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**Heritage language maintenance
in a diplomat family: A case study**

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Abstract

The present research reports the findings on a case study conducted with a Russian diplomat family, which address issues of heritage language maintenance. The participants are a family with seven children who share four languages including Russian as the first language (L1). Three research questions were raised to reveal parental practices used in the family to preserve L1, to explore the children's attitudes and preferences towards L1, and how these attitudes interrelate with their L1 proficiency. In order to obtain the data for this study, the author spent ten days with the family in Vienna, Austria, during which individual interviews were conducted, observations were made, and oral narratives to investigate the participants' competence in L1 were recorded. The results provide a confirmation of how important family relations are to preserve heritage language for multilingual children. Additionally, the findings suggest that personal attitudes and dispositions are directly connected with personal beliefs in L1 competence, and, therefore, impact on actual L1 proficiency.

The keywords are *multilingualism, diplomat families, heritage language, language maintenance, identity, attitudes*.

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1. Introduction

Research on multilingualism has a long tradition. For the last decades, heritage language maintenance has become one of the most popular topics in this area due to the worldwide globalization, political and military conflicts and other reasons that make people change their place of residence either temporarily or permanently (immigrants, refugees, diplomats, etc.). With a view to avoid any misunderstanding hereinafter, the concept “expatriate/expat” will be used in relation to all people who do not live in their own country. Therefore, expatriates face such challenges as learning the language of a host country to fit in a new society, and maintenance of their heritage language. Additionally, expatriates’ children face more issues since such movements influence their internal perceptions of who they are and what language is considered to be the dominant one. It would be of special interest to see how the experience of immigration affects children’s personal dispositions, and whether it relates to their proficiency in the first language (L1). Despite the fact that this topic is not novel in the literature (Li, 2006; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005), it requires more studies since each case of expatriates is unique in terms of language context, educational experience and social background. To the author’s knowledge, no study has examined the context of diplomat families, which differs from other cases. Diplomats, due to their professional obligations, do not have the privilege to choose the country to reside, although they are supported by the government, and are generally of high socio-economic status. This thesis considers the field of heritage language maintenance as the main subject of the study because the participants of the present research are unique in terms of their personal experience.

2. Theoretical Background

A number of scholars define multilingualism as usage of more than one language by one individual (Mackey, 1962; Pavlenko, 2004; Cenoz, 2013). Some of these researchers differentiate between “bilingualism” and “multilingualism” in terms of the number of languages used, whereas the present study combines these concepts within the term “multilingualism” to avoid confusion hereafter. Additionally, it is worth emphasizing that the present paper is focused on multilingualism which is the result of language acquisition in both naturalistic and classroom instruction settings. Certainly, there are various situations in which people learn new languages, though according to previous studies, multilingualism generally emerges due to immigration or children’s education in immersion schools (Antal, 1998; Caldas, 2008; Li, 2006; Muñoz, 2010; Pavlenko, 2010; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). Thus, the most appropriate definition of multilinguals for the present study is the one by Cenoz (2013): “Multilinguals can be speakers of

a minority indigenous language who need to learn the dominant state language. In other cases, multilinguals are immigrants who speak their first language(s) as well as the language(s) of their host countries” (p. 3).

For multilinguals, the process of acquiring language(s) may involve the intersection of multiple cultural values, beliefs, and socialization contexts. For such learners, “language practices do not exist in isolation from each other, just as cultures and communities do not exist as discrete entities, but rather interact with each other in complementarity or conflict” (Li, 2006). Furthermore, each case of expatriates is unique in terms of the context, languages, and general background. The majority of the relevant literature research is concentrated on immigrants who become multilingual because they are forced to migrate because of economic or political reasons. Although the participants of the present study differ from these groups of immigrants, some of the challenges they face are similar. For instance, both immigrant and diplomat families have to solve such issues as education for their children, unfamiliar legal systems, new culture, traditions, religion, language and crucially maintenance of their heritage language and culture. This literature review will take into consideration points that are important for the present study and highlight significant research conducted in this area so far.

2.1 Multilingualism

A number of researchers have examined and established specific features associated with multilingualism: some have discussed advantages of the capacity to speak several languages (De Bot, 2008), and others address disadvantages (Higby, Kim, & Obler, 2013). A well-known claim by Grosjean (1989) asserts that a bilingual person is not two monolinguals within one person. Nonetheless, this complicated phenomenon of the coexistence of two or more languages within one cognitive structure has not yet been fully examined. Some scholars have confirmed Grosjean’s claim through experiments and observations. For example, Antal (1998) discusses the development of proficiency in three languages (English, French and German) in his three children over a continuous period. He concludes that multilingualism cannot be permanently fixed since numerous and even minor circumstances can influence the language development of children. Thus, language dominance may change over a lifespan, and multilinguals may never attain the same proficiency level as monolinguals. Previous research also provides evidence of particular difficulties in language development associated with multilingualism, such as lexical retrieval (even in a native language), poorer performance in semantic fluency compared with monolinguals, diversity in competence in spoken languages, etc. (Caldas, 2008; Higby et al., 2013; Jessner, 2006).

Moreover, the issue of language proficiency of multilinguals remains central. The best way to assess language proficiency of multilinguals has not been determined; consequently, it is also challenging to define language dominance of multilinguals (Cenoz, 2013; Hulstijn, 2012; Riazantseva, 2001). Nevertheless, successful attainment of equal competence in two or more languages can be explained by several factors: a high level of metalinguistic awareness (explicit knowledge of linguistic systems), communicative activity, and sensitivity or even creativity of divergent thinking, which may be achieved through the exceptional background associated with diverse schools, countries of residence, a wide range of acquaintances, etc. (Bialystok, Luk, & Kwan, 2005; Norton, 2016; Pavlenko, 2010; Thompson & Lee, 2013). Thus, previous research indicates that multilingualism is a complicated and fluctuating concept that requires deeper and more specific study.

2.2 Language and Identity

Another significant point for the present research is the relationship between language and identity. According to Norton (2016) “identity” can be defined as: “...the way a person understands his or her relationship to the world, how that relationship is structured across time and space, and how the person understands possibilities for the future” (p. 476). A considerable body of literature addresses the relationship between language and identity, particularly in the case of multilinguals (Pavlenko, 2004; Peirce, 1995; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). Evidence has been found that language choice is closely associated with identity, and relates not only to everyday life issues but also to self-perception and internal representations in this particular speech community (Norton, 2016; Norton & Toohey, 2011). For instance, Norton and Toohey (2011) recognize language learning for multilinguals as “struggling in order to participate in a target community” (p. 461). Therefore, the process of fitting into society might be more challenging for multilinguals compared with monolinguals. An empirical study by Al-Haj (2002) reveals beliefs of immigrants from the former Soviet Union in Israel about a close connection between language and identity. This research found that a vast majority of immigrants (90.6% of 707 interviewees) want their children to study in their heritage language (Russian) in order to preserve their heritage cultural identity. However, this study focused mostly on changes in self-identification of immigrants rather than on the interrelation between language and identity.

The question of language and identity is particularly important in the case of multilingual children and adolescents, since their language choice is “intimately associated with the internal struggle to determine who they are and with which culture they identify themselves” (Caldas, 2008, p. 295). To illustrate this idea, McGroarty (2012) discusses usage of “home language” by immigrants as “a source of emotional attachment and resonance,” especially in cases of particular

host country language policies (e.g. Spanish-speaking communities in the USA). Additionally, stressful situations are generally reflected in the communicative aspects of language proficiency rather than in an immigrant's inner world. For instance, Caldas (2008) studied his three children over the course of eight years in terms of their bilingual development in English and French. He observed changes in their attitudes, preferences, and associations with a particular culture and language in parallel with their bilingual development. Based on longitudinal observations, he concluded that, for adolescents, it is fundamental they feel confident in their ability to speak multiple languages as they are in progress of their personal development. Consequently, their language performance will reflect their feelings about their multilingualism. Therefore, self-identification plays a vital role in language choice, dominance and proficiency of multilinguals.

2.3 Attitude and Preferences

Delving deeper into psycholinguistics, individual differences have been shown in the literature as another factor influencing multilingual competence. Specifically, personal attitudes toward a particular language and/or preferences in language choice may influence the overall process of multilingual development. Therefore, the interrelation between personal development as an individual (predominantly of children and adolescents) and personal attitude towards a particular language and/or culture is prominent in the literature (Brown, 1973; Caldas, 2008; Chang, 2010). For instance, Garrett and Baquedano-López (2002) argue that current language usage is determined by “preferences, dispositions, and orientations that are social in origin and culturally specific in nature” (p. 342).

Since the present study is concerned with multilingual children and adolescents, it is essential to emphasize some factors that affect their attitudes and preferences in language choice and the emotional content thereof. With this in mind, the first aspect to focus on is the milieu and the home environment in particular. Parents and siblings determine a child's relationships with the world and form his/her dispositions toward the environment. There is a growing body of literature on parent-child relationships indicates that this psychological factor is one of the most decisive in language choice and attitudes towards the heritage language of multilingual children (Jessner, 2006; Norton & Toohey, 2011; Pavlenko & Malt, 2011). In the case of some expatriates, parents may have had negative experiences in their country of origin connected with political, economic, or social aspects of life that probably compelled them to change their place of residence. Hence, they are likely to impart their negative attitudes to their multilingual children, and even unconsciously contribute to specific preferences in language choice. For instance, a case study by Li (2006), which focused on three immigrant Chinese families living in Canada and their literacy practices at home, depicts how a family's attitudes towards their heritage language is

reflected in the children's L1 proficiency. The research findings suggest that the home context is crucial for success or failure in achieving biliteracy and attaining balance in abilities and interests in both heritage and target languages.

