

English language acquisition and educational attainment at the end of secondary school

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There has been relatively little empirical research on the impact of stage of fluency in English of bilingual pupils. However, this issue is increasingly important given growth in the bilingual school population in England of over one-third between 1997 and 2004 to around 10% of the school population. This study evaluates the relationship between stage of English fluency and performance in public examinations at age 16 for all pupils within an inner London local education authority. Two methodological approaches are used to study the associations. The first looks at the context and the trend data for the case-study local authority (LEA) in terms of languages spoken and the performance of bilingual pupils in schools. This is followed by a detailed statistical regression analysis to isolate the unique association between level of fluency in English and pupils' performance at age 16, after controlling for the effect of a range of other pupil and school background factors. The results confirm a strong relationship between stage of fluency in English and educational attainment, with the performance of bilingual pupils increasing as measured stage of fluency in English increases. Pupils in the early stages of fluency perform at very low levels, while bilingual pupils who are fully fluent in English perform better, on average, than English-only speakers. However, the latter results are not due to bilingualism *per se* since the difference is no longer statistically significant after controlling for other measured pupil background variables. All EAL (English as an Additional Language) pupils make better than expected progress over the two years between age 14 and age 16. The final section questions the appropriateness of the Qualification and Curriculum Authority's (QCA) approach to the assessment of bilingual pupils, which contrasts with the local authority's good practice. Based on the findings of this study, we argue that there is a need to develop a national assessment strategy that better meets the needs of bilingual learners. The policy implications for national and local government and for school improvement practitioners are reviewed.

Keywords: *Attainment; English language acquisition; English as an Additional Language (EAL); Ethnic Minority Achievement Grant (EMAG); Bilingual education and the GCSE*

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Introduction

Over the past decade, there has been much discussion and research into factors affecting the performance of schools. Recent studies in the UK have focused on the relationship between factors such as gender, ethnicity, pupil mobility, parental occupation and entitlement to free school meals and educational achievement (Nuttall, 1990; Sammons, 1995; Kendall & Hewitt, 1998; Strand, 1999; Demie, 2001; Demie *et al.*, 2002). However, despite the potential importance of stage of fluency in English as a factor influencing performance, relatively few studies have examined the relationship between fluency in English and educational attainment. A review of the literature in this area suggests that the acquisition of fluency in English by bilingual pupils and the associations with educational attainment are, as yet, a relatively under-researched field in the UK, but one of great importance to education (Strand & Demie, 2005).

However, there is a wealth of research on this topic from other countries, particularly North America. For example, Cummins (1991, 1992; Cummins & Nakajima, 1987) carried out pioneering research into how long it takes to acquire a second language and bilingualism. He argued that the speed of acquisition of the English language varies, and it takes up to two years to acquire fluency in 'superficial' spoken English and up to seven years to acquire academic English or full fluency. This finding is now recognized by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED), and its recent school inspection guidelines suggest that:

It takes on average five to seven years to become fully competent in a second [language], although [it] will vary in the spread with which they acquire this competence. Fluency in spoken English is usually achieved within two years, but the ability to read and understand more complex texts containing unfamiliar cultural references and to write the academic English needed for success in examinations takes much longer. (OFSTED, 2001, p. 5)

Collier (1987, 1989, 1992, 1995) has also carried out research over a long period which supports Cummins's findings and confirms that a longer period of time may be needed to acquire the academic English necessary to fully access the National Curriculum. Both Cummins's and Collier's research findings are strikingly similar, suggesting that it takes five to seven years for bilingual pupils to become fully competent in a second language and to catch up with their native peers.

Other UK researchers (e.g. Cameron 1996; Cameron & Besser, 2004) have looked at the use of language in secondary classrooms and found that there is a need for continuing support for the development of EAL pupils' language skills during key stage 3 (KS3) and key stage 4 (KS4). For example, Cameron's (2003) research into the writing of bilingual pupils at KS4 suggests that EAL pupils may be underachieving in English. There is now substantial evidence in the UK and elsewhere that EAL development and the learning trajectory of EAL learners, even for those who have been living in the UK for 10 years or more, is different from that of monolingual English speakers. This should be reflected in the way in which

we assess EAL pupils in the UK (NALDIC, 1999; [Cameron, 2003](#)). Franson *et al.* (2002, p.3) have argued that: 'EAL pedagogy needs to take account of the varied purposes for which learners need to use English, for both academic and social needs, the time it takes for learners to gain fluency and proficiency in spoken and written language, whilst at the same time recognising the need for pupils to learn the curriculum content'. There is a need for more research on the way we assess EAL pupils and on the relationship between stages of English fluency and attainment to improve our knowledge of bilingual pupils and how they might be supported in the classroom.

