

# **AAUSC Issues in Language Program Direction**

## **Advanced Foreign Language Learning: A Challenge to College Programs**

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# Heritage Speakers' Potential for High-Level Language Proficiency

Olga Kagan and Kathleen Dillon

## ***Abstract***

*The paper examines the conditions under which heritage students of Russian might achieve advanced or higher proficiency within an undergraduate program. While the research reports on the needs of Russian heritage speakers, its conclusions are relevant for curriculum development in other less commonly taught languages. The proposed matrix for a heritage program in Russian includes the following components: proper placement; a multi-year sequence in an uninterrupted, comprehensive curriculum; heritage learner-specific instructional materials; instructors trained in heritage language acquisition; a home/community native speaker environment; and a metalinguistic framework that raises awareness of the importance of grammatical accuracy and register. In discussing this matrix we analyze the prevailing/traditional attitudes of the teaching profession towards heritage learners and provide information about a number of studies that have suggested the proposed matrix.*

## **Introduction**

College and university foreign language departments do not typically produce students at the Superior level of proficiency,<sup>1</sup> even in the more commonly taught languages (Brecht and Ingold 1998; Brecht and Rivers 2000; Campbell 1996; Campbell and Peyton 1998; Campbell and Rosenthal 2000). Indeed, even Advanced language proficiency is not commonly attained. Thompson (2000, p. 273) provides the results of OPI interviews with college students and concludes "students who had studied Russian for three years had a median score that lay between IM (Intermediate-Mid) and IH (Intermediate-High)."

Leaver and Shekhtman (2002, p. 7) identify deterrents to attaining Superior proficiency in each teaching approach used in the United States over the past fifty years. According to their analysis, lack of cultural context and emphasis on language *usage* (i.e., form) rather than language *use* are deficiencies of the grammar-translation approach. Structural approaches do not promote interaction in authentic and unanticipated situations. Communicative approaches underplay precision; they offer an effective avenue to fluidity, but sometimes do

so at the cost of the accuracy required for the attainment of Superior proficiency. The same arguments can be made to explain why students do not attain Advanced proficiency.

While not disagreeing with this assessment, we argue that colleges and universities fail to produce students with Advanced proficiency or above primarily because of the limited time on task available even in a rigorous program. An English-speaking student in a college foreign language (FL) program never reaches the number of hours needed to achieve Advanced proficiency in a language like Russian, which, according to a well-known study (Liskin-Gasparro 1982), is between 700 and 1300 contact hours. In college Russian programs, for example, it is rare to offer even 600 contact hours (assuming five hours of Russian a week for four years). While some students reach Advanced level proficiency in Russian by adding summer programs and in-country sojourns to their classroom experience, such students are exceptional/few (Brecht, Caemmerer, and Walton 1995).

Advanced proficiency is most likely to be attained by learners who begin college-level language courses at the Intermediate level or higher and who are enrolled in particularly efficacious programs. Because few high schools in the United States offer Russian, the only sizable group of first-year students with Russian language proficiency is heritage learners (HLs) who have had eighteen or more years of exposure to the language in their homes and communities.

The term "heritage learner" has long been in use in Canada, and has also come to be widely used in the United States since the First Heritage Language Conference at Long Beach, California, in 1999 (Peyton, Ranard, and McGinnis 2002). It refers to a student who speaks a language other than English in the home, exclusively or in combination with English, while using English in most other interactions and in all educational settings (see Van Deusen-Scholl forthcoming). Increasingly, language departments view the needs of HLs differently from those of non-heritage speakers or learners (non-HLs), the traditional students of a FL who have acquired the language primarily through classroom instruction. But it has also been shown that HLs who lack classroom exposure to their heritage language cannot be treated as native speakers nor taught with materials intended for native speakers (Roca, Marcos, and Winke 2001; Valdés 2000; Webb and Miller 2000; among others). This is so because most HLs in undergraduate language programs do not possess "academic skills, such as the abilities to hypothesize and persuade, and discourse skills that any educated person in the target culture would have acquired" (Malone et al. 2003).