Another significant factor that influences children's attitudes toward multilingualism and language choice is a school (kindergarten, college, etc.). This factor impacts the development of various skills in a particular language. Additionally, school provides children of expatriates with opportunities to interact with their peers and additional language exposure, including possible influence from classmates and teachers' treatment on the child's dispositions toward the L1. There is overwhelming evidence that language preferences are closely associated with peer pressure outside home and the natural desire of a child to fit into a new environment (Caldas, 2008). Also, large cities often contain cultural and religious centers affiliated with embassies or national institutions, and these may provide an opportunity for immigrants to connect with their heritage culture. Expat children may attend classes conducted in their heritage language at cultural centers, organized with the support of the embassy of their home country, though these mostly operate on weekends and are often taught by parents or other instructors with no specific training in teaching children a language or other disciplines (Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). All these factors may impact child's attitude toward their heritage language as well as the language of the host country, and consequently may lead to particular personal preferences that are reflected in the child's identity.

2.4 Heritage Language Maintenance

Language maintenance is considered to be a multifaceted concept, since it may refer to "the actual use of a minority language, immigrants' attitudes towards that language and proficiency in various skills" (Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005, p. 291). There are several reasons for variation in heritage language maintenance, such as gender, age at immigration, length of residence, settlement patterns, size of the minority group, etc. (McCabe, 2016; McGroarty, 2012; Muñoz, 2010). However, a vital aspect of the successful preservation of the mother tongue in expat families is the family itself. The relationships between family members and parental efforts aimed at first language maintenance are considered significant predictors of successful heritage language preservation in the second generation (Li, 2006; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). For example, Tannenbaum and Berkovich (2005) interviewed 180 adolescents who immigrated to Israel from the former Soviet Union and found that language maintenance in the second generation is directly associated with harmonious family relations and well-being. This study also advocates promoting multiculturalism in schools by making the school environment more

welcoming and relevant for expat children. Another study revealed that conflicts in expat parent-child relationships may be reflected emotionally in communication patterns (Pavlenko, 2004).

In general, language is the means by which we are socialized into our culture. Consequently, the cultural heritage of the past is transmitted through language; it may be transformed and reshaped, but it passes on to following generations (Li, 2006). In the case of expatriates, people face numerous obstacles to adapt to a new environment, culture and language, and to preserve the heritage of their own culture. Moreover, children may face unfavorable institutional attitudes toward the maintenance of heritage languages in schools both in and out of the classroom, which can lead to identity crises among bilingual children (Antal, 1998; Caldas, 2008; García, 2003). This pressure may impact academic development as well as impeding heritage language acquisition. Additionally, ceremonial occasions, whether traditional or contemporary, can serve as incentives for language practice and revitalization for those speakers who are not yet fluent, or those with insufficient language exposure. Conversely, reduced total exposure to the mother tongue makes the learner's experience insufficient for full mastery, resulting in cases of incomplete acquisition, partial or complete language attrition (Li, 2006; Pavlenko, 2010; Pavlenko & Malt, 2011).

3. The current study

The present research represents an underinvestigated area that comprises thousands of people all over the world. The previous literature is rich in illustrating linguistic experiences of expat families, though there are differences between different groups of expats. This study focuses on a diplomat family, which is unique for several reasons that will be explained in the methodology section. But what is worth to mention here is that this family represents a different from a permanent expatriate population. In fact, they do not stay permanently in a particular country, and therefore, such families are probably more interested in maintaining their L1 as a referent: they cannot expect their children to fully focus on each official language in the country they live. Other expat families, whose children live in the L2 environment, sometimes want their children to use the L2 at home, so, the parents have a chance to practice the host language, too. In such cases if a child forgets the L1 it does not affect his/her subsequent life in this country. As for diplomat families, their children have to maintain the heritage language since their acquisition of the L2, L3, etc., may become incomplete since they constantly change the country of residence. Generally, people who serve their countries far away from their motherlands have to face some problems that are unique to this population. For instance, children of diplomats have to adapt to constantly changing conditions since the diplomats are not allowed to live in a particular country

for an extensive period. Diplomats live on the territory of their state in their assigned country (permanent delegations) with their families. These territories are heavily guarded, therefore children under fourteen are not allowed to leave the territory without their parents or another designated person. Consequently, the families of diplomats live in a miniature version of their country, in which they have their own community with a school, playgrounds, a department store with food from their home country, etc., which could potentially facilitate L1 maintenance. All of that makes diplomats' cases unique since despite the fact they live abroad they always receive support from the embassy and other families who live under the same conditions. Such families and their children can choose the school (a local one or the embassy's school) and the environment in which to study and communicate, regardless of languages and nationalities. Subsequently, children learn more than one additional language, although their acquisition may be incomplete. Moreover, if a child studies in a local school, his/her L1 input is much more limited than in the case of monolingual children, and its acquisition can also be incomplete or, later on, it may undergo attrition. These children can learn their mother tongue in evening courses at the embassy (external studies) or they can ignore this opportunity, which also impacts their linguistic experience. To the author's knowledge, no previous research has examined multilinguals' experience from the perspective of diplomat families, and even less so from families as large as the one in the current study.

In view of the above said, the aim of this study is to explore factors that contribute to or are associated with heritage language maintenance in a diplomat family. The following research questions (RQ) guide this study.

RQ (1): What practices do parents in diplomat families follow in order to maintain heritage language usage of their children?

RQ (2): What are the children's personal experiences with Russian and their attitudes towards and self-identification with Russian culture/nationality?

RQ (3): What is the children's proficiency in Russian, as assessed by themselves and by experts? Is this proficiency related to their experience and attitudes as reported in RQ (2)?

4.Methodology

4.1 Participants

The current research is a case study on a Russian diplomat family, which is currently residing in Vienna, Austria (since 2015). To maintain anonymity, hereinafter letters and numbers will be used to identify the children of the family. The participants of the study are the father, the mother and seven children (target participants): A(21), A(19), A(14), A(12), A(11), A(6), A(4), where

the number in brackets represents the participant's age. The family lived in China (till 1997), Russia (1997-2003), the USA (2003-2009), and Switzerland (2009-2015), which is why the youngest children's languages vary from those of the eldest children. Everyone's shared L1 is Russian. The father speaks six languages (Russian, Serbian, Chinese, English, French, and German) and the mother speaks four languages (Russian, Chinese, English, and French). The parents are both highly educated; the father is serving in diplomatic missions of the Russian Federation and the mother is an archaeologist (PhD) with academic and professional experience in China, though currently, she is a stay-at-home mum. Due to differences in age and linguistic experience, the children have different language profiles. Table 1 presents an overview of the target participants' experience in living and studying in different countries and their language profiles.

Table 1. General background of the target participants

	Gender	Year of birth	Countries of residence (in chronological order)	Languages known (in order of acquisition)	Language use in schools (in chronological order)
A(21)	Male	1996	China – Russia – USA – Switzerland – Austria	Russian – English – French – German	Russian – English – French – German
A(19)	Female	1998	Russia – USA – Switzerland – Austria	Russian – English – French – German	Russian – English – French – German
A(14)	Female	2003	Russia – USA – Switzerland – Austria	Russian – English – French – German	Russian – English – French – German
A(12)	Female	2005	USA – Switzerland – Austria	Russian – French/English – German	French – Russian
A(11)	Female	2007	USA – Switzerland – Austria	Russian – French – English	French – Russian
A(6)	Male	2011	Switzerland – Austria	Russian – German	German
A(4)	Male	2013	Switzerland – Austria	Russian – German – English	German, English (music classes)

4.2 Instruments and Procedure

The procedure of data collection consisted of questionnaires, individual semi-structured interviews and narratives.

4.2.1 Questionnaire

The questionnaires were sent to the family in advance via email (see Appendix 1.1, 1.2). The questionnaire contained 20 questions, which included tables to be filled in by the target participants. Questions 1-5 referred to gathering general information about the participants (i.e. name, gender, age, native language, and known languages). Questions 6-8 elicited information about self-assessed proficiency in all known languages (in accordance with four skills: speaking, reading, listening, writing) and personal preferences in the choice of language usage in general. Question 9 asked the participants to fill in a table about their experience of living in different countries in chronological order. Questions 10-13 and 17 gathered background information about

their language usage in everyday life, their interactions with peers, and preferred language(s) for reading and/or watching television. Questions 14-16 addressed personal preferences and attitudes towards language usage, and questions 18-20 investigated personal experience in language usage (whether there were any issues in language learning, whether their language dominance had changed, and how they felt about being multilingual). These questionnaires were filled in by A(21), A(19), A(14), A(12) and A(11). For A(6) and A(4), another questionnaire was created to be filled in by their mother on their behalf. This questionnaire included 14 questions similar to those described above. There were questions, which touched on the participants' literacy skills, their preferences in language choice when watching and/or reading, and their wish to use that or another language in different situations.

4.2.2 Interview

Semi-structured interviews were designed based on the questionnaire responses and conducted in Russian with the children during a ten-day visit to the family in Vienna. The interviews were conducted individually with A(21), A(19), A(14), A(12), and A(11). Each of the interviews included seven parts to simplify the subsequent analysis of the responses. The choice of these categories was inspired by previous studies which recognized these particular aspects as important for language maintenance and/or acquisition (McCabe, 2016; McGroarty, 2012; Muñoz, 2010; Pavlenko, 2010). Table 2 demonstrates the purposes of the questions asked during the interviews.

Additionally, the participants were asked to give a direct answer as to whether they liked or disliked a certain experience in their lives or particular activities associated with language usage (schooling, travelling, reading in their L1, etc.), and to explain their answers. Therefore, the attitude was considered to be 'negative' if the interviewee firmly answered "I do not like it/I hate it", and 'positive' in cases where the responder explicitly expressed "I like it/I love it". Two responses were interpreted as 'neutral' attitude since the participants could not directly reflect their stance in that regard. Additionally, the participants were also explicitly asked the question "Who are you?" in terms of their nationality, citizenship and self-perception as an individual who belongs to a particular country. The answers were surprisingly different, however, any responses but "Russian" were considered as "Negative attitude" since such perceptions do not reflect a positive attitude in relation to L1 maintenance.

