

# Scaffolding in Language Maintenance—The Social, Linguistic, and Cognitive Perspectives on Parental Assistance in Chinese-Origin Children’s Chinese Language Education in Britain

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## Abstract

Since the 1950s, an increasing number of Chinese-origin children in Britain have been struggling on the edge of heritage language loss, which is involved with both British-born Chinese children and those who immigrate to Britain with their parents. How to maintain these children’s heritage language is of great concern to many Chinese communities in Britain, in particular, to Chinese parents. This essay consists of three sections: language use of Chinese-origin children in Britain, supports from Chinese parents as well as implications for Chinese parents. It chiefly focuses on the second section – scaffoldings from Chinese parents, and discusses it from social, cognitive, and linguistic perspectives for the purpose of providing Chinese parents with a few suggestions and encouragement for heritage language maintenance. As a result, an affectionate family setting lays a good foundation and makes it possible for children to low down language shift. In addition, parents’ English proficiency plays an important role. Also, the improvement of parent’s English may help parents enhance the intercommunication among children, home, community and school. And parents may have to support the development of target language – English – temporarily in order to help children’s two languages remain balanced. Presently, “identity conflicts” is a big problem facing Chinese bilingual children. Hence, it is important for parents to make children familiar with Chinese culture and build up their confidence in their heritage culture.

**Keywords:** Scaffolding, Language maintenance, Bilinguals, Parental assistance

## 1. Introduction

Immigration, as it has long been considered, involves harsh adjustments as well as real losses, in which the drift away from heritage language seems inevitable (Tannenbaum, 2002). With the growth of Chinese immigrants since the 1950s, an increasing number of Chinese-origin children in Britain have been struggling on the edge of heritage language loss, which is involved with both British-born Chinese children and those who immigrate to Britain with their parents. How to maintain these children's heritage language is of great concern to many Chinese communities in Britain, in particular, to Chinese parents.

In the 1980s, with the emergence of research on Chinese children in Britain, a range of researchers has kept strengthening the significance of Chinese language supplementary schools. However, they may not meet people's expectations (Taylor, 1987). In a CRE survey, it shows that 83% of parents do not send their children to Chinese language classes even if they anticipate the improvement of their children's Chinese language proficiency. Reasons are various; however, the major one is associated with the quality of Chinese language schools, which, as it is, run on the efforts of communities or individuals without grants or profit and merely hold unprofessional classes once a week or during vacations (Taylor, 1987: 187). Despite many propositions put forward continuously in respect of including ethnic minority community languages in the language curriculum, most mainstream schools in Britain "do not assume the role of the community providers for maintaining them." (Swann, 1985: 428) Thus, the burden of heritage language maintenance may have to be laid on the parents' shoulders.

This essay consists of three sections: language use of Chinese-origin children in Britain, supports from Chinese parents as well as implications for Chinese parents. It chiefly focuses on the second section – scaffoldings from Chinese parents, and discusses it from social, cognitive, and linguistic perspectives for the purpose of providing Chinese parents with a few suggestions and encouragement for heritage language maintenance.

## 2. Language Use of Chinese-Origin Children in Britain

In considering the language education needs of Chinese-origin children, investigators are accustomed to drawing a clear distinction between British-born children and those who have come to Britain later, having received some Chinese education in China (Swann, 1985). They claim that whereas for the former group, problems lie in the language and culture maintenance, for the latter, the need for E2L help is crucial as their native language is Chinese (Swann, 1985: 660). It may be true for Chinese immigrant children that English learning will be an important and tough task for a relatively long time. However, with the increase of local culture contact, their Chinese language competence, and performance towards Chinese learning may follow the rule "language attrition-shift-endangerment-loss-death." (Fishman, 1990) Hence, for the two groups – British-born Chinese children and Chinese immigrant children, the importance of language maintenance is equal.