To address these circumstances and needs of HLs, the matrix we propose for a heritage program in Russian includes the following components:

- Proper placement
- Time on task
- Programmatic rigor
- HL-specific instructional materials
- An uninterrupted, comprehensive curriculum
- Instructors trained in heritage language acquisition
- A multi-year sequence
- A home/community native speaker environment
- A metalinguistic framework: raising awareness of the importance of grammatical accuracy and register

In discussing this matrix we analyze the prevailing/traditional attitudes of the teaching profession towards HLs and provide a number of studies that have suggested the proposed matrix.

## Designing an HL Program

### Prevailing Attitudes

In developing an HL program language departments must dispel two prevailing notions that interfere with HL attainment of advanced or higher proficiency (University of California Heritage Language Guidelines 2002). The first misconception is that heritage speakers enroll in language classes in the hope of an easy "A" rather than to learn. The second misconception is that heritage speakers without literacy (a term introduced by Yokoyama 2000) should start at the very beginning together with non-HLs who have never been exposed to the language. A more recent and more enlightened view concludes that (a) HLs are legitimate learners and (b) HLs and non-HLs need different curricula because of vastly different starting points and background language experience.<sup>2</sup> We hypothesize that if HLs study the language in a focused undergraduate program designed especially for them and taught by instructors trained in HL methodology,<sup>3</sup> they should be able to attain advanced or higher proficiency.

### Placement

The most commonly applied definition of "heritage learner" (HL) is too broad to ensure the accurate placement of students into appropriate courses and the development of instructional materials to address their special needs. The population of heritage speakers is often quite heterogeneous for reasons that vary from language to language (cf. Lacorte and Canabal 2003).

For instructional purposes it is necessary to consider at a minimum students' educational background to determine at what stage their first language development was interrupted or superceded by exposure to English. On the basis of our own prior research, we have subdivided Russian HLs into the following groups (Kagan and Dillon 2001):

- Group 1—completed high school in a Russian-speaking country.<sup>4</sup> These learners can be referred to as native or near-native speakers;
- Group 2—attended middle school in a Russian-speaking country;
- Group 3—attended elementary school in a Russian-speaking country;
- Group 4—born in the United States or emigrated at a pre-school age.

## Oral Proficiency of Heritage Learners

To validate the claim that HLs enter the undergraduate program at least at the Intermediate level, we describe the results of an oral competency test given to heritage speakers with little to no literacy (Kagan and Friedman forthcoming). Of the eleven students tested, six were either born in the U.S. or immigrated at pre-school age, three students started first grade in a Russian-speaking country, one completed first grade, and one attended elementary school for four years. Thus, all of the students belong to our Groups 3 and 4 (see above). According to the students' self-assessment, confirmed by classroom observations, four students had no literacy, and six could read and write at a basic level, i.e., identify and write Cyrillic letters. However, these students did not know either the spelling rules or grammatical endings that one needs to be literate in Russian.

To test their oral proficiency the students were asked to record themselves on zip disks using PureVoice. They answered questions asked by the tester who also observed their performance. The questions were formulated to solicit responses at the ACTFL

Intermediate/Advanced level of proficiency. For example, students were asked to talk about their families and their typical day (an Intermediate-level task) as well as to compare advantages and disadvantages of a private versus public university (an Advanced-level task). They were also asked to describe two pictures, one of which called for a description and the other for speculation on events that might have taken place prior to the scene shown (i.e., narration). Each student spoke for 20 to 30 minutes, as is typical of an OPI interview. The results were as follows: three students scored Advanced; seven were in the Intermediate range, and one could not be rated because of excessive code mixing. While this group represents only a small sample, the results, combined with teaching experience and observations, suggest that even HLs without literacy display an Intermediate range of oral proficiency at the onset of college study.

