Mapping the World of the Heritage Language Learners of Portuguese: Results from a National Survey at the College Level

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Abstract: This article reports findings from a national survey of Portuguese Heritage Language Learners (n= 60) and Non-Heritage Language Learners of Portuguese (n= 305). It is based on a comparative analysis that aimed at determining whether Heritage and Non-Heritage Language Learners of Portuguese have different motivations for (re) learning Portuguese in mixed classrooms at the college level. Data for this study was collected in the fall of 2008 and in the spring of 2009 in seven universities, four public and three private, located in four different regions of the United States. The study points that both Heritage Language Learners and Non-Heritage Language Learners have strong integrative motivations to learn or re-learn Portuguese. However, their integrative motivations are of different nature or, in other words, Heritage Language Learners are geared towards the family whereas the Non-Heritage Language Learners are geared towards the cultural aspects of the Portuguese-speaking world.

Key words: Heritage Language Learners, Portuguese, Motivation, Portuguese-speaking, Brazilian, College.

Introduction

The focus of this article is on a growing population enrolled in Portuguese language classes that has been understudied, the heritage language learners (HLLs)[1].

More specifically, it presents and discusses the results of a study conducted with HLLs and Non-HLLs of Portuguese at the college level.

Although there is a fair amount of data about current and past enrollments in Portuguese Language courses at the college level in the United States (Nichols 1945, Johnson 1959, Milleret 1990, Jouët-Pastré 2010), figures about the number of Portuguese HLLs are virtually non-existent. Reasons for this lack of data are many including the relative recency of the field (Brinton, Kagan and Baucus, 2008) and the absence of an ethnic classification that could contemplate the Portuguese-speaking descendants at the

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[1] As "heritage language learner" is a relatively new and multifaceted term, this article will present an entire section devoted to a discussion about its definitions.

college level. As the Portuguese-speaking world is multicultural, multiracial, and multiethnic, Portuguese HLLs could fit into several official categories, ranging from Caucasian to Hispanic.

Second and third generation of Portuguese immigrants and the children of a large number of Brazilians that immigrated to USA in the 80s are currently in college. One can hypothesize whether HLLs have an impact on the growing number of enrollments in Portuguese language classes. Based on my own research (Jouët-Pastré, 2010), I agree with authors including Harmon (1979), Vermette (1979), and Webster (1979) that Portuguese-speaking communities may have an impact on enrollments. According to Harmon (1979), back in the 70s, the small number of Lusophone immigrants contributed to a dearth of students and programs. Vermette (1979) corroborated Harmon's (1979) claims by discussing the case of Massachusetts where its significant population of Lusophones and a local university established strong ties that successfully promoted the study of Portuguese.

Ideally, the Modern Languages Association's future reports on foreign language enrollments would include a category for HLLs. This piece of data could have a key role in promoting further research about this population. Results could contribute in a number of ways such as providing evidence that it is of utmost importance to develop appropriate curriculum and pedagogical materials as well as to offer teachers specialized training in the field (Carreira and Kagan, 2011).

A Jungle of Definitions

As Ahearn (2001: 110) has so well argued "In most scholarly endeavors, defining terms is half the battle." Still, one could argue that "heritage speaker" would fall in a different category as it is a fairly new term. However, in spite of its recency, there are already two broad categories and several other subcategories that try to encompass the multiple meanings of the term "heritage speaker." It is no secret that when one categorizes, there is necessarily a process of exclusion. Depending if the researcher subscribes to a linguistic proficiency based definition or to a sociolinguistic based definition, s/he will exclude a fair number of individuals preventing them from claiming a linguistic ancestry. The most cited linguistic based definition of heritage speakers is the one by Valdés (2001: 37-38):

> Individuals who are raised in homes where a non-English language is spoken, speak or merely understand the Heritage Language, and are to some degree bilingual in English and the HL.

Valdés' definition has the merits of being concise, precise, and yet flexible enough. Caution is *de rigueur* in a matter so intricate as determining the level of proficiency of an individual to be able to label him/her "heritage vs. non-heritage speaker." The expression "to some degree" is key in expressing the rather inclusive character of linguistic based definitions of heritage speakers.