For Chinese-origin children, improvement of English and Chinese language proficiency is a

big problem. Information in English competence of Chinese pupils from ILEA language censuses (1985) has shown that among the 3,546 Chinese pupils in London at the time, only 31.2 percent of them were able to use fluent and accurate English (ILEA, 1985, cited in Taylor 1987: 141). In the recent review of a sample of 416 Chinese ten-year-old pupils, information shows that in the classroom 64 percent understand less than half of classroom instructions, 55 percent simply follow what other children do and 23 percent wait passively for teachers to come and help (Wong, 1992, cited in Gregory, 1993). Rosen and Burgess (1980) suggest that 60 percent of Cantonese pupils (children from Guang Dong Province in China) were considered to be bilingual, regularly speaking both languages. In spite of this, only 64 percent of these Cantonese pupils were able to both read and write Chinese, and a further 12 percent to read but not write. (Rosen and Burgess, 1980 cited in Taylor, 1987: 134)

In addition to the data concerning Chinese-origin children's English and Chinese literacy and oracy, language choice pattern is another consideration. Findings suggest that while the majority of children in the community school in London manage to speak to their parents especially grandparents in the mother tongue, about 20% tend to use a mixture of English and Chinese. When they talk to their siblings or friends, more than half indicate that they use some Cantonese, one of the Chinese dialects, but more English, with a further 6 percent using English alone. (Wong, 1992, cited in Li 1994)

All these data suggest that around two-thirds of Chinese-origin children are bilingual. For most of them, oracy is greater than literacy, not only in English but also in Chinese. A mixture of English and Chinese is one of their major language choice patterns. This makes a great difference with monolingual children.

### **3. Scaffoldings from Chinese Parents**

Children, in Vygotsky's point of view (Vygotsky, 1986), are active and social learners. As they grow up, language provides them with a new tool and opens up new opportunities for doing things and for organising information (Cameron, 2001: 5). In the course of learning one or more languages, they need assistance and interactions with adults in the development of Zone of Proximal Development. For Chinese-origin children living in a bilingual language environment, obtaining supports from adults, especially from their parents, to assist them to maintain their mother tongue is even more important. In this section, three types of scaffolding from Chinese parents are considered according to the components of language learning.

#### *3.1 Social Scaffolding*

Social scaffolding here refers to the measures taken by parents to create a social setting in which communication by means of heritage language is possible and desired (Fillmore, 1991:53). At first it is necessary to clarify Chinese-origin children's social network ties briefly.

The children's primary network contacts are divided in two ways in general: family versus non-family and the same generation versus other generations. The two ways, as stated above, are usually overlapped. In the children's family, the same generation group was siblings and

cousins; while in the non-family, the same generation is Chinese or English classmates. In the other generation, family groups are parents, grandparents, aunts and uncles; in the other generation, non-family, these are friends of parents and teachers. (Raschka *et al.*, 2002) Accordingly, as the main participants in children's social network, parents play an important role that mediate these complex social relations and link up children with relatives, schools, Chinese communities and peers of children. It seems not an easy task for parents to deal with such a complicated relationship. In spite of this complexity, it is a sound start from creating an affective family atmosphere (Tannenbaum, 2002).

In recent years, much social network research shows that children's immediate social environment, especially those Chinese speakers of the older, nonpeer generation, has a strong influence on children's language choice in that the language used between these speakers and children is more likely to be in "pure" Chinese (Raschka *et al.*, 2002). This conclusion indicates that a democratic and close family system is urgent in the process of language maintenance. Findings from Tannenbaum's practical study strengthen this idea further. He argues that secure and close family relationships are tightly correlated with language maintenance (Tannenbaum, 2002). This study mainly derives from attachment theory developed by Bowlby (1973). In this theory, he points out that in the family, the child develops internal working models of the attachment figure as one who is or is not accessible for support and protection, especially in circumstances that involve difficulties or stress (Bowlby, 1973, cited in Tannenbaum, 2002). Although attachment behaviours may take different forms, they appear to exist in all cultures. Research suggests that children across all cultures become attached to their primary caregivers and display a similar range of behaviours in the context of comfort seeking or stress (Harwood *et al.*, 1995, cited in Tannenbaum, 2002). Therefore, as one of the most important caregivers in children life, parents inevitably take more responsibility for these attachment behaviours from children. For instance, children tend to associate their parents with their mother tongue and understand the personal importance this language bears. Acceptance of warmth and caring may lead to preference for the parents' language (Tannenbaum, 2002). Comparatively, this phenomenon mentioned above may easily happen in the western families. In Chinese culture, the family is also highly valued but the family structure is typically authoritative and hierarchy. Independence and autonomy are normally not encouraged. Under these circumstances, parents' affections are often displayed in a serious way. This often has a negative influence on family cohesion as well as children's mother tongue maintenance. Likewise, low maintenance or a complete shift to English may exasperate the family relationship in lack of communications among family members (Tannenbaum, 2002). Hence, respecting children's opinions, listening to them patiently, giving them more praise and communicating with them persistently and frequently — all of these measures may stop this vicious cycle and reverse language shift.