Table 2. Purposes of the interview questions

Category	Purpose
1. Comments on the questionnaire	To clarify responses from the questionnaire e.g. <i>How would you explain the difference in your self-rating of your language skills?</i>
2. Personal preferences	To see personal preferences in language usage e.g. <i>If you had to choose to speak only one language, which one would you choose? In which language do you read the most?</i>
3. School experience	To explore where each of the target participants studied and what feelings he/she has about it e.g. <i>Where did you study in each of the countries you lived in?</i>
4. Classroom instructions (languages)	To investigate what language exposure was for this particular participant in each school e.g. <i>In which languages did you study? Did you like your teachers?</i>
5. L1 acquisition	To study each participant's story in terms of L1 acquisition e.g. <i>What was your school experience studying in your L1? Do you want to improve your L1? Do you like reading in your L1?</i>
6. Identity	To discover to which culture/nationality the participant associates himself/herself e.g. <i>Where would you like to live? Do you have strong patriotic feelings in relation to any country? Which country?</i>
7. Attitude	To analyze personal attitudes towards their L1 e.g. <i>What do you feel during trips to Russia? Did/Do you like studying in Russian?</i>

4.2.3 Observations

While visiting the family, notes were taken based on conversations had with the parents. Due to their overwhelming lack of free time, the father was rarely able to participate in the conversations, though the mother was ready to share their experiences of living in different countries and the strategies they use to preserve the mother tongue at home. The author was able to observe the family life and the children's communication with each other on various occasions during the visit; the current study takes these observations into account. See Appendix 2 for some observations concerning language use.

4.2.4 Oral Narratives

To assess the participants' proficiency in their L1, narratives were used. This method was used by Pavlenko (2010) to study how linguistic features were used in a spontaneous speech by Russian-English bilinguals in an American context. Narratives, like conversations, constitute language use in context, and it allows to study how a narrator uses specific linguistic patterns in

natural speech. On the other hand, elicited narratives can be used to control for a topic and partly for items and structures which the participants produce, though the participants are supposed to demonstrate their L1 competence in accordance with their age. The participants were asked to narrate a story based on a prompt entitled “Picnic Task/Dog Story”, developed by Heaton (1966) (Appendix 3) and used by Tvakoli and Foster (2008). This prompt consists of a series of six black and white pictures which illustrate a story about a boy, a girl, and their dog. It depicts a tale showing how the children were gathering food in a basket for a picnic, but they did not notice how their dog got into the picnic basket. The last illustration of the series demonstrates how the children were surprised to see their dog in the empty basket. The oral narratives were also performed by monolingual Russian children of the same age as the target participants. This was done to elicit probable erroneous linguistic features that might be common among monolinguals. This method was also inspired by Pavlenko (2010) and used in order to judge multilinguals against an authentic, rather than an idealized, reference group. To keep the anonymity of the control group, the monolingual participants’ names were coded as: R(21), R(19), R(14), R(12), R(11), R(6), R(4) where R means residence in Russia and the number in the brackets is equivalent to their respective ages. The monolingual participants (or their parents) were asked to respond to a short questionnaire in order to surmise their age, linguistic background, and personal preferences and attitudes (Appendix 4). These participants live in different regions of Russia. They also signed a letter of consent concerning their participation in the study, and they were not informed about the real goal of the research (comparisons to multilinguals) to avoid the Hawthorne and/or Halo effects. Background information about this group is presented in Table 3.

Table 3. General background of the monolingual participants

	Gender	Knowledge of foreign languages	Travel abroad
R(21)	Female	English at school	Once in China
R(19)	Female	English at school	Europe, Mexico
R(14)	Male	English at school, Chinese with a tutor	Twice in China, twice in Thailand
R(12)	Female	English at school	-
R(11)	Male	English, German at school, a little Greek	Often in Greece, twice in the Dominican Republic, Hungary, Spain, Austria, Mexico
R(6)	Female	-	-
R(4)	Male	-	-

The narratives of both the target and monolingual participants were combined in terms of the speakers’ ages (A(21) and R(21), A(19) and R(19), etc.) and the assessment questionnaires in Russian were elaborated. Thus, there were seven surveys, each of them including five questions with a Likert scale per each speaker (ten questions in total). The first four questions were asked

to be assessed from 1 to 5, where 1 is the lowest score and 5 is the highest. The last question's scale is from 1 to 10, where 1 is the lowest score and 10 is the highest. This was done to make the results comparable with the self-assessed ratings made by the target participants in the questionnaires. The questions from the surveys are presented in Table 4.

Table 4. Assessment rubric for the oral narratives

Question	Scale
1. How well did you understand the story?	1 2 3 4 5
2. How grammatically correct was the story narrated?	1 2 3 4 5
3. How lexically correct was the story narrated?	1 2 3 4 5
4. How naturally did the story sound?	1 2 3 4 5
5. How would you assess the level of proficiency?	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

If you want to share something else, please, provide your comments on that here

Each pair of the narratives, the assessment questionnaires (Table 4), and a general background questionnaire (see Appendix 5) were inserted in an individual folder, which was distributed via email to the experts (n=10, female, age $M=23.8$). The experts are residents in Russia whose L1 is Russian, and whose occupations are closely connected with good competence in Russian (1 linguist, 3 language teachers (English, Chinese, and Spanish), 3 journalists, 1 public relations specialist, 1 copywriter, and 1 history researcher). Some of the experts provided several comments on the oral narratives and their general perceptions in relation to the speakers (see Appendix 6.1, 6.2).

6. Results and Discussion

6.1 RQ (1): What practices do parents in diplomat families follow in order to maintain heritage language usage of their children?

Based on the questionnaires, interviews, and observations, the following practices were identified in terms of rules of interaction, choice of school, literacy at home, trips to Russia and connections with relatives, and maintenance of L1's culture at home.

6.1.1 Rules of Interaction

According to the literature, distinct rules of interaction regarding only the L1 usage at homes of multilingual families clearly provide the substantial amount of L1 input; and it is proven that it enriches the total exposure and preservation of the heritage language of children (Pavlenko, 2004, 2010; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). The mother distinctly emphasized that she does not answer any of the children's questions or comments in any other language but Russian.

However, the parents mentioned that if they want to talk about something, but they do not want to be understood by the children they use Chinese. Nonetheless, the children (particularly A(21), A(19) and A(14)) often speak other languages between each other (usually French or English). For example, on the first day of the visit, these three participants were observed to be chatting enthusiastically about common friends in English, French, and Russian simultaneously. Moreover, it is worth mentioning that each child has at least six more interlocutors besides their parents in everyday life – the siblings, with whom they can always speak Russian if they wish. Although, according to the observations, Russian is more frequently used at home among A(21), A(12), A(11), A(6) and A(4). A(19) and A(14) prefer using English or French while speaking to each other. Therefore, this case is clearly unique in terms of comparison with other case studies on expat families where children also had limited heritage language input since there is only one, two, or maximum three children in a family (Li, 2006; Phinney et al., 2001; Tannenbaum & Berkovich, 2005). However, the parents motivate their children to learn languages and use them in everyday life, too. Knowledge of multiple languages is highly prioritized in the family and it is reflected in the children's behaviour and consequent language choice. The importance of a family's support of multilingual children has been also recognized in previous studies (Caldas, 2008), as a way to provide them with self-confidence in their multiple languages knowledge.

6.1.2 Choice of School

Schooling is a substantial part of life for almost every child in the world. In accordance with the literature, for a multilingual child or adolescent, it is required to be immersed into a community that would value heritage languages with no pressure towards difference in cultures or languages (García, 2003). The parents admit the choice of school is a very individual process for each child. Generally, the parents base their choice on several factors. The first and most significant factor is the neighbourhood in each city where they lived: the parents always have to think about transportation and general conditions if they want their children to go to a local school (e.g. a new language, escorting to this particular school, references about this school, etc.).

Secondly, but not less importantly, the children's schooling experience is also essential: since a child is 10-12 years old, he or she always has a right of choice where he or she wants to continue schooling. Thus, in virtue of such background, A(19) and A(14) are currently studying in a local school and absolutely resist the idea of coming back to the Russian educational system. Certainly, the parents want all the best for the children and they never force the children to do what they do not want to do. However, the family always has the option of the embassy's school whose educational system fulfils the requirements of the public educational system of Russia.

According to the mother, each time there are two options: a child can start over in an unknown language with new classmates and new system of schooling, or a child can attend the Russian educational system at the embassy's school which is considered to be old-fashioned and of low quality.

The mother: *“The intensity and standards of the Russian educational system are not aimed at motivation and individual approach rather than at the state standards that are applicable for monolingual students in Russia. These standards are based on the Soviet ones and it is seen in the textbooks. For instance, they give examples on usage of some Russian rules from the classical literature while students of primary or even secondary schools do not even know such words presented in the illustrations for grammar rules.”*

The mother is clearly worried about how the schooling system may change the children's attitudes toward the heritage culture and the language in particular. Truly, educational systems all over the world are different and it is always a huge pressure for students to get used to a new milieu. However, the parents, who had experienced studying in a foreign country by themselves, can share their support in that respect since they vividly understand their children's problems in acquiring new languages and getting used to a new environment. On the other hand, according to the mother, in Russian schools the teaching staff do not understand problems of newly arrived students and do not support them. It occurred in Geneva and Vienna when the children who had attended American or Swiss schools came to the embassy's school and faced negative treatment from some of the teachers based on their academic performance.

The mother: *“A(12) (currently goes to a Russian school) has problems with spelling in Russian, though she had the same issue in French while studying in a Swiss school. In Geneva the teachers did not pay attention to it, they supported the students regardless of their academic performance. Here, it looks like a vicious circle: A(12) made mistakes and got low grades, the teacher's attitude to her was getting worse and A(12) lost her motivation to study at all. You know that you lose a point when you make one spelling mistake or miss a coma. So, the children see it and they compare the schools they have attended before, and they do not want to study in Russian at all.”*

This finding is directly in line with previous studies which declared about an essential role of schooling in providing the children with foreign language acquisition and heritage language maintenance (Cenoz, 2013; Higby et al., 2013). For instance, McCabe (2016), while examining heritage language maintenance in eleven Slovak and Czech expat families in the USA, claimed schooling in summer external studies in Slovakia and the Czech Republic as one of the substantial factors to preserve L1 at home. School, in general, provides students with not only the development of different skills, but also with emotional maturity and personal

advancement. It affects personal attitudes and self-identification with this peculiar language and culture, therefore, schooling in L1 is not only a way of additional L1 input but also a way of internal personal development (Antal, 1998). However, this family sees schooling only as an educational process, not as a way of increasing Russian language exposure.

