Who Studies Which Language and Why? : A Cross-Language Survey of First-Year College-Level Language Learners

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Abstract

This article focuses on surveys of first-year language learners studying 19 different languages at two large East Coast Universities. The survey included questions about why students decided to study these languages, including career plans, study abroad, interest in literature and culture, desire to communicate with speakers of the language, desire to speak with family members, building on previous language skills, and love of languages in general. Results were broken down by language and by language types, such as whether the languages were commonly taught in the United States, how the languages are politicized in the current historical context, and how the languages intersect with historical and geographic trends in immigration and immigration policy. This article examines in particular the presence of heritage language learners in these language classrooms, the varying reasons that students choose to study these languages, and students' prior attainment and exposure to the language. The paper discusses the political, historical, and social contexts of language study in the United States and the associated implications for effective language recruitment and effective language program design.

Introduction

In a now often-cited essay, Gambhir (2001) draws a distinction between Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs) and Truly Less Commonly Taught languages (TLCTLs) in the United States. Language programs in the latter, he argues, "face special pedagogic and administrative issues and challenges" (208), with low enrollment numbers and high proportions of heritage language learners. In this article we complicate this distinction, exploring more specifically how the political, economic, and social contexts of language study in the U.S. influence student choices for language study. Reporting data from a survey of students in first-year modern language courses at two universities, the paper investigates which students are choosing to study particular languages at the beginning level and why.

One cannot overlook political, economic, and historical conditions that impact not only how immigrant and foreign communities are (mis)understood within the US, but also how these conditions affect the communities themselves, and individuals within those communities (Hornberger & Wang, 2007). The makeup, nature, and location of immigrant communities have been strongly influenced by immigration policies throughout the 20th century. Many of these laws have been strongly ethnocentric, supporting a nativist view of America as essentially protestant, white, English speaking and European. For example, US law placed severe limits on the number of Japanese and Chinese persons allowed to immigrate in the early 20th century, and the National Origins Act of 1924 restricted immigration from non-European groups, leading to larger numbers of Christian, European immigrants than those from other races, nationalities, or religious backgrounds. In 1965, the Hart-Celler Act loosened such restrictions after which immigration from Asia and Latin America increased dramatically. In addition, new Asylum laws during the 1960's opened the door to many immigrants from Cuba and Vietnam (Hornberger & Wang, 2007; Kumaravadivelu, 2008).

Previous authors have pointed out the strong impact of social, political and economic contexts on language study within different national contexts. In the 20th century United States, nativist and assimilationist ideologies around what types of persons constitute the core of our imagined national identity, and whether those who do not

fit within this image may legitimately be considered members of our national community, have led to a double standard regarding language study. While the study of so-called 'foreign' languages has been conceptualized (for the most part) as an enriching experience for "truly" American mainstream youth, the maintenance of minority or immigrant languages has been viewed, in some quarters, as a threat to national unity (Pavlenko, 2003; Valdés, 2006). This has affected language policies and practices regarding which languages are offered at which educational levels, who should teach the languages, how they should be taught, and who should be studying them for what purpose (Crawford, 1989; Pavlenko, 2003; Valdés, González, García, & Márquez, 2008). For the most part, the languages and cultures of our indigenous and immigrant communities have been painted as toxic to our imagined national identity and, since World War II; we have focused our language educational resources on the languages of perceived national enemies or allies as foreign or additional languages. This of course continues into the present context in which national energy and resources are being poured into languages that are perceived as 'critical' to our national security (Kramsch, 2005).

This study examines low-proficiency (beginner-level) language students- both heritage and non-heritage- to tease out the complex interplay of identity and proficiency with their motivation and aspirations for language study. We report findings from a survey of 401 students in first-year language courses at two universities in the Northeastern US designed to interrogate what types of learners are enrolled in beginning, mainstream (non-heritage) modern language courses. Few studies have made explicit comparisons of heritage versus non-heritage language learners, especially in beginning foreign language classes (Beaudrie & Ducar, 2005). Moreover, our study begins to explore motivations for learning at what Dornyei calls "the language level" (as opposed to the "learner" or the "situation" level motivations) in order to understand how motivation for study varies by language. That is, we are principally examining here how students are motivated for language study by the "culture it conveys, the community in which it is spoken, and the potential usefulness of proficiency in it" (Dornyei 1994, 8). In this article, we examine more closely the student composition and motivational dynamics found for different languages, arguing that the sociopolitical, economic, histori-

cal, and geographic context of language classes needs to be taken into consideration when examining the programmatic and pedagogical implications of students' background and motivation in particular languages.

The Study

Mid way through their second term, students in first year modern language courses at two universities were asked to complete a paper survey (19 questions, see Appendix A). The survey was designed to explore the language being taken, motivators for studying the language, self-reported (receptive) proficiency, prior experience and exposure to the language, career plans and goals, expectations for future language study, perceptions about the relevance of the language to their career, interests in specific aspects of language instruction (such as slang, cultural information, etc.), student education level and major, and more, through Likert scale, open-ended and closed questions. Teachers were contacted to invite their participation in the study, and surveys were distributed to those classes whose instructors agreed to participate. Out of 46 languages offered at the University of Pennsylvania, respondents included students enrolled in 15 different languages out of 46 languages offered, while respondents at Drexel University included students enrolled in all 8 languages offered there (see Reynolds et al 2009 for details). Students were told the survey was anonymous and voluntary, and the survey took 5-10 minutes to administer. Data were compiled using SPSS software. Because the number of students surveyed for some languages was relatively low, the survey sample did not provide us with statistically verifiable results for comparing across individual languages. Another weakness of our sample was that not all sections of every language offered at both universities were surveyed. For example, we surveyed only sections of Mandarin Chinese, German or Japanese offered at Drexel University-a science and technology oriented institution; and many courses offered at the University of Pennsylvania were not available at the other institution. This difference may have biased our findings somewhat.

In our previous report on this data, we identified three categories of learners studying in first-year modern language courses (Reynolds et al 2009): 1) **Narrowly defined "Heritage Language**

Learners" were defined as students who reported that the target language was regularly spoken in their home growing up. 2) **Broadly defined "Heritage Language Learners"** were defined as those students who reported that the language was not used regularly at home and who nevertheless responded that they wanted to learn the language in order to understand their heritage or to connect with family. 3) **Non-Heritage Language Learners** did not fit into either HLL group. Of the 401 students surveyed across languages at the two universities, 14% were narrowly defined HLLs, 27 % were broadly defined HLLs and 60% were non-HLLs (Reynolds et al 2009). That such a significant percentage of first-year 'foreign' language learners report heritage or family connections to the languages being studied in itself seems to fly in the face of the monolingual ideology (Valdés et al., 2008) that beginning language courses cater primarily to language learners who are studying the language and culture of some "other" group.

The analysis reported in this paper was designed to answer the broad questions *who studies which languages?* And *why do learners choose to study these particular languages?* We break the data out into different categories of languages, paying attention to the differing social, political and historical conditions in which language study occurs, and we examine how these conditions impact students' reasons and aspirations for language study. In doing so, our goal was to examine a) the percentage and proportion of HLLs taking TLCTLs; b) the percentage and proportion of HLLs taking languages associated with Post-Hart-Cellar immigration trends versus other languages; c) how the politicization of languages (e.g., international relations between nations, and the identification of 'critical' languages in policy and public discourse) impacted learners' motivations and aspirations. Given the low enrollments in some of these languages (making statistical analysis comparing individual languages impossible), the paper also presents a descriptive portrait of our findings for particular languages or clusters of languages. We suggest that future exploration of these questions should include both a) in-depth qualitative research on language learners' experiences and understandings; and b) a large-scale

survey across many universities to obtain reliable data (such as the UCLA Heritage Language Survey), especially for TLCTLs.[1]

Findings

Who Studies Which Languages?