Sociolinguistic based definitions tend to be more inclusive than the linguistic ones. In general, primary sources are the beliefs of research's participants. A concise and yet rich definition reads as:

> Individuals who have cultural ancestry with a particular language even if they have never heard the language spoken […] (Rothman, 2009: 156)

Obviously, the nature of the research will determine the suitability of one type of definition over the other. For example, if it is a research about language acquisition and the "critical period" in Heritage Speakers, it makes more sense, at least in general terms, to depart from a linguistic based definition. On the other hand, if the research is more oriented to attitudes, beliefs, and motivation, which is the case of the study reported in this article, it is more productive to have a sociolinguistic definition.

As I stated in the beginning, this article presents results of a study that investigates HLLs of Portuguese and their motivations for (re) learning Portuguese at the college level. Therefore, the term "motivation" begs a definition or at least a working one in spite of or due to the controversies it spurred. It is undoubtedly one of the most explored terms in the field of second language acquisition (Dörnyei, 2003: 1) with a significant amount of research conducted over the course of the last several decades. Much of this research was pioneered in Canada by Robert Gardner who, along with Lambert, posited that motivation was influenced by a learner's "attitudes toward the other group in particular and toward foreign people in general and his orientation toward the learning task itself". (Gardner and Lambert, 1959: 3). This research identified two main sources/axes of learner motivation, the integrative orientation and the instrumental orientation. While the integrative orientation refers to the desire of the learner to identify with the second language community, with the hope of interacting with or even becoming a part of that community, instrumental orientation describes the learner's desire to learn a language for more practical objectives, such as to expand career options. Although the integrative orientation was initially thought to be a greater predictor of language

competence than the instrumental orientation (Clément and Kruidenier, 1983), different studies have produced a variety of perspectives on the issue.

For example, in the last ten years, prominent scholars have been promoting the Activity Theoretic view of Motivation, which states that motivation is an elusive concept. It changes very often according to the context, or in other words, it is always in flux. Therefore, the focus of research is on the process and how it unfolds according to contextual and unstable constraints (Lantolf and Genung, 2002). Ideally, studies should be anchored on a longitudinal methodology that can reveal changes that time and contexts may produce on motivation.

In sum, the concept of motivation put forward by Gardner and Lambert (1959) is much more static than the one proposed by the Activity Theoretic view of Motivation. I believe, though, that Gardner and Lambert's views on motivation are still a powerful analytical tool as it allows surveying large samples. Doing a survey based on Gardner and Lambert's insights invites a reflection about a particular moment in time and space. It is as if we were taking a snapshot. Conducting a research based on the Activity Theoretic view of Motivation, on the other hand, gives the researcher more latitude and a privileged position from where s/he can observe the whole process unfolding. If it were the case of using metaphors, one could say that doing research based on Gardner and Lambert (1959) is like taking a snapshot to retain an image whereas doing the ones based on the Activity Theoretic view of Motivation are more comparable to taking a series of snapshots and doing a montage to produce a movie. Deciding which art form is the most important one is pointless. All depends on the context and needs of the different populations being studied.

Methodology

The initial version of the Portuguese Learning Motivation Questionnaire (PLMQ), developed in April 2008, consisted of 19 items that were designed to assess different dimensions of Portuguese learning motivation.

Cognitive pre-testing and Pilot Test

A cognitive pre-testing and initial pilot test (2 doctoral students and 36 college students) were conducted to determine whether the PLMQ items and rating scales were written in ways and at levels that were easily comprehensible to college students. Analysis of the cognitive pre-testing and pilot test from college students suggested that students had difficulty responding to items that used double-barreled and lengthy sentences. Follow-up testing with 2 teachers and 2 college students indicated that these difficulties were successfully addressed when these problematic items were revised. These steps described above produced a 19-item questionnaire (appendix).

Questionnaire administration

In the fall of 2008 and in the spring of 2009, questionnaires were sent to Portuguese language faculty of seven universities, three private and four public; in three regions of the country: Northeast, South, and the West Coast. Language faculty had the option of administering the questionnaire on-line or use traditional paper and pen. Out of seven universities, just one used the on-line version. At the end of the data collection, there were a total of 365 questionnaires as summarized in Table 1:

Table 1

UNIVERSITY	Non-Heritage Speakers	Heritage Speakers	TOTAL
Portuguese class enrollment			
West Coast University	39	2	41
South University	130	12	142
East Coast University I	27	4	31
East Coast University II	36	10	46
East Coast University III	6	24	30
East Coast University IV	23	3	26
East Coast University V	44	5	49
TOTAL	**305**	**60**	**365**

I designed the seven first questions to collect demographic data that could reveal, among other issues, whether the respondent was a Heritage Language Learner or a Non-Heritage Language Learner of Portuguese. Students had to self-identify regarding ethnicity and/or nationality. As summarized in the table above, sixty students were identified as Portuguese Heritage Language Learners (HLLs) according to a definition that goes beyond a linguistic-based criteria. Basically, for the purposes of this study, I considered HLLs all students born in a Portuguese speaking country or students whose parents (either mother or father or both) are native speakers of Portuguese.

