

# The Negotiation of Multilingual Heritage Identity in a Distance Environment: HLA and the Plurilingual Turn

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## Abstract

*This article expands upon a plenary presentation I delivered at the 2017 Arizona CALL Conference at Arizona State University. I will discuss some current perspectives in second language acquisition (SLA) which have implications for heritage language acquisition (HLA) and provide some examples from longitudinal data collected among heritage learners who participated in a collaborative program to share less commonly taught languages via videoconferencing among Yale, Columbia, and Cornell. Our findings indicate that many of the heritage language learners (HLLs) had complex multilingual backgrounds which affected both their sense of identity and their motivations for learning the heritage language. I will argue that a more dynamic model of HLA may provide a better understanding of how HLLs negotiate and construct their identities in a plurilingual world.*

KEYWORDS: DISTANCE EDUCATION; LESS COMMONLY TAUGHT LANGUAGES (LCTLs); HERITAGE LANGUAGE; IDENTITY

## Introduction

The recent so-called multi/plurilingual turn in applied linguistics (cf., Ortega, 2014; May, 2014) has called for increased attention to the “plurality, multiplicity,

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and hybridity of language and language use” (Kubota, 2016, p. 474). This reconceptualization of how we understand linguistic practices within the context of a superdiverse world has had a profound impact on second language acquisition theory but remains as yet relatively underexplored within the field of heritage language acquisition (HLA). The theoretical models underpinning HLA have thus far largely assumed more static representations of heritage acquisition as a process of incomplete or disrupted bilingual acquisition rather than as a dynamic and additive model of multilingual competence in a translocal and transnational context. However, within the field there has been a growing recognition of the problems that concepts like “native speaker” and “proficiency” pose for characterizing the heritage learner, and this has resulted in an increasing focus on the importance of the role of identity.

I will first briefly discuss current developments in second and heritage language acquisition research that provide a broad context for the issues addressed in this article. The growing emphasis within SLA on the role of social interaction and culture in language use, and the awareness of the effect of globalization on human mobility and language use are of crucial importance for understanding heritage learning as well. In the second part of the article, I will illustrate these issues with data from heritage learners who participated in a collaborative distance program to share less commonly taught languages among Yale, Columbia, and Cornell. I will end by discussing the implications for HLA theory.

### Current Issues in Second and Heritage Language Acquisition

Leeman (2015, p. 114) notes that “[w]hereas research in second language acquisition and heritage language education have sometimes been seen as two distinct fields, the past few years have seen a welcome breaking down of this barrier.” Several major “turns” in applied linguistics have contributed to a radical reconceptualization of SLA theory over the past few decades, and these developments have significant implications for HLA that should be explored further. Starting in the mid-1990s, the social turn in applied linguistics challenged the existing cognitive perspectives and called for a more central role for social interaction and sociocultural context (cf., Firth & Wagner, 1997; Block, 2003; Ortega, 2011). As Ohta (2017, pp. 64–65) explains,

SCT/L2 researchers have worked to broaden our understanding of L2 development from a narrower understanding of the human mind to make the field of L2 education and SLA accountable to the fact that human cognition is not merely *influenced by* interaction, culture, and history but rather that human cognition (and thus human mind/brain) is *formed and transformed* as the individual is interdependently imbedded in a world that is necessarily interactive, social, cultural, and historical.

This shift has influenced research across a variety of theoretical perspectives, such as sociocultural theory (e.g., Lantolf & Thorne, 2007; Ohta, 2017), identity (Norton, 2013), and language socialization (e.g., Duff, 2007; Duff & May, 2017). Furthermore, this reconceptualization of SLA has had significant implications for foreign and second language education, and current post-communicative pedagogical practices are moving beyond more instrumentalist goals to incorporate the broader social and cultural context in which languages are learned (cf., Kramersch, 2017; Firth & Wagner, 2007).