This section examines various characteristics of the learners studying the languages surveyed, including the breakdown of different learner types in the languages, their fields of study, their university level, and their self-reported previous competence in and exposure to the language. Across all 19 languages, 43.8% of students in these first-year language courses were freshmen undergraduates, while the courses also included learners across the university levels. Of the 401 students surveyed, 322 (80.3%) reported that they were born in the US. Seven students did not answer the question. The remaining 72 (17.9%) students were born abroad in 41 different countries. There was no significant difference in the proportions of US-born to foreign-born students between the two universities.

Due to the fact that most immigrant groups shift from their heritage language to English within one or two generations in the United States, one might surmise that courses in the languages of more recent immigrant groups would draw a larger number of heritage language learners than would the languages of groups that immigrated in large numbers to the United States much earlier. To explore this question, we compared the percentage of each learner type (narrow HLL, broad HLL, or non-HLL) studying the languages of communities that were able to immigrate in increased numbers due to the Hart-Celler Immigration Act of 1965 to the percentage of each learner type studying other languages, because those groups would likely include more second generation immigrant children of college age than other groups. We compared these 'Post-65 immigrant' languages, which include the African languages (aggregated here), Ara-

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[1] We suspect that such a survey would also detect significant geographical and institutional differences in the types of learners and motivating factors for language study.

bic, Mandarin Chinese, Korean, and Vietnamese,[2] with languages that are less obviously tied to that immigration trend including ASL, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Spanish,[3] Turkish, Ukrainian, and Yiddish. The results are presented as percentages in Table 1.

Table 1: Learner Types in Post-65 Immigrant versus Other Languages

language type	narrow (N=55)	broad (N=107)	non (N=238)
A: Post-65			
African Languages	6	6	5
Chinese	2	6	15
Arabic	12	10	31
Korean	12	3	9
Vietnamese	11	1	0
SUB-TOTAL	43	26	60

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[2] We thank an anonymous reviewer who reviewed our previous paper (Reynolds et al 2009) for Foreign Language Annals for pointing out that these languages all use non-Western scripts as well.

[3] Spanish was included with 'other' languages because, while it has long been and continues to be a major language of international migrants to the U.S., it is not as clearly linked to the immigration trends resulting from the Hart-Celler Act of 1965. Moreover, in the metropolitan area of the Northeastern United States in which this study was conducted, Spanish speaking immigrants have only recently begun to grow in numbers. In other regions of the United States, however, Spanish is such an important 'heritage language' that many institutions of higher education offer separate tracks for students with previous knowledge of the language. It is striking, in fact, that the Spanish courses at these two universities contained so few learners with heritage connections to Spanish. Spanish also differs from the other languages in the Post-65 category in that it utilizes a Western script.

% in Post-65	78.2%	24.3%	25.2%
B: Other			
ASL	0	5	30
French	0	3	12
German	0	5	9
Hebrew	0	16	1
Hungarian	0	1	3
Italian	3	31	47
Japanese	0	1	16
Russian	4	6	13
Spanish	1	6	44
Turkish	0	2	0
Ukrainian	4	1	1
Yiddish	0	4	2
SUB-TOTAL	12	81	178
% in Other	21.8%	75.7%	74.8%
TOTAL	100%	100%	100%

As this table illustrates, these categories of language learners clearly break out along Post-65 versus 'Other' language lines. Of the 55 narrowly defined HLLs identified in our sample, 78.2% were studying Post-65 Immigrant languages, while only 21.8% were studying other languages. By contrast, 75.7% of broad HLLs and 74.8% of non-HLLs were studying languages other than those more recent immigrant languages. That is, most of the narrow HLLs identified by our survey are found in 'post-65' language courses while most broad HLLs and non-HLLs are found in the other language courses. Based on these data it is possible to assert, more specifically, that these categories of languages differ not only in whether they attract heritage language learners, but also in the types of heritage language learners that they draw: Narrow HLLs are more likely to be found in Post-65 immigrant language courses, while broad HLLs are more likely to be found in other language courses. Of note, too, is the fact that of the 55 narrowly defined HLLs across these two categories of language, 45 (81.8%) were enrolled in languages with non-Romanized orthog-

raphies (Mandarin Chinese, Arabic, Korean, Vietnamese, Russian and Ukrainian).

Previous research on heritage language learning identifies the distinctive needs and challenges involved in teaching languages that are less commonly taught in the United States. For example, Gambhir (2001) stresses that truly less commonly taught language courses (TLCTLs) include the highest proportions of heritage language learners, while less commonly taught (LCTLs) and commonly taught language courses (CTLs) include higher proportions of non heritage language learners. Drawing on Gambhir's categories, we expected that different *proportions* of our three learner types would be found in the TLCTLs (Amharic, ASL, Hebrew, Hungarian, Igbo, Korean, Turkish, Ukrainian, Vietnamese, Yiddish, and Zulu), LCTLs (Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, Italian, Japanese) and CTLs (French, German, Russian, Spanish) that we surveyed. Table 2 shows these proportions.

Table 2: Breakdown of Learner Types by Language

TLCTLs	Narrow HLLs	Broad HLLs	non-HLLs
Amharic (N=5)	60.00%	20.00%	20.00%
ASL (N=35)	0.00%	14.30%	85.70%
Hebrew (N=17)	0.00%	94.10%	5.90%
Hungarian (N=4)	0.00%	25.00%	75.00%
Igbo (N=5)	60.00%	40.00%	0.00%
Korean (N=24)	50.00%	12.50%	37.50%
Turkish (N=2)	0.00%	100.00%	0.00%
Ukrainian (N=6)	66.70%	16.70%	16.70%
Vietnamese (N=12)	91.70%	8.30%	0.00%
Yiddish (N=6)	0.00%	66.70%	33.30%
Zulu (N=7)	0.00%	42.90%	57.10%

LCTLs			
Arabic (N=53)	22.60%	18.90%	58.50%
Chinese (N=23)	8.70%	26.10%	65.20%
Italian (N=82)	3.70%	38.30%	58.00%
Japanese (N=17)	0.00%	5.90%	94.10%

CTLs			
French (N=15)	0.00%	20.00%	80.00%
German (N=14)	0.00%	35.70%	64.30%
Russian (N=23)	17.40%	26.10%	56.50%

| Spanish (N=51) | 2.00% | 11.80% | 86.30% |

The category with the largest proportion of learners per language has been highlighted.

As expected, heritage language learners were found in higher proportions in language courses that are truly less commonly taught in US institutions of higher education. We now turn to a closer examination of the variation within these categories of language courses.

*Truly Less Commonly Taught Languages***:** The TLCTLs that we surveyed included Amharic, ASL, Hebrew, Hungarian, Igbo, Korean, Turkish, Ukrainian, Vietnamese, Yiddish and Zulu. The TLCTLs that showed the highest proportions of narrowly defined heritage language learners were Vietnamese (92%), Ukrainian (67%), Igbo and Amharic (60%), and Korean (50%), most of which are Post-65 immigrant languages. Yiddish, Hebrew and Turkish on the other hand, had no narrowly defined HLLs, but close to 100% broadly defined HLLs. ASL, Hungarian and Zulu were exceptions to this pattern, all with a majority of non-HLLs enrolled in the first-year courses.