To be a bridge between home and school, parents and children, parents' English proficiency is also of considerable importance in the provision of a stimulating language environment. Interestingly, recent findings from Li (2000a) have proved that parents' English proficiency is positively correlated with the Chinese proficiency of Chinese-origin children. This is

reasonable as well as paradoxical. Acquiring the “majority” language provides parents with more opportunities for the intercommunication between home and school. Longitudinal and ethnographic studies illustrate the learning difficulties experienced by Chinese-origin children often derive from the mismatch between home and school practices (Gregory, 1993). Teachers always emphasize the importance of learning’s pleasure as an essential part of her pedagogy, while at home Chinese parents always strengthen the efforts upon which to obtain knowledge (Gregory, 1993). Teachers are more concerned with the progress of Chinese children’s English ability; however, parents mainly worry about children’s heritage language maintenance (Li, 1994). As a consequence, the conflict is often representative of simple reading plus easy learning in school in contrast with constant rote learning with hard work at home. For the above reasons, the improvement of English proficiency may help Chinese parents to be involved with local English culture, understand the British education system further, and develop a set of teaching methods by which the co-existence of two languages can be accomplished. Acquiring English also opens the doors for parents to understand their children. As the first section stated, although only a few children speak English alone comparatively, a mixture of English and Chinese is one of the main language choice patterns in the Chinese-origin children group. English is still one of the main tools for communication. For parents, the neglect in English may result in the failure to make them understood and thus cause their children to turn to pessimistic attitudes towards their mother tongue maintenance. Many Chinese children comment quite explicitly that their parents do not speak English and do not understand local culture. As a result, there is little that they feel to talk about with their parents. They therefore move themselves away from family and the Chinese community (Li, 2000a: 185).

In brief, an affective family environment paves the way for Chinese-origin children’s language maintenance. On the basis of this, intercommunication among home, school, parents and children may come into practice. All these factors mentioned above are principally rooted in the better understanding of British culture, including educational system, customs and languages. Reversing language shift and achieving heritage language maintenance are in accord with the co-existence of English language and Chinese language in harmony.

### *3.2 Cognitive Scaffolding*

Many Chinese parents living abroad always raise one question as to whether their children should learn two different languages. In practice, there is usually not much choice in this matter. For parents who have moved from China to Britain, the job is relatively clear – helping their children to learn the majority language, “English”, though children may suffer language shift over several years. For those whose children are born in Britain after immigration, the problem lies in whether children should use the two languages at the same time or one after another (Jong, 1986: 39). Confronting these problems, different parents have different strategies to cope with these phenomena.

Jong (1986) summarizes two strategies, which may be commonly applied by Chinese parents. One strategy is to use Chinese at home and English outside the home. The other is to adopt

no particular strategy at all and to use the two languages whenever and wherever it is most convenient. Obviously, the first strategy is helpful for mother tongue maintenance for the reason that only mother tongue is spoken at home. However, one problem may also arise, for children, especially Chinese immigrant ones, may find it difficult to adjust themselves to English learning. It is also important to note that even when some Chinese parents may make a decision to adopt this method, the extent to which they are able to maintain a strict language separation is still uncertain. In contrast, the second strategy seemingly gives children a free atmosphere to switch between the two languages. This may as well have a positive effect in children's bilingual language development as Jong argues. However, she does not answer if majority language plays a dominant role, whether it is possible for children to persist in speaking their heritage language, in particular, under the circumstances that children have had more contact with local people than with their ethnic communities. Although Jong's conclusion is that at any one time, the child is more fluent in one language than in the other, the balanced bilingualism always remains the ideal for bilingual parents and children (Jong, 1986: 42).