6.1.3 Literacy (at home)

Literacy is highly recognized as one of the most decisive factors in language acquisition regardless of whether it is L1 or L2 (Aladdin, 2014; Ganuza & Hedman, 2017; Thompson & Lee, 2013). Multilingual literacy is known as one of the influences on the development of metalinguistic awareness, and consequently, it becomes one of the aspects that affects language acquisition progress, cross-linguistic influence and language proficiency in general. The children's ability to read and write in Russian is important for the parents, particularly because of the differences in alphabetical systems of the languages used by the children in the other languages that they know. The parents, however, tend to rely on the schooling (external studies or complete education in a Russian school) solely for the purpose of literacy. As a result, all of the children apart from A(6) and A(4) are able to read and write in Russian though with different levels of proficiency. As for A(6) and A(4), the mother shared plans to teach the children Russian literacy at home this summer since they go to an Austrian kindergarten and subsequently will continue schooling in a local bilingual school fully in German and English.

Additionally, the parents sometimes give their children Russian books (similar to those which are popular among their monolingual peers) to increase interest in reading in their mother tongue until the children are at least 14-15 years old. The mother says: *"the children have to know the Russian alphabet, it is their mother tongue. It would be weird if while visiting Russia they are not able to read street signs or whatever else, it is vital to know how to read"*.

However, the mother admits that A(21), A(19) and A(14) are now old enough to choose the language of reading by themselves and they tend to pick books in a language that is not Russian, in particular A(19) and A(14) (English, French, or German). The mother also reckons that nowadays it is not so obligatory to know how to use cursive because people tend to type messages to each other via the Internet or make video calls. Moreover, the mother sees it as time-consuming to practice handwriting at home, and the parents do not recognize it as something vital for their children, who are unsure whether in the future they will need high-proficient writing skills in Russian. On the other hand, Li (2006) recognizes writing practice at home as one of the essential ones since "it is not enough to simply enforce children's oral first language use at home; they (parents) need to engage children in literacy-related activities in the first language in the home milieu" (p. 375). Moreover, the same researcher discussed possible issues

with writing in L1 related to different orthographic systems because it may become a hindering factor in children's motivation to learn their L1. Obviously, the Russian Cursive Cyrillic alphabet differs from the block letters, though it is considered obligatory to know how to write in longhand for a well-educated individual. However, the parents prefer to give a choice to their children as to which language to use in the future, including for education and future career.

6.1.4 Trips to Russia and Connections to Relatives

This practice was not explicitly mentioned by the parents as a potential opportunity to promote heritage language development of the children. In fact, the family usually goes to Russia because of two reasons. The first one is a professional obligation when the father, due to his responsibilities, receives alternative duties, and the family has to change the place of residence. For this reason the family stayed in Moscow twice for 2-3 months, and afterwards, they moved to Geneva and Vienna respectively. The second reason for trips to Russia is family relations with friends and relatives, which becomes an opportunity for the children to get more immersed in the Russian-speaking community. These changes of social contexts in the children's lives certainly affect their self-identification. Pierce (1995) in Caldas (2008) referred to such travelling experiences as "an individual struggling in terms with the very personal issue of who they were and how they 'fit in' in various social contexts" (p. 294). Foraying into a new social context, which is communication with Russian-speaking relatives, the children do not only receive an additional L1 input but also have a chance to restructure their internal relationships with themselves and their globalized identity. Such trips are recognized to be quite efficient in compensation of L1 exposure for the children by providing a full immersion in the heritage language, even if they are not frequent enough (McCabe, 2016). Evidently, this practice supports L1 maintenance and evolves the children's attitude towards their heritage culture.

6.1.5 L1's Culture (holidays, religion, cuisine)

Obviously, following an L1's cultural traditions is not purely a strategy to promote heritage language maintenance. Similarly, not all multilingual families are interested in keeping their traditions, religion, etc. However, it was recognized that "people whose lives are shared between different language communities exhibit various combinations of these distinct cultures" (Antal, 1998, p. 145). Subsequently, multilinguals tend to be open-minded, creative and have different ways of thinking and analyzing the world in comparison with monolinguals. For instance, the family regularly celebrates not only Russian traditional holidays but also Catholic Christmas, Easter, Thanksgiving Day and Chinese New Year. However, the advantages of maintenance of heritage culture can be seen not only as a result of celebration of various holidays, but also as an

awareness of and interaction with different religious ceremonies of both Orthodox and Catholic Christian churches.

The mother says: *“The father considers it very important to go to church service, and he takes the children there, usually the youngest ones, since the oldest ones are mature enough to decide whether they need it or not”*.

The services in the Oriental Orthodox church in Vienna are held in Russian, so it is another part of additional L1 exposure for the children. However, during the visit of the family, they visited Melk Abbey to attend Catholic Easter service there in German. A(14), A(12) and A(11) were taken to the service in order *“to present them how it is celebrated here in Austria, and, additionally, it can’t hurt them, right?”* (the mother).

The family’s tolerance is also showcased in their traditions of home cooking. For instance, the author witnessed a day of Chinese food at home that is highly valued by the children. Therefore, the parents aim at not only introducing their children into the Russian culture but also at educating them as broad-minded individuals, who respect other cultures and traditions independently on their own preferences.

6.2 RQ (2): What are the children’s personal experiences with Russian and their attitudes towards and self-identification with Russian culture/nationality?

In accordance with the findings, all of the target participants have diverse backgrounds, which are related to each of the countries where they have lived. Firstly, the family was growing throughout the lifespan: if they moved to Russia from China with an only son A(21), then, eighteen years later, they moved to Vienna with six more children. Obviously, the participants attended different schools, thus, their immersion in various languages including the L1 was also of different quality (Table 5). Thus, A(21) and A(19) began their complete education in Russian schools, but after one year they attended only external studies. A(14) spent a year in a secondary Russian school in Vienna, then she changed it to a local one, while before she had attended only external studies. A(12) and A(11) are currently studying in a Russian school, and this is their first experience to be fully immersed into the Russian education.

Based on such a longitudinal experience, personal attitudes and preferences towards this or the other aspect of the children’s lives were formed. The participants have mentioned eight main aspects that could affect their self-identification, in accordance with the literature review. Table 6 presents the aspects and the participants’ attitudes toward them classified as positive, negative or neutral, as well as the sources where the information was obtained. Additionally, some of the children’s answers can be found in Appendix 7.

Table 5. Schooling experience in the L1

	Moscow, Russia (1997-2003)	New York, USA (2003-2009)	Geneva, Switzerland (2009-2015)	Vienna, Austria (2015 – now)
A(21)	Kindergarten + 1 year at primary school	External studies in Russian school	External studies in Russian school	No Russian instruction
A(19)	Kindergarten	1 year at primary school, then external studies in Russian school	External studies in Russian school	No Russian instruction
A(14)	No instructions at all	External studies in Russian school	External studies in Russian school	1 year at Russian secondary school
A(12)	-	No instructions at all	External studies in Russian school	Currently studying in Russian school (3 years) + Athletics classes with a Russian-speaking trainer
A(11)	-	No instructions at all	External studies in Russian school	Currently studying in Russian school (3 years) + Tennis classes with a Russian-speaking trainer
A(6)	-	-	No Russian instruction	Judo classes with a Russian-speaking trainer
A(4)	-	-	No instructions at all	Judo classes with a Russian-speaking trainer

To begin with the personal experience, A(21) and A(19) lived in Moscow for six years, and A(14) lived there for a little bit more than one year, while other participants got acquainted with Russia only during family trips. Thus, the three oldest children were directly immersed in a Russian-speaking community for a continuous period of time. A(21) began schooling in Moscow – his first academic experience of his life. However, after having experienced American and Swiss schooling, his perception of studying in the Russian external courses of the embassy changed.

A(21): *“I was forcing myself to go to this school. I did not really like the system, and the teachers did not motivate to learn at all.”*

A(21) blames his experience with the program in Russian schools for his negative perception. A similar situation happened to A(19), who attended a kindergarten in Moscow, and also began schooling in a Russian school in New York, though afterwards, she changed to a local one. She claims that she fundamentally hated going to the external courses in Geneva afterwards. A(19): *“I did not like going to the Russian school. I could hardly read and write in Russian. Nobody helped me and everybody was very rude. There was a teacher who always humiliated me in front of the classmates because I did not get good grades, though other teachers in that school were ok about my situation, and did not do anything bad to me.”*

Table 6. The participants' experience with the L1 and personal attitudes towards it

Participant		Russian academic experience (questionnaires, interviews)	Reading in Russian (questionnaires, interviews)	Russian-speaking friends (questionnaires)	Trips to Russia (questionnaires, interviews)	Current use of Russian in total (questionnaire s, interviews)	Desire to live in Russia (interviews)	Desire to improve Russian (interviews)	Self-identification (interviews)	Self-perceived proficiency out of 10 (average out of four skills) (questionnaires)
A(21)	Practice	~ 15 years	Often	A girlfriend	Lived in Moscow for 6 years + 2 weeks while living in NY + 2 months before moving to Geneva + 2 months in 2015	Family With his girlfriend	Yes	No	Russian	9.8
	Attitude	Negative	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	
A(19)	Practice	~ 12 years	Almost never	None	Lived in Moscow and Irkutsk for 4 years + 2 weeks while living in NY + 2 months before moving to Geneva + 2 months in 2015	Family only	No	No	“Citizen of the world”	5.5
	Attitude	Negative	Negative	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Negative	Negative	
A(14)	Practice	~ 5-6 years	Almost never	None	Lived in Moscow for 1 year + 2 weeks while living in NY + 2 months before moving to Geneva + 2 months in 2015	Family only	No	-	European	5.7
	Attitude	Negative	Negative	Negative	Positive	Positive	Negative	Neutral	Negative	
A(12)	Practice	~ 5 years	Often (for school)	One friend at school	3 months in Irkutsk + 2 months in Moscow + 3 weeks in Irkutsk	Family School	No	Yes	American	7
	Attitude	Negative	Negative	Neutral	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	
A(11)	Practice	~ 4 years	Often	A few friends at school	3 months in Irkutsk + 2 months in Moscow + 3 weeks in Irkutsk	Family School	No	Yes	Russian	9.2
	Attitude	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Positive	Negative	Positive	Positive	
A(6)	Practice	< 1 year	-	None	2 months in Moscow	Family only	-	-	-	8 (by the mother)
	Attitude	Positive	-	-	Positive	Positive	-	-	-	
A(4)	Practice	< 1 year	-	None	2 months in Moscow	Family only	-	-	-	10 (by the mother)
	Attitude	Positive	-	-	Positive	Positive	-	-	-	

Here it is obvious that for A(19) it was not the whole program but a particular teacher that determined her negative attitude towards schooling in L1. Only A(11), out of the seven children, directly expressed her positive attitudes towards studying in Russian, though she acknowledged that in Geneva she had both positive and negative experiences, which were associated with particular teachers.