Table 2 depicts the ethnic and national diversity: White/Caucasian, Brazilian, Cape Verdean American, Brazilian American, Portuguese American, Portuguese/Brazilian American, Cape Verdean/Portuguese American.

Table 2

TOTAL	
USA – White/Caucasian	13
Brazilian	8
USA - Cape Verdean/Portuguese American	5
USA - Cape Verdean	3
USA - Portuguese American	20
Portuguese/Brazilian	2
USA - Brazilian	9
TOTAL	**60**

Data analysis and discussion

The initial version of the Portuguese Learning Motivation Questionnaire (PLMQ) consisted of 19 items that were designed to assess different dimensions of Portuguese learning motivation. It encompasses not only questions related to Heritage Speakers but also the impacts of the Spanish language and its teaching on the Portuguese teaching in the United States. Evidently, for the purpose of this study, I focused on the sections of the questionnaire that investigate the reasons that Heritage Language Learners and Non Heritage Language Learners have to (re) learn Portuguese. Therefore, in addition to the seven first questions that seek to draw a demographic portray of students, I focused on a question that examines motivation per se. The specific question posed to the students is the following[2]:

 "What motivated you to take Portuguese classes? Please, rate the relative importance of your choice for all items."

Specifically, this study addresses the following three research questions:

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[2] This is question 13 in the survey.

1. Do HLLs and Non-HLLs of Portuguese have different motivations to (re) learn Portuguese?

2. If HLLs and Non-HLLs have different motivations, what is their nature?

3. If HLLs and Non-HLLs have the same types of motivation, what is their nature?

A total of 20 alternative reasons were proposed, *A* through *T*, below. Students could rate one of the four levels of importance for each of the reasons: "not important," "somewhat important," "important," "very important." Data is summarized in the two tables below. Table 3 presents data coming from the 60 Portuguese HLLs out of 365 respondents.

Several interesting data are summarized in the table below and some of the most relevant for the arguments developed in this paper will be analyzed in more details in the next sections. Questions *E* and *F* are, nonetheless, so complex and revealing that they need immediate initial consideration. The most important point to take into account is the imbalance between the Portuguese and the Brazilian-related participants. Since there are 28 Portuguese-related participants, against 17 Brazilian-related ones, it obviously skews heavier toward Portugal. As it will be discussed later on, this imbalance is due to historical reasons. Simply put, Portuguese immigration is much older than Brazilian immigration to the United States (Sales, 1999; Jouët-Pastré and Braga, 2008). Therefore, it is not surprising that a larger number of Portuguese descendants than Brazilian descendants attended college at the time the PMLQ was administered. One can wonder if this survey were conducted now, the number of Brazilian-related individuals would have increased due a more massive migration from Brazil that has been happening in the United States since mid-80's. Probably, children of this first wave of immigrants started

or will be starting college this second decade of the 21st century.