Balanced bilinguals usually mean bilinguals who have roughly equivalent abilities in the two languages (Malakoff, 1991:141). In the bilingual field, several studies have suggested that the further children moves towards balanced bilingualism, the greater the likelihood of cognitive advantages (Cummins, 2000 cited in Backer, 2001). There is no answer to what conditions under which bilingualism have positive effects on cognition are until Cummins (1976), Toukoma and Skutnabb-Kangas (1977) postulate "Thresholds Theory", which partially summarizes the relationship between cognition and degree of bilingualism (Backer, 2001: 166). The research on cognition and bilingualism is best explained by the idea of two thresholds and each threshold is a level of language competence that has consequences for a child (Backer, 2001: 167). The Thresholds Theory may be portrayed in terms of a house with three floors. "Up the sides of the house are placed two language ladders, indicating that a bilingual child will usually be moving upward and will not usually be stationary on a floor. On the bottom floor of the house will be those whose current competence in both their languages is insufficiently or relatively inadequately developed, especially compared with their age group. At the middle level—the second floor of the house — will be those with age-appropriate competence in one of their languages but not in both. At the top of the house, the third floor, there reside children who approximate 'balanced' bilinguals. At this stage, children will have age-appropriate competence in two or more languages." (Backer, 2001: 167) This theory indicates the language ability of bilingual children is not always fully developed. On the contrary, it is very easy for them to be semi-bilingual or subtractively bilingual. As the Thresholds Theory develops, Cummins (1978) further points out that children's second language competence is partly dependent on the level of competence already achieved in the first language. "The more developed the first language, the easier it will be to develop the second language." (Cummins, 1978, cited in Backer, 2001: 169) From his point of view, it seems inevitable for bilingual parents to support one language and develop it fully. Thus, for Chinese parents, especially those whose children are born in Britain, it may be more realistic to help their children to develop target language – English steadily at first. It does not necessarily mean that simultaneous acquisition is unfeasible. It merely

strengthens the fact that it might have to be a long time for parents to lay a particular stress on English in Chinese-origin children's language teaching in order to achieve balanced bilingualism.

Considering the Thresholds Theory stated above, parents may wonder whether it is risky to be bilingual. Parents are always confused about some questions, such as a burden on the brain, mental confusion and so on (Backer, 2001: 135). Facing up to these problems, many parents feel disempowered and even scared. However, "there is no modern empirical research to indicate bilingualism has detrimental effect on cognition" (Backer, 2001: 135). Conversely, more recent research has shown that bilinguals may have some advantages, such as creative thinking to progress faster in early cognitive development and greater sensitivity in communication. "Bilinguals are able to extend the range of meaning and to think more flexibly and creatively. Therefore, a bilingual has the possibility of more awareness of language and more fluency, flexibility and elaboration in thinking than a monolingual." (Li, 2000: 24) In spite of this, there is still one complex problem associated with bilingual children – "identity conflicts". If a Chinese immigrant child feels more comfortable with "being culturally hyphenated", for instance of Chinese-British, he or she may be assimilated with new culture and would like to develop a new identity (Li, 2000: 24). Yet identity conflicts are not static and hard for them to cope with. This point will be discussed in the last part of this section.

In short, in the cognitive development of Chinese-origin children, it seems inevitable for parents to help children develop the target language – English at first step. It does not necessarily mean that children should give up their heritage language maintenance. On the contrary, it is more beneficial to balance children's two languages so that they can maintain their heritage language even better. Presently, "identity conflicts" may be one cognitive problem that Chinese-origin children might come up with.

### *3.3 Linguistic Scaffolding*

Linguistic scaffolding here refers to assumptions held by parents to select, modify and support the linguistic data they produce for the sake of their children (Fillmore, 1991: 54).

In general, "basically the end product of acquisition process is linguistic knowledge – phonological, lexical, grammatical knowledge that eventually help learners to speak and comprehend the language that they are learning" (Fillmore, 1991: 54). Accordingly, for Chinese-origin children, the improvement of Chinese oracy and literacy may lie in the development of phonological, lexical and grammatical knowledge. Linguistic supports from parents may also follow the three elements mentioned above – phonology, vocabulary, and grammar.

