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Foreign Language Learning and Trade

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Abstract

The paper is devoted to an econometric analysis of learning foreign languages in all parts of the world. Our sample covers 193 countries and 13 important languages. Four factors significantly explain learning: world population of speakers of home language, trade with speakers of foreign language, linguistic distance between home and foreign language and literacy. Trade may well deserve more emphasis than the other three factors, not only for its significance, but also because its direction can change faster and by a larger order of magnitude. Controlling for any of the 13 target languages, including English, is of no particular importance.

1. Introduction

There is wide awareness of the role of foreign trade in stimulating learning of foreign languages.[1] Yet despite much research to date on the influence of common languages on foreign trade,[2] the influence of trade on language learning has been studied very little.[3] In general, econometric work on language learning has been largely confined to the decision of immigrants and linguistic minorities to learn the primary language in their country of residence in order to increase their work possibilities and wages.[4]

In this paper, we concentrate instead on learning foreign languages, meaning languages in common use abroad but not at home. Quite explicitly, we do not treat the learning of the home language by immigrants and by linguistic minorities, possibly concentrated in certain regions, like Basque speakers in Spain or Gujarati speakers in India. This learning is largely a different subject, we think. Most nationals acquire their language as children, almost without effort, while for residents who do not know the home language, learning it is likely to dominate learning of any foreign language since the person may well need the home one for daily living.

We also take a world perspective on learning foreign languages. Thus, we study learning of 13 languages in 193 countries. These languages are Chinese, English, Spanish, Arabic, Russian, French, Portuguese, German, Malay, Japanese, Turkish, Italian and Dutch, in descending order of number of speakers. The languages are chosen because of their importance in either of two senses or both: sheer size or international spread. One of our basic concerns was increasing the sample variance. Specifically, we wanted to include

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some languages that are large but not widely spread. Chinese and Japanese fit the bill, especially the latter. We also wanted to have some languages with only a moderate population of speakers in any one country but notable international spread. Malay and Dutch are our best examples. Our data is cross-sectional and centers around 2005. We examine five separate influences on learning based on elementary theoretical considerations and the availability of data, and all five of them emerge as important with the expected sign. Four of these influences entered in earlier theoretical discussion of language learning in a game-theoretical context (see Selten and Pool, 1991; Church and King, 1993; Shy, 2001). The first of these four influences is the size of the world population of speakers of a foreign language; it encourages learning. The second is literacy (as a reflection of the ability to learn), which encourages learning too. Third, a large world population of speakers of the home language discourages learning. People who possess a large language have less incentive to learn any other one. Fourth, linguistic distances also discourage learning. When the distance between languages increases, learning decreases. The fifth influence, at the heart of this study, is trade. Trade with speakers of a foreign language raises learning of the speakers' language. Of major note, trade is well correlated with geographical proximity to speakers, common borders with them, past historical ties to them, and current economic and political associations with them. Therefore its influence could reflect many factors besides commerce. This is part of the interest of the variable. Separating out these various sources of the variable's influence would be a fitting subject for later research.

There are obvious differences between the operations of the five influences. Literacy encourages learning without regard to the target language. The size of the home language discourages learning generally too. By contrast, the size of the population of the target language, and trade with this particular population, both promote learning of the particular language. Finally, the linguistic distance between home and target language affects the choice of foreign language to learn.

The various motives for language learning that are reflected in trade emerge as the most important factor in our empirical findings. Conditional on the presence of learners of a language in a country, a 1 percentage-point increase in the trade share with speakers of the language will increase learners of the language (as a percentage of the total population) by around 1.4 percentage points. This is a large effect. It emerges after controlling for the reciprocal effect of learning on the trade share; that is, after instrumenting the trade share. Without conditioning on positive learning, a 1% increase in the trade share with speakers will also increase the probability of some positive learning after controlling for endogeneity. A doubling of the trade share causes a 13% probability of some positive learning. This next effect is smaller than the aforementioned one but as precisely estimated. These are also estimates without separate individual controls for national specificities. If we control for such specificities by introducing a separate fixed effect per country, the influence of trade on learning even goes up. It rises from 1.4 to 2.1 percentage points for learning when there is some and from a 13% to a 16% probability of learning overall.

The paper proceeds as follows. Section 2 provides some theoretical discussion of the influences on learning that we choose to investigate in the empirical study. Section 3 discusses the econometric model. Section 4 turns to the data and section 5 describes the estimation method. Sections 6–8 are devoted to results.

2. The Theoretical Background

In explaining language learning on a world basis, the game-theoretical literature provides a useful point of reference. This literature would suggest treating the total

numbers of speakers of the different languages in the world and the costs of learning as outstanding factors. To explain, assume that there is a single home language per country and that everyone in each country possesses this language. In each country, therefore, all people can already communicate with the whole world population of speakers of their home language, including those who live abroad. The larger this total world population is, the better able they are to communicate and the lower are their marginal benefits of learning another language. Therefore, the total world population of speakers of the home language exerts a negative influence on learning at home. This theoretical result accords well with common experience. We encounter more monolingualism in large-language countries, such as the USA or the UK, than in small-language ones, such as the Baltic countries.

In the case of each country, consider next the total world number of speakers of a foreign language. The larger this number is, the larger are the benefits of learning the language. On this ground, Chinese and English should attract more learning than other languages since they are the two largest in the world. Arabic and Spanish should rank high too.

However, as the game-theoretical literature stresses (see Gabszewicz et al., 2011; Selten and Pool, 1991), there are costs of learning, if only the time and effort required to learn. One international measure of this cost is the distance between the home and the foreign language. The specific measure of this distance we shall use rests on expert judgments by ethnolinguists. This should clearly help to reconcile the evidence with the fact, for example, that there is less learning of Chinese, Japanese and probably Arabic in countries using Indo-European languages than sheer numbers of speakers would lead us to expect. Another indicator of the cost of learning is the literacy rate. Higher literacy, implying higher education, should make learning easier and thereby promote learning of foreign languages.

If we limit ourselves to the preceding influences on learning, however—namely, world numbers of respective speakers of home and target language, linguistic distance and literacy—we miss one important dimension, if not several. Consider the relative interest of learning English, French and German in a Spanish-speaking country in South America as opposed to Spain. For both countries, world speakers of these languages and the linguistic distances between them are exactly identical[5] and differences in the literacy rate cannot explain a preference for learning one language rather than another. Yet it is evident that French and German are of greater interest relative to English in Spain than South America because of higher levels of interaction with French- and German-speaking countries in Spain. Introducing bilateral trade ties between countries is one important means of repairing this difficulty. It is not the only one. We tried others that proved of less interest, as we will see. Also, two of the other possible influences—geographical distance to speakers and common border with speakers—could not be combined with trade, though they mattered, since they serve as instruments for trade. They are thus only reflected through trade. As already emphasized, bilateral trade ties reflects many things, not only commercial ties but also geography, politics and possibly history, for example, a common ex-colonial past. In addition, the impact of this variable is multi-faceted. From the standpoint of people as consumers, trade ties are an additional reflection of the benefits of learning foreign languages besides the world number of speakers. Indeed, in the presence of trade ties, the total world population of speakers of a target language is possibly best interpreted as reflecting non-market advantages of learning this language, stemming from the ability to interact socially with foreign speakers and to benefit from their cultures and cultural heritages (though trade ties will cover these advantages to a non-negligible

extent too through trade in cultural products and tourism as well as some of the aforementioned correlations). From the standpoint of people as producers, trade ties reflect the costs of learning. For a person who is professionally engaged in foreign commerce, trade with speakers of the target language reduces the opportunity cost of the time needed to learn the language because of more frequent, more effective and better motivated occasions to practice and because of a higher value of the time spent learning (via higher wages and profits).

A bit of notation is useful. Let J be the target language and K be the home language in country c where language $J \neq K$. Next, let N_J be the world population of the target language, N_K be the world population of the home one, T_{Jc} be the trade of country c with the N_J population of the world, D_{JK} be the linguistic distance between languages J and K and I_c be the literacy rate in country c. Define α_{Jc} as the share of the population in country c that learns language J (which obviously excludes any native speakers of language J in country c). Based on our theoretical discussion, the general function we propose is:

$$\alpha_{Jc} = F(N_J,\ N_K, T_{Jc}, D_{JK}, I_c),\ \text{for all } c, J \text{ and } K, J \neq K \tag{1}$$

with $F'(N_J) > 0$, $F'(N_K) < 0$, $F'(T_{Jc}) > 0$, $F'(D_{JK}) < 0$ and $F'(I_c) > 0$.

We define T_{Jc} as the ratio of the total trade of country c with the J-speaking world; namely:

$$T_{Jc} = \frac{\sum_{l \in L} \sigma_{Jl} BT_{cl}}{\sum_{l \in L} BT_{cl}} \tag{2}$$

where L is the set of country c's trading partners, σ_{Jl} is the percentage of speakers of language J in country l, BT_{cl} is the total trade of country c with country l, and the denominator in equation (2) is therefore country c's total trade. This choice of specification has two advantages. First, T_{Jc} is a fraction (as is α_{Jc}), therefore a pure number. Next, T_{Jc} reflects competition between languages. T_{Jc} can only rise at the expense of trade with speakers of other languages than J. This makes sense since competition between languages is a fact of life. The time spent on learning one language cannot be spent on learning another and people's total time and capacity to learn foreign languages are limited.

Two further points need attention. First, our decision to disregard the learning of the home language puts special importance on its definition. Many countries possess large minority languages. While we disregard the decision of a German resident to learn German in Germany, we do consider the decision of German residents to learn Turkish even though there are numerous native Turkish speakers in the country. Likewise, we consider the learning of Spanish in the USA though there are millions of native Spanish speakers in the country. The need to draw a clear line on this issue demands some hard choices and leads us to refer principally hereafter to a "primary" language rather than a "home" language. A "primary" language gives less the impression of a language that is spoken by everyone or necessarily the overwhelming majority. Importantly in this respect, we shall also engage in some robustness tests about our choices of primary language. Moreover, we shall recognize two primary languages in some countries rather than the minimum of one. Second, we ignore a central aspect of the game-theoretical literature on language learning: namely, that the learning of the primary language in a country by foreigners diminishes the welfare benefit of learning the foreigners' language by speakers of the primary language since it now

becomes possible to communicate with the learners at no extra cost. However, the decisions of foreigners about learning the home language may not weigh heavily in decisions to learn foreign languages at home, especially if the decisions are decentralized. In addition, some of the gains of learning depend on the ability to understand what others say and write in their own language. We shall assume that the effect of foreign decisions on current ones at home is negligible.[6]

3. Econometric Specification

We shall test a linear world approximation to equation (1), namely,

$$\alpha_{Jc} = \beta_0 + \beta_1 N_J + \beta_2 N_K + \beta_3 T_{Jc} + \beta_4 I_c + \varepsilon_{Jc} \tag{3}$$

The test requires that the five right-hand side variables be exogenous or independent of α_{Jc}. This exogeneity can reasonably be accepted for linguistic distances and literacy rates;[7] but it cannot be for the rest. In the case of N_J and N_K, the problem is easily repaired. Both variables will be highly correlated with the corresponding ones for native speakers and we shall therefore measure them on the basis of world native-language populations rather than world speakers. The difficulty is far greater for T_{Jc}. We can rest T_{Jc} exclusively on native speakers too by measuring σ_{Jl} accordingly in equation (2) and we will do so. This helps but it cannot suffice since knowing a language promotes trade with native speakers as well as other speakers. We must therefore go further and instrument T_{Jc}. Our choice of instrument is taken from Frankel and Romer (1999), who faced a similar problem to ours. They needed ratios of trade to GDP that were independent of economic growth; we need T_{Jc} values that are independent of language learning. Their solution, now widely accepted with some reservations that do not concern us (as we will shortly explain), was to base trade values strictly on "geographical" characteristics (in their terms) such as national land area, status as landlocked and population size. We will repeat their procedure except for adding an extra step.