A second major shift in research emphasis in applied linguistics and sociolinguistics is the multilingual turn, first called for by Ortega (2010), which foregrounds “multilingualism, rather than monolingualism, as the new norm of applied linguistic and sociolinguistic analysis” (May, 2014). This shift has run parallel to the growing interest in the phenomenon of linguistic superdiversity resulting in a new sociolinguistics of globalization and mobility (see, for example, Blommaert, 2010, 2013; Blommaert & Rampton, 2011; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; Wiley, 2014; Manosuthikit & De Costa, 2016). According to Blommaert (2010), in the age of globalization, it has become apparent “... that the mobility of people also involves the mobility of linguistic and sociolinguistic resources, that ‘sedentary’ or ‘territorialized’ patterns of language use are complemented by ‘translocal’ or ‘deterritorialized’ forms of language use, and that the combination of both often accounts for unexpected sociolinguistic effects” (pp. 4–5, cited in Lynch, 2017, p. 48).

These new perspectives need to be explored further in the context of foreign and heritage language education, since “... globalization has changed the conditions under which foreign languages (FLs) are taught, learned, and used” and “... has destabilized the codes, norms, and conventions that FL educators relied upon to help learners be successful users of the language once they had left their classrooms” (Kramersch, 2014, p. 296). A central concept emerging from this shift to multilingualism which is particularly relevant for HLA is the notion of “translanguaging” or the “multiple discursive practices in which multilingual speakers engage in order to make sense of their worlds” (García, 2009, cited in Creese & Blackledge, 2010, p. 555). Consequently, a more dynamic approach to heritage language development is needed that would situate heritage learners as “multicompetent speakers in an increasingly plurilingual and pluricultural world” (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2018, p. 29), and future studies should document and analyze the multilingual practices of heritage learners both in the classroom and the community.

In recent years, theoretical approaches to HLA have begun shifting toward incorporating the sociocultural dimensions. To that effect, Agnes He (2010, p. 73) notes that “[t]he heritage culture is by definition a complex, developing, transnational, intercultural, crosslinguistic and hybrid one.” However

despite these insights, the role of linguistic proficiency has continued to be central in characterizing heritage learners even though this perspective, which is increasingly viewed as problematic, focuses on and foregrounds the interrupted acquisition of the heritage language grammar (cf., Montrul, 2008, 2011). Reflecting a deficit perspective, it places the heritage learner on a binary continuum in between native speakers and foreign language learners and oversimplifies the complexity and heterogeneity of heritage learners' competence (cf., Kondo-Brown, 2005). In view of that, recent studies have begun to re-examine the notion of native speakerhood in the context of heritage language development (e.g., Lynch & Polinsky, 2018) and have focused increasingly on the role of identity (cf., He, 2014; Potowski, 2012).

The native speaker model has long been challenged within SLA (cf., Leung, Harris, & Rampton, 1997), and has been replaced by a more dynamic perspective that views multilingual speakers as “successful, multicompetent speakers, not failed native speakers” (Cook, 1999, p. 204). In this view, language learning cannot be separated from the historical and sociocultural contexts within which language use occurs. For heritage language learners, this means “acquiring repertoires of language forms and functions associated with complex and changing contextual dimensions (e.g., evolving and shifting role relationships, identities, acts, events) over developmental time and across space” (He, 2010, p. 73). This also involves, as Leeman (2015) notes, considering “not only the imagined languages but also particular varieties, styles, and translanguaging practices and the ways that these are linked to the imagined communities to which students aspire” (p. 108). A recent example of such research is an ethnographic study by Manosuthikit and De Costa (2016) which investigated the use of address forms among Burmese heritage language learners and found that the linguistic choices were “not automatic but contextually motivated, calculated, and purposeful” (p. 23). The authors conclude:

These hybrid linguistic practices, which are emblematic of the linguistic dexterity of heritage language learners (e. g., Montrul et al., 2014; Jegerski et al., 2014), illustrate how in an era of superdiversity, we need to not only move beyond a framing of heritage language learners' identity along monolingual and national lines but also question normative understandings of language acquisition. (Manosuthikit & De Costa, 2016, p. 23)