## **Heritage Learners vs. Non-Heritage Learners**

### **Survey of Instructors**

Because programs for HLs are placed within foreign language departments (Andrews 2000; Angelelli and Kagan 2002; Gonzales Pino and Pino 2000; Schwartz 2001) and because, as the OPI tests described above demonstrate, most HLs without literacy perform at the I-A level of proficiency, a comparison of these students with foreign language students on the advanced level is warranted. A UCLA study (UCLA Survey of Russian Instructors) funded by the National Foreign Language Center (NFLC) in 2001–2002 solicited the expert opinion of college-level teachers of Russian to determine which differences they perceived between HLs and advanced non-HLs, defined in terms of the 1999 revised ACTFL Proficiency Guidelines. The survey assumed that teachers' insights would offer information beyond students' error patterns, including suggestions about improvements in programs, psychological issues, and other areas important in language learning. Forty university instructors of Russian responded from across the United States. The respondents were experienced instructors familiar with issues surrounding teaching at the fourth and fifth year levels, as well as the teaching of heritage students.

Respondents indicated the extent of their agreement/disagreement with a series of statements describing features of language knowledge or use considered typically problematic for learners of Russian as a foreign language in advanced courses and also for heritage learners in speaking, writing, and reading/listening. They answered each question twice, once for advanced non-heritage speakers and the second time for heritage speakers. Respondents also stated their views in response to open-ended questions. At the end of the survey, participants were asked to rank the language skill areas that require strengthening to help HLs and non-heritage advanced language learners reach the Superior level of language proficiency. As indicated in Table 1, code mixing and use of borrowings among HLs, a feature typical of HLs of all languages (cf. Andrews 1998; Martin-Jones and Jones 2000; Polinsky 2000; Zemskaja 2001) point clearly to the necessity of a focused effort on vocabulary building in heritage language programs.

### ***Survey of Heritage Learners***

In Winter 2003 fifty-six HLs of Russian at UCLA responded to a survey that aimed to determine (a) whether heritage students believe themselves capable of performing high-level professional and academic tasks (Question 1 a-e) and (b) whether they would be willing to study or work in Russia (Question 2 a-d.)

**Table 1**  
Summary of the Instructors' Survey of Learners' Language Skills: Speaking

HL	Non-HL	Both groups
1. Code-switching.	1. Pronunciation deficiencies, including incorrect stress patterns.	1. Inconsistencies in intonation patterns.
2. Mixing vocabulary from incompatible registers and domains.	2. Mistakes in verb conjugation.	2. Inconsistent use of case endings and agreement.
3. The use of borrowings from English.	3. Incorrect use of verbs of motion.	3. Confusion of reflexive/non-reflexive verbal forms.
	4. Incorrect use of aspect.	4. Limited vocabulary (as compared to that of educated native speakers).
		5. Lack of correlation between words and meaning.
		6. Inappropriate use of set phrases and idioms.
		7. Use of inappropriate register in formal/informal contexts.

As Table 2 shows, the students were divided into four groups according to their educational background. Seven percent of the respondents born outside of Russia or a former Soviet republic or who emigrated at a pre-school age responded that they could write a business letter, compared to 15% of students who went to Russian elementary school for several

**Table 2**  
Results of HL Students' Survey  
Question 1: Do you think you could competently do the following in Russian?

Task	Pre-school/ born in U.S. (Group 4) N= 13 (% YES)	Elementary school (Group 3) N= 20 (% YES)	Middle school (Group 2) N= 13 (% YES)	High school (Group 1) N=10 (% YES)	Overall N=56
a) Write business letters	7%	15%	46%	100%	
b) Conduct business or other negotiations	23%	30%	38%	90%	
c) Read texts in social sciences	62%	65%	100%	100%	
d) Read scientific texts	23%	10%	92%	100%	
e) Write term papers	7%	10%	53%	100%	

years, 46% for those who attended middle school, and 100% of students who completed or nearly completed Russian high school.

Twenty three percent of the pre-school group believes that they would be able to conduct business or other negotiations, compared with 30% for the elementary school group, 38% for the middle school group, and 90% for the high school group.

