietnamese vocabulary, this participant used general verb/basic verb *làm*.

The studies mentioned in this section were directly related to the objective of defining characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language in many host countries of Vietnamese diaspora that the present study also attempts to find in the written performance of Vietnamese-German adolescents. The methods and findings of the studies discussed will help us to find the similarities and the differences between different Vietnamese communities in the practice of Vietnamese heritage language. In order to complete this objective, a publication by Tang Giang (2007) should be introduced here despite its indirect investigation of characteristics of Vietnamese as heritage language.

In Tang Giang’s study (2007), the possible interaction between Vietnamese and English was presented to help educators promote heritage language maintenance. A comprehensive comparison between both languages at all linguistic levels, such as

phonology, lexical semantics (word meaning), and morpho-syntax (grammar), were proposed. In terms of phonology, it was noted that English does not have lexical tones that are quite complicated in the Vietnamese language with six tones in the Northern dialect. The vowel, consonant system, and syllable structure were also compared comprehensively. In lexical semantics, lexical function, classifier, and pronouns were shown to emphasize the difference between both languages and needed to be paid attention to in Vietnamese heritage language teaching. At the morpho-syntactic level, the structure of the content question, the negation, the expression of tense and aspects, the expression of number, the expression of possession and the comparison were discussed. *This study introduced the possible interaction between English and Vietnamese that can be an influence on the performance of both languages. The author did not conduct an empirical data to examine these suggestions. Instead, based on these assumptions, my study develops linguistic-specific indicators for defining characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language performed by the Vietnamese-German adolescents.*

In order to examine the characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language in Germany, both general and specific features, my research analyses the language-specific indicators at all linguistic levels such as the use of diacritics, address forms, classifier, verb use, the frequent occurrence of extra *cái*, and code-switching and transfer. Section 4.4 addresses those indicators in the Vietnamese language in detail.

4.4. Language-specific indicators for assessing Vietnamese as heritage language

In Chapter Two, studies on heritage language show that the heritage varieties may not be performed exactly as they are in the homeland varieties because of the deficit input (Mrak 2011, Polinsky 2008). Incomplete heritage language acquisition and competence are exhibited at different linguistic levels such as orthography, vocabulary, and grammar (Cutler et al. 2017; Montrul 2016:48). The reasons of these divergences can only be defined through a direct comparison with a monolingual control group (Montrul 2008; Polinsky 2008; Tsimpli et al. 2004). Finding the language-specific indicators for assessment of Vietnamese heritage language is the aim of this section.

Vietnamese is a mixture of Austro-Asiatic languages, sharing a number of common linguistic patterns with Mon-Khmer, Thai, and Muong languages (Vuong/Moore 1994). However, due to the strong influence of Chinese with a thousand years' domination, the Vietnamese language also shares many similarities with Cantonese in terms of lexis (Alves 2009, Thái Minh Đức 2004:397). Other linguistic levels, such as orthography or syntax, were also influenced by the Chinese language. For example, based on the written Chinese system (i.e, Han characters), a new written Vietnamese system, entitled Nôm, was well developed in the 14th century (Thompson 1965:53). Nevertheless, the Latin system was used instead of other written systems in the 17th century. Linguistic registers of Vietnamese as heritage language are assumed to differ from those in the Vietnamese language used in Vietnam – the home country. In order to develop an evaluation of Vietnamese written compositions, and to define characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language, this section introduces language-specific indicators involving the writing system, vocabulary, and grammar of the Vietnamese language. Table 4.4 shows the indicators which will be used in the LiPS evaluation and in the qualitative analysis:

Table 4.4. Linguistic-specific indicators for assessment

Indicators	LiPS evaluation (analytic scoring)	Qualitative analysis Boomerang
Orthography	-	+
Address forms	+	+
Compound words	+	-
Sino-Vietnamese	+	-
Vocabulary	+	-
Passive	+	-
Classifier	+	+
Cohesion	+	-
Sentence structure	+	-
Vocabulary size	+	-
Transfer	-	+

(Own research)

As shown in Table 4.4, eight language-specific indicators will be analyzed through analytic scoring of the LiPS evaluation, whereas orthography and transfer at different linguistic levels are further analyzed due to their important role in the writing assessment of bilinguals, and the absence of them in the LiPS evaluation. Other indicators, such as address forms and classifiers, will be analyzed not only by analytic scoring due to their complexity in the Vietnamese language that will be introduced in this section. The eight indicators for analytic scoring will be examined in Chapter 5 in comparison to the results of Vietnamese monolingual peers when doing the same task. This section will introduce the indicators to give background information for the analysis and discussion in Chapter 5, 6, 7 and 8.

4.4.1. Vietnamese writing system

The history of writing in the Vietnamese language began prior to the ninth or tenth century A.D. with *chữ Hán* (classical Chinese writing system) as the written language of officialdom and intelligentsia (Emeneau 1951:1). During the time of Chinese domination, around the fourteenth century, a system of modified Chinese characters was developed to renounce the power of classical Chinese that was called *chữ Nôm*. Chữ Nôm used Chinese characters for Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary, and had an adapted set of characters for the native vocabulary (Thompson 1965:53). Since then, many novels and works of poetry have been published in chữ Nôm. However, this system never gained enough prestige to become an official vehicle for written language in the Vietnamese regimes. The two scripts coexisted until the era of French Indochina when the Latin alphabet as Quốc ngữ (national language) emerged (Đỗ Quang Chính 1972:65, Jacques 2004:25, Hoàng Xuân Việt 2006:134).

In the mid-seventeenth century, *Quốc ngữ* (the national language) with a Roman transcription for the language was developed by Catholic European missionaries (Emeneau 1951:1, Đỗ Quang Chính 1972:23, Jacques 2004:23). The missionaries modified the Latin letters with accents and signs to suit the particular consonants, vowels and tones of Vietnamese. Three languages such as Portuguese, French, and Italian were involved in helping the missionaries create this writing system (Emeneau 1951:1). For example, the symbol <gi> was borrowed from the Italian orthographic system (Thompson 1965:59). The choice of <o> for /u/ as the first member of rising diphthongs, <hoa> (/hua/ flower) may be influenced by the phonetic

value of the French /oi/ (Emeneau 1951:1). Contrastingly, Jacques (2004: 219-221) provided many convincing historical evidence for the strong influence of Portuguese orthographic system on Quoc ngu development.

In 1649, Alexandre de Rhodes, a French Jesuit missionary, wrote the “*Dictionarium Annamiticum Lusitanum et Latinum*”, the first trilingual Vietnamese-Portuguese-Latin dictionary which has been considered the most important work in the development of the Quốc ngữ writing system. However, other missionaries and people such as Francisco de Pina, Gaspar d’Amaral, Pigneaux de Béhaine, Hồ Văn Nghi, Taberd, and Phan Văn Minh may also have played important roles in the progress of Latinization of Vietnamese language (Đỗ Quang Chính 1972, Jacques 2004). Emeneau (1951) found that the earliest reference to this issue is a circular of the Résident supérieur of Tonkin requiring that all public documents be transcribed into *Quốc ngữ*. Since then this new writing system gradually became the written medium of both government and popular literature.

The present-day Vietnamese writing system includes Roman letters, additional diacritics to distinguish phonemes that do not exist in the Roman alphabet (i.e., <â> for /ǣ/) and diacritics for tones. Syllables are separated by spaces. Tone diacritics are marked on vowel letters. There are many variations amongst speakers concerning how tones are realized phonetically. There are differences between varieties of Vietnamese spoken in the major geographic areas (i.e. northern, central, southern) and smaller differences within the major areas (e.g. Hanoi vs. other northern varieties). In addition, there seems to be variation amongst individuals. Generally, since the seventeenth century, standard Vietnamese has apparently involved six tone distinctions (Thompson 1965:62):

Table 4.5. Six Vietnamese tones

Tone name in Vietnamese	Tone name in English	Diacritic	Syllable
Thanh ngang/ Thanh không	Level tone	unmarked	Ma
Thanh sắc	Rising tone	´	Mà
Thanh huyền	Falling tone	`	Má
Thanh hỏi	Falling rising tone	ˆ	mả

Thanh ngã	High rising tone	ˉ	Mã
Thanh nặng	Low constricted tone	˙	mạ

(Thompson 1965:62)

Due to these six tones, Vietnamese is considered to have a complex tone system (Nguyễn Hưng Quốc 2014:53). This tone system is very strange for people who speak languages without tones such as English or German. Therefore, distinguishing between six tones is a challenge for these foreign students. Students in an intermediate Vietnamese course can distinguish tones in specific and separated contexts, but when the context is not clear, it is very difficult for them to identify the Vietnamese tones. Example (20) is a sentence which does not have many clues to identify tones:

- (20) *Nhà thơ* và *người thợ* *thở* trong *nhà thờ*.
 Poet and worker breathe in church
 A poet and a worker breathes in a church. (ibid.:54)

Nguyễn Hưng Quốc (2014) used this sentence to examine whether students at the intermediate levels of Vietnamese can distinguish between tones and understand the sentence. He said that none were able to understand that sentence.

In writing, tone marks are assumed to be a challenge for Vietnamese second language learners and also for Vietnamese heritage language learners. The analysis in Chapter 6 and 7 will offer evidence to confirm this assertion.

Additionally, Tang Giang (2007) implied that a cross-linguistic analysis of English and Vietnamese at all linguistic levels is necessary to study, to teach, and to promote the learning of the Vietnamese heritage language in the United States and other English speaking countries. In this study, in order to examine whether or not the assumption that orthographic transfer from German as the dominant/societal language to Vietnamese language as heritage language is a main strategy which helps bilingual adolescents to be able to write Vietnamese texts without learning to write formally, a brief comparison between the German and Vietnamese orthographic systems is introduced here.

In the Vietnamese writing system, there are the following graphemes with diacritics which do not exist in German orthography:

Table 4.6. Phoneme and grapheme with diacritics in Vietnamese

Phoneme	Grapheme	Example
/ă/	ă	<i>ăn</i> (eat)
/â/	â	<i>mận</i> (plum)
/ê/	ê	<i>bê</i> (calf)
/đ/	đ	<i>đi</i> (go)
/ô/	ô	<i>ô</i> (umbrella)
/ơ/	ơ	<i>cờ</i> (flag)
/ư/	ư	<i>từ</i> (word)

(Own research)

Contrastingly, in the German orthographic system, there are also such characters which do not exist in the Vietnamese orthographic system:

Table 4.7. Specific German graphemes in comparison to Vietnamese graphemes

Phoneme	Graphem	Example
	e	
/ɛ/	ä	Mädchen (girl)
/y:/	ü	müde (tired)
/œ/	ö	können (can)
/ts/, /s/	z	Zoo (zoo)
/f/	f	film (film)
/v/	w	Wand (wall)

(Own research)

Table 4.6 and 4.7 only show the specific differences between the orthographic systems of the two languages. These differences are assumed to create the transfer and code-switching phenomenon at the orthographic level.

Due to their incomplete acquisition of the heritage language (Benammoun et al. 2013, Montrul 2016), bilingual children can make possible errors such as omission, replacement, transition, and addition (see more in Chapter 2). Orthographic characteristics of Vietnamese as heritage language have not been paid much attention in research. The current study, therefore, attempts to fill this gap.

4.4.2. Vocabulary

Receptive and productive vocabulary are considered a critical feature of the assessment of children's language development (De Houwer et al. 2014:1189). The vocabulary size of heritage language speakers in the second and further generations is measured to be smaller than first generation speakers (Montrul 2016:53). It is also assumed that the vocabulary size of each separate language of a bilingual speaker is smaller than a monolingual one (ibid.). LiPS evaluation, therefore, attempted to measure vocabulary size by counting the amount of nouns, verbs and adjectives of a heritage language speaker in comparison to those of a native speaker. In addition, the LiPS evaluation also counted the number of total words.

4.4.2.1. Nouns, verbs and adjectives

Vietnamese is a typical morphologically isolating language which has no inflexion nor any derivation (Lyons 1968). Therefore, defining nouns, verbs or adjectives in Vietnamese has to be based completely on the context, because the words can be only defined as a particular word class by their position in use (Thompson 1965:125). However, even in use, the existence of verbs in the Vietnamese language has been questioned. As reviewed by Nguyễn Kim Thảo (1999:12), two contrasting opinions between linguists have been discussed. Some linguists negate the existence of verbs in the Vietnamese language, even negate the existence of the distinction in lexical categorization in the Vietnamese language (ibid.:13). For example, Cao Xuân Hạo (2006) states that the distinction between verb and adjective in Vietnamese is the result of a Eurocentric perspective. In the Vietnamese language, verb and adjective should be considered a unified part of speech, *vị từ* (verbum) (Cao Xuân Hạo 2006:255). Nevertheless, the majority of linguists believe in the existence of the verb part of speech in the Vietnamese language (Nguyễn Kim Thảo 1999). Those discussions are purely theoretical arguments which the present paper does not examine. Therefore, based on the use of words in texts, nouns, verbs and adjectives are counted. The particular scoring method is introduced in more detail in Chapter 5. In the analysis of code-switching and transfer, the proportion of these parts of speech are also discussed.

4.4.2.2. Simple words versus compound words

In the assessment of *Bildungssprache* (academic language/language of schooling) in the German language, *Komposita* (compounds) is often used as an indicator (Hövellbrinks 2014:104ff). In LiPS evaluation, the use of compounds is also expected to be a critical indicator to evaluate the language of schooling in Vietnamese. The current study examines if it can be considered a reliable indicator in the assessment of language of schooling performance in the Vietnamese language.

Regarding the number of simple words and compound words according to language typology, Anderson (1985) argued that Vietnamese is a language “with nearly every word made up of one and only one formative (indeed, one syllable)” (8). Nevertheless, Pham Hien/Baayen (2015:1077) found that approximately 22,705 words of a total 28,412 words (80%) in Vietnamese are similar to English and German compounds. For example, *tủ lạnh* (refrigerator) contains the words *tủ* (cupboard) and *lạnh* (cold), just like German *Kühlschrank* (refrigerator) consists of *kühl* (cold) and *Schrank* (cupboard). Pham Hien/Baayen therefore stated that the Vietnamese language is rich in compounds. However, orthographic conventions of Vietnamese compounds are different than German and English compounds, for instance, *bóng đá* in comparison with *football* in English or *Fußball* in German, because Vietnamese compounds are much more similar to the combination of morphologically simple words in a phrase in English or German such as *blue sky* or *blaue Himmel*. Therefore, the argument made by Anderson is both correct and incorrect: correct because Vietnamese compounds are far more like two simple words, and incorrect because compounds are very popular in this language (ibid.:1092).

Due to the unclear formal characteristics between Vietnamese compounds and phrases (Thompson 1965:120), distinguishing whether a morpheme sequence is a compound (fixed combination) or a phrase (free combination) in many cases is not easy (Nguyễn Tài Căn 2004:53). In order to determine compound usage in Vietnamese texts of Vietnamese-German bilinguals, we need to discuss how we might recognize compounds in Vietnamese written texts.

Thompson (1965:120f) classified word classes in Vietnamese into three types: simple words, complex words, and compound words. Simple words largely consist of monosyllabic words and many polysyllabic ones which can be viewed as vague case

in comparison to compounds. The reduplicative words which have similarity in the sounds of syllables were considered to be simple words. The polysyllabic simple words are considered vague because it can be viewed as a simple word based on meaning (Thompson 1965) or a compound word based on formal characteristics (Nguyễn Tài Căn 2004). Examples of the vague case are proposed in the following paragraphs.

According to Thompson (ibid.), perfect reduplicative words consist of two identical syllables, and partial reduplicative words contain similar (but not identical) syllables. Those in which the similarity of syllables consists of identical initial consonants or clusters are called reduplicative. Those in which the similarity lies in the nucleus (vocalic, with final consonant, if any) are called riming. Those are examples of polysyllabic simple words whose formal characteristics are exactly like compounds:

Disyllabic simple words, non-reduplicative: Sài-gòn (Saigon), va-li (suitcase)

Disyllabic simple words, reduplicative: cạc-cạc (cry of a duck), thỉnh-thoảng (now and then), óái oãm (complicated in a strange way: partial, reduplicative); thỉnh linh (sudden), đồi-mồi (marine tortoise: partial, riming)

Trisyllabic simple words: Thủ-dầu-một (a town approximately 30 km north of Saigon), con-mi-nit (communist)

(Thompson 1965:120)

Words with one or more bound morphemes and one free morpheme (or not at all) were classified as complex words. For instance, the word *quốc gia* (country) consists of country *quốc* (nation) and *gia* (household); both *quốc* and *gia* are bound morphemes. *Rõ rệt* (be very clear, obvious) contains *rõ* (be clear) as a free morpheme and *rệt* as an affix (ibid.).

Compound words are defined as a sequence of two or more words, in which they are all free morphemes (ibid.). For example, *bàn ghế* (tables and chairs) contains *bàn* (table) and *ghế* (chair) which are both free morphemes.

Due to the unclear formal characteristics of compounds and phrases, Thompson attempted to provide some clues of how these are distinguished by the rule of stress on syllables: both lexical and syntactic compounds have weak stress on the first syllables, whereas the phrases often have medium stress on these syllables. (ibid.:126f).

This classification by Thompson and his examples are not actually systematic: meaning, structure and stress criteria were used in overlap. For example, how are *rõ rệt* (be very clear, obvious) and *thình lình* (sudden) different according to his classification structure? Both consist of identical initial consonants, and one or more bound morphemes. However, the first one was used as an example of a complex word, and the latter was viewed as an example of a simple word. In addition, the distinction between “bound” and “free” for a description of a word, especially in the Vietnamese language, was strongly criticized by Cao Xuân Hạo (2006:185). The distinction made between complex and compound words, therefore, is not necessary for both theory and practice.

Contrastingly, only based on the formal characteristics, Nguyễn Tài Cẩn (2004) classified words into only two types: simple and compound words. Compound words include polysyllabic simple words such as *châu chấu* (grasshopper), *a xít* (acid) in Thompson’s study. He also did not distinguish between complex and compound words as Thompson did, but made a distinction between sub-types of compounds: *từ ghép nghĩa* (semantic compounds) such as *học trò* (pupil), *dân số* (population), *điểm cao* (high score), and *từ láy âm* (the factors are combined through relation of phonology) such as *làm lung* (work, usually used with emotion), *đất đai* (land, usually used with emotion), *mạnh mẽ* (strong). This classification is also not related to the acquisition of word types.

Another study by Đỗ Hữu Châu (2007) seems to look at the meaning aspect of words which may help to define what a compound is in more concrete terms. According to Đỗ Hữu Châu (2007), Vietnamese words consist of simple words and compounds. *Từ láy* (reduplicative word) that is often studied in literature due to their potential for emotional expression belongs to compounds in Nguyễn Tài Cẩn’s classification (2004). However, some cases that were considered compounds by Nguyễn Tài Cẩn (2004) were classified into simple words based on meaning. For example, *ba ba* (trionychid turtle), *cào cào* (locust), *chấu chấu* (grasshopper) have reduplicative forms but they should be seen as simple words because they have neither *ý nghĩa tổng loại* (general meaning) nor *ý nghĩa phi cá thể* (non-individual meaning) as other reduplicative nouns (Đỗ Hữu Châu 2007). Borrowed words such as *a xít* (acid) or the borrowed city names such as Play-cu, New York are considered to be simple nouns because they can only express a singular meaning of these words (ibid.).

The most difficult problem is how to distinguish compounds and phrases in Vietnamese due to the unclear formal characteristics of compounds mentioned above. Therefore, a number of researchers attempted to find the crucial criteria to define them. Thompson (1965) used the stress to define compounds: the first syllable has weak stress (126f). Nguyễn Tài Cẩn (2004:53ff) also introduced a few criteria that Vietnamese linguistics often applied: stress (the existence of a weak stress); the existence of bound meaning (*lác đác* (spattered) with two bound morphemes, *phập phồng* (throb) with the second syllable being a bound morpheme); or the ability to transform word combinations (inserting, expanding, replacing, reducing). However, all these methods have limitations, therefore, the distinction between compounds and phrases is the vaguest in research on the Vietnamese language (ibid.:62). Hence, in order to define whether a word combination is a single word or a phrase, it needs more than one method of analysis, for example: based on formal characteristics with more than one syllable, based on the fixed combination by examining insertions, expansions, replacements and reductions, and based on lexical semantics.

This study deals with language performance of learners, therefore studies on language acquisition are very important to know how they learn and comprehend “compounds” or some vague cases of compounds such as “polysyllabic simple words” and “phrase”. However, to our knowledge, studies on this issue has not actually been done in the Vietnamese language. The present thesis partly compares the use of “compounds” between Vietnamese bilinguals and Vietnamese monolinguals to examine the differences in language acquisition between both groups, in order to see if the use of compounds can be seen as a reliable indicator to evaluate Vietnamese performance of adolescents in particular, and perhaps also for other groups in general. In Chapter 5, this indicator is analyzed and discussed in more detail.

4.4.2.3. Từ Hán Việt (Sino-Vietnamese)

“Sino-Vietnamese” refers to any words of Chinese origin in the Vietnamese language in general, without regard to time or mode of borrowing. The proportion of these words has been estimated to be about 70% of the Vietnamese lexicon (Phan John 2013:20). Normally, these loanwords have been considered to carry “an elevated intellectual flavor” (ibid.). Alves (2009:5) noted that this figure was possibly inflated by the analysis of dictionary data which contains a large proportion of infrequently-used

scholarly vocabulary, or specifically little known Sino-Vietnamese words. Despite the possibly lower percentage, Sino-Vietnamese is actually important in the vocabulary of the Vietnamese language. Hence, how can we see the influence the Chinese language has had on Vietnamese? How can Sino-Vietnamese be identified in the Vietnamese lexicon? Does the ability to use Sino-Vietnamese help to define language performance or language proficiency?

Historically, for 1,100 years, Vietnam was occupied by a series of Chinese dynasties. The Vietnamese language was, therefore, primarily influenced by Chinese, that were used as the main language for political purposes. After Vietnam achieved independence in the 10th century, Chinese language was adopted as the medium of government, scholarship and literature.

Regarding the history of the Vietnamese language, Phan John (2013) attempted to describe the nature of Sinitic influences on this language. He refuted the common assumption that Chinese influenced Vietnamese in the same way it influenced Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese (Maspero 1912, Wang Li 1948, Hashimoto 1978, cf. *ibid*:254). However, the Sinitic vocabularies in Sino-Korean and Sino-Japanese were mostly acquired through literacy and the reading practices of the elite class, whereas Sino-Vietnamese is the result of a colonization process of more than a thousand years: The Chinese language in Giao Chau (what is now Vietnam) was viewed to be one dialect of the Chinese language (Nguyễn Tài Căn 1979:38). Due to the fact that Chinese was used together with the Vietnamese language, it was changed to its own language through the influence of the Viet people’s speech (*ibid.*).

The lexical and phonological development of Sino-Vietnamese was carried out in three main phases as follows:

Table 4.8. Summary of Sino-Vietnamese layers

Phase	Dynastic period	Description
Early	Han	- Borrowing via intensive bilingual contact
Sino-Vietnamese	Jin	- Specific technological or social terminology (very few verbs or grammatical words)
Late	Lý (post-Tang)	- Adstratal effect from language shift

Sino-Vietnamese		<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Grammatical words; some verbs - Combined, fossilized remains of Annam Middle Chinese diglossia
Recent Sino-Vietnamese	Lý onwards (Ming-Qing)	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Borrowing via casual contact - Colloquial, orally-transmitted words from southern Sinitic varieties - Modern neologisms created by Chinese and Japanese intellectuals. Rendered in Late Sino-Vietnamese phonology - Borrowing from contemporary Sinitic prestige form (i.e., not late Sino-Vietnamese) - Reading mistakes

(Phan John 2013:430)

This table shows that Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary are in many classes of the Vietnamese language: content words (*phụ nữ* - woman), function words (*tại* – prep. at, *đại khái* – generally), specific technological and social terminology (*phân tử* - electron, *lưỡng cực* - bipolar), common words in casual life (foods: *xì dầu* – soy sauce, *tào phớ* - sweet beancurd custard, *há cảo* – shrimp dumpling), modern neologisms (*văn học* - literature, *văn hóa* - culture, *thuyết minh* - explain, *phong tục* - customs). Therefore, it is difficult to estimate the amount of Sino-Vietnamese in the Vietnamese language because it depends on the genre, the context and the register (Alves 2009), and it is also a challenge for identifying Sino-Vietnamese in particular texts.

In the LiPS evaluation, although Sino-Vietnamese includes both content and function words, only content words were recognized as Sino-Vietnamese. There are two reasons for this: First, because function words were used in everyday Vietnamese, they lost their recognition as being of Chinese origin, and second will be evaluated in the section syntax. The words indicating the name of foods, names of people, and names of places were also not counted in the LiPS evaluation. In the current Vietnamese vocabulary, Sino-Chinese morphemes are usually bound morphemes which cannot act as simple words. The order of morphemes in Sino-Vietnamese compounds (sub-main) is different from Vietnamese ones (main-sub), for example, Sino-Vietnamese *bạch mã* (white + horse – white horse), Vietnamese *ngựa trắng* (horse + white – white horse). Despite the similarity of meanings in both words *bạch*

mã and *ngựa trắng* (white horse), they cannot always replace one another. For example, *bạch mã hoàng tử* (a princess: handsome, strong and kind) cannot be replaced with *ngựa trắng hoàng tử* that does not make sense in Vietnamese.

In sum, Sino-Vietnamese as narrowed down above is used more often in writing than speaking, as well as in formal situations rather than everyday situations. Therefore, Sino-Vietnamese is expected to be a crucial factor in any “language of schooling” assessment. This means, monolingual Vietnamese participants are expected to use Sino-Vietnamese more frequently than Vietnamese-German bilingual peers. The analysis in Chapter 5 will help us to see if the results live up to these expectations or not.

4.4.3. Address and reference forms

The complex system of address and reference forms in Vietnamese comprises lexical alternatives of common nouns (kinship and social status terms), proper nouns, and personal pronouns (Lương Văn Hy 1990:9, Farris 2012). Number of each category of address forms is different across dialects in Vietnam. Table 4.9 illustrates common personal pronouns in the Vietnamese Northern dialect.

Table 4.9. Personal pronouns used as address forms in Vietnamese

Number	first person	second person	third person
Singular	<i>tao, ta, tôi, mình,</i> <i>tớ, người ta</i>	<i>mày, cậu, đấng ấy</i>	<i>nó, hắn, con đó,</i> <i>thằng đó</i>
Plural	<i>tụi tao, chúng ta,</i> <i>chúng mình, tụi</i> <i>tôi, chúng tớ</i>	<i>chúng mày, tụi</i> <i>mày, bọn mày</i>	<i>chúng nó, tụi nó,</i> <i>bọn đó, bọn ấy, họ</i>

(Trần Thị Thanh Vân 2013:136)

The personal pronouns in Table 4.9 are only common pronouns in Vietnamese. The personal pronouns are usually used in a corresponding pair, for example, *tao* - *mày*, *tớ* - *cậu*, and *người ta* - *đấng ấy*.

In most cases, the use of Vietnamese personal pronouns pragmatically implies the intimacy/familiarity amongst close friends of the same age, or a lack of deference and high degree of arrogance towards the addressee and/or third-party pronominal

reference or of superior age. As such, they are normally used in informal situations. The only personal pronouns appearing in a polite context are *tôi* for the first person, *ta* (meaning *you* and *I*), and *mình* (meaning only *I* or combination *you* and *I*) (Ngô Thanh 2006, Thompson 1965:299). This is the most neutral term to be utilized in social contexts. However, among family members, *tôi* and the other Vietnamese pronouns “presuppose and imply not only the negation of solidarity but also the lack of deference towards the reference” (Lương Văn Hy 1990:129).

Nevertheless, in the Vietnamese reference system, common nouns, especially kinship terms, constitute the most important subdivision. There are 89 kinship terms in Vietnamese (Dương Thị Nụ 2002). These terms are used for third-party reference, and also for address and self-reference (Lương Văn Hy 1990:37). Kinship terms are commonly used not only amongst genealogically related speakers but also are extended to use in situations outside the family (ibid.:38, Thompson 1965:294). However, not all kinship terms are used for addressing non-genealogical speakers (Trần Thị Thanh Vân 2013:137). The most common forms are *ông* (grandfather), *bà* (grandmother), *bác* (uncle/aunt – older than speaker’s mother and father), *cô* (aunt – younger than speaker’s parents), *chú* (uncle – younger than speaker’s parents), *cháu* (grandchild/nephew/niece), *anh* (older brother), *chị* (older sister), *em* (younger sibling) (ibid.). As illustrated above, address forms that use kinship terms usually embed additional information about the age and gender of the recipient of the address form.

Regarding common nouns, *bạn* (friend) is the most common address for second person, singular. Thompson (1965) suggested that *bạn* (friend) is commonly used to politely refer to a colleague with whom one does not have intimate relationship (301).

The rules dictating the use of address forms are inextricably intertwined with social dimensions such as power, solidarity and formality (Lương Văn Hy 1990:5, Hồ Đắc Túc 2004:114). For example, respect for elderly people, or for some occupations such as a teacher, are encoded in the choice of person reference. A doctor who is much younger than a patient has to refer to her-/himself as *cháu* (grandchild) and the old person as *cụ* (great grandfather/grandmother) (Trần Thị Thanh Vân 2013:140). Students and also student’s parents call teachers as *thầy* (male teacher) or *cô* (female teacher). Despite a parent’s older age or higher social status, they often use these reference forms to refer to their children’s teachers to express the respect they have for the teachers.

In a series of interviews conducted with Vietnamese native speakers, Trần Thị Thanh Vân (2013) found that there are five main factors that influence a speaker when making a choice in using a particular address form: age, social distance, gender, social status, and profession. However, in reality, this issue is more complex. For example, in the hospital, patients often call the doctor by their title of *doctor*, and address themselves as *tôi* (I). On the other hand, doctors often call themselves *tôi* (I) and call the patients one of several address forms based on their age: *cụ* (great grandfather/great grandmother), *ông* (grandfather), *bà* (grandmother), *cô* (aunt), *chú* (uncle), *anh* (brother), or *chị* (sister). The order of influencing factors, therefore, is not universal to all situations due to the fact that linguistic forms in the Vietnamese person-reference system are defined in accordance with the speech environment. That means that the use of the same linguistic form in the person-reference system in different interactional situations may be decoded differently (Hồ Đắc Túc 2004:114). For example, when the address form is changed from *cô – tôi* (a neutral person reference between strangers) to *anh – em* (an intimate address, often used between lovers or spouses), it can be decoded that the relationship has become more intimate, and in certain contexts, the change might be decoded as an explicit proposal of love (Cao Xuân Hạo 2001).

At the level of discourse, the use of appropriate address and reference forms is very important (Thompson 1965:293). Thompson attempted to describe and classify polite and abrupt address and reference forms. Regarding polite forms, he argued that the use of appropriate kinship terms between children and young people under twenty and their relatives is an example of polite usage (*ibid.*:299). For example, a child calls her mother *mẹ* (mother), and addresses her-/himself as *con* (child), and mother calls her child *con* and addresses herself as *mẹ*, but the child calls her/his aunt (younger sister of mother) *dì* and addresses her-/himself as *cháu* and her/his aunt uses address and reference reciprocally. The use of *tôi* (I), *mình* (I or I and you), *ta* (I and you) as the first person singular and plural, the use of *ông* (grandfather), *bà* (grandmother), *anh* (older brother), *chị* (older sister), the use of terms referring to professional status such as *giáo sư* (professor), *bác sĩ* (doctor), etc. are considered polite address and reference in Vietnamese (Thompson 1965:299ff, Vũ Thị Thanh Hương 1997:203). Abrupt address and reference forms include the first person *tao* (I), the second person *mày* (you), the third person *nó* or *hắn* (he, she, it) or *đứa* (for children or persons of low social status), *thằng* (for boy and for older males getting contempt) (*ibid.*:304f).

The complex system of person reference paired with the complex rules for their usage present notable challenges for children and non-native speakers in achieving proficiency (Trần Thị Thanh Vân 2013:141). Therefore, Lương Văn Hy (1990), Hồ Đắc Túc (2003), and Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2006, 2013) examined both the general characteristics of both heritage and native use as well as the specific usages of heritage users and native users of Vietnamese pronouns.

In terms of the use of address forms of native speakers, Lương Văn Hy (1990) carried out an analysis of discursive practices in the Vietnamese person reference system based on data of natural language observation in California and Sơn Dương (100 km from Hanoi), as well as on historical and literary materials in both the pre-socialist and socialist era. However, the data of Vietnamese as heritage language was not analyzed independently from native sources. Therefore, the conclusions mostly refer to the use of address forms more generally rather than reflecting potential differences between native and heritage language usage.

Regarding non-native speakers, Hồ Đắc Túc (2003), Giang Tang (2007), and Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2013) demonstrated both the general and specific characteristics in performing the address forms in Vietnamese. These studies were already introduced in section 4.3.2.

In the current study, reference and address forms of Vietnamese-German adolescents are generally quantitatively analyzed based on the LiPS evaluation (in Chapter 5). Additionally, this aspect is qualitatively analyzed to find their characteristics in practice in comparison with other diaspora groups and native speakers (in Chapter 6 and discussion in Chapter 8).

4.4.4. Passive form

The existence of the passive voice/ passive sentences/ passive constructions in the Vietnamese language has been consistently discussed since the 1950s. In a review, Nguyễn Hồng Côn/ Bùi Thị Diên (2004) showed that some linguists (Emeneau 1951, Cardier 1958, Thompson 1965) claimed that Vietnamese is an isolating language in that the morphology of a word is not changed in tense, aspect, gender or number. Therefore, it cannot satisfy strictly morphological criteria of passive voice as a grammatical category. Additionally, Cao Xuân Hạo (2001) emphasized that since Vietnamese is a topic-prominent language (Li/Thompson 1976) whose syntax is

organized in the topic-comment structure (i.e., Vietnamese, Korean, Chinese), the existence of passive constructions as a grammatical concept is impossible.

In contrast, Nguyễn Hồng Cẩn (2008) stated that passive voice exists in Vietnamese but not through a purely morphological phenomenon. The passive acts as a syntactic phenomenon, marked by word order and function words (*bị/được*). These linguists proved the existence of passive constructions in Vietnamese by giving the following evidence: (1) Although in Vietnamese we cannot equate the morphological phenomenon of passive voice with a passive construction, Vietnamese still has passive constructions and passive sentences due to the meanings; (2) “topic” and “subject” can exist simultaneously, and they do not affect one another in the analysis of sentence structure. The fact that sentences with a “subject” are more common than ones with only a “topic”, and that most of the transitive constructions have subjects, is enough evidence to show the existence of the passive; (3) “*bị/được*” act completely as the markers of the passive, although they can act as a head of predication. In reference to semantics, semantic primitives *suffer* and *benefit* of “*bị/được*” in passive constructions do not obstruct the ability of their own passive markers in grammaticalization.

In language practice, active constructions are used more frequently than passive constructions in Vietnamese (Trần Ngọc Thêm 2004). Vietnamese native speakers even use an active construction instead of an alternative passive one.

One of the specific indicators in the language of schooling in the German language is the use of the passive (Gogolin 2006, Ahrenholz 2010). Although the passive voice as a grammatical category does not exist in the Vietnamese language, constructions with a passive meaning persist. Therefore, the passive voice is assumed to occur in Vietnamese written texts due to language transfer from German to Vietnamese.

4.4.5. Classifier

Classifiers have been called by several different names throughout the literature: “classifier proper” (Nguyễn Đình Hòa 1957), “sortal classifier” (Lyons 1977),

“qualifying classifier” (Hu 1993), “unit-classifier”, and “canonical type of classifier” (Tran Jennie 2011).

Generally, a classifier system is “a grammatical system of noun categorization device(s) in a particular language” (Aikhenvald 2003). Classifiers are also defined as “grammatical devices which, in certain contexts, oblige speakers to categorize a referent along specific semantic dimensions” (Goddard 2011:143).

There are several types of classifiers, of which numeral classifiers are the most common (Tran Jennie 2011). Vietnamese is one of the languages that has a complex numeral classifier system. Therefore, in the current dissertation, the term ‘classifier’ is used to refer only to numeral classifiers that is the additional grammatical elements for both nouns of high and low countability (Gil 2013:1). Gil also developed a map of the world’s languages based on classifiers. On this map, the world’s languages are divided up into three types in accordance with the possibility of absence, optional or obligatory requirement of the numeral-plus-noun construction. On this map, classifiers in Vietnamese belongs to the third type: a numeral cannot quantify a noun without a classifier being present. Classifiers are obligatory in the Vietnamese language, since it has general number, it means nouns can be interpreted as having either singular or plural meaning. Such counter words as classifiers, therefore, can make them countable (Tran Jennie 2011:25).

Which word class should classifiers be classified in? The discussion is still underway in studies on the Vietnamese language. Many scholars hold the view that Vietnamese classifiers are a separate word class (e.g., Aikhenvald 2003; Emeneau 1951) based on the argument that in its nature, a classifier is a function word with its main function being to classify and identify nouns (ibid.).

Contrastingly, many Vietnamese linguists (e.g., Cao Xuân Hạo 2006; Nguyễn Tài Căn 2004; Nguyễn Đình Hòa 1997) do not consider classifiers as a separate word class or grammatical category, but rather as a subclass of nouns. Classifiers are called “unit nouns” for the following reasons:

- Denoting the concepts with narrow and wide meaning, however, still denoting concepts of object.
- Keeping the ability to combine as all of other nouns.
- Being all basic position of noun in a sentence such as subject, predict

(Nguyễn Tài Căn 2004:132)

found to be 25.55%, 12.46%, and 10.17% (Lê Nila 2008) respectively. In many cases, *cái* and *chiếc* can be used interchangeably. Nevertheless, *chiếc* cannot be combined with abstract nouns, whereas *cái* can be used with these nouns (Tran Jennie 2011:65). Not only *cái* and *chiếc* can replace one another, many different classifiers can be used in place of other classifiers based on the context. For example, *gươm* (sword) is used with the classifier *cây* (derived from the noun tree: long-straight-rigid), *cái*, or *thanh* (for long-thin-flat-hard object) (ibid.:50).

When is a classifier used as an obligatory part in a phrase? According to Nguyễn Tài Cẩn (2004) and Tran Jennie (2011), firstly, the classifier is obligatory in the presence of a numeral, both ordinal and cardinal numbers, and of some quantifiers as well as of the plural markers that are illustrated below:

Table 4.11. Classifier in use

ordinal number + CL	một con (chó)	one CL (dog)
CL + cardinal number	con (chó) thứ nhất	CL (dog) first
Every/ each + CL	mỗi/ từng con (chó)	every/ each CL (dog)
A few + CL	một vài con (chó)	A few CL (dog)
Plural + CL	những/ mấy/ các con (chó)	PL CL (dog)

(Trần Jennie 2011:130)

Trần Jennie (2011:131) noted that “classifiers are not obligatory with the quantifier *nhieu* (many, much) and *ít* (few/little)”. However, “their occurrence in the numeral-plus-noun construction is dependent on the choice of numeral or of the noun” (Gil 2013:4). For example, in Vietnamese numerals such as *chục* (ten), *trăm* (hundred), *ngàn* (thousand) are treated as numeral classifiers, therefore instances such as *chục trứng* (ten of eggs), *trăm voi* (hundreds of elephants), *ngàn hoa* (thousands of flowers) occur frequently in Vietnamese use.

Secondly, classifiers occur frequently in deictic constructions (Greenberg 1972) as below:

(20a) <i>con (mèo) này</i>	CL (cat) this	this cat
(20b) <i>con (mèo) kia</i>	CL (cat) that	that cat
(20c) <i>con (mèo) đó</i>	CL (cat) that	that cat

Thirdly, classifiers are also obligatory with question words *nào* (which), *bao nhiêu*, *mấy* (how many/ how much) when the referred to noun is definite (Trần Jennie 2011:9). For example:

(21a) <i>con (chim) nào?</i>	CL which one?
(21b) <i>bao nhiêu/ mấy con (chim)?</i>	how many CL (bird)?

The classifier is not needed, however, for demonstratives and question words when the noun is indefinite. Some examples by Trần Jennie (2011:133) show the difference between sentences with and without the CL.

(22a) <i>Chó này khôn lắm.</i>	(22b) <i>Con chó này khôn lắm.</i>
Dog this smart very	CL dog this smart very
This kind of dog is smart.	This particular dog is very smart.

(22a) shows that *chó* (dog) as an indefinite noun is used without a classifier, whereas *chó* (dog) needs a classifier to be definite (22b). However, in specific contexts and special styles of speech, the divergence between optional and obligatory numeral classifiers is more complex (Gil 2013:5). Specifically, in the Vietnamese language, classifiers are often absent in spoken discourse (ibid.:4). For example, to order noodle soup in a restaurant, people can ask for *ba bò, hai gà* (three beef, two chicken) without any classifiers (ibid.).

In addition, Aikhenvald (2003) holds the view that there are non-classified nouns which do not necessarily need to be classified such as countable mass nouns like *xu* (penny), *ngày* (day), *nước* (country), and *vùng* (area).

Moreover, in the Vietnamese language, there is an *extra cái* (Emeneau 1951) which leads to the conclusion that double classifiers allow in a noun phrase construction in the Vietnamese language. However, it is another *cái* that is used in a numeral or a non-numeral classified phrase, for instance:

(23) *Cái con mèo ấy rất dễ thương.*
 Extra “cái” CL cat that very lovely.
 (Emphasis) that cat is very lovely.

(24) *Cái nước ở hồ này lúc nào cũng xanh kì lạ.*
 Extra “cái” water in lake this always
 also blue strangely.
 (Emphasis) Water in this lake is always strangely blue.

(Trần Jennie 2011:41)

Cái in these cases were used to emphasize the referred noun. It is not a classifier because a sequence of CL+CL is ungrammatical in Vietnamese. Therefore, there are significant differences between *extra “cái”* and the general classifier *cái* as follows in the table adapted by Trần Jennie (2011:140).

Table 4.12. Differences between CL “*cái*” and the extra “*cái*”

The general classifier <i>cái</i>	The extra <i>cái</i>
Can never combine with any other classifier or measure nouns	Must precede a classifier (any classifier except <i>cái</i>)
Must not have a determiner	Must have a determiner
Never stressed	Always stressed
No emphasis in the sentence	Emphasis
Higher frequency of occurrence	Lower frequency of occurrence
Cannot combine with noun denoting humans, plants, mass nouns such as oil, sugar, meat and the groups of noun that do need a classifier (non-classifier nouns)	Can combine with all of these nouns

Extra *cái* cannot be viewed as CL *cái* because of the different characteristics mentioned above. Therefore, the argument that double CL occurs in a noun phrase

construction is not exactly correct. Here we see how necessary it is to distinguish between each type of *cái* in the noun phrase.

Due to the complex system and function, classifiers can be a challenge for foreigners and children acquiring the Vietnamese language. Tran Jennie (2011) examined Vietnamese CL acquisition of 38 young Vietnamese children between the ages of 2 to 5. She found two types of errors in classifier use: classifier omission error (ungrammatical numeral-noun construction), and double classifier error (ungrammatical classifier-classifier construction). Here are some examples illustrating two types of errors mentioned above:

(25)* *Có hai chổi.*

Have two broom

There are two brooms. (Tran Jennie 2011:245)

In (25), the obligatory classifier is missing, therefore it is considered an ungrammatical statement. In contrast, (26) shows an overuse of classifier:

(26)* *trái*

CL-fruit (south)

a badminton ball

quả

CL-fruit (north)

(ibid.:248)

câu

badminton-ball

Trái and *quả* are both classifiers denoting fruit, one is used commonly in the Southern dialect and another is popularly used in the Northern dialect. In (26), the child used both of the classifiers maybe due to their similarity. However, two absolutely different classifiers were also used double as in (27):

(27)* *quả*

CL-fruit (north)

a spoon (ibid.)

cái

CL-general

thìa

spoon

In (27), the double use of classifiers is ungrammatical in the Vietnamese language. In this case, one of the two classifiers *cái* or *chiếc* that denotes inanimate objects is a standard choice.

In terms of noun phrase construction in the Vietnamese language, children also made mistakes in word order, for example:

(28)*	<i>hai</i>	<i>bánh</i>	<i>cái</i>
	Two	cake	CL-general
	Two cakes		(ibid.)

The three-element noun phrase, numeral+classifier+noun, is used productively by children around 2.8 years old (ibid.:247). The elements in this order can be placed ungrammatically as in (28) numeral+noun+classifier. In child language development, classifier omission errors get a high proportion of total errors of classifier use.

Regarding errors in classifier use of foreigners learning Vietnamese, Nguyễn Thiện Nam (2006) classified into three common types: classifier omission, classifier overuse, and incorrect classifier use. The use of classifiers of the Vietnamese bilingual adolescents living abroad produce errors in a similar fashion as foreigners learning Vietnamese. Phan Ngọc Trần (2018) also supported this argument (see more in section 4.2.3). Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2006, 2013) briefly mentioned this issue as well. Therefore, classifier use is assumed to be a critical indicator of LiPS evaluation that is analyzed in Chapter 5. In addition, due to its complex system and function, it will be analyzed qualitatively in Chapter 6, 7 and discussed in Chapter 8.

4.5. Summary

This chapter has reviewed research on the Vietnamese heritage language in different host countries: France, Australia, the United States, and Germany, specifically focusing on studies dealing with characteristics of heritage language performed by the second generation. The prominent features that have been found in previous studies are: code-switching and transfer, the incorrect use of classifiers, and the innovative use of address forms. Nevertheless, most of the previous investigations have analyzed oral data, the present study attempts to analyze a different data source, specifically written data of teenagers between 15 and 16 years of age to find the characteristics of Vietnamese heritage language use. The language-specific indicators are the indicators that previous studies have already called attention to in order to examine the

similarities and differences of the use of those language aspects of Vietnamese-German adolescents. Eight indicators are used in the LiPS evaluation (analytic scoring) to examine whether it is reliable for extended use in the future in Chapter 5. Four aspects, orthography, address terms and classifier, and code-switching and transfer, are analyzed qualitatively in Chapters 6 and 7 to define characteristics of Vietnamese heritage language use of the second generation in Germany.

5. LiPS – A Project of Vietnamese Written Data

This chapter proposes a study on Vietnamese written data of LiPS, involving data collection and data analysis formula. Section 5.1 describes the participants who took part in the present study, the methods which were used to collect the language data, and the procedures, measurements and analysis used in this study. Bilingual Vietnamese-German adolescents belong to the target group and monolingual Vietnamese belong to the control group. Section 5.2 discusses the LiPS evaluation formula of Vietnamese written data to examine the validity of the test and to give suggestions for developing a proper test and an appropriate assessment for future research.

5.1. Research design

5.1.1. Sample

In Vietnam and Germany, a ‘snowball’ technique and stratified random sampling methods (Wiersma 2000) were used to identify suitable informants through a list provided by the Hamburg residence center and students of the researcher’s colleagues and friends (Yen, Huyen, Thanh). In order to examine the characteristics of written productions of Vietnamese language of Vietnamese-German adolescents, three groups of participants were investigated: bilingual Vietnamese-German adolescents as the target group, monolingual Vietnamese adolescents, and monolingual German adolescents as the control groups.

The data was mostly collected by LiPS-LIMA, a project that is dedicated to developing multilingual speakers and language development within the city of Hamburg. The main question of this project is whether and how migration-related multilingualism in urban areas can become resources that bring positive impacts on the development of culture, society and economy. The interdisciplinary research methods have been applied to deal with this question. The target informants were chosen randomly from Hamburg households and are based on age. Children included in the bilingual group must have had at least one parent who was born in Vietnam or has Vietnamese citizenship. Children, as well as their parents, included in the German

monolingual group must have been born in Germany and had to have exclusively German citizenship (Klinger et al. 2012). Children, as well as their parents, included in the Vietnamese monolingual group had to be born in Vietnam and had to have exclusively Vietnamese citizenship.

5.1.1.1. Vietnamese-German bilingual adolescents

28 Vietnamese-German adolescents, at 15 years of age, attended the LiPS study in the first test session conducted in 2011. In the second session, conducted in 2012, the number decreased to 24.

	1 st test	2 nd test
total participants	28	24
German written texts	29	23
Vietnamese written texts	25	22

20 participants fully completed both written texts in German and Vietnamese languages, and in two time tests were chosen for this analysis. All of them live in Hamburg and its surrounding area. There are 10 females and 10 males. However, the group with 20 samples cannot be seen as a homogeneous group, since a large part of the participants in the bilingual groups are not consecutive bilinguals, who started to acquire German between the age of three and six (Byram 2004). The answers in question 8 and 9 in CaPI for parents (CE_8, CE_9) show that there are two subjects older than three- to six-years-old (late bilingualism) when they started to learn German. In terms of Vietnamese language learning, 19 adolescents started at birth.

Table 5.1. Vietnamese-German participants in writing test

Name	Year of birth	Gender	German start	School type	First language
			aCE9	CK18	CK5
VB04	1995	female	2	Gymnasium	Vietnamese

VB07	1996	female	2	Gymnasium	Vietnamese
VB11	1995	male	2	Vocational school	German
VB13	1995	male	1	Gymnasium	Vietnamese
VB14	1995	male	1	Stadtteilschule	Vietnamese
VB26	1995	male	2	Gymnasium	Vietnamese
VB32	1996	male	2	Realschule	Vietnamese / Chinese
VB44	1995	female	5	Gymnasium	German/ Vietnamese
VB52	1996	female	2	Gymnasium	Vietnamese
VB53	1995	male	2	Gymnasium	Vietnamese
VB54	1996	male	2	Gymnasium	Vietnamese
VB69	1995	female	2	Gymnasium	Vietnamese
VB84	1995	female	2	Gymnasium	Vietnamese
VB85	1995	female	2	no answer	Vietnamese
VB98	1995	female	2	Gymnasium	German/ Vietnamese
VB99	1995	male	2	Gymnasium	Vietnamese
VB130	1995	male	6	Vocational school	Vietnamese
VB142	1996	female	2	Realschule	Vietnamese
VB149	1996	female	3	Gymnasium	Vietnamese
VB150	1996	male	2	Vocational school	Vietnamese

Furthermore, the participants of the study occasionally comprise 10 females and 10 males. Four school types in German educational school appear in this study: Gymnasium (n = 13), Realschule (n = 1), Stadtteilschule (n = 2), vocational school (n = 3) and one no answer (n = 1). The relationship between heritage language competence and school types will not be considered, since most participants study in the same school type.

Data on the educational background of the participants and their parents were collected through paper interviews as well as computer-assisted personal interviewing (hereafter CaPI). Computer-assisted personal interviewing is a technique in which the respondent or interviewer uses a computer to answer the questions rather than on paper. It is similar to computer-assisted telephone interviewing, except that the interview takes place in person instead of over the telephone. In the LiPS study, there are separate CaPIs for adolescents and parents. For both groups of participants, CaPI consists of about 100 questions that ask about cultural identity, language proficiency, daily routine, educational background, and relationship with peers, siblings and parents, and so on.

The reliability of information provided in CaPIs can be considered through additional interviews. The variable of motivation is relevant for 17 of the 20 subjects and shows that 15 out of the 17 participants were perceived to have been motivated for the duration of the task by the interviewers. This variable can be considered more completely by additional interviews with particular questions. However, a narrative interview hasn't been delivered in the LiPS, and due to the difficulty of keeping contact with participants after project, the additional interviews could not be delivered.

For data collection and statistical analysis of written texts of LiPS, there are 5 interviewers (Minh, Ngọc Anh, Quỳnh Trang, Xuân Huy, Linh Chi) and two assistants (Hồng Trang, Ngọc Anh) who scan, copy, and transcribe the written texts. Moreover, the evaluation formula, developed for LiPS by the author of this dissertation, is based on the aim of this project to compare across languages and to assess language proficiency of participants. This evaluation formula was based on various discussions with other linguists who were developing the evaluation formulas for Russian and Turkish as heritage languages. The coding and statistical analysis were carried out by two other experts (Thorsten Klinger and Birger Schnoor).

In the present study, texts of participants are the most important resource rather than interview data. Discussing this research method, Flick (2009:75) pointed out that in the process of qualitative research, texts serve the following principles: (1) the essential data for providing findings; (2) the foundation of interpretations and (3) the main medium for manifesting and exchanging findings. *Text* is considered the result of the data collection and as the instrument for interpretation. The present study focuses on the analysis of 20 Vietnamese texts written by Vietnamese-German adolescents to examine the validity and reliability of the LiPS assessment of language

proficiency, and to identify the features of Vietnamese language practice of Vietnamese-German adolescents.

5.1.1.2. Vietnamese monolingual adolescents

The control group of monolingual Vietnamese adolescents includes 10 participants in Hanoi and 10 participants in Nghe An. The study comprises 10 females and 10 males. The Hanoi dialect is Northern dialect, whereas Nghe An dialect belongs to Center dialect. The age of the informants at the time of taking the test is the same age as the bilingual target group. The data collection of the monolingual group was conducted in Hanoi in 2013 and 2016, and in Nghe An in 2016 that did not belong to LiPS, in order to compare with findings in Vietnamese texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Table 5.2. Vietnamese monolingual participants in writing test

Name	Year of birth	Gender	Conducted time	City	School type	Foreign language
VM1	1997	female	2013	Hanoi	Gifted school	English
VM2	1997	female	2013	Hanoi	Gifted school	French
VM3	1997	male	2013	Hanoi	Gifted school	English
VM4	1997	male	2013	Hanoi	Gifted school	English
VM5	1997	male	2013	Hanoi	Gifted school	French
VM6	2000	male	2016	Hanoi	Secondary school	English
VM7	2000	male	2016	Hanoi	Secondary school	English
VM8	2000	female	2016	Hanoi	Secondary school	English
VM9	2000	female	2016	Hanoi	Secondary school	English
VM10	2000	male	2016	Hanoi	Secondary school	English
VM11	2000	male	2016	Nghe An	Secondary school	English
VM12	2000	female	2016	Nghe An	Secondary school	English
VM13	2000	female	2016	Nghe An	Secondary school	English

VM14	2000	female	2016	Nghe An	Secondary school	English
VM15	2000	female	2016	Nghe An	Secondary school	English
VM16	2000	male	2016	Nghe An	Secondary school	English
VM17	2000	male	2016	Nghe An	Secondary school	English
VM18	2000	female	2016	Nghe An	Secondary school	English
VM19	2000	female	2016	Nghe An	Secondary school	English
VM20	2000	male	2016	Nghe An	Secondary school	English

Two school types appear in this study: Gifted school ($n = 5$) and secondary school (5) in both regions. However, due to the small number of students who are in gifted schools, the relationship between language competence and school types will not be examined. More than 20 monolingual Vietnamese speakers attended the writing test. Written data of the monolingual group were collected by three teachers in the schools in Hanoi (Huyen, Dung) and Nghe An (Yen). Nevertheless, only 20 written texts of 20 participants were used to match the bilingual group sample.

5.1.2. Materials

The main LiPS instruments were developed for three age groups: Havas for 7-year-olds, Tulpenbeet for 12-year-olds and Bumerang for 15-year-olds. In order to be able to compare outcomes in all languages of an individual later, all tasks in the general LiPS study were conducted in Turkish, Vietnamese and Russian in addition to German. The objective of the project provides a comprehensive illustration of multilingualism in relation with language, education and social life. For such aims, the instruments were developed for all languages. This is the reason why the study design of LiPS employed picture stories and did not test language proficiency specifically. Both tasks measure linguistic performance, rather than competence. On the one hand, language proficiency based on cloze tests would only target language competence, which does not necessarily correspond to what a learner can actually produce in free language production. Moreover, the lack of cloze tests or grammatical judgment tests to

determine an overall language competence, which is more independent of variables like motivation, is unfortunately knowing that acquisition and transfer processes may be closely related to an overall proficiency and linguistic awareness (Murphy 2003:7-8). Therefore, approximate language proficiency will be calculated from the limited data available based on several variables.

5.1.2.1. Test instruments

The boomerang for 15-year-olds includes two tasks. The first task comprised the 'Boomerang test' that was developed by German educationists within the model programme *Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund* (FörMig) that aims at investigating so-called *Bildungssprache* (language of schooling) (Döll/Dirim 2011: 161-162). In this task, the children were prompted by the following: *"Now please write the article that explains how the boomerang is made. On the next page you will find a set of pictures that you have to describe in your article. Your article needs to be understandable without the pictures"* (see full exercise and pictures in appendix 1). The task requires the activation of certain sub-skills: the use of a specialized vocabulary, the active reproduction of a type of text (instructions), the ability to 'read' pictures and 'translate' into a written text (visual literacy).

The second task, named 'boomerang in park' is more narrative than the first one: *"The editors where you are working want to publish a review for the boomerang test in the next issue. Please narrate what happened to the editorial staff by testing in the park"* (see appendix 1). This task asks participants to be more creative in their language use due to the more open-ended nature of the task. Nevertheless, the analysis of the second part could show some interesting results related to the language performance of participants who did complete it.

In both writing tasks, the participants are required to write about an instruction of building a boomerang and a test review of checking the function of a boomerang in a teenager journal. From a cognitive perspective, the language performance of both tasks are expected to accord to *"high language cognition"* (Hulstijn 2015:231) - the language production which contains the low-frequency lexical items and grammatical structure. From an educational perspective, the requirement of language performance in these tasks are *"cognitive/ academic language proficiency"* (Cummins 1979:198) - the dimension of language competence which is performed by academic and literacy

skills (see more discussion of these terms and their meanings in section 3.1.2). The LiPS tasks require both “*high language cognition*” and “*cognitive/academic language proficiency*”, because the completion of these tasks need technical vocabularies – the low frequency lexical items. In addition, journalist writing has a specific style, which also appears unfrequently in daily life language (Perrin/Ehrensberger-Dow 2006:340). The knowledge of vocabulary and writing strategies can only pertain through learning in a formal instruction.

In order to collect more linguistic data, the translation test was conducted. If “Boomerang test” principally requires “high cognition language” performance, this test asks for “basic language cognition” (Hulstijn 2015:230) which contains frequent lexical items and frequent grammatical structures. The source language of the translation test is English (see appendix 2), because the control group cannot translate from the German source. The instrument of the translation test was developed by finding a familiar topic of teenagers in English textbooks in Germany and Vietnam.

Besides language tasks to examine language proficiency, there were questionnaires (Selbstaussfüller) for parents. These questionnaires asked information related to a self-report about language proficiency of parents, cultural capital, and other prominent social factors.

Parents and their children were also provided the CAPI questions that are also related to language use, cultural capital, and other social factors but they were completed by the interviewers. Both paper questionnaires and CAPI were available in two versions, one in Vietnamese and one in German. In frame of LiPS, a vocabulary test and a cognitive test HAWIK were taken but in the current study, the results of these both tests will not be considered.

5.1.2.2. LiPS Vietnamese written evaluation formula

LiPS focuses on three bilingual groups in comparison with a monolingual group, German. Therefore, the evaluation formulas of three heritage languages, Russian, Turkish, and Vietnamese were developed to analyze the heritage language performance of participants. Because the aim of the project is to compare outcomes in all languages of an individual in further studies through mainly quantitative methodology, development of categories of all languages depends on the category for accessing German based on particular and specific features of each language. The

evaluation of *Fast Catch Bumerang* in the Vietnamese language includes eight categories as in following table (appendix 2).

Table 5.3. Analysis categories

Vietnamese	German
<i>Aufgabenbewältigung</i> (task performance)	+
<i>Adressierung</i> (address forms)	+
<i>Schriftsprachlichkeit- Bildungsprachliche Elemente</i> (the elements of language of schooling)	+
<i>Textstrukturierung</i> (text structure)	+
<i>Klassifikator</i> (classifier)	<i>Morphologie</i> (Morphology)
<i>Wortschatz</i> (vocabulary)	+
<i>Verbindung von Sätzen (cohesion)</i>	+
<i>Zusammenfassung</i> (summary)	+
(Summary from the LiPS evaluations for German and Vietnamese)	

Despite the fact that within this group eight items were developed in parallel with the German one, it is still very difficult to compare between Vietnamese and German with the first part as an exception (related to cognition of the exercise). *Aufgabenbewältigung* (Task performance) is a global assessment for the written answer of the task, due to draw up an instruction of creating Boomerang. Linguistic means, cognitive approaches and conceptual knowledge interlock one another. This is considered a global way to show how effectively the students are able to name all the

materials as well as describe the correct steps for the construction of a boomerang. Since the evaluation isn't related to syntactic, lexical and morphological criteria, it is possible to compare between two languages directly (Reich et al. 2007:10). Task performance assessment does not include the assessment of grammatical and orthographic correctness. The question is: "Is it clear what is to be done - and if yes, to what extent?" To get the right answer for this question, the illustration of each picture will be evaluated according to four interval Likert scales (0 = none; 3 = extensively described) which were adapted by Reich et al. (2009).

The other items were developed based on research frameworks related to the Vietnamese language from different linguistic levels. The prominent differences between Vietnamese and German are depicted succinctly in a statement by Cao Xuân Hạo (2006:210): "if we can imagine a European language functions in three main axes – phoneme, morpheme and word, then Vietnamese seems to add these three axes into an axis: the unified axis is *tiếng* (syllable)". In many studies (2006, 2001), Cao Xuân Hạo discussed "Eurocentrism" in existing research on the Vietnamese language. He criticizes the use of European language theories when they are applied to research on the Vietnamese language. Moreover, he attempts to describe the Vietnamese language based on its own Vietnamese language structures. In the LiPS evaluation formula, there are comparable items with German language such as the classification of vocabulary into nouns, verbs, and adjectives; or the classification of sentence structures based on subject-predicate structure. However, because of typological differences (between Vietnamese and German), examining morphology such as evaluation of article use in German or Russian is replaced by the evaluation of classifier use in Vietnamese. In the next section of the current chapter, these categories are discussed based on the analysis of texts of bilingual and monolingual groups.

5.1.3. Survey Procedure

In LiPS, the data of school children and adolescents in Hamburg, Germany, were collected in two sessions, one in 2011 and the other in 2012. Before doing any language tasks, participants and parents or other relatives or legal guardians answered extensive questionnaires within the LiPS investigations in order to identify background variables that may affect language performance. This information includes linguistic input on families, schools and other language contact, factors relating to social structures like

socioeconomic background, social networking and integration, and lastly, individual factors such as cognitive ability, learning strategies and self-efficacy (Klinger et al. 2012). The questionnaire also gathered information about gender, age, school type, socioeconomic status and language use. The questionnaires were administered to take into account that several variables influence the language acquisition process and therefore language performance. They are primarily distinguished by learner-based and language-based variables and the context (Murphy 2003: 6-17). In this study, only a few of these variables could be controlled for, so the results have to be analyzed and interpreted with care. In general, learner-based variables like language proficiency, linguistic awareness, age, age of onset, and educational background can influence language production.

All participants took part in this study voluntarily and were not forced to complete tasks. Some participants occasionally did not complete all tasks or did not provide much data in a certain task, so that the lengths of texts produced vary greatly amongst the bilingual participants.

The survey for the focus group of Vietnamese-German bilingual participants was conducted twice, one in the summer of 2011 (Mai-September), and one in the spring and summer of 2012 (January-Juni). The survey for the control group of Vietnamese monolingual participants was conducted in June of 2013 and in February of 2016. The language tasks used for both groups are similar. The language test for bilingual participants was carried out by an interviewer who was at a Vietnamese native-speaker proficiency with each participant in the participant's home. The language test for monolingual participants was carried out in school under the instruction of a Vietnamese native-speaker interviewer. The step by step progression of the test was as follows:

- Interviewer gives participants the language tasks.
- Interviewer reads the requirements of the first task with participants.
- Participants can ask interviewer if they need additional explanations
- Interviewer confirms that they can start and they have 15 minutes for the first task.
- When participants finish the first task, the interviewer reads the second task with them and ask whether they need any additional explanation.
- Participants have 15 minutes for the second task.

- When participants finish, they can give the test paper to the interviewer. When the time test ends, the interviewer can ask the participants to stop.

Due to the difficulty of transcription and understanding the texts of bilingual participants, in the second time test for this group, a recording of text reading was done. After completing the written text, bilingual participants were asked to read their own written texts loudly. The written texts were transcribed and also scanned. During transcription, the recorded data were used to check if the texts were understood exactly as the participants wanted them to be expressed.

In the transcription of written texts, crossed out words and sentences were not included. However, they could be investigated as self-correction when the written production is viewed as the result of writing strategies and language proficiency.

The background data and language data were coded by statistical staff (Schnoor) and archived in the LiMA-LiPS intranet domains. Moreover, these paperback documents are also stored in the faculty of education, University of Hamburg.

5.1.4. Formation, transcription and translation of Vietnamese language corpus

According to Kameyama (2004:55), there are five levels of interlineal translation such as morphologic translation (MT), interlineal translation (IL), literal translation (LT), and translation of expression (TE) as well as free translation (FT). The Leipzig Glossing Rules that consist of ten rules for syntax and semantics of interlinear glosses is also applied.

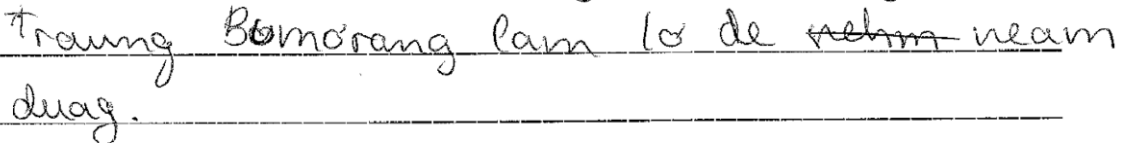
Based on the particular aim in this study, the Vietnamese written corpus of Vietnamese – German adolescents can be translated with IL, LT as well as TE by two basic formations as follows:

- (1) If the original example is completely correct as it would be in the standard language or it is not necessary to give the non-standard original corpus, the formation can be expressed with MT and TE, for instances,

	<i>Tôi</i>	<i>có</i>	<i>cái</i>	<i>bút.</i>
MT:	I	have	CL	pen.

TE: I have a pen.

- (2) If the original example needs to be rewritten to the standard language form, the formation can include the possible form of OC (orthographic correction) and the possible form of VSL (Vietnamese Standard Language):

<i>original</i>	
<i>OC:</i>	Trong Bumoraeng làm lỗ để ném được.
<i>MT:</i>	PREP boomerang make hole ADV throw able.
<i>LT:</i>	In Boomerang make hole to throw
<i>VSL:</i>	Để có thể ném được, cần phải đục lỗ trên cái bumorang.
<i>TE:</i>	In order to be able to play, some holes need to be drilled on the boomerang.

The formation of examples is different based on the aim of analysis. For example, for orthographic analysis, the original is provided to illustrate the way to use the orthographic system. In semantic or grammar analysis, the original text can be omitted, but a suggestion of the standard form of the Vietnamese language for the uncorrected example is provided.

5.1.5. Methods of analysis

The first research question of this study is how LiPS evaluation of written Vietnamese adapts to “test fairness” (Kane 2006, 2010, 2013 see more in Chapter 3). This theory has been defined as a comprehensive indicator including not only the test itself, but also the interpretation of test scores. Therefore, scores of indicators such as vocabulary, academic language, and classifier in LiPS evaluation were measured based on interpretive arguments of Kane (2013), and the guidance of Oliveri et al. (2015).

In addition, scores are compared by using a t-test to find the correlation and significance between Vietnamese heritage speakers and Vietnamese monolinguals. Based on this comprehensive comparison between LiPS scores, holistic evaluation, and monolinguals' results, the distinction between LiPS expected findings and LiPS results may provide clues for the discussion of the reliability of the analytic scoring of LiPS.

Moreover, to describe the language performance of bilinguals in the use of Vietnamese as heritage language in writing, qualitative analysis is used, due to the hypothesis of the deficiency of language of schooling performance of Vietnamese-German bilinguals. The LiPS analytic scoring focusing on academic literacy may forget *basic language cognition* (Hultijin 2015), a factor that may be prominently performed in the texts of these bilinguals. All of the written texts are analyzed to find the characteristics appearing commonly or specifically in comparison with monolingual texts.

5.2. LiPS test analysis

The validity and reliability of a language test is the most important thing that test makers attempt to achieve. However, “validation is simple in principle, but difficult in practice” (Chapelle 2012:15). Research on test reliability and validity to date are still debated (see more in section 3.2.2, Chapter 3). For practitioners, Bachmann/Palmer (1996) is still an excellent guide for the process of test development (Mc Namara 2003:471). Piggin (2012) also states that Bachmann/Palmer's models “Task Characteristics” allow a more adequate basis for the assessment of language proficiency because of its consideration of the participants' cognitive processing, and the situational context of both language use and the test performance (86).

The model by Bachmann/Palmer (1996) focuses on the expression of assessment. The model by Kane (2013) tends to interpret test score meaning that includes six components: domain description, evaluation, generalization, explanation, extrapolation, and utilization. Both models of Bachmann/Palmer (1996) and Kane (2013) can be comprehensively applied to examine test validity. The first model can be used to justify test use and the second model can be used to justify test scoring meaning. The analysis of validity in each stage of Kane's interpretative argument will be based on the explanation models of Oliveri et al. (2015).

“Task Characteristics” (Bachman/Palmer 1996) is applied for analyzing LiPS test rubrics and writing tasks. The aspects of evaluation form are examined by comparison between analytic scoring of writing of Vietnamese-German bilinguals and Vietnamese monolingual peers. The analysis involves the expectations of proposing these aspects, the results in the application of these aspects for analytic scoring, and the development of an appropriate analytic scoring, because LiPS was a pilot study, which needs to be developed for extended use.

5.2.1. Writing task “Fast Catch Bumerang”

The standardized instrument “Fast Catch Bumerang” (Reich et al. 2009) that has been developed to assess the written (academic) language skills of natives and migrants at the end of lower secondary education has been used in LiPS. The task asks participants to write an article for a youth magazine based on a sequence of pictures that illustrate the different steps of constructing a boomerang (appendix 1). The evaluation is based on several criteria that comprise different linguistic and non-linguistic dimensions (Gogolin et al. 2011). For example, in the evaluation, the assessment of task accomplishment is only related to cognitive ability of participants which is described in this chapter. Other indicators involve measurements of linguistic dimensions such as vocabulary, address forms, morphology, etc.

The diagnostic instrument “FÖRMIG-Bumerang” (boomerang) has already been used to determine writing competence in German and other languages, e.g. Turkish and Russian in some studies such as FÖRMIG, SPRABILON, and LiPS (Gogolin et al. 2011, Schwippert et al. 2013, Brehmer/Usanova 2017). It was shown to produce consistent and reliable results (Klinger et al. 2012).

The original version of the instruments included two requirements: “Bewerbungsschreiben” (application letter) und “Bauanleitung” (assembly instructions). The requirement of “Bewerbungsschreiben” (application letter) is eliminated in LiPS because this part is difficult for teenagers at the age of 15-16 years old (Gogolin et al. 2011:81). This is due to the fact that “Bewerbungsschreiben” (application letter) is likely to be both culture and education dependent. Therefore, in the LiPS, only the task with assembly instructions is continuously used. This task requires participants to describe a nine-image sequence in the form of an article for a youth magazine to show the readers how to build a boomerang. Based on “Task

Characteristics” (Bachmann/Palmer 1996:49-50), the LiPS task instruments can be analyzed as follows.

5.2.1.1. Characteristics of the test rubrics

According to Bachmann/Palmer (1996), characteristics of the test rubrics encompasses four factors: *instructions, structure, time allotment and scoring method* (see more in Table 3.4, in Chapter 3). Therefore, test rubrics can be understood as the organization of tests. This section does not introduce the scoring method of LiPS, because it has been partially mentioned in 5.1.5 and is going to be analyzed in more detail in the next sections of this chapter. This section, therefore, only aims at introducing the tasks of the LiPS study.

In terms of instructions, both German and Vietnamese are used as languages of instruction for this written task. The instruction is illustrated by two series of pictures, a boomerang design and “boomerang in park”. The interviewer had to read the instructions in a language that the participant could understand (i.e., Vietnamese or German). Before starting the test, the participants could ask the interviewer questions about the task if they had questions or needed clarification.

In the two tasks the participants are required to write an instruction how to build a boomerang and a test review checking the function of a boomerang in a magazine for teens. From the cognitive perspective, the language performance of both tasks are expected to conform to “*high language cognition*” (Hulstijn 2011b:231) - language production which contains low-frequency lexical items and grammatical structure. From an educational perspective, the requirement of language performance in these tasks are “*cognitive/ academic language proficiency*” (Cummins 1979:198) - the dimension of language competence which is performed by academic and literacy skills (see more discussion of these terms and their meanings in section 3.1.2). The LiPS tasks require both “*high language cognition*” and “*cognitive/academic language proficiency*”, because the completion of these tasks need technical vocabularies – the low frequency lexical items. In addition, writing journalistically has a specific style, which also appears infrequently in the language of daily life (Perrin/Ehrensberger-Dow 2006:340). The knowledge of vocabulary and writing strategies can only be obtained through formal instruction.

5.2.1.2. Characteristics of input

The characteristics of the input in Bachmann/Palmer's (1996) model comprises two indicators such as *format* and *language of input*. "Input" can be understood as instruments of tests. The *format* of the tasks pertains to how the tasks are administered, the given channel here is visual including language (written instruction) and non-language (pictures); the language is presented only in the target language (i.e. Vietnamese). The same instruments, but in the German language, were also used in the German test for the same participants. In other words, the participants in the LiPS test were in contact with both languages for the same tasks. Hence, the information about the tasks can be transferred from one language to the other.

Language characteristics consist of two dimensions that are *organizational characteristics* and *pragmatic characteristics*. Organizational characteristics can be analyzed on two linguistic levels, on a grammatical (vocabulary, syntax, phonology, orthography), and a textual level (cohesion, rhetorical/conversational organization). The task begins with an instruction, for example,

- (29) *Bạn hình dung đọc bài quảng cáo sau*
You imagine read CL advertisement following
trong một quyển tạp chí
in one CL magazine

Imagine you read the following announcement in a magazine.

In Example (29), not all of the given words sound completely natural. For example, *hình dung* (imagine) could be changed to *tưởng tượng* (imagine) to make the reader understand more clearly and it sounds more natural. What is the difference between these two words? *Tưởng tượng* is defined in the Vietnamese Dictionary as "tạo ra trong trí hình ảnh những cái không có ở trước mắt hoặc chưa hề có" (to create something in the mind that is not real and not true) (Hoàng Phê 2003:1082). *Hình dung* as a verb means "làm hiện lên trong trí một cách ít nhiều rõ nét bằng sức tưởng tượng" (to appear in the mind more or less by imaginative ability) (Hoàng Phê 2003:441). According to the definitions of these two words, both of them could be used in this case. The usages of both words in communication overlap sometimes, it means that they can be used largely synonymously. However, in this case, according to Oxford Collocations

Dictionary, the intended meaning of *imagine* is “to form a picture of something in your mind” (McIntosh 2009:413), *tưởng tượng* can be seen as more appropriate.