He (2014) has proposed a theoretical framework that focuses on an “identity-centered, composite lifespan approach to heritage language research” (p. 331). For heritage learners, identity should be viewed as fluid and dynamic, allowing them to position themselves according to the social and interactional context and to draw on their multiple perspectives on the world (cf., He, 2006, 2014). Furthermore, as Hornberger and Wang (2008) point out, identity is “as

much chosen as assigned” (p. 13), providing heritage learners with the agency to determine their linguistic and cultural preferences in multilingual contexts through their “multiple selves/identities, which are situated and contextually defined, regulated by self and others, and constantly negotiated, contested, shaped and reshaped” (Hornberger & Wang, 2008, p. 7). Future HL research could benefit from exploring these issues further in line with current theoretical orientations in SLA after the multilingual turn. In particular, a focus on a wider range of the less commonly taught heritage languages spoken in a greater diversity of contexts might add insights into the ways in which heritage learners construct their identities in multilingual families or communities. Much of the research thus far has been limited to just a few of the major immigrant languages (e.g., Spanish, Korean, Chinese), although some recent studies have begun to address the unique complexities of the smaller heritage languages in nontraditional settings. In this article, I will focus specifically on a diverse group of multilingual/multicultural heritage learners who were enrolled in a course sharing project, the Shared Course Initiative (SCI), that allowed them to study heritage languages that are rarely taught in U.S. postsecondary institutions. A close look at their backgrounds, learning experiences, and linguistic repertoires highlights some of the complexities of heritage identity and points to some of the broader implications for understanding heritage language acquisition in a globalized world. In the next section, I will first give a brief overview of the SCI, a collaborative project in which three institutions share less commonly taught languages (LCTLs) via videoconferencing, and then discuss some of the data that we have gathered on the heritage learners in the project and connect these to current issues in SLA.

### **The Shared Course Initiative (SCI)**

Funded by the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the Shared Course Initiative (SCI) was started in 2012 as a joint collaborative project between Columbia University, Cornell University, and Yale University to share instruction in the LCTLs. The SCI model builds on existing local resources to expand language instruction across the three institutions. It allows the three schools to supplement their existing face-to-face language instruction with courses delivered via high definition, synchronous videoconferencing and other distance learning technologies. The three institutions have designed compatible learning spaces which are intended to facilitate a small, highly interactive, learner-centered, multimodal environment that seeks to emulate a traditional language classroom. The languages that have been taught thus far (including, for example, Sinhala, Zulu, Ukrainian, Modern and Classical Tibetan) are among the least frequently offered and are at risk of disappearing from university curricula due to institutional and federal budget cuts.

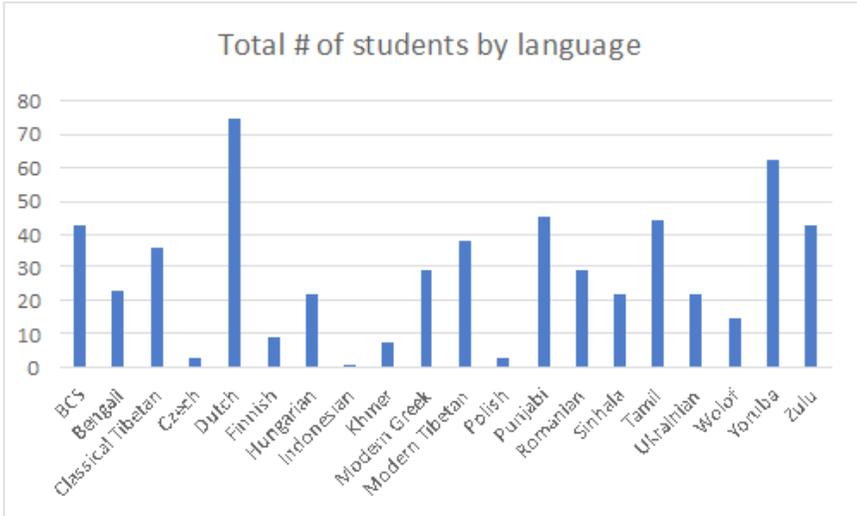
One of the major challenges facing the LCTLs has been their persistent marginalization in postsecondary curricula. According to the most recent MLA report on preliminary 2016 enrollment data in U.S. postsecondary institutions (Looney & Lusin, 2018), LCTLs account for a little over 2% of total language enrollments (34,830 students), showing an increase over 2013 of just .2% (Charitos, 2018). According to Goldberg, Looney, and Lusin (2015, p. 9), “LCTL offerings can be fragile and transitory.” Many suffer from extremely low enrollments, are offered at few institutions, and may lack continuity from year to year. It makes sense, therefore, to explore technology-based solutions to strengthen enrollments and curricula. As Blake (2017), notes, “[i]n the face of scarce resources for LCTL instruction and weak material response from publishing houses (it does not pay for them), administrators and teachers have turned to blended or fully online formats in order to enrich their language and culture programs” (p. 3). Moreover, the benefits of a shared model can extend beyond simply increasing enrollments. The SCI has found that they can also create new pedagogical affordances and help establish opportunities for collaboration within and across institutions (cf. Van Deusen-Scholl & Charitos, 2017).