In the Chinese language system, each Chinese character represents a concept or can be combined with other characters to do so, while in English the primary relationship is between alphabetic letter and sound. Therefore, in Britain, when Chinese children begin their study in Chinese, Hanyu Pinyin, a Chinese phonological system, is accepted as a convention in Chinese teaching (Chung, 2002). This method is sensible for the reason that Hanyu Pinyin is

characteristic of Roman alphabet scripts, which looks like English letters. In addition, Pinyin helps learners to pronounce Chinese characters correctly and easily without assistance of the teacher. Particularly, for British-born Chinese children, as they speak English most of time, Pinyin means a bridge connecting heritage language and English. Much evidence suggests that it is no doubt that using Pinyin is an efficient way in Chinese language learning (Dai & Lu, 1985, Huang & Hanley, 1997, cited in Chung, 2002). In spite of this, there is still no consensus on whether Chinese characters and Pinyin should be presented simultaneously. Traditionally, many Chinese parents are used to pairing Chinese characters with Pinyin and English language translation prompts. However, at present this traditional method is being challenged. Chung (2002) suggests that learning of meaning and pronunciation of Chinese characters is more efficient when Pinyin and English translation prompts are presented a few seconds later with the character. He argues that the temporal separation of the character and its prompts allow time for the character to capture the attention of the learners briefly before the appearance of prompts (Chung, 2002). This finding makes good sense to teach Chinese-origin children efficiently. Adopting this method may avoid the situation in which following Pinyin children are able to read Chinese aloud, even if they may not understand the exact meaning of Chinese characters. Moreover, this method may lay a good foundation for improving Chinese-origin children's Chinese literacy.

When the lexical knowledge of Chinese-origin children in Britain is mentioned, the interaction between a Cantonese child, Tony and his teacher is always taken as an example as regards lexical learning.

*Tony: What's his name?*

*Teacher: Mr. Fussy.*

*Tony: Mr. Fussy. (repeating four times with different intonation)*

*Tony: Mr. Fussy is in the house.*

*Tony: Mr. Fussy... What's that?*

*Teacher: It's a glass... Oh no, it's a jar of marmalade.*

*Tony: Jar marmalade?*

*Teacher: Yes... to put on your bread ... you know, in the morning. (Gregory, 1996: 57)*

The conversation stated above indicates how actively Tony is storing up a bank of words. However, his teacher feels frustrated with his constant repetition, even if many parents consider it an efficient way to memorize meaning of Chinese words and pronunciation. In many Chinese families in Britain, children are overwhelmed in various exercise books and are accustomed to rote (Gregory, 1993). The completed exercise book may be important in terms of Chinese characters learning; however, the quality of children's lexical knowledge input is even more important. Lanvers (1999) suggests that for bilingual children, dominant lexical learning is not proportionate to the amount of input: a reduced input nonetheless triggers disproportionately high lexical learning in that language. He also points out that



quality in input may be more decisive than quantity (Lanvers, 1999). This finding indicates that it is time for Chinese parents to turn their mind to helping children use Chinese vocabulary and sentences in their daily life rather than forcing them to sit there and memorize. The reduction of lexical input properly is also beneficial.

Lexical learning also promotes Chinese grammar learning. In English, the verb is one of the parts of speech, and has modes and tenses. However, in Chinese, verbs are unconjugable; therefore, it is not easy to learn grammar rules, especially for those British-born children (Coblin, 2000:113). Therefore, it is even more important for parents to help them develop internal grammar (Cameron, 2001: 100). Internal grammar is opposed to pedagogical grammar that can be learned through lessons, teacher explanations and textbooks. Internal grammar is often referred to as “interlanguage” or as “linguistic competence”. Any individual learner actually learns about the patterns of the language: his or her “internal grammar” of the language (Cameron, 2001: 100). Evidence suggests “elementary learners seem to use words or chunks strung together to get their meanings across, with little attention paid to grammar that would fit the words or chunks together in conventional patterns” (Klein and Perdue, 1992, cited in Cameron, 2001). Therefore for Chinese-origin children, on the basis of their lexical learning as well as in a good language learning environment, they may develop the internal grammar on their own. For parents, ways of helping children to learn Chinese may depend on how to assist them to notice words inside chunks and help them to know how to use these words in the same places.

In summary, there are several points for parents to help Chinese-origin children maintain Chinese and improve their literacy. Phonologically, Chinese character should be shown to children before Pinyin and English translation prompts (Chung, 2002); lexically, quality of vocabulary input is more important than quantity input. Reduction of children’s lexical input may help them enlarge their vocabulary (Lanvers, 1999). Grammatically, the development children’s internal grammar is essential (Coblin, 2000:113).