Less Commonly Taught Languages: The LCTLs in our survey included Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, Italian, and Japanese. As expected, all of these courses had higher enrollments than most of the TLCTLs surveyed, and the majority of students in each of these courses were non heritage language learners: Non-HLLs constituted 58.5% of students in Arabic, 65.2% of students in Mandarin Chinese, 58% of students in Italian, and 94% of students in Japanese. In all of these language courses except Arabic, most of the heritage learners were broadly defined rather than narrowly defined HLLs: Among the Mandarin Chinese learners surveyed, 26.1% were broad HLLs and only 8.7% were narrow HLLs; among Italian learners, 38.3% were broad HLLs and 3.7% were narrow HLLs; among Japanese learners, only 5.9% were HLLs, all broadly defined. By contrast, HLLs studying Arabic were more evenly divided between narrow HLLs (22.6%), and broad HLLs (18.9%).

*Commonly Taught Languages***:** The majority of learners studying each of the commonly taught languages (CTLs) in our survey, which include French, German, Russian and Spanish, were non-heritage language learners. Broad HLLs were, nonetheless, by no means absent in all three of these languages: 20% of French learners, 35.7% of German learners, and 11.8% of Spanish learners were broad HLLs. French and German had no (0%) narrowly defined HLLs, and only 2

% of Spanish learners were narrow HLLs. Unlike these other CTLs, however, nearly half of Russian learners were heritage language learners: 17.4% were narrowly defined HLLs, while 26.1% were broad HLLs. This may be due to differing immigration trends and/or geographical location.

Most narrowly defined heritage language learners identified in the survey (those who reported regularly hearing the language in their home) were studying the languages of more recent immigrant communities, and courses in the truly less commonly taught languages included a majority of heritage language learners. The Post-65 immigrant languages that are truly less commonly taught, in particular, drew a high percentage of the narrowly defined heritage language learners in our survey, and these learners usually comprised the majority of learners in these classes. TLCTLs not affected by these immigration trends (Hebrew, Turkish, and Yiddish) tended to have higher proportions of *broadly defined* HLLs in comparison to other learner types. Among the less commonly taught and commonly taught languages, Russian and Arabic drew comparatively high proportions of narrowly defined heritage language learners.

Fields of Study

To understand how particular languages draw students from different fields of study, our survey asked learners to identify their field of study (see survey question 12, Appendix A). Looking at the raw data (see Appendix B) we may *suggest* some trends to be explored in future studies. Most notably, high percentages of students were business majors in both Mandarin Chinese (69.6%) and Spanish (52.9%) courses. Exceptionally high percentages of Hebrew (41.2%) and Italian (39%) learners, on the other hand, identified as Arts/ Humanities/ Social Science majors. Self-identified government/ military fields were found only in Arabic, Korean, Russian and Italian, the first three of which may be considered highly politicized languages.
Prior Attainment

Previous research on heritage language learning emphasizes that pedagogical approaches should be differentiated according to learners' distinctive language proficiencies. Accordingly, these studies often define HLLs by the existence of some prior proficiency (Val-

dés, 1995). We asked learners to report on their prior proficiency in the language being studied, focusing primarily on receptive skills (listening and reading: see question 3, Appendix A).[4] In a previous report of these data analyzed across languages, we (Reynolds et al 2009) found that narrow HLLs indeed reported higher levels of prior competence than broadly defined HLLs or non-HLLs. Comparing these data by language, learners differed in the amount of higher competence reported. Figure 1 compared learners that reported understanding the language "not at all", "a little", and those that reported more than "a little" competence by indicating all other responses (Note: the category 'other' was frequently used to indicate combinations of skills that were not included in the survey choices, or productive skills such as speaking and writing).

Figure 1: "Prior Attainment by Language"

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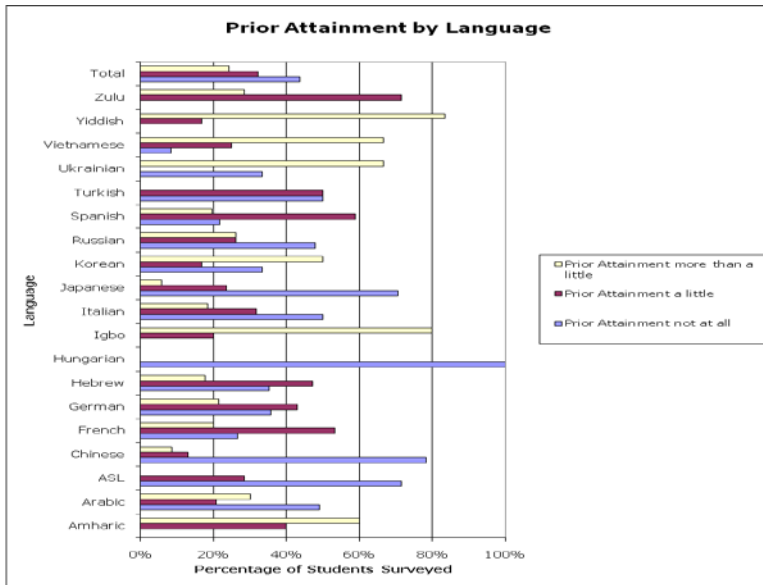
[4] As noted in (Reynolds et al 2009), this question was flawed in that it only designated receptive language skills as options, omitting productive language skills.

In most of these first-year language courses, the majority of learners reported knowing the language only 'a little' or 'not at all' prior to enrolling, including Arabic, ASL, Mandarin Chinese, French, German, Hebrew, Hungarian, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Spanish, Turkish and Zulu. The other first-year language courses surveyed, however, enrolled a majority of students who understood the language more than a little prior to language study, including Amharic, Igbo, Korean, Ukrainian, Vietnamese and Yiddish. In fact, no learners of Amharic, Igbo, Yiddish and Zulu reported understanding the language 'not at all' prior to enrolling. And certain languages had relatively high percentages of students reporting that they understood the language 'a little', including French, Hebrew, Spanish, Turkish, and Zulu. We explore how learners of different languages encounter differing opportunities for contact with and exposure to the language and its users in the following section.

The percentage of learners reporting high prior competence did not always correspond neatly with the proportion of narrow HLLs enrolled in the language. Figure 2 compares the percentages of narrow HLLs in each language with the percentage of students reporting more than "a little" prior attainment in the language.

