Enrollments in Languages Other Than English in US Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 2021

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Executive Summary

Total college and university enrollments in languages other than English dropped by 16.6% between fall 2016 and fall 2021, as reported in the Modern Language Association's analysis of its twenty-sixth language enrollment census. Of the fifteen most commonly taught languages, only three showed gains in enrollments: American Sign Language (0.8%), Biblical Hebrew (9.1%), and Korean (38.3%).

Part of the decrease in language enrollments can be attributed to the decline in the number of students enrolling in colleges and universities, but the percentage loss in total enrollments at colleges and universities is considerably less than the percentage loss in language enrollments. Between 2016 and 2021, for example, college and university enrollments fell by 8.0%, while language enrollments fell by 16.6%.

Two-year institutions suffered a larger percentage drop in total enrollments than four-year institutions. Between fall 2016 and fall 2021, enrollments declined by 14.7% at four-year institutions while declining by 24.2% at two-year institutions.

In addition, between 2016 and 2021, the total number of programs of study reporting enrollments fell by 961, an 8.2% drop. The total number of programs reporting enrollments in 2016 was 11,734; in 2021, it was 10,773.

A total of 2,455 AA-, BA-, MA-, and PhD-granting colleges and universities, or 92.2% of all eligible institutions, reported for fall 2021; 207 declined to participate. This response rate, while lower than the census's historic rate of 95% or higher, is still exceptionally high and still qualifies the results as a census rather than a survey. The lower response rate may be attributed to the dislocation caused by the pandemic: turnover in administrative positions was high, some positions were vacant, and offices were understaffed.

To what extent did the lower response rate affect the percentage decline in enrollments? Comparing enrollments for those institutions that responded both in 2016 and in 2021 showed a decline of 15.6%, one percentage point better. Similarly, if the response rate had been higher, the number of language programs reporting enrollments would not have dropped quite so precipitously.

The decline in the number of programs occurred among both commonly taught languages and less commonly taught languages (LCTLs). German declined by 172 programs, French by 164, Chinese by 105, and Arabic by 80. There was growth for American Sign Language (ASL) and Korean: the number of institutions reporting ASL increased by 44, and the number for Korean increased by 29. Among the LCTLs, 101 languages saw a decline in the number of institutions. Twenty Indigenous American languages that were taught in 2013 or 2016 were not taught in 2021. But also among the LCTLs, 113 languages saw an increase in the number of institutions.

Some language programs had gains in enrollments or remained stable. Among all programs and for all languages, 38.3% increased or were stable, while 61.7% declined. As in 2016, the largest percentages of stability or growth in 2021 were in programs of advanced undergraduate study (50.0%) and graduate study (56.5%). The percentage of introductory undergraduate programs with stable or increasing enrollments was lower, 39.7%. Yet over 50% of programs in several languages showed stable or increasing enrollments at the introductory level: ASL, Ancient Greek, Biblical Hebrew, Japanese, Korean, and the LCTLs as a group. Korean had the highest percentage, 74.9%.

Despite challenges at the local and national levels, many language programs remain strong. This report offers case studies of programs whose robust enrollments demonstrate the value of funding, innovative curricular thinking, and dedicated faculty members who have the support of their administration. Some findings from these successful programs are the following:

- Adequate funding for language programs is an integral component of keeping language programs afloat.
- Support from the institution as a whole matters; without it, language departments struggle to maintain faculty lines and courses.
- Support from administrative offices and other departments also matters; for example, career services offices can help increase interest in language majors and connect students to local businesses.
- Emphasis on the cultural component of language learning is essential, in response to both student interest and the needs of local communities and businesses.
- Regular assessment and evaluation helps: in addition to providing invaluable information for determining students' needs and curriculum improvements, assessment and evaluation help secure better funding.
- Certificates, minors, and double major options attract students and give them flexibility in designing their degrees.
- Departmental awards and celebrations for students motivate them for future success.
- Encouraging language application in real-life contexts—for example, providing opportunities to interact with local communities—motivates students and improves their language skills.
- Building relationships with organizations outside the institution helps increase support for programs (i.e., funding, scholarships, enrollment) and provides cultural and career opportunities for students.
- Career-focused learning approaches, such as Spanish for business or health care, give students viable credentials for their careers.

Departments find that they improve their chances of success if they actively seek collaborations internally and externally, revise their programs to attract interest and meet student needs, and celebrate student success with scholarships, awards, and social events.

Language enrollments are declining at a time when the need for knowledge of world cultures and languages is growing in many sectors of the workforce. Now is not the time for devaluing the study of languages.

Enrollments in Languages Other Than English in US Institutions of Higher Education, Fall 2021

This report analyzes the findings of the Modern Language Association's twenty-sixth language enrollment census, which surveyed enrollments in fall 2021. Since 1958, the Modern Language Association (MLA) has gathered and analyzed data on undergraduate and graduate course enrollments in languages other than English in US colleges and universities. The MLA strives for a comprehensive view of language enrollments in higher education. In 2021, it gathered enrollments in 258 languages from 2,455 institutions.

Between fall 2016 and fall 2021, enrollments in languages other than English fell 16.6% in colleges and universities in the United States; of the fifteen most commonly taught languages, only American Sign Language (ASL), Biblical Hebrew, and Korean showed gains in enrollments (tables 1a and 1b).

Two-year institutions suffered a larger percentage drop in enrollments than four-year institutions. Between fall 2016 and fall 2021, enrollments declined by 14.7% at four-year institutions but by 24.2% at two-year institutions (table 2f).

We also count the number of programs of study reporting enrollments, or the number of institutions that report a given language in a given year. Between 2016 and 2021, the total number of programs of study reporting enrollments fell by 961, from 11,734 to 10,773, an 8.2% drop. This followed a decline of 651 programs between 2013 and 2016 and a decline of only one program in the period before that, between 2009 and 2013 (table 10). It should be noted that the lower numbers do not represent closed departments but rather the reduction in the aggregate number of institutions that report a given language in a given year; a more detailed discussion of table 10 appears below, in "The Number of Institutions Reporting Enrollments."

Tracing Trends in the 2021 Enrollments

The Overall Picture

Our longitudinal data allow us to put results into historical context. Aggregated fall 2021 course enrollments in languages other than English were 1,182,562. In fall 2016, enrollments were 1,418,584. Thus, enrollments fell 16.6% between fall 2016 and fall 2021, suffering the largest decline in the history of the census (the second-largest decline in a census, 12.6%, was in 1972; the 2020 snapshot, which was not a census but a sample survey, had a 15.4% decline). Fall 2013 enrollments had also declined, but by a smaller margin (6.7%), as had fall 2016 enrollments (9.1%). Following the historic peak in enrollments in 2009, language enrollments have been in a sustained decline, with three consecutive censuses showing significant losses. The total percentage drop between 2009 and 2021 is 29.3%. Before this major downturn, there had been sustained growth in language course enrollments (with the exception of a dip of 3.9% in 1995) from 924,337 in 1980 to

1,673,566 in 2009. Enrollments now stand at approximately the same level as in 1998 (fig. 1a; see also fig. 1b for graduate enrollments).

In terms of ranking, Spanish and French are still the two most studied languages (table 1a). ASL continues to hold third place, having displaced German in 2013. But there have been shifts elsewhere in the ranking of the fifteen most commonly taught languages. Because most of the commonly taught languages declined in enrollments in 2021, the shifts are the result of greater or lesser declines, not gains. German has dropped further down, and Japanese has taken its place in fourth. Chinese/Mandarin is now ahead of Italian, and Korean has advanced above Russian. These shifts show that the study of some historically popular European languages is decreasing at a higher rate than the study of some Asian languages. The commonly taught Asian languages, particularly Korean, which is growing, are rising in relative prevalence.[1] These changes reflect a growing diversity in the mix of commonly taught languages. In 1974, the five most commonly taught languages were all European in origin; in 2021, only three were. Finally, the fourth shift in ranking, as seen in table 1a, is the rise of Biblical Hebrew over Portuguese.

At Emory and Henry College, students in health fields benefit from the two-semester introductory sequence Medical Spanish. The courses have been so successful that the languages department is looking into offering similar sequences for those studying business and human services. Read about how language learning is meeting the future professional needs of nonmajors.

The shifts in rank are striking and significant in the trends that they show, but the most notable finding of the 2021 census is the staggering loss in enrollments that most languages experienced. German had the biggest decline, 33.6%, followed by Arabic (27.4%) and Modern Hebrew (26.0%). Five European languages had losses of around twenty percent: French (23.1%), Portuguese (21.8%), Latin (21.5%), Italian (20.4%), and Spanish (18.0%). All are Romance languages (or, in the case of Latin, an ancestor to Romance languages). Three languages from different language families had more moderate but still quite significant losses: Chinese/Mandarin (14.3%), Ancient Greek (13.8%), and Russian (13.5%). The drop in Japanese was smaller, 4.6%. The aggregated less commonly taught languages (LCTLs), which for the purposes of this study are defined as all languages not included in the fifteen commonly taught languages, declined by 6.8%. It is encouraging that in the face of such losses, three other commonly taught languages showed growth of varying degrees: ASL enrollments increased by 0.8%, Biblical Hebrew by 9.1%, and Korean by an astonishing 38.3%.

Korean, however, still has fewer than twenty thousand enrollments, and, as for all languages with smaller enrollments, particularly for LCTLs, relatively small numerical increases generate high percentage increases. The same is true for any small subsets discussed in this report. That said, Korean enrollments increased from 13,936 in 2016 to 19,270 in 2021; in other words, it grew by 5,334 enrollments, which no other language accomplished in 2021. It has also been remarkably consistent in its growth—it has not shown a decrease in enrollments since 1974.

Although ASL enrollments have gone up and down recently—they declined in 2016—they have grown substantially since 2009, from 92,068 to 107,899 in 2021, an impressive feat in the face of general enrollment decline since 2009.

The growth in Biblical Hebrew enrollments may be an artifact of data collection. Biblical Hebrew is usually taught in religion departments rather than

Read about how the University of Texas, Rio Grande Valley, has grown its American Sign Language Interpretation program—with support from the state and the college administration—to meet the increasing need for interpreters in South Texas and nationwide.

language departments, and some enrollments may have been bypassed in data collection in the past. We have increasingly given more attention to nonlanguage departments that may house languages.

Enrollments in the fifteen most commonly taught languages range widely, from 584,453 in Spanish to 4,125 in Modern Hebrew. Spanish dominates enrollments, but, as shown in figure 2, for the first time since 1990 its enrollments are less than 50% of all enrollments. Given that its share is just shy of 50%, at 49.4%, that shift is largely symbolic.

For nine of the fifteen commonly taught languages and for the aggregated LCTLs, the 2021 decline follows a decline seen in both 2013 and in 2016. Enrollments in Ancient Greek, Arabic, French, German, Italian, Latin, Modern Hebrew, Russian, Spanish, and the aggregated LCTLs have shown declines in all three of the most recent censuses. But if we take a broader view, looking back to 1998—which had 1,186,632 language enrollments, comparable to the 1,182,562 enrollments in 2021—we see that enrollments in half of the fifteen commonly taught languages as well as the LCTLs have grown. Enrollments in ASL, Arabic, Chinese, Japanese, Korean, and the LCTLs demonstrated robust growth, and Biblical Hebrew and Portuguese enrollments also grew.

The enrollments in LCTLs declined moderately between 2016 and 2021 (6.8%), from 33,568 to 31,302. LCTL course offerings can be irregular, since the programs tend to be small and may depend on a single instructor. In addition, they may not be taught every semester, and as a result may not be included in our fall census in a given year.

In recent censuses, some institutions have begun to provide more finely grained reporting about LCTLs, listing language variants such as Levantine Arabic, Koine Greek, or Rabbinic Hebrew separately instead of including them among Arabic, Ancient Greek, or Biblical Hebrew enrollments as they had in previous censuses. While such detail is useful, it also reduces the number of enrollments for the commonly taught languages Arabic, Ancient Greek, and Biblical Hebrew. As a way of balancing the benefits and disadvantages of aggregation and disaggregation, we have combined all variants of Arabic, Ancient Greek, and Biblical Hebrew in most of our tables and graphs but include disaggregated enrollment numbers in table 8, our detailed table of LCTLs; the disaggregated numbers are also available in the in the MLA Language Enrollment Database, which tracks enrollments from 1958 to 2021. This census report is also the first that combines enrollments reported in Chinese and those reported in Mandarin, previously reported separately, since the term Chinese refers to Mandarin in US colleges and universities. Combining the terms allows for a more accurate count of enrollments in this language.

The geographic distribution of enrollments remained fairly stable (table 3a) between 2016 and 2021, despite demographic changes in the geographic distribution of the college population. The largest shift, a decline of

one percent, was in the Midwest region. Table 3b displays fall enrollments in 2013, 2016, and 2021 in each of the fifty states and the District of Columbia. In the light of the decline in overall enrollments, it is unsurprising that only three states recorded increases in enrollments in 2021: Delaware (2.9%), Nebraska (5.0%), and Utah (5.5%). Four states had reported gains in 2016. Eleven states had losses of more than 25%: Arkansas, Indiana, Mississippi, Missouri, Nevada, New Mexico, Rhode Island, South Dakota, Washington, West Virginia, and Wyoming.

Longer-Term Trends

Table 4 shows the total number of fall enrollments in modern language courses in relation to the total number of students registered in postsecondary institutions in the United States. Students taking language courses, particularly majors, may enroll in more than one language class per semester and therefore may be counted more than once in our census. Thus, numbers of students attending institutions of higher education and enrollments in language courses are not equivalent groupings. Nonetheless, the ratio of language course enrollments to total students registered in postsecondary institutions is a figure that over time can serve as an important indicator of student involvement in the study of languages.

The 2021 ratio stands at 6.5, a decline from 7.4 in 2016 and a continuation of the decline from the recent peak of 9.1 in 2006 (see also fig. 4). The 2021 ratio is significantly less than the historic peak of 16.5 in 1965 and, unfortunately, is the lowest ratio recorded. Table 4 also shows that, while total postsecondary enrollments since 1960 have shown a growth index of 466.0%, modern language enrollments in the same period have a growth index of 188.5%. In other words, the growth in language enrollments has not kept pace with the population of postsecondary students.

Table 5 presents fall language course enrollments in the fifteen most commonly taught languages for the sixty-three-year span between 1958 and 2021. It is worth noting that, of the modern European languages, Italian, Russian, and Spanish show growth over that long span, but French and German show a decline. The percentage change between 1958 and 2021 for Arabic, Chinese/Mandarin, Japanese, and Portuguese is impressive, but it is Korean, with a 74,015.4% increase, from 26 enrollments in 1958 to 19,270 in 2021, that has the highest percentage change. No percentage change over the long term can be calculated for ASL, since ASL enrollments were not reported until 1990. ASL has since grown to become the third most commonly taught language in colleges and universities in the United States, from 1,602 enrollments in 1990 to 107,899 in 2021, an increase of 6,635.3%.

The Department of East Asian Languages at the University of Kansas has responded to student interest in Korean popular culture by expanding course offerings in Korean language and culture, with great success. Read about this thriving program, which works closely with alumni and other donors to support one of only ten US departments to offer five levels of Korean language study.

Table 6 compares enrollments in the fifteen most commonly taught languages as percentages of total language enrollments. Most notably, Spanish enrollments are now less than half of all enrollments for the first time since 1990. French and German both lost a percentage point in their share of enrollments. Conversely, ASL's share of language enrollments

increased by 1.6 percentage points, while Japanese and the LCTLs, despite the decline in their enrollments, increased their share of enrollments by a fraction of a percentage point (see fig. 2, fig. 3a, fig. 3b, and fig. 3c).

The 2020 Language Enrollment Sample Survey

Because of the pandemic, the planned 2020 census was postponed to 2021. To get a sense of the state of language enrollments in the first year of the pandemic, we conducted a sample survey of fall 2020 enrollments. For this snapshot, we gathered enrollment figures from the websites of 1,308 institutions of the 2,547 institutions that had reported data for the 2016 census.

Among these 1,308 institutions, we found that total language enrollments (undergraduate and graduate) dropped by 15.4% (table 14). Before the 2021 census, this decline represented the largest decrease in enrollments since 1958.

Spanish and French had the highest enrollments, ASL was third, and Japanese fourth. Enrollments showed great variability, from a 25.4% increase in Korean to a 32.2% decrease in German. Three of the fifteen most commonly taught languages in 2016 showed gains in enrollments in 2020: in addition to Korean, they were ASL (4.6%) and Biblical Hebrew (10.3%). The aggregated LCTLs also grew, by 12.4%.

Notably among the LCTLs, Hawai'ian did very well, increasing 24.1% to above 2,000 enrollments. For the 2020 snapshot, it was among the fifteen most commonly taught languages, becoming the first Indigenous language to be in that category ("Snapshot" 6).

During data gathering for the 2021 census, two preliminary analyses of the 2021 data were done, the first with 50% of the data at hand, and the second with 80% of the data. Both projected that 2021 would be slightly better than 2020. But when all the results were in, the projections did not hold. The fall-off in enrollments in the last cohort to be collected, generally consisting of smaller institutions, was greater than in other institutions.

Two- and Four-Year Institutions and Declining Enrollments in 2021

In the 2016 census report, we analyzed enrollments at two-year and four-year institutions and found that two-year institutions bore a disproportionate share of the decline in language enrollments that occurred in 2016. This was not always the case: in the early years of the census, enrollments at two-year institutions grew faster than they did at four-year institutions, but then the growth slowed and eventually reversed itself. In 2021, the pattern that we saw in 2016 continued: enrollments declined by 14.7% at four-year institutions while declining by 24.2% at two-year institutions (table 2f). Over the wide span of time between 1959 and 2021, enrollments at two-year colleges increased by 391.1%, and those at four-year institutions increased by 95.3%. But over the last four censuses, between 2009 and 2021, enrollments at two-year colleges declined by 44.3%, while those at four-year institutions declined by 24.8%.

The decline in total student enrollments was also steepest, at 18.5%, at two-year schools as compared with an 8.0% drop across all institutional types, a decrease of 4.1% at public four-year universities, and a small

drop at private schools of 0.3% between 2016 and 2021 (table 13a). The steeper drop in total enrollments in two-year institutions can be partly attributed to the COVID-19 pandemic, which disproportionately affected many of the communities most commonly served by two-year colleges (Belfield and Brock). As one study found, "[t]he pandemic and the related economic uncertainty posed serious challenges for community college students, who are often lower-income, older, and have more work and care responsibilities than their peers who attend four-year institutions. These challenges were insurmountable for many, and when something had to give, it was college" (Fishman and Cheche; see also Bulman and Fairlie). Enrollment declines cannot be entirely attributed to the pandemic, however, since language enrollments at two-year institutions have accounted for a smaller and smaller percentage of all language enrollments since 2009 (table 2e), and the decrease in language enrollments at two-year institutions has outstripped the decrease in language enrollments at four-year undergraduate and graduate institutions since declines began after 2009 (table 2f).

Thus, the data in the enrollment census reveal that language programs at two-year institutions are disproportionately at risk, which has implications for equity of and access to language study. Two-year institutions provide educational opportunities for traditionally underserved communities of students, including students of color, low-income students, single parents, and first-generation college students. If language programs are reduced or eliminated at two-year institutions, these students lose an educational opportunity that their more privileged peers at four-year institutions receive. And the message is sent that certain subjects are not meant for certain students. So while the MLA enrollment census, at its simplest level, gathers numbers, it also reveals socioeconomic realities that inform necessary policy and funding decisions at institutional, state, and federal levels.

Distribution of Enrollments by Institutional or Program Type

In addition to comparing language enrollments at two-year and four-year institutions, we looked at enrollments in relation to other institutional characteristics: by institutional size, by Carnegie classification, and by control and affiliation (i.e., categorized as public, private independent, or private religious). Enrollments declined more at public institutions than at private independent institutions, and enrollments at private religious schools were in between the two. Very small institutions and very large institutions suffered a smaller percentage loss than small, medium, or large institutions. Unsurprisingly, given the disparity in enrollment losses between two-year and four-year institutions, associate's institutions showed a greater decline than baccalaureate institutions. Doctoral institutions had a smaller percentage decline than master's institutions. Tribal colleges showed a large percentage increase (table 2g, table 2h, and table 2i).

Anecdotal evidence points to a vulnerability in the smaller commonly taught languages at small liberal arts institutions, and in small two-year institutions as well. For some of these languages, such as Russian, there is often only one full-time faculty member for the entire program. If these faculty members leave their positions, there is a likelihood that they will be replaced by adjuncts, who are limited by their institutions in the number of courses that they can teach in a semester. Course selection is reduced, advanced students have fewer options, and the program is diminished. Course enrollment minimums reduce the opportunities even further.[2]

Consortia programs are a possible solution, provided administrations are open to the idea of sharing their students with other institutions. If a solution of this sort is not found, then enrollments go down, and a thriving program can wither. Low enrollments are then used to justify eliminating the program. Cutting off the blood supply will cause an organism to die, but it will not be a natural death.

In this section, we look at subsets—the different levels of instruction—and the enrollments in each subset are necessarily smaller, particularly for graduate programs, than when they appear in aggregated form. It is worth noting again that when the numbers are small, relatively small numerical changes will result in large percentages of change.

Tables 2a, 2b, and 2c explore distribution patterns in language enrollments in the fifteen commonly taught languages at each level of postsecondary instruction: in two-year colleges (table 2a), in four-year undergraduate programs (table 2b), and in graduate programs (table 2c); table 2d looks at the levels in aggregate. Table 2e presents the distribution of language enrollments from 1959 to 2021 between those in two-year colleges and those in four-year undergraduate programs and graduate programs.

Most enrollments in the fifteen most commonly taught languages dropped significantly from 2016 to 2021 in all categories of institutions, with the exception of ASL, Biblical Hebrew, and Korean. The picture of this trend differs greatly between two-year and four-year institutions.

ASL enrollments fell 12.0% at two-year institutions but showed continued growth at four-year schools, where enrollments increased 10.8%. Graduate enrollments in ASL likewise increased 8.5% between 2016 and 2021, recovering from a sharp drop of 30.9% from 2013 to 2016. The growth on the graduate level may reflect the steady rise in interest in ASL in four-year undergraduate programs since 1990. The growing awareness of, and interest in, accessibility issues in the culture at large may also play a role in ASL enrollment increases. The increase in Biblical Hebrew may be ascribed to reporting issues, as discussed elsewhere. Ancient and Biblical languages are not studied widely at two-year schools. Korean enrollments increased significantly at both two- and four-year institutions, rising 20.3% at two-year and 37.8% at four-year schools, continuing a strong and steady upward surge over the historic course of the census. The study of Korean at the graduate level rose by 217.7% between 2016 and 2021—from 198 enrollments to 629—after dropping by almost 70% between 2013 and 2016. Japanese enrollments at four-year institutions remained steady, showing a rise of 0.2%, but dipped 2.9% at graduate levels and plummeted 22.1% at two-year schools, for a decline of 4.6% overall.

Enrollments in Spanish, by far the most commonly taught language, fell 18.0% from 2016, nearly twice the decline from 2013 to 2016. This figure marks the third consecutive census in which Spanish enrollments have fallen and the greatest decline since Spanish enrollments began to fall from an overall enrollment peak in 2009. As in the last census, Spanish enrollments declined far more at two-year institutions (26.0%) than at four-year institutions (15.7%) or at the graduate level (6.8%).

Enrollments in French, German, Italian, and Portuguese also declined significantly overall and at all levels between 2016 and 2021: French enrollments declined by 23.1% (down 35.6% at two-year colleges, 21.0% at four-year institutions, and 20.1% at the graduate level); German enrollments fell even more steeply, by 33.6%

(down 48.5% at two-year institutions, 32.2% at four-year schools, and 19.7% at the graduate level); Italian enrollments declined by 20.4% (down 41.8% at two-year schools, 16.7% at four-year schools, and 46.4% at the graduate level); and Portuguese enrollments decreased by 21.8% (47.1% at two-year colleges, 20.0% at four-year institutions, and 22.3% at the graduate level). That is, languages of European origin, historically among the most popular in the country, have been strongly affected by the downturn in language study. Russian enrollments, however, changed more moderately: overall enrollments fell by 13.5%, enrollments at four-year institutions and at the graduate level fell by 15.2% and 16.0%, respectively; and enrollments at two-year schools rose by 7.4%.

Enrollments in Modern Hebrew declined by 26.0% overall, mostly at four-year schools, where enrollments dropped by 27.0%. (Enrollments in Modern Hebrew are overwhelmingly at the four-year level; it is not among the fifteen most commonly taught languages at the two-year or graduate level.)

Arabic and Chinese/Mandarin enrollments also showed steep declines: Arabic enrollments (including all forms of Arabic) dropped 27.4% overall and 13.4% at two-year schools, 30.1% at four-year schools, and 16.1% at the graduate level; Chinese/Mandarin enrollments fell 14.3% overall and 23.9% at two-year schools, 12.5% at four-year schools, and 29.5% at the graduate level. (Although enrollments in several forms of modern Arabic increased at two-year schools from 2016 to 2021, they total just over five hundred.) Chinese/Mandarin enrollments have been dropping at two-year institutions since 2009, and at four-year institutions since 2013. Graduate enrollments in Chinese/Mandarin have remained fairly steady for the last twenty years; the drop from 2016 to 2021, from 1,266 to 892, is the first time graduate enrollments in Chinese/Mandarin have fallen below 1,000 since 2002.

The drop in graduate enrollments in thirteen of the fifteen most commonly taught languages is mirrored in a decreasing number of PhDs granted in language fields. Statistics from the *Survey of Earned Doctorates* show a 37.1% decline between 2016 and 2021 in the number of PhDs granted, from 599 to 377, in the category foreign languages and literature ("Data Tables" table 1-3).

Turning now to the LCTLs, we see that the drop in overall enrollments in LCTLs since 2016—6.8% (table 1b)—was less steep than in many of the fifteen most commonly taught languages, and enrollments in LCTLs have increased as a percentage of total language enrollments for the second census in a row. LCTLs gained fractions of percentage points, rising from 2.2% in 2009 and 2013 to 2.4% in 2016 to 2.6% in 2021 (table 6). While enrollments in many LCTLs have declined since 2016, enrollments in many others have risen, especially Middle Eastern/African and Indigenous American languages (tables 9a–9d). Enrollments in two-year schools contributed to this rise in LCTL enrollments, and several languages that are considered LCTLs in overall enrollments are among the fifteen most commonly taught languages at two-year schools: Armenian, Farsi/Persian, Hawai'ian, and Vietnamese (table 2a). LCTL enrollments rose from 17,946 in 1998 to 31,302 in 2021, and the number of LCTLs with reported enrollments increased from 138 in 1998 to 228 in 2021 (table 8).

Heritage speakers of Armenian, Hebrew, and Turkish have a range of options for language study at the University of California, Los Angeles, where programs offer students opportunities to apply their skills outside the classroom, partnering with local organizations and sponsoring events on campus and in the community. Read the case study.

Farsi/Persian enrollments increased 42.7% at two-year schools, recovering somewhat from a 30.3% drop between 2013 and 2016, and Vietnamese remained in the fifteen most commonly taught languages for two-year institutions, holding steady with a 5.2% rise after enrollments fell 24.0% in the last census. Hawai'ian enrollments at two-year schools have risen and fallen since 2002, varying in a range between 550 and 670, but jumped 32.4% to 834 in the 2021 census, contributing to an overall rise of 33.7% in enrollments at all levels. Enrollments at two-year institutions in Armenian (all forms combined) have soared 272.7% since 2016. Eastern Armenian enrollments, which have climbed to 863, are reported for 2021 only at two-year schools, mainly in areas with highly concentrated Armenian communities, and constitute the bulk of all Armenian enrollments. Enrollments reported in Armenian, Modern Armenian, and Western Armenian have all dropped since 2016, most significantly at four-year schools.