### *3.4 Interconnection among Three Types of Scaffolding*

The language-learning situation contains three ingredients – linguistic process, cognitive process and social process. Three types of process come to play in language learning and each of them is intrinsically connected with others (Fillmore, 1991: 53). This indicates that three types of scaffolding in language maintenance from parents do not work in isolation but cooperate in the bilingual children’s language development.

As stated in the last three sections, it is important for Chinese parents to create a harmonious atmosphere in the heritage language maintenance of Chinese origin-children. Cognitively, an affectionate social setting also play a large role in determining whether the bilingual situation is additive or subtractive (Lambert, 1975, cited in Malakoff, 1991: 141). Subtractive bilingualism easily occurs when the mother tongue is a low-status minority language that is rapidly being replaced by the high-status majority (and second) language (Malakoff, 1991: 141). According to the Thresholds Theory, if parents support target language – English for a relatively long time children may easily incline to British culture and lose confidence in Chinese culture. Therefore, parents should provide children with enough opportunities, keep

them involved and assimilated in Chinese culture and build up confidence in their own culture. More interestingly, some investigators find that bilingual children have a kind of aptitude to do translation and interpretation (Malakoff, 1991). It also can be observed in some bilingual families that bilingual children turn to be mediators among different generations (Durán, 2003). Translation and interpretation abilities provide children with linguistic awareness and pride in bilingualism, in particular, for minority bilingual children whose home language is not valued by the majority culture (Malakoff, 1991). For Chinese parents, they may also adopt this method and encourage children to use translation ability wherever they like. It is not only beneficial for children to maintain Chinese language but also a good way to protect children from losing Chinese identity and becoming subtractively bilingual.

In addition, parents find out that mixed codes are always used by bilingual children. It also happens to Chinese-origin children. Many parents wonder whether it is representative of interlinguistic confusion. Investigations suggest that it generates from language borrowing as well as influence of parents' language mixing. Vollterra and Taeschner (1978) have proposed that children begin with a single system incorporating the two languages and gradually begin to differentiate them (Goodz, 1989). "As this system develops, children may use whatever vocabulary available to them, combining their own word utterances (Brown, 1973, cited in Goodz, 1989)." In other words, the mixed language of children simply means that children wish to communicate and lack the appropriate vocabulary. Goodz (1989) argues "if the child produces an utterance in parents' non-native language, a repetition of the utterance leads to a switch from one language to other. If the parent chooses to expand the child's utterance, the expansion typically leads to a language mix". In addition, language mixing naturally happens to bilingual children and there is no need to worry about it.

#### **4. Conclusion and Implications for Chinese Parents**

Language shift happens not only to British-born Chinese children but also to those who immigrate to Britain with parents. For both of the two groups, language maintenance is an arduous task. Therefore, it is of importance for them to obtain scaffoldings from Chinese parents in their heritage language maintenance.

An affectionate family setting lays a good foundation and makes it possible for children to low down language shift (Tannenbaum, 2002). In addition, parents' English proficiency plays an important role. Information shows that it is positively associated with children's Chinese proficiency (Li, 2000a). Also, the improvement of parent's English may help parents enhance the intercommunication among children, home, community and school and obtain a better understanding on British culture. Parents are also able to provide children with cognitive scaffolding. According to the Threshold Theory (Cummins, 1976; Toukomaa and Skutnabb-Kangas, 1977; cited in Backer, 2001: 166), parents may have to support the development of target language – English – temporarily in order to help children's two languages remain balanced. It does not mean that it is risky for children to be bilingual. On the contrary, more recent research proves that bilinguals have a lot of cognitive advantages, such as flexibility and creativity (Li, 2000: 24). Linguistically, the improvement of Chinese oracy and literacy may lie in the development of phonological, lexical and grammatical

knowledge. Though three types of scaffoldings are discussed separately, they are still connected intricately rather than independently. Presently, “identity conflicts” is a big problem facing Chinese bilingual children. Hence, it is important for parents to make children familiar with Chinese culture and build up their confidence in their heritage culture (Lambert, 1975, cited in Malakoff, 1991: 141). Such provision may protect them from being subtractive bilinguals. Encouraging children to be involved in translation and interpretation is also beneficial to strengthen their Chinese identity (Malakoff, 1991).

All in all, facing up to language shift of Chinese-origin children in Britain, parents are not disempowered. The task of heritage maintenance and preventing language shift may lie in the cooperation between Chinese-origin children and parents.

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