Several UK studies have reported simple associations between stage of English fluency and attainment in national tests and examinations. Typically, these show that pupils who are learning English achieve lower than expected levels at the end of primary and secondary education ([Sammons, 1995](#); Kendall & Hewitt, 1998; London Borough of Tower Hamlets, 1998; Ewens, 1999; [Strand, 1999](#); Hayes *et al.*, 2001; Demie *et al.*, 2003). However, bilingual pupils who are fully fluent in English achieve higher results than their monolingual peers. This indicates that stage of English fluency is a good predictor of differential educational attainment among EAL pupils. One recent study has gone further and also looked at the relationship between stage of fluency in English and national end-of-KS2 tests while simultaneously controlling for a wide range of other pupil and school background factors ([Strand & Demie, 2005](#)). Their study suggests that:

Stage of fluency in English is significantly related to age 11 test scores, with a systematic increase in KS2 test score as stage of fluency increases. The association between the early stages of fluency and KS2 test scores remains significant after adjustment for a wide range of other pupil background factors including age, sex, mobility, free school meals and stages of educational need. (Strand & Demie, 2005, p. 286)

The above study focused on primary schools; no similar large-scale research has been completed in secondary schools. There is thus a need for a large study of the relative impact of a wide range of pupil and school variables, including EAL status and stage of fluency in English, as well as other demographic data, on pupils' educational attainment at age 16. Such a study will have important implications for the development of educational strategies for raising achievement in secondary schools and for removing language barriers to allow EAL pupils to access the National Curriculum.

Background

The context of the case-study LEA

The case-study LEA is one of the most ethnically and linguistically diverse boroughs in the UK. The 2004 language census recorded details of 28,812 pupils' ethnic and language backgrounds. Of these, African pupils formed the largest ethnic group with 23.2%, followed by Caribbean 22.1%, white British 19.3%, mixed race 9.6%, other white 5.9% and Portuguese 4.9%. Overall, 66% of pupils in LEA schools belonged

to black and other ethnic minority communities in 1991 compared to 81% in 2004 (see Demie *et al.*, 2002; Demie, 2002, 2005).

Across the authority many languages are spoken, reflecting the different cultures, experiences and identities of the members of the community. The authority's language survey reveals that over 145 languages were spoken at home by 11,873 pupils. At least 42 languages had more than 20 speakers in the LEA's schools (see Appendix 1). What is immediately evident from the language survey is the considerable rise in the numbers of speakers of African languages such as Yoruba, Twi, Somali, Ga and Tigrinya. Also strongly apparent is the general increase in numbers of speakers of European languages, particularly Portuguese, French and Spanish (see Demie *et al.*, 2005, for further analysis).

Definition of English as an Additional Language (EAL) and the term bilingual

In this study, the term English as an Additional Language (EAL) is used to describe the learning of English in addition to the learner's first language. There have been many attempts to define bilingualism, but the one used in this study is the working definition adopted by the case-study inner London LEA since the 1990s:

In England the term bilingual is currently used to refer to pupils who live in two languages, who have access to, or need to use, two or more languages at home and at school. It does not mean that they have fluency in both languages or that they are competent and literate in both languages. (Hall, 1996, p.10)

The data and methodological approach

The data and analytical techniques

The sample consisted of all pupils in the 10 secondary schools in the local authority who completed public examinations at the age of 16 in 2004. The LEA also collected information on whether the pupils spoke English as an additional language, their ethnic background, language spoken and stage of fluency in English, date of birth, stage of special educational need (SEN), mobility, prior attainment data and entitlement to free school meals (FSM), a commonly used measure of family economic disadvantage (see Demie *et al.*, 2005 for details). Schools were free to organize the completion of the survey in any way they wished. In most cases, forms were completed by class teachers from information supplied to them by parents. Additional guidance was also provided by teachers employed on the English Language Support and Ethnic Minority Achievement (EMAG) projects where additional language(s) were spoken by pupils.

The analytical method used in this report is multivariate multiple regression analysis. Three statistical models are applied to explore the associations between level of fluency in English and educational attainment, each allowing a progressive refinement of the question of the relationship between stage of English acquisition and educational attainment. The first 'base model' enters only the level of fluency in English as an explanatory factor and shows the simple association between stage of English

acquisition and attainment. The second model is a contextual model and includes all the other pupil background data mentioned above so as to assess the unique association between English language fluency and attainment. This is followed by a third ‘value-added’ model, which also adds the results of prior attainment in national tests at age 14 in order to examine the association between English fluency stage and pupil progress between KS3 and KS4 (for details of the models used see Strand & Demie, 2004).

Measures for assessing stage of English fluency for EAL pupils

Approaches to the assessment of EAL pupils in the UK differ enormously as there is no nationally agreed competency scale for EAL assessment, and there are many local variations: ‘While some LEAs use a four-stage system, others use five stages or the NASSEA (Northern Association of Support Services for Equality and Achievement) system’ (South, 2003, p.34). OFSTED (2001) also pointed out that different local education authorities use different competency measures to describe progress in EAL pupils’ learning, ranging from four-point scales to 13-point scales. It is now recognized that: ‘While each ... may be effective in its own right, the many different systems in use around the country make it hard to monitor the progress of pupils nationally’ (QCA, 2000, p.7).