In order to gain insights into the students’ and teachers’ experiences in the SCI and to assess student learning outcomes, we conducted a research project using a mixed-methods approach in which we collected a rich array of qualitative and quantitative longitudinal data, including biodata sheets that provided a full context for understanding the learners’ family backgrounds and their language learning histories, self-assessments using Can-do statements, American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages (ACTFL) Oral Proficiency Interview (OPI) assessments, and interviews and class observations. In the next section, I will discuss some of the data that we collected on our learners, with a specific focus on the heritage learners in the SCI.

## Heritage Learners in the SCI

From fall semester 2012 through spring semester 2018, the SCI enrolled 571 learners who studied 20 less commonly taught languages (LCTLs). Figure 1 shows the distribution of learners across these languages.

Out of the total number of 571 learners, 252 (or 44%) agreed to participate in the research. Our data suggest that students were generally highly motivated to learn these languages and tended to be overall less focused on more instrumental goals. Their survey responses indicate that they appeared to be appreciative of the opportunity to study languages that might otherwise not be available and did not perceive the distance technology as a major hindrance to learning. While the students listed some concerns, such as being more easily distracted on the receiving end, lacking eye contact with the



**Figure 1.** Total number of students per language.

instructor, occasional technology problems (e.g., sound), they also pointed out some of the affordances; for example, one noted that videoconferencing facilitated a highly communicative environment, and another mentioned having more authentic conversations (e.g., about the weather in both locations). They expressed strong personal and academic motivations, such as pursuing an interest in the literature or the culture of the languages they studied, participating in study abroad, and exploring heritage connections. Figure 2 shows the responses to Question 12 on the datasheet, “What were the main reasons you chose to take this class?” The students could choose from among seven reasons plus “other” for selecting a particular language in the SCI. The most frequently given answer under “other” was for research purposes.

For this article, I will focus specifically on the heritage learners in our project, who were the students who responded with “Because this is part of my heritage” to the question “What were the main reasons you chose to take this class/these classes” (Question 12-7).<sup>1</sup> A total of 83 students (or 33% of the total number of study participants) thus identified as heritage learners. Figure 3 shows the distribution of their responses to this question.

Heritage language learners are often framed in binary terms, as native or nonnative speakers, with respect to their L1 or L2 proficiency, or labeled with a hyphenated identity, such as Korean-Americans, or Chinese-Americans. Few studies have thus far looked at multilingual learners with multiple heritage language backgrounds who might not fit well in such dichotomous

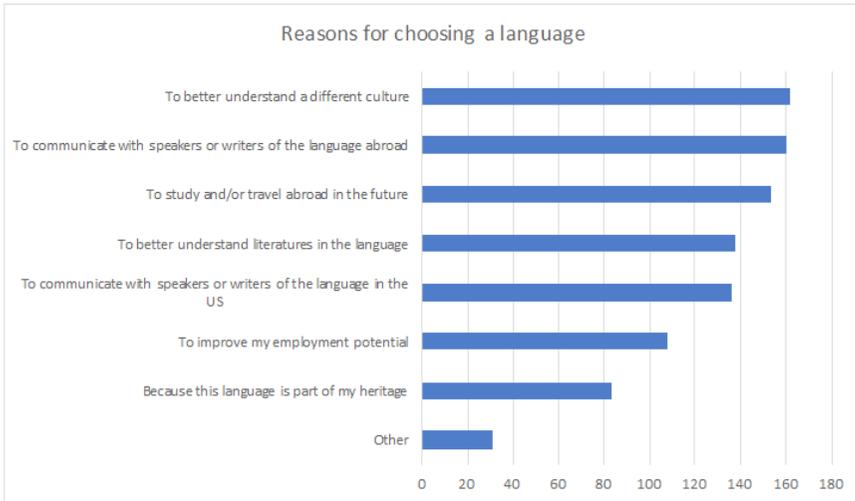


Figure 2. Reasons for choosing a language.