Enrollments in Iraqi Arabic rose 348.0%, though this reflects an increase to 112 enrollments from 25 in 2016 at two-year schools (tables 8 and 9a). Zulu/Isizulu enrollments are up 12.6% overall, from 115 enrollments at four-year schools in 2016 to 132 in 2021, but down from 4 to 2 graduate enrollments, while Swahili/Kiswahili enrollments are down 20.4% at four-year institutions and graduate programs; neither Zulu/Isizulu nor Swahili/Kiswahili enrollments were reported at two-year institutions. Malagasy enrollments, also reported only at four-year institutions, increased 18.2%, from 88 to 104. Enrollments in Somali climbed 25.2% at four-year schools between 2016 and 2021, and some two-year institutions have begun to offer it as well, with 113 enrollments reported in 2021 (table 8). The number of institutions reporting these enrollments in 2021 is modest: six institutions reported enrollments in Somali, and two reported enrollments in Malagasy.

Enrollments reported as Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian have increased 24.5% since 2016, while Czech enrollments are down 32.2% (table 9b). Pastoral Spanish enrollments rose 346.2%, but, as for Biblical Hebrew, this increase may be an effect of reporting issues: there were 72 enrollments at four-year schools, up from zero in 2016, and 44 enrollments in graduate programs, up from 26 in 2016 (table 8).

Apart from Vietnamese, Mandarin, and Eastern Armenian, enrollments in Asian LCTLs (table 9c) are mostly trending downward. Thai enrollments, reported only at four-year and graduate institutions, are down 34.6%; Cantonese enrollments, reported only at four-year schools, are down 25.5%; and Samoan enrollments, reported only at four-year schools, are down 25.0% (tables 8 and 9c).

By contrast, enrollments of Indigenous American languages (table 9d) are more encouraging, particularly considering that many tribal colleges did not respond to the 2021 census. Choctaw enrollments are up 162.0%, mainly at four-year schools (the 4 enrollments in 2016 at two-year schools dropped to 1 in 2021). Salish enrollments, reported only at four-year institutions, are up 654.0%, from 50 in 2016 to 377 in 2021.

Read about three language programs that have built strong relationships with local bilingual communities. At the University of Georgia, students and teachers of Vietnamese visit businesses and communities and invite guest speakers to campus. At the University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, service-learning opportunities and projects like creating podcasts help students connect with the area's diverse communities. And at Boise State University—one of only six US institutions to offer Basque—students and teachers host a Basque radio program.

Yup'ik/Yupic enrollments, also only reported at four-year schools, have increased 38.0%. Kiowa enrollments, however, are down 37.5% at four-year institutions, and the 3 enrollments in 2016 at two-year schools dropped to none in 2021.

Enrollments in LCTLs, and program offerings of LCTLs, are often a response to the needs of immigrant and refugee communities, whose members are more often served by two-year institutions than by four-year institutions. For example, Glendale Community College, a two-year institution in California, had the highest number of undergraduate enrollments in Armenian. This number is likely a response to the high population of Armenian immigrants and Armenian Americans living in Glendale. Two-year schools play an important role in language learning, providing access and resources to fluctuating immigrant populations, and the shrinking portion of language enrollments at two-year schools is cause for concern.

Ratio of Introductory to Advanced Undergraduate Enrollments

In 2006, the census started including questions that track the distinctions between enrollments in introductory and advanced courses. For the purpose of the census, we define introductory enrollments as those in first- and second-year courses and advanced enrollments as those in third- and fourth-year courses. Enrollments in introductory classes may include a variety of tracks. In some institutions, enrollments in introductory classes reflect the presence of a language or a linguistic or cultural general education requirement. Advanced undergraduate language enrollments may lead to language minors and majors and may also reflect courses taken as a part of professional preparation, such as Spanish for the health professions, French for business, German for engineering, and so on. Although different languages require different time frames for attainment of competency levels, enrollment in advanced classes should indicate the beginning of a functional level of proficiency for most European languages. Languages such as Arabic, Chinese, Korean, and Russian require extended learning periods for most native speakers of English. Whichever language is under consideration, the census allows a longitudinal view that makes it possible to monitor relative changes in levels of ability for all languages. It is also possible to note institutional responses to students' changing interests in those languages.

One caveat should be noted in the discussion of introductory versus advanced enrollments: in most cases, numbers are reported to us not by language specialists but by institutional staff members responsible for maintaining records. Directors of institutional research, registrars, and designated staff members in the appropriate dean's office will generally distinguish introductory from advanced enrollments on the basis of course numbers; while these numerical designations are usually regularized, they are not universally transparent as an indication of course level. Languages taught at beginning levels in linguistics or anthropology departments, for instance, may not be assigned the numbers traditionally reserved for introductory courses (e.g., Linguistics 101 will be reserved for an introduction to linguistics). When introductory courses in ASL are offered outside language departments, they may carry a course number that is associated with an upper-level course. In multilanguage departments, languages offered occasionally also may not receive the standard 101-102 or 201-202 designation.

Table 7 shows the fall 2021 undergraduate introductory and advanced enrollments for the fifteen most commonly taught languages and the aggregated LCTLs and provides a ratio of introductory to advanced enrollments. The 7:1 ratio for Latin, for example, indicates that for every seven introductory enrollments there is one enrollment in an advanced course at the undergraduate level. The table also shows, for comparison, the ratios for 2013 and 2016.

The differential varies widely from one language to another. In 2021, five languages and the aggregated LCTLs had a 4:1 or better ratio of introductory to advanced undergraduate enrollments (i.e., advanced classes made up 20% or more of all undergraduate enrollments): Biblical Hebrew (2:1), Chinese/Mandarin (3:1), Portuguese (3:1), Russian (3:1), German (4:1), and the aggregated LCTLs (3:1). Biblical Hebrew also had the greatest proportionate number of enrollments at the advanced level in 2016. The ratio for German improved from 5:1 in 2016.

Four additional languages had a 5:1 ratio of introductory to advanced enrollments: French, Ancient Greek, Korean, and Spanish. Ancient Greek declined from 4:1 in 2016. Arabic, Japanese, and Modern Hebrew had a 6:1 ratio, which was an improvement for Arabic and Modern Hebrew but a step down for Japanese. Latin (7:1), ASL (10:1), and Italian (10:1) had the lowest ratios of enrollments at the advanced level in 2021—not surprising in ASL, given the relative newness of its programs, whose solid enrollments at the introductory level will likely foster the creation of additional advanced courses in the years to come if additional faculty members are hired to support its growth. Italian has improved from its 11:1 ratio in 2013, while ASL has slipped from 9:1, and Latin is holding steady.

Comparison of the ratio of undergraduate enrollments for aggregated LCTLs at the introductory and advanced levels, moving from 2013 to 2016 to 2021, shows an encouraging trend. LCTLs have moved from a 6:1 ratio in 2013 to a 4:1 ratio in 2016 to a 3:1 ratio in 2021. Such strong improvement in the proportion of advanced courses is unmatched in the fifteen commonly taught languages. Overall, there is considerable stability in the ratios: when all languages are analyzed together, the ratio is 5:1 for the last three census years.

Names of Languages

From our first census in 1958 until recently, our practice was to use the name of a language as it was reported to us by institutions, preserving slight variations in spelling on the principle that these may mark significant social, cultural, or linguistic distinctions to speakers or scholars of the language. This policy led to variations in language names in our records and to occasional incongruities. For the past several censuses, we have gradually moved away from this practice, following the advice of our consultants and specialists in the field to combine certain language terms. They argued that, when enrollment numbers are scattered among different terms for the same language, an inaccurate picture is painted of the status of that language. For this reason we have combined, for example, enrollments for Farsi and Persian under the term Farsi/ Persian. Some speakers and linguists consider Filipino, Pilipino, and Tagalog distinct languages; others do not. After much discussion with experts in the field, we decided to use the combined term Filipino/Pilipino/ Tagalog.

We report enrollments individually in Danish, Norwegian, and Swedish, but we also report enrollments—as reported to us—in Scandinavian; we have checked with reporting institutions and know that more than one of these languages is being taught in courses under the regional designation.

The combining of language terms evolves with each census and is a particularly complex process for Indigenous languages. Indigenous language names in the Americas have undergone significant change over the years, as languages that had been reported by the names assigned by non-Natives were updated to reflect the names as reported by Indigenous speakers: Tohono O'odham has replaced Papago, Ho-Chunk has replaced Winnebago, Iñupiaq has taken the place of Inupic, and Kumeyaay has taken the place of Digueno. Further, some languages that are identical or nearly identical may be referred to by multiple names or with variant spellings: Assiniboine and Nakoda,[3] Blackfeet and Piikani, Chippewa and Ojibwa/Ojibway/Ojibwe, Kootenai and Kutenai, and Luiseno and Luiseno/Takic. These language variants and others remain to be analyzed and combined as appropriate. Finally, some languages with variant spellings that were recorded separately in the past have since been combined, as have some older and newer names of languages: Aaniiih / Aaa'ani Nin / Gros Ventre, Aleut / Unangam Tunuu, Ichíiskin Sinwit / Sahaptin Languages, Nuumiipuutimt / Nez Perce and Tolowa / Tolowa Dee-ni'.

A large number of Indigenous languages and language names appeared for the first time in the 2020 snapshot or in the 2021 census: Cahuilla, Cayuga, Gullah, Hawai'ian Creole, Iroquoian Languages, Klallam, Me'phaa/Tlapanec, Nuu-Chah-Nulth, Paiute, Passamaquoddy/Wolastoqey/Maliseet, Piikani, Seneca, Serrano, Umatilla, Yakama/Yakima, and Yuchi.

Specialists in ASL, Arabic, Biblical Hebrew, Chinese/Mandarin, French, German, Greek and Latin, Italian, Japanese, Korean, Modern Hebrew, Portuguese, Russian, and Spanish responded to our requests to review data and nomenclature, and we have relied on their expert assistance to sort through a variety of language issues.

Less Commonly Taught Languages (LCTLs)

For the purpose of this report, we characterize as less commonly taught all languages other than the fifteen with the highest enrollments (as listed in table 1a) when speaking of languages at all program levels. The list of the fifteen commonly taught languages changes when we look at subsets, so that designation as an LCTL is specific to context (e.g., Hawai'ian and Vietnamese are among the fifteen languages commonly taught in two-year colleges). Several LCTLs are language variants that in earlier census years were reported in larger categories, some of which were among the commonly taught languages (e.g., variants of Arabic). The list of LCTLs in table 8 includes enrollments in languages not reported in censuses until 2021, such as Hiligaynon/Ilonggo and Klallam (although Klallam did appear in the 2020 snapshot). A total of 311 LCTLs were offered in 2013, 2016, or 2021, as shown in table 8 (310 LCTLs were listed in the 2016 report, 304 in 2013).

One US institution reported enrollments in Esperanto: the University of California, San Diego. Read about how the school is reviving a rare but universal language.

Below we highlight several trends in LCTL enrollments and a few LCTL programs. More detail can be found in the data tables: table 8 is a comprehensive list of enrollments in all LCTLs in the last three censuses, and tables 9a–9d show LCTL enrollments by region since 1974. Figure 5 shows the 2021 enrollments for the fifteen LCTLs with the highest enrollments, and table 1c compares the 2021 enrollments with enrollments in 2009, 2013, and 2016.

Middle Eastern, African, European, Asian, and Pacific LCTLs

In Middle Eastern or African LCTLs (table 9a), Aramaic was the only language to reach over 2,000 total enrollments, which it did despite a 13.9% decrease in enrollments since 2016. Farsi/Persian followed close behind at 1,929 enrollments, a 17.2% decrease since 2016. Iraqi Arabic had the largest percent change from 2016, an increase of 348.0%, the consequence of a sharp dip in enrollments in 2016. Zulu/Isizulu had the largest percent change since 1974 with a 1,814.3% increase in enrollments; it is currently taught at ten schools. Such large swings in enrollment percentages can occur in LCTLs, given the small numbers and the precarity of small language programs.

Of the fifteen European LCTLs with the largest enrollments in 2021 (table 9b), five languages have had increased enrollments since 2016: Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian, New Testament Greek, Dutch, Hungarian, and Pastoral Spanish. Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian has been increasing steadily since 2009. However, most of the fifteen European LCTLs with the largest enrollments have decreased since 2016, and some also decreased in earlier census years. Enrollments in Polish have been decreasing since 2006, and Modern Greek, Norwegian, and Swedish enrollments have been decreasing since 2009. While Yiddish enrollments increased between 2013 and 2016, Yiddish had the largest percent decrease of the fifteen largest European LCTLs since 1974, 74.4%.

In Asian or Pacific LCTLs (table 9c), Eastern Armenian has seen a significant jump in enrollments, yielding a 1,592.2% increase since 2016—all from Glendale Community College. Glendale, California, is known for having one of the largest Armenian populations in the United States and outside Armenia (Fittante; McCormick). Glendale Community College offers a wide range of Armenian courses, from introductory language courses to more advanced classes such as Ancient and Medieval Armenian Literature. While most of the fifteen Asian or Pacific LCTLs with the largest enrollments had overall percent increases since 1974, Vietnamese had the largest, at 7,172.4%. Most enrollments in Vietnamese came from institutions located in California, which has the largest Vietnamese population in the United States ("Top Ten U.S. Metropolitan Areas"). Although Samoan showed steady enrollments from 1998 to 2016, there was a 25.0% decline in 2021. Only four participating institutions had Samoan enrollments in 2021, all of which were located in either Utah or Hawaiʻi. University of Hawaiʻi, Mānoa, has had the highest number of Samoan enrollments since 1990.

Indigenous LCTLs

Since we are in the UNESCO Decade of Indigenous Languages (2022–32), it is appropriate for the enrollment census to highlight Indigenous language enrollments. Every one of the fifteen Indigenous American LCTLs with the largest enrollments has had a positive percent change since 1974 (table 9d). Enrollments in three Indigenous languages spoken in Alaska—Yup'ik/Yupic, Tlingit, and Iñupiaq—increased

since 2016. Yup'ik/Yupic and Iñupiaq enrollments have been steadily increasing since 2013, while Tlingit enrollments dipped slightly in 2016 before increasing by 137.3% in 2021. All three languages are taught solely in institutions located in Alaska, either within the University of Alaska system or Iḷisaġvik College, a tribal institution. The Alaska Native Language Center, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 2022, is part of the Fairbanks campus of the University of Alaska. The center offers a variety of courses in Alaskan Native languages, as well as programs for a certificate, associate's degree, minor, or bachelor's degree in Yup'ik and a minor or bachelor's degree in Iñupiaq.

The MLA language list currently includes 122 language names that originate in North and South America, but the analysis in this section accounts for enrollments in only 90 of these languages. Excluded from the analysis are languages whose names have been replaced by more linguistically accurate or culturally appropriate designations (e.g., Papago in favor of Tohono O'odham) and ASL and Sign Language, Cajun French, Pennsylvania German and Dutch, and various creoles (Haitian and Jamaican/Patois, Gullah and Palenquero), to concentrate on the languages of the Indigenous peoples of the Americas. Enrollments in 90 Indigenous American languages, all LCTLs, have been reported from 2013 through 2021 (table 8); enrollments in four additional languages were recorded only in the 2020 sample survey: Hawai'ian Creole, Passamaquoddy/Wolastoqey/Maliseet, Serrano, and Yuchi. In 2021, enrollments in 68 Indigenous languages of the Americas were reported at 124 institutions.

Enrollments in these 68 languages totaled 6,722, or 21.5% of all LCTLs and 0.6% of total enrollments of all languages. Hawai'ian had the highest enrollments, with 2,327, 34.6% of all Indigenous languages of the Americas, 7.4% of all LCTLs, and 0.2% of all language enrollments. Navajo was the second most commonly taught, with 680 enrollments (10.1% of Indigenous languages and 2.2% of LCTLs), followed by Choctaw, with 482 enrollments (7.2% of Indigenous languages and 1.5% LCTLs).

Hawai'ian and Navajo have been the two Indigenous languages with the highest enrollments since 2002; Ojibwa/Ojibway/Ojibwe was in third place from 2002 through 2016 but dropped to sixth in 2021 (table 9d). Hawai'ian peaked in 2013, with 2,419 enrollments, while Navajo peaked in 2009, with 914 enrollments. Ojibwa/Ojibway/Ojibwe enrollments peaked in 2009, at 700, but fell to 334 in 2021. Choctaw, on the contrary, has grown steadily, increasing from 63 enrollments in 2002 to 482 enrollments in 2021, moving from the eighth spot to the third.

The highest number of institutions—18—reported enrollments in Quechua/Kichwa; 16 institutions reported enrollments in Ojibwa/Ojibway/Ojibwe, 14 in Hawai'ian, 13 in Navajo, and 11 in Nahuatl languages. Forty-two Indigenous languages were taught at only one institution (table 10).

Tribal colleges and universities are critical to the teaching of Indigenous languages: in 2021, of the 23 languages recorded at tribal institutions, enrollments in 13 were reported solely by tribal colleges; in 2016, 16 languages were reported solely at tribal colleges; and in 2013, 14 languages were reported solely at tribal colleges. Thus, if a tribal college does not participate in the census or a language is not taught in the census year, no enrollments may be recorded in that language. Of the 18 tribal colleges that responded to the fall 2021 census, 11 reported enrollments in one Indigenous language, four in two languages, and three in three languages. Tribal colleges accounted for 1,279 enrollments (1,075 introductory, 204 advanced) in

23 Indigenous languages (including the general category "Indigenous Languages") in fall 2021, or 19.0% of all Indigenous language enrollments; excluding enrollments in non-US-based languages, tribal colleges accounted for 19.9% of all Indigenous language enrollments.

Community colleges (Carnegie-classified Associate's Colleges) are also important in teaching Indigenous languages, especially those in geographic proximity to Indigenous nations and tribal lands. Twenty-one nontribal community colleges—all in the Midwest, Rocky Mountain, and Pacific Coast regions of the United States—reported enrollments in 11 US-based Indigenous languages, including one reporting enrollments in "Indigenous Languages" (table 3a). Three languages (Chinook Wa Wa, Kumeyaay, and Umatilla) were reported only at three nontribal community colleges; all three colleges are located in the Pacific Coast region. Enrollments at nontribal community colleges accounted for 1,245 introductory enrollments in US-based Indigenous languages in fall 2021, or 19.4% of the total enrollments in US-based Indigenous languages (18.5% of all Indigenous language enrollments).

Proximity to Indigenous tribes was also a factor in whether a nontribal four-year institution (Carnegie-classified Baccalaureate Colleges, Master's Colleges and Universities, and Doctoral Universities) reported enrollments in those languages. Choctaw and Chickasaw, for example, were taught primarily at nontribal four-year institutions in Oklahoma, Blackfeet/Blackfoot/Siksika was taught only at a nontribal four-year school in Montana, and Cahuilla was taught only at two nontribal four-year institutions in California. Even one of the more commonly taught Indigenous languages, Navajo, was taught at a number of nontribal four-year institutions in several southwestern states (although Navajo was also taught at Stanford University).

Read about how the University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, has succeeded in maintaining language instruction despite institutional challenges, working collaboratively with other campuses and schools to meet the needs of students and respond to changes in the community.

Unsurprisingly, the University of Hawai'i system accounts for the majority of Hawai'ian language enrollments historically and currently; in 2021 Hawai'ian enrollments were recorded at all ten University of Hawai'i campuses, at Stanford University, at Hawai'i Pacific College, and at the Brigham Young University campuses in Utah and Hawai'i, for a total of 2,274 undergraduate and 53 graduate enrollments (2,327 total). Stanford University and Brigham Young University, UT, are the only participating institutions outside Hawai'i to have enrollments in Hawai'ian in 2021. Hawai'ian is the most commonly taught Indigenous language of the Americas, accounting for 34.6% of all Indigenous enrollments (36.2% of enrollments in US-based Indigenous languages).

The University of Hawai'i institutions reported 1,812 introductory, 353 advanced, and 53 graduate enrollments, which accounts for 94.5%, 99.2%, and 100%, respectively, of each level of Hawai'ian enrollments; their total 2,218 enrollments accounts for 95.3% of all Hawai'ian enrollments. Further, the six community colleges of the University of Hawai'i reported 834 enrollments, which puts Hawai'ian as the thirteenth most commonly taught language at two-year institutions (table 2a). The other four institutions account for 109 (106 introductory and 3 advanced) enrollments, or 4.7% of total Hawai'ian enrollments.

The University of Hawaiʻi, Mānoa, has a solid program to foster Hawaiʻian language growth called the Hawaiʻi Language Roadmap Initiative. Launched in 2012, the program incorporates both educators and employers to promote a multilingual workforce. The Mānoa campus is also home to the Kawaihuelani Center for Hawaiian Language, which is dedicated to strengthening Hawaiʻian language and culture through education. While all schools in the University of Hawaiʻi system had enrollments in Hawaiʻian, the Mānoa campus had the largest total enrollment count, at 1,047.

Similarly, in 2021 ten Indigenous Alaska languages (including "Alaskan Languages") were taught at three University of Alaska campuses and one Alaska-based tribal college, Iḷisaġvik College. These four institutions accounted for 493 undergraduate enrollments (430 introductory and 63 advanced), or 7.7% of total enrollments in US-based Indigenous languages (7.3% of all Indigenous enrollments).

The Language Enrollment Database includes a number of Indigenous American languages spoken exclusively outside the United States, mostly in Mexico, Central America, and South America: Aymara, Aztec Languages, Guaraní, Mayan (along with Kaqchikel, Quiché, and Yucatec variants), Me'phaa /Tlapanec, Miskito/Miskitu, Mixtecan Languages, Nahuatl Languages, Quechua/Kichwa Languages, and Zapotec Languages. There were no enrollments reported in fall 2021 in Aymara, Aztec Languages, Mayan, Miskito/Miskitu, or Zapotec Languages. Enrollments in Nuu-Chah-Nulth and Inuktitut, languages spoken in Canada, were reported by one university in the fall 2021 census.

Ten of these other Indigenous languages of the Americas were taught at 27 doctoral universities in fall 2021; enrollments for Nahuatl Languages were also reported at one associate's college and one master's university. Of the 27 doctoral institutions, 18 reported enrollments only in these other Indigenous languages of the Americas, while 9 reported enrollments in both these languages and languages centered in the United States (this includes universities that teach the nonspecified "Indigenous Languages").

There were a total of 293 enrollments in non-US-based Indigenous languages reported in fall 2021 (173 introductory, 90 advanced, and 30 graduate); these accounted for 4.4% of all Indigenous enrollments. Three languages accounted for 276 (94.2%) of the 293 enrollments: 74 enrollments (25.3%) were reported for Nahuatl, 88 (30%) for Mayan (Kaqchikel, Quiché, and Yucatec combined), and 114 (38.9%) for Quechua/Kichwa. These languages also accounted for all 30 of the graduate enrollments, which in turn accounted for 31.2% of the graduate enrollments of all Indigenous languages of the Americas.

Of the LCTLs for which enrollments were reported in fall 2021 at the undergraduate level, 48 were offered at two-year institutions (a decrease from 52 in 2016), and 219 were offered in four-year undergraduate programs (an increase from 203 in 2016). At the graduate level, 93 programs reported enrollments (a decrease from 108 in 2016).

LCTLs and Institution Type

Enrollments fell in the LCTLs as a group by 2,362 (6.1%) between 2016 and 2021, but this change is not uniform across institutional types. LCTL enrollments at two-year institutions, which took the brunt of the decline in 2016, rose by 837 (18.9%) in 2021 (table 8), even as total language enrollments at two-year institutions fell by 24.2%. That is, the great decline in enrollments at two-year institutions was in the fifteen

commonly taught languages. Japanese enrollments, which declined by 4.6% overall, fell by 22.1% at two-year schools; Portuguese enrollments declined by 21.8% overall but by 47.1% on the two-year level. An outlier is Russian, for which enrollments fell by 13.5% overall but increased by 7.4% at two-year institutions (tables 1a and 2a).

Undergraduate four-year enrollments in the LCTLs, in contrast to two-year enrollments, fell by 1,964 (6.5%). Graduate enrollments in LCTLs had the greatest proportional decline of the three categories, falling by 1,235 (30.0%).

Calculation of LCTL Enrollments

The apparent discrepancy between the 18.9% increase in LCTL enrollments as calculated using the numbers in table 8 and the 6.8% decline in LCTLs reported in table 1a results from differences in categorization. In table 1a (and in other tables in the report, except tables 8, 9a, 9b, and 10), various forms of Ancient Greek, Arabic, and Biblical Hebrew (such as Koine Greek, Moroccan Arabic, and Rabbinic Hebrew) are included in the categories of Ancient Greek, Arabic, and Biblical Hebrew; in other words, they are a part of the fifteen most commonly taught languages. Table 8 disaggregates all the enrollment data, and language categories such as Koine Greek, Moroccan Arabic, and Rabbinic Hebrew are included with the other LCTLs.

It is important to reiterate that enrollments represent course enrollments and not students. Thus, for instance, 20 graduate enrollments in Czech might represent only 10 graduate students. Loss of even a few enrollments in an LCTL may signal a threat to a program at a particular institution, or even to the language if it is taught at only an institution or two. Furthermore, a single canceled class in a fall semester can make a language seem to disappear in some MLA enrollment census years.

The Number of Institutions Reporting Enrollments

Enrollment numbers are not the only measure of the health of the language field. Tables 10, 11a, 11b, and 11c, which track the number of institutions reporting enrollments over time, help illuminate the issue from another angle.

Table 11a shows changes in the number of institutions reporting enrollments in the fifteen most commonly taught languages over the long arc of 1998, 2009, and 2021. From the peak enrollment year of 2009 to the most recent census in 2021, only two languages had more institutions reporting enrollments: ASL and Korean, whose enrollments have grown considerably in recent decades. Over the longer span of 1998 to 2021, six languages had more institutions reporting enrollments: ASL, Arabic, Chinese/Mandarin, Italian, Korean, and Portuguese.

The number of institutions reporting enrollments in French, German, and Russian has fallen between

Support from the administration can help language departments sustain enrollments, as seen at the University of Oklahoma, where the dean and other administrators pushed to maintain the language requirement and to improve the working conditions of instructors and graduate teaching assistants. Read the case study.

1998 and 2009 and between 2009 and 2021 (table 11a). The number of institutions reporting German enrollments, for example, fell from 1,204 in 1998 to 1,111 in 2009 and then to 818 in 2021.

A closer look at the numbers, however, reveals some complexities. Table 11b shows the number of institutions reporting enrollments in the fifteen most commonly taught languages broken out for two-year institutions, four-year undergraduate programs, and the graduate level. ASL and Korean, the two languages that showed uninterrupted growth overall, showed differing patterns on the institutional or program level. Between 2009 and 2021, the number of institutions teaching ASL declined by 23 at two-year schools and by 10 at the graduate level. All the institutional growth for ASL occurred in four-year programs: 353 taught ASL in 2009, and 487 taught ASL in 2021. The number of institutions teaching Korean, on the other hand, increased at all institutional levels.

For the thirteen languages other than ASL and Korean, there was some growth for some languages at each institutional level in 2009. But there was no increase at any level in the number of institutions teaching these languages in 2021, with the exception of Chinese/Mandarin, for which the number of institutions offering the language at the graduate level increased from 52 in 2009 to 54 in 2021.

Ancient Greek and Biblical Hebrew are predominantly taught in four-year institutions and graduate programs, and their small presence in two-year institutions has diminished sharply. Ancient Greek was taught at 9 two-year institutions in 1998, at 5 in 2009, and at only 1 in 2021. Biblical Hebrew was taught at 5 two-year institutions in 1998, and at only 1 in both 2009 and 2021.