The measure of stage of fluency used in the case-study LEA is a four-point scale and is largely derived from the work of Hilary Hester (1993) and colleagues at the Centre for Language in Primary Education (CLPE) in the 1980s (Hester *et al.*, 1988). The four stages range from beginner to fully fluent:

- *Stage 1: New to English*—bilingual English learners who might be able to engage in classroom learning activities using their own mother tongue, but need support to operate in English.
- *Stage 2: Becoming familiar with English*—bilingual English learners who can engage in all learning activities but whose spoken and/or written English clearly shows that English is not their first language. Their oral English is well developed but their literacy development in English is such that they need considerable support to operate successfully in written activities in the classroom.
- *Stage 3: Becoming confident as user of English*—bilingual pupils whose oral and written English is progressing well and who can engage successfully in both oral and written activities, but need further support for a variety of possible reasons—for example, pupils who are achieving considerable success in subjects such as mathematics and science but much less in others such as English or in humanities, which are more dependent upon a greater command of English.
- *Stage 4: Fully fluent in English*—bilingual pupils whose use of English and engagement with the curriculum are considered successful and who do not require additional language support.

These scales are widely used in LEAs across London and in other urban areas ‘as a diagnostic tool to analyse needs for future teaching and ... to provide baseline

information for statistical purposes’ (Hall, 1996, p.31). The approach is sensitive to the specific English language needs of EAL learners and attempts to answer questions that are critical in bilingual assessment debates such as: ‘What are the principles of language acquisition? What is the relationship between first and second language skills? How long does it take to acquire English proficiency and what do we mean by that?’ (Hall, 1996, p.6). In general, this is a popular system with local schools and has been used in the LEA since 1988.

The stage of fluency in English scales are not without problems. In general, EAL specialists are responsible for the assessment, but in some cases classroom teachers have been used and their experience may be more variable; importantly, we know of no published data on the reliability of the scales. Research in another London LEA concluded that ‘teachers who are making these assessments are not necessarily equally accurate in their applications of the four stage criteria’ (Hayes *et al.*, 2001). However, there is a moderation procedure within the LEA designed to promote consistent and accurate assessment judgements across schools. Ideally, this would cover a 25% sample of the authority’s schools and use school improvement advisers and EMAG specialists to ensure the consistency and accuracy of the assessment. In practice, the moderation process has been more limited, particularly in the primary sector, due to lack of resources (Demie *et al.*, 2003, 2005). However, our experience suggests that, with good training, EAL specialists and classroom teachers can minimize the margin of error and produce useful and valid assessment information.

Stages of English acquisition and educational attainment

The distribution of stage of English fluency and the performance of bilingual pupils

Table 1 shows that approximately 39% of the 1372 pupils in the KS4 cohort are recorded as having English as an additional language (EAL). Of the 2004 cohort, about 1% are at stage 1 of English acquisition, followed by 4% at stage 2, 13% at stage 3 and 21% at stage 4; 62% are monolingual English speakers. About 18% of pupils are at stages 1–3 and are developing fluency in English. However, this average conceals a wide variation between individual schools, from 0% to 37%, as shown in Figure 1.

Table 1. EAL distribution and GCSE attainment, by stage of fluency in English: 2004

Level of fluency in English	% attaining 5 or more GCSE passes at grades A*–C	Number of pupils at each stage	Percentage of pupils at each stage
Bilingual stage 1	0	17	1.2
Bilingual stage 2	17	48	3.5
Bilingual stage 3	41	181	13.2
Bilingual stage 4	62	294	21.4
English only	44	842	61.4
All pupils	48	1372	100.0

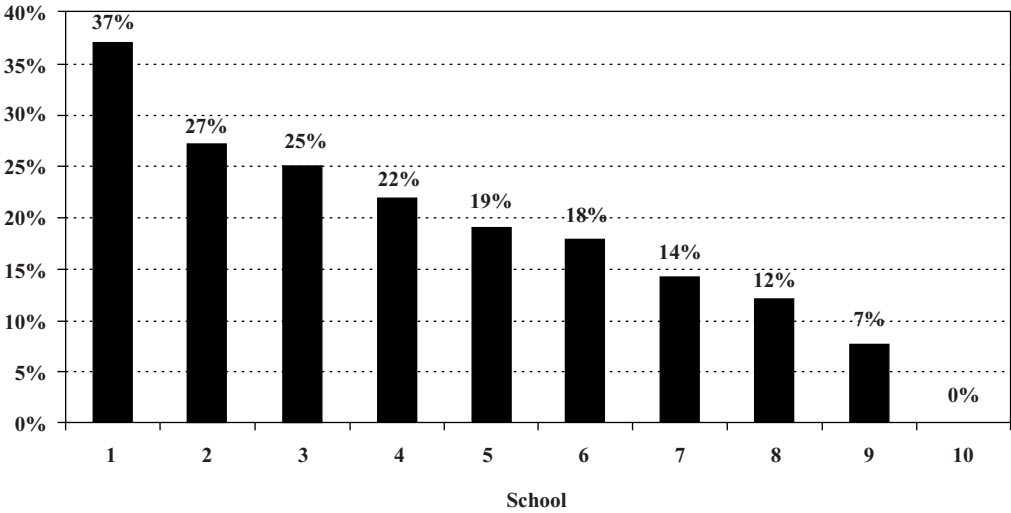


Figure 1. Percentage of pupils not fluent in English (stages 1–3) in secondary schools

Table 1 shows GCSE performance according to stage of fluency in English. Fluency in English has a strong association with performance. Overall the results show that the percentage of pupils attaining 5 or more higher-grade (A*–C) passes at GCSE or equivalent increased as stage of proficiency in English increased. The results also show that the attainment of bilingual pupils who were fully fluent in English significantly outstripped that of pupils for whom English was their only

