

**“I Want to Be a Part of the Conversation”: A Qualitative Study on Americans’ Use of
English and Dutch in the Netherlands**

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Intercultural Communication Master Thesis

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Table of Contents

Abstract	5
1. Introduction	6
2. Theoretical Framework	8
2.1 Intercultural Communication and Complexity	8
<i>2.1.1 The Force of English</i>	10
<i>2.1.2 Americans Living Abroad</i>	11
<i>2.1.3 Summarizing the Framework</i>	12
2.2 Language Attitudes and Motivation	12
<i>2.2.1 Language Attitudes</i>	12
<i>2.2.2 Language Learning Motivation</i>	13
2.3 Interactive Strategies	15
<i>2.3.1 Communication Accommodation</i>	15
<i>2.3.2 Politeness Strategies</i>	17
3. Methods	18
3.1 Research Approach	18
3.2 Participants	19
3.3 Data Collection	20
3.4 Analytical Procedures	21
4. Results	24
4.1 Motivation to Learn Dutch	25
<i>4.1.1 Location</i>	25
<i>4.1.2 Personal Interest</i>	26
<i>4.1.3 External Pressure</i>	28
<i>4.1.4 Social Inclusion</i>	29
4.2 Interactive Strategies	30
<i>4.2.1 Americans Speaking English</i>	31
<i>4.2.2 Americans Speaking Dutch</i>	32
<i>4.2.3 Dutch Speaking Dutch</i>	33
<i>4.2.4 Dutch Speaking English</i>	35
5. Discussion	38
5.1 Motivation	38
<i>5.1.1 The Four Motivating Factors</i>	39
<i>5.1.2 Internal Versus External Factors</i>	41
5.2 Accommodation	42

	4
5.2.1 <i>The Four Interactive Strategies</i>	42
5.2.2 <i>Evaluating Accommodation</i>	46
5.3 Overall Linguistic Experiences	48
6. Conclusion	49
6.1 Limitations And Further Research	51
References	53
Appendix A <i>Participant Information</i>	59
Appendix B <i>Interview Topic Guide</i>	60
Appendix C <i>Information Letter</i>	61
Appendix D <i>Consent Form</i>	63
Appendix E <i>NVivo Codes</i>	64
Appendix F <i>Interview Transcripts</i>	112

Abstract

This thesis explores how English-speaking Americans who grew up monolingual experience language when living in the Netherlands. Addressing a gap in research on Americans' linguistic experiences abroad, this study investigates how Americans interact with a host population that is known for being bilingual with high English proficiency. Using qualitative data collected from 10 semi-structured interviews, this study investigates two particular language phenomena. The first is Americans' motivation to learn Dutch, and the second is their evaluations of interactions with Dutch interlocutors. Participants' stories are discussed through the framework of complexity in intercultural communication, supported by ideas concerning language learning motivation and accommodation strategies, as well as Schumann's (1986) Acculturation Model of second language acquisition. The results indicate that participants are highly motivated to learn Dutch through a variety of internal and external factors, and they have varying opinions on what constitutes over- and under-accommodation. Americans' intentions to use either English or Dutch depend on their communicative goals, which may change from one interaction to another. Communication between Americans and Dutch people is complex, because the meanings that Americans interpret from their interactions depend on their perceptions of themselves and their interlocutors, as well as their interlocutors' perceptions of them.

Keywords: intercultural communication, complexity, language learning, motivation, accommodation, acculturation, English language, Dutch language

1. Introduction

While knowledge of the English language facilitates intercultural communication, it may also hinder native English speakers from learning other languages. Such a phenomenon is visible in the Netherlands. In their book *The Undutchables: an observation of the Netherlands, its culture, and its inhabitants*, White and Boucke (2010) write “The more you try to learn the language, the more the Dutch refuse to speak it with you and the more they complain that you haven’t learned it” (p. 205). Though White and Boucke’s book is humorous, studies and public discourse suggest that English speakers in the Netherlands do hear conflicting advice regarding language use. These contradictions sometimes result in a demotivation to learn Dutch, with sentiments such as “I hereby give notice that I henceforth give up the attempt to speak Dutch when I go to the Netherlands . . . [T]he reply is invariably given in English” (Kingscott, 1991, as cited in McArthur, 1992, p. 2). More recently, discourse on language confusion can be recognized on expatriate websites, travel blogs, and social media posts. The following question posted by an American in an online Dutch travel forum further illustrates the linguistic dilemma:

I know that most people there speak English; but I have heard conflicting opinions on how to speak to people.

1. I have been told that asking people if they speak English is considered a mild insult; as if to say they are uneducated [*sic*].
2. I have heard from friends who have been there, that if you walk up to locals and immediately start speaking English that they can be annoyed/insulted.

What would your advice be on this matter? (*Speaking English to the Dutch?*, 2015)

As the various quotes indicate, the English language is prevalent in the Netherlands. The Netherlands is becoming increasingly recognized as bilingual, with Dutch and English proficiency (Van Oostendorp, 2012). English has been a compulsory subject in Dutch primary education since 1986 (Ytsma, 2006), and bilingual instruction has been on the rise since 2000 (Kuiken & Van Der Linden, 2013). In 2020, the Netherlands was ranked the highest in the world for English proficiency among non-native-speaking countries (Education First, 2020). According to the European Commission (2012), about 90% of all Dutch people can hold a conversation in English. Studies on Dutch and English language use in the Netherlands have indicated that both languages share positive evaluations, and the prevalence of English does not appear to be a significant threat to Dutch (De Bot & Weltens, 1997; Edwards, 2014; Van Oostendorp, 2012; Weltens & De Bot, 1995). The status of English in the Netherlands creates a shared linguistic repertoire between Dutch people and native English speakers; however, this does not necessarily mean that English speakers never have to learn Dutch.

As a community of over 31,000 (Contact with Statistics Netherlands, 2008), Americans in the Netherlands have a unique linguistic background. Many Americans are monolingual and speak English as a first language, which is rare in the European linguistic repertoire (European Commission, 2012; Jenkins, 2011). While monolinguals from the United Kingdom may have a similar background, this study focuses on Americans to include linguistic repertoires outside of a solely European context. This thesis aims to fill in a gap in research on Americans living in one foreign country, as previous research largely concerns business expatriates in global contexts (e.g. Tung, 1998). This study also addresses Americans' linguistic experiences in particular. Focusing on Americans who grew up monolingual may shed light on the factors that drive Americans either to utilize their native language (L1) or adopt a second language (L2).

Furthermore, studying a group of people who voluntarily moved to another country and share common knowledge of English with the host population, can highlight the agency involved in language usage. The main research question is:

RQ: What are the linguistic experiences of Americans when interacting with Dutch people?

To further dive into the way Americans experience language use in the Netherlands, there are two sub-questions:

SQ1: What factors motivate Americans to learn Dutch?

SQ2: To what extent do Americans feel accommodated by the interactive strategies of their Dutch interlocutors?

These questions are answered through the framework of complexity in intercultural communication, supported by concepts concerning language learning motivation and accommodation. Communication between Americans and Dutch people is complex because the internal and external factors that motivate Americans to learn Dutch, along with mixed evaluations of accommodation, show that creating meaning in an interaction depends on perceptions that Americans and their interlocutors hold.

2. Theoretical Framework

2.1 Intercultural Communication and Complexity

Americans' linguistic experiences in the Netherlands will be analyzed through a framework of complexity in intercultural communication, using concepts from Pym (2004) and Scollon et al. (2012). Scollon et al. (2012) address the issue of "culture" as the term is unlimited

in scope. They define culture as “[...] a way of dividing people up into groups according to some feature of these people which helps us to understand something about them and how they are different from or similar to other people” (Scollon et al., 2012, p. 3). This definition emphasizes the conscious decision in dividing people into groups in order to make claims. In this study, labeling Americans and Dutch people as two different cultural groups allows for a potential understanding of how expatriates and a host population interact. When discussing cultures, it is critical to avoid lumping and binarism. Lumping refers to thinking that all people of a single culture are the same, while binarism refers to the idea that people from different cultures are inherently different (Scollon et al., 2012). The complications and nuances that come with defining a culture support the idea intercultural communication is complex.