Table 11c shows several notable trends in the percentage of institutions reporting enrollments. The percentage of institutions with enrollments in ASL climbed from only 4.9% in 1998 to 29.6% in 2009 and 38.6% in 2021. The share of institutions reporting Arabic and Chinese enrollments climbed sharply from 1998 to 2009, then stabilized, not changing significantly in 2021. Korean had a high rate of growth, but, despite this impressive upward swing, enrollments were only reported at 8.8% of institutions in 2021. This percentage is similar to those for other commonly taught languages with fewer than 20,000 enrollments: Biblical Hebrew enrollments were reported at 9.9% of institutions, Modern Hebrew enrollments at 6.6%, and Portuguese enrollments at 8.7%. By contrast, enrollments in Spanish, the most commonly taught language, were reported by 92.8% of institutions. The stability in the percentage of institutions reporting Latin enrollments (22.4% in 1998, 23.9% in 2009, and 22.0% in 2021) is remarkable, given that enrollments in Latin have fallen by 40.0% since 2009. But while the declines in French and German enrollments between 2009 and 2021 have been in the same range as for Latin (down 37.2% and 44.0%, respectively), they have not seen Latin's stability in the percentages of institutions reporting enrollments, which declined from 66.6% in 2009 to 60.7% in 2021 for French and from 45.1% to 37.7% for German.

Table 10 covers both commonly taught and less commonly taught languages and shows the number of institutions reporting enrollments in 2013, 2016, or 2021 by language. Between 2009 and 2013, the number of institutions reporting language enrollments remained relatively flat, with a decline of only one program. But between 2013 and 2016, the number of programs fell precipitously, by 651, and it fell even further, by 961, between 2016 and 2021.

It should be noted that we are not counting departments here, since we track languages and not administrative units. Table 10 tracks the number of institutions that report a given language in a given year. There is considerable churn in these numbers, and the absence of a program at an institution in a given census year does not mean that it is gone forever. An institution may report enrollments in a particular language in one census, then not report it in the next census, then report it in the following census. The loss in the number of language programs is the net loss, after taking gains into account, and does not represent closed departments. An analysis of department closures is beyond the scope of this census.

The decline in the number of programs occurred among commonly taught languages and those less commonly taught. All twelve of the commonly taught languages that had declines in enrollments also saw fewer institutions reporting enrollments. In addition, Biblical Hebrew enrollments, despite the growth in 2021, were reported by fewer institutions. The number of institutions reporting enrollments in German and French declined severely between 2016 and 2021: 172 fewer institutions reported German enrollments and 164 fewer institutions reported enrollments in French. Chinese and Ancient Greek enrollments were reported by 105 fewer institutions, Spanish enrollments by 98 fewer, and Arabic enrollments by 80 fewer. There was growth for ASL and Korean: the number of institutions reporting ASL enrollments increased by 44 and the number for Korean enrollments increased by 29.

Among the LCTLs, 101 languages saw a decline in the number of institutions reporting enrollments. For example, the number of institutions reporting Arapahoe declined by two, five fewer schools reported Polish enrollments, and four fewer schools reported Turkish enrollments. Sixty-eight of the LCTLs that had enrollments in 2013 or 2016 were not taught at any institution in 2021, such as Hausa, which was taught at three institutions in 2013 and at two institutions in 2016, and Georgian, which was taught at two institutions in 2013 and 2016. A total of 20 Indigenous American languages that were taught in 2013 or 2016 were not taught in 2021.

But also among the LCTLs, 113 languages saw an increase in the number of institutions reporting enrollments. For example, four more institutions reported Hungarian enrollments, two more reported for Tamil enrollments, and six more reported enrollments in Yoruba.

Increasing, Decreasing, and Stable Enrollments

Despite the overall 16.6% drop in enrollments in 2021, we still see in some sectors of the curriculum and in many institutions across the country that there have been gains in enrollments that counter the downturn. Some language programs have done well or remained stable; others have suffered declines, sometimes steep ones.

Programs reporting stable or increasing enrollments were counterbalanced by others that reported declining enrollments; among all programs and for all languages, 61.7% declined and 38.3% increased or were stable (table 12a). As in 2016, the largest percentages of stability or growth in 2021 were in programs of advanced undergraduate study (50.0%) and graduate study (56.5%) (table 12c and table 12d; see table 12b for data on

introductory undergraduate programs). The relative strength of enrollments on the advanced undergraduate level and the graduate level speaks to student persistence that is encouraging for the language field.

But there must be a large pool of new students at the beginning levels of language study for the field to thrive. The percentage of introductory undergraduate programs with stable or increasing enrollments is 39.7%, a significantly lower percentage than that of advanced undergraduate or graduate programs.

Yet some languages are doing quite well at the introductory level. Six languages—ASL, Ancient Greek, Biblical Hebrew, Japanese, Korean, and the LCTLs—showed a percentage over 50% for programs with either stable or increasing enrollments at the introductory level in 2021. Korean had the highest percentage, at 74.9%. But at the other end of the spectrum are several languages that suffered from a relatively low percentage of programs with stable or increasing enrollments: German (23.1%), French (29.5%), Spanish (33.4%), and Arabic (34.3%).

It is clear that there are great disparities by language, but further analysis is needed. Tables 2g–2i present changes in enrollment by institutional control, size, and Carnegie classification, but we have yet to look at enrollments by institutional characteristics for each of the fifteen commonly taught languages to determine whether certain languages thrive in different types of institutions.

As can be seen from the data, in a time of steep enrollment declines, not all language programs decline, even in those languages that had the greatest overall enrollment declines (Arabic and German; table 1a). If programs are provided with enough resources to survive, if not thrive, and are designed to meet the needs of an institution's students, they may succeed. Such programs need to be studied as models of effective language teaching and learning, especially in a time of serious financial constraints, challenges to the profession, and general disregard for language study.

Methodology

Beginning in October 2021, we contacted 2,679 postsecondary institutions in the United States, using the MLA database of institutions that offer languages other than English. We supplemented the MLA list of institutions with data from the National Center for Education Statistics and from the Higher Education Directory to make sure that all accredited, nonprofit institutions that offer languages other than English were accounted for. Seventeen institutions proved ineligible (this group includes institutions that merged, closed, or lost accreditation, as well as branch campuses whose enrollment numbers were reported with those of the main campus), reducing the total number to 2,662.

We began collecting the enrollment data by emailing directors of institutional research or registrars.[4] If they did not respond, we approached deans, provosts, or presidents of institutions. If we were unsuccessful in getting enrollment numbers through them, we contacted chairs of departments. If all else failed, we gathered enrollments from official institutional websites where available.[5] We asked respondents to provide enrollments in credit-bearing "language courses and in all courses in which teaching or reading is primarily in a language other than English."[6] (We specifically mentioned reading because instructors of courses in classical languages conduct class discussion in English.) The first mass email was sent in October 2021,

and we followed up with further mass emails in November 2021, December 2021, and January 2022; if the original contact did not respond, we switched to an alternate contact. Researchers started calling institutions and sending personalized emails in December 2021; these personalized emails included a chart of languages for which the institution had previously recorded enrollments and a survey instrument that could be filled out and returned by email. The inclusion of the chart had a measurable impact on the response rate, likely because it both made apparent what was requested and simplified the process for respondents. Calls and emails continued until the data collection process was closed in October 2022.

To confirm the data, we first compared current enrollments with past enrollments; if they were in line (i.e., no dips or spikes or missing languages), the data were confirmed. If the enrollments looked questionable and enrollments had been both collected and submitted, the two data sets were compared; again, if the two sets were in line, the data were confirmed. If the data looked questionable and the enrollments had been either submitted but not collected or collected but not submitted, we would contact respondents or departmental chairs for further information. If we received no response from the institution after asking for confirmation of submitted enrollments, we would check the institution's website for any information about a language (e.g., if the 2021–22 catalog did not list a language for which enrollments had been previously reported, that would explain why a language was missing from the response). Finally, enrollments were sent to consultants to audit; the consultants provided further information or prompted us to follow up with institutions. If none of these steps yielded satisfactory explanatory information, the enrollments were nonetheless confirmed and a note placed in our database that the enrollments were "confirmed with reservations."

All enrollments collected are for fall 2021. Occasionally, respondents ask us whether they can include enrollments for languages taught in the spring, since they would like to see the language program represented in the census. For example, a public university in the Northeast reported that it was restoring its ASL program but would have courses only in spring 2022. But we cannot use such enrollments, since we capture a particular moment in time.

A total of 2,455 AA-, BA-, MA-, and PhD-granting colleges and universities, or 92.2% of all eligible institutions, reported for fall 2021; 207 declined to participate. While this response rate is lower than our traditional response percentage of 95% or higher, it still represents an exceptionally high response rate for a survey and allows us to consider our results a census rather than a survey. We attribute the lower response rate to the dislocation caused by the pandemic: turnover in administrative positions was high, some positions were vacant, and offices were understaffed. Sometimes, technical issues played a role. The Washington State community and technical college system had ongoing issues with its technology that made it difficult for some two-year schools to respond, lowering the response rate for that group.

To what extent did the lower response rate affect the percentage decline in enrollments? Would it have been significantly different from 16.6% if more institutions had responded? To compare apples to apples, we calculated the percentage decline for those institutions that responded both in 2016 and in 2021, and found that the decline was 15.6%, one percentage point better. Similarly, if the response rate had been higher, the number of language programs reporting enrollments would not have dropped quite so precipitously.

Approximately one-third of responses to the census came from two-year colleges, and two-thirds from four-year institutions. Of the 2,455 institutions that responded, 262 had no enrollments in languages other than English in fall 2021. These constituted 12.5% of responding two-year institutions and 9.7% of responding four-year institutions. In 2016 the percentages were somewhat lower: of the responding two-year and four-year institutions 8.6% at both levels reported no language enrollments.

While we were conducting the 2021 census, a number of institutions noted inaccuracies in their 2016 data (and, to a lesser extent, in their earlier data). We made these corrections, as well as other corrections, when we found discrepancies as we reviewed and analyzed the Language Enrollment Database. As a result, all tables and figures in this report contain revised numbers, and the current report should be considered the definitive one, superseding all previous reports. In the context of over 25 million enrollments in all the censuses from 1958 to 2021, the revisions were small, and the overall picture is not altered greatly.

Our previous report covered summer 2016 and fall 2016, and 2016 was the first time since 1971 that the MLA had gathered data on summer enrollments. Summer enrollments will be covered only periodically in MLA censuses in the future.

It has been the policy of the MLA to exclude for-profit institutions from the census, and the current institution list does so, but over the years some were inadvertently included. Enrollments at for-profit institutions from earlier census years remain in the historical enrollments database, since the database includes all institutions reporting at the time of each census.

We are aware that undercounting of enrollments occurs in certain circumstances. Yeshiva students necessarily study both Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic, but many yeshivas do not report enrollments in Aramaic. ASL courses are often taught in departments other than traditional language departments, such as programs in special education, communication sciences, speech pathology, and social work. Registrars and directors of institutional research may not consider the data of such programs when they are completing our enrollment census.

The data from all MLA enrollment censuses, from 1958 to 2021, are searchable online through the Language Enrollment Database (apps.mla.org/flsurvey_search), where the full data set is also available as a downloadable spreadsheet. Included on the database landing page are lists of institutions that did not respond and institutions that reported no language enrollments in 2009, 2013, 2016, and 2021.

In conjunction with the update of the Language Enrollment Database, we have added the fall 2021 enrollment figures to the MLA Language Map (https://lang-map.mla.org/), which uses data from the United States Census's American Community Survey to display the locations and concentrations of speakers of twenty-nine languages other than English in the United States.[7] Users of the Language Map will be able to locate language programs and detailed information about fall 2021 course enrollments in the regions where these languages are spoken in the United States.

Conclusion

The 2013 MLA census showed overall enrollments falling by 6.7%. In the 2016 census, enrollments fell by 9.1%, and in this current census they fell by 16.6%. Only part of the decrease in language enrollments can be attributed to the decline in the number of students enrolling in colleges and universities. Table 13b, using National Student Clearinghouse data, shows that the percentage loss in enrollments at colleges and universities is considerably less than the percentage loss in language enrollments. Between 2016 and 2021, for example, college and university enrollments fell by 8.0% while language enrollments fell by 16.6% (*Current Term Enrollment Estimates, Fall 2021,* table 1).

The increases in ASL, Biblical Hebrew, and Korean enrollments are encouraging; Korean in particular seems to be immune to current trends. The impressive diversity of the LCTLs is another positive sign. But other indicators provide little reason for optimism when one considers the absolute numbers as a whole. Most striking, perhaps, is that the ratio of the total number of enrollments in modern language courses in relation to the total number of students at postsecondary institutions in the United States fell to 6.5, a historic low for the enrollment census. Other areas of concern are the disproportionate drop in enrollments at two-year institutions and the vulnerability of smaller commonly taught language programs at smaller schools, including small liberal arts institutions and two-year colleges. The causes of—and solutions to—these trends are beyond the scope of the current MLA enrollments report, but we hope to explore them when we conduct our next census of institutional language requirements, which will examine the institutional frameworks in which language study exists. What conditions contribute to the decline in language enrollments? In the last census of language requirements, which covered 2009–10, only 50.7% of institutions had a language requirement for the baccalaureate, as compared with 67.5% of institutions in 1994–95 (Lusin, *MLA Survey,* fig. 1). The study of requirements will give us an understanding of how degree and entrance requirements have changed in the decade since the last survey and shed light on how programs such as dual enrollment, Advanced Placement, and the Seal of Biliteracy affect higher education enrollments. The language requirements census will include the same 2,662 institutions that were asked to respond to the 2021 enrollment census, for an institution-to-institution comparison of language requirements and language enrollments. Since we have a database of requirements census data going back to the 1950s, we will also be able to do a diachronic analysis.

Funding is an essential factor for the recovery of the language field. As figure 6 shows, HEA–Title VI funding increased from $54.58 million in 1998 to a peak of $110.31 million in 2010. It then dropped precipitously to $68.26 million the following year and only recently began to increase again. Language enrollments increased through the 2009 census, then declined. While we cannot speak of causality, figure 6 does show a moderate positive correlation of 0.684 between HEA–Title VI funding and language enrollments.

For the moment, much support for language programs comes on the individual and program levels, from the institutions where programs are growing and departments are thriving. The programs cited in this report offer examples of a variety of ways to support language enrollments.

Language enrollments are declining at a time when the need for knowledge of languages other than English is growing in many sectors of the workforce. The growing focus on security issues in a variety of

industries, not only in cybersecurity but in a range of fields from energy production to food production, from environmental fields to the health professions, often requires a knowledge of languages. And increasing international tensions call for diplomatic skills that depend on knowledge of cultures and languages from around the world. Now is not the time for devaluing the study of languages.

Acknowledgments

Notes

1. Fedor Karmanov and Lidia Tripiccione, Princeton GradFUTURES Fellows and MLA research fellows in summer 2022, worked with historical MLA enrollment data and extracted more detailed information than has been possible in earlier enrollment reports. Their work will be published in *Language Program Vitality in the United States: From Surviving to Thriving in Higher Education*, forthcoming from Springer, and Tripiccione's interactive graphs are available on the enrollment reports landing page (mla.org/Enrollment -Report). Their insightful work informed our thinking in the writing of this report, especially with regard to our understanding of long-term enrollment trends in emerging languages and regional differences in enrollments.

2. See Coda et al.; Calkins and Wilkinson; Ketcham et al.

3. Nakoda (Nakota) is both a name for Assiniboine and a separate language, Stoney ("Assiniboine").

4. The process for collecting data was changed to some degree for the fall 2021 census. In previous censuses postcards were sent to registrars or directors of institutional research (DIRs) in October, followed by further postal mailings and email reminders; respondents were invited either to return the completed postcard or to complete the census online. Researchers would begin to contact nonresponsive institutions in December or January by phone and email, alternating with mass emails and postal mailings; if neither the registrar nor a DIR responded, alternate respondents, such as deans, provosts, and departmental chairs, were contacted. For the 2021 census, however, we replaced the postal mailings with email blasts containing a link to the online census form. This may have affected the response rate. We speculate that the postcard might have provided a physical reminder of the census and thus may have helped to prompt a response. Further, the data requested was apparent on the postcard, while the email did not contain a copy of the survey instrument, thereby lowering the incentive to complete the survey. When people see the survey instrument, they are often surprised that it is short.

5. We expanded upon a tactic first used in the fall 2013 census: we collected the numbers directly from publicly available enrollment data on an institution's website. In 2013 and 2016, the collections began during the middle of the census process; these enrollments were largely used to confirm enrollments respondents had submitted, although in a few cases the collected data were entered. During the 2021 census, however, we began to collect enrollments in September from every institution for which we could locate enrollments. Again, the intention was to compare the collected data with the submitted data during the confirmation process; however, the lower response rate led us to enter the collected enrollments for more institutions than we had in the past.

We sometimes questioned the level of accuracy of the publicly available data, and in a few cases the collected data were so obviously incorrect (i.e., they bore little relation to past submitted enrollments or did not comport with information about an institution's language programs), they were not entered or used in the confirmations process. In most cases, however, the collected enrollments were in line with enrollments reported in previous years. Further, when the collected data were used solely in comparison with submitted enrollments, collected and submitted enrollments were often identical or substantially similar; when there were small discrepancies between collected and submitted data, we used the response from the institution. Small discrepancies were likely due to the date on which the data were gathered, given that enrollments fluctuate as students add and drop courses. Sometimes an institution may not have

included a language that was taught in a nonlanguage department; in those cases we would add the collected data to the submitted data.

Yeshivas do not have courses the way that most universities and colleges do, and all instruction includes Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic. As a result, some yeshivas give us their total institutional enrollments when reporting Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic language enrollments. Given these circumstances, the total institutional enrollments in the Higher Education Directory are sometimes the most accurate count of how many students study Biblical Hebrew and Aramaic at small yeshivas. This report uses the enrollments from the 2021 Higher Education Directory for yeshivas that did not respond to our census.

6. View the census instrument at mla.org/Enrollment-Report.

7. The Language Map also displays the locations of speakers of four language groups designated by the United States Census: African languages, other Native North American languages (i.e., languages other than Navajo), other Pacific Island languages, and Scandinavian languages. Visitors can use the map to discover where languages in these groups are taught and to see enrollments in specific languages (such as Wolof, Xhosa, or Yoruba in the African languages group).

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Case Studies: What Works

Emory and Henry College: Putting Language to Work

Emory and Henry College, a small liberal arts college in southwestern Virginia, has been educating students since 1836 and currently enrolls over 1,000 students—a statistic that makes the 277 Spanish enrollments in fall 2021 stand out. Mary Bell Boltwood, chair of the World Languages Department, notes, "Our county is only 1.6% Hispanic so not a lot of local businesses have found the need to adequately serve this community." The department's students, however, have stepped into the gap. "Our introductory Medical Spanish students work on creating a medical *fotonovela* during their second semester. They then volunteer at a health fair each semester for Hispanic migrant farmworkers, where they distribute their *fotonovelas* while working at the different stations." Advanced Spanish students also "volunteered over an entire semester to translate a collection of legal forms for our county sheriff's office. The deputy contacted us to ask us to do this. It was part of a translation unit in the course. This year they also worked with our Mass Communications department to translate some health-related radio announcements."

Boltwood notes that many students take Spanish with an eye to professional advancement. The two-semester introductory sequence Medical Spanish, for example, is very popular with prehealth students. Such courses are usually only available at the intermediate level, "but we found offering it at the beginner level serves to interest these students more because they can see the utility of learning a second language." Thus, even if "they do not go on to take intermediate level courses, they still leave the introductory course with a good foundation to use in their future careers in the healthcare field." The success with Medical Spanish has prompted interest in doing something similar for business majors and for those entering the field of human services.

Such interdisciplinary thinking is not new to the department. "We do not have interdisciplinary degrees, but 99% of our students are double majors," Boltwood says. The few Spanish

majors tend to be students interested in teaching Spanish; the department encourages students in other areas of study to consider Spanish as a second major that would pair with careers outside teaching. Boltwood points to a yearly cultural program cohosted with Career Services before Advising Week that helps foster interest in majoring or minoring in Spanish. "We invite in staff, faculty, alumni, and current students who talk about how knowing a second language has impacted their career or personal lives. It is a casual event," she notes, "but it really seems to resonate with the students."

University of Texas, Rio Grande Valley: Training Interpreters for South Texas

The University of Texas, Rio Grande Valley, enrolled its first class in 2015 and grew from 28,500 to almost 32,000 students by the fall of 2021. Even more impressively, the university's enrollments in American Sign Language (ASL) increased from just over 400 in fall 2016 to over 650 in fall 2021. And the university set up the ASL Interpretation Program, coordinated by Brian Cheslik, just before the pandemic, to meet the growing need for ASL interpreters in the Rio Grande Valley cities of South Texas.

Shawn Saladin, the associate vice president for faculty affairs, has said that creating an ASL major was a "dream." Saladin has severe congenital progressive sensorineural hearing loss and received little community support while growing up. "They told me I would never go to college, and I wouldn't even go to community college, so, 'Don't worry about it,'" he told the student newspaper, *The Rider*, in 2019. The new major, he noted, would not only help allay social isolation among the 15,000 people who are deaf in the Rio Grande Valley but also meet a nationwide need for interpreting services.

Cheslik points to both the state of Texas and his institution for the growth of the ASL Interpretation Program. "Since our program is still new, it is state-funded for the first five years before the university helps to fund." Further, the Department of Communication Sciences and Disorders and "college administration are very supportive of our work. We do revise our curriculum each year and college/department awards are given based on college programming." The university has been designated a Hispanic-serving institution by the Department of Education; Cheslik notes this is an advantage: "Many of our students are bilingual already. Our program requires that students choose a concentration, so many choose Spanish translation to help them become skilled trilingual interpreters," and students are eligible for both state and national ASL interpreter certifications.

Students proceed through the program as a cohort, taking many of the same courses together. They may also participate in the ASL Club, which works with the local community. "They host fundraisers and events in partnership with the local Deaf community and the Deaf and Hard of Hearing Center," Cheslik says, and they also work with the local DeafBlind Camp of Texas to sponsor informational and social events. The club also works to build ties with those outside the Deaf community. In summer 2022 the club offered six weeks of free ASL and Deaf awareness training to emergency personnel in several South Texas cities.

University of Kansas: Finding Support in and out of the University

The University of Kansas first reported enrollments in Korean in the 1977 census, and through the 1980s the numbers remained in the single digits; by the 1990s enrollments had grown, leaping to 42 in the 1998 census. Enrollments were steadily in the thirties and forties through the early 2000s censuses, growing to 60 in 2013 and to 69 in 2016, and then jumping again, to 106, in the 2021 census.

Faye Xiao, chair of the Department of East Asian Languages and Cultures (EALC), credits a number of offices for the increased Korean enrollments. "The KU Center for East Asian Studies (CEAS) plays a critical role: Title VI grants allow us to help students study in Korea with [the Department of Education's Foreign Language and Area Studies] scholarships, hire lecturers to teach upper-level Korean courses, and hold writing contests with cash awards and cultural events such as the Lunar New Year's Celebration and a Moon Viewing Party." In addition to advocating for more funding from the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences (CLAS), the department has successfully added new positions, including graduate teaching assistants, lecturers, and an assistant teaching professor, to its Korean program to meet the growing demand of students. "This fall [2023], with the support of a Korea Foundation grant, EALC will start a national search for a new tenure-track assistant professor position in Korean studies," says Xiao. Further, the department uses the CLAS funding every spring semester to hire an Oral Proficiency Instructor (OPI), who works closely with students in small group sessions, facilitates students' speaking practice, and conducts individual OPI tests.

Xiao notes that "South Korea has been one of the most popular destinations for KU's study abroad program, which has been amplified by the generosity of KU alumni who have awarded scholarships to our students for study at South Korea's top universities." The Office of Study Abroad works with Korean studies faculty members to "help students locate the most suitable universities in South Korea," while the Department of Curriculum and Teaching, which created the Teach English in Korea program, sends about ten students from the Korean language courses to a high school in Korea to teach English during the summer.

The Korean community in Lawrence is small, Xiao notes, and there is little need within the business community for Korean language learning. However, EALC works with the Language Training Center to bring Korean language classes to military personnel at the Command and General Staff College in Fort Leavenworth.

The department is quite active within the university, participating in university recruitment events, alumni seminars, the Business in East Asia symposium, the World Languages Fair for regional high school students, the Lawrence High School Multicultural Fall Festival, the KU Majors Fair, and the International Jayhawk Festival. Working with alumni groups and donors has also resulted in the aforementioned scholarships for study in Korea, and Xiao mentions the possibility of other alumni's donating their Korean-language collections to the East Asian library at KU and establishing a scholarship in Korean studies.

Given the small Korean community in Lawrence, there is little need for heritage course offerings; rather, the increasing influence of Korean culture in the United States has

prompted a corresponding interest in Korean studies courses. "According to our precourse survey," Xiao says, "most of our students take Korean because of their interest in Korean popular culture and/or desire to communicate with their Korean friends." The department has taken note of this interest, encouraging Korean language and culture courses in EALC as well as related courses across the humanities and social sciences. EALC has also updated and expanded its curriculum. "A big step occurred in 2012, when we offered fourth-year Korean for the first time and increased credit hours from three to four for third-year Korean," Xiao notes. "We doubled lecture classes for first-year Korean in 2019 and second-year Korean in 2020. We have been offering fifth-year Korean since 2015, making KU one of the ten US universities offering five levels of Korean language and a major/minor, according to the American Association of Teachers of Korean." This has resulted, Xiao concludes, in a Korean program "thriving because of quality instruction by well-trained and caring instructors. The success is facilitated by up-to-date teaching materials, excellent communication among the instructors as well as between the teachers and students, and the safe and conducive learning environment that we have fostered."

University of California, Los Angeles: Focusing on Heritage Speakers' Language Needs

While Los Angeles is home to a large number of students who speak Armenian, Turkish, and Hebrew at home, the number of courses and programs in these languages is often limited across US institutions. In addition to offering courses in nearly fifty different languages, the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA), accommodates the language needs of these heritage speakers through its Near Eastern Languages and Cultures department and its HEA–Title VI Center for Near Eastern Studies and Title VI National Heritage Language Resource Center. Sariel Birnbaum, a lecturer of Hebrew, encourages students to apply Hebrew to real-life situations. He asks students to describe their daily schedules, stories that they are reading, and stories from Israeli news or cinema in Hebrew. They also participate in mock trials based on Israeli court cases.

Zeynep Durmuş, a lecturer of Turkish, says that the Turkish program addresses an important need for Turkish language instruction in the United States: "Because of Turkey's historical, political, and economic role in the Middle East, Eastern Europe, and Central Asia, knowing and mastering the Turkish language and culture is an important need. To help meet this need, UCLA's Turkish language program offers Basic Turkish, Advanced Turkish, and Ottoman Reading." Students enrolled in Turkish courses are encouraged to develop career advancement skills by reading Turkish academic publications and newspapers, accessing archival documents on Middle Eastern and Ottoman history, and conducting field research.

Los Angeles has one of the largest populations of Armenians outside Armenia. Apart from the program at the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, UCLA's Armenian program is the only one outside Armenia to offer instruction in Classical, Western, and Eastern Armenian. The program, which is mostly populated by heritage speakers, works closely with Armenian

organizations—including the National Association for Armenian Studies; Analysis, Research and Planning for Armenia; and Ararat Museum, as well as Armenian private schools and Armenian programs at local community colleges—to cosponsor lectures, conferences, and other events, such as UCLA's annual Armenian Debating Contest, adjudicated by graduate students, says S. Peter Cowe, a professor of Armenian.

