

RUSSIAN LANGUAGE MAINTENANCE AMONG CHILDREN FROM IMMIGRANT
FAMILIES IN SASKATCHEWAN

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Abstract

In the last few decades, research in language maintenance has shown that immigrant families increasingly abandon their heritage language in favour of speaking the dominant language. At the same time, immigrant languages have lost status among native-born speakers and immigrants themselves. As a result, many children lose their heritage language and start speaking only the majority language within a year.

However, it is beneficial to speak more than one language in order to communicate with relatives and other monolinguals. Furthermore, recent studies have shown that cognitive performance is better with bilingual children. Finally, with increasing globalization, both a person and a country can benefit from bilingual speakers.

The research focuses on the evaluation of current situation of Russian language maintenance in Saskatchewan, and the analysis of the factors that lead to the heritage language loss.

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1. Introduction and literature review

Heritage language maintenance and shift has been a significant issue in the last few decades in a variety of disciplines. In sociolinguistics, one of the most popular research topics is bilingualism in young children. Bilingual children are a unique phenomenon, because they acquire two languages at the same time thus being able to have a native speaker proficiency in two languages in the future.

There was a lot of skepticism around bilingualism (Edwards, 2010; Döpke, 1992; Crawford, 2007), as well as some positive attitudes (Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou, 2011; Edwards, 2010, Berger, 2008). In some studies, a lot of groundbreaking discoveries about bilinguals were made (Bialystok et al., 2012; O'Shannessy, 2008). As a country with two official languages, Canada supports research on bilingualism, and it is very extensive, covering from cultural aspects to education. However, it is focused primarily on French-English bilinguals, leaving those with other language backgrounds out of focus. The amount of studies on Russian-English bilinguals is very small, and even these studies leave some questions unaddressed. As far as I am concerned, there was no research on Russian-English bilinguals in Canada.

As a small linguistic community, Russian-speaking population in Saskatchewan has few opportunities to organize activities for its members. Therefore, children may not be as encouraged and motivated to speak Russian.

On a personal level, before I started this research, I was always fascinated to watch my cousin growing with two languages from birth. At the age of two she knew that her father spoke English, and mother spoke Russian, and she always used the right language. I almost assumed that all immigrant families have the same practice. However, when I went to Saskatoon Russian Heritage Language School, I was shocked: during the break some children spoke English to each other, even those with both Russian-speaking parents. From my

personal observation, some parents are worried about language maintenance in the family, others worry that their children growing up with two languages wouldn't be able to acquire the majority language.

Therefore, this research is intended to investigate parents' language attitudes and the factors leading to children's proficiency in Russian among immigrant families in Saskatchewan.

1.1 Language acquisition

1.1.1 First language acquisition: theoretical backgrounds and order of acquisition

Children have a remarkable capacity to acquire language. This process is complex and is connected with their cognitive development (Bonvillain, 2000; Lightbown & Spada, 2013). The linguistic processes of learning a language can be identified as follows. First, from the very birth, a child starts to produce sounds (Harley, 2008). Vowel sounds appear before consonants (Harley, 2008). Then, she/he understands that sounds produced by her/his parents are meaningful and are used for communication (Bonvillain, 2000; Lightbown and Spada, 2013). Harley (2008) reports that some words are understood at the age of 6 months. With further development, a child realizes that by interacting verbally she/he can achieve different personal goals (Bonvillain, 2000; Lightbown and Spada, 2013; Harley, 2008). Girls are known to acquire vocabulary faster than boys in their first language (Huttenlocker et. al., 1991). It is estimated that an average early teenager learns about 10 words per day (Harley, 2008).

A few major theories of child language acquisition that appeared in the 20th century are summarized below:

The behaviourist perspective was influential in 1940s and 1950s in the USA. Behaviorists considered language as a form of behavior, and suggested that the language children hear around them shapes their linguistic behaviour (Lightbown and Spada, 2013). According to the Behaviourism theory, the child imitates the language spoken by adults. Being encouraged to do so, she/he continues imitating until speaking “habits” are formed (Skinner, 1985). Other factors, such as what is happening in the child’s mind, were considered unimportant (Harley, 2008).

Noam Chomsky (1986) suggested the *innatist perspective* which hypothesized that language is biologically programmed in children, “built into brain” (Harley, 2008, p.22), and is as natural as other biological functions, e.g. learning to walk (Lightbown and Spada, 2013; Harley, 2008). Children “know” the principles of an innate *Universal Grammar* which is applicable to all human languages. To start speaking they just need to hear samples of language (Lightbown and Spada, 2013).

There is a common belief that the propensity towards language acquisition is decreasing with age (Harley, 2008). The *critical period hypothesis* is connected to *the innatist perspective*. According to this theory, people are programmed to acquire language skills at a certain time, known as a “critical period.” It is hypothesized that learning a language after the critical period is either totally impossible, or possible with a lower acquisition flexibility (Lightbown and Spada, 2013; Harley, 2008). There are two conditions for normal language development: first, during the “critical” period, a child has to go through certain biological events (changes in the physiology, brains, behavioural patterns); second, this period should be accompanied by particular linguistic events (completion of the native language acquisition, developing reading and writing skills) (Harley, 2008). A few examples of feral or Mawgli children (children abandoned by parents in infancy and raised by animals) as well as of children placed by abusive parents in complete isolation support the critical period

hypothesis (Makarova, 2015). The children who were not exposed to language in early childhood fail to develop adequate language skills even after long attempts to teach them (Lightbown and Spada, 2013). This condition is not unique to humans: in order to sing, some birds also require exposure to songs during the critical period (Harley, 2008).

Interactionist/developmental perspectives focus on the development of language acquisition in congruence with other cognitive skills. Within this perspective, language is not an independently acquired skill, but it is influenced by cognitive development (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). *Jean Piaget* was a proponent of this view (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). He traced how cognitive development and interaction with physical world could determine children's language acquisition (Piaget, 1999). Piaget made up special tasks to find out if children understand that quantity of material doesn't change when its shape is changed (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). However, cognitive development and speech are connected so closely that sometimes it is difficult to distinguish between them. Doing "Piaget's tasks", some children could not give the right answers because they did not understand the meaning of the questions (Frumkina, 2001).

According to *Lev Vygotskii's* views, it is supportive social interaction that helps children acquire better linguistic skills (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). Vygotskii considered language as a part of later cognitive and social development (Harley, 2008). His theory of the "zone of proximal development" (what a child can do on her/his own versus what she/he can achieve with the social help from adults) became influential in the studies of second language acquisition (Lightbown & Spada, 2013; Vygotskii, 1986).

Not only the general frameworks of language acquisition, but also the order of acquisition of particular linguistic features by children perplexed multiple generations of scholars. According to Roger Brown's (1973) longitudinal study, English grammatical morphemes are acquired in a similar sequence by most children, even though at different

rates. Therefore, the order of acquisition is not connected to the age of the participants. Back in 1973, Brown suggested that the order of acquisition might be explained by selection pressures from adults, or a child working out rules by herself/himself starting with less complex ones. However, even nowadays, no ultimate explanation of the order of acquisition of language features by children has been generally accepted. Most researchers now believe that the sequence of acquisition is determined by a balanced interaction of different factors (Lightbown and Spada, 2013; Harley, 2008). In other words, all the above theories reflect some aspects of the complex nature of first and subsequent language acquisition in childhood.

These theories present some, but not all the critical aspects of first language acquisition. Subsequent studies have emphasized the role of caregivers in child language development. Children can only learn the language from other speakers of it, since besides a set of linguistic elements, children also acquire communicative competence, i.e. an ability to use language in a given culture (Lightbown & Spada, 2013). This ability is a part of socialization process. Through examples and daily interactions in their community children adopt communicative behaviors. They learn conversational styles with different people depending on their age, gender, and status. This learning takes place in the context of increasing interpersonal maturity (Bonvillain, 2000). As for language skills aspect, adults are most likely to correct the meaning rather than grammar or pronunciation. However, when the caregivers want to correct, they normally repeat sentence in the right way or ask a follow-up question (Harley, 2008). Subsequently, it is argued that language input influences acquisition of complex sentences. Among other factors, there is a faster development of syntax by children whose parents and teachers use complex sentences more frequently (Harley, 2008).

1.1.2 Bilingual acquisition

One can expect that the issues of language acquisition are even more complex if a child is learning more than one language. Bilingualism is an increasingly more important topic in psycholinguistic research as immigration is happening worldwide, and it is believed that more than half of the world's population is bilingual (Edwards, 2010). For Canada, this problem is especially significant because it is a multilingual and multicultural country, and high percentage of its population are recent immigrants from different countries. Statistics Canada reported more than 200 languages spoken by Canadian residents at home (Statistics Canada, 2011). The most common immigrant languages include Punjabi (460,000), Chinese (441,000), Spanish (439,000), Italian (438,000), and German (430,000) (Statistics Canada, 2011).

Many educators and parents have a bias against bilingualism, especially when two languages acquired by a child are not valued equally in a society, and one of them is dominant (Edwards, 2010; Döpke, 1992). Bilingual children can be then seen as “fallen behind” (Edwards, 2010). In the past, language was compared to religion and, as a result, “two languages were believed to be unnatural, mind-splitting” (cited in Döpke, 1992, p.3). It was thought that good morals and an efficient brain could not develop in the presence of two languages, and consequently, the child was not expected to perform well at school (Döpke, 1992). Such attitude was changed in the early sixties, but skepticism over bilingualism still exists, and people observe speech of bilinguals more critically than that of monolinguals (Döpke, 1992). Recent study of Gkaintartzi and Tsokalidou (2011) showed that nowadays teachers in Greece have a more positive attitude towards bilingualism in general, but the responsibility for children's bilingualism is exclusively assigned to parents. Interviews revealed that teachers have mostly assimilationist views in classroom practice, explaining it by their willingness to be equal to all students (Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). Of course,

these attitudes may be specific to the given location in Greece and not shared by language teachers in other countries.

On the contrary, when two languages have a relatively equal status, bilingualism is seen as an advantage rather than a problem (Edwards, 2010). In Canada, for instance, languages other than English and French appear to be ‘the marked case’, they are not always valued and seen as a social problem, ‘elite’ (English and French) and ‘folk’ (other languages) bilingualism are distinguished (Wardhaugh, 2010; Edwards, 2010). While trying to get rid of immigrant languages, western governments teach foreign languages in schools and do not succeed much in the latter (Edwards, 2010). John Edwards gives an explanation that it is difficult to encourage an English speaker to learn foreign languages because everywhere one goes, English will help him/her to find a fastfood restaurant and safely come home (Edwards, 2010). English-speaking world has been enjoying dominance in a variety of ‘domains’, so that speakers of English tend to think that they do not need to know any other language (Edwards, 2010; Wardhaugh, 2010). Speaking another language is even seen as un-patriotic and causes a feeling of envy (Edwards, 2010; Wardhaugh, 2010). As a result of feeling ‘different’, immigrant children in North America lose their heritage languages, although in many countries and regions of the world (for example, in Singapore, Switzerland, Wales) multi/bilingualism is a normal part of life, and monolingualism is considered to be limiting (Wardhaugh, 2010).

Research on adult and child bilingualism highlights two general trends. First, verbal performance of monolinguals is allegedly better than that of bilinguals in each language (Bialystok et al., 2012). Bilinguals’ vocabulary has been reported to be smaller in one language than of their monolingual counterparts (Bialystok et al., 2012). Bialystok et al. (2012) informs that bilinguals are slower and less accurate on picture-naming tasks. Bilinguals also perform slower in comprehension and word production tasks (Bialystok et al.,

2012). Second trend points out that bilinguals take more time to retrieve words (Bialystok et al., 2012). Frumkina (2001) describes M. Khint's term "semilingualism", which means that a bilingual person, when she/he has to express a more complicated meaning than usual, cannot do it in any of the languages.

Parents also show concerns about teaching heritage languages to their children. Crawford (2007) reported that a growing number of parents fail to teach the heritage language to their children. They are often afraid that none of the two languages will be learnt properly, or that bilingual acquisition will take longer than monolingual (Crawford, 2007).

All these concerns are rooted in our insufficient knowledge of bilingualism and multilingualism (Bialystok et al., 2012).

Some studies attempted to prove that children can become highly fluent in two or more languages, that is, they can become *balanced bilinguals* (Berger, 2008). Döpke (1992), however, argues that "by no means does the simultaneous acquisition of two languages ensure equal proficiency in both languages ...one language usually dominates" (p. 2). Even though some contexts are driven by one language, bilinguals can activate the other when needed. Some evidence shows that children can differentiate the two languages from birth (Bialystok et al., 2012).

It has been pointed out that bilingual's thinking is different from that of a monolingual: bilinguals use two different linguistic codes; each code employs different grammatical rules, lexical systems, phonemic systems, and occasional cognates (Ervin-Tripp, 1973). This divergent thinking leads to an advantage of verbal creativity and increases with age. Psycholinguistic studies show that even currently inactive language influences production of speech and comprehension (Bialystok et al., 2012). Döpke (1992) calls such bilinguals 'passive'/'receptive' (children who do not speak the minority language but understand it), as opposed to 'active' or 'productive' bilinguals.

Some researchers argue, however, that there is no connection between cognitive development and bilingualism (Döpke, 1992). It is the circumstances and not intellectual abilities that made children learn two languages. Although bilinguals often outperform monolinguals, their initial abilities are normally average (Bialystok et al., 2012). In any event, bilingual acquisition has its unique features. Before talking about possible advantages of bilingualism, let us observe basic principles of bilingual acquisition.

There are two language systems in bilingual acquisition. The first is a compound language system, in which two sets of linguistic signs from different languages have the same meaning (Ervin-Tripp, 1973). The system is typical for language learning, but also can characterize bilingualism of a child from family where two languages are spoken interchangeably by the same people and in the same situations (Ervin-Tripp, 1973). The second is a coordinate language system, when a set of linguistic signs in one language is “somewhat different” than in the other language. This is typical for bilinguals who learn the two languages in different contexts (Ervin-Tripp, 1973; Döpke, 1992). Bilinguals develop linguistic competence for everyday life in daily interactions (Baker, 1992; Edwards, 2010). The best environment for bilingualism is believed to be “one parent – one language” (Frumkina, 2001).

As for the concern that bilingual acquisition takes longer than monolingual, we should consider that some languages have more complex systems than others; therefore, some elements of one language are acquired later than in another language. In addition, the process of language acquisition depends on linguistic and cultural background, and it varies not only across monolinguals and bilinguals, but also among individuals in monolingual environment. Furthermore, children from bilingual families normally acquire a native proficiency in the majority language of the country where they live, but might be less fluent in the minority language than its monolingual speakers (Fillmore, 1991).

There is a widespread concern that a child might be overwhelmed by two languages and start mixing them (Arnberg, 1987; Baker, 1995). Bilingual interlocutors do use code-switching (code-mixing) and blending. As early as 1987 code-mixing was described as "young child's mixing of both languages within the same utterance before the child is really aware of having two languages in its environment" (Arnberg, 1987, p. 27). With time, the meaning has slightly changed as "use of elements from two languages in the same utterance or in the same stretch of conversation" (Paradis, Genesee, & Crago, 2011, p. 88). Blending is explained by Harding & Riley as combining two words for one meaning, as in utterance "bitte-please" (1986, p. 51). These strategies help bilineals to maximally express their thoughts (Bonvillain, 2000). Syntactic and lexical interferences across the languages spoken by a bilingual/multilingual are found to be the most typical, while there is hardly any confusion on phonological, morphological, and semantic levels. Mixing languages is just another unique feature of early bilingualism. Research reports that frequency of mixing elements decreases with age (Döpke, 1992; Bialystok et al., 2012). Bar-Shalom and Zaretsky (2008) got similar results: 4-10 years old Russian-English bilinguals made a few contextual, and numerous lexical and morphosyntactic errors, but did not produce any no morphological errors.

In fact, a growing number of researchers and parents support child bilingualism: "bilingual competence is not an impossibility for anyone of normal intelligence" (Edwards, 2010, p. 25). Moreover, multiple advantages of bilingualism have been pointed out. For example, in the case of bilingual speakers of Warlpiri and English, parents are bilingual themselves, and they are aware of the importance and advantages of speaking the two languages. They believe that bilingualism can help their children economically, intellectually, and socially (O'Shannessy, 2008). Indeed, bilingualism has a lot of benefits, including:

- Economic benefit due to increased globalization (O'Shannessy, 2008);

- Social benefit to communicate in two languages and cultures (O’Shannessy, 2008);
- Spoken language skill is the most basic form of human capital (Chiswick, 1992);
- A wider outlook (O’Shannessy, 2008);
- Facilitator of intergeneration communication;
- Sustained connections with the country of origin (Berry, 1997);
- Bilingual citizens are an addition to a country’s national strength (Harley, 2008).

“Learning and using one language is an impressive achievement; learning and managing several is incredible,” says Harley in his “Psychology of Language” (2008, p. 162). A number of studies showed cognitive differences between monolinguals and bilinguals in development, efficiency, and executive processing in childhood, adolescence and adulthood, as well as in crucial cognitive abilities in old age. These studies involved not only linguistic abilities, but also performance on other tasks, such as juggling, musical training, video game playing and other activities (Bialystok et al., 2012). Although sometimes bilingual speakers (both children and adults) perform slower than monolinguals, in most cases they have cognitive benefits over the monolinguals (O’Shannessy, 2008; Santrock, 2009; Proctor, 2010; Harley, 2008). Bialystok et al. (2012) report that bilingual children outperform monolinguals in symbol manipulation, reorganization, and linguistic problems resolution. Although teachers and clinical practitioners are concerned about complicatedness of using two languages by a child, research studies emphasize the ‘mental flexibility’ of bilinguals and the uniqueness of a bilingual mind (Bialystok et al., 2012). Bilingual speakers are better at multi-tasking, high-level thought, and sustained attention. These skills are parts of executive control which is responsible for academic achievement, and thus is crucial for children’s educational and social success as well as for their long-term health and well-being (Bialystok et al., 2012).

All things considered, we know that bilingualism is possible for an average child. If parents can find the right “strategy”, their efforts will pay off in multiple advantages for their child’s future.

1.2 Minority languages and immigration

Bilingualism is closely connected with minority language maintenance. Recent attention in bilingualism research is focused on the revival of heritage languages, language acquisition by adults and children, and how heritage language learners differ from second language learners (Bialystok et al., 2012; Döpke, 1992; Edwards, 2010; Gkaintartzi & Tsokalidou, 2011). In language contact, one language usually dominates, and others become minority languages. In most cases, it is an immigrant language that is non-dominant. When people immigrate, their needs and language practices change. A common language is needed for people’s economic and noneconomic exchange, and the majority language is typically chosen to fulfil these functions (Chiswick, 1992).

In 1971, Canada declared multiculturalism policy. In 1980s, the attention of immigration policies was drawn to the assimilation issue. Preference was given to those with English language skills, education, and experience (Chiswick, 1992). Although official language knowledge gives a better chance to immigrate to Canada, it does not mean that all the immigrants can speak English or French (Chiswick, 1992). Canada has no official language policies in respect to languages other than English and French (the official languages).

According to Statistics Canada, in 2006, 22% of the population had a non-official language as mother tongue. It was 18% higher than in 2001 (Statistics Canada, 2006). In 2011, population with mother tongue other than English or French was 20%. Overall in Canada the number of people who speak a non-official language at home is about 20%. In

some regions of Canada the proportion of bilingual population is even higher. For example, half of Toronto population is bilingual (Statistics Canada, 2011).

1.2.1 Immigrant language use

The ability to speak the majority language is sometimes taken for granted. The majority language has economic value, and immigrants are most sensitive to it, because they can see that fluency in a majority language leads to higher wages (Chiswick, 1992). There are many factors influencing language use in immigrant communities, such as age of immigration, the amount of daily exposure to L1, socio-economic status, or level of literacy in L1 in the family (Smyslova, 2012; Edelman & Waterfall, 2007). Majority language proficiency influences frequency of minority language use among immigrants. Adult first-generation immigrants do not always speak dominant language fluently, and this affects their communication with minority and majority language communities. Chiswick (1992) made a few observations about language use by immigrants. Immigrants are more likely to be fluent in the majority language if they came unmarried, currently have children, and there are fewer speakers of their first language in the area they immigrated to. Besides, they are also more proficient in the majority language, if they are interested in economic rewards and are likely to invest into education (Chiswick, 1992). Greater language proficiency helps to find a better job (more efficient job search), increases productivity of labor. Without majority language knowledge schooling and pre-immigration experience are not valuable (Chiswick & Miller, 2003).

1.2.2 How a minority language is maintained among children

If one or both parents still decide to speak their mother tongue with a child, they should find a “strategy” for minority language maintenance. It is difficult to maintain language in a majority language-speaking environment, where parents face a number of challenges (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2008; Nesteruk, 2010). Shapson (1984) described that while learning English, minority language students are also trying to learn the content of the curriculum at school. As a consequence, “the child may receive the message, albeit subtly, that he must reject his native language and culture in school” (p. 2). While the conditions and results of heritage language acquisitions strongly differ by the languages involved, location, and even an individual family, the pressures of the majority language environment on the minority language are present universally.

Smyslova’s study (2012) of heritage speakers of Russian in the USA has proved that it is hard to resist the pressures from a majority language and maintain minority languages. English is the dominant language of North America, and the most difficult part is avoiding minority language attrition among children. The study of Caldas and Caron-Caldas (2008) expresses a typical parents’ concern about maintenance of the minority language. The authors described language use in their family. In order to make their children strong speakers of two languages, they had to speak only French at home, as English was the dominant language in Louisiana (Caldas and Caron-Caldas, 2008). Nevertheless, already in the preschool age, children preferred speaking the dominant language. After two weeks exposure of French in Quebec they started speaking more French until they resumed attending English-speaking daycare and switched their language use back to mostly English (Caldas and Caron-Caldas, 2008). The children’s English language test showed that their dominant language development is normal except one sound taken from French (Caldas and Caron-Caldas, 2008).

To avoid rejection of a heritage language (HL) by children, parents should consider some factors influencing language maintenance, such as the use of the HL in the community or HL instruction, if the latter are available in the community.

Community has a huge effect of language maintenance in families. In 1988, Kouzmin stated that “An immigrant language is more likely to be maintained if it has an assured position in the minority group’s system of core values” (1988, p. 52). She put a special emphasis on what she called “vitality factors”, such as language status, demographic variable, and institutional-support factors (Kouzmin, 1988, p. 53). The results of Oriyama’s (2012, p. 167) study indicate that “while language use has a more significant effect than background, community contact contributes most to the development of the HL literacy, especially since it significantly promotes literacy-enhancing private language use”. Velázquez points out importance of mother’s networking with HL speakers for language maintenance among children. First, mothers plan extracurricular activities for their children, control their schedules and daily interactions. Mothers choose between assimilation and integration. Second, community members influence mothers’ views of language use.

A different explanation on the role of mothers emerges from more recent studies. A higher pressure to maintain a heritage language at home comes from better educated parents, particularly from parents in general and mothers in particular with postgraduate (Masters’ and PhD) degrees (Hudyma, 2012). Immigrant mothers who are highly educated, have productive careers and are highly fluent in the majority language, want their children to speak their mother tongue, perhaps because they are better exposed to the culture of the mother tongue and take more pride in it (Hudyma, 2012).

Overall trend indicates that although vital for general literacy, the effect of family on a heritage language use is small (Oriyama, 2012). It is community contact that affects the heritage language literacy most and that contributes significantly to the development of

literacy (Oriyama, 2012). The results of Bar-Shalom's (2008) investigation suggest that extracurricular activities in L1 slow down the process of attrition of one's native language.

Media, books and exposure to TV-programs are more significant than the degree of community contact (Lightbown and Spada, 2013). Nevertheless, television will not help to learn HL, because it does not provide interaction with human speakers, but when some language is acquired, TV can be helpful in terms of vocabulary and culture (Lightbown and Spada, 2013).

1.2.3 Attitudes to language

In order to maintain a minority language, one should have a positive attitude to it (Bonvillain, 2000). Attitude to and status of a language in a multilingual community depend on social status of native speakers and economic, political and social contexts (Bonvillain, 2000).

Parental attitudes to language often lead to children's monolingualism. Immigrants' lack of majority language knowledge is one of the reasons why some parents may speak only their mother tongue with children, but at the same time, parents may have a worse attitude to their native language than to the dominant language, because they understand how crucial majority language knowledge is for children's future economic and social success (Chiswick & Miller, 2003). Consequently, children are likely to adopt their parent's unfavourable attitudes to the minority language use. Besides, children are oriented to society rather than to history and culture (Harley, 2008).

One case study of Ukrainian language maintenance in Toronto describes a school that failed to develop positive L1 attitudes (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999). Even "language committed" parents of children enrolled in this school had difficulties maintaining Ukrainian in this environment. Children in that school lost their L1 by adolescent period and did not

have any interest to read in Ukrainian (Chumak-Horbatsch, 1999). This example shows that negative attitudes strongly discourage HL maintenance.

Another example was provided in a study by Kopeliovich (2010). In his case study of Russian-Hebrew bilingual family in Israel, the mother was pushing children to use her mother tongue (Russian) while the father did not prioritize Russian language maintenance. Interviews revealed that children tend to use Russian more with father, because he did not try to enforce the language but used it in practice. As one of the oldest children reported, he was ready to use Russian if parents accepted him speaking Hebrew. Kopeliovich came up with a few solutions for successful language maintenance:

- “The content attracts the children to the heritage language more than direct requests to use it” (p. 170);
- The children should have a choice which language to use;
- Bilingual practice should be shown as fun and attractive, rather than problematic.

This example shows that strong positive attitudes could also reduce a chance for language maintenance, if they are forced in a straightforward direct manner.

1.2.4 Culture maintenance

Language and culture are closely connected. Speakers of the same language also share the same culture. Culture differences are used to explain why immigrants have difficulty integrating into the host society. Accepting another culture often may be difficult for both sides: “We often have mixed feelings when we discover that someone we meet is fluent in several languages: perhaps a mixture of admiration and envy but also, occasionally,

a feeling of superiority in that many such people are not ‘native’ to the culture in which we function” (Wardhaugh, 2010, p. 92).

At the same time, nowadays cultural pluralism resulting from immigration is more accepted (Berry, 1997). Even though cultural pluralism takes place, immigrants are exposed to cultural changes (or acculturation) which range from changes in what is eaten or worn to deeper ones including language shifts, religious conversions, and fundamental alterations, such as thinking or social attitudes (Berry, 1997). According to Berry (1997), the most successful strategy for immigrants is integration, not assimilation, i.e. balancing both heritage and domestic cultures.