Table 3

Heritage Speakers of Portuguese				
	Not important	*Somewhat important*	*Important*	*Very important*
A. To fulfill my university language requirement	40.7%	10.2%	23.7%	25.4%
B. My parents encouraged me to take it	37.3%	30.5%	18.6%	13.6%
C. My friends are taking it	83.1%	10.2%	1.7%	5.1%
D. I traveled to a Portuguese speaking country	41.4%	6.9%	19.0%	32.8%
E. My interest in Portuguese culture	6.8%	18.6%	32.2%	42.4%
F. My interest in Brazilian culture	22.0%	20.3%	20.3%	37.3%
G. My interest in Portuguese-speaking African cultures	42.4%	22.0%	13.6%	22.0%
H. I participated in an activity related to Portuguese-speaking countries	64.4%	13.6%	10.2%	11.9%
I. I have a personal connection to Portugal, Brazil, etc. through family/friends	3.4%	3.4%	16.9%	76.3%
J. I plan on studying abroad in a Portuguese-speaking country	42.4%	13.6%	15.3%	28.8%
K. I plan to travel in a Portuguese-speaking country	5.1%	15.3%	16.9%	62.7%
L. My general interest in learning different languages	22.0%	23.7%	22.0%	32.2%
M. I am already familiar with Spanish	49.2%	33.9%	8.5%	8.5%
N. It is a skill I will need for my professional goals	23.7%	20.3%	22.0%	33.9%
O. It will help me to understand Portuguese-speaking immigrants and their way of life	22.0%	28.8%	27.1%	22.0%
P. It will permit me to become an influential member of my community	32.2%	37.3%	18.6%	11.9%
Q. It will permit me to participate more freely in the activities of other cultural groups	28.8%	44.1%	18.6%	8.5%
R. It will help me if I ever enter politics	66.1%	13.6%	11.9%	8.5%
S. It will help me to learn about myself	16.9%	28.8%	35.6%	18.6%
T. I thought it was different from the standard foreign language choice	55.9%	15.3%	22.0%	6.8%

Table 4 presents data stemming from the 305 questionnaires administered to the

Non-Heritage Speakers of Portuguese that were learning the language at the college level.

Table 4

Non-Heritage Speakers				
	Not important	*Somewhat important*	*Important*	*Very important*
A. To fulfill my university language requirement	51.5%	9.3%	16.9%	22.3%
B. My parents encouraged me to take it	85.4%	11.3%	2.0%	1.3%
C. My friends are taking it	79.7%	10.6%	7.6%	2.0%
D. I traveled to a Portuguese speaking country	80.4%	5.3%	6.0%	8.3%
E. My interest in Portuguese culture	22.6%	32.9%	31.2%	13.3%
F. My interest in Brazilian culture	9.6%	18.9%	32.9%	38.5%
G. My interest in Portuguese-speaking African cultures	37.9%	32.6%	17.9%	11.6%
H. I participated in an activity related to Portuguese-speaking countries	72.1%	12.6%	9.6%	5.6%
I. I have a personal connection to Portugal, Brazil, etc. through family/friends	56.8%	14.3%	13.0%	15.9%
J. I plan on studying abroad in a Portuguese-speaking country	41.9%	18.6%	17.3%	22.3%
K. I plan to travel in a Portuguese-speaking country	11.7%	16.0%	26.3%	46.0%
L. My general interest in learning different languages	8.0%	14.6%	29.6%	47.8%
M. I am already familiar with Spanish	27.6%	15.6%	30.2%	26.6%
N. It is a skill I will need for my professional goals	35.2%	27.9%	17.3%	19.6%
O. It will help me to understand Portuguese-speaking immigrants and their way of life	37.5%	31.9%	19.6%	11.0%
P. It will permit me to become an influential member of my community	50.8%	27.9%	12.6%	8.6%
Q. It will permit me to participate more freely in the activities of other cultural groups	29.2%	32.2%	24.3%	14.3%
R. It will help me if I ever enter politics	60.8%	21.6%	8.6%	9.0%
S. It will help me to learn about myself	48.8%	27.2%	15.0%	9.0%
T. I thought it was different from the standard foreign language choice	35.9%	27.2%	24.6%	12.3%

In order to answer the research questions, I investigate whether there were discrepancies on how HLLs of Portuguese and non-HLLs rated statements. For the sake of conciseness and clarity, I focus on the top three statements that were deemed "Very Important" and on the top three statements perceived as "Not Important" by each group of participants (HLLs and non-HLLs). Then, to draw broader conclusions and to support them properly, I bring different statements, along with their rating, into discussion.