Since Eastern Armenian is spoken in Armenia and Western Armenian is spoken mostly outside Armenia, the program ensures that all Armenian learners are able to apply the languages outside their courses. Creative Literacy is an initiative developed by the program to promote literacy through creative and productive application of the language, such as publishing fiction works. "More than a handful of our students have been published in Armenian literary magazines, including the first case of an American-born author publishing a full-length volume of fiction based on works created in our courses, which had critical acclaim even in Armenia," says Hagop Kouloujian, a lecturer of Western Armenian. "Other authors are to be published soon."

University of Georgia; University of Hawai'i, Mānoa; and Boise State University: Connecting with Local Communities

Interacting with local bilingual communities not only facilitates language application but also helps students gain a greater appreciation for culture. At the University of Georgia, which offers instruction in over fifty languages, students and teachers from the university's Vietnamese language program often visit local businesses and communities and invite guest speakers to campus. Masaki Mori, the head of Comparative Literature and Intercultural Studies, says that the department has created teaching awards for their teaching assistants.

The University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, had an 86.9% total increase in Hawai'ian language enrollments since 2016, along with strong increases in French, Japanese, Korean, and Spanish. One approach to encouraging language enrollments has been connecting with the many diverse local communities near campus. "Each of our language sections . . . offers a Culture Day event every year and invites not only our own students but local community members, including seniors and high school and middle school students, either as attendants or volunteers," says Mee-Jeong Park, the chair of the Department of East Asian Languages and Literatures. "In addition, some of our instructors offer service-learning opportunities at community venues through their advanced-level classes." The University of Hawai'i, Mānoa, an HEA–Title VI East Asian National Resource Center, has Language Flagship Programs for Chinese and Korean. In addition to undergoing intensive language training, students are required to complete an overseas capstone for Chinese (currently in Taiwan) and Korean. The Japanese section is the only program outside Okinawa that offers Okinawan language and culture courses.

According to Lucía Aranda, the chair of the Department of Languages and Literatures of Europe and the Americas, the local Latino community makes up 9.3% of the Hawai'ian population, and there are three hundred Latino students at the university. To support heritage

speakers of Spanish, some courses in the Spanish program have adopted a project-based learning approach. Students in Spanish 303 produced a bilingual podcast, *Somos 808*. "The focus of the project was understanding the lived experiences of the local Spanish-speaking community in Hawaiʻi and building connections with them," says Aranda. "Students in the class came up with episode pitches, conducted interviews with members of the Spanish-speaking community in Hawaiʻi, and produced five episodes on a variety of topics." She adds that projects such as the podcast, which is available on Google Podcasts, Anchor, and Spotify, allows learners to use their language skills in a meaningful way.

The Department of World Languages at Boise State University offers courses in twelve languages, including less frequently taught languages such as Basque and Bosnian. The department chair, Jason Herbeck, reports that students and faculty members interact heavily with the local communities for nearly every language offered by the department. Students in the ASL section learned how to sign the national anthem, which they performed for homecoming attendees at a football game. The Chinese section and Chinese Club hosted an annual China Night to celebrate Chinese New Year, an event that attracted four hundred people in 2023. The Japanese and Korean sections hold annual speech contests that involve the Idaho Japanese Association and the Idaho Korean Association. Members of the French section are collaborating with a local, native French high school teacher to plan a French Day for high school and college students of French.

Boise State University is one of six institutions participating in the 2021 census with enrollments in Basque. The Basque section often collaborates with the local Basque community in Idaho, and faculty members make sure that students are involved. Herbeck notes that his colleagues cohost a weekly radio show, *Boiseko Taupada*, on the university's radio station and partner with a sister station, Euskalerria Irratia (Basque Country Radio), to discuss Basque culture, language, and diaspora. "A colleague also participated in the Euskozenoa project, a community forum between the Basque Country and Basque diaspora communities, and, as part of the Basque studies program, helped host the forty-third World Music Championship at Boise State," says Herbeck.

Similarly, the Spanish section puts together many events to serve the Spanish-speaking and Latino community at Boise State. A member in the Spanish section founded Casita Nepantla, a space in the student union building that is dedicated to showcasing Latino art and culture and encouraging scholarly work on Latino issues. "Among other events, Casita Nepantla hosts, and Spanish section faculty participate in, La Bienvenida (Spanish Welcome) for first-year Latinx students," says Herbeck. "The event is a type of college orientation for Spanish-speaking parents sending their students to college, providing this community with Spanish-speaking contacts on campus and familiarizing them with campus life."

Members in the Spanish, German, and French sections also work closely with local businesses and industries, from delis and childhood centers to community health centers and the Discovery Center of Idaho. The department receives a great deal of support from the

College of Arts and Sciences, as well as the Center for Global Engagement, a campus partner that assists with study abroad programs and grants.

University of California, San Diego: Reviving Esperanto

Esperanto is an LCTL that was most widely reported in the 1970s before seeing a small resurgence in 2009 and 2021. Created by the Polish doctor Ludwik Lejzer Zamenhof in 1887, Esperanto is spoken around the world by an estimated two million people, including a small number of speakers for whom it is a first language. Zamenhof's goal was to create a language that is easy for anyone to learn, in the hopes that a universal language would encourage world peace. In 2015, Duolingo began offering Esperanto, likely increasing the number of Esperanto speakers. While Esperanto never became the global tongue that Zamenhof hoped for, there are still devoted Esperanto-speaking communities throughout the world—including one in San Diego, California. A group of Esperanto speakers called Grupo Esperanto used to have monthly meetings at a coffeehouse in San Diego, and the University of California, San Diego, is the only institution participating in the 2021 enrollment census to teach Esperanto. During the fall 2021 semester, the institution offered an anthropology course on Esperanto that yielded seventeen undergraduate enrollments.

University of Wisconsin, Green Bay: Putting Languages in Cultural Context

The University of Wisconsin, Green Bay, made up of four campuses across eastern Wisconsin and an online component, has maintained a language program since the 1970s. The school has long offered French, German, and Spanish and occasionally Oneida; in the late 1990s the school added Japanese and Russian, and by the 2000s Arabic, Chinese, Oneida, Hmong, and Italian were routinely offered.

With just over 9,800 students enrolled in fall 2021, the institution reported over 1,400 enrollments in French, German, Japanese, Oneida, and Spanish. David Coury, chair of the Modern Languages section in the Department of Humanities, commented on the links between his institution and the community. Spanish, he noted, "is in-demand with businesses in our community. Over the past couple of years, we have introduced courses for heritage learners and a US Spanish course. Additionally, we have begun a new certificate for translation studies, because we receive many requests to have documents translated into Spanish, a task that requires specialized skills." The members of the Spanish faculty "are quite active in the community," and the school has hired more bilingual staff members in admissions and academic advising "both to encourage more students in those communities to seek higher education and to support them when they enroll."

There are challenges to teaching languages at the University of Wisconsin, Green Bay. Coury noted that while other departments may state their support of languages, few require it for graduation. "We have no university-wide language requirement and only a handful

of programs have a one-year language requirement. We have tried to get this included in various General Education reforms, but to no avail." And in some cases academic advisers see language courses as distracting students from their path to graduation. The Modern Languages section has also struggled to maintain its faculty lines. Still, it has compensated through collaboration with other institutions. "We have two collaborative programs that we participate in: the UW-System's Collaborative Language Program (CLP) for the teaching of less commonly taught languages and an exchange with St. Norbert College, a nearby small private liberal arts college." Both these exchanges have allowed Green Bay's students to continue to access French and German, as well as to learn other languages.

Despite these challenges, Coury and his colleagues have been able to maintain language instruction in commonly taught languages, as well as to respond to changes in the community. "We have offered Hmong in the past and we continue to offer Oneida and Menominee languages in support of our First Nations studies program." The Menominee Nation are indigenous to Wisconsin; the Green Bay area has also been the destination of Somali immigrants. "Over the past ten years, we have seen an increase in our Somali student population. For the first time, we'll be offering a noncredit beginning Somali course through our division of continuing education." The department has been working to connect bilingual Somali students with Literacy Green Bay, a nonprofit organization that offers free English classes and tutoring, to develop teaching methods and curriculum for members of the Somali community.

This work has paid off. Coury noted that he recently asked Career Services to survey companies and organizations participating in their biannual career and internship fair about their international activities. "More specifically, we asked each organization if they had an international division or did business with other countries and whether they would be interested in and value students who had studied another language or were interculturally fluent. We were very pleased to find that about half of those organizations participating indicated that they would be very interested in such students. While Spanish was an interest for a good many companies, many had operations in the Middle East and Asia as well as in Europe. We then identified all of those businesses and organizations with a small globe icon on the list of participants and encouraged our students to meet with them and discuss their abilities."

Success, Coury observed, can be measured by asking, "Are we meeting the needs of our students? Are we offering the courses that students want and the languages they are interested in? The latter of course is restricted by budgetary issues, but years ago we moved away from a traditional language and literature curriculum to a cultural study focus, while keeping most courses in the target language. . . . Students should impress on future employers their knowledge of cultural difference and their cultural sensitivity."

University of Oklahoma: Vigorous Support at All Levels

The Department of Modern Languages, Literatures, and Linguistics (MLLL) at the University of Oklahoma (OU) saw enrollment drops that were unfortunately consistent with nationwide declines. But some languages, such as Italian, dipped less than 5%, beating overall trends. Their success begins with support from their administration, including the dean, David Wrobel, in helping maintain the three-semester language requirement in the college. MLLL is also strongly supported by its home college, the Dodge Family College of Arts and Sciences, which since 2021 has converted one-year instructorships and lecturerships to renewable-term positions, reduced graduate teaching assistants' teaching load, and increased language instructors' salaries.

The department actively pursues collaborations inside and outside the university, from partnerships with overseas universities through OU's College of International Studies to relationships with K–12 schoolteachers across the state in cooperation with the College of Education. OU proudly sponsors and hosts the Oklahoma Foreign Language Teachers Association's annual conference, a valuable platform for networking and sharing best practices in language education. MLLL is seeking ways to increase engagement with local bilingual populations, including Indigenous American communities. The department is also revising several language programs, most recently Chinese and Italian, to incorporate cultural studies that attract students interested in other cultures and complement language studies; it also offers service-learning courses for specific fields such as medicine, law, and business. MLLL works with advisers to encourage outstanding language students, and the department places top instructors in third-semester-level courses to encourage further language study as well as majors and minors.

Finally, MLLL recognizes students' needs and achievements with internships, capstone projects, language proficiency assessments, and scholarships. "Our department also has a long history of recognizing outstanding students," notes the chair, Nian Liu. An annual MLLL scholarship banquet celebrates high-performing students and last year awarded $90,000 to thirty-four students.

Fall Language Enrollments by Year

1958 1959 1960 1961 1963 1965 1968 1970 1972 1974 1977 1980 1983 1986 1990 1995 1998 2002 2006 2009 2013 2016 2021
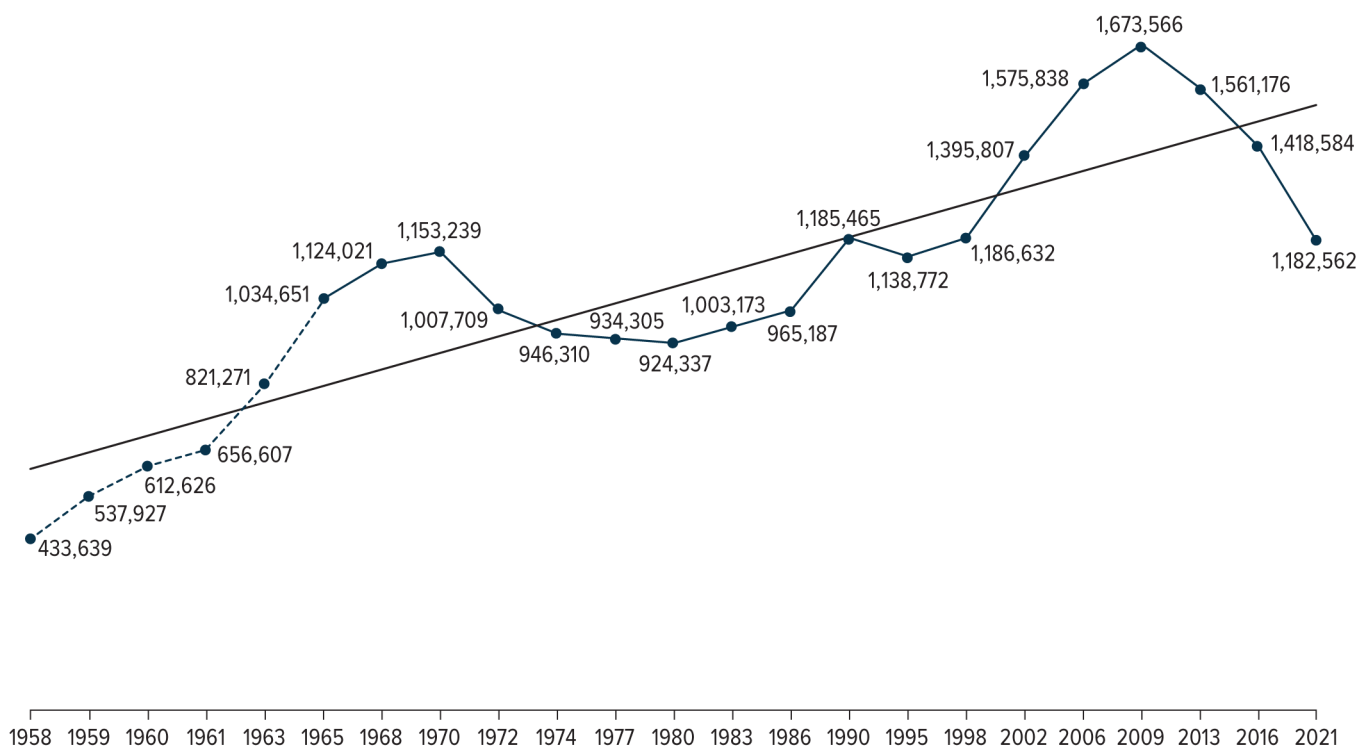
Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

The dashed line indicates the period of time in which enrollments did not include Latin and Ancient Greek; the 1965 census was
  the first to include Latin and Ancient Greek.

Fall Graduate Language Enrollments in Selected Years

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.
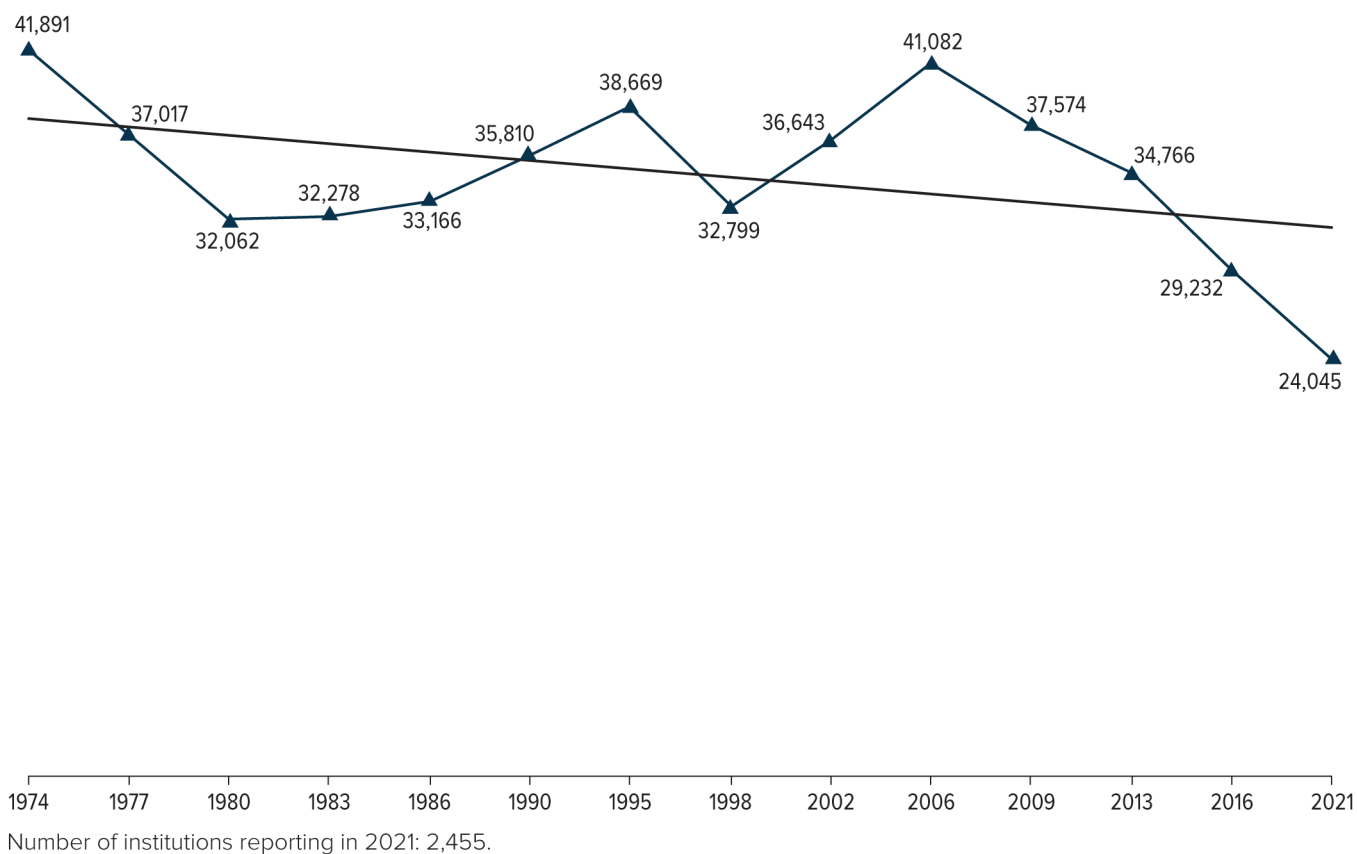
Fig. 2
Enrollments in Spanish Compared with Those of All Other Languages, Selected Years
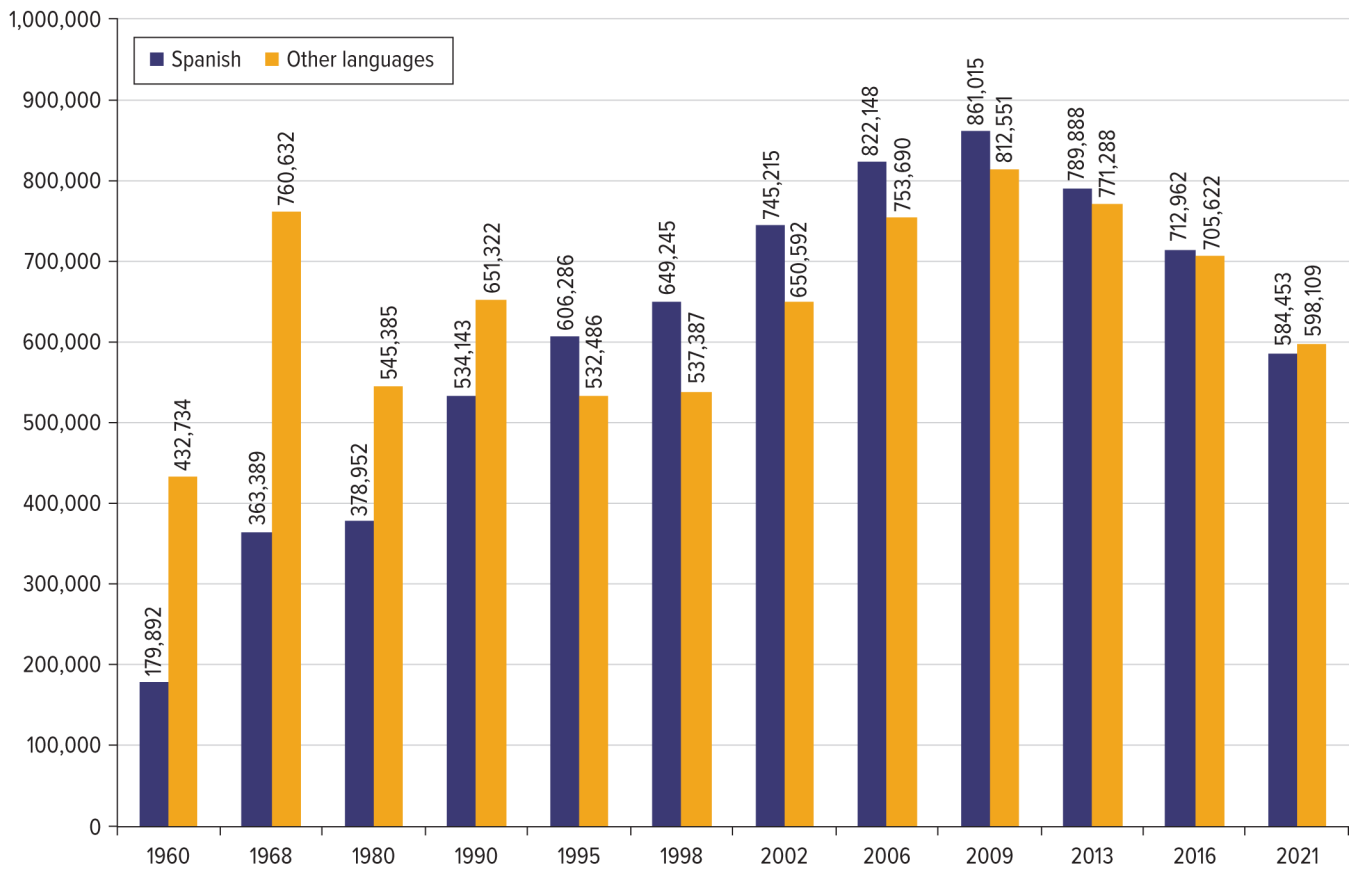
Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

Enrollments in French, ASL, Japanese, and German in Selected Years
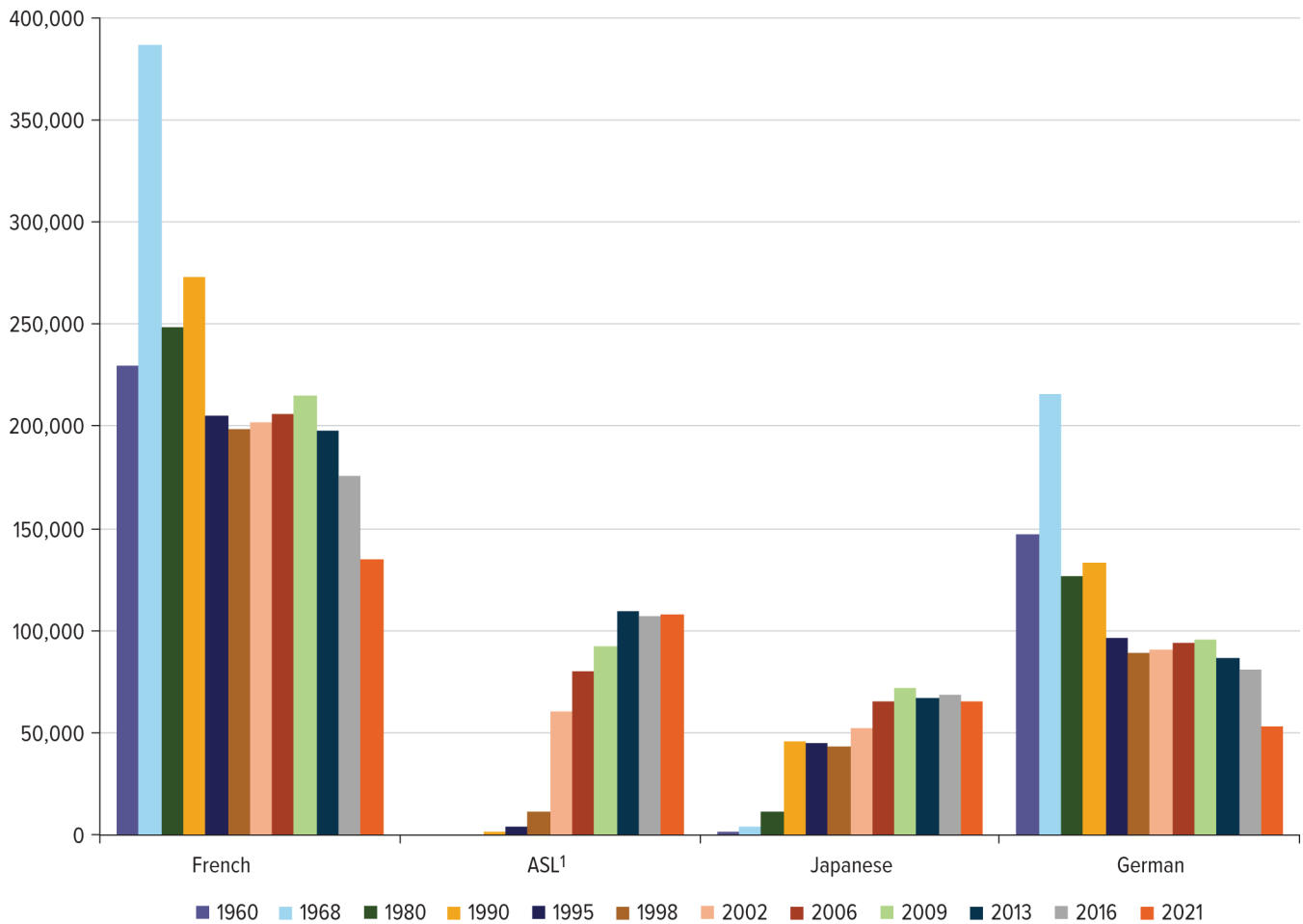
Enrollments in Chinese/Mandarin, Italian, Arabic, Latin, and Korean in Selected Years
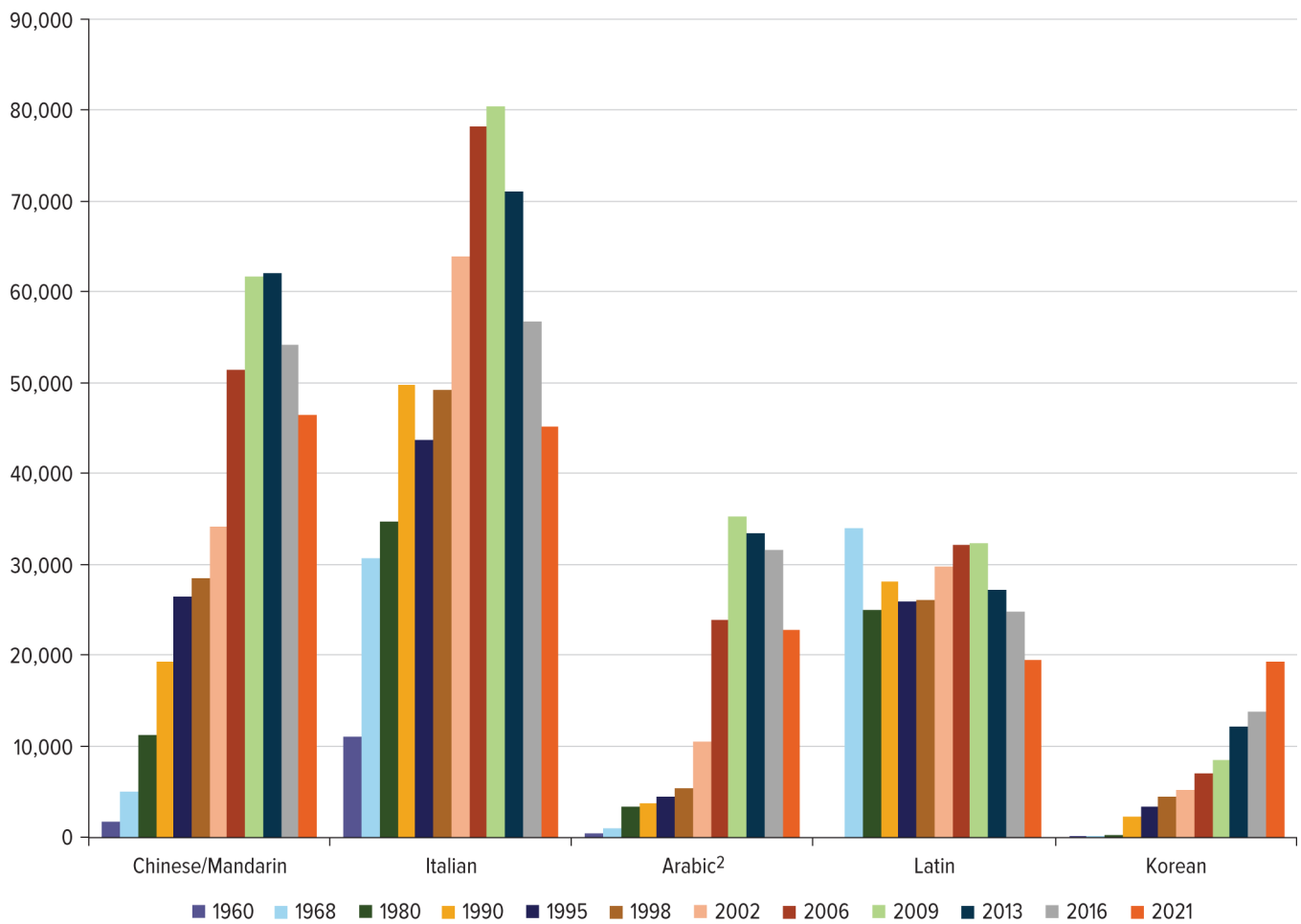
Enrollments in Russian, Ancient Greek, Biblical Hebrew, Portuguese, and Modern Hebrew in Selected Years
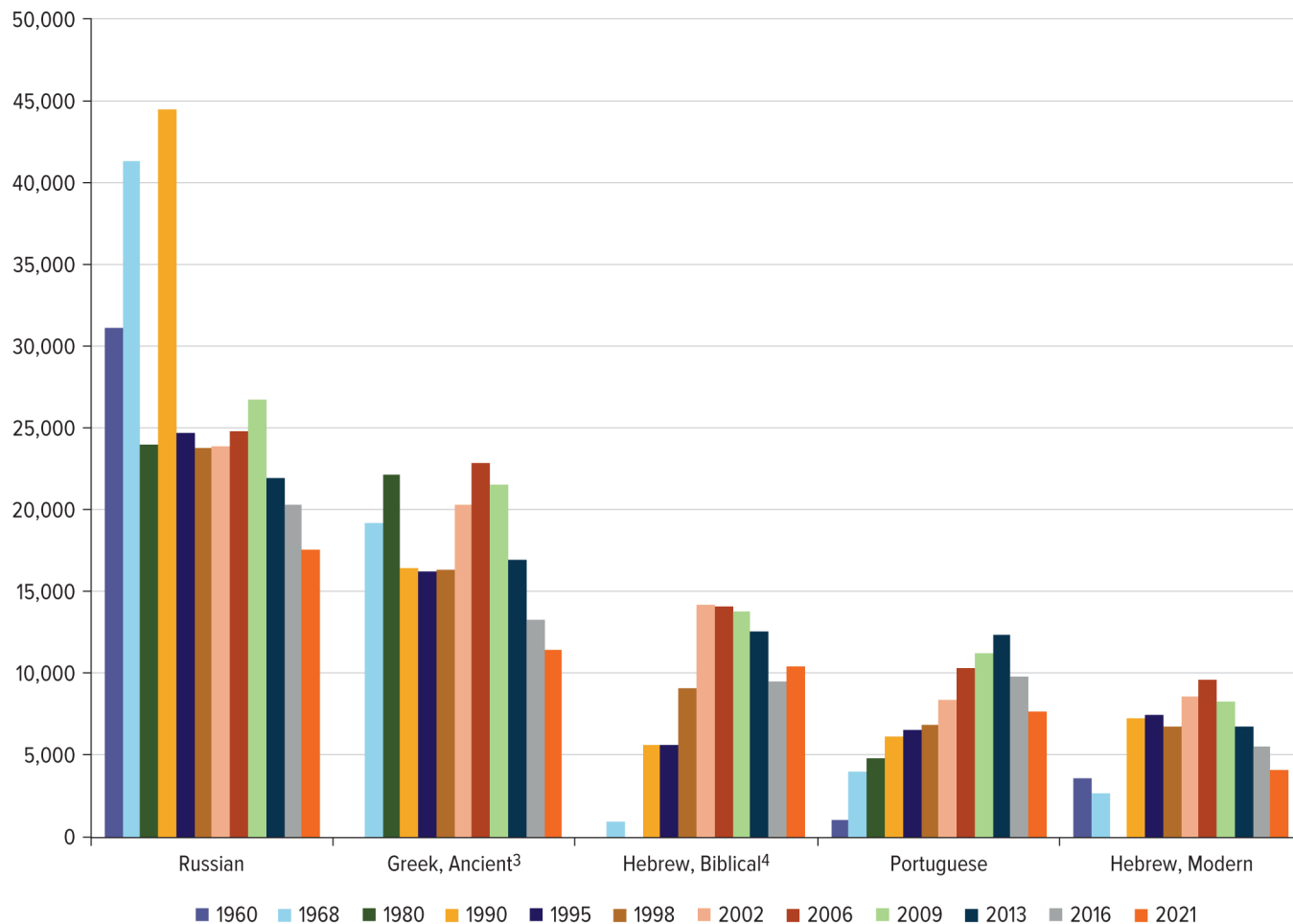
Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