Since language is a part of culture, let us review some theories of culture as presented by Duranti (1997):

- Considered *as distinct from nature*, culture is something that is learned, passed from generation to generation through linguistic communication, it is acquired through observation. That is why a child follows the cultural patterns of the culture he was raised in. Language is what makes human being special, it is part of culture. Culture and nature are inseparable.
- *Culture as knowledge*. When culture is learned, knowledge of the world is learned. Not only places or people, way of thinking is acquired. Culture and language are both mental realities.
- *Culture as communication*. Semiotic theory of culture is to see it as communication, or a system of signs. Basically, view of the world is represented by stories, myths, rituals, proverbs etc.
- *Predicting and interpreting*. Predictions of individual occurrences are opposed to interpretation of individual actions. Speakers always make predictions about daily life such as which language or dialect is appropriate in a given situation, that a question should be followed by answer, but there

are exceptions. For a researcher it is important to show frequency of a given phenomenon, e.g. how often something is said or heard.

In all the above presented theories language plays an important role. It links inner thought and public behavior with culture (Duranti, 1997). As bilinguals, children learn two cultures as well as different ways of thinking.

Ethnolinguists investigate possibilities of relationships between grammatical categories and world view. Duranti (1997) describes “Linguistic relativity principle”, according to which people who use grammars in different ways in the same situation have different views of the world. Bilinguals *have to* use two different grammars. No wonder why their cognitive performance is better.

Phenomenon of semilingualism is not a problem related exclusively to a bilingual’s linguistic skills, but it rather reflects her/his remoteness from heritage culture. Every language can describe its culture, but when a person does not know a particular element of culture, he cannot describe it. “It is half-culture that causes semilingualism, not vice versa” (Frumkina, 2001, p.166).

Interactional, situational and social functions of language are actively used within cultural contexts. This is relevant with cultural model, which is “a construction of reality that is created, shared, and transmitted by members of a group” (Bonvillain, 2000, p. 2). People of the same culture share views on society, life, and treating each other; and these views are considered to be natural, logical and necessary within the community. However, “the community” is not a homogeneous group, since its members differ by age, gender and status (Bonvillain, 2000).

Both language and culture are acquired through observation, participation in a community, communication, role models, stories and myths existing in a given culture. Respectively,

parents wishing to maintain language should represent and teach culture, make their child be interested in it (Duranti, 1997).

1.3 Russian-speaking immigrants and language maintenance

1.3.1 Russian speaking immigrants' history in North America.

Since not much data are available about immigration of Russian speaking population to Canada, we will provide a survey of immigration to the USA, since Canadian immigration patterns can be expected to follow the American ones. In this section, I will address the issue of Russian language maintenance in the USA and Canada.

According to Andrews (2012), there were three (or four) “waves” of Russian speakers’ emigration:

The First Wave was caused by Russian Revolution in 1917. About a million people fled from the new regime to Europe (mostly Paris), Manchuria, and North America. The emigrants were mainly aristocrats but there were representatives from other social classes. Some of these people moved somewhere else after World War II.

As shown above, immigrants often treat their mother tongue as less prestigious (Wardhaugh, 2010; Edwards, 2010). The First Wave of Russian immigrants was an exception. As highly educated people, they saw themselves as “the last bastion of genuine Russian culture”. They hoped to return to Russia when Soviet Union would be defeated and therefore cared about language purity. Even after their hopes faded, language was still very important among Russian-speaking communities (Andrews, 2012).

The Second Wave of migration happened after World War II. This group was Soviet citizens, who were uprooted and who migrated to the West. They were not interested in joining the First Wave; they came to find peace during and following Stalin’s regime.

Those who wanted to maintain the language were dependent on the First Wave organizations. Existing language attitudes were perpetuated (Andrews, 2012).

The Third Wave started from the 1970s and consisted mostly of Soviet Jews. Officially, they received exit visas to go to Israel. However, about 70 percent of Russian Jews preferred to go to the United States (Chiswick, 1992). This group was characterized as highly educated and intellectual people, but they may or may not have considered themselves as carriers of Russian culture/language.

The Fourth Wave started after perestroika from the end of 1980s, and is still happening in present. In 1988 the United States admitted 16,000 people from the Soviet Union. Similarly, in the next three years, the USA issued thousands of visas to the Soviet Union citizens. Number of visa applications increased. In 1990 the yearly quota for Soviet Jews entry to the USA was 100,000. In 1991 Soviet nationals received 50,000 refugee admissions (Chiswick, 1992). As labor demand grew, Canada also opened doors to Jewish and Slavic people, especially those who had skills needed or who would work in the positions that Canadians did not want to work (Chiswick, 1992).

For this group ties with homeland can be maintained, and while integrating to English-speaking environment, they strive to preserve their own language and culture. Children, in their turn, also seem to be appreciating their rich cultural heritage (Kagan, 2005).

1.3.2 Characteristic features of Russian language as spoken by immigrants in North America

According to Statistics Canada (2011), there are more than 164 thousand people with Russian as first language in Canada. It is approximately 0.5% of population. Russian language is spoken at home by almost 91% of these people. Most of them live in Ontario (n = 93 080). Some other places have even less than a hundred Russian speakers: in Yukon,

North-West Territories and Nunavut there are only 60, 40, and 10 Russian-speaking people respectively (Statistics Canada, 2011). As for Saskatchewan, there are 2,355 native Russian speakers in the province, with 770 living in Saskatoon (Statistics Canada, 2011).

Russian is an important part of heritage language studies as Russian speakers constitute a growing population in America and Europe (Smyslova, 2012). As any immigrant language, Russian faces the confrontation of language maintenance and shift. The study of language contact by Andrews (2012) noted considerable language changes among bilinguals, such as lexical borrowings, changes in morphology and syntax of Russian. Third/Fourth Wave immigrants in North America speak Russian with many English borrowings. Linguistic innovations vary among individuals. There are many purists, but in general the Russian speech community is tolerant to citations from English, English loan words and Russian-English code-switches. There are many sociolinguistic factors that shape this attitude: the immigrants know that Russian culture is not at stake; after World War II Soviet people chose to learn English as a foreign language; for immigrants, English was essential for economic advancement, especially in Canada, where requirements of professional licensing are very strict (Andrews, 2012). “Anglicisms often serve as a symbol of adaptation to and mastery of this bewildering culture, this polar opposite of Soviet socialism” (Andrews, 2012, p.225). Such innovations, however, are not signs of language shift. On the contrary, speaking the language, although a non-standard form, is a way of showing respect (Andrews, 2012).

Nesteruk’s study (2010) on language transmission to children among Eastern European immigrants shows that majority of the participants strongly support HL maintenance and make efforts to do so. However, they face a number of challenges. The efforts they make to maintain language include speaking and reading in HL at home, having grandparents in the household, or selecting Russian teachers for extracurricular activities (Nesteruk, 2010).

Smyslova (2012) investigated language skills of the Third Wave heritage speakers' of Russian in the USA. For all of them Russian became a secondary language, and Russian was limited. The author proved that for second generation immigrants, Russian is revivable, as they have some knowledge of the language from birth, and after an academic course their skills are far better and more native-like than those of foreign language learners (Smyslova, 2012).

Bar-Shalom and Zaretsky's (2008) study of 4-10 years old Russian-English bilingual children examined retelling of stories by children in Russian. They specifically addressed grammatical aspect restructuring, nominal cases, agreement errors and compared those with the speech of monolingual Russian-speaking children. The results showed that English influences Russian, but most mistakes of bilinguals are similar to monolinguals'. They concluded that L1 attrition takes place selectively. It can be slowed down by consistent usage of Russian at home and extracurricular activities.

As for pronunciation, Gildersleeve and Wright (2010) noticed that not only Russian is influenced by English, but also vice versa. There were no mistakes in English vowel pronunciation, but some were found in consonant production.

1.3.3 Russian speaking immigrants in other countries

Australia has a large community of Russian-speaking immigrants with a history similar to that of North America. In 1988 Kouzmin studied language maintenance in two Russian communities of immigrants who came during Second and Third Wave. The largest of all three waves was the Second (Kouzmin, 1988). Like in North America, large number of Russian-speaking Third Wave immigrants in Australia are a part of the Jewish diaspora. Russian language maintenance among Russian Jews is high; 71% of respondents of the survey sponsored by the Jewish Agency for Israel reported that they speak Russian at home.

One of the reasons is that elderly household members lack English proficiency. Another reason is a feeling of unity with other Russian-speaking Jews. Today those who are not able to read in English have an opportunity to read papers published in Russian: *Arguments and Facts* (*Argumenty i fakty*; published on Russia, but printed in Australia), *Panorama*, and *Horizon*. Cultural maintenance among Russian Jews is also very high; they speak and read in Russian, following the news in Former Soviet Union (FSU), maintain relationship with family and friends back home (Rutland, 2011).

All three waves played an important role in Russian language maintenance in Australia. They created Russian clubs and organizations where Russian was the dominant language. First and Second waves founded schools where Russian language, literature and history were taught. There are Russian-speaking radio programs in Melbourne and Sydney (Kouzmin, 1988). “The Russian-language input of the third wave has, to a certain extent, promoted linguistic renewal among the members of the older Russian-speaking community” (Kouzmin, 1988, p.54).

The results of Kouzmin’s study (1988) show that Russian language is dominant for the majority of Third Wave immigrants. The Second Wave immigrants reported equal use of Russian and English in daily life.

Besides language use in the family, Kouzmin’s (1988) study highlights the importance of Russian language use in such domains as church, social clubs, and community for language maintenance (Kouzmin, 1988). “It could be said that in the older Russian speech community Russian use is shrinking, yet language loyalty is increasing, attached as it is to an awareness of separate identity within the wider Australian society” (Kouzmin, 1988, p.64).

As for Israel, there was a massive immigration from Soviet Union in 1990s. The study of Altman et al. (2014) of Russian-Hebrew bilingual preschool and elementary school children in Israel correlated home language policies with children’s language use at home,

self-rated language proficiency, codeswitching, linguistic performance. The findings showed that speaking L2 at home is not a threat for L1 maintenance. Schwartz and Katzir's study (2012) suggests that bilinguals show a better progress in Hebrew compared to monolinguals. The gap in language is only found in the beginning of schooling.

In sum, the studies of Russian as a minority language maintenance demonstrate that on the whole, Russian tends to be maintained in the second generation of immigrants, but the level of maintenance differs from elementary to near-native. It is not quite clear what factors determine the language maintenance under given circumstances, although the literature suggests the role of family, community, educational institutions and other factors.

Rationale for the study

Literature review has shown that child bilingualism and language maintenance is a highly productive area in linguistics research. Although parents face many challenges in maintaining a heritage language, many of them are still motivated to pass their heritage language and culture to children (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2008; Nesteruk, 2010; Altman et al., 2014). Russian-speaking immigrant population in Canada has been growing in the last couple of decades. The number of studies on Russian-English bilingual children is very small (Nesteruk, 2010; Bar-Shalom & Zaretsky, 2008; Gildersleeve and Wright, 2010). The existing studies do not take into account the children's attitudes to the Russian language. In addition, there are no studies on Russian as a heritage language done in Canada.

Therefore, the research question is:

What is the state of Russian as a heritage language maintenance among children of early elementary school age in Saskatchewan, Canada, and what are the factors that may be connected with the language proficiency?

The main objectives of the study are:

a) to describe the state of Russian language maintenance among children from immigrant families in Canada;

b) to complement existing research by an examination of language attitudes held not only by immigrant parents, but also by the young bilingual speakers of Russian and English in Canada.

The main objectives of the study are:

- describing language attitudes of parents;
- prediction of children's Russian language proficiency parameters with parents' language attitudes;
- describing language attitudes of children;

- prediction of children's Russian language proficiency with their own language attitudes;
- examining the amount of exposure to Russian;
- examining language use in families;
- studying connection between family language use and child's HL proficiency;
- comparison of bilinguals' (in Canada) and monolinguals' (in Russia) Russian language proficiency.

2. Materials and methods

The data collection consisted of a) questionnaire for parents about their language attitudes and use; b) interview with children about their language preferences and use; c) speech production by children, and d) children's reading skill assessment. In this chapter, I will give more detailed description of each data collection tool as well as of participant recruitment, demographic data of participants, data analysis, and ethics approval.

2.1 Data collection

2.1.1 Questionnaire for parents

Questionnaire is a standard way of gathering data in sociolinguistic research, and particularly in Variationist Sociolinguistics, an approach dominant in Canada (Tagliamonte, 2012). Following the tradition of Variationist Sociolinguistic approach that is based on correlating social variables with language variables, I designed a questionnaire addressing the language use and language attitudes by immigrant Russian speaking parents and a set of interview questions about language exposure and language attitudes addressed to their

children. Like in many other studies on language maintenance and bilingualism (Verhoeven, 1991; Schwartz & Katzir, 2011; Altman et al., 2014; Dixon et al., 2012; etc.), the parents of the participants were asked questions about their language attitudes, their language use, and their child's language use. This variety of questions was asked to find what factors predict children's Russian language proficiency. Importance of attitude measurement with a questionnaire was described by Baker (1992) and Oppenheim (1992).

The first part, YOUR CHILD contained demographic questions, such as child's age, gender, whether a child was born in Canada, or her/his age of arrival to Canada. These demographics were considered in numerous studies on bilingual children (Bar-Shalom & Zaretsky, 2008; Smyslova, 2012; Verhoeven, 1991). They were followed by questions about language use at and outside of home, community contact and use of media sources in Russian. These are the factors that were shown to predict language use and preferences in earlier studies (Kouzmin, 1988; Lightbown and Spada, 2013; Oriyama, 2012). This section of the questionnaire contains closed-ended (yes/no and Likert scales) and open-ended questions.

Part II: YOUR LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES included parents' preferences, goals, concerns about their child's language use. Other questions in the section focused on the language use by parents, community contact, their use of media in Russian, and English proficiency. These factors are also significant in minority language maintenance by children, as demonstrated by Coates (2004) and Velázquez (2013). The rest of the questions were about parents' language attitudes in general (importance of language maintenance by their child and other Russian speakers).

The third section ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS was optional, and parents were asked about their ideas how Russian language can be maintained in Saskatchewan (activities, events, school and government support).

All questionnaires were printed on five letter-size pages, had plain text and no images. After ethics approval was obtained, the questionnaire was translated into Russian, and the parents were asked to fill it out in their first language. The questionnaire (Appendix A, in English; Appendix B, in Russian) contained 57 questions and was divided into three parts: Part I: YOUR CHILD, Part II: YOUR LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES, and Part III: ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS. The questions for the sections were adopted from a variety of resources.

2.1.2 Interview with a child

Interview with children included 29 questions (Appendix C, Appendix D). They were printed on one letter-size page, and read by the interviewer. The provided answers were recorded with Zoom H2n Handy Recorder in Wave Sound format. A similar procedure was followed in other studies (Schwartz & Katzir, 2011; Altman et al., 2014). When a child was not able to reply in Russian, the interview was conducted in English. The interview included questions about language preference and use, community contact, use of mass media in Russian. These questions were asked to find out if there would be any correlations between children's proficiency in Russian and their answers. A few of the questions were the same as for their parents, in order to compare answers. As language and culture are inseparable (Duranti, 1997; Wardhaugh, 2010), the last two questions covered cultural aspects. The participant children were asked to sing a song and to recite a poem in Russian in order to gain some evidence of their cultural knowledge.

2.1.3 Speech production

A variety of methods have been used in previous research to evaluate language skills of bilingual children. The methods include a completion of linguistic tasks related to morphosyntax, vocabulary, and phonology (Altman et al., 2014); word-picture matching (Verhoeven, 1991); reading, answering questions, describing and naming words, or giving antonyms (Schwartz & Katzir, 2011).

In Zaretsky and Bar-Shalom's study (2008) the task was to retell a story. This method of data elicitation helps to find out whether the story is understood; children can use synonyms to the words they heard; and they can make up new sentences.

For eliciting speech samples in my study, I chose picture description. Storytelling task helps eliciting speech from children with varied degrees of proficiency, and allows an estimate of their speech production at multiple levels.

Speech production task consisted of two parts: description of a Russian culture unrelated story (Appendix E) and a Russian culture related story (Appendix F).

Russian culture unrelated story was retrieved from the Internet and was called "A good fairy-tale in pictures". It consisted of 23 pictures with a lot of details and was printed on 6 letter-size sheets. It was simple enough for the participants with low Russian proficiency to name the characters and actions they did. Those with higher proficiency could add more details to the basic plot.

Russian culture related story was K. Chukovskiy's "Mukha-Tsokotukha." It is believed to be known by all contemporary native Russian speakers who grew up in Russia, and even by most children in immigrant families abroad. It contained 8 pictures and was printed on 2 pages. Children were asked if they could recognize this character and to tell what the story was about.

Russian monolingual participants were only asked to do the speech production part. This was done to find an average monolingual's proficiency parameters, to further compare it with average bilingual results.

2.2 Recruitment and eligibility criteria

Recruitment was based on the following criteria: children of age 5 to 7 years old with at least one native Russian-speaking parent, who was born in Soviet Union. Each child had to be exposed into English-speaking environment on a daily basis for at least 6 months (day care or school). The reason for this period of exposure is Harley's (2008) report that within 6 months children can forget one language and pick up another.

Age group was selected based on the following factors: a) in Canada children start school at the age of five, therefore, immigrant children become exposed to English-speaking communication with peers and may start refusing to speak heritage language to their parents; b) their language skills are still developing; c) dominant language may change before puberty.

All the interviews were conducted on a voluntary basis in the city of Saskatoon, SK and neighboring towns. As the age and language group were very narrow, and the area has a limited number of potential participants, the chosen recruitment method was mostly snowball sampling. Another method was announcements in Saskatoon Russian Language School. Both parents and children were asked if they wanted to participate in the study. Following an expression of interest, the interview time was set.

In order to obtain a tool for the evaluation of the Russian language proficiency by bilinguals, it was decided to get an analogous speech sample from monolingual children of the same age group in Russia. The monolingual Russian speaking children were of the same age group as bilinguals, and attended kindergarten or school. One interview was conducted in

Mykolaiv, Ukraine with a child attending Russian school and from a Russian-speaking family. The rest of the interviews were done in Kemerovo, Russia, in Municipal Autonomous Preschool Institution #242.

2.3 Ethics approval and consent of the participants

2.3.1 Ethics approval

Ethics approval #12-322 from Behavioral Research Ethics Board was received on December 19, 2012. Later it was extended in December 2013, December 2014, and again in December 2015.

2.3.2 Consent and assent forms

Prior to participating in the study, parents of the participants were asked to sign consent form (Appendix G). If they were not fluent in English, the assent form was interpreted into Russian by the researcher. Children were also asked if they agreed to participate and they had to sign an assent form to demonstrate their agreement (Appendix H). The content of the form was read aloud to a child by the researcher or interpreted into Russian if it was the preferred language.

A copy of both assent and consent forms was given to every participant.

2.4 Demographic data of participants

In total, 30 interviews were conducted. All the participants were from the city of Saskatoon or neighbouring towns. The participants included 12 males and 18 females. Most of the children were within the 5-7 year old age group: 30% (n=9; 6 girls, 3 boys) were 5

years old, 36.7% (n=11; 6 girls, 5 boys) were 6, 26.7% (n=8; 4 girls, 4 boys) were 7. However, 2 participants did not fit into the age category: 1 girl was 4 (3.3%) years old, and one was 8 (3.3%).

Questionnaires were given to 29 parents (one was a parent of twin brothers). Twenty seven (93%) out of 29 respondents were mothers. The countries of parents' origin were Russia (n=7), Ukraine (n=17), Kazakhstan (n=4), Kyrgyzstan (n=1), Uzbekistan (n=1). Russian was the sole language in the city/town they grew up for 18 parents, and it was the sole family language for 22 of them. 76.7% of the participants (n=23) were born abroad, average age of arrival is 2.7 years; 23.3% (n=7) were Canadian-born. The participants' families have lived in Canada from 6 months to 16 years (ref. Table 1). The numbers in Table 1 indicate number of answers.

Table 1

The length of living outside of Canada and homecountry

How long have you been living...	1 year or less	2-4 years	5-9 years	10 years or more	Total
in Canada?	6	10	10	4	30
out of you homecountry?	3	6	11	10	30

In terms of schooling in a Russian-speaking country, 5 children (16.7%) attended kindergarten, the rest of the participants had no schooling experience in a Russian-speaking country. However, 12 children were involved into activities with Russian-speaking teachers (Russian Heritage language school, dance, music lessons).

Half of the participating families had Russian as the sole language in family. In terms of language usage, 14 of them (46.7%) spoke another language in addition to Russian and/or English. These included: French (n=9, 30%), Ukrainian (n=6, 20%), Arabic (n=1,

3.3%), and Hebrew (n=1, 3.3%). Russian language skills (speaking, understanding, writing, and reading) ranged and were rated from non-existent to native speaker-like by their parents.

Due to the small number of participants, the nature of the study is descriptive: it reflects only the families participated in the study.

3 Results

3.1 *Language use in family*

3.1.1 Reported by parents

Language spoken by parents to children at home

“What language do you speak to your child at home?” Of the total number of 29 responses, 11 indicated “only Russian”, 16 – “mostly Russian”, 1 selected “half English, half Russian”, 1 spoke “mostly English, some French. Among those 16 parents, who speak mostly Russian to their child at home, 6 also speak some Ukrainian, and 1 parent speaks some Hebrew.

The variable “Language spoken with children at home by the parents” correlates positively with the following parameters: “parents’ hometown language”, $r(29) = .405$, $p = .029$; “parents’ family language in childhood”, $r(29) = .426$, $p = .021$; “attending Russian-speaking classes/ school, music or dance activities”, $r(29) = .369$, $p = .049$; and “children’s understanding of Russian” (reported by parents), $r(29) = .417$, $p = .024$.

The results suggest that the parents whose native language (spoken in childhood) is Russian, are more likely to use it at home with their children, and that parents who speak more Russian at home, are also more likely to take their children to ethnic activities. In turn, children whose parents expose them to more Russian at home are better at understanding it.

Language spoken by parents to children outside home

Question “What language do you speak to your child outside of home?” was answered by all 30 parents. The majority of them ($n=22$, 73.33%) list the use of “mostly Russian”, three participants (10%) – the use of “only Russian”, two (6.66%) use both Russian

and English interchangeably, and one parent indicates the use of “mostly English”. The use of two languages (French/Russian and English/French) is reported by two parents.

The results suggest that while the use of Russian with children outside home decreases as compared to the Russian language use at home, still even outside home, the parents mostly try to use Russian while speaking with their children.

The variable “Language spoken by parents to children outside of home” correlates positively with “children’s country of birth”, $r(29) = .429, p = .023$; parents’ response to statement “It is important to know Russian for communication with relatives in Russia/other Russian-speaking country”, $r(29) = .569, p = .002$; “language spoken with partners”, $r(29) = .528, p = .004$; and respondents’ exposure to linguoculture. In particular, to “frequency of watching movies in Russian by parent respondents”, $r(29) = .534, p = .003$; and to “frequency of following news in Russian-speaking countries”, $r(29) = .518, p = .005$.

It is interesting to note that children born outside of Canada are more likely to be addressed in Russian outside of home, presumably because the parents developed a habit of talking with them in Russian outside of home in majority Russian environment, and this habit was transferred to the minority language environment in Canada. Parents who have more positive language attitudinal answers towards the value of communicating in Russian, actually do carry it into real life and communicate in Russian more not only with their children, but also with their partners, as well as conduct linguocultural activities (watch movies and follow Russian news).

Combined language use by Russian-speaking parents to children

The parameters of language use by parents at home and outside of home were combined and correlated with other factors. Overall score revealed stronger correlations than in two previous sections.

Language spoken by parents (at and outside of home) correlates positively with “children’s reported proficiency”, in particular “understanding”, $r(28) = .620, p = .000$, and “speaking”, $r(27) = .534, p = .004$; “language used in mother’s family in childhood”, $r(28) = .508, p < .006$; “children’s love to speak Russian”, $r(28) = .393, p = .038$; “language spoken by children to themselves when playing”, $r(28) = .466, p = .012$; “watching TV in Russian”, $r(28) = .523, p = .004$; “language spoken to partners”, $r(28) = .501, p = .006$; “language used with Russian-speaking friends when visiting them”, $r(28) = .454, p = .015$; “frequency of watching movies in Russian by parents”, $r(28) = .542, p = .003$; “frequency of following news in Russian-speaking countries”, $r(28) = .385, p = .043$; “parents’ willingness that child marries a Russian speaker”, $r(28) = .374, p = .050$; “parents’ responses to the statement that “it is important to know Russian for communication with relatives in Russia/Russian-speaking countries”, $r(28) = .376, p = .049$.

The results suggest that when parents speak more Russian at and outside of home, children are more likely to understand and speak Russian better, to enjoy speaking Russian, to speak it to themselves when playing, to watch TV in Russian. In their turn, parents tend to speak Russian to children if it was used in their family in childhood, they speak Russian to partners, Russian is used with friends when visiting them, they frequently watch movies in Russian, follow news in Russian-speaking countries, answer positively about their children marrying Russian speakers, and agree with the importance to know Russian for communication with relatives in Russia/Russian-speaking countries.

Language spoken by the parent’s partner while communicating with children at home

What language does your partner speak to your child at home? Half of the participants ($n = 15, 50\%$) answer “only Russian”, eight (26.7%) participants indicate that their partners speak mostly Russian with the children, two (6.7%) participants indicate that their partner speaks

half Russian-half English; and in three cases (10%), English is the only language spoken to the child by the participant's partner. One participant's partner (3.3%) speaks Ukrainian, and one (3.3%) – French and Arabic.

The results suggest that the ratio of intercultural marriages among immigrants from Russia and the former Soviet Union is low, and that most participants in the study have a partner who speaks Russian and uses it to communicate with the child at home.

There is a low positive relationship between children's understanding of Russian (reported by parents) and language spoken by partners with a child at home, $r(28) = .382$, $p = .045$. Negative correlation is found between language spoken by partners at home and parents' English fluency, $r(28) = -.511$, $p = .005$.

In other words, partner's use of Russian at home positively correlates with the understanding of the language by a child; and partners are more likely to use their native language at home when the other parent has lower command of English.

Language spoken by the parent's partner while communicating with children outside of home

In response to question "What language does your partner speak to your child outside of home?" 11 (36.7%) participants answer "only Russian", 11 more participants (36.7%) – "mostly Russian"; three (10%) partners speak half Russian half English, and three (10%) -- English only. One partner (3.3%) speaks French/Arabic, and one more (3.3%) uses three languages: Ukrainian, English and Russian.

Quite similarly to the use of Russian with children outside of home by parents themselves, their partners' use of Russian with children outside home remains very strong, but a little less frequent than the use of Russian at home.

Negative correlation is found between language spoken by partners outside of home and parents' English fluency, $r(28) = -.488, p = .008$. This result suggests that partners are not using much English with children outside (as well as inside) home if the other parent is not fluent in it.

Respondents' answers to survey Questions 10-13 are presented in Table 2:

Table 2
Language spoken with children by parents

Language used	Only Russian	Mostly Russian	Half English, half Russian	Mostly English	Only English	Other	Total
I speak to child at home	11	16	1	1	0	0	29
I speak to child outside of home	3	22	2	1	0	2	30
My partner speaks to child at home	15	8	2	0	3	2	30
My partner speaks to child outside of home	11	11	3	0	3	2	30

Children replying in Russian when parents speak to them in Russian

Question "How often does your child reply in Russian when you speak Russian?" yielded the following distribution of answers by parents: 14 (46.7%) "always", nine (30%) "often"; five (16.7%) "half the time", and two (6.7%) "rarely". The results suggest that in the given age group, children in most cases are replying in Russian, when addressed in Russian.