Figure 2: High Prior Attainment and Narrow HLLs
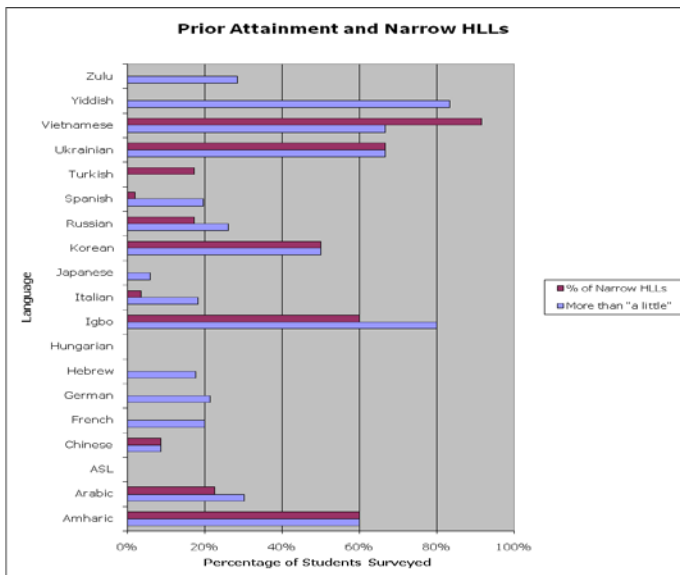
        Most notably this table shows that learners who did not hear
the language regularly in their home (e.g., broad and non-HLLs)
nonetheless sometimes perceived themselves to have gained a high
level of prior competence by other means (Arabic, French, German,
Hebrew, Igbo, Italian, Japanese, Russian, Spanish, Yiddish and Zulu):
that is, non-heritage learners may bring previously unnoticed profi-
ciencies to the classroom. On the other hand, learners who heard the
language regularly in their home (narrow HLLs) do not always per-
ceive that they have attained high proficiency in the language (e.g.,
Vietnamese: 91.7% narrow HLLs, but 65% reported high proficien-
cy).

Previous Exposure

        We asked learners to specify the various ways that they had
been exposed to the language: at home, in their neighborhoods, at
religious or cultural events, hanging out with speakers of the lan-
guage, in elementary or secondary language classrooms, in mov-
ies/art/literature, or other sites (see question 5 a-h, Appendix A; and
Appendix C for the percentages by language). Learners of Arabic and
Hebrew, which are both languages of wider religious communication,
rarely reported home exposure, but frequently indicated religious or
cultural exposure to these languages, especially among the heritage
learners. Learners of two prominent immigrant languages in the
United States—Spanish and Korean—frequently reported exposure
in the neighborhood, even among broad- and non-HLLs. Non-HLLs
of Mandarin Chinese and Korean frequently reported hearing those
languages in their neighborhood and hanging out with speakers of
the language, perhaps reflecting a more integrated residential pattern
among these immigrant communities. While only 27% of all learners
reported hanging with speakers of the language, some languages had
high proportions (over 50%) of learners reporting that this was the
case (Amharic, Igbo, Korean, Turkish, Ukrainian, and Vietnamese).
Surprisingly, narrow HLLs of African languages and broad HLLs of
Arabic reported almost no exposure to literary and artistic products
in those languages. Non-HLLs of Korean and Japanese, on the other
hand, reported high levels of exposure to those literary and artistic

products, perhaps reflecting current worldwide interest in the popular cultural products from Korea and Japan, including movies, cartoons, comic books, and other commodities. As might be expected, the languages most commonly studied in elementary or high school were French, German and Spanish.

Why do Learners Choose to Study these Languages?

We asked learners to indicate the reasons that they initially started studying the language (see Likert scale questions 2a-j in Appendix A), and the reasons that they planned to continue studying the language (see questions 10a-e in Appendix A). As reported in previous work (Reynolds et al 2009), the three learner types that we identified differed in their reported initial reasons for studying these languages. We found, for example, that non-HLLs more often reported career motivations than heritage language learners that broad/non HLLs more often reported research or study motivations than narrow HLLs, and that heritage language learners more often reported literary/artistic motivations than non-HLLs. In this paper, we elaborate on the differences we found. Given that the context of language study includes differing language ideologies around the value and meaning of different languages, how these languages relate to learner identity, how they relate to our national history, and their role in the current sociopolitical context, we would expect learners to come to different languages for different reasons, and with different goals in mind.

Politicized, non-politicized and world languages. As we examined the data, differing patterns of initial motivation for studying each language became apparent among students of highly politicized, currently relevant languages (Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, Korean and Russian), versus well-known world languages (French, German, Japanese, Spanish), versus non-politicized, less commonly taught languages (African languages, Hebrew, Hungarian/Turkish, Italian, Ukrainian, Vietnamese, Yiddish). To explore these differences, we compared the means for learners' reported initial motivations for language study (among all learner types) within these different classes of language. Table 3 reports the mean responses on a Likert scale where 1 indicated that the respondent strongly disagreed that it was a reason

to study the language and 5 indicated that the learner strongly agreed that it was a reason. Data found to differ significantly at p<.001 by a one-way ANOVA and post-hoc test are indicated by asterisks.

Table 3: Initial Motivation by Language Class

Motivator	Highly Politicized (N=123)	Non Politicized (N=146)	World Languages (N=132)
Career	3.92 (.98)*	2.84 (1.05)*	3.66 (1.04)
Research/Study	3.47 (1.07)	3.49 (1.28)	3.29 (1.29)
Literary / Artistic	3.69 (.99)	3.75 (1.17)	3.23 (1.16)**
Desire to Communicate	4.48 (.76)	4.49 (.89)	4.32 (.88)
Connect w/ Family	2.61 (1.69)	2.98 (1.69)	1.89 (1.18)**
Understand Heritage	2.57 (1.68)	3.05 (1.73)	1.76 (1.13)**
Love Languages	3.68 (1.05)	3.32 (1.34)	3.71 (1.14)

*N indicates the number of learners surveyed for this category of languages. Numbers in parentheses represent the Standard Deviation. Highlighted numbers differed significantly at p<.001 from one or both other languages. *Numbers differ significantly from each other in the same row; ** number differs significantly from the other two in the same row.*[5]

Learners studying highly politicized languages (Arabic, Mandarin Chinese, Korean and Russian) reported significantly higher degrees of career motivation than the learners of non-politicized languages, which we surmise are more likely to draw students based on family or heritage considerations (African languages, Hebrew, Hungarian/Turkish, Italian, Ukrainian, Vietnamese, Yiddish). Learners of the 'world languages' (French, German, Japanese, Spanish) reported significantly lower degrees of literary/ artistic, family, and heritage motivation than learners of the other two classes of languages.

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[5] An ANOVA with a Bonferroni correction was conducted to determine the statistical significance of these differences. The categories indicated by asterisks were significantly different at p<.001, as one compares numbers across the row.

Post-65 immigrant languages versus other languages. Another pattern that emerged as we examined these data was the different types of motivation for the Post-65 immigrant languages versus other languages - categories that were delineated above. Table 4 shows the mean initial motivation scores for students studying these two categories of language. The means of the two groups were compared using an independent t-test. Where an independent T-test showed significant differences is indicated by p-values in the motivator column.

Table 4: Initial Study Motivators in Post-65 versus Other Languages

Motivator	Post-65 Languages N=129	Other Languages N=271
Career P<.001	3.74 (1.04)	3.30 (1.14)
Research/Study	3.35 (1.17)	3.45 (1.25)
Literary / Artistic P<.05	3.77 (1.00)	3.47 (1.19)
Desire to Communicate	4.53 (0.83)	4.39 (0.86)
Family Connection P<.01	2.89 (1.80)	2.32 (1.47)
Understand Heritage P<.001	2.93 (1.76)	2.26 (1.52)
Love Languages	3.65 (1.07)	3.52 (1.26)

We hypothesized that Post-65 immigrant languages would more likely draw learners for family or heritage motivations, and this was indeed the case. We also predicted that learners of these more recent immigrant languages would show low degrees of career motivation for language study, because these courses boasted high proportions of narrow HLLs who were, as a group, less likely to report career as an important reason for studying the language (Reynolds et al 2009). Contrary to these expectations, we found that career motivations were significantly higher for these languages than for other languages. Interestingly, these Post-65 language learners also report-

ed significantly higher literary/artistic reasons for enrolling in their language courses.