The top three "Very Important" factors that explain the motivation for taking a Portuguese class by HLLs are:

I. I have a personal connection to Portugal, Brazil, etc. through family friends. (76.3%)

K. I plan to travel in a Portuguese speaking country. (62.7%)

E. My interest in Portuguese culture. (42.4%)

Interestingly enough, just one of the three top factors coincides for HLL and non-HLL. The three main motivations for taking Portuguese classes by non-HLL are:

L. My general interest in learning different languages. (47.8%)

K. I plan to travel in a Portuguese speaking country. (46.0%)

F. My interest in Brazilian culture. (38.5%)

The sharpest difference in rating happened in **statement I** *I have a personal connection to Portugal, Brazil, etc. through family friends*. More precisely, 76.3% of the HLLs rated the statement as "Very Important" whereas just 15.9% of the non-HLLs chose this option. According to the parameters I adopted in this study, these results reveal a strong integrative motivation or, in other words, a desire of maintaining a connection to one's cultural heritage (Lu and Li, 2008; Benmamoun, Montrul and Polinsky, 2010;

Carreira and Kagan, 2011). The discrepancy between integrative and instrumental motivation within the HLLs group is also worth of attention. For example, **statement I** outranks by far **statement N** *It is a skill I will need for my professional goals*: whereas almost 80% of HLLs rated **statement I** as "Very Important," just 33.9% of the HLLs judge "Very Important" a statement that is clearly about instrumental motivation.

Comparing the finding above with those of Carreira and Kagan's (2011) national survey on HLLs would put Portuguese HLLs in the same category as Russian, Korean, Vietnamese, Tagalog, and Persian HLLs. According to the national survey, which did not include Portuguese, HLLs have a tendency to have more personal than professional goals or, in other words more integrative than instrumental motivations "Spanish HLLs, along with Japanese, Mandarin, and Cantonese HLLs were the only respondents for whom professional goals outranked personal goals" (Carreira and Kagan 2011: 51).

Interesting enough, data analyzed for Carreira and Kagan's 2011 article was collected in 2007-2009 whereas my data was collected in 2008-2009. However, even more peculiar, it is the fact that by the time I collected the data, Brazilian economy was just starting to get strong after decades of decline. As I am writing this article, Brazil is portrayed in the US media as one of the most promising countries in the world. In my university, for example, enrollments in Portuguese language classes increased by 30% since fall 2010. If one takes into account that out of these 30% at least one third of these new students attend Law and Business schools, it is possible to make some hypothesis about how different/similar the "photo" I took in 2008-2009 would be from a current "photo." My hypothesis is that both HLLs and non-HLLs would rate **statement N** much higher than the groups I surveyed in 2009. Therefore, I believe that instrumental

motivation may have increased vis-à-vis integrative motivation due to economic changes both in Brazil and in the USA.

Statement L *My general interest in learning different languages* was the most important reason for taking Portuguese pointed by Non-HLLs. The difference between the group of HLLs (32.2%) and Non-HLLs (47.8%) in rating this statement as "Very Important" was not as sharp as in **statement I**. One of the interesting features in this case is the percentage of HLLs (22.0%) and Non-HLLs (8.0%) that rated **statement L** as "Not Important." Actually, comparing how Non-HLLs rated all twenty statements, **statement L** was the one with the lowest percentage of "Not Important." This shows a great intellectual curiosity of Non-HLLs as they are interested in languages in general. Regarding the dichotomy instrumental versus integrative motivation, one has to contextualize the rating of **statement L** vis-à-vis the other statements. By taking **statement L** along with the other two top statements, a revealing picture comes to light. Considering that the second top statement is related to travelling and the third one to culture, one could infer that Non-HLLs are more interested in interacting with Portuguese speakers for reasons others than purely pragmatic ones. This picture becomes clearer by bringing **statement N** into the discussion as just 19% of Non-HLLs considered Portuguese a "Very Important" skill to accomplish professional goals.

Statement K *I plan to travel in a Portuguese-speaking country* was the second most important reason for taking Portuguese pointed by both groups of learners: 62.7% of Portuguese HLLs and 46.0% of non-HLLs rated **statement K** as "Very Important." These high rates could be interpreted as the result of both integrative and instrumental motivations. One could speculate that this question could be interpreted as "travel for

business/leisure" with no intention of interacting with locals. On the other hand, one could also interpret as "a journey back to the roots." If one takes into account that a high percentage of Portuguese HLLs rated **statement I** as "Very Important," it is likely that **statement K** was also interpreted as an opportunity to explore cultural heritage. Trying to interpret the reasons that led a high percentage of Non-HLLs to rate **statement K** as "Very Important" is a more complex task as this group of learners did not rate as massively, as did the group of HLLs, **statement N** the quintessential statement that expresses integrative motivation. Having said that, if one checks the third highest rated statement by Non-HLLs **statement F** *My interest in Brazilian culture,* there is a great temptation to consider **statement K** as representing a pure integrative motivation for the HLLs and Non-HLLs. It would be, however, too much of a stretch to utter this claim as I don't think there is enough data to support it.