According to Pym (2004), intercultural communication involves a high degree of complexity, which refers to “the plurality of possible interpretations” (p. 3). While Pym (2004) uses cross-cultural communication and complexity as a basis for evaluating textual translations, these concepts can be utilized to assess Americans’ interactions with Dutch people. Pym (2004) also notes that intercultural communication involves transaction costs, or an expenditure of effort by at least one participant to overcome complexity. An example is spending time and money learning a new language. Pym (2004) also argues “The lowering of transaction costs produces a potential increase in complexity, since any number of partners are available for an action and it is difficult to ascertain which will produce the most beneficial relationship” (p. 21). While learning a new language can help overcome complexity in certain situations, it can also increase complexity by widening the range of linguistic repertoires from which to choose. Intercultural communication is complex because there is high potential for participants to interpret different meanings from a single communicative act. Scollon et al. (2012) argue that all communication is

complex because language is ambiguous and people constantly engage with different discourse systems. They define a discourse system as a “cultural toolkit” (Scollon et al., 2012, p. 8) that people carry with them. The toolkit consists of ideas about the world, ways of treating people, and methods of communication. For example, Americans’ experiences living with a particular ideology concerning English may be part of their discourse system.

2.1.1 The Force of English

The dominance of English in the United States is reflective of a particular ideology. In sociolinguistics, ideology refers to the sociopolitical meaning of language (Bucholtz & Hall, 2006). Over the past several decades, several politicians and other leaders have spearheaded what is known as the English-Only movement (Baker, 2001; Schmidt, 2008). California Senator S.I. Hawakaya’s attempt in 1981 to amend the United States Constitution and deem English the official language exemplifies this movement. This movement reflects the ideology that English is necessary for the public good, and the coexistence of multiple languages causes disunity (Schmidt, 2008). These ideas relate to Spencer-Oatey & Franklin’s (2009) claim that English is a *lingua culturae* for L1 speakers in the United States, meaning “Speakers closely identify with the language as a symbol of their native community and link it closely with their identity” (p. 148). Furthermore, President Ronald Reagan once stated that bilingual education is “[...] absolutely wrong and against American concepts” (Crawford, 1999, p. 53 as cited in Baker, 2001, p. 376) because it would result in English deficiency for non-native speakers and leave them out of the job market. Deeming English the language that grants people economic advantages justifies the longevity of monolingual education. Though most American high schools offer foreign language courses, less than 1% of native-born American adults are fluent in the language they had studied (Friedman, 2015, as cited in Gandara, 2018, p. 336). Therefore, many people in the United States

grow up with English not only as their first language, but also as their only language (Jenkins, 2011). Comparing this situation with foreign language learning in the Netherlands (e.g. Kuiken & Van Der Linden, 2013; Ytsma, 2006) highlights the significance of studying Americans' communication with Dutch people.

2.1.2 Americans Living Abroad

Research on Americans abroad, particularly those who stay in a foreign country for long periods of time, remains limited. There is some research regarding American expatriates, however, that touch upon interactions with host populations. Americans living in the Netherlands can be considered expatriates using Green's (2009) definition of people who live abroad "[...] for a considerable amount of time" (p. 307), though previous studies often refer to business expatriates. One study that touches upon language use is Tung's (1998) research on 409 American expatriates' adaptation in 51 different countries. Tung's questionnaire includes items regarding attitudes towards the placement, modes of acculturation, and coping mechanisms. For modes of acculturation, "Conform and adapt to norms of host country most of the time" is rated with a mean agreement of 4.02 on a five-point scale, whereas "Keep certain distance between self and host country nationals" is rated with the lowest mean agreement, with a score of 1.76 (Tung, 1998, p. 130). Therefore, many Americans consider it important to respect the norms of the host country and to interact with the local population. For coping mechanisms, the highest rated answer is "Learning more about host country including language, sightseeing" (Tung, 1998, p. 133). Although 50.1% of the surveyed expatriates spoke at least one Western European language (Tung, 1998, p. 128), the study does not delve into Americans' particular experiences with learning or practicing the host language.

2.1.3 Summarizing the Framework

The concepts of intercultural communication and complexity provide a structured framework through which to analyze American-Dutch interactions. Since the main problem that Scollon et al. (2012) address is “[...] how a person manages to cope with the complexity of the various discourse systems in which he or she participates,” (p. 267), it follows that intercultural communication is complex because it is also interdiscourse. The various ways in which people use language and other communicative tools can lead speakers to interpret multiple meanings, not only with people’s words but also their intentions. It is critical to note that this study concerns Americans’ experiences alone. Therefore, evaluations are subjective and only reflective of one of the cultural groups at hand. Ideas concerning language learning motivation and interactive strategies are used to analyze Americans’ experiences.

2.2 Language Attitudes and Motivation

2.2.1 Language Attitudes

Motivation to learn a language is intertwined with language attitudes. Language attitude research often investigates cognitive, affective, and behavioral components (Adebija, 1994; Garrett, 2010). The cognitive component refers to thoughts and beliefs about a language, the affective component concerns feelings and evaluations, and the behavioral component comprises intentions or actions (Adebija, 1994). Though the three components simplify the observation of language attitudes, they are not always consistent with one another. Internal and external factors can influence behavior, even if the thoughts and feelings would insinuate different behavior (Garrett, 2010). For example, though English is widely adopted in Ireland, there is also a strong

sense of unfavorability towards the language as a result of sociopolitical tension with the British (Edwards, 1983).

There have been some studies to date on language attitudes in the Netherlands. In the largest known study, Edwards (2014) surveyed 2,000 Dutch people. The overall results indicate a positive evaluation of both Dutch and English. Eight in 10 respondents agree that they like speaking English, while eight in 10 prefer to use Dutch most of the time (Edwards, 2014, p. 105). There is also an equal amount of anglophilic and anti-English responses. Furthermore, 99% of respondents agree that speaking both Dutch and English is advantageous (Edwards, 2014, p. 116), which is consistent with De Bot and Weltens' (1997) finding that the importance of knowing English in the Netherlands is undisputed. De Bot and Weltens (1997) follow Weltens and De Bot's (1995) study, which asks "Why do immigrants to the Netherlands learn Dutch when they have the choice of learning English instead, which is spoken internationally and is sufficient also for survival in the Netherlands?" (p. 135). This question is a matter of motivation.

2.2.2 Language Learning Motivation

Recent literature on language attitudes and second language acquisition (SLA) has increasingly recognized the importance of motivation (e.g. Baker, 2001; Kormos et al., 2011; Masgoret & Gardner, 2003; Paiva, 2011; Sade, 2011). Motivation can be defined as "[...] a dynamic force involving social, affective and cognitive factors manifested in desire, attitudes, expectations, interests, needs, values, pleasure and efforts" (Paiva, 2011, p. 63). This definition highlights the various internal and external factors at play in language learning motivation. These factors may influence or even contradict one another. Participants across different immigrant groups in Weltens and De Bot's (1995) study indicate that people assume that "Speakers of

English, who can easily get around using their L1” (p. 139) are unmotivated to learn Dutch. The L1 English speakers in their study do have negative attitudes towards learning Dutch; however, this is only because they are in fact motivated to learn and they “[...] complain that it is difficult for them to practise their Dutch because the Dutch themselves like to show off their English” (Weltens & De Bot, 1995, p. 138). Such motivation is also indicated in De Bot and Weltens’ (1997) study, in which more L1 English speakers were enrolled in Dutch courses than members of other surveyed groups. These studies suggest two things in particular. First, something drives English speakers to learn Dutch, even if they may have an advantage with their L1. Second, there is a tension between motivation to learn Dutch and given opportunities to practice speaking Dutch.