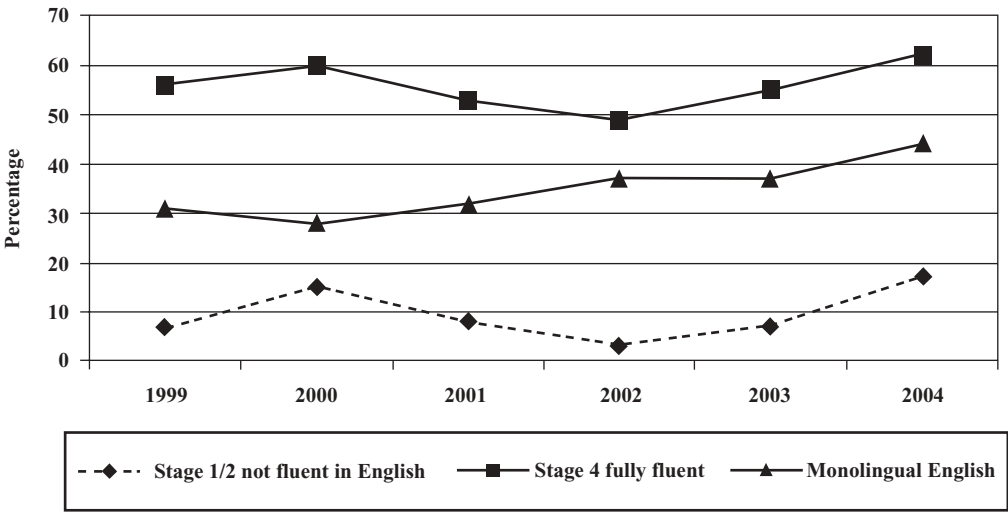


Figure 2. GCSE achievement trends, by stages of English fluency: 1999–2004.

language; Figure 2 shows the results from 2004 and over the previous six years. We can see this result as no temporary blip in the data, but a consistent feature in every year.

Association between stage of fluency in English and attainment at GCSE (base model)

We now turn to the detailed statistical analysis. Table 2 and Figure 3 show the simple association between stage of English fluency and performance, with the outcomes expressed as normal scores (mean of zero and standard deviation of 1). Data for beginners are unreliable as there are only eight cases. However, there are 45 pupils for stages 1 and 2 combined, around 4% of the population, giving robust estimates. Stages 1 and 2 have a strong negative association with attainment of around -1 SD. Stage 3 has a negative association (around -0.2 SD) with attainment in GCSE English and science, but not with maths or the average points score. This reflects the relatively low language demands of maths relative to the other subjects. It may also be that the GCSE average points score (APS) is less affected because bilingual pupils do not enter for subjects with high language demands, skewing the base on which the APS is calculated. Their performance may also be boosted by community language GCSEs. Fully fluent (stage 4) bilingual pupils have a positive boost to their attainment, around 0.2 SD. Overall, the results show a strong association between stage of fluency and GCSE examination results.

Table 2. Raw mean scores (normalized) for GCSE, by stage of English fluency

		GCSE average point score	English	Maths	Science
Monolingual English	Mean	-0.01	0.10	0.00	0.04
	<i>n</i>	742	742	742	742
	SD	0.96	0.92	0.93	0.89
Beginner	Mean	-1.27	-1.30	-0.90	-1.15
	<i>n</i>	8	8	8	8
	SD	0.62	0.45	0.90	0.30
Considerable support	Mean	-0.78	-1.20	-0.89	-0.88
	<i>n</i>	37	37	37	37
	SD	0.80	0.59	0.77	0.52
Some support	Mean	0.02	-0.22	0.00	-0.22
	<i>n</i>	153	153	153	153
	SD	0.87	0.75	0.83	0.83
Fully fluent	Mean	0.22	0.13	0.20	0.27
	<i>n</i>	284	284	284	284
	SD	1.03	0.99	1.00	0.98
Total	Mean	0.02	0.02	0.02	0.03
	<i>n</i>	1224	1224	1224	1224
	SD	0.98	0.94	0.95	0.92