Asked if they can read social science texts, 62% of the pre-school group responded affirmatively, compared with 65% for the elementary school group and 100% for the remaining two groups. The greatest difference among groups pertained to questions on their ability to read scientific texts (Question 1d) and whether they could write term papers, i.e., whether they thought they could produce academic writing (Question 1e). 23% of the pre-school group and 10% of the elementary school group stated that they could read scientific texts, compared with 92% and 100% of the middle school and high school groups, respectively. Seven percent of the pre-school group and 10% of the elementary school group thought that they could write an academic paper in Russian, compared with 53% and 100% of the middle school and high school groups respectively.

Overall, the results of the survey indicate that 50% of the students who attended middle school and 100% of the high school students believed themselves capable of carrying out high-level tasks in contrast to only 7% to 23% of the students who had no or very limited education in Russia (i.e., Group 1). A separate study is needed to identify which of these tasks are most helpful for heritage students whose acquisition of language is naturalistic.

As indicated in Table 3, question 2, asking students about their willingness to study in Russia, is important because many theoreticians and practitioners (e.g., Kubler 2002; Malone et al. 2003) stress that to attain Superior proficiency in a foreign language students need to go abroad for a long period of study.<sup>5</sup> Summer study typically does not produce a measurable gain in proficiency (Davidson 2001). We do not yet know, however, whether the same holds true for HLs who commonly begin language study with Intermediate proficiency. Moreover, study abroad may not be possible for heritage speakers of some languages for political and other reasons. In the case of Russian émigrés, for example, study abroad was impossible until the late 1980's.

In any case, the survey of HLs of Russian indicated that, even though they want to improve their Russian (30% of Group 1 and 86% of Groups 2-4), most would not want to spend significant amounts of time in Russia. Overall, only 25% would consider going to Russia for a year of study and 26% would consider working there, while 48% would be willing to spend a summer there (see Table 3).

Therefore, we propose that an effective, comprehensive on-campus program, with a summer study abroad component, be designed to raise Russian HLs to Advanced or higher proficiency. It is worth exploring whether a summer abroad might lead to a measurable gain for HLs. But even if a gain proves not to be measurable (Davidson 2001), a summer study program may inspire HLs to continue their studies, including spending longer periods of time in their country of origin.

## Reconfiguring a Curriculum

A curriculum for HLs requires flexibility to meet the needs of students with varying proficiencies and to address the results of current and future emigration patterns. For example,

**Table 3****Results of HL Students' Survey**

Question 2: If you wanted to improve your Russian, what steps would you take? Mark as many as you need.

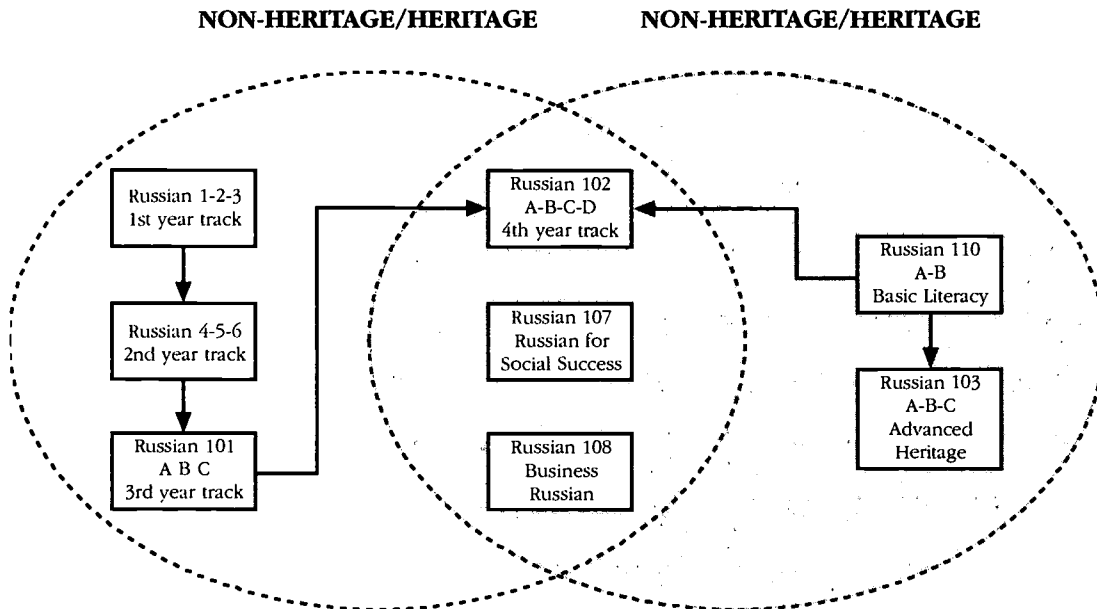
Steps	Pre-school/ born in U.S. (Group 4) N= 13	Elementary school (Group 3) N= 20	Middle school (Group 2) N= 13	High school (Group 1) N=10	Overall N=56
a) Get a job in Russia	30%	35%	20%	40%	26%
b) Spend a year in Russia taking classes	23%	30%	15%	20%	25%
c) Spend a summer in Russia taking classes	61%	55%	20%	40%	48%