Secondly, regarding syntax, the sentence in Example (29) is an ungrammatical sentence in Vietnamese. The given sentence is considered an imperative sentence because it “expresses direct commands or requests addressing the listener” (Murcia/Freeman 1999:228). One function of imperatives is to give instructions or directions (Eastwood 1994:22). In the Vietnamese language, empty words like *hãy* or *đi* can be used to express a command and a request, and it is put before *vị từ* (verbum) (Cao Xuân Hạo 2006). A thorough discussion about the grammatical structure of imperatives is not a main objective of this study, this part only focuses on criteria to analyze the project data as following: the empty words *hãy* or *đi* are used to mark imperatives; *hãy* is placed before *vị từ* (verbum) and *đi* is put at the end of the sentence. Affective meaning of *hãy* is neutral, whereas this meaning of *đi* is familiar (Diệp Quang Ban 1992:228).

According to Lê Văn Lý (1972), the structure *hãy* + *verb* can help to form an order and to express encouragement with a calm voice or to be used in a petition with a sense of formality and aristocracy. Hence, using *hãy* in the context of the LiPS task can be seen as an appropriate choice. Nevertheless, as illustrated in Example (29), *hãy* was omitted or forgotten in the translation process. The sentence, therefore, sounds more like a statement than an imperative.

Another problem in Example (29) is related to word order. Two verbs, *hình dung* (imagine) and *đọc* (read) are put together (verb + verb). *Hình dung* (imagine) and *đọc* (read) are independent words that cannot be put together. Therefore, the given word order (*hình dung đọc* – imagine read) is completely ungrammatical in Vietnamese.

In sum, Example (29) is a non-standard Vietnamese imperative sentence because of unnatural word order and inappropriate vocabulary use. An appropriate standard Vietnamese sentence would be:

<i>Hãy</i>	<i>tưởng tượng</i>	<i>bạn</i>	<i>đang</i>	<i>đọc</i>	<i>bài</i>
Adjunct	imagine	you	adjunct	read	CL
<i>quảng cáo</i>	<i>sau</i>	<i>trong</i>	<i>một</i>	<i>quyển</i>	<i>tạp chí</i>
advertisement	following	in	one	CL	magazine

Imagine you read the following announcement in a magazine.

Continuing with the language of input of the task, the following examples show how the text input is represented with respect to grammar and vocabulary.

- (30) “Fast catch Bumerang” cần tìm người thành thực tập sinh.
 “Fast catch Bumerang” need find person become intern.
 “Fast catch Bumerang” need find an intern.

In (30), *thực tập sinh* (intern) already has the meaning *person* in the Sino morpheme *sinh*. Hence, in (30), either *người* (person) or *sinh* (dependent morpheme referring person) can be used, but not both of them at once. In addition, the use of the verb *thành* (become) in the given example is an overuse. Therefore, it should be written as follows:

- “Fast catch Bumerang” cần tuyển thực tập sinh.
 “Fast catch Bumerang” need find intern.
 “Fast catch Bumerang” needs to find an intern.

Example (30) is a different sentence of the task that includes unnatural vocabulary usage and non-standard syntax.

- (31) Thành thực tập sinh ở phòng xuất bản tạp chí
 Become intern at department publish magazine
 trẻ tên “Fast Catch Bumerang” có thể mở cửa
 young name Fast Catch Bumerang can open
 nghề nghiệp nhà báo cho các bạn.
 job journalist for adjunct plural you
 Become an intern in the publishing department of the youth magazine ‘fast Catch Bumerang’, it could be your chance for a career in journalism

In (31), the literal meaning of the phrase *tạp chí trẻ* (young magazine) is “new-born magazine”. In Vietnamese, “youth magazine” should be translated more detailed as “tạp chí dành cho giới trẻ” (magazine for youth), or “tạp chí dành cho thanh thiếu niên” (magazine for teenager).

Another error in (31) is related to syntax: *mở cửa nghề nghiệp nhà báo* (open career journalist). The task in Vietnamese is translated from the German text. The translator may have used the metaphor *mở cửa* (door open) to translate *Einstieg* (entry). In Vietnamese, the metaphor meaning of the verb phrase *mở cửa* (door open) is often used in the phrases “*mở cửa kinh tế*” (open the economy), “*mở cửa biên giới*” (open the border), “*mở cửa trái tim*” (open the heart), however “*mở cửa nghề nghiệp*” is unnatural.

Nghề nghiệp (occupation) is a collective noun (Nguyễn Đình Hòa 1997:92) which cannot combine with a word denoting a particular job *nhà báo* (journalist). The combination of this phrase is ungrammatical in the Vietnamese language. It should be translated as *là cơ hội để bạn tiếp cận với nghề nhà báo* (is chance for you to become a journalist).

In this text, pronoun usage is used inhomogeneous in the text input. In the first two sentences of the instruction of “Fast Catch Bumerang” task, *bạn* (second person singular) is used, but in the two following sentences, *các bạn* (second person plural) is used.

Concerning topical characteristics, the topic of this task is related to a boomerang, a teenager toy. These tasks, as was mentioned above, were used in former research studies in Germany, such as FÖRMIG, SPRABILON, LiPS (Gogolin et al. 2011, Schwippert et al. 2013, Brehmer/Usanova 2017). It means they are considered appropriate materials for a language performance test. These materials were used in the present study to examine the Vietnamese performance of Vietnamese-German bilingual adolescents. The same materials were also used to test Vietnamese of Vietnamese monolingual peers.

The Vietnamese usage of monolingual Vietnamese as a control group, the native language of the Vietnamese monolingual adolescents, can be said to be “the expected response” in all language aspects of the model of Bachmann/Palmer (1996:50) (see more in Table 3.4, Chapter 3). The use of written Vietnamese in the same task by Vietnamese-German bilinguals in Germany in comparison with Vietnamese monolinguals differs. However, the use of the same test for different groups, i.e., Vietnamese monolinguals and Vietnamese-German bilinguals has also adapted to the different “expected response”. If the monolinguals are expected to write in standard language, the bilinguals are expected to write in a different variety which can be embedded in social and cultural context.

The characteristics of ‘expected response’ is discussed in the next part of this chapter which is closely related to measuring language proficiency. The quality of the materials can also be measured more reliably by looking at the results of the test. There are many different variables which can be affected due to the quality of a test, for example, test procedure, attitude of participants, skill of interviewers. Therefore, in order to reduce the effect of these variables, the LiPS interviewers were professionally trained.

5.2.2. LiPS evaluation of Vietnamese writing

LiPS evaluation “Fast Catch Bumerang” for Vietnamese writing was developed to measure the language performance of Vietnamese by heritage speakers between the ages of 15-16. In LiPS, the evaluation formula for German and other heritage languages such as Russian and Turkish were also provided. The evaluation for German and Turkish had been developed and already used in FörMig (Reich et al. 2009, Dirim/Döll 2009).

Based on the structure of the evaluation of German and theories of specific linguistic aspects of Vietnamese language, the evaluation form for Vietnamese was proposed with eight indicators as in Table 5.3 (see section 5.1.2 in this Chapter). One objective of the LiPS test is measurement of performance of “high language cognition” (Hulstijn 2011b:231, see definition in section 3.1.2) of participants, particularly “language of schooling” (see discussion in section 3.3.2). Figure 5.1 shows the model of the evaluation indicators of Vietnamese written production.

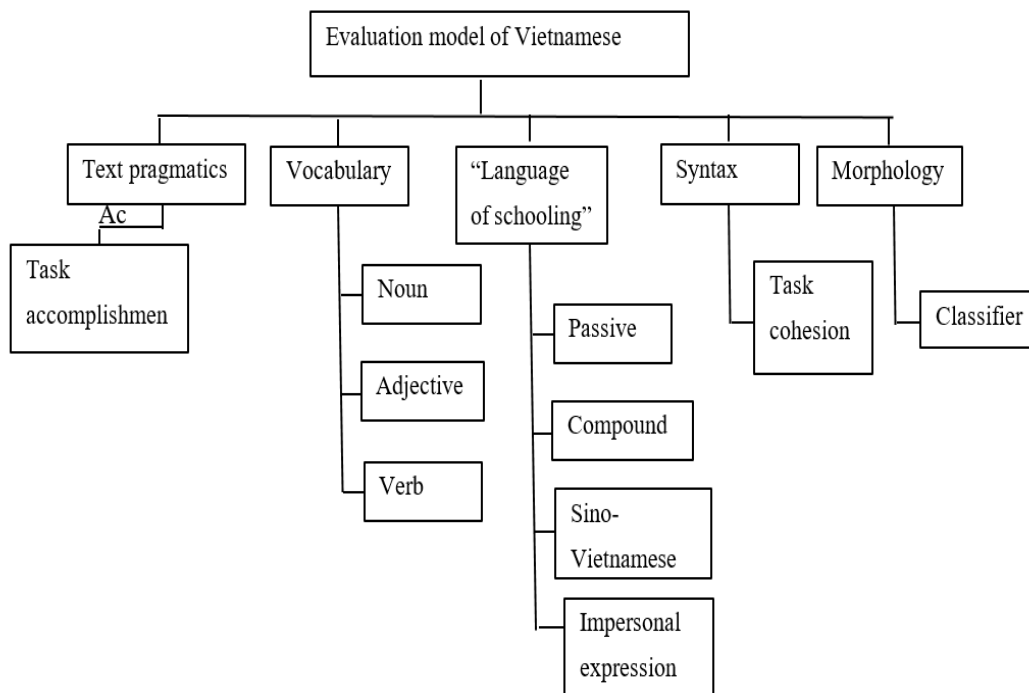


Figure 5.1. LiPS indicators for measurement of Vietnamese writing competence

Figure 5.1 shows that the test analysis includes the following linguistic aspects: text pragmatics, vocabulary, “language of schooling” elements, and syntax. Inflectional morphology has not often been mentioned in studies on Vietnamese language because Vietnamese is a typical isolating language, in which there are no changes of word forms according to tense, aspect, or gender (Nguyễn Tài Cẩn 1996:81). However, classifiers are going to be analyzed in category morphology, because they work at the morphosyntactic level that belong to six morphosyntactic meanings by different kinds of classifiers such as numeral classifier, deictic classifier, locative classifier, noun classifier, and verb classifier (Aikhenvald 2000:204). The Vietnamese language has three kinds of classifiers (numeral classifier, deictic classifier and noun classifier, see more in Chapter 4).

Despite the fact that most indicators have been developed in parallel to other tested language indicators (i.e., German, Russian, and Turkish), the aim of the LiPS project in comparing the language performance of participants was particularly difficult, due to the difference between specific features in every indicator of each language, for example, the occurrence of Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary in the Vietnamese language, and the appearance of subject-verb agreement in the German

language. The current study only focuses on the validity of LiPS indicators for the Vietnamese language writing evaluation separately to see if these indicators are appropriate for Vietnamese language written performance in the LiPS study and if they can be used for future studies.

In order to examine the reliability of LIPS indicators for Vietnamese writing evaluation, the expected response, the results, and the discussion of the correlation between them will be discussed in this section. The analysis is completed based on the model of interpretative argument by Kane (2006): scoring, generalization, extrapolation, theory-based interpretation and implication.

5.2.2.1. Task performance

Task performance (Aufgabenbewältigung) is a measure that evaluates how well the participants adhered to or followed the task. In LiPS, the task for students was to write an instruction for building a boomerang. And the measure “task performance” evaluates whether it is a coherent, complete set of instructions that follows the standard of a typical instruction text. Linguistic means, cognitive approaches and conceptual knowledge are combined in this measure. It is considered a universal way to evaluate how students name all the materials and if they describe the necessary steps to make a boomerang. Since the evaluation is not related to syntactic, lexical nor morphological criteria, it is possible to compare the language performance of participants in two languages directly (Reich et al. 2009:3), for example, Vietnamese and German of Vietnamese-German bilinguals. Table 5.4 shows the evaluation of the task performance.

Table 5.4: The grid of task performance “Fast Catch Boomerang”

Pictures	Description	none	briefly mentioned	simple	extensively described
1	List the materials	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
2	Cut out the pattern	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

3	Transfer the pattern onto the wooden board with a permanent marker	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
4	Clamp the wooden board (at the desk) by a clamp	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
5	Cut out the boomerang by a saw	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
6	Chamfer the edges by a file	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
7	Drilling the wing tips by a (cordless) drill	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
8	Grinding the surface of the boomerang (by abrasive pad)	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
9	Painting the boomerang by spray paint	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

(A translated version of the original in German of Reich et al. 2009:2)

Table 5.4 describes step-by-step the series of nine pictures in the “Fast Catch Bumerang” task. The task requires the activation of certain skills, for example usage of specialized vocabulary, active reproduction of a type of text (instruction), and description of pictures to be understandable in a written text (visual literacy). Grammatical and orthographic correctness is not analyzed in this part.

The description of each picture is evaluated based on a four interval Likert scales (from 0 = none to 3 = extensively described) as can be seen in Table 5.5.

Table 5.5. The Likert scales of measurement of task performance

Scales	Description	Score
None	The process step of the corresponding pictures is not mentioned.	0
briefly mentioned	The particular procedure is mentioned, however, it remains unclear what exactly the individual step includes.	1
Simple	The step is described with simple language to help the reader understand sufficiently.	2
extensively described	The step is explained, for example, the processes are described in detail or individual steps are mentioned. * The first picture is only regarded as “ <i>extensively described</i> ” if all tools are listed in technical terminology correctly.	3

(A translated version of the original in German of Reich et al. 2009:2:3)

The detailed instructions for measuring the task comprehension of “Fast Catch Bumerang” in Table 5.4 and 5.5 were used to analyze the performance of participants. It was expected that the score of task performance in the Vietnamese language by Vietnamese-German participants would be lower than their score in German language and lower than the score in Vietnamese language by Vietnamese monolingual peers. This is because it is not easy for bilinguals to describe the task pictures extensively without knowledge of “language of schooling”.

Figure 5.2 provides the summary of the statistics for the results of the task performance represented in the German (DB) and Vietnamese (VB) written texts of Vietnamese-German bilinguals, and the results of the assessment found in the Vietnamese written texts of Vietnamese monolinguals (VM). Based on the Likert scales (Table 5.5), the scores of task performance in Vietnamese and German language

of 20 bilingual participants and 20 monolingual participants were evaluated. A text has a potential maximum score of 27, if he/she can describe all nine pictures extensively. Figure 5.2 compares the average scores of German texts (DB, n = 20) and Vietnamese texts (VB, n = 20) of Vietnamese-German bilinguals and Vietnamese texts (VM, n = 20) of Vietnamese monolinguals.

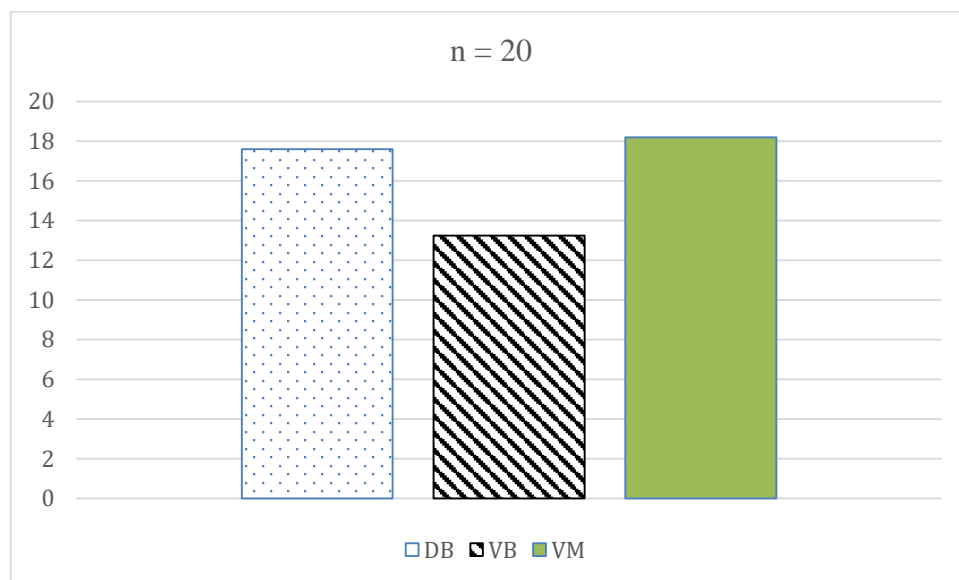


Figure 5.2: Average score of task accomplishment of three text groups

It is apparent from Figure 5.2 that the average score in task accomplishment by Vietnamese-German bilinguals in German and Vietnamese monolinguals in Vietnamese are at the same point (around 18 of 27 max score). The performance in German of bilinguals is comparable with the performance of the Vietnamese monolinguals in Vietnamese. What stands out in this table is the difference between the average scores in task accomplishment of Vietnamese-German bilinguals in Vietnamese as a heritage language (around 13 of 27 max score). The average scores of DB and VM are nearly 1.5 times higher than those of VB.

The expected results were obtained in the analysis of the indicator “task accomplishment”. Therefore, it is a reliable indicator to measure how students identify all the materials and whether they describe the necessary steps to make a boomerang.

5.2.2.2. Address forms

As proposed in section 4.4.2, the complex system of person reference in Vietnamese consists of lexical alternatives of common nouns (kinship and social status terms), proper nouns and personal pronouns (Luong Văn Hy 1990:4). The meaning of linguistic forms in the Vietnamese person-reference system is often defined in accordance with the communicative context. It means that the usage of one linguistic form in the person-reference system in different interactional situations can be decoded differently (Hò Đắc Túc 2003:114).

The former study FÖRMIG noticed that there are large differences in the usage of different address forms between German and Turkish texts of the Turkish-German children and adolescents (Reich et al. 2009). In LiPS evaluation, there are twelve sub-categories for determining reference and address. Most bilingual writers use a homogenous term of reference and address from the beginning to the end, for example, non-reference words or first person pronouns such as *tôi*, *em*, *mình*, or the second person pronoun *bạn* (more explanation on the personal pronoun, see Chapter 4). However, there are some texts in which participants use more than one method of reference and address. For example, they use *tôi* in the beginning of the text, and they use *em* in the next part of the text. *Tôi* is a personal pronoun for first person which is a unique pronoun used in polite situations (Thompson 1965:299), whereas *em* is a kinship term which is used in both address and reference forms in familiar contexts. Examples and analysis will be introduced in Chapter 6. In this context, a homogenous reference and address form should be used.

The score of the usage of reference and address is counted by frequency (tokens). It means the occurrence of each address and reference form is counted in written texts. The average score of counting tokens of address forms between Vietnamese monolinguals and Vietnamese-German bilinguals is unexpected. The average score of Vietnamese-German bilinguals (scored 6) are 2 times higher than Vietnamese monolinguals (scored 3).

However, the analysis of single address forms can bring different conclusions. Figure 5.3 shows the difference of address and reference usage of Vietnamese-German bilinguals (n = 20) and Vietnamese monolinguals (n = 20). The forms such as *người ta* (they), *quý vị* (you, polite), *tôi* (I), *mọi người* (you, plural) which were seldomly used are omitted.

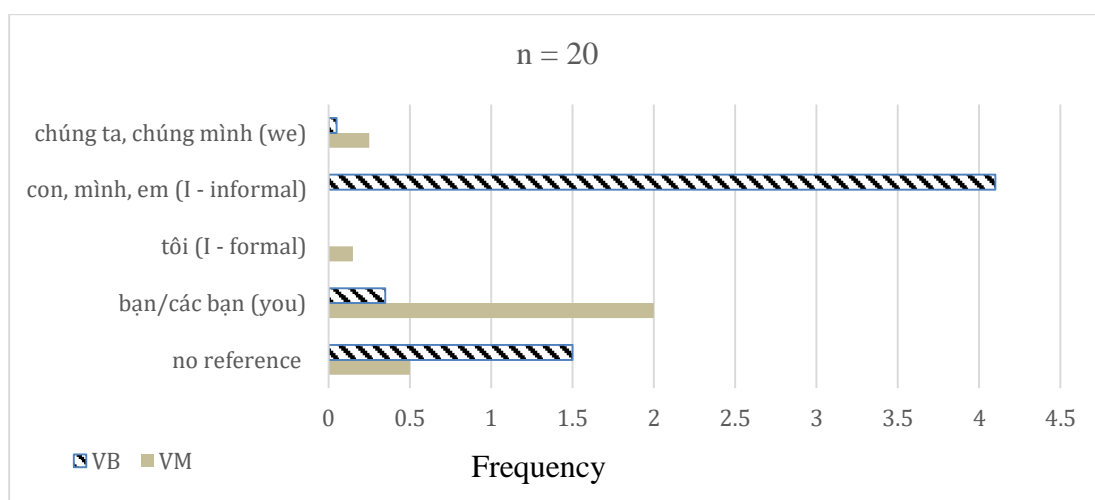


Figure 5.3. Average number of address form usage of two groups

As can be seen from Figure 5.3, the usage of Vietnamese address and reference forms of the two groups, the Vietnamese bilinguals (VB) and the Vietnamese monolinguals (VM) are strikingly different. There are some options which are only used by Vietnamese monolinguals, for example, *các bạn* (you, pl.), *ta/chúng ta* (we). The task “Fast Catch Boomerang” requires informants to use the “language of schooling”. The usage of the neutral second pronoun both singular and plural *bạn/các bạn* (you singular and plural) is suggested to refer to a colleague as the appropriate choice for this situation which needs a polite form (Thompson 1965:301). Additionally, impersonal reference in passives or imperatives can be seen as natural usage. Example (32), (33) and (34) from written texts of Vietnamese monolingual participants respectively illustrate these forms mentioned above:

(32) **Các bạn** cần chuẩn bị những dụng cụ sau.
 You need prepare adjunct plural tool follow
 You need to prepare the following tools. (VM10)

(33) **Chúng ta** cần các dụng cụ sau.
 We need adjunct plural tool follow
 We need the following tools. (VM17)

(34) Chuẩn bị các đồ dùng thiết yếu như [...]

Prepare adjunct plural tool necessary like
Prepare the necessary tools like [...] (VM2)

In contrast, some options are only used by the Vietnamese bilinguals, for instance, *con*, *mình*, *em* (I, informal) or *bọn mình* (we, informal). In the bilingual group, the use of *con*, *mình*, and *em* has the highest proportion, whereas in the monolingual group, the use of *bạn* (you) and no reference in the imperative are two of the most frequent strategies. As mentioned above, *bạn* (you) is also used to address a friend and colleague in formal situations (Thompson 1965:301), whereas *con*, *mình*, *em* are mostly used in informal situations. *Con*, *mình*, *em* belong to polite forms in family contact (ibid.:299), whereas in the context of writing an article for a youth magazine, the formal address forms such as *bạn/các bạn*, *ta* should be used. Therefore, the address forms of bilingual participants are inappropriate. Particular examples of the use of the address forms will be provided and discussed more in Chapter 6.

In Figure 5.4, the difference between bilingual and monolingual groups can be seen clearly. However, LiPS analytic scoring only counted the occurrence of all address forms as tokens. It means this scoring system uniquely gave attention to the frequency with which these forms were used, but it did not score the use of different forms separately. For example, the use of *tôi* (I) – an appropriate form or *con* (I, kinship terms denoting a child is used to address herself/himself and also is called by parents or sometimes by people at the same age of parents) both get one point from the scoring system. The validity and reliability of this indicator and the suggestion for an extension of the future use will be introduced in section 5.3 of this chapter.

5.2.2.3. Elements of the language of schooling

One important aim of LiPS evaluation is the assessment of the performance of “language of schooling” registers of participants, which should be created based on genres and specific context. The evaluation of “language of schooling”, therefore, is complex and should be analyzed from various linguistic levels. In LiPS, the “language of schooling” patterns are analyzed implicitly from many perspectives, for instance, in text pragmatics due to the form of address or text structure; in lexis due to the counting technical of nouns, verbs, and adjectives; in syntax due to investigating the use of conjunctions and sentence structures (Trần Thị Minh 2016:393). This section only

discusses the validity and reliability of the assessment specific registers of “language of schooling” that are defined in the LiPS formula: the passive, compound words, Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary, and impersonal expressions. Is it reliable to use these indicators and the analytic scoring in LiPS to assess “language of schooling” performance in the Vietnamese language in general, and the performance of the bilingual participants in particular? The analysis and discussion here will provide evidence for examining the appropriateness of these indicators.

5.2.2.3.1. Passive

This section analyzed the use of the passive in Vietnamese written texts by Vietnamese heritage speakers and Vietnamese monolingual speakers. Additionally, the use of the passive in Vietnamese written texts and German written texts of Vietnamese-German teenagers will be analyzed. As mentioned in Chapter 4, although passive voice as a grammatical category does not exist in the Vietnamese language, the passive meaning constructions prevail. The following examples illustrate two different passive constructions in the Vietnamese language, one is marked by word order and function words *bị/được* and another is not marked by function words but is expressed by passive meaning.

- (35) *Miếng gỗ được gắn trên mặt bàn.*
 CL wood adjunct fix on face table
 The piece of wood is fixed firmly on the table. (VB99.1)

In (35) passive is marked by the structure *được* + verb (Nguyễn Hồng Côn 2009). However, *được/bị* do not always express a passive meaning (Bruening/Tran 2015:136). For example:

- (37) *Hôm nay em được đi thử boomerang.*
 Today I adjunct go test boomerang
 Today I go to test boomerang. (VB11.1)

(37) is not a passive structure despite existing *được* that makes the subject to be a beneficiary. Therefore, the LiPS evaluation of passives is based not only on the grammatical structure, but also on semantics.

The frequent use of passive in Vietnamese written texts by both groups (VB, VM, n = 40) and German written texts (DB, n = 20) by Vietnamese-German adolescents were counted as tokens. Figure 5.4 illustrates the average number of passive usage in three text groups.

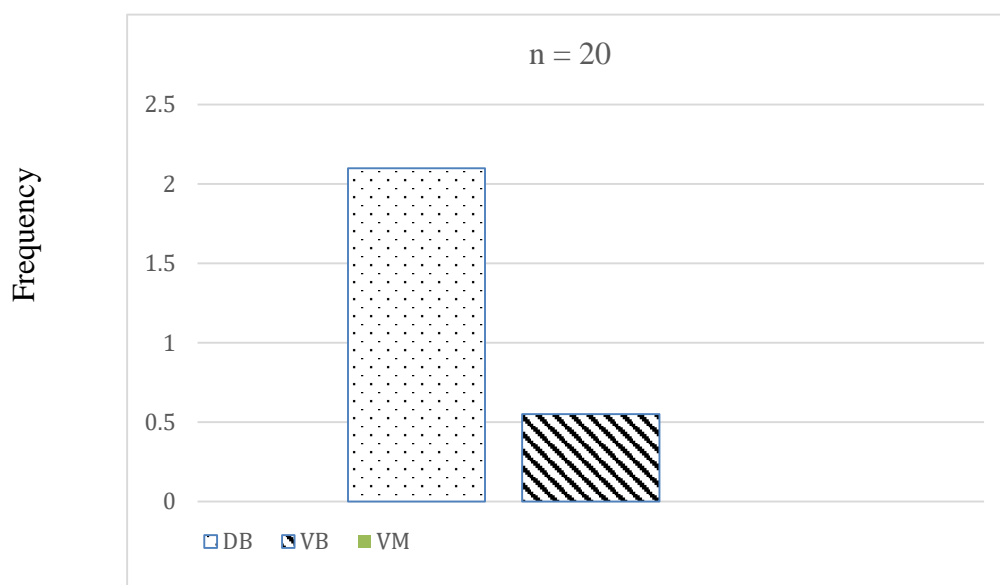


Figure 5.4. Average number of passive usage in three text groups

What stands out in Figure 5.4 is that the number of passive constructions occurred in Vietnamese written texts (n = 20) by Vietnamese bilinguals (11 tokens), whereas in those of Vietnamese monolinguals (n = 20) did not appear at all (0 token). Figure 5.5 also showed that in German texts (n = 20), the Vietnamese-German adolescents used the passive about 4 times more frequently than in Vietnamese ones (42 tokens in German texts and 11 tokens in Vietnamese texts). Specifically, 73% of passive constructions appeared in the written texts of VB130 (8 tokens). The text also got the highest general score of LiPS evaluation (271.89), whereas the average score was around 97.

5.2.2.3.1. Compound words

As mentioned in Chapter 4, *Komposita* (compound words) is often viewed as an indicator of *Bildungssprache* (language of schooling) in the German language. In LiPS evaluation, this indicator was also used as an indicator of measuring the performance in language of schooling of Vietnamese heritage speakers.

Based on previous studies related to compound words in the Vietnamese language introduced in Chapter 4, section 4.4.2, compounding (fixed combinations) and free combination (clauses) were distinguished due to word formation (Thompson 1965), Nguyễn Tài Căn (2004) and lexical meaning (Đỗ Hữu Châu 1986). Compounding in the present analysis consists of some dissyllabic simple words (Thompson 1965) that are not names of animals (i.e., *cào cào* locust), plants (*điền điền* – a kind of plant) or places (Buôn Mê Thuật). It is also comprised of complex and compound words in Thompson’s classification (section 4.4.2).

The frequent use of compounding in Vietnamese written texts of Vietnamese-German bilingual teenagers (VB: n = 20) and monolingual peers (VM, n = 20) were counted as tokens. Figure 5.5 illustrates average number of compounding usage in two groups.

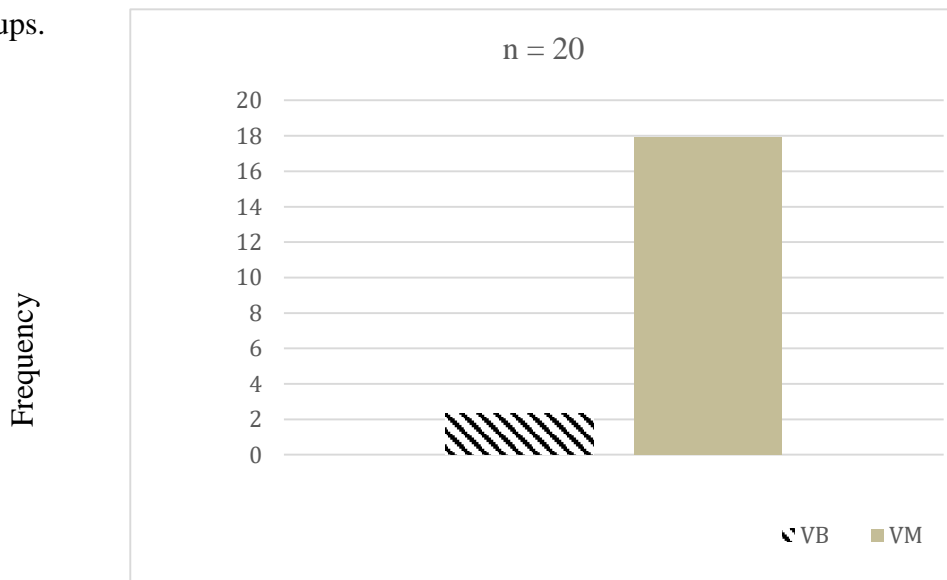


Figure 5.5. Average number of compounding use in two groups

It is apparent in Figure 5.5 that Vietnamese bilinguals used compounds less frequently than Vietnamese monolinguals: the use of compounding in VB was over 15 times less than VM. Majority of compounding in written texts of Vietnamese bilinguals are conjunctions such as *sau đó* (then), *thứ nhất* (first), and *cuối cùng* (finally):

- (38) *Thứ nhất em vẽ một cái bomorang trên giấy.*
 First I draw one CL boomerang on paper.
 First, I draw a boomerang on the paper. (VB14.1)

In addition, a compounding noun *bây giờ* (now) was often used by Vietnamese heritage speakers to emphasize or introduce their actions. For example:

- (39) *Bây giờ phải làm đẹp cái này với sơn.*
 Now muss make beautiful with paint.
 Now it is made more beautiful with painting. (VB26)

Contrastingly, the use of compounding in written texts of Vietnamese monolinguals varied. These words were usually used to describe more extensively. For example:

- (40) *Chỉ với những bước đơn giản như vậy, bạn
 đã có một cái boomerang hoàn chỉnh.*
 Only with adjunct PL step simple like that you
 adjunct have one CL boomerang complete.
 Only with such simple steps, you already have a completed boomerang. (VM1)

The use of compounding such *đơn giản* (simple) or *hoàn chỉnh* (completely) in (40) made the writer's introduction sound more professional. Therefore, the difference in the use of compounding between Vietnamese bilingual teenagers and their monolingual peers is evident not only in quantity but also in quality.

5.2.2.3.3. Sino-Vietnamese

Sino-Vietnamese refers to any words of Chinese origin in the Vietnamese language that has been estimated at about 70% of the entire Vietnamese lexicon (Phan John 2013:20). This indicator was already introduced in section 4.4.2. Sino-Vietnamese consists of both content words (i.e., *vũ khí* - weapon, *phụ nữ* - women) and function words (*do* – because, *thường thường* - usually). However, defining function words and their origin is difficult. The average number of frequency (tokens) of the use of Sino-

Vietnamese in texts of bilinguals (VB: n = 20) and monolinguals (n = 20) is illustrated in Figure 5.6:

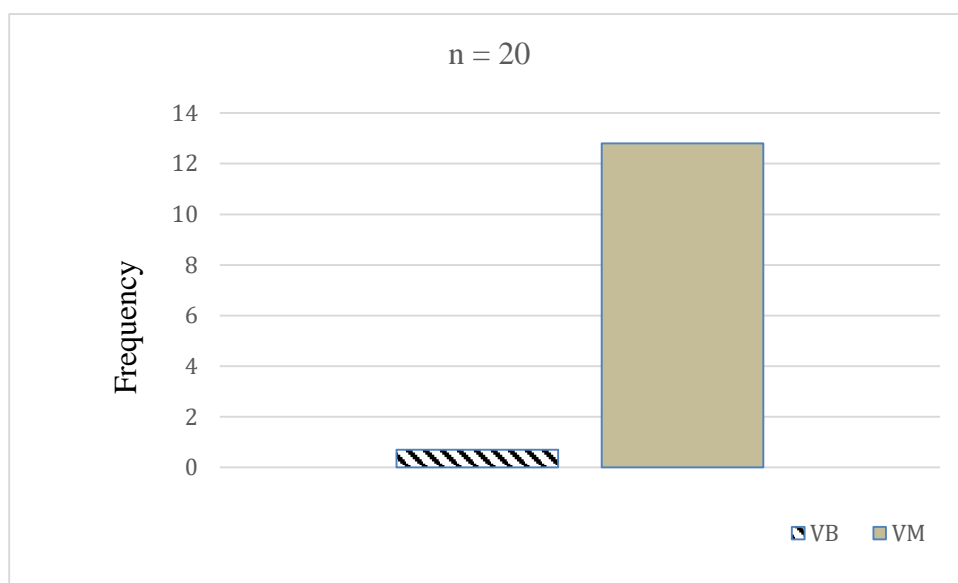


Figure 5.6. Frequency of the use of Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary

As shown in Figure 5.6, there is only a marginal difference between the second and first test, whereas the difference between Vietnamese heritage speakers and monolingual peers is particularly large. The use of Sino-Vietnamese in written texts of Vietnamese monolinguals is approximately 18 times higher than those of Vietnamese-German bilinguals.

In the written texts of Vietnamese-German bilinguals, several Sino-Vietnamese vocabularies were used repeatedly, for example, *hình ảnh* (image), *vũ khí* (weapon).

- (41) Trong **hình ảnh** một, mình nhìn thấy giấy [...]
 In image one I see paper
 In the first image, I see paper. (VB85.1)

In contrast, a greatly different number of Sino-Vietnamese were used in the written texts of the monolingual peers. These Sino-Vietnamese belongs to both the content areas of general and technical vocabulary, for example, *hoàn thành* (complete), *sử dụng* (use), *chuẩn bị* (prepare), *nguyên liệu* (materials), *đường tròn* (circle), *đường*

kính (diameter). When introducing the materials to create a boomerang, bilingual participants usually wrote:

- (42a) *Mình cần bút, kéo, [...]*
I need pen scissors
I need pen, scissors [...] (VB03.1)

In the same position, monolingual participants used a Sino-Vietnamese word *chuẩn bị* (prepare) instead of or in conjunction with *cần* (need).

- (42b) *Bạn cần chuẩn bị hồ dán, kéo, [...]*
You need prepare glue scissors
You need prepare glue, scissors [...] [VM04]

The frequent appearance of the Vietnamese word *cần* (need) in the written production of the heritage speakers and *chuẩn bị* (prepare) in those of the monolingual peers partly shows the correlation between the use of Sino-Vietnamese and the performance in language of schooling specifically and Vietnamese language proficiency generally.

5.2.2.3.4. Impersonal expression

Impersonal expressions are viewed as a critical indicator to distinguish between ordinary language and *Bildungssprache* (language of schooling) in the German language (Hovellbrinks 2014:104ff), they are also assumed to be an indicator in defining language of schooling in the Vietnamese language. These constructions in Vietnamese could be identified by passive constructions (Example 35 in the present study) and nominalizations (Example 43a below).

- (43a) *Thiết kế cái bu-mơ-rang mất hơn một tiếng.*
Design CL boomerang last over one hour
Designing a boomerang takes over one hour.

The impersonal expression in (43a) can be written in a sentence without impersonal expression in (43b):

(43b) *Tôi làm cái bu-mơ-rang mất hơn một tiếng.*

I make CL boomerang last over one hour.

It took over one hour for me to create the boomerang

A simple statistical analysis is used to examine whether this indicator is accurate for measuring language of schooling in Vietnamese or not. Figure 5.7 compares the summary statistics (tokens) for the use of impersonal expressions in the Vietnamese (n = 20) of the Vietnamese – German bilinguals and in the Vietnamese texts (n = 20) of the Vietnamese monolinguals (VM).

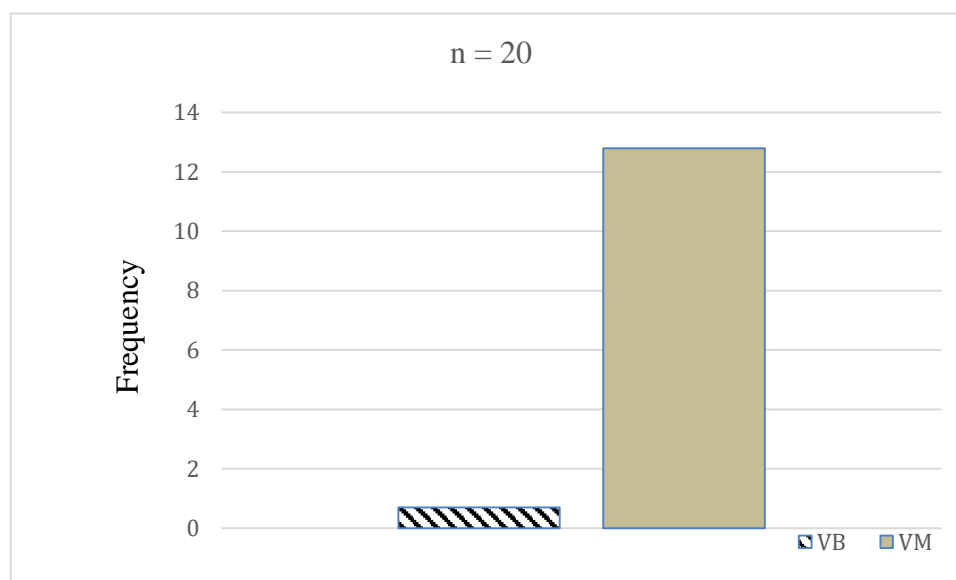


Figure 5.7. Average number of impersonal expression usage in two groups

The results obtained from the preliminary analysis of the use of impersonal expressions show that the Vietnamese bilinguals prefer using these constructions in the German texts but not in the Vietnamese texts. In Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German teenagers, these constructions were produced as the following:

(44) *Khi lắp một boomerang thì phải cần nhiều đồ.*

When build a boomerang then must need many thing

When creating a boomerang, then it must need many things. (VB14.1)

(45) *Các công cụ cần để làm bumorang: [...]*

Adjunct pl material need adjunct make boomerang

The essential materials to create a boomerang [...] (VB130.1)

The result of the t-test reveals that there is a statistically significant difference between VB and DB ($p= 0.003$).

It is apparent from this figure that these constructions are used more frequently in the Vietnamese texts of the Vietnamese monolinguals as compared to the Vietnamese bilinguals. The use of impersonal expression in written texts of Vietnamese monolinguals is about 4 times higher than those of Vietnamese-German bilinguals.

5.2.2.3.5. Text structure

A well-structured text can help readers to better understand the content of the text. In order to understand the organization of texts of the Vietnamese heritage speakers and the Vietnamese monolingual peers, LiPS evaluation examined the occurrence of text features of text's organization such as the use of linguistic factors (i.e., the use of clue words and phrases *kế tiếp* – next, *sau đó* - then), numeral outline (*hình 1* – image 1, *hình 2* – image 2), paragraph structure, title/heading structure, preface/introduction/greeting the reader, conclusion, specific method of structure (i.e., table of materials) (Halladay/Duke 2013). Based on counting the occurrence of the features of text organization, the average score of text organization of the Vietnamese monolinguals is evaluated to be higher than the Vietnamese-German bilinguals, respectively 2.75 and 1.65. However, evaluation of specific text features of text organization can give more interesting results. Figure 5.8 presents the text's organization of Vietnamese monolinguals (VM: $n = 20$) and bilinguals (VB: $n = 20$) in structuring a Vietnamese text.

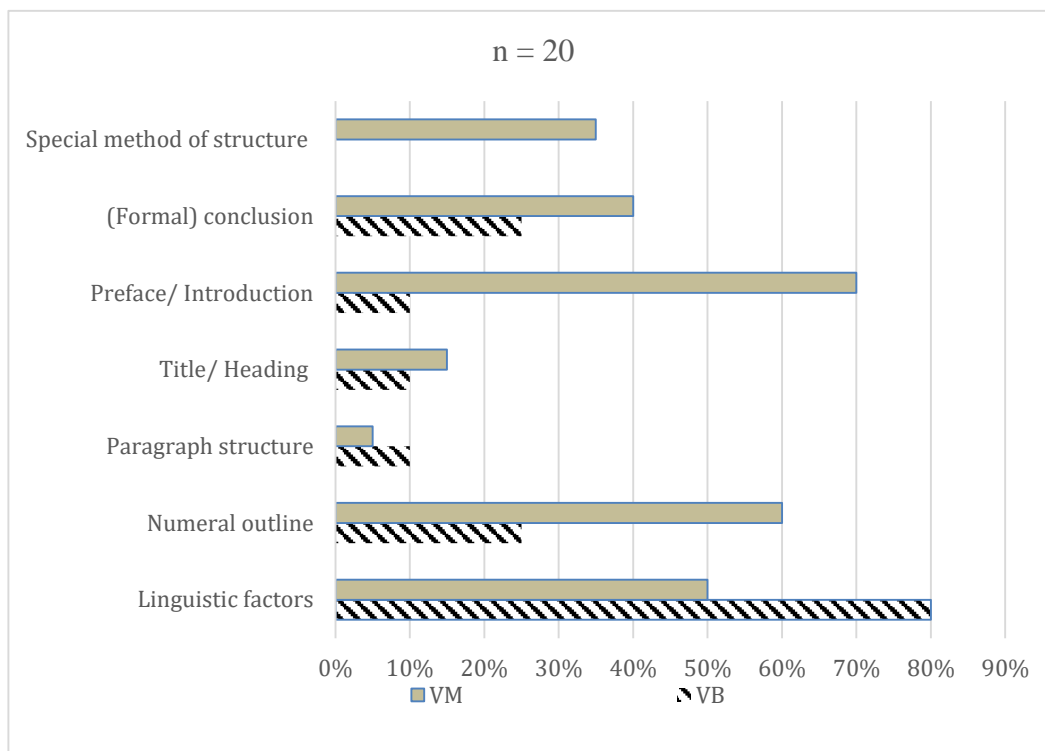


Figure 5.8. The use of text features of text's organization

As can be seen in Figure 5.8, the way of structuring a Vietnamese text between the two groups, Vietnamese bilinguals (VB) and Vietnamese monolinguals (VM), are quite different. Special structuring methods are only chosen by Vietnamese monolinguals. About 35% of the Vietnamese monolingual participants list the boomerang materials with a dash (-). This may help readers to recognize them more easily. A preface/an introduction is written by approximately 70% of Vietnamese monolinguals, whereas only 10% of the bilinguals include it. The Vietnamese bilinguals prefer to use linguistic factors such as adverbials *kế tiếp* (next), *sau đó* (then) to structure their texts, whereas the Vietnamese monolinguals use both linguistic factors and numeral outline to organize texts.

5.2.2.5. Classifier

Article in the English is one of the most difficult patterns for non-native speakers (Han et al. 2006, Oller et al. 1971). Learners of German as second language also experience difficulties in mastering the German article system (Pimingsdorfer 2010: 14). Therefore, the LiPS assessment of German encompasses the category article.

As was mentioned in Chapter 4, Vietnamese is an isolating language that has no inflectional morphology. Classifiers in Vietnamese are considered to be somewhat similar to articles in other languages, because they share certain meanings and functions (see more in 4.4.5).

Classifiers are obligatory in the presence of a numeral, both ordinal and cardinal numbers, some quantifiers as well as plural markers (Tran Jennie 2011:8). Due to the complex system and function, classifiers can be a challenge for children and foreigners learning the Vietnamese language (Nguyễn Thiện Nam 2006, Phan Ngọc Trần 2018, Tran Jennie 2011).

Based on studies by Nguyễn Thiện Nam (2006), Tran Jennie (2011), Phan Ngọc Trần (2018), some categories were developed to analyze classifier usage in the LiPS texts and to examine if Vietnamese bilinguals are able to use classifiers correctly. Table 5.6 below provides the LiPS analysis of the use of classifiers.

Table 5.6. LiPS assessment of the use of Vietnamese classifiers

	Examples	Frequency
<i>Non-standard usage</i>		
Classifier omission		
Classifier overuse		
False classifier use		
Σ <i>Non-standard usage (tokens)</i>		
<i>Standard usage</i>		
Σ <i>Standard usage (tokens)</i>		
Relation:		
$\% = \Sigma \text{ Non-standard usage of classifier (tokens)} / \Sigma \text{ Total score of the registered cases (obligatory context for classifier)}$		

As can be seen in Table 5.6, non-standard usage of classifiers is divided into three different errors. Example (46) is an example of classifier omission.

(46)* *Tôi cần một Φ kéo.*
 I need one Φ scissors.
 I need scissors. (VB13.1)

In Example (46), the classifier *cái* in the noun phrase *một cái kéo* (a CL scissors) is omitted. Hence, this sentence is non-native-like or ungrammatical.

Example (47) illustrates classifier overuse:

(47)* *Bạn phải cắt tờ giấy để làm hình mẫu.*
 You must cut CL paper to make template.
 You must cut the paper to make a template. (VB11.1)

(48)* *miếng tờ giấy*
 CL CL paper (VB32.1)

In (47), the use of classifier *tờ* (flat, thin, sheet-like) is not correct; it would only be correct if *paper* was meant to be a specific type of paper. Yet, if it referred to a specific type of a paper, the phrase should also include a demonstrative pronoun (CL paper DEM). (48) is an example of double use of classifier that is ungrammatical in the Vietnamese language.

Incorrect classifier use is exemplified in the following:

(49)* *Mình lấy cái gỗ để vẽ hình.*
 I take CL wood to draw image
 I take a plate of wood in order to drawing an image. (VB52.1)

In (49) *cái* – general classifier was used instead of specific classifiers *tấm* or *miếng* (flat, horizontally oriented) that usually combine with textile, glass, wood or paper (Tran Jennie 2011:73). Hence, the use of *cái* in this case is non-native-like or ungrammatical in the Vietnamese language.

However, during the analysis process of classifier usage, a critical problem was identified. It is problematic to classify the vague cases such as Example (50).

(50)* *Mình cần một cái khoan, bút, giấy, màu.*
 I need one CL drill pen paper color.
 I need a drill, pen, paper, color. (VB146.1)

The materials for building a boomerang can be listed in two correct ways. The first way is exemplified in Example (51):

(51) *Mình cần bút, băng dính, gỗ, máy cắt.*
 I need pen glue wood cutting machine
 I need pen, glue, wood, cutting machine. (VB03.1)

In (51), all nouns indicating materials that are needed for building a boomerang are listed without classifiers to determine general objects. Therefore, there are seven standard usage tokens.

The second way is illustrated in Example (52) as following:

(52) *Mình cần một tờ giấy, một cái viết [...]*
 I need one CL paper one CL pen
 I need a piece of paper, a pen [...] (VB26.1)

In (52), the structure *numeral + CL + noun* was used when listing the materials of creating boomerang. Due to the obligatory nature of classifier use in the presence of a numeral (Trần Jennie 2011:8), (52) is a native-like example. The usage of one of the homogenous structures as in Examples (51) and (52) for listing materials is obligatory to adhere to the standard use of Vietnamese in this case.

Returning to (50), the use of inhomogeneous structures (without classifier and numeral+CL+noun) is ungrammatical in the Vietnamese language. However, if each noun is evaluated separately, there are two ways of evaluating: either only one correct token and three incorrect tokens, or one incorrect token and three correct tokens. Because of the complexity of such an analysis, the classifier use scores were not counted in the general score.

Table 5.7 shows the classifier usage of Vietnamese bilinguals and monolinguals:

Table 5.7: Classifier use of Vietnamese bilinguals and Vietnamese monolinguals

	Vb	Vm
Classifier omission	31	7
Classifier overuse	13	3
False classifier use	27	2
Σ Non-standard usage (tokens)	71	12
Σ Standard usage (tokens)	94	135

Figure 5.9 and 5.10 present the results of Table 5.7 visually:

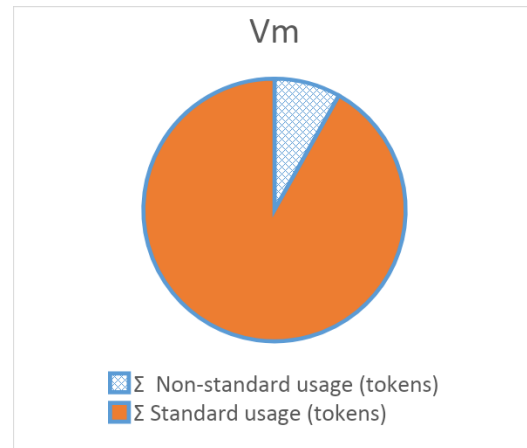
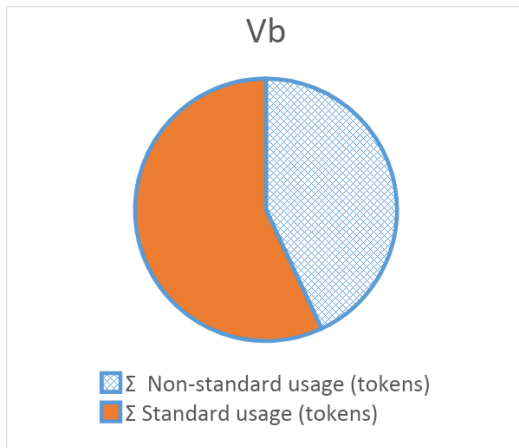


Figure 5.9. Classifier use of VB

Figure 5.10. Classifier use of VM

Concerning the amount of classifier usage, the monolinguals make only some mistakes (about 8%), whereas the bilinguals produce about 43% non-standard uses. What is striking about Figures 5.9 and 5.10 is how close the results are to the expectation of the study that there is a statistically significant difference between bilinguals and monolinguals in the use of classifiers, a complex part of speech in Vietnamese.

5.2.2.6. Vocabulary

The LiPS vocabulary assessment consists of counting nouns, verbs, and adjectives. These word classes are analyzed by counting the occurrence (types) of different semantic meanings, for example, technical meaning, general meaning, or neologism. Another category was developed to examine if the use of verbs depends on the genre of the text, if it is *textsortenspezifisch*, and whether it differs according to the task the participants were asked to do.

For example, headings, tables, and some final formulas (eg. *hết* (end)) are not evaluated; foreign-language expressions are also not analyzed; and personal names, place names and proper name are not included in the analysis either (Reich et al. 2009).

In the evaluation manual, there are examples that give clues for defining the category of vocabulary items: *máy khoan* (driller), *cưa* (saw), *kéo* (scissors), *hộp màu xịt* (color spray), *hình mẫu* (form) belong to the category of technical nouns; *bút* (pen), *hình ảnh* (picture), *giấy* (paper), *lỗ* (hole) are general nouns; *máy cắt gỗ* (machine cut wood - cutting wood machine), *màu spray* (color spray – color spray dose) are classified into neologism nouns. *Cưa* (saw), *xịt* (spray), *khoan* (drill) are technical verbs; *cần* (need), *chuẩn bị* (prepare) belong to textsorten specific verbs; general verbs are *có* (have), *thích* (like), *lấy* (take), *làm* (make); *làm màu*, *sẽ màu sắc* instead of *xịt màu* are viewed as neologism verbs. Technical adjectives are *nhẵn* (smooth), *trơn* (smooth), *chặt* (fixed); general adjectives are *đỏ* (red), *cam* (orange), *cẩn thận* (careful), *đẹp* (beautiful).

In order to assess the usage of Vietnamese vocabulary in three different categories (verb, noun, and adjective) as well as their sub-categories to examine the qualities of the LiPS test documents, a simple statistical analysis was used. Figure 5.12 illustrates some of the main characteristics of vocabulary use of the Vietnamese-German bilinguals (n = 20) and monolinguals (n = 20) in comparison.

The vocabulary used of participants were counted as type (the occurrence of the words, not their frequency). In Figure 5.11, it can be observed that the number of items in most of the categories is larger in the monolingual group than in the bilingual group. However, only neologisms occurred more frequently in texts of the bilingual participants than those of the monolingual peers. Here are examples of neologism use in Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German bilinguals:

(53)* *Mình sử dụng máy cắt điện [...]*
 I use machine cut electrical
 I use an electrical cutting machine (electrical saw) (VB03.1)

(54) *Cắt cái bomorang để cái đấy không
 làm đau ngón tay.*
 Cut CL boomerang CONJ CL DEM not
 make paint finger
 Cut the boomerang then it cannot make finger paint. (VB26.2)

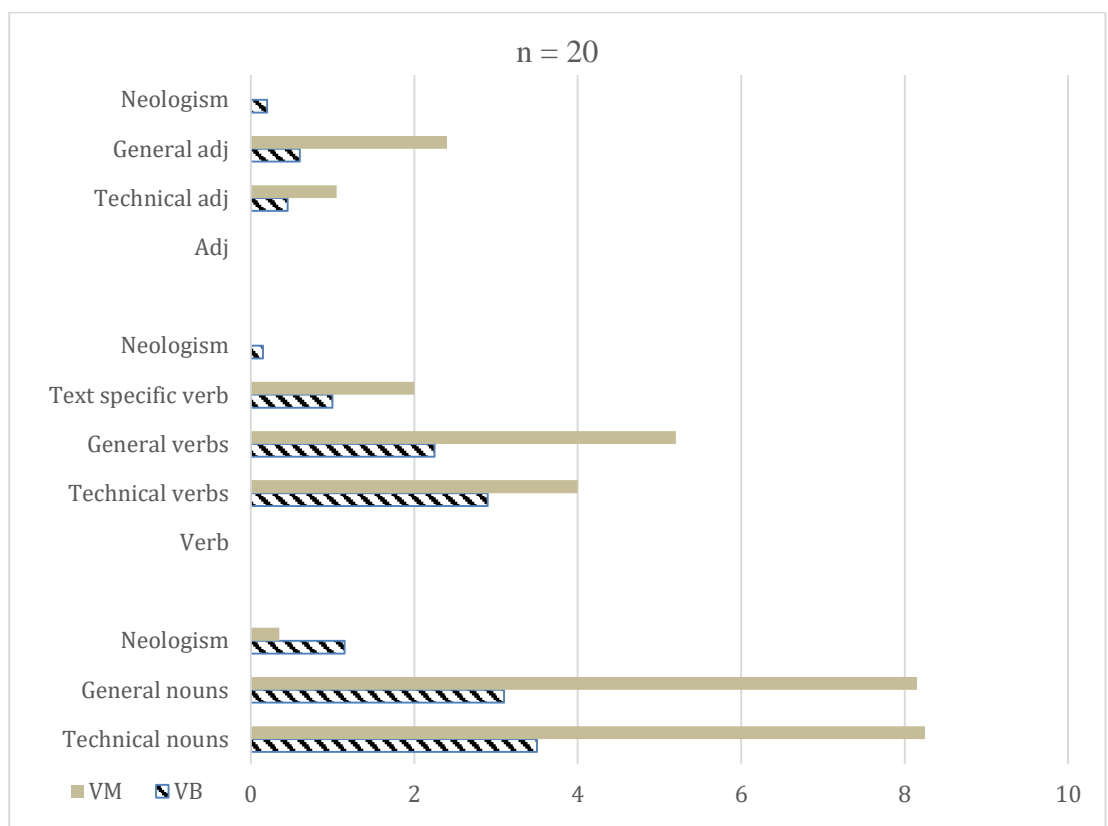


Figure 5.11: Average score of vocabulary use of two groups

Example (53) exemplifies a neologism in the noun category. Due to the lack of the accurate noun (*saw*) in the participant's vocabulary, he/she used a phrase that was perhaps translated from the English language (*cutting machine*) instead of the specific name for this object in the Vietnamese language (*cưa - saw*). In (54), the participant used *cái đấy* (*that thing*) as the way to use *Ding* (*thing*) in the German language to

indicate something that he/she found difficult to define concretely. It can be also viewed as a joker.

Example (54) consists of three neologism phrases, two of them belong to the neologism of verbs. *Cắt* (cut) as general verb was used instead of the specific verb *mài* (sharpen), and the verb phrases *làm đau* (*ngón tay*) was used for the *làm đứt tay* (to cut one's finger). The use of joker and neologism will be analyzed more in the section that addresses code-switching and transfer in Chapter 6.

Additionally, a t-test is used to analyze the relationship between vocabulary usage in the German language and the Vietnamese language by the Vietnamese-German participants. Table 5.8 presents the results of this statistical analysis.

Table 5.8. The difference between usage of Vietnamese and German vocabulary

Nouns	Adjectives	Verbs
p = 0,000	p = 0,000	p = 0,000

The results, as shown in Table 5.8, indicate that there is a statistically significant difference in the use of nouns, verbs and adjectives in the German texts as compared to the Vietnamese texts.

A second t-test analysis that differentiates between sub-categories is used to distinguish which category the German and the Vietnamese differ most (cf. Table 5.9).

Table 5.9. The difference of sub-categories of vocabulary use in Vietnamese and German texts

Noun			Adjective			Verb			
Technical noun	General noun	Joker, neologism	Technical Adj	General Adj	Joker, neologism	Technical verb	Specific verb	General verb	Joker, neologism
0,000	0,134	0,748	0,015	0,000	1,000	0,000	0,167	0,230	0,116

Table 5.9 is quite revealing in several ways. First, unlike the results from Table 5.8, in most of the sub-categories of noun, verb and adjective there is no statistically significant difference. There is a uniquely statistically significant difference in the technical vocabulary: technical noun, technical adjective and technical verb ($p < 0,05$). It can be said that the use of technical vocabulary is statistically significantly different

between German and Vietnamese texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. It is also strange when the use of neologism in Vietnamese written texts and German ones are not significantly different. Is this a strategy that the Vietnamese-German bilinguals have to use for both languages because of their incomplete acquisition? Or is it only a coincidence generated by the specific text related to the modern toy of a teenager that requires more new words? The present study does not focus on this complex issue that requires more empirical studies in relation to language acquisition.

5.2.2.7. Conjunction

Based on the work of Diệp Quang Ban (1999), a glossary of methods to create cohesion in a sentence and in a text is provided in the LiPS evaluation manual. Examples are the use of coordinators (*và* - and, *nhưng* - but, *hoặc* - or), of subordinating conjunctions/subordinators (*trước đó* - before, *sau đó* - after, *mặc dù/tuy/dù* - although), of correlative conjunctions (*nếu...thì* - if ... then, *không những ... mà còn* - not only ... but also, *càng... càng* - more... more), or the use of demonstrative pronouns (*này* - this, *kia* - that). However, the table in the assessment sheet does not include all types of cohesion. Hence, there are blank lines to be filled in by the researcher for extra types that create cohesion in a text and that are not included in the original list.

In order to compare the use of conjunctions of Vietnamese monolinguals and Vietnamese bilinguals, a simple statistical analysis is used. The occurrence of conjunctions in Vietnamese texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents ($n = 20$) and Vietnamese monolinguals ($n = 20$) were counted. The average number of conjunctions used in written texts of both groups is not strongly different: Vietnamese monolinguals got a 2.1 score (42 occurrences/20 written texts), and the Vietnamese-German bilinguals got a 2.5 score (42 occurrences/20 written texts). However, the analysis of single conjunctions presented in Figure 5.12 shows that there is large difference in the use of conjunctions or the cohesion organization between the monolinguals and the bilinguals. The occurrences of conjunctions in 20 written text (100%) were counted in proportion.

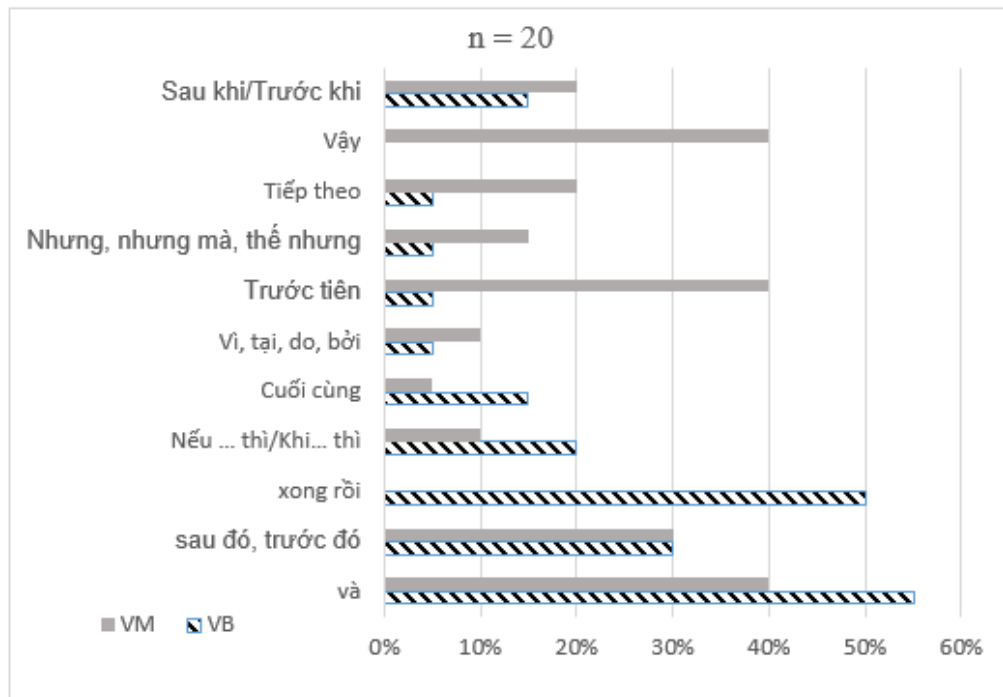


Figure 5.12: The proportion of conjunction use in two groups

There are some conjunctions that were only used frequently in the written texts of Vietnamese-German bilinguals, for example, *xong rồi* (then):

(54)* *Xong rồi viết với một bút vào cái hình [...]*

Then then write with one pen in CL picture

Then write in the picture by a pen. (VB54.1)

(54) is an ungrammatical example of the Vietnamese language with errors in verb use (*viết* - write instead of *vẽ* - draw), classifier omission (*một bút* instead of *một cái bút*), and preposition use (*bằng* instead of *với*, *vào* instead of *lên*). The conjunction *xong rồi* (then) that is used in this sentence should also be replaced by *sau đó* (after that), *rồi* (then), *tiếp đến* (next) when considered in comparison to the alternative options in the written texts of their monolingual peers. As observed, this conjunction is typically used in informal contexts or in spoken communicative situations and less frequently in written texts. However, it was used in 50% of the texts written by Vietnamese-German bilinguals.

In contrast, in the collected data, *vậy, như vậy* (hence) was used only by the monolingual participants. For example:

(55) *Như vậy là ta đã có bomorang TRITON IV.*
 Hence COP we adjunct have boomerang TRITON IV
 Hence we've got a boomerang TRITON IV. (VM04)

These conjunctions are used to indicate a conclusion or a final step (Trần Trọng Kim et al. 1940:148). The bilingual participants neither wrote the last sentence nor used these conjunctions. Instead of these conjunctions, the Vietnamese-German participants used *cuối cùng* (finally) that can be also be viewed as native-like in the Vietnamese language.

5.2.2.8. Syntax

The indicator sentence patterns was also expected to define the difference in language proficiency of bilinguals and monolinguals, because a text with more complex sentence patterns, such as a compound sentence, usually shows higher competence than a text with many incomplete sentence structures (Reich et al. 2009). Based on Nguyễn Văn Hiệp (2009), sentence structures are analyzed according to the following categories: incomplete sentences (53), specific sentences (54), simple sentences (55), compound sentences (56) and complex sentences (57).

(53) *Cắt một bomorang bằng giấy.*
 Cut one boomerang by paper
 Cut one boomerang on the paper. (VB04.1)

(53) is an ungrammatical sentence in the Vietnamese language due to the lack of subject of the action *cắt* (cut). This sentence can be native-like if it is used as an imperative when adding such adjuncts *hãy, đừng, chó* (ibid.:172)

(54) *Chuẩn bị: kéo, bút vẽ, hồ dán, thước đo [...]*
 Prepare scissors pen draw glue ruler
 Preparation: scissors, pen, glue, ruler [...]. (VM04)

(54) also lacks a subject, however it is still native-like, due to specific text type and context (Đào Minh Thu et al. 2010).

(55) *Mình cắt hình bomorang.*
 I cut image boomerang
 I cut the form of boomerang. (VB04.2)

(55) is a simple sentence with a structure of subject (*mình*) - predicate (*cắt hình bomorang*).

(56) *Bây giờ ta có một cái bomorang, nhưng cái bomorang đó không phải gỗ.*
 Now we have one CL boomerang but CL boomerang DEM not wood.
 Now we have a boomerang, but this boomerang is not made by wood. (VB26.2)

In (56), there are two structures subject - predicate that are connected by conjunctions such as *và* (and), *còn* (but), *nhưng* (but) (ibid.:85).

(57) *Bạn sẽ cắt miếng gỗ theo đường viền đã vẽ.*
 You will cut CL wood at line adjunct draw
 You will cut the plate of wood at the line that was drew. (VB130.2)

The sentence in (57) is viewed as a complex sentence because it contains two subject + predicate structures, but one subject + predicate belongs to a part of sentence. Specifically, (57) can be analyzed as follows:

<i>Bạn /</i>	<i>sẽ cắt miếng gỗ theo</i>	<i>đường viền</i>	<i>đã vẽ.</i>
		SUB	PRED
SUB	PRED		

The subject-predicate structure (*đường viền đã vẽ*) belongs to objects in predicate of the main subject-predicate structure.

To distinguish sentence structure usages between Vietnamese bilinguals and Vietnamese monolinguals, a simple statistical analysis is used. Figure 5.13 provide the proportion of sentence use between written texts of the Vietnamese-German bilinguals (n = 150 sentences) and those of monolingual peers (n = 203 sentences).

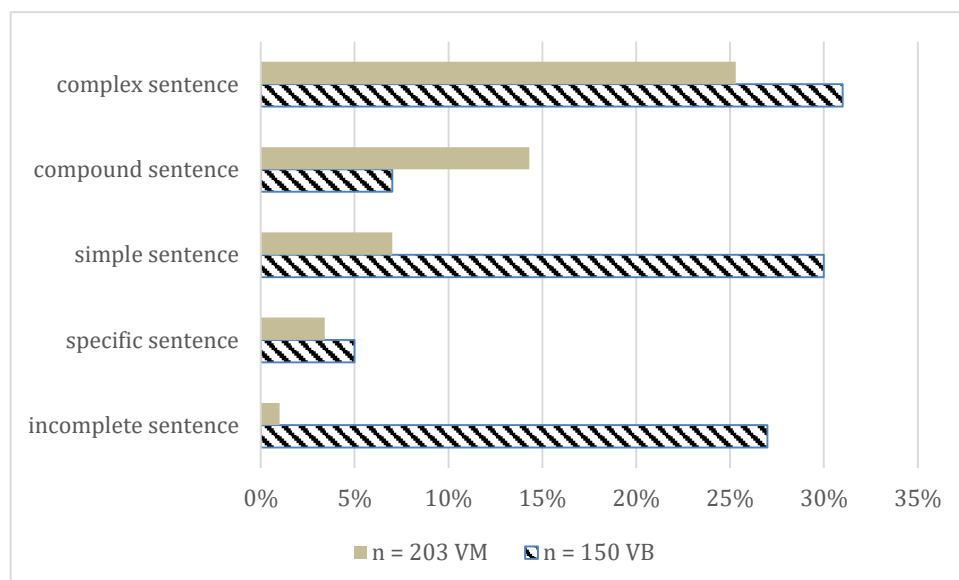


Figure 5.13. The proportion of usage of sentence structures in two groups

Figure 5.13 shows that the bilinguals produced a considerable number of incomplete and simple sentences in comparison to the monolinguals, whereas the monolinguals used more compound sentences. However, the complex sentence was used at the same proportion.

Further analysis shows that the organization of sentence patterns between bilinguals and monolinguals is also different. For example, a simple sentence written by a bilingual is usually short, whereas a simple sentence written by a monolingual is more complex with more than one predicate. A compound sentence is also organized differently by monolinguals and bilinguals.

5.2.2.9. Number of words and sentences

The last category of the LiPS analysis is the overall count of sentences and words in the written texts. This is necessary because measuring the length of a text is a rough quantitative measure that correlates with the proficiency of learners (Reich et al. 2009:10). The longer a text, the more words there are, and the longer the individual

sentences become, the higher the proficiency of a learner (ibid.). Nevertheless, text length measurement is only one general measure and cannot replace a qualitative analysis that is able to present the more fine-grained picture, especially when considering individual cases.

Concerning the number of words, in the LiPS analysis, some tokens, such as heading, text endings, and tables, were not included in the overall count. However, words which contained orthographic errors were included. Standard abbreviations were counted as well.

The count of the amount of sentences is considered a measurement that can provide information about the quality of a text (Reich et al. 2009:10). In the LiPS analysis, not only complete sentences, but also incomplete sentences or text fragments such as a single lexeme are included in the overall count. Figure 5.14 compares the average number of words in Vietnamese written texts of Vietnamese-German participants (VB, n = 20) and Vietnamese monolingual peers (VM, n = 20), and average number of words in German texts of Vietnamese-German bilinguals (DB, n = 20).

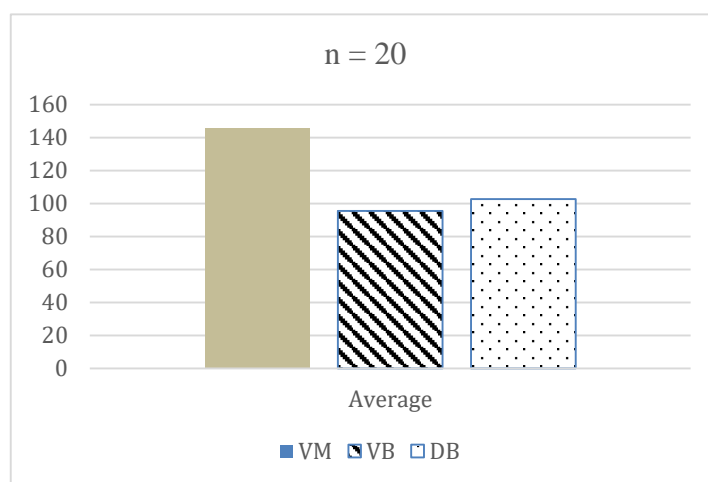


Figure 5.14. Average numbers of words in three text groups

Figure 5.14 shows that the number of words used in the Vietnamese texts by the Vietnamese monolinguals is higher than the number of words used in the Vietnamese and German texts by the Vietnamese bilinguals. The difference between the bilingual students on the one hand and the monolingual students on the other is highly significant, based on the result of a t-test ($p=0.00$). However, the difference between the German and the Vietnamese texts of the bilingual students is not statistically significant ($p=0.28$).

Concerning the numbers of sentences, Figure 5.15 presents the comparison between the three different text groups as outlined above.

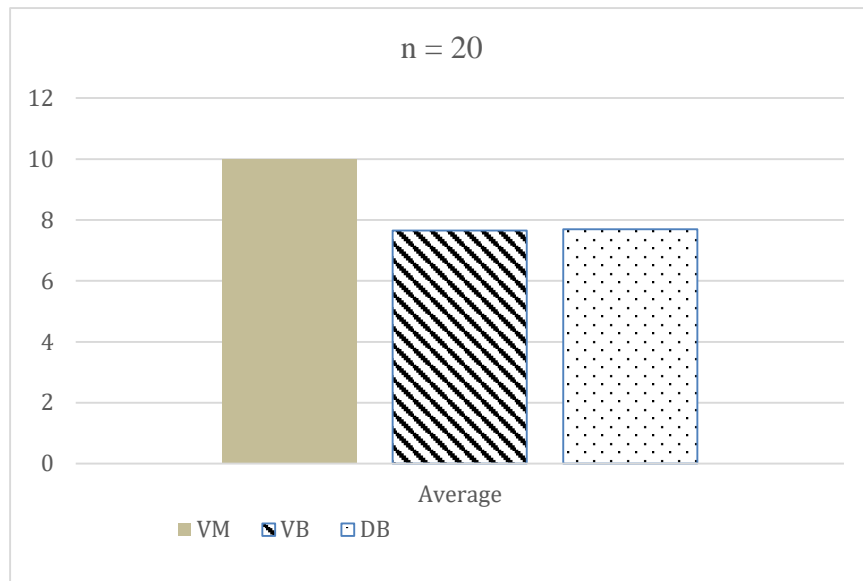


Figure 5.15. Average numbers of sentences in three text groups

As can be seen in in Figure 5.15, the overall pattern of the numbers of sentences of the different text groups is similar to results presented for the numbers of words presented in Figure 5.15. This means that the number of sentences used in the Vietnamese texts of the Vietnamese monolinguals is larger than in the Vietnamese texts of the bilinguals. This difference turned out to be statistically significant based on t-test ($p=0.01$). Nevertheless, the numbers of sentences in Vietnamese and German texts of Vietnamese bilinguals has no significant difference ($p=0.47$).

5.2.2.10. Test-retest score

The method that was used to examine the reliability of LiPS test is test-retest (Hughes 2003). It means, the same boomerang tests were done twice for the bilingual group in 2011 and 2012 to identify its consistency across time.