The frustration that English-speaking learners of Dutch experience could be attributed to changes in identity. According to Schumann’s (1986) Acculturation Model of SLA, “[...] the learner will acquire the second language only to the degree that he acculturates” (p. 379). The Acculturation Model includes a taxonomy of social and psychological factors that influence people’s success in learning an L2. As an affective factor, motivation refers to a learner’s reasons for acquiring a new language. The two commonly recognized motivational orientations are integrative and instrumental (Kormos et al., 2011; Masgoret & Gardner, 2008; Paiva, 2011; Schumann, 1986). The integrative orientation refers to the learner’s desire to become part of the target-language speakers’ culture, while the instrumental orientation refers to the learner’s utilitarian use of the language. The Irish’s use of English (Edwards, 1983) is an example of the latter. The integrative approach is considered more effective for SLA as it enables the learner to acculturate to the target culture (Schumann, 1986). Paiva (2011) makes a similar argument, suggesting that changes in identity may help L2 development. Furthermore, such changes are

dependent upon interpersonal communication. Paiva (2011) states “In this sense, the language learner agent influences, and is influenced by, his/her social practices in a constant movement of organization and reorganization, a process that, paradoxically, possesses a certain degree of freedom and dependency.” (p. 63). The paradox is the constant negotiation between a person’s autonomy and their reliance on others to develop an L2. This cycle of influence is consistent with the recognition that (language) attitudes are put into and taken out of social action (Garrett, 2010). Attitudes may change according to the functions, goals, settings, or power distribution in an interaction (Liebscher & Dailey-O’Cain, 2009; Soukup, 2012). Since language attitudes affect interactions, it is important to assess interactions between learners and speakers of a target language.

2.3 Interactive Strategies

2.3.1 Communication Accommodation

Interactions are essential in SLA because “[...] language learning is not about learning and manipulating abstract symbols, but it is enacted in real-life experiences, such as when two or more interlocutors co-adapt during an interaction” (Larsen-Freeman & Cameron, 2008, p. 158, as cited in Paiva, 2011, p. 70). As one of the five main approaches to studying intercultural communication, the interactive approach investigates how communication is effective and meaningful in intercultural situations (Ten Thije, 2016). Even outside of language learning, interactions involve accommodation, which refers to speakers’ movements towards and away from their interlocutors (Giles & Ogay, 2007). Speakers may accommodate using a certain speech style, dialect, speed, or vocabulary (Williams, 1999). In this study, the term “accommodation” is used largely in reference to general speech adaptation and not necessarily to

the three strategies used in communication accommodation theory (CAT); however, a basic understanding of the CAT strategies is valuable. The three primary strategies in CAT are convergence (adaptation of speech to increase similarities to the partner), divergence (accentuation of differences in speech) and maintainance (lack of change) (Giles & Ogay, 2007). These strategies—and accommodation in general—can be used to varying degrees. If an addressee feels that an interlocutor is making more adjustments than are necessary or appropriate, this is seen as over-accommodation (Zuengler, 1991). On the other hand, not using enough convergence, or using divergence, can be perceived as under-accommodation. Both over- and under-accommodation are problematic, as these strategies fail to meet an addressee's needs and may lead to miscommunication or problematic talk (Williams, 1999).

People may also interpret their communicative partners' motives for using a particular strategy. Giles and Ogay (2007) point out "How listeners attribute motives for convergence is crucial to whether it garners positive or negative reactions" (p. 297). They use an example of an L1 speaker of Japanese responding to a learner of Japanese in English to illustrate differences in motives:

The nonnative speaker's attempt to speak Japanese might be perceived as a threat to Japanese identity. However, another motive has to be considered: By converging to Japanese, the nonnative speaker is depriving his Japanese interlocutor of the opportunity to use the much-studied but (little used) English language, a code with high social prestige in modern urban Japanese society. (Ross & Shortreed, 1990, as cited in Giles & Ogay, 2007, p. 301)

This example illustrates two important features of accommodation. First, using a particular strategy is contingent upon the socio-historical context of the interaction (Giles & Ogay, 2007) and perceived identities. It is significant that one speaker is Japanese and he recognizes his interlocutor as non-Japanese, as “Speakers’ interactional goals are influenced by their perceptions of the interlocutor” (Zuengler, 1991, p. 236). Second, the example shows how conflicting motives can lead to simultaneous convergence. Not knowing his Japanese interlocutor’s motives, the nonnative speaker may feel that his competence is being judged. According to Zuengler (1991), native speakers of a language may assess the competence of a nonnative speaker and accommodate accordingly. When perceptions lead to a speaker using over-accommodation, the addressee may feel treated as a member of a foreign cultural group rather than as an individual (Zuengler, 1991).

2.3.2 Politeness Strategies

A politeness strategy is another type of interactive strategy that encompasses accommodation. Scollon et al. (2012) argue that in intercultural communication, people make assumptions about their communicative partner in order to reduce complexity. Constant assumptions can lead to issues with face, a term used in sociolinguistics to address the mutual negotiation of interactants’ public images. Scollon et al. (2012) explain that face is paradoxical because people constantly negotiate between the strategies of involvement and independence. This paradox echoes Paiva’s (2011) argument that learners of an L2 constantly negotiate between dependency and freedom. Involvement is similar to convergence and is used when interactants want to show solidarity and emphasize similarities. Independence is a strategy people use to make minimal assumptions about their interlocutors and maintain a polite distance (Scollon et al., 2012). Both involvement and independence encompass various linguistic

strategies that one can use. The strategies that are relevant to this study are using the hearer's language or dialect (involvement) and using one's own language or dialect (independence) (Scollon et al., 2012). The high proficiency of English in the Netherlands, previous studies regarding L1 English speakers' motivation to learn Dutch, and the Acculturation Model of SLA indicate that the linguistic features of politeness strategies may not perfectly suit the context of Americans in the Netherlands.

Though Americans and Dutch people may share English proficiency, other factors may complicate communication. Motivation to learn an L2 and feelings of accommodation can lead interactants to evaluate their communication differently. Though intercultural communication is highly complex (Pym, 2004), recognizing the different complexities involved has the potential to change attitudes and influence future interactions (Zuengler, 1991).

3. Methods

3.1 Research Approach

This study employed methods used in research regarding language attitudes and accommodation to uncover Americans' experiences in the Netherlands. Language attitude research can use direct or indirect approaches. The indirect approach often involves the matched-guise technique (MGT), in which participants listen to different speakers and make judgments (Soukup, 2012). Despite the usefulness of MGT, the direct approach is more common, especially when investigating motivation. This approach explicitly asks people explicitly about their evaluations of certain language phenomena (Garrett, 2010). Though previous studies have often used quantitative measures with questionnaires, recent research has increasingly used qualitative measures such as interviews (Garrett, 2010; Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009). Qualitative

measures may be “[...] better at capturing the type of interactive meaning-making implicated in language evaluation” (Soukup, 2012, p. 216). Research into accommodation may use case studies or observations of conversations; however, self-reported data is also important as it helps the researcher to “[...] gain knowledge about people’s awareness and perceptions of their own and other’s accommodations” (Williams, 1999, p. 157). Researchers can identify where and when participants may experience problematic talk. Combining different elements of established methods, this study used semi-structured interviews with Americans to collect an in-depth understanding of their perceptions (Patton, 2002, as cited in Hagar, 2018) of language in the Netherlands.

3.2 Participants

The participants in this study were 10 Americans between the ages of 25 and 55, with an average age of 39. There were eight female and two male participants. Each participant resided in a different Dutch city or town. The amount of time lived in the Netherlands ranged from six months to 28 years, with an average time of 10 years. All participants either intended to live in the Netherlands permanently or had no immediate plans to return to the United States. An overview of the participants can be found in Appendix A.

Participants were selected using criterion and snowball sampling (Dörnyei, 2007). They fulfilled two basic criteria. The first was that they must have lived in the Netherlands for at least six months and planned to continue their residence for a considerable amount of time (Green, 2009). The minimum duration was selected based on Tung’s (1998) finding that it takes approximately six to 12 months for expatriates to adapt in another country. The second criterion was that participants identified as having grown up monolingual in the United States. In this

study, “monolingual” is used as a point of contrast from bi- or multilingual Dutch people, who typically start foreign language education at the elementary level (Ytsma, 2006). Most Americans in this research studied a foreign language in high school, practiced speaking a foreign language in their adulthood, or grew up recognizing some words in a foreign language. However, the participants did not self-identify as having grown up bi- or multilingual and therefore fit the criteria.