Schooling and literacy skills are tightly linked, and as suggested in the literature review, literacy abilities are highly important for language acquisition and language dominance (Li, 2006; McCabe, 2016). However, the participants articulated different opinions about reading in Russian, even though all of them are keen on reading in general. A(21) admitted he wants to be a balanced multilingual and he practices reading in all the languages that he speaks. According to the results, A(21) and A(11) have favourite books and authors in Russian literature, while A(19), A(14) and A(12) do not read for pleasure in Russian at all.

A(19): *“I always read in Russian more slowly than in other languages, and I always had problems in Russian schools because of that. Now if I want to read something for pleasure, I usually pick English books”*.

A(14): *“Last time I read something in Russian was about two years ago when a teacher asked to read something for school. Now I mostly read in German for school, and I have a favourite book in French and another favourite book in English”*.

Despite the absence of reading in L1 for enjoyment, A(12) sees the necessity of L1 improvement, though her motivation is directly linked with her desire to improve her grades at school. Generally, all the participants except for A(11) mentioned in the interviews that their Russian is not good enough compared to monolingual native speakers, though A(19) and A(14) do not currently want to work on improving it. Their position, however, is clear since both of them are studying in Austrian schools in German, which is their less proficient language. Seemingly, all of the participants have different needs of L1 usage. A(12) and A(11) study in a Russian school, they perceive additional grand input of Russian, and they need to develop their academic performance in Russian. Therefore, they have additional motivation to improve their L1. A(21), A(19) and A(14)’s motivations are similar, for they are in great need of high proficiency in German now due to their educational and career needs. As for the youngest participants, they attend a local Austrian kindergarten where they learn German; A(4) also attends music classes in English, which is his first academic experience. Both of these youngest participants also go to judo classes conducted by a Russian-speaking coach, so they perceive additional L1 input outside the family, and perceive these classes in a positive way.

Additionally, the amount of language input is different for the participants because they all have different groups of friends. As mentioned in the literature review, communication with

peers is important for children and adolescents because it helps inspire self-identification in an external context and character formation in general (Garcia, 2003; Caldas, 2008; Norton, 2016). A(19) noted that she does not have any Russian-speaking friends, “*my friends are all non-Russian-speakers*”, and she did not answer the question where she considers to be from and which culture is close to her directly (“*all the same for me*”). Generally, all of the participants reacted in different ways to the questions about self-identification. For instance, A(11), completely baffled by the question, said that she is Russian; A(12) replied that she is American since she was born in New York (though A(11) was also born in the USA). In contrast, A(21) said he is Russian, but “*a Russian who lives in Europe*”. Thus, he distinguishes that he is close to Russians more than to other nationalities, though he also differs from ordinary Russian people. Additionally, A(21) was the only one who did not reject the idea of living in Russia. Obviously, maturity and personal experience affect personal dispositions towards the environment. One may then conclude that motivation and desire to improve Russian does not solely depend on the schooling experience or enjoyment of reading in the L1, but also on personal desires, personal characteristics and self-identification.

Ultimately, none of the participants expressed any negative attitudes towards Russian-only usage while speaking with the parents or monolingual relatives – they do not see it as something unpleasant. The participants truly enjoy travelling to Russia, and they consider this country, its culture and language as an inherent part of their lives.

6.3 RQ (3): What is the children’s proficiency in Russian, as assessed by themselves and by experts? Is this proficiency related to their experience and attitudes as reported in RQ (2)?

Table 7 represents mean results of how the target participants see their L1 knowledge and how the experts assessed them¹.

Table 7. Comparison of self-reported and externally assessed proficiency of the target and monolingual participants

	Self-reported proficiency in L1 (out of 10)	External assessment (out of 10) (SD) ^a	External assessment of same age monolinguals (out of 10) (SD) ^a
A(21)	9.8	7.5 (.850)	9.6 (.516)
A(19)	5.5	6.5 (2.014)	9.9 (.316)
A(14)	5.7	6.5 (.972)	9.4 (.843)
A(12)	7	8.2 (1.229)	9.4 (1.350)
A(11)	9.2	9 (.943)	8.8 (1.549)
A(6)	8 (by the mother)	6.3 (2.406)	8.7 (.675)
A(4)	10 (by the mother)	6 (2.211)	7.7 (1.418)

a. Standard Deviation

¹ Statistical analysis (descriptive statistics and Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Tests) was to reveal more specific results regarding externally assessed proficiency in Russian for both the target and monolingual participants (Appendix 8).

Firstly, Table 7 shows that A(21) and A(11) were the ones who rated their proficiency in Russian the highest ($M=9.8$ and $M=9.2$ respectively), as well as the mother's ratings for A(4). On the other hand, A(19) and A(14) self-rated their proficiency as only 5.5 and 5.7 respectively. Self-rating and mother's ratings of A(12) and A(6) were in-between ($M=7$ and $M=8$ respectively). However, according to the experts, A(11) and A(12) had the highest L1 proficiency, followed by A(21). The rest (A(19), A(14), A(6) and A(4)) all had scores of 6.5 or below. According to these results, A(19), A(14) and A(12) underestimated their skills in the L1, while A(21) and A(11) overestimated them. The mother also overestimated the L1 proficiency of A(6) and A(4), according to the experts' opinions.

However, the comparison to monolingual speakers raised the issue of the validity of the current scorings. For instance, Gollan et al. (2012) discussed the validity of self-ratings of bilinguals and concluded that "no single measure will provide a complete assessment of bilingual language proficiency which can vary from domain to domain, and will reflect different aspects of knowledge and skill" (p. 608). Therefore, multilinguals may vary in their self-ratings from time to time depending on their language dominance, personal attitudes to a particular language, self-confidence in one's abilities to use a particular language properly, etc. Accordingly, the external assessment was used, and the experts' evaluation demonstrates surprising results regarding how consistent the experts were in the assessment of the narratives in terms of the participants' age. With respect to the monolingual participants, the experts tended to give higher scores to the older children rather than to the younger. Both A(4) and R(4) received the lowest scores on their L1 proficiency ($M=6$ and $M=7.7$ respectively), though they both got positive comments from the experts (Appendix 6.1, 6.2). Thus, the judges did not follow the instructions properly (to assess the speakers according to their age). Probably, the mother's reflections on A(6) and A(4)'s L1 proficiency might not be overestimated, and more research is required. As for the oldest children, the experts provided more appropriate comments on the narratives (Appendix 6.1, 6.2), and they are clearly associated with the target participants' background. For instance, both A(19) and A(14) were the only ones who received such feedback as "*Russian is probably not her native language, or she uses it very rarely*". It was also observed, that these two participants make more grammar mistakes in a spontaneous speech in Russian in comparison with their siblings. However, the external assessment in this study is also a subjective measure since various factors might have influenced the experts' perceptions of the narratives (i.e. responsibility to follow the instructions to evaluate the speakers in accordance with their age, an experience of working with children, personal issues, etc.). Subsequently, for further research more linguistic data can be collected and analyzed using more objective measures.

Yet, these differences in the results of self-reported and externally assessed proficiency of the target participants reflect on their attitudes towards the L1 (Table 6). A(21) and A(11), the participants who overestimated their L1 proficiency, have the most positive attitudes towards the L1 (seven out of eight). On the other hand, A(19), A(14) and A(12) perceived their experiences and dispositions towards Russian as mostly negative rather than positive. Consequently, their expectations from their own knowledge of L1 were not as high as they should have been. However, A(11) has the highest proficiency in L1 according to the experts ($M=9$). A(21) has also a good result, though the difference between self-perceived ($M=9.8$) and externally assessed proficiency ($M=7.5$) might be connected with his personal desire to be a balanced multilingual, and his diverse experience in schooling in different countries including tertiary education in French. Therefore, this participant is constantly concentrated on all the four languages he speaks, and his language dominance is fluctuating from one language to the other. Currently, A(21) is more focused on German, since it is important for his studies in Vienna, and it can explain the difference in the scorings. In contrast, A(12)'s externally assessed proficiency in L1 ($M=8.2$) is higher in comparison with A(21). This aspect may be linked with the current schooling in L1 of A(12) and her motivation to improve her academic performance in Russian. Besides, A(21) and A(11) were the only ones who explicitly identified themselves as Russians. Therefore, they have no doubts about their native level of proficiency in their L1. Yet, A(12) considers herself as American, while the experts evaluated her proficiency in L1 higher than A(21)'s. It seems that self-identification is not the only factor in L1 proficiency of multilinguals. What is also important for L1 proficiency is the motivation, and in this case, extrinsic motivation to improve the L1 apart from other languages of a multilingual. In accordance with the literature, high proficiency development in more than two languages may be encouraged in the several factors including metalinguistic awareness, communicative activity, explicit intrinsic motivation to be equally proficient in all languages, as it is in case of A(21), and so forth (Norton, 2016; Pavlenko, 2010). However, further research is required to examine all the factors that may contribute to the current results (i.e. motivation, aptitude).