The general score of the LiPS “Fast Catch Boomerang” consists of three scales, *fachsprachliche Fähigkeiten* (technical language competence - F), *allgemeinsprachliche Fähigkeiten* (general language competence - A) and *Struktur* (structure - S). T is the total score of the task performance, the language of schooling

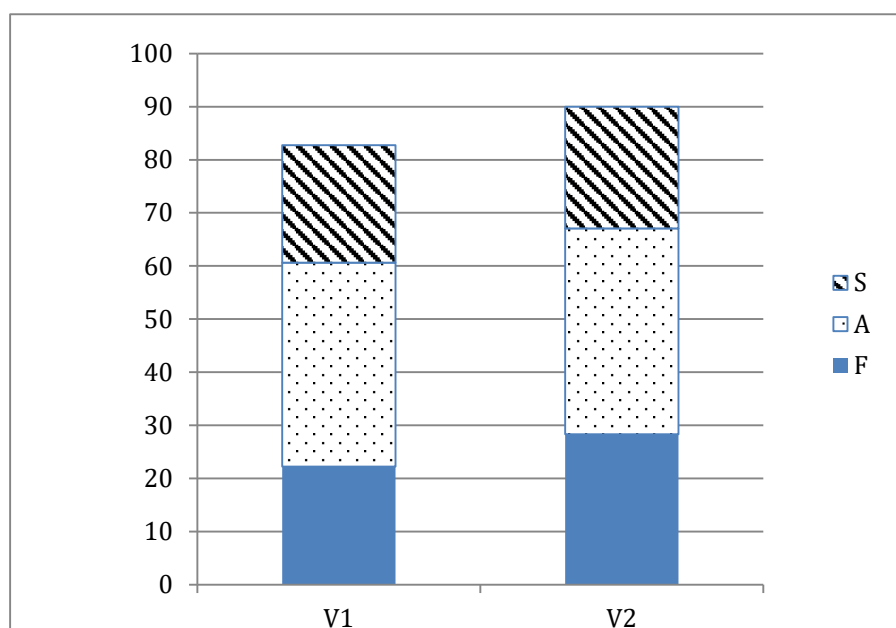


Figure 5.16. The average score of test-retest of Vietnamese-German bilinguals

(tokens), the technical nouns and verbs (types). A consists of the score of the task performance, the general nouns and verbs (types), and syntax (tokens). S includes the score of the task performance, the text structure, specific verbs, and cohesion. Figure 5.16 compares the score of Vietnamese-German bilinguals in test (V1)-retest (V2). The result shows that the scores of test-retest are similar. Another analysis with t-tests was also applied to examine the difference of the language proficiency between the texts of the two measure points. No statistically significant difference was found in the overall performance in Vietnamese by the Vietnamese bilinguals between the texts of the two measure points ($p = 0.572$).

5.3. Discussion

This chapter attempted to discuss two research questions: (1) how the Vietnamese written performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents as heritage speakers were demonstrated through the LiPS evaluation in comparison with the monolingual peers; and (2) to what extent the LiPS evaluation was adapted to be used in future research. Based on the analysis above and Bachman/Palmer's model (1996) of test usefulness that was an accessible adaption of Messick's work (1989), the frameworks about validity as an interpretative argument and test fairness of Kane (2006, 2010, 2013), the

validity argumentation of Mislevy (2016), the models of language cognition of Hultijn (2011) that were already mentioned in Chapter 3, this section discusses the quality of the LiPS test. Bachman/Palmer's model emphasizes the test use, whereas the arguments made by Kane focuses on the interpretive process of test score, and Mislevy's adaption see a test comprehensively. In addition, through the analytic scoring of LiPS at many linguistic indicators of the Vietnamese language, the performance of heritage language of the Vietnamese-German adolescents compared to the monolingual peers is initially described.

5.3.1. Discussion of the empirical tasks of LiPS

Based on "Task characteristics" of Bachmann/ Palmer (1996:49-50) and the "Validity challenges" of Mislevy (2016:266), the adequacy of LiPS tasks is examined in this section. First and foremost, for development of a task, three questions of a total of eight questions of Mislevy in assessing the validity of a test are adequate: (1) What do we want to assess?; (2) What kinds of performance do we need to observe, in what kinds of situations?; and (3) How should we think about constructs?

Four questions previously mentioned were answered in the LiPS test concretely: (1) LiPS wanted to assess Vietnamese heritage language of Vietnamese-German adolescents; (2) Written performance, specifically the performance of *Bildungssprache* (language of schooling) (i.e. language in a youth magazine) needed to observe; (3) The construct of the test included two intertwined tasks that form a continuous story related to building a boomerang and testing this youth toy.

The fourth question of Mislevy (2016) refers to the process of task development and the analysis. In order to assess higher skills, a language task should be "ideational, manipulative, heuristic, and imaginative" (Bachmann/Palmer 1996:50). It means it should encourage participants to express their ideas, to discover something by themselves and to show their creativity. LiPS tasks require participants to imagine that they are a journalist to write an instruction and a narrative of a youth toy boomerang. Hence, these tasks are adequate for the requirement laid out by Bachmann/Palmer. It also adequately fulfills the indicator of "authenticity" that requires a relation between a test or an assessment task and the context (Leung/Lewkowicz 2006:214).

In addition, this instrument has been used to examine writing performance for teenagers at the age of 15-16 in German and other languages (i.e., Turkish, Russian) in previous studies (ForMig, SPRABILON, see Gogolin et al. 2011, Schwippert et al. 2013, Brehmer/Usanova 2017). It is shown to produce consistent and reliable results (Klinger et al. 2012). However, since this instrument had never been adapted for the Vietnamese language before, the adequacy of these tasks for Vietnam monolinguals was a concern. The results that were analyzed in 5.2 indicate that Vietnamese monolingual participants obtained good results. Hence, these tasks are “authentic” (Bachmann/Palmer 1996:25) and “relative more interactive” (ibid.) of qualities of test usefulness for evaluation of the Vietnamese language.

Whereas task structure and task topic seems to be appropriate, the language of these tasks had some problems that were analyzed in 5.2.2. The analysis indicated that there are some lexical and grammatical mistakes in the Vietnamese language version due to the translation process, for example, using statement sentences instead of imperatives (Example 29), the overuse of words (Example 30), and some inappropriate word usage (Example 29, Example 31).

Despite some mistakes in the Vietnamese LiPS mentioned above, the Vietnamese-German bilinguals and their Vietnamese monolingual peers seemed to understand the requirement of the tasks. It is evident by their response in the analysis of collected data, especially in the results of task accomplishment that has been used to evaluate how students name all the materials and if they describe the essential steps for the making of a boomerang. This evaluation was not directly related to linguistic criteria, but focused on conceptual knowledge that helps to know to what extent the participants understood the tasks. The average score of the Vietnamese monolinguals (scored 18) was not much higher than the Vietnamese-German bilinguals (scored 13). Looking back to the grid of task performance (Table 5.4) and the Likert scales of measurement of task performance (Table 5.5), it can be seen that 13 is a result that is between “briefly mentioned” (scored max. 9) and “simple” (scored max. 18) descriptions. It allows us to conclude that the Vietnamese-German bilinguals understood the tasks. However, the lack of language knowledge did not allow them to write more extensively.

The understanding of the tasks of the Vietnamese-German bilinguals can also be explained by the knowledge transfer from the German language test. In LiPS study,

written performance of Vietnamese-German adolescents were tested in two languages, Vietnamese and German, by the same tasks. The first intention was that the informants had been required to write in Vietnamese that they are less competent than in German as their school language, before they accessed the German tasks. However, due to the difficulty of convincing the participants to do the tasks in heritage language, interviewers had to agree with participants that they can write the German version first. Thus, most of them knew the tasks through the German language test.

In addition to examining the appropriateness of test instruments, analysis of the characteristics of expected responses is far-reaching. The discussion of analytic scoring in 5.3.2 will give more evidence of the qualities of these tasks.

5.3.2. Discussion on LiPS analytic scoring

According to Messick (1989) and his followers, validity can be understood as:

An integrated evaluative judgment of the degree to which empirical evidence and theoretical rationales support the adequacy and appropriateness of inferences and actions based on test scores or other modes of assessments. (Messick 1989:13)

The validity is viewed as the degree that is justified by looking at test scores and test progress. Based on Messick (1989), a more accessible model of language tests were proposed by Bachmann/Palmer (1996, previously introduced in Ch 3), in which the expected responses and the relationship with other factors are important to define validity. In particular, validity of the test is defined as the meaningfulness and the appropriateness of the interpretations based on test scores (Messick 1989, Bachman/Palmer 1996, Hughes 2003, Fulcher/Davidson 2007).

The current section discusses all specific-linguistic indicators of LiPS evaluation to investigate (1) the validity of the test; (2) the heritage language performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents through analytic scoring; and (3) to give specific suggestions for an adequate evaluation for future research.

Based on the analysis in 5.2.2, Table 5.10 summarizes how the analysis met the expectations of the evaluation at each specific indicator. Generally, the scores of

monolinguals were expected to be higher than those of bilinguals. (+) is a sign of meeting expectations, (-) is a sign of not meeting expectations.

Table 5.10. Meeting expectations at LiPS specific-linguistic indicators

LiPS linguistic indicators	Results	Meet expectations
<i>Aufgabenbewältigung</i> (task performance)	VM (scored 18) is a bit higher than VB (scored 13).	+
<i>Adressierung</i> (address forms)	VB (scored 6) is 2 times higher than VM (scored 3).	-
<i>Bildungssprache</i> (language of schooling):		
<i>Passive</i>	VB used 4 times more than VM.	-
<i>Compounding</i>	VM used 15 times more than VB.	+
<i>Sino-Vietnamese</i>	VM used 18 times more than VB.	+
<i>Impersonal expression</i>	VM used 4 times more than VB.	+
<i>Textstrukturierung</i> (text structure)	VM used around 2 times more than VB	+
<i>Klassifikator</i> (classifier)	VM (8%) obtained less non-standard uses than VB (43%)	+
<i>Wortschatz</i> (vocabulary)	VM obtained more larger than VB.	+
<i>Verbindung von Sätzen</i> (cohesion)	There is no different between two groups	-
<i>Sentence structures</i>	There are difference in use of sentences: bilinguals obtain many incomplete sentence that were not scored.	+

Summary

Number of words	There is highly significant	
Number of sentences	difference between Vietnamese- German bilinguals and Vietnamese monolinguals.	+

(Own research)

The results summarized in Table 5.10 show that 10/13 linguistic indicators met the expected responses in evaluation of the Vietnamese language.

Three indicators and their evaluation did not meet expectations: address forms, passive, and cohesion. Why did the evaluation of these indicators not meet expectations? Is it possible to find other ways to evaluate these indicators to evaluate language performance?

The score of address forms used by young heritage speakers (i.e., Vietnamese-German adolescents) were expected to be lower than their monolingual peers, because its complex system that includes personal pronouns and kinship terms (Luong Văn Hy 1990:9, Ngô Thanh 2006:4) can bring difficulty for foreign students in learning Vietnamese (Nguyễn Văn Chiến 1993). However, as analyzed in 5.2.2.2, it was surprising that the Vietnamese-German bilinguals got two times higher score than the Vietnamese monolinguals, respectively scored 6 and 3. This outcome is contrary to the expectation that the Vietnamese monolingual participants must obtain higher score than their Vietnamese-German peers. It can be explained by the frequency counting of all address forms without attention to their native-like levels in this specific context (see the LiPS evaluation form of address forms in appendix 2). For example, the non-native-like use in this context of *con*, *mình*, *em* that are polite forms in family context (Thompson 1965:299) were scored uniformly as the native-like use of *bạn/các bạn* that have been suggested to address in formal situations as the given context of these tasks (i.e., boomerang instruction and boomerang test description by journalist language).

In order to discuss more about the strange result, an extended analysis of single address forms was carried out in 5.2.2.2. The results of this analysis showed that despite obtaining a higher average number of address form use, the Vietnamese-German bilinguals used non-native-like forms with high frequency (*con*, *mình*, *em*, *mọi người*), whereas the Vietnamese monolinguals did not use them. The native-like

forms chosen by monolinguals call the readers *bạn/các bạn* or address themselves by using collective pronouns *ta/chúng ta* (see Figure 5.4).

The solution for more adequate evaluation of address forms in future research by analytic scoring can be classifying them into non-native-like and native-like options in this specific context. In the current study, in order to examine the use of the complex system of address forms more accurately, a qualitative analysis will be provided in Chapter 6.

Also contrary to expectations, the results analyzed in 5.2.2.3 indicate that there is a negative correlation between passive and “language of schooling” representation. No monolingual used passive constructions in their written production, whereas two Vietnamese-German bilinguals used it in their texts (in texts of VB85.1 and VB130.1). This finding, therefore, is not very encouraging that passive voices/passive constructions should be considered a factor in evaluating “the language of schooling” in Vietnamese. This outcome might support the argument made by Trần Ngọc Thêm (2004) that Vietnamese people prefer to use active construction rather than passive construction.

However, in academic language instruction under the light of stylistics, passive construction is encouraged to express objectiveness (Đình Trọng Lạc/Nguyễn Thái Hòa 1995). The academic language that was discussed in the study of these authors is language of science that is used in research, not in the language of schooling performed by children and teenagers.

The consideration of the correlation between passive and language of schooling has been first examined in the current study. Therefore, in order to have more evidence if it is an element of language of schooling or not, it would be necessary to do further empirical studies.

Like all other indicators, the use of conjunctions by Vietnamese monolinguals was expected to receive a higher score than that of Vietnamese-German bilinguals. Contradictory to the expectation, the result analyzed in 5.2.2.7 from LiPS analytic scoring showed that there is no strong difference in the use of conjunctions between monolinguals and bilinguals. The average numbers of conjunctions used in written texts of both groups, bilinguals and monolinguals, were respectively 2.1 and 2.5.

Despite receiving the higher score in the use of conjunctions than the monolinguals based on analytic scoring, in which number of conjunctions were counted without attention to the appropriateness of their use, the conjunction use of

bilinguals in comparison with monolinguals at single conjunctions provided a completely different result. As analyzed in 5.2.2.7, *xong rồi* (then) which is typically used in informal contexts or in spoken communicative situations was used in 50% of the texts by Vietnamese-German bilinguals, whereas *sau đó* (then) as a formal usage was chosen by Vietnamese monolingual participants. Therefore, for an extended use in the future, in order to gain a more accurate score of the use of conjunctions, the evaluation needs to take into consideration appropriate and inappropriate cases by classifying their use into two scales, native-like and non-native-like or maybe evaluate the degree of the appropriateness from very inappropriate to very appropriate.

As mentioned in Table 5.10, apart from address forms, passive, and conjunction, the results of other indicators met the expected response. Because “test scores can never be considered absolutely valid” (Bachman/Palmer 1996:21), the analyzed results indicated that LiPS test is “relative valid” (ibid.). However, based on observation and the simple statistical analysis, in 5.2.2 we proposed some suggestions for the development of an evaluation of writing test of the Vietnamese language.

Concerning the indicator vocabulary, despite the average score of the use of vocabulary was considered “relative valid” based on interpretation of score of bilinguals and monolinguals, and the score of Vietnamese texts and German texts of bilinguals, the scoring of vocabulary could be more valid, if the degree to which participants used vocabulary appropriately is taken into consideration. For example, in this case, many different words can be used to express “smooth”:

- (56) *Tôi mài cái bomorang cho nhẵn/trơn/mịn/êm.*
 I sharpen CL boomerang for smooth
 I sharpen the boomerang smoothly.

Four words given in (56) were used by participants of boomerang test. However, they are not at the same degree of appropriateness. *Nhẵn* is the most accurate choice, *trơn* and *mịn* are acceptable, but *êm* is an inaccurate choice. Like the suggestion for the evaluation of conjunction use, an evaluation with an interval Likert scales from very inappropriate to very appropriate should be applied for the indicator of vocabulary use, because it can bring more accurate results.

In terms of the indicators, compounding, Sino-Vietnamese, and impersonal expression, the significant difference of these registers used by Vietnamese monolinguals and bilinguals, support the idea that they can be seen as consistent and reliable indicators for evaluating language of schooling in the Vietnamese language. However, compounding should be conjointly analyzed by sub-categories, for example, *từ ghép thông thường* (normal compounding), *từ láy* (reduplicative words), *từ ghép Hán-Việt* (Sino-Vietnamese words). Like the evaluation of vocabulary, it should be analyzed with an interval Likert scales to present a more accurate result. In addition, these registers should be measured by counting both types instead of tokens, because firstly, number of words are counted in a different part of the evaluation. Secondly, counting the same words that were used repeatedly might not give information about participants' language ability. Counting types, therefore, can present the competence of language learners more accurately. Moreover, for the evaluation of language of schooling, some different language elements such as normalization, alliteration, and address should be considered.

LiPS was a pilot study. Although the overall findings show LiPS evaluation functioned well and relatively accurately for defining the language of schooling performance in the Vietnamese language, the usefulness of three indicators (address forms, passive, and conjunctions) was called into question. One of them, passive, cannot be used to evaluate language of schooling in the Vietnamese language. Address forms and conjunctions need to be evaluated in more concrete evaluation forms, such as, native-like or non-native-like. Despite getting expected responses, other indicators should be also developed with more accurate evaluation scales by providing more degree of appropriateness of register use (from very inappropriate to very appropriate).

5.3.3. Discussion on reliability and validity of LiPS test

As mentioned in Chapter 3, the accuracy of a test can be evaluated by examining its reliability and validity (Messick 1989, Bachmann/Palmer 1996, Hughes 2003, Fulcher/Davidson 2007). To obtain validity, a test must have “consistently accurate measurement” (Hughes 2003:42). It means a test is valid only when it is reliable. To examine the reliability of LiPS test, test-retest methods was applied. The result of test-retest in 5.2.2.7 shows that there is the consistency across time of test scores (t-test, $p = 0.572$). It allows us to make the claim that this test is reliable.

Validity has been viewed as “the degree to which evidence and theory support the interpretations of test scores for proposed uses of tests” (AERA, APA, and NCME 2014:11). The validity of a test is therefore evaluated by the inferences of the interpretation of test scores (Chapelle 2012, Kane 2006 2013, Messick 1989, Reeves/Marback-Ad 2016). The correlation of expected response and response can be one of the most important inferences to define validity (Bachmann/Palmer 1996). The test bias as one issue of validity is naturally embedded (Kruse 2016) in the LiPS test due to the expectations of different responses between monolinguals and bilinguals. The bias was reduced through the avoidance of the use of cultural references familiar only to the original population (Oliveri et al. 2015:10). However, the expected different response has a bias that can be accepted and that cannot be entirely eliminated (Kruse 2016).

Based on Kane’s interpretive argument (2006, 2013), and the explanation models of Oliveri et al. (2015). Six components of the validity framework of Kane (2013) including *defining domain*, *evaluation*, *generalization*, *explanation*, *extrapolation*, *utilization* in multiple populations (see more in 3.2.2) were characterized specifically by Oliveri et al. (2015) through defining warrants, assumption, backing, and rebuttals. It provides clear guidance for practitioners and test developers.

The first component of Kane’s (2013) interpretive argument, *scoring* or *defining domain*, are relatively accurate. It is shown by meeting the expectations of 10/13 specific-linguistic indicators and the observation of performance. The content of the LiPS task is construct relevant for the newly intended population. It means that this test requires “specific knowledge of, or experience” (Oliveri et al. 2015:9) with standard language. The response such as in task accomplishment of two different populations, Vietnamese-German adolescents and Vietnamese monolinguals in different school types, different regions in Vietnam allows us to argue that test scores in this study are representative of a targeted construct and can be used to derive comparable inferences across populations (ibid:10). However, if possible, defining domain should be reviewed and adapted by more experts and in more studies to see the influence of raters to the scoring process.

In order to examine the second component of Kane’s (2013) interpretive arguments, *generalization*, a question that has been raised is whether the scores and the performance represented through these scores of Vietnamese-German adolescents

are obtained across the new populations. As mentioned in Chapter 4, some studies on Vietnamese as heritage language defined the language performance of heritage speakers, however they were not evaluating them through analytic scoring but by observation and description (see more 4.3.2). Despite their qualitative analysis, the finding of the use of classifiers in the work of Nguyễn Linh Chi (2009), Phan Ngọc Trần (2017, 2018) supported the method of analytic scoring of this indicator in LiPS evaluation. Concerning other indicators, due to the unexpected response of three indicators, address forms, passive and conjunctions and the deficit of classification on more specific indicators at compounding, and vocabulary, this evaluation needs to be developed to be representative of a generalization. In addition, more evidence is needed to verify the consistency of LiPS scores across judges, tasks, and occasions. Only conducting the LiPS test twice is not enough to claim generalizable features.

The *explanation* can be defined when real differences of participants' skill and knowledge are represented in variation in test scores. The similar tasks of the same construct need to be developed to examine the scoring system of LiPS.

In terms of *extrapolation*, the LiPS scoring seems to be at some indicators are not equivalent to other indicators such as address forms, passive and conjunctions. The extrapolation inference with a warrant of the representation of a domain (in many different domains in a test) over entire domains. As analyzed in 5.2.2, some indicators in LiPS evaluation can represent the entire result, such as task accomplishment, compounding, and Sino-Vietnamese. However, most indicators need to be analyzed in more specific classifications to produce more accurate scores at each domain and to be more representative over entire domains.

Utilization inference is the implication of test scores. It specifically means the items have been adapted for the new populations. LiPS test, boomerang test for the Vietnamese language, indeed, obtains such rebuttals: (1) the interpretative argument is unclear (as discussed at five different references); (2) comparable studies were not conducted, similar tasks with the same construct for the same populations, and the boomerang tasks for more populations of heritage speakers is needed.

Apart from reliability and validity, Bachmann/Palmer (1996) also proposed some other indicators of qualities of test usefulness such as authenticity, interactiveness, impact, and practicality. Authenticity and interactiveness are supported by the results of task analysis. The response of the participants and the analysis of the tasks themselves provide evidence that they relate to “the context in

which it would normally be performed in real life” (Leung/Lewkowicz 2006:214), and they are relevant to language ability and the knowledge of the topic of participants (Bachmann/Palmer 1996:25).

Another quality proposed by Bachman/Palmer (1996) is practicality that is considered more relevant to the implication of test results in education or society. That seems to be broader than utilization inference in Kane’s (2013) approach. However, if the utilization has not been qualified, the practicality is still questioned.

In sum, the reliability of the LiPS test has been proven by the consistent scores of test-retests. However, to obtain more reliable results, more methods need to be adapted, for example, split half, analysis of the results of different raters, or different methods of scoring such as holistic scoring.

In addition, for the measurement of language proficiency in bilingualism, distinguishing tests for basic and advanced language cognition is very important (Hulstijn 2012b). With regards to a requirement of the test that is language of schooling assessment, the boomerang task seems to be accurate. It means this test refers more to CALP (cognitive/academic language proficiency) (Cummins 1979) or high language cognition (Hulstijn 2011b). Therefore, there are still many unanswered questions about basic language cognition of bilinguals.

5.4. Summary

The main goal of this chapter is to determine the reliability and validity of the LiPS test and the function of LiPS instruments to describe the high language cognition of the Vietnamese language. The findings above suggest, despite appropriate boomerang tasks for the measurement of high language cognition, the interpretative argument shows the limitations of the oversimplified analysis frame with no consideration of the quality of the usage of vocabulary, address forms, conjunctions, and compounding. Therefore, the representation of the Vietnamese language performance of the participants is not entirely demonstrated across observed test scores. In order to see the language performance of the bilingual participants in comparison with the monolinguals, a qualitative analysis at specific-linguistic indicators that have not met the expectations in the scoring systems of LiPS or need to be more classified such as address forms, classifiers will be done in Chapter 6. In addition, despite the importance

of the orthographical skills in writing, especially for young heritage speakers, the orthographical analysis has been not considered in LiPS analysis. The code-switching and transfer that is a prominent characteristic in bilingual contexts has also not been mentioned as of yet. Chapter 6 will discuss these indicators.

Due to the aim of the evaluation of high language cognition, basic language cognition that bilinguals often obtain is not directly under consideration in the LiPS test. However, Bachmann/Palmer (1996) states that we must “define language ability in a way that is appropriate for each particular testing situation” (66). In order to examine the low language cognition of the Vietnamese language, the investigation at oral communicative situations are necessary. Due to the concentration on writing competence, in the current study, the examination of low language cognition will be partially taken into account in the second empirical test (Chapter 7), the translation test. This test requires more lexical items and syntactic structures that occur in an everyday communicative situation (Hulstijn 2011b:230).

6. Analysis of Characteristics of the Vietnamese Heritage Language of Vietnamese-German Adolescents

Linguistic variation provides a reliable set of resources for marking and conceptualizing social affiliation and differentiation (Cohen 2012). Although it is not that all forms of all variations socially meaningful, the difference in language use often become resources for policing the boundaries between in-groups and out-groups (ibid.).

Examining the Vietnamese language in the diasporic communities as language varieties can help the Vietnamese, particularly the younger Vietnamese generation both in Vietnam and abroad, understand Vietnamese language performance worldwide (Đào Mục Đích/Nguyễn Thị Anh Thư 2015). In recent years, scholars have directly investigated characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language; they are Hồ Đắc Túc (2003), Thái Duy Bảo (2007), Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2006, 2013), Đào Mục Đích (2012, 2016), Phan Ngọc Trần (2017, 2018), and Trần Thị Minh (2018) (see summaries of their analyses and results in 4).

All studies cited above showed that code-mixing or code-switching is a distinctive characteristic of Vietnamese varieties of different Vietnamese diaspora communities. Code-mixing or code-switching is also considered an important feature of language varieties of bilinguals as found in research projects on multilingual interaction from social linguistics (Keim 2007).

In addition, these Vietnamese heritage language studies focused on specific characteristics of Vietnamese language use at different ages and contexts. Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2006, 2013) examined the use of teknonymies as well as the use of classifiers between different generations. Thái Duy Bảo (2007) and Đào Mục Đích (2012, 2016) explored that the preserving obsolete vocabulary is a critical factor of Vietnamese language variety of the older bilingual Vietnamese living in Australia. Phan Ngọc Trần (2017, 2018) defined some characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language in the United States; consistent use of aspect markers, incorrect use of verbum denoting direction, errors in the use of classifiers, consistent use of the indefinite determiner *một* (one) and the indexical *cái*.

Due to the inadequate analysis in address forms, conjunctions, and passive, we are only able to draw superficial conclusions about the performance of Vietnamese heritage language speakers (see Chapter 5). Therefore, this chapter discusses some

indicators that can help in defining characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language used by Vietnamese-German adolescents. We will consider transfer because it is a common feature in heritage language of heritage speakers. We also analyze orthographic characteristics because it is the main factor of written performance. Moreover, classifier use, preposition use, word order, and address forms are examined because these linguistic patterns bring difficulties for non-native speakers in Vietnamese learning (Lương Văn Hy 1990, Lê Nila 2008, Tran Jennie 2011).

This chapter includes six sections, section 6.1 deals with language transfer in general. Section 6.2 discusses orthographic characteristics. Section 6.3 specifically analyzes lexical transfer. Section 6.4 focuses on semantic-syntactic characteristics including classifier use, preposition use, and word order. Section 6.5 examines the use of address forms. Section 6.6 briefly summarizes this chapter.

6.1. Language transfer

Transfer effects occurred at all linguistic levels and will be analyzed in the following sections. This section introduces an overview analysis of the language practice of Vietnamese-German adolescents that strongly influences language transfer.

The Vietnamese-German participants of this first empirical study consists of roughly 75% Vietnamese heritage speakers who were born in Germany. Only 25% of these participants were born in Vietnam. However, most participants born in Vietnam came to Germany when they were under 5 years of age. Only one participant immigrated to Germany at the age of 7 years.

Additionally, the parents of the participants reported that these young heritage speakers have never attended any Vietnamese classes in Germany. Vietnamese is thus a home or family language that is only used between parents and their children. The children only practiced speaking skills and did not formally learn writing skills in Vietnamese. With this taken into consideration, how could the participants complete the task? It could conceivably be explained by transfer strategies from the societal language (i.e., German) to the heritage language (i.e., Vietnamese).

The language preference or dominant language actually comes from the condition of society and context of language use (Cantone 2007, Cantone et al. 2008, Geerlings et al. 2015). Looking at the language preference of Vietnamese-German

adolescents is also important to examine transfer and code-switching in language performance.

Figure 6.1. Language use of 20 Vietnamese-German adolescents (CaPI)

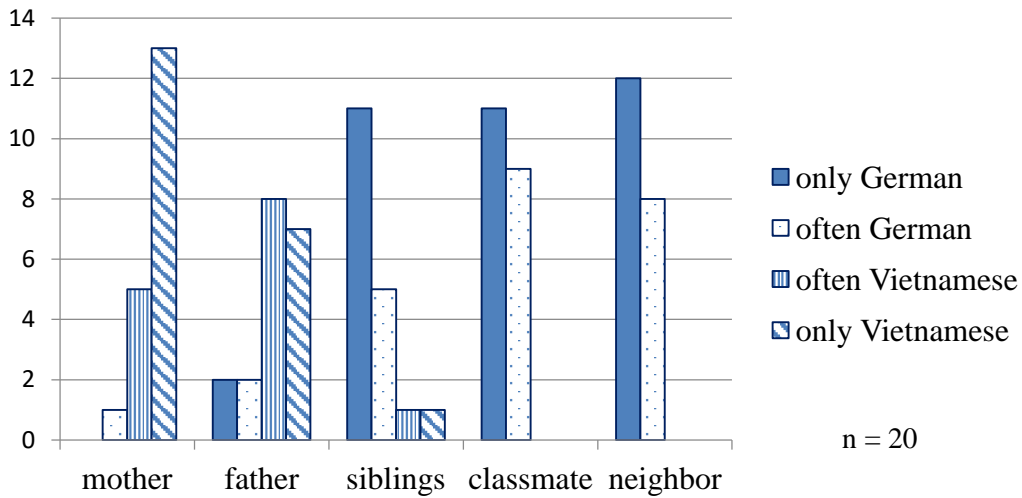


Figure 6.1 illustrates how 20 adolescents used their heritage language (i.e., Vietnamese) over the societal language (i.e., German), and other languages (if occurs) in various contexts by means of a questionnaire designed for the CaPI study. Spoken language use is assessed with the questions “Which language do you speak with your mother/father/siblings/classmates/neighbors?” The respondents can indicate more than one language, if they indicate yes, they answer one additional question “Which of following languages do you often speak with your mother/father/siblings/classmates/the same-age-neighbors?” (question 8 to question 15 in CAPI-Kind)

Figure 6.1 shows that virtually all Vietnamese-German adolescents talk to their parents predominantly in their heritage language. With other communicators, they mostly communicate in German. Beech/Keys’ (1997) study about language preference of bilingual Asian children also found the same result. One explanation for this finding is that the environment in the country of residence hardly allows bilingual children to acquire their heritage language alongside the official language (Genesee/Nicoladis 2008). Depending on many conditions, at each age, the child usually possesses one dominant language which is stronger than the other one (Bialystok/Majumder 1998). In daily life, Vietnamese is not spoken as often as German. This is due to the fact that, at the age of 15-16, adolescents tend to communicate more with siblings and friends rather than with their parents. As shown in figure 6.1, it can be confirmed that German is the preferential or dominant language of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

In addition, code-switching was measured by self-reports with 4-point scale of the frequency level of code-switching in the conversation between Vietnamese-German adolescents with different people (Question 16 in CaPI-Kind, see appendix 4). Figure 6.2 illustrates the result of code-switching in oral interaction between adolescents and different people.

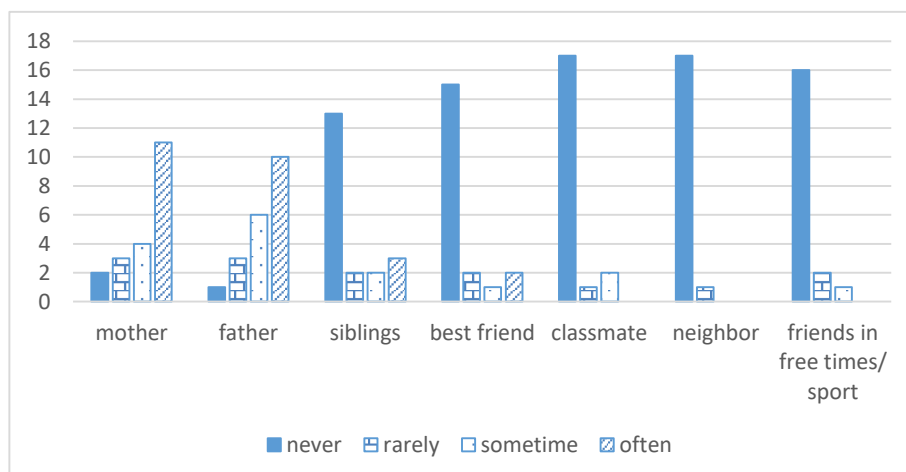


Figure 6.2. Code-switching occurrence of 20 Vietnamese-German adolescents

In the LiPS questionnaire, classmates and friends met in their free time or at sport are differentiated because clubs and sports teams are not associated with the school the participants attend. Therefore, friends who the participants see in their free time or at sport can attend different schools than them. They can have the same heritage culture backgrounds in some cultural clubs (i.e., Vovinam, traditional dance) or they simply have the same hobbies such as playing chess, drawing, or dancing.

As shown in Figure 6.2, code-switching often appeared in communication between child and mother/father, whereas between siblings and best friends it occurred but only between certain participants. In conversation with classmates, neighbors and friends, code-switching never or rarely occurred.

Combined with the results in Figure 6.1, it can be said that code-switching often appears in heritage language communication, for example, speaking with parents in the heritage language (i.e., Vietnamese). Due to participants' incomplete knowledge of the heritage language (Montrul 2016), the Vietnamese-German adolescents have to borrow knowledge from the societal language (i.e., German) to complete conversation.

Language dominance is generally regarded as one of the crucial factors in accounting for the direction of transfer (Yip/Matthews 2006:101). Figure 6.3 shows the direction of orthographic and lexical transfers that appeared in the Vietnamese and German written texts of 20 Vietnamese-German adolescents. The occurrences of the orthographic transfers have been considered in Vietnamese and German texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

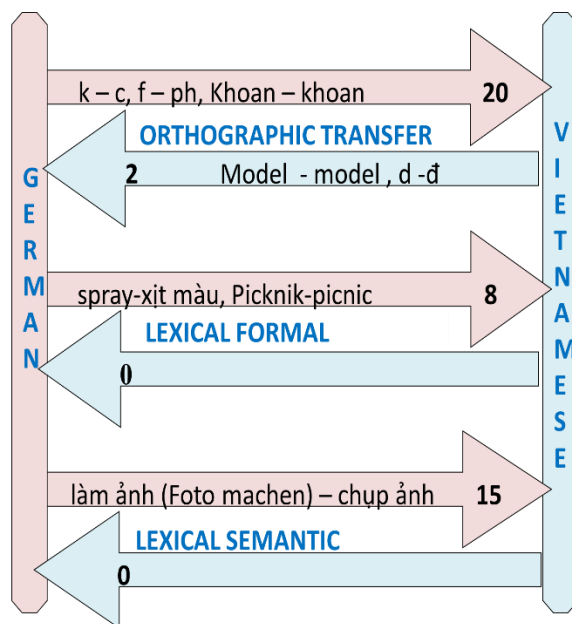


Figure 6.3. Transfer direction in 20 Vietnamese written texts of Vietnamese-German

As shown in figure 6.3, transfer from German to Vietnamese at all analyzed linguistic levels (orthography, lexis) is clearly visible, whereas the influence from Vietnamese to German, if any, is subtle. The direction of transfers is the result of the strong influence of language dominance or language preference. It has been suggested that transfer normally functions asymmetrically from dominant languages to non-dominant ones. Specifically, bilinguals usually transfer knowledge from the stronger language to the weaker language (Swain/Wesche 1975, Bernadini/Schlyter 2004, and Lanza 2004). Lanza (2004) claimed that “a propensity to use a certain directionality of mixing can be an indicator of dominance” (173, emphasis in original). Petersen (1988) showed that an English-Danish bilingual child resorted to English morphology in Danish lexical items but not vice versa. Bernadini and Schlyter’s (2004) hypothesis proposed that children will resort to the functional elements of their stronger language. Yip/Matthews (2006) also found that language dominance is widely regarded as one of the important factors in accounting for the direction of transfer. They examined

transfer from Cantonese to English of the children in Hongkong, and vice versa to find that transfer from Cantonese to English is clear in many areas of grammar, whereas transfer from English to Cantonese, if any, is difficult to demonstrate (Yip/Matthews 2006). Despite some studies such as Hulk/Müller (2000) that seem to contradict these findings, most studies give adequate evidence that language dominance plays an important role for direction of transfer.

The comparison between the number of transfers from German to Vietnamese and the number of transfers from Vietnamese to German allows to argue that German as the dominant language plays an important role for direction of transfer. The analysis provides evidence for the approach that a dominant language exists in the language development of bilinguals and is a decisive factor of transfer direction.

The characteristics of heritage language at different linguistic levels as they appeared in the Vietnamese texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents is analyzed in the following sections.

6.2. Orthographic characteristics

At the orthographic level, writing in one heritage language is difficult for heritage speakers due to the deficit input of literacy and formal language forms (Krashen 2000, Montrul 2016, Polinsky 2008). The difference between the writing systems of heritage and societal languages can contribute to the increased difficulty when heritage speakers attempt to write. Aiko (2017) found that Japanese heritage learners living in Australia had difficulties in using the Kanji writing system. Brehmer/Usanova (2015) found that Russian heritage language speakers have the same difficulties but in the use of Cyrillic graphemes.

As mentioned in 4.4.1, despite acquiring Roman transcription borrowed from French, Portuguese, and Italian, the appearance of additional diacritics and tone marks in the modern Vietnamese writing systems is assumed to be challenging for heritage language learners when writing. Additionally, the possible errors in alphabetical writing provided in Table 2.1 (Jeuk/Schäfer 2009) can appear in the written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Studies on orthographic strategies of bilingual children, an analysis matrix for the acquisition of the alphabetic strategy has been presented by Löffler (2008), and

Jeuk/Schäfer (2009) (see Table 2.1). In this matrix, standard deviations and other varieties in grapheme sequence and in grapheme selection are distinguished. Despite originally being designed for German orthographic strategies by both monolinguals and bilinguals, it can be adapted to examine orthographic characteristics of Vietnamese written production of Vietnamese-German bilinguals.

In terms of orthographic transfer, Jarvis/Pavlenko (2010) stated that orthographic transfer shows in interesting and complex ways, in which the first language writing system – and its partnership with the first language phonology – can influence a learner’s ability to read and spell the second language word. The occurrence of orthographic transfer is caused by similarities and differences in phoneme-grapheme correspondence between languages which learners acquire. However, outcomes of this type of transfer may also be characterized by the language proficiency of speakers of both languages and other factors that influence the writing strategies of participants. Due to the incomplete acquisition of heritage language by heritage speakers, the writing systems of the heritage language can be treated in the same way as second language acquisition.

Based on the comparison between the orthographic systems of the Vietnamese and German languages, the matrix of Jeuk/Schäfer (2009), the summary of errors and transfer in Turkish written texts by Turkish heritage students in Germany of Kalkavan (2004) (see Table 2.5) are assumed to contain the following features: deletion of diacritics, word initial capitalization, omission, replacement, transition, and addition.

At first glance in the analysis, it has been found that the transfer of German societal language as well as errors from intralingua sources in the Vietnamese heritage language can create orthographical errors. Table 6.1 introduces error types and error frequencies in the boomerang written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. The frequency of error types in 20 boomerang written texts has been considered.

Table 6.1. Orthographic errors in boomerang texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents

Features	Frequency
1. Deletion of diacritics	70% (14 texts)
2. Word initial capitalization	50% (10 texts)

<i>Replacement due to transfer</i>	
3. Replacement of <d> for <đ>	65% (13 texts)
4. Replacement of <g>, <k> for <c>	40% (8 texts)
5. Replacement of <c>, <ck> for <t>	20% (4 texts)
6. Replacement of <n>, <ng> for <nh>	15% (3 texts)
7. Replacement of <f> for <ph>	10% (2 texts)
<i>Replacement due to interlingua resource</i>	
8. Confusion of vowels (irregular)	
9. Confusion <s> and <x>	45% (9 texts)
10. Confusion <i> and <y>	40% (8 texts)
11. Confusion <ch> and <tr>	40% (8 texts)
12. Confusion <d>, <r> and <gi>	30% (6 texts)
<i>Omission</i>	15% (3 texts)
13. Omission (general)	
14. Reduction of diphthongs	50% (10 texts)
15. Reduction of digraphs and trigraphs	30% (6 texts)
<i>Addition</i>	20% (4 texts)
16. Addition of grapheme	
	20% (4 texts)

(Own research)

In order to understand more about these specific features, examples and analysis of these features is introduced in the following sections. Although deletion of diacritics and initial word capitalization belong to replacement due to transfer from the German language orthographic system to the Vietnamese language one, they are not strongly related to syllable structure. Therefore, they are analyzed separately.

6.2.1. Deletion of diacritics

Vietnamese is a tonal language. There are many variations amongst speakers concerning how tone is realized phonetically. There are differences between varieties of Vietnamese spoken in the major geographic areas (i.e. northern, central, southern)

and smaller differences within the major areas (e.g. Hanoi vs. other northern varieties). In addition, there seems to be variation amongst individuals.

Generally, standard Vietnamese orthography requires writing with all six tones as in northern varieties (see Table 2.1). In addition, in Vietnamese there are some letters with diacritics which do not exist in the German orthographic system, for instance, *ă, â, ê, đ, ô, ư* (see Table 2.2). In contrast, in the Vietnamese orthographic system, German characters such as *ä, ö, ü, f, z,* and *w* do not exist. The differences between the two languages allow for transfer and code-switching.

In written texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents, the tone diacritics and additional diacritics were often eliminated. Figure 6.4 shows information about the use of diacritics and tone marks in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. A text using only several diacritics is viewed as though it were a text without diacritics. A text using diacritics incorrectly 50% or more is considered to be a text with incorrect diacritics. A text containing only a few incorrect diacritics is considered to be a text with correct diacritics.

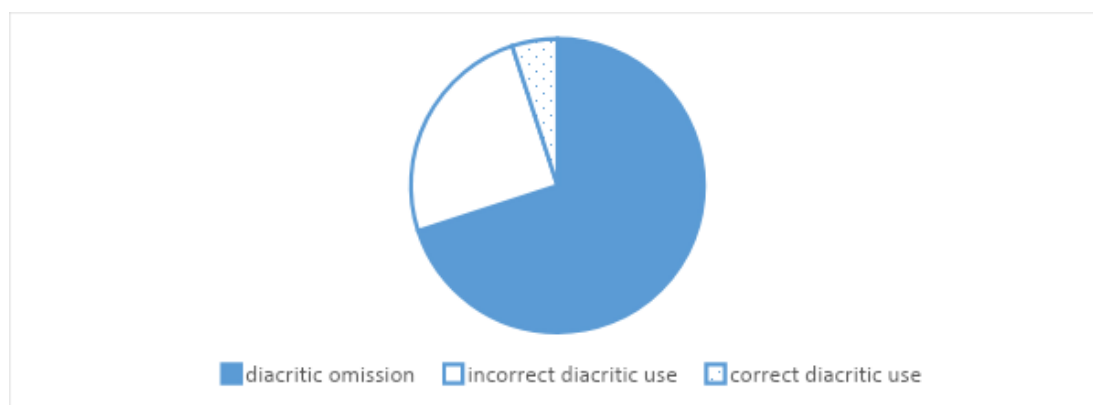


Figure 6.4. Diacritics and tone marks use in the written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents (n=20)

As shown in Figure 6.4, 70% of the texts (14/20 texts) were written without diacritics. Other texts, despite containing diacritics, had dense errors in their orthographic use. This is an example of a written text (VD14) that does not use any diacritics of the Vietnamese grapheme system.

Example

Khi lắp một bumorang thì phải cần nhiều đồ. Một khoan, gỗ để lắp cái bumorang, kéo, bút để vẽ cái bumorang. Thứ nhất, em phải vẽ một cái bumorang trên giấy. Xong vẽ, thì phải cắt cái bumorang để biết lắp như nào. Xong thì phải vẽ cái bumorang vào gỗ. Viết vào gỗ xong, thì phải cắt cái gỗ để có cái bumorang. Xong cắt cái bumorang thì phải làm cái bumorang phẳng. Làm cái bumorang xong thì phải dùng cái khoan để làm vào bumorang. Xong cái đấy thì lại phải làm cái bumorang phẳng. Hết cái đấy thì vẽ màu vào bumorang để cái bumorang nhìn đẹp.

This text was completely written without diacritics, therefore raters and analysis staff only have interpreted into standard forms based on the context. This text is rewritten in the orthographically standard form as following:

Khi lắp một bumorang thì phải cần nhiều đồ. Một khoan, gỗ để lắp cái bumorang, kéo, bút để vẽ cái bumorang. Thứ nhất, em phải vẽ một cái bumorang trên giấy. Xong vẽ, thì phải cắt cái bumorang để biết lắp như nào. Xong thì phải vẽ cái bumorang vào gỗ. Viết vào gỗ xong, thì phải cắt cái gỗ để có cái bumorang. Xong cắt cái bumorang thì phải làm cái bumorang phẳng. Làm cái bumorang xong thì phải dùng cái khoan để làm vào bumorang. Xong cái đấy thì lại phải làm cái bumorang phẳng. Hết cái đấy thì vẽ màu vào bumorang để cái bumorang nhìn đẹp.

Generally, this consequence can be explained due to transfer but also due to incomplete language acquisition of the Vietnamese heritage language by Vietnamese-German adolescents. According to missionaries who created the Quoc-ngu script for the Vietnamese language, the most difficult thing in the Vietnamese language to learn is *thanh* (tones), because each tone combined with one *tiếng* (syllable) is able to create different words with different meanings. Alexandre de Rhodes illustrated the difficulty involved in distinguishing tones through an example related to *ca* (sing), *cà* (aubergine), *cả* (big), *cá* (fish). In order to emphasize the importance of using the tones exactly, Alexandre de Rhodes told two stories: One day, his friend, L.m, asked his helper to go to buy fish (*cá*). After the helper already finished his task, L.m was informed that he should check. When he checked he was so surprised because the

helper bought a basket of aubergine (*cà*) instead. Immediately, he found his mistake in pronunciation (*cà - cá*), then he apologized to his helper. Another day, L.m asked someone to chop down bamboo (*chém tre*), but what he spoke was to cut down children (*chém trẻ*). All of the children in his home were so afraid that they ran away. He and his helpers tried to explain again and again that he meant bamboo until the children came back (Đỗ Quang Chính 1972:16).

The correctness of using diacritics in Vietnamese seems to be important for ambiguous contexts such as in L.m's stories, especially when speaking. Nguyễn Hưng Quốc (2014) also suggested a confusing example of the use of different tones. In some previous studies, such as Đào Mục Đích (2012) and Thái Duy Bảo (2007), the divergence of Vietnamese tones and vowels produced by young bilinguals were defined. Specifically, young Vietnamese-Australian are unable to produce *thanh hỏi-ngã* (broken-curve tone) of Southern Vietnamese dialect (Đào Mục Đích 2012). They also confuse tones in the same register and/or of similar characteristics such as the *level* and *rising* tones. However, the attitude of heritage speakers with diacritics in written production has not been demonstrated in any previous work due to their focus on oral production.

Apart from tone marks, the letters with diacritics mostly belong to vowels that are in the nucleus of the Vietnamese syllable. The typical graphemes with diacritics in Vietnamese such as <â>, <ã>, <ê>, <ô>, <u> were often written by the graphemes without diacritics that appear in both Vietnamese and German as <a>, <e>, <o>, <u> in Example (57).

(57)

Hình ảnh thứ 7: Bay giờ mình phun màu theo
sở thích của mình.

<i>Hình ảnh</i>	thứ	7:	Bay giờ	<i>minh</i>	<i>phun</i>	<i>màu</i>	<i>theo</i>
Hình ảnh	thứ	7:	Bây giờ	mình	phun	màu	theo
Picture	number 7:		Now	1P	spray	color	PREP
<i>sở thích</i>	<i>của</i>		<i>minh.</i>				
sở thích	của		mình.				
hobby	Adjunct		1P				

The picture 7: Now I spray color as my hobby.

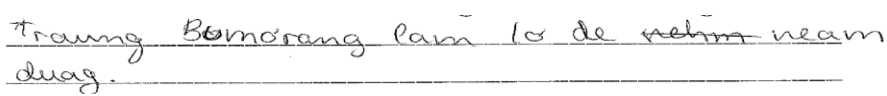
In (57), tone diacritics were not entirely used, whereas grapheme diacritics were entirely not used as <u> instead of <ư> in *thứ* (numbering), <a> instead of <â> in *bây* in compounding *bây giờ* (now), <o> instead of <ô> in *giờ* in compounding *bây giờ* (now). Especially, <u> was used instead of <ơ> in *sở thích* (hobby). The case as <u> instead of <ơ> appeared infrequently in the data. The results suggested that writing typical Vietnamese graphemes that included diacritics is extremely challenging for Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Four skills, listening, speaking, reading and writing indeed are strongly intertwined. Young heritage speakers who have not been formally instructed in the Vietnamese heritage language often write as they speak (Bardel 2015, Chevalier 2004:4, Gee 2015:36). Writing without diacritics partly shows that the participants attempted to fulfill the task, although they have never learned Vietnamese in school. This form of writing can be accepted in an informal context due to its frequent appearance in the chatting language of young Vietnamese monolinguals (Đặng Ngọc Ly 2011, Nguyễn Thị Thúy 2014).

6.2.2. Word initial capitalization

The rules of capitalization in the German language are different from the Vietnamese language. All German nouns are capitalized, whereas in Vietnamese, only proper nouns are marked by word initial capitalization.

The capitalization of nouns according to German orthography appeared frequently in Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German bilinguals. 50% of the written texts (10/20 texts) contained this type of error. The initial words of borrowed words from German and English were capitalized in all texts that contain the capitalization errors. Especially, the word “boomerang” was capitalized in all texts that capitalization errors appeared. Example (58) exemplifies word initial capitalization of the borrowed word “boomerang” in Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

(58)* 

Traung Bumorang lam lo de neam duag

Trong Bumorang làm lỗ để ném được
 PREP boomerang make hole PREP throw adjunct

In boomerang make a hole to be able to throw. (VD85.1)

The way to write the word *boomerang* in (58) is one of various different written forms of this word in Vietnamese written texts. It was written as *Bumorang* as in German with the word initial capitalization, or *Boomerang* borrowed from English origin with the German capitalization rule, or *Bumorang*, *Bu mō rang* or *Bum ơ rang* like the syllable forms in Vietnamese. These ways to write the word *boomerang* in Vietnamese can be seen as strategies to “Vietnameselization” of borrowed vocabulary. The participants tried to separate the syllables according to their assumptions.

Due to the deficiency of Vietnamese vocabulary, the participants also borrowed different German and English words to complete the tasks. Apart from the word *boomerang*, many borrowed nouns (3/9 words as tokens counted in 20 written texts) contain word initial capitalization according to the rules of capitalization in the German language. Example (59) illustrates this error.

(59)

*Và nhiều cái cái nều mà chơi ấm, em boui
 ở tram see được. Ở con vien em cũng đi
 trai hay là đi dạo được. hay ra làm cái
 Sport khác nhi Fußball.*

Va	nieu	ma	chơi	ấm,	em	boui	ở	tram
Và	nều	mà	trời	ấm,	em	boi	ở	trong
And	if	COP	sky	warm	I	swim	PREP	PREP
<i>See</i>	<i>duoc.</i>	<i>O</i>	<i>con vien</i>	<i>em</i>	<i>cung</i>	<i>đi</i>	<i>trai</i>	
See	được.	Ở	công viên	em	cũng	đi	chơi	
lake	Adjunct	PREP	park		I	also	go	play
<i>duoc</i>	<i>hay</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>làm</i>	<i>cái</i>	<i>Sport</i>	<i>khác</i>	<i>nhi</i>	<i>Fußball</i>
được	hay	là	làm	cái	Sport	khác	nhi	Fußball.
Adjunct	or	COP	do	CL	sport	other	as	football

And if it is warm, I can swim in the lake. In the park, I can also walk or do other sports like football. (VD149.1)

The participant borrowed the words *See* (lake), *Sport* (sport) and *Fußball* (football) in German with original orthography in the Vietnamese written texts.

Not only did German vocabulary as the societal language show up in the texts of the Vietnamese-German participants, but also English borrowed vocabulary appeared in their Vietnamese written productions. This can be attributed to the fact that English is taught as the first foreign language in German schools. Interestingly, the English borrowed nouns were also presented with the word initial capitalization based on the German rules of capitalization. This case is exemplified in (60).

- (60) *Giucg min goa mei gai Tools,*
*Giucg min goa mei gai **Tools**.*
 Trước mình có mấy cái Tools.
 First I have some CL tool
 First, I have some tools. (VD11.1)

In (60), *Tools* is a mixed case where the participant uses the English lexical item ‘tools’ with the English morpheme “s” denoting plural in conjunction with the German orthographic rule of word initial capitalization. Interestingly, despite using completely borrowed English words in the first time test, the written text of this participant (VD11) in the retest only used German borrowed nouns with the word initial capitalization such as *Holz* (wood) and *Form* (form).

The rules of capitalization of German nouns also influence how participants wrote Vietnamese nouns. Example (61) is an illustration for this transfer.

- (61)
Min goa gai Keu, de kack ge Boomerang e giaung
gay hin.
*Min goa gai **Keu**, de kack ge Boomerang*
 Mình có cái Kéo, để cắt cái Boomerang
 I have CL scissors PREP cut CL boomerang
e giaung gay hin.
 ở trong cái hình.
 PREP PREP CL picture.
 I have scissors to cut the boomerang from the form.

In comparison to the capitalization error in borrowed words, this type appeared much less frequently, in 3/20 (7.5%) of the Vietnamese written texts (VD11.1, VD52, VD84). This result can be accounted for by concluding that the participants partly understand the difference between the rules for capitalization in the Vietnamese and the German language.

The number of errors of word initial capitalization in Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents in the test-retest were not different by counting types. Written texts in both test-retests contained 11 types of this error. This supported the consistently general result of LiPS analytic scoring in terms of reliability analyzed in Chapter 5.

The correlation between capitalization transfer and Vietnamese heritage language performance is showed in Figure 6.4 that compares numbers of capitalization errors and LiPS general scores of all participants.

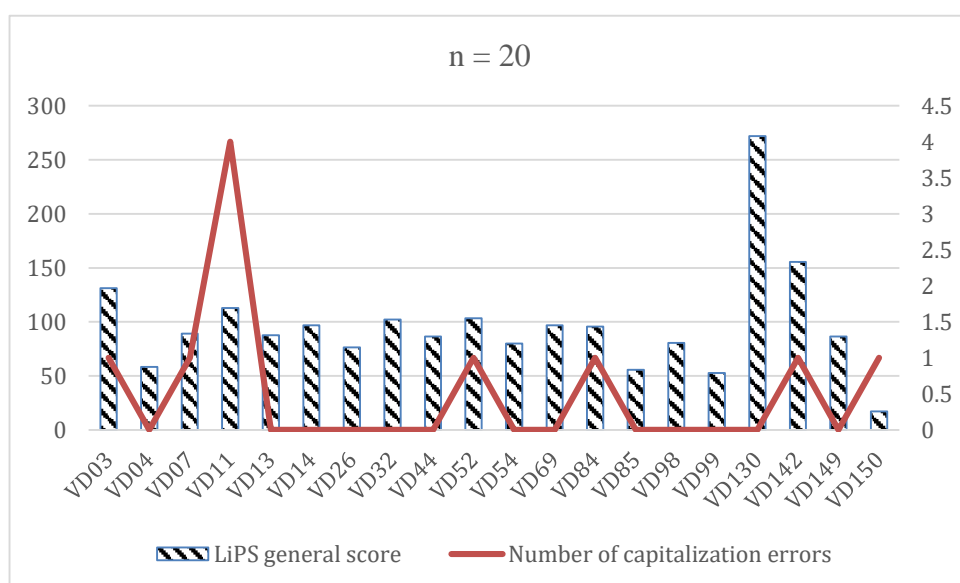


Figure 6.5. Correlation between capitalization errors and language performance

The left vertical axis refers to the LiPS scores and the right one is the word initial capitalization. Figure 6.5 shows the correlation of the LiPS scores and the numbers of word initial capitalization errors. The results in this figure indicate that there is no correlation between numbers of capitalization errors and language proficiency.

In sum, the rules of capitalization in the German language as a factor of written language acquisition have strongly transferred into how Vietnamese-German

adolescents write in Vietnamese. For the understanding of texts' content, this type of error does not cause any difficulties for readers. However, based on the requirements of a formal text (i.e., an article in a newspaper), accurate Vietnamese capitalization forms must be done. Therefore, teaching and developing learning materials for writing skills for Vietnamese-German adolescents should consider and pay close attention to this transfer phenomenon.

6.2.3. Replacement

Replacement of the grapheme can occur due to transfer or error of intralingua sources (Kalkavan 2014:61). In terms of the influence of the German societal language on the Vietnamese heritage language, the syllable structure of both languages is briefly introduced. Syllable structure in the Vietnamese language is often described as (C) (w) V (V) (C) (Nguyễn Tài Cẩn 1987). The German syllable structure can be represented as (C) (C) (C) V (V) (C) (C)(C)(C)(C) (Ortmann 1980). In a syllable structure of the German language, an onset can contain one, two or three member onsets both word-initially and word-internally, and a coda can also contain one, two member codas or coda cluster of more than two members (Hall 1992).

The Vietnamese language contains 16 basic vowels including 13 monophthongs (e.g., /a/ - <a>, /ã/ - <ã>, /u/ - <u>, /ə/ - <ə>), 3 diphthongs (e.g., /uo/ - <uô/ua>, /ie/ - <ia/ya/iê/yê>, /uə/ - <uơ/ura>), and two semi-vowels /i̯/, /y̯/. /i̯/ as semi-vowels in onset could be written by [o] in *toán* (mathematic), *đoàn* (group) and [u] in *tuần* (week), *xuân* (spring). In coda, /y̯/ have also two variables, [u] as in *đau* (pain), *rau* (vegetable) as [o] in *báo cáo* (report), *táo* (apple). 16 vowels and 2 semi-vowels are written by 20 graphemes. The German language has 18 vowels: 15 monophthongs (i.e., <u>, <u/uh>, <ö>, <ü/üh>), 3 diphthongs (e.g., /ai/, /ɔɪ/, /au/ - <ei, ai>, <eu, äu>, <au>) that are represented by 35 graphemes.

In terms of consonants, the Vietnamese language obtains 23 consonants that are written by 27 graphemes. All of 23 consonants are onset but only 8 consonants can place as a coda such as /m/, /n/, /ŋ/, /ɲ/, /p/, /t/, /k/, and /c/. The German language permits 23 consonants that are represented in 39 graphemes. There are distinctions between graphemes following long and short vowels. For example, /b/, /d/, /f/, /k/, /s/, /ts/ following long vowels are represented by , <d>, <f>, <k>, <ß>, <z>. However,

these consonants following short vowels are represented by <bb>, <dd>, <ff>, <ck>, <ss>, and <tz>.

The orthographic transfers often occur due to the non-correspondence of phonemes and graphemes between two languages (Odlin 1989:66). Based on the distinction between the orthographic systems of two languages in 4.4.1, specific errors due to transfer are defined in Table 6.1 (feature 3 to 8). These features are analyzed and discussed as following.

<d> instead of <đ>

Like the situation of the use of diacritics, <đ> was replaced by <d> in 13 texts (65%) of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. (62) illustrates this transfer.

(62)

boomerang de cay boomerang nhìn đẹp.

[...]	để	<i>cái</i>	<i>boomerang</i>	<i>nhìn</i>	đẹp
[...]	CONJ	CL	boomerang	look	beautiful
[...]	in order to the boomerang look nice (VB1.26)				

In (62), both words with <đ> were replaced by <d>: *de* – **để** (in order to) and *dep* – **đẹp** (beautiful). This transfer also appeared in other texts uniformly. This feature occurred due to the difference between the orthographic systems of Vietnamese and German. The Vietnamese language contains /z/ - <d> and /d/ - <đ>, whereas the German language only contains /d/ - <d>. Therefore, for phoneme /d/ in Vietnamese, the Vietnamese-German adolescents tended to use non-native-like <d> instead of native-like <đ>.

<g> and <k> instead of <c>

The replacement of <g>, <k> for <c> appeared in a total of 8 boomerang written texts and is exemplified in (63):

(63) *Mọi người cần mấy cái thứ này:*

	<i>Mọi</i>	<i>người</i>	<i>cần</i>	<i>mấy</i>	cái	<i>thứ</i>	<i>này:</i>
PL	people	need	several	CL	thing	DEM	
	You need several things (VB54.1)						

(64) is an example of the replacement of <k> for <c> that appeared in 3 boomerang written texts:

(64) *Min goa gai Keu, de kack ge Boomerang e giaung*
gáy hìn.

Min goa gai Keu, de kack ge Boomerang e
 Minh có cái kéo, để cắt cái bumorang ở
 I have CL scissors PREP cut CL boomerang
 PREP
giaung gáy hìn.
 trong cái hình.
 PREP CL picture.

I have scissors to cut the boomerang in the picture. (VB11.1)

In (63) and (64), <c> was replaced by <g> in *gai* for *cái* (classifier), <k> in *kack* for *cắt* (cut). This replacement can be explained by the difference between the grapheme-phoneme systems of the two languages.

The phoneme /k/ in the Vietnamese language is represented by three different graphemes <c>, <k>, <q> according to the vowel in a syllable as shown in the following rule:

<c> + front vowels: *cắt* (cut), *cưa* (saw)

<k> + back vowels: *kéo* (scissor), *kim* (needle)

<q> + semi-vowel /ɤ/: *quả* fruit, *quyển* (CL indicating volume of book and newspaper)

In the German language, phoneme /k/ is represented by various graphemes such as <k>, <g>, <ck>, <ch>, and <c>. However, in the German language, the letter <c> only appears in loanwords or in proper nouns (Evertz 2018:53). The restriction of the use of <c> in the German language is the reason that the participants replace <c> with <k> and <g> in (63) and (64). Nevertheless, an observation of the monolingual Vietnamese teenagers' writing and chatting also found the frequent use of <k> instead of <c> (Đặng Ngọc Ly 2011).

<c> and <ck> instead of <t>

The replacement of <c>, <ck> for <t> in coda appeared in a total of 3 boomerang written texts and are exemplified in (65) and (66):

- (65) *Chuc em phai cac vui keo ~~go~~ theo^{eo} hình*
Chuc em phai cac vui keo theo hình
 Trước em phải cắt với kéo theo hình
 First 1SG muss cut PREP scissors PREP form
 First I muss cut based on the form by scissors (VB149.1)

- (66) *By ye min fai kack ye lai saw*
By ye min fai kack ye lai saw
 Bây giờ mình phải cắt rồi lại چرا
 Now 1P must cut then PREP saw
 Now I have to cut then saw. (VB11.1)

In (65) and (66), <c> and <ck> were used non-native-like instead of <t> in the coda. Even onset and coda in (66) were written incorrectly. The word *kack* must be written as *cắt*. These errors originated from non-correspondence of representation of /k/ in writing systems of German and Vietnamese.

In the Vietnamese language, /k/ and /t/ in coda are a contrasted pair in the phonetic system because they are both voiceless stops but only differ by tongue position. /k/ is velar, /t/ is alveolar (Mai Ngọc Chừ 1997). The potential confusion between them could therefore create the error in the use of their graphemes <c> and <t> in (65). This can be seen as an intralingual source of making a mistake. In the boomerang written data, the replacement of <c> for <t> was found but not vice versa.

In terms of <ck> instead of <t> in (66), in German, when /k/ follows a short vowel, it is written as <ck>, whereas Vietnamese does not have this consonant cluster. The replacement of <ck> *kack* for <t> in *cắt* (cut) in (66) is therefore seen as a transfer from German.

<n>, <ng> instead of <nh>

As seen in Table 4.6 and 4.7, the German language does not contain the grapheme <nh>, whereas the Vietnamese language has <nh> that is represented for consonant /ŋ/ in both onset and coda. Examples (67) and (68) illustrate this transfer.

(67) *Mi^m goa gai keu*
Min goa gai Keu
 Minh có cái kéo
 1P have CL scissors
 I have scissors. (VB11.1)

(68) *Ming gan mot keou*
Ming gan mot keou
 Minh cần một kéo
 1SG need one scissors
 I need scissors. (VB14.1)

Due to the absence of <nh> in the German language as already mentioned, in (67) and (68) it was replaced by <n> in *min* and <ng> *ming* instead of correctly writing *mình* (1SG). In (68), the participant attempted to correct <nh> into <ng> or vice versa. It can show that the participant maybe knew the grapheme <nh>. However, they did not know exactly which one was appropriate in this case. Therefore, it was counted as a non-native-like case.

<f> instead of <ph>

The use of <f> instead of <ph> only occurred in two boomerang written texts as shown in Example (69) and (70):

By ye min fai kack ye lai saw

(69) *By ye min fai kack ye lai saw*
 Bây giờ mình phải cắt rồi lại saw
 Now I must cut then Adjunct saw
 Now I must cut and then saw it again. (VB11.1)

Sam ma fai gag ya.

(70) *Sam ma fai gag ya.*
 Xong là phải cắt ra.

Then COP must cut PREP

Then must be cut. (VB32.1)

In (69) and (70), <ph> was replaced by <f> due to the influence of the German orthographic system. The use of <f> in the two given examples is non-native-like in the Vietnamese language because the phoneme /f/ is only represented by <ph>. In the German language, the letter <f> is mostly used to write this phoneme, whereas <ph> is only retained in technical terms of loanwords of Greek origin such as *Physik* (Physics). Due to the non-correspondence of phoneme and grapheme of the phoneme /f/ of Vietnamese and German, the replacement of <f> for <ph> was expected to occur frequently. However, only two boomerang texts contained this type of transfer.

6.2.4. Confusion

Looking back at Jeuk's matrix (2014) (see Table 2.1) and the assumptions mentioned in 4.4.1, apart from deletion of diacritics, word initial capitalization, and the replacement of German graphemes for Vietnamese graphemes, the analysis showed that errors in alphabetic writing of the Vietnamese-German adolescents can also contain confusion. Indeed, confusion is a part of replacement but it occurs due to interlingua sources and it can result in bidirectional or multidirectional replacement.

According to Jeuk (2014), the confusion of alphabetic writing appears due to sound similarities, between voiced and voiceless consonants, dialect related writing, sound continuum of vowel, or grapheme confusion.

As shown in Table 6.1, the confusion between vowels appeared frequently in the boomerang written texts (9 texts). Nevertheless, these confusions did not occur uniformly. For example, in the text by VB11.1, <e> was used instead of <o> in (71):

(71) *Mìn gəə gəi kɛɪ, de kack ge boomerang e giaung
gəy hin.*

[...] *de kack ge boomerang e giaung gay hin.*

[...] *đề cắt cái bumorang ở giữa cái hình*

[...] in order to cut the boomerang in the middle of the form

However, in the text by VB98.1, <e> was replaced for <a> as shown in (72):

- (72) soi cat voi mot ke ~~keo~~ keo
*Soi cat voi mot **ke** keo*
 rồi cắt với một cái kéo
 then cut with one CL scissors
 then cut by scissors (VB98.1)

Apart from the non-systematic confusion of the use of vowels in general, the analysis shown in Table 6.1 several uniform confusions strongly related to dialect languages. In most of the Northern dialects of the Vietnamese language, there is no distinction between /s/ - <x> and /ʃ/ - <s>; /c/ - <ch> and /t/ - <tr>; /z/ - <d>, /z/ - <gi>, and /z/ - <r> in sound productions that are used on Vietnam TV (VTV) and The Voice of Vietnam (VOV) (Cao Xuân Hạo 2010, Nguyễn Văn Khang 2011, Trần Trí Dõi 2005). The distinctions only remain in the writing. This can cause confusion of the alphabetic writing as in (73), (74), and (75):

- (73) xau do minh ve cai mau lenh go
 [...], ***xau** do minh ve cai mau lenh go*
 [...], sau đó mình vẽ cái mẫu lên gỗ.
 [...] after DEM 1P draw CL form PREP wood
 after that I draw the form on the wood. (VB 84.1)

- (74) vi het (m) het vi do em
~~phai het moi cai Bumerang~~
 [...] *vi do em het **troi** cai Bumerang*
 [...] Vì đó em hết chơi cái Bumerang
 CONJ DEM 1P finish play CL boomerang
 Due to this reason I finished playing boomerang. (VB 84.1)

- (75) de diu (haken) cai hinh
*de **dữ** cai hinh*
*để **dữ** cái hình*
 PREP keep CL picture
 to keep the picture (VB 84.1)

These three given examples illustrated the replacements of the graphemes that contain sound similarities: *xau* (no meaning) in (73) must be written as *sau* (after); *trôi* (no meaning) in (74) must be written as *chơi* (play); *dữ* (fierce) in (75) must be written as *giữ* (keep). Sound similarities of given graphemes also cause difficulties for native speakers. The distinction between these graphemes in the school program of Tiếng Việt (Vietnamese) and also in textbooks “Vietnamese in practice” in the universities has been called attention to (Bùi Minh Toán/Nguyễn Quang Ninh 2004, Nguyễn Minh Thuyết/Nguyễn Văn Hiệp 1998).

Additionally, the replacement of <i> instead of <y> occurred in written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents as shown in (76) and (77):

(76) Bai gie cat gai hing cho gai Bumerang

Bai gie cat gai hing cho cai Bumerang.

Bây giờ cắt cái hình cho cái bumorang.

Now cut CL form PREP CL boomerang

Now cut the form for the boomerang. (VB52.1)

(77)

Dau tien minh phai cat to gai giay

Dau tien minh phai cat to gai.

Đầu tiên mình phải cắt tờ giấy.

First 1P must cut CL paper.

First, I must cut the paper. (VB84.1)

In (76) and (77), *bai* is an incorrect writing form of *bây* in *bây giờ* (now) and *gai* (male) is different from *giấy* (paper). In the written data of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, there has only been the replacement of <i> instead of <y>, but not vice versa. In studies on the Vietnamese language, the discussion on writing <i> or <y> has been paid attention by linguists (Cao Xuân Hạo 2006, Mai Ngọc Chừ et al. 2008). Mai Ngọc Chừ et al. (2008) stated that it is necessary to unify the representation of /i/ by one grapheme <i>. It means *bâi giờ* and *giâi* can replace *bây giờ* and *giấy* in (76) and (77). However, Cao Xuân Hạo had another suggestion (2010), because it is very difficult to unify corrections for all cases of /i/ and also because the cultural value has been embedded in the form of writing (110). The existing rule of the use of <i> and

<y> needs to be maintained. The spelling in (76) and (77), therefore, are not appropriate spellings in the Vietnamese language.

6.2.5. Omission

The analysis in Table 6.1 showed that omission of graphemes occurred frequently in the boomerang written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents in general (10 texts). Particularly, the omission was assumed to occur due to reduction of diphthongs, reduction of grapheme clusters of consonants, or simply grapheme omission. As proposed in 4.4.1, the Vietnamese language contains three diphthongs /ie/, /uo/, and /uə/ that are represented by eight graphemes respectively <ia/ya/iê/yê>, <uô/ua>, and <uơ/ura>. In written data of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, the omission of a letter in two letters appeared as in (78) and (79):

(78) Cui cung em thic thi ~~xit~~^{xit} mau ~~len~~
len bumorang

Cui cung em thic thi xit mau len bumorang.

Cuối cùng em thích thì xịt màu lên bumorang.

Finally, 1P like COP spray color PREP

boomerang.

Finally, if I like, then I spray color on boomerang. (VB13.1)

(79) em ut het (n (nas)) het

Em ut het.

Em ướt hết.

1P wet Particle

I am entirely wet. (VB84.1)

In (78) and (79), the clusters <uô> and <uơ> were reduced into <u> and <u>. The omission of <ô> in <uô> and <ơ> in <uơ> showed that the final letters of diphthongs tend to be eliminated.

The Vietnamese language permits nine digraphs such as <ph>, <th>, <tr>, <gi>, <nh>, <ng>, <kh>, <gh>, and one trigraph <ngh>. The omission was also

assumed to occur in the given grapheme cluster of consonants. In the written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, there is evidence for this assumption in (80):

(80) Nhung ma thic lam mot bumorang Triton IV
minh co ~~cuoi~~ cuoi de lam mot bumorang

Nhung	ma	thic	lam	mot	bumorang	Triton IV
Nếu	mà	thích	làm	một	bumorang	Triton IV
CONJ	COP	like	do	one	boomerang	Triton IV

mih	co	cuoi	de	lam	mot	bumorang.
mình	có	cái	để	làm	một	bumorang.
1P	have	CL	PREP	do	one	boomerang.

If like doing a boomerang Triton IV, I have something to do that. (VB98.1)

(80) contains two errors of spelling related to reduction of grapheme cluster of consonants, *thic* instead of *thích* (like), and *mih* instead of *mình* (the first personal pronoun). Unlike the frequency of reduction of initial grapheme of diphthongs, any graphemes in a grapheme cluster of consonants was reduced.

6.2.6. Addition

The written data of the Vietnamese-German adolescents also contained addition of alphabetical writing as in (81) and (82):

(81) min goa mai gai Tools
Min goa mai gai Tools.
 Minh có mấy cái Tools.
 1P `have some CL tools
 I have some tools. (VB11.1)

(82) Niên em muon lam bumorang, em kông
Niên em muon lam bumorang, em kông [...]

Nếu em muốn làm bomorang em cần [...]
 If 1SG want make boomerang 1SG need [...]
 If I want to make a boomerang, I need [...] (VB149.1)

In (81) and (82), <a> and <i> were added to the spelling. The addition can occur at any position of grapheme. The transition in Jeuk’s matrix (2014:114) such as *wrame* for *warme* (*warm*) was not found in the data of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

The analysis showed that replacement occurred in the boomerang texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents at all positions of a syllable (onset, nucleus, and coda). The errors can be caused by either transfer effect from the German societal language (deletion of diacritics, initial word capitalization, and replacement) or intralingua sources of the Vietnamese heritage language (confusion, omission, and addition).

6.3. Lexical transfer

Based on the approach by Ringbom (1987, 2007) proposed in 2.6.2, lexical transfers in the boomerang written texts were analyzed in transfer of form (code-switching, hybrids/blend, cognate), and transfer of meaning (loan translation and semantic extension). Table 6.2 summarizes the number of lexical transfer types based on the count of tokens from not only German as the societal language, but also from English as the first foreign language in 20 Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. The word boomerang was not counted due to it being an obligatory borrowing. A total of 31 tokens of lexical transfers appeared in the boomerang written texts were classified into specific types as following:

Table 6.2. Types of lexical transfer in the boomerang texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

Transfer type					
Language	Transfer of form			Transfer of meaning	
		Code-switching	Blend	Cognate	Loan translation

From German	13%	9%	0	9%	37%
From English	32%				

Table 6.2 shows that code-switching (insertion) in the written Vietnamese texts occurred not only due to borrowing from the German language but also from the English language. Especially, code-switching from English was used at a higher rate than those from German. Nevertheless, the total of types of lexical transfer originated more from German than from English. Loan translation appeared most frequently, and came entirely from the German language. Non-occurrence of *cognate* partly supported the classic argument of the relationship between transfer and the language typology of Jarvis/Palvenko (2010). They argued that cognates normally happen between languages that have typological similarity (ibid.:77). Vietnamese and German are typologically different: an isolating language and a synthetic language. Cognates therefore did not appear in the boomerang written texts. Specific types of lexical transfer in the written Vietnamese texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents are described more in the following sections.