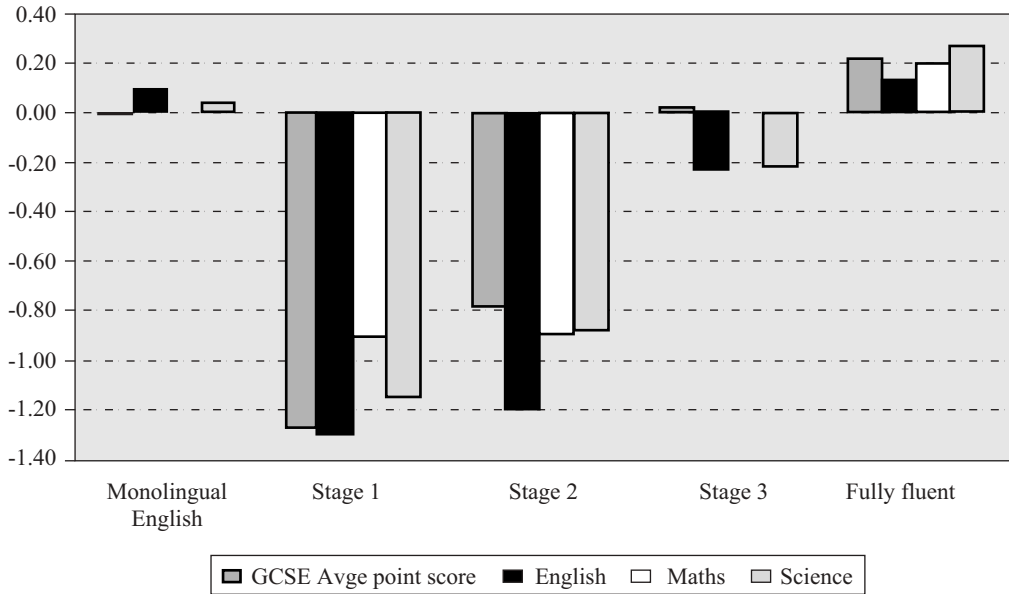


Figure 3. Raw mean scores (normalized) for GCSE, by stage of English fluency

The unique association between stage of fluency and GCSE attainment (context model)

This model considers the effect of stage of English fluency while simultaneously controlling for other pupil background variables, including:

- Sex (boy or girl).
- Age.
- Entitlement to a free school meal (FSM).
- Ethnic group: English/Scottish/Welsh (ESW), African, Caribbean, Chinese, Indian, Pakistani, Vietnamese, Portuguese, other black, other white.
- Stage of special educational need (SEN); from 1 (in-school identification) through to 5 (has a statement of SEN).
- Stage of fluency in English for pupils with English as an Additional Language (EAL): 1 (complete beginner), 2 (consider support), 3 (some support), 4 (fully fluent in English) and 0 (monolingual English speakers).
- Mobility: 0 (the same school, whole of KS4) and 1 (changed school during key stage).
- Interactions between the above factors.
- School composition factors, such as the proportion of pupils entitled to FSM, etc.

Figure 4 shows the impact of each factor on the GCSE average points score. We see that fluency stages 1 and 2 continue to have a large and negative association ($p < 0.001$), stage 3 has a small but significant negative association ($p < 0.05$) and stage 4 has a small positive association with GCSE attainment, but this is no longer

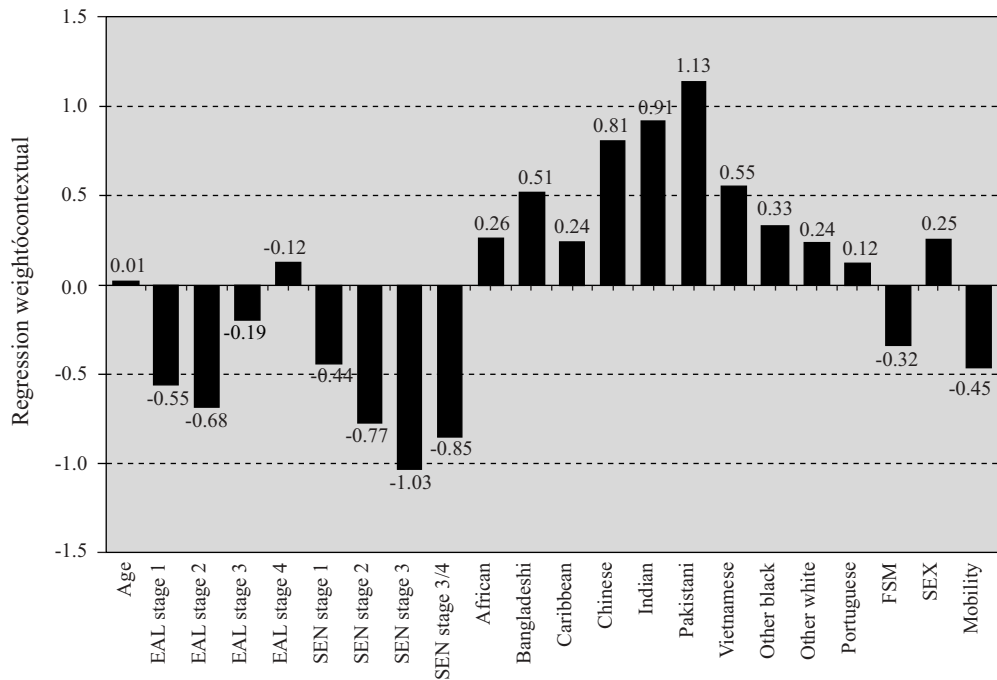


Figure 4. GCSE average performance score: contextualized model

statistically significant. The factors with the largest negative association are SEN, but stages of fluency 1 and 2 have only slightly less impact. What really stands out in the figure is the positive results for all of the ethnic groups. In the case-study LEA the lowest achieving ethnic group is ESW, and when contrasted against ESW, all other groups are performing at a higher level.