Last, but not least, an analysis of the third statement on the list of the top three "Very Important" factors that explain the motivation for taking a Portuguese class by HLLs Non-HLLs is intriguing and revealing. Both groups rated as "Very Important" statements that reveal an integrative motivation via culture. However, HLLs are more interested in Portuguese culture and Non-HLLs are inclined to Brazilian culture. I have no doubt in my mind that to interpret this interesting discrepancy, one has to consider a variety of geopolitical and socio-economic issues. If one goes back to table 2, it is easy to realize, as we have already pointed, that there are more HLLs that self-identify as Portuguese American and Cape Verdean/Portuguese America than HLLs that self-identify as Brazilian and Brazilian born in the USA. The explanation for this phenomenon is quite simple as the literature in the area attests (Sales, 1999; Jouët-Pastré

and Braga, 2008). Portugal and Cape Verde have a tradition of immigration to the USA that dates back to the XIX century (Jouët-Pastré and Braga, 2008) whereas mass Brazilian immigration started much later, more precisely, in the second half of the eighties of last century. Therefore, it is more likely to find HLLs with ties to Portugal than to Brazil. However, this situation might change as children of Brazilian immigrants reach the college age. Or, the picture can remain the same if the Brazilian economy continues to grow and to attract immigrants back.

The inclination of Non-HLLs to Brazilian culture is probably due to the historic geopolitical situation of Brazil and the USA. Jouët-Pastré and Braga (2008), for example, point out the impacts of the Good Neighbor Policy on Brazil and on the United States. The potential economic growth of Brazil might also contribute to increase interest in Brazilian culture.

The top three "Not Important" factors to explain the motivation for taking a Portuguese class by HLLs are:

C. My friends are taking it. (83.1%)

R. It will help me if I ever enter politics. (66.1%)

H. I participated in an activity related to Portuguese-speaking countries. (64.4%)

Whereas, for the Non-HLLs the top three "Not Important" are:

B. My parents encouraged me. (85.4%)

D. I traveled to a Portuguese speaking country. (80.4%)

C. My friends are taking it. (79.7%)

Comparing the two sets of statements above, one notices that both groups are likely to rate as "Not Important" statements that tend to portray a reality where people have less agency and are less independent. For example, **statement C** - that appears rated as "Not Important" to both the HLLs and the Non-HLLs' groups - depicts a reality in which individuals don't plan their studies, let alone their future careers. They just mimic their peers and waste their time by taking disconnected courses.

Statement R was one exception and one of the highlights of the findings. It offers a gloomy scenario that, I have to confess, baffled me for a while. I was expecting that more young HLLs would be interested in politics as, from my viewpoint; this is an important venue to express communities' civic engagement. Actually, examining tables three and four, one realizes that just 11.9% of this population deemed "Very Important" to have a career in politics; a figure close to the 9% of Non-HLLs that rated **statement R** also as "Very Important."

Depending on the interpretation, **statement H** is quite similar to **statement D** in the sense that they are limited in time, or in other words, they account for a narrow experience. Both groups ranked these brief and volatile events as "Not Important" demonstrating that their motivations for learning or re-learning Portuguese go beyond a simple and quick occurrence. Another interpretation for **statement D** would be that the non-HLLs didn't have the means to afford a trip to a Portuguese speaking country. A third possible interpretation could be related to one of the interpretations of **statement B** discussed below. Simply put, the low status of the Portuguese language in this country reveals that in the educational context, even if one has the means, it is unlikely that they will be invested in a trip to a country whose language is not valued. More specifically, it

is much more common to meet high school students in an exchange program with France or a Spanish speaking country than in a program with a Lusophone country.

Finally, depending on the interpretation, **statement B** might reveal, at least when this survey was conducted, the low status of the Portuguese language in this country. Parents have the tendency to stimulate children to learn languages of prestige. As it was not the case of Portuguese, parents simply did not encourage this option. Another interpretation for the high numbers of "Not Important" in the sample would be to attribute agency to students. It is to acknowledge that students are struggling to be independent and want to have less interference from the family.