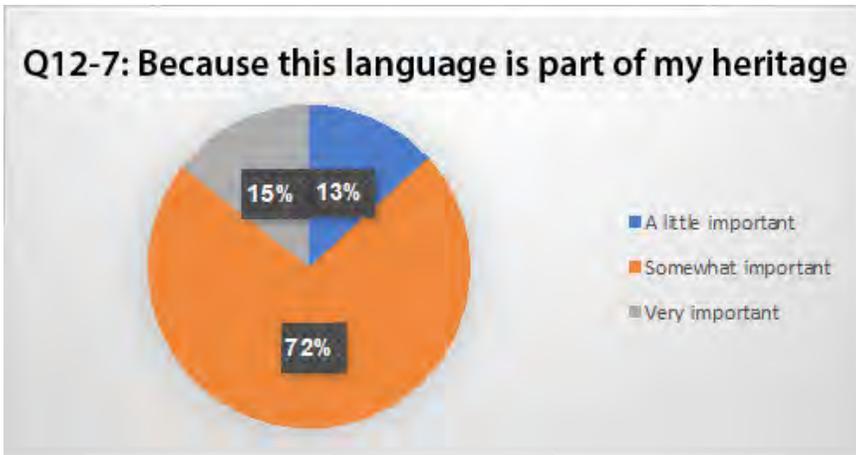


Figure 3. Heritage motivation responses.

classifications. One exception is a recent study by Guardado (2018) which examined heritage learners in interlingual or linguistically intermarried families. The findings point to the need for further research in this area, noting that "... HL development within the highly complex interactional dynamics of interlingual families must no doubt involve intricate processes of negotiation and socialization into highly varied and hybrid cultural values and practices" (Guardado, 2018, p. 514). Among the heritage learners in our data, we also

saw a significant number with complex multilingual backgrounds, including students who grew up in homes or societies where multiple languages were spoken.

The students in our heritage group studied a wide range of LCTLs (17 out of the total of 20 SCI languages). When we compare these languages with those listed in Carreira and Kagan's (2011) comprehensive survey, we notice little overlap. While 22 languages were included in that survey, the majority of the respondents (94%) represented just 13 languages, none of which are included in our project. Carreira and Kagan's research shows significant variation in HL learner profiles depending on their language background, which suggests that more attention should be given to the least commonly taught languages, which are as yet relatively under-represented in the HL literature. These learners may help us broaden our understanding of the diversities and complexities of the heritage learner and contribute to a more nuanced perspective on the learners' experiences (cf. Van Deusen-Scholl, 2014).

When we look at the responses to survey question 4, "What is your country of origin?", for our total SCI student population (202 survey responses), they show 38 different countries (including "other"), with the United States (111 responses, or 55%) and China (20 responses, or 10%) representing the largest groups. The heritage learner group (with 83 responses to this question) reported coming from 24 different countries of origin (including "other"), with 46 students (55%) coming from the United States. An overview of all heritage students, listed by country of origin, SCI language(s), home language(s), and fields of study can be found in Appendix A. Out of the 46 students who claim that the United States is their country of origin, 24 mention English as their sole native language, but 20 list multiple home languages. In other words, the U.S. population of learners also represents diverse multilingual backgrounds, with 12 languages in addition to English spoken in the home with parents or grandparents. Appendix B shows the breakdown of home languages, SCI languages, and fields of study for U.S. students.

These data challenge our perceptions that heritage learners in U.S. classrooms come primarily from immigrant or community backgrounds and point to the increasingly diverse population of students in our institutions who enroll in foreign language classes. Some may be U.S. students with parents of different national origins or from different language backgrounds, other students may have lived in multiple countries across the world, or some may be international students who enroll in U.S. heritage language classes. The data appear to support Lynch's (2014, p. 239) observation that "global flows and transnational mass migrations in the age of postmodernity will surely make HL speakers an ever more present phenomenon in all regions of the world." Within the United States, we are seeing an increasingly diverse student

population enrolled in postsecondary institutions. It should be noted also that our data are based on learners at three private institutions that draw on a global base of students. This population may be different from public institutions that may have a much larger percentage of students enrolled from the home state or from local communities. Differences between heritage learners at public and private institutions should be further explored as it raises new questions regarding, for example, their motivations, their learning goals, or the classroom dynamic among more linguistically diverse populations (cf. Van Deusen-Scholl, 2018, p. 131).