Differing motivations within learner types

In our previous report (Reynolds et al 2009) we noted some general trends in language study motivation among and between narrow HLLs versus broad HLLs or non-heritage language learners. Within these learner types, however, a number of differences between languages could be discerned. [6]

Career: While narrow HLLs across languages reported lower degrees of career motivation than other learner types (Reynolds et al 2009), individual languages differed. The narrow HLLs who were studying certain 'highly politicized' languages reported much higher degrees of career motivation (Arabic 3.75, Mandarin Chinese 5.00, and Russian 4.25; N=18) than narrow HLLs studying other languages. On the other hand, we did find relatively low mean responses that career was a motivator for heritage language learners of Hebrew (2.44), Vietnamese (3.0), and Yiddish (1.25).

Research/study abroad motivation: Breaking down the research and study abroad motivation to examine learner types reveals a more nuanced picture than is clear above. French learners, for example, actually reported exceptionally high research /study abroad motivation compared to learners of other languages, with 100% of broad HLLs and 75% of non-HLLs agreeing or strongly agreeing with the statement about desire to conduct research in the language, or to study abroad. Non-HLLs of Italian also reported a high interest in study abroad. Certain groups reported exceptionally low research /study abroad reasons for choosing their language courses, including: non-HLLs of Korean (N=9; only 20% reported this as a motivator); HLLs of Vietnamese (N=12; only about 10% agreed with the statement); narrow HLLs of African languages (n=6; 0%) and all learners of Yiddish (N=6; 0%), none of whom agreed with the statement.

Literary/ artistic motivation: We noted that literary and artistic motivation was especially high for heritage language learners of Arabic (75% of narrow HLLs agreed that this was a reason, while 80% of

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[6] There is not adequate space to report fully on each individual language. Contact the authors for language reports for each individual language.

broad HLLs agreed), and Yiddish (100% of broad HLLs agreed), as well as non-HLLs of Japanese (80% agreed). This type of motivation was, on the other hand, especially low among broad HLLs of Spanish (only 18% agreed).

Desire to communicate: The vast majority of learners indicated a strong desire to communicate with speakers of the language. Narrow HLLs of Mandarin Chinese strayed slightly from this pattern, with only 50% indicating they agreed that this was a reason to study the language. These learners may have high levels of oral proficiency in Mandarin Chinese but low literacy, in which case their primary motivation may be to acquire literacy rather than to verbally communicate. **Connect with my family**: One may think of a heritage language as being used primarily to connect with one's family. For heritage learners of some of these languages, however, connecting with their family was not a strong reason for studying the language. To our surprise, none of the narrow HLLs of Mandarin Chinese, and only 30% of the broad HLLs of Hebrew agreed with this statement.

To understand my heritage: The results were fairly consistent across languages when learners were asked whether they wanted to understand their heritage by studying the language. Non-HLLs, of course, did not indicate that this was so, while heritage learners generally indicated that this was an important motivation. 100% of broad HLLs of Hebrew, most of who had indicated that family connection was not a motivator, reported that they wanted to connect with their heritage.

Love language learning in general: In our previously published cross-language analysis (Reynolds et al 2009) we found that non HLLs (58.6%) study languages for the love of language learning much more than do HLLs (narrow=38.2%; broad= 48.6%). Mandarin Chinese heritage language learners, though, were much less likely to agree than were their counterparts (0% of narrow HLLs; and less than 20% of broad HLLs). All of the broadly defined HLLs of Russian, on the other hand, reported this as a reason to study the language. 100% of broad/non HLLs of the African languages indicated that their love of language learning motivated them to study the language.

Easy to learn: Only between 19-24% of learners reported choosing the language because they thought it was easy to learn. No

learners of Mandarin Chinese indicated that this was so.

Desired and Expected Attainment

We asked learners to indicate their levels of desired and ex-
pected attainment of proficiency in the language (see Survey Ques-
tions 10 and 11 in Appendix A). Across languages, learners indicated
generally higher desired attainment in the language than what they
expected to achieve. This is shown in Figure 3.

Figure 3: Desired versus Expected Attainment
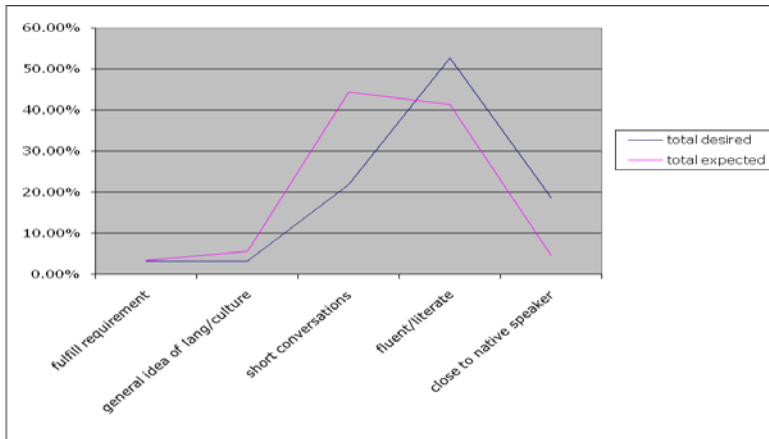
This pattern of higher desired attainment than expected at-
tainment was repeated in almost all of the individual language courses
that we surveyed. We present the raw percentages here to illustrate
this trend and to identify the cases that differed from this trend.

In most language courses, no learners simply wanted to fulfill
a university requirement, with a few exceptions in ASL, French, Ital-
ian and Spanish. Very few learners of each language (0-2) indicated

that they only desired to attain a general idea of the language and culture. The desire to become fluent or literate was the most common response across languages, but responses differed a great deal between individual languages. For example, Japanese learners were more likely to indicate that they desired to engage in short conversations (47.1%) than to become fluent/literate (35.3%).

Students who wish to become fluent or to obtain close to native speaker proficiency have high aspirations for mastery of the language, whereas those wishing to engage in short conversations or less hope only for minimal proficiency in the language. It is interesting, then, to compare across language the percentage of learners who desired mastery, and those that expected mastery. Figure 4 presents the percentage of students who indicated these high desired levels of attainment in the language.

Figure 4: High Desired Attainment by Language



High Desired Attainment by Language
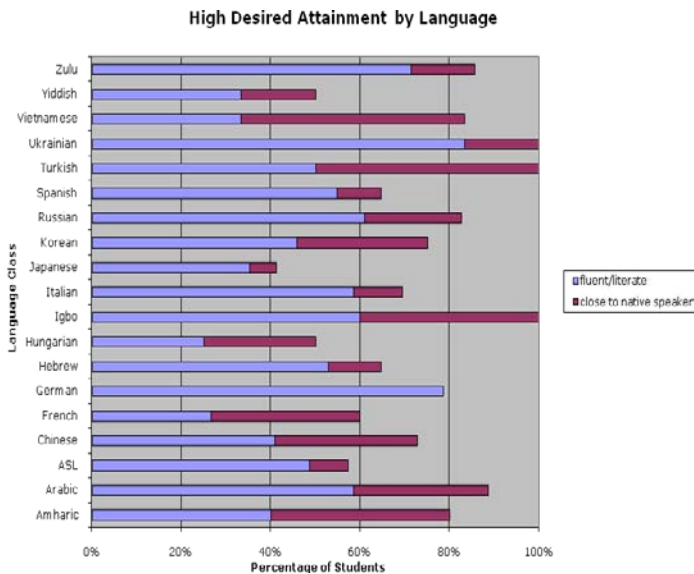
All or nearly all learners of Amharic, Igbo, Turkish, Ukrainian and Zulu reported desiring very high levels of attainment (fluent/literate, or close to native speaker). The percentage of students indicating a desire to attain close to native speaker proficiency ranged

broadly from 0% of learners of German to 50% of learners of Turkish and Vietnamese.