The participants were recruited through snowball sampling (Dörnyei, 2007). The researcher sent text messages and e-mails to known Americans who fit the criteria. Participants were also found by commenting on the researcher’s post in a Facebook group for Americans living in the Netherlands. Additional participants were found through existing participants contacting other Americans.

3.3 Data Collection

Data was collected in the format of 10 semi-structured interviews conducted between February 20th and March 4th, 2021. Interviews lasted between 15 minutes and one hour, with an average duration of 37 minutes. Due to the COVID-19 pandemic, nine out of 10 interviews were conducted online using either Zoom or Microsoft Teams. All interviews included audio and/or video recordings with participants’ consent. Recordings were saved on the researcher’s password-protected laptop and smartphone. Prior to the interviews, participants received an information letter containing details about the research and a consent form to sign. These documents can be found in Appendices C and D.

The researcher created and used an interview guide with general questions about participants’ language use. The guide can be found in Appendix B. The researcher aimed to “[...]”

establish rapport and empathy to gain access to the participants' lives and stories" (Dörnyei, 2007, p. 65). The guide was used as a starting point for conversation, allowing participants to elaborate on topics to varying degrees. Several prompts enabled participants to speak about the ways in which they think about, feel about, and behave regarding English and Dutch. Other prompts allowed participants to speak about particular interactions with Dutch people.

3.4 Analytical Procedures

The researcher took a content-based approach to the analysis, using conversation transcripts as data sets. A content-based approach allows the researcher to analyze data sets for patterns and assign categories "[...] according to the arguments he or she wants to make by providing examples from each category in the discussion" (Liebscher & Dailey-O'Cain, 2009, p. 197). Audio files of the interviews were transcribed using Otter.ai. The transcripts were edited manually in Google Docs and then uploaded to NVivo 12. In NVivo, the data was separated into categories through initial and second-level coding (Dörnyei, 2007). Though the researcher intentionally scanned the transcripts for references to language use, specific categories and subcategories emerged from the data itself (e.g. Hagar, 2018) with an inductive approach (Dörnyei, 2007). In the initial coding stage, interesting words and phrases were highlighted as unique codes. These codes were then grouped into various categories, constituting second-level coding. The process of coding was iterative (Dörnyei, 2007) as codes were continuously reviewed and reassigned. This reassignment allowed for crafting coherent stories in which all participants were represented.

Four categories emerged as motivating factors for learning Dutch, and four categories emerged under interactive strategies. Figure 1 shows the final assignment of codes in NVivo,

which became two main topics with their various categories and subcategories. Figures 2 and 3 illustrate the conceptual maps that were made based on the codes.

Figure 1

NVivo Coding Trees

Name	Files	References
▼ Motivation to learn Dutch	10	105
● social inclusion	8	21
● personal interest	8	39
● location	6	12
▼ external pressure	10	33
● work or living requirements	10	20
● from Dutch people	6	13
▼ Interactive Strategies	10	172
▼ Dutch speaking English	10	63
● frustrating	9	42
● benevolent	10	21
▼ Dutch speaking Dutch	10	39
● unhelpful	9	23
● helpful	8	16
▼ Americans speaking English	9	22
● necessary	6	12
● easy	5	10
▼ Americans speaking Dutch	9	48
● self identifying	6	25
● habitual	9	23

Figure 1 illustrates the NVivo coding schema. *Name* refers to the names of the topics, categories, or subcategories under which the data is marked. *Files* are the amounts of participants represented under a certain Name. *References* are the amounts of initial-level codes (quotes from the transcripts) marked under each Name.

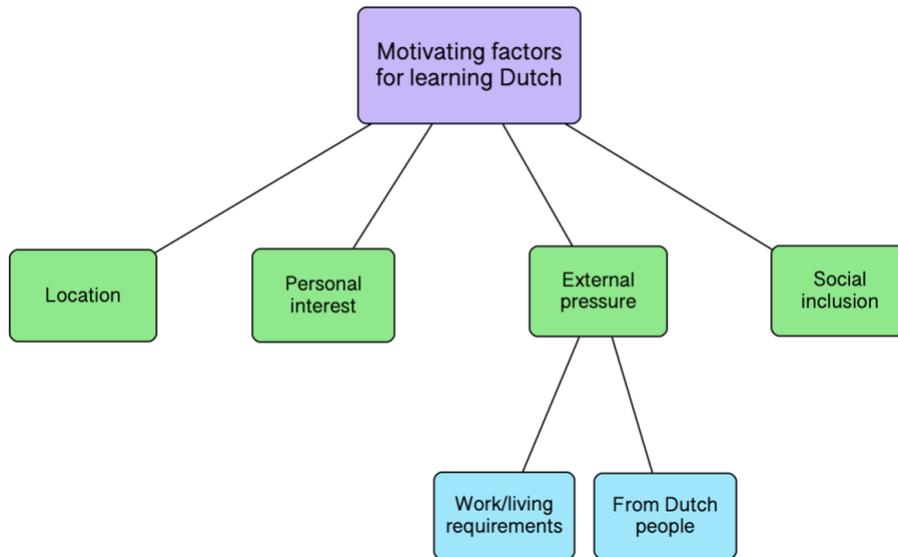
Figure 2*Motivating Factors for Learning Dutch*

Figure 2 illustrates the factors that motivate participants to learn Dutch. The factors are divided into four categories: location, personal interest, external pressure, and social inclusion. There are also two subcategories for external pressure: work/living requirements and pressure from Dutch people.

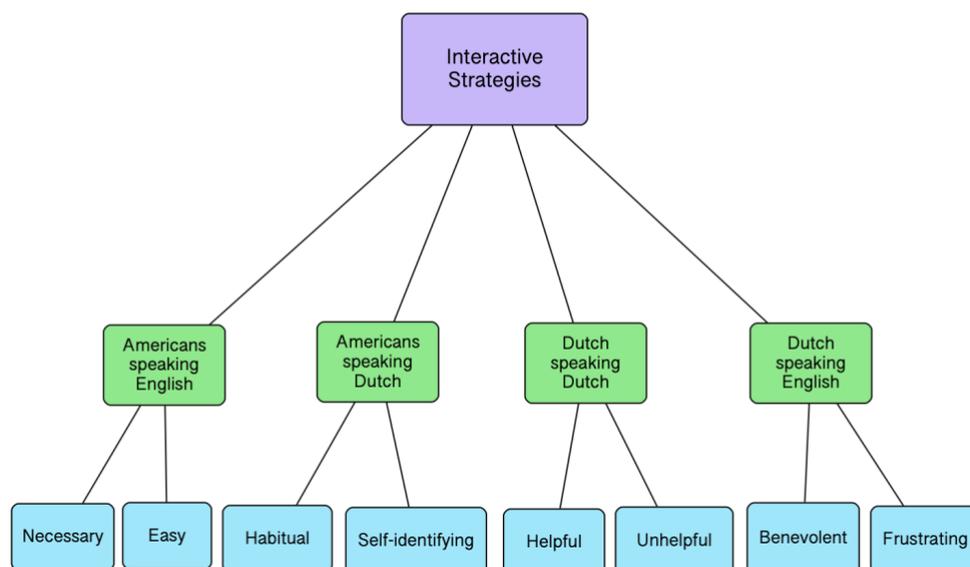
Figure 3*Interactive Strategies*

Figure 3 illustrates the interactive strategies that Americans experience, indicated by the nationality of the speaker and the language spoken when initiating or taking control in an interaction. The four categories are: Americans speaking English, Americans speaking Dutch, Dutch speaking Dutch, and Dutch speaking English. Each category also consists of two subcategories, encompassing the evaluations of or associations with using a particular language.

4. Results

The results of this study indicate that all participants engage with both English and Dutch. All 10 participants are either actively learning or proficient in Dutch. Participants who have lived in the Netherlands for longer amounts of time (7.5-28 years) identify as highly proficient or fluent. Those who have lived in the country for shorter amounts of time (6 months-

2.5 years) have varying self-proclaimed levels of proficiency. They are actively learning through self-study or formal lessons.