6.3.1. Code-switching

As shown in Table 6.2, code-switching is one of the most frequent transfers that appeared in the Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. Specifically, Table 6.2 shows the frequency of parts of speech that were borrowed from both German and English. Number of code-switches of parts of speech was counted by the occurrence in 20 written texts (type counting in each text).

Table 6.3. Distribution of lexical transfer from parts of speech

	Noun	Verb	Adjective	Other
German	41%	22%	6%	3%
English	9%	16%	0%	3%

Table 6.3 shows that code-switching mostly occurred in the collected texts in content words, especially in nouns. Code-switching in function words hardly presented in the Vietnamese written texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents. In the collected texts, despite belonging to content words, adjectives were not often borrowed from the societal language (i.e., German) nor the foreign language (i.e., English).

Example (83), (84), and (85) respectively exemplify code-switching in nouns, verbs, and adjectives in the boomerang texts:

(83) *Bây giờ mình làm cái Bumerang Holz pflegen.*
 Now 1P make CL boomerang wood care
 Now we make the boomerang by wood smoothly. (VB11.2) (Vi.: *gỗ/chăm sóc*)

(84) *Cái boomerang fly xa lắm.*
 CL boomerang fly far so
 The boomerang flies so far. (VB149.1) (Vi.: *bay*)

(85) [...]*rồi làm cái đó màu orange.*
 [...] conj make CL DEM color orange
 then make it in orange (VB150.2) (Vi.: *cam*)

In the *Auswertungshinweise* (analysis instruction), Reich et al. (2009) proposed a list of vocabulary that are classified into three main categories: verb, noun, and adjective. In addition, these categories are classified into general and technical words. Based on Reich's list (ibid.:10), most borrowed nouns are technical nouns, for example, *Borer* (drill), *Form* (form), *Spray* (spray), *Edding* (Edding pen), and *Schablone* (template) from the German language, and *woodcutter*, *wing*, and *tool* from the English language. The code-switches in verbs also entirely appeared in technical verbs, for example, *pflegen* (care), *schmirgeln* (emery), and *spray* (spray) in the German language, and *saw*, *sharp*, *smooth down*, and *drill* in the English language. Example (86) illustrates the code-switches from the English language:

- (86) *Máy cái đồ mà mình cần là (eng. Woodcutter) và Adv CL thing COP 1P need COP (eng. Woodcutter) and (eng. drill).*
 (eng. **drill**).

Some tools that we need are (eng. **woodcutter**) and (eng. **drill**). (VB150.1)

Looking at the given examples of code-switches, it can be said that most of the borrowed words were used in the infinitival forms of the source languages (i.e., German and English) in the Vietnamese written texts. In (83) and (84), the verbs *pfliegen* (care) and *fliegen* (fly) were used in their infinitival forms to compensate for the lack of verb *mài giáy ráp* (emery) and *bay* (fly) in the Vietnamese language. According to German grammar, in Example (83) and (84), both verbs need to be conjugated with alternative endings, *pflege* and *fliegt*.

In addition, participants borrowed English verbs with infinitival forms such as in Example (87).

- (87) *Bây giờ mình smooth down cái Boomerang hết. Now 1P smooth down CL boomerang adv*
 Now I smooth down this boomerang completely. (VB11.1)

In a study on building verbs in Greek-German mixed variety, Alexiadou (2017) found that language mixing frequently occurs due to the borrowing of lexical meanings. That means only the infinitival form of verbs in the source language is borrowed in the target language. Regarding Vietnamese mixed variety, in a study on language mixing in communication among Vietnamese immigrants in Australia, aged 18-55, who came to Australia as adolescents and adults, Hồ Đắc Túc (2003) also found that borrowed words were often used in the infinitival form in both verbs and nouns.

In addition, code-switched/borrowed words were placed in parentheses as in Example (86) given above, and (88), and (89) as follows.

- (88) *Mình cần [...], máy cắt (elektrisch) và giáy. 1P need [...], machine cut (elektrisch) and paper*
 I need (**electrical**) cutting machine and paper. (Vi.: điện) (VB03.1)

- (89) [...] *mình phải lấy màu [...] (spray).*
 [...] 1P must take color [...] (spray)
 I have to take (**spray**) color. (Vi.: xịt) (VB44.1)

The parentheses in (88) and (89) can be interpreted as the writer's explanation that this word is a borrowed word. This strategy was also used when participants were not sure about the Vietnamese words. Following these uncertain words, writers also used the alternative German words in brackets. For example:

- (90) *Bat đầu trời mưa (regnen) và em ướt (nass) hết.*
 Bắt đầu trời mưa (**regnen**) và em ướt (**nass**) hết.
 Begin sky rain (rain) conj 1P wet (wet) adv
 It started raining and I was completely wet. (VB84.1)

In sum, most code-switches or borrowings occurred when writers had a lack of knowledge of the vocabulary of Vietnamese as a heritage language. Writers often used words of other languages that they knew better such as German as a societal language and the foreign language formally taught in school (i.e., English) to attempt to fill the gap. Therefore, code-switches or borrowings appeared most frequently in comparison with other transfer types. Code-switches in the written Vietnamese texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents occurred commonly on nouns and verbs that are content words. A strategy was often used to explain the borrowing of words from other languages than the heritage language due to the deficiency of language knowledge by putting these borrowed words in a parenthesis or a quotation.

6.3.2. Hybrids/Blend

Borrowing vocabulary in German as the societal language to compensate the lack of knowledge in Vietnamese as the heritage language also created hybrids that embed the interaction between two languages as in (91) and (92):

- (91) [...] *bạn phải có đủ đồ để có thể bau*
 [...] 2P must have adv thing adv adjunct bau
lắp vũ khí bumorang.

build weapon boomerang.

[...] You have to enough tools to be able to create a boomerang. (VB69.1)

(92) Để *bau* cái *bu mớ rang*, tôi cần [...] *kưa* (*Säge*).

Adv bau CL boomerang 1P need [...] saw

In order to make a boomerang, I need [...] a saw. (VB04.1)

In (91) and (92), the infinitival form of *bau* in the German language is *bauen* (make, build) - a word with two syllables. However, only the first syllable *bau* was used in the written text (VB61.1).

Additionally, writers also used this strategy with English borrowed words as in (93):

(93) *Mình làm* cái *đó* để *sharp* cái *Boomerang*.

1P do CL DEM adv sharp CL boomerang

I do this to sharpen the boomerang. (VB11.1)

These examples can be considered evidence of the interaction between German and English roots and the trend of monosyllabization in the Vietnamese language, especially for borrowing (Cao Xuân Hạo 2006). Monosyllabization is a trend of Vietnamese language development. According to Vũ Đức Nghiệu (2005), since Proto Việt-Mường and so far in Proto Mon-Khmer (the origin of Vietnamese language), there have been polysyllabic words (also called as sequisyllabic words) containing a main syllable and a presyllable. Monosyllabization is the process of losing syllables until a word is only one syllable, for instance:

Proto Mon-Khmer	Proto Việt-Mường	modern Vietnamese
səmaŋ	maŋ	mượn (borrow)
kəcət	kcet	chết (die)
pədăm	dăm	năm (five)

(Vũ Đức Nghiệu 2005: 202)

In the modern Vietnamese language, monosyllabization has been applied in both written and spoken language as follows:

xi măng	xi (cement)
đô la	đô (dollar)
nhân dân tệ	tệ (renminbi)
Thái Lan	Thái (Thailand)

(Vũ Đức Nghiệu 2005: 206)

The monosyllabization of borrowed words from German and English in the written Vietnamese texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents (*bauen* (build) – *bau*, *sharpen* - *sharp*) rarely appeared. However, it can be viewed as a clue to strategies used in the process of Vietnameseization in the use of the Vietnamese heritage language.

6.3.3. Loan translation

Loan translation is simply understood as “direct translation” from one language to another language. (94) illustrates this type of lexical transfer:

- (94) [...] *em phải lấy một máy cắt gỗ xong*
 [...] 1P must take one machine cutting wood CONJ
cắt cái hình ra.
 cut CL form out

I have to take a cutting machine then cut the form out. (VB13.1)

Schneidemachine (cutting machine) in Vietnamese is named by a single noun *cưa* (*Säge* in German, *saw* in English). However, in 20 collected texts in two time tests, there were 4 texts (20%) that used the appropriate word *cưa* (saw), whereas 6 texts (30%) used a noun phrase *máy cắt/máy cắt gỗ* (wooden cutting machine) that was directly translated from German. 10 texts (50%) either did not describe this scene or only described it with the verb *cắt* (cắt) without mentioning the tool. Texts that contained the noun *cưa* (saw) rather than the phrase *máy cắt/máy cắt gỗ* often received the highest scores in the LiPS evaluation, for instance, VB84, VB130.

In addition, (95) is an example of this type of lexical transfer in the verb phrase:

(95) *Làm xong thì em lấy máy khoan và làm*
 Make adv COP 1P take machine drill conj make
một cái lỗ vào một dọc của cái bu-mơ-rang.
 one CL loch PREP one side PREP CL boomerang

When it is done then I take a drill machine and **make** a hole on a side of the boomerang. (Ge. ein Loch machen) (VB13.1)

Ein Loch machen (make a hole) is an accepted and appropriate phrase in the German language for this case. The phrase was directly translated to Vietnamese as *làm một cái lỗ* hay *làm lỗ* in 8 of the written Vietnamese texts (40%), whereas this should be written as *khoan một cái lỗ* (drill a hole) in Vietnamese. A comparison to the German texts of the same writers shows that despite the acceptance of the phrase *ein Loch machen* (make a hole) in the German language, it was used in only one German written text of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, whereas the verb *bohren* (drill) for specific description was chosen more commonly in 19 of the German written texts. One explanation for the difference between the use of direct translation based on basic verb use in the Vietnamese texts and German texts might be the level of language proficiency. The Vietnamese-German participants have learned the German language in school and have also practiced this language frequently in daily life, therefore it is not so complicated for them to find the specific word *bohren* (drill) to illustrate the exact action in the given picture in the boomerang creation instructions. Nevertheless, they have never formally learned the Vietnamese language in school, it was difficult for them to produce the verb *khoan* (drill) – a specific verb. The phrase *làm một cái lỗ* - *ein Loch machen* (make a hole) therefore was used instead of the specific verb *khoan* (drill) in the Vietnamese written texts. In some studies, on the German variety of Turkish-German adolescents in Mainheim, Keim (2003, 2009a, 2009b) found that the generalization of the verb *machen* (make), for example, *isch mach disch krankenhau* (I beat you up so bad that you have to go to the hospital) is a characteristic of these users. The use of *làm* (Ge. *machen*, make) in Vietnamese by the Vietnamese-German adolescent is therefore a result of generalization of the verb *machen* and the process of translation from German to Vietnamese.

There was also loan translation in the use of prepositions. Especially, the use of the preposition *với* (Ge. *mit*, Eng. *with*) replaced for other appropriate prepositions due to the direct translation from the German language. (96) exemplifies this loan translation:

- (96) *Trước là cắt với một kéo một cái hình.*
 CONJ COP cut PREP one scissors one CL form
 First, cut with scissors a form. (VB54.1)

The phrase *mit + Dativ* (with + Dativ) that describes the use of tools such as *mit einer Schere* (with a pair of scissors), *mit einer Pfeile* (with a dart), *mit einer Sägemachine* (with a saw) commonly appeared in the German written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. *Mit* (with) in this given phrase was literally translated into the Vietnamese written texts as *với*, exemplified in (96), whereas it should have been translated into Vietnamese as *bằng kéo* (by a pair of scissors), *bằng giấy rập* (by a dart), *bằng cưa* (by a saw).

To summarize, loan translation can appear at any part of speech such as on the noun, verb, or preposition. There are also vague cases or overlapped cases between loan translation and semantic extension in the collected data of the boomerang writing. For example, the phrase *làm một cái lỗ* (make a hole) in (92) can be classified into direct translation due to literal translation from the accepted phrase in the German language *ein Loch Machen*. Nevertheless, it can also be classified into semantic extension due to the generalization of the basic verb *làm* (make) that is proposed in 6.3.4.

6.3.4. Semantic extension

Semantic extension is the progress of adding more meanings to a lexical form of the target language, this is due to a lack of perception of restriction of lexical meaning (Ringbom 2007, Bardel 2015). Polysemy and homonymy of background language is perhaps a source of semantic extension transfer (Bardel 2015). In our data, semantic extension occurred at many parts of speech. Example (97) is a semantic extension of noun:

- (97) [...] *mình phải vẽ cái hình thức của cái*
 [...], 1P must draw CL form PREP CL
bu-mơ-rang.
 boomerang
 [...], I must draw the form of the boomerang. (Ge. Form) (VB98.2)

Die Form (the form) in Vietnamese is possible to be understood as *hình mẫu/mẫu* (form, which helps to make the same things which look like it), and also as *hình thức* (form, the appearance of object). The correct word in (97) should be *hình mẫu/mẫu*. However, due to the polysemy of *Form* (form), writers used an inappropriate word in Vietnamese that is also translated into German as *Form* (form).

As mentioned above, semantic extension occurred widely in the collected data at many different parts of speech. Example (98) demonstrates a semantic extension of the verb:

- (98) [...] *em lấy gỗ và làm cho chặt trên bàn.*
 [...] 1P take wood and make PREP fix on table.
 I take wood and **make** it on the table tightly. (Ge. machen) (VB13.1)

In the same scene in German written texts of these Vietnamese-German adolescents, the verb *befestigen* (fix) was used. The correspondent verb in Vietnamese language to *befestigen* (fix) is *gắn* (fix). However, the writers used *làm* (make) - a basic verb, since the favoring of nuclear verbs as *go, take, make, put, and get* is a strategy to overcome the restriction of vocabulary in the target language (see review of Viberg 2002).

Semantic extension transfer also occurs at the adjective as demonstrated in (99) and (100):

- (99) *Xong cái đấy thì lại phải làm cái*
 Finish CL DEM CONJ adjunct adjunct make CL
bu-mơ-rang phẳng.
 boomerang flat
 When this is done, must make the boomerang **flat**. (Ge. glatt) (VB26.1)

- (100) *Sau đó, mình làm cái bu-mơ-rang êm.*
 ADV DEM 1P make CL boomerang smooth

After that, I make the boomerang **smoothly**. (Ge. sanft) (VB99.1)

The German adjective *glatt* was chosen by most writers for this scene in the German written texts. *Glatt* consists of three meanings such as *smooth*, *flat* or *clean*. This German adjective can therefore be translated into three different Vietnamese adjectives *tron* (smooth), *nhẵn* (clean, smooth), and *phẳng* (flat). The writer in (100) used *phẳng* (flat) while the correct adjective in this situation is *nhẵn* (clean, smooth).

In (100), *smooth* is understood in Vietnamese under some words as *êm*, *tron*, *nhẵn*. *Êm* is used to describe the state “soft, light” for specific situations such as *đệm êm* (soft mattress), *giọng nói êm* (soft voice), and even *mọi chuyện đều êm* (everything is okay). However, *êm* was not accurate for *cái bu-mơ-rang êm* (the boomerang is soft). The better variable as mentioned above is *nhẵn*.

In sum, semantic extension is basically a translation of the meaning of the word of this language to the other languages. Naturally the general meaning in the background language (i.e., German) is transferred to the target language (i.e., Vietnamese heritage language). Semantic extension transfers are the result of hyponymy and hypernymy which refers to a relationship between a general term and the more specific terms (97, 98) or polysemy (99, 100).

Table 6.4 summarizes the features of lexical transfer that were analyzed in Vietnamese written texts “boomerang” of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Table 6.4. Lexical transfer in written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

-
1. High frequency of loan translation and code-switching
 2. Frequency of code-switching from English
 3. Frequency of code-switching in verb and noun (content words)
 4. The use of infinitival form of noun and verb in code-switching
 5. The use of quotation marks or brackets to remark borrowings
 6. Monosyllabization of borrowed words
 7. The use of basic or general words for specific words in loan translation and semantic extension (*làm* – *make*, *mit* - with)
-

(Own research)

6.4. Semantic-syntactic characteristics

Table 2.3 summarized possible characteristics of syntactic categories regarding classifier use, preposition use, verb use, word order, passive voice, etc. The avoidance of passive voice was mentioned in Chapter 5. Verb use was partially analyzed in code switching and semantic transfer in the lexical transfer (6.3). Syntactic and lexical semantic levels indeed have intertwined relations that create interface domains. Verb use is a similar domain; therefore, it is not mentioned separately. In this section, classifier use is examined more extensively despite a quantitative analysis in 5.2.2, because as mentioned in Chapter 2 and 4.4.5, it is a “grammatical device” of isolating language (Goddard 2011:143). In addition, word order is analyzed to examine whether preference of rigid word order (i.e., SVO) appeared in Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents as other heritage speakers when writing their heritage languages as mentioned in Chapter 2. In addition, word order in the Vietnamese language and the German language contain some differences such as the verb in the second position in the German language or the structure of noun phrases or possessive construction.

6.4.1. Classifier use

As mentioned in 4.4.5, classifier use is considered an indicator to examine the representation of morphological function in isolating languages such as Cantonese, Mandarin, and Vietnamese (Benmamoun et al. 2013:144). The Vietnamese language contains a rich set of classifiers and measure words that are difficult to translate into other languages. Two of the most common classifiers are *con* (indicating animate objects) and *cái* (indicating inanimate objects). In the boomerang texts of the Vietnamese-German group and monolingual group, *cái* is most frequently used due to the required general classifier *cái* of nouns that appeared in texts, for example, a boomerang or a picture of inanimate objects.

The LiPS evaluation examined classifier use by classification into standard use and non-standard use. Non-standard use consists of three errors: classifier omission, classifier overuse and incorrect classifier use. Both standard and non-standard forms were counted as tokens. Returning to Table 5.7, the results showed that (1) classifier omission occurred more frequently than (2) incorrect classifier use or (3) classifier

overuse. These results can be explained by the following, respectively: (1) the German language does not permit classifiers, so participants omitted these classifiers in the Vietnamese phrase nouns; (2) the frequent occurrence of *con*, *cái* and *chiếc* in language practice (Lê Nila 2008) caused the bilingual Vietnamese-German participant who had incomplete acquisition of the heritage language to think that these classifiers can be used for most cases (see Example 49, Example 101 below); (3) the overuse of classifiers can appear due to either transfer from the German language or the confusion between the classifier *cái* and the extra or indexical *cái* (Emeneau 1951). Example (101) illustrates this explanation.

- (101) *Keo; mot chiec go; mau bumorang; [...]*
Kéo; một chiếc gỗ; mẫu bumorang; [...]
 Scissors one CL* wood form boomerang [...]
 Scissors, a plate of wood, a form of boomerang (VB13.1)

The classifier for *gỗ* (wood) is *miếng* or *tấm* (flat horizontally oriented) (Tran Jennie 2011:73). In (101), the writer used the vehicle classifier *chiếc* instead of choosing from the appropriate classifiers. In the written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, the general classifier *cái* and the vehicle classifier *chiếc* were often used incorrectly in place of other specific classifiers as exemplified in (49) and (101). However, the replacement of other classifiers for the general and vehicle classifier did not appear. These findings support the argument made by Lê Nila (2008) that *cái* and *chiếc* are the most commonly used classifiers that often appear in language practice.

The confusion between classifier overuse and extra *cái* was noted in 4.4.5. In the Vietnamese language, extra or indexical *cái* is often used in spoken language to emphasize the objects mentioned. In the written data of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, extra *cái* was identified without trouble in (102):

- (102) *minh đặt cái miếng gỗ trên bàn [...].*
Mình đặt cái miếng gỗ trên bàn [...].
 1P put extra cái CL wood PREP table [...].
 I put (emphasize) the plate of wood on the table [...]. (VB04.1)

Cái in (102) is an indexical word that is used to emphasize it is its own (Tran Jennie 2011). However, in the collected data, 20% of the texts contained classifier overuse. The frequent use of extra *cái* can partially influence this kind of error.

6.4.2. Preposition use

Prepositions are usually used in front of nouns or pronouns to show the relationship between these words and other words in the sentence. Apart from the loan translation of the preposition *mit* (Vi. *với*, Eng. *with*) as mentioned in 6.3.3, the Vietnamese-German participants commonly used other prepositions incorrectly as well. For example, (103) and (104) introduce the preposition that is routinely incorrectly used by the writers in the present study:

(103) *Thế là cái bu-mơ-rang bay vào nước.*
 CONJ COP CL boomerang fly into water.
 Then the boomerang flied into water. (VB14.1)

(104) *Xong thì phải vẽ cái bu-mơ-rang vào gỗ.*
 CONJ COP adjunct draw CL boomerang in/into wood.
 Already finished then must draw the boomerang on wood. (VB26.1)

In (103) and (104), in the specific context of “boomerang in park” and “boomerang instruction”, preposition *vào* (in, into) was used in an incorrect and inappropriate fashion. The appropriate prepositions should instead be *bay xuống nước* (fly (down) on the water) and *lên gỗ* (on wood). The use of *vào* instead of another appropriate preposition appeared frequently in the written texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents. In 20 written texts, there were 6 tokens of this error.

In addition, Vietnamese-German adolescents often overused prepositions as shown in (105a) and (106a):

(105a) *Bây giờ phải làm đẹp này với sơn.*
 Now adjunct make beautiful DEM with paint
 Now make this (thing) beautiful with paint. (VB32.1)

(106a) *Làm sơn xong phải xịt a boomerang bằng màu.*
 Make paint ADV adjunct spray a boomerang by color
 Painted completely, spray a boomerang by color.

Both prepositions used in (105a) and (106a) (*với* - with, *bằng* - by) can be eliminated due to their non-native-like sentences. (105a) contains not only the overuse of the preposition *với* (with), but also the omission of classifier (*ở này* - DEM), and generalizes the verb *làm* (make). If the given errors are corrected it could be considered a native-like construction: elimination of preposition by the use of *sơn* (paint) as a verb, addition of classifier, and the use of the specific verb with an adverbial clause as in (105b):

(105b) *Bây giờ phải sơn cái này để nó đẹp hơn.*
 Now adjunct paint CL DEM ADV 3P beautiful more
 Now, paint this thing to be more beautiful. (VB32.1)

Like (105a), (106a) possesses not only the overuse of preposition, it also has a problem with generalizing or overusing the verb *làm* (make). Therefore, a native-like construction of this sentence could be written as shown in (106b):

(106b) *Sơn xong phải xịt màu cho bu-mơ-rang.*
 Paint ADV adjunct spray color PREP boomerang
 Painted completely, spray color for boomerang.

Preposition use in a heritage language is challenging for heritage speakers. Ming/Tao (2008) who demonstrated the examples of the use of wrong prepositions showed evidence for this statement. The analysis of the written Vietnamese texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents supports this argument. Writers in the study made many mistakes in the use of prepositions. Prepositions that were commonly used incorrectly included *với* (mit) and *vào* (in) instead of alternate appropriate prepositions, as well as the overuse of prepositions more generally.

6.4.3. Word order

As already mentioned, this section mainly examines the frequency of SVO in Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescent in comparison with sentence word order in the German written texts of this group, and in Vietnamese written texts of Vietnamese monolinguals. It is important to investigate this area because German and Vietnamese differ in their word order. Specifically, the German language contains a verb in the second position of the sentence that does not appear in the Vietnamese language. The order of elements in the noun phrase of Vietnamese and German can also create the incorrect order in Vietnamese production by the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

In terms of sentence structure, as mentioned above, Table 6.5 compares the frequency of SVO in 20 Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, and 20 texts of the Vietnamese monolingual adolescents that were all written about boomerang. SVO structures were counted as tokens and compared with the total of sentence structures in 20 written texts.

Table 6.5. Frequency of SVO structure in two text groups (n = 20)

	VB	VM
SVO	62%	30%

As shown in Table 6.5, Vietnamese-German adolescents preferred using SVO structures more than Vietnamese monolinguals. (108a) and (108b) illustrate the preferred sentence structure for each group.

(108a) *Bây giờ mình phun màu theo sở thích của mình.*
 Now 1P spray color CONJ favourit PREP 1P
 AP S V O
 Now I spray color as my favorite. (VB04.1)

(108b) *Phun sơn màu tùy ý thích.*
 Spray paint color ADV favourit
 V O

Spray color that's up to you. (VM01)

To describe the same scene in the boomerang prompt, the Vietnamese-German adolescents used SVO structure (108a), whereas the Vietnamese monolingual adolescents chose the imperative that does not contain a subject (108b).

In contrast, the analysis of the written texts of the two groups did not show a problem in the use of verb-second-position as in main clauses or verb-ended-position in subordinate clauses. The word order in the noun phrase also did not contain the typical structure of the German language ADJ + Noun. Instead, writers used the grammatical word order of Vietnamese.

Table 6.6 summarizes the semantic-syntactic features that were found in the analysis of the Vietnamese written texts “boomerang” of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Table 6.6. Semantic-syntactic features in written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

-
1. Higher classifier omission than classifier overuse or wrong use
 2. Frequent use of the general classifier *cái* and the vehicle classifier *chiếc* instead of specific classifiers in incorrect classifier use
 3. Frequent use of the prepositions *với* (with) and *vào* (into) instead of an appropriate preposition
 4. Occurrence of preposition overuse
 5. Preference of the rigid structure SVO
-

(Own research)

6.5. Address forms

Apart from characteristics of linguistic levels such as orthography, lexis, syntax, as well as interface, the interface related to semantics, pragmatics and other linguistic levels is also a challenge for heritage speakers. Address forms – a more complex system in the Vietnamese language as mentioned in 4.4.3 is analyzed in the present study to examine the practice of the interface of pragmatics and semantics of the Vietnamese-German adolescents as heritage speakers.

6.5.1. Overview

The complex system of address forms in the Vietnamese language comprises lexical alternatives of common nouns (kinship and social status terms), proper nouns and personal pronouns that are strongly dependent on the speech environment (Hồ Đắc Túc 2003, Lương Văn Hy 1990). The Vietnamese address forms were already provided in 4.4.3.

As already mentioned in 4.4.3, the use of Vietnamese personal pronouns pragmatically implies either intimacy/familiarity, amongst close friends of the same age, or a lack of deference and high degree of arrogance towards the addressee and/or third-party pronominal referent of superior age (Hồ Đắc Túc 2003:114). Therefore, they are normally used in informal situations. The only personal pronoun that can be used in formal situations is *tôi* (first person) (Thompson 1965:299). This is the most neutral term to be utilized in social contexts. However, amongst family members, *tôi* (first person) and the other Vietnamese pronouns “presuppose and imply not only the negation of solidarity but also the lack of deference towards the reference” (Lương Văn Hy 1990:129).

Both tasks in LiPS required the language of schooling to provide instruction on how to build a boomerang and a description of the boomerang test in the park. *Bạn* (friend) as a formal second person pronoun is an appropriate choice due to the implication of polite address used with whom the speaker does not have an intimate relationship (Thompson 1965:301). (109) is an example of the appropriate usage of address forms by the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

(109)	<i>Bây giờ</i>	<i>bạn</i>	<i>có thể</i>	<i>mài</i>	<i>và</i>	<i>xịt</i>	<i>màu</i>
	Now	2P	can	sharpen	and	spray	color
	<i>lên</i>	<i>cái</i>	<i>bumorang</i> .				
	PREP	CL	boomerang				

Now you can sharpen the boomerang and spray color on it. (VB69.1)

However, most of the Vietnamese-German adolescents did not use this address form throughout the Vietnamese written texts. They often chose the kinship terms such as *em* (younger brother or sister), *con* (a child), or *mình* (intimate personal pronoun).

In LiPS, the evaluation of the indicator *Adressierung* (address forms) in the Vietnamese language was simply measured by counting tokens of the occurrence of address forms. The scores of the use of address forms were therefore not as expected (see more the analysis and discussion in 5.2.2 and 5.3.2). However, the examination of the frequency of each address form between the monolingual and bilingual groups showed the difference in usage. The results in 5.2.2 showed that in the bilingual group, the use of *con*, *mình*, and *em* was the highest proportion of use, whereas in the monolingual group, the use of *bạn* (you) and no reference in imperative are two of the most frequently used strategies. As mentioned above, *bạn* (you) is also suggested to address a friend and colleague in formal situations (Thompson 1965:301), whereas *con*, *mình*, *em* are mostly used in informal situations. *Con*, *mình*, *em* belong to polite forms in family contact (ibid.:299), whereas in the context of writing an article for a youth magazine, the formal address forms such as *bạn/các bạn*, *ta* should be used. Therefore, the address forms of bilingual participants are inappropriate. Figure 6.1 illustrates the proportion of the use of address forms of the Vietnamese-German adolescents:

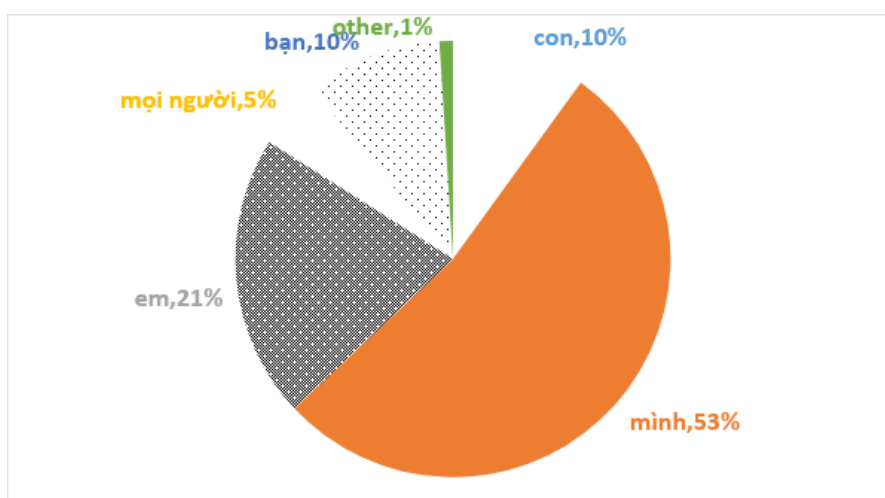


Figure 6.6. Proportion of address form use of 20 Vietnamese-German adolescents

Figure 6.6 is an extended analysis of the result in 5.2.2. The occurrence of address forms in 20 Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, the proportion of each address form was counted and compared with one another. The results showed that *mình* (the first personal pronoun, both singular and plural) is the

highest proportion of use. The second is the kinship term *em* (younger sibling). Specifically, the use of those address forms will be analyzed here.

6.5.2. Frequent use of personal pronoun *mình*

The most used personal pronoun of collected written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents is *mình*. *Mình* appears in about 70% of the written texts (14/20) with more than one form of writing such as *mìn* (VB07.1) or *ming* (Vb13.1), and *men* (VB32.1). These writing forms of *mình* are orthographic errors (see more in 6.1.4) due to the lack of knowledge of the Vietnamese orthographic system or due to the transfer of the German orthographic system into the Vietnamese system. For example, *ming* is considered to be a transfer from the German language to the Vietnamese language, due to the absence of grapheme [nh] in the German language.

Mình is a personal pronoun that is used in intimate situations, for example, as a first personal pronoun with a meaning that denotes an intimate relationship or a form of address between husband and wife (Hoàng Phê 2003:633). Hence, the use of *mình* is not appropriate for an article in a youth magazine. (110) is an example of the use of *mình* in a boomerang text of a Vietnamese-German adolescent.

(110) *Mình phun màu theo sở thích của mình.*
1P spray color PREP favourite CONJ 1P
I spray the color as my favourite. (VB03.1)

(110) contains a completely correct grammatical structure. However, the use of *mình* as an address form shows the lack of knowledge of Vietnamese address forms that strongly belongs to pragmatic knowledge and pragmatic use.

6.5.3. Frequent use of kinship terms

Kinship terms are an important part of Vietnamese address forms. Due to their frequent appearance and the different varieties and diversity of kinship terms they are often very difficult for heritage speakers to acquire. Nguyễn Thái Hòa (1999:170) described their difficulty succinctly when he remarked “not only do they impose

difficulty for foreign learners of Vietnamese, but sometimes it is also hard for Vietnamese people to use them properly and appropriately”. The kinship terms are used in address and self-reference among related people, and non-relatives as well, to express various degrees of meaning which ranges from high disrespect to great respect, and from a high level of intimacy to extreme distance (Lương Văn Hy 1990:37). Example 15 and 16 in 4.3.2 of Chapter 4 extracted by Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2013) and the discussion on the Vietnamese language address forms in 4.4.3 provided a thorough discussion of the complexity of this system.

Kinship terms are commonly used not only among genealogically related speakers but are also extended to use in situations outside the family (Lương Văn Hy:38, Thompson 1965:294). However, not all kinship terms are used for addressing non-genealogical speakers (Trần Thị Thanh Vân 2013:137). The most common forms to refer to genealogically related persons are *ông* (grandfather), *bà* (grandmother), *bác* (uncle/ant – older than speaker’s mother and father), *cô* (aunt – younger than speaker’s father), *chú* (uncle – younger than speaker’s father), *cháu* (grandchild/nephew/niece), *anh* (older brother), *chị* (older sister), *em* (younger sibling) (ibid.). In addition, the rules of the use of address forms are inextricably intertwined with social dimensions such as power, solidarity and formality (Lương Văn Hy 1990:5, Hồ Đắc Túc 2003:114). There are five factors that influence the choice of address forms the most, respectively as follows: age, social distance, gender, social status, and profession (Trần Thị Thanh Vân 2013).

In terms of politeness, the use of *tôi*, and *ta* for addresser and the use of *ông* (grandfather), *bà* (grandmother), *anh* (older brother), *chị* (older sister) for addressee are appropriate (Thompson 1965:299ff, Vũ Thị Thanh Hương 1997:203). Therefore, the use of kinship terms for addressor in an article in a youth newspaper are not appropriate. However, kinship terms were used frequently in the written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. 5/20 writers chose *em* (see Figure 6.1) - a kinship term denoting younger siblings or cousins. Normally *em* is used in either intimate situation such as within family or in specific contexts such as in school, specifically older brother and sister with younger brother and sister, between husband and wife, between the people who are like brother and sister, and between student and teacher. Example (111) illustrates the use of *em* in the writing task boomerang.

(111) *Cắt xong em phải mài gõ.*

Cut already 1SG must sharpen wood.

When the cutting finish already, I have to sharpen the plate of wood. (VB11.1)

Interestingly, the participant VB44 called the committee *cô/chú* (ant/uncle) and self-addressed as *con* (child – is used between parents and child).

(112) *Kính thưa cô/chú*

Dear 2P female/male

Dear Sir/Madam (VB44.1)

(113) *Con muốn xin một chỗ thực tập ở công ty.*

1P want ask one place practice PREP company.

I would like to apply for an internship position in the company. (VB44.1)

In the application letter, the writer referred to the committee as *cô/chú* and referred to themselves as *con* as if they were engaging in a family conversation. *Con* is often used between children and parents, as well as between children and other adults in a family. In societal contexts, this form is used in school between pupils and teachers (*con-cô/thầy*). The use of address form implicates the respect and amount of intimacy between speakers that is viewed as a politeness strategy (Thompson 1965:299, Vũ Thị Thanh Hương 1997:203). However, the use of this form in spoken contexts is not similar to writing contexts. In formal writing, as mentioned above, only specific kinship terms as *ông, bà* for addressee are used. Hence, *con* and *em* are not appropriate in the boomerang text. However, the Vietnamese-German adolescents may think that these forms are used as polite and formal address forms in all situations.

Apart from the frequent occurrence of personal pronoun *mình* and kinship terms, the use of some different inappropriate address forms shows incomplete acquisition of the use of address forms in the Vietnamese language of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. Example (114) is an illustration using *tớ* – a first person pronoun that is only used in speaking between friends.

(114) *Tớ đã đi vào công viên.*

1P PAST go PREP park.

I went to park. (VB44.1)

Due to its limited use in spoken contexts, this form is also inappropriate in an article in a youth magazine, a written medium. However, this form appeared infrequently in the boomerang texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

To summarize, the Vietnamese-German adolescents chose the personal pronoun *mình* and kinship terms that are often used in intimate or family situations, whereas “boomerang” texts as an article in a youth magazine requires a neutral and formal address form. It can be said that the address forms used by the Vietnamese-German adolescents are inappropriate in the specific context of the LiPS test. Whether this bilingual group also has difficulty in other contexts in the use of address forms will be addressed in the analysis of the data from the second empirical study related to translation in Chapter 7.

Table 6.7 summarizes the features of address form use that were found in the Vietnamese boomerang written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Table 6.7. Features of the use of address forms in written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

1. High frequency of pronoun <i>mình</i> that implicits the inimitate relationship
2. High frequency of kinshipterms <i>con, em</i>

(Own research)

6.6. Summary

The representation of Vietnamese of the Vietnamese-German adolescents through quantitative analysis in Chapter 5 showed the deficit of language performance. This chapter looked at specific characteristics of the use of the Vietnamese heritage language of the Vietnamese-German adolescents at all linguistic levels. Orthographic features found in the written texts of this group are deletion of diacritics, word initial capitalization, replacement of German graphemes for Vietnamese graphemes (e.g. <k> for <c>, <f> for <ph>, <n> and <ng> for <nh>), confusion (<x> and <s>, <i> and <y>, <ch> and <tr>, <d>, <r> and <gi>), omission, and addition. The lexical level have mainly been analyzed by the transfer from the German language to the Vietnamese language such as the frequency of code-switches in content words (e.g. noun and verb),

the interaction between two languages in hybrids, density of semantic extension, and loan translation. The interface of semantics and syntax, classifier use, preposition use, and word order have been examined. Incorrect use of the general classifier *cái* and the vehicle classifier *chiếc* was instead of specific classifiers such as *miếng*, *tấm* (flat horizontally oriented). Classifier omission and classifier overuse were also analyzed to contribute additional evidence to trends that were evident in Chapter 5. The frequent use of the preposition *mit* (với - with) instead of *bằng* (by) in the Vietnamese language for the specific situation of description of tools occurred due to loan translation from the German language. The frequent use of preposition *vào* (into) instead of different prepositions such as *xuống* (down), and *lên* (up) can be found in written texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents. And the overuse of prepositions also happened frequently in these texts. They are considered characteristics of preposition use of the Vietnamese-German adolescents in their boomerang written texts. The preference of the rigid word order structure SVO is considered to be a syntactic characteristic that was represented in the collected data. Finally, the interface between pragmatics and other linguistic levels for address form use was examined. The frequent use of incorrect address forms is a feature of their written Vietnamese production. In the specific context of the boomerang writing that required a neutral address form, most of the participants used familiar forms such as *mình* and *kinship terms* which were used inappropriately. The analysis of the translated data in Chapter 7 now turns to the question of whether these given characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language performed by Vietnamese-German adolescents are consistent across different test subjects and tests.

7. Second Empirical Study: Translation Test

As mentioned in Chapter 1 (introduction) and in Chapter 6, the second empirical study or the translation test was designed to examine the consistency of the linguistic characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language as they appeared in the written texts of the Vietnamese – German adolescents. Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 provided the characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language analyzed in the boomerang written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents at all linguistic levels. Table 7.1 summarize the features of the Vietnamese heritage language performance by the Vietnamese-German adolescents in the boomerang written texts found in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6.

Table 7.1. Characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language in the boomerang written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

Orthography	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Deletion of diacritics 2. Word initial capitalization 3. Replacement of <k> for <c>, <f> for <ph>, <n>, <ng> for <nh>, <c> and <ck> for <t>, characters without diacritics for other with diacritics 4. Confusion <s> and <x>, <ch> and <tr>, <d> and <gi>, <i> and <y> 5. Reduction of diphthongs, reduction of digraphs and trigraphs 6. Addition of grapheme
Lexis	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Smaller vocabularies than monolinguals (total words used counting, compounding, Sino-Vietnamese words, technical vocabulary) 8. High frequency of loan translation and code-switching 9. Frequency of code-switching from English 10. Frequency of code-switching in verb and noun (content words)

	<p>11. The use of infinitival form of noun and verb in code-switching</p> <p>12. The use of quotation marks or brackets to remark borrowings</p> <p>13. Monosyllabization of borrowed words</p> <p>14. The use of basic or general words for specific words in loan translation and semantic extension (<i>làm – make, mit - with</i>)</p>
Semantic-syntactic interface	<p>15. Higher classifier omission than classifier overuse or incorrect use</p> <p>16. Frequent use of the general classifier <i>cái</i> and the vehicle classifier <i>chiếc</i> instead of specific classifiers in incorrect classifier use</p> <p>17. Frequent use of the preposition <i>với</i> (with) and <i>vào</i> (into) instead of appropriate prepositions</p> <p>18. Occurrence of preposition overuse</p> <p>19. Preference of the rigid structure SVO</p> <p>20. Frequency of incomplete and simple sentence</p>
Pragmatics (address forms)	<p>21. High frequency of pronoun <i>mình</i> that implies the intimate relationship</p> <p>22. High frequency of kinship terms <i>con, em</i></p>

Examining the consistency of the given characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language performed by Vietnamese-German adolescents is the main objective of Chapter 7. These features were analyzed in the collected translation texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents in comparison with the collected texts of the monolingual control group.

7.1. Translation/Interpretation in second language research

Nida/Taber (1969:16) stated that translation is the process of reproducing the receptor language to the closest natural equivalence of the source language message of meaning

and style. Newmark (1991:145) argued that translation is rendering the meaning of a text into another language in the way that the author intended the text. Being a result of the process that includes three steps: analyzing, transferring, and restructuring source language texts (Nida/Taber 1969:33), translated texts must transfer the meaning of the source language to the target language accurately. It is expected that the meaning transferred to the target language can be understood by the readers. In other words, the meaning of the target language is readable.

Equivalence has therefore been a critical term that many researchers have discussed. Vinay/Darbelnet (1958) stated that “equivalence refers to cases where languages describe the same situation by different stylistic or structural means” (cf. Hatim/Munday 2004:58). Equivalence here was understood as the sameness and similarity that are contained in the source and target languages.

Nida/Taber (1969:22) defined some types of equivalence such as formal correspondence and dynamic equivalence. Formal correspondence focuses on the message itself, in both form and content. That means the message in the receptor language should match as closely as possible to the elements in the source language. Dynamic equivalence is a procedure that “replicates the same situation as in the original, whilst using completely different wording” (Vinay/Darbelnet:1958, cf. Munday/Hatim 2004:70). Dynamic equivalence is therefore the ideal method for translation of proverbs, idioms, nominal and adjectival phrases (Vinay/Darbelnet: 1958, cf. Munday/Hatim 2004:71).

Equivalence must appear at different levels: linguistic equivalence including lexis, grammar and pragmatics, as well as cultural, or stylistic equivalence. Basically, a translation must be adapted to the target language and its cultural norms to use equivalent pragmatics to ensure that the translation creates the same response in target language receptors as the writer/speaker did in the source language receptors (House 2001:197-199).

The translation would express maximum equivalence on all linguistic levels. However, such a maximum can never be achieved due to the complexity of language which depends on constantly changing cultural norms, and the individual knowledge and competence of translators and receptors (Siever 2010). In addition, misunderstanding occurs frequently because the translation comprises complex exercises of salutation, of reticence, of commerce between cultures, between tongues and modes of saying (Matsudo-Kiliani 2003:146). The occurrence of cross linguistic

influence in the translation is natural (Piazzoli 2015). In terms of the translation competence of bilinguals, several researchers pointed out that the ability to hold conversations is not the same as the ability to translate (Baker 1992). In addition, translation competence can show a speaker's language proficiency. In order to examine the Vietnamese heritage language characteristics performed by the Vietnamese-German adolescents, this chapter attempts to examine the translation strategies of the Vietnamese-German adolescents in comparison with the Vietnamese monolingual adolescents.

In terms of the translation competence of bilinguals, several researchers pointed out that the ability to hold conversations is not the same as the ability to interpret (Baker 1992).

7.2. Research design

7.2.1. Sample

Like the first empirical study, the translation test used stratified random sampling methods (Wiersma 2000) to recruit the participants. In order to examine the consistency of the Vietnamese heritage language characteristics performed in written productions of the Vietnamese-German adolescents at the age of 15 and 16, this empirical study investigated translation texts of two same samples of bilingual Vietnamese-German adolescents and monolingual Vietnamese adolescents.

7.2.1.1. Bilingual Vietnamese-German adolescents

20 Vietnamese-German adolescents at the age of 15-years-old attended the translation test which was given from December 2016 – January 2017. There were 8 females and 12 males. Due to the difficulties in contacting the participants who were born in the years of 2001 and 2002, some participants born in 2000 were also chosen.

A group of 20 samples cannot be seen as a homogeneous group. There are four subjects who were older than three- to six-years-old (late bilingualism) when they started learning German in Germany. One participant (TB01) was born in Germany, returned to Vietnam where she learned Vietnamese, and then returned to Germany at

the age of 12. Fifteen participants (75%) were born in Germany. 26% of participants have attended Vietnamese class for a short time.

Table 7.2. Vietnamese-German participants in translation test

Name	Year of birth	Gender	Age of arrival	Vietnamese learning
TB01	15.07.2001	female	Born in Germany, come back to Vietnam and come to Germany at the age of 12	has lived in Vietnam – able to listen, speak, read and write Vietnamese
TB02	09.06.2002	female	At the age of 12	has lived in Vietnam – able to listen, speak, read and write Vietnamese
TB03	24.12.1999	Male	Born in Germany	Vietnamese class on the weekend
TB04	15.01.2001	Male	Born in Germany	No class
TB05	16.01.2000	Male	Born in Germany	No class
TB06	03.11.2000	Male	Born in Germany	No class
TB07	07.12.2000	Male	Born in Germany	No class
TB08	20.01.2000	female	Born in Germany	Vietnamese class on the weekend (2013-2014)
TB09	19.12.1999	female	Born in Germany	Vietnamese class (few months 2008)

TB10	27.09.2002	Male	Born in Germany	Vietnamese class on the weekend (2013-2014)
TB11	31.08.2002	Male	Born in Germany	Vietnamese class on the weekend (2013-2014)
TB12	04.09.2002	female	At the age of 8	No class
TB13	11.07.2002	female	Born in Germany	No class
TB14	27.07.2000	female	Born in Germany	No class
TB15	11.05.2002	Male	Born in Germany	No class
Tb16	10.01.2002	Male	Born in Germany	No class
TB17	12.03.2002	Male	At the age of 11	No class
TB18	20.07.2002	female	At the age of 5	No class
TB19	13.08.2002	Male	Born in Germany	No class
TB20	11.12.2001	Male	Born in Germany	No class

In the questionnaires, 90% participants informed that they have learned Vietnamese mainly through communication in their families, especially with their parents, relatives in Germany, or relatives in Vietnam during holidays or via online chatting.

7.2.1.1. Monolingual Vietnamese adolescents

The control group of monolingual Vietnamese adolescents includes 10 participants in Hanoi and 10 participants in Nghe An, 10 females and 10 males. The data of the monolingual group was collected in Hanoi and in Nghe An in 2017. The age of the informants at the time of taking the test is the same age as the Vietnamese-German group.

Table 7.3. Monolingual Vietnamese participants in translation test

Name	Year of birth	Gender	Conducted time	City	Foreign language
TM01	2001	female	2017	Hanoi	English
TM02	2001	female	2017	Hanoi	French
TM03	2001	female	2017	Hanoi	English
TM04	2001	female	2017	Hanoi	English
TM05	2001	male	2017	Hanoi	English
TM06	2001	male	2017	Hanoi	English
TM07	2001	female	2017	Hanoi	English
TM08	2001	female	2017	Hanoi	English
TM09	2001	female	2017	Hanoi	English
TM10	2001	female	2017	Hanoi	English
TM11	2001	male	2017	Nghe An	English
TM12	2001	female	2017	Nghe An	English
TM13	2001	female	2017	Nghe An	English
TM14	2001	female	2017	Nghe An	English
TM15	2001	male	2017	Nghe An	English
TM16	2001	male	2017	Nghe An	English
TM17	2001	male	2017	Nghe An	English
TM18	2001	female	2017	Nghe An	English
TM19	2001	female	2017	Nghe An	English
TM20	2001	male	2017	Nghe An	English

7.2.2. Test instruments

The translation test was created to examine if the features of the Vietnamese heritage language analyzed in the boomerang written texts could be seen as the consistent characteristics of Vietnamese-German adolescents (see in Table 7.1).

As mentioned in previous chapters, the boomerang test focused on *high language cognition* (Hulstijn 2011b:231) that is difficult for heritage language speakers who normally obtain *basic language cognition* (ibid.). If basic language cognition contains only frequent lexical items, frequent grammatical structures and speech production, then high language cognition contains either basic language cognition as well as low-frequency lexical items or uncommon grammatical structures (ibid.). In order to examine whether the features found in the boomerang written texts also appear in other tests at the level of *basic language cognition*. Due to the objective to compare the language performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents and the

monolingual Vietnamese, the source language is English. The translation test was developed based on the characteristics found in Table 7.1 and the English program in German school. The translation task had been tested by three Vietnamese-German adolescents in a pilot test to see how it worked, before it was given to the participants of the second empirical study. Following is the translation of the test:

Đây là bài viết của một bạn học sinh về cảm xúc trước ngày đi học. Trong 20 phút, bạn hãy dịch bài viết này sang tiếng Việt. Hãy cố gắng hết khả năng của bạn nhé. Đừng lo lắng, bạn có thể làm được theo cách của bạn mà. Hãy nghĩ và tin vào bản thân mình nhé! Lưu ý: không dùng các phương tiện trợ giúp như từ điển, máy tính và sự trợ giúp của bạn bè, người thân.

(This is a text about the emotion of a pupil before the starting of the school. Please try to translate this text into Vietnamese in 20 minutes. Try to do your best. Do not worry, you can do by your own way. Let's think and believe on you! Notice: Please do not use dictionaries, computers and also do not ask the other people for help! Thanks a lot!)

It was Monday, the first week of September. Now I could go to school! I woke up early that morning and lay in bed, happy that I could start sixth grade today.

Breakfast was already prepared. I ate with my parents and my brother, Dennis. We had bread with butter, sausage, and cheese. After breakfast, Dennis made a boomerang for me. He painted it red. The boomerang looked so nice; I liked it a lot. My mom had tailored a white shirt and blue trousers for me. I liked them very much, too.

At school, I was so happy to see my friends. We talked a lot about our summer holidays. However, being back at school with friends seemed to be the most wonderful thing.

7.2.3. Survey procedure and analysis methods

The translation test was done at end of the year 2016 for bilinguals and the beginning of 2017 for monolinguals to examine the results of the analysis in the first empirical study. Before working on any language tasks, participants answered extensive questionnaires to elicit background variables that may affect their language performance. These were targeting factors related to linguistic input in families,

mainly about their Vietnamese acquisition. The translation test was carried out by myself in Hamburg, and by my friends in other cities in Germany (Huong in Lüneburg, and Huong in Berlin), and the help of two friends in Vietnam (Đào Thuỷ in Hanoi and Hải Yến in Nghe An).

All participants participated in the study voluntarily and were not forced to complete tasks. Some participants did not complete all tasks or did not provide much data in a certain task, so that the length of texts produced vary greatly between individuals.

Due to the comparison of the translated production between bilinguals and monolinguals, the instruction language and the task language used for both groups is English. The language test for bilingual participants were carried out by an interviewer at Vietnamese native-speaker level with each participant in the participant's home. The language test for monolingual participants was done in school under the instruction of a Vietnamese native-speaker interviewer. The progress of the test can be described step by step:

- Interviewer gives participants the language tasks.
- Interviewer reads the requirement of the first task with participants.
- Participants can ask the interviewer if they need additional explanations
- Interviewer confirms that they can start and they have 20 minutes for the first task.
- When participants finish, they can give the test paper to the interviewer. When the timed test ends, the interviewer can ask the participants to stop.

The formation, transcription and translation of Vietnamese language corpus was based on The Leipzig Glossing Rules and the interlineal translation of Kameyama (2004:55 like in the boomerang written texts (5.1.4).

The second research question of the present study asks which features can be viewed as the characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language performed by the Vietnamese-German adolescents. The main objective of the second empirical study – translation test – is examining the frequency with which the features that were found in the analysis of the boomerang written texts in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 occurred in

the translations. In this chapter, the specific-linguistic indicators introduced in Table 7.1 are qualitatively analyzed in comparison to the performance of the Vietnamese monolinguals.

7.3. Translation test analysis

As mentioned above, examining the consistency of the given characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language performed by Vietnamese-German adolescents is based on the specific-linguistic indicators introduced in Table 7.1. The characteristics found in the boomerang written texts are analyzed in the translated texts at all linguistic levels: orthography, lexis, semantic-syntactic interface, and pragmatics.

7.3.1. Orthography

7.3.1.1. Deletion of diacritics

The transparent feature in the Vietnamese written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents is deletion of tones and diacritics. In translated text, deletion of tones and diacritics or use of incorrect diacritics occurred frequently. Figure 7.1 illustrates the use of diacritics and tone marks in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. A text containing only several diacritics is viewed as a text without diacritics. A text consisting of more than 50% incorrect diacritics is considered a text with incorrect diacritics. A text having only several incorrect diacritics is seen as a text with correct diacritics. In total 20 translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, there are 5 texts that have correct diacritic use, 4 texts that belong to incorrect diacritic use and 11 texts that do not have diacritics. The proportion of three categories is illustrated in Figure 7.1.

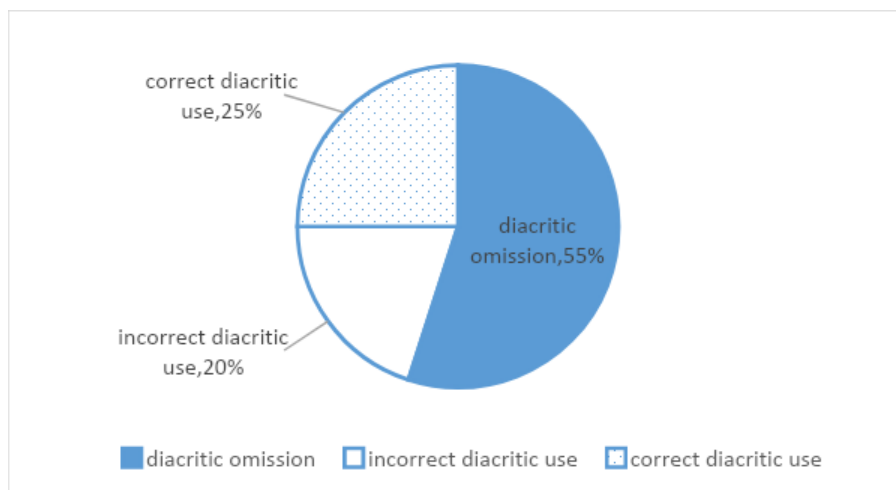


Figure 7.1. Diacritics and tone marks use in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

As seen in Figure 7.1, 55% of the translated texts did not contain diacritics. This result showed that the Vietnamese-German participants whose translated texts tended to use diacritics better than the written texts group whose texts did not contain diacritics 70% of the time. The comparison of background data of participants in both empirical studies can help to make this result understandable. Some participants in the translation test have learned Vietnamese with private tutors. Moreover, some of them also arrived to Germany when they were more than 6 years old (sequential bilinguals). One of them was born in Germany but she returned to Vietnam at the age of 5, and after that she came back to Germany at the age of 13. Therefore, the informants in the translation test knew more about diacritics in the Vietnamese language. However, in total of 80% translated texts without diacritics or incorrect diacritic use, deletion of diacritics is still viewed as a critical characteristic of the Vietnamese heritage language in written performance.

As mentioned in 4.4.1 and 6.2.1, the deficit of the use of Vietnamese tones frequently occurred in young Vietnamese heritage speakers (Đào Mục Đích 2012, Thái Duy Bảo 2007). The incomplete acquisition of the Vietnamese tones and the Vietnamese phoneme and grapheme systems can influence writing performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. It is necessary to repeat here that children in general and young heritage speakers in particular often write as they speak (Bardel 2014:134, Chevalier 2004:4, Gee 2015:36) when they have learned a language at an early stage or received incomplete instruction. In addition, as mentioned in 6.2.1, the style of

writing without diacritics in the Vietnamese language of young native speakers, especially in chatting, is viewed as an acceptable writing form (Đặng Ngọc Ly 2011, Nguyễn Thị Thúy 2014). The written productions without diacritics of the Vietnamese-German adolescents who mostly never learned Vietnamese with formal instruction is a result of their attempt of complete the task of translating from English into Vietnamese. This feature therefore needs to be called attention to in Vietnamese heritage teaching.

7.3.1.2. Word initial capitalization

As mentioned in 6.2.2, the rules of capitalization of the German language are different from the Vietnamese language. All German nouns are capitalized, whereas in Vietnamese, only proper nouns are marked by word initial capitalization.

In the boomerang written texts analyzed in 6.2.2, the capitalization of nouns appeared frequently. 10/20 texts (50%) contained this type of orthographical transfer, especially in borrowed vocabulary from German and English. Several Vietnamese nouns were capitalized non-native-like due to the influence of the German rule of capitalization. In this section, the translated texts are analyzed to examine whether this transfer also appeared frequently.

In translated texts, the capitalization of nouns according to German rule appeared frequently. 9/20 translated texts (45%) contained this type of error. The result in the translated texts was correlated to the result of the boomerang written texts. In addition, word initial capitalization in the translated texts mostly appeared in the English borrowed word “*Boomerang*” (8/9 texts). Example (115) is an illustration of this:

- (115) *Dennis* *làm* *một* ***Boomerang*** *cho* *em.*
 Dennis make one Boomerang for 1SG.
 Dennis make a boomerang for me. (TB08)

The English source text could give the hint for the participants about the form of this word, therefore the formation of *boomerang* was transferred into translated

Vietnamese texts but with the rule of capitalization of the noun in the German language. The translated texts of the Vietnamese monolinguals also contained the original English words *boomerang* in 12/20 texts, the Vietnamese form *bu-mo-rang* in 8/20 texts. Unlike the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, none of them contained initial word capitalization. In boomerang written texts in the first empirical study, despite of the common use of incorrect word initial capitalization of the word *boomerang* as in the translated texts, this word was written not only in the English form but also in the German form (Bumorang) or some different Vietnamese forms for loanwords (see more in 6.2.2). Studying the transfer of German as the societal language onto heritage languages in written competence, Kalkavan (2014) found in an investigation on Turkish heritage language that the error of word initial capitalization occurred most frequently (61).

Additionally, in translated texts, there were texts that have the incorrect use of word initial capitalization in other borrowed words as in (116).

- (116) *Minh ăn bánh mì với Wurt và Forma.*
 1PER eat bread PREP sausage CONJ cheese.
 I eat bread with sausage and cheese. (TB09)

The occurrence of the word initial capitalization of the borrowed words except for *boomerang* in the translated texts is even more frequent than in the boomerang written texts. If in the written texts, 6/9 borrowed nouns by token counting were capitalized according to the German capitalization rule, in the translated texts 4/5 borrowed words were similarly capitalized. In both empirical studies, the borrowed words can originate from the societal language (i.e., German) such as *Sport* (sport), *Fußball* (football), *Wurst* (sausage), and *Käse* (cheese), and from the common foreign language (i.e., English) such as *Tool* (tool), and *cheese*.

Looking at Example (116), TB09 used the German word *Wurst* to translate *sausage* in English into Vietnamese. The word *Wurst* was additionally written in non-native-like orthographical form *Wurt* in the German language. Moreover, in example (116), the participant attempted to translate *cheese* into the Vietnamese word *phô-mai* that has been borrowed from the French word *fromage*. However, TB09 wrote this word in a non-native-like orthographical form of the Vietnamese language *phô mai*

and also used the rule of word initial capitalization of the noun from the German language.

In the boomerang written texts, the rules of word initial capitalization of nouns in the German language also influenced how Vietnamese nouns were written. 3/20 texts contained this type of transfer. The translated data, however, contained only one text that had this type of transfer as shown in (117).

- (117) *Thứ Hai, tuần thứ nhất trong tháng chín* [...] [
Monday week first PREP September
Monday, the first week of September [...] (TB06)

To summarize, in two series of data collections, written texts and translated texts, the influence of the rules of the capitalization of German nouns frequently occurred in code-switching (English and German) and loanwords (English and French). Non-native-like initial word capitalization of the loanword *boomerang* appeared commonly in both sets of collected data, respectively 50% and 45%. Other code-switched words were also often initial word capitalized according to the German orthographic rule.

7.3.1.3. Replacement

The difference of the syllable structure and the orthographic system between the German language and the Vietnamese language (see more 4.4.1 and 6.2.3) caused the occurrence of orthographic transfer or the replacement of a German grapheme for a Vietnamese grapheme. In the boomerang written texts, several common replacements due to transfer were found such as <d> for <đ>, <k> and <g> for <c>, <c> and <ck> for <t>, <n>, <ng> for <nh>, and <f> for <ph>.

The given orthographic features appeared in the boomerang written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents were analyzed in the translated texts respectively as follows. Additionally, specific features of the translated texts are mentioned.

<d> instead of <đ>

In the boomerang written data, <d> was used instead of native-like <đ> in 13/20 texts (65%) due to the non-correspondence of phoneme /d/ and grapheme in Vietnamese

and German. If /d/ is written as <d> and <dd> in the German language, whereas this phoneme is written as <đ> in the Vietnamese language. The German language does not contain the letter <đ>.

Over half of the translated data also contained 13/20 texts (55%) that used <d> instead of <đ> as in (118):

- (118) *Do an buy ran saun roi.*
Đồ ăn bày ra sẵn rồi.
UN eat put PREP ready already
Foods have already been served. (TB04)

Apart from the replacement of <d> for <đ>, (118) also contained grapheme addition that is a type of orthographic error of second language learners, for example, *ran* for *ra* (out), and *saun* for *sẵn* (ready).

<k> and <g> for <c>

8/20 boomerang written texts contained the replacement of <k> and <g> for <c>. The analysis showed that 9/20 translated texts used <g> for <c> as shown in (119):

- (119) *Gai cho chay na dep way.*
Cái trò chơi này đẹp quá.
CL UN play DEM beautiful very
This toy is very beautiful. (TB06)

In (119), *gai* was written with the native-like orthographic form of general classifier *cái*. In another 8 texts, <g> was used for <c> in the same word but it was not always written as *gai*, but also as *ge* (TB05), *gay* (TB06), and *gui* (TB13). These writings contained not only one orthographic error <g> instead of <c>, but also other errors such as confusion and omission that are discussed in following sections.

Unlike the boomerang written data, the replacement of <k> for <c> did not occur in the translated texts. All cases in the translated texts replaced <g> for <c>. The results of the two data collections showed that due to the restriction of the use of the letter <c> in German, <c> in Vietnamese texts was easily replaced by other common graphemes that represent /k/ in the German language such as <k> and <g>. Among

these graphemes, <g> was used more frequently (in 6/8 texts in the boomerang written texts and 9/9 texts in the translated texts).

<n>, <ng> for <nh>

Due to the absence of <nh> in the German language, the replacement of <n>, <ng> for <nh> was expected in the written production of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. This type of orthographic transfer appeared in 3/20 boomerang written texts. The analysis of the translated texts showed that 12/20 texts contained this type of error as shown in (120), (121), and (122):

(120) *Ming noi niu.*

Mình nói nhiều.

1SG talk a lot.

I talk a lot. (TB03)

(121) *Min nuai chuan ve ni hoc mua he.*

Mình nói chuyện về nghỉ học mùa hè.

1SG talk about break study sommer.

I talk about the break of studying (in) summer. (TB04)

(122) *Â chuong hoc, chau ngin may ban cu chao.*

Ở trường học cháu nhìn mấy bạn của cháu.

PREP school 1SG see several friend of 1SG

In school I see my several friends. (TB10)

The given example showed that the replacement of <n>, <ng> for <nh> occurred in both onset as *niu – nhiều* (a lot) in (120) and *ngìn – nhìn* (see) in (122), and in coda as *ming* (120) and *min* (121) for *mình* (1SG), whereas this type of transfer appeared in the boomerang written texts only in coda.

In comparison with the replacements in the boomerang written texts, the translated data did not contain the replacement of <c>, <ck> for <t>, and <f> for <ph>. However, the replacement of <t> for <th>, <g>, <c> for <qu> in onset, <c> and <k> for <ch> in coda appeared frequently in the translated texts, respectively 7/20 texts, 10/20 texts and 8/20 texts. Example (123), (124), (125), and (126) illustrate these replacement types:

(123) *Con tuc rei som [...].*

Con thức dậy sớm [...].

1SG wake up early [...]

I wake up early.

(124) *Mẹ em may [...] một cái guân mau sang.*

Mẹ em may [...] một cái quần màu xanh.

Mother 1SG tailor [...] one CL trouser color blue.

My mother tailored one blue trousers. (TB15)

(125) *Toi sât thik cai tâi.*

Tôi rất thích cái đấy.

1SG very like CL DEM

I like this object very much. (TB15)

(126) *Cuôn áo đậy tôi cũng thíc.*

Quần áo đậy tôi cũng thích.

Clothes DEM 1SG adjunct like.

These clothes I also like. (TB14)

Despite the existence of the digraphs <th> and <ch> in both languages, Vietnamese and German, the replacement of <t> for <th> in onset as in (123), <g> and <c> for <qu> in (124, 126), <c> and <k> for <ch> in coda as in (125) and (126) often occurred in the translated texts as already mentioned. These replacements are evidence of the trend of omission of digraphs and trigraphs in learning language writing (Jeuk 2014:114) that will be analyzed in 7.3.1.5.

7.3.1.4. Confusion

The uniform replacements of vowels, specifically the replacement between <s> and <x>, <i> and <y>, <ch> and <tr>, and <d>, <r> and <gi> due to the intralingual sources of the Vietnamese heritage language have been viewed as characteristics of

the boomerang written texts. The given orthographic features were analyzed in the translated texts respectively as follows.

Non-systematical confusion of vowels in general occurred in 13/20 translated texts, whereas this number in the boomerang written texts was 9/20 texts. The confusion did not occur uniformly, for example, replacement of <i> for <u> in *nhin* for *nhưng* (TB09), or <o> in *ton* (TB15), <uô> in *tuôn* for <ua> in *tuần* (week) (TB14). Other specific confusion is examined through analysis of the translated data.

As mentioned in 6.1.4, in most of the Northern dialects of the Vietnamese language, there is no distinction between /s/ - <x> and /s̺/ - <s>; /c/ - <ch> and /t/ - <tr>; /z/ - <d>, /z/ - <gi>, and /z/ - <r> in sound productions that are used in Vietnam TV (VTV) and The Voice of Vietnam (VOV) (Cao Xuân Hạo 2010, Nguyễn Văn Khang 2011:5, Trần Trí Dõi 2005). The distinctions only remain in the writing. This could cause confusion when spelling in the translated texts as they did in the boomerang written texts. The following examples illustrate the given confusions:

(126) *Tôi giậy xóm và nằm ở rường.*
 Tôi dậy sớm và nằm ở giường
 1SG wake up early and lie PREP bed
 I wake up and lie on bed. (TB11)

(127) *Bai do doi đi ra trường đưac.*
 Bây giờ tôi đi ra trường được.
 Now 1SG go out school adjunct
 Now I can go to school. (TB03)

(128) *Do an san song sog.*
 Đồ ăn sáng xong rồi.
 UN eat morning finish already
 Breakfast has been already finished. (TB05)

(129) *eng Dennis lam choa eam mot cho chay.*
 Anh Dennis làm cho em một trò chơi.
 2SG Dennis make for 1SG one UN play

Dennis makes for me a toy. (TB06)

Example (126), (127), (128) illustrated the replacements of the graphemes that contain sound similarities in the Vietnamese Northern dialects mentioned in 6.1.4: <x> and <s> in *xóm* instead of *sóm* (early), *song* instead of *xong* (finish); <d>, <r> and <gi> in *giậy* instead of *dậy* (wake up); *rường* instead of *giường* (bed); *da* instead of *ra*; <ch> and <tr> in *chuang* instead of *trường* (school), *cho chơi* instead of *trò chơi*; and <i> and <y> *bai do* instead of *bây giờ* (now). The confusion between these graphemes occurred bidirectionally or multidirectionally in the translated texts. However, there was the main direction of the replacement among these graphemes.

Particularly, 9/20 translated texts contained the bidirectional confusion of <x> and <s>. 7/20 texts had the bidirectional confusion between <ch> and <tr>. There were also 7/20 texts that contained the confusion between <d>, <r> and <gi>. The confusion between <i> and <y> appeared in 7/20 texts, but only in one direction <i> instead of <y>.

7.3.1.5. Omission

The analysis of the boomerang written texts showed that omission of graphemes occurred frequently (10/20 texts). Particularly, the omission was assumed to occur due to reduction of diphthongs, and reduction of digraphs and trigraphs.

In the translated texts, grapheme omission in general was found in 13 of 20 texts. The omission of diphthongs appeared in 8/20 texts as shown in (130) and (131):

(130) *Bui ram som em thuc gai som [...]*
Buổi sáng sớm em thức dậy sớm [...]
Morning early 1SG wake up early [...]
In early morning I wake up early [...] (TB04)

(131) *Thang chin thừ hai em đi lớp dic.*
Tháng chín thứ hai em đi lớp được.
September Monday 1SG go class adjunct
A Monday in September I can go to school. (TB08)

As proposed in 4.4.1 and 6.1.5, the Vietnamese language contains three diphthongs /ie/, /uo/, and /uə/ that are represented in eight graphemes respectively <ia/ya/iê/yê>, <uô/ua>, and <uơ/ura>. Due to the occurrence of two letters in writing, it was assumed to be difficult for young heritage speakers. In the boomerang written data of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, the omission of diphthong graphemes occurred in 6/20 texts. The omission of these graphemes in the translated texts tended to be higher (8/20 texts).

In addition, omission of digraphs and trigraphs such as <ph>, <th>, <tr>, <gi>, <nh>, <ng>, <kh>, <gh>, and <ng> in the translated texts appeared in 11/20 texts, whereas this error type occurred in the boomerang written texts in only 4/20 texts. Example (123), (124) and (125) proposed in 7.3.1.3 can illustrate this error type in the translated data.

7.3.1.6. Addition

According to Jeuk (2014:114), grapheme addition can occur in the written production of children when learning writing, especially in learning a second language. Grapheme addition in the boomerang written data was therefore already analyzed. In the first empirical study, 4/20 texts contained this error. In the translated texts, the number of texts that had grapheme addition increased to 7/20 texts. Example (132) and (133) show this error:

(132) *Hôm gia na thứ hai dau dien chua than 9.*
Hôm nay là thứ hai đầu tiên của tháng 9.
 Today is Monday first of month 9.
 Today is the first Monday of September. (TB04)

(133) [...] *dai vy con di huoc lop 6 hom nay.*
 [...] *tại vì con đi học lớp 6 hôm nay.*
 [...] because 1SG go learn class 6 today
 [...] because I go to school for six class today.

In (132) and (133), <h> and <u> were added extensively. One belongs to the coda, another belongs to the nuclear of a syllable. It can be said that grapheme addition can occur in many positions of a syllable.

In the translated texts, there was an orthographic transfer that did not appear in the boomerang written texts: the use of <w> instead of <v> (*wei* – *vói* with, TB05). However, this transfer only appeared in the text of TB05.

To summarize, the orthographic features that had been determined in the written texts were also found in the translated texts. These included deletion of diacritics, initial word capitalization, and replacement due to transfer from German to Vietnamese, as well as confusion, omission, and addition due to intralingua sources of the Vietnamese heritage language. The difference and similarities of the results of two corpus will be discussed in more detail in Chapter 8. Table 7.4 summarizes the orthographic error types and error frequencies in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. The frequency was examined by the occurrence of error types in 20 boomerang written texts. The features are arranged according to the arrangement of the orthographic errors in the boomerang texts. The features that did not appear in the translated texts are eliminated, for example, replacement of <f> for <ph>. The features that only occurred in the translated texts are added such as replacement of <t> for <th>.

Table 7.4. Orthographic errors of translated texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents

Features	Frequency
1. Deletion of diacritics	55% (11 texts)
2. Word initial capitalization	45% (9 texts)
<i>Replacement due to transfer</i>	
3. Replacement of <d> for <đ>	65% (13 texts)
4. Replacement of <k>, <g> for <c>	45% (9 texts)
5. Replacement of <n>, <ng> for <nh>	60% (12 texts)
6. Replacement of <g>, <c> for <qu>	50% (10 texts)
7. Replacement of <k>, <c> for <ch>	40% (8 texts)
8. Replacement of <t> for <th>	35% (7 texts)

<i>Replacement due to interlingual resource</i>	65% (13 texts)
9. Confusion of vowels (irregular)	45% (9 texts)
10. Confusion <s> and <x>	35% (7 texts)
11. Confusion <i> and <y>	35% (7 texts)
12. Confusion <ch> and <tr>	35% (7 texts)
13. Confusion <d>, <r> and <gi>	
<i>Omission</i>	65% (13 texts)
14. Omission (general)	40% (8 texts)
15. Reduction of diphthongs	55% (11 texts)
16. Reduction of digraphs and trigraphs	
<i>Addition</i>	35% (7 texts)
17. Addition of grapheme	

(Own research)

7.3.2. Lexis

As mentioned in Table 7.1, the characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language performed by the Vietnamese-German adolescents at the lexical level were defined by the analysis of 20 boomerang written texts in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 as follows:

- (1) Smaller vocabularies than monolinguals (number of word use, compounding, Sino-Vietnamese words, technical vocabulary)
- (2) High frequency of loan translation and code-switching
- (3) Frequency of code-switching from English
- (4) Frequency of code-switching in verb and noun (content words)
- (5) The use of infinitival form of noun and verb in code-switching
- (6) The use of quotation marks or brackets to remark borrowings
- (7) Monosyllabization of borrowed words
- (8) The use of basic or general words for specific words in loan translation and semantic extension (làm – *make*, mit - with)

These features are also analyzed in the 20 translated texts to examine whether they can be considered common characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language writing of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. The analysis was classified into two sections related to vocabulary size (7.3.2.1), lexical transfer (7.3.2.2), and the use of basic words instead of specific words (7.3.2.3).

7.3.2.1. Vocabulary size

In order to define vocabulary size in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents in comparison with monolingual Vietnamese peers, number of word use, number of compounding, and number of Sino-Vietnamese were counted.