The levels of attainment that students expected to achieve, on the other hand, differed from their desired levels of attainment, and varied greatly by language. Figure 5 shows the percentages of students indicating high levels of expected attainment.

Figure 5: High Expected Attainment by Language

High Expected Attainment by Language
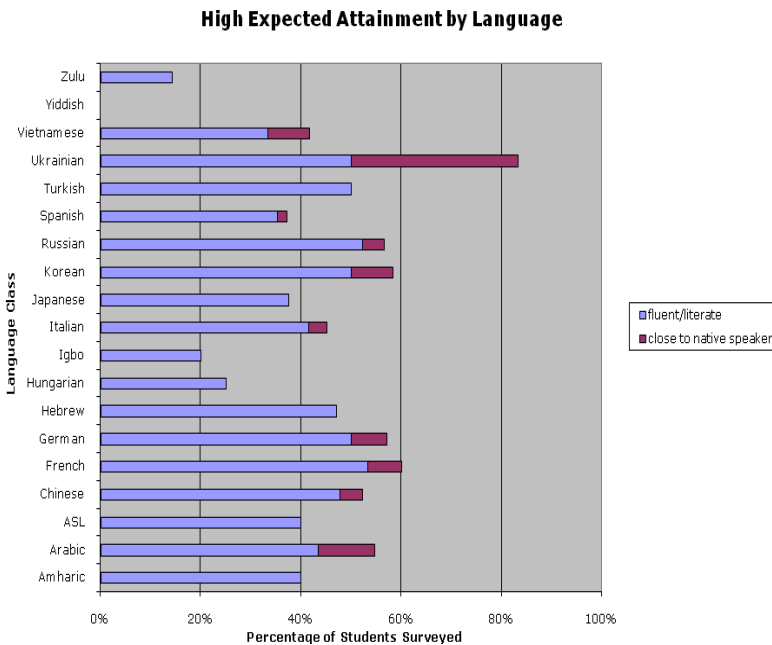
Of special note here is that students' expected levels of attainment were dramatically lower than their desired levels of attainment, across the board. In particular, few students expected to attain native speaker-like language proficiency, and many who desire to be fluent do not expect to achieve it.

Discussion

Language learners are both influenced by and aware of the political, economic, and social contexts of language study, and indi-

vidual learners interpret their meaning and relevance to their educational trajectories in both typical and idiosyncratic ways. A survey such as this provides a window into some general trends regarding the impact of these contexts on the learners who decide to study particular languages at the university and why. Our analysis was designed to tease out differences between languages and broader categories of languages that may complicate binary rubrics used in the study of language learners in post-secondary language classrooms, such as heritage versus non-heritage language learners, and commonly taught versus less commonly taught languages.

While the distinction among CTLs, LCTLs and TLCTLs was indeed predictive of the proportion and number of HLLs in language classes, a closer look at these categories provided a more nuanced picture: the courses in TLCTLs related to groups that were able to immigrate in larger numbers after the 1965 Hart-Cellar Act (Post-65 languages) included more narrow HLLs, while TLCTLs not related to this trend included more broadly defined HLLs. This history makes it likely that second generation immigrant children from those groups are now entering higher education. Programs offering courses in Post-65 TLCTLs- languages that typically struggle with low enrollments- might benefit from marketing their classes among organizations representing immigrants from those regions. Furthermore, there were unexpectedly high numbers of heritage language learners in CTLs and LCTLs such as Mandarin Chinese, Russian and Arabic, all of which are not only widely spoken world languages but also attract the children of immigrants from regions where these languages are dominant.

The types of exposure and attained proficiency that students reported for each language also varied among languages in ways that are not fully captured by distinctions based on the global status of a language or the extent to which it is taught in the United States. Across learner types, many learners of post-65 immigrant languages seemed to gain exposure to these languages in the neighborhood and hanging out with friends, but not necessarily in literary or artistic forms. For a number of these languages, the majority of learners reported knowing the language "more than a little" prior to language study (Amharic, Igbo, Korean, Ukrainian, Vietnamese). This finding suggests that beginning post-secondary language learners may have

broader avenues of exposure and use of languages, and hence proficiencies, than teachers normally take into account. Indeed, we found that some broad and non-HLLs across a number of languages (both immigrant and world languages) sometimes perceived themselves to have gained a high level proficiency even though the language was not spoken at home. Conversely, narrowly defined HLLs did not always report high levels of prior attainment. Language contact surveys at the beginning of language courses might assist teachers in identifying and building upon the language proficiencies that students bring to their courses.[7]

There are likely a range of factors related to language contact, language use within immigrant communities and demographics underlying the perception that one understands a language 'a little' or 'more than a little'. Some languages, for example, have contributed highly visible lexical borrowings to American English (such as German, Italian, Spanish and Yiddish), others are important languages of global religious use (such as Arabic and Hebrew). Spanish and Korean are the languages of significant immigrant groups, and they are the language of alternative mass media forms available in the US. In the case of Arabic, many students reported some competence in Arabic literacy. The fact that high percentages of Turkish and Zulu learners were broad HLLs may explain why high percentages of them reported understanding the language 'a little'. Broad HLLs of more recent immigrant languages may indeed differ from those of pre-65 immigrant groups. Ideally, language teachers should be building on the nature and range of communicative resources and hidden proficiencies that their learners bring to the classroom, whether they have heritage associations with the language or not (and teachers should keep heterogeneity and inequality of skill in mind). Students may have

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[7] One anonymous reviewer suggested, quite aptly, that language teachers could prepare instructional units that address these varying proficiencies and language needs, or even to offer specialized units online or for self-directed language study.

picked up particular styles of speaking and multiple literacies not only from their families, but also from the mass-mediated texts, religious contexts, peer groups, community or business contexts. The avenues of exposure to language may also provide the motivation that propels students into language study, so understanding students' reasons for studying the language may be related to understanding their prior experiences and their aspirations. Likewise, HLL students taking languages related to Post-1965 immigration patterns notably have both integrative and instrumental motivations for language learning, something that could be used to market and design courses more effectively.

In fact, students' goals, reasons and expectations for language study differed across languages. Languages that were highly politicized in a US context due to the fact that they may represent nations with which the United States has a conflicted relationship, drew students, both heritage and non-heritage language learners, with high degrees of career motivation. The fact that narrow heritage language learners of these languages came with high career motivation contrasted with our findings overall for this type of learner (Reynolds et al 2009), so teachers should not assume that heritage language learners are motivated only by family, cultural/ religious, or literary considerations. As further evidence of this, learners of Post-65 immigrant languages -- despite higher proportions of narrow HLLs -- also reported high degrees of career motivation. In fact, narrow HLLs of Mandarin Chinese were unlikely to report the desire to communicate with speakers of the language or to connect with family as a reason to study the language. These learners may have high levels of oral proficiency but low literacy in Mandarin, or perhaps they (and their family) speak lects other than Mandarin Chinese such as Cantonese. In such a case their primary motivation may be to acquire literacy rather than to orally communicate in Mandarin, and this may fit with the fact that almost none of the HLLs enrolled in Mandarin Chinese reported studying it for a love of language learning. Given that 81.8% of all narrowly defined HLLs in our study were enrolled in languages with non-Romanized alphabets, we suggest that heritage learners' desire to attain literacy is a major factor in propelling them to study language at the beginning level, especially in programs where no specially designed curriculum for heritage language learners is available. It may

be that HLLs of languages with Romanized alphabets were able to enter higher levels of language study given their oral proficiency in the language and English literacy, and were therefore absent from our survey sample.