In spite of high motivation among all participants to learn and speak Dutch, there are also cases in which Dutch is used to a lesser extent or not at all. Americans' motivations for speaking Dutch influence how they use certain interactive strategies as well as which strategies they prefer from their Dutch interlocutors. The following sections highlight examples from participants' experiences that exemplify the categories within motivation and interactive strategies.

4.1 Motivation to Learn Dutch

Figure 2 from Chapter 3.4 illustrates the factors that motivate participants to learn Dutch, showing both the diversity and commonalities of the participants' experiences.

4.1.1 Location

Seven of the 10 participants mention location as a reason for learning Dutch. Many explain that English is more widely spoken in larger cities such as Amsterdam, Rotterdam, and The Hague. In contrast, English is spoken less in the smaller towns or cities where many participants live. One participant even names a specific province as a place where less English is spoken.

Examples 1 and 2 highlight why Participants 7 and 9 decided to learn Dutch.

Example 1

Participant 7: So it's just, and I don't live, you know, I don't live in one of the big cities, I don't live in Amsterdam, I don't live in Rotterdam, where everybody speaks English. I live in a little farming community, you know, about 20 minutes from Zwolle and people here...they probably can, but they don't.

Participant 7 explains that he lives in a “little farming community.” Unlike in large cities such as Amsterdam or Rotterdam, English is seldom spoken in his small town. Participant 7 suggests that residents in his town “probably can” speak English, but in his experience they do not.

Example 2

Participant 9: Because I went from having an attitude, in the beginning of, “Well, everyone here speaks English. Why do I have to learn Dutch? I don’t want to learn Dutch.” And then I lived in Zeeland of all places, where not many people speak English. And so I was like, “Oh, crap, I really need to learn some Dutch.”

Participant 9 explains that she was not motivated to learn Dutch when she first moved to the Netherlands. Earlier in the interview, she mentioned that she had originally lived in Amsterdam. Her mindset changed after moving to the province of Zeeland, “where not many people speak English.”

4.1.2 Personal Interest

Eight out of 10 participants express personal interest in learning Dutch. Some participants convey a desire to learn Dutch specifically or a new language in general. Others believe that speaking Dutch is a sign of respect towards Dutch people. In addition, nine out of 10 participants have Dutch partners. Many participants who met their partners before moving to the Netherlands mention an interest in speaking their partners’ first language. In any case, this category illustrates an internal drive for SLA.

Examples 3 and 4 show how personal interest has impacted Participants 4 and 5.

Example 3

Participant 4: I have heard about American expats who have lived here for like 10, 15 years, and they have not learned Dutch because it's not necessary, because they can talk in English in their, in their jobs. And you know, everybody speaks really good English here, whatever. For me, it feels a little disrespectful to not try. So I do it out of, um, respect for the country, because this is where people speak Dutch and you should learn if you want to live here. Um, but then also just like personally, I think, too. Um, I just think it would be cool.

Participant 4 claims that many American expatriates do not learn Dutch because “it’s not necessary” and “everybody speaks really good English.” Unlike the Americans that she references, Participant 4 is particularly interested in learning Dutch. She finds it disrespectful if people live in the Netherlands but do not try to learn. In addition to showing respect, Participant 4 wants to learn Dutch because she thinks “it would be cool.”

Example 4

Participant 5: [...] I was really motivated actually to learn Dutch because I speak, um, I learned, I have a background in foreign language. So...um, and I thought it’d be nice to learn my partner’s language. [...] So I wanted to learn it, so I could learn part of the culture and part of my partner. And also my, my mother-in-law doesn’t speak English very well. And it was really important that I learned to communicate with her.

Participant 5 explains that linguistic interests motivated him to learn Dutch. Furthermore, he wanted to become closer with his Dutch partner and his mother-in-law, who “doesn’t speak English very well.” Like Participant 4, Participant 5 has a particular linguistic interest that drives him to speak Dutch. On the other hand, while Participant 4 mentions widespread high English proficiency, Participant 5 has a personal connection to someone who does not speak English well.

4.1.3 External Pressure

All 10 participants note some extent of external pressure to learn Dutch. There are two subcategories of pressure. The first is pressure resulting from a particular line of work or residency requirements. The second is pressure from Dutch people, encompassing the ways that Dutch family, friends, or strangers have indicated that the participants should learn Dutch. Overall, nine participants cite work or long-term residency requirements such as the *inburgeringsexamen* (civil integration exam) as motivating factors. Six participants mention pressure from Dutch people. Though these instances often arouse negative attitudes about living situations or interactions, motivation to learn Dutch still persists.

Example 5 shows how the pressure of future job opportunities motivates Participant 3.

Example 5

Participant 3: Um, just...I guess, like, job wise, because, as, as well as they speak English in this country, like most people speak English....um, that also lessens the jobs for people that only speak English, because why would they take me over a Dutch person that can speak perfectly good English just as much as me? Um, so it's kind of hard when - when I'm not speaking Dutch, it really takes a lot away from...my job opportunities. So it's like...I work in home health, which I normally would not be able to do that unless I spoke perfect Dutch, but I got really lucky with this very small business [...]

Participant 3 explains that since there are Dutch people who “speak perfectly good English,” people who do not speak Dutch are disadvantaged in the job market. Though she did obtain a job in healthcare, Participant 3 explains that this is not normally the case for people with her level of Dutch. She feels that she “got really lucky” in finding a position with her limited proficiency.

Example 6 illustrates how Participant 10 experiences pressure from Dutch people.

Example 6

Participant 10: And...and I think at first it was a little bit intimidating. And it made me a little bit frustrated, like, you know, you've been, they'll say, "Well, we know two languages." And I know now that from a really young age, people learn English in school. So if I had been learning Dutch in school at age 10, I probably would know it too. So, now I just kind of say, "Well, I'm doing the best I can!"

Participant 10 notes that Dutch people sometimes point out their own knowledge of two languages to indicate that she should learn Dutch. Once she learned that Dutch people start language learning young, she became less intimidated by the pressure. She expresses her persisting motivation to learn Dutch by saying that she is doing her best.

4.1.4 Social Inclusion

Eight out of 10 participants cite social inclusion as a motivating factor for learning Dutch. Social inclusion encompasses a sense of belonging with Dutch partners or family, as well as a desire to make Dutch friends. Group dynamics in conversations and the ability to communicate with the greater community are especially a point of interest.

In Example 7, Participant 7 mentions how, in addition to needing to speak Dutch in a small town (Example 1), the desire for social inclusion also motivates him.

Example 7

Participant 7: The other motivating factor is, you know, I'm here with partner and she has four kids, and when we sit around the dinner table, they're speaking Dutch. So in order to not be excluded from conversations, you know, in order to sort of fit in socially, I think it would be a good idea to learn how to speak the language if I'm gonna live here.

Interviewer: Yeah. And do the kids speak English as well?

Participant 7: Yeah, they all, they can all, we can all communicate. They, their English is much, much better than, than my Dutch.

Participant 7 lives with his Dutch partner and her four children. He wants to learn more Dutch so that he can be included in conversations with his new family. Although everyone is proficient in English and they “can all communicate,” conversations tend to be in Dutch, which makes Participant 7 feel excluded.

Example 8 shows how Participant 6 desires to increase the depth and breadth of her interactions overall.

Example 8

Participant 6: Um, what really motivates me is just wanting to be included, more. Um, I’m, I’m very aware that I would have a much more enriching experience, um, in the Netherlands if I spoke the language. Um, and even with my boyfriend’s family, I don’t care to speak to them all the time. But stuff like, for Christmas. I had an awful time because everyone was just speaking Dutch. [...] And also just shame. You know, I don’t know any other language. You know, you come here and everyone speaks English, German, French, like Spanish. And then it’s just like, “Oh, you only speak English, right?” Yeah. So that kind of motivates me. I want to be more well rounded and be able to, like, interact with other people.