First we estimate a bilateral trade equation between countries c and l, as they do, where

$$\begin{aligned} \text{In } (BT_{cl}/GDP_c) = \alpha_0 + \alpha_1 \ln D_{cl} + \alpha_2 \ln P_l + \alpha_3 \log A_l + \alpha_4 \log P_c + \alpha_5 \log A_c \\ + \alpha_6(LL_l + LL_c) + \alpha_7 B_{cl} + \varepsilon_{cl}. \end{aligned} \tag{4}$$

As in equation (2), BT_{cl} is the bilateral trade of country c with country l, D_{cl} is the geographical distance between countries c and l, GDP_c is the gross domestic product of c, P is population, A is land area, LL is a dummy for landlocked countries and B is a dummy for common border between c and l.[8] Next, we obtain the exponential of the estimates (or estimates of BT_{cl}/GDP_c), as they do, which we label $\hat{B}_{cl}$. Following, we sum the ratios $\hat{B}_{cl}$ over the entire set L of c's trade partners. This is as far as Frankel and Romer go, but we go on to calculate a weighted sum of these last ratios with weights depending on the partners' respective ratios of native speakers of language J, namely, σ_{Jl}, and finally we construct the ratio of the weighted to the unweighted sum:

$$\hat{T}_{Jc} = \frac{\sum_{l \in L} \sigma_{Jl} \hat{B}_{cl}}{\sum_{l \in L} \hat{B}_{cl}}. \tag{5}$$

$\hat{T}_{Jc}$ will be our instrument for T_{Jc}. It is evidently an estimate of the share of country c's trade with native speakers of language J. The basic difference from FR is the

addition of native-language weights. However, since learning of language J in country c will not affect native speakers of language J in country l, α_{Jc} cannot affect our instrument any more than economic growth can affect theirs. The main criticism that Frankel and Romer faced is that the impact of their instrument on growth did not necessarily reflect the strict influence of trade (see Rodriguez and Rodrik, 2001; Noguer and Siscart, 2005). But this criticism does not concern us since in our work T_{Jc} is a general control for international interactions between countries in the presence of the other influences on α_{Jc}. Thus, any effects of $\hat{T}_{Jc}$ on α_{Jc} stemming from other influences on learning besides trade in the sense of commerce, such as geographical proximity and common borders, would not bother us. Indeed such effects are expected. The mistake would be to consider the influence of $\hat{T}_{Jc}$ as coming from commerce alone.

We shall therefore estimate equation (3) after instrumenting T_{Jc} by $\hat{T}_{Jc}$ and, as already indicated, after substituting native-language series for σ_{Jl} (just as we do for N_J and N_K). Because N_J and N_J are worldwide values and may go from over a billion (for Chinese) to very small values for a language like Wolof (important in Senegal) or Inuktitut (Greenland), we shall express them in logs.[9] The other variables can be left as they stand. Indeed, α_{Jc}, T_{Jc} and I_c are national shares while distances D_{JK} are normalized from 0 to 1 and every impact on α_{Jc} will be easy to interpret.

Equation (3) recognizes no lagged effects even though learning languages takes time. In this regard, note that we only possess data for language learning (total speakers minus native speakers) for a single date. The data pertains to the net cumulative learning over the entire past approximately in 2005 and we cannot deal properly with the dynamics. We could, of course, have admitted a lag in the influence of T_{Jc}, our one explanatory variable that possibly moves rapidly over time (though less so than it might appear, since T_{Jc} depends on the linguistic structure of national trade rather than the level of national trade while this structure is likely to be more stable than the level).[10] Yet how slow is language learning in practice? People forget languages through disuse and may never have been able to converse in foreign languages they studied in school. Yet a year or two may suffice to learn a language with adequate motivation and occasion to practice. In light of the arbitrariness of any imposed lag structure, we will provide estimates without lags even though we investigated the impact of lags.[11]

Two control variables, which do not enter in equation (4) and therefore in the construction of the instrument for trade, also readily come to mind. One is a dummy variable for ex-political administration or ex-colonization of country c by a foreign country with native language J since 1939. A former member of the Soviet Union is more likely to speak Russian and a former British colony is more likely to speak English. The second control is a dummy variable for Indo-European languages. Among the 13 destination languages in our study, eight are Indo-European, while the other five—Chinese, Arabic, Malay, Japanese and Turkish—all belong to different language families. This may matter for several reasons. Indo-European languages are geographically concentrated in Europe and the Americas and familiarity may therefore make it easier to learn one for those who possess another (the more so if both belong to the same branch of the ethnological language tree, like English, German, Dutch, or French, Italian, Spanish, Portuguese). Learning a third language may also be easier for those who already know a second. Finally, except for Russian, the eight Indo-European languages use the same alphabet. The introduction of linguistic distances may not adequately reflect these factors. It could thus be that an Indo-European dummy would have a positive effect.

4. Data

The necessary data require a table with columns representing our 13 destination languages and rows for our 193 countries. Each cell of the table contains the number of individuals (or their share in source country c) who speak each of the 13 destination languages J. Searching for these numbers can proceed in three ways. In some cases (the EU in particular), we were able to work by row (which of the 13 languages are spoken in, say, Spain). In many other cases, we had to proceed by column (in which countries do people speak Spanish). Most often, we had to combine both approaches, making sure that our figures are consistent.

For most spoken and native languages in Western Europe, we proceeded by row (source countries), using the EU survey *Special Eurobarometer 243* (European Commission, 2006), which covers the current 28 EU members plus Turkey and includes 32 languages, 25 of which are part of N_K. In recording the data we added answers to the two following questions: "What is your maternal language" and "Which languages do you speak well enough in order to be able to have a conversation, excluding your mother tongue (... multiple answers possible)."

For countries other than members of the EU, we completed the table using a wide variety of sources, mostly proceeding by column (destination language):

- For English, we relied mainly on Crystal (2003a, p. 109) for the rest of the world outside of the countries in the EU survey. Because of the rapid ascension of English as a world language in our study period, we suspect the main flaws in our series to be some of the zeros for spoken English (for example, in South Korea).
- For French, we used mainly the "Estimation du nombre de francophones dans le monde" website http://www.axl.cefan.ulaval.ca/francophonie/OIF-francophones-est2005.htm.
- For German, we relied mainly on *Ethnologue* (https://www.ethnologue.com).
- For Spanish, we used an unusually well documented Wikipedia website, with many dozens of references to official sources, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Spanish _language.

For other languages, we relied heavily on web searches, first, by language (columns), next by country (rows) in *Ethnologue*. While this source of information is extensive for native languages (L1 in *Ethnologue*), it is far less so for spoken language by non-natives (L2), where data appear on a selective basis (though the source remains important). Therefore, we made further web searches for L2 for the 13 languages in our study. In particular, in the case of Russian, we exploited a Gallup poll of non-EU members of the ex-USSR from a website titled "Russian language enjoying a boost in Post-Soviet states" (http://www.gallup.com/poll/109228/russian-language-enjoying-boost-postsoviet-states.aspx). Arabic was a particular problem. For lack of a better solution, we made numerous inferences about L2 from literacy rates in Arab-speaking countries. In identifying languages, we assumed Tajik and Persian (Farsi) to be the same language and did the same for Hindi and Hindustani, Afrikaans and Dutch, Macedonian and Bulgarian, Belarusian and Russian, Icelandic and Danish, Turkmen, Azerbaijani and Turkish, as well as Zulu and Xhosa.

In general, our two outstanding sources are the EU survey *Special Eurobarometer 243* and *Ethnologue*.

The dependent variable in our model, α_{Jc}, is the ratio of non-native speakers of language J in country c to the number of inhabitants of country c. The 13 N_J values follow

Table 1. Destination Languages (Millions of Speakers)

Language (1)	*Mother tongue (2)*	*Worldwide speakers (3)*	*Language multiplier (4)=(3)/(2)*
Arabic	244	272	1.11
Chinese	1161	1165	1.00
Dutch	22	37	1.68
English	357	1123	3.15
French	69	260	3.77
German	89	168	1.89
Italian	64	77	1.20
Japanese	126	126	1.00
Malay	22	158	7.18
Portuguese	209	222	1.06
Russian	184	267	1.45
Spanish	401	479	1.19
Turkish	91	102	1.12

directly from the world values of native speakers in levels while the N_K values differ depending on a country's native language or languages. Though worldwide and in principle the same for all countries with the identical home language, the N_K values differ between countries so long as the ratios of the native languages differ even if the languages are the same.[12]

Table 1 provides information about the 13 destination languages. It lists the total number of people who use them as mother tongue in column (2), the number of worldwide speakers in column (3). Column (4) contains the ratio of worldwide speakers to native speakers ("the language multiplier"). Malay, an official language in Malaysia, Singapore and Brunei, has spread throughout Indonesia, where it became a *lingua franca*, and has the largest multiplier. French comes second and is moderately ahead of English. The language is widely spoken in many former French colonies and overseas territories particularly in Africa where native speakers are few. German and Dutch (which is spoken in the Netherlands, Belgium, parts of the Caribbean and a variation of which, Afrikaans, is an official language in South Africa) come next. Japanese, Chinese and Portuguese (mainly spoken in Portugal and Brazil but little elsewhere) close the list.

Our choice of a primary language for each country is important. By defining language K, the choice affects both the learning decisions we drop out and the definitions of the distances D_{JK}. In most cases, this language is obvious and can be identified with the native language of the majority, such as German in Germany. Yet this is not always as easy. For example, in India, Hindi and English are both widely spoken, and we decided to treat both as primary home languages. In all, there are 21 cases of this sort (which will be mentioned below). In another set of 10 cases, always associated with high linguistic diversity, the problem is not so much to choose between two languages but to pick a single one. Invariably, however, one major world language receives official status and we consider this language to be the one whose learning falls outside of our analysis. Seven of these instances concern French (Burkina Faso, Democratic Republic of Congo, Central African Republic, Guinea, Republic of the Congo, Senegal and Togo), two concern English (Northern Mariana Islands and Sierra Leone) and one Portuguese (Guinea Bissau). We could have assumed that no home language exists at all in these cases, but we chose to stick to the principle that in every country

there is at least one particular language, if not two, the acquisition of which dominates the rest for permanent residents who do not already possess it (or one of the two).

A number of different cases can be distinguished.

(1) Countries with a primary language that does not belong to the 13 destination languages provide 13 observations, since their inhabitants can decide to learn any of the 13 languages, though many α_{Jc} will equal zero. The same will be true in four of the 21 cases of countries with two primary languages because neither of them belongs to the destination languages. This is so for Afghanistan (Pashto and Persian), Bhutan (Djonkha and Nepali), Bosnia and Herzegovina (Bosnian and Serbo-Croatian) and Fiji (Hindi and Fijian).
(2) Countries (such as Germany, Saudi Arabia or Russia) whose primary language is one of the destination languages provide 12 observations at most, since their acquisition by residents of these countries is not taken into account.
(3) In nine of the 21 cases with two primary languages such as India, only one of them is relevant and there are still 12 observations. This is so for the Cook Islands (Maori and English), India (Hindi and English), Nauru (Nauruan and English), Niger (Hausa and French), Nigeria (Hausa and English), Niue (Tonga and English), Palau (Palauan and English), the Philippines (Tagalog and English) and South Africa (Zulu and Dutch).
(4) In eight cases with two primary languages, both belong to the 13 destination languages, and there are only 11 observations. These eight cases are: Aruba (Spanish and Dutch), Cameroon (French and English), Chad (Arabic and French), Djibouti (Arabic and French), Mauritius (French and English), Singapore (Chinese and English), Suriname (Dutch and English) and Vanuatu (French and English). Note that we do not regard Belgium, Switzerland or Canada as belonging to these cases despite the regional significance of French as a second national language in all three. However, we will engage in a robustness test on this issue.

The primary language also serves to define the distance D_{JK} between the source and the destination language. The distances come from the Automated Similarity Judgment Program (ASJP), an international project headed by ethnolinguists and ethnostatisticians (see Brown et al., 2008). As of late 2010, when we obtained access, the ASJP had a database covering the lexical aspects (word meanings) of close to 5000 of the world's nearly 7000 languages (Bakker et al., 2009).[13] The ASJP values go from 0 (no distance) to 105 and were normalized to go from 0 to 1. In the case of two primary languages in a country, we weigh the two distances, mostly but not always half and half.[14]

The advantage of this source is that linguistic distances are not restricted to Indo-European languages (as they are in Dyen et al., 1992) and yet were computed by ethnolinguists—based on a tradition that goes back to Swadesh (1952). There is an alternative measure of linguistic distance suggested by Laitin (2000) and Fearon (2003) that has become popular recently and that founds the distances on the *Ethnologue* classification of language trees. However, we prefer our measure in two respects. The Fearon–Laiton measure always supposes maximal distance between languages belonging to different trees. Further, the measure assumes that a distance of 0.5, for example, means the same in the Indo-European group as in the Altaic one. The ASJP measure avoids either assumption.[15]

In Table A1 of the Appendix, we provide the values of spoken and native languages by country (in terms of percentages) in two separate columns.[16] Since in many cases

our choice of primary language depends on official status, the third column provides a selective (incomplete) listing of official languages that helps to interpret our choice. Official languages have no other role in our study. In the fourth column, showing the primary language (or both of them), the number following the language (mostly 1) signals its weight in the linguistic distance D_{JK}. This weight is informative in the 21 cases of two primary languages.