Other aspects of student reasons for studying the languages may come as a surprise, too. For example, learners of widely spoken, global languages (French, German, Spanish) reported significantly lower degrees of interest in literary or artistic pursuits as a reason to study the language (see also Murphy, this volume, for a comparison of motivation to learn across global languages and LCTLs). This may, in fact, be closely related to their status as commonly taught languages given that such languages are accessible to a wide range of students who may simply be going through the motions of learning a language without broader aspirations for discovering the perspectives of its speakers. Literary and artistic reasons for language study were, on the other hand, high among learners of post-65 immigrant languages as well as Yiddish and Japanese. Such languages are likely to draw students who have broader interests in the language, its speakers, and its cultural inheritance. Understanding why all of the broadly defined Russian heritage language learners, and most learners of African languages reported that love of language learning was a motivating factor for their language study would likely require more in-depth qualitative research amongst those individuals. Having a high percentage of students who love language learning should encourage teachers of those languages to let their inner-language geek flourish. At the same time, language teachers need to be especially careful to honor the wide variety of rich (yet often non-standard) language resources that students bring to class, while providing an environment in which learners become increasingly aware of the sociolinguistic variation present in any language, and more adept at flexibly deploying a growing linguistic repertoire to inhabit their social worlds, to express their identities, and to realize their aspirations.

A brief, small-scale survey such as this can provide only a limited amount of information about how these factors interact. More qualitative research is needed, such as interviews with students, to explore in more depth perceptions of their language competence, such as what they consider to constitute understanding the language 'a little', how they arrived at this competence, and in what situations

they have utilized or confirmed this perceived competence. Qualitative research could explore in more depth students aspirations for language study, as well as their experiences as language learners in these courses. Some questions for future surveys would include examining how fields of study might be associated with different types of motivation for language study, how different imagined career trajectories might lead to the study of particular languages, and how both field of study and motivation might mutually influence the choice of language studied.

Conclusion

From this information, we gather that immigration trends, and the frequency with which particular languages are offered by formal educational institutions (commonly or rarely taught languages) are associated with different populations of students in terms of their heritage associations with the language. The picture was less tidy than one might expect, however, leading us to suggest that the sociopolitical, historical, and ideological contexts of language study may play important roles as well. Some factors may include: whether or not the language is written in a Western script, whether the geographical region in which an institution is located has historically received migrant families from that language community (e.g., learners of Spanish and Japanese at these universities have low heritage associations, while in other regions these languages have high numbers of heritage language learners), and the communities' differing perceptions, attitudes and uses of their language (e.g., why were there so few heritage learners of Mandarin Chinese? why so many of Russian?)

Despite the strong nativist and assimilationist undercurrent in the U.S., immigration researchers have recently questioned the view that immigrant populations march willingly (and in progressively higher numbers from generation to generation) into the 'melting pot' reserved for those who look and think differently than the imagined American 'us' imaginary (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006). While some migrants and their children imagine a place for themselves among the educated and professional classes of the American mainstream, others imagine for themselves a place amongst subaltern communities, economies, or educational trajectories (Portes & Rumbaut, 2006;

Portes & Zhou, 1993). In addition to the social complexity of this 'segmented assimilation', we know that cultural identity formation follows a U-shaped developmental trajectory in which children tend to distance themselves from their parents' views, ideologies, and values during the middle childhood and adolescent years, yet often return to (re)discover facets of their cultural identity during early adulthood (Cho, 2000; Kondo, 1997; Kumaravadivelu, 2008). Hornberger and Wang's (2008) definition of heritage language learners highlights the importance of learners' own agency in "determining if they are HLLs of that language" (6), and children's self-identification with speakers of the language certainly changes over developmental time and from context to context. As young adults leaving home to engage in higher education forge their way into new social networks, they may increasingly recognize the value of longer-term bonds with family and with friends from their childhood, bonds sometimes enhanced by knowledge of communicative repertoires in the heritage language. The return to one's heritage language in college should not be surprising given the important influence of peer groups on heritage language development (Howard, 2008; Kondo-Brown, 2006; Luo & Wiseman, 2000). College students may find a peer network of heritage language speakers and learners at the university with whom they identify, creating an opportunity to add this valuable tool to their 'identity kit' (Gee, 1990). Young adults' experiences in higher education may also raise their awareness of the genres, styles, and registers of language (beyond those they may have mastered in informal educational contexts) that may be useful resources in their imagined, multilingual futures. Together, these wider kinds of awareness constitute integrative motivations for language learning among a new generation of students studying an emerging landscape of TLCTLs and who are part of the mainstreaming of LCTLs. All of this has interesting implications for branding, marketing and communicating college course offerings for this generation of Post-1965 students as heritage language learners. Additionally, those who wish to conduct research on heritage language learners, and those who wish to teach them, should consider not only heritage language learners' proficiency in standardized oral and written forms of an imagined language, but also the multiplicity and complexity of all learners' previous expe-

riences with ways of speaking and writing in different situations, as well as their aspirations for language study.

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Appendix A

Language Learners Survey
Spring 2006

The following short survey is designed to learn who takes languages at this university, which languages they take, and why.

1.   What   language   class   are   you   currently   taking   this   survey   in?
_____

2. This question explores why you **ORIGINALLY** decided to take this language. Think about how you made that decision as you were planning your degree goals and registering for courses.   For each statement below, circle the number that best represents your feelings about why you initially began studying this language.

(1 for Strongly Disagree, 2 for Disagree, 3 for Neutral, 4 for Agree or 5 for Strongly Agree)

        a. I thought learning about this language would help in my career.
        1 2 3 4 5

        b. I thought this course would prepare me for study abroad or other res earch.
        1 2 3 4 5

        c. I had great interest in literature, art, music, etc. in this language.
        1 2 3 4 5

        d. I wanted to communicate with speakers of this language.
        1 2 3 4 5

        e. I wanted to use this language to connect with my family.
        1 2 3 4 5

        f. I wanted to understand my heritage.
        1 2 3 4 5

        g. The time it was offered fit my schedule.
        1 2 3 4 5

        h. I could continue to build language skills from high school classes.
        1 2 3 4 5

        i. I loved to learn languages in general.
        1 2 3 4 5

        j. I thought it would be easy to learn.
        1 2 3 4 5

3. Before starting classes in this language, I was able to understand this language…
(Circle only one).
a.   not at all.
b.   a little.
c.   as a listener (but I cannot speak it).
d.   as a reader (but I cannot speak it or write it).
e.   as a listener and a reader (but I cannot speak it).
f.   other (please specify): _____

4. How did you find out about classes in this language at Drexel? (Circle as many
as you wish).
a.   website(s)
b.   student advisor(s)
c.   other students
d.   professors
e.   browsing through BannerWeb
f.   other (please specify): _____

5. What other experiences do you have or have you had with this language outside
of the classroom? (Circle as many as you wish).
a.   I heard it at home.
b.   I heard it in my neighborhood.
c.   I heard it at religious or cultural events in the community.
d.   I hang out with people who speak this language.
e.   I studied it in elementary, junior high or high school.
f.   I'm familiar with it from movies, music, literature, art or philosophy.
g.   I had no previous exposure.
h.   Other (please specify): _____

6. As you were growing up, was a language other than English spoken regularly in
your home?
a.   No → If you answered no to this question, please go to item number #9.
b.   Yes→ If you answered yes to this question, please go to item number #7.