1. Before 1990, figures for ASL are not available.
2. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Algerian," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."
3. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."
4. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern." Before 1986, some censuses combined Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew enrollments under Hebrew.

Fig. 4

Modern Language Course Enrollments per 100 Students Enrolled in Colleges and Universities in the United States
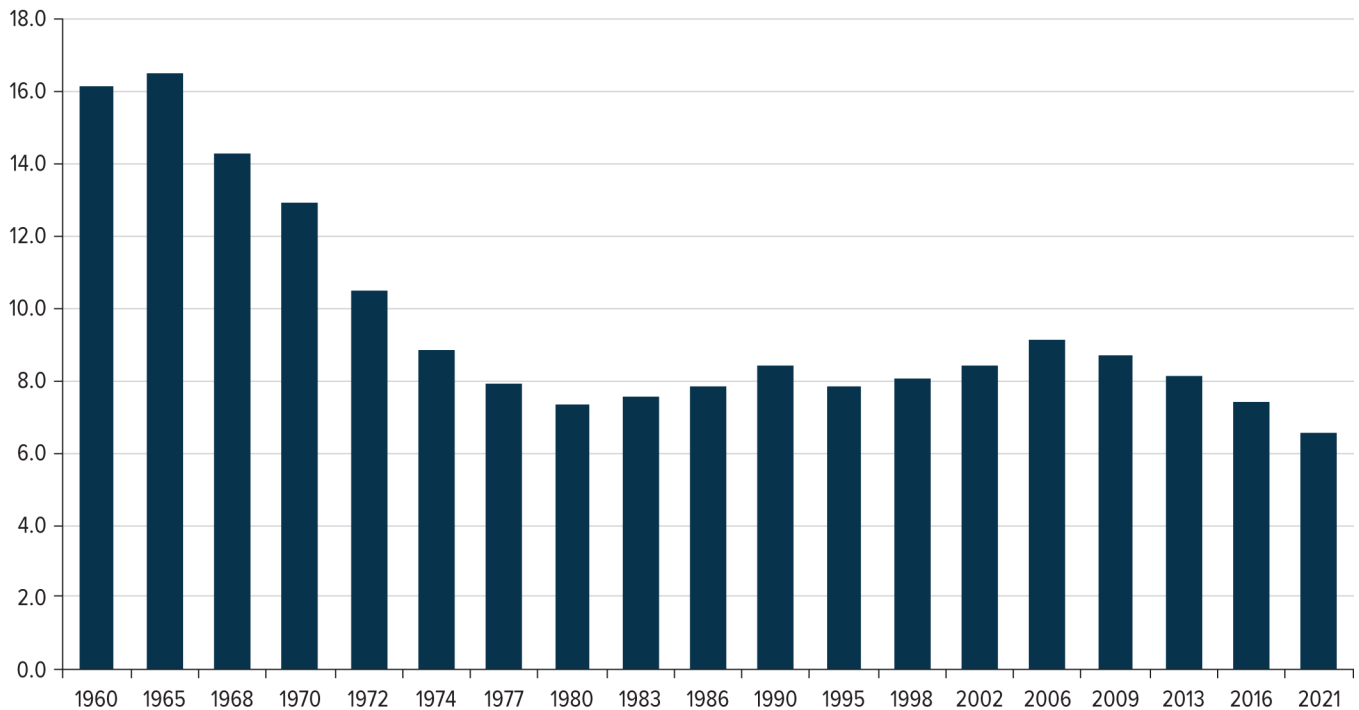
Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

Fig. 5
The Fifteen LCTLs with the Highest Enrollments, 2021
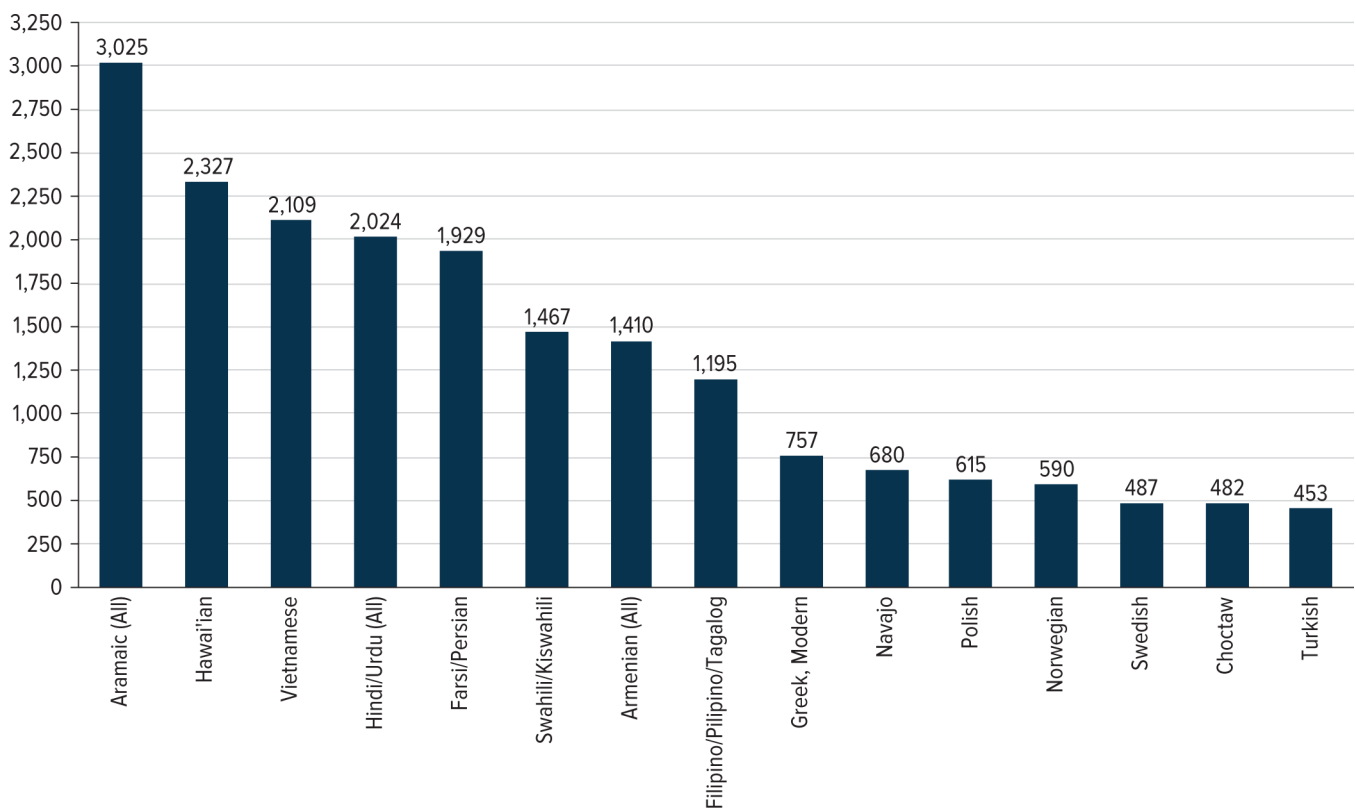
Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

Language variants for Arabic, Ancient Greek, and Biblical Hebrew have been excluded, since they are included in the category of commonly taught languages under Arabic (All); Greek, Ancient (All); and Hebrew, Biblical (All). Mandarin has also been excluded, since it is included with Chinese. Language variants for Aramaic, Hindi and Urdu, and Armenian have been combined for this figure.

Fig. 6

HEA–Title VI Funding and MLA Language Enrollments, 1998–2023
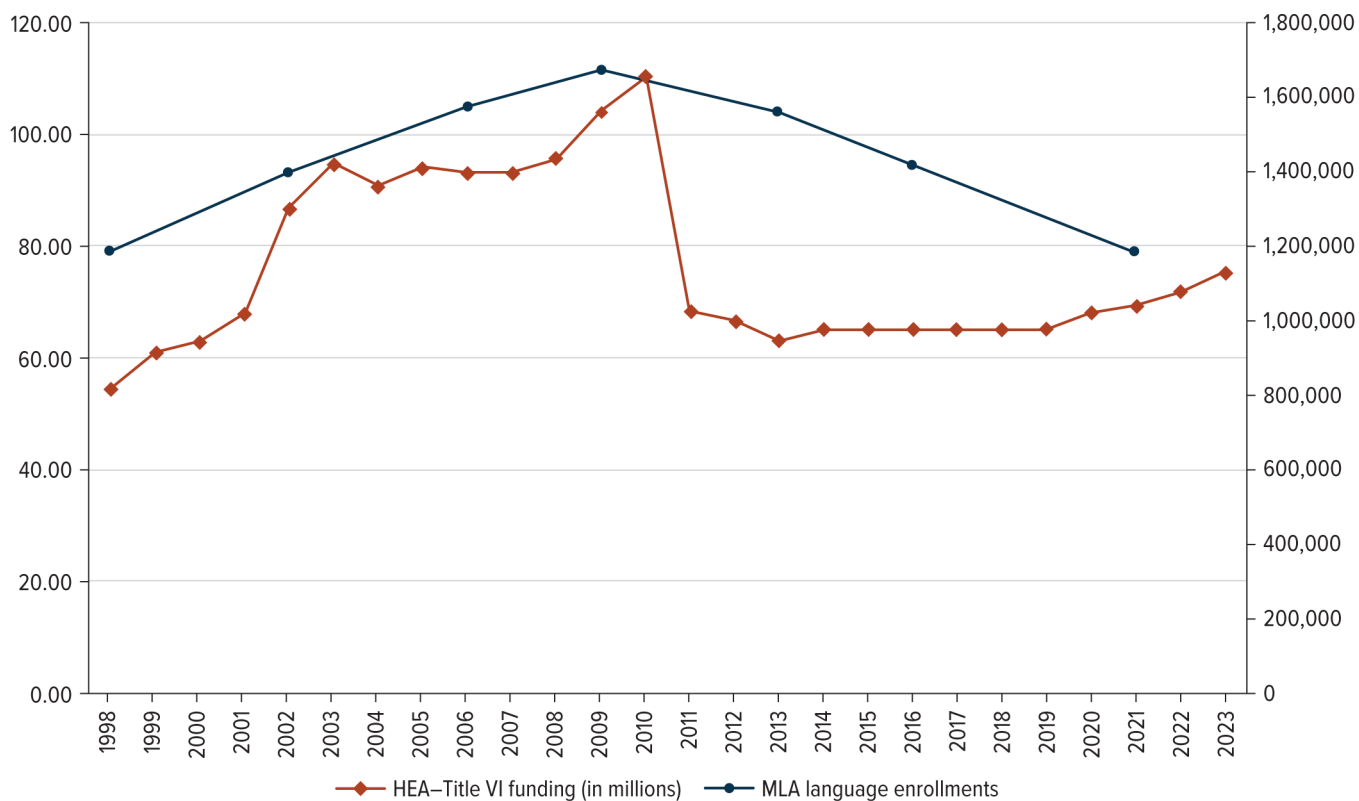
Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

Miriam A. Kazanjian, Coalition for International Education, provided the HEA–Title VI data on 2 Feb. 2023. Title VI numbers are the actual appropriations, in current dollars, not adjusted for inflation. They do not include Fulbright-Hays funding. Correlation is 0.684 between funding and enrollments.

**Fall Language Enrollments and Percentage Change
(Languages in Descending Order of 2021 Enrollments)**

Language	2009	2013	% Change from 2009 to 2013	2016	% Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021
Spanish	861,015	789,888	−8.3	712,962	−9.7	584,453	−18.0
French	215,244	197,679	−8.2	175,710	−11.1	135,088	−23.1
American Sign Language	92,068	109,567	19.0	107,059	−2.3	107,899	0.8
Japanese	72,357	66,771	−7.7	68,810	3.1	65,661	−4.6
German	95,613	86,782	−9.2	80,594	−7.1	53,543	−33.6
Chinese/Mandarin	61,612	61,997	0.6	54,248	−12.5	46,492	−14.3
Italian	80,322	70,982	−11.6	56,743	−20.1	45,182	−20.4
Arabic (All)[1]	35,228	33,526	−4.8	31,554	−5.9	22,918	−27.4
Latin	32,446	27,209	−16.1	24,810	−8.8	19,472	−21.5
Korean	8,449	12,256	45.1	13,936	13.7	19,270	38.3
Russian	26,740	21,979	−17.8	20,353	−7.4	17,598	−13.5
Greek, Ancient (All)[2]	21,515	16,961	−21.2	13,264	−21.8	11,433	−13.8
Hebrew, Biblical (All)[3]	13,764	12,596	−8.5	9,570	−24.0	10,442	9.1
Portuguese	11,273	12,407	10.1	9,827	−20.8	7,684	−21.8
Hebrew, Modern	8,307	6,743	−18.8	5,576	−17.3	4,125	−26.0
LCTLs[4]	37,613	33,833	−10.0	33,568	−0.8	31,302	−6.8
Total	1,673,566	1,561,176	−6.7	1,418,584	−9.1	1,182,562	−16.6

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

1. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."
2. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."
3. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern."
4. Less commonly taught languages; in this report, all languages other than those with the fifteen highest enrollments are classified as LCTLs.

Fall Language Enrollments and Percentage Change
(Languages in Alphabetical Order)

Language	2009	2013	% Change from 2009 to 2013	2016	% Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021
American Sign Language	92,068	109,567	19.0	107,059	−2.3	107,899	0.8
Arabic (All)[1]	35,228	33,526	−4.8	31,554	−5.9	22,918	−27.4
Chinese/Mandarin	61,612	61,997	0.6	54,248	−12.5	46,492	−14.3
French	215,244	197,679	−8.2	175,710	−11.1	135,088	−23.1
German	95,613	86,782	−9.2	80,594	−7.1	53,543	−33.6
Greek, Ancient (All)[2]	21,515	16,961	−21.2	13,264	−21.8	11,433	−13.8
Hebrew, Biblical (All)[3]	13,764	12,596	−8.5	9,570	−24.0	10,442	9.1
Hebrew, Modern	8,307	6,743	−18.8	5,576	−17.3	4,125	−26.0
Italian	80,322	70,982	−11.6	56,743	−20.1	45,182	−20.4
Japanese	72,357	66,771	−7.7	68,810	3.1	65,661	−4.6
Korean	8,449	12,256	45.1	13,936	13.7	19,270	38.3
Latin	32,446	27,209	−16.1	24,810	−8.8	19,472	−21.5
Portuguese	11,273	12,407	10.1	9,827	−20.8	7,684	−21.8
Russian	26,740	21,979	−17.8	20,353	−7.4	17,598	−13.5
Spanish	861,015	789,888	−8.3	712,962	−9.7	584,453	−18.0
LCTLs[4]	37,613	33,833	−10.0	33,568	−0.8	31,302	−6.8
Total	1,673,566	1,561,176	−6.7	1,418,584	−9.1	1,182,562	−16.6

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

1. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."
2. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."
3. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern."
4. Less commonly taught languages; in this report, all languages other than those with the fifteen highest enrollments are classified as LCTLs.

Table 1c

Fall Language Enrollments and Percentage Change for the Fifteen LCTLs with the Highest Enrollments (Languages in Descending Order of 2021 Enrollments)

Language	2009	2013	% Change from 2009 to 2013	2016	% Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021
Aramaic (All)	596	1,109	86.1	3,174	186.2	3,025	−4.7
Hawaiʻian	2,006	2,419	20.6	1,740	−28.1	2,327	33.7
Vietnamese	2,712	2,097	−22.7	1,922	−8.3	2,109	9.7
Hindi/Urdu (All)	3,134	2,697	−13.9	2,439	−9.6	2,024	−17.0
Farsi/Persian	2,559	2,700	5.5	2,330	−13.7	1,929	−17.2
Swahili/Kiswahili	2,555	2,259	−11.6	1,842	−18.5	1,467	−20.4
Armenian (All)	869	831	−4.4	1,255	51.0	1,410	12.4
Filipino/Pilipino/Tagalog	1,360	1,325	−2.6	1,308	−1.3	1,195	−8.6
Greek, Modern	1,982	1,137	−42.6	785	−31.0	757	−3.6
Navajo	914	854	−6.6	834	−2.3	680	−18.5
Polish	1,251	871	−30.4	731	−16.1	615	−15.9
Norwegian	831	734	−11.7	672	−8.4	590	−12.2
Swedish	758	732	−3.4	656	−10.4	487	−25.8
Choctaw	193	214	10.9	184	−14.0	482	162.0
Turkish	648	730	12.7	628	−14.0	453	−27.9

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

Language variants for Arabic, Ancient Greek, and Biblical Hebrew have been excluded, since they are included in the category of commonly taught languages under Arabic (All), Greek, Ancient (All), and Hebrew, Biblical (All). Mandarin has also been excluded, since it is included with Chinese. Language variants for Aramaic, Hindi and Urdu, and Armenian have been combined for this table.

Fall Language Enrollments in the Fifteen Most Commonly Taught Languages in Two-Year Institutions in Selected Years (Languages in Descending Order of 2021 Totals)

Language	1959	1980	1990	1998	2002	2006	2009	2013	2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021	% Change from 1959 to 2021
Spanish	17,345	94,631	133,376	166,930	212,867	223,976	234,208	200,984	166,835	123,439	–26.0	611.7
American Sign Language[1]	—	—	1,140	6,960	37,888	44,628	51,826	50,861	47,001	41,377	–12.0	—
French	15,664	37,174	44,133	28,833	32,960	31,369	34,931	31,380	25,214	16,238	–35.6	3.7
Japanese	69	2,619	10,308	9,157	12,585	15,694	17,900	14,587	14,625	11,400	–22.1	16,421.7
Chinese/Mandarin	68	1,698	3,506	4,690	6,185	8,453	9,628	8,864	6,717	5,109	–23.9	7,413.2
Italian	376	5,706	8,350	7,110	10,962	12,824	13,440	10,951	7,462	4,342	–41.8	1,054.8
Arabic (All)[2]	14	194	423	1,158	1,848	4,411	6,245	5,582	4,701	4,069	–13.4	28,964.3
German	9,072	16,017	19,042	11,261	11,611	12,067	11,964	9,630	7,841	4,037	–48.5	–55.5
Korean	—	42	141	624	1,055	1,244	1,079	1,377	1,672	2,012	20.3	—
Russian	1,534	974	3,472	2,180	2,642	2,385	2,613	1,957	1,488	1,598	7.4	4.2
Armenian (All)	25	104	85	80	318	489	537	512	282	1,051	272.7	—
Vietnamese	—	50	169	385	1,185	1,203	1,465	1,079	820	863	5.2	—
Hawai'ian	—	193	299	645	667	549	556	669	630	834	32.4	—
Farsi/Persian	—	2	—	233	328	629	652	541	377	538	42.7	—
Portuguese	—	407	365	480	724	800	968	700	614	325	–47.1	—

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455. This table lists the fifteen most commonly taught languages at two-year colleges as of fall 2021.

1. Figures for ASL are not available before 1990.
2. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," Arabic, Sudanese, and "Arabic, Syrian."

Fall Undergraduate Language Enrollments in the Fifteen Most Commonly Taught Languages in Four-Year Institutions in Selected Years (Languages in Descending Order of 2021 Totals)

Language	1958	1980	1990	1998	2002	2006	2009	2013	2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021	% Change from 1958 to 2021
Spanish	123,760	276,900	391,972	473,296	522,414	587,249	615,339	579,782	538,293	453,711	–15.7	266.6
French	153,539	205,477	221,862	165,384	164,425	169,940	176,146	163,162	147,735	116,643	–21.0	–24.0
American Sign Language[1]	—	—	439	4,297	22,772	34,348	39,407	56,065	58,233	64,541	10.8	—
Japanese	—	8,521	34,635	32,628	38,723	48,874	53,794	51,622	53,706	53,796	0.2	—
German	104,189	106,578	110,208	74,819	76,690	79,011	81,183	75,293	71,118	48,193	–32.2	–53.7
Italian	9,202	28,254	40,657	41,256	51,898	64,358	66,127	59,387	48,647	40,500	–16.7	340.1
Chinese/Mandarin	—	9,048	15,090	22,546	27,034	41,725	50,828	51,860	46,265	40,491	–12.5	—
Arabic (All)[2]	—	2,862	2,874	3,902	8,205	18,643	28,202	27,288	26,301	18,386	–30.1	—
Latin	—	23,727	26,311	24,454	27,798	30,189	29,998	25,366	23,317	18,358	–21.3	—
Korean	—	322	2,188	3,546	4,045	5,665	7,018	10,222	12,066	16,629	37.8	—
Russian	14,896	21,776	39,291	20,647	20,509	21,645	23,523	19,413	18,341	15,560	–15.2	4.5
Greek, Ancient (All)[3]	—	17,106	11,420	11,831	14,253	16,352	15,942	11,573	9,174	8,766	–4.4	—
Hebrew, Biblical (All)[4]	—	—	2,432	5,661	9,016	8,515	8,539	7,943	5,960	8,006	34.3	—
Portuguese	—	4,192	5,421	5,958	7,174	9,033	9,871	11,193	8,854	7,080	–20.0	—
Hebrew, Modern	—	—	6,128	6,120	7,683	8,442	7,498	6,166	5,096	3,722	–27.0	—

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455. This table lists the fifteen most commonly taught languages at four-year colleges as of fall 2021.

1. Figures for ASL are not available before 1990.
2. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Algerian," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."
3. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."
4. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern." Before 1986, some censuses combined Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew enrollments under Hebrew.