Trade shares T_{Jc} required converting a $c \times c$ matrix of bilateral trade values into a $c \times J$ matrix of country shares of total trade with all native speakers of language J in the rest of the world. To proceed, we multiplied c's bilateral trade with each of its trade partners by the respective percentage of native speakers of language J in the partner country, summed over all partner countries and divided by the total trade of country c (see equation (2)). Bilateral trade series come from the BACI database of CEPII, which corrects for various inconsistencies—see Gaulier and Zignano (2010). GDP and population data come essentially from the *Penn World Tables*, literacy rates from the *CIA World Factbook* and ex-colonial relations from Head et al. (2010). The series for the right-hand side variables in equation (4), such as distance, land area, common border or landlocked countries are taken from Mayer and Zignago (2011). The base year for most data is 2005, though language data cannot be constructed for any single year on a world basis and refers to different years heavily bunched around 2001 and 2008. The same problem exists for literacy rates, a slow-moving variable, which we based on recent data.[17]

Table A2 of the Appendix provides summary statistics for our main variables.

5. Estimation Method

The total number of observations is 2365 (less than 193×13 or 2509 for reasons that follow from the preceding section), though there are only 240 with non-zero left-hand side values α_{Jc}. There are two basic reasons for the predominance of zeros. Each individual learns a small number of languages at best. This can account for many zeros, even at the national level. Second, and probably more important, we only collect values of α_{Jc} that are at least equal to 1% at the national level. It does not appear reasonable to suppose that a single mechanism determines the numerous zeros and the wide array of positive values when learning takes place. Therefore we provide two separate estimates of the basic model. First, we consider the binary choice between learning and not learning for the full sample and estimate the model using probit. In this case, each parameter estimate can be read as the rise or fall in the probability of learning that results from a change in the associated variable of 1%. Next, we consider the percentage of learners conditional on positive learning (240 observations) and apply ordinary least squares (OLS). In this case, the appropriate interpretation of each individual parameter needs no further clarification. In both cases we instrument for trade, therefore using probit with instrumentation in the former and two stage least squares (2SLS) in the latter.[18] However, to allay any lingering doubts about the zeros, we also furnish results of estimates of the basic model based on the treatment of the data as a single sample in Table A3 of the Appendix.

6. Main Estimation Results

Our main results are presented in Table 2. The probit estimates in the first three columns, all based on the full sample, are the marginal effects evaluated at the sample means of the variables. As the first column shows, all five explanatory variables are

highly significant with the expected signs prior to any correction for the endogeneity of trade. The second column gives the first stage of the instumental variable (IV) probit and shows that the instrument for trade is strong. In the third column, we see that once we correct for the endogeneity of trade, all five coefficients notably drop but remain significant. Based on the estimates, the largest effect by far on learning appears to be trade. Specifically, there is a 13% probability that a doubling of trade will result in some learning of the destination language. If we look at the standardized "beta coefficients" instead (Goldberger, 1964, pp. 197–200), the coefficient of trade (0.25) is not higher at all than three of the other four significant ones: the negative ones for world speakers of the native language (−0.28) and linguistic distance (−0.23) and the positive one for literacy (0.36). Yet trade is also more variable than these other three influences, especially linguistic distance, a constant, and the literacy rate, often close to one. Thus, the emphasis on trade remains perhaps right.

Columns (4)–(6), concerning the positive sample, deal with the results conditional on positive learning. The population of native speakers of the home language, trade and linguistic distance remain highly significant (linguistic distance below the 99% level) in the estimate without correction for endogeneity (column (4)), though the world population of speakers of the target language ceases to be significant at conventional levels and literacy becomes totally insignificant. Once again the instrument for trade performs well (column (5)). After correction for endogeneity (column (6)), the significance of all the variables remains the same except that the world population of speakers of the target language now becomes totally insignificant. In addition, the coefficient for trade is substantially higher than before in column (4). A one percentage-point increase in the ratio of trade with native speakers of the destination language would increase learning of the language by 1.4 percentage points, conditional on positive learning. This effect is much stronger than the two other significant ones (and in this case it does not much matter if we look at the standardized "beta" values of the coefficients instead). The negative significant effect of native language on learning is also of some consequence. A 100% increase of speakers of this language would reduce learners of other languages by 2.5%. Thus, in a nation of 50 million native speakers in which there are already learners, this would mean a reduction of 1.25 million learners.

In Table A3 of the Appendix, we also show the results of alternative estimates of our model based on the treatment of the data as a single sample. In this case, we use IV Poisson, IV negative binomial and IV fractional logit. The results are remarkably similar with all three quasi-maximum likelihood estimation methods and they also yield the same signs and significance of the variables as those in our basic two-part model. However, as we underlined earlier, we reject the idea of a single parameter estimate for learning independently of the presence or absence of learners in a sample where 90% of the values are zero. Therefore, we stick to our two-part model for the rest of the work.

There remains the curious fact that the correction for endogeneity reduces the estimate of the influence of trade in the full sample but increases it in the positive sample. The reduction in the full sample is the easier one of these two results to interpret. Suppose, as expected, that learning increases trade with speakers of the destination language rather than the opposite. If so, the one-stage probit estimate is biased upward and, by removing the bias, the correction for endogeneity in the IV probit estimate should yield a lower estimate for trade. In the case of the positive sample, the same reasoning holds but there are two basic differences. First, the number of observations is much smaller and second, the distinctions are finer. On both counts, observation

Table 2. Foreign Language Learning

	Full sample			*Positive sample*		
		IV Probit			*2SLS*	
	Probit	*First stage*	*Second stage*	*OLS*	*First stage*	*Second stage*
	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*
Speakers of acquired languages (log)	0.014***	0.005***	0.002***	0.024*	0.021***	0.006
	(4.348)	(3.287)	(2.701)	(1.841)	(2.778)	(0.286)
Speakers of native languages (log)	−0.015***	−0.001*	−0.003***	−0.024***	0.002	−0.025***
	(−3.992)	(−1.681)	(−4.015)	(−4.412)	(0.581)	(−4.041)
Trade with acquired language countries	0.465***		0.132***	0.788***		1.405***
	(9.243)		(3.193)	(4.688)		(3.040)
Distance between native and acquired language	−0.317***	−0.053***	−0.048***	−0.355**	−0.002	−0.330**
	(−6.966)	(−3.032)	(−5.555)	(−2.197)	(−0.035)	(−2.139)
Literacy rate in learning countries	0.249***	−0.009	0.030***	0.064	−0.125*	0.137
	(5.323)	(−1.249)	(4.029)	(0.570)	(−1.845)	(0.999)
Instrument (FR native-language weighted)		0.585***			0.440***	
		(7.661)			(2.989)	
No. of observations	2365	2365	2365	240	240	240
(Pseudo) R^2	0.234	0.139	–	0.236	0.154	0.150
No. of countries	193	193	193	94	94	94

Notes: Student *t*s in parentheses. These are based on robust standard errors clustered at country level. ***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$. Intercepts are not reported.

errors in the measure of trade may be more important than in the full-sample estimate. These errors tend to bias the estimate of the influence of trade downward rather than upward. Assume that this negative bias trumps the positive one from the reciprocal effect of learning on trade so that the OLS estimate is biased downward. The rest of the reasoning is more special. Suppose, further, that observation errors in the trade variable are particularly important in estimating the effect of learning when learning has a reciprocal positive effect on trade. In other words, the errors in the measure of the trade variable are far more correlated with learning before than after correction for reciprocal effects. In this case, the corrected estimates of the influence of trade would be closer to the truth and higher. This is the fundamental explanation we see for the higher 2SLS than OLS estimate in the positive sample.[19]

7. Robustness Tests

We performed seven basic robustness tests.

The first introduces ex-colonial languages and Indo-European languages as controls. Since the results of adding each control separately hardly matters, we simply show the results of adding both jointly. As seen in Table 3, adding both controls changes little. The basic variables are only modestly affected. Both of the new variables are significant in the full sample and not in the positive sample after correction for endogeneity. It would thus be possible to retain the two, but the baseline model is satisfactory.

The next two robustness checks cope with a couple of data issues. Two of our 13 languages, Chinese and Arabic, are "macrolanguages" in *Ethnologue*'s terms; they bundle native speakers of distinct and often mutually unintelligible dialects. The two represent single languages only by virtue of custom and the tendency of native speakers to identify themselves with the general label. Mandarin serves as the main reference point for Chinese, Standard Arabic for Arabic. Because this can lead to doubts, we performed tests ignoring one or the other or both. Table 4 shows that there is hardly any noticeable change.

The next issue concerns the possibility that our data for spoken English are too low since, as Table 1 shows, they yield a total of around 1.1 billion speakers worldwide, whereas a higher figure of 1.5 billion based on a global approximation by Crystal (2003b, pp. 68–69) circulates widely. This last estimate has been repeated on the prominent website of the British Council. In fact, we predominantly repeat the same figures for individual countries that Crystal provides, which cover only 75 "territories where English has held and continues to hold a special place" (2003b, p. 60), by which, by and large, he evidently means territories that were under the administrative control of English-speaking powers at some time in living memory or else where the language is official or both. Those figures therefore do not include spoken English in places like the Netherlands, Germany and the Scandinavian countries where it is widely known but has never been either the language of the ruling political power or official. Upon close examination, Crystal's large global number of speakers (which he offers in a very circumspect manner) must come from much higher figures than ours in parts of Asia. Kachru (2010, p. 207), whose earlier work Crystal cites, produces a table for "Asia's English-using populations," which contains roughly 200 million more Chinese English speakers than our figure of 11 million and 100 million more (non-native) Indian English speakers than our 200 million (for India, see also Crystal, 2003b, pp. 46–49). Adding these numbers to ours would bring our total for English speakers to 1.4 billion. The rest of Kachru's numbers resemble ours and are sometimes even lower. We added these two figures for India and China in our data. The change for India cannot make any difference, since we regard English-learning in India as domestic learning (and the 100 million added Indian speakers also do not alter

Table 3. Foreign Language Learning with Former Colonial Ties and Indo-European Dummy

	Full sample			*Positive sample*		
		IV Probit			*2SLS*	
	Probit	*First stage*	*Second stage*	*OLS*	*First stage*	*Second stage*
	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*
Speakers of acquired languages	0.017***	0.007***	0.002***	0.026*	0.017**	0.006
(log)	(5.667)	(4.667)	(3.164)	(1.961)	(2.384)	(0.354)
Speakers of native languages	−0.012***	0.000	−0.002***	−0.021***	0.003	−0.024***
(log)	(−3.505)	(0.336)	(−3.050)	(−3.736)	(0.980)	(−3.934)
Trade with acquired language countries	0.270***		0.084**	0.620***		1.327***
	(6.952)		(2.529)	(3.919)		(3.719)
Distance between native and acquired language	−0.233***	0.000	−0.035***	−0.444***	−0.079*	−0.358**
	(−6.500)	(0.010)	(−3.705)	(−2.665)	(−1.722)	(−2.278)
Literacy rate in learning countries	0.243***	−0.004	0.025***	0.185	0.007	0.175
	(5.790)	(−0.693)	(4.248)	(1.354)	(0.140)	(1.296)
Colonial language dummy	0.366***	0.116***	0.025**	0.141***	0.126***	0.050
	(8.140)	(5.522)	(2.003)	(2.665)	(5.951)	(0.748)
Indo-European dummy	0.056***	0.037***	0.006***	0.024	0.086***	−0.019
	(6.641)	(9.434)	(3.608)	(0.691)	(6.101)	(−0.431)
Instrument (FR native-languageweighted)		0.541***			0.531***	
		(7.196)			(3.451)	
No. of observations	2365	2365	2365	240	240	240
(Pseudo) R^2	0.300	0.229	–	0.271	0.352	0.177
No. of countries	193	193	193	94	94	94

Notes: Student *t*s in parentheses. These are based on robust standard errors clustered at country level. ***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$. Intercepts are not reported.