Correlation analysis showed that children reply in Russian more often if parents speak more Russian to them, $r(27) = .699, p = .000$. Frequency of replying in Russian by children also correlates positively with "language used with siblings at home", $r(21) = .799, p = .000$; "language used with siblings outside of home", $r(21) = .757, p = .000$; "language understanding of Russian reported by parents", $r(30) = .646, p = .000$; "number of children's

Russian friends”, $r(30) = .362, p = .049$; “amount of Russian spoken to friends”, $r(28) = .724, p = .000$; parents’ report that “children like to speak Russian”, $r(29) = .444, p = .016$; “language spoken by children to themselves when playing”, $r(30) = .497, p = .005$; “frequency of reading to children in Russian”, $r(30) = .363, p = .049$; “frequency of browsing websites in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .376, p = .040$; “ability to speak without influence of English” (reported by parents), $r(30) = .457, p = .011$; parents’ thinking that their “children are involved enough into Russian-speaking environment”, $r(30) = .420, p = .021$; “language spoken by parents to partners”, $r(29) = .377, p = .044$, “watching movies in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = .594, p = .001$; “language spoken by parents to other Russian speakers”, $r(29) = .388, p = .037$; and parents’ responses to the statement “I want my child to marry a Russian speaker”, $r(30) = .444, p = .014$. There is a negative correlation between frequency of replying in Russian by children and “parents’ fluency in English”, $r(30) = .399, p = .029$. “Frequency of replying in Russian by children” also correlates negatively with the following parental responses to the statement: “It is more important to know English than Russian for my child in Canada”, $r(30) = .460, p = .011$; and “Knowledge of French is more important than Russian in Canada for my child”, $r(30) = .468, p = .009$. As for children’s language proficiency parameters, replying in Russian correlates with total number of words produced, $r(30) = .494, p = .005$; vocabulary range, $r(30) = .536, p = .002$; total number of clauses produced, $r(30) = .406, p = .026$; number of words in the longest utterance, $r(30) = .465, p = .010$; most number of clauses in an utterance, $r(30) = .367, p = .046$; average number of words per utterance, $r(30) = .424, p = .020$; average number of words per clause, $r(30) = .657, p = .000$; and number of times codeswitching, $r(30) = -.390, p = .033$.

In sum, frequency of children responding to parents in Russian (when spoken to in Russian) may be connected to a large number of linguocultural parameters related to children talking Russian with their friends, activities they do in Russian, parents’ linguocultural

attitudinal responses, parents' fluency in English, the use of Russian by parents at home and while networking with other Russian speakers, and some language proficiency parameters.

The use of language at home by parents while talking to partners.

Question 39, "What language do you speak to your partner?" relates to the language exposure by children, since children hear the language spoken at home by the parents when parents talk to their spouses or partners. Of 29 respondents 13 (44.8%) speak "only Russian", 13 (44.8%) use "mostly Russian", one (3.4%) – "mostly English", and two (6.9%) – "only English".

The ratio of intercultural marriages is very low for the subject group, and in all the cases when the spouse/partner is Russian-speaking (i.e., in the vast majority of cases), the parents speak Russian to their spouse/partner.

"Language spoken to partners" correlates positively with "frequency of replying in Russian by children to their parents", $r(29) = .377, p = .044$; "language spoken by parents to their children outside of home", $r(21) = .574, p = .006$; "language spoken by mothers", $r(21) = .572, p = .007$; "language spoken by children to siblings at home", $r(21) = .638, p = .002$, and outside of home, $r(21) = .594, p = .005$; "language spoken by children to themselves when playing", $r(29) = .373, p = .046$; "parents' preferred language they want to speak better by their children", $r(29) = .415, p = .025$; "amount of Russian spoken by parents to friends when visiting them", $r(29) = .513, p = .004$; "frequency of reading in Russian by parents", $r(29) = .425, p = .021$; "frequency of watching TV in Russian by parents", $r(29) = .499, p = .006$; and parents' report that "children like to speak Russian", $r(29) = .758, p = .001$. There is a negative correlation between "parents' English fluency" and "language spoken to partners", $r(29) = -.419, p = .024$.

The exposure to Russian at home provided by parents' conversations with their spouses/partners in Russian may be related to many other aspects of language use by children and parents, to watching Russian TV at home and to parents' English fluency, but not to attitudinal aspects or language fluencies by children.

Language use by children at home while communicating to siblings (reported by parents)

Question 15, "What language does your child speak to siblings at home?" Out of 21 children who have siblings, the majority (n=11, 52.4%) speak "only Russian", four (19%) use "mostly Russian", "Russian is used in half cases" by three (14.3%) children, mostly English is spoken by two (9.5%), and just one child (4.8%) uses only English.

The results demonstrate that in the given sample, children tend to speak the minority language with their siblings at home.

"Language spoken by children to siblings at home" correlates positively with "language spoken by parents to children outside of home", $r(20) = .562, p = .010$; "language spoken by parents to their children", $r(20) = .558, p = .011$; "children's understanding of Russian reported by parents", $r(21) = .514, p = .017$; "children's speaking proficiency of Russian reported by parents", $r(16) = .555, p = .026$; "number of children's Russian-speaking friends", $r(21) = .475, p = .029$; "amount of Russian children speak to their friends", $r(21) = .757, p = .000$; "frequency of watching TV in Russian", $r(21) = .778, p = .000$; "frequency of watching TV in Russian by parents", $r(21) = .817, p = .000$; parents' report that they do not trace "influence of English when children speak Russian", $r(21) = .434, p = .049$; "the language parents want their children to know better", $r(21) = .561, p = .008$; "language spoken to partners", $r(21) = .638, p = .002$; and children's responses to the question "which language is more useful", $r(19) = .509, p = .026$. A negative correlation

found between “language spoken by children to siblings at home” and “parents’ English fluency”, $r(21) = -.569, p = .007$.

“Language spoken by children to siblings at home” also correlates positively with the following parents responses to the statements: “It is important for my child to be a part of Russian community”, $r(21) = .483, p = .027$; and “It is important to know Russian to participate in Russian community”, $r(21) = .597, p = .004$. There is a negative correlation between “language spoken to siblings at home” and parents’ responses to the statement “Knowledge of French is more important than Russian in Canada for my child”, $r(21) = -.635, p = .002$.

The results show that the use of Russian with siblings at home is connected with the use of Russian at home by parents, children’s speaking and understanding of spoken Russian as reported by parents, children’s use of Russian with their friends, Russian TV watching at home by parents and children, as well as with the language attitudes parameters of both parents and of children themselves.

Language use by children outside of home while communicating to siblings (reported by parents)

Answers to Question 16, “What language does your child speak to siblings outside of home?” showed the following results. Of 21 respondents, nine (42.9%) use “only Russian”, five (23.8%) communicate “mostly in Russian”, two (9.5%) use “Russian in half cases”, four (19%) – “mostly English” and one (4.8%) – “only English”.

While the use of Russian with siblings is a little lower outside of home than inside home, still even outside of home, children use mostly Russian to communicate with siblings.

Correlation results for the “use of Russian with siblings outside home” are very similar to the results for the “language use with siblings inside home”. “Language spoken by

children to siblings outside of home” correlates positively with “children’s understanding of Russian reported by parents”, $r(21) = .543, p = .011$; “children’s speaking proficiency reported by parents”, $r(16) = .558, p = .025$; “the amount of Russian children speak to their friends”, $r(21) = .668, p = .001$; “language spoken to partners”, $r(21) = .594, p = .005$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by children”, $r(21) = .753, p = .000$, and by parents, $r(21) = .856, p = .000$. There is a negative correlation between “language spoken by children to siblings outside of home” and “parents’ fluency in English”, $r(21) = -.542, p = .011$.

There is a positive correlation between “language spoken by child to siblings outside of home” and parents’ responses to the statement: “It is important to know Russian to participate in Russian community”, $r(21) = .524, p = .015$. Negative correlation is found between “language spoken by child to siblings outside of home” and parents’ responses to the statement “Knowledge of French is more important than Russian in Canada for my child”, $r(21) = -.562, p = .008$.

To summarize, language use by children outside of home with siblings may be connected to their language proficiency, language used with Russian-speaking friends, watching TV in Russian by both children and parents, parents’ language use, language attitudes parameters, and proficiency. Therefore, children’s language use depends to a large extent on parents.

Table 3 below summarizes the results for the children’s use of language with siblings at and outside of home (as reported by parents).

Table 3
Language spoken with siblings

Language used by child with siblings	Only Russian	Mostly Russian	Half English, half Russian	Mostly English	Only English	Other	Total
At home	11	4	3	2	1	0	21
Outside of home	9	5	2	4	1	0	21

Language spoken by children to themselves when playing

Of 30 replies to Question 22, “What language does your child speak to herself/himself when playing alone?”,

“Language spoken by children to themselves when playing” correlates positively with “language spoken by parents outside of home”, $r(28) = .485$, $p = .009$; “language spoken by parents”, $r(28) = .466$, $p = .012$; “language spoken by partners to children at home”, $r(28) = .524$, $p = .004$; “language spoken by partners to children outside of home”, $r(28) = .531$, $p = .004$; “language use by both parents”, $r(27) = .518$, $p = .006$; “frequency of using Russian by children when replying to parents”, $r(30) = .497$, $p = .005$; “children’s liking to speak Russian reported by parents”, $r(29) = .419$, $p = .023$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .592$, $p = .001$; “frequency of browsing websites in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .419$, $p = .021$; “quality of Russian language (parents report that they cannot trace the influence of English in their children)”, $r(30) = .400$, $p = .029$; “language spoken to partner”, $r(29) = .373$, $p = .046$; “number of parents’ Russian-speaking friends”, $r(30) = .478$, $p = .008$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = .522$, $p = .003$; and parents’ responses to the statement “I want my child to marry a Russian speaker”, $r(30) = .509$, $p = .004$. Negative correlation found between “language spoken by children to themselves when playing” and “parents’ fluency in English”, $r(30) = -.623$, $p = .000$. The results suggest that the language used by children while playing alone is connected with other parameters of language use inside and outside of home, exposure to Russian TV and parental linguistic attitudes parameters.

3.1.2 Responses reported by children

The use of Russian by mothers, fathers and siblings

Question 7 asked the participants what language their mothers spoke to them. Twenty two (73.3%) answered “always” Russian and five (16.7%) – “often Russian”. Answers “half the time”, “rarely” and “never” were less popular each being selected by one respondent (3.3%). It is important to note here that all mothers were native Russian speakers.

Question 8 asked the same about fathers. The results were very similar: 22 (73.3%) replied “always”, three (10%) – “often”, one (3.3%) – “half the time”, one (3.3%) – “rarely”, and three (10%) – “never”.

The results for parental use of language while talking with children are quite similar between parents’ and children’s answers. However, parents’ and children’s reports about mothers and talking in Russian to children do not match. Parents are more “modest” in providing “always” responses (37.93%) as compared to children (73.3%), but the combined responses for “always” and “mostly” are very similar across the groups (92% responses by parents and 90% of responses by children). Consequently, we can be quite certain that the responses indicating that Russian speaking parents use mostly Russian while speaking with children reflect the actuality.

Frequency of “using Russian by fathers” correlates positively with “attending Russian language-related organizations by children”, $r(30) = .366, p = .046$; parents’ opinion that their “children are involved into Russian-speaking environment enough”, $r(30) = .397, p = .030$; parents responses to statements “It is important for me that my child participates in Russian culture”, $r(30) = .378, p = .040$, and “You need to know Russian to participate in Russian culture”, $r(29) = .502, p = .006$.

Question 9 asked children about their language use with siblings. Nineteen answers were provided (not all the interviewed children had siblings). Of these response by children,

12 (63.2%) were “always”. Options “often”, “half the time” and “never” were selected by two (10.5%) participants each, one (5.3%) child chose “rarely”.

Frequency of using Russian by siblings correlates positively with attending Russian language-related organizations, $r(19) = .465, p = .045$; and parents’ level of importance that their children speak Russian, $r(19) = .664, p = .002$.

Again, hardly any discrepancies are found between the responses by parents and children except for children being a little more “radical” in their responses in favour of “always”. The results of children’s interview confirm the results of parents’ questionnaire data indicating that children use mostly Russian while communicating with siblings.

3.2 Language use outside family

3.2.1 Language use outside family reported by parents

Communication with Russian-speaking friends by parents

Question 40, “How many Russian friends do you have?” The frequency of responses to this question by parents are as follows: “all” -- three (10%) answers, “majority” – 17 (56.7%), “half” – six (20%), “less than half” – four (13.3%). The results show that while Russian immigrants do form some friendship connections with other ethnic groups, the majority of their friends are other immigrants from the former Soviet Union. In other words, diasporic connections exist among immigrants that can positively influence Russian language use and retention. No correlations with other variables have been observed for this parameter.

Question 41, “When you visit Russian-speaking friends (or have them over), how much Russian do you speak?” In response to this question, 24 (80%) people answered “always”, four (13.3%) – “often”, two (6.7%) – “half the time”. As the results demonstrate, Russian speaking immigrants in Saskatchewan do speak Russian with their friends.

“Language spoken with friends when visiting them” correlates positively with many other parameters of language use: “Russian is a sole family language”, $r(30) = .465$, $p = .009$; “language preferred by children”, $r(30) = .467$, $p = .009$; “children’s preferred language reported by parents”, $r(29) = .618$, $p = .000$; “language spoken by parents to their children outside of home”, $r(28) = .505$, $p = .006$; “language spoken by mothers to their children”, $r(28) = .454$, $p = .015$; “language partners speak to their children at home”, $r(28) = .591$, $p = .001$ and outside of home, $r(28) = .537$, $p = .003$; “parents’ language use with children”, $r(27) = .418$, $p = .030$; and “language spoken to partners”, $r(29) = .513$, $p = .004$.

“Language spoken with friends when visiting them” also correlates positively with the following parents’ responses to the statements: “It is important to know Russian for communication with relatives in Russian-speaking countries”, $r(30) = .409$, $p = .025$; and “I am sorry for people with Russian-speaking background who cannot speak Russian”, $r(30) = .439$, $p = .015$.

The results show that speaking Russian with friends at their home is related to using it with family and children’s language preference.

Question 42, “What language do you speak to your Russian-speaking friends outside of home?” According to results shown in the Table 4 below, Russian is always used by 24 (80%) people, two (6.7%) respondents use mostly Russian, three (10%) reported using it half the time, and one (3.3%) person speaks it rarely.

The results show that the use of Russian with friends does not depend on the domain of use: participants use Russian while talking with their Russian-speaking friends both inside and outside of home environment (Ref Table 4 below).

Table 4*Frequency of Russian spoken by parents to children*

How often do you speak Russian with your friends...	always	Often	Half the time	Rarely	never	Total
...at home?	24(80%)	4(%)	2(6.6%)	0	0	30
...outside?	24(80%)	2(6.6%)	3 (10%)	1 (3.3%)	0	30

Similarly to the use of Russian with friends inside home, the use of Russian with friends outside home correlates with other parameters of language use and with some language attitudes parameters. “Language spoken by parents with friends outside” correlates positively with “Russian being sole family language presently”, $r(30) = .377, p = .040$, and in parents’ childhood, $r(30) = .430, p = .018$; “language spoken by parents to children outside of home”, $r(28) = .433, p = .021$; “language partners speak to children at home”, $r(28) = .477, p = .010$, and outside of home, $r(28) = .456, p = .015$; “children’s favorite language”, $r(30) = .642, p = .000$; and parents’ report that their “children like to speak Russian”, $r(29) = .824, p = .000$. The results suggest that in addition to family language use, parents are also more likely to speak Russian outside if it was the only language in their childhood.

Question 47 asked respondents to state what language they spoke to other Russian speakers. Possible answers included “only Russian”, “mostly Russian”, “half Russian - half English”, “mostly English”, “only English”. 29 people answered the question. 19 (65.5%) participants use only Russian, and nine (31%) – mostly Russian. “Half Russian – half English” had the lowest percentage – 3.4% (n=1).

The answers indicate that parents are less likely to speak Russian to other people than friends. This may be influenced by norms of communication in the majority language environment or presence of other people around.

“Language spoken by parents to other Russian speakers” correlates positively with “language spoken to children outside of home”, $r(24) = .516, p = .010$; “frequency of replying in Russian by children”, $r(29) = .388, p = .037$; “children’s understanding of Russian reported by parents”, $r(29) = .418, p = .024$; “frequency of children’s communication with Russian-speaking friends”, $r(29) = .479, p = .009$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by children”, $r(29) = .465, p = .011$, and by parents, $r(29) = .516, p = .004$; and parents’ opinion that their “children are involved into Russian-speaking environment enough”, $r(29) = .494, p = .006$.

According to the results, language spoken by parents to other Russian speakers correlates with language use in family, children’s understanding of Russian, and exposure to linguoculture.

Language spoken to other Russian speakers

Question 51, “How often do you communicate with other Russian speakers?” displays the following distribution of responses. Twenty nine parents answered this question. Of these 29 responses, 11 (37.9%) indicated their use of Russian “daily”, nine (31%) – “few times a week”, eight (27.6%) – “1-2 times a week”, and one (3.4%) – “1-2 times a month”. Thus, most respondents have regular opportunities of communicating in Russian with other speakers of the language.

“Frequency of communicating with other Russian speakers” correlates positively with “number of children’s Russian-speaking friends”, $r(29) = .381, p = .041$; “language parents want the children to know better”, $r(29) = .368, p = .049$; and parents’ answer that “it is important to know Russian to participate in Russian community”, $r(27) = .385, p = .047$. There is a negative correlation between “frequency of communicating with other Russian speakers” and “length of living out of home country”, $r(29) = -.456, p = .013$. It appears to

make perfect sense that parents who want their children to know Russian better, also want to participate in the Russian community activities, make sure that children have enough Russian speaking friends (by keeping regular contact with other Russian speaking families). However, the longer immigrants stay in Canada, the less frequent become their contacts with other Russian families, probably because they develop more connections in other ethnic groups due to work and other activities.

3.2.2 Language use by children outside family (reported by parents)

Communication with friends by children

Question 18, asked “How many Russian-speaking friends does your child have?” According to parents’ responses to this question, one child (3.3%) does not have any, 13 (43.3%) have 1 to 5 friends, 12 (40%) have 5-10 friends, three (10%) have 10 to 15, and one (3.3%) report indicates more than 20. In other words, most children in the sample group (97%) have a few Russian speaking friends.

“Number of children’s Russian-speaking friends” correlates positively with “frequency of communication with children’s Russian-speaking friends”, $r(30) = .491, p = .006$; with better Russian quality (parents cannot trace the influence of English when children speak Russian), $r(30) = .465, p = .010$; “self-reported fluency in Russian”, $r(30) = .540, p = .002$; measured proficiency in Russian”, $r(30) = .465, p = .010$; “frequency of communication with Russian speakers by parents”, $r(29) = .381, p = .041$; and parents’ responses to the statement “Knowledge of French is more important than Russian in Canada for my child”, $r(30) = .551, p = .002$.

It should be noted that the ability to speak the minority language with peers is related to Russian proficiency parameters.

In answer to Question 19, “How often does your child communicate with Russian-speaking friends?”, 29 responses were obtained as follows: nine (31%) “once or twice per month”, eight (27.6%) –“once or twice per week”, eight (27.6%) “few times a week”, and four (13.8%) children meet their Russian friends “daily”. The report indicates that all children meet friends regularly, as no one selected “once or twice per year” option.

“Frequency of children’s communication with Russian-speaking friends” correlates positively with “browsing websites in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .510, p = .004$; “language spoken with other Russian speakers”, $r(29) = .479, p = .009$; and parents’ responses to the statement “One needs to know Russian to participate in Russian Culture”, $r(29) = .423, p = .022$.

It is interesting that speaking with peers is connected to higher rates of Russian Internet browsing as well as parental language attitudes parameters.

Amount of Russian spoken by children to their friends

Twenty eight parents answered Question 20, “How much Russian does your child speak to Russian-speaking friends?” Three (10.7%) parents responded “rarely”, seven (25%) –“half the time”, seven more (25%) – “often”, and 11 (39.3%) –“always”. The results show that most children tend to speak both Russian and English to their Russian-speaking friends, although with different frequency.

“Amount of Russian spoken by children with Russian-speaking friends” correlates positively with “amount of watching TV in Russian”, $r(28) = .626, p = .000$; better Russian quality (parents cannot trace the influence of English when children speak Russian), $r(28) = .410, p = .030$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by parents”, $r(28) = .503, p = .006$; “children’s willingness to go to Russia (Russian-speaking country)”, $r(26) = .497, p = .010$; and “knowing a Russian song by child”, $r(23) = .470, p = .024$. There is a negative

correlation between “amount of Russian spoken by children with Russian-speaking friends” and “parents’ English fluency”, $r(28) = -.385, p = .043$.

“Amount of Russian spoken by children with Russian-speaking friends” also correlates positively with the following parents’ attitudes parameters: “It is important for my child to be a part of Russian community”, $r(28) = .442, p = .019$; “I want my child to marry Russian speaker”, $r(28) = .427, p = .024$; “It is important to know Russian to participate in Russian community”, $r(17) = .487, p = .047$. There is a negative correlation with parents’ responses to the statements “It is more important to know English than Russian for my child in Canada”, $r(28) = -.384, p = .044$; and “Knowledge of French is more important than Russian in Canada for my child”, $r(28) = -.373, p = .050$.

To summarize, the amount of Russian spoken with peers is connected with the TV watching in the family, interest in going to Russia, Russian language quality and knowledge of Russian songs as well as multiple parents’ linguistic attitudes parameters.

3.2.3 Language use by children outside family (self-reported by children)

Communication with Russian-speaking friends

Question 11 asked children if they had Russian-speaking friends. Twenty eight of them replied ‘yes’, and only two – ‘no’.

Question 12 asked children participants how many friends they had. Answers were provided by all who answered ‘yes’ to the previous question ($n=28$). Thirteen (46.4%) reported having “less than 5 friends”, 12 (42.9%) participants – “5 to 10 friends”, two (7.1%) – “10-15 friends”, and one (3.6%) – “15-20”. It is interesting to note that parents’ and children’s answers do not match.

“Number of children’s friends” correlates positively with “attending institutions in Russian-speaking countries in the past”, $r(28) = .408, p = .031$; and “amount of Russian

spoken to friends self-reported by children”, $r(28) = .393, p = .038$. The results suggest that number of friends is connected to former and present exposure to linguoculture.

Question 13, “How often do you see your Russian-speaking friends?” Of 19 replies five (26.3%) told that they were meeting “daily”, two (10.5%) – “few times a week”, nine (47.4%) – “once or twice per week”, three (15.8%) – “once or twice per month”. These results are very similar to parents’ answers.

There is a positive correlation between “frequency of meeting Russian-speaking friends” and “children born in Canada”, $r(26) = .464, p = .017$. It means that Children born in Canada meet Russian-speaking friends more often than those born in Russian-speaking countries. This may be explained by parents’ concern about maintenance of the Russian language.

Question 14 asked children how often they spoke Russian to their Russian-speaking friends. Possible answers were “always”, “often”, “half the time”, “rarely” and “never”. Of 28 replies 19 (67.9%) children “always” speak Russian, three (10.7%) – “often”, one (3.6%) – “half the time”, two (7.1%) – “rarely”, and three (10.7%) – “never”. Interestingly, three children reported “never” using Russian and more reported using it “often”. Either children tend to generalize based on which language is spoken more often, or parents are not fully aware of the situation.

Positive correlation is found between “number of friends reported by children” and “amount of Russian spoken to friends”, $r(28) = .393, p = .038$. In other words, children tend to speak Russian to friends if they meet them more often.

In general, the responses by parents and children in terms of numbers of Russian friends and regularity and amount of communication in Russian with them are very similar, which points to the truthfulness of responses by both parents and children as well as to a good knowledge of their children’s peer activities by parents.

3.3 Exposure to linguoculture

3.3.1 Children's exposure to linguoculture (reported by parents)

Attending Russian language-related organizations

Question 23, "Does your child attend any Russian language-related organizations?" Of 12 cases when the answer to the question was "yes", nine children attended Russian heritage language school (75%), two -- dance (16.7%), and one -- music lessons (8.3%) with Russian-speaking teacher. It is important to point out that overall, less than half of the children in the sample attended activities in Russian language-related organizations in Saskatoon.

"Attending Russian language-related organizations" correlates negatively with "parents' frequency of codeswitching", $r(29) = -.494$, $p = .006$; and "child being born in Canada", $r(30) = -.515$, $p = .004$. Children attend such organizations when they came to Canada at later age, $r(30) = .515$, $p = .004$; parents speak Russian to children at home more often, $r(29) = .369$, $p = .049$; "frequency of reading in Russian by parents to their children" is higher, $r(30) = .378$, $p = .039$; parents live longer in Canada, $r(30) = .478$, $p = .008$; parents' think that their child is "involved enough into Russian-speaking environment", $r(30) = .384$, $p = .036$; "frequency of speaking Russian by fathers, as reported by children" is higher, $r(30) = .366$, $p = .046$; and higher "frequency of speaking Russian by siblings reported by children", $r(19) = .465$, $p = .045$.

Visiting a Russian-speaking country by children

Question 24, "Has your child been to a Russian-speaking country? If "yes", how many times?" was answered positively by 25 parents out of 30. Ten children had gone to Russia once (either born or visiting), four children – twice, nine – three times, and three

people did not answer this part of the question. In other words, only about ½ of the children visited a Russian-speaking country from Canada.

Children who have been to a Russian-speaking country are more likely to be girls, $r(30) = .365$, $p = .047$; and parents are more likely to agree that “it is important to know Russian to participate in Russian community”, $r(29) = .567$, $p = .001$.

“Number of times children went to a Russian-speaking country” correlates positively with “children’s reading proficiency in Russian reported by parents”, $r(28) = .376$, $p = .049$; “frequency of reading in Russian by parents to their children”, $r(30) = .400$, $p = .029$; and parents’ responses to the statement that “it is important to know Russian to participate in Russian community”, $r(29) = .569$, $p = .001$.

Visiting the home country appears to be beneficial for language proficiency.

Children’s linguocultural activities in Russian

Other linguocultural activities (addressed in Questions 25-29) are presented in Table 5 below. As Table 5 demonstrates, most children in the sample are exposed to reading Russian, listening to Russian books read to them, listening to Russian music and watching Russian TV.

However, children rarely browse Russian internet. Since all the children are fluent in English and learnt to use the computers mostly in Canada, they probably prefer to browse the web in English.