The unique effect of stage of fluency in English on progress during KS4 (value-added model)

This model considers all the factors included in the contextual model, but in addition includes the pupils' average KS3 point score at age 14, and the school mean KS3 point score, to determine the impact of stage of English fluency on pupil progress during KS4. These results are presented in Figure 5 for GCSE average point scores. Results indicates that, given their relatively low KS3 test scores, EAL pupils generally make significantly more than expected progress. The results for stage 1 are not significant because of the small sample size, but are highly significant for all other stages ($p < 0.001$). While the progress results appear positive, this is for the minority of EAL pupils who have a prior KS3 result. It excludes those pupils who have entered the school during KS4 from abroad and do not have a prior KS3 test score. So it is important to remember that, in terms of absolute level of attainment, pupils at the early stages are still well behind their monolingual peers, as shown in Figure 3.

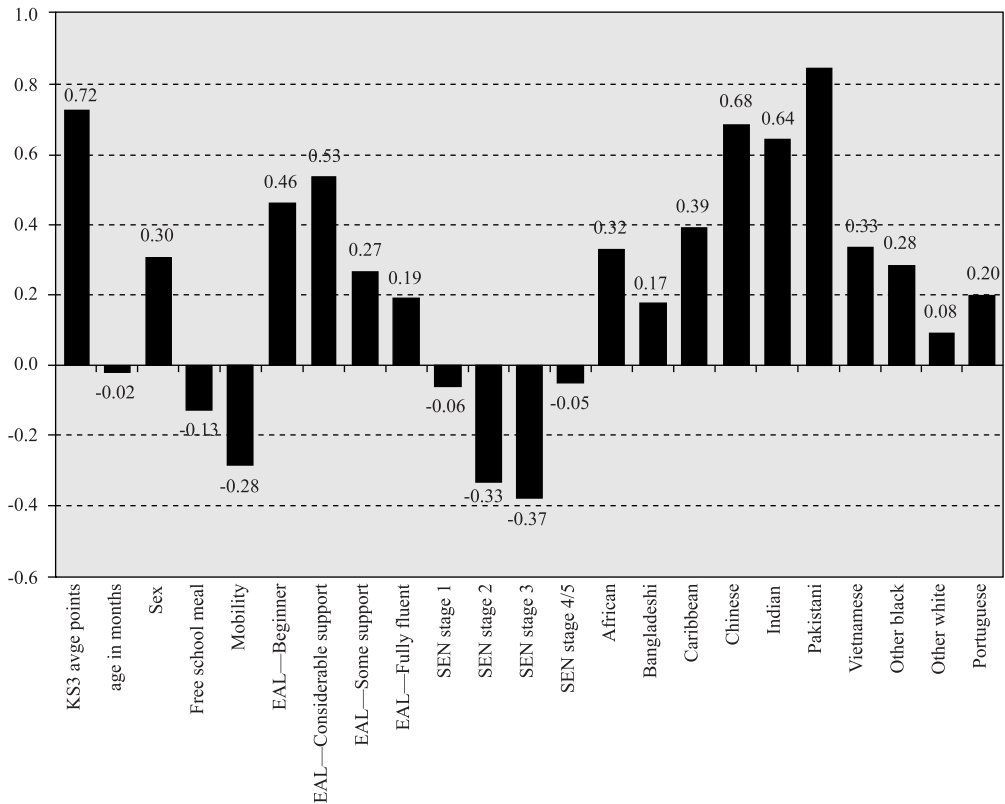


Figure 5. Value-added model of GCSE average point scores

Discussion

The results confirm a strong association between pupils' stages of fluency in English and their educational attainment at the end of secondary school. Pupils in the early stages of fluency perform at very low levels, while bilingual pupils assessed as fully fluent in English actually perform significantly above the average of their monolingual peers. Hence, EAL status in itself is a poor guide to expected levels of attainment. Data on stage of fluency are necessary to interpret and make sense of the patterns of attainment. These findings generally remain true while simultaneously controlling for other pupil background variables, such as age, sex, entitlement to FSM, ethnic group, SEN stage and pupil mobility. However, the positive boost associated with stage 4 (fully fluent) is no longer statistically significant when other pupil background factors are taken into account, confirming a similar finding with primary school pupils (Strand & Demie, 2005). Pupils with EAL make good progress between ages 14 and 16, but further data to assess progress across the entire secondary phase (ages 11 to 16) are necessary to confirm these results over a longer time scale.

These findings offer encouragement for policy-makers and school improvement practitioners. They demonstrate that once the disadvantage of language is overcome,

it is possible for pupils to attain very high levels of achievement at all key stages. This finding also has implications for raising standards in schools and improving the quality of English language teaching for EAL pupils in school. The evidence can be used with schools to convince them that the more effective their English language teaching, the more positive the impact they can have on the results of individual EAL pupils, and therefore on the results of the school.

Policy implications

Implications for improving assessment of EAL pupils in schools

The Qualifications and Assessment Authority (QCA) in the UK has recently developed new assessment arrangements to ‘provide a national consistency measure of English language competence for EAL pupils’ (OFSTED, 2001, p.8). In *A language in common: assessing English as an additional language*, the QCA (2000) has set out guidelines and suggests procedures and tools for assessing the acquisition of English by bilingual pupils, which could be used nationally by mainstream teachers as well as EAL specialist teachers. It proposes subdivisions of the two lowest levels of the existing National Curriculum scale for English. Thus there are two sub-steps in Working towards level 1 (steps 1 and 2) and two subdivisions in level 1 (level 1 threshold, and level 1 secure).