As mentioned in 5.2.2.9 related to the count of words in the boomerang written texts, measuring the length of a text is a rough quantitative measure that correlates with the proficiency of learners (Reich et al. 2009:10). The longer a text, the more words it contains, and the longer the individual sentences, the higher the proficiency of a learner (ibid.). Nevertheless, text length measurement is only one general measure and cannot replace a qualitative analysis. As in the boomerang written texts, the number of words were counted as tokens. The overall count did not include headings, text endings, or tables, but words with orthographic errors were included.

Figure 7.2 compares the average number of words in the translated texts of Vietnamese-German participants (TB, n = 20) and Vietnamese monolingual peers (TM, n = 20).

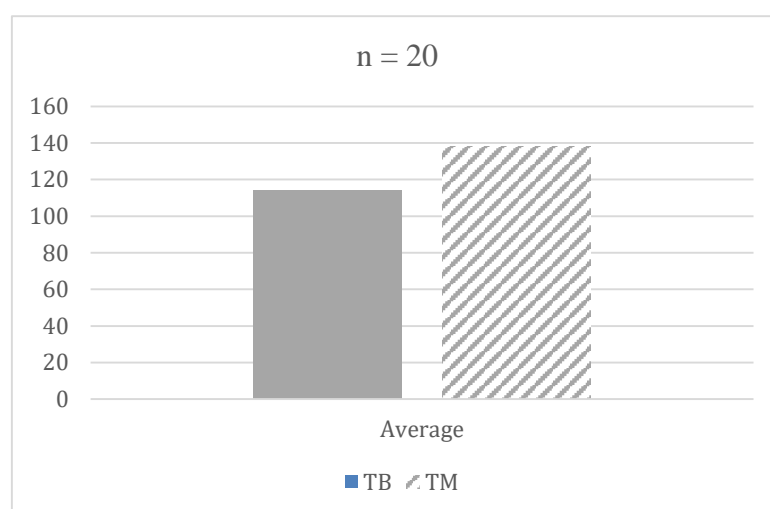


Figure 7.2: Average number of words in two translated text groups

Figure 7.2 shows that the number of words used in the Vietnamese texts of the Vietnamese monolinguals is higher than the number of words used in the Vietnamese and German texts of the Vietnamese bilinguals.

The count of compounding use was considered to be an indicator of Vietnamese measurement in the LiPS evaluation in Chapter 5. Based on the criteria of determining compounding in 4.4.2 and in 5.2.2.3, the occurrence of compounding in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents (TB: n = 20) and the Vietnamese monolingual peers (TM, n = 20) were counted as tokens. Figure 7.3 illustrates the average number of compounding usage in the two groups.

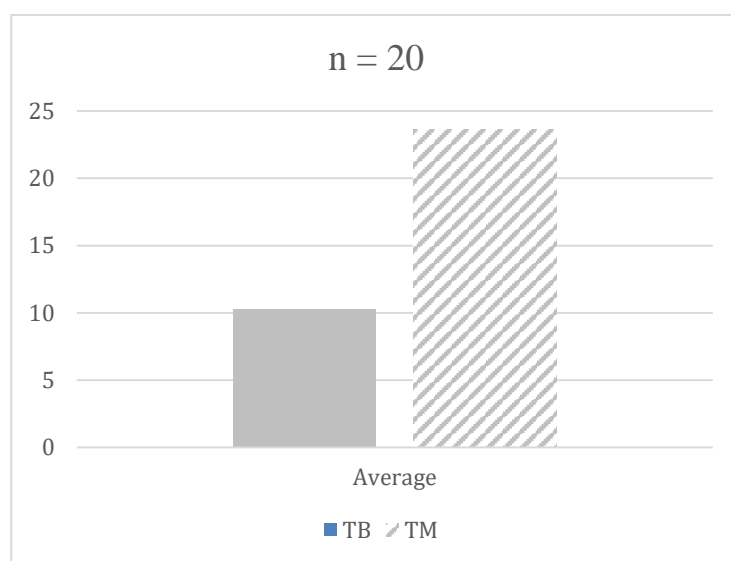


Figure 7.3. Average number of compounding use in the translated texts of two groups

It is apparent in Figure 7.3 that the Vietnamese-German adolescents used compounding less frequently than the Vietnamese monolingual peers: the use of compounding in VB was over 2 times less than VM. The majority of compounding in written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents are compounding nouns *hôm nay* (today), *bữa sáng* (breakfast) as in (134):

- (134) *Hôm nay buai xang đoi ngu dai đi lap sau.*
 Hôm nay buổi sáng tôi ngủ dậy đi lớp sáu.
 Today morning 1SG sleep wake go grade six
 Today morning I wake up and go to sixth grade.

Apart from the common nouns used in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, compounding use in the translated texts of Vietnamese monolinguals were nouns, verbs, adjectives, and adverbs that describe objects, action, and emotion more extensively. For example, if 19/20 Vietnamese monolingual participants chose a compounding *bạn bè* to translate *friends*, then 17/20 Vietnamese-German participants used a simple word *bạn* to translate this word. Amongst these participants, three attempted to translate the plural meaning in *friends* by adding *các* (a noun containing plural meaning).

In terms of verb use, if 19/20 Vietnamese monolingual participants chose a compounding *chuẩn bị* to translate the verb *prepare*, then only 6/20 Vietnamese-German participants used this compounding. Ten of them used the following sentence to translate this situation:

(135) *Đồ ăn sáng xong rồi.*
 UN eat morning finish already

Breakfast has been already finished/completed. (TB05, TB07, TB08)

Example (135) showed that the Vietnamese-German adolescents used simple verb *xong* (complete) to describe this situation instead of the use of compounding *chuẩn bị* (prepare) that appeared in the English source text and in the translated texts of the Vietnamese monolinguals.

The difference in compounding use between both groups also occurred in adjective use. To translate *happy*, 8/20 monolingual participants used compounding *hạnh phúc*, 9/20 chose synonym compoundings *vui vẻ*, *vui mừng*, *vui sướng*, whereas 8/20 bilingual participants avoided translating this word, 9/20 chose a simple synonym *vui* or *mừng*. The given analysis showed that use of compounding by the Vietnamese-German adolescents and their monolingual peers not only differs in the quantity but also in the quality.

Sino-Vietnamese vocabulary use was also examined to define the language competence in the boomerang written texts. Based on the criteria of this vocabulary introduced in 4.4.2 and 5.2.2.3, the average number of frequency (tokens) of the use of Sino-Vietnamese in translated texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents (TB: n = 20) and Vietnamese monolinguals (TM: n = 20) was analyzed and shown in Figure 7.4:

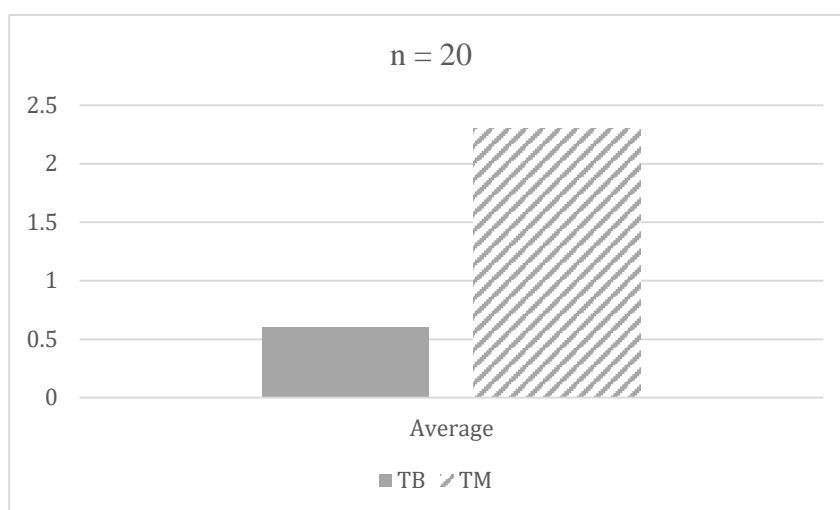


Figure 7.4. Average number of Sino-Vietnamese in the translated texts of two groups

As shown in Figure 7.4, the difference in Sino-Vietnamese use by Vietnamese-German adolescents and monolingual peers is particularly high (approximately 4 times more). In the boomerang texts, the Vietnamese monolinguals used Sino-Vietnamese approximately 18 times more than the Vietnamese-German adolescents. The decreasing of this rate in the translated texts was due to the requirement of the performance of basic language cognition.

10/20 participants did not use any Sino-Vietnamese in their texts, the rest chose *đầu tiên* (first) and *chuẩn bị* (prepare). Although 20/20 translated texts of the Vietnamese monolinguals contained Sino-Vietnamese words, only four words were used: *đầu tiên* (first), *chuẩn bị* (prepare), *hạnh phúc* (happy), and *hoàn tất* (complete). Analysis on how the phrase *the first week* was translated from the English source text *It was Monday, the first week of September* as in (136) and (137) follows.

(136) *Tháng 9, tuần một, thứ 2.*
 September week one Monday
 September, the first week, Monday. (TB11)

(137) *Hôm đó là thứ 2, tuần đầu tiên của tháng 9.*
 Day DEM COP Monday week first CONJ September
 This day was Monday, the first week of September. (TM02)

If 20/20 Vietnamese monolingual adolescents used the Sino-Vietnamese word *đầu tiên* to translate *first*, then 9/20 Vietnamese-German adolescents chose this option. 6/20 bilingual participants used *một* – a synonym for the Sino-Vietnamese *đầu tiên* in (136) – a non-native-like option, whereas 6/20 did not translate this phrase. The difficulty the Vietnamese-German adolescents experienced in choosing the appropriate Sino-Vietnamese in this case is evidence for the consideration of Sino-Vietnamese use as an indicator of Vietnamese performance.

To summarize, the analysis of vocabulary size of the Vietnamese-German adolescents and the Vietnamese monolingual peers in the translated texts through the counting the number of word use, number of compounding use, and number of Sino-Vietnamese use showed that the Vietnamese-German adolescent obtained a smaller vocabulary size at all examined indicators. These results therefore support the findings in the analysis of the boomerang written texts.

7.3.2.2. Lexical transfer

The analysis of lexical transfer in the boomerang texts showed that code-switching (insertion) belonging to transfer of form and semantic extension belonging to transfer of meaning occurred more frequently than other types of lexical transfer (see Table 6.2). Particularly, code-switching often appeared in the content words (see Table 6.3). Code-switching in the boomerang written data originated more from English than from German (see Table 6.2). Code-switching of noun and verb was used in infinitival form (Example 83 and 84). The hybrids were the monosyllabization of borrowed words such as *bauen* (build) into *bau* (Example 91). Semantic extension mainly occurred due to the use of basic or general words instead of specific words (see 6.3.4). The analysis of the translated texts examines the given characteristics of Vietnamese performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

The English word *boomerang* was borrowed in 15/20 translated texts as in Example (138) and (139):

- (138) *Dennis* *làm* *một* *cái* ***Boomerang*** *cho* *con.*
 Dennis *make* *one* *CL* *Boomerang* *for* *1SG.*
 Dennis makes a boomerang for me. (TB07)

- (139) *Anh* *Dennis* *làm* *một* ***boomerang*** *màu* *đỏ*.
 Brother, older Dennis make one boomerang color red
 Dennis makes a red boomerang. (TB05)

As shown in (138) and (139), the word *boomerang* was written in the English word form, but in (138) word initial capitalization was used according to the German orthographic rule. This error of capitalization appeared in 5/20 texts. *Boomerang* can be transcribed into Vietnamese as *bu-mơ-rang*. In the translated texts, only 2/20 texts contained the given Vietnamese forms. Another three texts either used other words to indicate this toy as *đồ chơi* (toy) or completely avoided naming this object. In the boomerang written texts, 6 participants attempted to write this word in the Vietnamese form. Even in the translated texts of the Vietnamese monolingual participants, the English word *boomerang* also appeared in 12/20 texts. Therefore, the borrowed word *boomerang* was not counted in lexical transfer.

Based on the criteria of Ringbom (1987,2007) proposed in 2.6.2, 41 tokens of lexical transfer were found in 20 translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. Table 7.5 summarizes number of lexical transfer types based on the count of tokens from German as the societal language on the one hand, and from English as the first foreign language on the other hand in this collected data.

Table 7.5. Types of lexical transfer in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

Transfer type					
Language	Transfer of form			Transfer of meaning	
	Code-switching	Blend	Cognate	Loan translation	Semantic extension
From German	12%	0%	0%		
From English	10%	10%	0%	27%	41%

It is necessary to note that loan translation and semantic extension in the translated corpus was difficult to distinguish due to the similarities between the German language

and the English language in vocabulary. Because the source text for the translation test is in English, the vague cases of both given types of transfer were classified into the English category.

As shown in Table 7.5, in all types of lexical transfer in the translated texts, transfer from English appeared more frequently than the transfer from German. Only code-switching occurred more from German than English, but was still not very high. These results can be explained by the influence of the English source text as mentioned above.

Like the boomerang written texts, the translated data also contained a high proportion of semantic extension. If the boomerang written texts had 37% loan translation, then the translated texts also possessed 41% of this type of lexical transfer. However, unlike the results in the boomerang written texts, the proportion of loan translation in the translated texts is high (27%), whereas is proportion in the written texts is only 5%. In addition, the proportion of code-switching in the translated texts is much lower than in the boomerang written texts, alternatively 22% and 45%. The proportion of blend/hybrids of the two different tests is also different (5% and 10%). Nevertheless, the blend/hybrids in the written texts originated from German, whereas those of the translated texts originated from English. In order to understand more about specific types of lexical transfer, analysis of specific examples is introduced as follows.

Code-switching

Although a portion of code-switching in the translated texts (Table 7.5) is not as high as its portion in the boomerang written texts, the examination of the frequency of parts of speech in code-switching to compare with the boomerang written texts is necessary. Table 7.6 shows the frequency of parts of speech from both German and English. Number of code-switching of parts of speech was counted by the occurrence in 20 written texts (the count of type counting in each text).

Table 7.6. Distribution of lexical transfer from parts of speech in translated texts

	Noun	Verb	Adjective	Other
German	33%	12%	11%	0%
English	22%	0%	11%	11%

Table 7.6 presents that as in the boomerang written texts, code-switching in the translated texts mostly occurred in content words, especially in nouns. Specifically, code-switching that originated from English was performed more than from German. However, unlike the boomerang texts, adjectives in the translated texts is higher (only 6% in the written texts, and 22% in the translated texts). Code-switching in function words was not present in the translated texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Example (140), (141), (142) and (143) respectively exemplify code-switching in noun, verb, and adjective in the boomerang texts:

(140) *Minh có bơ, vươt vâi Käse.*
 Minh có bơ, vươt vớí Käse.
 1SG have butter sausage PREP cheese
 I have butter, sausage and cheese. (TB10)

(141) *Ming ăn bang mi vai bơ, thiet xai vái cheese.*
 Minh ăn bánh mì vớí bơ, thịt xay vớí cheese.
 1SG eat bread PREP butter meat mincedPREP cheese
 I eat bread with butter, minced meat with cheese. (TB03)

(142) *Được sein ở trường lá cây best.*
 Được sein ở trường là cái best
 Allow (passive) be PREP school be CL best.
 The allowance of being in the school is the best thing. (TB11)

(143) Dennis vẽ cái Boomerang màu *rot*.
 Dennis draw CL boomerang color red.
 Dennis draws the boomerang red. (TB11)

In the boomerang written texts, most borrowed nouns are technical nouns, for example, *Borer* (drill), *Form* (form), *Spray* (spray), *Edding* (Edding pen), and *Schablone* (template) from the German language, and *woodcutter*, *wing*, and *tool* from the English language. Most of the code-switched nouns in the translated texts are loanwords in the Vietnamese language. For example, the words *xúc xích* (*sausage*) and *phô mai/pho mát* (*cheese*) in the Vietnamese language originated from *saucisse* and *fromage* of the

French language. These loanwords have been written according to the Vietnamese orthographic system. In translated texts, three informants used German words *Käse* (cheese), *Wurt* (sausage) to compensate for the lack of these Vietnamese vocabulary. As in (141), the participant TB03 even borrowed the English word *cheese* directly from the source text in their translated text.

The given examples of code-switching in the translated texts related to verb (*sein* - be) in (142) partly supported the finding in the written texts about the use of the infinitival forms of the source languages (i.e., German and English) in the Vietnamese written texts of verbs. This finding can contribute more examples to the argument of Alexiadou (2017) about building verbs in mixed variety. Her outcome focused on the preference of borrowing lexical meaning rather than the conjunctive form from the source language to the target language. As mentioned in 6.3.1, studying on the Vietnamese-English mixed variety of the Vietnamese-American participants, Hồ Đắc Túc (2003) also provided evidence about the use of infinitival forms of noun and verb in that mixed language variety.

Constrastingly, the use of adjective forms (normal adjective and superlative form) in the translated data shows that the preference of infinitival forms may only occur in nouns and verbs. In (142), the writer used the superlative form of *good – best* to translate the phrase *the most wonderful thing* that should be translated into Vietnamese as *điều tuyệt vời nhất*. However, the use of superlative form *best* without *the* in (142) is still evidence for the preference of borrowing meaning more than grammatical form.

In addition, code-switching occurred at the pronoun as in (144):

- (144) *Cháu thích it.*
Cháu thích *it*.
1SG like it.
I like it. (TB10)

In (144), the writer borrowed a pronoun from English to translate *it* in the source text *I liked it a lot*. Comparison between the translated results between the Vietnamese-German adolescents and the Vietnamese monolingual peers shows the difference. However, this issue is more related to the use of pronouns that will be analyzed more in a later section.

In sum, despite decreased frequency of code-switching than in the boomerang written texts, several results found in the translated texts supported the findings in the boomerang written texts. Most code-switching occurred when writers had lack of knowledge of vocabulary of the heritage language (i.e., Vietnamese) such as technical words (in the written texts) and loanwords (in the translated texts). Code-switching in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents occurred commonly at content words such as nouns, adjectives, and verbs that often borrowed the lexical meaning in infinitival forms (except for adjective). Nevertheless, code-switching verbs in the translation test occurred less frequently than adjectives. The requirement of technical verbs in the writing test can explain this difference.

Hybrids/Blend

As in the boomerang written texts, the borrowing of vocabulary from languages other than Vietnamese also created hybrids that contained the interaction between two languages. However, hybrids in the boomerang written texts occurred only in German borrowed words, whereas this type of lexical transfer in the translated texts appeared in both German and English borrowed words, even more often than in English vocabulary. Example (145), (146), and (147) describe the hybrids in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

(145) *Sa đinh em ăn Si, xúc xích, bơ.* (Eng. cheese)
 Gia đình em ăn chi, xúc xích, bơ.
 Family 1SG eat cheese sausage butter
 My family eats cheese, sausage, butter. (TB04)

(146) *Minh ăn bánh mì với bơ, thịt với chi.* (Eng. cheese)
 Minh ăn bánh mì với bơ, thịt với chi.
 1SG eat bread PREP butter meat CONJ cheese
 I eat bread with butter, meat and cheese. (TB05)

(147) *Minh có bơ, vượt với Käse.* (Ge. Wurst)
 Minh có bơ, vượt với Käse.
 1SG have butter sausage CONJ cheese
 I have butter, sausage and cheese. (TB10)

In (145) and (146), the English word *cheese* was borrowed by the Vietnamese writing *Si* or *ci*. Example (146) provides additional evidence of the interaction between pronunciation in German and the Vietnamese writing system, *Wurst* (sausage) is written as *vuot* (*vuột*).

In (145) and (146), the English word *cheese* consists of two syllables *chee/se* but was written in the writing forms with only one syllable, *Si* in (145) is a hybrid of English, German and Vietnamese due to their combination of the pronunciation of English, the initial capitalization of German, and the writing system of Vietnamese. These examples are therefore more evidence of the interaction between the borrowed words from English and German and the trend of monosyllabization in the Vietnamese language in borrowings (Cao Xuân Hạo 2006). Moreover, it is likely that there is a connection between these findings and the hypothesis proposed by Moro/van Suchtelen (2017) about the interaction between two or more languages in language production of bilinguals.

Loan translation

Loan translation is simply understood as “direct translation” from one language to another language. Loan translation occurred more frequently in the translated text than in the boomerang written texts (27% and 5%). The analysis of examples of loan translation in the translated data can give more information about Vietnamese performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescent.

Example (148) is one of the most common loan translations in the translated data that was used by 7/20 Vietnamese-German adolescents.

- | | | | | | |
|-------|--------------------------------|-----|------------------|----------------------|---------|
| (148) | Bây giờ | tôi | <i>đi</i> | <i>trường</i> | được. |
| | Now | 1SG | go | school | adjunct |
| | Now I can go to school. (TB11) | | | | |

The verb phrase *go to school* in the English source text should be translated into Vietnamese as *đi học* (used by 10/20 Vietnamese monolinguals) or *đến trường* (used by 10/20 Vietnamese monolinguals). The compounding verb from two verbs *đi học* (go study – go to school) is created based on the aim of the act. In Vietnamese, compounding verbs have been created in the same structure, such as *đi làm* (go work – go to work), *đi chơi* (go play – visit somewhere), *đi buôn* (go sale - sale), and *đi họp* (go meet – go to meeting) (Hoàng Phê 2003:311). However, 7/20 Vietnamese-German

adolescents translated word by word *go to school* into *đi trường* as in (147) that is often interpreted as go to work in the school not go to study in the school in the spoken language.

In sum, loan translation occurred in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents more often than in the boomerang written texts. However, loan translation commonly appeared in the translation of the verb phrase *go to school*. In the boomerang written texts, loan translation happened in many situations of the use of noun phrase (*máy cắt gỗ* - machine cutting wood - saw), verb phrase (*làm một cái lỗ* - make a hole), and preposition phrase (*với cưa* – with saw instead of *bằng cưa* – by saw).

Semantic extension

Semantic extension is the progress of adding additional meanings to a lexical form of the target language because of lack of perception of restriction of lexical meaning (Ringbom 2007, Bardel 2015). Polysemy and homonymy of background language might be a source of semantic extension transfer (Bardel 2015). As in the boomerang written data, semantic extension had the highest portion of lexical transfer in the translated data (37% and 41%). Unlike the boomerang written texts, semantic extension in the translated texts did not appear in a wide range of parts of speech. Semantic extension in the translated texts often appeared in verb use as shown in (149).

- (149) *Tôi vui vì tôi nhìn bạn của tôi.*
 1SG happy because 1SG see friend of 1SG
 I am happy because I see my friend. (TB11)

The verb *see* in English can be translated into Vietnamese as *nhìn, nhìn thấy, thấy, gặp, or xem*. The majority of monolinguals (15/20 participants) used *gặp* (*see* = meet) to translate *see* into their Vietnamese texts. *Gặp*, therefore, is considered the specific verb that should be chosen. However, 7/20 Vietnamese-German adolescents used basic verb *nhìn* as in (149) that is considered a semantic extension because *see* in English is a polysemy that can be translated into Vietnamese by more than one word based on the context. Even two monolingual participants had this semantic extension due to basic word meaning translation.

Among given Vietnamese words that can be used to translate the verb *see*, *nhìn* is considered the basic word. The use of *nhìn* (*see*) in the translated texts (7/20

participants) partly supports the findings in Lenon (1996) and Viberg (2002). They found that second language learners frequently used the universal nuclear verbs such as *go*, *take*, *make*, *put*, and *get* instead of specific verbs. A particular example is the high frequency of the verb *gå* (go) used by L2 learners instead of specific verbs *hoppa* (jump) and *flyga* (fly) to describe the video clip situation in which a little bird was afraid of flying and went to the nest and then jumped to the ground instead of flying. In boomerang written texts, the common use of semantic extension of the verb *làm* also supported these findings.

The semantic extension embedded in the use of not only basic verb use instead of specific verb, but also basic word use can be examined either in errors due to language transfer or in errors not due to transfer. The next section of lexical use will focus on analyzing the replacement of basic words for specific words in the language production of the Vietnamese-German adolescents performed in the translation texts.

7.3.2.3. Basic words instead of specific words

According to Lenon (1996) and Viberg (2002), second language learners frequently use the universal nuclear verbs such as *go*, *take*, *make*, *put*, and *get* instead of specific verbs. In addition, Keim (2008) provided evidence of the generalization of the verb *machen* (make) of the Turkish power girl in Mannheim (Germany). The analysis of semantic extension in the lexical transfer of the boomerang written texts (6.3.4) and the translated texts (7.3.2.2) in the present study also contributed more evidence for the argument of Lenon (1996) and Viberg (2002). Further observation of the translated data showed that the use of basic verb instead of specific verb can occur not only due to transfer, but also due to the simplification of language choice. (150) is an example of the use of basic verb *làm* (make) instead of specific verb not due to transfer.

(150) *Anh* *Dennis* ***làm*** *cái* *í* *màu* *đỏ*.
 Brother Dennis make CL DEM color red
 Brother Dennis makes this object red. (TB06)

(150) was translated from the English sentence *He painted it red* in the source English text that should equal *Anh sơn nó màu đỏ* in Vietnamese according to the choice made by 15/20 Vietnamese monolingual participants. In this case, *sơn* is considered an

accurate verb to translate paint. Figure 7.5 and 7.6 describe the difference in the translation of the verb *paint* in two groups. The verb use was counted as types in each text of the 20 translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents and 20 translated texts of their Vietnamese monolingual peers.

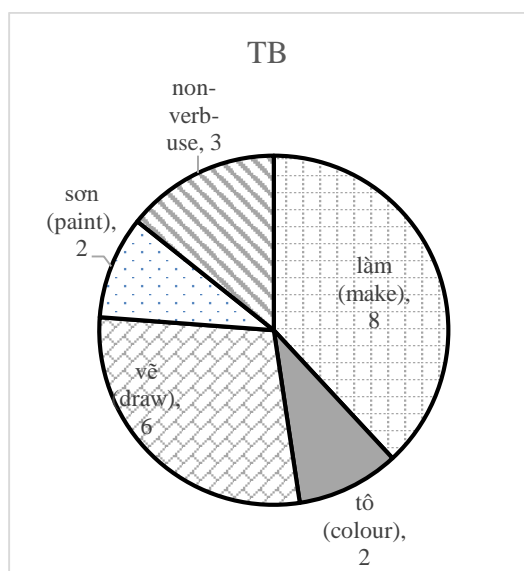


Figure 7.5. Translation of *paint* in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

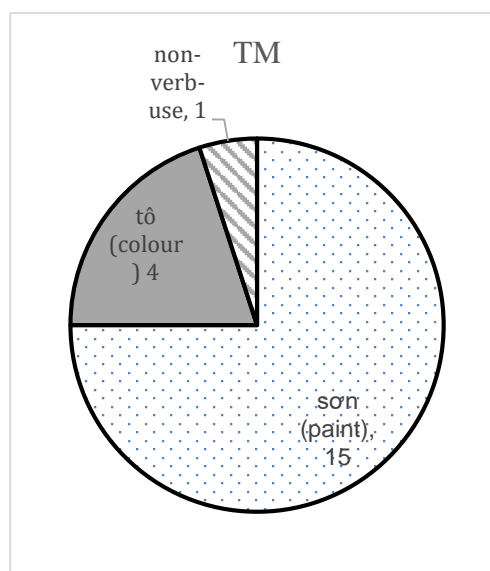


Figure 7.6. Translation of *paint* in the translated texts of the Vietnamese monolingual adolescents

As shown in Figure 7.5 and 7.6, only 2/20 Vietnamese-German adolescents used the appropriate verb (*son* - paint) that was used by 15/20 monolingual participants. 9/20 in the bilingual group used a universal basic verb *làm* (make) as a generalization strategy to compensate for the lack of knowledge of specific verbs. Six other participants chose another basic verb *vẽ* (draw). As mentioned in Chapter 6, in many studies about language variation and variety of Turkish-German adolescents in Mannheim, Keim (2003, 2009a, 2009b) found that the generalization of the verb *machen* (make), for example, *isch mach disch krankenhause* (I beat you up so bad that you have to go to the hospital) is a characteristic of the German variety of the young Turkish-Germans in Germany. Example (150) of using *làm* (Ge. *machen*, make) is considered reliable evidence for coming to a similar conclusion as Keim (2003, 2009a, 2009b) for this group of Vietnamese-Germans.

Another example that showed the difficulty of the use of specific verbs by the Vietnamese-German adolescent is the translation of the specific verb *tailor*. If 20/20 Vietnamese monolingual participants used the verb *may* to translate the given verb in the source text, then the Vietnamese-German adolescents chose a range of verbs such as *may* (5/20), *khâu* (sew - 3/20), *đưa* (give - 3/20), *mua* (buy - 1/20), *làm* (make - 1/20), and even elimination of the sentence that contained this verb.

The strategy of generalization in finding words to translate a word in the source texts not only occurred in verb use, but also appeared in adjective use and noun use as in the analysis of the boomerang written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescent. The use of the general nouns as *công cụ* (tool) in VB011 and *đồ* (thing) in VB069 is evidence for this argument. In the translated texts, this strategy was also used as shown in (151).

- (151) *Mẹ của tôi mua một đồ mặc.*
 Mother of 1SG buy one thing wear
 My mother buy clothes. (TB11)

A *white shirt and a pair of trousers* phrase was acceptably literal translated into Vietnamese as *cái áo trắng và cái quần xanh* by 20/20 Vietnamese monolingual participants. However, in (151), the Vietnamese-German participant TB11 used a general compounding noun *đồ mặc* (object to wear/clothes). Despite the non-native-like phrase in this case, the use of *đồ mặc* seems to be a strategy to complete the task of the participant.

Additionally, the common incorrect use of specific adjectives of the Vietnamese-German adolescents in the boomerang written texts as described in 6.3.4 suggest that specific adjective use is also a challenge for the heritage speakers. In the translated texts, to translate the adjective *happy*, 8/20 Vietnamese-German adolescent did not translate it, 9/20 translated it into the simple adjective *vui* or *mừng*, whereas the Vietnamese monolinguals chose different compounding adjective that can describe the emotion more exactly such as *vui vẻ*, *vui sướng*, *vui mừng*, *hạnh phúc*.

In sum, the preference of basic words of second language learners in general and heritage language learners can appear not only in verb use (Keim 2008, Lenon 1996, Viberg 2002), but also in other parts of speech. The analysis of the boomerang written texts and the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents previously

provided evidence of the use of basic/general nouns and adjectives for specific ones. This argument will be discussed in comparison with the findings of other relevant studies in Chapter 8.

In order to have an overview of the analysis of the translated texts, Table 7.7 summarizes the features in lexis that were analyzed in the Vietnamese translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Table 7.7. Lexical characteristics in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

1. High portion of transfer from English rather than German
2. High portion of transfer due to semantic extension
3. Non occurrence of cognate
4. High portion of code-switching in content words
5. Preference of borrowing lexical meaning than grammatical form in code-switching
6. Interaction between three languages in hybrids
7. The use of basic words instead of specific words

(Own research)

7.3.3. Semantic-syntactic interface

Semantic-syntactic characteristics found through the analysis of the boomerang written texts in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 was proposed in Table 7.1 as follows:

- (1) Higher classifier omission than classifier overuse or incorrect use
- (2) Frequency of the use of the general classifier *cái* and the vehicle classifier *chiếc* instead of specific classifiers in incorrect classifier use
- (3) Frequent use of prepositions *với* (with) and *vào* (into) instead of appropriate prepositions
- (4) Occurrence of preposition overuse
- (5) Preference of the rigid structure SVO
- (6) Frequency of incomplete and simple sentences

These features are also analyzed in 20 translated texts to examine whether they can be considered common characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language writing of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. The analysis was classified into two sections related to classifier use (7.3.3.1), preposition use (7.3.3.2), and sentence structures (7.3.3.3).

7.3.3.1. Classifier use

Classifier - a specific part of speech of the Vietnamese language - is a challenge for second language learners (Nguyễn Thiện Nam 2006). It has been assumed that monolingual children and young Vietnamese heritage speakers also have difficulties in classifier use (Tran Jennie 2013). The analysis of the boomerang written texts showed that the Vietnamese-German adolescents often made mistakes in this domain. Amongst three error types (omission, incorrect use, and overuse), classifier omission appeared most frequently (Table 5.7). Another characteristic of classifier use in the boomerang written texts is the frequent use of the general classifier *cái* and the vehicle classifier *chiếc* instead of specific classifiers. The analysis of classifier use of the translated texts can examine the consistency of the given characteristics.

The analysis of the translated data shows that there are a total of 44 error tokens in classifier use of 18/20 Vietnamese-German adolescents. In which, there are 5 error tokens in incorrect use that is equivalent to approximate 10%. There are 39 error tokens in classifier omission that is equivalent to 90% of total errors. Classifier overuse did not appear in this data. Portions of other error types is shown in Figure 7.7.

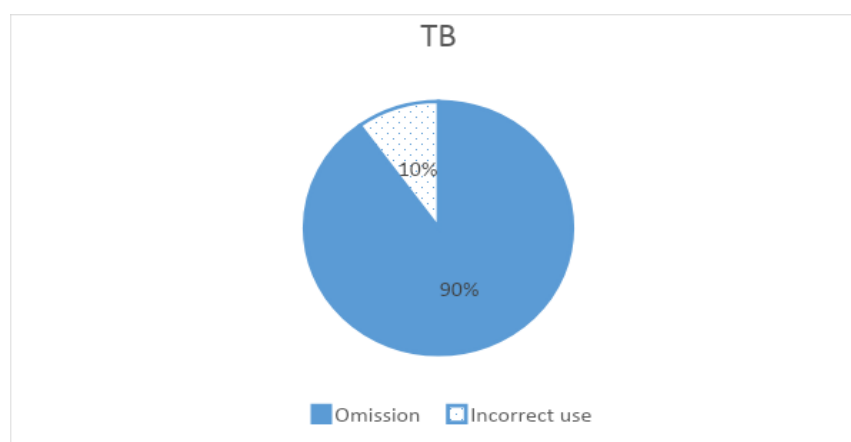


Figure 7.7. Classifier errors in the translated texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents

As shown in Figure 7.7, classifier omission has the highest portion in comparison with incorrect classifier use. This finding is consistent with that of the boomerang written texts analyzed in 5.2.2.5.

40 tokens of classifier omission in 18 translated texts of the German-Vietnamese adolescents occurred in three common phrases as in (152), (153a, 153b), and (154).

(152)* *Anh Dennis làm một Φ bumerang cho cháu.*
 Brother Dennis make one Φ boomerang for 1SG.
 Dennis make a boomerang for me. (TB10)

In the given example, classifier *cái* was eliminated. The standard noun phrase in this case should be *một cái bu-mơ-rang* (one CL boomerang) due to the obligatory nature of a classifier in the presence of ordinal numbers (Tran Jennie 2011:130, also see more Table 4.11). This error appeared in 11 translated texts by the Vietnamese-German adolescents, whereas none of the Vietnamese monolingual participants forgot it.

Another noun phrase that often elicits classifier omission is exemplified in (153a):

(153a) *Mẹ đưa con một Φ áo trắng và một Φ quần xanh.*
 Mother give 1SG one Φ shirt white and one Φ trousers blue
 Mother gives me a white shirt and blue trousers for me. (TB05)

Like the noun phrase in (152), two noun phrases in (153a) require classifiers *cái* or *chiếc* due to the obligatory nature of a classifier in the presence of ordinal numbers (Tran Jennie 2011:130). However, 12/20 translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents have classifier omission in these phrases. It is found that classifier omission of these phrases also appeared in 5/20 translated texts of the Vietnamese monolinguals as in (152b):

(153b) *Mẹ tôi may một cái áo trắng và Φ Φ*
 Mother 1SG tailor one CL shirt white and Φ Φ

quần xanh cho tôi.
trousers blue PREP 1SG

My mother tailored a white shirt and blue trousers for me. (TM20)

Compared with (153a), it is seen that the mistake of the Vietnamese monolingual adolescents is not completely similar to that of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. If the bilinguals forgot classifiers in both phrases, then the monolingual ones only did not use classifiers in the second noun phrase. The monolinguals may have made a mistake because they thought that the numeral and the classifier in the first noun phrase *một cái áo trắng* can also be used for the second one. The mistakes of the monolinguals in classifier use confirm the findings of Tran Jennie (2011, 2013) who said that classifier use is not only difficult for second language learners but also for first language learners. However, as analyzed in the boomerang written texts and the translated texts, mistakes in classifier use made by monolinguals were always much less frequent than those of the bilingual ones.

Another noun phrase that elicits classifier omission in the translated texts is *kì nghỉ hè* (summer vacation) in (154):

(154) *Chúng tôi nói nhiều về Φ nghỉ hè.*
1PL talk lot about Φ vacation summer.

We talk a lot about the summer vacation. (TB12)

In (154), classifier/measure noun *kì* referring to regularly occurring particular time period (Hoàng Phê 2003:518) was omitted. The standard noun phrase in this case should be *kì nghỉ hè* (CL summer vacation). This error appeared in 8 translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, whereas none of the Vietnamese monolingual participants forgot it.

Another situation that requires a classifier are deictic constructions CL (noun) DEM such as *con (mèo) này* (CL (cat) this) (Greenberg 1972). The Vietnamese-German adolescent can also eliminate classifiers in this construction as in (155) and (156).

(155) *Φ Đồ chơi đấy nhìn rất là đẹp.*
Toy DEM look very COP beautiful

This toy looks very beautiful. (TB14)

- (156) Φ *Quần áo* *đấy* *tôi* *cũng* *thích.*
Clothes DEM 1SG also like.
I also like these clothes. (TB14)

In (155) and (156), classifiers in two deictic constructions that take a determiner pronoun *đấy* (that) were eliminated. It makes these phrases ungrammatical in the Vietnamese language due to the obligatory nature of a classifier in the deictic constructions as already mentioned. Omission of classifiers in deictic constructions (Example 155 and 156) in the translated text is not as common as omission of those in the presence of a numeral (Example 151, 152, and 153). Omission of classifiers in the deictic constructions in the translated texts only appeared in one text (TB14).

In contrast to the frequency of classifiers, incorrect classifier use appeared seldomly in the translated texts (only 10%). (157) is an example of incorrect classifier use in this data:

- (157) [...] *đi trường với bạn vẫn là cái đẹp nhất.*
[...] go school PREP friend still COP CL beautiful most.
[...] going to school with friend is still the most wonderful thing. (TB07)

In (157), the use of the general classifier *cái* in the phrase *cái đẹp nhất* is non-native-like in the Vietnamese language. *Điều* that is a classifier/measure noun referring to “event, situation” (Hoàng Phê 2003:320) is the appropriate choice. 18/20 Vietnamese monolinguals used this classifier/measure word in their texts. Incorrect use of classifiers, specifically, the use of the general classifier *cái* instead of the specific classifier/measure noun *điều* appeared in 3/4 translated texts that contain the use of incorrect classifiers. Despite less frequency of the use of incorrect classifiers, the findings partly supported the suggestion found in the boomerang written texts that the general classifier *cái* is often used instead of specific classifiers/measure nouns due to the frequent occurrence of the general classifier *cái* in Vietnamese language practice (Lê Nila 2008). This finding also contributes to evidence supporting the argument about the preference of the use of basic words instead of specific words proposed in 7.3.2.3.

To summarize, classifier use in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents contains mistakes due to the complexity of this part of speech (Lê Nila 2008, Nguyễn Thiện Nam 2006, Tran Jennie 2011, 2013). Like the boomerang written texts, classifier omission in the translated texts has the highest portion of errors of classifier use. Among these mistakes, the occurrence of classifier omission appeared more common in the presence of a numeral than in the deictic construction. Despite the small number, the use of an incorrect classifier showed the majority use of the general classifier *cái* instead of other specific classifiers/measure nouns.

7.3.3.2. Preposition use

Preposition use in heritage language is a challenge for heritage speakers (Ming/Tao 2008). The analysis of the boomerang written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents provided mistakes in preposition use, for example, commonly incorrect use of the prepositions *với* (Ge. mit - En. with), *vào* (in) instead of appropriate prepositions; and overuse of prepositions.

The analysis of the translated texts showed that incorrect use of prepositions appears in 14/20 texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. These errors consist of the incorrect use in preposition and preposition omission. The incorrect use of prepositions is exemplified in Example (158) and (159):

- (158) *Mình ăn bánh mì với bơ, thịt xay với cheese.*
 1SG eat bread with butter meat minced with cheese
 I eat bread with butter, minced meat with cheese. (TB03)

The preposition *với* (with) used in (158) sounds unnatural in Vietnamese writing, because 20/20 texts of the monolingual participants used the conjunction *và* (and). Although the use of the preposition *với* (with) instead of the conjunction *và* (and) was not used commonly in the translated data of the Vietnamese-German adolescents (in 4/20 texts), it partly contributes to the findings in Chapter 5 about the common use of preposition *với* (with) instead of appropriate prepositions due to transfer in the boomerang written texts. In this data, this preposition was used to replace a conjunction. These results show that the preposition *với* (with) can be a basic preposition of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Another example of the incorrect use of prepositions is illustrated in (159):

- (159) *Mình nói chuyện nhiều của nghỉ mùa hè.*
1SG talk much of vacation summer
I talk much about summer vacation. (TB07)

In contrast to (158) where the mistake of the use of preposition was made due to incorrect usage of a preposition instead of an appropriate conjunction, in (159), the mistake was made due to the replacement of the conjunction *của* for the accurate preposition *về* that was chosen by 19/20 Vietnamese monolingual participants in the same context in the translated texts.

Apart from the confusion between preposition and conjunction, preposition omission is another error type in the preposition use that was found in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents as in (160).

- (160) *Mình nói chuyện nhiều Φ Φ nghỉ hè.*
1SG talk much Φ Φ summer vacation
I talk much (about) (the) summer vacation. (TB11)

As mentioned in the analysis of Example (159), in this context of the translated texts, 19/20 Vietnamese monolingual participants did not forget the preposition *về* (about) and also the classifier/measure noun *kì* (regularly occurring particular time period), whereas 6/20 Vietnamese-German adolescents eliminated both given words.

The occurrence of confusion between preposition and conjunction, and preposition omission in 13/20 texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents provides more evidence that preposition use is a challenge for the heritage language speakers (Ming/Tao 2008). The findings in the analysis of the boomerang written texts and in the translated texts show that incorrect preposition use, confusion between preposition and conjunction, preposition omission, and preposition overuse are considered error types in preposition use of young Vietnamese heritage speakers.

7.3.3.3. Sentence structure

The indicator of sentence patterns was expected to define the difference of language proficiency between bilinguals and monolinguals, because a text with more complex sentence patterns such as compound sentences and complex sentence usually shows high competence, rather than a text with many incomplete sentence structures (Reich et al. 2009:5). Based on Nguyễn Văn Hiệp (2009), sentence structures in the Vietnamese language in the boomerang texts are analyzed according to the following categories: incomplete sentences, specific sentences, simple sentences, compound sentences, and complex sentences. Example (161), (162), (163), (164), and (165) exemplify the given sentence structures in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

(161) *Ăn sáng xong rồi.*
Eat morning finish already (TB11)

(161) is an ungrammatical sentence in the Vietnamese language due to the lack of subject of the verb *xong* (finish). This sentence can only be understandable by adding either an actor of action *ăn sáng* (eat morning - have breakfast) into *Tôi ăn sáng xong rồi* (I already had breakfast) or a classifier/measure noun *bữa* (meal) into *Bữa ăn sáng xong rồi* (Breakfast has been already prepared). (161) is therefore viewed as an incomplete sentence in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

(162) *Vui quá.*
Happy much
Very happy! (TB08)

(162) also lacks a subject, however it is still native-like, due to specific textsorten and context (Đào Minh Thu et al. 2010). It is considered to be an exclamation.

(163) *Bây giờ tôi phải đi học.*
Now 1SG muss go learn
Now I have to go to school. (TB12)

(163) is a simple sentence with a structure of subject (*tôi*) - predicate (*phải đi học*).

(164) *Lúc cháu ăn xong, anh Dennis làm một boomerang cho cháu.*
 boomerang for 1SG

SUB PRED SUB PRED

When 1SG eat finish brotherDennis make one

When I finished eating, (brother) Dennis made for me a boomerang.

(164) contains two structures, subject – predicate, that are connected to each other by conjunctions such as *và* (and), *còn* (but), *nhưng* (but) (ibid.:85) or comma.

(165) *Chúng tôi trò chuyện rôm rả, tíu tíu về kì nghỉ hè.*
vacation summer adjunct (past) last

1PL talk juicy gurgles about CL

nghỉ hè đã qua.

We talk about last summer vacation juicily and gurglesly. (TB01)

The sentence in (165) is viewed as a complex sentence because it contains two subject + predicate structures, but one subject + predicate belongs to a part of sentence. Specifically, (157) can be analyzed as following:

Chúng tôi trò chuyện rôm rả, tíu tíu về kì nghỉ hè đã qua.

SUB PRED

SUB PRED

The subject-predicate structure (*kì nghỉ hè đã qua*) belongs to objects in predicate of the main subject-predicate structure.

To distinguish the use of sentence structures between the Vietnamese-German adolescents and the Vietnamese monolinguals, a simple statistical analysis was done. Figure 7.8 provides the proportion of sentence use in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German bilinguals (n = 265 sentences) and those of monolingual peers (n = 257 sentences).

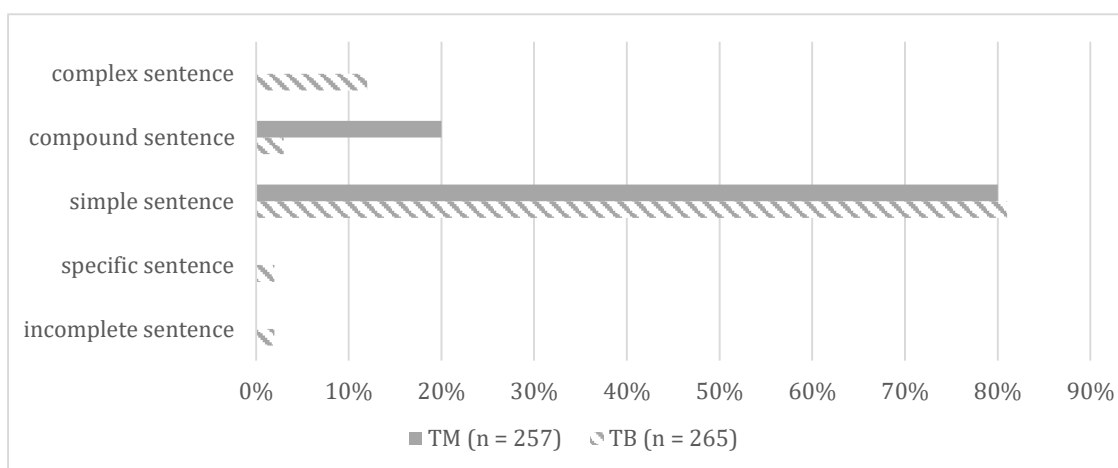


Figure 7.8. The proportion of sentence structures in translated texts of two groups

Figure 7.8 shows that the bilinguals produced a considerable number of simple sentences (81%) as did the monolinguals. However, they also produced other sentence structures, whereas the monolinguals only used simple sentences and compound sentences. These results are different from the findings found in the analysis of sentence use of the boomerang written texts where the bilinguals contained a high portion of incomplete (27%) and simple sentences (30%), whereas the monolinguals had a small portion of these structure use, respectively, 1% and 7%.

Another feature in syntax mentioned in the boomerang written texts is the preferred use of the rigid structure of the Vietnamese-German adolescents like other heritage speakers in their heritage language practice (Albirini et al. 2011; Boon/Polinsky 2014; Montrul et al. 2015; Montrul 2016). Table 7.7 compares the frequency of SVO in 20 Vietnamese translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, 20 texts of the Vietnamese monolingual adolescents. SVO structures were counted as tokens and compared with the total number of sentence structures. V (verb) in sentence structure is a verbum that consists of verb and adjective due to their possibility of being the main part of a predicate (Cao Xuân Hạo 2006).

Table 7.8. Frequency of SVO structure in translated texts of two text groups

	TB	TM
SVO	95%	100%

As shown in Table 7.9, portion of SVO structure use of the Vietnamese-German adolescents and the Vietnamese monolinguals is not so different. The translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents contain incomplete sentences (Example 161) and also specific sentences (Example 162). Therefore, 5% of the structures do not belong to SVO structure. The difference in the two data sets can be due to the instruction of the translated task. The structures used in the English source can suggest the translators use the same structure.

However, in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescent, there was transfer of the structure *be* (COP) + *adj* as in (166) and (167):

- (166) *Được sein ở trường là cái best.*
 Allow sein in school COP CL best
 Can stay in the school is the best. (TB11)

Moreover, the writer code-switched the verb *sein* in German language in a Vietnamese sentence. This phenomenon might be explained by transfer of the grammar structure of the German language. Firstly, the verb is always the second element of a German sentence and secondly the use of a verb is obligatory in predicate (Clahsen/Muysken 1986). However, the problem in the use of verb-second-position due to influence of the German language only occurred in one text of TB11.

Another example for transfer of the grammar structure is the translation word-by-word of COP in (167):

- (167)* *Ở trường, con là vui vì con gặp*
 PREP school 1SG COP happy because 1SG meet
các bạn.

PL friend

In the school, I am happy because I meet friends. (TB07)

In Vietnamese, despite of the majority of verb as main part of predicate (about 70%) (Nguyễn Tài Căn 2004), nouns and adjectives can also be the main part of the predicate, for instance:

(168) *Mắt tôi màu xanh.*

Eye 1SG color blue.

My eyes are blue.

(169) *Cái boomerang này rất đẹp.*

CL boomerang DEM very beautiful.

This boomerang is very beautiful.

Example (166) is therefore an ungrammatical Vietnamese sentence, and can be rewritten as *Tôi vui* (I happy – I am happy). Despite a small number of participants (3/20) in the present empirical study making a mistake as in (166), it suggests that a further study focusing on its structure might yield more information.

To some extent, the analysis of the translated texts of two groups also did not show the problem in word order in noun phrase due to transfer from the German language (ADJ + Noun) like in the boomerang texts. However, word order in general has been not analyzed in both of the data sets. Table 7.9 summarizes semantic-syntactic features that were found in the analysis of the Vietnamese translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Table 7.9. Semantic-syntactic features in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

-
1. Higher classifier omission than the use of incorrect classifier
 2. The use of the general classifier *cái* instead of specific classifiers in incorrect classifier use
 3. Confusion between preposition and conjunction
-

-
4. Occurrence of the use of the incorrect preposition
 5. Higher portion of incomplete sentences than the monolinguals
 6. The overuse of the copular *là* in the native-like structure SUB + ADJ due to transfer
-

(Own research)

7.3.4. Address forms

As proposed in section 4.4.2, Vietnamese address forms is a complex system including lexical alternatives of common nouns (kinship and social status terms), proper nouns and personal pronouns (Luong Văn Hy 1990:4). The meaning of linguistic forms in the Vietnamese person-reference system is often defined in accordance with the communicative context. It means that the usage of one linguistic form in the person-reference system in different interactional situations can be decoded differently (Hồ Đắc Túc 2003:114). Therefore, it was suggested that there are great differences in the use of address forms of the Vietnamese-German adolescents and the Vietnamese monolingual peers. In the boomerang texts, the analysis of the use of address forms of both groups confirmed the given suggestion. 20/20 monolingual participants used the appropriate address forms *các bạn* (you, pl.), *ta/chúng ta* (we), *tôi* (I), and no reference in imperative that have been suggested to refer to a colleague as the appropriate choice for the situation which requires a polite form (Thompson 1965:301), whereas 12/20 Vietnamese-German participants used the informal address forms *mình*, *con*, *em* that are often used in the family context. *Mình* as the first personal pronoun is used in intimate relationships such as between friends (Hoàng Phê 2003:633). *Con* (child) and *em* (younger siblings) are kinship terms that are used to address and reference in the family context.

To examine the findings in the boomerang written data, the use of address forms in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents and the Vietnamese monolingual peers was analyzed. The occurrence of self-reference that was translated from the pronoun *I* and *We* in each of the 20 translated texts of both groups was counted. The results show that 20/20 Vietnamese monolinguals used pronoun *tôi* to translate *I* and *chúng tôi* to translate *We*. *Tôi* is a personal pronoun for first person which is a unique pronoun used in polite situations (Thompson 1965:299).

Chúng tôi is the plural personal pronoun of *tôi* (I). Unlike the Vietnamese monolinguals, the Vietnamese-German adolescents used many different address forms. Table 7.10 shows the use of address form in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Table 7.10. Frequency of the translated address forms in the translated texts

Address forms	Kinship terms (em, con, cháu)	Tôi	Mình	Chúng tôi
<i>I</i>	10	10		
<i>We</i>			14	6

As can be seen from Table 7.10, the translated address forms of the self-reference *I* in the English source texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents consists of two address forms: kinship terms, and *tôi*. The translated address forms of the plural personal pronoun *We* comprises two forms: *mình* and *chúng tôi*. 20/20 Vietnamese monolingual participants used *tôi* and *chúng tôi* throughout their texts.

10/20 Vietnamese-German adolescents used *tôi* like the monolingual peers to translate the pronoun *I* in the source text. Amongst these participants, 4 participants immigrated to Germany when they were older than 5 years old used this address form (participants TB01, TB02, TB12, TB17), whereas others have only learned Vietnamese at home with family members. Among 5 adolescents who were born in Vietnam, four of them used the form that the native speaker used. These four participants also used the translated address forms of *we* as the monolingual participants did.

10/20 Vietnamese-German adolescents translated the pronoun *I* into kinship terms *em*, *con*, *cháu*. Example (170), (171), and (172) illustrates the use of given address forms in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents:

(170) *Em* *dậy* *sớm* và *nằm* ở *giường*.
 1SG wake early and lay in be

I woke up early and lay in bed. (TB08)

The kinship term *em* means a younger sibling or younger cousin that is usually used to address herself/ himself to the person who is considered an older sibling, and is also used by a wife to address her husband (Hoàng Phê 2003:361). 4 Vietnamese-German adolescents used this kinship term to translate the pronoun *I*.

Another kinship term that was used to translate the pronoun *I* is *con* (child) as in (171):

(171) Ở trường con là vui đấy vì con
PREP school 1SG COP happy DEM because 1SG
gặp các bạn.
meet PL friend

At school I am happy because I meet my friends. (TB07)

In (171), the writer addressed herself/himself as *con* that has the original meaning “offspring”, and is used to address parents (Hoàng Phê 2003:198). 5 Vietnamese-German adolescents used this kinship term to translate the pronoun *I*.

There is also a participant (TB10) who used the kinship term *cháu* to translate the pronoun *I* that is exemplified in (172):

(172) Cháu ăn với bố mẹ với anh trai Dennis.
1SG eat with father mother with (older) brother Dennis.
I ate with my parents and my brother Dennis. (TB10)

Cháu means grandchild, nephew or niece that is used as an address form in intimate contexts (Hoàng Phê 2003:134).

Em, con, cháu are all kinship terms that are used as address forms not only in the family context, but also in the social context (Lương Văn Hy 1990:38, Thompson 1965:294). However, the use of these kinship terms in this situation are non-native-like in comparison with the use of address forms of the monolingual control group. The analysis of the translated texts of the Vietnamese monolingual participants shows that 20/20 writers used only one address form *tôi* to translate *I* in the translation task. The choice of kinship terms *em, con, cháu* can be explained due to the language

background of the participants. On the one hand, the analysis of the use of *tôi* to translate the pronoun *I* of the Vietnamese-German texts shows that 4/5 participants who already acquired Vietnamese at least until the age of 6 chose *tôi*. On the other hand, 9/10 participants who used kinship terms to translate this personal pronoun were born in Germany. Amongst these participants, 5 of them learned Vietnamese from their acquaintances in a short amount of time (one or two months). Nevertheless, around the time of taking this test, none of them were attending Vietnamese training. A hypothesis is raised on whether the routine use of address forms in daily conversation influence the choice of address forms of the Vietnamese-German adolescents in writing? As observed, in daily conversation in Vietnamese families, *con* is used commonly, not only between offspring and parents, but also between children and the adults in intimate relationships (grandparents and other older people). *Em* is used frequently not only between siblings, or between husband and wife, but also between parents and offspring (Hoàng Phê 2003:361). To examine this hypothesis, it is necessary to develop another study to focus on the relationship between spoken language and written language from a pragmatic perspective.

Another pronoun that was needed to translate from the English source text into Vietnamese is *we*. As shown in Table 7.8, 14/20 Vietnamese-German adolescents used *mình* – an address form in intimate contexts (Hoàng Phê 2003:633). All participants who chose *con*, *em*, *cháu* for the translation of the pronoun *I* used *mình*.

Like the boomerang written texts of the first empirical study, *mình* was also written in more than one orthographic form, for example, *minh* without a tone mark (TB08, TB07, TB10, TB05), *min* (TB04, TB13), or *ming* (TB03, TB15) (see more in 7.3.1 about orthography). (173) is an example of the use of *mình* in the translated text of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

(173) **Mình** nói nhiều về nghỉ hè.
 1SG talk much about vacation summer
 I talk a lot about the summer vacation. (TB15)

We talked a lot about our summer holiday is the sentence in the source language. 20/20 Vietnamese monolinguals and 4/20 Vietnamese-German bilinguals used *chúng tôi* to translate *we* as in (174):

- (174) **Chúng tôi** trò chuyện đủ thứ về kì nghỉ hè.
 1PL talk much thing about CL vacation summer
 We talk everything about summer vacation. (TM01)

Chúng tôi is a plural personal pronoun that is used to self-address on behalf of some people (Hoàng Phê 2003:184). In the context (174) in the translated text, *chúng tôi* was used to self-address the writer on behalf of his/her friends. This choice is considered an appropriate choice in this context. However, as already mentioned a striking number of the Vietnamese-German adolescents used the pronoun *mình*. Normally *mình* is a singular pronoun to address or refer in an intimate relationship (Hoàng Phê 2003:633). Why did they choose this address form? As observed, in the daily conversation, *mình* can refer to *we* in the following contexts:

- (175) **Mình** đi ăn nhé!
 1SG/1PL go eat particle
 I go to eat! / Let's go to eat!

- (176) **Mình** cùng chơi nhé!
 1PL together play particle
 Let's play together!

In Example (175), *mình* can be understood as the first singular pronoun in the declarative or the first plural pronoun that includes both the speaker and the listener in an imperative. In (176) due to the specific context defined by the use of conjunction *cùng* (together), *mình* refers to both the speaker and listener. The specific meaning of *mình* is only understood in the imperative. Therefore, generally, *mình* is a singular pronoun that cannot be used as self-reference on behalf of other people like *chúng tôi*. The use of *mình* as in (174) is a non-native-like choice that was produced due to the misunderstanding of the use of *mình* in the specific contexts. In addition, Vietnamese also has the second plural pronoun *chúng mình* that is used to self-reference with the people who are participating in the conversation (Hoàng Phê 2003:184). Therefore, it can also be said that the Vietnamese-German adolescents misunderstood the meaning of *mình* and *chúng mình* and *chúng tôi*.

In comparison to the analysis of the use of *mình* in the boomerang written texts, it is found that despite the frequent occurrence of this pronoun in two empirical studies, it was used in the two collected data sets differently. In the boomerang, *mình* (I) was used instead of *bạn* (you), whereas in the translated text, it was chosen as plural form of the first personal singular in the intimate relationship *chúng mình* (we).

Other pronouns that the Vietnamese-German participants provided that differed from how Vietnamese monolinguals translated and also differed amongst bilingual participants is the third pronoun singular *it* and the third pronoun plural *them*. The following examples introduce how the Vietnamese-German adolescents translated the third pronoun singular in this sentence in the source text *I like it a lot*.

- (177) *Cháu thích it.*
 Cháu thích *it*.
 1SG like it.
 I like it. (TB10)

In (177), the writer borrowed a pronoun of English to translate *it* in the source text *I liked it a lot*. The results of a comparison between the translated results between the Vietnamese-German adolescents and the Vietnamese monolingual peers shows the differences. 19/20 Vietnamese monolingual participants used the Vietnamese parallel pronoun *nó* to translate *it* - a literally translation or a word-by-word translation, whereas only 4/20 Vietnamese-German adolescents used the same strategy. Other participants tended to use three alternative strategies to avoid the use of Vietnamese pronoun *nó* as shown in (178), (179), and (180).

- (178) *Em thích Φ.*
 Em thích Φ.
 1SG like Φ
 I like Φ. (TB08)

- (179) *Cay boomerang nhìn đẹp, em thích lắm!*
 Cái bu-mơ-rang nhìn đẹp, em thích lắm.
 CL boomerang look beautiful 1SG like much
 The boomerang looks beautiful, I like so much. (TB09)

- (180) *Đôi thích cái này lắm.*
 Tôi thích cái này lắm.
 1SG like CL DEM much.
 I like this so much. (TB03)

Three examples illustrate the three main strategies of avoiding the use of pronoun *nó* (it) by the Vietnamese-German adolescents. Example (178) is an incorrect grammatical sentence because the verb *thích* (like) is a transitive verb that requires one or more objectives. *Em thích* (I like) comprising only S+V is therefore an ungrammatical sentence in Vietnamese. Not only do they avoid this pronoun by eliminating the pronoun *it* from the sentence, two participants (TB11 and TB13) did not translate this sentence in their translated texts.

The second strategy in (179) is the combination of two simple sentences in the source text in the target text. It is a favorite strategy of the Vietnamese-German participants because 13 of them chose it. The mixture of two simple sentence into a compound sentence can be viewed as a good choice, because the informants could avoid using the pronoun *nó* (it), but they could still translate the information from the source text to the target one.

Another strategy is demonstrative phrase use in (180) that was chosen by 2 participants. The sentence in (180) is also an appropriate way to avoid the use of the pronoun *nó* (it) due to its native-like grammar in Vietnamese. These three strategies for avoidance of directly translating a pronoun were also applied in the translation of the pronoun *them* in the sentence *I liked them very much, too*. Although the third and the fourth strategies of avoidance of the literal translation of the third pronouns can create native-like sentences in Vietnamese, a hypothesis emerged that the Vietnamese-German adolescents have found that these pronouns are complicated to translate due to their multiple meanings. However, further studies need to be developed to fully investigate the reasons for this avoidance.

In sum, the difference between the choices of monolinguals and bilinguals in translated texts, for example, in the translation of the first singular and plural pronoun (*I* and *we*), and also the third singular and plural (*it* and *them*), is consistent with the results of the boomerang written texts. If the Vietnamese monolinguals used the formal and neutral address forms such as *tôi*, *chúng tôi*, *nó*, *chúng*, then the Vietnamese-

German adolescents chose different ways of translation. Among their choices, the kinship terms and *mình* that are often used in the intimate contexts have been preferred by the Vietnamese-German adolescents. A hypothesis of the influence of the spoken language on the written language in the use of address forms has emerged during the analysis. However, the evidence from the background of the participants is not strongly convincing. Therefore, in the discussion in Chapter 8, these results can be compared with the findings of other studies that deal with address forms of heritage speakers (Hò Đắc Túc 2003, Tang Giang 2007, Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2013). Table 7.11 summarizes the features of address form use that were found in the Vietnamese translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

Table 7.11. Features of the use of address forms in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

1. High frequency of pronoun <i>mình</i> that implies the intimate relationship
2. High frequency of kinship terms <i>con, em</i>
3. Avoidance of translation of the third pronouns <i>it</i> and <i>them</i>

(Own research)

7.4. Summary

The aim of doing the second empirical study – translation test is examining the consistency of the characteristics that were found in the analysis of the boomerang written texts. In the analysis of the translated texts, the features of the Vietnamese language performed by the Vietnamese-German adolescents have been defined at different linguistic levels. Orthographic errors occurred due to transfer and interlingual resource. The orthographic transfer consists of three features: frequency of deletion of diacritics; frequency of word initial capitalization; replacement due to the non-correspondence between grapheme and phoneme systems in Vietnamese and German. The orthographic errors due to interlingual resources are the confusion between the grapheme that are spoken differently in different dialects. The omission and the addition of graphemes also occurred in the translated texts. At the lexical level, the lexical transfer in the translated texts contained a high portion of semantic extension and high transfer from English. Frequency of code-switching in content words, the

preference of borrowing lexical meanings over grammatical forms, the interaction between different languages in hybrids, and the frequency of use of basic words instead of specific words are also important features of the translated texts at lexical levels. The incorrect use of classifiers with the highest portion of classifier omission, frequent use of the general classifier *cái* instead of specific classifiers, the incorrect use of prepositions, and a high portion of incomplete sentences are found as critical characteristics in the semantic-syntactic interface in the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. The analysis of the translation of address forms shows that the Vietnamese heritage speakers in this empirical study conform to the same patterns of the participants in the boomerang written texts. They also preferred to use kinship terms and the first personal pronoun *mình* that is often used in intimate relationships and in daily conversations for the neutral context provided in the translated texts. In order to have an overall view of the results found in the analysis of the boomerang written texts and the translated texts, a discussion that focuses on comparison between the findings of two collected data sets with the findings of previous studies is discussed in Chapter 8.

8. Discussion about Written Performance in the Vietnamese Heritage Language of the Vietnamese-German Adolescents

“Bi-and multilingualism is one characteristic feature of human life”

Hammarberg 2017:4

The question of whether bilingualism is advantageous or disadvantageous for the speaker has been discussed by scholars since the onset of research in this field. To date, research on bilingualism has mainly reported that being bilingual is advantageous in non-verbal cognitive functions, for example, executive functions like the interrelated processes of inhibition, working memory, and attentional control (Bialystok et al. 2012; Ross/Melinger 2017; De Cat et al. 2018), as well as metalinguistic awareness (Barac/Bialystok 2012; Davidson et al. 2010). In addition, consistent positive correlation has found between bilingualism and the development of literacy ability of the first and the second, as well as the third language (Abu-Rabia/Sanitsky 2010; Allman 2005; Cummins 1981; Kraschen 1996; Maluch/Kempert 2017; Sebastián-Gallés et al. 2012). However, in heritage language speakers' personal history, most of them often do not have formal schooling in their heritage languages, hence literacy is usually acquired in the dominant languages (Boon/Polinsky 2014:7; Montrul 2016). Like most heritage language speakers, Vietnamese-German adolescents - the subjects of the present study, have not received formal instruction in learning their heritage language. Due to the deficiency of language input, the acquisition of heritage language is often viewed as incomplete at all linguistic levels (Flores et al. 2017; Kupisch/Rothman 2016; Montrul 2016; Putnam/Salmons 2013; Rothman/Treffers-Daller 2014). In order to promote heritage language maintenance and help heritage language learners become fully proficient in their heritage languages, it needs to be understood how heritage languages develop, how heritage language speakers perform their heritage languages and which factors may facilitate or hinder this process. If the goal of heritage pedagogy is to help students master more sophisticated writing styles, and eventually developing rhetorical skills, the mechanics of spoken and written discourse across languages need to be understood. This chapter discusses the results analyzed in the boomerang written texts and the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. It is expected to contribute more to the understanding of how bilingual adolescents perform their literacy ability in heritage

language in order to help in the creation of appropriate educational materials and resources for Vietnamese as heritage language education.

8.1. Vietnamese as heritage language: Linguistic characteristics across different linguistic levels

The performance in heritage language of heritage language speakers are only defined through a direct comparison with a monolingual control group (Montrul 2008; Polinsky 2008; Tsimpli et al. 2004). In Chapter 6 and Chapter 7, written production of the Vietnamese-German bilinguals and the Vietnamese monolinguals are analyzed and compared at all linguistic levels. The comparisons in Chapter 5, 6 and 7 showed that the Vietnamese language performance of Vietnamese-German bilinguals are less proficient in comparison with Vietnamese monolinguals at all linguistic levels. The results support the argument of Benmamoun et al. (2013) and Montrul (2016) that heritage speakers have an incomplete acquisition of their heritage languages at all linguistic levels.

8.1.1. Orthographic characteristics

The analysis of the boomerang written texts in Chapter 6 and the translated texts in Chapter 7 provided orthographic characteristics in the Vietnamese heritage language performed by the Vietnamese-German adolescents. Table 8.1 compares the frequency of the patterns occurred in two different written data of young Vietnamese heritage speakers living in Germany. The frequency of features are presented by the count of their occurrence in each of the 20 texts of the two tests. Orthographic errors can occur due to either transfer of the dominant language or interlingual resources (Kalkavan 2014:61). The features at the orthographic level in the written productions of the Vietnamese-German adolescents were sorted into two categories: transfer and interlingual resources. The arrangement of features in the following table is organized based on the error frequency in each category in the written texts.

Table 8.1. Orthographic features in the written texts and the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

Features	Written texts	Translated texts
1. Deletion of diacritics	14/20	11/20
2. Word initial capitalization	10/20	9/20
<i>Replacement due to transfer</i>		
3. Replacement of <d> for <đ>	13/20	13/20
4. Replacement of <g>, <k> for <c>	8/20	9/20
5. Replacement of <c>, <ck> for <t>	4/20	0/20
6. Replacement of <n>, <ng> for <nh>	3/20	12/20
7. Replacement of <f> for <ph>	2/20	0/20
8. Replacement of <g>, <c> for <qu>	0/20	10/20
9. Replacement of <k>, <c> for <ch>	0/20	8/20
10. Replacement of <t> for <th>	0/20	7/20
<i>Replacement due to interlingual resources</i>		
11. Confusion of vowels (irregular)	9/20	13/20
12. Confusion <s> and <x>	8/20	9/20
13. Confusion <i> and <y>	8/20	7/20
14. Confusion <ch> and <tr>	6/20	7/20
15. Confusion <d>, <r> and <gi>	3/20	7/20
<i>Omission</i>		
16. Omission (general)	10/20	13/20
17. Reduction of diphthongs	6/20	8/20
18. Reduction of digraphs and trigraphs	4/20	11/20
19. Addition of grapheme	4/20	7/20

(Own research)

The comparison of the frequency of 19 given features at the orthographic level draws the consistent characteristics that occurred in both sets of collected data with high

frequency. The first prominent pattern of orthography presented in two corpus is the deletion of diacritics and word initial capitalization.

As mentioned in 4.4.1, the Vietnamese present-day writing system includes Roman letters, as well as additional diacritics for distinguishing phonemes that do not exist in the Roman alphabet (i.e. <ă>, <â>, <ê>, <đ>, <ô>, <ơ>, <ư>), and diacritics for tones. In both empirical studies of the present research, the Vietnamese-German adolescents tended to write texts without tone marks and diacritics (70% written texts and 55% translated texts). This result broadly supports evidence from previous observations (e.g. Tang Giang 2007; Nguyễn Hưng Quốc 2014). Both studies have demonstrated that the tone system is difficult for people whose languages do not include formal tonal systems such as English or German. Therefore, tone errors in speaking have been predicted to be the result of the process of interaction between English and Vietnamese as heritage language (Tang Giang 2007:23). Tones have been also seen as a difficult feature of the Vietnamese language in a study on learning Vietnamese as heritage language in Canada. This feature was found to be one of the more difficult pieces to learn and often discouraged Vietnamese heritage students from developing further competency (Pham Cong Viet 2015:135). The observations made in these prior studies has mainly been based on spoken language. The observations made in the present study are based on written language, hence the finding that heritage speakers often delete tonal symbols in their writing broadly supports the findings in the other studies in this area that speakers also have difficulties in vocally producing tones and the correct specific phonemes. The written proficiency and speaking proficiency of speakers are thus found to be linked.

The deletion of tone marks and diacritics has also been considered a strategy in writing in other heritage languages. For example, Turkish-German children often replace Turkish graphemes such as <ğ>, <ş>, <ç> with other graphemes (*bouluyor* instead of *boğluyor*, *schokta* instead of *şokta*, *cekitc* instead of *çekitç*) (Kalkavan 2014:62ff). About 50% of the participants in her study also did not use diacritics. Tone markers and diacritics which are only represented in Vietnamese and Turkish, not in German, such as graphemes <â>, <ă>, <ô>, <đ>, are superseded either without tone marks or by another grapheme (*càn* instead of *cần* (VB1), *cat* instead of *cát* (VB2), *go* instead of *gõ* (VB2), *dau* instead of *đầu* (VB10).

However, writing Vietnamese without tone marks and diacritics is also preferred by Vietnamese teenagers in chatrooms and forums (Đặng Ngọc Ly 2014,

Phạm Thị Thái et al. 2013). For youths, chatting and sometimes even writing formal texts in school with a new style of Vietnamese language are a growing trend. In contrast, linguists and educators always try to maintain the prescriptive orthography of the Vietnamese language (see review Nguyễn Văn Hiệp 2015). Just as a new English as Creole is created by users, there must be social and cultural reasons for choosing to use this style (ibid., Sebba 2007). Vietnamese monolingual adolescents have used the Vietnamese style without diacritics perhaps to save time, or to distinguish themselves from other groups (ibid.). It can be said that these writers may choose to deviate from established conventions of spelling. In so doing, like Creole, they create forms which are (usually) just as easy to read as the conventional ones, but are less familiar to the reader who has learned the standard form at school (Sebba 2007:4). However, for Vietnamese diaspora adolescents, deletion of diacritics might be due to the restriction of literacy ability which has not been learned in school. Therefore, it can be viewed as evidence of incomplete acquisition in Vietnamese as heritage language (Chavelier 2004).

The second feature at the orthographic level found in both sets of collected data is the common word initial capitalization which follows the orthographic rule of the German language (50% in written texts and 45% in translated texts). Studying Turkish heritage language writing of young Turkish heritage speakers living in Germany, Kalkavan (2014) found that children wrote most nouns as they would in German, but not consistently. In the written and translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, word initial capitalization according to the German rule was not uniform across the data. For example, the noun *khoan* (drill) in a text was written with word initial capitalization as in German (*Khoan*), and another noun such as *bút* (pen), *giấy* (paper), *màu* (color) in this text was not written with word initial capitalization (VB052). In the two sets of collected data, word initial capitalization of nouns mostly appeared in borrowed nouns such as *Boomerang*, *Park*, *Wurst*, etc. Word initial capitalization on nouns in the Vietnamese writing occurred only twice and were located in the boomerang texts, two nouns in particular were seldom capitalized; *Kéo* (scissors) in VB011 and *Khoan* (drill) in VB052. In general, therefore, it seems that the Vietnamese-German adolescents can correctly apply the capitalization rule in both Vietnamese and German. However, in code-switching (borrowing) they borrowed the original form of the noun with word initial capitalization as in German.