Negative experiences, such as speaking with her boyfriend’s family, push Participant 6 to learn Dutch and have nicer interactions. She also feels ashamed of being monolingual in a multilingual environment. Furthermore, she associates learning another language with being “more well rounded.” She is motivated to learn Dutch in order to expand her scope of interactions.

4.2 Interactive Strategies

Figure 3 from Chapter 3.4 highlights Americans’ experiences with interactive strategies. Based on the participants’ experiences, both Americans and Dutch people may employ English or Dutch in a conversation. The following sections highlight examples from each of the four categories.

4.2.1 Americans Speaking English

While all participants express motivation to learn Dutch, there are also instances in which they enter an interaction with Dutch people by speaking English. Based on the participants' responses, English is primarily used in two cases. The first is when it is necessary, such as at an English-speaking job. The second is when it is easier to use than Dutch, such as conversations with complicated or emotional subject matter.

Example 9 shows how English is necessary at Participant 2's job as an English teacher.

Example 9

Interviewer: And when you teach, do you instruct only in English? Or do you instruct in Dutch as well?

Participant 2: No, only in English. When I teach in a bilingual program, it's only in English. And everything, they have to ask me to go to the bathroom and English, they have to...yeah, everything is in English. If I teach in a regular stream...I try to do everything in English. [...] In a bilingual stream, I only speak English to them for everything we do, with - outside of the classroom activities and in the classroom and in their correspondence with each other. As with the other ones, I might speak a little bit more, but I try. I tried to speak as much English as possible.

Interviewer: Oh, okay.

Participant 2: And much more than my colleagues. ((laughing))

Participant 2 teaches English to Dutch students in bilingual and "regular stream" (primarily Dutch-language) classroom environments. When asked if she also instructs in Dutch, she responds by saying that she teaches "only in English." She even compares her strategy for interacting with Dutch students to that of her colleagues, saying that she speaks "much more" English than they do.

In Example 10, Participant 10 talks about instances in which English is easier to use.

Example 10

Participant 10: But you know, we're talking about things that are...kind of a deep level, you know, like, how our families are doing, or what are, what are some issues that are going on with their kids, and her mom is not feeling well. So those aren't topics that you want to bother to struggle with, you know, really kind of elementary level of language, you really want to be able to communicate your full range of emotions, I think.

Participant 10 prefers to speak English when she discusses emotional topics with her Dutch partner's family. Speaking English in these cases allows her to express her "full range of emotions" that she cannot yet express with her "elementary level" of Dutch.

4.2.2 Americans Speaking Dutch

Consistent with the participants' motivation to learn Dutch, there are many situations in which they approach an interaction using Dutch. Two primary ideas regarding Americans' use of Dutch are salient in the data. First, speaking Dutch has become a habitual practice for some participants. Second, some participants use Dutch as a marker of their own identity.

In Example 11, Participant 8 talks about how normal it is for her to speak Dutch.

Example 11

Interviewer: [...] where and when do you come in contact with Dutch people?

Participant 8: Every day, every. Like speaking, yeah, speaking English for me right now I sometimes have to think about, think about some of the words.

Interviewer: So do you speak Dutch mostly? On a daily basis?

Participant 8: Yeah, my work is, at my work it's all in Dutch and in German. And um, I'm right with my boyfriend. I speak Dutch with him. And then, like, most of the other people I speak to here, I speak Dutch.

Participant 8 speaks Dutch every day at work and with her boyfriend. She is so accustomed to speaking Dutch that she has to “think about some of the words” in English. She also speaks German at work. Therefore, it has become a habit of Participant 8 to interact with people in environments that can be linguistically categorized not only as Dutch, but also as non-English.

Example 12 shows how Participant 9 speaks Dutch to assert her identity.

Example 12

Participant 9: Um...I've always gotten complimented that...when I'm, like those instances that they will hear me speak English to my children. And then I started speaking Dutch in response to them, whether it be someone, you know, the, the cashier or someone in line behind me you know, it's because they, they will start speaking English to my kids thinking, you know, we're American or British or whatever. And I say, “No, no, we're not, you know, they speak Dutch.”

Participant 9 sometimes speaks English to her bilingual children in a store, enacting a cashier or another customer to speak English. Participant 9 supposes that people speak English because she and her family seem “American or British.” Participant 9 tells people (in Dutch), “no, we're not,” and “they speak Dutch.” In this case, speaking the Dutch language is used as a marker of identity which stands in opposition to being American, even though Participant 9 is both American and Dutch-speaking.

4.2.3 Dutch Speaking Dutch

In addition to the ways they adapt to a conversational partner, participants also discuss the strategies of their Dutch interlocutors. Participants express certain feelings towards particular strategies depending on the context. The strategy of Dutch people speaking Dutch can be categorized as helpful or unhelpful. Especially in the earlier stages of learning, participants find

it helpful when Dutch people are willing to speak with them; however, the strategy is unhelpful if the participants feel that they cannot fully contribute to a conversation.

Example 13 illustrates a case in which Participant 1 had found the strategy helpful.

Example 13

Participant 1: And the fact that I saw right from the beginning that I had a lot of support, that I had a lot of people around me who were speaking Dutch, they were willing to speak Dutch with me, they were willing to...um...be patient with, with, you know, my trying to speak a language that was hard for me.

In discussing what gave her confidence in speaking Dutch, Participant 1 explains that she “had a lot of support” from people who were patient and willing to speak with her. Even though learning the language was difficult overall, Participant 1 found it helpful when people would just speak Dutch with her right after she moved to the Netherlands.

In contrast, Example 14 illustrates a situation in which Participant 3 found the strategy unhelpful.

Example 14

Participant 3: [...] this woman was taking my COVID test, and I was like, she said something in Dutch and I said, “I’m sorry, I - my Dutch is not that good. I speak English.” And she continued to speak in Dutch [...] But she was like, pretty much said like, “Well, you - I’m gonna speak Dutch with you anyway, because you need to learn, so” and I was like okay...and I was like, alright. [...] Um, yeah, I’ve had - I’ve had a few times where people, they kind of refuse to...speak English because they think it’ll help you learn, but then I just feel a little bit...pressured.

Participant 3 explains how she once told a COVID-19 tester that her Dutch is “not that good,” so she preferred English. The Dutch woman responded that she would continue in Dutch so that

Participant 3 could learn. Participant 3 finds instances such as this unhelpful because she feels “pressured” to speak a language that she is still learning.

Besides the words themselves, some participants describe having trouble with the speed of their Dutch interlocutors’ speech. Example 15 highlights Participant 7’s struggle in group contexts.

Example 15

Participant 7: When I’m around groups of people, and they’re speaking at full speed, and I think, “Hey, man, I’m here too,” ((laughing)) you know, “Slow it down a little bit. I’m here too, I want to be a part of the conversation.” And, uh, but when they’re going full speed, sometimes it’s hard for me to keep up.

Participant 7 finds that Dutch people sometimes speak too fast and do not adapt their speech to slow down. He considers this non-accommodation unhelpful as it hinders him from contributing to the conversation.

4.2.4 Dutch Speaking English

Similar to the previous strategy, participants also have mixed feelings on the Dutch initiating English. When describing their experiences with this strategy, participants find their Dutch interlocutors’ accommodation to be either benevolent or frustrating. All 10 participants reference benevolence, and nine out of 10 reference frustration. In several cases, participants recognize the good intentions of the strategy while still feeling personally frustrated by it.

Example 16 illustrates Participant 10’s positive feelings towards the strategy.

Example 16

Interviewer: Okay, and what do you think about it, when people switch into English? Like, how do you feel about it?

Participant 10: Well, most of the time, I feel relieved. ((laughing)) I do know, I mean, I guess it's kind of like eating your vegetables. Like I, of course, you'd rather eat, you know, cookies and ice cream rather than your green beans. I know it would be better for me, for, for them to kind of help - speak Dutch and repeat things and go slowly.

When asked about how she feels when Dutch people switch from Dutch to English with her, Participant 10 states that she often feels “relieved.” She equates practicing Dutch to “eating your vegetables,” insinuating that although it would be good for her, she would prefer to eat “cookies and ice cream” and speak English.