Subsequently, it may be assumed that personal dispositions and feelings about heritage language experience reflect on self-confidence in L1 competence. It is clearly seen in the scores of self-perceived proficiency of A(19), A(14) and A(12), whereas, according to the experts, their L1 is much better than they think. Their underestimated L1 proficiency is probably associated with their negative experience in schooling in L1, the absence of personal desire and intrinsic motivation to improve the L1, self-identification which does not reflect positive dispositions towards Russian, negative background in communication with Russian-speaking peers in schools (see Table 6). Specifically, A(19), A(14) and A(12) have experienced negative treatment on the

part of teachers in Russian schools such as snubbing, ignoring their problems in the academic performance, humiliating in front of the class because of low grades, etc. This directly led to their internal rejection of their capacities in schooling in Russian, and their self-confidence in their abilities to speak Russian decreased. These findings are consistent with previous studies, which discussed tight relationships between heritage language maintenance and personal attitudes towards L1 associated with a negative background in schooling in L1 (Caldas, 2008).

It may be concluded that any negative experience with L1 reflects on personal attitudes and preferences in further relation and usage of L1, and subsequently, it affects self-perceived L1 proficiency. Especially, when multilingual speakers are children or adolescents, this issue becomes even more fundamental, since this period is essential for personality formation and development of personal awareness about the world around them. It might be predicted that the more negative attitudes towards the heritage language a multilingual speaker has, the more likely his/her perceptions of L1 knowledge will be underestimated. Thus, his/her confidence in L1 will be low, and motivation to improve L1 will be low, too. Such multilinguals are less likely to achieve high proficiency in L1, and more likely to change their language dominance towards another language rather than towards the heritage one. In line with the literature, the participants' self-perceived proficiency in L1 is clearly linked with their personal attitudes, self-identification, extrinsic and intrinsic motivation, academic experience in L1, peers who equally value the L1, and general experience in L1 usage (Li, 2006; McCabe, 2016). These results are consistent with previous studies, however, research on diplomat families is scarce, and more investigation is required in the context of both diplomat and large multilingual families.

Conclusion

The findings reported in this thesis point to interesting associations concerning parental strategies used for heritage language maintenance, multilingual children's experiences and attitudes towards their L1 and its connections with their L1 proficiency. Findings reveal the following aspects.

Firstly, the parents in this particular family are interested in encouraging heritage language maintenance; they want their children to speak Russian (for a summary of the results reported in 6.1 see Appendix 9). However, the parents take into account the children's feelings and preferences about their education and do not force them to do what they do not want to (e.g., not to study in a Russian school). Besides, the parents see multilingualism as an advantage, and it reflects on the children's beliefs about their knowledge of multiple languages – all of them are proud of their multilingual capacities. Therefore, these findings are consistent with previous

research showing that family is an essential factor in preserving L1, harmony in the family provides the children with self-confidence in their abilities and self-identification, and the parents and siblings' attitudes towards L1 and multilingualism as a whole are reflected on to the feelings of all the members of the family.

Secondly, the children's attitudes towards and experiences with the L1 vary regardless of the fact they are all from the same family. It allows to conclude that family is not the only factor in the formation of personal attitudes and preferences, as there are other aspects that may influence the children's dispositions in relation to their heritage language (schooling, peers, etc.). However, the children's attitudes towards the L1's culture is generally positive and they enjoy speaking Russian in everyday life.

Finally, personal attitudes towards L1 are linked with both self-perceived and externally assessed proficiency in L1. The attitudes define self-confidence in L1 competence, and thus it affects the whole process of L1 acquisition and multilingual development. Furthermore, self-beliefs directly depend on personal experience with L1 and level of personal maturity. Surely, the limitations of the study did not allow to reveal more specific reasons of these relationships, and it may constitute the object for future studies.

In summary, this case study provides a new unique context for further investigations in multilingualism and heritage language maintenance in diplomat families in particular. However, a longitudinal and more detailed study would be required to follow personal changes in relation to the L1 and the L1 development in the context of diplomat families. More studies should be performed with similar families in order to have more generalizable results as to the factors that contribute to L1 maintenance for this population.

10811 words

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Appendix 1.1. Questionnaire for the target participants

I want to participate in this survey. I understand that my answers will be used only by the researcher and my responses to this survey will be kept confidential: Yes/No

1. Your name:
2. Your age:
3. Where were you born?
4. Languages you speak:
5. What is/are your native language/s?
6. Specify your proficiency in each language in terms of different skills (on a scale from 1 to 10). Specify the age you started learning each language, feeling comfortable speaking it, and how you learned them (at home, at school, moved abroad, with friends, etc.)?

Language	Speaking (1-10)	Listening (1-10)	Reading (1-10)	Writing (1-10)	Age of onset	Started feeling comfortable speaking	How learned

7. In what language/s do you think/count/dream (more often)? In what language/s do you talk to yourself?
8. Do you feel like yourself when speaking all languages? Do you identify yourself more with particular cultures than with the others?
9. Where have you lived? Specify the age range (from...to) for each country and mention languages you used.

Country	Age	Languages used at home and outside

10. As a school pupil/student, did you have any out-of-school activities? If yes, what kind of activities and how often/for how long? Which languages did you speak there?
11. Please complete the following table answering the questions: Do you watch TV? How often, for how long, in what languages, what programmes? Do you read books/magazines/newspapers/academic literature, etc.? How often do you read, what do you read and in what languages? Do you listen to the radio? Which radio/country? What

programs? Do you have hobbies? In what languages do you do hobbies-related activities?
How much time do you spend on you hobbies?

	How often / For how long	What exactly do you do/watch/read, etc.	In what language
TV			
Reading			
Listening			
Internet			
Hobbies			

12. What 5 people do you speak the most often with? What language/s do you speak with each other (if more than one, specify in % how much you use each language with each other).
What languages do they speak (native languages, foreign languages, with you)?

Person's name, relation to you	How often do you speak to each other?	What language/s do you speak with each other?	Person's native language	Person's foreign language/s

13. If the pattern of using languages was significantly different in the past, please tell when and how it was different.

14. What is your favorite language/s? Why?

15. Which language/s you don't like? Why?

16. Did you have any difficulties in learning any of your languages, including your native language? (specify them)

17. In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use the each language? Do you feel that you are a better user of some languages in particular contexts or when talking about particular topics? If it is the case, please specify in which contexts/topics you feel stronger (+) or weaker (-) in the table.

Language	In an average week, what percentage of the time do you use the language (%)	Contexts/topics +	Contexts/topics -

18. Please give any extra examples or share your thoughts and experiences on how your language use differs depending on contexts/topics.
19. Were you better at some languages before? Are you better at some languages now? What caused changes in your opinion?
20. Do you feel that you are the same as other speakers of languages you speak? What makes you different if anything?

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix 1.2. Questionnaire for A(6) and A(4) (fulfilled by their mother)

I want to participate in this survey. I understand that the answers will be used only by the researcher and my responses to this survey will be kept confidential: Yes/No

1. Name:
2. Date of birth:
3. Country of birth:
4. Languages your son speaks:
5. What is his native language/s?
6. Please describe your son's language production. What can he say, how complex are his sentences, in what languages, in what contexts? Are there any differences across languages he speaks in terms of his language production?
7. Does he go to school/kindergarten? What languages do all children speak there? What languages does your son speak there?
8. Does your son have friends out of the family? What languages does he speak to his friends?
9. What languages does your son speak to his siblings? If languages differ, why does it happen, in your opinion (place, situation, topic of the talk, etc.)?
10. Can your son read/write? If yes, in what languages?
11. Please, fill in the table in accordance with what language/s your son prefers doing the activities (read/listen to reading of his favourite books, watching TV/cartoons/movies, listening/singing songs or nursery rhymes):

Language	Books (fairy-tales)	Cartoons, movies, TV	Music	Physical activities

12. Are you planning to expand his knowledge of foreign languages? If yes, what languages would you like him to speak in future for sure?
13. Are you planning to put him in Russian or local school? Why?
14. Please, specify places and the quantity of time (in %) that your son listens to Russian and other languages:

Language	Place and time (%)

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix 2. Observations

The observations are illustrated in these few situations that were witnessed by the author during the ten-day visit of the family.

1. On the first evening of the visit A(21), A(19) and A(14) were enthusiastically chatting about their common friends in Russian, English and French simultaneously, though A(21) was the one who used Russian the most.
2. The family (the parents and A(19)) kindly met the author in the airport of Vienna by car. While driving to home, the father was telling about famous sights of the city, and the mother mentioned a Russian phrase “*привести ликбез*” that means “*to introduce someone to something*”. This Russian phrase appeared during the early times of the Soviet Union when the government intended to make the population more literate and a lot of schools were opened during that time. Thus, the word “*ликбез*” is an acronym of “*ликвидация безграмотности*” (“*liquidation of illiteracy (among the population)*”), and such vocabulary is usually learned during a course of Russian history at school. However, A(19) did not know this word, and the parents explained to her what this word means. This situation illustrates the parental support in the family if a child does not understand something even in the L1, and their awareness so that the children should know as much as possible that is considered to be ordinary among their Russian peers.
3. During a short trip to Melk Abbey A(14) and A(12) were playing a telephone game. While doing that they were making a lot of comments switching from Russian to English and vice versa. For instance:
A(14): “*Это hard или easy?*” (“*Is it hard or easy?*”)
A(12): “*Я прошла hard*” (“*I’ve passed hard*”)
4. During the same trip to Melk Abbey the father asked A(14) to translate a message from German to Russian for him. While doing so A(14) was constantly switching from Russian to French and English, asking A(12) about some Russian words from time to time. The parents did not mind such type of interaction, and it shows that knowledge of multiple languages is highly prioritized in the family and it is also reflected in the children’s behaviour and consequent language choice.
5. A(21), A(14), A(12), A(11) pronounce “r’s” in the French manner while speaking Russian. As the mother mentioned: “*Such manner of pronunciation is not so rare among monolingual Russians, so, it’s not a big deal*”. A(19) pronounces this sound in American English manner while speaking Russian. According to the mother, there are no reasons to

worry: “As soon as she understands what language she really needs she will correct it in accordance with her needs”. A(6) and A(4) are still in progress of acquisition.