since the early 1980s, Russian programs in the United States have seen a steadily increasing number of Russian-speaking students. In the early years, these were students who had completed or almost completed high school in a Russian-speaking country. These earliest HLs were legitimately identified as native speakers of Russian (Bermel and Kagan 2000; Kagan and Dillon 2001) and Russian programs could not offer them meaningful instruction. True to the first notion held by instructors, cited above, these students typically enrolled in Russian classes to earn units and a very easy "A".

As a result of emigration patterns over the past twenty-five years, however, the Russian-speaking student population now comprises a much broader spectrum, ranging across all four of the groups identified above (for detailed studies of Russian immigration see Andrews 1998 and Zemskaja 2001). Now that emigration from Russia and the former USSR has slowed, we can anticipate that over the next five to ten years most Russian heritage students will have been born in the U.S. and therefore, like the students who participated in the proficiency exam described above, will enter our programs with an initial "heritage" proficiency corresponding to Intermediate on the ACTFL scale that is the result of eighteen or more years of exposure to the language but no formal language education.<sup>6</sup>

The Russian program at UCLA was reconfigured between 1998–2001 to serve the needs of heritage students in Groups 1–4. Placement is based on tests of students' competency in reading and writing for those students who are literate. Placement for students without literacy is based on the questionnaire and an oral interview. The placement process also includes a biographical questionnaire (see appendix) that increases the accuracy of placement by providing more individualized information about each student.

**Figure 1**  
**UCLA RUSSIAN PROGRAM (2001-2003)**



As illustrated in Figure 1, the program has two basic tracks: a three-year sequence for students of Russian as a foreign language (Russian 1 to Russian 101) and separate classes for heritage students. The track for heritage students starts with two quarters of Basic Literacy (Russian 110A-B). The instructional materials are designed specifically and exclusively for heritage students (Kagan, Akishina and Robin 2002) and build on the foundation that HLs have already acquired in Russian. In two quarters (20 weeks of instruction, 3 hours a week) heritage students cover the same grammar material as non-HL students do over three years of instruction. Whereas non-HL students typically reach Intermediate-Mid oral proficiency in Russian in those three years, HLs do not advance to the next proficiency level, but they do add vocabulary to their repertoire and become more agile with register. Their reading proficiency at the end of two quarters exceeds that of non-heritage learners after three years.

After completing the basic literacy sequence, HL students are advised to take courses in the 103 series, such as "Russian National Identity," "Literature and Film," and "Special Topics," such as "History of the Russian Language." These courses use specific content to teach higher level reading, writing, and discussion skills (see Angelelli and Kagan 2002). Students from Groups 1 and 2 take these classes without going through the literacy sequence. The Russian 103 series is also open to non-HL students who have attained high enough proficiency in all skills. Other courses that are open to both HLs and non-HLs are the fourth year Russian (102) series, and Russian for Social Success (Russian 107-Readings in Social Sciences and Russian 108-Business Russian). The modular nature of the program allows for the flexibility needed for heritage speakers who display a wide range of competencies even within the distinct groups. An underlying assumption of HL programs (still to be validated) is that because the students maintain contact with their home and community environments and because of their whole life experience with the language, they can advance in proficiency with fewer contact hours than non-HL students. The UCLA Russian HL program's objectives are to increase the

proficiency of the least competent heritage speakers on a fast track, while providing a challenging and motivating learning experience to speakers from all groups.