Table 4. Foreign language learning without Chinese and Arabic

	Without Chinese		*Without Arabic*		*Without Chinese & Arabic*	
		IV Probit		*IV Probit*		*IV Probit*
Panel A: Full Sample	*Probit*	*Second stage*	*Probit*	*Second stage*	*Probit*	*Second stage*
Speakers of acquired languages (log)	0.034***	0.004***	0.015***	0.002***	0.038***	0.005***
	(7.065)	(5.104)	(4.569)	(2.979)	(7.484)	(5.251)
Speakers of native languages (log)	−0.016***	−0.003***	−0.016***	−0.003***	−0.016***	−0.002***
	(−3.855)	(−3.829)	(−3.903)	(−4.003)	(−3.741)	(−3.764)
Trade with acquired language countries	0.449***	0.121***	0.471***	0.118***	0.442***	0.108***
	(8.375)	(2.877)	(8.879)	(3.453)	(7.852)	(3.081)
Distance between nat. and acq. language	−0.299***	−0.044***	−0.311***	−0.046***	−0.281***	−0.041***
	(−6.373)	(−4.955)	(−6.724)	(−5.491)	(−5.919)	(−4.680)
Literacy rate in learning countries	0.261***	0.030***	0.268***	0.035***	0.283***	0.034***
	(5.344)	(3.935)	(5.330)	(4.935)	(5.372)	(4.798)
No. of observations	2176	2176	2193	2193	2004	2004
(Pseudo) R^2	0.249	–	0.239	–	0.258	–
No. of countries	193	193	193	193	193	193

Table 4. Continued

	Without Chinese		*Without Arabic*		*Without Chinese & Arabic*	
		2SLS		*2SLS*		*2SLS*
Panel B: Positive Sample	*OLS*	*Second stage*	*OLS*	*Second stage*	*OLS*	*Second stage*
Speakers of acquired languages (log)	0.029**	0.011	0.025*	0.006	0.030**	0.011
	(2.265)	(0.557)	(1.860)	(0.313)	(2.298)	(0.589)
Speakers of native languages (log)	−0.023***	−0.025***	−0.022***	−0.023***	−0.021***	−0.023***
	(−4.358)	(−3.989)	(−4.028)	(−3.724)	(−3.970)	(−3.664)
Trade with acquired language countries	0.790***	1.411***	0.792***	1.379***	0.792***	1.389***
	(4.647)	(3.029)	(4.661)	(3.464)	(4.616)	(3.455)
Distance between nat. and acq. language	−0.340**	−0.314**	−0.350**	−0.327**	−0.334**	−0.310**
	(−2.104)	(−2.041)	(−2.152)	(−2.102)	(−2.055)	(−2.001)
Literacy rate in learning countries	0.064	0.137	0.144	0.229*	0.143	0.229*
	(0.570)	(1.003)	(1.475)	(1.752)	(1.473)	(1.757)
No. of observations	238	238	231	231	229	229
R^2	0.240	0.152	0.239	0.159	0.243	0.160
No. of countries	94	94	93	93	93	93

Notes: Student *t*s in parentheses. These are based on robust standard errors clustered at country level. ***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$. Intercepts are not reported.

Table 5. Foreign Language Learning with Openness

	Full sample			*Positive sample*		
		IV Probit			*2SLS*	
	Probit	*First Stage*	*Second Stage*	*OLS*	*First Stage*	*Second Stage*
	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*
Speaker of acquired languages (log)	0.014*** (4.324)	0.005*** (3.259)	0.002*** (2.614)	0.024* (1.838)	0.021*** (2.752)	0.006 (0.289)
Speaker of native languages (log)	−0.016*** (−4.247)	−0.001* (−1.826)	−0.003*** (−4.256)	−0.024*** (−4.321)	0.002 (0.618)	−0.026*** (−3.914)
Trade with acquired language countries	0.463*** (9.259)		0.133*** (3.160)	0.789*** (4.693)		1.407*** (3.045)
Distance between native and acq. language	−0.317*** (−6.876)	−0.053*** (−3.002)	−0.047*** (−5.459)	−0.355** (−2.192)	−0.002 (−0.036)	−0.330** (−2.137)
Literacy rate in learning countries	0.242*** (5.036)	−0.012* (−1.678)	0.028*** (3.693)	0.066 (0.601)	−0.132* (−1.876)	0.144 (1.058)
Instrument (FR native-language weighted)		0.588*** (7.695)			0.440*** (2.979)	
Openness (log)	0.008 (0.882)	0.004*** (2.750)	0.002 (1.174)	−0.001 (−0.083)	0.005 (0.374)	−0.005 (−0.241)
Observations	2365	2365	2365	240	240	240
(Pseudo) R^2	0.235	0.141	–	0.236	0.155	0.150
No. of countries	193	193	193	94	94	94

Notes: Student *t*s in parentheses. These are based on robust standard errors clustered at country level. ***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$. Intercepts are not reported.

N_J and N_K for the country, as those numbers rest on native speakers). We therefore experimented simply with an added 200 million English speakers in China. There is almost no change in the estimates, which we do not report here.

The next three robustness checks are concerned with more conceptual issues. First, as emphasized, our trade variable focuses on relative trade in different languages. Yet trade could also have an effect on the incentive to learn languages across-the-board. It is not obvious that our trade variable would fail to reflect the common influence in this case, but notwithstanding, we experimented with adding the ratio of trade to output (a measure of openness) as a separate factor. We did so by introducing the variable as such or else also adding the product of the variable and world population of the destination language N_J (always using logs for the product but not necessarily for openness). Table 5 shows the outcome with openness alone (in logs). The coefficient is not significantly different from zero and its presence has virtually no effect on the other coefficients. The result is the same regardless of which variant we use.[20] We therefore conclude that T_{Jc} by itself adequately reflects the influence of trade on language learning.

Second, in our previous estimates, we chose to treat the learning of the native language of some large minorities (for example, French in Belgium and Russian in Latvia) as the learning of a foreign language. These are debatable cases. Suppose instead that we define languages as "primary" if the native-language population represents 20% or more of the total population in a country. Fourteen extra observations now

Table 6. Foreign Language Learning without Large Minority Language

	Full sample			*Positive sample*		
		IV Probit			*2SLS*	
	Probit	*First stage*	*Second stage*	*OLS*	*First stage*	*Second stage*
	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*
Speakers of acquired languages (log)	0.014*** (4.457)	0.004*** (2.792)	0.002*** (3.856)	0.030** (2.208)	0.016** (2.114)	0.024 (1.339)
Speakers of native languages (log)	−0.015*** (−3.998)	−0.001* (−1.673)	−0.002*** (−3.894)	−0.022*** (−3.844)	0.003 (0.767)	−0.022*** (−3.708)
Trade with acquired language countries	0.435*** (9.137)		0.089*** (2.950)	0.773*** (4.391)		0.998** (2.529)
Distance between native and acquired language	−0.307*** (−6.943)	−0.049*** (−2.849)	−0.044*** (−5.501)	−0.389** (−2.308)	0.033 (0.574)	−0.383** (−2.350)
Literacy rate in learning countries	0.236*** (5.118)	−0.011 (−1.561)	0.024*** (3.937)	0.037 (0.313)	−0.153** (−2.310)	0.068 (0.520)
Instrument (FR native-language weighted)		0.640*** (8.337)			0.623*** (4.328)	
No. of observations	2351	2351	2351	228	228	228
(Pseudo) R^2	0.233	0.144	–	0.238	0.196	0.226
No. of countries	193	193	193	90	90	90

Notes: Student *t*s in parentheses. These are based on robust standard errors clustered at country level. ***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$. Intercepts are not reported.

drop out of the analysis (including those for French in Belgium and Russian in Latvia) since the relevant languages become primary ones and we consider their learning to be that of a home rather than a foreign language.[21] As can be verified in Table 6, the loss of these observations has almost no effect except on the trade variable, whose coefficient in both samples drops by nearly a third but remains highly significant.

The third robustness check responds to a diametrically opposite concern to the one motivating the previous check: the possibility that we may be wrong to ignore the domestic learning of the primary language at home by immigrants and minorities, and that the same principles should apply to their learning decisions as well. Including domestic learning (that is, the learning of German by Turkish immigrants in Germany, etc.) increases the number of observations by 137, of which 105 are positive.[22] This represents almost a 50% increase in the number of positive observations (345 instead of 240). There are also 32 extra zeros (besides the additional 105 positive values) for learning in the full sample. These are instances of no learning of our 13 languages despite the fact that they are primary. Results are shown in Table 7. The quality of the estimate drops drastically in the positive sample estimate (the pseudo R^2 goes from 0.15 in Table 2 to 0.03). In addition, trade and literacy both perform more poorly. Trade remains significant in the full sample only below the conventional 95% confidence level and becomes totally insignificant in the positive sample. Literacy also loses significance in the full sample and even acquires an implausible negative sign close to the 90% confidence level in the positive sample.

Table 7. Adding Domestic Language Learning by Immigrants and Minorities

	Full sample				*Positive sample*	
	IV Probit				*2SLS*	
	Probit	*First stage*	*Second stage*	*OLS*	*First stage*	*Second stage*
	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*
Speakers of acquired languages (log)	0.015*** (3.781)	0.007*** (4.517)	0.003*** (2.933)	0.015 (1.119)	0.024*** (3.812)	0.032* (1.861)
Speakers of native languages (log)	−0.022*** (−4.234)	−0.000 (−0.756)	−0.004*** (−5.323)	−0.019*** (−3.299)	0.006* (1.899)	−0.016** (−2.329)
Trade with acquired language countries	0.513*** (7.777)		0.074* (1.853)	0.372*** (3.362)		−0.053 (−0.143)
Distance between native and acq. language	−0.372*** (−12.729)	−0.076*** (−4.964)	−0.057*** (−6.982)	−0.089** (−2.335)	−0.001 (−0.031)	−0.104*** (−2.617)
Literacy rate in learning countries	0.195*** (4.434)	0.003 (0.450)	0.014** (2.087)	−0.143* (−1.898)	0.016 (0.371)	−0.121 (−1.569)
Instrument (FR native-language weighted)		0.538*** (10.079)			0.403*** (5.587)	
No. of observations	2502	2502	2502	345	345	345
(Pseudo) R^2	0.281	0.230	–	0.078	0.215	0.032
No. of countries	193	193	193	158	158	158

Notes: Student *t*s in parentheses. These are based on robust standard errors clustered at country level. ***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$. Intercepts are not reported.

These adverse results are easy to interpret from our perspective. If domestic trade has a high priority over foreign trade in the learning decision of residents who lack the domestic language, it is not surprising that the performance of the trade variable in Table 7 would drop. Further, if learning the language in everyday use is the dominant choice for those who lack it, literacy might well be expected to be less important. We conclude that the additional observations in the table do not properly belong in the analysis and that the decision to learn the primary language of a country by immigrants and other permanent residents is indeed a subject requiring separate analysis: the incentives to learn are different, as we emphasized earlier.

Our last robustness test, Table 8, is a particularly strong one. We add country fixed effects. This admits numerous national peculiarities that could affect learning, for example, the fact that learning Russian was not really a choice for country members of the ex-Soviet Union. Consequently, speakers of native languages and literacy drop out from the start since both variables are country specific. An additional 191 country fixed effects enter. There is a remarkable stability in the results for the remaining three explanatory variables. In fact, these results are superior in one important respect: the positive effect of the world population of target languages emerges as highly significant with a positive sign in the positive-value sample. In addition, the trade effects are now higher while their significance is little affected. If we compare the new results with our baseline in Table 2, a 1 percentage-point increase in the trade share with speakers of a foreign language increases the learning of the language by 2.1 instead of 1.4 percentage points

Table 8. Adding Country Fixed Effects

	Full sample				*Positive sample*	
		IV Probit			*2SLS*	
	Probit	*First stage*	*Second stage*	*OLS*	*First stage*	*Second stage*
	(1)	*(2)*	*(3)*	*(4)*	*(5)*	*(6)*
Speakers of acquired languages (log)	0.023*** (3.708)	0.004** (2.296)	0.002*** (2.730)	0.067*** (3.888)	−0.009 (−1.249)	0.069*** (4.434)
Speakers of native languages (log)	–	–	–	–	–	–
Trade with acquired language countries	1.709*** (7.406)		0.158** (2.564)	1.665*** (4.547)		2.106** (2.479)
Distance between native and acq. language	−0.642*** (−5.894)	−0.132*** (−3.819)	−0.024*** (−2.654)	−0.309 (−1.388)	−0.040 (−0.631)	−0.279 (−1.631)
Literacy rate in learning countries	–	–	–	–	–	–
Instrument (FR native-language weighted)		0.560*** (5.492)			0.354*** (3.554)	
Country FE	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes
No. of observations	1,173	1,173	1,173	240	240	240
(Pseudo) R^2	0.475	0.209	–	0.632	0.746	0.619
No. of countries	94	94	94	94	94	94

Notes: Student *t*s in parentheses. These are based on robust standard errors clustered at country level. ***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$. Intercepts are not reported. We lose observations in the full sample regressions because the dependent variable becomes perfectly predictable in many cases.