These are important and valid aspirations. However, it is unclear how widely *A language in common* is being used. Since its publication the OFSTED (2001) document ‘has created more debate and a proliferation of scales to correct the inadequacies of the steps in “A Language in Common” and discussion that is making little, if any headway. Some authorities and services have adopted it with all its faults, while others are adapting it to suit their needs in rather the same way as the Hester scales were adapted a decade ago’ (Gravelle, 2003, p. 41) (or have continued using Hester scales, as described in this paper).

One of the reasons EAL professionals give for their reservations about the QCA approach is that the procedures do not necessarily provide a systematic framework which will assist teachers in planning regularly and effectively for the needs of bilingual learners in the classroom. The assessment model is based on National Curriculum descriptors, which are normed on mother-tongue English speakers, and do not take into account the needs of the diverse range of learners with EAL, nor recognize that EAL pupils bring to their learning experiences the skills, knowledge and understanding in their first language that will impact on their acquisition of English. The National Association for Language Development in the Curriculum (NALDIC) (<http://www.naldic.org.uk/docs/research/assessment.cfm>, accessed 25 June 2005) argue that:

Any EAL assessment scheme should reflect the distinctive learning trajectories of pupils with EAL. It should clearly distinguish the EAL learner’s starting point from that of a child whose mother tongue is English, and help to improve educational practice for pupils who have to learn the English language as well as the content of the curriculum. It should take account of the different entry points of learners, with respect to age and curriculum demands, and show EAL progression in the context of the full curriculum. It should

specify the domains of language knowledge and skills being assessed explicitly ... It is clear that the National Curriculum English scales are not, by themselves, sufficient for monitoring EAL pupils. There is a need for additional evidence-based and fully validated EAL scales for primary and secondary phases of education which are complementary to the current National Curriculum English scales. (p. 1)

The debate on the assessment of bilingual pupils in the UK is in danger of becoming polarized. The EAL professionals feel the national assessment systems in *A language in common* (QCA, 2000) failed to take into account the diverse range of learners of EAL and was not sensitive to the specific English language needs of bilingual pupils (see [Strand & Demie, 2005](#)). At the same time, national policy-makers are discouraging the collection of data on stage of fluency in English and arguing that assessment for bilingual pupils should be based only the QCA steps (QCA, 2000; [Cameron & Besser, 2004](#)).

The case-study LEA's experience is that the early assessment profiles of emerging bilingual learners are quite different from those pupils whose first language is English, especially in terms of what they can write and what they know or can understand. We believe that the stage of English fluency scales, while not answering all the formative assessment needs outlined by NALDIC, do offer a complementary assessment to National Curriculum English assessment. They can be used to highlight the broad needs of bilingual learners, to inform pedagogical and administrative planning and to measure broad progress over time. For these reasons the LEA's schools have continued using the stages of fluency. Given the importance of such data for supporting EAL pupils, we have suggested that central government should consider including a measure of the fluency in English of EAL pupils within the Pupil Level Annual School Census (PLASC).

We recognize that further research into the reliability of the stage of English fluency assessments is required. If data were collected nationally, then a national moderation strategy would be required to ensure that judgements are fair and useful for schools and others who evaluate performance and the progress of pupils. This would require the case-study LEA to check the understanding of EAL performance standards by visiting schools, talking to teachers, looking at class work and by talking to the pupils themselves. Such activities have regularly been completed as a part of the moderation of teacher assessment at the end of key stage 1 (age 7 years), usually on the basis of a 25% sample or skewed towards schools with 'surprising' results, and so are not a new development. As part of the rationale, this LEA needs to evaluate the coverage, frequency and effectiveness of its own moderation procedure to determine whether it has helped to improve the quality of the assessment data. However, moderation also helps teachers to build confidence in their own wider assessment.

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Appendix 1. Main languages spoken in secondary schools