An important aspect of the curriculum design is consideration of students' motivations and family community ties. One of the principal motivations for most HL students to study Russian is a desire to read Russian literature (Kagan and Dillon 2001). Russian literature courses taught fully in Russian for high level learners have large enrollments. This aspect of the program, which introduces students to Russian classical prose and poetry, receives vigorous endorsement from parents and grandparents (Zemskaja 2001) and therefore promotes student retention in the program. Even engineering students, a population typically underrepresented in language programs, are enrolling in Russian literature for Russian speakers with enthusiastic parental approval.

## **Beyond the Proposed Model: Steps toward Superior Proficiency**

Even though this volume is concerned with achieving advanced level proficiency, we suggest that HLs who start with at least Intermediate-level proficiency can attain higher than Advanced proficiency at the end of college study.

A good model for instruction to proficiency beyond the Advanced level is that by Kubler (2002). Even though he considers only programs abroad (in China) and stresses that these programs be for FL learners, not HLs, we believe that his paradigm can be adapted to create a high-level program for heritage students in the United States.

Kubler divides the curriculum for high-level programs into three categories. First, he delineates the components of the curriculum that focus on developing aural/oral proficiency:

- a) formal vocabulary and grammar
- b) exposure to non-interactive listening (radio, film, television)
- c) error correction to fight fossilization
- d) word study with attention to origins and precision of use
- e) attention to the norm most typical of public speaking/business and academic interaction
- f) public speaking
- g) interpreting
- h) language for special purposes

In an on-campus HL program these components must be separated according to the varying degrees of proficiency among the HLs, with (a) through (e) being assigned to the beginning program for HLs at the Intermediate/Advanced level, and (f) through (h) forming the curriculum for students at the Advanced level and beyond.

Reading and writing skills, according to Kubler, are addressed through the following activities:

- a) reading newspapers and magazines
- b) reading modern literature
- c) reading classical literature
- d) attention to handwriting
- e) developing high level skills in composition
- f) translation
- g) language for special purposes

In an HL program, students can begin reading newspapers and magazines at the beginning level. In cultures where literature is of major importance students must be exposed to literature at the beginning level as well. Literary texts serve the important purpose of filling lacunae in knowledge and appreciation of the cultural history as well as building vocabulary and exposing students to complex syntactic and rhetorical structures. Translation contributes to students' realization of the value of their bilingualism and can be introduced at the beginning level as oral practice for HLs. Written translation is one of the pillars of instruction throughout an HL program since it is a practical skill with application across disciplines.

The final category in Kubler's program design is curricular structure, which consists of an assortment of integrated activities:

- a) tutorials
- b) content courses
- c) practical assignments that start with classroom preparation, take students into the society, and bring them back into the classroom for debriefing
- d) internships (without breaking ties with the classroom)
- e) language pledge
- f) roommates
- g) instructors with content expertise
- h) attending university classes in the target country

For HLs, tutorial or individualized/self-paced instruction can constitute an effective approach at the program entry level where skills are the most divergent. However, once students have achieved literacy, they benefit most from the sense of community created in regular classroom instruction and interaction with students at higher levels of proficiency. For most institutions budgetary and staffing constraints obviate the tutorial possibility in any case.

Once HLs have achieved literacy, all their courses can be content-based. Native speaker instructional materials from middle and high school as well as college level must be used extensively. Exposure to input at the highest professional levels of discourse can be accomplished via audio-visual media in addition to text resources. Another valuable resource can be those faculty members whose first language is the target language, in which they may be willing to teach seminars or deliver occasional lectures in their discipline.

Practical assignments of the kind suggested by Kubler (p. 110-112) could take HLs into the business community where the heritage language is spoken. Distance learning opportunities and e-mail pen pal connections could also be explored. A language pledge in the form of abstaining from code switching on campus may be imposed on the HL. If the campus has international students from the heritage country, they could be employed as resident assistants and mentors to provide authenticity of interaction with native speakers.