Table 5*Children's linguocultural activities in Russian*

Activities in Russian:	Daily	Few times a week	1-2 times a week	1-2 times a month	1-2 times a year	Never	Total
My child reads R	1	6	4	3	0	3	17
I read in R to my child	9	7	6	5	1	2	30
My child listens to R music	6	10	8	4	1	1	30
My child watches R TV	17	3	7	3	0	0	30
My child browses the R Internet	6	3	3	2	4	12	30

“Frequency of reading in Russian by children” (Question 25) correlates positively with “importance for parents that their children can speak Russian”, $r(17) = .668$, $p = .003$; and “frequency of following news in Russian-speaking countries”, $r(17) = .566$, $p = .018$.

Regular reading in Russian is more likely by those children, whose parents feel attached to their language and home country.

“Frequency of reading in Russian by parents to their children” (Question 26) correlates positively with “frequency of replying in Russian by children to their parents”, $r(30) = .363$, $p = .049$; “attending of Russian language-related organizations”, $r(30) = .378$, $p = .039$; “number of times going to a Russian-speaking country”, $r(30) = .400$, $p = .029$; “level of importance for parents that their children speak Russian”, $r(30) = .407$, $p = .025$; parents’ responses to the statements that “one needs to know Russian to participate in Russian culture”, $r(29) = .398$, $p = .033$; and “children’s ability to recite a poem in Russian”, $r(28) = .389$, $p = .041$.

The results show that “frequency of reading in Russian by parents to their children” is related to “taking child to a Russian-speaking country”, “attending of Russian language-

related organizations”, and positive towards Russian language attitudinal replies by parents. In return, if parents read in Russian to children more often, their effort to preserve the Russian language is successful: children also reply in Russian more often and are able to recite a poem in Russian.

“Frequency of listening to Russian music by children” (Question 27) correlates positively with “frequency children browse websites in Russian (reported by parents)”, $r(30) = .411, p = .024$; “children’s favorite language”, $r(30) = .366, p = .047$.

“Frequency of listening to Russian music by children” also correlates positively with the following parents’ responses to the statements: “I want my child to marry Russian speaker”, $r(30) = .445, p = .014$; “It is important to know Russian to participate in Russian community”, $r(29) = .481, p = .008$; and “It is important for my child to get an exposure to Russian culture”, $r(30) = .405, p = .026$.

The results suggest that listening to Russian music is related to other linguocultural activities and children’s language preference. Parents’ attitudes also play an important role in doing this activity.

“Frequency of watching TV in Russian by children” (Question 28) correlates positively with “language spoken by parents to children outside of home”, $r(28) = .655, p = .000$; “language spoken by parents”, $r(28) = .523, p = .004$; “language spoken by partners to children at home”, $r(28) = .484, p = .009$, and outside of home, $r(28) = .409, p = .031$; “language spoken by both parents”, $r(27) = .589, p = .001$; “language spoken by children siblings at home”, $r(21) = .778, p = .000$, and outside of home, $r(21) = .753, p = .000$; “children’s level of understanding” ($r(30) = .474, p = .008$) and “speaking Russian” ($r(28) = .570, p = .002$) reported by parents; “amount of Russian children speak to their friends”, $r(28) = .626, p = .000$; parents’ report that their “children like to speak Russian”, $r(29) = .471, p = .010$; “language spoken by children to themselves when playing”, $r(30) = .592, p = .001$;

“frequency of browsing websites in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .536, p = .002$; “quality of Russian spoken by children (parents’ report that they cannot trace influence of English when their children speak)”, $r(30) = .479, p = .007$; “frequency of watching movies in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = .618, p = .000$; “language spoken by parents with other Russian speakers”, $r(29) = .465, p = .011$; and “language spoken better self-reported by children”, $r(29) = .381, p = .042$. There is a negative correlation between frequency of watching TV in Russian by children and parents’ English fluency, $r(30) = -.583, p = .001$.

“Frequency of watching TV in Russian” also correlates positively with the following attitudinal parameters, i.e., parents’ responses to the statements: “I want my child to marry a Russian speaker”, $r(30) = .448, p = .013$; and “It is important to know Russian to participate in Russian community”, $r(29) = .394, p = .034$.

The results show a huge connection between watching TV in Russian by children and many other aspects: language use in family and outside of family, children’s language proficiency, parents’ and children’s language attitudes, and other linguocultural activities. However, this may depend on parents’ fluency in English: parents who do not know English will continue using Russian throughout all aspects of life.

“Frequency of browsing websites in Russian by children” (Question 29) correlates positively with “frequency of children’s replies in Russian when addressed by parents”, $r(30) = .376, p = .040$; “children’s understanding reported by parents”, $r(30) = .361, p = .049$; “children’s speaking proficiency reported by parents”, $r(28) = .518, p = .005$; “frequency of children’s communication with Russian friends”, $r(30) = .510, p = .004$; “attending Russian language-related organizations”, $r(30) = .472, p = .033$; “frequency of listening to Russian music by children”, $r(30) = .411, p = .024$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .536, p = .002$; “frequency of reading books in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = .389, p = .034$; “frequency of reading Russian newspapers and magazines in Russian by

parents”, $r(30) = .379$, $p = .039$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = .424$, $p = .019$; and parents’ responses to the statement “I want my child to marry a Russian speaker”, $r(30) = .421$, $p = .021$. There is a negative correlation between “frequency of browsing websites in Russian by children” and “parents’ English fluency”, $r(30) = -.464$, $p = .010$.

Although very few children browse Russian websites frequently, this activity also seems to be important in maintaining heritage language nowadays: there is connection with exposure to linguoculture, children’s language proficiency, and parents’ attitudes. Again, when parents are not fluent in English, children are more likely to visit websites in Russian.

Overall, children’s linguocultural activities in Russian (questions 25-29) are connected to all aspects of language maintenance: language use, attitudes, and proficiency of both parents and children.

Parents’ level of satisfaction with the immersion of their children in Russian-speaking environment

Parents’ level of satisfaction with the immersion of their children in Russian-speaking environment was addressed in Question 35, “Do you think your child is involved enough in Russian-speaking environment?” The majority of respondents ($n=17$) answered “no”, clearly demonstrating their dissatisfaction with the insufficient amount of Russian milieu.

Parents’ opinion that their children are sufficiently immersed into Russian-speaking environment correlates positively with “frequency children reply in Russian to their parents”, $r(30) = .420$, $p = .21$; “attending Russian language-related organizations”, $r(30) = .384$, $p = .036$; “level of importance for parents that their children speak Russian”, $r(30) = .396$, $p = .030$; “language spoken by parents with other Russian speakers”, $r(29) = .494$, $p = .006$;

“children’s spoken Russian language proficiency reported by parents”, $r(28) = .393$, $p = .039$; and “language spoken by fathers, as reported by children”, $r(30) = .397$, $p = .030$.

The results indicate that there is bigger chance that parents are satisfied with Russian-speaking environment when children speak Russian well, attend classes in Russian, and Russian is used in the family.

The cultural priorities by parents

When asked “What elements of Russian culture do you want your child to know” (Question 37), 24 parents provided answers, the most frequent of which were “literature” (13 replies, 54.2%), “music/songs” (9 replies, 37.5%), “language” (4 replies, 16.7%), “dance” (3 replies, 12.5%), “movies” (3 replies, 12.5%), “all” (3 replies, 12.5%), “cartoons” (2 replies, 8.3%), “traditions” (2 replies, 8.3%), “history” (2 replies, 8.3%), “folklore (2 replies, 8.3%), “I do not try to teach” (2 replies, 8.3%). Among those mentioned only once were “holidays”, “ballet”, “cuisine”, “games”, “daily routine”, “art”, and “basics.” The results show that parents mostly want their children to know language-related elements, such as literature and music/songs.

3.3.2 Children’s exposure to linguoculture (self-reported by children)

Frequency of linguocultural activities in Russian

Question 16 asked participating children how often they read in Russian. Seven (53.8%) participants reported reading in Russian “daily”, three (23.1%) – “few times a week”, three (23.1%) – “once or twice a week”. Parents’ answers were very different, e.g. majority of children reported “daily”, while only one parent selected this option in answer to the same question.

Question 17 asked children how often their parents read to them. Of 29 replies, 10 (34.5%) were “daily”, 10 (34.5%) – “few times a week”, two (6.9%) – “1-2 times per week”, three (10.3%) – “1-2 times per month”, four (13.8%) – “1-2 times per year”. The results show that most children have their parents read to them at least once a week, and according to parents’ replies, it is true.

Question 18 was about frequency of listening to Russian songs. Twenty nine children answered this question. The answers were as follows: two (6.9%) respondents listen to Russian songs “daily”, 12 (41.4%) – “few times a week”, 13 (44.8%) – “1-2 times a month”, two (6.9%) – “1-2 times per year”. The results suggest that this linguocultural activity is less popular. Children and parents provided similar answers to the question about listening to music..

Question 19 asked about frequency of watching cartoons in Russian. Of 28 replies, 17 (60.7%) were “daily”, five (17.9%) – “few times a week”, three (10.7%) – “1-2 times per week”, two (7.1%) – “once or twice per year”, one (3.6%) – “never”. Not surprisingly, watching cartoons is the most popular activity among children. Parents’ and children’s answers to this question are well matched.

Question 21 asked how often children browse Russian websites. Of 27 answers three (11.1%) were “daily”, three (11.1%) – “once or twice a week”, 21 (77.8%) – “once or twice per year”. This activity is performed the least frequently, judging from the answers of both children and parents. No correlations are found with this parameter.

Playing computer games in Russian by children

Question 22 asked if participants played computer games in Russian. 30 children answered this question, 14 (46.7%) said “yes”, 16 (53.3%) – “no”. In other words, about half

children play computer games in Russian. This parameter did not correlate with any other parameters.

Visiting a Russian-speaking country by children

Question 23 asked children if they had been to a Russian-speaking country. Out of 28 replies 23 (82.1%) were “yes”, five (17.9%) – “no”. Parents’ answers to the same question are matching. The results indicate that most children have been to a Russian-speaking country, which means that parents want their children to stay connected with Russian family, language, and culture. No correlations are observed.

Ability to recite a poem or sing a song in Russian by children

Question 28 and 29 asked children to recite a poem and sing a song in Russian. 11 (36.7%) were able to recite a poem, 12 (40%) sang a song. These results indicate a low exposure of children to the minority linguoculture as compared to their monolingual peers in Russian-speaking countries.

“Ability to recite a poem” correlates positively with “frequency of reading in Russian by parents to children”, $r(28) = .389, p = .041$; and “level of importance for parents that their children speak Russian”, $r(28) = .395, p = .038$. There is a negative correlation between “ability to recite a poem in Russian” and parents’ response to statement “Knowledge of French is more important than Russian in Canada for my child”, $r(28) = -.385, p = .043$.

A positive correlation is found between “ability to sing a song in Russian” and “frequency of reading books in Russian by parents”, $r(28) = .406, p = .032$.

The results show that if parents read in Russian to children, they “get back” positive results. Parents’ attitudes also play an important role in children’s ability to sing a song/recite a poem in Russian.

3.3.3 Parents' exposure to Russian linguoculture (self-reported)

Frequency of linguocultural activities in Russian by parents

Question 43, "How often do you read books in Russian?" Seven (23.3%) people report reading every day, eight (26.7%) read books in Russian few times a week, three (10%) – one or twice a week, five (16.7%) read once or twice a month, five (16.7%) – once or twice a year, and two (6.7%) do not read books in Russian at all. In other words, reading books in Russian is a popular activity for about half of the parents.

"Frequency of reading books in Russian" correlates positively with "parents' language use with children", $r(27) = .427, p = .026$; "frequency of browsing websites in Russian by children", $r(30) = .389, p = .034$; parents' report that their "children like to speak Russian", $r(29) = .475, p = .045$; "language spoken to partners", $r(29) = .425, p = .021$; "children's reading speed in Russian", $r(29) = .368, p = .049$; and "children's ability to sing in Russian", $r(28) = .406, p = .032$. There is a negative correlation between "reading books in Russian" and "English fluency", $r(30) = -.436, p = .016$.

The results suggest that parents who read books in Russian succeed in passing the love to Russian language and culture to their children. At the same time, they are more likely to speak Russian to partners and less likely to be fluent in English.

Question 44 asked respondents whether they read Russian magazines and newspapers and how often. Three people (10%) answered "daily", four (13.3%) – "few times a week", six (20%) – "1-2 times a week", five (16.6%) – "1-2 times a month", and the rest 12 (40%) participants never read newspapers or magazines in Russian. This is a less popular activity among parents, particularly because there are no newspapers or magazines in Russian available for purchase in paper copy in Saskatchewan.

There is a positive correlation between "frequency of reading magazines and newspapers in Russian" and "frequency of browsing websites in Russian by children", $r(30)$

= .379, $p = .039$. One explanation of such correlation can be that those parents who read the newspapers and magazines online, know the resources and can find websites for children as well.

Question 45 asked how often participants watch movies in Russian. Of the total number of 30 responses 11 (36.6%) respondents marked “daily”, seven (23.3%) – “few times a week”, two (6.6%) – “1-2 times a week”, six (20%) – “1-2 times a month”, three (10%) – “1-2 times a year”, and one (3.3%) – “never”. Like for children, for parents this activity is the most popular too.

“Frequency of watching movies in Russian” correlates positively with “frequency of replying in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .594$, $p = .001$; “children’s understanding of Russian reported by parents”, $r(30) = .536$, $p = .002$; “children’s Russian speaking proficiency reported by parents”, $r(28) = .542$, $p = .003$; “language spoken by children to themselves when playing”, $r(30) = .522$, $p = .003$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .618$, $p = .000$; “frequency of browsing websites in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .424$, $p = .019$; “children’s quality of Russian (parents’ report that they can trace influence of English when their children speak Russian)”, $r(30) = .397$, $p = .030$; “language spoken by parents with other Russian speakers”, $r(29) = .516$, $p = .004$; “language spoken to partners”, $r(29) = .499$, $p = .006$; “language spoken to children outside of home”, $r(28) = .534$, $p = .003$; “language spoken by mothers”, $r(28) = .542$, $p = .003$; “language partners speak to children at home”, $r(28) = .609$, $p = .001$, and outside of home, $r(28) = .592$, $p = .001$; “parents’ language use with children”, $r(27) = .408$, $p = .035$; “language use with siblings at home”, $r(21) = .817$, $p = .000$, and outside of home, $r(21) = .856$, $p = .000$; and “amount of Russian children speak with their friends”, $r(28) = .503$, $p = .006$. “Frequency of watching movies in Russian by parents” also correlates positively with the parents’ responses to the following statements: “I want my child to marry a Russian speaker”, $r(30) = .482$, $p =$

.007; and “I am sorry for people with Russian background who do not know Russian”, $r(30) = .453, p = .012$. “Frequency of watching movies in Russian by parents” correlates negatively with their “English fluency”, $r(30) = -.410, p = .024$; and parents’ responses that “It is more important to know English than Russian for my child in Canada”, $r(30) = -.454, p = .012$; and “Knowledge of French is more important than Russian in Canada for my child”, $r(30) = -.389, p = .033$.

Parents who watch movies in Russian frequently are likely to have positive attitudes toward Russian language and culture, they also use Russian at and outside home more often. Just like watching TV in Russian by children, this parameter seems to be beneficial for children’s Russian. Watching movies in Russian by parents is connected to language children’s use, proficiency, and exposure to linguoculture.

Question 46 asked respondents how often they followed the news in Russian-speaking countries. The results showed that 13 (43.3%) follow the news “daily”, five (16.6%) – “few times a week”, two (6.6%) – “1-2 times a week”, eight (26.6%) – “1-2 times a month”, and two (6.6%) – “1-2 times a year”. It appears that most parents are interested in knowing what is going on in their homecountry.

“Frequency of following news in Russian-speaking countries” correlates positively with “amount of friends they have”, $r(30) = .363, p = .049$; “frequency of watching movies in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = .487, p = .006$; “language spoken to children outside of home”, $r(28) = .518, p = .005$; and “language spoken by parents”, $r(28) = .385, p = .043$. Following news in Russian-speaking countries is connected solely to parents’ language use and exposure, but not children’s. “Frequency of following news in Russian-speaking countries” correlates negatively with “frequency of reading in Russian by children”, $r(17) = -.566, p = .018$, which is unexpected.

Parents’ linguocultural activities in Russian are summarized in the Table 6 below:

Table 6*Parents' activities in Russian*

Frequency of activities in Russian	Daily	Few times a week	1-2 times a week	1-2 times a month	1-2 times a year	Never	Total (100%)
Reading books	7 (23.3%)	8 (26.6%)	3 (10%)	5 (16.6%)	5 (16.6%)	2 (6.6%)	30
Reading magazines and newspapers	3 (10%)	4 (13.3%)	6 (20%)	5 (16.6%)	0	12 (40%)	30
Watching movies	11 (36.6%)	7 (23.3%)	2 (6.6%)	6 (20%)	3 (10%)	1 (3.3%)	30
Following news in R-speaking countries	13 (43.3%)	5 (16.6%)	2 (6.6%)	8 (26.6%)	2 (6.6%)	0	30

Overall, parents are interested in continuing Russian lifestyle in Canada. However, many of them seem to rather integrate, mixing the two cultures.

3.4 Language proficiency**3.4.1 Parents' language proficiency (self-reported)***Parents' language proficiency*

Question 49 and 50 asked participants about their proficiency in Russian and English languages. The results are reflected in Table 7:

Table 7*Parents' language knowledge*

Language knowledge	Native speaker	Excellent	Good	Poor	Don't know the language	Total (100%)
English	5 (16.6%)	6 (20%)	12 (40%)	10 (33.3%)	0	30
Russian	20 (66.6%)	9 (30%)	1 (3.3%)	0	0	30

The results indicate that most parents are completely comfortable with Russian language but not highly fluent in English.

There is a positive correlation between “parents’ English fluency” and “language spoken better by children”, $r(29) = .565, p = .001$. “English fluency” correlates negatively with “frequency of replying in Russian by children”, $r(30) = -.399, p = .029$; “language spoken by children to themselves when playing”, $r(30) = -.623, p = .000$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by children”, $r(30) = -.583, p = .001$, and by parents, $r(30) = -.410, p = .024$; “frequency of browsing websites in Russian by children”, $r(30) = -.464, p = .010$; “better quality of Russian (parents’ report that they cannot trace influence of English when children speak Russian)”, $r(30) = -.541, p = .002$; “frequency of reading books in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = -.436, p = .016$; “language spoken to partners”, $r(29) = -.419, p = .024$; “parents’ report that their children like to speak Russian”, $r(29) = -.498, p = .006$; “language partners speak to children at home”, $r(28) = -.511, p = .005$, and outside of home, $r(28) = -.488, p = .008$; “parents’ language use with children”, $r(27) = -.445, p = .020$; “language use with siblings at home”, $r(21) = -.569, p = .007$, and outside of home, $r(21) = -.542, p = .011$; and “amount of Russian children speak to their friends”, $r(28) = -.385, p = .043$.

“Parents’ Russian fluency” correlates negatively with “language partners speak to children at home”, $r(28) = -.434, p = .021$, and outside of home, $r(28) = -.392, p = .039$; “number of children’s Russian-speaking friends”, $r(30) = -.540, p = .002$; and “parents’ report that they can trace influence of English in their children”, $r(30) = -.502, p = .005$.

Based on the correlations, parents’ lower English and higher Russian fluency lead to higher use of Russian in and outside of family, higher frequency of linguocultural activities in Russian, and higher Russian proficiency performed by children.

Codeswitching by parents

Question 48 asked the frequency of codeswitching, 29 participants replied to this question. The results revealed that all parents use English words when speaking Russian: 12

(41.4%) reported to codeswitch “daily”, nine (31%) – “few times a week”, seven (24.1%) – “once or twice a week”, and only one (3.4%) – “1-2 times a month”.

There is a negative correlation between “parents’ frequency of codeswitching” and “attending Russian language-related organizations by children”, $r(29) = -.494, p = .006$. “Frequency of codeswitching” correlates positively with parents’ responses to the following statements: “Knowledge of French is more important than Russian in Canada for my child”, $r(29) = .387, p = .038$; and “It is important to know Russian for communication with relatives in Russian-speaking countries”, $r(29) = .389, p = .037$.

The results suggest that parents who codeswitch more are less likely have their children attend classes in Russian and tend to have preference rather towards French than Russian. At the same time, they consider it important to know Russian for connection with relatives who cannot speak English.

3.4.2 Childrens’ language proficiency (reported by parents)

Parents’ estimation of children’s language proficiency

Answers to Question 17 provided parents’ reports of their child’s language proficiency (Table 8).

Table 8*Reported child's language proficiency*

My child	Like a native speaker	Excellent	Good	Poor	Does not	Total answers
a) Understands Russian	7	12	10	1	0	30
b) Speaks Russian	4	14	5	4	1	28
c) Reads Russian	2	3	4	5	14	28
d) Writes Russian	1	2	3	10	12	28

Parents reported that most children are not native speaker-like in any aspect of Russian but are more likely to understand and speak it well, rather than read or write.

“Children’s understanding of Russian reported by parents” correlates positively with “language spoken by parents”, $r(28) = .620, p = .000$; “language spoken by both parents to their children”, $r(28) = .506, p = .006$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by child”, $r(30) = .474, p = .008$; “frequency of browsing websites in Russian”, $r(30) = .361, p = .050$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = .536, p = .002$; “language spoken by parents to other Russian speakers”, $r(29) = .418, p = .024$; and parents’ response that “it is more important to know English than Russian for their children in Canada”, $r(30) = .453, p = .012$.

“Children’s spoken Russian proficiency reported by parents” correlates positively with “language spoken by parents”, $r(25) = .620, p = .001$; “language spoken by both parents to their children”, $r(23) = .588, p = .003$; “amount of Russian children speak to their Russian-speaking friends”, $r(27) = .398, p = .040$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by child”, r

(28) = .570, $p = .002$; “frequency of browsing websites in Russian by child”, $r(28) = .518$, $p = .005$; and “frequency of watching TV in Russian by parents”, $r(28) = .542$, $p = .003$. “Children’s spoken Russian proficiency reported by parents” also correlates positively with the following parents’ attitudinal parameters: child is involved enough into Russian-speaking environment, $r(28) = .393$, $p = .039$; “It is important to know Russian to participate in Russian community”, $r(16) = .514$, $p = .042$; and “It is more important to know English than Russian for my child in Canada”, $r(28) = .508$, $p = .006$.

Parents report that children like to speak Russian

In answer to Question 21, “Does your child like to speak Russian?”, 26 (89.7%) out of 29 parents answered “yes”. In other words, most parents feel positive about their children’s Russian.

Children’s quality of Russian

In response to Question 30, “Can you trace influence of the English language when you child speaks Russian?”, 19 people answered “yes”, and some of them gave examples:

- “Sentence structure is often like in English” was expressed by five parents.
- “Replacement by English words” was shared by six respondents with examples like: «Мама, смотри grasshopper» (“Mom, look *grasshopper*”); «можно положу в покет?» (“Can I put it in *pocket*?”).
- Three participants reported literal translation from English: «Это было когда мы передвинулись» (“It was when we moved”); «я переменила свое сознание» (“I changed my mind”); «Как ты знаешь?» (“How do you know?”).

- Speaking with English accent, “despite she was growing in a Russian family”, was reported by two parents.
- Two parents did not find any influence of English, because their children had “little English practice”.
- Other comments included: “Во время последнего посещения СПб начал говорить по-русски, после возвращения говорил 1-2 дня со всеми по-русски, потом перешел на английский” (“During the last visit to Saint Petersburg he started speak Russian, after coming back he spoke Russian to everyone for 1-2 days, then he switched to English”); “С русскоговорящими детьми говорит по английски” (“He speaks English to Russian-speaking children”); “Сложности со склонением сущ. и прилагат., ударениями” (“Difficulties with declension of nouns and adjectives, with stress”), “intonation”, and “pronunciation”.

These examples are very common for bilingual children around the world, as reported in other studies on bilinguals.

“Parents’ report that they cannot trace influence of English” correlates positively with “language partners speak to children at home”, $r(28) = .393$, $p = .038$; “frequency of replying in Russian when addressed by parents”, $r(30) = .457$, $p = .011$; “language spoken by children with siblings at home”, $r(21) = .434$, $p = .049$; “number of children’s Russian-speaking friends”, $r(30) = .465$, $p = .010$; “amount of Russian they speak”, $r(28) = .410$, $p = .030$; “language spoken by children to themselves when playing”, $r(30) = .400$, $p = .029$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .479$, $p = .007$, and by parents, $r(30) = .397$, $p = .030$; “parents’ Russian fluency”, $r(30) = .502$, $p = .005$; and parents’ responses to the statement that “Russian can help their children in life”, $r(30) = .377$, $p =$

.040. There is a negative correlation between “parents’ report that they cannot trace influence of English” and “parents’ English fluency”, $r(30) = -.541, p = .002$.

The results show that children with better Russian use it in and outside of family, and practice linguocultural activities in Russian.

Parents’ concerns about their children’s Russian

Question 34, “Do you have any concerns about your child’s Russian?” Of 25 responses provided, 15 parents expressed their concern, 10 answered “no”, however four of them said “not yet”.

“Presence of concerns” answers correlate positively with the “level of importance for parents that their children speak Russian”, $r(25) = .449, p = .024$; and “favorite children’s language”, $r(25) = .436, p = .029$. “Presence of concerns” entries also correlate positively with the parents’ responses to the statements: “It is important to speak Russian for a person with Russian background”, $r(25) = .408, p = .043$; “Russian can help my child in life”, $r(25) = .408, p = .043$; and “Knowledge of both languages can make a child smarter”, $r(22) = .422, p = .050$. “Presence of concerns” correlates negatively with “attending institutions in Russian-speaking countries by children”, $r(25) = -.408, p = .043$.

In other words, parents who have concerns about their children’s Russian tend to have strong positive attitudes about the Russian language. They typically have such concerns if children did not attend any institutions in Russian-speaking countries. Nevertheless, children of parents with concerns report that they like to speak Russian.

Parents' aims in learning Russian by children

In Question 36, “Your aims in learning Russian by your child, what do you want her/him to be able to do?”, the distribution of answers was the following: “Understand” – seven replies, “speak” – 18 replies, “read” – 26 replies, and “write” – 24 replies.

Some parents were more specific: “To speak grammatically correct, without accent”, “To know alphabet”, “To feel comfortable in Russia, communicate with relatives (grandmothers and grandfathers), use it in the future, if needed”, “To express thoughts correctly”.

Parents' goals for children's language acquisition

In replying to Question 37, “What language do you want your child to know better?”, one (3.3%) parent prefers “Russian”, two (6.7%) choose “English”, and 27 (90%) – “both languages”. It can be clearly seen that vast majority of parents support bilingualism of their children.

“Parents' preferred language spoken better by children” correlates positively with “language spoken by parents to their partners”, $r(29) = .415$, $p = .025$; “frequency of communicating to Russian speakers by parents”, $r(29) = .468$, $p = .049$; “language spoken with siblings at home”, $r(21) = .561$, $p = .008$, and outside of home, $r(21) = .486$, $p = .026$. “Parents' preferred language spoken better by children” also correlates positively with the parents' responses to the statements: “Russian can help my child in life”, $r(30) = .457$, $p = .011$; “Russian can help my child's career”, $r(30) = .476$, $p = .008$; and negatively with “We came to Canada to become Canadians”, $r(30) = -.438$, $p = .015$.