Question 5 asks “Do you consider English to be your sole native language?” A total of 36 out of 83 heritage learners answered “yes” to this question, but 47 answered “no” and list either English plus one or more additional languages or a home language other than English. Twelve students mention one other language only, 34 indicate two languages, and seven mention three languages. A total of 33 different home languages are represented among our heritage learner population, which points to a remarkable linguistic and cultural diversity in our heritage classrooms. As the number of home languages far exceeds that of the number of languages they can study in the SCI, it raises a number of questions as to what motivates their choices. For example, do they make compromises because their specific heritage language is not available? Are they motivated by academic or career goals? We are in the process of exploring these issues in more detail through in-depth interviews, but for the purpose of this article, I will only suggest a few possible reasons for their choices, which in many cases confirm our understandings of heritage learners’ motivations but may in some cases be less clear, or even surprising.

As I mentioned above, all students selected in this subset of our data indicated that they chose this language because it was “part of their heritage” (see Figure 1 above). For many, their choice of language seems to support a fairly straightforward connection between the language studied and the country of origin and/or the home language(s). Appendices A and B show many such examples: students from Bangladesh studying Bengali; a student from the Netherlands choosing Dutch; a U.S. student with Greek as one of the home languages studying Modern Greek, etc. However, for others, their selection of SCI language appears less straightforward, and these choices should be explored in further detail. In some cases, these students may have multiple heritage languages; an example is a student from Vietnamese origin who grew up in Laos and chose to study Khmer; or a student with Punjabi and Hindi as home languages who is studying Punjabi. In other cases, their choice may be based broadly on a language from their country or region of origin rather than on a specific home or family language, possibly because their choices were limited and their home languages might not be taught, or perhaps they

wanted to expand their range of languages connected with their cultural roots; for example, one Nigerian student who speaks Pidgin English and Bini chose Yoruba; another student who speaks Pulaar at home is studying Wolof; and a student from Zimbabwe chose Zulu. Makoni (2018) discusses such choices as a “Pan-African’ identity of resistance, necessitated by the marginalization experienced by ABAs [American-born Africans] in the American social context” (p. 87) and explains that for ABAs, identity “is not a specific ethnolinguistic identity; learning any language from Africa suffices” (p. 87). This type of positioning of identity may have played a role in some of the students’ language choices.

There were other preferences that also appeared at first glance somewhat less clear; for example, Classical Tibetan is cited by several students as their heritage language, which suggests that they may perceive a historical or cultural connection to the language; and a student who indicated “other” as country of origin and who speaks English and Spanish chose to study Dutch, which is still spoken widely in Curaçao where she came from. In a number of other cases, students choose languages based on their academic interests or field of study<sup>2</sup>; some examples are Classical Tibetan for a student in Buddhist Studies or Ukrainian for someone who specializes in Eastern European Studies. A graduate student from Costa Rica with English and Spanish as home languages is studying Yoruba, which may be linked to his field of interest, religion. In some cases, it is impossible to tell why the student had selected the language, and we intend to follow up further on these issues in our interviews. Nevertheless, our data suggest that heritage motivation is complex, and students’ language choices are not only intricately connected with their personal and academic goals but also with their chosen identities. Studying a language that is tied to their family, community, or country of origin allows them to assert or establish their identities in ways that may sometimes appear surprising or even illogical to others.