Limitations of the Study and Conclusions

One of the main limitations of this study is its static nature as it does not reflect changes. It is like taking a photo, a nice one, but still just one freezing time and space. It does not reflect changes as in general it was administered just once. For example, since the survey was administered, Brazilian economy has been occupying a prominent position in the press. Ideally, this type of research would be longitudinal to capture changes according to time, space, and context. Having said all the above, I believe that it is still worth doing the type of study reported in this article. First of all a photo can reveal subtleties that sometimes are impossible to capture both in a painting and in a movie. Photos are also concise and, at the same time, could be dense of meaning. Finally, photos are lighter, easier to carry, and infinitely much less expensive than a movie.

The main finding of the study is that both HLLs and Non-HLLs have a much stronger integrative motivation than an instrumental one to (re) learn Portuguese. However, their integrative motivations are of different nature: Heritage Language

Learners are geared towards the family whereas the Non-Heritage Language Learners are geared towards the cultural aspects of the Portuguese-speaking world. This trend is not forever as the economic power changes rapidly, the Lusophone world can become more attractive regarding, for example, job opportunities.

Although motivation is contextual and can change dramatically, it takes at least a decade for immigrant children and almost two decades for children of immigrants to go to college. As the publishing houses have a frantic rhythm of reprints and new editions, it is worth, I believe, to take a picture of a population to inform writers of pedagogical materials. The same apply for the design of curricula as ten years is a significant amount of time for the educational system. Regarding professional development, ideally one would keep up with the research by examining different "photos" and "movies" about the HLLs they are specialized in and about the field of heritage language learning in general. In the specific case of Portuguese, I would emphasize materials and design curricula that focus on family and the search of origins. Last, but not least, it would be also important to work with materials that present, in a critical, yet positive focus, cultural aspects of the Lusophone world including famous people, important historical experiences, the development of new technologies, and significant current events. Therefore, Heritage Language Learners would discover and deepen their knowledge about the richness and complexities of their ancestral roots and hopefully this process would make Portuguese-speaking HLLs well informed and, at the same time, critical and proud of their origins.

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The Portuguese Learning Motivation Questionnaire

Thank you for your help in completing this form. Your information will help us to determine why university students take Portuguese language courses, and how we can better tailor the courses to fit the students' needs. Your answers will also help researchers who are studying whether Portuguese language programs should be expanded at U.S. universities.

There is no need to identify yourself other than as undergraduate or graduate student - your responses will remain strictly anonymous.

1) GENDER: ☐☐ Male   ☐☐ Female

2) LEVEL OF STUDY:
☐☐ Freshman
☐☐ Sophomore
☐☐ Junior
☐☐ Senior
☐☐ Graduate

3) STUDY CONCENTRATION:
Major: _____
Minor: _____
Graduate Concentration: _____
Not specified: ☐☐

4) COUNTRY OF BIRTH: _____

5) ETHNICITY/NATIONALITY:

☐☐ White / Caucasian   ☐☐ Brazilian-American
☐☐ Asian / Pacific Islander   ☐☐ Brazilian
☐☐ Black or African American   ☐☐ Hispanic American
☐☐ Portuguese   ☐ Cape Verdean
☐ Portuguese American   ☐ CapeVerdean American
☐☐ Multiple ethnicity, please specify: _____
☐☐ Other, please specify: _____

6) YEAR YOU WERE BORN: _____

7) LANGUAGE USE:
   a) What was your first language? _____
   b) What was your mother's first language? _____
   c) What was your father's first language? _____

8) Did you grow up in a household where **_Spanish_** was spoken?
☐☐ Yes ☐☐ No *(if no, go to Q 9)*

   8b) *Please only answer this question if you grew up in a household where Spanish were spoken.*
Do you believe that knowing Spanish (either listening to or speaking it) **_helps you to learn Portuguese?_**
☐☐ Yes ☐☐ No

If your answer is **'YES'**, in what ways does it **_help you to learn Portuguese_**?
(check as many as apply)

☐☐ Understand spoken Portuguese ☐☐ Speak Portuguese
☐☐ Read Portuguese ☐☐ Write Portuguese

9) Before taking Portuguese courses, did you study Spanish?

☐☐ Yes ☐☐ No *(if no, go to Q10)*

   9b) *Please only answer the following questions if you have studied Spanish before taking Portuguese courses.*

Did your study of **_Spanish help you to learn Portuguese_**?