6. Once during a dinner, the father asked A(6) to sing a little song in German. A(6) was really shy but then he sang it and added a few words in German afterwards. Though, then A(4) came and asked A(6) to go to play with him, and A(6) easily switched to Russian.
7. Personal reflections of the author on the participants’ speech in L1:

A(21): Russian speech of this participant is fluent and rich. It is clearly seen that he loves reading since he is able to support any topic for a conversation and uses high vocabulary. Once during a conversation he could not remember a few Russian words: “реклама” equal to “advertisement/commercial” (the participant used the English equivalent); and “образовательный” equal to “educational” (the participant used a non-existing word “обучальная” with a verbal root “обучать” equal to “to teach/to educate”). Also, during the interview he used a wrong verb “навещать” equivalent to “to visit” in the context of “посещать” equivalent to “to visit a place” (in Russian there are two different verbs when a speaker wants to visit a country or to visit someone). In total, A(21) speaks in a slow manner, though it sounds natural, and it feels he is a well-educated person.

A(19): Russian speech is very clear and absolutely comprehensible. The first aspect the author paid attention was an American pronunciation of the sound ‘r’ in Russian speech, which is not common among Russian speakers (apart from French ‘r’). However, she mentioned that while speaking German she has French accent. Sometimes she mixes conjunctions of verbs and uses wrong endings (e.g. “выучать” instead of “выучить” equal to “to learn”), or forgets Russian words and uses English ones instead of them (e.g. “topics” instead of “темы”, “basic” instead of “базовый/основной”). In general, A(19) speaks a slower manner comparatively to A(21), though does not seem that it reflects on everyday life.

A(14): This participant speaks other languages but Russian much oftener in comparison with other participants. She makes more grammatical mistakes in Russian (e.g. “я более знаю” instead of “я лучше знаю” equal to “I know better”, “две недели позже они начали” instead of “они начали на две недели позже” equal to “they began two weeks later” etc.), though she easily switches to English or French during a conversation. She often uses direct translations from English (as far as the author knows, since the author does not speak French and German) in Russian speech (e.g. “серии” instead of “сериал” equivalent to “TV series”). However, when she was offered to switch fully to English during the interview, she sharply rejected it. She admits she has problems with Russian, though when she was asked what she considers her L1, she named Russian.

A(12): While speaking with this participant, nothing weird have not been noticed. A(12) loves sport and dances rather than schooling regardless of the language of schooling. She does not seem to have any difficulties while speaking Russian, sometimes she inserts English or French words while speaking with her siblings. During the interview, she mixed forms of verbs a few times (e.g. “летела” in the context “летала” equal to “flew”, “вырастила” instead of “выросла” equal to “to grow up”), but in everyday life it did not happen too often.

A(11): This participant differs from others with her special relation to Russian as her L1. She reads, watches TV, and constantly uses Russian at home and at school. She does not mix conjunctions or verbal forms, she accents words in a correct way, and it does not feel she thinks about word usage. During the interview, she looked completely baffled with a few questions, such as where she considers to from (though she was born in the USA), what is her native language, and her Russian-speaking friends. However, she mentioned that she is in love with French, and her favourite language is French “*because it is beautiful and I would like to speak it every day*”.

A(6): As for A(6), this boy is very calm and quite, and sometimes he was shy to speak with the author. However, he is very sociable, and he spends the majority of time at home playing with A(4). He is not very talkative, but he easily speaks Russian without any apparent difficulties.

A(4): The youngest participant is a very sociable boy, and he did not seem to be shy while speaking with the author. A(4) speaks very clearly, he does not have any difficulties in pronunciation of any specific sounds. His vocabulary is rich for the one of 4 y.o., sometimes he did not know how to say something, though, to the author’s opinion, it is fine for this age.

Appendix 3. Picnic Task/Dog Story

Tavakoli and Foster

Task Design and L2 Performance

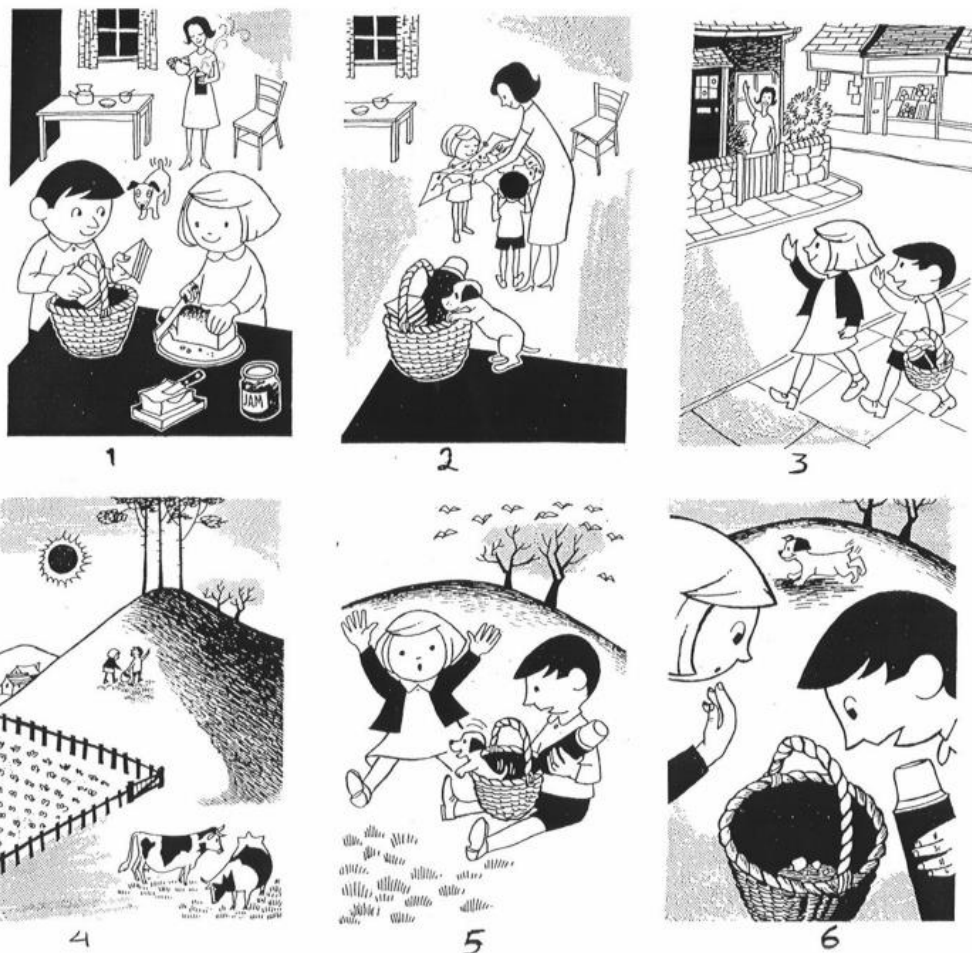


Figure A2 Picnic Task, Heaton, 1966.

Appendix 4. General questionnaire for the monolingual participants

I want to participate in this survey. I understand that the answers will be used only by the researcher and my responses to this survey will be kept confidential: Yes/No

1. Name
2. Age
3. Native language
4. Languages you speak
5. What languages did/do you learn at school?
6. How often do you read in Russian?
7. How often do you watch TV/movies/cartoons in Russian?
8. Have you ever travelled abroad? If yes, please clarify the purpose.
9. Did you like Russian and Literature as school subjects?
10. How old were you when you started speaking?

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix 5. General questionnaire for the experts

I want to participate in this survey. I understand that my answers will be used only by the researcher and my responses to this survey will be kept confidential: Yes/No

1. Name
2. Age
3. Native language(s)
4. Education
5. Occupation
6. Knowledge of foreign languages (language/level)
7. Do you have children? (If yes, please, provide his/her/their age)
8. How often do you communicate with children? (always – often – sometimes – rarely – never)
9. How important for you the purity of Russian among Russian speakers? (e.g. correctness of stresses and use of grammatical constructions, absence of any mistakes or borrowings from other languages)

Thank you for your participation!

Appendix 6.1. The experts' comments on the target participants' narratives

The experts were suggested to give any comments they want in relation to what they heard from recordings of the narratives.

Table 8. The experts' comments on the target participants' narratives	
A(21)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) the phrase “не загрязнили одежду” sounds weird (it is a direct translation of “to muck clothes” though “загрязнить” is used as “to soil/to contaminate”, whereas in case of “to muck clothes” in Russian it is “испачкать”); 2) he speaks very well but there are a lot of interjections though it may be his manner of speaking; 3) he could not remember the word “плед” (“a rug”);
A(19)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) the phrase “салятся есть свой пикник” (“they are going to have their lunch/they are sitting to eat”) – it is not how the one of 19 y.o. speaks like; 2) it feels like the speaker tries to remember the rules of sentence structuring; 3) too many interjections and ‘empty sounds’; 4) at the end she made a slip of the tongue like if she wanted to say “to sit” instead of its Russian equivalent (“сесть”); 5) simple sentences from grammatical point of view; 6) it feels like Russian is not her native language or she uses it rarely; 7) she uses “сказать пока” instead of “попрощаться” (equal to “to say goodbye”);
A(14)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) a few words were stressed incorrectly; 2) basic vocabulary for the one of 14 y.o.; 3) wrong plural endings; 4) short and ‘broken’ sentences; 5) “один день” instead of “однажды” (equal to “one day”); 6) “делать пикник” instead of “пойти на пикник” (equal to “to make/have a picnic”); 7) it feels like Russian is not the first language for this speaker or she speaks a foreign language much oftener than Russian;
A(12)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) a considerable amount of the sentences consisted of the structure “subject – verb – object” (unnatural word order for Russian speech); 2) it sounds unnatural “они пошли своим путем” (equal to “they went their way”); 3) singular and plural endings for masculine and feminine grammatical genders