In contrast, Example 17 shows Participant 8's frustration with Dutch people switching to English.

Example 17

Interviewer: Do you, would you like when people switched into English? Like, did you find it helpful? Or would you rather stay in Dutch?

Participant 8: Uh...rather stay in Dutch. I think that, yeah. I don't know, like, in...I would think about like, if I'm in America. If someone has an accent, I'm not just going to like, switch to some other language. Like, and, and here, I guess it's more normal to do. But it's also like...yeah, it's kind of just a sign of like, you're an outsider that you, yeah, you're not from here. So I can't speak this language with you.

When asked how she feels about Dutch people switching to English in a conversation, Participant 8 responds that she would prefer to stay in Dutch. She says that if she were in the United States, she would not change languages if her conversation partner had an accent. Besides Participant 8, five other participants also cite their Americans accents as reasons why the Dutch may switch to English with them. Participant 8 recognizes this language switch as “normal” in the Netherlands, but it makes her feel like an outsider.

Examples 18 and 19 illustrate how Participants 1 and 2 recognize benevolence while feeling personally frustrated.

Example 18

Interviewer: And so how would you feel when people would switch to English? Or what would you do?

Participant 1: I feel very frustrated. I knew that they were doing it out of politeness. Uh and...and...um you know, I think that in general, in the Dutch culture, it's seen as a very...um...kind gesture to meet you in your language. But I found it frustrating. I found it frustrating because I wanted to learn the language. I wanted to feel capable in the language. And each time I did it, it made me feel less capable.

Participant 1 shares that, when she was learning Dutch, she found it frustrating when Dutch people would switch into English because it made her feel “less capable” in speaking Dutch. On the other hand, she also recognizes this strategy as a “kind gesture,” presuming that Dutch people were “doing it out of politeness.”

Example 19

Participant 2: But if you speak to me long enough, you will...like, an accent will come up. And um, but, I've had some people say to me, “Oh, um...do you want me to speak English?” [...] After I've been speaking Dutch to them for like, 15 minutes or so, right?

[...]

Interviewer: Do you know why they - are there certain words that use, or your accent? Do you know why they...suddenly switch?

Participant 2: No, because I haven't. Like, I know it sounds show-off. But I've lived here like for more than... 25 years. Right? So I have a huge vocabulary. That's not it. It's just this automatic tendency, like, oh, you're American. Boom, I should speak English. ...even though I've been speaking to you in Dutch the whole time. ((laughing)) I think it's just an automatic reflex. With me. Oh, you're American? Oh, would you rather - like accommodating, the Dutch are very accommodating. Um, “Oh, you want me to speak Dutch, uh English? Because I will.” Well, that's great. But, you know, I'm speaking Dutch now.

Participant 2 finds it frustrating when a conversation switches to English after she has already been conversing in Dutch. She suspects that people switch to English when they detect her American accent, despite her having a “huge vocabulary.” She recognizes that “the Dutch are very accommodating,” but she dislikes the language change because she is capable of communicating in Dutch.

5. Discussion

The results of this study show the complexity of communication between Americans and Dutch people. Americans’ motivation to learn Dutch and their evaluations of accommodation indicate that creating meaning in an interaction depends on their perceptions of themselves and their interlocutors, as well as their interlocutors’ perceptions of them.

5.1 Motivation

In contrast to Tung’s (1998) study, where language plays a limited role in expatriates’ acculturation, language learning is an integral part of Americans’ experiences in this study. In each of the four categories of motivation, positive or negative attitudes can be recognized. Language motivation typically involves positive attitudes (Masgoret & Gardner, 2003). The negative attitudes in this study are primarily associated with factors such as feeling pressured or feeling excluded rather than with the Dutch language itself. The participants’ persisting motivation despite some negative attitudes is reflective of Paiva’s (2011) understanding that motivation exists in a dynamic interactive system.

5.1.1 The Four Motivating Factors

The four categories of motivation highlight the participants' unique experiences and their similar linguistic struggles. The first category, location, suggests that English is not spoken to the same degree in all of the Netherlands. In Example 1, Participant 7 compares his small town to Amsterdam and Rotterdam, which are two of the largest Dutch cities. Since these two cities have the highest immigrant populations in the Netherlands (Entzinger, 2018), it is logical that English is prevalent there. In Example 2, Participant 9 explains that she was not motivated to learn Dutch until she moved to Zeeland. To say that Dutch is necessary in an entire province suggests that the image of high proficiency in the Netherlands may be deceiving. After moving to the Netherlands, Americans eventually realize that not every Dutch individual can speak or wants to speak English. Edwards (2014) finds that some Dutch people do not enjoy speaking English even if they are capable of doing so. Assuming that all Dutch people are equally proficient in or willing to speak English is an example of lumping (Scollon et al., 2012). An alternative explanation for Americans not experiencing English in certain locations could be that the Dutch residents do not expect non-Dutch speakers to also live there. This case would suggest that Dutch people prefer to speak Dutch if English is not necessary, which is also consistent with Edwards' (2014) overall findings.

The second category, personal interest, refers to intrinsic motivation and thoughts about respect. Americans learn Dutch because they are fascinated by the Dutch language or culture or because they find it respectful. Respect is featured in Example 3, where Participant 4 contrasts her motivation to learn Dutch with other Americans' lack of motivation. This desire to show respect is similar to Tung's (1998) finding that American expatriates find it important to conform to the host population's norms and learn more about the culture. While Participant 4 desires

acceptance from Dutch people in general, Participant 5 indicates more personal connections in Example 4. His motivation emphasizes two ideas. First, his desire to learn a new language despite being able to communicate with his partner in English shows that language choice has emotional implications. Second, the fact that Participant 5's mother-in-law speaks little English further supports the location category in that not all Dutch people speak English. Both Participants 4 and 5 show an integrative approach to SLA as they display an intrinsic desire to connect to the target culture. Paiva (2011) explains that changes in identity can trigger SLA development within the integrative approach. In this study, it seems that participants' identities even prior to learning Dutch may also influence their SLA.

The third category is external pressure. One area in which participants experience pressure to learn Dutch is work/living requirements. Example 5 suggests that Dutch proficiency is critical in healthcare. Participant 3 is surprised that she could find a healthcare job with her low Dutch proficiency. However, Example 10 shows that English is mandated at Participant 2's job as an English teacher. Therefore, the working language depends on the specific job. The pressure of work/living requirements as a motivating factor for learning Dutch arguably fits both the instrumental and integrative approaches. On the one hand, Dutch can be used as a tool to get a good job. On the other hand, to learn Dutch when English-speaking jobs also exist suggests that speaking Dutch at work is just one way in which Americans can acculturate. Participants also experience pressure from Dutch people. Example 6 illustrates a case in which Dutch people assert their knowledge of two languages to advise Participant 10 to learn Dutch. Comparing compulsory English lessons in the Netherlands (Ytsma, 2006) to foreign language learning in the United States (e.g. Baker, 2001; Gandara, 2018; Schmidt, 2008) indicates that Dutch people and monolingual Americans grow up with different exposures to languages. It may be that many

Americans do not achieve foreign language proficiency while living in the United States because they do not feel enough pressure.

The fourth category is social inclusion. Examples 7 and 8 suggest that there are instances in which Dutch people speak Dutch, even in the presence of an English speaker. Therefore, Dutch is used even though speaking English would likely lower the overall transaction costs (Pym, 2004), assuming the Dutch people also speak English. Supporting Tung's (1998) finding that American expatriates value social bonds with host populations, participants desire to speak Dutch in order to create meaningful connections. As all the participants in this study have a Dutch partner or Dutch family, the desire for social ties is likely even greater among them than in Tung's (1998) study. It is not clear, however, whether the desire for social inclusion is a sign of adopting a Dutch identity. While the personal interest category explicitly emphasizes an affinity towards the target culture, social inclusion may just be an example of Americans wanting to choose how much input they have in a conversation and not be restricted by language.