## Conclusion

Research on methods for producing students with Advanced to Superior language proficiency is in its infancy. Consequently, we cannot provide data or evidence to prove that the matrix proposed in this paper would consistently raise HLs to the desired levels of

performance. However, the studies presented here and more than ten years of working with HLs both within the confines of a standard FL curriculum and in courses designed specifically for HLs have led us to conclude that all the components of the equation presented are necessary to achieve this important goal.

We are proposing not a "loose aggregation of courses" (Byrnes and Kord 2001), but rather a purposefully designed and assembled curriculum that meets the needs of HLs at their various points of entry and leads them systematically through the stages of development until they have attained proficiency in all four skills and all three communicative modes (interpersonal, interpretive, and presentational [Kagan and Dillon 2001; Valdés 2000]).

The University of California (through a multi-lingual committee of the UC Consortium for Language Learning and Teaching) is also in the preparation stages of an Advanced Proficiency certificate that would set the standards and implement the necessary testing to legitimize claims of both the FL and HL curricula and to encourage students to aim for Advanced High or Superior proficiency.

HL students' enrollment and continuation in programs designed for them and the progress they can make in a short period of time, despite their initial deficiencies in literacy, give us reason to believe that they can, given the right kind of program, reach Superior Proficiency. The widespread lack of success in producing foreign language students with Superior level proficiency suggests that attainment of Superior proficiency in an undergraduate program is not only rare but almost a random event. We propose that for heritage learners at least the attainment of Superior proficiency during the course of undergraduate studies is feasible when language programs are developed expressly for that purpose.

## Notes

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1. In this paper, the terms "Advanced" and "Superior" correspond to the ACTFL scale of language proficiencies.
2. UCLA received an NEH Focus Grant in 2002-03 to produce a matrix for an HL curriculum. A follow-up grant from the UC Consortium for Language Learning and Teaching will be used to develop on-line teacher training in HL methodology.
3. "Recent large-scale projects carried out by teams of researchers, teachers, and administrators have begun to lay the foundations for programs specifically designed to prepare FL teachers to work more effectively with HL learners" (Lacorte and Canabal 2003).
4. The term "Russian-speaking country" refers to Russia and former Soviet republics. Russian used to be the lingua franca of the region, and most of the emigrants are still highly proficient in Russian, even though the situation has been changing rapidly.
5. Kubler (2002), however, makes an especially compelling argument that emphasizes the rigor of a program abroad, not only its duration.
6. However, the lack of formal education is not characteristic of all heritage languages, as some of them have established community schools. For example, Chinese community schools enroll over 100,000 students; in 1997 there were about 83,000 students enrolled in Chinese community schools. This digest is drawn from *A View from Within: A Case Study of Chinese Heritage Community Language Schools in the United States* (Xueying Wang, Ed.), published by the National Foreign Language Center, 1619 Massachusetts Avenue NW, Washington, DC 20036. See also Compton (2001).

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## Appendix

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UCLA

Department of Slavic Languages and Literatures

Russian Language Program: Placement Questionnaire

Date \_\_\_\_\_

Name \_\_\_\_\_

*Please provide the following information:*

1. Place of birth \_\_\_\_\_
2. If foreign born, how old were you when you came to the U.S.? \_\_\_\_\_
3. If you were born in a Russian-speaking country, how old were you when you left? \_\_\_\_\_
4. Have you had any instruction in Russian in the U.S. or abroad? \_\_\_\_\_
- 4a. Where? \_\_\_\_\_
- 4b. For how many years? \_\_\_\_\_
5. Do you speak Russian in your daily life (circle one)?  
Never            Rarely            Sometimes            Every day
- 5a. If you do, who do you speak Russian with? \_\_\_\_\_
6. Rate your own proficiency in Russian from 0 (none) to 5 (fluent)  
Listening    \_\_\_\_\_  
Speaking    \_\_\_\_\_  
Reading     \_\_\_\_\_  
Writing     \_\_\_\_\_