(positive sample), and a doubling of the trade share with speakers increases the probability of learning by 16 instead of 13% (full sample).

8. Individual Languages, or Are some Destination Languages Different?

Thus far we have also assumed that the same model holds for all 13 destination languages and that no special attention to individual languages is required. Accordingly, we have applied a common coefficient to the world population of native speakers of the destination language, regardless of the language, via N_J. A possible alternative is to introduce a separate interaction term for each language by multiplying a dummy for the language by N_J, the number of native speakers of the language, or simply, a dummy for each language (thereby ignoring the fact that some destination languages are larger than others). In both cases, the individual coefficients turn out insignificant, either separately or jointly.

To provide more insight, we show instead in Table 9 the means and standard errors (as well as the *t*-statistics) of the residuals of the regressions in columns (3) and (6) of Table 2 for each destination language. This gives an idea of the direction of the residuals and how statistically significant they are. There is nothing to show for Japanese for the positive-value sample since there is no learning of that

Table 9. Residuals of Principal IV Regressions by Language

	Full sample			*Positive sample*		
Language	*Mean*[a]	*Std. dev.*	*t-value*	*Mean*[a]	*Std. dev.*	*t-value*
Arabic	−0.186	0.632	−0.295	0.036	0.218	0.166
Chinese	−0.240	0.445	−0.540	−0.223	0.033	−6.806
Dutch	−0.182	0.351	−0.518	−0.106	0.168	−0.628
English	−0.572	1.475	−0.388	0.078	0.319	0.245
French	0.033	0.805	0.041	0.032	0.176	0.182
German	−0.046	0.647	−0.071	−0.040	0.130	−0.306
Italian	−0.038	0.651	−0.058	−0.070	0.105	−0.668
Japanese[b]	−0.195	0.486	−0.402			
Malay	−0.061	0.260	−0.236	0.288	0.299	0.964
Portuguese[b]	−0.172	0.267	−0.643	−0.228		
Russian	0.083	0.595	0.139	0.034	0.206	0.165
Spanish	−0.184	1.148	−0.160	−0.096	0.099	−0.972
Turkish	−0.109	0.325	−0.336	−0.047	0.065	−0.733

Notes: [a]Estimates of the positive sample are based on Pearson residuals from the Probit regression in Table 2, column (3), and those of the positive sample are based on the IV regression in Table 2, column (6). [b]Portuguese is acquired only in Spain (no standard deviation). Japanese is not acquired.

language in our database. There is also no standard deviation of the residuals in the full sample for Portuguese for which we have only one positive value (learning of Portuguese in Spain).[23]

As Table 9 shows, 11 of the means in the full sample are negative and in 10 cases (omitting Japanese) they fail to capture some positive learning, but none of them is even remotely significantly different from 0. In the positive sample, only the Chinese mean is highly significantly different from 0, but this result applies strictly to Malaysia and Singapore, the only two countries with positive observations for learning of Chinese in our database. The standard deviation is therefore based on only two residuals. Note also that the mean of the residuals for Chinese in the full sample, which takes into account all observations, is almost identical to the one in the restricted sample. Yet the former is totally insignificant because of a much larger standard deviation.

The general impression from Table 9 is that the model performs in a similar way for all languages. One could say that English is the language that performs worst (mean error of −0.57 in the full sample). In addition, the mean error is negative (we under-predict), which can be interpreted to reflect the possibility (outside the confines of the model) that English is a world *lingua franca*, since there is more learning of the language than the model predicts in-sample. However, the standard deviation for this language is also by far the largest and denotes a significant percentage of cases of no learning when the model predicts some. Does the model therefore really under-predict? Furthermore, in the restricted or positive-value sample, the mean error for English is over-predicted and not particularly distinguishable from the rest (six of which are under-predicted, not counting Chinese). This goes against the idea of special status as a *lingua franca*. The result might seem contrary to a lot of independent evidence that English serves as a *lingua franca*, but this impression is contestable since the evidence refers to limited areas

such as air traffic control, scientific writing and international sports. When it comes to trade, the internet and publishing, other work shows that English does not require special treatment.[24] Our results therefore are not unusual. The case of Japanese deserves special mention too since there is no observation with positive learning for this language. Yet its mean residual of 0.2 with a *t*-statistic of 0.4 fits in well with the figures in the rest of the sample (as can be explained by linguistic distance).

9. Closing Discussion

There is considerable interest today in the future linguistic map of the world and particularly about how far English will go. The British Council has funded two important studies that were carried out by Graddol (1997, 2006) and speculation is wide. Crystal (2003b), Kachru (2010), Ostler (2010) and Huntington (1996, ch. 3) are noteworthy contributors to the issue. However, with the exception of Ostler, no effort was made to apply the same intellectual framework to other languages than English and in particular, no effort was made to use econometrics. Here we try to do both.

In our econometric modeling, we consider trade to have a major influence on language learning in addition to the factors in the earlier game-theoretical analysis of Selten and Pool (1991) and Church and King (1993). We also distinguish sharply between learning of foreign languages and the dominant language (or two languages) at home.

Our results, based on world data, support the view that a unified approach to language learning without any attention to particular languages has merit. The panoply of factors encompassed by international trade with a particular language group, including commercial activity as such, has a marked influence. The worldwide size of the native home language also influences learning of foreign languages, though in a negative way: if one's home language is widely spoken in the world, there is less need to learn a foreign language. Linguistic distances have a negative effect on learning. Two other positive influences on learning show up, total world population of speakers of the destination language and literacy, though in both cases the influences are only clear for the decision to learn when there is none, not for additional learning when there is some. Finally, controlling for different languages does not help: once account is taken of our control variables, "all languages are equal." If English is a separate factor as such, we could not find it. In the context of our research, this can be seen as a positive result, since it implies that learning English is subject to the same principles as learning other languages. It may therefore be wrong to try to assess the future of English in isolation, without allowing for similar incentives to learn other major world languages.

What can be said about the future of English? On the basis of our analysis, the evolution of trade will probably have a profound effect but its influence is complex. The effects of trade should be symmetric. Growth in Chinese/English trade should promote the learning of Chinese in native-English countries just as it should promote the learning of English in native-Chinese countries. Whether it will raise the importance of English relative to Chinese in the world will therefore depend heavily on the evolution of the share of trade with English speakers on the Chinese side relative to the evolution of the share of trade with Chinese speakers on the English side. That is what the econometric model suggests.[25] The influence of demographic changes is simpler to analyze. Suppose for example that the Arabic and Spanish-speaking populations grow fast while numbers in the rest of the world remain constant. Then the Arabic and Spanish-speaking populations will wish to learn fewer foreign languages while

speakers of other languages will wish to learn more Arabic and Spanish. Thus, Arabic and Spanish will become relatively more important, as Graddol (2006) foresees. Clearly, the basic demographic assumptions do not favor English.

Appendix

Table A1. The Language Data

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
Afghanistan	Pashto 0.32 Persian (Dari) 0.5 Turkish 0.03 Uzbek 0.09	Pashto 0.32 Persian (Dari) 0.3 Turkish 0.03 Uzbek 0.09	Persian (Dari)	Chaman Pashto 0.5 Persian (Farsi) 0.5
Albania	Albanian 0.95 Greek 0.02	Albanian 0.95 Greek 0.02	Albanian	Albanian Tosk 1
Algeria	Arabic 0.7 French 0.57 Spanish 0.01	Arabic 0.62	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Andorra	English 0.22 French 0.72 Spanish 0.69	French 0.49 Spanish 0.35	French Spanish	French 1
Angola	Portuguese 0.8	Portuguese 0.6	Portuguese	Portuguese 1
Anguilla	English 0.92	English 0.92	English	English 1
Antigua and Barbuda	English 0.8	English 0.78	English	English 1
Argentina	German 0.04 Italian 0.04 Spanish 0.99	German 0.04 Italian 0.04 Spanish 0.96	Spanish	Spanish 1
Armenia	Armenian 1 Russian 0.09 Turkish 0.05	Armenian 1 Russian 0.01 Turkish 0.05	Armenian	Eastern Armenian 1
Aruba	Dutch 0.07 English 0.42 Papiamento 0.58 Spanish 0.75	Dutch 0.07 English 0.09 Papiamento 0.58 Spanish 0.07	Papiamento	Brabantic (Dutch) 0.5 Spanish 0.5
Australia	Arabic 0.01 Chinese 0.03 English 0.97 Greek 0.01 Italian 0.02 Spanish 0.02	Arabic 0.01 Chinese 0.03 English 0.7 Greek 0.01 Italian 0.02	English	English 1
Austria	Arabic 0.01 Croatian 0.02 Czech 0.01	Croatian 0.02	German	Standard German 1

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
	English 0.58 French 0.1 German 1 Hungarian 0.01 Italian 0.08 Russian 0.02 Spanish 0.04	German 0.96 Hungarian 0.01		
Azerbaijan	Armenian 0.02 Russian 0.06 Turkish 0.98	Armenian 0.02 Russian 0.06 Turkish 0.76	Turkish	Turkish 1
Bahamas	English 0.87	English 0.79	English	English 1
Bahrain	Arabic 0.87 Persian (Farsi) 0.06	Arabic 0.55 Persian (Farsi) 0.06	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Bangladesh	Bengali 0.98 English 0.02	Bengali 0.72	Bengali	Bengali 1
Barbados	English 0.99 Portuguese 0.01	English 0.94 Portuguese 0.01	English	English 1
Belarus	Polish 0.04 Russian 0.96	Polish 0.04 Russian 0.96	Russian	Ninilchik Russian 1
Belgium and Luxembourg	Arabic 0.01 Dutch 0.65 English 0.60 French 0.87 German 0.33 Italian 0.05 Polish 0.01 Portuguese 0.08 Spanish 0.06 Turkish 0.01	Arabic 0.01 Dutch 0.51 English 0.01 French 0.35 German 0.01 Italian 0.02 Polish 0.01 Portuguese 0.08 Spanish 0.01 Turkish 0.01	Dutch French German	Brabantic (Dutch) 1
Belize	English 0.82 Spanish 0.43	English 0.63 Spanish 0.36	English	English 1
Benin	Fon 0.17 French 0.26 Hausa 0.1	Fon 0.17 Hausa 0.1	French	French 1
Bermuda	English 0.97 Portuguese 0.04	English 0.97 Portuguese 0.04	English	English 1
Bhutan	Djonkha 0.25 English 0.11 Nepali 0.38	Djonkha 0.25 Nepali 0.38		Djonkha 0.5 Nepali 0.5
Bolivia	Quechua 0.36 Spanish 0.88	Quechua 0.36 Spanish 0.42	Spanish	Spanish 1
Bosnia and Herzegovina	Bosnian 0.48 English 0.45 Russian 0.04 Serbian 0.36	Bosnian 0.48 Serbian 0.36	Bosnian Serbian Croatian	Bosnian 0.57 Serbocroatian 0.43
Brazil	German 0.01 Italian 0.02 Portuguese 1	Italian 0.02 Portuguese 0.99	Portuguese	Portuguese 1