Due to the non-correspondence of phoneme-grapheme in Vietnamese and German as proposed in 4.4.1, there has been the common replacement of graphemes in both sets of collected data: <d> for <đ> (65% in both collected data), and <g>, <k> for <c> (40% written texts and 45% translated texts). The replacement of <d> for <đ> may be explained by the fact that German contains only the grapheme <d>. The grapheme <đ> is therefore a specific letter in Vietnamese like other specific graphemes with diacritics. The common replacement of <g>, <k> for <c> is partly explained by the non-correspondence of phoneme and grapheme between Vietnamese and German. The phoneme /k/ in German is mostly represented by <k>, and rarely written as <c>, with the exception of loanwords, whereas this phoneme is represented in Vietnamese by <k>, <c>, and <qu> based on the vowels following this initial consonant. Other replacements are due to the interaction of German with Vietnamese and appeared either only in one set of collected texts or infrequently in both sets of collected data. It is somewhat surprising that the replacement of <n>, <ng> for <nh> was not consistent across the two tests (3/20 written texts and 12/20 translated texts). It is surprising because it has been suggested that this type of error occurs consistently and frequently due to the non-existence of <nh> in the German language. The infrequency of <f> instead of <ph> in both sets of collected data (2/20 written texts and 0/20 translated texts) is also contradictory to expectations. This replacement has also been suggested to appear frequently because of the rare occurrence of <ph> in the German language. The consistency of these features should be therefore examined in a further study. Despite the difference in frequency of the replacements, these results corroborate Jeuk's (2014) ideas, who suggested that replacement of a grapheme from one language into other languages is due to the difference of orthographic systems is a common feature in alphabetical writing errors.

The replacement of graphemes can occur not only due to transfer but also due to interlingual resources. As shown in Table 8.1, confusion between <x> and <s>; <ch> and <tr>; <d>, <gi>, and <r> appeared frequently in both sets of collected data. In the Vietnamese language, those phonemes are not distinguished from one another in most Northern dialects. This variety is also used on Vietnam TV (VTV) and The Voice of Vietnam (VOV) (Cao Xuân Hạo 2010, Nguyễn Văn Khang 2011:5, Trần Trí Dõi 2005). However, the distinction between these phonemes still remain in the writing system. The confusions seen in the data therefore happen due to dialect related writing and sound similarities (Jeuk 2014:65).

Another feature in orthography is grapheme omission in digraphs and trigraphs in both written and translated texts, for example, *ít* instead of *uót* (VB84) and *tit* for *thít* (TB05). Although the number of these omissions in each set of collected data are not equivalent, this observation supports the hypothesis made by Tang Giang (2007) that suggested that the sound level 2-3 vowel combinations can be simplified (*phung* for *phuong*) and the consonants can be substituted with English consonants (<k> instead of <kh>). However, to develop a full picture of this feature, additional studies will be needed that focus on the writing performance of diphthongs such as <ia/ya/iê/yê>, <uô/ua>, and <uơ/ura>, the combination of vowel and semi-vowels such <oa>, <ao>, and <iêu>, and the digraphs and trigraphs of consonants such as <ph>, <th>, <tr>, <gi>, <nh>, <ng>, <kh>, <gh>, and <ng>.

To summarize, these results partly reflect those in analysis model of orthographic errors in alphabetical writing put forward by Jeuk (2014:65). He proposed four main categories including omission, replacement, transition, and addition and specifically possible interpretations for each category. The findings of the present study can therefore also provide more evidence for the validity of Jeuk's criteria. In addition, despite the view of the given features as errors, some features have been shared by Vietnamese monolingual teenagers, for example, the deletion of diacritics, the replacement of <k> for <c>, and <f> for <ph> (Đặng Ngọc Ly 2014). The teenagers have used the Vietnamese style without diacritics perhaps to save time, or to distinguish themselves from other groups (Nguyễn Văn Hiệp 2015, Sebba 2007). In so doing, like Creole, they create forms which are (usually) just as easy to read as the conventional ones, but are less familiar to the reader who has learned the standard form at school (Sebba 2007:4). The unconventional forms may have a symbolic significance which the conventional forms do not. Despite containing similar features at the orthographic level of the Vietnamese monolingual teenagers in chatting language, the orthographical outcomes of Vietnamese-German adolescents in particular and heritage learners in general are more due to the deficit of the knowledge of literacy in heritage language, and the transfer from the German language more than the intentional use of a teenager language to define themselves from others.

8.1.2. Lexical characteristics

The analysis of the boomerang written texts in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 and the translated texts in Chapter 7 proposed lexical characteristics in the Vietnamese heritage language performed by the Vietnamese-German adolescents. Table 8.2 compares the occurrence (+) of those features in each 20 texts of two tests written and translated by young Vietnamese heritage speakers living in Germany.

Table 8.2. Lexical features in the written texts and the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

Features	Written texts	Translated texts
<i>Vocabulary size</i>		
1. Smaller number of words than monolinguals	+	–
2. Smaller number of compounding than monolinguals	+	+
3. Smaller number of Sino-Vietnamese words than monolinguals	+	+
4. Smaller number of technical vocabularies than monolinguals	+	–
<i>Lexical transfer</i>		
5. More frequency of code-switching than other transfer	+	–
6. More frequency of semantic extension than other transfer	+	+
7. Frequency of transfer from English	+	+
8. More frequency of code-switching at content words than at function words	+	+
9. The preference of infinitival form of code-switched nouns and verbs	+	+

10. Monosyllabization of borrowed words (blend)	+	+
11. Use of quotation marks or brackets to mark borrowings	+	-
12. Use of Vietnamese orthographic rule to write borrowed words	-	+
<i>Others</i>		
13. Frequent use of basic words instead of specific words	+	+

As shown in Table 8.2, most of the lexical features that have been found in the two sets of collected texts, written texts and translated texts performed by the Vietnamese-German adolescents are similar. However, there are some differences between the two sets of collected texts (in features 1, 4, 5, 11, 12 in Table 8.2). The following discussion of each of these patterns will attempt to interpret these findings and explain those differences.

8.1.2.1. Vocabulary size

In terms of vocabulary size, as mentioned in the literature review, heritage language speakers often acquire smaller vocabularies than their monolingual peers because their “developing cognitive capacities impose limitations on the breadth of information that can be stored in accessible memory” (Bialystok 2001:62). The vocabulary size of the collected data in the present study has been defined by the word count use in general, compounding, Sino-Vietnamese words, and technical words in particular. In the boomerang written texts collected in first empirical study, the results of comparison of the vocabulary size of Vietnamese-German bilinguals and Vietnamese monolinguals shows that young Vietnamese heritage speakers have a smaller number of all four indicators than their young Vietnamese monolingual peers. In the translated texts, number of words and number of technical words are not different in translated texts between the two participant groups. It seems possible that these results are due to the transfer of information and language from the translation tasks. In the boomerang written test, the participants had to compose a text based on a series of pictures. This means that they had to organize every aspect of the text by themselves, whereas usually

in a translation tests, the language task of the source language has already provided content and even an organizational frame for the language to the participants that could help all participants find the same number of words to translate the text. The content of the translation task can also explain the lack of difference in number of technical words in the translated productions of both participant groups. The writing task required more HLC “high language cognition” (Hulstijn 2011b), whereas translation tasks targeted more the performance of BLC “basic language cognition” (ibid.). Specifically, the boomerang written test required heritage speakers to write instructions with formal language in a youth magazine, whereas the translation test required the participants to translate a text that describes a normal scene of everyday life in the family context. It is therefore likely that connections exist between vocabulary size and language proficiency (Reich et al. 2009). This also lines up with the observations made by Bialystok (2001) and Montrul (2016), which showed that bilinguals acquire smaller vocabularies in their heritage language than do their monolingual peers. The most obvious finding to emerge from the analysis is that the vocabulary size needs to be defined by various indicators, specifically through the count of technical words, count of compounding, and the count of Sino-Vietnamese words. These three indicators have been viewed as the criteria to measure “language of schooling”/literacy ability in the LiPS evaluation.

8.1.2.2. Lexical transfer

Another aspect that has been analyzed at the lexical level is lexical transfer. In both sets of collected data, a cognate has not appeared. The non-occurrence of a cognate supports the classic argument of the relationship between transfer and the language typology of Jarvis/Palvenko (2010) that suggested that cognates normally happen between languages that have typological similarity (77). The difference of language typology of Vietnamese and German, an isolating language and a synthetic language, was the reason for non-occurrence of cognates.

Other characteristics of lexical transfer demonstrated in the boomerang written texts and in the translated texts are mostly consistent with the features as shown in Table 8.1. Semantic extension appeared more frequently than the other types of transfer in both sets of collected texts (37% in written texts and 41% in translated texts). According to Jarvis (2000), the portion of types of transfer is an indicator to

measure language proficiency. Texts that contain more semantic extension than other transfer types are usually written by more intermediate or advanced learners. The relationship between language proficiency and transfer will be discussed again and with more detail in 8.3.

The second feature that occurred in both sets of collected texts was the frequency of transfer from English. In the boomerang written texts, among 45% code-switching overall, 32% have been code-switched with English (Table 6.2). In the translated texts, code-switching from English occurred in all of types of transfer up to 88% (Table 7.5). The cases of loan translation and semantic extension in the translated data are difficult to define if they have been transferred from German or English due to the similarities between both languages. For example, the phrase *go to school* in English and *zur Schule gehen* order *in die Schule gehen* in German are similar in both structure and meaning, that can be translated from a source language to a target language directly and word-for-word, but the meanings are not altered. In the translated texts, 10/20 participants translated this phrase into Vietnamese *đi trường* (go school) that is written in the native-like phrase *đi học* (go study). Because the source texts have been produced in English, the influence of this language is possibly more direct than German, then the vague cases were classified into the interaction between English and Vietnamese. The preference of transfer from English as a second language is associated with the discussion about hypotheses of transfer in multilingual contexts, when number of languages are more than two. Three hypotheses of transfer such as a full transfer from L1 transfer (Schwartz/Sprouse 1996), the L2 transfer/“L2 status” (Bardel/Falk 2007), Cumulative Enhancement Model (Flynn et al. 2004), (psycho)-typological-motivated transfer (Kellerman 1983) have been often discussed. The results of this factor can demonstrate that transfer could occur from all acquired languages (i.e., German and English) despite the majority of English influence coming from the fact it was the language of the source text. These findings are therefore partly in agreement with the Cumulative Enhancement Model of Flynn et al. (2004) who presented that all languages acquired may act as a source for transfer.

Another common feature found in the two sets of collected data is the frequency of code-switching in content words. These content words were transferred from German and English that have been respectively viewed as L1 and L2 in the literacy acquisition of Vietnamese-German bilinguals. This outcome is contrary to that of Poulisse/Bongaerts (1994) and Ringbom (1987) who found that function words are

more easily borrowed than content words because function words are used more frequently. Another reason proposed by these authors is due to the additional meaning embedded in content words that function words do not have, learners tend to be more cautious in the use of content words. A possible way to account for the difference in these findings and those of the present study might be due to the language typologies between the acquired languages of participants and the different levels of language proficiency. Particularly, this inconsistency may be due to the difference of collected data. The data in the study by Poulisse/Bongaerts (1994) were collected in oral communication, whereas the data of this study were collected through written discourse. Another possible explanation for this is that the level of differences and similarities of languages, this was argued as (psycho)-typological-motivated transfer in Kellerman 1983. L2 Swedish and L3 English in Ringbom's study (1987) are Germanic languages that share many more similarities than those with Finnish. Therefore, these results cannot be viewed as a general feature of transfer and code-switching in language production of bilinguals. It needs to be interpreted with caution. Further investigations need to be developed in other languages to examine to what extent different types of function words, such as determiners, prepositions, and conjunctions are used in third or additional language production.

The two collected sets of data also share the use of infinitival form of code-switched nouns and verbs. The code-switched nouns and verbs in both written texts and translated texts were written as their infinitival forms or their original forms in English or German. This means that verbs have not been conjugated and grammatical meaning on nouns have not been added or factored into the writing. For example, the infinitival forms of the verb *fliegen* (fly) in German and the verb *smooth down* in English were mostly used not based on tense, aspect, or number. This is also consistent with our earlier observations, which showed that language mixing frequently occurred due to the borrowing of lexical meanings. It means that only the infinitival form of verbs in the source language has been borrowed in the target language (Alexiadou 2017). Regarding Vietnamese mixed variety, in a study on language mixing in communication among Vietnamese immigrants in Australia, aged 18-55, who came to Australia as adolescents and adults, Hồ Đắc Túc (2003) also found that borrowed words were often used in the infinitival form in both verb and noun. These results are likely to be related to the aim of borrowing of lexical meaning, but not grammatical meaning. Another explanation for this might be due to the morphological typology of

Vietnamese. Hồ Đắc Túc (2003) stated that “[a]s an isolating language, Vietnamese has potential of getting access to other linguistic resources without marking the morphological structure of the target language” (59).

Despite obtaining a small number in both written and translated texts (9% and 10%), how participants constructed blends/hybrids provided interesting findings. For example, the interaction between a root of a German or English verb (e.g., *bau* in *bauen* - build, *sharp* in *sharpen*) and the trend of monosyllabization of the Vietnamese language (Cao Xuân Hạo 2006) has created hybrids in the Vietnamese texts. The interaction of monosyllabization and the transcription into Vietnamese with German and English words has produced interesting mixed words (e.g., *Si* and *ci* for *cheese*, *vuột* for *Wurst* – sausage). Monosyllabization is the process of losing polysyllabic words that has been used in the progress of Vietnamese language development since Proto Việt-Mường (Vũ Đức Nghiệu 2005:202). In the modern Vietnamese language, monosyllabization has been used in both written and spoken language broadly, especially for loanwords (e.g., *xi măng* – *xi* (cement), *đô la* - *đô* (dollar)). Generally, it is therefore likely that such connections exist between these findings and the hypothesis of Moro/van Suchtelen (2017) about the interaction between two or more languages of bilinguals as a consequence of changes at the level of lemmas and conceptual structure. Specifically, these results further support the idea of Alexiadou (2017) about a “mirror asymmetry” (189) in language mixing. She found that in Greek mixing variety, there is frequent occurrence of the combination of a German root and a Greek affix, whereas it is impossible to find the combination of a Greek root and a German affix (ibid.:189).

Apart from the common features, comparison of transfer between the two sets of collected data shows that formal transfer occurs more frequently in written texts (45% code-switching and 9% hybrids) than in the translated texts (22% code-switching and 10% hybrids). Code-switching has mostly appeared in technical words in the written texts that required participants to perform “the language of schooling”. In contrast, the translation test mainly contained general vocabularies, hence the participants used more Vietnamese words than code-switched words from other languages. These results corroborate the ideas of Montrul (2016), who suggested that knowledge of early-acquired concrete words are retained by the heritage speaker (53). It means the heritage speakers often acquire specific semantic fields at a young age that are familiar and have to do with their daily life such as common objects in the

home, basic nature terms, body parts, and childhood vocabulary (ibid.:48). An interesting example further supporting the idea of the incomplete acquisition of lexicon (Montrul 2016) is that Vietnamese-German adolescents in both empirical studies preferred to use informal address forms that are often used in family and community contexts such as kinship terms (*con, em, cháu*) and the pronoun *mình* (used in intimate relationships) instead of formal and neutral address forms *tôi, bạn* (Thompson 1965). The high frequency of these forms may also be related to the deficiency of language input. The production of smaller Sino-Vietnamese vocabularies and smaller compounding are also evidence for Montrul's (2016) conclusion.

8.1.2.2. The use of basic words instead of specific words

Another important feature that appeared in both sets of collected data is the preference for the use of basic words rather than specific words. This is due to not only transfer but also the simplification of language choice. In the collected texts, the generalization of the verb *làm* (make) in Vietnamese texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents appeared consistently across written texts and translated texts. For example, *làm một cái lỗ* (make a hole) was used instead of *khoan một cái lỗ* (drill a hole) in 11 written texts. These results are likely to be related to the common strategy of the language learner in attempting to manage with a lack of language knowledge. Another possible explanation for this specific example might be that transfer occurred from German to Vietnamese. The German phrase *ein Loch machen* (make a hole) has been viewed as a conventional case. However, the use of nuclear verb *làm* instead of other specific verbs also occurred frequently in other situations in the two sets of collected texts, for example *làm cho chặt* (make for fix) instead of *cố định* (fix), *làm màu đỏ* (make (it) red) instead of *son màu đỏ* (paint (it) red). Other verbs such as *nhìn* (see) and *nói* (talk) as general verbs/basic verbs have been used instead of specific verbs *gặp* (meet) and *nói chuyện, trò chuyện, or kể*.

Another example that exemplified the difficulties Vietnamese-German adolescents had in using specific verbs is the translation of the specific verb *tailor*. If 20/20 Vietnamese monolingual participants used the verb *may* to translate the given verb in the source text, then the Vietnamese-German adolescents chose a range of verbs such as *may* (5/20), *khâu* (sew - 3/20), *đưa* (give - 3/20), *mua* (buy - 1/20), *làm* (make - 1/20), and even elimination of the sentence that contained this verb.

In accordance with the present results, previous studies have demonstrated that second language learners have the problem of “getting ‘easy’ verbs incorrect at the advanced level” (Lenon 1996, cf. Viberg 2002:57). Specifically, Viberg (2002) found that nuclear verbs/basic verbs have been preferred by L2 learners rather than L1 learners. For example, the verb *sätta* (put = attach) was used by 7 L1 learners and 23 L2 learners (57). Another example is the frequency of the verb *gå* (go) of L2 learners instead of specific verbs *hoppa* (jump) and *flyga* (fly) to describe the video clip situation that a little bird is afraid of flying and goes to the nest and jumps to the ground instead of flying. In reviewing the literature, prior studies by Keim (2007, 2012) reported the generalization of the basic verb *machen* (make) in the German language of Turkish-German adolescents (*isch mach disch krankenhau* (I beat you up so bad that you have to go to the hospital)). Regarding studies on cross-linguistic influence between English and Vietnamese, Tang Giang (2007) mentioned the difficulty in using specific words that do not have direct English translations, such as *mang*, *vác*, *khiêng*, *xách*, *bung* (carry) of Vietnamese-Americans learning the Vietnamese language. As seen in examples of the two sets of collected texts in this study, to overcome this difficulty, young heritage language speakers used the basic verbs such as *làm* instead of specific verbs.

In the collected data, the strategy of use of basic words instead of specific words also appeared in other parts of speech. For example, the general classifier *cái* and the vehicle classifier *chiếc* have often been used instead of other specific classifiers as in *chiếc gỗ* (the vehicle classifier + wood) instead of *tấm gỗ* (CL flat horizontally oriented + wood), *cái đẹp nhất* instead of *điều đẹp nhất*. These results are consistent with those of Tang Giang (2007) and Lê Nila (2008) who suggested that *cái* and *chiếc* are basic classifiers with the most frequent use and therefore it is possible to produce overgeneralization of these classifiers in Vietnamese practice of the Vietnamese heritage speakers.

The strategy of generalization also appeared in the use of nouns and adjectives in both sets of data. The use of *công cụ* (tool) and *đồ* (thing) instead of specific technical tools, and the use of *đồ mặc* (thing wear – thing to wear) instead of *quần áo* (clothes) are examples of the use of general nouns instead of specific ones. In the translated texts, to translate the adjective *happy*, 8/20 Vietnamese-German adolescent did not translate it, 9/20 translated it into the simple adjective *vui* or *mừng*, whereas the Vietnamese monolinguals chose different compounding adjectives that can

describe the emotion more exactly such as *vui vẻ*, *vui sướng*, *vui mừng*, *hạnh phúc*. Additionally, the common incorrect usage of specific adjectives by the Vietnamese-German adolescents in the boomerang written texts described in 6.3.4 suggests that specific adjective use is also a challenge for the heritage speakers.

In short, this outcome matches those observed in the studies by Benmamoun et al. (2013) and Keim (2007, 2012) that showed language users had a restricted vocabulary size through their use of general words instead of specific words. Despite the occurrence of replacement of basic words for specific words in nouns, adjectives, and classifiers, the replacement of specific verbs with basic verbs occurred more frequently in the data collected in this study. This finding is consistent with studies in child language development (i.e., the acquisition of semantics of children) (Bilson et al. 2015).

In short, the characteristics of Vietnamese language production at the lexical level of Vietnamese heritage speakers in this study is found to be as following: less frequent use of technical terms, compound words, Sino-Vietnamese words, and abstract words; frequent use kinship terms and informal address and reference instead of formal forms; frequent use of general verbs instead of specific verbs in specific contexts. These outcomes can be seen both as evidence for incomplete heritage language acquisition, especially literacy acquisition, and as strategies to manage deficiency of lexical knowledge in the heritage language.

8.1.3. Semantic-syntactic characteristic

The analysis of the boomerang written texts in Chapter 5 and Chapter 6 and the translated texts in Chapter 7 proposed semantic-syntactic characteristics in the Vietnamese heritage language performed by the Vietnamese-German adolescents. Table 8.3 compares the occurrence (+) of those features in each 20 texts of two tests written and translated by young Vietnamese heritage speakers living in Germany.

Table 8.3. Semantic-syntactic features in the written texts and the translated texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

Features	Written texts	Translated texts
1. Higher classifier omission than classifier overuse or incorrect use	+	+
2. The use of the general classifier <i>cái</i> instead of specific classifiers	+	+
3. Frequency of the use of preposition <i>với</i> (with) and <i>vào</i> (into) instead of appropriate preposition	+	–
4. Occurrence of preposition overuse	+	–
5. Confusion between preposition and conjunction	–	+
6. Occurrence of the use of incorrect preposition	–	+
7. Preference of the rigid structure SVO	+	–
8. Higher portion of incomplete sentence than the monolinguals	+	+
9. The overuse of the copular <i>là</i> in the native-like structure SUB + ADJ due to transfer	–	+

As shown in Table 8.2, semantic-syntactic features in the written texts and translated texts are not consistent across the two tests. The following discussion of each pattern will attempt to interpret findings and explain the consistent and inconsistent features.

Regarding the syntactic level, Benmamoun et al. (2013:144) claimed that the morphological deficits in heritage language represented in language production of heritage speakers of languages such as Cantonese, Mandarin, and Vietnamese can be revealed through the use of classifiers. They thought methodologies of observation in these languages function similarly as morphologically-robust languages (ibid.). However, this linguistic area is also considered an interface phenomenon due to different levels (syntactic, semantic and pragmatic) of linguistic representation (Montrul 2016:76) or is categorized in the area of lexical semantics (Tang Giang 2007). As mentioned in Chapter 4, in the nominal domain, the use of classifiers in the

noun phrase defining numerals and demonstratives is obligatory (Tran Jennie 2011). Therefore, the function of a classifier can be observed as a morpho-syntactic aspect in Vietnamese. The results found in the analysis of the written texts and the translated texts in Chapter 6 and 7 support the findings of previous research on Vietnamese (Tang Giang 2007, Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2006) and Chinese as heritage language (Ming/Tao 2008) that suggested that heritage language speakers tended to make mistakes in the use of classifiers. Mistakes such as omission of classifiers, incorrect classifier use (general classifier *ge* instead of *ke* in Mandarin, and classifier *chiếc* (*gỗ* wood) for *tám* (*gỗ*) in Vietnamese), and classifier overuse for example. Tran Jennie (2011) found that monolingual children who are in the process of developing language have made these same mistakes in the use of classifiers. The present analysis of written and translated texts shows that classifier omission appeared more frequently than the other classifier errors (43% of classifier errors in written texts and 90% in translated of those in texts). This is consistent with an earlier observation made by Nguyễn Linh Chi (2009) in terms of errors in classifier use made by foreigners learning Vietnamese, which showed that among mistakes in the use of nouns and noun phrase, errors in the use of classifiers were made most frequently (74,45%), and amongst those errors classifier omission appeared most frequently (90%).

Regarding the use of incorrect classifiers, the analysis of the two sets of collected data showed that the general classifier *cái* has often been used to replace other specific classifiers (*tám* - flat horizontally oriented, *miếng* – a piece). This finding is consistent with data obtained in Trần Thanh Bình Minh's (2013) research that reported Vietnamese-French users often overused classifier *cái*. However, it is necessary to note that *cái* in her examples must be classified into two different categories, one belongs to the classifier, and another is the extra *cái* that is often used in spoken language to emphasize on reference (Tran Jennie 2011). The use of extra *cái* also occurred in our data and can be evidence of the representation of spoken language in written language in our collected data.

In reviewing the literature, at the syntactic level a preposition is a function word that is easily misused (Benmamoun et al.2013, Rieh 2016). The analysis of the two sets of collected texts showed that omission, overuse and confusion in the use of prepositions all occurred. The errors in preposition use are inconsistent across the two sets of collected data, for example, the use of *với* (with) instead of other prepositions due to transfer from preposition *mit* in German occurred only in the written texts; or

the confusion of preposition and conjunction *với* (with) for *và* (and) due to intralanguage resources. Despite the inconsistency of errors in both sets of collected data, the occurrence of these errors suggests that preposition use is a difficult aspect for people learning Vietnamese as a heritage language or second language. This finding is consistent with a study conducted by Nguyễn Linh Chi (2009) indicating that errors in prepositions by foreigners learning Vietnamese as a second language had the highest proportion of errors in function word use (41,54%).

In other aspects of syntax, such as word order, the written texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents contained the rigid word order *SVO* more frequently than those of their Vietnamese monolingual peers (62% in comparison to 30%). However, the portion of this structure between the two groups of translated texts was not different from the monolingual peers. This is perhaps due to the guidance provided by the structure used in the source text. Although the results found in the written texts study provides evidence for previous findings by Boon/Polinsky (2014) and Montrul (2016), the inconsistency of this feature in the translated texts require analysts to proceed with caution in the interpretation of the results. Additionally, despite the expectation of frequent occurrence due to language transfer, the noun phrase structure has not been incorrectly constructed. However, in order to see the consistency of those features, a further study with more focus on sentence structure or grammatical structure acquisition of young Vietnamese heritage speakers is therefore suggested.

Other vulnerable syntactic areas are complex sentences such as passives, relative clauses, and other referential dependencies (Montrul 2016:76). With regard to passives, although the boomerang text allows the writers to use passive structures in both German and Vietnamese language, Vietnamese-German bilinguals did not use passive constructions in their texts. Only two texts contained these constructions. In German texts, these constructions were used more frequently. This finding can be explained by the habitus in the use of passive constructions of the Vietnamese language. As presented in Chapter 4, passive construction is hardly used in daily communication in the Vietnamese language. Active constructions are preferred over passive structures (Trần Ngọc Thêm 2004). The passive constructions are appropriate constructions in technical and academic texts (Nguyễn Hồng Cỏn/Bùi Thị Diên 2004). Therefore, this linguistic aspect is likely difficult for heritage speakers with lower proficiency in heritage language to both comprehend and produce (Montrul 2016). Even in other heritage languages where passive voice is also preferred in daily

conversation such as German, passive voice constructions in German heritage language of heritage speakers could be lost (Putnam/Salmons 2013). However, for Vietnamese-German adolescents, the avoidance of the passive construction shows that they did not simply translate everything from the German language, in fact, they understand how to use Vietnamese. Comparing between the use of passive structure in Vietnamese texts and German texts of this group, there are significant differences. It is evident that Vietnamese-German bilinguals use active voice in Vietnamese as it “must-be” (Trần Ngọc Thêm 2004:141).

Another interesting finding is the occurrence of the transfer of grammar structure in the use of copular *là* (be) in the predicate containing an adjective in the translated texts. For example, *Tôi là vui* (I am happy) is an ungrammatical sentence in the Vietnamese language because adjectives can also be the main part of the predicate. In accordance with the present result, Nguyễn Linh Chi (2009) has demonstrated that English speaking learners of Vietnamese used the copular *là* (be) incorrectly 13% of the time in her data.

To summarize, the syntactic level seems to provide challenges for heritage speakers in both comprehension and production of their heritage languages. Despite no focus on syntactic analysis in the two sets of collected data due to the requirement of a complex design for specific indicators such as null subject, representation of tense, number and aspect, the general analysis found that classifier use, preposition use, the transfer of the use of copular *là* (be), and the preference of rigid structure SVO are important features in language performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents.

8.1.4. Address forms

As proposed in section 4.4.2, Vietnamese address forms are a complex system including lexical alternatives of common nouns (kinship and social status terms), proper nouns and personal pronouns (Lương Văn Hy 1990:4). The meaning of linguistic forms in the Vietnamese person-reference system is often defined in accordance with the communicative context. This means that the usage of one linguistic form in the person-reference system in different interactional situations can be decoded differently (Hồ Đắc Túc 2003:114). The complex system of address forms and the complex rules of their usage are challenging for children and non-native speakers to acquire proficiency (Trần Thị Thanh Vân 2013:141). The difference in the

use of address forms has been partially mentioned in the analysis of the lexical level. However, the use of these forms are more related to pragmatics. Therefore, the use of address forms as they have been performed in the collected data is discussed here in more detail.

The boomerang written texts required informants to use the “language of schooling”. The use of the neutral second pronoun both singular and plural *bạn/các bạn* (you singular and plural) is suggested to refer to a colleague as the appropriate choice for this situation which requires a polite form (Thompson 1965:301). Additionally, impersonal reference in passives or imperatives can be seen as natural usage. These address forms have also been chosen by the monolingual participants. In contrast, the Vietnamese-German adolescents predominantly used kinship terms *con, em* (31%) and the pronoun *mình* (53%) (Figure 5.2.2) to address themselves. These results showed that the Vietnamese monolinguals have referenced the readers, whereas the Vietnamese-German adolescents have addressed themselves in the texts.

In the translated texts, the translation of pronoun *I* and *we* between the Vietnamese-German adolescents and the Vietnamese monolinguals is different. The analysis showed that 20/20 Vietnamese monolinguals used pronoun *tôi* to translate *I* and *chúng tôi* to translate *We*. *Tôi* is a personal pronoun for first person which is unique pronoun used in polite situation (Thompson 1965:299). *Chúng tôi* is the plural personal pronoun of *tôi* (I). Unlike the Vietnamese monolinguals, the Vietnamese-German adolescents used several different address forms: kinship terms *em, con, cháu* for *I* and *mình* for *we*.

The feature that is consistent across the two sets of collected data is the preferred use of kinship terms *em, con, cháu* or the pronoun *mình* that are often used in intimate relationships and in the family context (Hoàng Phê 2003, Thompson 1965). Although address forms *tôi, chúng tôi, bạn, các bạn, em, con, cháu* and *mình* are viewed to be polite address forms, they are used differently based on specific contexts (Thompson 1965, Trần Thị Thanh Vân 2013). The difference in the use of address forms of the Vietnamese-German adolescents from the use of monolingual peers may be due to language input and language practice. Most bilingual participants have only learned Vietnamese at home, therefore they have used familiar address forms such as kinship terms. In a study on Vietnamese heritage language in France, Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2013) found that Vietnamese-French still used the complicatedly traditional address system.

The challenge of address forms in Vietnamese for non-native speakers has been observed in previous studies that demonstrated that errors in address form use had the highest proportion of errors in pronoun use of second language learners (Nguyễn Linh Chi 2009), and ability in address form use belongs to previous knowledge and experience about the system and the level of language proficiency (Trần Thị Thanh Vân 2013). Particularly, amongst second language learners speaking different native languages, Chinese can learn Vietnamese address forms better due to the equivalent address form system in their native language. Amongst learners at different language proficiency levels, advanced learners are able to use these forms closer to how a native speaker would than others (ibid.:141). These findings therefore suggest that the use of address forms are difficult for non-native speakers and need to be paid attention to in language teaching.

As proposed in the literature review (Table 4.3), two studies mentioned the use of address forms of Vietnamese heritage speakers in oral communication that found a signal of attitude change in code-switching of personal pronouns (Hồ Đắc Túc 2003), and maintenance of the complex address system in the Vietnamese language (Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2013). Due to the differences of data sources, the findings of the present study is not able to support the findings of the given previous studies. However, comparison between the results of these studies has contributed to a broader domain of knowledge in the use of address forms by heritage speakers. In contrast to the findings of Hồ Đắc Túc (2003) and Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2013), code-switching did not appear in address forms of the texts of the Vietnamese-German adolescents. It is therefore likely that such connections exist between code-switching and means of communication (oral or written).

In addition, the use of teknonymy by the Vietnamese diaspora is viewed as an “innovative system”, because it changed and innovated in communication between different Vietnamese-French generations (Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2013:103). Contrastingly, the use of kinship terms as informal address forms instead of formal and neutral address forms in the two sets of collected texts of the current study cannot be seen in the same way due to the strict prescriptive conventions of the written language.

To some extent Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2013) also demonstrated the elimination of pronouns as a characteristic of heritage language use of Vietnamese-French due to the lack of confidence in finding the proper address form. Consistent

with this finding, the current research found that participants in translated texts avoided translating the third pronoun singular (*it*) and plural (*them*) from the English source text into Vietnamese translated texts. Two of five strategies to avoid the use of a pronoun in Vietnamese texts are (1) ignoring the sentence that contains these pronouns (6/20 texts); and elimination of these pronouns (6/20 texts) such as *Em thích Φ* – I like Φ (TB08).

To summarize, the findings of the present study provides more evidence for the suggestion that address forms in the Vietnamese language are a challenge for non-native speakers. The preference of the use of kinship terms and the pronoun *mình* is evidence of the influence of spoken language on the written language of heritage speakers who have not had formal instruction of this language. The characteristics of address form use of heritage speakers are different from the means of communication (oral and written). However, despite the different means of communication, elimination of pronouns is a strategy to avoid using these complex forms.

The features of Vietnamese performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents that have been demonstrated in the two sets of collected texts at all linguistic levels were discussed in this section. These outcomes are summarized in Table 8.4 as follows:

Table 8.4. Characteristics of Vietnamese as heritage language in the two sets of collected data of the Vietnamese-German adolescents

Linguistic level	Features	Examples
Orthography	1. Deletion of diacritics	<a> instead of <ã>, <â>
	2. Word initial capitalization	<i>Kéo</i> instead of <i>kéo</i> (scissor)
	3. Replacement of <d> for <đ>	<i>Do</i> instead of <i>đồ</i> (thing)
	4. Replacement of <g>, <k> for <c>	<i>gái</i> instead of <i>cái</i> (CL) <i>kắt</i> instead of <i>cắt</i> (cut)
	5. Replacement of <n>, <ng> for <nh>	<i>min</i> , <i>ming</i> instead of <i>mình</i> (1SG)
	6. Confusion <s> and <x>	<i>xau đó</i> instead of <i>sau đó</i> (after that)

	7. Confusion <i> and <y>	<i>iêu</i> instead of <i>yêu</i> (love)
	8. Confusion <ch> and <tr>	<i>trơi</i> instead of <i>chơi</i> (play)
	9. Confusion <d>, <r> and <gi>	<i>dữ</i> instead of <i>giữ</i> (keep)
	10. Reduction of digraphs and trigraphs	<i>út</i> instead of <i>uót</i> <i>thíc</i> instead of <i>thích</i>
Lexis	11. Smaller compounding, Sino-Vietnamese, and technical word than monolinguals	
	6. More frequency of semantic extension than other transfers	
	7. Frequency of transfer from English	
	8. More frequency of code-switching at content words than at function words	
	9. The preference of infinitival form of code-switched nouns and verbs	<i>Fliegen</i> (fly)
	10. Monosyllabization and Vietnamese orthographic rule of borrowed words (blend)	<i>bau</i> instead of <i>bauen</i> (build) <i>Chi</i> instead of <i>cheese</i>
	11. Frequent use of basic words instead of specific words	<i>làm</i> (make) instead of <i>khoan</i> (drill) or <i>son</i> (paint)
Semantic-syntactic interface	12. Higher classifier omission than classifier overuse or incorrect use	
	13. The use of the general classifier <i>cái</i> instead of specific classifiers	<i>cái gỗ</i> (general classifier wood) instead of <i>miếng gỗ</i> (CL for flat wood)
	14. Problems in preposition use	

	15. Preference of the rigid structure SVO	
	16. Frequency of incomplete structure	
Pragmatics	17. High frequency of pronoun <i>mình</i> that implies an intimate relationship	
	18. High frequency of kinship terms <i>con, em</i>	
	19. Avoidance of translation of the third pronouns <i>it</i> and <i>them</i>	

8.2. Writing strategies

Despite the incomplete acquisition, heritage speakers can use strategies to produce heritage language at different levels. In the present study, the data were collected when the participants were between 15 and 16 years of age for both the written and translation tests. Most of them as discussed in Chapter 5 and Chapter 7 did not have formal learning of the Vietnamese language. The results support previous studies on other heritage languages that written language of heritage language bilinguals is difficult to fully cut off from oral language and action (Gee 2015:36), and heritage language learners “tend to write the way they speak” (Bardel 2015:134, Chevalier 2004:4) like the strategy children take at the beginning of their language learning.

The findings in 8.4 also suggest that in practice of weaker language, especially in writing, a more streamlined, knowledge-telling strategy is used (Danzak 2011a:501) rather than composing and revising in a strategic manner. In other words, these heritage speakers tended to compose a text by “simply writing down everything” (ibid.). The use of knowledge from the societal language that they acquired fully in school is a compensatory mechanism (Schleppegrell/Colombi 1997). This means they can use orthographic rules, phonemes, graphemes, form and meaning of vocabulary, and grammatical rules of the dominant language to comprehend and produce heritage language. This process can help heritage language speakers to learn and use heritage languages from the acquired knowledge. Comparison of Vietnamese texts and German

texts of Vietnamese-German bilinguals, it is argued that writing strategies such as generating ideas, developing concepts, and organizing information and for planning purposes in German (Karim/Nassaji 2013:129) might be approved to compensate for the possible deficiencies of their knowledge in the heritage language, and to promote the writing process in their heritage language. However, this process can also create interlingual errors (Ciuk/James 2015).

According to Ciuk/James (2015), errors in second language learning are the results of learning and communication strategies that were discussed in 2.6.1. The analysis of the collected data showed that the Vietnamese-German participants have used these strategies to complete the tasks. They have applied learning strategies: *Analogy* such as using the general classifier *cái* for the objects that combine with their specific classifier like *tấm* (flat horizontally oriented) in *cái gỗ* instead of *tấm gỗ*. *Redundancy* has also been evident as the overuse of classifier or preposition. *Transfer* occurred at all linguistic levels such as using word initial capitalization and code-switching. *Overgeneralization* has been used in the attempt to use basic words instead of specific words to complete the tasks. Additionally, communication strategies have been commonly used such as: *language switches* (one result of transfer process), *ignorance or avoidance* as in the pronoun use, and *word coinage* as the examples about blend (*Chi – cheese*) or loan translation (*máy cắt gỗ* (machine cut wood) instead of saw). Loan translation including *phraseological calque* (*đi trường* from go to school instead of *đi học* – go study), and *syntactic calque* (*Tôi là vui* – I am happy instead of *Tôi vui*) was also a strategy used across both sets of collected texts. In sum, in order to complete the writing and translation tasks, the participants had to use many strategies to compensate for their lack of knowledge in the heritage language.

Prior studies have noted the importance of transfer from dominant language to weaker language in bilingual language development (Montrul 2016). The transfer and code-switching from German or perhaps other additional languages which adolescents already acquired can be a resource for the use of initial noun capitalization, the use of “to be” in the sentence with an adjective influenced by the German and English grammar structure, the incorrect use of the preposition *với* (with) influenced by the overlap with the use of preposition *mit* (with) in German. However, mixing between all languages creates hybrid cases, such as, *bau* (build), *vuột* (Würst - sausage), *Si* (cheese). Due to the deficit of Vietnamese lexicon, the heritage language adolescents have to borrow German and English words to compensate for this gap. These cases are

the result of the attempting to express their ideas by Vietnamization or mixing with another additional language (i.e., English). In the case of *bau*, the original verb in German is *bauen* (make, build), a word with two syllables was monosyllabized. In the Vietnamese language, monosyllabization is a trend in Vietnamese language development (Cao Xuân Hạo 2006). In another case, the writer borrowed the German word *Wurst* to translate the word sausage, but they used the Vietnamese transcription to write this German word (*vuôt*). These findings are consistent with recent studies indicating that heritage speakers, especially children, are highly creative in filling their lexical gaps and they attempt to use all resources made available to them by their heritage language performance (Rakhilina et al. 2016). Readily ignoring certain linguistic restrictions and overgeneralizing patterns (ibid.) might be explained for their success in producing the heritage language, especially in writing the boomerang text. Transfer, therefore, could be viewed as a strategy rather than making a mistake (Keim 2016; Meisel 1989; Müller 1998; Rosenberg/Schroeder 2016). Despite the view of the errors in the written production of the Vietnamese-German adolescents as strategies rather than making a mistake, the features related to those errors still belong to *idiosyncratic dialect* that is a special sort of dialect with only a few sharing rules whose community of speakers is difficult to define (Corder 1971:22).

In comparison to the written texts of Vietnamese monolingual peers, frequent use of the simple sentence, common writing without diacritics, low frequency of Sino-Vietnamese vocabularies, compound words, and extensively described utterances strongly support the strategy of “simplification” (Danzak 2011a:501). For example, in the translation test, if a Vietnamese monolingual adolescent translated the phrase “the first week” with the use of Sino-Vietnamese as *tuần đầu tiên*, heritage language learners simply translated it into *tuần một*. This convention is not often used in the Vietnamese language. Another example is the frequent use of the rigid structure SVO in the written texts. These findings support the theory of *Minimize Domains* (Hawkins 2004:31) that states that speakers minimize the associated sequences of linguistic forms and their regularly combined syntactic and semantic properties. Due to the recurrence of minimizing the grammatical system across different heritage languages, minimizing in an isolating language like Vietnamese can mean that the classifiers and prepositions are omitted and rigid structure is used (Boon/Polinsky 2014).

To summarize, writing, for heritage language adolescents who do not have formal instruction in heritage language and who have consistent contact with the

societal language, is apparently a great challenge. Like other bilinguals in writing other heritage languages, in order to compose a text, they need to utilize several strategies: “write the way they speak” (Chevalier 2004); “simply writing down everything” (Danzak 2011a:501); use of learning and communication strategies including analogy, redundancy, overgeneralization, avoidance and transfer. Particularly, transfer has appeared at all linguistic levels. Discourse transfer is when heritage speakers use societal language knowledge to generate and organize ideas as well as plan their writing in the target heritage language. These categories seem to overlap one another, and it is viewed as creatively filling in of their lexical gaps in heritage language performance (Rakhilina et al. 2016).

8.3. Transfer as a parameter

Vietnamese heritage language performance of Vietnamese heritage speakers is deficient at many linguistic levels as discussed above, for example, simplification of the system of diacritics, limited vocabulary (the use of pronouns), minimization of grammar aspects (the use of classifier, word order), confusion of prepositions. Therefore, it was suggested that, like L2 learners, heritage speakers show signs of transfer from the dominant language (Montrul 2012:6), as well as all languages that were acquired through formal schooling (Flynn et al. 2004). From the sociolinguistic perspective, transfer and code-switching are viewed as a natural outcome of multilingual contexts (Cheng/Butler 1989). Previous studies on the linguistic characteristics of Vietnamese as heritage language, Đào Mục Đích (2012, 2016), Tang Giang (2007), Hồ Đắc Túc (2003), Thái Duy Bảo (2007), Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2013) also found that transfer and code-switching occur frequently in their data. They also viewed code-switching as one of the important strategies to overcome difficulties in communication in the Vietnamese diaspora community or in the family where Vietnamese is expected to be used more than other societal languages. However, most of their collected data are of oral communication. The data in Đào Mục Đích (2012) were collected from a newspaper which normally drew more language of the first diaspora generation, or at least the journal language. The results of this study on transfer analyzed from written data of bilingual adolescents contribute more data for the inquiry that transfer is a salient feature of the use of heritage language of bilingual speakers, especially in heritage language practice of the second diaspora generation.

Moreover, the performance of transfer at the various linguistic levels might help to define the language proficiency of the heritage speakers (Jarvis 2000).

Jarvis (2000) has been suggested that there is a strong relationship between language transfer and language proficiency. Therefore, transfer can be used as one of indicators for language proficiency assessment. However, this parameter of language proficiency must be interpreted carefully, because transfer does not simply reduce at a higher language proficiency (Jarvis/Palvenko 2010:11). Beginners usually have orthographic transfer, but intermediate and advanced learners often get semantic transfer. Even at lexical level, there are differences between using formal transfer and meaning transfer. The learners who have more formal transfers are usually at low language proficiency level. The learners who have more meaning transfers (i.e., semantic extension) usually acquire a language at the intermediate and advanced level. Hence defining language proficiency based on the performance of transfer needs to be carried out carefully at different linguistic levels. The analysis in this study showed that 46% Vietnamese-German adolescents who attended the writing test and 68% who were in the translation test are in the intermediate or advanced of written ability in heritage language, because their texts in empirical studies contain a high proportion of meaning-based transfer (Bardel 2015; Jarvis 2000; Ringbom 2007). However, when we compare the written texts and translated texts, it is found that transfer of form in lexical transfer in the written texts also had a high proportion (45%), whereas its proportion in the translated text was lower (22%). A possible explanation for this might be that the translation task contains daily vocabulary that the heritage speakers use more frequently. Thus, they did not need to borrow from the societal language.

The acquisition of languages by bilinguals is not always balanced (Montrul 2012). That means at each phase of language development, one language is always better than another which can lead to dominant transfer (Montrul 2016:268). The term dominant language is often defined in terms of language proficiency to refer to the language “in which the bilingual is informally considered to be most proficient” (Genesee et al. 1995). It means dominance can be determined by the directionality of mixing. The results of both empirical studies show that common transfers occurred from German to Vietnamese at all linguistic levels. And it was hardly ever the case that Vietnamese influenced the German language production. Therefore, these findings support the argument made by Genesee et al. (1995) and Hulk/Müller (2000) about dominance language and language mixing direction.

8.4. Vietnamese as heritage language: teaching literacy skills

As mentioned in the literature review, most parents expected that their children can understand the Vietnamese language and culture. Trần Anh (2008:259) emphasized that *Tiếng Việt còn, người Việt còn* (as long as the Vietnamese language exists, the Vietnamese people exist). It has been used as a slogan of the Vietnamese diaspora in the United States to express their desire to maintain their Vietnamese language and culture. Moreover, it has also been suggested that bilingual students who are fully proficient in both their societal language and heritage language were an educational success and had distinct cognitive benefits (Bialystok et al. 2014, Tang Giang 2007, Sanz 2007). Therefore, heritage language instruction seeks to give learners the tools to develop biliteracy (Chevalier 2004). However, heritage language learners often share the classroom space with traditional second language learners which may not be adequate for this particular student profile (Beaudrie et al. 2014). Heritage language learners, therefore, have few opportunities to develop their literacy skills in their heritage language (Torres 2016). The present study did not examine heritage language education directly because of the restriction of time and data, but its findings regarding the evaluation and the characteristics of Vietnamese as heritage language might contribute more understanding to create a Vietnamese language and cultural program for Vietnamese heritage speakers. Assessing the use of heritage language, especially in literacy skills, is necessary to develop appropriate pedagogical materials (Carreira/Kagan 2011). The key issue for curriculum design is to develop the functional range of the home-based language and cultural resources.

The general outcome found in this study is the strategy to use spoken language to compensate for the lack of ability in written language in Vietnamese as heritage language. This finding corroborates the ideas of biliteracy as a continuum (Chevalier 2004; Dorian 1981; Hornberger 1994). Hence, a literacy program for heritage language speakers, especially for adolescents or for young adults in schools or universities should find a way to bridge between resources of conversational speech and formal written discourse (Chevalier 2004).

In order to use the resources of the acquired heritage language of heritage language learners, one of the main objectives of heritage language programs is to provide the difference between spoken and written language (see Torres 2016).

Regarding spoken language, based on the different purposes of the speaker, speech can be presented in various forms (Chevalier 2004). Informal speech is spontaneous; it comes in spurts and is often highly fragmented (Chafe 1982). Consequently, writing possesses a number of devices that make it possible to develop an idea unit clearly (Chafe 1982:39). Compared with spoken discourse, written discourse tends to be more complex, for example, it usually contains a higher ratio of nominal phrases, more morphological complexity (Biber 1995). Apparently, orthography need to be paid attention in written discourse.

The resources of spoken knowledge of heritage languages and their knowledge of societal language (i.e., German) and other additional foreign languages (i.e., English) can help heritage language learners to expand the stylistic range of their home-based language. Therefore, strategies for composing a text must be proposed (Cook-Gumperz 1986:13). According to Chevalier (2004), developing a metalinguistic awareness of written discourse types and genres is the first step. However, it is important to bear in mind that the stylistic norms for genres in the heritage language (i.e., Vietnamese) may be significantly different from those in German. The second step is to introduce the basic linguistic tools as orthographic and grammar rules of the heritage language. However, mastery of grammar and spelling is not enough to be fully proficient in heritage language literacy. Hence, the next step of training writing competence in heritage language is to provide the conventions of written discourse styles. The strategies for linking ideas in syntactically more complex phrases and more complex sentences need to be developed. Moreover, the conventions of punctuation and syntax must be taught. Rhetorical organizers, in the form of complementizers, logical connectors, and temporal markers that are used to organize the discourse structure to mark semantic relationships between clauses need to be expanded through learning, because rhetorical organizers and sentence adverbials are critical tools for constructing intersentential cohesion in written discourse (Argamon et al. 2003).

Chevalier (2004) suggested a pedagogical model for developing literacy skills by expanding resources in their heritage language in Figure 8.1:

Stages	Stages I	Stages II		Stages III		Stages IV
Writing Modes	Conversation	Description	Narrative	Evaluation	Explanation	Argument

Process	composing written forms of conversational discourse	Describe	sequencing in time and space; recount	expressing opinions	sequencing: causal relationships	persuading readers to accept a point of view; interpretation
Discourse types	dialogues, interior monologue	descriptions: object, landscape, people	narratives: personal family histories, stories, fairy tales	evaluation: reviews, critiques	explanation: news articles, summaries, reports	essays, academic papers
Target topics	dialogues, interior monologue	descriptions: object, landscape, people	narratives: personal family histories, stories, fairy tales	evaluation: reviews, critiques	explanation: news articles, summaries, reports	essays, academic papers

Figure 8.1. A pedagogical model for developing literacy skills (Chevalier 2004:7)

In Figure 8.1, Chevalier (2004) presents the curriculum plan in chronological order including four stages. Each stage is described by a "writing mode" which is identified by six basic text types: conversation, description, narrative, evaluation, explanation, and argument. *Processes* indicate the functions of text types. A conversation focuses on a written form of spoken discourse; a description refers to describing objects, landscapes and people; a narrative conveys events in time and space; an evaluation demonstrates opinions; an explanation emphasizes the relationships between cause and effect; and an argument is to convince readers of a particular position or statement. *Discourse types* are seen as subtypes of genre, or types of texts, for example, internal monologues or dialogues could be presented as conversation in written form; evaluations could appear as critiques and reviews. Chevalier (2004) noted that it is impossible to list all genres in discourse types, therefore, a few representative examples have been selected for inclusion. *Target topics* in Figure 8.1 introduce common linguistic features of each discourse type that can be organized in each unit of instruction. For example, since narrative includes intersentential cohesion, the instruction on narrative also affords a study of intersentential cohesion.

According to Chevalier (2004), the sequence of stages in Figure 8.1 lets students begin with simpler, less formal conversational discourse, and then gradually master increasingly sophisticated and formal genres. Each stage is organized as a process. Additionally, in order to improve the heritage language program focusing on the development of literacy skills, Danzak (2011abc) developed a project related to graphic novels, graphic journal writing encouraged students to write their own story and about their own identities. Torres (2016) proposed the implementation of the flipped classroom model in a heritage language writing course. Continuously, Torres et al. (2017) discussed new paths in teaching Spanish as heritage language. The combination of these outcomes might help us to define a Vietnamese course focusing on effective writing skills.

According to Chevalier's model (2004), Danzak's idea (2011c), Torres (2016), and Torres et al. (2017), as a model for Vietnamese as heritage language is suggested as follows: Four stages in Chevalier's model (2004) will be applied by focusing on particular problems of students, such as, orthography, writing with diacritics, the use of <c>, <nh>, <ng> needing to be emphasized; at the lexical level, the use of Sino-Vietnamese, pronouns, and alliterations needs to be taught; at the grammatical level, the use of classifiers, word order, conjunctions, and prepositions must be paid attention.

Each stage in Chevalier's model includes three phrases. The first phrase is watching media and reading which can be related to many topics. After watching media, students can gather reading sources and read them at home or in class. Reading assignments should provide a set of preliminary written texts with regard to each topic and genre for reading and analysis to help learners develop an awareness of the linguistic forms in each discourse, for example, the use of vocabulary including derivational morphology and word meanings; the attention on grammar and orthography; the issue of discourse coherence including syntactic and lexical devices for presenting contrast, topic focus, and for organizing the elements of a rhetorical argument typifying high style formal composition. The second phase is writing assignments, which can be flexibly organized according to the instructor's desires. Students can work in a mixed group including students with various language proficiencies to share the awareness of problems and new strategies. Diaries and other forms of autobiographical writing encourage self-expression and experimentation. For example, Danzak (2011c) developed a project related to graphic novels, he included

graphic journal writing to encourage students to write their own story and identities. Heritage language needs to receive attention beyond just the spoken language development (Torres et al. 2017:274) with emphasis on flexible language, history and culture programs. For example, depending on the needs of students, teachers can provide regional and particular knowledge to encourage them to use their heritage language. The writing composition can be firstly read and discussed with other students to review and improve their texts. The final phase is completely independent writing to produce a complete text.

The model presented by the combination of the ideas of Chevalier (2004), Danzak (2011c), and Torres is intended to be a flexible strategy providing general guidelines targeted to the development of written literacy. The content and plan can be revised to adapt to the specific needs of the learner. It is a suggestion for future research in Vietnamese heritage language education in Germany, as well as in other countries.

8.5. Summary

The present study was designed to determine the Vietnamese writing performance of Vietnamese bilingual adolescents living in Germany. This chapter has firstly discussed characteristics of Vietnamese as heritage language performed by Vietnamese-German adolescents at the levels of orthography, lexis, syntax and address forms. Multiple example analysis revealed that the writing performance of Vietnamese-German bilinguals is incomplete, for example, writing without diacritics and tone marks; use of spoken language for written language (i.e., the use of kinship terms in formal written texts); incorrect use of prepositions; and incorrect use of classifiers. However, the completion of written and translated tasks of Vietnamese-German adolescents are considered creative strategies because most participants did not have formal instruction in the Vietnamese language. They have used several strategies to manage their aims, such as transfer from spoken language to written language, transferring knowledge from German as the societal language to Vietnamese as heritage language. Transfer and code-switching as prominent features of Vietnamese production of Vietnamese-German adolescents are, therefore, viewed as a parameter to define language dominance, and to examine the hypotheses of the interaction between languages when more than two languages are in contact. Based on studies on the

language repertoire of Vietnamese heritage speakers, and the models of heritage language teaching which focuses on the development of literacy skills, this study also suggests a program for teaching Vietnamese language and culture. However, this program needs to be examined in the future.

9. Conclusion

The main aims of the current study are to examine the reliability and validity of the LiPS evaluation of written performance of the Vietnamese heritage language of Vietnamese-German adolescents, and to define linguistic features performed in their texts. In order to tackle the given aims, two separate empirical studies, the boomerang writing test and the translation test, have been conducted on Vietnamese-German adolescents as the target group and on Vietnamese monolingual peers as the control group. Apart from concluding the main findings of the current study, the present section also presents the limitations of this study, and proposes future research that are necessary to either understand more about language performance of the target group in particular and young Vietnamese heritage speakers in general or to develop the teaching program for the Vietnamese heritage language.

9.1. Research question and analysis

With regard to the first question about the reliability and validity of the LiPS evaluation, the results of this study suggested despite appropriate boomerang tasks for the measurement of “high language cognition” (Hulstijn 2011b: 231), the analysis based on the interpretative argument (Kane 2013, Oliveri et al. 2015) showed that 3/11 indicators has not been expected responses. These include the use of address forms, the use of passive, and the use of conjunction (Table 5.10). In addition, despite obtaining the expected responses in comparison with the written production of the Vietnamese monolinguals, the LiPS analysis has been considered an oversimplified analysis frame with no consideration of the accurate level of usage of vocabulary, address forms, conjunctions, and compounding. Therefore, representation of the Vietnamese language performance of participants has not been entirely demonstrated across observed test scores.

However, the expected results that were gained by LiPS evaluation in several indicators such as task performance, the use of Sino-Vietnamese words, the use of compounding, the use of impersonal expression, vocabulary and the extra quantitative analysis of the indicators that have either received unexpected responses or oversimplified analysis in LiPS evaluation such as taking consideration of the

difference in use of the address forms, and the analysis of the use of conjunctions, and the use of classifiers have brought an overview about the written performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents in comparison with their Vietnamese monolingual peers. Some features of Vietnamese heritage language performance that have generally been defined through LiPS observed scores and the extra analysis are: smaller vocabulary size than their monolingual peers, use of different address forms, sentence structures from the monolingual peers, and having difficulty in the use of classifiers. The findings of this study contribute to former studies done by Bialystok/Luk (2012) on receptive vocabulary, Danzak (2011abc) on writing, the isolating heritage language characteristics of Ming/Tao (2008), and the potential difficulty of learning Vietnamese as a second or heritage language (Tang Giang 2007). These studies suggested that bilinguals usually obtain significantly lower scores or have difficulty in the use of the given domains. However, despite the importance of orthographical skills in writing, especially for young heritage speakers, the orthographical analysis has not been concerned in LiPS analysis. The code-switching and transfer that is a prominent characteristic in language practice in the bilingual contexts (Montrul 2016, Thái Duy Bảo 2007) has also not been paid much attention.

In order to draw more details about the Vietnamese writing performance of Vietnamese-German participants, a qualitative analysis at specific-linguistic indicators that have not met expectations or need to be additionally classified such as address forms, classifiers in the scoring systems or have been left completely unanalyzed in LiPS evaluation such as orthography and code-switching has been presented in Chapter 6. The analysis at different linguistic levels showed that Vietnamese language performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents contain the specific characteristics that are different than those of the standard Vietnamese that has been controlled by the written texts of the Vietnamese monolinguals.

In addition to the qualitative analysis of written texts, another translation study has been undertaken to design and to evaluate the degree of accuracy on demonstration of Vietnamese written performance of Vietnamese-German adolescents. Overall, this study strengthens the idea that Vietnamese language of different diaspora can be viewed as an *idiosyncratic dialect* that is a special sort of dialect with only a few sharing rules whose community of speakers is difficult to define (Corder 1971:22). The comparison of the findings found in the analysis of the boomerang written texts and the translation texts, and the findings of previous research dealing with the

Vietnamese heritage language showed that Vietnamese performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents shares several common features with other Vietnamese diaspora communities, for example, code-mixing at many linguistic levels (Hồ Đắc Túc 2003, Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2006, Thái Duy Bảo 2007, Đào Mục Đích 2012, 2016); and incorrect usage of classifiers (Phan Ngọc Trần 2017, Trần Thanh Bình Minh 2006). However, there are specifically consistent features that have only been demonstrated in the collected data due to the difference in data sources. If most previous studies on the Vietnamese as heritage language conducted oral data in everyday communication, the current study has focused on written data in both “basic and high language cognition” (Hulstijn 2011b: 23-231). These features have been proposed in Table 8.4. Apart from these features that have occurred consistently across the two sets of collected data, there are several patterns that only appeared in one set of collected data or appeared infrequently despite the potential occurrence, for example, the replacement of <f> for <ph>. These patterns have not been viewed as a feature of written performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents in the current study but they need to be examined in a further study.

The findings of the present study also contribute to a growing body of literature on language dominance and language mixing. This outcome is contrary to that of Gumperz (1976) and Cantone (2007) who found that mixing and language dominance are unrelated. Therefore, this finding supports the arguments made by Genesee et al. (1995), Hulk/Müller (2000), and Jarvis (2000) who have argued that mixing and language dominance are correlated. Another contribution of this study has also been to confirm the hypothesis on relief strategies in bilingual language use which was proposed by Genesee (1989), and further contributions were made by Meisel (1989), Müller (1998), and Karim/Nassaji (2012). This is the case also in Vietnamese diaspora studies, for example Hồ Đắc Túc (2003), Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2013), Thái Duy Bảo (2007), Đào Mục Đích (2012, 2016). The bilinguals have to draw from every piece of knowledge they have in both languages due to the limitation of resources. In addition, this study has gone some way towards enhancing the understanding of the complex relationship between language proficiency and transfer (Jarvis 2000, Ringbom 2007, Bardel 2015).

In addition, the findings showed that the written productions of Vietnamese-German adolescents are the result of strategies such as “write the way they speak” (Chevalier 2004); “simply writing down everything” (Danzak 2011a:501); use of

learning and communication strategies including analogy, redundancy, overgeneralization, avoidance and transfer. Particularly, transfer has appeared at all linguistic levels. The use of the knowledge for generating, organizing ideas, and planning purposes in other languages in composition is discourse transfer. These categories seem to overlap one another, and it is viewed as creatively filling the lexical gaps in their heritage language performance (Rakhilina et al. 2016).

As a suggestion for implication of the findings of characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language is a specific literacy program for Vietnamese heritage language based on Chevalier's model (2004), Danzak's idea (2011c), Torres (2016), and Torres et al. (2017). Further research is needed to develop this program.

In conclusion, these findings contribute to developing the system of Vietnamese language assessment, defining the characteristics of the Vietnamese heritage language of the Vietnamese-German adolescents, and also initially suggest a literacy teaching program for the Vietnamese heritage language. These findings also partially help educator and teacher to develop their own language and cultural program for the Vietnamese heritage language learners that should be based on the learners' potential knowledge.

9.2. Limitations of the study

Like other studies on the Vietnamese diaspora in Germany, the major limitation of this study is that the small sample does not allow us to draw statistical results completely accurately. The reason for this limitation is during the study, contact with the participants was the most difficult duty, because many families did not want to contact with strangers. For example, in order to make the film "Vietlin", Nhu Quỳnh Thị shared that it was a result of persuasion because Vietnamese often do not want to share their private problems with other people. If she did not have a personal relationship, there was no chance she could have done this project (Beth/Tuckermann 2008:320). Therefore, in a study on the life of Vietnamese adolescents, Hegele (2014) could get only 3 who agreed to attend his interview. At the beginning our study, we also had many difficulties in contacting Vietnamese diaspora families in Germany. The invitation was sent to more than one hundred families, and the interviewers were also sent to their families to ask them directly if they want to participate in the study. However, only 30 families attended this survey in the first test and decreased to 25 at

the second test. In addition, not all of the participants were able to write Vietnamese. 25 Vietnamese texts were collected in the first test and the second one was only 20. In order to examine test – retest result to define reliability of the test, it was only able to choose 20 written texts for the study. To reduce this limitation, addition for t-test and extra description of quantitative analysis, the qualitative analysis was applied to see to what extent written performance of the Vietnamese-German adolescents had been presented.

Another limitation of this study is the absence of free spoken data that might help to examine the relationship between spoken language and written language more transparently. During the investigation, in the second test, the reading data has been gathered. However, it has been recorded from their own written text which had just been written. Therefore, it is still difficult to define the relationship between the two domains accurately.

Due to the aim of the evaluation of high language cognition, basic language cognition that bilinguals often acquire is not directly taken into consideration in the LiPS test. However, Bachmann/Palmer (1996) states that “to define language ability in a way that is appropriate for each particular testing situation” (66). Although the examination of basic language cognition has partially been paid attention to in the second empirical test (Chapter 7) which required more lexical items and syntactic structures that occur in any communicative situation (Hulstijn 2011b:230). However, literacy skill is still strongly related to high language cognition. Therefore, in order to examine basic language cognition of the Vietnamese language, the investigation in oral communicative situations is necessary.

9.3. Recommendations for future research

Further research, firstly, needs to be carried out in order to validate a new development of the LiPS assessment which includes the evaluation of more concrete information on quality of the usage of linguistic registers, for example, correct or incorrect, standard or non-standard, and formal and informal, would help to establish a greater degree of accuracy on this matter. As mentioned in the language assessment in 3.2.2, Cumming (2004) stated that the ideal language measurement consisting of all perspectives of educational, social policies, and practices in every situation worldwide are needed to apply many classical theories, for example, Bourdieu’s Theory of Practice (2010),

Freire's approaches on pedagogy (Freire/Ramos 1970), cultural action (1970a), and conscientization (1970b), or Foucault's Theory of Power/Discourse (1976), since these theories are respectively the social value of linguistic capital, the potential empowerment of disadvantaged groups, and the socio-historical basis of ideas (11).

Another site of further research could concentrate on establishing a test to distinguish between basic and high language cognition of bilinguals in both heritage language and language of the environment. For example, compare between oral data and written data, and also compare different contexts of language usage would be interesting.

It is also recommended that further research be undertaken in a multidisciplinary approach to examine the relationship between language attitude and language proficiency, acculturation and heritage language proficiency, and language proficiency and successful integration, or educational success. These studies should be undertaken through mixed methods to gain reliability and validity.

Another important site of research that could be done is examining to what extent the literacy program suggested in 8.4 for the Vietnamese heritage language works. A concrete course can be developed to do this research.

Abstract in English

In the last five years, research on heritage language has moved from “the margin to become a central focus” thanks to the so-called social turn (Montrul 2016). My dissertation addresses the question of how to evaluate written performance of heritage language speakers, specifically the Vietnamese-German adolescents living in Germany, and what specific linguistic characteristics were consistently performed in their texts. In order to tackle the given aims, two separate empirical studies were conducted. These two studies, the boomerang writing test and the translation test, were given to 20 Vietnamese-German adolescents and 20 their Vietnamese monolingual peers respectively.

The results of the analytic scoring of LiPS showed that there is low degree of validity of three linguistic indicators (i.e., address form, passive, and conjunction). In addition, despite finding the expected responses in comparison to the written production of Vietnamese monolinguals, the LiPS analysis has been considered an oversimplified analysis frame because it cannot measure an accurate level of how takers use vocabulary, address forms, conjunctions, and compounding. Therefore, the representation of the participants’ Vietnamese language performance has not been completely demonstrated across observed test scores.

The present dissertation also identified the common characteristics at all linguistic levels of Vietnamese heritage language performed in the boomerang written texts and the translated texts. At the orthographic level, there are features such as deletion of diacritics, word initial capitalization, grapheme replacement due to transfer from German orthographic rules (e.g., <k> instead of <c>, <n>, <ng> instead of <nh>), grapheme confusion due to interlanguage resources (e.g., <s> and <x>, <i> and <y>), reduction of digraphs and trigraphs (e.g., <u> instead of <uo>, <n> instead of <ngh>). At the lexical level, the study found that Vietnamese-German adolescents had a smaller vocabulary size than their monolingual peers through comparison of total words used, compound words used, and Sino-Vietnamese words used. Additionally, in this area, the following features have also been demonstrated: frequency of semantic extension transfer, frequency of transfer from English, code-switching in content words more than in function words, use of infinitival form of words in code-switching (*fliegen* not *fliegt*), frequent use of basic words instead of specific words (*make* instead

of *paint* or *drill*), and monosyllabization of borrowed words (*bau* instead of *bauen*). The semantic-syntactic level contains the following features: higher frequency of classifier omission over both use of incorrect classifiers and classifier overuse, use of the general classifier *cái* instead of specific classifiers, and incorrect preposition use. The pragmatic level was specifically targeted with discussion about the complicated and context sensitive system of Vietnamese address form use. The results showed that Vietnamese-German adolescents tended to use the intimate informal address forms such as the pronoun *mình* (used to address and refer in intimate relationships), and kinship terms *em*, *con*, *cháu* instead of formal address forms such as *tôi*, *chúng tôi* in the contexts provided by the written and translated tasks. Hence, the findings showed that the written productions of the Vietnamese-German adolescents are the result of strategies such as “write the way they speak” (Chevalier 2004); “simply writing down everything” (Danzak 2011a:501).

The study concludes with a discussion of a specific literacy program for Vietnamese heritage language based on Chevalier’s model (2004), Danzak’s idea (2011c), Torres (2016), and Torres et al. (2017).

Zusammenfassung auf Deutsch

Aufgrund des sogenannten Social Turn hat sich die Untersuchung von Herkunftssprachen in den vergangenen fünf Jahren von einem unbedeutenden Rand- zu einem zentralen Fokusthema entwickelt (vgl. Montrul 2016). Meine Dissertation beschäftigt sich mit den Fragen, wie man die Schreibfähigkeit der Sprecher von Herkunftssprachen, speziell von vietnamesisch-deutschen Jugendlichen, bewerten kann und welche sprachspezifischen Charakteristika durchgängig und allgemein in ihren Texten festzustellen sind. Um diese Ziele zu erreichen, wurden zwei separate empirische Studien, der „Boomerang“-Schreibtest und ein Übersetzungstest, von je 20 vietnamesisch-deutschen Jugendlichen und einsprachigen Vietnamesen gleichen Alters durchgeführt.

Die Analyse der LiPS-Untersuchungsergebnisse ergab einen niedrigen Validitätsgrad bei drei linguistischen Indikatoren (Anredeformen, Passiv und Konjunktionen). Obwohl sich bei ihrem Einsatz die im Vergleich mit der Schriftproduktion einsprachiger Vietnamesen erwarteten Resultate ergaben, wird die LiPS-Untersuchung zudem als ein zu stark vereinfachter Untersuchungsrahmen angesehen, der das exakte Kenntnisniveau von Wortschatz, Anredeformen, Konjunktionen und Komposita nicht berücksichtigt. Daher konnten die Vietnamesisch-Sprachfähigkeiten der Untersuchungsteilnehmer nicht vollständig durch die erzielten Testergebnisse dargestellt werden.

Die vorliegende Dissertation identifiziert zudem die gemeinsamen Charakteristika aller Sprachniveaus vietnamesischer Herkunftssprache, die im „Boomerang“-Schreibtest und im Übersetzungstest auftraten. Im Bereich der Rechtschreibung sind dies Merkmale wie das Auslassen von Diakritika, das Großschreiben von Wortanfängen oder Graphem-Verwechslungen aufgrund der Übertragung deutscher Rechtschreibregeln ins Vietnamesische (z.B. <k> statt <c> oder <n> bzw. <ng> statt <nh>), Graphem-Verwechslungen aufgrund innersprachlicher Fehlerquellen (z.B. <s> und <x> oder <j> und <y>) sowie die Verkürzung von Di- oder Trigraphemen (z.B. <u> statt <uσ> oder <n> statt <ngh>). Im Bereich der Wortkenntnisse ergab die Untersuchung, dass vietnamesisch-deutsche Jugendliche ein weniger umfangreiches Vokabular besitzen als einsprachige Vietnamesen gleichen Alters, und zwar in Bezug auf die absolute Anzahl verwendeter

Wörter, Komposita und sinovietnamesischer Wörter. Darüber hinaus wurden in diesem Bereich die folgenden Merkmale festgestellt: häufige Übertragungen semantischer Extensionen (Begriffsumfänge), häufige Übertragungen aus dem Englischen, bei Autosemantika (Inhaltswörtern) häufiger als bei Synsemantika (Funktionswörtern) auftretendes Code-Switching (Sprachwechsel), Verwendung von Infinitiven beim Code-Switching (*fliegen* statt *fliegt*), häufige Verwendung von allgemeineren anstelle von spezifischeren Wörtern (*machen* statt *anmalen* oder *bohren*) und Reduzierung von Lehnwörtern auf eine Silbe (*bau* statt *bauen*). Auf dem semantisch-syntaktischen Niveau ließen sich die folgenden Merkmale finden: öfter das Auslassen als die falsche oder übertrieben häufige Verwendung von Klassifikatoren, Verwendung des allgemeinen Klassifikators *cái* anstelle spezifischer Klassifikatoren und fehlerhafte Verwendung von Präpositionen. Das pragmatische Niveau wurde unter besonderer Beachtung der Verwendung von Anredeformen untersucht. Hierbei zeigte sich, dass die vietnamesisch-deutschen Jugendlichen bei den Schreib- und Übersetzungsaufgaben dazu tendierten, vertraulichere, informellere Anredeformen zu verwenden, z.B. das Pronomen *mình* (eine vertrauliche Anredeform) bzw. die Verwandtschaftsbezeichnungen *em*, *con* oder *cháu* anstelle formellerer Anredeformen wie *tôi* oder *chúng tôi*. Somit belegen die Untersuchungsergebnisse, dass die Schriftproduktion vietnamesisch-deutscher Jugendlicher auf Strategien wie „schreiben, wie sie sprechen“ (Chevalier 2004) oder „einfach alles hinschreiben“ (Danzak 2011a:501) zurückgreift.

Die vorliegende Dissertation endet mit Vorschlägen für den Entwurf eines speziell auf vietnamesische Herkunftssprachler abgestimmten Lese- und Schreibtrainings, das auf Chevaliers Modell (2004) basiert und dabei Ideen von Danzak (2011c), Torres (2016) und Torres et al. (2017) berücksichtigt.