Language	1992		1997		1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
English	3,814	72.1	3,618	66.2	4,131	65.6	4,442	64.2	4,661	65.8	4,596	64.0	4,615	63.2	4,692	63.4	4,788	61.4
Yoruba	199	3.7	265	4.8	293	4.7	339	4.9	391	5.5	424	5.9	481	6.6	472	6.4	536	6.9
Portuguese	91	1.7	233	4.3	287	4.6	317	4.6	348	4.9	391	5.4	379	5.2	367	5.0	382	4.9
Spanish	51	1.0	116	2.1	168	2.7	170	2.5	191	2.7	199	2.8	225	3.1	252	3.4	273	3.5
Twi	94	1.8	121	2.2	134	2.1	173	2.5	199	2.8	209	2.9	229	3.1	245	3.3	257	3.3
French	59	1.1	64	1.2	107	1.7	165	2.4	118	1.7	140	1.9	161	2.2	181	2.4	211	2.7
Bengali	137	2.6	142	2.6	142	2.3	144	2.1	155	2.2	136	1.9	128	1.8	122	1.6	135	1.7
Chinese	166	3.1	151	2.8	143	2.3	133	1.9	133	1.9	113	1.6	117	1.6	108	1.5	116	1.5
Arabic	65	1.2	67	1.2	73	1.2	71	1.0	63	0.9	68	0.9	75	1.0	90	1.2	103	1.3
Somali	12	0.2	26	0.5	55	0.9	47	0.7	60	0.8	54	0.8	57	0.8	55	0.7	91	1.2
Ibo	49	0.9	48	0.9	52	0.8	61	0.9	52	0.7	60	0.8	71	1.0	58	0.8	67	0.9
Urdu	62	1.2	55	1.0	50	0.8	49	0.7	58	0.8	73	1.0	66	0.9	66	0.9	65	0.8
Ga	22	0.4	25	0.5	27	0.4	30	0.4	43	0.6	56	0.8	58	0.8	62	0.8	53	0.7
Turkish	58	1.1	48	0.9	35	0.6	41	0.6	35	0.5	39	0.5	45	0.6	46	0.6	51	0.7
Vietnamese	49	0.9	43	0.8	38	0.6	28	0.4	28	0.4	33	0.5	33	0.5	35	0.5	43	0.6
Krio	5	0.1	37	0.7	46	0.7	42	0.6	6	0.1	52	0.7	45	0.6	44	0.6	43	0.6
Luganda	3	0.1	13	0.2	15	0.2	25	0.4	17	0.2	24	0.3	27	0.4	29	0.4	38	0.5
Albanian	n/a	n/a	0	0.0	1	0.0	9	0.1	12	0.1	19	0.3	26	0.4	28	0.4	37	0.5
Italian	44	0.8	24	0.4	29	0.5	26	0.4	29	0.4	35	0.5	35	0.5	33	0.4	36	0.5
Swahili	7	0.1	16	0.3	17	0.3	33	0.5	26	0.4	28	0.4	22	0.3	26	0.4	35	0.4
Gujerati	54	1.0	57	1.0	34	0.5	48	0.7	30	0.4	35	0.5	35	0.5	33	0.4	30	0.4
Hindi	20	0.4	16	0.3	24	0.4	24	0.3	27	0.4	23	0.3	25	0.3	29	0.4	28	0.4
Polish	9	0.2	13	0.2	11	0.2	14	0.2	16	0.2	12	0.2	28	0.4	29	0.4	27	0.3

Appendix 1. *Continued.*

Language	1992		1997		1998		1999		2000		2001		2002		2003		2004	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Tagalog	12	0.2	21	0.4	17	0.3	19	0.3	15	0.2	20	0.3	18	0.2	23	0.3	27	0.3
Greek	38	0.7	25	0.5	36	0.6	29	0.4	28	0.4	26	0.4	26	0.4	24	0.3	26	0.3
Tigrinya	27	0.5	47	0.9	34	0.5	50	0.7	47	0.7	39	0.5	30	0.4	26	0.4	25	0.3
Lingala	3	0.1	19	0.3	21	0.3	24	0.3	31	0.4	20	0.3	21	0.3	14	0.2	22	0.3
Fante	8	0.1	3	0.1	9	0.1	8	0.1	6	0.1	9	0.1	23	0.3	12	0.2	12	0.2
Serbo-Croat	0	0.0	4	0.1	3	0.0	2	0.0	5	0.1	2	0.0	6	0.1	6	0.1	12	0.2
Panjabi	18	0.3	9	0.2	15	0.2	18	0.3	16	0.2	12	0.2	16	0.2	14	0.2	10	0.1
German	7	0.1	4	0.1	3	0.0	1	0.0	3	0.0	2	0.0	4	0.1	4	0.1	9	0.1
Kurdish	3	0.1	5	0.1	4	0.1	3	0.0	5	0.1	8	0.1	12	0.2	5	0.1	8	0.1
Urhobo	4	0.1	8	0.1	6	0.1	7	0.1	10	0.1	8	0.1	6	0.1	7	0.1	5	0.1
Others*	97	1.8	112	2.1	238	3.8	329	4.8	224	3.2	220	3.1	157	2.2	166	2.2	199	2.6

*Other category includes: Acholi, Afrikaans, Akan, Amharic, Armaic, Armenian, Asante, Assamese, Ateso, Baluchi, Bansa, Basque, Bayangi, Bemba, Bende, Berber, Bini, Bulgarian, Buli, Burmese, Czech, Dagbani, Danish, Dari, Dhophadola, Dinka, Dioula, Dutch, Edo, Effutu, Efik, Eleme, Eriterina, Esan, Etche, Ewe, Fang, Finnish, Flemish, Frafra, Fulani, Gaelic, Hausa, Hebrew, Hungarian, Icaray, Ilocano, Ijo, Ikwere, Indonesian, Ishan, Isoko, Itsekiri, Japanese, Kalabari, Kikuyu, Kinyarwanda, Konkani, Korean, Krobo, Kutchi, Latvian, Limba, Lithuanian, Lozi, Luo, Lusoga, Lwo, Malay, Malayalam, Maltese, Mandego, Mandingo, Mandinka, Memon Mende, Moldavian, Mongolian, Ndebele, Norwegian, Nyanga, Okpe, Okrika, Pahari, Pampangan, Pashto, Patua, Persian, Romanian, Rundi, Runyankore, Russian, Saho, Shona, Sindhi, Singhalese, Slovak, Swedish, Tamil, Tanga, Temne, Thai, Tigre, Tiv, Tonga, Tswana, Ukani, Ukrainian, Unclassified, Welsh, Wolof Zulu.