	<p>were mixed up;</p> <p>4) muddled speech;</p> <p>5) very few complex constructions;</p> <p>6) it seems like she thinks about word usage;</p>
A(11)	<p>1) the speaker began the narration with a common word “однажды” (“once”);</p> <p>2) it feels like the speaker thinks of the word usage;</p> <p>3) short and ‘broken’ sentences;</p> <p>4) she named the characters;</p> <p>5) description was very clear and neat;</p> <p>6) very detailed and flowing speech;</p>
A(6)	<p>1) the speaker speaks in a very incomprehensible way for the one of six years old;</p> <p>2) incorrect consequence of singularity/plurality, genders and grammatical cases are mixed up;</p> <p>3) he added a colloquial phrase “Пока” (“Bye-bye”) that means he vividly imagines the story;</p> <p>4) it was weird that this child speaks worse than R(4);</p>
A(4)	<p>1) rich vocabulary, though sometimes it seemed the speaker thought about a right verb too much;</p> <p>2) word order is correct but consequences of genders and features of singularity/plurality are mixed up;</p> <p>3) it feels like the child was tired though he continued telling the story;</p> <p>4) great diction for the one of 4 y.o.;</p> <p>5) it feels like he does not know enough verbs;</p>

Appendix 6.2. The experts' comments on the monolingual participants' narratives

Table 9. The experts' comments on the monolingual participants' narratives	
R(21)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) the speaker does not use unnecessary interjections; 2) rich and diverse vocabulary; 3) complicated structures with participial and transgressive clauses; 4) no lexical repetitions; 5) complex syntactical constructions;
R(19)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) a very detailed and extended narration; 2) the speaker created a long and interesting story; 3) uses diverse lexical constructions;
R(14)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) a very extended and coherent speech; 2) there was an impression that this speaker forms sentences on the basis of grammatical rules of English because of a large number of pronouns and accurate constructions "noun-verb" in each sentence; 3) the speaker tells the story as he is at the Literature class; 4) the speaker performed a surprisingly ideal competence in Russian for the one of 14 y.o.;
R(12)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) coherent sentences and extended narrative; 2) it felt like the narrative had been prepared before the recording; 3) a lot of grammatically complicated structures; 4) uses untypical for the one of 12 y.o. construction of sentences;
R(11)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) a very short narrative; 2) language performance for the one of 11 y.o. is not bad; 3) speaks more spontaneously and in a relaxed way, he does not think about word usage; 4) touches less details comparatively to A(11); 5) the speaker uses a lot of fillers and colloquial expressions;
R(6)	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1) extended and complex sentences; 2) the speaker quickly followed illustrations as narrating the whole story; 3) sometimes grammatical structures were used in a wrong way, though lexically everything was correct; 4) the speaker uses a wrong form "ложить" of the verb "класть" equivalent to "to put" (this mistake is very common among Russian speakers);

	5) there were a few mistake in consequences of conjunctions and declensions;
R(4)	1) quick and accurate answers on the questions about the illustrations; 2) formation of sentences is very good for the one of 4 y.o.; 3) rich vocabulary; 4) correct declensions; 5) the speaker tried to tell the whole story rather than describe separate pictures;

Appendix 7. The participants' answers from the interviews regarding their personal experiences with and attitudes towards the L1

The participants' comments are ordered in regards with the aspects mentioned in Table 7.

1) Academic experience

A(21): *"I was forcing myself to go to this school, I did not really liked the system, and the teachers did not motivate to learn at all. Though I had great Mathematics and History teachers but an English teacher... it was a catastrophe... well, I guess teacher should behave like a teacher and know the subject at least."*

A(19): *"I did not like going to Russian school, I hardly could read and write in Russian but nobody helped me, all of them were very rude. There was a teacher who always humiliated me in front of the classmates because I did not get good grades, though other teachers in that school were ok about my situation and did not do anything bad to me."*

A(14): *"The teachers were too strict and mean, I think they hated me. And the programme was very difficult, they give too much homework. I did not like anything there"*.

A(11): *"I did not like Russian school (external courses) in Geneva, there was a teacher and he was very mean, but here I like my school"* (currently studying in a Russian school of the Embassy)

2) Reading in Russian

A(19): *"I always read in Russian slower than others, and I always had problems in Russian schools because of that. Now if I want to read something for pleasure I usually pick English books"*.

A(14): *"Last time I read something in Russian was two years ago, they asked to read something for school. Now I mostly read in German for school, I have a favourite book in French and another favourite book in English"*.

A(11): *"I like Chemistry and my mother bought a book (in Russian) about Chemistry for me, I love it"*.

3) Russian-speaking friends

A(19): *"I always have non-Russian-speaking friends. When I was younger I had a company among Russians in New York and after in Geneva, but now I do not keep in touch with any Russian-speaking peers except for my siblings."*

A(12): *"I do have a friend here at school, though I do not really like my classmates, they are naughty and boring"*.

A(11): *"I have here three friends at school, and I do not want to make friends with locals, I want my friends to be only Russians"*

4) Trips to Russia

A(21): *“Certainly I love visiting Russia, but only the Siberia, not Moscow”*.

A(12): *“I like Irkutsk more than Moscow because there is Baikal and it is beautiful”*.

A(11): *“I like going to Irkutsk because we go to see our granny”*.

5) Usage of Russian

A(21): *“I keep in touch with our relatives, though not so often”*.

A(19): *“I don’t have any difficulties to mix languages, we often do it with A(14), it’s much easier to speak all languages at the same time”*

A(11): *“I feel more comfortable speaking Russian”*

6) Desire to live in Russia

A(21): *“I would not reject such idea. I’d like to live there, in Siberia, for example, to find a job and just live there. If it’s not Moscow, it would be great”*.

A(19): *“I would not be able to live there, the lifestyle is too different”*.

7) Desire to improve Russian

A(14): *“My mom never mentioned about it, surely, I do not speak Russian very well, but my parents think it is good we speak more than one language, so, they do not bother me about that... I don’t know, may be in the future I might recover it somehow, I don’t know yet”*.

A(12) *“I need to improve my grades because the tests are very difficult for me”*.

8) Self-identification

A(21): *“I am a Russian who lives in Europe, and I have patriotic feelings only towards my country”*

A(19): *“All cultures are the same for me, but I definitely differ from Russians.”*

A(14): *“I differ from Russians very much. I have accent, and my character is different”*.

A(11): *“I’m Russian and I’m not different from other Russians, though I can speak French”*

Appendix 8. Statistical analysis

Table 10. Tests of normality

	Kolmogorov-Smirnov ^a			Shapiro-Wilk		
	Statistic	df	Sig.	Statistic	df	Sig.
A21	,222	10	,178	,906	10	,258
A19	,302	10	,010	,867	10	,092
A14	,297	10	,013	,868	10	,095
A12	,265	10	,046	,899	10	,212
A11	,300	10	,011	,841	10	,045
A6	,214	10	,200 [*]	,941	10	,560
A4	,126	10	,200 [*]	,984	10	,983
R21	,381	10	,000	,640	10	,000
R19	,524	10	,000	,366	10	,000
R14	,362	10	,001	,717	10	,001
R12	,472	10	,000	,532	10	,000
R11	,251	10	,073	,770	10	,006
R6	,272	10	,035	,802	10	,015
R4	,284	10	,022	,915	10	,318

*. This is a lower bound of the true significance.

a. Lilliefors Significance Correction

Table 11. Descriptive Statistics and Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Tests

	Mean	N	Std. Deviation	Minimum	Maximum	Mean Difference	Z (R(x) - A(x)) ^a	Asymp. Sig. (2-tailed) ^a	
Pair 1	A21	7,50	10	0,850	6	9	2,10	-2,913 ^b	0,004
	R21	9,60	10	0,516	9	10			
Pair 2	A19	6,50	10	2,014	2	10	3,40	-2,694 ^b	0,007
	R19	9,90	10	0,316	9	10			
Pair 3	A14	6,50	10	0,972	5	8	2,90	-2,684 ^b	0,007
	R14	9,40	10	0,843	8	10			
Pair 4	A12	8,20	10	1,229	6	10	1,20	-1,692 ^b	0,091
	R12	9,40	10	1,350	6	10			
Pair 5	A11	9,00	10	0,943	7	10	-0,20	-0,172 ^c	0,863
	R11	8,80	10	1,549	5	10			
Pair 6	A6	6,30	10	2,406	2	10	2,40	-2,536 ^b	0,011
	R6	8,70	10	0,675	8	10			
Pair 7	A4	6,00	10	2,211	2	10	1,70	-2,113 ^b	0,035
	R4	7,70	10	1,418	5	10			

a. Wilcoxon Signed Ranks Test

b. Based on negative ranks.

c. Based on positive ranks.

Appendix 9. Parental practices used at home of the target participants

Table 12. Parental practices used at home of the target participants

Practice	What do the parents do?	How do the children react?
Rules of interaction (observations)	Only Russian with the children BUT: the children can speak any language they want between each other	They always use Russian when speaking with the parents BUT: A(21), A(19), A(14), A(12) often use English & French among themselves
Choice of school (interviews, observations)	Neighborhood, references, background experience of a particular child in other schools, personal academic experience + They always have an opportunity to receive Russian-only instruction BUT: Russian instruction is not a priority	A(21), A(19), A(14), A(12) prefer local schools. A(11) does not mind studying in Russian schools. A(6) and A(4) have not had experience in studying in Russian schools (only French and Austrian ones).
Literacy (at home) (interviews, observations)	Rely on Russian instruction + give the children Russian books BUT: A(6) and A(4) will be taught by the mother	A(19), A(14), A(12) dislike reading in Russian: <i>“It is difficult and exhausting”</i> A(19) and A(14): <i>“It is not necessary”</i>
Trips to Russia and connections with relatives (questionnaires, interviews, observations)	2-3 months in Moscow to change the place of residence 2-3 weeks in Irkutsk to visit relatives once per one or two years (the last trip was in February, 2018 with A(11) and A(12))	All children love these trips
L1’s culture (holidays, religion, cuisine) (interviews, observations)	Celebration of Russian holidays (New Year, Orthodox Christmas and Easter, International Women’s Day, Defender of the Fatherland Day, Victory Day, Day diplomatic employee, Maslenitsa). + Catholic Christmas and Easter, Chinese New Year and Thanksgiving	They love all the holidays they celebrate at home A(11): <i>“Because we receive gifts and have the family get together”</i>

<p>+ The father regularly takes the children to the Russian Orthodox church in the Russian embassy (A(4), A(6), A(11), A(12))</p>	
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