Parents' preferred language is connected to language they use more frequently in family and with friends, their attitudes, and language spoken by children.

3.4.3 Children’s language proficiencies (self-reported)

Languages spoken by children

Question 1 asked participants about languages they speak. Fifteen children (50%) could speak both Russian and English, one (3.3%) – only Russian. Due to different backgrounds and schooling, almost half of the children spoke another language or two in addition to English and/or Russian: seven (23.3%) spoke Russian, English and French; one (3.3%) girl spoke Russian, English, French and Arabic; one (3.3%) spoke Russian, English, French and Ukrainian; two (6.7%) participants knew Russian, English and Ukrainian; one (3.3%) – Russian, English, Ukrainian and Hebrew; and one (3.3%) – Russian and Ukrainian.

Language spoken better by children

Question 4 asked which language respondents spoke better: Russian, English, or both equally. Twenty nine replies were received. Russian was selected by 11 (37.9%) children, English – by nine (31%), both was also chosen by nine (31%). Results show that most children are comfortable with Russian. Since 11 children selected Russian is spoken better, they should speak it like native speakers. However, only four parents indicated native speaker-like Russian spoken by their children. It appears that parents are critical about children’s Russian, or they did not consider the age.

“Russian language spoken better” correlates positively with “length of living in Canada”, $r(29) = .534$, $p = .003$; and “parents’ fluency in English”, $r(29) = .565$, $p = .001$. “Language spoken better” correlates negatively with children being “born in Canada”, $r(29) = -.369$, $p = .049$; and “frequency of watching TV in Russian by children”, $r(29) = -.381$, $p = .042$.

The results indicate that children speak Russian better if they were not born in Canada but live there longer, watch TV in Russian, and parents have better command in English.

Writing skills in Russian by children

Question 10 asked children if they could write in Russian or knew how to write Russian letters. Eighteen children (60%) answered 'yes', 12 (40%) said 'no'. In other words, most children know how to write in Russian. Children were not asked how well they could write but parents' answers match: 12 children and 12 parents said that children could not write in Russian.

Children's understanding in Russian-speaking countries

Question 25 and 26, "Did you understand people when you were in a Russian-speaking country?" and "Did people understand you?" Of 17 answers provided, 16 children answered "yes" to both, one answered "no" to question 25. The results show that most children who have been to a Russian-speaking country can communicate effectively there. These replies are similar to parents' answers about level of understanding Russian by children.

Children's reading proficiency

Interview question 15 asked bilinguals if they could read. Fourteen children answered "yes". Similarly, 14 parents indicated that their children could read in Russian at different levels.

3.4.4 Objective parameters of children's Russian proficiencies (measured)

Children's language performance was measured based on the total number of words produced, vocabulary, total clauses, longest utterance, most clauses in utterance, an average number of words and clauses per utterance, number of complex sentences, number of errors (grammatical, lexical, pronunciation), speech rate, reading rate. Participants' performance was compared to control group of Russian monolinguals.

Reading skills

When asked if they could read in Russian, 14 children replied "yes", however, only 10 of them could demonstrate their skills. Their results ranged from 3 to 87 words per minute, with average of 21 words per minute. To compare, nine out of 14 Russian monolingual children demonstrated their skills, with average of 23.5 words per minute. Therefore, three bilingual children displayed reading skills higher than an average Russian monolingual child.

There is a positive correlation between "reading proficiency" and "frequency of reading in Russian by parents", $r(29) = .368$, $p = .049$. In other words, parents who read to children frequently, instill love to reading to them.

Speech parameters

The results did not show significant difference in total number of words and clauses, vocabulary, longest utterance, most clauses in utterance, number of words and clauses per utterance, and speech rate between the Russo-Canadian bilinguals and Russian monolinguals. However, bilinguals produced 2.5 times more complex sentences and almost 2 times more mistakes than monolinguals. Another big difference was noticed in reading: majority on bilinguals could not read in Russian, while majority of monolinguals was able to do so.

Nevertheless, overall average language score was almost the same for both groups (bilinguals performed 1% better than monolinguals).

The results of both groups are shown in Table 9 below.

Table 9

Compared speech parameters of bilinguals and monolinguals

Relative proficiency unit	Bilingual children	Monolingual children
Total number of words	151.9	141.4
Total vocabulary	65.1	67.2
Total number of clauses	37.9	32.8
Longest utterance	26.8	26
Most clauses in utterance	5.3	4.8
Average number of words per utterance	7.4	7
Average number of clauses per utterance	1.8	1.6
Average number of words per clause	3.7	4.1
Number of complex sentences	1.5	0.6
Total number of errors	4.3	2.2
Speech rate (words per minute)	74.3	71
Reading rate (words per minute)	21	23.5

The transcribed interviews were analyzed. Relative proficiency units indicate average of each criteria measured in each group. For example, 151.9 is the average total number of words produced by bilingual children. “Total vocabulary” indicates number of words that are not repeated in the interview by each child. The answers provided by children were divided into utterances and clauses. Clause was considered as a unit consisting of a

subject and a predicate. Errors produced by the participants were divided into grammatical, lexical, and pronunciation errors. Bilingual children produced more errors of each kind.

Speech rate was analyzed from the recordings. Children spoke only for up to 30 seconds without stopping. Therefore, only speech rate of the longest utterances was measured. Reading rate was also measured from the recordings. Children were asked to read for one minute, the total number of words was counted.

Each of the speech and reading parameters was given a score based on an average value of the parameter for monolingual children. These scores were combined together and thus each child had her/his own language score. On average, bilingual and monolingual children had the same language scores (1% difference).

Bilingual children are likely to speak Russian better if they are girls, $r(30) = .547$, $p = .002$; Russian was the only language in the city in parents' childhood, $r(30) = .435$, $p = .016$; children reply in Russian more often, $r(30) = .459$, $p = .011$; children better understand Russian reported by parents, $r(30) = .591$, $p = .001$; children speak Russian well as reported by parents, $r(28) = .668$, $p = .000$; children read Russian well, as reported by parents, $r(28) = .531$, $p = .004$; children write in Russian well, $r(28) = .649$, $p = .000$; children have more Russian-speaking friends, $r(30) = .465$, $p = .010$; parents want their children to speak Russian better than English, $r(30) = .459$, $p = .011$; parents watch TV in Russian more often, $r(30) = .373$, $p = .043$; children use Russian with siblings at home, $r(21) = .549$, $p = .010$, and outside of home, $r(21) = .547$, $p = .010$; and parents agree with a statement that "It is important to know Russian to participate in Russian community in Canada", $r(29) = .451$, $p = .014$. There is a negative correlation between proficiency and parents' responses to the statement "We came to Canada to become Canadians", $r(30) = .438$, $p = .015$.

The results suggest that at this age parents of bilingual children play crucial role in Russian language maintenance. Their language use, exposure, and attitudes to Russian

language can predict level of Russian language proficiency. It is important to note here that parents report level of their children's Russian adequately.

Other factors that predict children's Russian language proficiency

Parameters that correlate with language proficiency were taken for multiple regression analysis and combined with other factors. This was done to see what other factors intensified already existing correlations with children's language proficiency.

Multiple regression analysis revealed that children perform better in Russian in the conditions presented in Table 10.1 and 10.2 *Factors predicting children's Russian language proficiency* (Appendix I). Regression in these tables identifies which two factors are more likely to play a significant role in language maintenance. The empty cells indicate that the multiple regression results were insignificant.

The results of multiple regression analysis show that girls are likely to speak better Russian if they attended institutions in Russian-speaking countries, parents speak Russian to them and they reply in Russian, they use it with friends, they browse the Internet, parents indicate better quality of Russian, Russian is used in and outside of family by parents, parents watch movies in Russian, and parents' responses about Russian are positive.

As for Russian language being the only or majority language in parents' hometown, stronger predictions with children's proficiency in Russian were found when children reply in Russian to parents, have more Russian-speaking friends, parents want them to know both languages, Russian is spoken by parents to partners, parents watch movies in Russian, and parents have strong positive attitudes towards Russian.

There is stronger predictive power with language proficiency among children who reply in Russian when children have more Russian-speaking friends, they speak Russian to themselves when playing, attend activities in Russian, parents are very positive about Russian

language maintenance, they are less fluent in English, and have positive attitudes towards Russian language.

Children who have more Russian-speaking friends are likely to speak Russian better if they have attended Russian institutions in Canada and in Russian-speaking countries, reply in Russian to parents, Russian is their favorite language, parents are satisfied with amount of Russian language exposure, and parents have positive language attitudes to Russian.

Multiple regression analysis revealed better language performance by children who speak more Russian with siblings together with the following conditions: children have more friends, they attend Russian language-related organizations, listen to Russian music, parents are satisfied with children's involvement into Russian culture and cannot trace influence of English, parents have more Russian-speaking friends, watch movie in Russian frequently, and have positive attitudes towards Russian.

Better language proficiency is found among the children whose parents watch movies in Russian when these conditions are met: children reply to them in Russian, children have more friends, speak Russian to themselves, attend Russian activities, and parents have positive attitudes towards Russian language.

Children speak Russian better if it is the language parents want them to know better and with these factors: children attended institutions in Russian-speaking countries, parents speak Russian and children reply in Russian, children have more friends, both children and parents have more exposure to Russian linguoculture, and parents have positive attitude towards Russian language.

The most significant factors in all multiple regression tests were: parents want children to know both languages, parents disagreement with the statement "We came to Canada to become Canadians", parents watch movies in Russian, parents are satisfied with exposure to Russian by their children, and children have more Russian-speaking friends. As

the results suggest, parents' involvement, example, and attitudes are very important for Russian language proficiency by children.

3.5 Language attitudes

3.5.1 Language attitudes by parents

The last block in the section "II Your language use and attitudes" consisted of a set of statements which the participants were asked to rank using Likert scale. The results are reported in this section (Table 11):

Table 11

Parents' language attitudes parameters

Statement	Strongly disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly agree	Total (100%)
For a person with Russian-speaking ancestry, it is important to be able to speak Russian	0	0	0	5 (16.6 %)	25	30
Learning Russian can be beneficial for my child's future life	0	0	1	11	17	29
Learning Russian can be beneficial for my child's future career	0	2	5	10	13	30
It is important for my child to participate in Russian community life and events in Canada	2	3	4	15	6	30
I would like my child to marry a Russian-speaking spouse	2	3	18	3	4	30
Learning Russian is essential to fully participate in Russian community life in Canada	3	3	5	11	7	29
Learning Russian is essential for keeping contact with family in Russia/other Russian-speaking country	1	1	1	7	20	30
It is important for my child to get an exposure to Russian culture	1	1	5	15	8	30
It is important to learn Russian in order to be exposed to Russian culture	1	0	2	11	15	29
Children should learn both Russian and English to become bilingual	0	0	4	10	16	30
Learning English is more important than learning Russian for my child's life in Canada	0	3	7	11	9	30

Learning two languages (Russian and English) can help the child to be smarter	0	0	1	7	21	29
For my child's life in Canada, learning French is more important than learning Russian	1	10	10	5	4	30
There is no use for my child's learning Russian in Canada	18	8	1	2	0	29
I feel sorry for Canadians with Russian-speaking ancestry who don't know Russian	1	4	10	10	5	30
We came to Canada to become Canadian, so I do not want my child to have anything to do with Russia (Russian-speaking country)	20	7	1	2	0	30

Overall, parents have strong positive attitudes toward Russian language and culture, with the exceptions of wishing that child marries a Russian speaker and feeling sorry about people with Russian-speaking background who cannot speak Russian – these responses to attitudes parameters are neutral.

“Learning Russian can be beneficial for my child’s future life” correlates positively with “parents’ preferred language spoken better by children”, $r(30) = .457, p = .011$; “presence of parents’ concerns about children’s Russian”, $r(25) = .408, p = .043$; and “better quality of children’s Russian (parents’ report that they cannot trace influence of English)”, $r(30) = .377, p = .040$.

“Parents’ preferred language spoken better by children” correlates positively with the parents’ response to statement “Russian can help my child’s career”, $r(30) = .476, p = .008$.

“It is important for my child to participate in Russian community life and events in Canada” correlates positively with “language spoken by child to siblings at home”, $r(21) = .483, p = .027$; and “amount of Russian spoken by children with Russian-speaking friends”, $r(28) = .442, p = .019$.

“I would like my child to marry a Russian-speaking spouse” correlates positively with “frequency of watching movies in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = .482, p = .007$;

“frequency of browsing websites in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .421, p = .021$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .448, p = .013$; “frequency of listening to Russian music by children”, $r(30) = .445, p = .014$; “language spoken by children to themselves when playing”, $r(30) = .509, p = .004$; “amount of Russian spoken by children with Russian-speaking friends”, $r(28) = .427, p = .024$; and “frequency of replying in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .444, p = .014$.

“Learning Russian is essential to fully participate in Russian community life in Canada” correlates positively with “language spoken by child to siblings at home”, $r(21) = .597, p = .004$; “language spoken by child to siblings outside of home”, $r(21) = .524, p = .015$; “frequency of communicating with other Russian speakers”, $r(27) = .385, p = .047$; “amount of Russian spoken by children with Russian-speaking friends”, $r(17) = .487, p = .047$; “number of times children went to a Russian-speaking country”, $r(29) = .569, p = .001$; “frequency of listening to Russian music by children”, $r(29) = .481, p = .008$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian”, $r(29) = .394, p = .034$; and “children’s spoken Russian proficiency reported by parents”, $r(16) = .514, p = .042$.

“Learning Russian is essential for keeping contact with family in Russia/other Russian-speaking country” correlates positively with “language spoken with friends when visiting them”, $r(30) = .409, p = .025$; “language spoken by parents (at and outside of home)”, $r(28) = .376, p = .049$; “language spoken with a child outside of home”, $r = 0.57, p < 0.05$; and “attending Russian language-related organizations by children”, $r(29) = .389, p = .037$.

The statement “It is important for my child to get an exposure to Russian culture” correlates positively with “frequency of listening to Russian music by children”, $r(30) = .405, p = .026$; and “language spoken by fathers, as reported by children”, $r(30) = .378, p = .040$.

“It is important to learn Russian in order to be exposed to Russian culture” correlates positively with “frequency of reading in Russian by parents to their children”, $r(29) = .398, p = .033$; “frequency of children’s communication with Russian-speaking friends”, $r(29) = .423, p = .022$; and “language spoken by fathers, as reported by children”, $r(29) = .502, p = .006$.

“Learning English is more important than learning Russian for my child’s life in Canada” correlates negatively with “children’s spoken Russian proficiency reported by parents”, $r(28) = .508, p = .006$; “children’s understanding of Russian reported by parents”, $r(30) = .453, p = .012$; “amount of Russian spoken by children with Russian-speaking friends”, $r(28) = .384, p = .044$; “frequency of replying in Russian by children”, $r(30) = .460, p = .011$; and “frequency of watching movies in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = .454, p = .012$.

There is a positive correlation between the attitude statement “Learning two languages (Russian and English) can help the child to be smarter” and “presence of parents’ concerns about their children’s Russian”, $r(22) = .422, p = .050$.

“For my child’s life in Canada, learning French is more important than learning Russian” correlates negatively with frequency of watching movies in Russian by parents”, $r(30) = -.389, p = .033$; “amount of Russian spoken by children with Russian-speaking friends”, $r(28) = -.373, p = .050$; “number of children’s Russian-speaking friends”, $r(30) = -.551, p = .002$; “language spoken by child to siblings outside of home”, $r(21) = -.562, p = .008$; “language spoken by child to siblings at home”, $r(21) = -.635, p = .002$; and “frequency of replying in Russian by children”, $r(30) = -.468, p = .009$. There is a positive correlation between “frequency of codeswitching” and opinion that “Knowledge of French is more important than Russian in Canada for my child”, $r(29) = .387, p = .038$.

“I feel sorry for Canadians with Russian-speaking ancestry who don’t know Russian” correlates positively with “language spoken with friends when visiting them”, $r(30) = .439, p = .015$; and “frequency of watching movies in Russian”, $r(30) = .453, p = .012$.

There is a negative correlation between “parents’ preferred language spoken better by children” and parents’ responses to the statement “We came to Canada to become Canadian, and I do not want my child to have anything to do with Russia (Russian-speaking country)”, $r(30) = -.438, p = .015$.

“Presence of parents’ concerns about their children’s Russian” correlates positively with the parents’ responses to the statement “It is important to speak Russian for a person with Russian background”, $r(25) = .408, p = .043$.

The results suggest that parents’ attitudes are connected to children’s Russian language use, preference, and proficiency.

Level of importance for parents that their children speak Russian

Question 33, “How important is it for you that your child speaks Russian?” Thirteen (43.3%) parents answered “very important”, for 13 (43.3%) parents it is “important”, for two (6.7%) – “somewhat important”, and for two (6.7%) – “not very important”. In short, almost all parents find it important that their children can speak Russian in Canada.

“Level of importance for parents that their children speak Russian” correlates positively with “children’s age when they came to Canada”, $r(30) = .408, p = .025$; “frequency of reading in Russian by parents to their children”, $r(30) = .407, p = .026$; “parents’ thinking that their children are involved into Russian community enough”, $r(30) = .396, p = .030$; “frequency of reading in Russian by child”, $r(17) = .668, p = .003$; “presence of parents’ concerns about their children’s Russian”, $r(25) = .449, p = .024$; parents’ responses to the statement that “one needs to know Russian in order to participate in Russian

culture”, $r(29) = .459, p = .012$; and “frequency of using Russian by siblings, as reported by children”, $r(19) = .664, p = .002$. “Level of importance for parents that their children speak Russian” correlates negatively with parents’ responses to the statement that “there is no sense in learning Russian by their children”, $r(29) = -.417, p = .024$.

Parents who think it is important to speak Russian for their children are also likely to read in Russian to children, have concerns about their children’s Russian, and have positive attitudes about Russian language for participation in Russian culture in Canada.

3.5.2 Children’s attitudes

Question 2 asked participants which language is their favorite. Of 29 replies, six (20.7%) indicated that it is Russian, 12 (41.4%) chose both, English is preferred by 10 (34.5%) children, and one (2.8%) child prefers French. Despite the English-speaking environment, most children in the participants group prefer either both languages, or Russian; and only one third prefers English.

“Children’s preferred language” correlates positively with Russian being sole “family language in parents’ childhood”, $r(30) = .392, p = .032$; “language spoken by parents with friends when visiting them”, $r(30) = .467, p = .009$, and outside, $r(30) = .642, p = .000$; “parents’ report that children like to speak Russian”, $r(29) = .545, p = .002$; and “presence of parents’ concerns about their children’s Russian”, $r(25) = .436, p = .029$. There is a negative correlation between “children’s preferred language” and “frequency of listening to Russian music by children”, $r(30) = -.366, p = .047$.

Children tend to like speaking Russian if it was spoken by parents in their childhood, is spoken with friends presently. It is important to note that children’s answers match parents’ report that children like to speak Russian.

Language children want to speak better

Question 5 asked which language the respondent wanted to speak better: “Russian”, “English”, or “both equally”. Twenty nine children answered to this question, with five (17.2%) choosing “Russian”, eight (27.6%) – “English”, and 16 (55.2%) – “both”. In other words, children “vote” for bilingualism.

Language considered as more useful by children

In question 6 the participants were asked what language they considered to be more useful. In total 28 answers were provided, three (10.7%) children chose “Russian”, eight (28.6%) – “English”, and 17 (60.7%) – “both languages”. The answers are very similar to those from the previous two questions and point to the fact that even small children can appreciate the benefits of bilingualism.

There is a positive correlation between “Russian language being more useful reported by children” and “age”, $r(28) = .557$, $p = .002$, i.e. the older children are, the more useful they consider Russian.

Children’s willingness to visit a Russian-speaking country

Question 24 asked children if they wanted to go to a Russian-speaking country. Of 29 responses 23 (79.3%) answered “yes”, six (20.7%) participants answered “no”. The answers show very positive attitude towards land of heritage among children.

“Willingness to go to a Russian-speaking country” correlates positively with “age”, $r(29) = .374$, $p = .045$; “the length of living in Canada”, $r(29) = .378$, $p = .043$; “place of birth”, $r(29) = .508$, $p = .005$; “frequency of communication with Russian-speaking friends by children”, $r(30) = .370$, $p = .044$; “level of importance for parents that their children speak Russian”, $r(30) = .387$, $p = .035$; “attending Russian language-related organizations”, $r(29)$

= .435, $p = .018$; “number of parents’ friends”, $r(29) = .374$, $p = .046$; and parents’ responses to the statement “I want my child to marry Russian speaker”, $r(29) = .492$, $p = .007$.

Parents’ opinions of whether their children like to speak Russian

Question 21 in questionnaire for parents asked if their children liked to speak Russian. 26 (89.7%) answered “yes”, three (10.3%) – “no”, which is very similar to their children’s answers.

“Children’s liking to speak Russian, as reported by parents” correlates positively with Russian being sole “family language during parents’ childhood”, $r(29) = .506$, $p = .005$; “frequency of using Russian by children when replying to parents”, $r(29) = .444$, $p = .016$; “language spoken by child to herself/himself when playing reported by parents”, $r(29) = .419$, $p = .023$; “frequency of watching TV in Russian by child”, $r(29) = .471$, $p = .010$; “language spoken to partners”, $r(29) = .576$, $p = .001$; “amount of Russian spoken by parents to friends while visiting them”, $r(29) = .618$, $p = .000$; “frequency of reading books in Russian by parents”, $r(29) = .375$, $p = .045$; “favorite children’s language”, $r(29) = .545$, $p = .002$; and frequency of listening to Russian music self-reported by child, $r(28) = .386$, $p = .042$. There is a negative correlation between “children’s liking to speak Russian, as reported by parents” and “parents’ English fluency”, $r(29) = -.498$, $p = .006$. “Children’s favor to speak Russian reported by parents” also correlates positively with parents’ responses to the following statements: “It is important to know Russian for communication with relatives”, $r(29) = .391$, $p = .036$; and “Knowledge of both languages makes a child smarter”, $r(28) = .437$, $p = .020$.

The results suggest that children like speaking Russian when parents use it in and outside of family, have positive attitude toward Russian language, and are not fluent in

English. Parents report that children like to speak Russian if children reply in Russian and speak Russian to themselves when playing.

3.6 Open-ended questions

3.6.1 Parents

The questionnaire for parents contained five open-ended questions for eliciting information on parents' thoughts how Russian language maintenance can be improved by institutions on different levels: personal, school, university, and provincial government. These questions were optional and questionnaires that did not have answers to these questions were not eliminated from the study. Answers were grouped based on the key words.

Question 53 asked about other ways or activities that could lead to improvement of their children's Russian. 15 answers were provided, the most frequent answers were:

“Extracurricular activities” – 5 answers;

“Reading” – 4 answers;

“Russian events” – 4 answers;

“School/classes” - 4 answers;

“Communication” – 3 answers;

“Dance” – 3 answers;

“Libraries” - 2 answers.

Other replies were mentioned once each: “music”, “games”, “going to Russia”, “other organizations”.

Question 54 asked what government of Saskatchewan can do to improve Russian language maintenance in the province. 13 replies were provided.

“Subsidize/open schools or classes” – 10 answers;

“Subsidize/open extracurricular activities” – 3 answers;

“Subsidize/open events” – 3 answers;

“Subsidize/open daycares” – 1 answer;

“Radio” – 1 answer.

Question 55 asked about ways that University of Saskatchewan could improve Russian language maintenance in the province. The most frequent answer was “Open Russian department/classes” – 8 answers. Other answers were mentioned once each: “offer scholarship to Russian students/students studying Russian”, “sell books in Russian”, “extracurricular activities”, “cooperation with Russian universities”, cooperation with Russian community”, “provide space for a camp”.

Question 56 asked what their child’s school could do to facilitate learning Russian. Seven replies were given.

“Show interest in Russian language/culture” – 3 answers;

“Classes” – 2 answers;

“Nothing, it is an English/French school” – 2 answers;

“Let them speak Russian with friends” – 1 answer;

“Library” – 1 answer.

Question 57 asked what other organizations could help Russian language maintenance in the province. The total of eight responses to this question were provided. The following answers were given twice each: “Russian community”, “extracurricular activities”, and “schools”. Other answers included “libraries”, “museums”, “church”, “U of S language centre”.

Thus, to summarize all these answers, parents believe that there should be more opportunities for children to be involved in the community, such as attending HL schools, extracurricular activities, and events organized by the Russian-speaking community.

4 Discussion

Some of the results presented in this paper are consistent with the previous studies of language maintenance: language spoken by parents, particularly by mothers, is significant for language maintenance in family (Coates, 2004; Velázquez, 2013); children are more likely to speak Russian with greater proficiency if Russian was the only language spoken in parents' hometown, as language and identity are connected (Phinney et al., 2001); communication with ethnic peers and siblings is connected to language maintenance (Phinney et al., 2001).

On the other hand, some results were rather unexpected, such as positive correlation with parents' language attitudinal parameters, unlike in Kopeliovich's (2010) study. Another finding was that parental language use can predict child's proficiency. However, Oriyama's (2012) study stated the opposite. Such difference may be explained by the age groups. Children of the age five to seven are more influenced by parents' input than adolescents.

4.1 Language use in family and Russian language proficiency

The results of the analysis indicated that proficiency in Russian is most likely to be better when it is spoken in family by parents to children more often. This affects frequency of children's use of Russian. In return for such parents' input children reply in Russian and speak Russian to themselves when playing. As a result of higher frequency of speaking Russian, their language performance is better.

As showed in the results, in the age group 5-7 years old children mostly reply in Russian, when addressed in Russian. This is surprising, as immigrant parents often complain that children speak back in majority language (Kopeliovich, 2010), refusing to use the home language. Perhaps, because children are small, with not so much school influences, they are

still compliant, but when they get older they may get more defiant towards the minority heritage language.

It is important to remember here that most parent participants were mothers. Thus, the presented results are consistent with previous studies focused on importance of mothers' language use (Coates, 2004; Velázquez, 2013).

Multiple regression analysis showed another interesting finding of this study. The parents who participated in the study tend to have lower command of English. Therefore, Russian is often used between parents and children. Further, children reply to them in Russian and have better language skills in it as compared to children from immigrant families in other studies, where children did not seem to be proficient in Russian (Andrews, 2012; Nesteruk, 2010; Smyslova, 2012).

According to the results of my study, children tend to speak the minority language with their siblings at home. Most other studies report common use of the majority language by children (Schwartz, 2012), especially with older siblings (Kibler et al., 2014). Stevens (2007), however, argues that it depends on where children were born, and the length of exposure to the majority language. In particular, older siblings tend to speak minority language to their younger counterparts, while younger siblings are more likely to speak the majority language to their older brothers and sisters (Stevens, 2007). The use of Russian in communication with siblings that we observed in this study can be connected to little exposure to the English language, as family continues to be the people who children spend most of their time with.