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
	Serbian 0.01	Serbian 0.01		
	Spanish 0.06			
British Virgin Islands	English 1	English 1	English	English 1
Brunei	English 0.38	English 0.03	Malay	Malay 1
	Malay 0.91	Malay 0.91		
	Spanish 0.02			
Bulgaria	Bulgarian 1	Bulgarian 0.84	Bulgarian	Bulgarian 1
	English 0.23			
	French 0.09			
	German 0.12			
	Italian 0.01			
	Russian 0.35			
	Spanish 0.02			
	Turkish 0.1	Turkish 0.08		
Burkina Faso	French 0.05		French	French 1
	Moore 0.36	Moore 0.36		
Burundi	French 0.08		French	Kinyarwanda (Rundi) 1
	Rundi 1	Rundi 1		
Cambodia	Khmer 1	Khmer 1	Khmer	Khmer 1
Cameroon	English 0.42		English	English 0.5
	Fang 0.05	Fang 0.05	French	French 0.5
	French 0.45			
	Fufulde 0.3	Fufulde 0.3		
Canada	English 0.85	English 0.53	English	English 1
	French 0.35	French 0.23	French	
	German 0.02			
	Italian 0.02	Italian 0.02		
	Portuguese 0.02	Portuguese 0.02		
	Spanish 0.03	Spanish 0.03		
Cape Verde	Portuguese 0.77	Portuguese 0.77	Portuguese	Portuguese 1
Cayman Islands	English 0.98	English 0.43	English	English 1
	Spanish 0.05	Spanish 0.05		
Central African Republic	French 0.23		French	French 1
	Gbaya 0.23	Gbaya 0.23		
Chad	Arabic 0.26	Arabic 0.09	Arabic	Standard Arabic 0.5
Chad	French 0.2		French	French 0.5
Chile	Spanish 0.99	Spanish 0.89	Spanish	Spanish 1
China	Chinese 0.88	Chinese 0.88	Chinese	Mandarin (Chinese) 1
	English 0.01			
Colombia	Spanish 0.99	Spanish 0.99	Spanish	Spanish 1
Comoros	Arabic 0.57		Arabic	Swahili Mwani (Comorian) 1
	Comorian 1	Comorian 1	French	
	French 0.47			
Cook Islands	English 0.2	English 0.05	English	English 0.5
	Maori 0.52	Maori 0.52	Maori	Maori 0.5
Costa Rica	Spanish 0.99	Spanish 0.96	Spanish	Spanish 1

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
Croatia	Croatian 0.99 Czech 0.01 English 0.49 French 0.04 German 0.34 Hungarian 0.01 Italian 0.14 Russian 0.04 Serbian 0.01 Spanish 0.02	Croatian 0.99 Hungarian 0.01 Serbian 0.01 	Croatian	Croatian 1
Cuba	Spanish 0.99	Spanish 0.99	Spanish	Spanish 1
Cyprus	Arabic 0.01 English 0.76 French 0.12 German 0.05 Greek 0.79 Italian 0.04 Russian 0.02 Spanish 0.02 Swedish 0.01 Turkish 0.2	 Greek 0.79 Turkish 0.2	Greek	Greek 1
Czech Republic	Czech 0.98 English 0.24 French 0.01 German 0.28 Hungarian 0.01 Italian 0.01 Polish 0.03 Russian 0.2	Czech 0.98 Hungarian 0.01 	Czech	Czech 1
Democratic Republic of the Congo	French 0.4 Lingala 0.12 Swahili 0.17	 Lingala 0.12 Swahili 0.13	French	French 1
Denmark	Danish 1 English 0.86 French 0.12 German 0.58 Italian 0.01 Russian 0.01 Spanish 0.05 Swedish 0.11	Danish 0.97 	Danish	Danish 1
Djibouti	Arabic 0.68 Dutch 0.01 French 0.2 Somali 0.37	Arabic 0.09 Somali 0.37	Arabic French	Standard Arabic 0.77 French 0.23
Dominica	Dominican Creole French 0.63 English 0.94 French 0.09	Dominican Creole French 0.63 English 0.04 	English	French 1

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
Dominican Republic	Spanish 1	Spanish 0.99	Spanish	Spanish 1
Ecuador	Quechua 0.12 Spanish 0.98	Quechua 0.12 Spanish 0.93	Spanish	Spanish 1
Egypt	Arabic 0.99 Greek 0.01	Arabic 0.95 Greek 0.01	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
El Salvador	Spanish 1	Spanish 1	Spanish	Spanish 1
Eritrea	Arabic 0.59 Tigrinya 0.56	Arabic 0.05 Tigrinya 0.56	Tygrinya	Tigrinya 1
Estonia	English 0.46 Estonian 0.83 Finnish 0.2 French 0.01 German 0.22 Russian 0.83 Swedish 0.01	 Estonian 0.83 Russian 0.17 	Estonian	Estonian 0.83 Ninilchik Russian 0.17
Falkland Isl0.	English 0.96	English 0.63	English	English 1
Fiji	English 0.21 Fijian 0.46 Hindi 0.46	English 0.01 Fijian 0.46 Hindi 0.46	English	English 0.5 Hindi 0.5
Finland	English 0.63 Finnish 0.99 French 0.03 German 0.18 Italian 0.01 Russian 0.02 Spanish 0.02 Swedish 0.46	 Finnish 0.94 Swedish 0.05	Finnish	Finnish 1
France	Arabic 0.02 English 0.36 French 0.99 German 0.08 Italian 0.07 Spanish 0.13	Arabic 0.01 French 0.93 Italian 0.02 Spanish 0.01	French	French 1
Gabon	Fang 0.32 French 0.8	Fang 0.32 French 0.03	French	French 1
Gambia	English 0.02 Fufulde 0.17 Mandinka 0.32	 Fufulde 0.17 Mandinka 0.32	English	English 1
Georgia	Armenian 0.1 Georgian 0.9 Russian 0.09 Turkish 0.08	Armenian 0.1 Georgian 0.9 Russian 0.02 Turkish 0.08	Georgian	Georgian 1
Germany	Arabic 0.01 English 0.56 French 0.15 German 0.99 Italian 0.03 Polish 0.02	Arabic 0.01 German 0.9 Polish 0.01	German	Standard German 1

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
	Russian 0.11	Russian 0.04		
	Serbian 0.01	Serbian 0.01		
	Spanish 0.04			
	Turkish 0.02	Turkish 0.02		
Ghana	Akan 0.37	Akan 0.37	English	English 1
	Dutch 0.01			
	English 0.06			
Gibraltar	English 0.96	English 0.93	English	English 1
	Spanish 0.5	Spanish 0.26		
Greece	English 0.48		Greek	Greek 1
	French 0.08			
	German 0.09			
	Greek 0.99	Greek 0.99		
	Italian 0.04			
	Russian 0.03			
	Spanish 0.01			
Greenland	Danish 0.6	Danish 0.14	Inuktitut	Inuktitut 1
	Inuktitut 0.86	Inuktitut 0.86		
Grenada	English 0.91	English 0.91	English	English 1
Guatemala	Spanish 0.86	Spanish 0.65	Spanish	Spanish 1
Guinea	French 0.62		French	French 1
	Fufulde 0.28	Fufulde 0.28		
Guinea-Bissau	Crioulou 0.3	Crioulou 0.3	Portuguese	Portuguese 1
	Portuguese 0.14			
Guyana	English 0.91	English 0.87	English	English 1
	Hindi 0.45	Hindi 0.45		
Haiti	French 0.8	French 0.08	French	French 1
	Haitian Creole 0.87	Haitian Creole 0.87		
Honduras	Spanish 0.99	Spanish 0.97	Spanish	Spanish 1
Hong Kong	Chinese 0.95	Chinese 0.95	Chinese	Mandarin (Chinese) 1
	English 0.36	English 0.03	English	
Hungary	Croatian 0.01	Croatian 0.01	Hungarian	Csango (Hungarian) 1
	English 0.23			
	German 0.25			
	Hungarian 1	Hungarian 1		
	Italian 0.02			
	Russian 0.08			
	Spanish 0.01			
Iceland	Danish 1	Danish 1	Danish	Danish 1
	English 0.89			
India	Bengali 0.08	Bengali 0.08	English	English 0.33
	English 0.23			Hindi 0.67
	Hindi 0.46	Hindi 0.46		
	Tamil 0.06	Tamil 0.06		
	Urdu 0.05	Urdu 0.05		
Indonesia	Javanese 0.43	Javanese 0.43	Javanese	Javanese 1
	Malay 0.58	Malay 0.04		
Iran	Arabic 0.02	Arabic 0.02	Persian (Farsi)	

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
	Persian (Farsi) 0.65 Turkish 0.27	Persian (Farsi) 0.5 Turkish 0.2		Persian (Farsi) 1
Iraq	Arabic 0.64 Persian (Farsi) 0.01	Arabic 0.64 Persian (Farsi) 0.01	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Ireland	English 0.98 French 0.2 German 0.07 Italian 0.01 Polish 0.01 Russian 0.01 Spanish 0.03	English 0.93	English	English 1
Israel	Arabic 0.21 English 0.5 Hebrew 0.72 Russian 0.1 Spanish 0.03	Arabic 0.21 English 0.01 Hebrew 0.72 Russian 0.1 Spanish 0.02	Hebrew	Hebrew 1
Italy	Arabic 0.02 English 0.29 French 0.14 German 0.05 Italian 0.96 Spanish 0.04	Arabic 0.01 Italian 0.95	Italian	Italian 1
Ivory Coast	Baoule 0.12 French 0.7 Senoufo 0.1 Spanish 0.01	Baoule 0.12 Senoufo 0.1	French	French 1
Jamaica	English 0.98	English 0.96	English	English 1
Japan	English 0.12 Japanese 0.99	Japanese 0.99	Japanese	Japanese Kyoto 1
Jordan	Arabic 0.98	Arabic 0.98	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Kazakhstan	German 0.06 Kazakh 0.58 Russian 0.95 Ukrainian 0.06 Uzbek 0.02	German 0.01 Kazakh 0.58 Russian 0.41 Ukrainian 0.06 Uzbek 0.02	Kazhak	Kazakh 1
Kenya	English 0.07 Swahili 0.78	Swahili 0.78	Swahili	Swahili Chirazi 1
Kiribati	English 0.24 Kiribati 1	Kiribati 1	Kiribati	Kiribati 1
Kuwait	Arabic 0.98	Arabic 0.98	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Kyrgyzstan	German 0.02 Kyrgyz 0.73 Russian 0.95 Ukrainian 0.02 Uzbek 0.14	Kyrgyz 0.73 Russian 0.27 Ukrainian 0.02 Uzbek 0.14	Kyrgyz	Kyrgyz 1