Based on our experience with the SCI, we feel that distance technology can play an increasingly important role in heritage language education as it may create access to languages that might not otherwise be available at postsecondary institutions and it can link students who share similar linguistic or cultural backgrounds. We found, for instance, that heritage learners who might not have close ties to a local heritage community were able to create a sense of shared identity across institutions (cf. Van Deusen-Scholl, 2018). For these students, who might be just among a handful of speakers of that heritage language on their campus, the distance environment enabled them to connect with other learners and to explore their respective identities collaboratively rather than in isolation. Distance technology may also offer access to more authentic experiences through, for example, a telecollaborative exchange with

the communities where the heritage languages are spoken or through project-based learning that allows learners to engage with other heritage speakers (such as their family members or community members) to gain a deeper understanding of their culture. Another affordance of the technology is the ability to connect from a distance with cultural institutions or artifacts that might not easily be accessible to the learners. For example, Cornell students in the SCI created a virtual tour of the local museum for their peers, using I-pads to narrate an exhibit on Dutch history in upstate New York. Despite some limitations compared with a face-to-face learning environment, the distance classroom may thus also offer some unique opportunities for teachers to create learning activities that challenge their students to collaboratively discover their heritage, forge relationships, and exchange experiences with peers as well as members from their heritage communities.

This study presented a brief overview of some of the data that we have collected on the heritage learners in the SCI, and raised a number of issues that need to be addressed in future studies. Our next step will be a systematic analysis of the qualitative data from our study, including interviews and class observations, that we hope will allow us to develop a more in-depth and nuanced picture of the heritage learners' multilingual backgrounds. Based on our data thus far, which suggest a need for greater emphasis on understanding how heritage learners maneuver their multiple identities in a globalized world, I argue that heritage language theory could benefit from current multilingual perspectives in SLA. In the next section, I will discuss some implications and offer some suggestions for further research.

### **Implications and Suggestions for Further Research**

Recent theoretical shifts in applied linguistics and SLA have opened new perspectives that move beyond the monolingual bias in research and align more closely with the multilingual reality of a superdiverse world. As a number of scholars have suggested (e.g., Lynch, 2003; Valdés, 2005), many insights from SLA can be relevant for the field of heritage language acquisition, and particularly the current focus on the sociocultural context of language use is crucial for a more nuanced understanding of the complex multilingual backgrounds of heritage learners. As Creese and Blackledge (2010) note, "... multilingual people do not habitually make meaning through separate monolingualisms, but interweave and intermesh a range of resources across borders and boundaries" (p. 565). A multilingual perspective adopts "a holistic view of all the languages spoken by multilinguals rather than focusing on one language at a time" (Cenoz, 2013, p. 12), and this may contribute to a dynamic view of multilingual heritage speakers' multi-competence (Van Deusen-Scholl, 2008).

Our data illustrate some of the complexities of heritage learners' linguistic repertoires and point to the need for a "plurilingual turn" in HLA, following a similar move in SLA. This would entail moving away from the dichotomous positioning of heritage speakers in between native speakers and second language learners and shifting from a focus on incomplete acquisition to a foregrounding of multilingual practices and identities in transnational and translocal contexts. Future research is needed on a wider range of languages, particularly the less commonly taught languages, and should include a greater diversity of learners within a global context of use.

## Notes

1. A total of 167 students responded to this question, or 53% of respondents. The response rate to each question on the biodata sheet varies as students had the option not to respond. For the purpose of this analysis, I have selected only the 83 students who indicated 2 (a little important), 3 (somewhat important) or 4 (very important) in their responses and discarded 1 (not at all important).

2. A significant number of students in the SCI are graduate students who have chosen to study languages that connect to their research interests.

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## Appendix A

### SCI Heritage Students by Country of Origin, Language Studied, Home Language, and Field of Study (N=83)

Country of origin	# of students	SCI languages	Home language(s)	Field(s) of study
<b>Bangladesh</b>	2	Bengali	English; Bengali	Asia and Middle Eastern Studies; Economics and Math
<b>Canada</b>	3	Ukrainian; Punjabi; Yoruba	English; Gujarati; Punjabi; Hindi	Musicology; Global and Public Health Sciences; Nutrition Science
<b>China</b>	5	Classical Tibetan; Modern Tibetan; Dutch	Chinese	East Asian Studies; Anthropology; Environmental Studies; Applied Math
<b>Costa Rica</b>	1	Yoruba	English; Spanish	Religion
<b>India</b>	1	Tamil	English; Tamil	Statistics
<b>Italy</b>	1	Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian	Italian	Business
<b>Japanese</b>	1	Classical Tibetan	Japanese	History
<b>Kenya</b>	1	Zulu	English; Swahili; Luo	English
<b>Montenegro</b>	1	Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian	English; Bosnian	Biology
<b>Netherlands</b>	1	Dutch	English	Economics and Math
<b>Nigeria</b>	3	Yoruba	English, Igbo; Pidgin English, Bini; English, Yoruba	Computer Science; Africana Studies; Neuroscience
<b>Other</b>	1	Dutch	English, Spanish	Physics and English
<b>Pakistan</b>	1	Punjabi	English, Urdu, Punjabi	Middle Eastern, South Asian and African Studies