Overall, use of Russian in family is a good predictor of proficiency in Russian at ages 5 to 7 years old. Nevertheless, some children were observed to already resist parents' attempts to maintain the language. Parents reported that they tried to encourage their children to attend Russian school and speak Russian, even took them to Russia for better language

exposure, but despite all the attempts, children would switch back to English once they came back to Canada. The age of initial exposure, preference, and dominance of the English language, as well as daily communication with grandparents should be further investigated, as they have not been sufficiently addressed in this study.

4.2 Language use outside of family and children's proficiency in Russian

The results of this study show that language use outside of family plays a significant role in language maintenance among children.

Parents who use Russian outside of family are more likely to be successful in maintaining Russian among their children. One of the explanations could be found in giving an example of language use that children tend to follow. Another reason could be that while parents communicate with their friends in Russian, their children also communicate in Russian with the children in the other family at the same time, because the children's proficiency in Russian is also connected to the number of Russian-speaking friends they have. The influence of peers is described previously in various studies (e.g. Altman et al., 2014).

While communicating with parents before and after interviewing children, I came across some evidence of schools discouraging the use of heritage languages. A parent who participated in the study told a story about her daughter and another Russian-speaking boy. They were classmates and always spoke Russian to each other in class. Their teacher did not allow it but they kept speaking Russian. Further action by the teacher was to separate the two students, and they were seated in different ends of the classroom. Their reaction was to yell to each other through the classroom in Russian.

This story indicates that children use the language they are most comfortable with and at times, they can even resist the pressure of majority language and school authorities, if there is existing peer and parental pressure to use to minority language. Nevertheless, after

learning English better, and being further discouraged from the minority language use, they are likely to start speaking English in the future. Some multilingual multicultural seminars at schools might help to educate the K12 teachers about the value of heritage languages and suggest that their use should not be discouraged outside of class time.

Russian language use outside of family also proved to be significant for its maintenance. Looking at people around, especially peers, children start to socialize and try to adapt to the society. Even children with very limited Russian were reported trying to speak more Russian because their best friends were fluent Russian-English bilinguals.

4.3 Linguoculture and children's proficiency in Russian

The multiple regression results have shown a significant prediction of linguoculture together with other parameters on bilingual children's fluency in Russian. Linguocultural activities of both children and parents are needed for language maintenance. Besides the traditional ways, such as TV, books, and attending activities in Russian, children use the media that have appeared in the past two decades – the Internet and computer games. These activities appear to be as influential as other types of media, although not as popular in Russian as in other languages among the participants.

Influence of parents' linguocultural activities in Russian is limited to watching movies, since little else is available in Saskatchewan, and children can observe the parents watching Russian movies are likely often watching them together with parents. Nevertheless, watching TV in Russian appears to be an activity fostering Russian language acquisition among children and can be encouraged.

Parents, whose children perform better at the language tasks, are generally satisfied with the exposure to Russian language. As mentioned above, these children are likely to

attend Russian language-related organizations, such as Russian heritage language school, dance, or music classes.

Children's communication in Russian with peers is also an important factor in language maintenance, as shown earlier in (Caldas & Caron-Caldas, 2008; Shapson, 1984; Smyslova, 2012).

Parents see positive influence of linguoculture for their children's Russian language. According to parents' feedback in open-ended questions section, many of them believe that more linguocultural activities in Russian, such as attending events, recreational classes, and reading books, would be beneficial for Russian language maintenance in the province of Saskatchewan. Not only the fact of attending such activities but also the frequency is important, as some parents try to plan an activity in Russian for their children every day, while others bring their children only to Russian school, which operates once a week. Participation in linguocultural activities is likely also connected to the family income, as some families can afford extra private classes which are not available for other community members. Therefore, frequency of attending such organizations as well as family income should be taken into account in future studies.

Although parents think reading would be beneficial for their children and they read books in Russian to them, number of bilingual children with literacy skills is much lower than that of bilinguals.

4.4 Language attitudes and children's proficiency in Russian

Generally, parents have expressed very positive attitudes towards bilingualism and Russian language maintenance. Parental estimates of their children's Russian language proficiency are well correlated with the actual proficiency parameters in the speech of Russian children. Moreover, statements about majority and minority culture, such as "It is

important to know Russian to participate in Russian community in Canada” or “We came to Canada to become Canadians”, tell about parents’ attachment to the home country and appear to be more significantly linked with the children’s Russian language proficiency.

There is also a possibility that parents adjust their linguocultural attitudes depending on children’s ability to speak Russian, and that is why these parameters correlate. Overall, parents are interested in continuing Russian language use in their families in Canada. However, many of them seem to integrate the two cultures up to a certain extent.

Children also have positive feelings about Russian language. Majority of bilingual participants (53%) want to speak both languages equally. The majority (68%) of bilinguals reported speaking Russian with their bilingual peers. The results have shown that even in this young age group, children think that speaking Russian is important.

4.5 Language skills

Quite surprisingly for a very small community with next to no resources, we found some positive results for Russian language maintenance. Russian language skills of bilingual children in Canada on average are about the same as those of monolinguals in Russia. Moreover, the results of this study demonstrate that 56% of bilinguals have better Russian than an average monolingual child. From the author’s personal observation, some of the bilingual children are successful students at elementary school with high levels of both English and Russian proficiency. However, these data do not account for children in Russian speaking families in Canada who could not demonstrate any command of Russian in the study.

The differences in the language aspects between mono- and bilinguals are insignificant, except for the difference in producing complex sentences and errors – bilinguals produced about twice as many as monolinguals. As mentioned in other studies

(O'Shannessy, 2008; Santrock, 2009; Proctor, 2010; Harley, 2008), bilinguals develop better cognitive skills, and therefore, they are better at producing complex sentences. However, bilingualism has its negative impacts, the two languages influence each other, and errors are produced more often. Bilinguals use words that come to their mind faster, or use English words because they do not know Russian equivalent, thus expressing themselves in a more natural way. By doing so they also create a new variety or language, or creolize.

It is important to note that parents' evaluation of their children's Russian language skills correlated with the actual measured language proficiency, which means that parents have a realistic assessment of how well their children speak Russian.

4.6 Limitations

The results have shown that despite negative conditions for Russian language maintenance, it is nevertheless maintained among many children of the target age group coming from Russian-speaking immigrant families in Saskatchewan. Some results have to be treated with caution due to a number of limitations in the study.

Children had difficulty answering questions about the frequency of events. Parents' replies were more reliable and correlated to other variables. For example, two children did not answer Question 13, because they have no idea how often is "once a week" or "once a month". It is quite possible that other children who did provide answers could not be precise in their estimates of frequencies of events. Therefore, children's language use correlates more with the answers produced by parents than by children themselves.

The results show that if parents are speaking more Russian with friends at their home, they are more likely to use it within the family with children and correspondingly, children's language preference is more likely to be in favour of Russian.

Despite Harley's (2008) theory that six months is enough to switch to another language, many children in the participants' group had limited command of English and therefore Russian was the main language for those children. Possibly Harley's (2008) report was about children who are immersed into another language without exposure to their first language. Therefore, for future studies on language maintenance it is recommended to have participants with exposure longer than six months.

Correlation analysis only establishes covariance of parameters, but does not allow to conclude that either parameter affects the other. Regression analysis reveals whether a particular parameter may be a predictor for another, but does not rank the parameters that may impact fluency. The only statistical procedure that may allow identification of most salient parameters that have the strongest impact on language proficiency is factor analysis. However, factor analysis was impossible to conduct due to a large number of variables and a relatively small number of participants.

Although various language parameters were taken into account when comparing the two groups, there was a lack of text analysis on errors, code-switches, and new words creation.

Lastly, if there was a third language involved in a child's interactions, it was not excluded from this study. This was because there were few participants with third language, and there was a number of languages involved, which would not allow consistent results.

Conclusion

The results of this study indicate positive situation for Russian as HL if particular conditions are met. These conditions include but not limited to: strong positive parents' language attitudes towards Russian, frequent use of Russian at and outside of home, attending extracurricular activities, and performing linguocultural activities, in particular watching TV by parents correlated with children's Russian language proficiency the most.

The study on Russian as HL is unique in Canadian context so far: there was no such study done in Canada. Another innovation of the study is inclusion of attitudes of the participants.

This suggests that maintenance of the Russian language is possible, at least among children of 5 to 7 years old. However, the amount of errors produced by bilinguals was higher than monolinguals. It is recommended to study maintenance of Russian as HL in older age groups using similar design. One more recommendation would be to investigate why some children speak Russian and others reject it.

Additionally, it would be interesting to do a qualitative analysis of errors, code-switches, new words creation.

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Appendix A: Questionnaire for Parents in English

Part I YOUR CHILD

Your child's age: _____

Gender: M F

Your country and city/town of origin: _____

Was Russian the only or majority language in your city/town? Yes No

Were there other languages spoken in your city/town? Yes No

If "Yes", which one(s) _____

Was Russian the only language in your family when you were a child? Yes No

If _____ "No", _____ which _____ languages _____ were spoken? _____

1 Was your child born in Canada? Yes No

If "No":

a) How old was your child when you brought him/her to Canada?

b) Did your child attend a kindergarten or school in Russia? Yes No

c) If "Yes", specify what levels (kindergarten/school) and ages

2 Has your child's language use changed since he/she started school?

Yes No N/A (hasn't started school yet)

If _____ "Yes", _____ please explain: _____

3 Is Russian the sole home language? Yes No

4 What language(s) do you speak to your child at home on the daily basis?

only Russian mostly Russian half English, half Russian mostly English

only English N/A (another language is used)

If _____ another _____ language _____ is _____ used, _____ please specify) _____

5 What language(s) do you speak to your child outside the home on the daily basis?

only Russian mostly Russian half English, half Russian mostly English

only English N/A (another language is used)

If _____ another _____ language _____ is _____ used, _____ please specify) _____

6 What language(s) does your spouse/partner speak to your child at home on the daily basis?

If there is no spouse/partner, check

- only Russian mostly Russian half English, half Russian mostly English
 only English N/A (another language is used)

If another language is used, please specify) _____

7 What language(s) does your spouse speak to your child outside the home on the daily basis?

If there is no spouse/partner, check

- only Russian mostly Russian half English, half Russian mostly English
 only English N/A (another language is used)

If another language is used, please specify) _____

8 How often does your child answer in Russian when you speak Russian to him/her?

- always often in half of the cases rarely never

9 What language(s) does your child speak to other siblings at home on the daily basis?

If there are no siblings, check

- only Russian mostly Russian half English, half Russian mostly English
 only English N/A (another language is used)

If another language is used, please specify) _____

10 What language(s) does your child speak to other siblings outside the home on the daily basis?

If there are no siblings, check

- only Russian mostly Russian half English, half Russian mostly English
 only English N/A (another language is used)

If another language is used, please specify) _____

11 Estimate your child's proficiency in Russian for his/her age (check everything that applies):

*(Explanations: Very well – occasional inaccuracies, generally handles language well;
Reasonably well – coping with overall meaning in most situations, with some mistakes;
Poorly – competence is limited to familiar situations)*

a) He/she understands spoken Russian

- like a native speaker very well reasonably well poorly not at all

b) He/she speaks Russian

- like a native speaker very well reasonably well poorly not at all

c) He/she reads in Russian

- like a native speaker very well reasonably well poorly not at all

d) He/she writes in Russian

- like a native speaker very well reasonably well poorly not at all

12 Specify the number of your child's friends who can speak Russian:

none less than 5 5-10 10-20 more than 20

13 How often does your child have an opportunity to speak Russian with friends?

daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never N/A

14 When he/she meets his/her Russian-speaking friends, how often do they speak Russian?

always often in half of the cases rarely never N/A

15 Does your child like to speak Russian? Yes No

16 When your child plays by him/herself, what language does he/she speak on the daily basis?

only Russian mostly Russian half English, half Russian mostly English
 only English N/A (another language is used)

If another language is used, please specify) _____

17 Does your child attend any of the Russian language or culture-related organizations?

or community groups? Yes No

If "yes", _____ which ones? _____

18 Has your child ever been to any Russian-speaking country?

Yes No

If 'yes', where and how many times/how often? _____

19 How often does your child read books/magazines in Russian?

daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never

20 How often do you read books/magazines to your child in Russian?

daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never

21 How often does he/she listen to Russian music?

daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never

22 How often does your child watch Russian TV-channel(s) (on television or online

daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never

23 How often does your child browse Russian web-sites?
 daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never

24 Do you notice influence of English on your child's communication skills in Russian?
 Yes No

If yes, can you give an example? _____

Part II YOUR LANGUAGE USE AND ATTITUDES

How many years have you been to Canada (or another English-speaking country, if you lived there before Canada)? _____

How many years ago did you leave your home country? _____

25 How important is it to you that your children speak/understand Russian?
 very important quite important somewhat important not very important
 not at all important

26 Are there any concerns about your child's Russian? _____

27 Do you think your child is exposed enough into Russian-speaking environment?
 Yes No

28 Your goals in your child's Russian language acquisition: what do you want him/her to be able to do in Russian?

29 What language do you want him/her to speak better?
 English Russian Both equally

30 Do you have any concerns about your child learning Russian culture? What elements of culture would you like your child to learn?

31 What language(s) do you speak to your spouse/partner at home on the daily basis?
 only Russian mostly Russian half English, half Russian mostly English
 only English N/A (another language is used)
If another language is used, please specify) _____

32 How many of your friends are native Russian speakers?
 all most about half less than half none

- 33 When you visit other Russian speakers in their home (or when you have them over), how often do you speak Russian? always often in half of the cases rarely never
- 34 When you are on the street with other Russian speakers, how often do you speak Russian? always often in half of the cases rarely never
- 35 How often do you read books in Russian?
 daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never
- 36 How often do you read magazines or newspapers in Russian?
 daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never
- 37 How often do you watch videos/movies/TV in Russian?
 daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never
- 38 How often do you follow current events in Russian-speaking countries?
 daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never
- 39 What language do you speak with other Russian speakers?
 only Russian mostly Russian with some English either English or Russian
 mostly English with some Russian only English other (specify)_____
- 40 How often do you use English words when speaking Russian?
 daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never
- 41 How would you rate your proficiency in English?
(Explanations: Very well – occasional inaccuracies, generally handles language well; Reasonably well – coping with overall meaning in most situations, with some mistakes; Poorly – competence is limited to familiar situations)
 like a native speaker very well reasonably well poorly not at all
- 42 How would you rate your proficiency in Russian?
 like a native speaker very well reasonably well poorly not at all
- 43 How often do you seek out contact with Russian speakers?
 daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never

44 Here are some statements about the Russian and English languages in Canada. Please say whether you agree or disagree with these statements and circle one of the following:

1 = Strongly disagree 2 = Disagree 3 = Neither agree nor disagree 4 = Agree 5 = Strongly agree

For a person with Russian-speaking ancestry, it is important to be able to speak Russian	1 2 3 4 5
Learning Russian can be beneficial for my child's future life	1 2 3 4 5
Learning Russian can be beneficial for my child's future career	1 2 3 4 5
It is important for my child to participate in Russian community life and events in Canada	1 2 3 4 5
I would like my child to marry a Russian-speaking spouse	1 2 3 4 5
Learning Russian is essential to fully participate in Russian community life in Canada	1 2 3 4 5
Learning Russian is essential for keeping contact with family in Russia/other Russian-speaking country	1 2 3 4 5
It is important for my child to get an exposure to Russian culture	1 2 3 4 5
It is important to learn Russian in order to be exposed to Russian culture	1 2 3 4 5
Children should learn both Russian and English to become bilingual	1 2 3 4 5
Learning English is more important than learning Russian for my child's life in Canada	1 2 3 4 5
Learning two languages (Russian and English) can help the child to be smarter	1 2 3 4 5
For my child's life in Canada, learning French is more important than learning Russian	1 2 3 4 5
There is no use for my child's learning Russian in Canada.	1 2 3 4 5
I feel sorry for Canadians with Russian-speaking ancestry who don't know Russian.	1 2 3 4 5
We came to Canada to become Canadian, so I do not want my child to have anything to do with Russia (Russian-speaking country)	1 2 3 4 5

Part III ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS:

45 Can you think of any other ways, activities, events, etc., that could improve your child's Russian?

46 Can you think of anything that the Saskatchewan government could do to improve the opportunities to retain Russian in the province?

47 Can you think of anything that the University of Saskatchewan could do to improve the opportunities to retain Russian in the province?

48 Can you think of anything your child's schools could do to facilitate the learning of Russian?

49 Can you think of anything other organizations could do to improve the opportunities to maintain Russian in the province?

Appendix B: Questionnaire for parents in Russian

Часть I ВАШ РЕБЕНОК

Возраст Вашего ребенка: _____

Пол: М Ж

Страна и город Вашего происхождения: _____

Был ли русский единственным или основным языком в Вашем городе? Да Нет

1 Говорили ли на других языках в Вашем городе? Да Нет

Если «Да», то на каких _____

2 Был ли русский единственным языком в Вашей семье в детстве? Да Нет

Если «Нет», то на каких языках говорили? _____

3 Ваш ребенок родился в Канаде? Да Нет

Если «Нет»:

а) Сколько лет было Вашему ребенку, когда Вы привезли его в Канаду? _____

б) Ходил ли Ваш ребенок в школу или детский сад в России/Странах СНГ? Да Нет

в) Если «Да», уточните уровень/класс и возраст _____

4 Изменилось ли использование языка после того как он пошел в школу?

Да Нет N/A (еще не пошел в школу)

Если «Да», пожалуйста, поясните: _____

5 Русский был единственным языком в доме? Да Нет

6 На каком языке Вы разговариваете с ребенком дома ежедневно?

только на русском в основном на русском половину на английском, половину на русском в основном на английском только на английском N/A (на другом языке)

Если другой язык используется, пожалуйста, уточните _____

7 На каком языке Вы разговариваете с ребенком вне дома ежедневно?

только на русском в основном на русском половину на английском, половину на русском в основном на английском только на английском N/A (на другом языке)

Если другой язык используется, пожалуйста, уточните _____

8 На каком языке Ваш супруг/партнер разговаривает с ребенком дома и как часто?

Если нету супруга/партнера, отметьте

только на русском в основном на русском половину на английском, половину на русском в основном на английском только на английском N/A (на другом языке)

Если другой язык используется, пожалуйста, уточните _____

9 На каком языке Ваш супруг/партнер разговаривает с ребенком вне дома ежедневно?

только на русском в основном на русском половину на английском, половину на русском в основном на английском только на английском N/A (на другом языке)

Если другой язык используется, пожалуйста, уточните _____

10 Как часто Ваш ребенок отвечает по-русски когда Вы говорите с ним/ней по-русски? всегда часто в половине случаев редко никогда

11 На каком языке Ваш ребенок разговаривает с братьями/сестрами дома ежедневно?

Если нет братьев/сестер, отметьте

только на русском в основном на русском половину на английском, половину на русском в основном на английском только на английском N/A (на другом языке)

Если другой язык используется, пожалуйста, уточните _____

12 На каком языке Ваш ребенок разговаривает с братьями/сестрами вне дома ежедневно?

Если нет братьев/сестер, отметьте

только на русском в основном на русском половину на английском, половину на русском в основном на английском только на английском N/A (на другом языке)

Если другой язык используется, пожалуйста, уточните _____

13 Оцените знания русского языка у Вашего ребенка, учитывая его/ее возраст:

(Пояснения: Отлично – с незначительными ошибками, в основном справляется; Довольно хорошо – общее значение в большинстве ситуаций, с некоторыми ошибками; плохо – способности ограничены до знакомых ситуаций)

a) Он/а понимает разговорный русский

как носитель языка отлично довольно хорошо плохо не понимает

b) Он/а говорит по-русски

как носитель языка отлично довольно хорошо плохо не говорит

c) Он/а читает по-русски

как носитель языка отлично довольно хорошо плохо не умеет читать

d) Он/а пишет по-русски

как носитель языка отлично довольно хорошо плохо не умеет писать

14 Сколько русскоговорящих друзей у Вашего ребенка?

нет меньше 5 5-10 10-20 больше 20

15 Как часто Ваш ребенок общается с русскоговорящими друзьями?

ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год N/A (нет друзей)

16 Когда Ваш ребенок общается с русскоговорящими друзьями, как много они говорят по-русски? всегда часто в половине случаев редко никогда N/A

17 Ваш ребенок любит говорить по-русски? Да Нет

18 Когда Ваш ребенок играет сам с собой, на каком языке он говорит?

только на русском в основном на русском половину на английском, половину на русском в основном на английском только на английском N/A (на другом языке)

Если другой язык используется, пожалуйста, уточните _____

19 Посещает ли Ваш ребенок какие-либо русскоязычные или связанные с русской культурой организации/группы/кружки? Да Нет

Если да, то какие? _____

20 Был ли Ваш ребенок когда-либо в русскоязычной стране? Да Нет

Если да, то сколько раз/как часто? _____

21 Читает ли Ваш ребенок книги/журналы на русском?

ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда N/A (не умеет читать)

22 Читаете ли Вы своему ребенку книги/журналы на русском?

ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда

23 Слушает ли он/а русскую музыку?

ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда

24 Смотрит ли Ваш ребенок русские фильмы/мультфильмы?

ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда

25 Посещает ли Ваше ребенок русские веб-сайты?

ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда

26 Заметно ли влияние английского языка на способность говорить по-русски у Вашего ребенка? Да Нет
Если да, можете привести пример? _____

Часть II ВАШЕ ИСПОЛЬЗОВАНИЕ ЯЗЫКА И ОТНОШЕНИЕ К НЕМУ

27 Сколько лет Вы живете в Канаде (или другой англоязычной стране, если Вы там жили до Канады)? _____

28 Сколько лет Вы не живете на родине? _____

29 Насколько для Вас важно, чтоб Ваш ребенок разговаривал по-русски?
 очень важно важно отчасти важно не очень важно не важно

30 Есть ли у Вас какие-либо переживания связанные с русским Вашего ребенка?

31 По Вашему мнению, он/а достаточно вовлечен в русскоязычную среду? Да Нет

32 Ваши цели в знании русского Вашим ребенком: что он/а должен уметь?

33 Какой язык Вы хотите чтоб он/а знал/а лучше?

Английский Русский Оба одинаково

34 Какие элементы культуры Вы хотите чтобы знал Ваш ребенок? _____

35 На каких языках Вы разговариваете со своим супругом ежедневно?

только на русском в основном на русском половину на английском, половину на русском в основном на английском только на английском N/A (на другом языке)

Если другой язык используется, пожалуйста, уточните _____

36 Сколько у Вас русскоязычных друзей?

все большинство половина меньше половины нет

37 Когда Вы приходите в гости к своим русскоязычным друзьям (или они приходят к Вам), вы говорите по-русски? всегда часто половину времени редко никогда

38 Как часто Вы разговариваете по-русски с русскоговорящими друзьями на улице?

- всегда часто половину времени редко никогда

39 Как часто Вы читаете книги на русском?

- ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю
 один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда

40 Как часто Вы читаете газеты или журналы на русском?

- ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю
 один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда

41 Как часто Вы смотрите фильмы на русском ?

- ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю
 один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда

42 Как часто Вы следите за новостями в русскоязычных странах?

- ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю один-два раза в месяц
 один-два раза в год никогда

43 На каком языке Вы говорите с другими русскоязычными людьми?

- только на русском в основном на русском с английскими словами
 либо на русском, либо на английском в основном на английском с русскими словами
 только на английском на другом (уточните) _____

44 Как часто Вы используете английские слова, разговаривая по-русски?

- ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю
 один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда

45 Как Вы оцениваете свое знание английского?

(Пояснения: Отлично – с незначительными ошибками, в основном справляюсь; Довольно хорошо – понимаю общее значение в большинстве ситуаций, с некоторыми ошибками; плохо – способности ограничены до знакомых ситуаций)

- как носитель языка отлично довольно хорошо плохо не знаю языка

46 Как вы оцениваете свое знание русского?

- как носитель языка отлично довольно хорошо плохо не знаю языка

47 Как часто Вы стремитесь к общению с русскоязычными людьми?

- ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю
 один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда

48 Далее представлены утверждения о русском и английском языках в Канаде. Согласны ли Вы с ними?

- 1 = Категорически не согласен/на 2 = Не согласен/на 3 = Ни то ни другое 4 = Согласен/на
5 = Полностью согласен

Для человека с русскоязычным происхождением важно уметь разговаривать по-русски	1 2 3 4 5
Знание русского может помочь моему ребенку в жизни	1 2 3 4 5
Знание русского может помочь карьере моего ребенка	1 2 3 4 5
Для моего ребенка важно участвовать в событиях русской общины в Канаде	1 2 3 4 5
Я хотел/а бы, чтоб мой ребенок вступил/а в брак с носителем русского языка	1 2 3 4 5
Знание русского необходимо чтобы участвовать в жизни русской общины в Канаде	1 2 3 4 5
Знание русского необходимо чтобы поддерживать отношения с родственниками в России	1 2 3 4 5
Для меня важно, чтобы мой ребенок был вовлечен в русскую культуру	1 2 3 4 5
Чтобы быть вовлеченным в русскую культуру, важно знать русский	1 2 3 4 5
Дети должны учить и русский, и английский, чтоб стать билингвами	1 2 3 4 5
Знание английского важнее знания русского для жизни моего ребенка в Канаде	1 2 3 4 5
Знание двух языков (русского и английского) делает ребенка умнее	1 2 3 4 5
В жизни моего ребенка в Канаде знание французского важнее знания русского	1 2 3 4 5
Нет никакого смысла в изучении русского моим ребенком	1 2 3 4 5
Мне жаль канадцев с русскоязычным происхождением, которые не знают русского	1 2 3 4 5
Мы приехали в Канаду, чтобы стать канадцами, я не хочу, чтобы мой ребенок имел дело с Россией/другой русскоговорящей страной	1 2 3 4 5

Часть III ДОПОЛНИТЕЛЬНЫЕ ВОПРОСЫ:

48 Какие еще способы, деятельность, мероприятия могут способствовать улучшению русского Вашего ребенка?

49 Что может сделать правительство Саскачевана, чтобы усилить сохранение русского языка в провинции?

50 Что может сделать Университет Саскачевана для сохранения русского в провинции?

51 Что может сделать школа Вашего ребенка, чтобы облегчить изучение русского?

52 Какие еще организации могут помочь сохранению русского языка в провинции?