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
Laos	French 0.01 Lao 1	Lao 1	Lao	Lu (Lao) 1
Latvia	English 0.39 French 0.01 German 0.19 Latvian 0.74 Polish 0.02 Russian 0.96 Swedish 0.01	Latvian 0.74 Russian 0.26	Latvian	Latvian 1
Lebanon	Arabic 0.98 English 0.25 French 0.65	Arabic 0.93	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Liberia	English 0.83	English 0.16	English	English 1
Libya	Arabic 0.98	Arabic 0.9	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Lithuania	English 0.32 French 0.02 German 0.14 Lithuanian 0.84 Polish 0.2 Russian 0.87 Spanish 0.01	Lithuanian 0.84 Polish 0.05 Russian 0.07	Lithuanian	Lithuanian 1
Macedonia	Albanian 0.25 Bulgarian 0.67 Serbian 0.01 Turkish 0.04	Albanian 0.25 Bulgarian 0.67 Serbian 0.01 Turkish 0.04	Bulgarian	Bulgarian 1
Madagascar	French 0.2 Magalasy 0.8	Magalasy 0.8	French	French 1
Malawi	English 0.04 Nyanja 0.54	English 0.02 Nyanja 0.54	Nyanja	Lega (Nyanja) 1
Malaysia	Chinese 0.26 English 0.33 Javanese 0.01 Malay 0.89 Tamil 0.05	Chinese 0.19 English 0.02 Javanese 0.01 Malay 0.38 Tamil 0.05	Malay	Malay 1
Mali	French 0.16 Fufulde 0.11	Fufulde 0.11	French	French 1
Malta	Arabic 0.02 English 0.88 French 0.17 German 0.03 Hungarian 0.03 Italian 0.66 Maltese 0.72 Spanish 0.02	Hungarian 0.03 Italian 0.28 Maltese 0.72	Maltese	Maltese 1
Marshall Islands	English 0.98	English 0.98	English	English 1
Mauritania	Arabic 0.93 Fufulde 0.06 Fulfulde 0.64	Arabic 0.93 Fufulde 0.06 Fulfulde 0.64	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
Mauritius	English 0.16 French 0.73 Mauritius Creole 0.64 Tamil 0.02 Urdu 0.05	French 0.04 Mauritius Creole 0.64 Tamil 0.02 Urdu 0.05	English French	English 0.18 French 0.82
Mexico	English 0.05 Spanish 0.99	Spanish 0.92	Spanish	Spanish 1
Micronesia	Chuukese 0.42 English 0.58	Chuukese 0.42 English 0.04	English	English 1
Moldova	Bulgarian 0.1 Romanian 0.76 Russian 0.23 Ukrainian 0.05	Bulgarian 0.1 Romanian 0.76 Russian 0.11 Ukrainian 0.05	Romanian	Romanian 1
Montserrat	English 1	English 1	English	English 1
Morocco	Arabic 0.75 French 0.33 Spanish 0.22	Arabic 0.75	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Mozambique	Makhuwa 0.17 Portuguese 0.4	Makhuwa 0.17 Portuguese 0.07	Portuguese	Portuguese 1
Nauru	English 0.97 German 0.02 Nauruan 0.6	English 0.08 German 0.02 Nauruan 0.6	English	English 0.5 Nauruan 0.5
Nepal	Nepali 0.57	Nepali 0.57	Nepali	Nepali 1
Netherlands	Dutch 1 English 0.87 French 0.29 German 0.7 Italian 0.01 Spanish 0.05	Dutch 0.96	Dutch	Brabantic (Dutch) 1
Netherlands Antilles	Dutch 0.07 English 0.01 Papiamento 0.96 Portuguese 0.01 Spanish 0.56	Dutch 0.07 Papiamento 0.96 Portuguese 0.01 Spanish 0.05	Papiamento	Brabantic (Dutch) 1
New Caledonia	French 0.97	French 0.23	French	French 1
New Zealand	Dutch 0.01 English 0.98 Spanish 0.01	Dutch 0.01 English 0.98 Spanish 0.01	English	English 1
Nicaragua	Spanish 0.97	Spanish 0.87	Spanish	Spanish 1
Niger	Arabic 0.29 French 0.09 Fufulde 0.08 Hausa 0.5	Fufulde 0.08 Hausa 0.5	French	Standard Arabic 0.5 Hausa 0.5
Nigeria	English 0.53 Hausa 0.46	English 0.03 Hausa 0.46	English	English 0.5 Hausa 0.5
Niue	English 0.74 Tonga 1	English 0.04 Tonga 1	English Tonga	English 0.5 Nkoya (Tonga) 0.5

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
Northern Mariana Islands	Chamorro 0.18 Chinese 0.23 English 0.83	Chamorro 0.18 Chinese 0.23 English 0.06	English	English 1
Norway	English 0.89 Norwegian 1 Spanish 0.01 Swedish 0.46	 Norwegian 1 Swedish 0.06	Norwegian	Norwegian Bokmaal 1
Oman	Arabic 0.81 Persian (Farsi) 0.01	Arabic 0.5 Persian (Farsi) 0.01	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Pakistan	English 0.1 Panjabi 0.48 Pashto 0.12 Urdu 0.07	 Panjabi 0.48 Pashto 0.12 Urdu 0.07	Urdu English	Agra Gujari (Panjabi) 1
Palau	Chinese 0.06 English 0.93 Palauan 0.74	Chinese 0.06 English 0.05 Palauan 0.74	English	English 0.5 Palauan 0.5
Panama	Spanish 0.93	Spanish 0.77	Spanish	Spanish 1
Papua New Guinea	English 0.5 Tok Pisin 0.25	English 0.02 Tok Pisin 0.25	English	English 1
Paraguay	Guarani 0.8 Portuguese 0.07 Spanish 0.7	Guarani 0.8 Portuguese 0.07 Spanish 0.06	Spanish	Guarani 1
Peru	Quechua 0.17 Spanish 0.87	Quechua 0.17 Spanish 0.8	Spanish	Spanish 1
Philippines	English 0.55 Spanish 0.03 Tagalog 0.55	English 0.04 Tagalog 0.55	English Tagalog	English 0.5 Tagalog 0.5
Poland	Czech 0.01 English 0.29 French 0.03 German 0.19 Italian 0.01 Polish 0.98 Russian 0.26 Spanish 0.01	 Polish 0.98	Polish	Polish 1
Portugal	English 0.32 French 0.24 German 0.03 Italian 0.01 Portuguese 1 Spanish 0.09	 Portuguese 1	Portuguese	Portuguese 1
Qatar	Arabic 0.89 Persian (Farsi) 0.09	Arabic 0.84 Persian (Farsi) 0.09	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Republic of the Congo	French 0.6 Lingala 0.12	French 0.01 Lingala 0.12	French	French 1
Romania	English 0.29 French 0.24		Romanian	Romanian 1

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
	German 0.06			
	Hungarian 0.08	Hungarian 0.08		
	Italian 0.04			
	Romanian 0.92	Romanian 0.92		
	Russian 0.04			
	Spanish 0.03			
Russia	English 0.05		Russian	Ninilchik Russian 1
	German 0.01			
	Russian 1	Russian 1		
Rwanda	French 0.09		Rundi	Kinyarwanda (Rundi) 1
	Rundi 1	Rundi 1		
Saint Helena	English 0.82	English 0.82	English	English 1
Saint Kitts and Nevis	English 0.78	English 0.78	English	English 1
Saint Lucia	English 0.43	English 0.19	English	French 1
	French 0.98	French 0.98		
Saint Pierre and Miquelon	English 0.03	English 0.03	French	French 1
	French 1	French 1		
Saint Vincent and the Grenadines	English 0.95	English 0.95	English	English 1
Sao Tome and Principe	French 0.65		Portuguese	Portuguese 1
	Portuguese 0.95	Portuguese 0.5		
Saudi Arabia	Arabic 0.89	Arabic 0.89	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Senegal	French 0.31	Fufulde 0.23	French	French 1
	Fufulde 0.23			
	Spanish 0.01			
	Wolof 0.33	Wolof 0.33		
Seychelles	English 0.38	English 0.05	English	French 1
	French 0.92	French 0.92	French	
Sierra Leone	English 0.84	English 0.08	English	English 1
	Mende 0.26	Mende 0.26		
Singapore	Chinese 0.74	Chinese 0.44	Chinese	Mandarin (Chinese) 0.76
	English 0.71	English 0.14	English	English 0.24
	Malay 0.1			
	Tamil 0.03	Tamil 0.03		
Slovakia	Czech 0.26	Czech 0.01	Slovak	Slovak 1
	English 0.32			
	French 0.02	French 0.02		
	German 0.32			
	Hungarian 0.16	Hungarian 0.11		
	Italian 0.01			
	Polish 0.04			
	Russian 0.3	Russian 0.01		
	Slovak 0.84	Slovak 0.84		
	Spanish 0.01			
Slovenia	Croatian 0.62	Croatian 0.62	Slovenian	Slovenian 1
	English 0.57			
	Finnish 0.03	Finnish 0.02		

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
	French 0.04			
	German 0.5			
	Hungarian 0.01	Hungarian 0.01		
	Italian 0.15			
	Polish 0.01			
	Russian 0.02			
	Slovenian 0.91	Slovenian 0.91		
	Spanish 0.02			
Solomon Islands	English 0.32		English	English 1
	Kwara'ae 0.07	Kwara'ae 0.07		
Somalia	Somali 0.85	Somali 0.85	Somali	Somali 1
	Swahili 0.02	Swahili 0.02		
South Africa	Dutch 0.4	Dutch 0.13	Dutch	Brabantic
	English 0.29	English 0.08	English	(Dutch) 0.26
	Hindi 0.01	Hindi 0.01		Zulu 0.74
	Portuguese 0.02	Portuguese 0.02		
	Zulu 0.37	Zulu 0.37		
South Korea	Korean 1	Korean 1	Korean	Korean 1
Spain	English 0.27		Spanish	Spanish 1
	French 0.12			
	German 0.02			
	Italian 0.03	Italian 0.01		
	Portuguese 0.01			
	Russian 0.01			
	Spanish 0.99	Spanish 0.89		
	Turkish 0.01			
Sri Lanka	English 0.1		Sinhala	Sinhala 1
	Sinhala 0.74	Sinhala 0.74		
	Tamil 0.18	Tamil 0.18		
Sudan	Arabic 0.61	Arabic 0.41	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Suriname	Dutch 0.84	Dutch 0.6	Dutch	Brabantic
	English 0.87	English 0.55		(Dutch) 0.52
	Hindi 0.37	Hindi 0.37		English 0.48
	Javanese 0.15	Javanese 0.15		
Sweden	Arabic 0.01	Arabic 0.01	Swedish	Swedish 1
	Danish 0.07	Danish 0.01		
	English 0.89			
	French 0.11			
	German 0.3			
	Italian 0.02			
	Russian 0.01			
	Spanish 0.06	Spanish 0.01		
	Swedish 0.99	Swedish 0.95		
Switzerland	English 0.61	English 0.01	German	Standard German 1
	French 0.48	French 0.2	French	
	German 0.73	German 0.64		
	Italian 0.07	Italian 0.07		
	Spanish 0.02	Spanish 0.02		

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
Syria	Arabic 0.92	Arabic 0.92	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Taiwan	Chinese 0.98	Chinese 0.98	Chinese	Mandarin (Chinese)1
Tajikistan	Persian (Farsi) 0.8 Russian 0.5 Uzbek 0.17	Persian (Farsi) 0.8 Russian 0.03 Uzbek 0.17	Persian (Farsi)	Persian (Farsi) 1
Tanzania	Arabic 0.1 English 0.1 Swahili 0.93	Arabic 0.01 Swahili 0.93	Swahili	Swahili Chirazi 1
Thailand	Chinese 0.01 English 0.1 Malay 0.04 Thai 0.75	Malay 0.04 Thai 0.75	Thai	Thai 1
Togo	Ewe 0.14 French 0.33	Ewe 0.14	French	French 1
Tonga	English 0.3 Tonga 1	Tonga 1	Tonga English	Nkoya (Tonga) 1
Trinidad and Tobago	English 0.88 Hindi 0.01	English 0.88 Hindi 0.01	English	English 1
Tunisia	Arabic 0.99 French 0.64	Arabic 0.99	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Turkey	Arabic 0.03 English 0.17 French 0.01 German 0.04 Russian 0.01 Turkish 0.99	Arabic 0.01 Turkish 0.93	Turkish	Turkish 1
Turkmenistan	Russian 0.12 Turkish 0.72	Russian 0.07 Turkish 0.72	Turkish	Turkish 1
Turks and Caicos Islands	English 1	English 1	English	English 1
Tuvalu	Tuvaluan 1	Tuvaluan 1	Tuvaluan	Tuvaluan 1
Uganda	English 0.08 Ganda 0.14	Ganda 0.14	English	English 1
Ukraine	Polish 0.02 Russian 0.83 Ukrainian 0.67	Polish 0.02 Russian 0.29 Ukrainian 0.67	Ukrainian	Ukrainian 1
United Arab Emirates	Arabic 0.78	Arabic 0.77	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
United Kingdom	English 0.99 French 0.23 German 0.09 Italian 0.02 Russian 0.01 Spanish 0.08	English 0.92	English	English 1
United States of America	English 0.96 French 0.01	English 0.82	English	English 1

Table A1. Continued

Country	*Spoken*	*Native*	*Official*[1]	*Primary*
	German 0.03			
	Spanish 0.16	Spanish 0.15		
Uruguay	Portuguese 0.01	Portuguese 0.01	Spanish	Spanish 1
	Spanish 0.99	Spanish 0.97		
Uzbekistan	Persian (Farsi) 0.05	Persian (Farsi) 0.05	Uzbek	Uzbek 1
	Russian 0.51	Russian 0.14		
	Uzbek 0.74	Uzbek 0.74		
Vanuatu	English 0.84	English 0.28	English	English 0.64
	French 0.45	French 0.03	French	French 0.36
Venezuela	Portuguese 0.02	Portuguese 0.02	Spanish	Spanish 1
	Spanish 0.99	Spanish 0.97		
Vietnam	French 0.01		Vietnamese	Vietnamese 1
	Vietnamese 0.86	Vietnamese 0.86		
Yemen	Arabic 0.95	Arabic 0.95	Arabic	Standard Arabic 1
Zambia	Bemba 0.3	Bemba 0.3	English	English 1
	English 0.16			
Zimbabwe	English 0.42	English 0.02	English	Xhosa 1
	Xhosa 0.82	Xhosa 0.82	Xhosa	

Note 1: Official languages play no direct role in this study but occasionally serve in the choice of primary language inthe last column. See the general note below.