Fall Graduate Language Course Enrollments (Languages in Descending Order of 2021 Totals)

Language	1974	1980	1990	1998	2002	2006	2009	2013	2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021	% Change from 1974 to 2021
Spanish	9,577	7,421	8,795	9,019	9,934	10,923	11,468	9,122	7,834	7,303	−6.8	−23.7
Greek, Ancient (All)[1]	5,015	4,823	4,749	4,464	6,032	6,429	5,511	5,334	4,084	2,661	−34.8	−46.9
Hebrew, Biblical (All)[2]	—	—	3,243	3,349	5,131	5,580	5,223	4,651	3,606	2,430	−32.6	—
French	9,142	5,652	7,121	4,847	4,600	4,710	4,167	3,137	2,761	2,207	−20.1	−75.9
American Sign Language[3]	—	—	23	163	121	768	835	2,641	1,825	1,981	8.5	—
German	5,688	4,420	4,344	2,933	2,799	3,068	2,466	1,859	1,635	1,313	−19.7	−76.9
Chinese/Mandarin	1,108	620	831	1,220	934	1,204	1,156	1,273	1,266	892	−29.5	−19.5
Latin	1,163	775	958	894	1,045	1,039	1,047	937	1,032	849	−17.7	−27.0
Korean	20	1	46	309	111	237	352	657	198	629	217.7	3,045.0
Japanese	867	376	887	1,356	930	842	663	562	479	465	−2.9	−46.4
Arabic (All)[4]	308	415	386	445	531	956	781	656	552	463	−16.1	50.3
Aramaic (All)[5]	214	100	143	59	389	726	345	380	904	442	−51.1	106.5
Russian	1,781	1,237	1,713	964	770	754	604	609	524	440	−16.0	−75.3
Italian	1,144	833	817	921	1,039	994	755	644	634	340	−46.4	−70.3
Portuguese	370	295	332	488	487	477	434	514	359	279	−22.3	−24.6

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455. This table lists the fifteen most commonly taught languages at the graduate level as of fall 2021.

1. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."

2. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern." Before 1986, some censuses combined Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew enrollments under Hebrew.

3. Figures for ASL are not available before 1990.

4. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Algerian," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."

5. Includes enrollments reported under "Aramaic," "Aramaic, Ancient," "Aramaic, Biblical," "Aramaic, Modern," and "Aramaic, Rabbinic/Talmudic/Targumic."

Total Fall Language Enrollments by Institutional Level in Selected Years

Year	Two-Year	Four-Year Undergraduate	Graduate	Total
1974	154,713	749,706	41,891	946,310
1977	163,464	733,824	37,017	934,305
1980	162,716	729,559	32,062	924,337
1983	163,023	769,886	32,278	965,187
1986	161,683	808,324	33,166	1,003,173
1990	227,625	922,030	35,810	1,185,465
1995	233,123	866,980	38,669	1,138,772
1998	243,096	910,737	32,799	1,186,632
2002	337,304	1,021,860	36,643	1,395,807
2006	364,980	1,169,776	41,082	1,575,838
2009	393,050	1,242,942	37,574	1,673,566
2013	343,245	1,183,165	34,766	1,561,176
2016	289,081	1,100,271	29,232	1,418,584
2021	219,093	939,427	24,042	1,182,562

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

Percentage of Fall Language Enrollments by Institutional Level in Selected Years

Year	Two-Year	Four-Year Undergraduate and Graduate
1959	8.3	91.7
1960	8.5	91.5
1963	9.1	90.9
1965	10.5	89.5
1968	11.6	88.4
1970	14.0	86.0
1972	15.1	84.9
1974	16.3	83.7
1977	17.5	82.5
1980	17.6	82.4
1983	16.9	83.1
1986	16.1	83.9
1990	19.2	80.8
1995	20.5	79.5
1998	20.5	79.5
2002	24.2	75.8
2006	23.2	76.8
2009	23.5	76.5
2013	22.0	78.0
2016	20.4	79.6
2021	18.5	81.5

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455. Enrollments at institutions with no recorded institutional level are not included.

Percentage Change in Fall Language Enrollments by Institutional Level in Selected Years

Year	Two-Year Colleges Enrollments	Two-Year Colleges % Change	Four-Year Undergraduate and Graduate Enrollments	Four-Year Undergraduate and Graduate % Change
1959	44,609	—	493,318	—
1960	52,099	16.8	560,527	13.6
1963	72,737	39.6	728,892	30.0
1965	109,019	49.9	925,632	27.0
1968	129,852	19.1	994,169	7.4
1970	155,154	19.5	952,333	−4.2
1972	151,878	−2.1	855,831	−10.1
1974	154,713	1.9	791,597	−7.5
1977	163,464	5.7	770,841	−2.6
1980	162,716	−0.5	761,621	−1.2
1983	163,023	0.2	802,164	5.3
1986	161,683	−0.8	841,490	4.9
1990	227,625	40.8	957,840	13.8
1995	233,123	2.4	905,649	−5.4
1998	243,096	4.3	943,536	4.2
2002	337,304	38.8	1,058,503	12.2
2006	364,980	8.2	1,210,858	14.4
2009	393,050	7.7	1,280,516	5.8
2013	343,245	−12.7	1,217,931	−4.9
2016	289,081	−15.8	1,129,503	−7.3
2021	219,093	−24.2	963,469	−14.7
1959–2021	—	391.1	—	95.3
1974–2021	—	41.6	—	21.7
1983–2021	—	34.4	—	20.1
1995–2021	—	−6.0	—	6.4
2009–21	—	−44.3	—	−24.8

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455. Enrollments of institutions with no recorded institutional level are not included.

Table 2g

Percentage Change in Fall Language Enrollments by Control and Affiliation from Fall 2016 to Fall 2021

Institutional Control and Affiliation	2016 Enrollments	2021 Enrollments	% Change from 2016 to 2021
Public	976,993	806,278	−17.5
Private Independent Nonprofit	182,742	168,454	−7.8
Private Religious Nonprofit	195,019	172,609	−11.5

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.
Enrollments at institutions with no recorded control and affiliation are not included. Data on control and affiliation come from IPEDS data
for 2021.

Table 2h

Percentage Change in Fall Language Enrollments by Institution Size from Fall 2016 to Fall 2021

Institution Size	2016 Enrollments	2021 Enrollments	% Change from 2016 to 2021
Very Small (under 1,000)	23,088	21,043	−8.9
Small (1,000–4,999)	261,869	218,143	−16.7
Medium (5,000–9,999)	208,625	169,455	−18.8
Large (10,000–19,999)	317,003	262,777	−17.1
Very Large (20,000 and above)	533,134	467,451	−12.3

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.
Enrollments at institutions with no recorded institution size are not included. Data on institution size come from IPEDS data for 2021.

Table 2i

Percentage Change in Fall Language Enrollments by Carnegie 2015 Basic Classification from Fall 2016 to Fall 2021

Carnegie Classification	2016 Enrollments	2021 Enrollments	% Change from 2016 to 2021
Associate's Institution	228,344	178,235	−21.9
Baccalaureate/Associate's Institution	54,326	43,319	−20.3
Baccalaureate Institution	135,534	118,975	−12.2
Master's Institution	214,847	180,399	−16.0
Doctoral Institution	709,768	616,434	−13.1
Tribal College	671	1,157	72.4

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.
Enrollments at institutions with no recorded Carnegie 2021 Basic Classification are not included. Data on Carnegie 2021 Basic Classification
come from IPEDS data for 2021.

Table 3a

Geographic Distribution of Fall Language Enrollments

US Region	2016 Number	2016 Percentage	2021 Number	2021 Percentage
Northeast	320,600	22.6	263,815	22.3
Midwest	295,416	20.8	234,593	19.8
South Atlantic	333,528	23.5	281,514	23.8
South Central	136,872	9.6	113,496	9.6
Rocky Mountain	101,124	7.1	90,498	7.7
Pacific Coast	231,044	16.3	198,646	16.8
Total	1,418,584	100.0	1,182,562	100.0

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.
Northeast includes CT, DE, MA, ME, NH, NJ, NY, PA, RI, VT.
Midwest includes IA, IL, IN, KS, MI, MN, MO, ND, NE, OH, SD, WI.
South Atlantic includes AL, DC, FL, GA, KY, MD, NC, SC, TN, VA, WV.
South Central includes AR, LA, MS, OK, TX.
Rocky Mountain includes AZ, CO, ID, MT, NM, NV, UT, WY.
Pacific Coast includes AK, CA, HI, OR, WA.

Fall Language Enrollments by State

State	2013	2016	% Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021
Alabama	16,581	14,618	−11.8	11,910	−18.5
Alaska	2,327	2,056	−11.6	1,585	−22.9
Arizona	33,890	30,053	−11.3	28,516	−5.1
Arkansas	11,475	10,063	−12.3	7,228	−28.2
California	200,250	177,233	−11.5	157,017	−11.4
Colorado	21,909	20,585	−6.0	18,792	−8.7
Connecticut	17,950	16,818	−6.3	13,914	−17.3
Delaware	6,688	5,507	−17.7	5,668	2.9
District of Columbia	23,906	19,390	−18.9	17,560	−9.4
Florida	52,992	51,940	−2.0	44,476	−14.4
Georgia	42,763	45,603	6.6	36,913	−19.1
Hawaii	9,985	8,198	−17.9	7,979	−2.7
Idaho	7,142	7,325	2.6	6,989	−4.6
Illinois	50,372	38,950	−22.7	33,819	−13.2
Indiana	39,381	42,890	8.9	30,280	−29.4
Iowa	15,795	15,717	−0.5	13,242	−15.7
Kansas	11,027	10,077	−8.6	8,751	−13.2
Kentucky	20,530	16,860	−17.9	13,259	−21.4
Louisiana	17,007	16,528	−2.8	15,392	−6.9
Maine	4,236	3,994	−5.7	3,411	−14.6
Maryland	29,947	24,827	−17.1	21,506	−13.4
Massachusetts	46,083	41,652	−9.6	40,462	−2.9
Michigan	46,958	38,890	−17.2	33,385	−14.2
Minnesota	28,912	25,310	−12.5	22,378	−11.6
Mississippi	13,081	12,413	−5.1	8,853	−28.7
Missouri	34,507	32,081	−7.0	19,569	−39.0
Montana	3,518	3,337	−5.1	3,045	−8.8
Nebraska	7,770	6,997	−9.9	7,350	5.0
Nevada	9,455	8,832	−6.6	6,443	−27.0
New Hampshire	6,177	4,978	−19.4	3,962	−20.4
New Jersey	36,926	33,398	−9.6	26,118	−21.8
New Mexico	11,836	11,547	−2.4	7,015	−39.2
New York	141,436	134,392	−5.0	108,767	−19.1
North Carolina	63,301	59,101	−6.6	52,319	−11.5
North Dakota	2,507	1,827	−27.1	1,530	−16.3
Ohio	57,792	54,890	−5.0	43,332	−21.1
Oklahoma	14,852	13,253	−10.8	11,036	−16.7
Oregon	28,985	20,861	−28.0	15,997	−23.3

Fall Language Enrollments by State

State	2013	2016	% Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021
Pennsylvania	71,256	65,778	−7.7	50,077	−23.9
Rhode Island	9,073	9,274	2.2	6,683	−27.9
South Carolina	31,256	28,906	−7.5	24,238	−16.1
South Dakota	2,791	2,330	−16.5	1,593	−31.6
Tennessee	27,062	24,578	−9.2	21,751	−11.5
Texas	91,664	84,615	−7.7	70,987	−16.1
Utah	19,214	17,140	−10.8	18,078	5.5
Vermont	5,884	4,809	−18.3	4,753	−1.2
Virginia	45,012	41,472	−7.9	33,049	−20.3
Washington	25,341	22,696	−10.4	16,068	−29.2
West Virginia	7,754	6,233	−19.6	4,533	−27.3
Wisconsin	31,730	25,457	−19.8	19,364	−23.9
Wyoming	2,890	2,305	−20.2	1,620	−29.7
Total	1,561,176	1,418,584	−9.1	1,182,562	−16.6

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

Table 4

Fall Modern Language (ML) Course Enrollments Compared with Total Number of Students Enrolled in Colleges and Universities in the United States

Year	Total Number of Students[1]	Total Student Index of Growth (%)	ML Enrollments[2]	ML Index of Growth (%)	ML Enrollments per 100 Students
1960	3,789,000	100.0	612,626	100.0	16.2
1965	5,920,864	156.3	977,118	159.5	16.5
1968	7,491,863	197.7	1,070,759	174.8	14.3
1970	8,562,554	226.0	1,108,274	180.9	12.9
1972	9,193,880	242.6	962,840	157.2	10.5
1974	10,189,463	268.9	896,860	146.4	8.8
1977	11,233,645	296.5	884,064	144.3	7.9
1980	11,985,181	316.3	877,186	143.2	7.3
1983	12,271,921	323.9	921,685	150.4	7.5
1986	12,286,372	324.3	960,329	156.8	7.8
1990	13,604,944	359.1	1,140,873	186.2	8.4
1995	14,021,418	370.1	1,096,603	179.0	7.8
1998	14,142,694	373.3	1,144,106	186.8	8.1
2002	16,017,469	422.7	1,345,590	219.6	8.4
2006	16,688,279	440.4	1,520,847	248.3	9.1
2009	18,578,440	490.3	1,621,087	264.6	8.7
2013	18,718,238	494.0	1,521,142	248.3	8.1
2016	18,664,796	492.6	1,383,096	225.8	7.4
2021	17,656,628	466.0	1,154,554	188.5	6.5

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

The total numbers of students were purged in 2013 of those enrolled in for-profit institutions and those in institutions granting a degree of less than two years, since the MLA enrollment census does not include those institutions.

1. The figures in the first column are derived from data from the United States Department of Education's National Center for Education Statistics. The total enrollment for 1960 is an estimate. Statistics for 1965–2021 are drawn from table 303.10 of the *Digest of Education Statistics, 2022*. We derived our figures by subtracting the numbers in the "For-profit" column from the numbers in the "Total enrollment" column.

2. Includes all languages reported in the census except Latin and Ancient Greek, which are excluded from this table because the 1960 survey covered modern languages only. To show comparable numbers over time, Latin and Ancient Greek were removed from all other enrollment numbers listed in this table.

Table 5

Fall Enrollments in the Fifteen Most Commonly Taught Languages in Selected Years (Languages in Descending Order of 2021 Enrollments)

Language	1958	1980	1990	1998	2002	2006	2009	2013	2016	2021	% Change from 1958 to 2021	% Change from 1998 to 2021
Spanish	126,303	378,952	534,143	649,245	745,215	822,148	861,015	789,888	712,962	584,453	362.7	−10.0
French	157,900	248,303	273,116	199,064	201,985	206,019	215,244	197,679	175,710	135,088	−14.4	−32.1
American Sign Language[1]	—	—	1,602	11,420	60,781	79,744	92,068	109,567	107,059	107,899	—	844.8
Japanese	844	11,516	45,830	43,141	52,238	65,410	72,357	66,771	68,810	65,661	7,679.7	52.2
German	107,870	127,015	133,594	89,013	91,100	94,146	95,613	86,782	80,594	53,543	−50.4	−39.8
Chinese/Mandarin	615	11,366	19,427	28,456	34,153	51,382	61,612	61,997	54,248	46,492	7,459.7	63.4
Italian	9,577	34,793	49,824	49,287	63,899	78,176	80,322	70,982	56,743	45,182	371.8	−8.3
Arabic (All)[2]	364	3,471	3,683	5,505	10,584	24,010	35,228	33,526	31,554	22,918	6,196.2	316.3
Latin[3]	—	25,019	28,178	26,145	29,841	32,164	32,446	27,209	24,810	19,472	—	−25.5
Korean	26	365	2,375	4,479	5,211	7,146	8,449	12,256	13,936	19,270	74,015.4	330.2
Russian	16,042	23,987	44,476	23,791	23,921	24,784	26,740	21,979	20,353	17,598	9.7	−26.0
Greek, Ancient (All)[4]	—	22,132	16,414	16,381	20,376	22,842	21,515	16,961	13,264	11,433	—	−30.2
Hebrew, Biblical (All)[5]	—	—	5,695	9,099	14,183	14,137	13,764	12,596	9,570	10,442	—	14.8
Portuguese	582	4,894	6,118	6,926	8,385	10,310	11,273	12,407	9,827	7,684	1,220.3	10.9
Hebrew, Modern	3,014	—	7,271	6,734	8,619	9,620	8,307	6,743	5,576	4,125	36.9	−38.7
LCTLs	10,502	32,524	13,719	17,946	25,316	33,800	37,613	33,833	33,568	31,302	198.1	74.4
Total	433,639	924,337	1,185,465	1,186,632	1,395,807	1,575,838	1,673,566	1,561,176	1,418,584	1,182,562	172.7	−0.3

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.
1. Figures for ASL are not available before 1990.
2. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."
3. Latin and Ancient Greek were not included in the 1958 census.
4. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."
5. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern." Before 1986, some censuses combined Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew enrollments under Hebrew.

Table 6

Percentage of Total Fall Language Enrollments in Selected Years for the Fifteen Most Commonly Taught Languages in 2021

Language	1968	1980	1990	1998	2002	2006	2009	2013	2016	2021
Spanish	32.3	41.0	45.1	54.7	53.4	52.2	51.4	50.6	50.3	49.4
French	34.4	26.9	23.0	16.8	14.5	13.1	12.9	12.7	12.4	11.4
American Sign Language[1]	—	—	0.1	1.0	4.4	5.1	5.5	7.0	7.5	9.1
Japanese	0.4	1.2	3.9	3.6	3.7	4.2	4.3	4.3	4.9	5.6
German	19.2	13.7	11.3	7.5	6.5	6.0	5.7	5.6	5.7	4.5
Chinese/Mandarin	0.5	1.2	1.6	2.4	2.4	3.3	3.7	4.0	3.8	3.9
Italian	2.7	3.8	4.2	4.2	4.6	5.0	4.8	4.5	4.0	3.8
Arabic (All)[2]	0.1	0.4	0.3	0.5	0.8	1.5	2.1	2.1	2.2	1.9
Latin	3.0	2.7	2.4	2.2	2.1	2.0	1.9	1.7	1.7	1.6
Korean	0.01	0.04	0.2	0.4	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.8	1.0	1.6
Russian	3.7	2.6	3.8	2.0	1.7	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.4	1.5
Greek, Ancient (All)[3]	1.7	2.4	1.4	1.4	1.5	1.4	1.3	1.1	0.9	1.0
Hebrew, Biblical (All)[4]	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.8	1.0	0.9	0.8	0.8	0.7	0.9
Portuguese	0.4	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.6
Hebrew, Modern	0.2	0.0	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.3
LCTLs	1.3	3.5	1.2	1.5	1.8	2.1	2.2	2.2	2.4	2.6
Total percentage	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Total enrollment	1,124,021	924,337	1,185,465	1,186,632	1,395,807	1,575,838	1,673,566	1,561,176	1,418,584	1,182,562

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.
1. Figures for ASL are not available before 1990.
2. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."
3. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."
4. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern." Before 1986, some censuses combined Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew enrollments under Hebrew.

Table 7

Comparison of Introductory and Advanced Undergraduate Fall Language Enrollments in 2013, 2016, and 2021

Language	Introductory Enrollments in 2021	Advanced Enrollments in 2021	Ratio of Introductory to Advanced Enrollments in 2021	Ratio of Introductory to Advanced Enrollments in 2016	Ratio of Introductory to Advanced Enrollments in 2013
American Sign Language	95,989	9,929	10:1	9:1	9:1
Arabic[1]	18,979	3,476	6:1	7:1	7:1
Chinese/Mandarin	34,473	11,127	3:1	3:1	4:1
French	109,951	22,930	5:1	5:1	5:1
German	42,037	10,193	4:1	5:1	5:1
Greek, Ancient[2]	7,244	1,528	5:1	4:1	4:1
Hebrew, Biblical[3]	5,461	2,548	2:1	2:1	1:1
Hebrew, Modern	3,342	526	6:1	7:1	4:1
Italian	40,920	3,922	10:1	10:1	11:1
Japanese	55,404	9,792	6:1	5:1	5:1
Korean	15,437	3,204	5:1	5:1	4:1
Latin	16,155	2,468	7:1	7:1	7:1
Portuguese	5,432	1,973	3:1	3:1	3:1
Russian	12,703	4,455	3:1	3:1	3:1
Spanish	473,156	103,994	5:1	5:1	5:1
LCTLs	22,968	6,801	3:1	4:1	6:1
Total	959,651	198,866	5:1	5:1	5:1

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455. Numbers in the ratio column are rounded.

1. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."
2. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."
3. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern."

Table 8

Fall Enrollments in 311 Less Commonly Taught Languages in 2013, 2016, and 2021

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Aaniiih / Aaa'ani Nin / Gros Ventre	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	15	—	—	15
	2021	13	—	—	13
African Languages	2013	—	4	—	4
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	28	—	28
Afrikaans	2013	—	4	—	4
	2016	—	25	1	26
	2021	—	10	—	10
Ahtena/Ahtna	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	16	—	16
	2021	—	15	—	15
Akan	2013	—	38	3	41
	2016	—	18	3	21
	2021	—	8	—	8
Akkadian	2013	—	38	71	109
	2016	—	45	74	119
	2021	—	41	33	74
Alaskan Languages	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	52	—	52
Albanian	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	10	—	10
	2021	—	11	—	11
Aleut / Unangam Tunuu	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	22	—	22
Algonquin	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	9	—	—	9
	2021	8	19	—	27
Alutiiq	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	31	—	31
	2021	—	23	—	23
Amharic	2013	—	17	1	18
	2016	—	57	1	58
	2021	—	64	—	64
Anglo-Saxon	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	19	19
	2021	—	—	—	0
Anishinaabemowin	2013	70	—	—	70
	2016	63	31	—	94
	2021	44	77	—	121

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Apache	2013	25	—	—	25
	2016	—	9	—	9
	2021	—	—	—	0
Arabian, Old South	2013	—	—	4	4
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Arabic, Classical	2013	—	84	14	98
	2016	—	6	5	11
	2021	—	4	—	4
Arabic, Egyptian	2013	45	113	—	158
	2016	38	150	—	188
	2021	17	27	3	47
Arabic, Gulf	2013	—	4	—	4
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	6	2	8
Arabic, Iraqi	2013	159	—	—	159
	2016	25	—	—	25
	2021	112	—	—	112
Arabic, Levantine	2013	200	48	—	248
	2016	56	98	—	154
	2021	87	55	—	142
Arabic, Modern Standard	2013	4	548	21	573
	2016	183	666	20	869
	2021	311	170	—	481
Arabic, Moroccan	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	1	—	1
	2021	—	1	—	1
Arabic, Qur'anic	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	1	1	2
	2021	—	—	—	0
Arabic, Sudanese	2013	—	4	—	4
	2016	7	1	—	8
	2021	—	2	—	2
Aramaic	2013	28	701	368	1,097
	2016	11	1,936	645	2,592
	2021	6	1,998	228	2,232
Aramaic, Ancient	2013	—	—	3	3
	2016	—	199	254	453
	2021	—	425	204	629
Aramaic, Biblical	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	5	5
	2021	—	22	2	24
Aramaic, Rabbinic/Talmudic/Targumic	2013	—	—	9	9
	2016	—	124	—	124
	2021	—	132	8	140

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Arapahoe	2013	17	7	—	24
	2016	15	15	—	30
	2021	5	—	—	5
Arikara	2013	—	12	—	12
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	5	—	5
Armenian	2013	512	180	1	693
	2016	282	850	2	1,134
	2021	188	329	4	521
Armenian, Classical	2013	—	5	—	5
	2016	—	—	1	1
	2021	—	2	—	2
Armenian, Eastern	2013	—	96	—	96
	2016	—	51	—	51
	2021	863	—	—	863
Armenian, Modern	2013	—	17	—	17
	2016	—	31	12	43
	2021	—	14	—	14
Armenian, Western	2013	—	20	—	20
	2016	—	26	—	26
	2021	—	10	—	10
Ashanti-Twi	2013	—	22	—	22
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	10	—	10
Assiniboine	2013	43	—	—	43
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Assyrian	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	15	9	24
Athabaskan Languages	2013	—	12	4	16
	2016	—	19	1	20
	2021	—	—	—	0
Azeri	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	2	—	2
Bamana	2013	—	11	3	14
	2016	—	40	—	40
	2021	—	34	—	34
Bambara	2013	—	21	—	21
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Basque	2013	—	118	5	123
	2016	—	87	7	94
	2021	—	55	—	55

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Bengali/Bangla	2013	—	54	10	64
	2016	15	91	7	113
	2021	—	165	1	166
Blackfeet/Blackfoot/Siksika	2013	38	27	—	65
	2016	56	—	—	56
	2021	—	13	—	13
Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian	2013	—	147	7	154
	2016	—	152	7	159
	2021	—	183	15	198
Bulgarian	2013	—	16	—	16
	2016	—	11	5	16
	2021	—	9	—	9
Burmese	2013	—	31	12	43
	2016	—	310	10	320
	2021	—	36	—	36
Cahuilla	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	12	—	12
Cambodian	2013	—	47	—	47
	2016	—	19	—	19
	2021	—	31	—	31
Cantonese	2013	66	206	11	283
	2016	30	236	1	267
	2021	—	199	—	199
Catalan	2013	—	82	5	87
	2016	—	117	7	124
	2021	—	75	1	76
Cayuga	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	21	—	21
Cebuano	2013	—	9	—	9
	2016	—	16	—	16
	2021	—	9	—	9
Chamorro	2013	—	6	—	6
	2016	—	10	—	10
	2021	—	12	—	12
Chechen	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	8	—	8
	2021	—	—	—	0
Cherokee	2013	16	417	—	433
	2016	13	428	—	441
	2021	—	337	—	337
Cheyenne	2013	—	9	—	9
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Cheyenne, Northern	2013	42	—	—	42
	2016	42	—	—	42
	2021	—	—	—	0
Chichewa	2013	—	1	—	1
	2016	—	4	—	4
	2021	—	1	—	1
Chickasaw	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	8	—	8
	2021	—	8	—	8
Chinese, Classical	2013	—	148	37	185
	2016	1	265	32	298
	2021	—	151	18	169
Chinese, Premodern	2013	—	16	—	16
	2016	—	—	6	6
	2021	—	—	—	0
Chinook Wa Wa	2013	19	1	—	20
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	28	—	—	28
Chippewa/Cree	2013	—	7	—	7
	2016	—	12	—	12
	2021	—	—	—	0
Choctaw	2013	1	213	—	214
	2016	4	180	—	184
	2021	1	481	—	482
Coeur D'Alene	2013	7	—	—	7
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Comanche	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	17	9	—	26
	2021	—	—	—	0
Coptic	2013	—	13	10	23
	2016	—	2	14	16
	2021	—	11	11	22
Cree	2013	35	15	—	50
	2016	47	—	—	47
	2021	—	—	—	0
Creole Languages	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	9	—	9
	2021	—	3	—	3
Creole, African	2013	—	12	—	12
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Creole, Cape Verdean	2013	13	28	—	41
	2016	19	18	—	37
	2021	27	14	—	41

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Creole, Haitian	2013	—	171	8	179
	2016	—	192	4	196
	2021	—	239	14	253
Creole, Jamaican/Patois	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	17	—	17
	2021	—	10	—	10
Creoloid Languages	2013	—	13	6	19
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Croatian	2013	—	1	—	1
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	5	—	5
Crow	2013	81	—	—	81
	2016	116	—	—	116
	2021	—	—	—	0
Czech	2013	—	189	20	209
	2016	—	232	4	236
	2021	16	140	4	160
Czech/Slovak	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	16	—	16
	2021	—	—	—	0
Dakota	2013	66	36	—	102
	2016	140	44	—	184
	2021	68	84	—	152
Dakota/Lakota	2013	—	68	—	68
	2016	—	28	—	28
	2021	—	19	—	19
Danish	2013	—	64	—	64
	2016	—	111	—	111
	2021	—	88	—	88
Dari/Afghan Persian	2013	6	4	3	13
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Dena'ina/Tanaina	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	20	—	20
	2021	—	23	—	23
Dutch	2013	—	334	13	347
	2016	—	262	2	264
	2021	—	314	4	318
East Asian Languages	2013	—	—	1	1
	2016	—	—		0
	2021	—	—	9	9
Egyptian	2013	—	49	2	51
	2016	—	58	22	80
	2021	—	114	18	132