Appendix C: Interview with a child in English

1. What languages do you speak? _____
2. Which language is more fun? English Russian Both Other language
3. Why? _____

4. What language do you speak better? English Russian Equally well
5. Which language do you want to speak better? English Russian Equally well
6. Which language is more useful – English or Russian? English Russian Both
7. How often does your mom/caretaker speak to you in Russian? daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never N/A
8. How often does your dad/caretaker speak to you in Russian? daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never N/A
9. How often do you speak Russian to your brother/sister? daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never N/A
10. Can you write in Russian? Yes No
11. Do you have friends who speak Russian? Yes No
12. If yes, how many Russian-speaking friends do you have?
 less than 5 5-10 10-20 more than 20
13. How often do you meet with Russian-speaking friends? daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never N/A
14. When you meet your Russian-speaking friends, how often do you speak Russian?
 always often in half of the cases rarely never N/A
15. Can you read in Russian? Yes No
If yes, please read a story. Time total: _____ Words per minute: _____
16. How often do you read books/magazines in Russian? daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never N/A
17. How often do your parents read books/magazines to you in Russian? daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never N/A
18. How often do you listen to Russian music? daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never N/A
19. How often do you watch Russian movies or cartoons? daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never N/A
20. What are your favourite Russian cartoons/movies? _____

21. How often do you browse Russian web-sites on the Internet? daily a few times a week once/twice a week once/twice a month once/twice a year never N/A
22. Do you play computer games in Russian? Yes No
23. Have you been to Russia? Yes No
24. If no, would you like to go to Russia? Yes No
If yes, would you like to go there again? Yes No
25. If you have been to Russia, could you understand what people were saying in Russian?
 everything mostly in half of the cases little not at all N/A
26. If you have been to Russia, how often could people understand what you were saying in Russian?

everything mostly in half of the cases little not at all

N/A

27. Did you have any problems with understanding or being understood in Russia?

Yes No N/A

If “yes”, can you give some examples? _____

28. Can you recite a poem in Russian?

29. Can you sing a song in Russian?

Appendix D: Interview with a child in Russian

1. На каких языках ты разговариваешь? _____
2. На каком языке тебе больше нравится разговаривать?
 Английский Русский Оба Другой
3. Почему? _____

4. На каком языке ты говоришь лучше? Английский Русский Одинаково хорошо
5. На каком языке ты хочешь говорить лучше?
6. Английский Русский Одинаково хорошо
7. Какой язык полезнее знать – английский или русский?
 Английский Русский Оба одинаково
8. Как часто твоя мама разговаривает с тобой по-русски?
 всегда часто в половине случаев редко никогда N/A
9. Как часто твой папа разговаривает с тобой по-русски?
 всегда часто в половине случаев редко никогда N/A
9. Как часто ты разговариваешь по-русски с братом/сестрой?
 всегда часто в половине случаев редко никогда N/A
10. Умеешь ли ты писать по-русски? Да Нет
11. Есть ли у тебя друзья, которые разговаривают по-русски? Да Нет
12. Если да, то сколько у тебя русскоговорящих друзей?
 меньше 5 5-10 10-20 больше 20
13. Как часто ты видишься со своими русскоговорящими друзьями?
 ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю
 один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год N/A (нет друзей)
14. Когда ты видишься со своими русскоговорящими друзьями, как много вы говорите по-русски? всегда часто в половине случаев редко никогда N/A
15. Умеешь ли ты читать по-русски? Да Нет
- Время: _____ Кол-во слов в минуту: _____
16. Как часто ты читаешь книги или журналы по-русски?
 ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю
 один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда N/A
17. Как часто родители читают тебе русские книги или журналы?
 ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю
 один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда
18. Как часто ты слушаешь песни на русском языке?
 всегда часто половину времени редко никогда N/A
19. Смотришь ли ты фильмы или мультфильмы на русском?
 ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю
 один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда
20. Какие твои любимые русские фильмы/мультфильмы? _____

21. Как часто ты заходишь на русские сайты в Интернете?
 ежедневно несколько раз в неделю один-два раза в неделю
 один-два раза в месяц один-два раза в год никогда
22. Играешь ли ты в компьютерные игры на русском языке? Да Нет
23. Был/а ли ты когда-нибудь в России? Да Нет
24. Если нет, хотел/а бы ты поехать в Россию? Да Нет
Если да, хотел/а бы ты поехать туда снова? Да Нет

25. Если ты был в России, понимал ли ты то, что говорили люди на русском?
 все в основном понимал в половине случаев немного совсем не понимал
N/A
26. Если ты был в России, понимали ли люди то, что ты говорил на русском?
 все в основном понимали в половине случаев немного совсем не понимали
 N/A
27. Возникали ли у тебя проблемы с пониманием в России? Да Нет
Если «Да», можешь привести пример? _____
-
28. Можешь ли ты рассказать стихотворение на русском языке?
29. Можешь ли ты спеть песенку на русском?

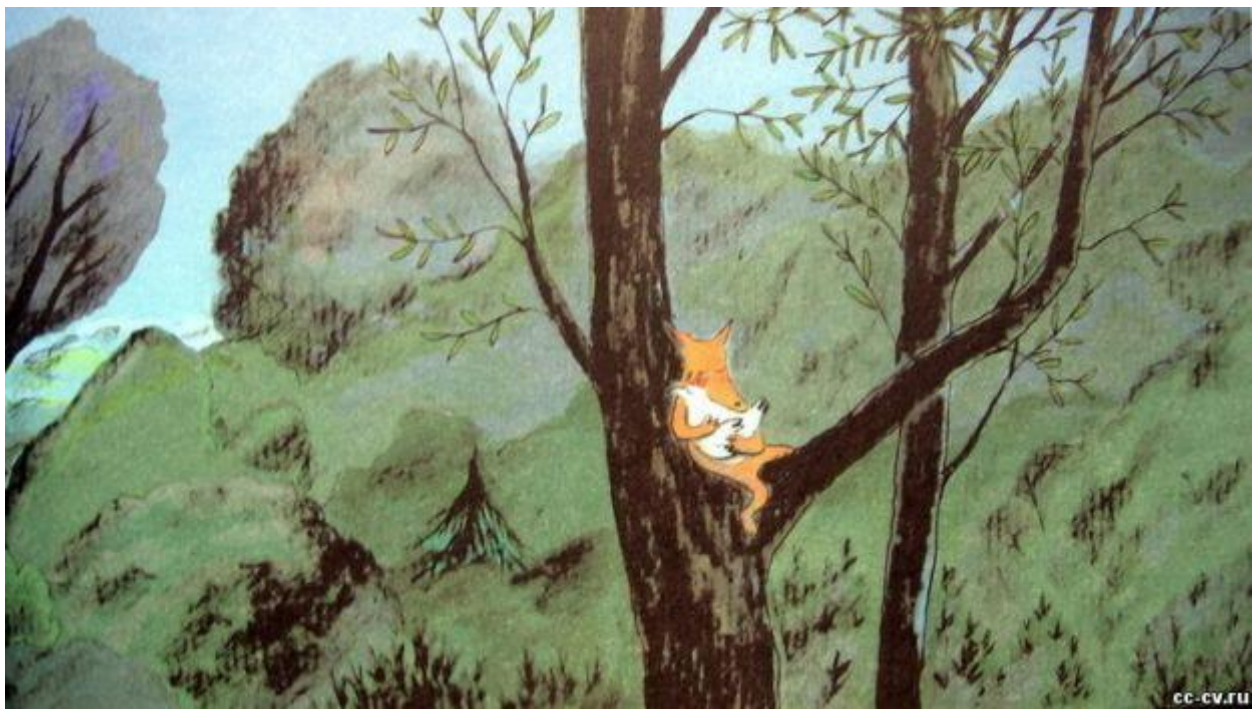
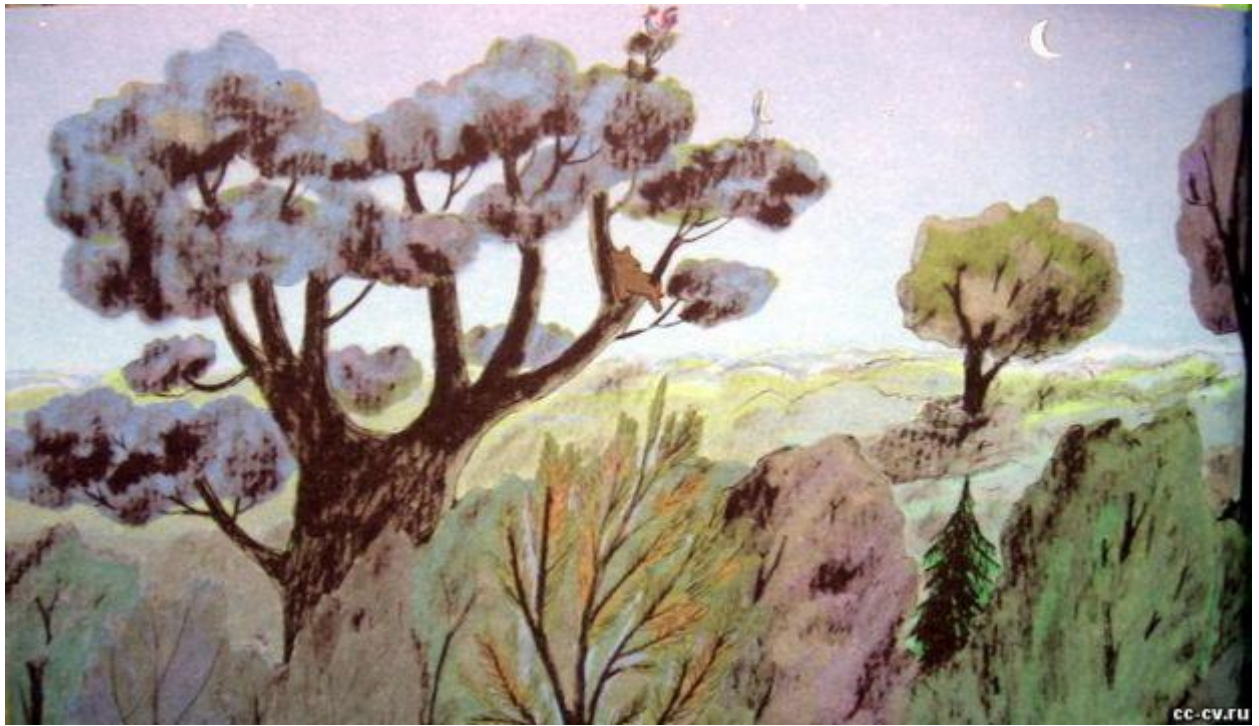
Appendix E: Non-culture related story “A good fairy-tale in pictures”

Retrieved from <http://www.topic.lt/anekdoty/36448-dobraja-skazka-v-kartinkakh.html>



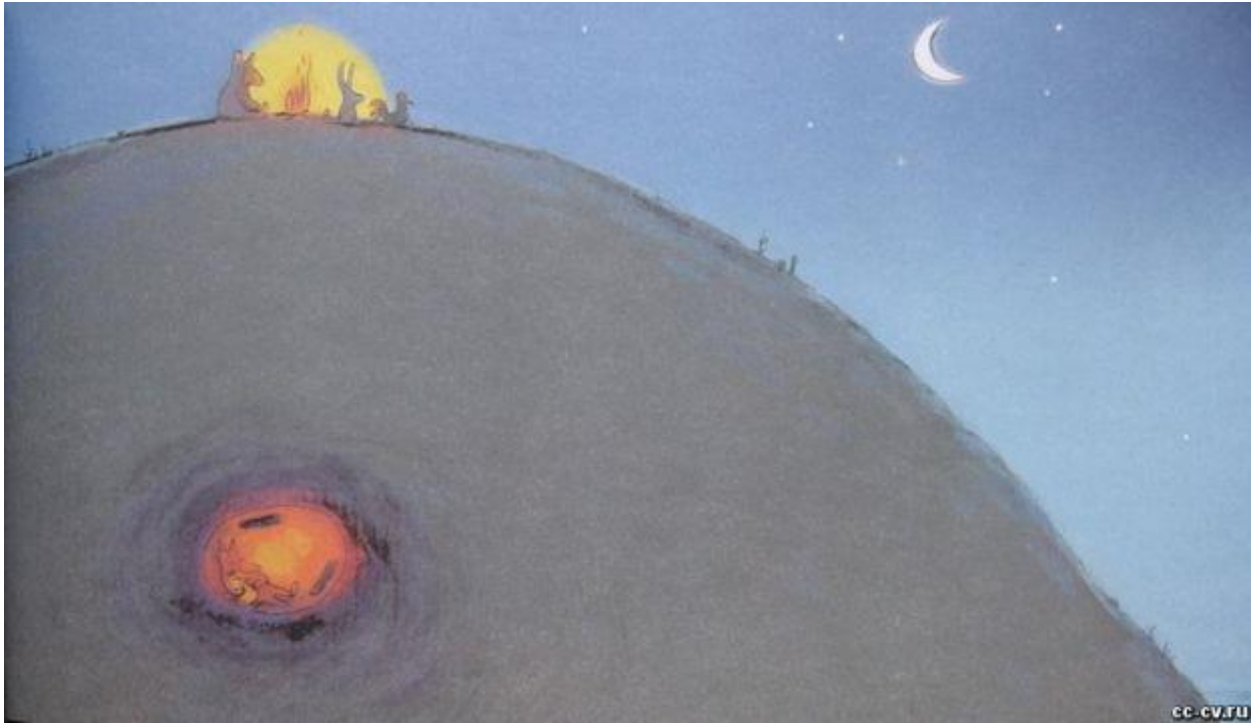


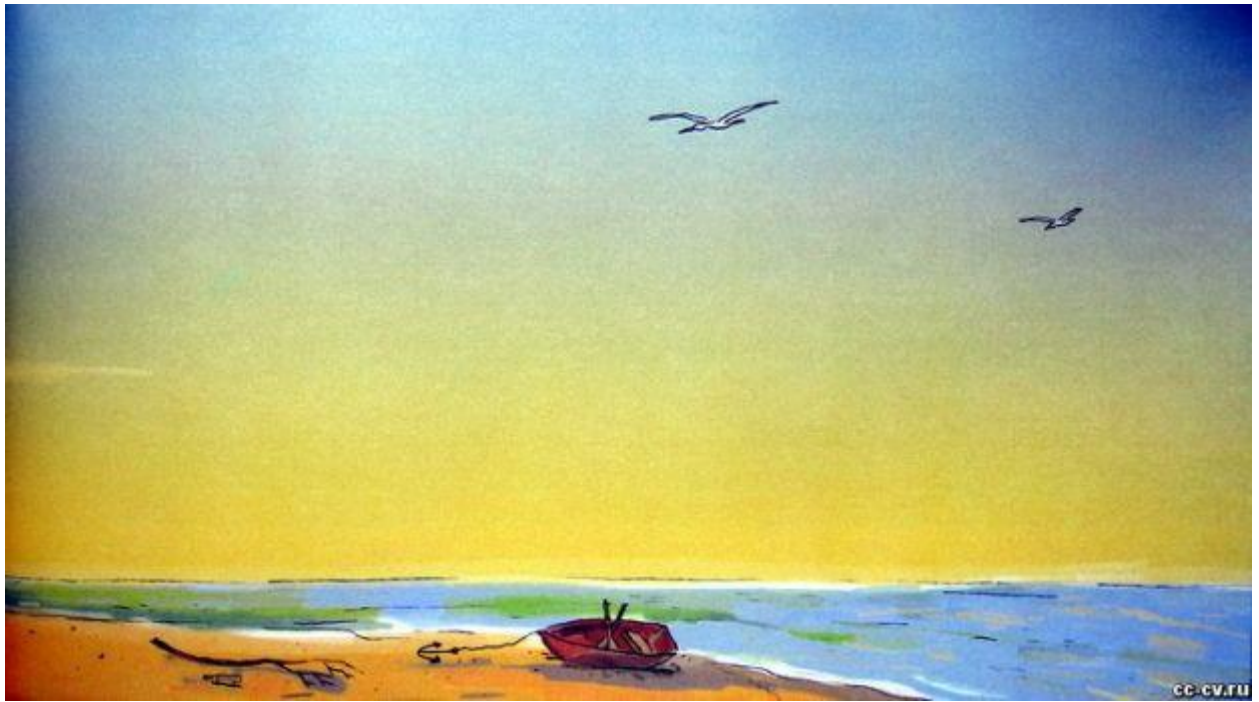


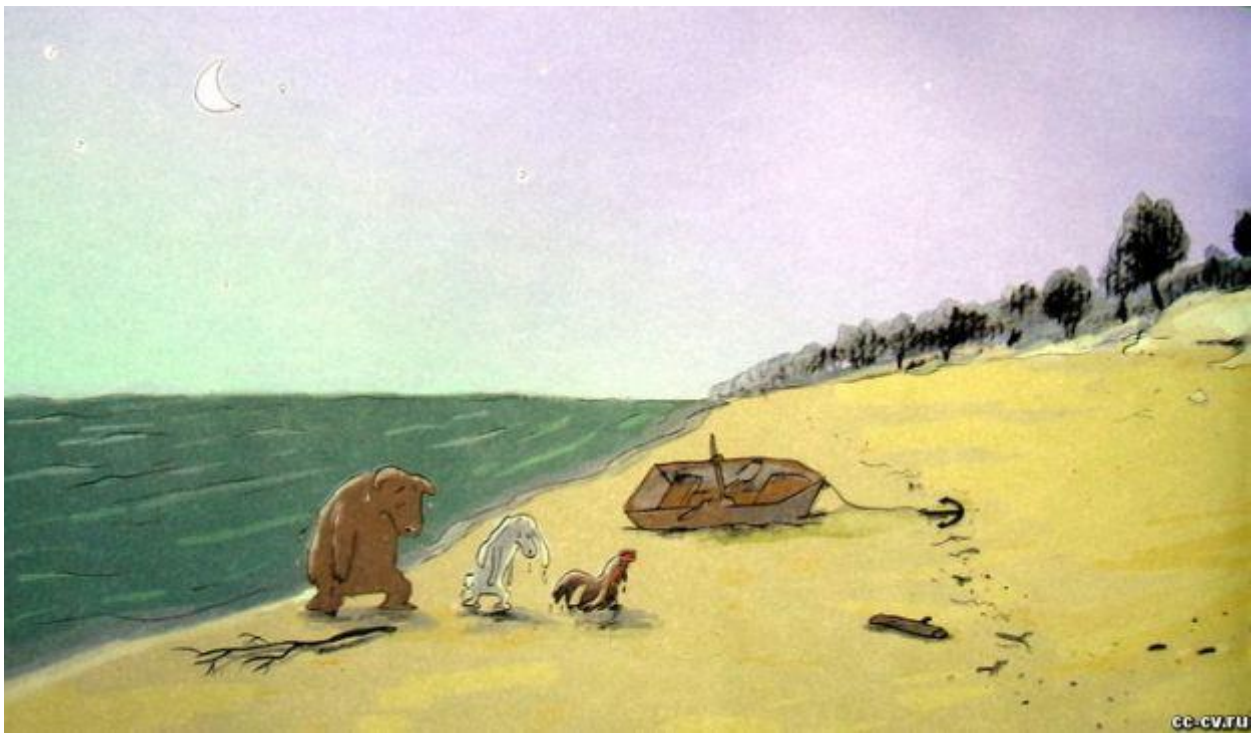










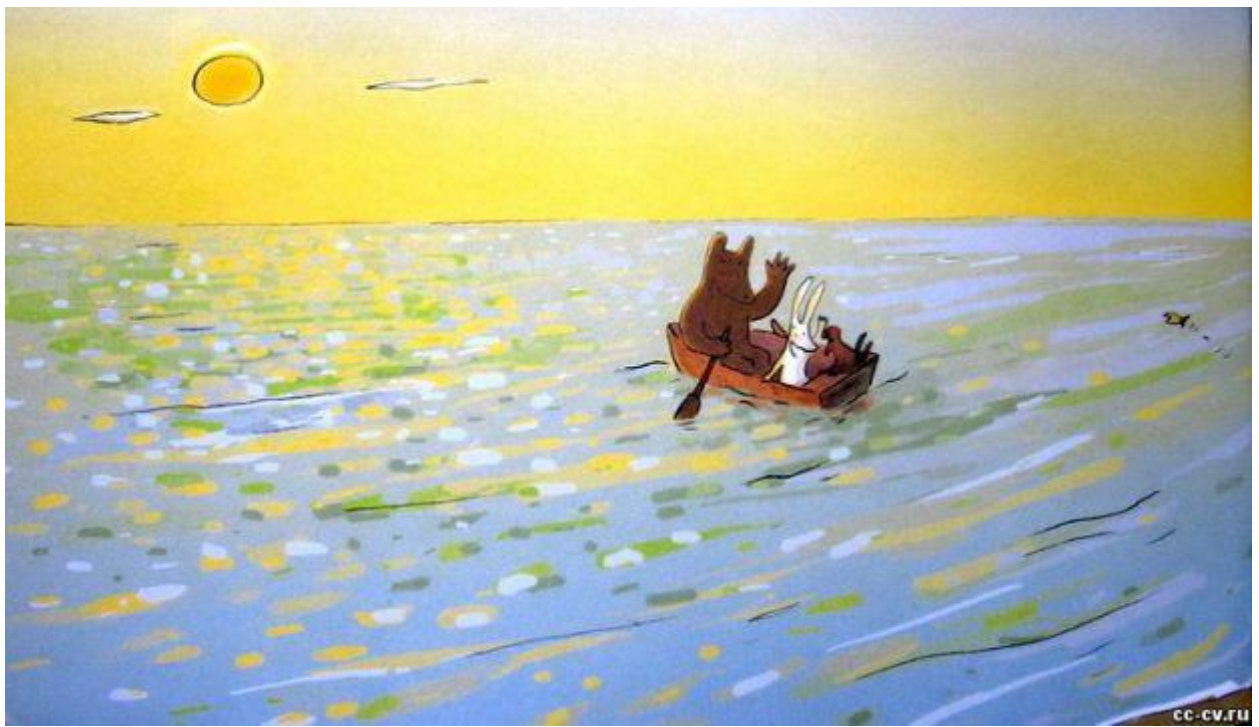




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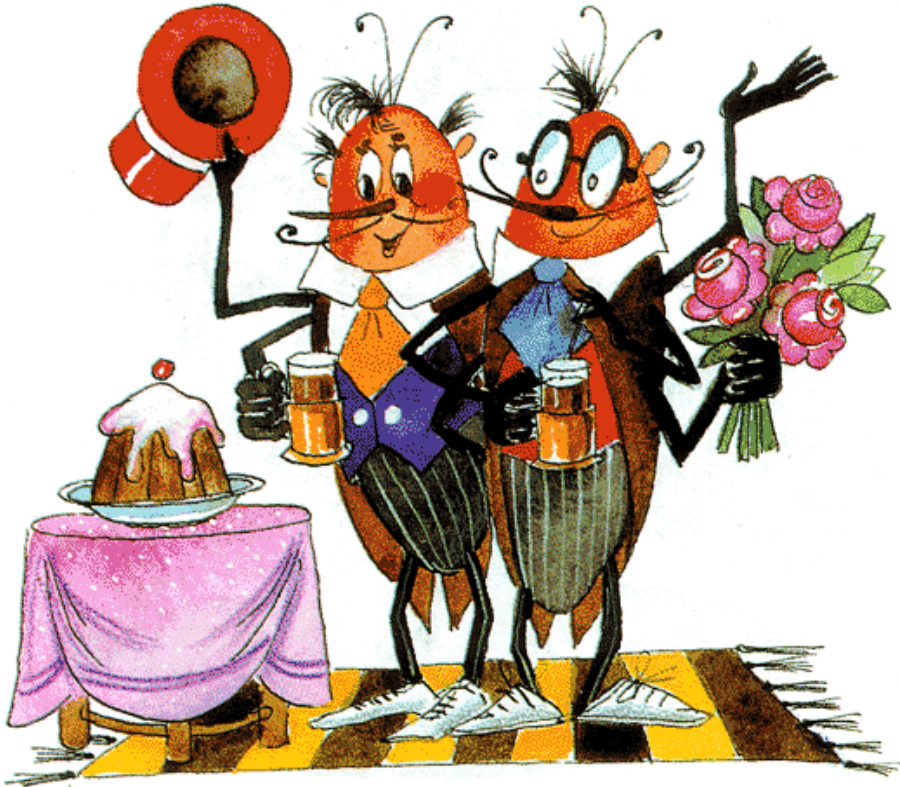




Appendix F: Culture related story “Mukha-Tsokotukha”

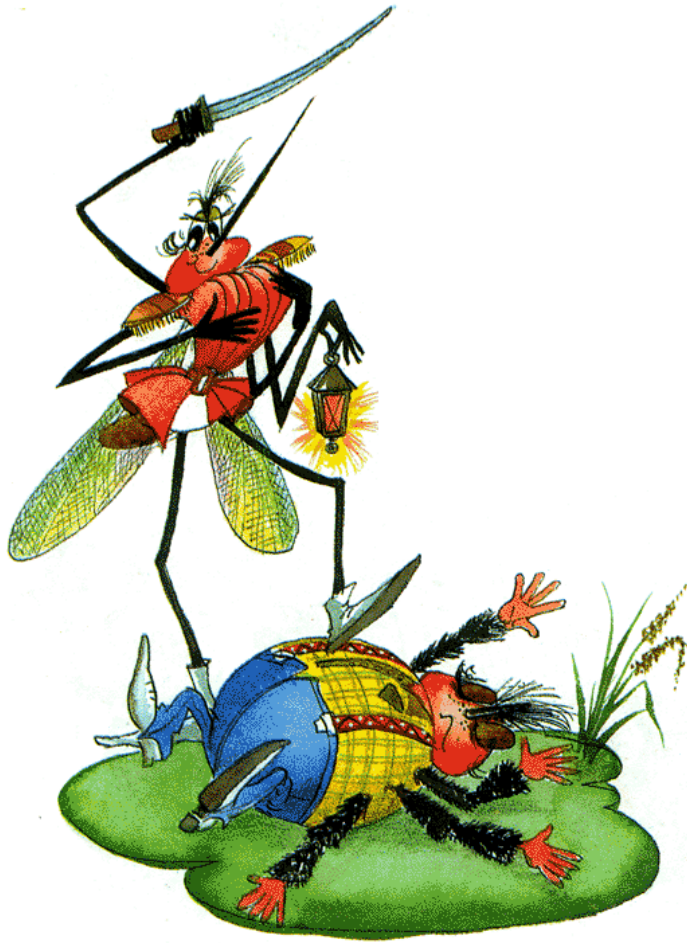
Retrieved from <http://www.bankreceptov.ru/skazki/skazki-0040.shtml>















Appendix G: Parent's consent form

Department of Religion and Culture PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM Proficiency in Russian by children in Russian-speaking families

Researcher: Natalia Terekhova, graduate student, Department of Religion and Culture, University of Saskatchewan, phone: 881-2379, e-mail: nat050@mail.usask.ca.

This is a study of Russian spoken by elementary schoolchildren in Saskatchewan. We are also investigating socio-cultural factors related to the maintenance of Russian in families.

The study will help us to understand the conditions of proficiency in Russian among Saskatchewan children.

You will be asked to complete a questionnaire about your use of Russian at home and in other settings. Your child will be asked to answer some questions, to read and to tell a story in Russian. The speech will be recorded.

Please feel free to ask any questions regarding the procedures and goals of the study or your role.

The data will be collected anonymously. Neither your name nor your child's name will appear in any form in research materials and publications. All the research materials including the records and questionnaires will be stored at the University of Saskatchewan and not released to any individuals or organizations. Data will be stored by the research supervisor for a minimum of 5 years after the completion of the study.