☐☐ Yes ☐☐ No

If your answer is **'YES'**, in what ways does it **_help you learn Portuguese_**?
(check as many as apply)

☐☐ Understand spoken Portuguese ☐☐ Speak Portuguese
☐☐ Read Portuguese ☐☐ Write Portuguese

   9c) Do you think that Spanish you studied before **_negatively affected your ability_** to learn Portuguese?

☐☐ Yes ☐☐ No

If your answer is **'YES'**, in what ways does it **_negatively affect you to learn Portuguese?_**
(check as many as apply)

☐☐ Understand spoken Portuguese ☐☐ Speak Portuguese
☐☐ Read Portuguese ☐☐ Write Portuguese

10) For how many **_semesters/quarters_** have you taken Portuguese courses?

☐☐ 1 ☐☐ 2 ☐☐ 3 ☐☐ 4 ☐☐ 5 ☐☐ 6 or more

11) Have you studied in any Portuguese-speaking countries?

☐☐ Yes ☐☐ No

  11b) If your answer is **'YES'**, how many **_months_** did you study there?

☐☐ 1-2 ☐☐ 3-4 ☐☐ 5-6 ☐☐ 7-12 ☐☐ 13 or more

12) **What benefits** do you hope to gain from studying Portuguese?
*(**choose only three** among the following items and **rank them from 1 to 3**)*

A. _____ Preparation for a study abroad program

B. _____ Preparation for personal travel

C. _____ More job opportunities

D. _____ Language enrichment

E. _____ Cultural enrichment

F. _____ Expand research opportunities

G. _____ Understand family history

H. _____ Communicate with friends/community members

I. _____ Other _____

13) What motivated you to take Portuguese classes? Please rate the relative importance of your choice **for all the items** *(from item A to item R).*

	Not important 1	*Somewhat important 2*	*Important 3*	*Very important 4*
A. To fulfill my university language requirement	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
B. My parents encouraged me to take it	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
C. My friends are taking it	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
D. I traveled to a Portuguese speaking country	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
E. My interest in Portuguese culture	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
F. My interest in Brazilian culture	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
G. My interest in Portuguese-speaking African cultures	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
H. I participated in an activity related to Portuguese-speaking countries	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
I. I have a personal connection to Portugal, Brazil, etc. through family/friends	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
J. I plan on studying abroad in a Portuguese-speaking country	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
K. I plan to travel in a Portuguese-speaking country	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐

	Not important 1	Somewhat important 2	Important 3	Very important 4
L. My general interest in learning different languages	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
M. I am already familiar with Spanish	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
N. It is a skill I will need for my professional goals	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
O. It will help me to understand Portuguese-speaking immigrants and their way of life	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
P. It will permit me to become an influential member of my community	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
Q. It will permit me to participate more freely in the activities of other cultural groups	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
R. It will help me if I ever enter politics	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
S. It will help me to learn about myself	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
T. I thought it was different from the standard foreign language choice	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐

14) Do you intend to ***continue taking Portuguese classes?***   ☐☐ Yes   ☐☐ No

15) If you were to ***stop taking Portuguese***, what would be important reasons contributing to this decision?

	Not important 1	Somewhat important 2	Important 3	Very important 4
A. Lack of time	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
B. Lack of advanced Portuguese courses at my university	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
C. Lack of interesting Portuguese courses at my university	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
D. Lack of Portuguese courses related to my professional field	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
E. Lack of opportunities to use Portuguese	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
F. Difficulties with the language	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
G. I will graduate	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
H. I feel that I am proficient enough in Portuguese to accomplish my goals	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
I. I need to invest more time in improving my Spanish	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
J. I would like to learn a different language	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
K. Portuguese is interfering with the other(s) language(s) I speak	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐
L. Other:	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐	☐☐

16) Of all the reasons above, if you were to stop taking Portuguese, what would be _**the most important reason**_ for that decision?

 _____

17) Which Portuguese courses, if any, would you like to take but your university does not offer?

 _____

18) How would you describe your experience studying Portuguese so far?

☐☐ Very negative   ☐☐ Mostly negative   ☐☐ Ok   ☐☐ Mostly positive   ☐☐ Very positive

19) Do you have any suggestions on how to make Portuguese a more appealing language option?

_____
  _____

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR PARTICIPATION!!!

If you have any suggestions or questions, feel free to contact Dr. Clémence Jouët-Pastré:
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