General note: The column for spoken language (SL) is comprehensive and the native language one (NL) addsall of the corresponding data for native language except for leaving blanks instead of zeros. Since we frequentlyconsulted official languages in choosing the primary language or both of them, the next column is there to helpinterpret this choice. Official languages have no other role in our study. The designations of primary language(PL) in the last column are those furnished by Dik Bakker of the ASJP project in response to a list we submitted.This explains why there is sometimes more precision in these designations than in the earlier columns. In somecases, the language Bakker proposed was a very close alternative to the one on our list and wherever anyambiguity resulted, we indicate in parentheses the names of the languages for which we asked. As regardsDominica, where the French-based Creole language we requested was not in the ASJP databank, we chose to useFrench instead in constructing PL. We did the same for Haiti and Mauritius, and therefore, for these twocountries as well, a local French-based Creole shows up as a native language rather than French in the NLcolumn whereas French appears instead in the PL column. Aruba and the Netherlands Antilles are similarinstances concerning Dutch. In both cases, we used Dutch rather than Papiamento (a related Creole) in the PLcolumn. In a few cases we drew no distinction whatever between languages. As mentioned in the text, thosecases are Tajik and Persian (Farsi); Hindi and Hindustani; Afrikaans and Dutch; Icelandic and Danish;Macedonian and Bulgarian; Turkmen, Azerbaijani and Turkish; Belarusian and Russian; and Zulu and Xhosa."

Table A2. Summary Statistics

	Dimension	*Mean*	*Standard deviation*
Full Sample (2365 observations)			
Foreign language learning	[0,1]	0.02	0.09
Speakers of acquired languages	Log	18.67	1.09
Speakers of native languages	Log	18.55	2.20
Trade with acquired language	[0,1]	0.05	0.09
Distance between native and acq. language	[0,1]	0.88	0.10
Literacy rate in learning countries	[0,1]	0.84	0.20
Colonial language dummy	(0,1)	0.02	0.16
Indo-European dummy	(0,1)	0.61	0.49
Openness	Log	−1.18	0.84
Positive Sample (240 observations)			
Foreign language learning	[0,1]	0.19	0.23
Speakers of acquired languages	Log	18.94	0.80
Speakers of native languages	Log	17.28	2.04
Trade with acquired language	[0,1]	0.13	0.11
Distance between native and acq. language	[0,1]	0.84	0.11
Literacy rate in learning countries	[0,1]	0.93	0.12
Colonial language dummy	(0,1)	0.15	0.36
Indo-European dummy	(0,1)	0.93	0.25
Openness	Log	−1.04	0.69

Table A3. Alternative One-part or Single-equation Estimates (Marginal Effects)

	IV Poisson	*IV negative binomial*	*IV fractional logit model*
Speaker of acquired languages (log)	0.0025***	0.0023***	0.0021***
	(3.955)	(3.901)	(3.503)
Speaker of native languages (log)	−0.0020***	−0.0020***	−0.0021***
	(−5.749)	(−5.765)	(−5.707)
Trade with acquired language countries	0.0865***	0.0893***	0.0979***
	(5.809)	(5.868)	(5.402)
Distance between native and acquired language	−0.0396***	−0.0382***	−0.0382***
	(−6.475)	(−6.439)	(−6.107)
Literacy rate in learning countries	0.0285***	0.0267***	0.0255***
	(2.882)	(2.852)	(2.784)
Observations	2365	2365	2365

Notes: In the above table, we present three alternative single-equation estimates of our basic model: IV Poisson, IV negative binomial and IV fractional logit. IV Poisson is subject to the problem of overdispersion. Negative binomial corrects for it. IV fractional logit also makes sense since the dependent variable is restricted to the unit interval [0, 1]. We tried Tobit as well. But the disturbances in the equation for the latent dependent variable fail all tests of normality and do so roundly. Therefore we do not present this last estimate. All three estimates in the table are quasi maximum likelihood ones. We report the marginal effects at the means. Student *t*s in parentheses. These are based on robust standard errors clustered at country level. ***$p < 0.01$; **$p < 0.05$; *$p < 0.1$. Intercepts are not reported. It is clear that all three estimates closely resemble one another and that the signs and significance of the influences correspond to those in Table 2. The numerical values are also fairly close to those in the full sample estimate of the two-part model in Table 2, but we reject the idea of uniform behavior regardless of zero or positive learning.

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Notes

1. For survey evidence of the interest of exporting and multinational firms in acquiring foreign language skills, see The British Chambers of Commerce (2003−2004), Feely and Winslow (2005) and Hagen et al. (2006). See also Ginsburgh and Prieto (2011).
2. See Frankel (1997), Anderson and van Wincoop (2004), Melitz (2008) and Egger and Toubal (2016), among others.
3. Indeed, the only econometric study thus far of the learning of foreign languages in a cross-section of countries, to our knowledge, is a paper by Ginsburgh et al. (2007) concerning the learning of English, French, German and Spanish in the EU. Apart from the narrower focus of this study than ours, it ignores trade.
4. Research on the benefits of such learning by immigrants and minorities goes back far and is sizeable. See the collected essays in Chiswick and Miller (2007) and the contributions of many others (Bratsberg et al., 2002; Dustmann and Van Soest, 2001, 2002; Fry and Lowell, 2003; Grin, 1999; Vaillancourt, 1996). More recently, there is also notable econometric work on the benefits of learning a particular regional language, such as Catalan in Catalonia (Rendon, 2007), and there is notable such work on regional and national differences in the benefits of learning a national language in a linguistically diverse country, such as English in India (see Shastry, 2012; Azam et al., 2013).
5. This is strictly true, of course, only on our present assumption of 100% Spanish speakers in both countries.
6. This is in no way to deny that political conflicts and issues of coordination about languages are of first order importance within countries and within international political organizations. See Laitin (1994) and Pool (1991, 1996) and also Ginsburgh and Weber (2011).
7. It could be argued that literacy may be partly determined jointly with learning language J since literacy in J-speaking countries could attract immigrants who might subsequently become literate along with learning the home language. However, this route of a joint determination is irrelevant here since we leave out the learning of the language of residence (thus the learning of the home language by immigrants).
8. In fact, Frankel and Romer (1999) add interaction terms for common border with each of the other six variables on the right. We have used them too, though we do not display them above. The interaction terms are unimportant, as they were in Frankel and Romer (and Irwin and Tervio (2002) found the same in applying Frankel and Romer's test to earlier twentieth-century cross-sections).
9. It would make no difference if we took logs of the ratios of N_J and N_K to world population: the estimates would be the same.
10. The simple correlation between T_{Jc} in 2005 and earlier years is 0.86 for 1990, 0.72 for 1980 and 0.68 for 1970. It is still 0.53 for 1950.

11. We experimented with lagged average values of T_{Jc} for the decades of 1990, 1980, 1970, 1960 and 1950, while instrumenting with these values for T_{Jc} and got similar results. As we go back further in time, the number of countries drops progressively. By 1950, this number is down to 127 (from 193 in 2005) in the full sample and to 59 (from 94 in 2005) in the positive sample. It might also seem that lagging T_{Jc} or else using the lagged values of T_{Jc} as instruments would have helped to handle the problem of simultaneity, but this would be a mistake. The lagged values still depend on language learning in the past, for which we have no separate data and that, as shown in the previous footnote, is highly correlated with T_{Jc} in 2005.
12. Quite specifically, N_K is the sum of the world values of the country's native languages multiplied by the respective percentages of the native speakers of these languages within the country. Take a simple example of a country with 60% native speakers of language A and 40% native speakers of language B. For this country, N_K will be equal worldwide native speakers of language A times 0.6 plus worldwide native speakers of language B times 0.4. In total, 106 different languages enter in the determination of N_K over the 193 countries. Note 16 contains further detail.
13. See also http://wwwstaff.eva.mpg.de/~wichmann/ASJPHomePage.htm
14. For example, for India, we weigh Hindi 0.67 and English 0.33.
15. Notwithstanding, we experimented with the Fearon–Laitin measure of D_{JK} as well as the ASJP one (as Melitz and Toubal (2014) had in a study of bilateral trade). The results are similar (as they were in their case). For a detailed discussion of the merits of the ASJP measure, as well as another example of its use, see Isphording and Otten (2014).
16. The percentage values for native languages usually add up to less than one, sometimes much less, as any attempt to avoid this would have meant adding hundreds, if not thousands, more languages in the analysis. Sums less than one also lead to lower N_K figures (since these are the world values of the native languages in the list weighted by the national percentages). However, the omitted contributions to N_K are generally small, all the more so after applying the national weights (because the languages themselves are small or because the weights are small or both), and therefore the effects on N_K are not important. N_K is never zero since we always include the largest language in a country.
17. We were unable to retrieve population and/or output data for 2005 in a small number of cases (Anguilla, British Virgin Islands, the Falklands) and so used data for years close to 2005 based on web searches.
18. In similar situations, researchers sometimes propose a third estimate concerning the probability of positive learning based on the combination of the two estimates (see Wooldridge (2002, pp. 536–38, 2003, p. 573), and for a relevant Stata command and associated discussion, Belotti et al. (2015)). However, in all of the examples (which sometimes refer to "two-part models"), there is no endogeneity in the explanatory variables and therefore no need for instrumentation. The missing third estimate does not strike us as a fundamental absence.
19. Compare this analysis with that of Frankel and Romer (1999) who faced the similar problem of explaining why the estimates of the impact of trade on growth were higher once they corrected for the reciprocal effect of growth on trade. An alternative possibility they entertain is an accident of sampling, but in a study of earlier historical samples, Irwin and Tervio (2002) show that this possibility is unlikely.
20. There is indeed evidence that the trade variable partly reflects the effect of openness since openness has a very significant positive coefficient in the first stage of the IV probit estimate for the full sample.
21. The 14 observations are Russian in Kazakhstan (41% native), Spanish in Belize (36%), French in Belgium (35%), Spanish in Andorra (35%), Russian in Ukraine (29%), Italian in Malta (28%), Russian in Kyrgyzstan (27%), Russian in Latvia (26%), Spanish in Gibraltar (26%), French in Canada (23%), Arabic in Israel (21%), French in Switzerland (20%), Turkish in Iran (20%) and Turkish in Cyprus (20%). In the positive-sample estimates, we lose only 12 observations since there is no learning of Arabic in Israel (despite the 21% of native speakers) or Turkish in Cyprus (despite the 20% of native speakers).
22. Why are there not 144 more observations, which would bring the total up to exactly 13 times 193 or 2509? The reason is that there are seven cases where learning is impossible because we

recorded 100% for native language: British Virgin Islands (English), El Salvador (Spanish), Montserrat (English), Portugal (Portuguese), Russia (Russian), Saint Pierre et Miquelon (French) and Turks and Caicos Islands (English).

23. The other positive values for Portuguese in our sample are for countries where the language is a primary one and therefore fall out of our analysis.

24. For trade, see Melitz and Toubal (2014); for the internet and publishing, see Melitz (2015). As regards translation (a branch of publishing), see Ginsburgh et al. (2011). On a different note, it might also seem, especially in light of the results for the full sample, that if we introduce a dummy for English alone, it would emerge as significant, but there is nothing special about English in this regard. Most of the languages emerge as significant in one test or the other (full sample or positive sample) when we introduce the languages alone, just as English does. We consider all such tests dubious and the right ones to be the sort to which we refer in the text and that we attempted, which admit as many different languages as possible simultaneously.

25. Of course, a spurt of teaching of English in school is well under way in China whereas the teaching of Chinese in English-speaking countries remains meager today. It would indeed be helpful to introduce school curricula in foreign languages in our model (with the appropriate lag) if it could be done (if the data was widely enough available). However, as emphasized earlier, it is not a foregone conclusion that major revision would follow: instruction in a foreign language as a child need not mean ability to converse in the language in adult life. The factors present in the model *may* still be the critical ones.