The data collected will be reported in research papers and academic presentations, mostly in aggregate form. Direct quotations from your questionnaire or your child's recording may be published or used in teaching materials for academic courses (on campus or long distance Internet), but no personally identifying information will ever be released.

Completion of the questionnaire and the recording of your child constitute consent to participate and permission for the researchers to use the gathered data in the manner described above. If at any later point you decide to discontinue your participation in the study, you can contact the researchers and your and/or your child's data will be deleted from the study and destroyed at your request.

Your participation is voluntary and you can answer only those questions that you are comfortable with. You may withdraw from the research project for any reason, without explanation or penalty of any sort.

Your right to withdraw data from the study will apply until January 1, 2014. After this date, it is possible that some form of research dissemination will have already occurred and it may not be possible to withdraw your data.

If you have any questions concerning this study, please do not hesitate to ask. You may also contact the researchers (at the address above) if you have questions at a later date or if you would like to find out about the results of the study.

To obtain results from the study, please contact Natalia Terekhova at nat050@mail.usask.ca. This research project has been approved on ethical grounds by the University of Saskatchewan Research Ethics Board. Any questions regarding your rights as a participant may be addressed to that committee through the Research Ethics Office ethics.office@usask.ca (306) 966-2975. Out of town participants may call toll free (888) 966-2975.

If you agree to participate in this study and allow your child's participation in this study, please sign below. Thank you very much for your time and cooperation.

Your signature below indicates that you have read and understand the description provided; I have had an opportunity to ask questions and my/our questions have been answered. I

consent to participate in the research project. A copy of this Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

Name of Participant Signature

Researcher's Signature

Date

Appendix H: Child's assent form

Child Assent Form

Dear friend,

You are invited to take part in a research project. In a research project, people study something new and exciting. I study how children in Canada speak Russian, and request you to help us, if you are willing to do so. This is not a part of your regular class work. This is an optional activity.

If you agree, I will answer you a few questions and show you some pictures and ask you to talk in Russian about what you see in the pictures. I will record what you say. It will probably take you about 10 to 30 minutes to do this.

If you get tired, or bored, or you think that this is not interesting, you can stop at any time. If you stop, this will not cause anyone to be upset or angry, and will not result in any type of penalty.

I will not share your story with anybody.

If you later change your mind, and you do not want us to listen to your story, you can call the telephone number below and tell us. I will then erase the recording. You can also call us if you have any questions.

Natalia Terekhova.

I study at the University of Saskatchewan.

You can call me at 881-2379, or e-mail nat050@mail.usask.ca

If you read this explanation or listened to it, if you understand it and agree to take part in the study, please write your name on the line which says 'YOUR NAME'.

Name of participating child

Date

YOUR NAME

Signature of researcher

Appendix I: Table 10.1*Factors predicting children's Russian language proficiency*

	Girls	Russian is the only language in parents' hometown	Children reply in Russian often	Children have more Russian-speaking friends
Children are not born in Canada	r (30) = .555, Adj. R ² = .308, p = .007, F = 6.004	r (30) = .466, Adj. R ² = .159, p = .037, F = 3.747	r (30) = .471, Adj. R ² = .164, p = .034, F = 3.851	r (30) = .497, Adj. R ² = .165, p = .022, F = 3.856
Children came to Canada at later age	r (30) = .547, Adj. R ² = .248, p = .008, F = 5.772	-	r (30) = .482, Adj. R ² = .175, p = .028, F = 4.076	r (30) = .470, Adj. R ² = .163, p = .034, F = 3.826
Attended institutions in Russian-speaking countries	r (30) = .605, Adj. R ² = .319, p = .002, F = 7.783	r (30) = .473, Adj. R ² = .166, p = .033, F = 3.886	r (30) = .490, Adj. R ² = .184, p = .024, F = 4.272	r (30) = .506, Adj. R ² = .200, p = .019, F = 4.636
Russian is sole family language	r (30) = .578, Adj. R ² = .285, p = .004, F = 6.774	r (30) = .453, Adj. R ² = .147, p = .045, F = 3.495	r (30) = .461, Adj. R ² = .154, p = .040, F = 3.649	r (30) = .485, Adj. R ² = .179, p = .027, F = 4.159
Parents speak Russian	r (28) = .662, Adj. R ² = .345, p = .001, F = 8.111	r (28) = .493, Adj. R ² = .183, p = .031, F = 4.015	-	r (28) = .478, Adj. R ² = .167, p = .034, F = 3.698
Children reply in Russian	r (30) = .668, Adj. R ² = .405, p = .000, F = 10.887	r (30) = .557, Adj. R ² = .259, p = .007, F = 6.063	N/A	r (30) = .560, Adj. R ² = .263, p = .006, F = 6.174
Children have more friends	r (30) = .627, Adj. R ² = .348, p = .001, F = 8.741	r (30) = .570, Adj. R ² = .275, p = .005, F = 6.509	r (30) = .560, Adj. R ² = .263, p = .006, F = 6.174	N/A
Children communicate with Russian-speaking friends often	r (30) = .566, Adj. R ² = .270, p = .005, F = 6.377	r (30) = .479, Adj. R ² = .173, p = .029, F = 4.028	r (30) = .464, Adj. R ² = .157, p = .038, F = 3.705	r (30) = .471, Adj. R ² = .164, p = .034, F = 3.840
Speak Russian to themselves when playing	r (30) = .560, Adj. R ² = .262, p = .006, F = 6.157	-	r (30) = .566, Adj. R ² = .270, p = .005, F = 6.364	r (30) = .484, Adj. R ² = .177, p = .027, F = 4.124
Attend Russian language-related organizations	r (30) = .555, Adj. R ² = .257, p = .007, F = 6.008	r (30) = .452, Adj. R ² = .145, p = .046, F = 3.462	r (30) = .513, Adj. R ² = .208, p = .016, F = 4.816	r (30) = .509, Adj. R ² = .205, p = .017, F = 4.732

Have visited a Russian-speaking country	r (30) = .569, Adj. R ² = .247, p = .005, F = 5.768	r (30) = .494, Adj. R ² = .188, p = .023, F = 4.365	r (30) = .491, Adj. R ² = .185, p = .024, F = 4.296	r (30) = .468, Adj. R ² = .161, p = .036, F = 3.783
Listen to Russian music	r (30) = .557, Adj. R ² = .259, p = .006, F = 6.076	r (30) = .448, Adj. R ² = .141, p = .049, F = 3.385	r (30) = .463, Adj. R ² = .157, p = .038, F = 3.693	r (30) = .466, Adj. R ² = .160, p = .036, F = 3.752
Watch TV in Russian	r (30) = .589, Adj. R ² = .299, p = .003, F = 7.179	r (30) = .481, Adj. R ² = .174, p = .029, F = 4.053	r (30) = .469, Adj. R ² = .162, p = .035, F = 3.805	r (30) = .486, Adj. R ² = .179, p = .027, F = 4.165
Browse internet in Russian	r (30) = .600, Adj. R ² = .312, p = .002, F = 7.585	r (30) = .451, Adj. R ² = .145, p = .046, F = 3.449	r (30) = .460, Adj. R ² = .154, p = .040, F = 3.631	r (30) = .477, Adj. R ² = .171, p = .031, F = 3.982
Parents cannot trace influence of English when children speak Russian	r (30) = .604, Adj. R ² = .318, p = .002, F = 7.753	r (30) = .452, Adj. R ² = .146, p = .025, F = 3.475	r (30) = .459, Adj. R ² = .153, p = .041, F = 3.611	r (30) = .465, Adj. R ² = .158, p = .037, F = 3.730
Family lives in Canada less	r (30) = .557, Adj. R ² = .259, p = .007, F = 6.065	r (30) = .449, Adj. R ² = .142, p = .048, F = 3.402	r (30) = .482, Adj. R ² = .165, p = .033, F = 3.866	r (30) = .475, Adj. R ² = .168, p = .032, F = 3.928
It is important for parents that their children speak Russian	r (30) = .617, Adj. R ² = .334, p = .002, F = 8.280	r (30) = .494, Adj. R ² = .179, p = .023, F = 4.152	r (30) = .510, Adj. R ² = .206, p = .017, F = 4.756	r (30) = .521, Adj. R ² = .218, p = .014, F = 5.041
Parents think that their children involved enough into Russian-speaking environment	r (30) = .618, Adj. R ² = .336, p = .002, F = 8.340	r (30) = .494, Adj. R ² = .188, p = .023, F = 4.352	r (30) = .475, Adj. R ² = .168, p = .032, F = 3.933	r (30) = .539, Adj. R ² = .238, p = .010, F = 5.540
Parents want children to know both languages better	r (30) = .673, Adj. R ² = .412, p = .000, F = 11.154	r (30) = .662, Adj. R ² = .396, p = .000, F = 10.509	r (30) = .644, Adj. R ² = .371, p = .001, F = 9.542	r (30) = .599, Adj. R ² = .311, p = .003, F = 7.539
Parents speak Russian to partners	r (29) = .605, Adj. R ² = .317, p = .003, F = 7.487	r (29) = .521, Adj. R ² = .215, p = .016, F = 4.835	-	-
Parents have more Russian-speaking friends	r (30) = .599, Adj. R ² = .311, p = .002, F = 7.559	r (30) = .484, Adj. R ² = .177, p = .027, F = 4.125	r (30) = .462, Adj. R ² = .155, p = .039, F = 3.661	r (30) = .465, Adj. R ² = .158, p = .037, F = 3.730
Parents report that their children like to speak Russian	r (29) = .587, Adj. R ² = .294, p = .004, F = 6.825	r (29) = .491, Adj. R ² = .182, p = .028, F = 4.122	-	-

Parents read books in Russian	r (30) = .549, Adj. R ² = .249, p = .008, F = 5.813	-	r (30) = .461, Adj. R ² = .154, p = .040, F = 3.641	r (30) = .486, Adj. R ² = .180, p = .026, F = 4.173
Parents watch movies in Russian	r (30) = .667, Adj. R ² = .404, p = .000, F = 10.836	r (30) = .565, Adj. R ² = .269, p = .006, F = 6.336	r (30) = .476, Adj. R ² = .169, p = .031, F = 3.952	r (30) = .520, Adj. R ² = .217, p = .014, F = 5.012
Parents are less fluent in English	r (30) = .547, Adj. R ² = .247, p = .008, F = 5.762	-	r (30) = .520, Adj. R ² = .216, p = .014, F = 4.993	r (30) = .490, Adj. R ² = .184, p = .024, F = 4.273
Parents are less fluent in Russian	r (30) = .588, Adj. R ² = .297, p = .003, F = 7.140	r (30) = .467, Adj. R ² = .160, p = .036, F = 3.762	r (30) = .469, Adj. R ² = .162, p = .035, F = 3.804	r (30) = .465, Adj. R ² = .158, p = .037, F = 3.730
Russian is a favourite language	r (30) = .560, Adj. R ² = .263, p = .006, F = 6.173	r (30) = .478, Adj. R ² = .171, p = .030, F = 3.993	r (30) = .469, Adj. R ² = .162, p = .035, F = 3.799	r (30) = .500, Adj. R ² = .194, p = .021, F = 4.499
Parents' attitudinal parameters:				
<i>For a person with Russian background is important to speak Russian</i>	r (30) = .547, Adj. R ² = .247, p = .008, F = 5.765	r (30) = .483, Adj. R ² = .176, p = .028, F = 4.103	r (30) = .529, Adj. R ² = .227, p = .012, F = 5.256	r (30) = .487, Adj. R ² = .181, p = .026, F = 4.203
<i>Russian can help my child in life</i>	r (30) = .548, Adj. R ² = .249, p = .008, F = 5.805	r (30) = .513, Adj. R ² = .209, p = .016, F = 4.822	r (30) = .525, Adj. R ² = .222, p = .013, F = 5.142	r (30) = .490, Adj. R ² = .184, p = .024, F = 4.270
<i>Russian can help my child's career</i>	r (30) = .571, Adj. R ² = .276, p = .005, F = 6.534	r (30) = .532, Adj. R ² = .230, p = .011, F = 5.342	r (30) = .547, Adj. R ² = .247, p = .008, F = 5.758	r (30) = .501, Adj. R ² = .195, p = .020, F = 4.514
<i>I'm sorry for people with Russian background who do not know Russian</i>	r (30) = .604, Adj. R ² = .318, p = .002, F = 7.764	r (30) = .482, Adj. R ² = .175, p = .028, F = 4.081	r (30) = .462, Adj. R ² = .155, p = .039, F = 3.656	r (30) = .499, Adj. R ² = .193, p = .021, F = 4.467
<i>Knowledge of French is more important than Russian for my child in Canada (negative corr.)</i>	r (30) = -.583, Adj. R ² = -.291, p = .004, F = 6.956	r (30) = -.474, Adj. R ² = -.167, p = .032, F = 3.908	r (30) = -.485, Adj. R ² = -.178, p = .027, F = 4.149	r (30) = -.479, Adj. R ² = -.173, p = .030, F = 4.024
<i>It is more important to know English than Russian for my child in Canada (negative corr.)</i>	r (30) = -.603, Adj. R ² = -.317, p = .002, F = 7.720	r (30) = -.471, Adj. R ² = -.164, p = .034, F = 3.840	r (30) = -.460, Adj. R ² = -.153, p = .041, F = 3.616	r (30) = -.492, Adj. R ² = -.186, p = .024, F = 4.318
<i>To become bilingual, children should learn</i>	r (30) = .586, Adj. R ² = .295,	r (30) = .450, Adj. R ² = .144,	r (30) = .470, Adj. R ² = .164,	r (30) = .500, Adj. R ² = .194,

<i>English and Russian</i>	p = .003, F = 7.075	p = .046, F = 3.446	p = .034, F = 3.836	p = .021, F = 4.499
<i>For me it is important that my child participates in Russian culture</i>	r (30) = .636, Adj. R ² = .360, p = .001, F = 9.151	r (30) = .525, Adj. R ² = .222, p = .013, F = 5.142	r (30) = .527, Adj. R ² = .225, p = .012, F = 5.200	r (30) = .558, Adj. R ² = .260, p = .007, F = 6.089
<i>It is important to know Russian for communication with relatives in Russia</i>	r (30) = .572, Adj. R ² = .277, p = .005, F = 6.556	r (30) = .500, Adj. R ² = .194, p = .021, F = 4.494	r (30) = .503, Adj. R ² = .197, p = .020, F = 4.563	r (30) = .552, Adj. R ² = .253, p = .007, F = 5.908
<i>I want my child to marry a Russian speaker</i>	r (30) = .677, Adj. R ² = .418, p = .000, F = 11.403	r (30) = .523, Adj. R ² = .219, p = .013, F = 5.075	r (30) = .460, Adj. R ² = .153, p = .041, F = 3.614	r (30) = .488, Adj. R ² = .181, p = .026, F = 4.211
<i>It's important for my child to be a part of Russian community</i>	r (30) = .580, Adj. R ² = .287, p = .004, F = 6.844	r (30) = .485, Adj. R ² = .178, p = .027, F = 4.144	r (30) = .531, Adj. R ² = .229, p = .011, F = 5.303	r (30) = .508, Adj. R ² = .203, p = .018, F = 4.702
<i>We came to Canada to become Canadians</i>	r (30) = -.597, Adj. R ² = -.308, p = .003, F = 7.461	r (30) = -.573, Adj. R ² = -.278, p = .005, F = 6.593	r (30) = -.628, Adj. R ² = -.350, p = .001, F = 8.800	r (30) = -.586, Adj. R ² = -.295, p = .003, F = 7.063

Table 10.2

Factors predicting children's Russian language proficiency

	Language parents want children to know better	Parents watch TV in Russian often	Children speak Russian with siblings at home	Children speak Russian with siblings out of home
Not born in Canada	r (30) = .460, Adj. R ² = .153, p = .040, F = 3.620	-	r (21) = .593, Adj. R ² = .280, p = .020, F = 4.881	r (21) = .568, Adj. R ² = .248, p = .030, F = 4.294
Came to Canada at later age	r (30) = .460, Adj. R ² = .153, p = .041, F = 3.619	-	r (21) = .553, Adj. R ² = .229, p = .037, F = 3.973	r (21) = .548, Adj. R ² = .222, p = .040, F = 3.857
Attended institutions in Russian-speaking countries	r (30) = .507, Adj. R ² = .202, p = .018, F = 4.660	-	r (21) = .560, Adj. R ² = .237, p = .034, F = 4.103	r (21) = .557, Adj. R ² = .234, p = .035, F = 4.057
Russian is sole family language	r (30) = .480, Adj. R ² = .173, p = .029, F = 4.039	-	r (21) = .553, Adj. R ² = .229, p = .037, F = 3.977	r (21) = .561, Adj. R ² = .239, p = .033, F = 4.140

Parents speak Russian	r (27) = .521, Adj. R ² = .211, p = .022, F = 4.606	-	r (20) = .549, Adj. R ² = .219, p = .048, F = 3.664	r (20) = .545, Adj. R ² = .215, p = .049, F = 3.594
Children reply in Russian	r (30) = .644, Adj. R ² = .371, p = .001, F = 9.542	r (30) = .476, Adj. R ² = .169, p = .031, F = 3.952	r (21) = .569, Adj. R ² = .249, p = .029, F = 4.318	r (21) = .575, Adj. R ² = .256, p = .027, F = 4.440
Children have more friends	r (30) = .599, Adj. R ² = .311, p = .003, F = 7.539	r (30) = .520, Adj. R ² = .217, p = .014, F = 5.012	r (21) = .616, Adj. R ² = .310, p = .014, F = 5.492	r (21) = .663, Adj. R ² = .377, p = .005, F = 7.052
Children communicate with Russian-speaking friends often	r (30) = .487, Adj. R ² = .180, p = .026, F = 4.187	-	r (21) = .556, Adj. R ² = .233, p = .036, F = 4.031	r (21) = .557, Adj. R ² = .233, p = .035, F = 4.046
Speak Russian to themselves when playing	r (30) = .459, Adj. R ² = .153, p = .041, F = 3.613	r (30) = .476, Adj. R ² = .169, p = .031, F = 3.959	r (21) = .579, Adj. R ² = .262, p = .025, F = 4.543	r (21) = .583, Adj. R ² = .266, p = .024, F = 4.631
Attend Russian language-related organizations	r (30) = .497, Adj. R ² = .191, p = .022, F = 4.417	r (30) = .528, Adj. R ² = .225, p = .012, F = 5.221	r (21) = .657, Adj. R ² = .369, p = .006, F = 6.847	r (21) = .613, Adj. R ² = .306, p = .014, F = 5.411
Have visited a Russian-speaking country	r (30) = .460, Adj. R ² = .153, p = .040, F = 3.627	-	r (21) = .571, Adj. R ² = .251, p = .029, F = 4.357	r (21) = .568, Adj. R ² = .247, p = .030, F = 4.278
Parents read in Russian to children	r (30) = .504, Adj. R ² = .199, p = .019, F = 4.599	-	r (21) = .565, Adj. R ² = .244, p = .031, F = 4.219	r (21) = .580, Adj. R ² = .263, p = .025, F = 4.566
Listen to Russian music	r (30) = .492, Adj. R ² = .186, p = .024, F = 4.305	-	r (21) = .611, Adj. R ² = .303, p = .015, F = 5.353	r (21) = .629, Adj. R ² = .328, p = .011, F = 5.888
Watch TV in Russian	r (30) = .556, Adj. R ² = .258, p = .007, F = 6.029	-	r (21) = .577, Adj. R ² = .259, p = .026, F = 4.490	r (21) = .580, Adj. R ² = .262, p = .025, F = 4.551
Browse internet in Russian	r (30) = .512, Adj. R ² = .207, p = .017, F = 4.795	-	r (21) = .553, Adj. R ² = .228, p = .038, F = 3.959	r (21) = .552, Adj. R ² = .227, p = .038, F = 3.939
Parents cannot trace influence of English when children speak Russian	r (30) = .536, Adj. R ² = .234, p = .010, F = 5.432	-	r (21) = .629, Adj. R ² = .328, p = .011, F = 5.883	r (21) = .644, Adj. R ² = .349, p = .008, F = 6.367
Family lives in Canada less	r (30) = .461, Adj. R ² = .155,	-	r (21) = .551, Adj. R ² = .226,	r (21) = .547, Adj. R ² = .221,

	p = .039, F = 3.652		p = .039, 3.921	p = .041, F = 3.835
It is important for parents that their children speak Russian	r (30) = .484, Adj. R ² = .178, p = .027, F = 4.132	r (30) = .490, Adj. R ² = .184, p = .025, F = 4.268	r (21) = .612, Adj. R ² = .305, p = .015, F = 5.395	r (21) = .649, Adj. R ² = .356, p = .007, F = 6.535
Parents think that their children involved enough into Russian-speaking environment	r (30) = .528, Adj. R ² = .226, p = .012, F = 5.227	-	r (21) = .666, Adj. R ² = .381, p = .005, F = 7.166	r (21) = .641, Adj. R ² = .346, p = .009, F = 6.283
Parents want children to speak both languages better	-	r (30) = .548, Adj. R ² = .249, p = .008, F = 5.796	r (21) = .550, Adj. R ² = .225, p = .039, F = 3.900	r (21) = .547, Adj. R ² = .221, p = .041, F = 3.838
Parents speak Russian to partners	r (29) = .470, Adj. R ² = .161, p = .039, F = 3.687	-	r (21) = .558, Adj. R ² = .235, p = .035, F = 4.077	r (21) = .551, Adj. R ² = .226, p = .039, F = 3.915
Parents have more Russian-speaking friends	r (30) = .459, Adj. R ² = .153, p = .041, F = 3.611	-	r (21) = .631, Adj. R ² = .332, p = .010, F = 5.966	r (21) = .621, Adj. R ² = .318, p = .012, F = 5.656
Parents report that their children like to speak Russian	r (29) = .471, Adj. R ² = .162, p = .038, F = 3.704	-	r (21) = .550, Adj. R ² = .225, p = .039, F = 3.900	r (21) = .547, Adj. R ² = .221, p = .041, F = 3.838
Parents read books in Russian	r (30) = .463, Adj. R ² = .156, p = .039, F = 3.679	-	r (21) = .549, Adj. R ² = .224, p = .040, F = 3.882	r (21) = .550, Adj. R ² = .225, p = .039, F = 3.899
Parents watch movies in Russian	r (30) = .548, Adj. R ² = .249, p = .008, F = 5.796	N/A	r (21) = .601, Adj. R ² = .290, p = .018, F = 5.089	r (21) = .595, Adj. R ² = .283, p = .020, F = 4.938
Parents are less fluent in English	r (30) = .461, Adj. R ² = .154, p = .040, F = 3.642	-	r (21) = .549, Adj. R ² = .224, p = .039, F = 3.893	r (21) = .547, Adj. R ² = .221, p = .041, F = 3.834
Parents are less fluent in Russian	r (30) = .505, Adj. R ² = .200, p = .019, F = 4.633	-	r (21) = .558, Adj. R ² = .235, p = .035, F = 4.080	r (21) = .568, Adj. R ² = .247, p = .030, F = 4.285
Russian is children's favorite language	r (30) = .459, Adj. R ² = .152, p = .041, F = 3.608	-	r (21) = .551, Adj. R ² = .226, p = .039, F = 3.919	r (21) = .551, Adj. R ² = .226, p = .039, F = 3.916

Parents' attitudinal parameters:				
<i>For a person with Russian background is important to speak Russian</i>	r (30) = .471, Adj. R ² = .164, p = .034, F = 3.847	r (30) = .447, Adj. R ² = .141, p = .049, F = 3.373	r (21) = .594, Adj. R ² = .281, p = .020, F = 4.913	r (21) = .596, Adj. R ² = .283, p = .019, F = 4.956
<i>Russian can help my child in life</i>	r (30) = .471, Adj. R ² = .164, p = .034, F = 3.853	-	r (21) = .569, Adj. R ² = .248, p = .030, F = 4.302	r (21) = .564, Adj. R ² = .242, p = .032, F = 4.190
<i>Russian can help my child's career</i>	r (30) = .460, Adj. R ² = .154, p = .040, F = 3.633	-	r (21) = .569, Adj. R ² = .249, p = .029, F = 4.317	r (21) = .565, Adj. R ² = .243, p = .032, F = 4.213
<i>I'm sorry for people with Russian background who do not know Russian</i>	r (30) = .462, Adj. R ² = .155, p = .039, F = 3.664	-	r (21) = .593, Adj. R ² = .280, p = .020, F = 4.886	r (21) = .590, Adj. R ² = .275, p = .021, F = 4.799
<i>Knowledge of French is more important than Russian for my child in Canada (negative corr.)</i>	r (30) = -.532, Adj. R ² = -.230, p = .011, F = 5.329	-	r (21) = -.563, Adj. R ² = -.240, p = .033, F = 4.166	r (21) = -.550, Adj. R ² = -.225, p = .039, F = 3.911
<i>It's more important to know English than Russian for my child in Canada (negative corr.)</i>	r (30) = -.469, Adj. R ² = -.162, p = .035, F = 3.797	-	r (21) = -.619, Adj. R ² = -.314, p = .013, F = 5.585	r (21) = -.622, Adj. R ² = -.318, p = .012, F = 5.671
<i>To become bilingual, children should learn English and Russian</i>	r (30) = .500, Adj. R ² = .194, p = .021, F = 4.491	-	r (21) = .553, Adj. R ² = .228, p = .038, F = 3.958	r (21) = .547, Adj. R ² = .221, p = .041, F = 3.833
<i>For me it is important that my child participates in Russian culture</i>	r (30) = .516, Adj. R ² = .212, p = .015, F = 4.911	r (30) = .483, Adj. R ² = .176, p = .028, F = 4.104	r (21) = .562, Adj. R ² = .239, p = .033, F = 4.147	r (21) = .569, Adj. R ² = .248, p = .030, F = 4.300
<i>It is important to know Russian for communication with relatives in Russia</i>	r (30) = .498, Adj. R ² = .192, p = .021, F = 4.454	r (30) = .446, R ² = .199, p = .050	r (21) = .552, Adj. R ² = .228, p = .038, F = 3.952	r (21) = .561, Adj. R ² = .238, p = .034, F = 4.126
<i>I want my child to marry Russian speaker</i>	r (30) = .504, Adj. R ² = .199, p = .019, F = 4.602	-	r (21) = .549, Adj. R ² = .224, p = .040, F = 3.882	r (21) = .549, Adj. R ² = .224, p = .039, F = 3.893
<i>It's important for my child to be a part of Russian community</i>	r (30) = .493, Adj. R ² = .187, p = .023, F = 4.335	r (30) = .449, Adj. R ² = .143, p = .048, F = 3.415	r (21) = .551, Adj. R ² = .226, p = .039, F = 3.914	r (21) = .554, Adj. R ² = .230, p = .037, F = 3.986
<i>We came to Canada to become Canadians</i>	r (30) = -.529, Adj. R ² = -.227, p = .012, F = 5.258	r (30) = -.582, Adj. R ² = -.290, p = .004, F = 6.932	r (21) = -.693, Adj. R ² = -.422, p = .003, F = 8.293	r (21) = -.710, Adj. R ² = -.449, p = .002, F = 9.163