7. Which language or languages other than English were spoken in your home?
Please list them. _____

8. To answer this question, think about **the language besides English that was
most frequently spoken** in your home. Please indicate who in your home spoke
that language as you were growing up. (You may circle more than one).
a.   mother
b.   father
c.   brothers and sisters
d.   any grandparent
e.   other relatives
f.   friends, caretakers, people from the neighborhood
g.   Other (Please specify): _____

9. What is the most important reason or reasons that you **will continue** to study the language you are taking in this course. (Circle all that apply).

a.   It will help in my career.
b.   It prepares me for study abroad or other research.
c.   I love the literature, art, music or philosophy of the people who speak this language.
d.   I want to communicate with speakers of this language.
e.   It helps me connect with my family.
f.   It helps me understand my heritage.
g.   I have to fulfill a university requirement.
h.   Love of learning languages in general.
i.   It's easy to learn.
j.   Other (please specify): _____
k.   I do not plan to continue on in the study of this language.

10.   What level of proficiency do you **wish** to attain ultimately in this language? (Circle only one).

a.   I just want a general idea of how the language and/or culture works.
b.   I want to be able to have short conversations (perhaps limited to a specific topic) with native speakers of this language.
c.   I want to be fluent and/or literate in this language.
d.   I want to be as close to native-speaker ability as possible.
e.   I just want to fulfill the foreign language requirement.

11. What level of proficiency do you **expect** to attain in this language by completing the sequence of classes offered at Drexel?

a.   I expect to gain a general idea of how the language and/or culture works.
b.   I expect to be able to have short conversations (perhaps limited to a specific topic) with native speakers of this language.
c.   I expect to become fluent and/or literate in this language.
d.   I expect to become as or almost as proficient as a native-speaker.
e.   I just want to fulfill the foreign language requirement.

12.   In what field do you plan to pursue a career?

a.   Science or Engineering
b.   Business
c.   Medical/Public Health
d.   Humanities, Communication or Social Sciences
e.   Don't know
f.   Other (Please specify): _____

13. What aspects of language study would you like covered more in this course?

a.   Cultural information and experiences
b.   Slang/informal speech
c.   Reading and writing practice
d.   Academic/formal speech and writing
e.   None of the above

f.   Other (Please specify): _____

14. Would you have taken courses in this language before college (in high school, junior high or Saturday and evening classes) if they had been offered?
a.   Yes
b.   No
c.   Yes, but in another language (Please specify: _____)

15. What other language or languages would you like to study? Please list them.
_____

16. What do your parents think about the usefulness of language study in college?
a.   I don't know.
b.   They think it's important for my career.
c.   They think it's important for my intellectual growth.
d.   They think it's important for my cultural growth.
e.   Other (Please specify): _____
f.   They don't think it's important.

17. Where were you born? Please write city, state or county or province, and country.

City or Town: _____

State or Province: _____

Country: _____

18. Please indicate your educational level.
a.   Freshman/First year student
b.   Sophomore
c.   Junior or Pre-junior
d.   Senior
e.   Graduate Student
f.   Returning Non-Degree Student

APPENDIX B

Learner Fields of Study by Language

Language	Business	Don't Know	Gov. / Military	Law	Med. / Health	Arts, Humanities, Social Sci.	Science & Engineering
Amharic (N=5)	20.0%	40.0%				20.0%	20.0%
Arabic (N=53)	28.3%	11.3%	7.5%	5.7%	11.3%	22.6%	13.2%
ASL (N=35)	17.1%	14.3%			20.0%	28.6%	20.0%
Chinese (N=23)	69.6%					4.3%	21.7%
French (N=15)	26.7%			6.7%	13.3%	26.7%	26.7%
German (N=14)	42.9%					21.4%	35.7%
Hebrew (N=17)	17.6%	5.9%		5.9%	23.5%	41.2%	5.9%
Hungarian (N=4)	25.0%					50.0%	
Igbo (N=5)	60.0%				40.0%		
Italian (N=82)	22.0%	9.8%	1.2%	3.7%	11.0%	39.0%	13.4%
Japanese (N=17)	23.5%	11.8%		5.9%	5.9%	23.5%	29.4%

Korean (N=24)	29.2%	4.2%	8.3%	4.2%	25.0%	20.8%	8.3%
Russian (N=23)	26.1%	8.7%	8.7%		8.7%	17.4%	30.4%
Spanish (N=51)	52.9%			3.9%	7.8%	31.4%	3.9%
Turkish (N=2)				50.0%			50.0%
Ukrainian (N=6)	50.0%					16.7%	33.3%
Vietnamese (N=12)	25.0%	16.7%			16.7%	33.3%	8.3%
Yiddish (N=6)	16.7%	16.7%		16.7%		50.0%	
Zulu (N=7)					57.1%	42.9%	
Total %	30.9%	7.5%	2.2%	3.5%	12.2%	27.9%	15.2%

Appendix C

	no prev		art / lit	school	hang w/speakers	religious/ cultural events	neighbor-hood	home
Amharic	0 0%	0 0%	1 20%	0 0%	3 60%	1 20%	0 0%	3 60%
Arabic	5 9%	18 34%	8 15%	1 2%	13 25%	18 34%	7 13%	12 23%
ASL	8 23%	18 51%	3 9%	3 9%	2 6%	3 9%	2 6%	1 3%
Chinese	2 9%	4 17%	11 48%	0 0%	7 30%	3 13%	4 17%	3 13%
French	5 33%	2 13%	6 40%	8 53%	3 20%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%
German	4 29%	4 29%	2 14%	6 43%	3 21%	0 0%	0 0%	2 14%
Hebrew	2 12%	1 6%	2 12%	5 29%	6 35%	15 88%	1 6%	2 12%
Hungarian	3 75%	1 25%	0 0%	0 0%	1 25%	0 0%	0 0%	1 25%
Igbo	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	3 60%	2 40%	1 20%	5 100%
Italian	22 27%	19 23%	31 38%	7 9%	11 13%	1 1%	7 9%	17 21%
Japanese	1 6%	4 24%	10 59%	1 6%	2 12%	0 0%	1 6%	0 0%
Korean	2 8%	1 4%	11 46%	3 13%	14 58%	12 50%	5 21%	15 63%
Russian	4 17%	4 17%	7 30%	6 26%	10 43%	2 9%	4 17%	4 17%
Spanish	9 18%	6 12%	15 29%	29 57%	10 20%	2 4%	8 16%	4 8%
Turkish	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	0 0%	2 100%	1 50%	0 0%	2 100%
Ukrainian	1 17%	0 0%	3 50%	4 67%	6 100%	4 67%	2 33%	4 67%

Vietnamese	1	0	6	1	10	9	4	11
	8%	0%	50%	8%	83%	75%	33%	92%
Yiddish	1	0	0	0	0	2	1	4
	17%	0%	0%	0%	0%	33%	17%	67%
Zulu	0	3	1	0	2	1	0	0
	0%	43%	14%	0%	29%	14%	0%	0%
Total	70	85	117	74	108	76	47	90
	17%	21%	29%	18%	27%	19%	12%	22%