REFERENCES

A

- Abu-Rabia, Salim/Sanitsky, Ekaterina (2010). Advantages of Bilinguals Over Monolinguals in Learning a Third Language. *Bilingual Research Journal*. 33. 173-199.
- AERA, APA, & NCME (2014). *Standards for Educational and Psychological Testing: National Council on Measurement in Education*. Washington DC: American Educational Research Association.
- Aiko, Mizue (2017). Learning Japanese as a Heritage Language: the Home School Environment. *European Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*. *European Journal of Foreign Language Teaching*. Vol. 2(3). 103-130
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra (2000). *Classifiers: A typology of noun categorization devices*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Aikhenvald, Alexandra (2003). *Classifiers: A Typology of Noun Classification Devices*. *Studies in Typology and Linguistic Theory*. Oxford: Oxford University Press: 87-90.
- Ahn, Russell Changseob (2005). Five measures of interlanguage pragmatics in KFL (Korean as a foreign language) learners. Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Hawai'i at Manoa
- Ahn, Soo Jin (2007). Korean ESL learners' pragmatic competence: motivation, amount of contact, and length of residence. A Dissertation Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of Texas A&M University.
- Ahrenholz, Bernt (2010). *Fachunterricht und Deutsch als Zweitsprache*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Alderson, Charles/Banerjee, Jayanti (2001). Language testing and assessment (Part I). *Language Teaching - LANG TEACH*. 213-236
- Albirini, A.; Benmamoun, E., & Saadah, E. (2011). Grammatical features of Egyptian and Palestinian Arabic heritage speakers' oral production. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*. 33. 273 - 303.
- Alexiadou, Artemis (2017). Building verbs in language mixing varieties. *Zeitschrift für Sprachwissenschaft*. 36(1). 165–192
- Allman, Bohdana (2005). Vocabulary Size and Accuracy of Monolingual and Bilingual Preschool Children. In: James Cohen, Kara T. McAlister, Kellie

- Rolstad, & Jeff MacSwan (eds.) Proceedings of the 4th International Symposium on Bilingualism. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press. 58-77
- Altmayer, Claus (2009). Mehrsprachigkeit und Schulerfolg - die europäische (deutsche) Perspektive. Stellenbosch Papers in Linguistics Plus. 38 (1). 101 – 110
- Alves, Mark J. (1998). Passive voice or affective verbs in Vietnamese? In: Yoshimi, Dina/ Plumlee, Marilyn (Eds.): The life of language, the language of life: Selected papers from the first college-wide conference for students in languages, linguistics and literature. University of Hawaii at Manoa. 113-117)
- Alves, Mark J. (2009). Sino-Vietnamese Grammatical Vocabulary and Sociolinguistic Conditions for Borrowing. Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society 1. 1-9.
- Amato, Janelle/Watkins, Marley (2011). The predictive validity of CBM writing indices for eighth-grade students. Journal of Special Education. 44. 195-204.
- Anderson, Stephen R. (1985): Typological distinctions in word formation. In: Timothy Shopen (Ed.): Language typology and syntactic description. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 3–56
- Androutsopoulos, Jannis (2001). Zur medialen Stilisierung und Aneignung von “Türkendeutsch”. Deutsche Sprache 29. 321-339
- Ansaldò, Ana; Marcotte, Karine; Hübner, Lilian & Raboyeau, Gaëlle (2008). Language therapy and bilingual aphasia: Clinical implications of psycholinguistic and neuroimaging research. Journal of Neurolinguistics - J NEUROLINGUIST. 21. 539-557. 10.1016/j.jneuroling.2008.02.001.
- Anstatt, Tanja (2011). Sprachattrition. Abbau der Erstsprache bei russisch-deutschen Jugendlichen. In: Wiener Slawistischer Almanach 67. 7-31.
- Argamon, Shlomo. Fine, Jonathan & Shimoni, Anat. (2003). Gender, Genre, and Writing Style in Formal Written Texts. Text - Interdisciplinary Journal for the Study of Discourse 23(3). 321–346
- Argyri, Efrosyni/Sorace, Antonella (2007). Crosslinguistic influence and language dominance in older bilingual children. Bilingualism: Language and Cognition. 10(1). 79-99.
- Aronin, Larissa/ Singleton, David (2008). Multilingualism as a New Linguistic Dispensation. International Journal of Multilingualism. 5(1). 1-16

- Aronin, Larissa. (2015). Current multilingualism and new developments in multilingual research. In book: learning and using multiple languages: current findings from research on multilingualism.1-27
- Au, Terry K. Knightly; Leah M. Jun; Sun-Ah & Oh, Janet (2002). Overhearing a Language During Childhood. *Psychological Science* 13(3). 238-243.
- Auer, Peter (1988). A conversation analytic approach to code-switching and transfer. Monica Heller (eds.): *Codeswitching: anthropological and sociolinguistic perspectives*. Berlin [u.a.]: Mouton de Gruyter. 187 - 213
- Auer, Peter; Hinskens, Frans & Kerswill, Paul (2005). *Dialect change: Convergence and divergence in European languages*. Cambridge, New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Auernheimer, Georg (2013). *Interkulturelle Kompetenz und pädagogische Professionalität* (4. durchges. Aufl.). Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften.
- B**
- Bachman, Lyle (1989). Assessment and evaluation. In: *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 10. 210-222.
- Bachman, Lyle (2003). *Fundamental considerations in language testing* (6. Impr.). Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press.
- Bachman, Lyle/Palmer, Andrian (1996). *Language testing in practice*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Baker, Mona (1992). *In other words: A coursebook on translation*. London, New York: Routledge
- Bankston III, Carl. Caldas, Stephen & Zhou, Min (1997). Achievement of Vietnamese American Students: Ethnicity as Social Capital. *Sociological Focus*. 30 (1). 1-16.
- Baumann, Martin (2000). *Migration, Religion, Integration: buddhistische Vietnamesen und hinduistische Tamilen in Deutschland*. Marburg: Diagonal-Verlag
- Barac, Raluca/ Bialystok, Ellen (2012). Bilingual effects on cognitive and linguistic development: role of language, cultural background, and education. *Child development*. 83 (2). 413–422.

- Barac, R.; Bialystok, E.; Castro, D. C. & Sanchez, M. (2014). The Cognitive Development of Young Dual Language Learners: A Critical Review. *Early childhood research quarterly*. 29(4). 699–714.
- Bardel, Camilla/Falk, Ylva (2007). The role of the second language in third language acquisition: the case of Germanic syntax. *Second Language Research*. 23(4), 459-484. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267658307080557>
- Bardel, Camilla (2015). Lexical cross-linguistic influence in third language development. In Peukert (eds.). *Transfer effects in multilingual language development*, Amsterdam: Benjamins. 111-128.
- Beaudrie S.; Ducar C. & Potowski K. (2014). *Heritage Language Teaching: Research and Practice*. Columbus, OH: McGraw-Hill Education.
- Becker K., Aden A., Best K., & Jacobson H. (2016). Variation in West Coast English: The case of Oregon. In Fridland, V., Kendall, T., Evans, B., & Wassink, A. B. (eds.), *Speech in the Western states*. Vol. 1. The coastal states. Durham: Duke University Press. 107–134.
- Beech, John/Keys, Alison. (1997). Reading, vocabulary and language preference in 7- to 8-year-old bilingual Asian children. *British Journal of Educational Psychology*. 67(4). 405–414.
- Benmamoun, E., Montrul, S. & Polinsky, M. (2013). Heritage languages and their speakers: Opportunities and challenges for linguistics. 39(3–4). 129-181
- Ben-Moshe D., Pyke J. & Kirpitchenko L. (2016). The Vietnamese diaspora in Australia: identity and transnational behaviour. *Diaspora studies*. 9:2. 112-127
- Berkemeier, Anna (1998). Wäre in Babylon das Lesen und Schreiben gelehrt worden ... Über die Notwendigkeit linguistischen Wissens für die Alphabetisierung mehrsprachiger/ mehrschriftiger LernerInnen. In: K. Kuhs/W. Steinig (eds.): *Pfade durch Babylon. Konzepte und Beispiele für den Umgang mit sprachlicher Vielfalt an Schulen*. Freiburg. 157-180
- Berkemeier, Anna. (2004). Schriffterwerb im mehrsprachigen Kontext. In: U. Bredel, H. Günther, P. Klotz, J. Ossner, G. Siebert-Ott (eds.) *Didaktik der deutschen Sprache*. Band 1. Paderborn: Schöningh. 297-306
- Bernardini, Petra/Schlyter, Suzanne (2004). Growing syntactic structure and code-mixing in the weaker language: The Ivy Hypothesis. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. 7. 49 - 69.
- Bernstein, Basil (1971). *Class, codes and control*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.

- Beth, Uta/Anja Tuckermann (2008). *Heimat ist da, wo man verstanden wird. Junge VietnamesInnen in Deutschland*. Berlin: Hirnkost.
- Beuchling, Olaf (2003). *Vom Bootsflüchtling zum Bundesbürger: Migration, Integration und schulischer Erfolg in einer vietnamesischen Exilgemeinschaft*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Beuchling, Olaf (2007). *Vietnamesische Flüchtlinge in West-, Mittel- und Nordeuropa seit den 1970er Jahren*. In Klaus J. Bade, Pieter C. Emmer, Leo Lucassen, Jochen Oltmer (eds.): *Enzyklopädie Migration in Europa. Vom 17. Jahrhundert bis zur Gegenwart*. München: Schönigh & Fink. 1072-1076.
- Beuchling, Olaf (2011). *Vietnamese refugees in Western, Central, and Northern Europe since the 1970s: the examples of France, Great Britain, and Germany*. In: Klaus et al. *The Encyclopedia of Migration and Minorities in Europe. From the 17th Century to the Present*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 730-733
- Beuchling, Olaf/Van Cong, Tuan (2013). *Vom Mekong an die Elbe. Buddhistisches Klosterleben in der vietnamesischen Diaspora*. Hamburg: Abera Verlag.
- Beuchling, Olaf (2014). *Als der vietnamesische Buddhismus nach Deutschland kam. Ein Essay zum 50 Moenchsjubiläum des Hohehrwuerdigen Thich Nhu Dien*. In: *Vien Giac*. 36 (3). 57-61
- Bhatia, Tej (2013). *Introduction*. In Bhatia, Tej/Ritchie, William (ed.): *The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism*. New Jersey: Wiley Blackwell. 3-5
- Bialystok, Ellen/Majumder, Shilpi (1998). *The Relationship Between Bilingualism and the Development of Cognitive Processes in Problem Solving*. *Applied Psycholinguistics*. 19 (1). 69-85
- Bialystok, Ellen (2001). *Bilingualism in development: Language, literacy, and cognition*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bialystok, Ellen (2007). *Acquisition of literacy in bilingual children: A framework for research*. *Language Learning*. 57. 45–77.
- Bialystok, Ellen/Craik, Fergus (2010). *Cognitive and Linguistic Processing in the Bilingual Mind*. *Current Directions in Psychological Science*. 19(1). 19–23.
- Bialystok, E., Craik, F. I., & Luk, G. (2012). *Bilingualism: consequences for mind and brain*. *Trends in Cognitive Sciences* 16 (4). 240-250.

- Bialystok, Ellen/Luk, Gigi (2012). Receptive vocabulary differences in monolingual and bilingual adults. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. 15(2). 397–401. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S136672891100040X>
- Bialystok, E., Poarch, G., Luo, L., & Craik, F. (2014). Effects of bilingualism and aging on executive function and working memory. *Psychology and aging*. 29(3). 696–705.
- Biber, Douglas (1995). *The comprehensive analysis of register variation: A Cross-Linguistic Comparison*. Cambridge: University Press
- Bild, Eva-Rebecca/ Swain, Merrill (1989). Minority language students in a French immersion programme: Their French proficiency, *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 10(3). 255-274
- Bilson S., Yoshida H., Tran C. D., Wood E. A., Hills T. (2015). Semantic facilitation in bilingual first language acquisition. *Cognition*. 140. 122-134.
- Bloomfield, Leonard. (1973). *Language* (Reprinted.). London: Allen & Unwin.
- Boon, Erin/Polinsky, Maria (2014). *From Silence to Voice: Empowering Heritage Language Speakers in the 21 Century* Informes del Observatorio/Observatorio's Reports 002, 06/2014
- Boos-Nünning, Ursula/Karakasoglu, Yasemin (2005). *Viele Welten leben Zur Situation von Mädchen und jungen Frauen mit Migrationshintergrund*. Münster: Waxmann
- Born, Renata (2003). Regression, convergence, internal development: The loss of the dative case in German-American dialects. In *German Language Varieties Worldwide: Internal and External Perspectives*, W. Keel & K. Mattheier (eds). Frankfurt: Peter Lang. 151–164
- Bousquette, Joshua (2016). Multiple grammars, dominance, and optimization. In Géraldine Legendre, Michael T. Putnam, Henriëtte de Swart, and Erin Zaroukian: *Optimality-Theoretic Syntax, Semantics, and Pragmatics*. Oxford University Press. 158-176.
- Boudreau, Annette/White, Chantal (2004). Turning the tide in Acadian Nova Scotia: how heritage tourism is changing language practices and representations of language. *Canadian Journal of Linguistics/Revue canadienne de linguistique*. 49(3/4). 327–351.
- Bourdieu, Pierre (2010). *Outline of a theory of practice* (25. printing.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Braunmüller, Kurt (2007). Die skandinavischen Sprachen im Überblick. Stuttgart: UTB
- Bredel, Ursula (2014). (Verdeckte) Probleme beim Orthographieerwerb des Deutschen in mehrsprachigen Klassenzimmern. In: Wilhelm Griebhaber und Zeynep Kalkavan-Aydın (Hg.): Orthographie- und Literaturverzeichnis 561 Schriftspracherwerb bei mehrsprachigen Kindern. Stuttgart: Fillibach; Klett, 125–142.
- Brehmer, Bernhard/Usanova, Irina (2015). Biscrptality and heritage language maintenance: Russian in Germany. In H. Peukert/ I. Gogolin (eds.). Transfer Effects in Multilingual Language Development. Hamburg Studies on Linguistic Diversity. 6. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins Publishing Company. 99-121.
- Brinton, Donna M., Kagan Olga, Bauckus Susan (eds.) (2008). Heritage Language Education a New Field Emerging. Abingdon: Routledge
- Brizić, Katharina (2006). Das geheime Leben der Sprachen. Eine unentdeckte migrantische Bildungsressource. Kurswechsel 2. 32-43
- Brookhart, Susan (2011). Educational Assessment Knowledge and Skills for Teachers. Educational Measurement: Issues and Practice. 30. 3 - 12. 10.1111/j.1745-3992.2010.00195.x.
- Brown, James/ Beiley, Kathleen (2007). Language testing courses: What are they in 2007? Language Testing. 25 (3). 349-383
- Bruening, Benjamin/Tran, Thuan (2015). The nature of the passive, with an analysis of Vietnamese. Lingua 165A. 133-172
- Bui, Chau Giang (2016). Changing Lives and Identities: The Vietnamese Community in the United States and Germany. Marburg: Tectum
- Bùi Minh Toán/Nguyễn Quang Ninh (2004). Tiếng Việt thực hành (Vietnamese in Use). Hanoi: NXB Giáo dục.
- Bui, Pipo (2003). Envisioning Vietnamese Migrants in Germany: Ethnic Stigma, Immigrant Origin Narratives and Partial Masking. Münster: LIT Verlag
- Busch, Brigitta (2011). Trends and innovative practices in multilingual education in Europe: An overview. International Review of Education. 57 (5-6). 541-549
- Butler, Yuko (2012). Bilingualism/Multilingualism and Second-Language Acquisition. The Handbook of Bilingualism and Multilingualism: Second Edition. 109-136.

Byram, Michael (2004). *The Routledge Encyclopedia of Language Teaching and Learning*. London: Psychology Press

C

Cabo, Diego (2016). *Advances in Spanish as a heritage language*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.

Cahyandari, Gita (2015). Cooperation Culture amongst Vietnamese Migrants in Freiburg, Germany. In *Lehrforschung in Freiburg: "Region, State and Society: Cultures of Cooperation"*. Online assess. https://www.academia.edu/24274386/Cooperation_Culture_Amongst_Vietnamese_Migrants_in_Freiburg_Germany

Campell, Russell/Rosenthal, Judith (2000). Heritage language. In Judith W. Rosenthal (eds.): *Handbook of undergraduate second language*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. 165-184

Cao Xuân Hạo (2001). *Tiếng Việt, văn Việt, người Việt*. (Vietnamese, Vietnamese literature, Vietnamese people). Hanoi: NXB Trẻ

Cao Xuân Hạo (2006). *Tiếng Việt sơ thảo ngữ pháp chức năng* (Vietnamese: Draft of functional grammar). Hanoi: NXB Khoa học Xã hội

Cao Xuân Hạo (2007). *Tiếng Việt: Mấy vấn đề ngữ âm, ngữ pháp, ngữ nghĩa* (Vietnamese language: Several issues about phonetic, grammar, syntactic). Hanoi: NXB Giáo dục.

Cao Xuân Hạo (2010). *Vấn đề phân biệt i (ngắn) và y (dài)* (The distinction of i and y). *Kỷ yếu Hội thảo Ngữ học Toàn quốc 2010* (The Proceeding of National Conference of Linguistics). Hanoi: Đại học Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn. 110-117

Cantone, Katja (2007). *Code-Switching in Bilingual Children*. Springer Netherlands.

Cantone K.; Kupisch T.; Müller N. & Schmitz K. (2008). Rethinking language dominance in bilingual children. *Linguistische Berichte* 215. 307-343.

Carreira, Maria/Kagan, Olga (2011). The Results of the National Heritage Language Survey: Implications for Teaching, Curriculum Design, and Professional Development. *Foreign Language Annals*. 44. 40 - 64.

Cenoz, Jasone/Gorter, Durk (2011). A Holistic Approach to Multilingual Education: Introduction. *The Modern Language Journal*. 95. 339 - 343. 10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01204. x.

- Cenoz, Jasone (2013). The influence of bilingualism on third language acquisition: Focus on multilingualism. *Language Teaching*. 46. 1 - 16.
10.1017/S0261444811000218.
- Cenoz, Jasone (2015). Content-based instruction and content and language integrated learning: the same or different? *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. 28. 8-24.
- Cerf, D. C.; Hauger, J. & Harris, H. R. (2013). *Criterion-based holistic scoring: a writing handbook*. New Jersey: New Jersey Department of Education.
- Chafe, Wallace (1982). Integration and Involvement in Speaking, Writing, and Oral Literature. In D. TANNEN: *Spoken and Written Language: Exploring Orality and Literacy*. Norwood: Ablex. 35-53.
- Chafe, Wallace (1985). Linguistic differences produced by differences between speaking and writing. In D. R. Olson, N. Torrance, & A. Hildyard (Eds.), *Literacy, language, and learning: The nature and consequences of reading and writing*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 105–123
- Chan, Angel (2003). The development of bei dative constructions in early child Cantonese. A Thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Master of Philosophy in Linguistics. The Chinese University of Hong Kong.
- Chan, Yuk Wan (2012). *Chinese and Vietnamese diaspora: Revisited boat people*. New York: Routledge.
- Chang, Charles B./Yao, Yao (2011). Production of phonetic and phonological contrast by heritage speakers of Mandarin. *The Journal of the Acoustical Society of America* 129(6). 3964–3980.
- Chapman, Mimi V./ Krista, Perreira (2005). The Well-Being of Immigrant Latino Youth: A Framework to Inform Practice. *Families in Society: the Journal of Contemporary Human Services* 86(1). 104-111.
- Chapelle, Carol; Enright, Mary & Jamieson, Joan(eds.) (2008). *Building a Validity Argument for the Test of English as a Foreign Language*. New York: Routledge
- Chapelle, Carol (2012) Validity argument for language assessment: The framework is simple.... *Language Testing*. 29(1).19-27.
- Chapelle, Carol; Cotos, Elena & Lee, Jooyoung (2015). Validity arguments for diagnostic assessment using automated writing evaluation. *Language Testing* 32 (3). 385-405

- Chevalier, J. F. (2004). *Heritage Language Literacy: Theory and Practice*. *Heritage Language Journal*. 2(1). 26-44.
- Cheng, Li-Rong/Butler, Katharine (1989). Code-switching: a natural phenomenon vs language 'deficiency'. *World Englishes*. 8 (3). 293-309.
- Grace Cho; Kyung-Sook Cho & Lucy Tse (1997). Why ethnic minorities want to develop their heritage language: The case of Korean-Americans, *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. 10(2). 106-112, DOI: [10.1080/07908319709525244](https://doi.org/10.1080/07908319709525244)
- Christie, Frances (1998). Learning the literacies of primary and secondary schooling. In F. Christie & R. Misson (eds.): *Literacy and schooling*. London: Routledge. 47-73
- Christie, Frances (2002). *Classroom discourse analysis: A functional perspective*. London: Continuum.
- Ciuk, Sylwia/James, Philip (2014). Interlingual translation and the transfer of value-infused practices: An in-depth qualitative exploration. *Management Learning*. 46 (5). 565 -581 [10.1177/1350507614560304](https://doi.org/10.1177/1350507614560304).
- Clahsen, Harald/ Muysken, Pieter. (1986). The availability of universal grammar to adult and child learners — a study of the acquisition of German word order. *Second Language Research*. 2(2). 93-119.
- Clifford, James (1994). *Diasporas*. *Cultural Anthropology*. 9(3). 302-338.
- Clyne, Michael (1967). *Transference and triggering: Observations on the language assimilation of postwar German-speaking migrants in Australia*. Den Haag: Martinus Nijhoff.
- Clyne, Michael (1985) (eds.). *Australia, Meeting Place of Languages*. (= Series C, No. 92). *Pacific Linguistics*. Canberra: ANU.
- Clyne, Michael (1987). Cultural differences in the organization of academic texts: English and German, *Journal of Pragmatics*. 11(2). 211-241.
- Clyne, Michael (1991). *Community Languages: The Australian Experience*. Cambridge: CUP.
http://assets.cambridge.org/052139/7294/excerpt/0521397294_excerpt.pdf
- Clyne, Michael (1997). Some of the Things Trilinguals Do. *International Journal of Bilingualism*. 1(2). 95-116. <https://doi.org/10.1177/136700699700100201>
- Cohen, Emma (2012). The Evolution of Tag-Based Cooperation in Humans: The Case for Accent. *Current Anthropology*. 53. 588-616. [10.1086/667654](https://doi.org/10.1086/667654).

- Comanaru, Ruxandra/Dewaele, Jean-Marc (2015). A bright future for interdisciplinary multilingualism research, *International Journal of Multilingualism*. 12(4). 404-418.
- Cook, Vivian/Bassetto, Benedetta (2011). *Language and bilingual cognition*. New York [u.a.]: Psychology Press.
- Cook-Gumperz, Jenny (eds.) (1986). *The social construction of literacy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Cooper, Charles/Odell, Lee (1977). Holistic evaluation of writing. In CR Cooper/L Odell (Eds.): *Evaluating Writing*. Urbana, IL: National Council of Teachers of English. 3–31.
- Coulmas, Florian (1996). *The Blackwell Encyclopedia for Writing Systems*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Corder, Pit (1971). Idiosyncratic dialects and error analysis. *IRAL: International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*. 9(2). 147–160. <https://doi.org/10.1515/iral.1971.9.2.147>
- Crystal, David (2006). *How Language Works*. New York: The Overlook Press.
- Cummins, Jim (1979). Cognitive/academic language proficiency, linguistic independence, the optimum age question and some other matters. *Working papers on Bilingualism*. 19. 198-205
- Cummins, Jim (1980). The Cross-Lingual Dimensions of Language Proficiency: Implications for Bilingual Education and the Optimal Age Issue. *TESOL Quarterly*. 14(2). 175-187. doi:10.2307/3586312
- Cummins, Jim (1981). The Role of Primary Language Development in Promoting Educational Success for Language Minority Students. In book: *Schooling and language minority students: A theoretical framework*. Publisher: California state Department of Education Editors: California State Department of Education. 3-49
- Cummins, Jim (1983). *Heritage language education: A literature review*. Toronto: Ministry of Education.
- Cummins, Jim (1991). Introduction. *The Canadian Modern Language Review* 47. 601–605.
- Cummins, Jim (2001). Bilingual Children's Mother Tongue: Why Is It Important for Education? *Sprogforum* 19. 15-21
http://www.lavplu.eu/central/bibliografie/cummins_eng.pdf

- Cummins, Jim (2005). A Proposal for Action: Strategies for Recognizing Heritage Language Competence as a Learning Resource within the Mainstream Classroom 89 (4). 585-592
- Cummins, Jim (2008). BICS and CALP: Empirical and theoretical status of the distinction. In: Hornberger N.H. (eds): Encyclopedia of Language and Education. Springer, Boston, MA. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-387-30424-3_36. 71-84
- Cummins, Patricia/Davesne, Céline. (2009). Using Electronic Portfolios for Second Language Assessment. The Modern Language Journal. 93. 848 - 867. 10.1111/j.1540-4781.2009.00977.x.
- Cumming, Alister (2004). Broadening, Deepening, and Consolidating, Language Assessment Quarterly. 1(1). 5-18, DOI: [10.1207/s15434311laq0101_2](https://doi.org/10.1207/s15434311laq0101_2)
- Cunningham, Stuart/Nguyen, Tina (2006). Actually existing hybridity: Vietnamese diasporic music video. In: Karim, Karim H. (eds.): The media of diaspora: mapping the globe. Transnationalism: Routledge research intransnationalism, 7. London: Routledge.119-134.
- Cutler, A.; Choi, J. & Broersma, M. (2017). Language phonology in the earliest months of life. Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences. 114 (28). 7307-7312; DOI: 10.1073/pnas.1706405114
- D
- Danzak, Robin L. (2011a). The integration of lexical, syntactic, and discourse features in bilingual adolescents' writing: An exploratory approach. Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools 42 (4). 491-505
- Danzak, Robin L. (2011b). The interface of language proficiency and identity: A profile analysis of bilingual adolescents and their writing. Language, Speech, and Hearing Services in Schools 42 (4). 506-519
- Danzak, Robin L. (2011c). Defining identities through multiliteracies: EL teens narrate their immigration experiences as graphic stories. Journal of Adolescent & Adult Literacy. 55(3). 187-196
- Davies, Alan (2014). Fifty Years of Language Assessment. In Antony John Kunnan (eds.) The Companion to Language Assessment, First Edition. New York: John Wiley & Sons. 3-21.

- Davidson, Denise & Rainey, Vanessa & Pervez, Jawad. (2010). Syntactic awareness in young monolingual and bilingual (Urdu-English) children. *Cognitive Development*. 25. 166-182. 10.1016/j.cogdev.2009.07.003.
- De Angelis, Gessica (2005). Interlanguage Transfer of Function Words. *Language Learning*. 55(3). 379-414
- De Angelis, Gessica (2007). *Third or additional language acquisition*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters
- De Cat, C., Gusnanto, A., & Serratrice, L. (2018). Identifying a threshold for the executive function advantage in bilingual children. *Studies in Second Language Acquisition*. 40(1). 119-151. doi:10.1017/S0272263116000486
- De Groot, Annette (2011). *Language and cognition in bilinguals and multilinguals: An introduction*. Hove: Psychology Press.
- De Houwer, A.; Bornstein, M. & Putnick, D. (2014). A bilingual–monolingual comparison of young children's vocabulary size: Evidence from comprehension and production. *Applied Psycholinguistics*, 35(6), 1189-1211. doi:10.1017/S0142716412000744
- Deuchar, Margaret/Muntz, Rachel (2003). Factors accounting for code mixing in an early developing bilingual. In Natascha Müller (eds.): *Vulnerable Domains in Multilingualism [Hamburg Studies on Multilingualism 1]*. 161–190
- Diamond, Jared. (2010). The Benefits of Multilingualism. *Science* (New York, N.Y.). 330. 332-333. 10.1126/science.1195067.
- Diederich, Paul B.; French, John W. & Sydell Carlton (1961). *Factors in judgments of writing ability* (Research Bulletin RB-61-15). Princeton, N.J: Educational Testing Service.
- Diệp, Quang Ban (1992). *Ngữ pháp tiếng Việt (tập 2)* (Vietnamese Grammar, vol. 2). Hanoi: NXB Giáo dục.
- Diệp, Quang Ban (1999). *Văn bản và liên kết trong tiếng Việt: văn bản, mạch lạc, liên kết, đoạn văn*. Hanoi: NXB Giáo dục.
- Dirim, Inci/ Auer, Peter (2004). *Türkisch sprechen nicht nur die Türken: Über die Unschärfebeziehung zwischen Sprache und Ethnie in Deutschland*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Dirim, Inci/ Döll, Marion (2009). 'Bumerang' - Erfassung der Sprachkompetenzen im Übergang von der Schule in den Beruf - vergleichende Beobachtungen zum Türkischen und Deutschen am Beispiel einer Schülerin. In: Drorit Lengyel et

- al. (Hrsg.): Von der Sprachdiagnose zur Sprachförderung. (=FörMig Edition Band 5.) Münster: Waxmann. 139-146.
- Dorian, Nancy (1981). *Language Death: The Life Cycle of a Scottish Gaelic Dialect*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Downs, Andrew (2014). *Identities and Inbetweens: The Vietnamese and Assimilation Strategies in Germany*. University Honors Program Theses. Open access. 54. <https://digitalcommons.georgiasouthern.edu/honors-theses/54>
- Döll, Marion/ Dirim, İnci (2011). Mehrsprachigkeit in der Sprachdiagnostik. In: Fürstenau S.& Gomolla M. (eds.) *Migration und schulischer Wandel: Mehrsprachigkeit*. Berlin: Springer VS. 153-167 https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-531-92659-9_8
- Duarte, Joana (2011). *Bilingual language proficiency: A comparative study*. Münster [u.a.]: Waxmann.
- Duarte, Joana (2015). Cross-linguistic transfer of academic language in multilingual adolescents. In: Hagen Peukert (ed.) *Transfer Effects in Multilingual Language Development*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 221-248
- Dubois, Sylvie/Melançon, Megan (1997): *Cajun is Dead – Long Live Cajun: Shifting from a Linguistic to a Cultural Community*. Volum 1 (1). 63-93 <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00004>
- Dulay, H. C., Burt, M. K., & Krashen, S. D. (1982). *Language Two*: New York: Oxford University Press.
- Đurovič, L'ubomír (1988). The concept of diaspora language. *Diaspora Languages in Western Europe* (eds.). *Diaspora languages in Western Europe: papers from the workshops "Language minorities – children's language in diaspora"* held on July 22nd, 1987 at the International Congress for the Study of Child Language in Lund, Sweden. *SLavica Lundensia* 12. 7-9. Lunds universitet, Slaviska Institutionen.
- Dương Thị Nụ (2002). Từ chỉ quan hệ thân tộc trong tri nhận của người Anh và người Việt (Kinship terms in cognition of Anglo and Vietnamese people). *Ngôn ngữ* 12. 67-78.
- Driscoll, Mark W./Torres, Lucas (2013). Acculturative Stress and Latino Depression: The Mediating Role of Behavioral and Cognitive Resources. *Cultur Divers Ethnic Minor Psychol.* 19(4). 373–382.

Đ

- Đào Loan (2012). The Vietnamese classifiers ‘con’, ‘cái’ and the natural semantic metalanguage (NSM) approach: A preliminary study. In Proceedings of the 42nd Australian linguistic society conference. 58-74
- Đào Minh Thu, Đào Thị Minh Ngọc, Nguyễn Mai Vân, Lê Kim Ngân, Lê Thanh Hương, Nguyễn Phương Thái, Đỗ Bá Lâm (2009). Tập quy tắc cú pháp tiếng Việt (The rules of Vietnamese Grammar). Đề tài (project) KC.01.01.05/06-10. Online open access http://www.jaist.ac.jp/~bao/VLSP-text/Mar2009/SP85_baocaokythuat2009thang3.pdf
- Đào Mục Đích (2012). Characteristics of Phonetics and Lexis of the Vietnamese language in Australia. Unpublished PhD Thesis, School of Languages and Comparatives Cultural Studies. The University of Queensland.
- Đào Mục Đích/Nguyễn Thị Anh Thu (2015). Vietnamese Vowels Produced by Australian Vietnamese Speakers. International Journal of Language and Linguistics. 3 (5). 298-306.
- Đào Mục Đích (2016). Characteristics of Vietnamese lexis of Vietnamese Australian immigrants. Journal of the Southeast Asian Linguistics Society. 9. 200-219
- Đào Mục Đích (2017). Vietnamese Tones Produces by Australian Vietnamese speakers. Heritage Language Journal. 14 (3). 224-247
- Đặng Ngọc Ly (2011). Ngôn ngữ tuổi teen (Teenagers' language). Tạp chí Ngôn ngữ-Đời sống (Journal of Language and Life). 6 (188). 46-50
- Đỗ Hữu Châu (1986). Các bình diện của từ và từ tiếng Việt (Word aspects and Vietnamese words). Hanoi: Nxb Khoa học xã hội.
- Đỗ Hữu Châu (2007). Từ vựng ngữ nghĩa tiếng Việt (Vietnamese lexical and semantic vocabulary). Hanoi: Nxb Đại học quốc gia.
- Đỗ Quang Chính (1972). Lịch sử chữ quốc ngữ (History of National Script). Ho Chi Minh city: Tủ sách Ra khơi.
- Đình Trọng Lạc/Nguyễn Thái Hòa (1995). Phong cách học tiếng Việt (Vietnamese Stylistic). Hanoi: NXB Giáo dục.

E

- Eastwood, John (1994). Oxford Guide to English Grammar. Oxford University Press.
- Ebadi S., Zamani G. & Sharifi M. (2014). Interpretive argument of the academic reading module of IELTS: A fusion of current research. International Journal of Language Learning and Applied Linguistic World. 6. 317-328

- Edelsky, Carole/Adams, Karen (1990). Creating Inequality: Breaking the Rules in Debates. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. 9(3). 171–190. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0261927X9093001>
- Eichinger, Ludwig M. (2016). Konstanz, Wandel, Variation. Sprachkontakt in der Welt europäischer National- und Standardsprachen. In: Ptashnyk, Stefaniya; Beckert, Ronny; Wolf-Farré, Patrick; Wolny, Matthias (eds.): *Gegenwärtige Sprachkontakte im Kontext der Migration*. (= Schriften des Europäischen Zentrums für Sprachwissenschaften (EZS) 5). Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter. 13-22.
- Eide, Kristin Melum/Hjelde, Arnstein (2015). Verb Second and Finiteness Morphology in Norwegian Heritage Language of the American Midwest. In Page, B. R. and Putnam, M. (eds.), *Moribound Germanic Heritage Languages in North America*. Leiden: Brill. 64-101.
- Eksner, Julia H. (2006). *Ghetto Ideologies, Youth Identity and Stylized Turkish German. German Turks in Berlin-Kreuzberg*. Spektrum, Vol. 91. Hamburg: LIT Publishing House.
- Elias, Vanessa (2016). Pragmalinguistic and sociopragmatic variation: Refusing among Spanish heritage speakers. *IULC Working Papers*. 15(1). 1–32
- Emeneau, Murray (1951). *Studies in Vietnamese (Anamnese) Grammar*. University of California Press. Berkeley and Los Angeles.
- Espiritu, Yen (2006). The "We-Win-Even-When-We-Lose" Syndrome: U.S. Press Coverage of the Twenty-Fifth Anniversary of the "Fall of Saigon". *American Quarterly*. 58. 329-352. 10.1353/aq.2006.0042.
- Espiritu, Yen (2014). *Body Counts: The Vietnam war and militarized refugees*. California: University of California Press
- European Commission (2012). *Special Eurobarometer 386: Europeans and their languages (PDF)* [Retrieved September 8, 2017]; Europa web portal from http://ec.europa.eu/commfrontoffice/publicopinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf
- Evertz, Martin (2018). *Visual Prosody: The graphematic foot in English and German*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- F
- Fachinger, Petra (2013). Narratives of Transnational Divide: The Vietnamese in Contemporary German Literature and Film. In Fuechtner, Veronika & Rhiel,

- Mary: Imagining Germany Imagining Asia: Essays in Asian-German Studies. Boydell & Brewer. Camden House. 50-63.
- Farris, Michael (2012). Lexical and Grammatical Properties of Personal Pronouns in Vietnamese: Deicticity and Relationships. *Rocznik Ocznik Orient Listyczny*. Vol 1. 41–50
- Feilke, Helmuth (2012). Bildungssprachliche Kompetenzen – fördern und entwickeln. In: *Praxis Deutsch*. 39 (233). 4-13
- Fishman, Joshua (1964). Language Maintenance and Shift as a Field of Inquiry. *Linguistics* 9. 32–70
- Fishman, Joshua (eds.) (2001). *Can threatened languages be saved?* Bristol: Multilingual Matter
- Fitzgerald, Jill (2006). Bilingual writing in preschool through 12th grade: The last 15 years. In C. MacArthur, S. Graham, & J. Fitzgerald: *Handbook of Writing Research* (1st). New York: Guilford
- Flick, Uwe (2009). *Sozialforschung: Methoden und Anwendungen ; ein Überblick für die BA-Studiengänge (Orig.-Ausg.)*. Reinbek bei Hamburg: Rowohlt-Taschenbuch-Verl.
- Flick, Uwe (2014). *An introduction to qualitative research* (eds. 5). Los Angeles, Calif. [u.a.]: Sage.
- Flores, Cristina (2010). The effect of age on language attrition: Evidence from bilingual returnees. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. 13 (4). 533–546.
- Flores, Cristina (2011). Differential effects of language attrition in the domains of verb placement and object expression. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. 15(3). 550–567
- Flores, Cristina/Rinke, Esther (2016). Migration und Mehrsprachigkeit in der Spracherwerbsforschung. Neuere Erkenntnisse aus dem Portugiesischen. *Revista de Estudos Alemaos*. 21 – 30
- Flores C., Santos A., Jesus A., & Marques R. (2017). Age and input effects in the acquisition of mood in Heritage Portuguese. *Journal of Child Language*. 44(4). 795-828.
- Flynn S., Foley C. & Vinnitskaya I. (2004) The Cumulative-Enhancement Model for Language Acquisition: Comparing Adults' and Children's Patterns of Development in First, Second and Third Language Acquisition of Relative

Clauses, *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 1:1, 3-16, DOI: 10.1080/14790710408668175

Fornol, Sarah (2015). Die Entwicklung einer Ratingskala zur Ermittlung bildungssprachlicher Fähigkeiten – eine dreischrittige Analyse von Schülertexten im Sachunterricht der Grundschule. In: *Journal Transfer: Forschung und Schule. Themenheft 1 „Sprachsensibel Lernen und Lehren“*, 156-158.

Foucault, Michel (1981). *The order of discourse*. In R. Young (eds.): *Untying the text*. London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.

Fukuda, Shin (2006). The syntax of telicity in Vietnamese. In the proceeding of Western conference on linguistics. 109-120

Fulcher, Glenn/Davidson, Fred (2008). *Language Testing and Assessment: An Advanced Resource Book*. Routledge: London and New York

Fürstenau, Sara (2005). Migrants' Resources: multilingualism and transnational mobility. A Study on Learning Paths and School to Job Transition of Young Portuguese Migrants. *European Educational Research Journal*. 4 (4). 369-372

Fürstenau, Sara (2011): Mehrsprachigkeit als Voraussetzung und Ziel schulischer Bildung. In: Fürstenau, Sara/Gomolla, Mechtild (eds.): *Migration und schulischer Wandel: Mehrsprachigkeit*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag. 25–50.

Franceschini, Rita (2011). Multilingualism and multicompetence: A conceptual view. *The modern language journal*. 344-355

Franceschini, Rita. (2012). History of Multilingualism. In *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*. Online Public.

Freire, P./ Ramos, M. B. (1970a). *Pedagogy of the oppressed*. New York: Herder and Herder

Freire, Paulo (1970b). Cultural action for freedom. Reprint 1998 in *Harvard Educational Review* (1998). 68(4). 476–522.

Freire Paulo (1970c). Cultural Action and Conscientization. Reprint 2000 in *Harvard Educational Review* 40 (3). 452–477.

G

Gantefort, Christoph/ Roth, Hans-Joachim (2010). Sprachdianotische Grundlagen für die Förderung bildungssprachlicher Fähigkeiten. In *Z Erziehungswiss* 13. 573-591.

Gee, James (2015). *Literacy and Education*. Abingdon: Routledge

- Geerlings, Jolien; Verkuyten, Maykel & Thijs, Jochem (2015). Changes in Ethnic Self-Identification and Heritage Language Preference in Adolescence: A Cross-Lagged Panel Study. *Journal of Language and Social Psychology*. 34. 1-20. 10.1177/0261927X14564467.
- Genesee, Fred (1983). Bilingual education of majority-language children: The Immersion experiments in review. *Applied Psycholinguistics*. 4(1). 1–46. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0142716400001739>
- Genesee, Fred (1989). Early bilingual development: one language or two? *Journal of Child Language*. 16. 161-79.
- Genesee, Fred; Nicoladis, Elena & Paradis, Johanne (1995). Language differentiation in early bilingual development. *Journal of child language*. 22. 611-631. 10.1017/S0305000900009971.
- Genesee, Fred (1999). Program alternatives for linguistically diverse students. Educational Practice Report #1. Santa Cruz, CA: Center for Research on Education, Diversity and Excellence.
- Genesee, Fred/Nicoladis, Elena (2008). Bilingual First Language Acquisition. In In E. Hoff & M. Shatz (eds.). *Handbook of Language Development*. Oxford: Blackwell. 324 - 342
- Gibbon, John (1991). Origins of scalar timing. In: *Learning and Motivation*. 22 (1–2). 3-38.
- Gil, David (2013). Numeral Classifiers. In: Dryer, Matthew S. & Haspelmath, Martin (eds.) *The World Atlas of Language Structures Online*. Leipzig: Max Planck Institute for Evolutionary Anthropology.
- GIZ – Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (2007). Die vietnamesische Diaspora in Deutschland. <https://www.giz.de/fachexpertise/downloads/giz2007-de-diasporastudie-vietnam.pdf>
- GIZ – Deutsche Gesellschaft für Internationale Zusammenarbeit (2015). Die vietnamesische Diaspora in Deutschland. <https://www.giz.de/fachexpertise/downloads/giz2016-de-diasporastudie-vietnam.pdf>
- Goddard, Cliff (2011). *Semantic Analysis: A Practical Introduction* (second edition) New York: Oxford University Press

- Gogolin, Ingrid; Ursula Neumann & Roth, Hans-Joachim (eds.) (2005). Sprachdiagnostik bei Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund. Münster/New York: Waxmann-Verlag.
- Gogolin, Ingrid (2007). Herausforderung Bildungssprache. Textkompetenz aus der Perspektive Interkultureller Bildungsforschung. In: Bausch, K.-R./ Burwitz-Melzer, E./ Königs, F.G./ Krumm, H.-J. (Hrsg.): Textkompetenzen. — Tübingen. 73–80.
- Gogolin, Ingrid (2009). Zweitsprachigkeit und die Entwicklung bildungssprachlicher Fähigkeiten. In: Gogolin, Ingrid and Neumann, Ursula (2009). Streitfall Zweitsprachigkeit: The bilingualism controversy. 263-280.
- Gogolin, Ingrid (2010). Was ist Bildungssprache? In: Grundschulunterricht Deutsch. Heft 4. 4-5.
- Gogolin, Ingrid; Dirim, Inci; Klinger, Thorsten; Lange, Imke; Lengyel, Drorit; Michel, Ute; Neumann, Ursula; Reich, Hans H.; Roth, Hans-Joachim & Schwippert, Knut (2011). Förderung von Kindern und Jugendlichen mit Migrationshintergrund FÖRMIG. Bilanz und Perspektiven eines Modellprogramms (= FÖRMIG Edition Bd. 7). Münster: Waxmann.
- Gogolin, Ingrid/Lange, Imke (2011). Bildungssprache und Durchgängige Sprachbildung. In: Fürstenau, Sara/Gomolla, Mechthild (eds.): Migration und schulischer Wandel: Mehrsprachigkeit. Wiesbaden: VS-Verla. 107-127.
- Gogolin, Ingrid; Akgün, Gülden; Klinger, Thorsten (2017). KiBis - mehrsprachige Kinder auf dem Weg zur Bildungssprache. Eine Langzeitbeobachtung. Abschlussbericht (Band 1 & 2: Projekt und Ergebnisse). Pedocs open access Erziehungswissenschaften. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg
- Golafshani, Nahid (2003). Understanding reliability and validity in qualitative research. *The Qualitative Report*. 8(4). 597-606
- Goldsmith, Samantha/ Morton, Bruce (2018). Time to disengage from the bilingual advantage hypothesis. *Cognition*, 170. 328–329.
- Gormally, Cara; Brickman, Peggy & Lutz, Mary (2012). Developing a Test of Scientific Literacy Skills (TOSLS): Measuring Undergraduates' Evaluation of Scientific Information and Arguments. *CBE life sciences education*. 11. 364-77. 10.1187/cbe.12-03-0026.

- Grießhaber, Wilhelm (2014). Beurteilung von Texten mehrsprachiger Schülerinnen und Schüler. www.leseforum.ch – 3/2014
https://www.forumlecture.ch/myUploadData/files/2014_3_Griesshaber.pdf
- Grießhaber, Wilhelm (2002). Türkisch auf deutscher Grundlage? Schreibprozesse eines türkischen Jungen in der schwächeren Sprache Türkisch. In: Peschel, Corinna (eds.): Grammatik und Grammatikvermittlung. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 163 -178.
- Grießhaber, Wilhelm/Kalkavan, Zeynep (eds.) (2012). Orthographie- und Schriftspracherwerb bei mehrsprachigen Kindern. Stuttgart: Fillibach bei Klett.
- Grießhaber, Wilhelm/Kalkavan, Zeynep (eds.) (2014). Orthographie- und Schriftspracherwerb bei mehrsprachigen Kindern. Stuttgart: Fillibach bei Klett.
- Grosjean, François (1982). Life with Two Languages: An Introduction to Bilingualism. Cambridge: Harvard University Press
- Grosjean, François (2008). Studying bilinguals (1. publ.). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Greenberg, Joseph (1972). Numeral Classifiers and Substantival Number: Problems in the Genesis of a Linguistic Type. Working Papers on Language Universals, No. 9. 2-39
- Gruhn, Sophie/Weideman, Albert (2017). The initial validation of a test of emergent literacy. *Per Linguam*. 33. 25-53. 10.5785/33-1-698.
- Guilford, Joy. P. (1967). The nature of human intelligence. New York: McGraw-Hill.
- Guilford, Joy. P. (1988). Some Changes in the Structure-of-Intellect Model. *Educational and Psychological Measurement*. 48(1). 1–4.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/001316448804800102>
- Gumperz, John (1976). The sociolinguistic significance of conversational code-switching. In: *Papers on Language and Context* (=Working Paper No 46, Berkeley); revised version as "Conversational code-switching" in *Discourse Strategies*, by. J. Gumperz (Cambridge). 59-99
- H
- Ha Kien Nghi (2012) (eds.). *Asiatische Deutsche: Vietnamesische Diaspora and Beyond*. Berlin [u.a.]: Assoziation A

- Håkansson G., M. Pienemann and S. Sayheli. 2002. *Transfer and typological proximity in the context of second language processing*. *Second Language Research* 18. 250–273.
- Habermas, Jürgen (1977). *Umgangssprache, Wissenschaftssprache, Bildungssprache*. In *Jahrbuch der Max-Planck-Gesellschaft*. 36–51.
- Hall, Tracy (2011). *Syllable Structure and Syllable-Related Processes in German*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Hall-Lew, Lauren; Coppock, Elizabeth & Starr, Rebecca (2010). Indexing political persuasion: Variation in the Iraq vowels. *American Speech - AMER SPEECH*. 85. 91-102. 10.1215/00031283-2010-004.
- Halladay, Juliet/Duke, Nell (2013). Informational text and the Common Core State Standards. In S. B. Neuman, L. B. Gambrell (Eds.), & C. Massey (Assoc. Ed.). *Quality reading instruction in the age of common core standards*. Newark, DE: International Reading Association. 44-58.
- Halliday, Michael (1987). Spoken and written modes of meaning. In R. Horowitz & J. Samuels (eds.). *Comprehending oral and written language*. San Diego: Academic Press. 55–82
- Halliday, Michael (1989). *Spoken and written language*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hammarberg, Björn (2017). Becoming multilingual: The macro and the micro time perspective. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*. 55 (1). 3-22
- Han, Na-Rae & Chodorow, Martin & Leacock, Claudia. (2006). Detecting errors in English article usage by non-native speakers. *Natural Language Engineering*. 12. 115-129. 10.1017/S1351324906004190.
- Haugen, Einar (1956). *Bilingualism in the Americas: A bibliography and research guide*. Alabama: University of Alabama Press: Publication of the American Dialect Society.
- Hartsuiker, Robert/Pickering, Martin (2008). Language integration in bilingual sentence production. *Acta Psychologica*. 128 (3). 479–489.
- Hatim, Basil/Munday, Jeremy (2004). *Translation an advanced resource book*. London: Routledge

- Hawkins, Margaret R. (2004). Researching English Language and Literacy Development in Schools. *Educational Researcher*. 33(3). 14-25. doi:[10.3102/0013189X033003014](https://doi.org/10.3102/0013189X033003014)
- Hazen, Kirk. (2002). Identity and Language Variation in a Rural Community. *Language*. 78. 240-257. 10.1353/lan.2002.0089.
- Håkansson, Gisela (1995). Syntax and morphology in language attrition: a study of five bilingual expatriate Swedes. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*. 5(2). 153-169
- He, Agnes Weiyun/ Xiao, Yun (2008) (eds.). *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry*. Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press
- Hegele, Simon (2014). *Die Lebenswelt von Junglichen vietnamesischer Herkunft in der zweiten Generation unter der besonderen Berücksichtigung der Schüler am Goethe Gymnasium Germersheim*. Kuhardt: <https://verschrenken.wordpress.com/2015/02/09/die-lebenswelt-von-jugendlichen-vietnamesischer-herkunft-in-der-zweiten-generation/>
- Heimken, Norbert (2017). *Migration, Bildung und Spracherwerb Bildungssozialisation und Integration von Jugendlichen aus Einwandererfamilien*. Wiesbaden: Springer VS
- Heller, Vivien (2012). *Kommunikative Erfahrungen von Kindern in Familie und Unterricht: Passungen und Divergenzen*. Tübingen: Stauffenburg.
- Hemàndez-Chàvez, Eduardo; Burt, Marina & Dula, Heidi (1978). Language Dominance and Proficiency Testing: Some General Considerations, *NABE Journal*. 3(1). 41-54, DOI: [10.1080/08855072.1978.10668343](https://doi.org/10.1080/08855072.1978.10668343)
- Hinkel, Eli (2002). *Second Language Writers' Text: Linguistic and Rhetorical Features*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates
- Hinnenkamp, Volker (2003). Mixed Language Varieties of Migrant Adolescents and the Discourse of Hybridity. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 24 (1-2). 12 – 41.
- Hlinčíková, Miroslava (2015). The Social Integration of Vietnamese Migrants in Bratislava: (In)Visible Actors in Their Local Community. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*. 4(1). 41-52.
- Hoang, Tinh Bao (2013). *A study of pragmatic change in the Vietnamese of second-generation speakers in Queensland, Australia*. Submitted in fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Queensland, Australia

- Hoàng Phê (2003). *Từ điển Tiếng Việt (Vietnamese Dictionary)*. Viện Ngôn ngữ học. Đà Nẵng: Nxb Hồng Đức.
- Hoàng Xuân Việt (2006). *Tìm hiểu lịch sử chữ quốc ngữ (Study on history of National Script, Vietnamese)*. Hanoi: Nhà xuất bản Văn hóa Thông tin.
- Hole, Daniel/Löbel, Elisabeth (2013). *Linguistic of Vietnamese: an international survey*. Berlin: De Guyter Mouton.
- Ho Duc Tuc (2003). *Vietnamese-English Bilingualism: patterns of code-switching*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Hong, Wei (1997). Sociopragmatics in language teaching: with examples of Chinese requests, *Journal of the Chinese Language Teachers Association*. 32. 95–107.
- Hornberger, Nancy (2003). Continua of Biliteracy. In Nancy Hornberger (eds.): *Continua of Biliteracy an Ecological Framework for Educational Policy, Research, and Practice in Multilingual Settings*. Amsterdam: Multilingual Matters. 3-34
- Hoskins, Janet (2011). Diaspora as religious doctrine: An “Apostle of Vietnamese Nationalism” comes to California. *Journal of Vietnamese Studies*. 6(1). 43-86
- Hoskins, Janet (2014). An unjealous God: Christian elements in a Vietnamese syncretistic religion. *Current Anthropology. The Anthropology of Christianity: Unity, Diversity, New Directions*. 55(10). 302–311.
- House, Juliane (2001). Translation Quality Assessment: Linguistic Description versus Social Evaluation. *Meta: Journal des traducteurs*. 46. 243-257
- Hồ Đắc Tú (2003). *Vietnamese-English Bilingualism: patterns of code switching*. London: Routledge Curzon.
- Hövelbrinks, Britta (2014). *Bildungssprachliche Kompetenz von einsprachig und mehrsprachig aufwachsenden Kindern*. Weinheim: Beltz Verlagsgruppe
- Hu, Qian (1993). *The acquisition of Chinese classifiers by young Mandarin speaking children*. Unpublished PhD dissertation Boston University
- Hughes, Arthur (2003). *Testing for Language Teachers*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hulstijn, Jan (2011a). Explanations of associations between L1 and L2 literacy skills. In M. S. Schmid, & W. Lowie (eds.): *Modeling bilingualism: from structure to chaos: in honor of Kees de Bot*. *Studies in bilingualism*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. No. 43. 85-111

- Hulstijn, Jan (2011b). Language proficiency in native and nonnative speakers: an agenda for research and suggestions for second-language assessment. *Language Assessment Quarterly*. 8(3). 229-249.
- Hulstijn, Jan (2012c). Different speakers but same Language Acquisition Device? *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*. 2(3). 273-276.
- Hulstijn, Jan. (2012d). The construct of language proficiency in the study of bilingualism from a cognitive perspective. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. 15(2). 422 - 433
- Hulstijn, Jan (2015). *Language proficiency in native and non-native speakers: Theory and research*. Language learning & language teaching. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publication Company.
- Hulk, Aafke/Müller, Natascha (2000). Bilingual first language acquisition at the interface between syntax and pragmatics. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition* 3(3). 227-244.
- Hussein, Basel (2012). The Sapir-Whorf Hypothesis today. *Theory and practice in language studies*. 2(3). 642-646
- Hüwelmeier, Gertrud (2010). Female believers on the move: Vietnamese Pentecostal Networks in Germany. In Bonifacio, Glenda L. A. & Angeles, Vivienne: *Gender, Religion and Migration: Pathways of Intergration*. Laham, Maryland: Lexingtons Books. 115-131
- Hüwelmeier, Gertrud (2014). Transnational Vietnamese – Germany and beyond. In: Sylvia Hahn/Stam Nadel (eds.): *Asian Migrants in Europe Transcultural Connections*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress. 81-94
- I
- Ivanova-Sullivan, Tania (2014). *Theoretical and Experimental Aspects of Syntax-Discourse Interface in Heritage Grammars*. London: Brill
- J
- Jarvis, Scott/Pavlenko, Aneta (2010). *Crosslinguistic Influence in Language and Cognition*. London: Routledge
- Jarvis, Scott (2013). Crosslinguistic influence and multilingualism. In Chapelle, C. A.: *The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics*. Blackwell Publishing. 1554–1562
DOI: 10.1002/9781405198431.wbea10291

- Jeuk, Stefan/Schäfer, Joachim (2009). *Schriftsprache erwerben: Grundlagen und Basiswissen; Vorschläge und Hinweise für die Praxis ; für die Jahrgänge 1 und 2* (1. Auflage.). Berlin: Cornelsen Scriptor.
- Jeuk, Stefan (2014). Orthographieerwerb mehrsprachiger Kinder in der ersten Klasse. Aus: Grießhaber, Wilhelm (Hrsg.); Kalkavan, Zeynep (Hrsg.): *Orthographie- und Schriftspracherwerb bei mehrsprachigen Kindern*. Freiburg im Breisgau: Fillibach. 105-124
- Jia, Li/ Bailey, Richard (2008). The (re) acquisition of perfective aspect marking by Chinese heritage language learners. In A. W. He & Y. Xiao (Eds.), *Chinese as a heritage language: Fostering rooted world citizenry*. Honolulu, HI: University of Hawai'i Press. 205–222
- Jiang, Xiangying (2011). The role of first language literacy and second language proficiency in second language reading comprehension. 11(2). 177-190
- K
- Kalkavan, Zeynep (2014). Orthographische Markierungen des Deutschen in türkischsprachigen Lernertexten: ein Indiz für unzureichende Orthographiekenntnisse in der Erstsprache oder Transfersleitungen und Rechtschreibbewusstsein? In Wilhelm Grießhaber /Zeynep Kalkavan (Hrsg.) (2. Auf.): *Orthographie- und Schriftspracherwerb bei mehrsprachigen Kindern*. Stuttgart: Fillibach bei Klett. 57-80
- Kallmeyer, Werner/Keim, Inken (2003). Eigenschaften von sozialen Stilen der Kommunikation: Am Beispiel einer türkischen Migrantinnengruppe. In: Jürgen Erfurt (Hrsg.): *"Multisprech": Hybridität, Variation, Identität*. Osnabrücker Beiträge zur Sprachtheorie 65. Oldenburg: OBST. 35-56.
- Kameyama, Shin'ichi (2004). *Verständnissicherndes Handeln: Zur reparativen Bearbeitung von Rezeptionsdefiziten in deutschen und japanischen Diskursen*. Münster [u.a.]: Waxmann.
- Kane, Michael (2006). Validation. In Brennan, R. (eds.), *Educational measurement*, 4th ed., Westport, CT: American Council on Education and Praeger. 17–64
- Kane, Michael (2010). Validity and fairness. *Language Testing*. 27(2). 177–182.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0265532209349467>
- Kane Michael (2012). Validating score interpretations and uses. *Language Testing*. 29(1). 3-17.

- Kane, Michael (2013). Validating the interpretations and uses of test scores. *Journal of Educational Measurement*. 50(1). 1-73.
- Kang, Sang Gu (2013). The role of language dominance in cross-linguistic syntactic influence: A Korea child's use of null subjects in attrition English. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. 16 (01). 219-230
- Karim, Khaled/Nassaji, Hossein (2013). First language transfers in second language writing: An examination of current research. *Iranian Journal of Language Teaching Research* 1(1). 117-134
- Kaus, Alaina (2016). A View from the Vietnamese Diaspora: Memories of Warfare and Refuge in GB Tran's *Vietnamica*. *Mosaic: a journal for the interdisciplinary study of literature*. 49. 1 - 19.
- Keel, William (2015). 6 Noun Phrase Case Shift in Volga German Varieties on the Great Plains of Kansas. In Janne Bondi Johannessen & Joseph C. Salmons (eds.): *Moribund Germanic Heritage Languages in North America*. Leiden [u.a.]: Brill. 33-152
- Keim, Inken (2003). Social style of communication and bilingual speech practices: Case study of three migrant youth groups of Turkish origin in Mannheim/Germany. In: *Turkic Languages*. 6(2). 284-300.
- Keim, Inken (2007). Socio-cultural identity, communicative style, and their change over time: A case study of a group of German-Turkish girls in Mannheim/Germany. In Peter Auer (eds.): *Style and social identities. Alternative Approaches to linguistic Heterogeneity*. Berlin/ New York. 155-186
- Keim, Inken (2008). Die „türkischen Powergirls“ - Lebenswelt und kommunikativer Stil einer Migrantinnengruppe in Mannheim. (Studien zur deutschen Sprache, Bd. 39). Tübingen: Narr
- Keim, Inken (2009a). Mündliche und schriftliche Erzählungen von Migrantenkindern in Mannheim: Der Weg von Peergroup-Sprechweisen zur Schriftsprache. In Kläger, Sabine/Thörle, Britta (Hgs.): *Sprache(n), Identität, Gesellschaft. Festschrift für Christine Bierbach*. Stuttgart: Ibidem. 141-162.
- Keim, Inken (2009b). Re-examining Bernstein: from peer-group ways of speaking to 'Schriftsprache' - a study of Turkish-German 'Hauptschule' students in Mannheim. In: Cook-Gumperz, Jenny/ Watts, Richard (eds.): *Multilingua* 28. 229-263.

- Keim, Inken/Knöbl, Ralf (2011). Linguistic Variation and Linguistic Virtuosity of Young „Ghetto“-Migrants in Mannheim/Germany. In: Friederike Kem/Margret Selting (Hg.): *Ethnic Styles of Speaking in European Metropolitan Areas*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin. 239-264
- Keim, Inken (2012). *Mehrsprachige Lebenswelten: Sprechen und Schreiben der türkischstämmigen Kinder und Jugendlichen*. Tübingen: Narr.
- Keim, Inken (2016). Kommunikative Praktiken von türkischstämmigen Kindern und Jugendlichen in mehrsprachigen Lebenswelten. In: *Der Deutschunterricht* 6/16. Velber: Friedrich. 8-20.
- Kelleher, Ann (2010). What is a heritage language? *Heritage Briefs*. Center of Applied Linguistic. University California.
- Kelle, Udo/Erzberger, Christian (2004). Qualitative and Quantitative Methods: Not in Opposition?. In Flick, U, von Kardorff, E and Steinke, I. (eds.). *A Companion to Qualitative Research*. London: Sage Publications. 172-177.
- Kellerman, Eric (1983). Now You See It, Now You Don't. In S. Gass, & L. Selinker (Eds.), *Language Transfer in Language Learning*. Rowley, MA: Newbury House. 112-134
- Kerwill, Paul/Trudgill, Peter (2005). The birth of new dialects. In P Auer, F Hinskens & P Kerwill (eds): *Dialect change: Convergence and divergence in European languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 196-220.
- Kovács, Ágnes Melinda/Mehler, Jacques (2009). Cognitive gains in 7-month-old bilingual infants. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* Apr 2009. 106 (16). 6556-6560; DOI: 10.1073/pnas.0811323106
- Klinger, Thorsten; Schnoor, Birger & Trang Schwenke, Lam (2012). LiPS – The LiMA Panel Study. Talk on November 5th, 2012 at the Hamburg Cluster of Excellence LiMA, Hamburg.
- Klinger, Thorsten; Usanova, Irina; Akgün, Gülden & Tran, Thi Minh (2018). Die Messung produktiver Sprachfähigkeiten im Kontext von Mehrsprachigkeit: Herangehensweise in LiP. In Joana Duarte, Ingrid Gogolin, Thorsten Klinger, Birger Schnoor & Marina Trebbels (eds.): *Sprachentwicklung im Kontext von Mehrsprachigkeit: Hypothesen, Methoden, Forschungsperspektiven* (German Edition). Berlin: Springer VS.

- König, Katharina (2014). *Spracheinstellungen und Identitätskonstruktion. Eine gesprächsanalytische Untersuchung sprachbiographischer Interviews mit Deutsch-Vietnamesen*. Berlin: de Gruyter.
- König, Katharina (2016). *Erstsprache - Herkunftssprache - Muttersprache. Sprachbiographische Zugriffe von Deutsch-TürkInnen auf den Ausdruck Muttersprache*. In Monika Raml (Hrsg.) *Deutsch-türkische Sprachbiographien*. Würzburg: Königshausen & Neumann. 269-294.
- Krashen, Stephan (1996). *Under Attack: The Case against Bilingual Education*. Culver City, Calif.: Language Education Associates.
- Krashen, Stephan (2010). *Bilingual Education, the Acquisition of English, and the Retention and Loss of Spanish*. In A. Roca (eds.): *Research on Spanish in the U.S.: Linguistic Issues and Challenges*. Somerville, MA: Cascadilla Press. 432-444
- Kristen, Cornelia/ Dollmann, Jörg (2010). *Sekundäre Effekte der ethnischen Herkunft: Kinder aus türkischen Familien am ersten Bildungsübergang*. In: Becker, Birgit/ Reimer, David (Eds.): *Vom Kindergarten bis zur Hochschule. Die Generierung von ethnischen und sozialen Disparitäten in der Bildungsbiographie*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. 117-144
- Kruse, Adam (2016). *Cultural bias in testing: A review of literature and implications for music education*. *National Association for Music Education*. 35:1. 23-31
- Kunnan, Antony John (2000). *Fairness and justice for all*. In A. J. Kunnan (eds.), *Fairness and validation in language assessment*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. 1–14
- Kupisch, Tanja/ Rothman, Jason (2016). *Terminology matters! Why difference is not incompleteness and how early child bilinguals are heritage speakers*. *International Journal of Bilingualism*. 22(5). 564-582.
- Kuznetsov, Yevgeny (2006) (eds.). *Diaspora networks and the international migration of skills: How countries can draw on their talent abroad*. Washington, DC: World Bank.
- L
- Lado, Robert (1961). *Language testing: The construction and use of foreign language tests*. London, England: Longman.

- Lainio, Jarmo (2000). Japanese Children Abroad: Cultural, Educational and Language Issues. In Asako Yamada-Yamamoto and Brian Richards (eds.), *Language and Education*. 14 (2). 140-143.
- Lam, Andrew (2005). *Perfume Dreams: Reflections on the Vietnamese Diaspora*. California: Heyday books.
- Lam Ha Le (2011). *Raising Children bilingually in Mixed Marriages: Stories of Four Vietnamese-Caucasian Families*. Unpublished ProQuest Dissertations and Theses.
- Lam, Mariam Beevi (2006). The Cultural Politics of Vietnamese Language Pedagogy. *Journal of Southeast Asian Language Teaching*. 12 (2). 1-19
- Lanza, Elizabeth (2004). *Language Mixing in Infant Bilingualism A Sociolinguistic Perspective* Oxford Studies in Language Contact. Oxford University Press
- Labov, William (1966). The Effect of Social Mobility on Linguistic Behavior. *Sociological Inquiry*. 36 (2). 186-203.
- Labov, William (1972). Some Principles of Linguistic Methodology. *Language in Society*. 1 (1). 97-120
- Larsson, Ida/Johannessen, Jane (2015). Incomplete acquisition and verb placement in Heritage Scandinavian. In R. S. Putnam and T. Michael (eds.): *Moribund Germanic Heritage Languages in North America: Theoretical Perspectives and Empirical Findings*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers. 153–189.
- Lee, Jin Sook (2002). The Korean language in America: The role of cultural identity in heritage language learning. *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. 15. 117-133
- Lengyel, Drorit/Neumann, Ursula (2016). *Herkunftssprachlicher Unterricht in Hamburg – Eine Studie zur Bedeutung des herkunftssprachlichen Unterrichts aus Elternsicht (HUBE)*. University of Hamburg. <https://www.ew.uni-hamburg.de/ueber-die-fakultaet/personen/neumann/files/bericht-hube-ev.pdf>
- Lennon, Paul (1996). Getting easy verbs wrong at the advanced level. *International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching*. 34(1). 23- 36.
- Leseman, Paul; Scheel, Anna; Mayo, Aziza & Messer, Marielle (2009). Bilingual development in early childhood and the languages used at home: competition for scarce resources? Gogolin und Neumann: *Streitfall Zweisprachigkeit – The Bilingualism Controversy*. Wiesbaden: VS Verlag für Sozialwissenschaften. 289-316.

- Leung, Constant (2005). Convivial communication: Recontextualizing communicative competence. *International Journal of Applied Linguistics*. 15. 119 - 144.
- Leung, Constant/Lewkowicz, Jo (2006). Expanding Horizons and Unresolved Conundrums: Language Testing and Assessment. *TESOL Quarterly*. 40(1). 211–234.
- Lewis, Trini; Bui, May & Huyen Nguyen, Do (2011). Attitudes Towards Maintaining Vietnamese Heritage Language: Parents' and Students' Perspectives. Paper in the National Association for Asian and Pacific American Education. Online publication. https://erepo.uef.fi/bitstream/handle/123456789/21467/urn_nbn_fi_uef-20190937.pdf
- Lê A; Nguyễn Quang Ninh; Bùi Minh Toán (1996). *Phương pháp dạy học tiếng Việt (Methodology of Vietnamese teaching)*. Hanoi: Nxb Giáo dục.
- Lê Diễm Quỳnh (2010). *Die vietnamesische Community in München*. Bachelorarbeit an der Fakultät für angewandte Sozialwissenschaften der Hochschule München. *Studien Soziale Arbeit* (unpublished thesis). München.
- Lê, Nila (2008). *Về loại từ tiếng Việt (About Vietnamese classifier)*. Master Thesis. Ho Chi Minh city: Ho Chi Minh City University of Education.
- Lê, Quang Thiêm (2004). *Nghiên cứu đối chiếu các ngôn ngữ (Comparative study of languages)*. Hanoi: Nxb Đại học Quốc gia.
- Lê Văn Lý (1972). *Sơ thảo ngữ pháp Việt Nam (An brief introduction to Vietnamese grammar)*. Hanoi: NXB Bộ Giáo dục.
- Li, Charles/Thompson, Sandra (1976). Subject and topic: A new typology of language. In C. N. Li (eds.): *Subject and topic*. New York: Academic Press. 457-489
- Li, Qiong; Zhang, Haomin & Taguchi, Naoko (2017). The use of mitigation devices in heritage learners of Chinese. *Heritage Language Journal*. 14(2). 150–170
- Liao, Li-Yuan, Larke, Patricia & Hill-Jackson, Valerie (2017). Bridging Two Worlds: Experiences of Chinese and Taiwanese Americans Attending Chinese Heritage Schools in Houston. [*Heritage Language Journal*. 14 \(2\)](#). 171–187
- Liều Thị Nhi (2013). Beauty of queens behaving badly: gender, global competition, and the making of post-refugee neoliberal Vietnamese subjects. *Frontiers: A Journal of Women Studies*. 34 (1). 25-57
- Limbird, Christina Karlyn (2006). Phonological processing, verbal abilities, and second language literacy development among bilingual Turkish children in

- Germany. Dissertation in Freie Universität Berlin. Published online
<https://refubium.fu-berlin.de/handle/fub188/5165>
<http://dx.doi.org/10.17169/refubium-9364>
<urn:nbn:de:kobv:188-fudissthesis000000003254-8>
- Lindqvist, Christina (2009). The use of the L1 and the L2 in French L3: examining crosslinguistic lexemes in multilingual learners' oral production. *International Journal of Multilingualism*. 6(3). 281–297.
- Lindqvist, Christina (2012). Advanced learners' word choices in French L3 oral production. In Cabrelli Amaro; S. Flynn, & J. Rothman (eds.). *Third language acquisition in adulthood*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 255-280.
- Liu, Na (2010). *Chinese Heritage Language Schools in the United States*. Heritage Briefs. Center for Applied Linguistics. Published online
<http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.422.5947&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Lo Bianco, Joseph (2001). *Language and literacy policy in Scotland*. Stirling: Scottish CILT.
- Lo Bianco, Joseph (2017). Accent on the positive. Revisiting the „Language as Resource” orientation for bolstering multilingualism in contemporary urban European. In Hagen, Peukert/ Gogolin, Ingrid: *Dynamics of Linguistic Diversity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamin Publishing Company. 32-48
- Lott, David (1983). Analysing and Counteracting Interference Errors. *ELT Journal*. 37 (3). 256-261
- Löbel, Elisabeth (1996). *Klassifikatoren. Eine Fallstudie am Beispiel des Vietnamesischen*. Universität Köln: Habilitationsschrift.
- Löffler, Cordula (2008). Lernprozesse beim Orthographieerwerb beobachten - im Schulalltag realisierbar?! In: Graf, Ulrike; Moser Opitz, Elisabeth (Hrsg.): *Diagnostik und Förderung im Elementarbereich und Grundschulunterricht. Lernprozesse wahrnehmen, deuten und begleiten. Entwicklungslinien der Grundschulpädagogik*. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren. 117-130
- Luong Minh Phuong/Nieke, Wolfgang (2014). *Kulturunterschiede in der Erziehung. Vietnamesische Kinder zwischen Schule und Familie in Rostock. Suedostasien* 4. 12-22.

- Lương Văn Hy (1990). Discursive practices and linguistic meanings: The Vietnamese system of person reference. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Luu Trọng Tuấn (2010). Strategies for translating the passive structure in scientific discourse. *Asian Social Science*. 6(7). 97-107
- Lüttenberg, Dina (2010). Mehrsprachigkeit, Familiensprache, Herkunftssprache Begriffsvielfalt und Perspektiven für die Sprachdidaktik. In *Wirkendes Wort* 2: 299-315.
- Lyons, John (1968). *Introduction to Theoretical Linguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Lyons, John (1977). *Semantics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- M
- MacSwan, Jeff (2000). The architecture of the bilingual language faculty: Evidence from intrasentential code switching. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. 3(1). 37–54. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S1366728900000122>
- Mai Ngọc Chừ (1997). Âm vị và các hệ thống âm vị tiếng Việt (Phonemes and Vietnamese phonetic systems). In Mai Ngọc Chừ, Vũ Đức Nghiệu & Hoàng Trọng Phiến: *Cơ sở ngôn ngữ học và tiếng Việt (Introduction to Linguistics and Vietnamese)*. Hà Nội: NXB Giáo dục. 67-128
- Mai Ngọc Chừ, Vũ Đức Nghiệu & Hoàng Trọng Phiến (1997). *Cơ sở ngôn ngữ học và tiếng Việt (Introduction to Linguistics and Vietnamese)*. Hà Nội: NXB Giáo dục.
- Maloof, Valerie Miller; Rubin, Donald & Ann Neville, Miller (2006). Cultural Competence and Identity in Cross-cultural Adaption: The Role of a Vietnamese Heritage Language School, *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 9 (2). 255-273
- Maluch, Jessica Tsimprea; Kempert, Sebastian; Neumann, Marko & Stanat, Petra (2015). The effect of speaking a minority language at home on foreign language learning. *Learning and Instruction*. 36. 76-85. 10.1016/j.learninstruc.2014.12.001.
- Maluch, Jessica/Kempert, Sebastian (2017). Bilingual profiles and third language learning: the effects of the manner of learning, sequence of bilingual acquisition, and language use practices. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*. 22. 1-13. 10.1080/13670050.2017.1322036.

- Maspero, Henri (1912). Etude sur la phonétique historique de la langue annamite. Les initiales [Studies in Annamese historical phonetics. Initial consonants]. Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient 12. 1–127.
- Matsudo-Kiliani, Susanne (2004). Sprache – Verstehen – Übersetzen: der Übersetzungsbegriff George Steiners. Norderstedt: Book on Demand.
- Mayo, Pilar (1996). The reliability of holistic method when grading language essay. Cuardenos der Filologia Inglesa. 5 (1). 51-62
- McKendy, Thomas (1992). Locally developed writing tests and the validity of holistic scoring. In Research in the Teaching of English 26 (2). 149-166.
- MCIntosh, Colin (2009) (eds). Oxford Collocations Dictionary for students of English. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Mc Namara, Tim (2000). Language Testing. Oxford [u.a.]: Oxford Univ. Press.
- McNamara, Tim/Roever, Carsten (2006). Language testing: The social dimension. Malden, MA: Blackwell
- McNamara, Tim (2014). 30 Years on—Evolution or Revolution? Language Assessment Quarterly. 11(2). 226 -232.
DOI: [10.1080/15434303.2014.895830](https://doi.org/10.1080/15434303.2014.895830)
- Meisel, Jürgen (1989). Early differentiation of languages in bilingual children. In K. Hyltenstam & L. Obler (Eds). Bilingualism across the lifespan: Aspects of acquisition, maturity, and loss. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 13-40
- Messick, Samuel (1989). Validity. In R. L. Linn (Ed.), The American Council on Education/Macmillan series on higher education. Educational measurement. Macmillan Publishing Co, Inc; American Council on Education. 13–103
- Messick, Samuel (1994). Foundations of validity: Meaning and consequences in psychological assessment. European Journal of Psychological Assessment. 10(1). 1–9.
- Messick, Samuel (1996). Validity and washback in language testing. Language Testing. 13(3). 241–256. <https://doi.org/10.1177/026553229601300302>
- Min, Wang; Yoonjung, Park & Kyoung, Rang Lee (2006). Korean-English biliteracy acquisition: cross-language phonological and orthographic transfer. Journal of Educational Psychology 1. 148-158.
- Migration Policy Institute RAD (2015). The Vietnamese diaspora in the United States. Online publication.