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Egyptian, Ancient	2013	—	16	3	19
	2016	—	24	12	36
	2021	—	24	—	24
Egyptian, Demotic	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	1	4	5
Egyptian, Late	2013	—	2	1	3
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	8	—	8
Egyptian, Middle	2013	—	35	10	45
	2016	—	3	3	6
	2021	—	15	6	21
English, Middle	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	5	5
English, Old	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	43	4	47
Eskimo Languages	2013	—	94	—	94
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Esperanto	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	17	—	17
Estonian	2013	—	3	1	4
	2016	—	7	3	10
	2021	—	3	5	8
Far Eastern Languages	2013	—	10	—	10
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Farsi/Persian	2013	541	2,048	111	2,700
	2016	377	1,823	130	2,330
	2021	538	1,298	93	1,929
Fijian	2013	—	9	—	9
	2016	—	3	—	3
	2021	—	—	—	0
Filipino/Pilipino/Tagalog	2013	346	977	2	1,325
	2016	143	1,161	4	1,308
	2021	105	1,088	2	1,195
Finnish	2013	6	375	2	383
	2016	2	245	3	250
	2021	—	99	7	106
French, Cajun	2013	—	10	—	10
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	46	—	46

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
French, Old	2013	—	—	12	12
	2016	—	26	6	32
	2021	11	—	—	11
Gaelic	2013	—	66	—	66
	2016	—	58	—	58
	2021	—	40	—	40
Gaelic, Scottish	2013	—	3	—	3
	2016	—	7	—	7
	2021	—	12	—	12
Galician	2013	—	8	—	8
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	19	—	19
Geez	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	5	—	5
Georgian	2013	—	1	6	7
	2016	—	6	—	6
	2021	—	—	—	0
German, Middle High	2013	—	13	—	13
	2016	—	5	4	9
	2021	—	—	18	18
German, Old Low / Saxon, Old	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	9	9
	2021	—	—	—	0
German, Pennsylvania	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	19	—	19
	2021	—	—	—	0
German, Theological	2013	—	—	16	16
	2016	—	—	9	9
	2021	—	—	24	24
Gikuyu/Kikuyu	2013	—	1	—	1
	2016	—	2	—	2
	2021	—	—	—	0
Greek	2013	8	25	—	33
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	98	24	122
Greek and Hebrew	2013	—	21	11	32
	2016	—	30	20	50
	2021	—	43	—	43
Greek and Latin	2013	—	756	9	765
	2016	—	—	4	4
	2021	—	62	—	62
Greek, Biblical	2013	—	441	783	1,224
	2016	—	552	950	1,502
	2021	—	891	436	1,327

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Greek, Koine	2013	—	752	1,096	1,848
	2016	—	359	347	706
	2021	—	452	215	667
Greek, Modern	2013	—	1,033	104	1,137
	2016	—	730	55	785
	2021	—	728	29	757
Greek, New Testament	2013	—	526	538	1,064
	2016	—	121	257	378
	2021	—	438	462	900
Greek, Old Testament	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	3	—	3
Guaraní	2013	—	6	—	6
	2016	—	7	—	7
	2021	—	3	—	3
Gujarati	2013	—	6	—	6
	2016	—	5	—	5
	2021	—	22	—	22
Gullah	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	4	—	4
Haida	2013	—	7	—	7
	2016	—	15	—	15
	2021	—	6	—	6
Hausa	2013	—	5	—	5
	2016	—	3	—	3
	2021	—	—	—	0
Hawai'ian	2013	669	1,663	87	2,419
	2016	630	1,057	53	1,740
	2021	834	1,440	53	2,327
Hebrew	2013	9	342	69	420
	2016	—	90	12	102
	2021	—	233	5	238
Hebrew, Biblical and Modern	2013	—	104	51	155
	2016	—	386	87	473
	2021	—	138	54	192
Hebrew, Classical	2013	—	40	—	40
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	23	—	23
Hebrew, Rabbinic	2013	—	1	4	5
	2016	—	22	161	183
	2021	—	8	165	173
Hidatsa	2013	—	34	—	34
	2016	—	33	—	33
	2021	—	23	—	23

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Hiligaynon/Ilonggo	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	15	—	15
Hindi	2013	48	1,701	64	1,813
	2016	29	1,345	52	1,426
	2021	53	1,019	32	1,104
Hindi-Urdu	2013	10	512	11	533
	2016	—	670	28	698
	2021	—	610	2	612
Hittite	2013	—	7	3	10
	2016	—	6	2	8
	2021	—	5	6	11
Hmong	2013	123	418	1	542
	2016	57	350	1	408
	2021	62	266	—	328
Ho-Chunk	2013	15	—	—	15
	2016	10	—	—	10
	2021	39	—	—	39
Hungarian	2013	—	112	12	124
	2016	—	104	2	106
	2021	—	143	8	151
Icelandic	2013	—	10	—	10
	2016	—	10	—	10
	2021	—	7	—	7
Icelandic, Old	2013	—	—	9	9
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	8	—	8
Ichishkiin Sinwit / Sahaptin	2013	—	12	—	12
	2016	—	10	—	10
	2021	1	27	—	28
Igbo/Ibo	2013	—	32	1	33
	2016	—	29	—	29
	2021	—	47	—	47
Ilocano/Ilokano	2013	—	88	—	88
	2016	—	67	—	67
	2021	—	63	—	63
Indigenous Languages	2013	—	17	—	17
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	41	29	10	80
Indonesia, Bahasa	2013	—	—	12	12
	2016	—	—	9	9
	2021	—	2	—	2
Indonesian	2013	12	262	15	289
	2016	—	353	22	375
	2021	31	306	24	361

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Indonesian, Malay	2013	—	65	18	83
	2016	—	14	2	16
	2021	—	—	—	0
Ingvaeonic Languages	2013	—	—	3	3
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Inuktitut	2013	—	2	—	2
	2016	—	8	—	8
	2021	—	3	—	3
Iñupiaq	2013	22	—	—	22
	2016	51	24	—	75
	2021	19	63	—	82
Iranian Languages	2013	—	13	—	13
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Iranian Languages, Middle	2013	—	—	3	3
	2016	—	—	4	4
	2021	—	—	—	0
Iranian Languages, Old	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	1	—	1
Irish	2013	—	213	—	213
	2016	—	235	5	240
	2021	—	230	8	238
Irish, Modern	2013	—	95	—	95
	2016	—	81	—	81
	2021	—	72	—	72
Irish, Old and Middle	2013	—	3	—	3
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Iroquoian Languages	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	11	—	11
Japanese, Classical	2013	—	59	7	66
	2016	—	52	—	52
	2021	—	—	—	0
Kannada	2013	—	5	—	5
	2016	—	2	—	2
	2021	—	1	—	1
Kazakh/Qazaq	2013	—	11	5	16
	2016	—	3	3	6
	2021	—	10	3	13
Khmer	2013	19	58	—	77
	2016	50	116	3	169
	2021	9	103	—	112

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Kiksht	2013	5	—	—	5
	2016	2	—	—	2
	2021	—	—	—	0
Kinyarwanda	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	4	—	4
	2021	—	8	1	9
Kiowa	2013	—	77	—	77
	2016	3	165	—	168
	2021	—	105	—	105
Kirgiz/Kyrgyz	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	1	1
	2021	—	—	—	0
Klallam	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	38	—	38
Kongo/Kikongo	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	1	—	1
	2021	—	—	—	0
Kootenai/Kutenai	2013	—	13	—	13
	2016	—	5	—	5
	2021	—	5	—	5
Kumeyaay	2013	13	—	—	13
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	37	—	—	37
Kurdish	2013	—	10	—	10
	2016	—	3	1	4
	2021	—	14	2	16
Kyrgyz	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	1	1
Ladino	2013	—	4	—	4
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Lakota	2013	—	571	2	573
	2016	—	376	—	376
	2021	—	48	—	48
Lao	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	3	—	3
Laotian	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	7	—	7
	2021	—	—	—	0
Latin, Medieval	2013	—	3	9	12
	2016	—	17	—	17
	2021	—	3	—	3

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Latvian	2013	—	4	—	4
	2016	—	9	—	9
	2021	—	7	—	7
Lingala	2013	—	9	—	9
	2016	—	15	—	15
	2021	—	—	—	0
Lithuanian	2013	—	62	—	62
	2016	—	7	—	7
	2021	—	15	—	15
Luganda	2013	—	18	—	18
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	6	—	6
Luiseno	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	18	—	18
	2021	—	12	—	12
Lushootseed	2013	—	5	—	5
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	38	—	38
Lusoga/Soga	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	1	—	1
	2021	—	—	—	0
Luwian	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	4	1	5
	2021	—	—	—	0
Malagasy	2013	—	48	—	48
	2016	—	88	—	88
	2021	—	104	—	104
Malay	2013	—	20	—	20
	2016	—	6	—	6
	2021	—	3	—	3
Malayalam	2013	—	44	—	44
	2016	—	28	9	37
	2021	—	17	1	18
Maliseet Wabanaki	2013	—	30	—	30
	2016	—	5	—	5
	2021	—	15	—	15
Manchu	2013	—	3	—	3
	2016	—	2	—	2
	2021	—	4	—	4
Mandan	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	3	—	3
	2021	—	3	—	3
Mandarin	2013	391	399	123	913
	2016	45	1,093	41	1,179
	2021	12	1,146	62	1,220

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Mandinka	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	4	—	4
Maninka	2013	—	1	—	1
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Maori	2013	—	23	—	23
	2016	—	33	—	33
	2021	—	18	—	18
Marathi	2013	—	4	1	5
	2016	—	11	2	13
	2021	—	13	—	13
Mayan	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	1	—	1
	2021	—	—	—	0
Mayan, Kaqchikel	2013	—	7	4	11
	2016	—		—	0
	2021	—	32	—	32
Mayan, Quiché	2013	—	33	—	33
	2016	—	12	6	18
	2021	—	17	5	22
Mayan, Yucatec	2013	—	7	5	12
	2016	—	1	2	3
	2021	—	33	1	34
Me'phaa/Tlapanec	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	7	—	7
Menominee	2013	—	30	—	30
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	5	—	5
Mixtecan Languages	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	5	—	5
	2021	—	3	—	3
Mohawk	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	15	—	15
	2021	—	17	—	17
Mongolian	2013	—	4	12	16
	2016	—	12	6	18
	2021	—	13	4	17
Muskogee/Maskoke/Creek	2013	—	149	—	149
	2016	64	52	—	116
	2021	93	33	—	126
Nahuatl Languages	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	24	6	30
	2021	1	63	10	74

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Nakoda	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	25	—	—	25
	2021	12	—	—	12
Nakona	2013	7	—	—	7
	2016	12	—	—	12
	2021	11	—	—	11
Navajo	2013	176	678	—	854
	2016	267	567	—	834
	2021	250	427	3	680
Near Eastern Languages	2013	—	6	—	6
	2016	—	1	5	6
	2021	—	—	—	0
Nepali	2013	—	27	1	28
	2016	—	16	—	16
	2021	—	17	—	17
Norse, Old	2013	—	46	7	53
	2016	—	13	—	13
	2021	—	21	—	21
Norwegian	2013	—	729	5	734
	2016	—	668	4	672
	2021	—	590	—	590
Norwegian, Modern	2013	—	31	—	31
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	33	—	33
Nselxcin (Okanogan and Nespelem)	2013	10	—	—	10
	2016	8	—	—	8
	2021	—	—	—	0
Nuu-Chah-Nulth	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	1	—	1
Nuumiipuutimt / Nez Perce	2013	—	30	—	30
	2016	—	26	—	26
	2021	9	38	—	47
Ojibwa/Ojibway/Ojibwe	2013	183	260	—	443
	2016	253	250	—	503
	2021	74	260	—	334
Okinawan	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	28	—	28
	2021	—	—	—	0
Omaha	2013	13	—	—	13
	2016	8	—	—	8
	2021	24	—	—	24
Oneida	2013	—	9	—	9
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	30	—	30

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Osage	2013	—	6	—	6
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Paiute	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	24	—	24
Palenquero	2013	—	1	—	1
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Pali	2013	—	1	2	3
	2016	—	6	—	6
	2021	—	1	5	6
Pashto	2013	356	14	6	376
	2016	—	3	3	6
	2021	—	2		2
Pawnee	2013	—	3	—	3
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	17	—	—	17
Phoenician	2013	—	—	3	3
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Piikani	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	70	—	—	70
Plains Indian Sign Language	2013	1	—	—	1
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Polish	2013	57	776	38	871
	2016	49	662	20	731
	2021	17	583	15	615
Potawatomi	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	5	—	5
	2021	—	—	—	0
Prakrit Languages	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	7	7
	2021	—	—	—	0
Pulaar	2013	—	2	—	2
	2016	—	5	—	5
	2021	—	—	—	0
Punjabi	2013	13	111	—	124
	2016	—	124	—	124
	2021	—	158	2	160
Pushtu, Afghan	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	58	—	—	58
	2021	66	—	—	66

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Quechua/Kichwa Languages	2013	—	71	23	94
	2016	—	96	12	108
	2021	—	100	14	114
Romance Languages	2013	—	14	11	25
	2016	—	9	22	31
	2021	—	—	8	8
Romanian/Rumanian	2013	—	209	2	211
	2016	—	250	2	252
	2021	—	96	4	100
Salish	2013	—	38	—	38
	2016	—	50	—	50
	2021	—	377	—	377
Samoan	2013	—	264	—	264
	2016	—	264	—	264
	2021	—	198	—	198
Sanskrit	2013	—	274	73	347
	2016	—	241	91	332
	2021	—	208	103	311
Sanskrit, Vedic	2013	—	13	52	65
	2016	—	11	38	49
	2021	—	6	106	112
Scandinavian Languages	2013	—	84	5	89
	2016	—	291	16	307
	2021	—	84	3	87
Semitic Languages	2013	—	—	1	1
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Semitic Languages, Ancient	2013	—	—	1	1
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Seneca	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	16	—	16
Serbian	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	5	—	5
Serbian/Croatian	2013	14	29	4	47
	2016	2	32	5	39
	2021	—	60	1	61
Serbo-Croatian	2013	—	55	6	61
	2016	—	17	1	18
	2021	—	11	—	11
Setswana	2013	—	4	—	4
	2016	—	1	—	1
	2021	—	—	—	0

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Shoshoni	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	3	6	—	9
	2021	—	18	—	18
Sign Language	2013	12	72	—	84
	2016	163	176	—	339
	2021	12	103	—	115
Sinhala/Sinhalese/Singhalese	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	20	—	20
	2021	—	9	1	10
Slavic Languages	2013	—	24	11	35
	2016	—	237	31	268
	2021	—	94	9	103
Slavonic, Church	2013	—	—	4	4
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Slavonic, Old Church	2013	—	14	6	20
	2016	—	3	13	16
	2021	—	16	2	18
Slovak	2013	—	25	—	25
	2016	—	32	—	32
	2021	—	15	—	15
Slovene/Slovenian	2013	—	30	1	31
	2016	—	26	—	26
	2021	—	17	—	17
Somali	2013	—	80	1	81
	2016	—	131	—	131
	2021	113	164	—	277
South Asian Languages	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	4	—	4
Southeast Asian Languages	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	5	5
	2021	—	—	—	0
Spanish, Pastoral	2013	—	6	13	19
	2016	—	—	26	26
	2021	—	72	44	116
Sumerian	2013	—	15	13	28
	2016	—	15	6	21
	2021	—	19	9	28
Swahili/Kiswahili	2013	—	2,218	41	2,259
	2016	—	1,803	39	1,842
	2021	—	1,452	15	1,467
Swedish	2013	—	720	12	732
	2016	—	656	—	656
	2021	—	486	1	487

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Syriac	2013	—	11	10	21
	2016	—	1	19	20
	2021	—	6	17	23
Tahitian	2013	—	12	—	12
	2016	—	5	—	5
	2021	—	14	—	14
Taiwanese	2013	—	15	2	17
	2016	—	9	—	9
	2021	—	18	—	18
Tajik	2013	—	1	—	1
	2016	—	1	—	1
	2021	—	—	—	0
Tamil	2013	—	73	9	82
	2016	—	95	9	104
	2021	—	83	—	83
Tati	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	1	—	1
	2021	—	—	—	0
Telugu	2013	—	51	—	51
	2016	—	23	—	23
	2021	—	27	—	27
Thai	2013	6	276	10	292
	2016	—	310	11	321
	2021	—	207	3	210
Tibetan	2013	—	118	62	180
	2016	—	105	22	127
	2021	—	69	17	86
Tibetan, Classical	2013	—	17	11	28
	2016	—	15	—	15
	2021	—	33	2	35
Tigrinya	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	2	—	2
	2021	—	17	—	17
Tlingit	2013	—	89	—	89
	2016	—	51	—	51
	2021	—	121	—	121
Tocharian Languages	2013	—	—	6	6
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Tohono O'odham	2013	15	—	—	15
	2016	63	—	—	63
	2021	—	—	—	0
Tolowa / Tolowa Dee-ni'	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	17	—	17

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Tongan	2013	21	38	—	59
	2016	—	78	—	78
	2021	—	70	—	70
Tsimshian	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	5	—	5
	2021	—	22	—	22
Turkic, Ancient	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	7	—	7
	2021	—	—	—	0
Turkic, Old	2013	—	4	—	4
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Turkish	2013	61	608	61	730
	2016	20	528	80	628
	2021	5	422	26	453
Turkish, Middle	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	10	—	10
	2021	—	—	—	0
Turkish, Ottoman	2013	—	—	12	12
	2016	—	14	13	27
	2021	—	—	8	8
Twi	2013	—	108	2	110
	2016	—	69	5	74
	2021	—	85	2	87
Ugaritic	2013	—	3	—	3
	2016	—	5	7	12
	2021	—	—	1	1
Ukrainian	2013	—	55	4	59
	2016	1	62	19	82
	2021	—	48	10	58
Umatilla	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	31	—	—	31
Urdu	2013	98	229	24	351
	2016	7	286	22	315
	2021	9	280	19	308
Uyghur	2013	—	5	5	10
	2016	—	4	5	9
	2021	—	15	8	23
Uzbek	2013	—	17	10	27
	2016	—	9	1	10
	2021	—	5	4	9
Vedic	2013	—	—	4	4
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	1	1

Table 8 *(cont.)*

Language	Year	Undergraduate Programs at Two-Year Institutions	Undergraduate Programs at Four-Year Institutions	Graduate Programs	Totals
Vietnamese	2013	1,079	1,009	9	2,097
	2016	820	1,095	7	1,922
	2021	863	1,241	5	2,109
Welsh	2013	—	78	—	78
	2016	—	48	—	48
	2021	—	11	2	13
Welsh, Middle	2013	—	2	—	2
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	3	2	5
Wolof	2013	—	67	7	74
	2016	—	46	2	48
	2021	—	96	2	98
Xhosa/Isixhosa	2013	—	22	1	23
	2016	—	1	—	1
	2021	—	6	—	6
Yakama/Yakima	2013	—	—	—	0
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	28	—	28
Yiddish	2013	—	230	21	251
	2016	—	383	22	405
	2021	—	261	15	276
Yoruba	2013	—	228	2	230
	2016	—	290	10	300
	2021	—	271	8	279
Yup'ik/Yupic	2013	—	41	—	41
	2016	—	92	—	92
	2021	—	127	—	127
Yurok	2013	—	23	—	23
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Zulu/Isizulu	2013	—	84	6	90
	2016	—	115	4	119
	2021	—	132	2	134
Zuni	2013	21	23	—	44
	2016	—	—	—	0
	2021	—	—	—	0
Totals	2013	5,873	29,790	4,508	40,171
	2016	4,426	30,235	4,113	38,774
	2021	5,263	28,271	2,878	36,412
Change in Number from 2016 to 2021		*837*	*−1,964*	*−1,235*	*−2,362*
Change in Percentage from 2016 to 2021		*18.9%*	*−6.5%*	*−30.0%*	*−6.1%*

Fall Enrollments in Fifteen Leading Middle Eastern or African Less Commonly Taught Languages in Selected Years

Language	1974	1990	1998	2002	2006	2009	2013	2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021	% Change from 1974 to 2021
Aramaic	371	332	1,130	1,686	2,556	562	1,097	2,592	2,232	−13.9	501.6
Farsi/Persian	278	380	614	1,202	2,282	2,559	2,700	2,330	1,929	−17.2	593.9
Swahili/Kiswahili	1,694	1,209	1,241	1,593	2,173	2,555	2,259	1,842	1,467	−20.4	−13.4
Aramaic, Ancient	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	453	629	38.9	—
Arabic, Modern Standard	—	—	—	—	—	—	573	869	481	−44.6	—
Yoruba	87	134	69	76	265	407	230	300	279	−7.0	220.7
Somali	—	—	—	—	4	46	81	131	277	111.5	—
Hebrew, Biblical and Modern	—	—	—	—	10	—	155	473	192	−59.4	—
Hebrew, Rabbinic	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	183	173	−5.5	—
Arabic, Levantine	—	—	—	—	—	—	248	154	142	−7.8	—
Aramaic, Rabbinic/Talmudic/Targumic	—	—	—	—	8	12	9	124	140	12.9	—
Zulu/Isizulu	7	63	68	72	136	107	90	119	134	12.6	1,814.3
Egyptian	64	80	52	47	56	114	51	80	132	65.0	106.3
Arabic, Iraqi	—	—	—	—	—	61	159	25	112	348.0	—
Malagasy	—	—	—	—	—	—	48	88	104	18.2	—
Total	2,501	2,198	3,174	4,676	7,490	6,423	7,708	9,763	8,423	−13.7	236.8
% Change	NA	−12.1	44.4	47.3	60.2	−14.2	20.0	26.7	−13.7		

Before 1986, some censuses combined the commonly taught languages Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew enrollments under Hebrew. For this reason, Hebrew is excluded from this table of LCTLs.

Table 9b

Fall Enrollments in Fifteen Leading European Less Commonly Taught Languages in Selected Years

Language	1974	1990	1998	2002	2006	2009	2013	2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021	% Change from 1974 to 2021
Greek, Biblical	—	—	—	—	15	328	1,224	1,502	1,327	−11.7	—
Greek, New Testament	—	—	—	—	—	193	1,064	378	900	138.1	—
Greek, Modern	533	835	646	804	1,323	1,982	1,137	785	757	−3.6	42.0
Greek, Koine	—	—	—	—	—	958	1,848	706	667	−5.5	—
Polish	1,123	888	772	1,053	1,381	1,251	871	731	615	−15.9	−45.2
Norwegian	1,557	845	785	777	782	831	734	672	590	−12.2	−62.1
Swedish	1,396	1,051	684	736	722	758	732	656	487	−25.8	−65.1
Dutch	456	507	288	375	445	516	347	264	318	20.5	−30.3
Yiddish	1,079	347	338	438	976	331	251	405	276	−31.9	−74.4
Irish	60	58	278	318	372	325	213	240	238	−0.8	296.7
Bosnian/ Croatian/Serbian	—	—	—	—	26	24	154	159	198	24.5	—
Czech	337	230	194	321	329	406	209	236	160	−32.2	−52.5
Hungarian	64	115	58	102	238	105	124	106	151	42.5	135.9
Greek	—	—	—	—	—	152	33	—	122	—	—
Spanish, Pastoral	—	—	—	—	15	14	19	26	116	346.2	—
Total	6,605	4,876	4,043	4,924	6,624	8,174	8,960	6,866	6,922	0.8	4.8
% Change	NA	−26.2	−17.1	21.8	34.5	23.4	9.6	−23.4	0.8		

Table 9c

Fall Enrollments in Fifteen Leading Asian or Pacific Less Commonly Taught Languages in Selected Years

Language	1974	1990	1998	2002	2006	2009	2013	2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021	% Change from 1974 to 2021
Vietnamese	29	327	899	2,236	2,485	2,712	2,097	1,922	2,109	9.7	7,172.4
Mandarin	40	—	—	—	—	1,736	913	1,179	1,220	3.5	2,950.0
Filipino/Pilipino/Tagalog	325	342	794	1,142	1,569	1,360	1,325	1,308	1,195	−8.6	267.7
Hindi	223	306	831	1,430	1,962	2,173	1,813	1,426	1,104	−22.6	395.1
Armenian, Eastern	—	—	—	—	91	84	96	51	863	1,592.2	—
Hindi-Urdu	161	125	448	427	393	631	533	698	612	−12.3	280.1
Armenian	121	255	325	607	774	747	693	1,134	521	−54.1	330.6
Turkish	156	172	218	314	624	648	730	628	453	−27.9	190.4
Indonesian	121	222	223	225	301	296	289	375	361	−3.7	198.3
Hmong	—	13	15	283	402	393	542	408	328	−19.6	—
Sanskrit	402	251	363	487	616	481	347	332	311	−6.3	−22.6
Urdu	41	90	35	152	349	330	351	315	308	−2.2	651.2
Thai	71	192	272	330	307	317	292	321	210	−34.6	195.8
Cantonese	46	83	39	180	178	185	283	267	199	−25.5	332.6
Samoan	—	69	207	201	280	281	264	264	198	−25.0	—
Total	1,736	2,447	4,669	8,014	10,331	12,374	10,568	10,628	9,992	−6.0	475.6
% Change	NA	41.0	90.8	71.6	28.9	19.8	−14.6	0.6	−6.0		

Table 9d

Fall Enrollments in Fifteen Leading Indigenous American Less Commonly Taught Languages in Selected Years

Language	1974	1990	1998	2002	2006	2009	2013	2016	2021	% Change from 2016 to 2021	% Change from 1974 to 2021
Hawai'ian	555	913	2,007	1,687	1,654	2,006	2,419	1,740	2,327	33.7	319.3
Navajo	589	186	297	783	649	914	854	834	680	−18.5	15.4
Choctaw	14	8	83	63	168	193	214	184	482	162.0	3,342.9
Salish	—	36	—	56	62	46	38	50	377	654.0	—
Cherokee	15	57	175	118	306	348	433	441	337	−23.6	2,146.7
Ojibwa/Ojibway/ Ojibwe	95	233	251	270	633	700	443	503	334	−33.6	251.6
Dakota	37	—	—	—	—	227	102	184	152	−17.4	310.8
Yup'ik/Yupic	24	125	55	10	62	—	41	92	127	38.0	429.2
Muskogee/ Maskoke/Creek	20	—	85	132	179	143	149	116	126	8.6	530.0
Anishinaabemowin	—	—	—	24	244	36	70	94	121	28.7	—
Tlingit	15	—	17	108	32	—	89	51	121	137.3	706.7
Quechua/ Kichwa Languages	33	45	58	51	55	104	94	108	114	5.6	245.5
Kiowa	—	—	49	77	82	121	77	168	105	−37.5	—
Iñupiaq	—	48	22	51	109	31	22	75	82	9.3	—
Indigenous Languages	—	—	—	—	—	—	17	—	80	—	—
Total	1,397	1,651	3,099	3,430	4,235	4,869	5,062	4,640	5,565	19.9	298.4
% Change	NA	18.2	87.7	10.7	23.5	15.0	4.0	−8.3	19.9		