Country of origin	# of students	SCI languages	Home language(s)	Field(s) of study
<b>Romania</b>	1	Romanian	Romanian, English	Biology
<b>Sierra Leone</b>	1	Zulu	English; Krio	Anthropology
<b>South Africa</b>	5	Zulu	English	Economics (2); Global Affairs, Ethnomusicology; Middle Eastern; South Asian and African Studies
<b>Sri Lanka</b>	2	Tamil; Sinhala	Tamil; English, Sinhala	Philosophy; Sociology and Public Health
<b>Taiwan</b>	1	Classical Tibetan	Chinese	East Asian Studies
<b>Turkey</b>	1	Serbian-Bosnian-Croatian	Turkish	Music
<b>Ukraine</b>	1	Ukrainian	English, Ukrainian, Russian	Slavic Studies and Psychology
<b>United Kingdom</b>	1	Dutch	English	Economics and Classics
<b>United States*</b>	46	Multiple	Multiple	Multiple
<b>Vietnam</b>	1	Khmer	Vietnamese	Anthropology
<b>Zimbabwe</b>	1	Zulu	Shona	History or political science

\*See Appendix B

**Appendix B**

**U.S. students: SCI languages, home languages, and fields of study (n=46)**

SCI language	Native language #1	Native language #2	Native language #3	Major or field of study
Classical Tibetan				Buddhist Studies (within Religious Studies)
Tamil	Tamil			Economics
Bengali				Political Science
Yoruba				Human Rights
Hungarian				Neuroscience and Behavior
Hungarian				Applied Math, German, Linguistics
Punjabi				Punjabi
Punjabi	English	Punjabi		Biology
Punjabi	English	Punjabi		Psychology/Pre-Health
Punjabi				Computer Science
Tamil	English	Tamil		MPA – Development Practice
Tamil	English	Tamil		Art History and Business
Tamil	English	Telugu		South Asian Studies
Tamil	English	Urdu / Hindi		History

SCI language	Native language #1	Native language #2	Native language #3	Major or field of study
Ukrainian				Biochemistry
Ukrainian				Ecology and Evolutionary Biology
Dutch				Operations Research
Dutch				Art History
Dutch				Economics-Political Science
Sinhala	English	Sinhalese		Molecular Biophysics and Biochemistry
Sinhala	English	Sinhala		Molecular Biophysics and Biochemistry
Ukrainian				Regional Studies: Russia, Eastern Europe, and Eurasia
Bosnian				Economics
Dutch				Financial Economics
Modern Greek	English	Greek		Computer Science
Modern Greek				Global Affairs
Modern Greek	English	Greek		Undecided
Tamil				Religion
Tamil	English	Tamil		Political Science and Economics
Tamil				Asian Studies

SCI language	Native language #1	Native language #2	Native language #3	Major or field of study
Tamil				Molecular, Cellular, and Developmental Biology
Yoruba				Civil Engineering
Yoruba				Psychology and English
Yoruba				Statistics
Bosnian				Slavic Studies, Political Science
Dutch				Anthropology
Dutch				Computer Science
Tamil	English	Tamil		English (Pre-med)
Wolof	English	Pulaar		Psychology
Bosnian	English	Bosnian	Serbo-Croatian	Economics, Business
Finnish				Biology
Punjabi	English	Punjabi		Economics
Punjabi	English	Punjabi	Hindi	Political Science
Romanian	English	Romanian		Nursing
Romanian	English	Romanian		Russia and East Europe Studies
isiZulu	English	Xhosa	Zulu	Middle Eastern, South Asian, and African Studies