<https://www.migrationpolicy.org/sites/default/files/publications/RAD-Vietnam.pdf>

- Ministry of Foreign Affairs Vietnam (2012). Review of Vietnamese migration abroad. Hanoi: AND Company.
- Ming, Tao/Tao, Hongyin (2008). Developing a Chinese heritage language corpus: Issues and a preliminary report. In book: Chinese as a Heritage Language: Fostering Rooted World Citizenry Publisher: Honolulu, HI: National Foreign Language Resource Center, University of Hawaii 'i.167-187
- Mislevy, Robert (2016). How Developments in Psychology and Technology Challenge Validity Argumentation. *Journal of Educational Measurement*. 53. 265-292. 10.1111/jedm.12117.
- Mehlem, Ulrich (2011). Freie Schreibungen von Erstklässlern in Deutsch und Türkisch. *Schriftspracherwerb unter den Bedingungen von Mehrsprachigkeit*. In Hornberg, Sabine/Valtin, Renate: *Mehrsprachigkeit: Chance oder Hürde beim Schriftspracherwerb? empirische Befunde und Beispiele guter Praxis*. Berlin: Deutsche Gesellschaft für Lesen und Schreiben. 112-135
- Merten, Stephan (1988). Der Zusammenhang von sprachlicher und sozialer Integration: dargestellt am Beispiel von Vietnamflüchtlingen in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland. Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang.
- Moje, Elizabeth Birr (2008). Youth cultures, literacies, and identities in and out of school. In J. Flood, S. B. Heath, & D. Lapp (Eds.), *Handbook of research in teaching the communicative and visual arts*. Mahwah, NJ: Erlbaum Press. 207-219
- Montrul, Silvina (2008). Second language acquisition welcomes the heritage language learner: opportunities of a new field. *Second Language Research*, SAGE Publications. 24 (4). 487-506. ff10.1177/0267658308095738
- Montrul, Silvina/ Ionin, Tania (2010). Transfer effects in the interpretation of definite articles by Spanish heritage speakers. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. 13(4). 449-473.
- Montrul, Silvina (2012). Is the Heritage Language like a Second Language? In Roberts et al. (Eds.): *EUROSLA Yearbook*. 12. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.1–29
- Montrul, Silvina/ Ionin, Tania (2012). Dominant language transfers in Spanish heritage speakers and second language learners in the interpretation of definite articles. *The modern language journal*. 96(1). 70-94

- Montrul, Silvina; Bhatt, Rakesh & Bhatia, Archana (2012). Erosion of case and agreement in Hindi Heritage Speakers. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*. 2. 141-176. 10.1075/lab.2.2.02mon.
- Montrul, Silvina; Bhatt, Rakesh & Girju, Roxana (2015). Differential Object Marking in Spanish, Hindi, and Romanian as Heritage Languages. *Language*. 91(3). 564-610. <https://doi.org/10.1353/>
- Montrul, Silvina (2016). *The acquisition of heritage languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moreno, Gabriela/ MacGregor-Mendoza, Patricia (2017). Introduction to special issue on service-learning and heritage language learners: Impact on communities, students, and classrooms. *Heritage Language Journal*.13(3). i-vi
- Moro, Francesca/van Suchtelen, Pablo Irizarri (2017). Dominant language transfers in heritage languages: Redefining the ‘structural’, and the ‘transfer’ in ‘structural transfer’. In: Peukert Hagen/Gogolin, Ingrid (eds.): *Dynamics of Linguistic Diversity*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 143-162
- Mu, Guanglun (2015). *Learning Chinese as a Heritage Language: An Australian Perspective* Author. Bristol/Buffalo/Toronto: Multilingual Matters
- Murphy, Shirin (2003). Second language transfer during third language acquisition. *Studies in Applied Linguistics and TESOL*. 3(2). 1-21
- Müller, Natascha (1998). Transfer in bilingual first language acquisition. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*. 1(3). 151–171.
- Müller, Max (2017). Die Vietnamesische Diaspora in Berlin: Transnationale Identitätskonstruktion im Spannungsfeld zwischen Việt Kiều und Bindestrich-Deutscher. In Elfriede Hermann, Andrea Lauser, Roman Loimeier & Nikolaus Schareika (eds.): *GISCA Occasional Papers*. 11. Göttingen: Institute for Social and Cultural Anthropology. 4-62.
- Mrak, Ariana (2011). Heritage speakers and the standard: Fighting linguistic hegemony. In L. A. Ortiz-López (Eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 13th Hispanic Linguistics Symposium* (161-168). Sommerville, MA: Cascadilla Press.
- N
- Nagy, Naomi/Meyerhoff, Miriam (2008). *Social Lives in Language - Sociolinguistics and multilingual speech communities*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- Nagy, Naomi (2009). The challenges of less commonly studied languages: Writing a sociogrammar of Faetar. In James Stanford & Dennis Preston (eds.). *Variation in Indigenous Minority Languages*. 25. 397-417. Philadelphia: John Benjamins.
- Nagy, Naomi (2011). A multilingual corpus to explore geographic variation. *Rassegna Italiana di Linguistica Applicata* 43(1-2). 65-84.
- Nagy, Naomi (2012). Sociolinguistics and Phonology. In R. Bayley, C. Lucas, & R. Cameron. *The Oxford Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 624-654.
- Nauck, Bernhard/Vivian Lotter (2014). Bildungsspezifisches Sozialkapital in einheimischen, türkischen und vietnamesischen Familien in Deutschland. In A. Steinbach, M. Hennig und O. Arránz Becker (Hrsg.), *Familie in Fokus der Wissenschaft*. Berlin: Springer VS. 225–253.
- Nauck, Bernhard/Lotter, Vivian (2015). Parenting styles and perceived instrumentality of schooling in native, Turkish, and Vietnamese families in Germany. *Z Erziehungswissenschaften* 18. 845–869
- Nesteruk, Olena (2010). Heritage language maintenance and loss among children of Eastern European immigrants in the USA. *Journal of multilingual and multicultural development*. 31(3). 271-286
- Newmark, Peter (1991). *About translation*. Clevedon-Philadelphia-Adelaide: Multilingual Matters
- Nippold, Marilyn (2007). *Later language development: school-age children, adolescents, and young adults* (3. Ed.). Austin, Texas: pro-ed.
- Ngô, Đình Phương (2007). Lí thuyết liên kết và liên kết trong tiếng Anh (Cohesive theory and cohesion in English). *Journal Ngoại ngữ* 23. 235-241.
- Ngô Thanh (2006). Translation of Vietnamese Terms of Address and Reference. *Translation Journal*. 10(4). Online archive. <http://translationjournal.net/journal/38viet.htm>
- Nguyễn, Đình Hòa (1997). *Vietnamese = Tiếng Việt không son phấn*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Public Company.
- Nguyen, Anne; Shin, Fay & Krashen, Stephen (2001). Development of the first language is not a barrier to second-language acquisition: Evidence from Vietnamese immigrants to the United States. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 4(3). 159-164.

- Nguyễn, Hồng Côn/Bùi, Thị Diên (2004). Dạng bị động và vấn đề câu bị động trong tiếng Việt (Passive form and passive constructions in Vietnamese). Tạp chí Ngôn ngữ (Journal of Linguistics). 8. 1-18
- Nguyễn, Hồng Côn (2009). Cấu trúc cú pháp của câu tiếng Việt: Chủ - Vị hay Đề-Thuyết (Syntax structure of Vietnamese sentences: Subject - Predicate or Theme-Topic). Tạp chí Ngôn ngữ số (Journal of Linguistics).2. 12-20
- Nguyễn Hưng Quốc (2014). Phương pháp dạy tiếng Việt như một ngôn ngữ thứ hai (Teaching methods of Vietnamese as second language). Westminster: Người Việt
- Nguyễn Kim Thản (1999): Động từ trong tiếng Việt (Verb in the Vietnamese language). Hanoi: Nxb Khoa học Xã hội
- Nguyễn Linh Chi (2009). Lỗi ngôn ngữ của người nước ngoài học tiếng Việt (trên tư liệu lỗi từ vựng , ngữ pháp của người Anh, Mỹ) (Language errors of foreigners learning Vietnamese (on the documentation of English and American vocabulary and grammar errors)). Luận án Tiến sĩ ngôn ngữ học (Unpublished PhD Dissertation in Linguistics). Viện Ngôn ngữ Việt Nam (Institution of Linguistics, Vietnam).
- Nguyễn Minh Thuyết/Nguyễn Văn Hiệp (1998). Tiếng Việt thực hành (Vietnamese Practice). Hanoi: NXB Đại học Quốc gia.
- Nguyen, Nathalie Huynh Chau (2003). Vietnamese Voices: Gender and Cultural Identity in the Vietnamese Francophone Novel. Southeast Asia Publications, Center for Southeast Asian Studies, Northern Illinois University.
- Nguyen, Nga Anh/ Williams, Harold (1989). Transition from East to West: Vietnamese adolescents and their parents. Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry. 28(4). 505–515
- Nguyễn, Phuong-Dan/ Caham, Stefan (2011). Die deutschen Vietnamesen. Berlin: Peperoni Books.
- Nguyễn Tài Cẩn (2004). Ngữ pháp tiếng Việt: tiếng, từ ghép, đoản ngữ (Vietnamese grammar: language, compound, phrases). Hanoi: NXB Đại học Quốc gia.
- Nguyễn Tài Cẩn (1979). Nguồn gốc và quá trình hình thành cách đọc Hán Việt (Origin and the process of reading Sino-Vietnamese). Hà Nội: Nhà xuất bản Khoa học Xã hội
- Nguyễn Tài Cẩn (1996). Ngữ pháp tiếng Việt (Vietnamese Grammar). Hà Nội: NXB Đại học Quốc gia.

- Nguyễn, Thanh Phương (2012). English-Vietnamese Bilingual Code-Switching in conversations: How and why. Hawaii Pacific University TESOL Working paper series 10. 40-53
- Nguyễn Thái Hòa (1999). Các phương tiện tu từ và các biện pháp tu từ của tiếng Việt (Rhetorical devices of Vietnamese language). In Đinh Trọng Lạc & Nguyễn Thái Hòa: Phong cách học tiếng Việt (Vietnamese stylistics). Hanoi: NXB Giáo dục. 213-250
- Nguyen-thi, Minh-Dai (1998). Identitätsprobleme vietnamesischer Kinder und Jugendlicher in deutschen Schulen. Köln u.a.: Böhlau.
- Nguyễn, Thị Thu Hà (2016). The Northern [dialect] sounds foreign to me: Vietnamese heritage speakers, investment and identities. Journal of Science of HNUE. 61(12). 36-47
- Nguyễn Thị Thúy (2014). Nhận thức và hành vi sử dụng ngôn ngữ mạng của sinh viên Việt Nam hiện nay (Awareness and Behavior of internet language of Vietnamese students). Luận văn Thạc sĩ (Master Thesis). Đại học Khoa học Xã hội và Nhân văn Hà Nội.
- Nguyễn Thị Xuân Trương (2011). Vietnamese American identities: how race, gender, and class are reflected in cultural, language, and technological barriers. Unpublished Dissertation. WASHINGTON STATE UNIVERSITY. American Studies
- Nguyễn Thiện Nam (2006). Lỗi loại từ trong tiếng Việt của người nước ngoài (Classifier errors of international learners in using Vietnamese). In: Những vấn đề Ngôn ngữ học. Khoa Ngôn ngữ học (Trường Đại học KHXH&NV – ĐHQG Hà Nội). Hanoi: Nxb Đại học Quốc gia. 225 – 242
- Nguyễn Văn Chiến (1993). Từ xưng hô trong tiếng Việt (Nghiên cứu Ngữ dụng học và Dân tộc học trong giao tiếp) (Adresse forms in Vietnamese (Research on Pragmatics and Ethnology in Communication)). Tạp chí Những vấn đề ngôn ngữ và văn hóa (Journal of Language and Cultural Affairs). Hội ngôn ngữ học Việt Nam (Vietnam Linguistics Association). 9(3). 8-13
- Nguyễn Văn Hiệp (2009). Cú pháp tiếng Việt (Vietnamese syntax). Hanoi: Nxb Giáo dục.
- Nguyễn Văn Hiệp (2015). Ngôn ngữ giới trẻ hiện nay nhìn từ quan điểm của một số lý thuyết ngôn ngữ học hiện đại (Current youth language from the point of view

- of some modern linguistic theories). Tạp chí Thông tin Khoa học xã hội (Journal of Social Science Information). 6. 29-36
- Nguyễn Văn Hương (2002). Zuwanderung von Vietnamesen mit Zwischenstation als Gastarbeiter in der DDR. In Hartmut Heller (eds.): Neue Heimat Deutschland. Aspekte der Zuwanderung, Akkulturation und emotionalen Bindung. Vierzehn Referate einer Tagung der Deutschen Akademie für Landeskunde. Erlangen: Universitätsbund Erlangen-Nürnberg. 289–312.
- Nguyễn Văn Khang (2011). Tiếng Hà Nội trong mối quan hệ với tiếng Việt toàn dân (Hanoi language in relation to the standard Vietnamese language). Tạp chí Ngôn ngữ và Đời sống (Journal of Language and Life). 1&2. 2-7
- Nida, Eugene/Taber, Charles (1969). The theory and practice of translation. Leiden: Brill
- Ninh Thị Thiên Hương (2017). Race, Gender, and Religion in the Vietnamese diaspora. The new chosen people. Cham (Switzerland): Palgrave Macmillan.
- Nowicka, Ewa (2015). Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Acculturation of Young Vietnamese Women in Poland. Central and Eastern European Migration Review. 4(1). 67-80.
- Noyer, Rofit (1998). Vietnamese ‘morphology’ and the definition of word. University of Pennsylvania working papers in linguistics. 5 (2). 65-89
- Nyirenda, Juma (1996). The Relevance of Paulo Freire's Contributions to Education and Development in Present Day Africa, Africa Media Review. 10 (1). 1-20
<http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/africanjournals/>
- O
- Odlin, Terence (1989). Language transfer: cross-linguistic influence in language learning. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Odlin, Terence (2013). Crosslinguistic Influence in Second Language Acquisition. In Carol A. Chapelle (eds.): The Encyclopedia of Applied Linguistics. New Jersey: Blackwell Publishing Ltd. 1562–1568
- OECD (2016). PISA 2015 Results: Excellence and equity in education. Paris: PISA, OECD Publishing. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1787/9789264266490-en>
- Oh, Janet/Nash, Bertha (2014). Attitudes and Motivations of Adult Spanish Language Learners: A Comparison of Heritage Language Learners and Second Language Learners. Heritage language journal. 11 (1). 29–44

- O'Grady, William; Archibald, John & Katamba, Francis (2011). *Contemporary linguistics: An introduction* (2. ed.). Harlow: Longman/Pearson.
- Oliveri, María Elena; Lawless, René & Young, John (2015). *A Validity Framework for the Use and Development of Exported Assessment*. Education Testing Service.
<https://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.703.1137&rep=rep1&type=pdf>
- Oller, John/ Redding, Elcho (1971). Article usage and other language skills. *Language learning*. 21 (1). 85-95
- Oller, John/Perkins, Kyle (1978). *Language in education: testing the tests*. Massachusetts: Newbury House Publisher
- Ortman, Wolf Dieter (1980). *Sprechsilbe im Deutschen*. Munich: Goethe Institute.
- P
- Page, Richard/Putnam, Michael (eds.) (2015). *Moribund Germanic heritage languages in North America: Theoretical perspectives and empirical findings*. London: Brill.
- Perrin, Daniel/Ehrensberger-Dow (2006). Journalists' language awareness inferences from writing strategies. *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 19. 319-343
- Petersen, Jennifer (1988). Word-internal code-switching constraints in a bilingual child's grammar. *Linguistics* 26. 479-493.
- Peukert, Hagen (2015). *Transfer Effects in Multilingual Language Development*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins
- Peyton, Joy Kreeft; Ranard, Donald; McGinnis, Scott (eds.) (2011). *Heritage Languages in America: Preserving a National Resource*. Washington, DC & McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics & Delta Systems.
- Pfaff, Carol (1979). Constraints on Language Mixing: Intrasentential Code-Switching and Borrowing in Spanish/English. *Language* 55(2). 291-318.
 DOI:[10.2307/412586](https://doi.org/10.2307/412586)
- Pham Cong Viet (2015). *L'influence de l'apprentissage de la langue maternelle sur l'identité culturelle des jeunes Vietnamiens issus des familles immigrantes vietnamiennes de Winnipeg*. Dissertation Université de Saint-Boniface Université du Manitoba Winnipeg
- Pham, Giang and Kathryn, Kohnert (2009). A corpus-based analysis of Vietnamese 'classifiers' *con* and *cái*. *Mon-Khmer studies* 38. 161-171.

- Phạm Giang (formerly Tang Giang) (2011). Dual language development among Vietnamese-English bilingual children. Modeling trajectories and cross linguistic associations within a dynamic system framework. Dissertation at the University of Minnesota.
- Phạm, Giang/Kohnert, Kathryn (2014). A Longitudinal Study of Lexical Development in Children Learning Vietnamese and English. *Child Development*. 85(2). 767–782. doi:10.1111/cdev.12137.
- Pham Hien/Baayen, Harald (2015). Vietnamese compounds show an anti-frequency effect in visual lexical decision. *Language, Cognition and Neuroscience*. 30 (9). 1077-1095, DOI: 10.1080/23273798.2015.1054844
- Pham Thi Thai; Huynh Chi Nghia; Pham Thuy Huynh & Pham Thi Quyen Trang (2013). Thực trạng ngôn ngữ nhắn tin (sms language) của sinh viên trường Đại học Cần Thơ và học sinh THPT Trần Đại Nghĩa và Châu Văn Liêm Thành phố Cần Thơ (The problems of language uses on SMS of students at Can Tho University and Tran Dai Nghia, Chau Van Liem high Schools in Can Tho City). *Tạp chí khoa học Đại học Cần Thơ (Can Tho University Journal of Science)*. 26. 55-63.
- Phan, John (2013). *Lacquered Words: The Evolution of Vietnamese under Sinitic Influences from the 1st Century through the 17th Century CE*. Ithaca: Cornell University dissertation.
- Phan, Le-Ha and Baurain, Bradley (eds.) (2011). *Voices, identities, negotiations, and conflicts: writing academic English across cultures*. United Kingdom: Emerald Group Publishing Limited.
- Phan Ngọc Trần (2017). Sự tương tác của các ý nghĩa thể và kết cấu vị từ chuỗi chỉ chuyển động có hướng trong cách dùng tiếng Việt của một số người Mỹ gốc Việt (Interaction of modal meanings and directionally predicate structures in Vietnamese usage by some Vietnamese Americans). *Tạp chí Ngôn ngữ (Linguistic Journal)*. 2. 43-56.
- Phan Ngọc Trần (2018). Vietnamese as a Heritage Language: A Preliminary Study on Linguistic Characteristics of Vietnamese Americans. In Engelbert, T. (eds.). *Vietnamese Studies in Vietnam and Germany – New Contributions to Vietnamese Linguistics*. Hamburg: Universität Hamburg. 15-44
- Phan, Trang (2013). *Syntax of Vietnamese aspect*. Unpublished Dissertation in University of Sheffield. Online access:

http://etheses.whiterose.ac.uk/4701/1/Trang%27s%20Thesis-19Oct%202013_FINAL_Margin%20%281%29.pdf

- Pauwels, Anna (2005). Maintaining the Community Language in Australia: Challenges and Roles for Families. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism* 8(2-3). 124-131
- Phinney, Jean S. et al. (2001) The Role of Language, Parents, and Peers in Ethnic Identity Among Adolescents in Immigrant Families, *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 30: 2, 135-153
- Ptashnyk et al. (2016): *Gegenwärtige Sprachkontakte im Kontext der Migration*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter GmbH Heidelberg.
- Piazzoli, Erika (2015). Translation in cross-language qualitative research: Pitfalls and opportunities. *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*. 1(1). 80 – 102 <https://doi.org/10.1075/ttmc.1.1.04pia>
- Piggin, Gabrielle. (2012). What are our tools really made out of? A critical assessment of recent models of language proficiency. *Polyglossia*. 22. 79-87
- Pimingsdorfer, Thomas (2010). *Untersuchungen zur Didaktik des Gebrauchs von definitem, indefinitem sowie Null-Artikel im Deutschen für Lernende und Lehrende mit artikellosen Erstsprachen*. Dissertation, University of Vienna. Philologisch-Kulturwissenschaftliche Fakultät.
- Pinto, Derrin/ Raschio, Richard (2007). A comparative study of requests in heritage speaker Spanish, L1 Spanish, and L1 English. In *International Journal of Bilingualism*. [11 \(2\). 135-155](#)
- Pires CP; Ferraz MB & de Abreu MH. (2006). Translation into Brazilian Portuguese, cultural adaptation and validation of the oral health impact profile (OHIP-49). *Braz Oral Res*. 20(3). 263-268.
- Pires, Acrisio/Rothman, Jason (2009). Disentangling sources of incomplete acquisition: An explanation for competence divergence across heritage grammars. *International Journal of Bilingualism*. 13(2). 211–238. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006909339806>
- Polinsky, Maria (2008). Gender Under Incomplete Acquisition: Heritage Speakers' Knowledge of Noun Categorization. [Heritage Language Journal](#) 6(1). 40-71
- Poullisse, Nanda (1997). Language production in bilinguals. In A. M. B. de Groot & J. F. Kroll (eds.). *Tutorials in bilingualism: Psycholinguistic perspectives*. Mahwah: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates Publishers. 201–224

- Poulisse, Nanda/Bongaerts, Theo (1994). First Language Use in Second Language Productio. *Applied Linguistics*. 15 (1). 36–57.
- Polinsky, Maria/ Kagan, Olga. (2007). Heritage languages: In the 'wild' and in the classroom. *Language and Linguistics Compass* 1(5). 368-395.
- Potowski Kim/ Rothman Jason (2011). *Bilingual Youth: Spanish in English-speaking societies*. Philadelphia/ Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V.
- Potter, Leon (2014). 2nd year Vietnamese heritage language learners in higher education: a case study. Unpublished doctoral thesis of the University of Hawai'i at Manoa.
- Putnam, Michael /Salmons, Joseph (2013). Losing their (passive) voice: Syntactic neutralization in heritage German. *Linguistic Approaches to Bilingualism*. 3(2). 233-252. <https://doi.org/10.1075/lab.3.2.05put>

R

- Rakhilina E.; Vyrenkova A. & Polinsky M. (2016). Linguistic creativity in heritage speakers. *Glossa: a journal of general linguistics*. 1(1): 43. 1–29, DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.5334/gjgl.90>
- Reeves Todd/ Marbach-Ad Gili (2016). Contemporary Test Validity in Theory and Practice: A Primer for Discipline-Based Education Researchers. *CBE Life Sci Educ*. 15(1). 1-9. doi: 10.1187/cbe.15-08-0183. PMID: 26903498; PMCID: PMC4803101.
- Reich, Hans; Roth, Hans-Joachim & other authors (2002). *Spracherwerb zweisprachig aufwachsender Kinder und Jugendlicher Ein Überblick über den Stand der nationalen und internationalen Forschung*. Hamburg: Freie und Hansestadt Hamburg, Behörde für Bildung und Sport. <https://www.foermig.uni-hamburg.de/pdf-dokumente/spracherwerb.pdf>
- Reich, Hans H., Roth, Hans-Joachim & Neumann, Ursula (eds.) (2007). *Sprachdiagnosik im Lernprozess. Verfahren zur Analyse von Sprachständen im Kontext von Zweisprachigkeit*. (=FörMig Edition Bd. 3) Münster: Waxmann
- Reich, Hans H., Roth, Hans-Joachim & Döll, Marion (2009). Fast Catch Bumerang – Auswertungshinweise, Schreibimpuls und Auswertungsbogen. In D. Lengyel; H. Reich, H.-J. Roth, M. Döll (eds.): *Von der Sprachdiagnose zur Sprachförderung*. Münster: Waxmann. 209-241.

- Reich, Hans (2009). *Zweisprachige Kinder: Sprachenaneignung und sprachliche Fortschritte im Kindergartenalter*. Münster: Waxmann.
- Reich, Hans (2014). Herkunftssprachenunterricht. In: Bernt Ahrenholz/Ingelore Oomen-Welke (eds.): *Deutsch als Zweitsprache*, 3. Aufl. Baltmannsweiler: Schneider Verlag Hohengehren (*Deutschunterricht in Theorie und Praxis*, 9), 445–456.
- Riehl, Claudia Maria (2016). Mehrsprachiges Sprechen als Voraussetzung für Sprachkontakt in der Migrationsgesellschaft. In: Ptashnyk, Stefaniya; Beckert, Ronny; Wolf-Farré, Patrick; Wolny, Matthias (eds.): *Gegenwärtige Sprachkontakte im Kontext der Migration*. Schriften des Europäischen Zentrums für Sprachwissenschaften (EZS), Vol. 5. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter. 23-40
- Ringbom, Håkan (1987). *The role of the first language in foreign language learning*. Front Cover. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters
- Ringbom, Håkan (2001). Lexical Transfer in L3 Production. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen, & U. Jessner (eds.): *Cross-Linguistic Influence in Third Language Acquisition: Psycholinguistic Perspectives*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters. 59-68
- Ringbom, Håkan (2007). *Cross-linguistic Similarity in Foreign Language Learning*. Bristol: Multilingual Matters.
- Rodriguez, Alma Dolores (2007). Prospective Bilingual Teachers' Perceptions of the Importance of Their Heritage Language. *Heritage Language Journal*. 5. 172-187
- Romaine, Suzanne (1984). *The language of children and adolescents: The acquisition of communicative competence*. Oxford and New York: Blackwell
- Romaine, Suzanne (1986). The syntax and semantics of the code-mixed compound verb in Panjabi/English bilingual discourse. In *Language and Linguistics: The Interdependence of Theory, Data and Application*, ed. by Deborah Tannen and James E. Alatis, 35–49. Washington D.C.: Georgetown University Press
- Romaine, Suzanne (1995). *Bilingualism*. Blackwell: Oxford.
- Rothman, Jason (2009). Understanding the nature and outcomes of early bilingualism: Romance languages as heritage languages. *International Journal of Bilingualism*. 13 (2). 155-163
- Rothman, Jason/ Amaro, Cabrelli (2010). What variables condition syntactic transfer? A look at the L3 initial state. *Second Language Research* 26(2). 189–218

- Rothman, Jason/ Treffers-Daller, Jeanine (2014). A Prolegomenon to the Construct of the Native Speaker: Heritage Speaker Bilinguals are Natives Too! *Applied Linguistics*. 35 (1). 93–98, <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amt049>
- Rosenberg, Peter/Schroeder, Christoph (2016). *Mehrsprachigkeit als Ressource in der Schriftlichkeit*. Berlin: De Gruyter.
- Ross, Josephine/Melinger, Alissa (2017). Bilingual advantage, bidialectal advantage or neither? Comparing performance across three tests of executive function in middle childhood. *Developmental Science*. 20(4). 1-21. [e12405]. DOI:10.1111/desc.12405

S

- Saddah, Eman (2011). *The production of Arabic vowels by English L2 Learners and heritage speakers of Arabic*. Unpublished Dissertation. Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Linguistics in the Graduate College of the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, Urbana, Illinois.
- Saito, Lynne (2002). *Ethnic identity and motivation: socio-cultural factors in the educational achievement of Vietnamese American students*. New York: LFB Scholarly Pub.
- Sanchez, Pedro (1987). *Guam: The history of our island*. Agana, Guam: Sanchez Publishing House.
- Sanz, Cristina. (2007). The role of bilingual literacy in the acquisition of a third language. In C. Perez-Vidal; A. Bel & M.J. Garau (eds.): *A Portrait of the Young in the New Multilingual Spain*. Clevedon, UK: Multilingual Matters. 220-240
- Scarcella, Robin (2003). *Academic English: A conceptual framework*. Berkeley: University of California Linguistic Minority Research Institute.
- Schaland, Ann-Julia (2012). Wissen wandert: Die Bedeutung von Remigranten für die wissensbasierte Regionalentwicklung. In: M. Geiger/ M. Steinbrink (eds.): *Migration und Entwicklung. Beiträge aus geographischer Perspektive*. Osnabrück: IMIS-Beiträge. 113-130
- Scheele, A., Leseman, P., & Mayo, A. (2010). The home language environment of monolingual and bilingual children and their language proficiency. *Applied Psycholinguistics*. 31(1). 117-140.

- Schlaak, Claudia (2016). Sprachliche Charakteristika des Französischen der kamerunischen Migrantengesellschaft in Paris. In: Ronny Beckert, Patrick Wolf-Farré & Matthias Wolny (eds.): *Gegenwärtige Sprachkontakte im Kontext der Migration*. Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter. 181-194
- Schleppegrell, Mary/Colombi, Cecilia (1997). Text Organization by Bilingual Writers: Clause Structure as a Reflection of Discourse Structure. *Written Communication*. 14(4). 481-503. doi:10.1177/0741088397014004003
- Schleppegrell, Mary (2004). *The language of schooling: A functional linguistics perspective*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Schwippert, K., Habben, I., Gogolin, I. & Lasslop, I. (2013). SPRABILON – Sprachentwicklung bilingualer Kinder in longitudinaler Perspektive. In: A. Redder & S. Weinert (Hrsg.). *Sprachförderung und Sprachdiagnostik. Perspektiven aus Psychologie, Sprachwissenschaft und empirischer Bildungsforschung*. Bonn: Bundesministerium für Bildung und Forschung. 239-255
- Schneck, Stephan (1987). Michel Foucault on Power/Discourse, Theory and Practice. *Human Studies*. 10(1). 15-33.
- Schmiz, Antonie (2011). *Transnationalität als Ressource?: Netzwerke Vietnamesischer Migrantinnen und Migranten zwischen Berlin und Vietnam*. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag
- Schnoor, Birger; Lotter, Vivian & Schwenke-Lam, Trang (2017). Heritage language among Turkish and Vietnamese mothers in Germany. In: *Dynamics of linguistic diversity*, H. Peukert and I. Gogolin (eds.): Amsterdam: John Benjamins B.V. 75-98
- Schroeder, Christoph (2007). Orthography in German-Turkish language contact. In Beider, Fabienne: *Emprunts linguistiques, empreintes culturelles. Métissage ori-ent-occident*. Paris: l'Harmattan. 101-122
- Schwartz, Bonnie/Sprouse, Rex (1996). L2 cognitive states and the Full Transfer/Full Access model. *Second Language Research*. 12(1). 40–72.
- Schwenkel, Christina (2014). Rethinking asian mobilities, *Critical Asian Studies*. 46(2). 235-258. DOI: [10.1080/14672715.2014.898453](https://doi.org/10.1080/14672715.2014.898453)
- Scontras, Gregory; Fuchs, Zuzanna & Polinsky, Maria Scontras (2015). Heritage language and linguistic theory. *Frontiers in Psychology*. 6. 1545-1565

- Sebba, Mark (2007). *Spelling and Society: The Culture and Politics of Orthography around the World*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press
- Sebastián-Gallés N, Albareda-Castellot B, Weikum WM & Werker JF (2012). A bilingual advantage in visual language discrimination in infancy. *Psychol Sci.* 23(9). 994-999. doi: 10.1177/0956797612436817.
- Selmani, Lirim (2012). Schreibprozesse albanischsprachiger Kinder. In: Griebhaber, W. & Kalkavan, Z. (eds.): *Orthographie- und Schriffterwerb bei mehrsprachigen Kindern*. Freiburg: Fillibach. 81-101.
- Shaw, Stuart/Weir, Cyril (2007). *Examining Writing: Research and Practice in Assessing Second Language Writing (Studies in Language Testing 26)*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Shavelson, Richard/Webb, Noreen (1991). *Measurement methods for the social sciences series, Vol. 1. Generalizability theory: A primer*. Newbury Park, California: Sage Publications, Inc.
- Siemund, Peter/Lechner, Simone (2015). Transfer effects in the acquisition of English as an additional language by bilingual children in Germany'. In: Hagen Peukert (eds.) *Transfer Effects in Multilingual Language Development*. Amsterdam: Benjamins. 147–160
- Siever, Holger (2010). *Übersetzen und Interpretation. Die Herausbildung der Übersetzungswissenschaft als eigenständige wissenschaftliche Disziplin im deutschen Sprachraum von 1960 bis 2000*. Frankfurt/M.: Lang.
- Simpson, Andrew (2008). Classifier and DP structure in Southeast Asia. In Guglielmo Cinque and Richard Kayne (eds.): *The Oxford Handbook of comparative Syntax*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. 806-838.
- Simpson, Andrew/ Ho, Hao Tam (2008). The comparative syntax of passive structures in Chinese and Vietnamese. In: Chan, Marjorie K.M. and Kang, Hana. *Proceedings of the 20th North American Conference on Chinese Linguistics (NACCL-20)*. The Ohio State University. 825-841
- Singh L, Fu CS, Rahman AA, Hameed WB, Sanmugam S, Agarwal P, Jiang B, Chong YS, Meaney MJ, Rifkin-Graboi A; GUSTO Research Team. (2015). Back to basics: a bilingual advantage in infant visual habituation. *Child Dev.* 86(1). 294-302. doi: 10.1111/cdev.12271. Epub 2014 Jul 30. PMID: 25074016.

- Small, Ivan (2012). *Currencies of Imagination: Channeling Money and Chasing Mobility in Vietnamese Remittance Economies*. Unpublished Dissertation in Cornell University.
- Smith, Lise-Hélène (2010). The Disillusion of Linda Lê: Redefining the Vietnamese Diaspora in France. *French Forum*. 35 (1). 59–74.
- Smyk, Ekaterina; Restrepo, Maria; Gorin, Joanna & Gray, Shelley (2013). Development and Validation of the Spanish-English Language Proficiency Scale (SELPs). *Language, speech, and hearing services in schools*. 44. 252-265. 10.1044/0161-1461(2013/12-0074).
- Stanat, Petra; Rauch, Dominique & Segeritz, Michael: Schülerinnen und Schüler mit Migrationshintergrund - In: Klieme, Eckhard; Artelt, Cordula; Hartig Johannes; Jude, Nina; Köller, Olaf; Prenzel, Manfred; Schneider, Wolfgang; Stanat, Petra [eds.]: *PISA 2009. Bilanz nach einem Jahrzehnt*. Münster: Waxmann 2010. 200-230.
- Stedje, Astrid (1977). Tredjespråkssinterferens i fritt tal—en jämförande studie [Third language interference in free speech—a comparative study]. In R. Palmberg & H. Ringbom (eds.): *Papers from the Conference on Contrastive Linguistics and Error Analysis, Stockholm and Åbo, 7–8 February 1977* Åbo, Sweden: Åbo Akademi. nach einem Jahrzehnt. Münster: Waxman
- Stanford, James/Preston, Dennis (2009): *Variation in indigenous minority languages*. Amsterdam [u.a.]: Benjamins.
- Statistisches Amt für Hamburg und Schleswig-Holstein (2011). *Stadtteildatenbank und persönliche Korrespondenz*, Hamburg.
- Street, Brian (2003). What's "new" in New Literacy Studies? Critical approaches to literacy in theory and practice. *Current Issues in Comparative Education, Teachers College, Columbia University*. 5(2). 77-91
- Swain, Merrill/Wesche, Mari (1975). Linguistic Interaction: Case Study of a Bilingual Child. *Language Sciences*. 37. 17-22
- Szymańska-Matusiewicz, Grażyna (2015). The Vietnamese Communities in Central and Eastern Europe as Part of the Global Vietnamese Diaspora. *Central and Eastern European Migration Review*. 4 (1). 5-10
- Şahiner, Pembe (2012). Phasen und Besonderheiten des Schriftspracherwerbs bei bilingual deutsch-türkischen Grundschulkindern. In Griebhaber, W. &

Kalkavan, Z.: Orthographie- und Schriftspracherwerb bei mehrsprachigen Kindern. Freiburg im Breisgau: Fillibach Verlag. 233-252

Şimşek, Yazgül (2012). Türkendeutsch: Formen und strukturelle Merkmale des Sprachgebrauchs türkisch-deutscher Jugendlicher aus Berlin. In Barbara Janczak; Konstanze Jungbluth & Harald Weydt: Mehrsprachigkeit aus deutscher Perspektive. Tübingen : Narr Verlag. 155-180

T

Taguchi, Naoko; Li, Shuai & Liu Yan (2013). _Comprehension of conversational implicature in L2 Chinese. Pragmatics & Cognition 21(1). 139-157. DOI:[10.1075/pc.21.1.06tag](https://doi.org/10.1075/pc.21.1.06tag)

Tang Giang (2007). Cross-Linguistic Analysis of Vietnamese and English with Implications for Vietnamese Language Acquisition and Maintenance in the United States. Journal of Southeast Asian American Education and Advancement: 2 (1). 1-31. DOI: 10.7771/2153-8999.1085

Thái Duy Bảo (2007). “Mixed Language: Mixed Identities? The Mechanisms of Ethnic Retention and Cultural Reproduction in Later-Generation Vietnamese Immigrants in Australia”. In: Seet, Shirley (eds.). Redesigning Pedagogy: Culture, Knowledge and Understanding Conference. Singapore: National Institute of Education. 1-23.

Thái Duy Bảo (2014). Transfer and accommodation in the use of Vietnamese by the Vietnamese community in Australia. Ngon ngu (Language). 12. 21-36.

Thái Minh Đức (2004). Multifunctional profile of the grammar of Vietnamese. In Alice Caffarel-Cayron; J.R. Martin & Christian M.I.M. Matthiessen: Language typology: A functional perspective. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamin Publishing House. 397-428

Thompson, Laurence (1965). A Vietnamese grammar. Seattle: University of Washington Press.

Thornberry, Patrick/Amor Estebanez, María (2004). Minority rights in Europe. Strasbourg: Council of Europe Publishing

Tomingas-Hatch, Emma (2009). Preserving Vietnamese Culture and Language in Southern Louisiana: Altars as Symbols of Identity. Folklife in Louisiana: Louisiana’s Living Traditions. Online publication in http://www.louisianafolklife.org/LT/Articles_Essays/Vietnamesealtars.html

- Torres, Julio (2016). Flipping the classroom: A pedagogical model for promoting heritage language writing skills. In: Diego Pascual y Cabo's (eds.): *Advances in Spanish as a Heritage Language*. 299-324
- Torres, Julio; Pascual y Cabo, Diego & Beusterien, John (2017). What's Next? Heritage Language Learners Shape New Paths in Spanish Teaching. *Hispania*. 271–278
- Trần Anh (2008). Vietnamese Language Education in the United States, *Language, Culture and Curriculum*. 21(3). 256-268, DOI: 10.1080/07908310802385923
- Tran, Jennie (2010). Child acquisition of Vietnamese classifier phrase. *Journal of Southeast Asian Linguistics Society*. 2. 111-137.
- Tran, Jennie (2011). The acquisition of Vietnamese classifiers. Unpublished Dissertation of the University of Hawaii ‘i at MĀnoa.
- Tran, Jennie (2013). Vietnamese classifier phrases from the perspective of how children acquire them. In Daniel Hole/Elisabeth Löbel: *Linguistics of Vietnamese: An international survey*. Berlin [u.a.]: De Gruyter Mouton. 87-126
- Trần Ngọc Thêm (2004). *Cơ sở văn hóa Việt Nam (Introduction to Vietnamese Culture)*. Hà Nội: NXB Giáo dục.
- Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2006). *Façons de parler bilingue franco-vietnamien dans les conversations quotidiennes au sein des familles vietnamiennes immigrées en France par. Thèse de doctorat en Sciences du langage*. Nice.
- Trần Thanh Bình Minh (2013). *Façons De Parler Bilingue Franco-vietnamien - MB 357: 20 Ans Après*.
- Trần, Thị Minh (2016). “The language of schooling registers” in Vietnamese: An initial study investigating the writing texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents in Germany. *Kỉ yếu Hội thảo Quốc tế Việt Nam học 2016 (Proceedings of International Conference on Vietnamese Studies)*. Ho Chi Minh : Nxb Đại học Quốc gia. 386-402
- Trần Thị Minh (2018). Verb use in Vietnamese written texts of Vietnamese-German adolescents. In Engelbert, T. (ed.). *Vietnamese Studies in Vietnam and Germany – New Contributions to Vietnamese Linguistics*. Hamburg: University of Hamburg. 215-226

- Trần Thị Thanh Vân (2013). Address forms in Vietnamese: Learners' sociolinguistic competence. In Roever, Carsten/ Nguyễn Thị Hạnh: Pragmatics of Vietnamese as a native and target language. 135-176
- Trần Trọng Kim, Phạm Duy Khiêm & Bùi Kỳ (1940). Việt Nam văn phạm (Vietnamese Grammar). Hanoi: Nxb Lê Thăng
- Trần Trí Dõi (2005). Giáo trình lịch sử tiếng Việt (sơ thảo) (Textbook of history of the Vietnamese language (brief introduction)). Hanoi: Nxb Đại học Quốc gia.
- Trinh Tue (2014). Das Vietnamesisch und das Chinesisch. In Krifka M et al. (eds.) Das mehrsprachige Klassenzimmer. Berlin/Heidelberg: Springer-Verlag. 247-271
- Treffers-Daller, Jeanine (2009). Code-switching and transfer: an exploration of similarities and differences. In: Bullock, B. E. and Toribio, A. J. (eds.) The Cambridge handbook of linguistic code-switching. Cambridge handbooks in language and linguistics. Cambridge University Press, Cambridge. 58- 74.
- Truit, Allison (2015). Not a day but a Vu Lan season: Celebrating filial piety in the Vietnamese diaspora. *Journal of Asian America Studies*. 18(3). 289-311
- Tsimpli I, Sorace A, Heycock C, Filiaci F. (2004). First language attrition and syntactic subjects: A study of Greek and Italian near-native speakers of English. *International Journal of Bilingualism*. 8(3). 257–277. <https://doi.org/10.1177/13670069040080030601>

U

- Uccelli, Paola/Páez, Mariela M. (2007). Narrative and vocabulary development of bilingual children from kindergarten to first grade: developmental changes and associations among English and Spanish skills. *Language, speech, and hearing services in schools*. 38 (3). 225-236

V

- Valdés, Guadalupe (2001). Heritage Language Students: Profiles and Possibilities. In Peyton et al. (Eds.) *Heritage Languages in America: Preserving a National Resource*. Washington, DC, and McHenry, IL: Center for Applied Linguistics and Delta Systems, Inc. 37–77
- Valdés, Guadalupe (2010). Between Support and Marginalisation: The Development of Academic Language in Linguistic Minority Children. *International Journal*

- of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism. April 1. 102-132. 10.1080/13670050408667804.
- Valdés, Guadalupe (2012). Afterword: Future Directions for the Field of Spanish as a Heritage Language. In: Sara M. Beaudrie/Marta Fairclough (eds.): Spanish as a Heritage Language in the United States: The State of the Field. Washington DC: Georgetown University Press. 279-290
- Valverde, Kieu Linh (2012). Transnationalizing Viet Nam: Community, culture, and politics in the diaspora. Philadelphia and the Delaware Valley: Temple University Press
- Van Berkel, Ans J. (2004). Learning to spell in English as a second language. IRAL. International Review of Applied Linguistics in Language Teaching. 42. 239-257. <https://doi.org/10.1515/iral.2004.012>
- Van Vleet, Krista E. (2010). Afterword. cross-cultural implications of Japanese heritage language policies and practices. Critical Asian studies. 42(2). 246-255.
- Vertovec, Steven (2005). The Political Importance of Diasporas. Centre on Migration, Policy and Society -Working Paper No. 13, Centre on Migration, Policy and Society. University of Oxford. Online Publication <https://www.migrationpolicy.org/article/political-importance-diasporas>
- Viberg, Åke (2002). Basic verbs and second language acquisition. Revue française de linguistique appliquée. 7 (2). 61-79
- Vildomec, Věroboj (1963). Multilingualism. Netherlands: A.W. Sythoff-Leyden.
- Vinay, Jean-Paul/Darbelnet, Jean. (2000). A Methodology for Translation. In J. C. Sager & M.-J. Hamel (eds.): Comparative Stylistics of French and English: A Methodology for Translation. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. 84–93
- Vu, Anna (2017). The politics of memory and commemoration: the flag debate and perspectives of Vietnamese diaspora intellectuals in North America. Diaspora Studies. 10. 25 - 44.
- Vũ Đức Nghiệu (2005). Đơn tiết, đơn tiết hoá và đa tiết, đa tiết hoá trong quá trình phát triển của tiếng Việt (Monosyllabism, monosyllablization and polysyllabism, polysyllablization during Vietnamese developing process). Kỷ yếu hội thảo quốc tế về ngôn ngữ và ngôn ngữ học liên Á (Proceeding the 6th Pan-Asiatic International Symposium on Linguistics). Hanoi: Nxb Đại học Quốc gia. 202-213.

- Vu, Thi Thanh Huong (1997). *Politeness in modern Vietnamese. A sociolinguistic study of a Hanoispeech community*. Unpublished doctoral thesis. Toronto: University of Toron
- Vuong Tuan/Moore, John (1994). *Colloquial Vietnamese: A Complete Language Course*. London: Routledge
- W
- Wang, Chih-min (2013). *Politics of Return: Homecoming Stories of the Vietnamese Diaspora*. *Positions* 1. 21 (1). 161–187.
- Walter, Oliver (2011). *Der Schulerfolg vietnamesischer und philipinischer Jugendlicher in Deutschland. Eine Analyse auf der Grundlage der Erweiterungsstichprobe von PISA 2008*. *Zeitschrift für Erziehungswissenschaft*. 398-414
- Wei, Longxing (2003). *Activation of lemmas in the multilingual mental lexicon and transfer in third language learning*. In J. Cenoz, B. Hufeisen & U. Jessner (Eds.), *The multilingual lexicon*. Dordrecht: Kluwer Academic Publishers. 57-70. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-0-306-48367-7_5
- Wei, Li/Hua, Zhu (2010). *Voices from the diaspora: Changing hierarchies and dynamics of Chinese multilingualism*. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*. 205. 155-171.
- Weigle, Sara (2014). *Assessing Literacy. The Companion to Language Assessment*, 1st Ed. Chichester: John Wiley & Sons, Inc.
- Weinreich, Uriel (1953). *Languages in Contact*. The Hague: Mouton.
- Wiley, Terrence/Lukes, Marguerite (1996). *English-Only and Standard English Ideologies in the U.S.* *TESOL* 30 (3). 511-535
- Weideman, Albert (2009). *Beyond expression: A systematic study of the foundations of linguistics*. Publisher: Paideia Press
- Weideman, Albert. (2012). *Validation and validity beyond Messick*. *Per Linguam* 28(2). 1-14. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.5785/28-2-526>.
- Weideman, Albert (2014). *Academic literacy: Why is it important?* In: Albert Weideman/Tobi van Dyk (Eds.). *Academic literacy: Test your competence*. Bloemfontein: Geronimo Distribution (Pty) Ltd. ii-ix
- Westergaard, Marit /Anderssen, Merete (2015). *Word Order Variation in Norwegian Possessive Constructions: Bilingual Acquisition and Attrition*. In book:

Germanic heritage languages in North America: Acquisition, attrition and change. Publisher: John Benjamins. 21-45

- Weth, Constanze (2015). Orthographic competence among multilingual school children: writing Moroccan Arabic in France. *International Journal of Multilingualism* 12(2). 196-209.
- Widdowson, Henry (2003). *Defining Issues in English Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Wiersma, William (2000). *Research methods in education: An introduction*. Philadelphia: Lippincott.
- Williams, Sarah/Hammarberg, Bjorn (1998). Language Switches in L3 Production: Implications for a Polyglot Speaking Model. *Applied Linguistics*. 19 (3). 295–333. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/19.3.295>
- Wiley, Terence/Lukes, Marguerite (1996). English-Only and Standard English Ideologies in the U.S. *TESOL Quarterly*. 30(3). 511-535. doi:10.2307/3587696
- Wiley, Terrence; Peyton, Joy Kreeft; Christian, Donna; Moore, Sarah Catherine K. & Liu, Na (2014). *Handbook of heritage, community, and native American languages in the United States: Research, policy, and educational practice*. New York: Routledge.
- Wode, Henning (1977). Four early stages in the development of Li negation. *Journal of Child Language*. 4(1). 87-102. doi:10.1017/S0305000900000490
- Wolf, Bernd (2007). *Die vietnamesische Diaspora in Deutschland. Struktur und Kooperationspotenzial mit Schwerpunkt auf Berlin und Hessen*. Frankfurt: GTZ.

X

- Xi, Xiaoming (2012). Validity and the Automated Scoring of Performance Tests. In G. Fulcher/F. Davidson (eds.): *The Routledge Handbook of Language Testing*. London: Routledge. 438–451

Y

- Yeh, Yu-Ching; Ho, Hsiang-Ju & Chen, Ming-Chung. (2014). Learning Vietnamese as a heritage language in Taiwan. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. 36. 1-11. 10.1080/01434632.2014.912284.
- Yip, Virginia/Matthews, Stephen (2006). Assessing Language Dominance in Bilingual Acquisition: A Case for Mean Length Utterance Differentials. *Language*

Assessment Quarterly - LANG ASSESS Q. 3. 97-116.
10.1207/s15434311laq0302_2.

Yip, Virginia/Matthews, Stephan (2007). *The Bilingual Child: Early Development and Language Contact*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Youn, Soo Jung (2007). Rater bias in assessing the pragmatics of KFL learners using facets analysis. Master Thesis. University of Hawaii at Manoa.

Young, Russell/Tran, My Luong (1999). Language maintenance and shift among Vietnamese in America. 140. 77-82.

Z

Zarobe, Leyre/Zarobe, Yolanda (2015). New perspectives on multilingualism and L2 acquisition: an introduction, *International Journal of Multilingualism*. 12(4). 393-403, DOI: [10.1080/14790718.2015.1071021](https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2015.1071021)

Zhang, Dong Hui/Slaughter-Defoe, Diana (2009): Language attitudes and heritage language maintenance among Chinese immigrant families in the US. *Language Culture and Curriculum* 22(2). 77-93. DOI:[10.1080/07908310902935940](https://doi.org/10.1080/07908310902935940)

Zhang, B., Xiao, Y. & Luo, J. Rater reliability and score discrepancy under holistic and analytic scoring of second language writing. *Language Testing in Asia* 5 (5). 1-9. <https://doi.org/10.1186/s40468-015-0014-4>

Zhou, Min/Bankston, Carl (1998). *Growing Up American: How Vietnamese Children Adapt to Life in the United States*. Russell Sage Foundation.

Zhou, Min (2001). *Straddling Different Worlds: The Acculturation of Vietnamese Refugee Children*. In: Rumbaut, Rubén/Portes, Alejandro: *Ethnicities: Children of immigrants in America*. Berkeley: University of California Press

Appendix

Appendix 1: “Boomerang” writing tasks in Vietnamese

Bạn hình dung đọc bài quảng cáo sau trong một quyển tạp chí:

„fast catch Bumerang“ cần tìm người thành
thực tập sinh ở phòng xuất bản tạp chí!

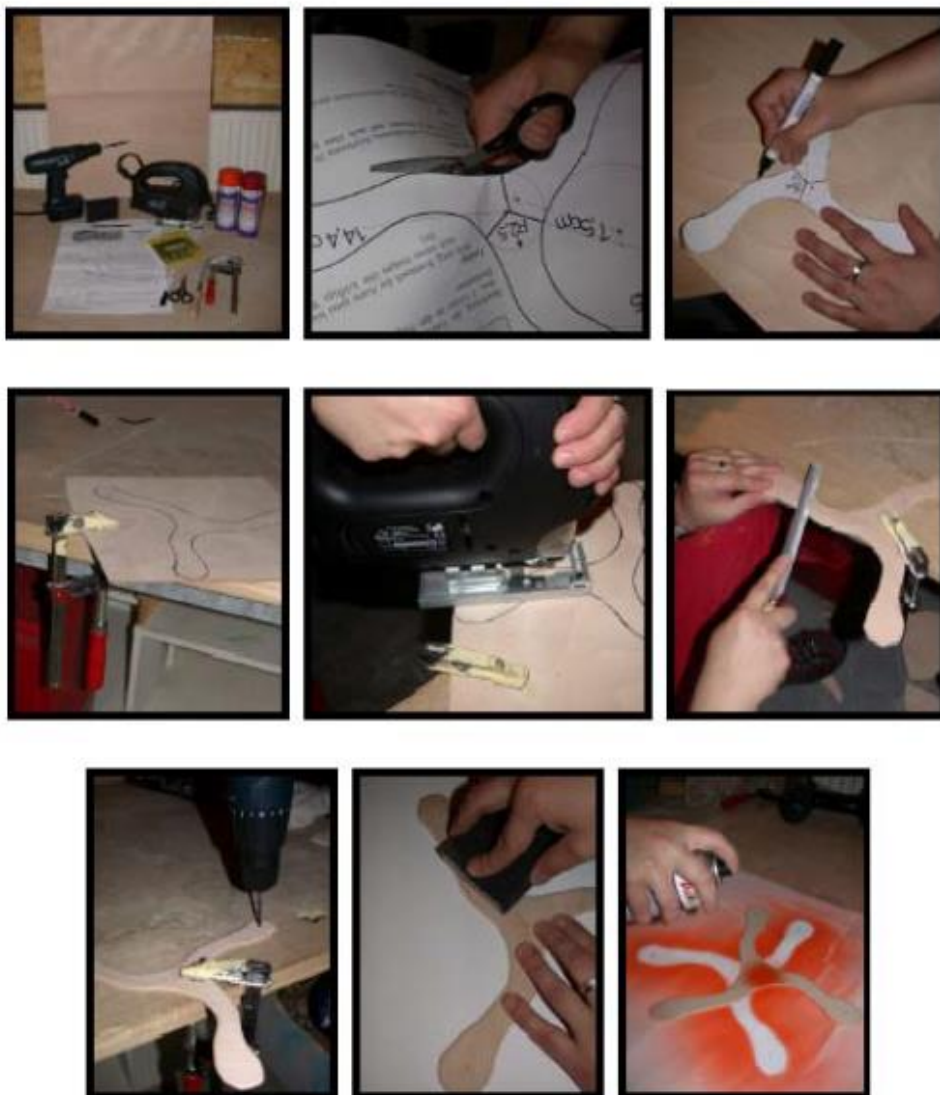
Bạn có biết viết những bài báo thú vị không? Bạn có hiểu biết nhiều về vũ khí bumerang không? Thành thực tập sinh ở phòng xuất bản tạp chí trẻ tên „FAST CATCH BUMERANG“ có thể mở cửa vào nghề nghiệp nhà báo cho các bạn. Xin các bạn gửi một bài mẫu, tả cách lắp của vũ khí bumerang TRITON IV kèm với đơn xin thực tập.

fast catch Bumerang
Việt Đức Nguyễn
Rotteroder Straße 72
30171 Hannover

Bài tập 1:

Xin các bạn viết một bài mẫu, tả cách lắp của vũ khí bumerang TRITON IV. Ở trang sau bạn sẽ thấy những hình ảnh giúp bạn viết bài này. Xin bạn viết một bài hướng dẫn dễ hiểu cho những mọi người không có hình ảnh đó.

Hình ảnh – Cách lắp vũ khí bomorang TRITON IV



Bài tập 2:

© LiMA-LiPS * 2011

Phòng xuất bản tạp chí và bạn muốn đưa ra một bài phê bình thử vũ khí bumorang ở trong số tiếp sau của quyển tạp chí. Bạn hãy kể cho nhóm làm việc tại phòng tạp chí, cái gì đã xảy ra khi bạn thử vũ khí trong công viên.



“Fast Catch Boomerang” task in English

C) Imagine you read the following announcement in a magazine:

fast catch Boomerang needs you as an intern
in the editorial team!

You're a good writer? You know a lot about boomerangs? An internship in the editorial team of our youth magazine could be your chance for a career in journalism! Please send us an article that explains how to make the “Boomerang Triton IV” as an example of your work.

fast catch Boomerang
Marcus Elbe
Rotteroder Straße 72
30171 Hannover

Task:

Now please write the article that explains how the boomerang is made. On the next page you will find a set of pictures that you have to describe in your article. Your article needs to be understandable without the pictures.

Appendix 2: LiPS evaluation formula



LiPS – LiMA Panelstudie

Auswertungsbogen Bumerang

Vietnamesisch



ID:

133004

C. Schriftsprachlichkeit – Bildungssprachliche Elemente

	Beispiele	Häufigkeit
thể bị động/ Passive		
từ ghép/ Komposita	máy cắt điện (cưa điện)	/
từ Hán Việt (và từ mượn chuyên ngành)/ Sino_Nom_Wörter	sử dụng, sở thích	//
cách thể hiện khách quan/ unpersönliche Ausdruck	cái miếng Bumorang bây giờ phải khoan ba cái lỗ ở 3 cái góc	/

D. Textstrukturierung

	Beispiele	vorhanden
sprachlich (durch verweisende Elemente wie „Kế tiếp“, „Sau đó“)		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gliederung durch Nummerierung		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gliederung durch Absätze		<input type="checkbox"/>
Titel/Überschrift (auch Zwischenüberschriften)		<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Vorbemerkung / Einleitung / Begrüßung des Lesers		<input type="checkbox"/>
(Formeller) Abschluss		<input type="checkbox"/>
Besondere Gestaltungsmittel (z. B. Materialtabelle)		<input type="checkbox"/>
sonstige Bezüge		<input type="checkbox"/>

E. Klassifikator

	Beispiele	Häufigkeit
<i>Nicht normgerechter Gebrauch</i>		
Auslassung/ Thiếu loại từ z.B: Chim này đang bay.	đặt trên gỗ	/
unnötige Benutzung/ Thừa loại từ z.B: Tôi đi mua con cá.		
falsche Klassifikator/ Dùng sai loại từ z.B: Cái mèo đuổi cái chim.		
Σ Nicht normgerechter Gebrauch (tokens)		

<i>Normgerechter Gebrauch</i>		
Σ Richtige Verwendung (tokens)		//////
Verhältnis:		
$\% = \Sigma \text{ Nicht normgerechter Gebrauch der Klassifikator (tokens) / } \Sigma \text{ Gesamtzahl der registrierten Fälle (obligatorischen Umgebungen für Klassifikator)}$		

G. Verbindung von Sätzen

	Vorkommen
mit den verbundenen Wörter oder Wörter	
và	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
nhưng/ nhưng mà	<input type="checkbox"/>
để + mệnh đề	<input type="checkbox"/>
vì, tại, bởi, do, bởi vì, tại vì	<input type="checkbox"/>
tuy, dù, mặc dù	<input type="checkbox"/>
hoặc/ hay	<input type="checkbox"/>
nếu... (thì)/ giả ... (thì)	<input type="checkbox"/>
(vì) A nên B	<input type="checkbox"/>
sau khi, trước khi	<input type="checkbox"/>
sau đó, trước đó	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
lại	<input type="checkbox"/>
cũng	<input type="checkbox"/>
tiếp theo	<input type="checkbox"/>
rằng, thì + mệnh đề	<input type="checkbox"/>
vì vậy, vì thế, cho nên	<input type="checkbox"/>
khi A thì B	<input type="checkbox"/>
trong khi	<input type="checkbox"/>
không những ... mà còn	<input type="checkbox"/>
liệu	<input type="checkbox"/>
càng...càng	<input type="checkbox"/>
đã A thì B	<input type="checkbox"/>
hinweisende Pronomen (thế, vậy,...)	<input type="checkbox"/>
personliche Pronomen	<input type="checkbox"/>
Andere, und zwar (bitte eintragen)	
xong rồi	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>
	<input type="checkbox"/>

Vertiefende Beobachtungen: Syntax

Satzarten	Anzahl <i>///</i>	Summe
unvollständiger Satz		
einfacher Satz/ câu đơn	<i>///</i>	
Câu đặc biệt (gồm: câu tồn tại, câu rút gọn)		
Câu phức chủ ngữ		
Câu phức vị ngữ		
Câu phức trạng ngữ		
Câu phức bổ ngữ		
Câu ghép đẳng lập	<i>////</i>	
Câu ghép chính phụ		
Summe		

H. Zusammenfassung

Zusammenfassung	Bumerang
Wörter gesamt	113
lex. Items	
Sätze gesamt	7
Summe spez. Begriffe	
Summe spez. Verben	
Fachsprachliche Spezifität (Verben)	
Lex. Dichte/Satz	
Lex. Dichte - fachsprachlich	
Übergangserscheinungen der Klassifikator	

Appendix 3: Translation task

Đây là bài viết của một bạn học sinh về cảm xúc trước ngày đi học. Trong 20 phút, bạn hãy dịch bài viết này sang tiếng Việt. Hãy cố gắng hết khả năng của bạn nhé. Đừng lo lắng, bạn có thể làm được theo cách của bạn mà. Hãy nghĩ và tin vào bản thân mình nhé! Lưu ý: không dùng các phương tiện trợ giúp như từ điển, máy tính và sự trợ giúp của bạn bè, người thân.

(This is a text about the emotion of a pupil before the starting of the school. Please try to translate this text into Vietnamese in 20 minutes. Try to do your best. Do not worry, you can do by your own way. Let's think and believe on you! Notice: Please do not use dictionaries, computers and also do not ask the other people for help! Thanks a lot!)

It was Monday, the first week of September. Now I could go to school! I woke up early that morning and lay in bed, happy that I could start sixth grade today. Breakfast was already prepared. I ate with my parents and my brother, Dennis. We had bread with butter, sausage, and cheese. After breakfast, Dennis made a boomerang for me. He painted it red. The boomerang looked so nice; I liked it a lot. My mom had tailored a white shirt and blue trousers for me. I liked them very much, too. At school, I was so happy to see my friends. We talked a lot about our summer holidays. However, being back at school with friends seemed to be the most wonderful thing.

Appendix 4: Some questions about background data of Vietnamese-German adolescents in LiPS (CaPI)

Frage 5: Welche Sprache/n hast du in der Familie zuerst gelernt?

Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

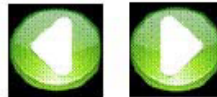
(0=nein,1=ja)

	<input type="checkbox"/>	
Türkisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_05a
Deutsch	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_05b

andere Sprache 1 aCK15_05c (String)

andere Sprache 2 aCK15_05d

andere Sprache 3 aCK15_05e

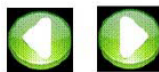


Frage 8: Welche Sprache spricht deine Mutter mit dir?

Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

(0=nein,1=ja)

aCK15_08a	Türkisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_08b	Deutsch	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_08c	andere Sprache 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_08ca (String)
aCK15_08d	andere Sprache 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_08da
aCK15_08e	andere Sprache 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_08ea



nur eine Sprache angegeben: weiter mit Frage 10

mehr als eine Sprache angegeben: weiter mit Frage 9

Frage 9: Welche dieser Sprachen spricht deine Mutter mit dir meistens?

Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

(0=nein,1=ja)

	<input type="checkbox"/>	
meistens Türkisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_09a
meistens Deutsch	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_09b

meistens andere Sprache 1 aCK15_09c (String)

meistens andere Sprache 2 aCK15_09d

meistens andere Sprache 3 aCK15_09e



Frage 10: Welche Sprache spricht dein Vater mit dir?

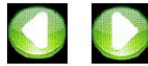
Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

(0=nein,1=ja)

aCK15_10a	Türkisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_10b	Deutsch	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_10c	andere Sprache 1:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_10ca (String)
aCK15_10d	andere Sprache 2:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_10da
aCK15_10e	andere Sprache 3:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_10ea

nut eine Sprache angeben; weiter mit Frage 12

mehr als eine Sprache angegeben: weiter mit Frage 11



Frage 11: Welche dieser Sprachen spricht dein Vater mit dir meistens?

Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

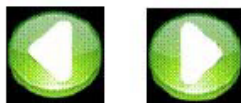
(0=nein,1=ja)

	<input type="checkbox"/>	
meistens Türkisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_11a
meistens Deutsch	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_11b

meistens andere Sprache 1 aCK15_11c (String)

meistens andere Sprache 2 aCK15_11d

meistens andere Sprache 3 aCK15_11e



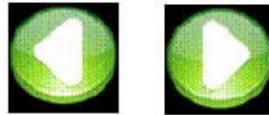
(Frage 12): Aus Frage 2 ablesen oder notfalls noch einmal fragen:
Hast du Geschwister?

aCK15_12

	<input type="radio"/>
nur ein Kind	<input type="radio"/>
Geschwister	<input type="radio"/>

nur ein Kind: weiter mit Frage 15a

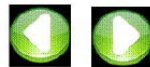
mehrere Kinder: weiter mit nächster Frage (13)



Frage 13: Welche Sprache sprichst du mit deinen Geschwistern?
Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

(0=nein, 1=ja)

aCK15_13a	Türkisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_13b	Deutsch	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_13c	andere Sprache 1:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_13ca (String)
aCK15_13d	andere Sprache 2:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_13da
aCK15_13e	andere Sprache 3:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_13ea



nur eine Sprache angegeben: weiter mit Frage 15a

mehr als eine Sprache angegeben: weiter mit Frage 14

Frage 14: Welche dieser Sprachen sprichst du mit deinen Geschwistern meistens?

Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

(0=nein, 1=ja)

	<input type="checkbox"/>	
meistens Türkisch:	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_14a
meistens Deutsch:	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_14b

meistens andere Sprache 1 aCK15_14c (String)

meistens andere Sprache 2 aCK15_14d

meistens andere Sprache 3 aCK15_14e



Frage 15: Welche Sprache oder Sprachen sprichst du mit folgenden Personen?
 Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

Frage 15a: Welche Sprache(n) sprichst du mit deinen Mitschülern in der Pause?

aCK15_15aa	Türkisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_15ab	Deutsch	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_15ac	andere Sprache 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_15aca (String)
aCK15_15ad	andere Sprache 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_15ada
aCK15_15ae	andere Sprache 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_15aea
aCK15_15af	ich weiß es nicht	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_15ag	keine Gespräche	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Wenn mehrere Sprachen genannt wurden, welche davon sind es dann meistens?
 Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

meistens Türkisch:	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_15ah
meistens Deutsch:	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_15ai

meistens andere Sprache 1	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15aj (String)	
meistens andere Sprache 2	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15ak	
meistens andere Sprache 3	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15al	

Frage 15: Welche Sprache oder Sprachen sprichst du mit folgenden Personen?
 Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

Frage 15b: Welche Sprache(n) sprichst du mit Gleichaltrigen in der Nachbarschaft?

(0=nein,1=ja)

aCK15_15ba	Türkisch	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_15bb	Deutsch	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_15bc	andere Sprache 1	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_15bca (String)
aCK15_15bd	andere Sprache 2	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_15bda
aCK15_15be	andere Sprache 3	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/> aCK15_15bea
aCK15_15bf	ich weiß es nicht	<input type="checkbox"/>	
aCK15_15bg	keine Gespräche	<input type="checkbox"/>	

Wenn mehrere Sprachen genannt wurden, welche davon sind es dann meistens?
 Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

meistens Türkisch:	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_15bh
meistens Deutsch:	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_15bi

meistens andere Sprache 1	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15bj (String)	
meistens andere Sprache 2	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15bk	
meistens andere Sprache 3	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15bl	

Frage 15: Welche Sprache oder Sprachen sprichst du mit folgenden Personen?
Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

Frage 15a: Welche Sprache(n) sprichst du mit deinen Großeltern (den Eltern deiner Mutter)?

aCK15_15ca	Türkisch	<input type="checkbox"/>		
aCK15_15cb	Deutsch	<input type="checkbox"/>		
aCK15_15cc	andere Sprache 1:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15cca (String)
aCK15_15cd	andere Sprache 2:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15cda
aCK15_15ce	andere Sprache 3:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15cea
aCK15_15cf	ich weiß es nicht	<input type="checkbox"/>		
aCK15_15cg	keine Gespräche	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(0=nein, 1=ja)

Wenn mehrere Sprachen genannt wurden, welche davon sind es dann meistens?
Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

meistens Türkisch:	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_15ch
meistens Deutsch:	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_15ci
meistens andere Sprache 1	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15cj (String)
meistens andere Sprache 2	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15ck
meistens andere Sprache 3	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15cl

Frage 15: Welche Sprache oder Sprachen sprichst du mit folgenden Personen?
Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

Frage 15d: Welche Sprache(n) sprichst du mit deinen Großeltern (den Eltern deines Vaters)?

aCK15_15da	Türkisch	<input type="checkbox"/>		
aCK15_15db	Deutsch	<input type="checkbox"/>		
aCK15_15dc	andere Sprache 1:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15dca (String)
aCK15_15dd	andere Sprache 2:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15dda
aCK15_15de	andere Sprache 3:	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15dea
aCK15_15df	ich weiß es nicht	<input type="checkbox"/>		
aCK15_15dg	keine Gespräche	<input type="checkbox"/>		

(0=nein, 1=ja)

Wenn mehrere Sprachen genannt wurden, welche davon sind es dann meistens?
Bitte alles ankreuzen bzw. eintragen, was zutrifft!

meistens Türkisch:	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_15dh
meistens Deutsch:	<input type="checkbox"/>	aCK15_15di
meistens andere Sprache 1	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15dj (String)
meistens andere Sprache 2	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15dk
meistens andere Sprache 3	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_15dl

Frage 16a: Manchmal kommt es vor, dass man in einem Satz Wörter aus mehreren Sprachen verwendet oder mehrere Sprachen innerhalb eines Gesprächs wechselt. Wie ist das bei dir? Machst du das mit folgenden Personen und wenn ja, wie häufig? (0=nein, 1=ja)

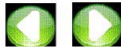
	nie	vereinzelt	manchmal	häufig	Welche Sprachen?		
aCK15_16aa mit der Mutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_16aae aCK15_16aaf aCK15_16aag
aCK15_16ab mit dem Vater	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_16abe aCK15_16abf aCK15_16abg
aCK15_16ac mit den Geschwistern	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_16ace aCK15_16acf aCK15_16acg
aCK15_16ad mit dem besten Freund/der besten Freundin	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_16ade aCK15_16adf aCK15_16adg



(Frage 16b): Und wie ist es mit den folgenden Personen?

(0=nein, 1=ja)

	nie	vereinzelt	manchmal	häufig	Welche Sprachen?		
>K15_16ba mit den Mitschülern in der Pause	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_16bae aCK15_16baf aCK15_16bag
>K15_16bb mit Gleichartigen in der Nachbarschaft	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_16bbe aCK15_16bbf aCK15_16bbg
>K15_16bc mit Gleichartigen in der Sportgruppe/ Freizeitgruppe	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_16bce aCK15_16bcf aCK15_16bcg
>K15_16bd mit den Großeltern: den Eltern der Mutter	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_16bde aCK15_16bdf aCK15_16bdg
>K15_16be den Eltern des Vaters	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	aCK15_16bee aCK15_16bef aCK15_16beg



Frage 18: Welche Schule besuchst du zurzeit?

Bitte nur ein Kästchen ankreuzen!

aCK15_18a

keine Angabe	<input type="radio"/>
Primarschule	<input type="radio"/>
Sonderschule/	<input type="radio"/>
Förderschule	<input type="radio"/>
Hauptschule	<input type="radio"/>
Realschule	<input type="radio"/>
Gymnasium	<input type="radio"/>
Gesamtschule	<input type="radio"/>
Stadtteilschule	<input type="radio"/>
andere berufsbildende Schule, z.B. Wirtschaftsgymnasium	<input type="radio"/>

keine Angabe/

Primarschule/

Sonderschule/Förderschule/

Hauptschule/

Realschule/

Gymnasium

weiter mit Frage 20

andere Antworten: weiter mit Frage 19

wenn ja, welche

aCK15_18b (String)



Appendix 5: Questionnaire in translation test for Vietnamese-German adolescents

BẢNG HỎI

Bạn hãy dành chút thời gian trả lời giúp chúng tôi một vài câu hỏi sau đây nhé. Chúng tôi xin cam đoan, tất cả các thông tin này chỉ được dùng cho mục đích khoa học.

1. Tên của bạn là gì?

.....

(Tên riêng của các bạn sẽ được mã hóa trong quá trình phân tích dữ liệu.)

2. Ngày tháng năm sinh của bạn là khi nào?

.....

3. Mẹ của bạn đến nước Đức từ khi nào?

- a. Mẹ tôi là người Đức và bà ấy sinh ra ở Đức.
- b. Mẹ tôi sinh ra ở Đức nhưng có quốc tịch Việt Nam.
- c. Mẹ tôi sinh ra ở Việt Nam và đến nước Đức vào năm, khi bà ấytuổi.
- d. Trường hợp khác:

4. Cha của bạn đến nước Đức từ khi nào?

- a. Cha tôi là người Đức và ông ấy sinh ra ở Đức.
- b. Cha tôi sinh ra ở Đức nhưng có quốc tịch Việt Nam.
- c. Cha tôi sinh ra ở Việt Nam và đến nước Đức vào năm, khi ông ấytuổi.
- d. Trường hợp khác.....

5. Bạn đến nước Đức từ khi nào?

- a. Tôi sinh ra ở Đức
- b. Tôi đến nước Đức khi tuổi
- c. Trường hợp khác:

6. Bạn đã học tiếng Việt như thế nào? (có thể chọn nhiều đáp án)

- a. Học ở nhà với bố
- b. Học ở nhà với mẹ
- c. Học từ bạn bè
- d. Học từ anh chị em
- e. Học từ hàng xóm
- d. Học từ họ hàng ở Đức
- e. Học từ họ hàng ở Việt Nam (trong kì nghỉ)

f. Học từ họ hàng ở Việt Nam (Telefone, Chat Skype, What Apps, ...)

g. Khóa học hè ở Việt Nam

h. Giờ học tiếng Việt vào cuối tuần

Nếu có, bạn đã học bao lâu rồi?

Bạn đã học ở đâu?

Bạn vẫn đang học chứ?

i. Giờ học tiếng Việt ở trường

Nếu có, bạn đã học bao lâu rồi?

Bạn vẫn đang học chứ?

k. Học kèm tại nhà (gia sư)

Nếu có, bạn đã học bao lâu rồi?

Bạn vẫn đang học chứ?

l. Trường hợp khác

FRAGEBOGEN

Bitte beantworte die folgenden Fragen. Wir versichern dir, dass wir alle persönlichen Informationen nur für wissenschaftliche Zwecke nutzen.

1. Wie heißt Du?

.....

(Dein Name ist in unserer Forschungsanalyse anonymisiert)

2. Wann bist du geboren? Tag-Monat-Jahr

.....

3. Wann ist deine Mutter nach Deutschland gekommen?

- a. Meine Mutter ist Deutsche und sie ist in Deutschland geboren.
- b. Meine Mutter ist in Deutschland geboren aber sie hat noch die Vietnamesische Staatsangehörigkeit.
- d. Meine Mutter ist in Vietnam geboren und ist nach Deutschland gekommen im Jahre, als sie Jahre alt war.
- e. Andere:

4. Wann ist Dein Vater nach Deutschland gekommen?

- a. Mein Vater ist Deutscher und er ist in Deutschland geboren.
- b. Mein Vater ist in Deutschland geboren aber er hat noch die Vietnamesische Staatsangehörigkeit.
- d. Mein Vater ist in Vietnam geboren und ist nach Deutschland gekommen im Jahre, als er Jahre alt war.
- e. Andere:

5. Wann bist du nach Deutschland gekommen?

- a. Ich bin in Deutschland geboren.
- b. Ich bin nach Deutschland gekommen, als ich Jahre alt war.
- c. Andere:

6. Wie hast du Vietnamesisch gelernt? (mehrere Antworten)

- a. Zu Hause mit meinem Vater
- b. Zu Hause mit meiner Mutter
- c. Von Freunden
- d. Von Geschwistern

- e. Von Nachbarn
- d. Von Verwandten in Deutschland
- e. Von Verwandten in Vietnam (im Urlaub)
- f. Von Verwandten in Vietnam (Telefonate, Skype, WhatsApp, Viber...)
- g. Sommerkurse in Vietnam
- h. Vietnamesisch Unterricht an Wochenenden
- Falls ja, in welchem Zeitraum?
- Wo hast du es gelernt?
- Lernst du gerade immer noch dort?
- i. Vietnamesisch Unterricht in der Schule
- Falls ja, in welchem Zeitraum?
- Lernst du gerade immer noch dort?
- k. Nachhilfe
- Falls ja, in welchem Zeitraum?
- Lernst du gerade immer noch dort?