Table 10

Number of Institutions Reporting Fall Enrollments, by Language

Language	2013	2016	Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	Change from 2016 to 2021
Aaniiih / Aaa'ani Nin / Gros Ventre	0	1	1	1	0
African Languages	1	0	−1	2	2
Afrikaans	2	4	2	1	−3
Ahtena/Ahtna	0	1	1	1	0
Akan	3	3	0	3	0
Akkadian	15	17	2	16	−1
Alaskan Languages	0	0	0	2	2
Albanian	0	2	2	1	−1
Aleut / Unangam Tunuu	0	0	0	1	1
Algonquin	0	1	1	4	3
Alutiiq	0	1	1	1	0
American Sign Language	756	792	36	836	44
Amharic	6	8	2	8	0
Anglo-Saxon	0	1	1	0	−1
Anishinaabemowin	3	3	0	3	0
Apache	1	1	0	0	−1
Arabian, Old South	1	0	−1	0	0
Arabic	589	567	−22	487	−80
Arabic, Classical	6	3	−3	1	−2
Arabic, Egyptian	7	3	−4	7	4
Arabic, Gulf	1	0	−1	1	1
Arabic, Iraqi	1	1	0	1	0
Arabic, Levantine	3	4	1	9	5
Arabic, Modern Standard	11	14	3	3	−11
Arabic, Moroccan	0	1	1	1	0
Arabic, Qur'anic	0	1	1	0	−1
Arabic, Sudanese	1	2	1	1	−1
Aramaic	20	18	−2	15	−3
Aramaic, Ancient	1	2	1	1	−1
Aramaic, Biblical	0	1	1	3	2
Aramaic, Rabbinic/Talmudic/Targumic	4	1	−3	2	1
Arapahoe	4	3	−1	1	−2
Arikara	1	0	−1	1	1
Armenian	9	11	2	13	2
Armenian, Classical	1	1	0	1	0
Armenian, Eastern	1	2	1	1	−1
Armenian, Modern	2	1	−1	2	1
Armenian, Western	2	2	0	1	−1
Ashanti-Twi	1	0	−1	1	1
Assiniboine	1	0	−1	0	0
Assyrian	0	0	0	1	1
Athabaskan Languages	1	1	0	0	−1
Azeri	0	0	0	1	1

Table 10 *(cont.)*

Language	2013	2016	Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	Change from 2016 to 2021
Bamana	2	3	1	1	−2
Bambara	1	0	−1	0	0
Basque	5	4	−1	6	2
Bengali/Bangla	11	15	4	12	−3
Blackfeet/Blackfoot/Siksika	3	1	−2	1	0
Bosnian/Croatian/Serbian	12	15	3	15	0
Bulgarian	4	2	−2	2	0
Burmese	4	8	4	6	−2
Cahuilla	0	0	0	2	2
Cambodian	2	2	0	2	0
Cantonese	11	9	−2	11	2
Catalan	9	13	4	10	−3
Cayuga	0	0	0	1	1
Cebuano	1	1	0	1	0
Chamorro	1	1	0	1	0
Chechen	0	1	1	0	−1
Cherokee	8	8	0	8	0
Cheyenne	1	0	−1	0	0
Cheyenne, Northern	1	1	0	0	−1
Chichewa	1	3	2	1	−2
Chickasaw	0	1	1	1	0
Chinese	867	794	−73	689	−105
Chinese, Classical	14	16	2	8	−8
Chinese, Premodern	1	1	0	0	−1
Chinook Wa Wa	2	0	−2	1	1
Chippewa/Cree	1	1	0	0	−1
Choctaw	4	3	−1	3	0
Coeur D'Alene	1	0	−1	0	0
Comanche	0	2	2	0	−2
Coptic	5	3	−2	6	3
Cree	2	1	−1	0	−1
Creole Languages	0	1	1	1	0
Creole, African	1	0	−1	0	0
Creole, Cape Verdean	2	2	0	3	1
Creole, Haitian	14	16	2	19	3
Creole, Jamaican/Patois	0	1	1	2	1
Creoloid Languages	1	0	−1	0	0
Croatian	1	0	−1	1	1
Crow	1	1	0	0	−1
Czech	26	19	−7	20	1
Czech/Slovak	0	1	1	0	−1
Dakota	6	6	0	6	0
Dakota/Lakota	3	2	−1	2	0
Danish	7	8	1	12	4
Dari/Afghan Persian	2	0	−2	0	0

Table 10 *(cont.)*

Language	2013	2016	Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	Change from 2016 to 2021
Dena'ina/Tanaina	0	1	1	1	0
Dutch	23	17	−6	20	3
East Asian Languages	1	0	−1	1	1
Egyptian	3	7	4	7	0
Egyptian, Ancient	2	5	3	3	−2
Egyptian, Demotic	0	0	0	1	1
Egyptian, Late	1	0	−1	1	1
Egyptian, Middle	6	3	−3	4	1
English, Middle	0	0	0	1	1
English, Old	0	0	0	2	2
Eskimo Languages	1	0	−1	0	0
Esperanto	0	0	0	1	1
Estonian	2	2	0	1	−1
Far Eastern Languages	1	0	−1	0	0
Farsi/Persian	73	73	0	71	−2
Fijian	1	1	0	0	−1
Filipino/Pilipino/Tagalog	31	31	0	31	0
Finnish	12	11	−1	12	1
French	1,608	1,480	−128	1,316	−164
French, Cajun	1	0	−1	1	1
French, Old	2	3	1	1	−2
Gaelic	3	3	0	3	0
Gaelic, Scottish	1	1	0	2	1
Galician	1	0	−1	1	1
Geez	0	0	0	1	1
Georgian	2	2	0	0	−2
German	1,076	990	−86	818	−172
German, Middle High	1	1	0	2	1
German, Old Low / Saxon, Old	0	2	2	0	−2
German, Pennsylvania	0	1	1	0	−1
German, Theological	3	2	−1	2	0
Gikuyu/Kikuyu	1	1	0	0	−1
Greek	2	0	−2	6	6
Greek and Hebrew	2	2	0	3	1
Greek and Latin	5	1	−4	2	1
Greek, Ancient	511	478	−33	373	−105
Greek, Biblical	41	51	10	43	−8
Greek, Koine	40	30	−10	29	−1
Greek, Modern	46	41	−5	39	−2
Greek, New Testament	28	17	−11	32	15
Greek, Old Testament	0	0	0	1	1
Guarani	1	1	0	1	0
Gujarati	1	1	0	2	1
Gullah	0	0	0	1	1
Haida	1	1	0	1	0

Table 10 (cont.)

Language	2013	2016	Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	Change from 2016 to 2021
Hausa	3	2	−1	0	−2
Hawaiʻian	15	15	0	14	−1
Hebrew	8	3	−5	12	9
Hebrew, Biblical	259	261	2	210	−51
Hebrew, Biblical and Modern	5	10	5	7	−3
Hebrew, Classical	3	0	−3	3	3
Hebrew, Modern	174	160	−14	142	−18
Hebrew, Rabbinic	2	2	0	2	0
Hidatsa	1	1	0	1	0
Hiligaynon/Ilonggo	0	0	0	1	1
Hindi	61	53	−8	45	−8
Hindi-Urdu	14	21	7	17	−4
Hittite	2	3	1	2	−1
Hmong	11	12	1	11	−1
Ho-Chunk	1	1	0	1	0
Hungarian	11	11	0	15	4
Icelandic	1	2	1	1	−1
Icelandic, Old	1	0	−1	1	1
Ichishkiin Sinwit/Sahaptin	2	2	0	3	1
Igbo/Ibo	5	5	0	5	0
Ilocano/Ilokano	2	2	0	3	1
Indigenous Languages	1	0	−1	6	6
Indonesia, Bahasa	1	1	0	1	0
Indonesian	14	17	3	24	7
Indonesian, Malay	2	3	1	0	−3
Ingvaeonic Languages	1	0	−1	0	0
Inuktitut	1	1	0	1	0
Iñupiaq	1	2	1	3	1
Iranian Languages	2	0	−2	0	0
Iranian Languages, Middle	1	1	0	0	−1
Iranian Languages, Old	0	0	0	1	1
Irish	11	11	0	11	0
Irish, Modern	7	7	0	6	−1
Irish, Old and Middle	1	0	−1	0	0
Iroquoian Languages	0	0	0	1	1
Italian	665	609	−56	541	−68
Japanese	707	680	−27	633	−47
Japanese, Classical	6	4	−2	0	−4
Kannada	1	1	0	1	0
Kazakh/Qazaq	5	3	−2	3	0
Khmer	8	8	0	9	1
Kiksht	1	1	0	0	−1
Kinyarwanda	0	1	1	3	2
Kiowa	1	3	2	1	−2
Kirgiz/Kyrgyz	0	1	1	0	−1

Table 10 *(cont.)*

Language	2013	2016	Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	Change from 2016 to 2021
Klallam	0	0	0	1	1
Kongo/Kikongo	0	1	1	0	−1
Kootenai/Kutenai	1	1	0	1	0
Korean	154	162	8	191	29
Kumeyaay	1	0	−1	1	1
Kurdish	1	2	1	2	0
Kyrgyz	0	0	0	1	1
Ladino	1	0	−1	0	0
Lakota	4	4	0	4	0
Lao	0	0	0	1	1
Laotian	0	1	1	0	−1
Latin	590	539	−51	477	−62
Latin, Medieval	1	1	0	1	0
Latvian	1	1	0	1	0
Lingala	1	2	1	0	−2
Lithuanian	2	2	0	2	0
Luganda	1	0	−1	1	1
Luiseno	0	1	1	1	0
Lushootseed	1	0	−1	2	2
Lusoga/Soga	0	1	1	0	−1
Luwian	0	1	1	0	−1
Malagasy	2	2	0	2	0
Malay	4	2	−2	3	1
Malayalam	3	3	0	2	−1
Maliseet Wabanaki	2	1	−1	2	1
Manchu	1	1	0	1	0
Mandan	0	1	1	1	0
Mandarin	20	18	−2	13	−5
Mandinka	0	0	0	1	1
Maninka	1	0	−1	0	0
Maori	2	3	1	2	−1
Marathi	2	2	0	2	0
Mayan	0	1	1	0	−1
Mayan, Kaqchikel	1	0	−1	1	1
Mayan, Quiché	2	2	0	2	0
Mayan, Yucatec	2	1	−1	4	3
Me'phaa/Tlapanec	0	0	0	1	1
Menominee	1	0	−1	1	1
Mixtecan Languages	0	1	1	1	0
Mohawk	0	1	1	1	0
Mongolian	2	2	0	3	1
Muskogee/Maskoke/Creek	3	4	1	2	−2
Nahuatl Languages	0	5	5	11	6
Nakoda	0	1	1	1	0
Nakona	1	1	0	1	0

Table 10 *(cont.)*

Language	2013	2016	Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	Change from 2016 to 2021
Navajo	9	14	5	14	0
Near Eastern Languages	1	2	1	0	−2
Nepali	7	4	−3	3	−1
Norse, Old	3	2	−1	3	1
Norwegian	19	18	−1	21	3
Norwegian, Modern	2	0	−2	1	1
Nselxcin (Okanogan and Nespelem)	1	1	0	0	−1
Nuu-Chah-Nulth	0	0	0	1	1
Nuumiipuutimt / Nez Perce	1	1	0	3	2
Ojibwa/Ojibway/Ojibwe	19	18	−1	16	−2
Okinawan	0	1	1	0	−1
Omaha	1	1	0	1	0
Oneida	1	0	−1	1	1
Osage	1	0	−1	0	0
Paiute	0	0	0	1	1
Palenquero	1	0	−1	0	0
Pali	2	2	0	2	0
Pashto	9	2	−7	1	−1
Pawnee	1	0	−1	1	1
Phoenician	1	0	−1	0	0
Piikani	0	0	0	1	1
Plains Indian Sign Language	1	0	−1	0	0
Polish	47	48	1	43	−5
Portuguese	238	225	−13	189	−36
Potawatomi	0	1	1	0	−1
Prakrit Languages	0	1	1	0	−1
Pulaar	1	2	1	0	−2
Punjabi	8	9	1	10	1
Pushtu, Afghan	0	1	1	1	0
Quechua/Kichwa Languages	14	16	2	18	2
Romance Languages	2	3	1	1	−2
Romanian/Rumanian	13	9	−4	9	0
Russian	437	406	−31	348	−58
Salish	1	1	0	2	1
Samoan	4	3	−1	4	1
Sanskrit	28	26	−2	26	0
Sanskrit, Vedic	1	2	1	1	−1
Scandinavian Languages	5	6	1	2	−4
Semitic Languages	1	0	−1	0	0
Semitic Languages, Ancient	1	0	−1	0	0
Seneca	0	0	0	1	1
Serbian	0	0	0	1	1
Serbian/Croatian	3	5	2	3	−2
Serbo-Croatian	4	3	−1	1	−2
Setswana	1	1	0	0	−1

Table 10 *(cont.)*

Language	2013	2016	Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	Change from 2016 to 2021
Shoshoni	0	2	2	1	−1
Sign Language	3	6	3	5	−1
Sinhala/Sinhalese/Singhalese	0	1	1	2	1
Slavic Languages	6	2	−4	5	3
Slavonic, Church	1	0	−1	0	0
Slavonic, Old Church	2	4	2	2	−2
Slovak	2	2	0	2	0
Slovene/Slovenian	3	2	−1	2	0
Somali	3	3	0	6	3
South Asian Languages	0	0	0	1	1
Southeast Asian Languages	0	1	1	0	−1
Spanish	2,228	2,110	−118	2,012	−98
Spanish, Pastoral	2	1	−1	4	3
Sumerian	7	6	−1	5	−1
Swahili/Kiswahili	69	67	−2	63	−4
Swedish	25	27	2	22	−5
Syriac	4	3	−1	5	2
Tahitian	1	1	0	1	0
Taiwanese	3	2	−1	2	0
Tajik	1	1	0	0	−1
Tamil	7	8	1	10	2
Tati	0	1	1	0	−1
Telugu	4	2	−2	2	0
Thai	23	20	−3	19	−1
Tibetan	17	17	0	15	−2
Tibetan, Classical	2	2	0	3	1
Tigrinya	0	1	1	3	2
Tlingit	2	2	0	2	0
Tocharian Languages	1	0	−1	0	0
Tohono O'odham	1	1	0	0	−1
Tolowa / Tolowa Dee-ni'	0	0	0	1	1
Tongan	3	3	0	3	0
Tsimshian	0	1	1	1	0
Turkic, Ancient	0	1	1	0	−1
Turkic, Old	1	0	−1	0	0
Turkish	48	47	−1	43	−4
Turkish, Middle	0	1	1	0	−1
Turkish, Ottoman	2	3	1	2	−1
Twi	9	6	−3	10	4
Ugaritic	1	2	1	1	−1
Ukrainian	12	14	2	14	0
Umatilla	0	0	0	1	1
Urdu	17	20	3	25	5
Uyghur	4	3	−1	4	1
Uzbek	6	4	−2	3	−1

Table 10 *(cont.)*

Language	2013	2016	Change from 2013 to 2016	2021	Change from 2016 to 2021
Vedic	1	0	−1	1	1
Vietnamese	44	45	1	45	0
Welsh	4	3	−1	3	0
Welsh, Middle	1	0	−1	1	1
Wolof	15	10	−5	16	6
Xhosa/Isixhosa	2	1	−1	2	1
Yakama/Yakima	0	0	0	1	1
Yiddish	24	19	−5	24	5
Yoruba	15	18	3	24	6
Yup'ik/Yupic	1	2	1	2	0
Yurok	1	0	−1	0	0
Zulu/Isizulu	13	11	−2	10	−1
Zuni	2	0	−2	0	0
Total	12,385	11,734	−651	10,773	−961

Table 11a

Number of Institutions Reporting Fall Enrollments in the Fifteen Most Commonly Taught Languages in Selected Years, for All Program Levels Combined

Language	1998	2009	2021	% Change from 2009 to 2021	% Change from 1998 to 2021
American Sign Language	117	730	836	14.5	614.5
Arabic[1]	164	583	511	−12.3	211.6
Chinese/Mandarin	422	797	702	−11.9	66.4
French	1,676	1,642	1,316	−19.9	−21.5
German	1,204	1,111	818	−26.4	−32.1
Greek, Ancient[2]	597	643	478	−25.7	−19.9
Hebrew, Biblical[3]	291	309	215	−30.4	−26.1
Hebrew, Modern	153	174	142	−18.4	−7.2
Italian	534	670	541	−19.3	1.3
Japanese	684	711	633	−11.0	−7.5
Korean	77	135	191	41.5	148.1
Latin	534	588	477	−18.9	−10.7
Portuguese	151	221	189	−14.5	25.2
Russian	500	453	348	−23.2	−30.4
Spanish	2,180	2,264	2,012	−11.1	−7.7

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455. Institutions with no enrollments are not included.

1. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."
2. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."
3. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern." Before 1986, some censuses combined Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew enrollments under Hebrew.

Table 11b

Number of Institutions Reporting Fall Enrollments in the Fifteen Most Commonly Taught Languages in Selected Years, by Program Level

Language	Two-Year in 1998	Two-Year in 2009	Two-Year in 2021	Four-Year Undergraduate in 1998	Four-Year Undergraduate in 2009	Four-Year Undergraduate in 2021	Graduate in 1998	Graduate in 2009	Graduate in 2021
American Sign Language	64	372	349	52	353	487	7	31	21
Arabic[1]	23	113	86	134	460	420	36	55	43
Chinese/Mandarin	68	157	119	348	635	578	57	52	54
French	493	463	328	1,175	1,174	986	169	178	136
German	295	264	156	896	841	660	141	119	89
Greek, Ancient[2]	9	5	1	509	557	427	165	179	139
Hebrew, Biblical[3]	5	1	1	189	225	161	121	134	83
Hebrew, Modern	13	13	9	137	158	131	26	17	16
Italian	117	169	100	414	500	440	65	46	45
Japanese	149	175	147	533	534	486	56	44	43
Korean	9	20	27	67	113	159	13	17	21
Latin	34	49	13	492	528	453	83	94	78
Portuguese	17	28	17	126	190	169	46	40	36
Russian	71	78	46	426	372	302	68	49	43
Spanish	792	808	676	1,374	1,444	1,321	225	277	233

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455. Institutions with no enrollments are not included.

1. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."
2. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."
3. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern." Before 1986, some censuses combined Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew enrollments under Hebrew.

Percentage of Institutions Reporting Fall Enrollments in the Fifteen Most Commonly Taught Languages

Language	1998	2009	2021
American Sign Language	4.9	29.6	38.6
Arabic[1]	6.9	23.7	23.6
Chinese	17.7	32.3	32.4
French	70.2	66.6	60.7
German	50.4	45.1	37.7
Greek, Ancient[2]	25.0	26.1	22.1
Hebrew, Biblical[3]	12.2	12.5	9.9
Hebrew, Modern	6.4	7.1	6.6
Italian	22.4	27.2	25.0
Japanese	28.6	28.8	29.2
Korean	3.2	5.5	8.8
Latin	22.4	23.9	22.0
Portuguese	6.3	9.0	8.7
Russian	20.9	18.4	16.1
Spanish	91.3	91.8	92.8
Number of institutions on which percentages are based	2,389	2,465	2,167

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455. Institutions with no enrollments are not included.

1. Includes enrollments reported under "Arabic," "Arabic, Classical," "Arabic, Egyptian," "Arabic, Gulf," "Arabic, Iraqi," "Arabic, Levantine," "Arabic, Modern Standard," "Arabic, Moroccan," "Arabic, Qur'anic," "Arabic, Sudanese," and "Arabic, Syrian."

2. Includes enrollments reported under "Greek, Ancient," "Greek, Biblical," "Greek, Koine," "Greek, New Testament," and "Greek, Old Testament." Excludes enrollments reported under "Greek," "Greek and Hebrew," and "Greek and Latin."

3. Includes enrollments reported under "Hebrew, Biblical," "Hebrew, Classical," and "Hebrew, Rabbinic." Excludes enrollments reported under "Hebrew" and "Hebrew, Biblical and Modern." Before 1986, some censuses combined Biblical Hebrew and Modern Hebrew enrollments under Hebrew.

Table 12a

Percentage of All Programs with Decreasing, Stable, or Increasing Enrollments between Fall 2016 and Fall 2021

Language	Decreasing	Stable*	Increasing	Stable or Increasing
American Sign Language	46.6%	6.2%	47.2%	53.4%
Arabic	66.2%	10.1%	23.7%	33.8%
Chinese	61.2%	11.5%	27.3%	38.8%
French	73.1%	6.3%	20.5%	26.9%
German	78.1%	8.2%	13.7%	21.9%
Greek, Ancient	50.2%	19.7%	30.0%	49.8%
Hebrew, Biblical	47.7%	18.8%	33.6%	52.3%
Hebrew, Modern	56.9%	14.4%	28.7%	43.1%
Italian	62.4%	10.2%	27.4%	37.6%
Japanese	48.8%	10.7%	40.5%	51.2%
Korean	24.8%	7.4%	67.8%	75.2%
Latin	62.7%	11.0%	26.3%	37.3%
Portuguese	62.0%	12.0%	26.0%	38.0%
Russian	59.3%	15.6%	25.1%	40.7%
Spanish	67.8%	4.0%	28.2%	32.2%
LCTLs	47.4%	11.9%	40.7%	52.6%
Total	61.7%	9.2%	29.1%	38.3%

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

Arabic, Biblical Hebrew, and Ancient Greek are not combined with their variants for this table; Chinese is not combined with Mandarin.

*This category includes +/− 2 enrollments.

Table 12b

Percentage of Introductory Undergraduate Programs with Decreasing, Stable, or Increasing Enrollments between Fall 2016 and Fall 2021

Language	Decreasing	Stable*	Increasing	*Stable or Increasing*
American Sign Language	45.6%	6.6%	47.7%	54.4%
Arabic	65.7%	10.5%	23.7%	34.3%
Chinese	60.0%	12.6%	27.5%	40.0%
French	70.5%	7.9%	21.6%	29.5%
German	76.9%	9.2%	13.9%	23.1%
Greek, Ancient	43.1%	25.9%	31.0%	56.9%
Hebrew, Biblical	44.1%	20.7%	35.1%	55.9%
Hebrew, Modern	57.6%	16.9%	25.6%	42.4%
Italian	61.3%	11.2%	27.4%	38.7%
Japanese	46.6%	11.5%	41.8%	53.4%
Korean	25.1%	6.7%	68.2%	74.9%
Latin	59.4%	13.3%	27.3%	40.6%
Portuguese	60.7%	13.8%	25.5%	39.3%
Russian	58.3%	16.4%	25.3%	41.7%
Spanish	66.6%	4.7%	28.7%	33.4%
LCTLs	46.2%	10.7%	43.1%	53.8%
Total	60.3%	10.2%	29.6%	39.7%

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

Arabic, Biblical Hebrew, and Ancient Greek are not combined with their variants for this table; Chinese is not combined with Mandarin.

*This category includes +/− 2 enrollments.

Table 12c

Percentage of Advanced Undergraduate Programs with Decreasing, Stable, or Increasing Enrollments between Fall 2016 and Fall 2021

Language	Decreasing	Stable*	Increasing	Stable or Increasing
American Sign Language	39.9%	10.6%	49.5%	60.1%
Arabic	47.3%	22.2%	30.5%	52.7%
Chinese	44.6%	24.9%	30.5%	55.4%
French	63.1%	18.4%	18.4%	36.9%
German	58.4%	20.4%	21.2%	41.6%
Greek, Ancient	36.0%	44.8%	19.2%	64.0%
Hebrew, Biblical	35.4%	35.4%	29.2%	64.6%
Hebrew, Modern	40.0%	34.7%	25.3%	60.0%
Italian	50.5%	19.9%	29.5%	49.5%
Japanese	42.6%	24.3%	33.1%	57.4%
Korean	25.0%	12.0%	63.0%	75.0%
Latin	42.9%	35.3%	21.8%	57.1%
Portuguese	45.1%	26.5%	28.3%	54.9%
Russian	41.8%	31.3%	26.9%	58.2%
Spanish	57.8%	11.0%	31.2%	42.2%
LCTLs	38.8%	27.0%	34.2%	61.2%
Total	50.0%	21.9%	28.1%	50.0%

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.

Arabic, Biblical Hebrew, and Ancient Greek are not combined with their variants for this table; Chinese is not combined with Mandarin.

*This category includes +/− 2 enrollments.

Table 12d

Percentage of Graduate Programs with Decreasing, Stable, or Increasing Enrollments between Fall 2016 and Fall 2021

Language	Decreasing	Stable*	Increasing	*Stable or Increasing*
American Sign Language	34.3%	31.4%	34.3%	65.7%
Arabic	33.9%	44.1%	22.0%	66.1%
Chinese	42.5%	35.6%	21.9%	57.5%
French	47.0%	28.6%	24.4%	53.0%
German	43.0%	34.7%	22.3%	57.0%
Greek, Ancient	38.9%	36.5%	24.6%	61.1%
Hebrew, Biblical	56.0%	17.2%	26.7%	44.0%
Hebrew, Modern	38.5%	26.9%	34.6%	61.5%
Italian	46.7%	35.0%	18.3%	53.3%
Japanese	23.8%	44.4%	31.7%	76.2%
Korean	20.0%	54.3%	25.7%	80.0%
Latin	44.2%	34.6%	21.2%	55.8%
Portuguese	35.4%	39.6%	25.0%	64.6%
Russian	34.5%	41.8%	23.6%	65.5%
Spanish	50.2%	18.1%	31.7%	49.8%
LCTLs	47.4%	21.2%	31.4%	52.6%
Total	43.5%	30.0%	26.5%	56.5%

Number of institutions reporting in 2021: 2,455.
Arabic, Biblical Hebrew, and Ancient Greek are not combined with their variants for this table; Chinese is not combined with Mandarin.
*This category includes +/− 2 enrollments.

Table 13a

Percentage Change in the Number of Students in US Colleges and Universities by Institutional Control and Level

Institution Type	Fall 2016	Fall 2021	% Change
Public Four-Year	8,100,118	7,767,617	−4.1
Private Nonprofit	3,788,980	3,776,285	−0.3
Two-Year	5,721,676	4,662,364	−18.5
Total	1,7610,774	1,6206,266	−8.0

Table 13b

Percentage Change in the Total Number of Students in US Colleges and Universities and Percentage Change in the Language Enrollment Census

Year	Total Number of Students	% Change in Total Number of Students	% Change in Language Enrollment Census
2013	18,055,674	—	−6.7
2016	17,610,774	−2.5	−9.1
2021	16,206,266	−8.0	−16.6

The totals for students are from table 1 of the National Student Clearinghouse's Current Term Enrollment Estimates for 2013, 2016, and 2021 (nscresearchcenter.org/current-term-enrollment-estimates).

Table 14

Fall Language Enrollments and Percentage Change for the Fifteen Commonly Taught Languages and Hawai'ian from 2016 to 2020 (Languages in Descending Order of 2020 Enrollments)

Language	2016	2020	Change from 2016 to 2020	% Change from 2016 to 2020
Spanish	464,966	394,170	−70,796	−15.2
French	115,032	89,321	−25,711	−22.4
American Sign Language	65,595	68,590	2,995	4.6
Japanese	46,936	43,268	−3,668	−7.8
German	55,785	37,819	−17,966	−32.2
Chinese	33,561	26,528	−7,033	−21.0
Italian	34,549	26,116	−8,433	−24.4
Arabic (All)	20,876	15,167	−5,709	−27.3
Latin	16,476	12,955	−3,521	−21.4
Korean	9,033	11,323	2,290	25.4
Russian	13,740	10,434	−3,306	−24.1
Greek, Ancient (All)	5,640	5,468	−172	−3.0
Portuguese	6,288	5,105	−1,183	−18.8
Hebrew, Modern	2,639	2,329	−310	−11.7
Hawai'ian	1,696	2,104	408	24.1
Hebrew, Biblical (All)	1,828	2,017	189	10.3
All Languages	912,829	772,150	−140,679	−15.4

Enrollments are only for institutions for which enrollments are available for both 2016 and 2020.
The 2020 results are from a sample survey.