5.1.2 Internal Versus External Factors

The four motivating factors can be characterized as internal or external factors. Personal interest and social inclusion are internal in that they illustrate participants' desires to become part of Dutch society. Location and external pressure, in contrast, are outside forces that push Americans to learn Dutch. One could place internal factors under the integrative approach to motivation because participants show an innate desire to acculturate. External factors may illustrate the instrumental approach for utilitarian reasons such as getting a job or receiving a permit. Though the integrative and instrumental orientations dominate in motivation research (e.g. Kormos et al., 2011; Masgoret & Gardner, 2008; Paiva, 2011; Schumann, 1986), the results

of this study challenge these orientations because all participants experience both internal and external factors. Furthermore, social inclusion and pressure from Dutch people can arguably fit either the internal or external label. The desire to be included among Dutch people is an input for language motivation. At the same time, Americans might associate learning Dutch with acquiring social capital, which is more utilitarian than having an innate desire to create relationships. Similarly, external pressure from Dutch people is an output from social interactions, but Americans may respond to such pressure in various ways, such as reaffirming an innate desire to learn Dutch or connect with Dutch people. Since all participants share interconnected reasons for learning Dutch, it would not be accurate to only assign participants to either the integrative or instrumental approach. Looking at how internal and external factors work together illustrates how motivation to learn serves as both an input into and output from social action (Garrett, 2010).

5.2 Accommodation

The four categories of interactive strategies show that Americans' feelings of accommodation are determined by the interaction at hand, which complicates the conceptions of cultural boundaries within CAT (e.g. Giles & Ogay, 2007; Williams, 1999) and politeness strategies (e.g. Scollon et al., 2012). The context-dependence of accommodation supports the idea that intercultural communication is influenced by interpersonal dynamics, motives, and the socio-historical context of an interaction (Giles & Ogay, 2007).

5.2.1 The Four Interactive Strategies

The first interactive strategy pertains to Americans speaking English. English may be necessary in some cases, such as at certain jobs. Example 9 shows how Participant 2 uses

English not as a way to show solidarity or to create distance, but because it is expected in her role as a teacher. She is dissatisfied not with her student interlocutors, but with her Dutch colleagues, who do not speak English as much as the role necessitates. Though Participant 2 does not insinuate asymmetries in English proficiency between herself and her colleagues, she does suggest that there is a mismatch between the expectations and reality of the job. In some cases, participants find it simply easier to use English. Example 10 shows how, especially in the early stages of SLA, it is easier for participants to express themselves in English. When subject matter is complex and personal, Americans may prefer to speak their L1, even if it means losing an opportunity to acculturate. Participant 2 speaks her own language, which is an attribute of the independence strategy (Scollon et al., 2012). In this case, however, it is more accurate to consider Participant 2's strategy involvement since she shows strong interests in her interlocutor's affairs (Scollon et al., 2012), and since her interlocutor also speaks English. Example 10 suggests that in multilingual environments, the linguistic strategies within involvement and independence may shift.

The second interactive strategy refers to Americans speaking Dutch, which is fitting given all participants' motivation to learn Dutch. For some participants, speaking Dutch is habitual. Example 11 illustrates Participant 8's daily use of Dutch at work and with her boyfriend. Participant 8 even expresses some difficulty switching from Dutch to English for the interview. In her case, speaking Dutch with Dutch people would likely not be considered convergence in CAT terms, because there appears to be a low communicative distance between her and Dutch interlocutors. Another implication of Americans speaking Dutch is that the language may become a marker of their identity. In Example 12, Participant 9 assures her Dutch interlocutors that she and her children speak Dutch. She chooses to speak Dutch even when

English is readily available, and she asserts her identity as a Dutch-speaker rather than as an American. The Acculturation Model (Schumann, 1986) and Paiva's (2011) understanding of identity shift argue that SLA success is dependent upon learners adopting a new cultural identity. It is evident that Participant 9 has experienced an identity shift since she refuses to speak her L1 with a Dutch interlocutor. When considering the motivating factors for learning Dutch, one could also argue that Participant 9 desires social inclusion among Dutch people. This suggests that Americans' motivation to learn Dutch influences their interactions to the point of abandoning expediency.

The third and fourth strategies concern Dutch people's interactive strategies, as described by the Americans. Participants express contradictory feelings towards either strategy. The third strategy refers to the Dutch speaking Dutch, which Americans find to be either helpful or unhelpful. Americans find this strategy helpful when Dutch people allow them to practice their L2. In Example 13, Participant 1 explains how she had felt supported when Dutch people were "willing" to speak English with her. She felt accommodated by her interlocutors because they allowed her to learn. Her feeling of gratitude supports the validity of the various claims that English speakers do not always have opportunities to practice speaking Dutch (McArthur, 1992; Weltens & De Bot, 1995). On the other hand, participants find it unhelpful when they struggle with the Dutch language but their interlocutors do not adapt their speech. In Example 14, Participant 3 recalls being denied by her interlocutor after requesting to speak English. In Example 15, Participant 7 describes how he finds it unhelpful when his Dutch interlocutors do not slow down their speech. In these cases, the participants are dissatisfied because they feel under-accommodated. Though external pressure is one of the motivating factors for learning Dutch, Examples 14 and 15 show that participants may sometimes experience too much pressure

and feel discouraged. The contrast between the helpfulness in Example 13 and the unhelpfulness in Examples 14 and 15 illustrate why it is difficult to assign CAT labels to Americans' interactions with Dutch people. Speaking Dutch could be considered convergence, divergence, or maintenance depending on how Americans feel about their own competence. Speech partners may have asymmetrical awareness of what the other wants, which can lead to problematic talk. Williams (1999) explores this idea but does not detail how shifting cultural identities may influence linguistic dilemmas. When considering the use of Dutch as an identity marker, such as in Example 12, it is evident that individuals require varying amounts of accommodation, depending on their communicative goals.

The fourth strategy is Dutch people speaking English. In some cases, Americans recognize this strategy as benevolent. Example 16 shows how Participant 10, who has lived in the Netherlands for 1.5 years, feels relieved when someone sees her struggling and switches to English. On the other hand, Participants 1, 2, and 8 have lived in the country much longer and share different thoughts. In Example 18, Participant 1 recognizes Dutch people switching to English as polite, but she felt frustrated when Dutch people switched to English early in her SLA. Similarly, in Example 19, Participant 2 describes Dutch people as "accommodating" but does not appreciate when they change languages because of her accent. Given Zuengler's (1991) understanding of native-nonnative interactions, the Americans may feel that their Dutch interlocutors are judging their Dutch competence, rating it low, and deciding to accommodate. In Example 18, which illustrates frustration only, Participant 8 also references her American accent. While Participants 1 and 2 mainly discuss how the strategy of switching to English makes them feel less competent, Participant 8 explicitly states that the strategy makes her feel like an outsider. Furthermore, she says that she would not switch languages because of someone's

accent if she were in the United States. Participant 8 draws upon her cultural toolkit (Scollon et al., 2012) to make claims about how she expects people to communicate. With her cultural background, it is uncommon to switch languages in a conversation, but she supposes this is “normal” in the Netherlands. It is possible that Participant 8 has never experienced switching languages in a conversation in the United States because the ideology of monolingualism as natural (Baker, 2001; Schmidt, 2008) influences communication. Example 17, along with Example 19, also suggest that Americans feel dissatisfied when the language of conversation changes because their accents mark them as non-Dutch. Participant 2’s recognition that Dutch people are accommodating suggests that Dutch interlocutors may intend to show involvement (Scollon et al., 2012) by switching to English. The Americans, on the other hand, do not feel a sense of solidarity, but rather over-accommodation. As previous examples have illustrated, the Americans in this study experience a shift in identity the more they speak Dutch, consistent with the Acculturation Model (Schumann, 1986). When Dutch people speak English to them, Americans may feel not only that their competence is questioned, but that their new identity is compromised.

5.2.2 Evaluating Accommodation

While intentions are relatively clear for the first two strategies, Americans must interpret their Dutch interlocutors’ intentions for the third and fourth strategies. Americans have contradictory feelings towards each of the two strategies that the Dutch use. These conflicting feelings can be attributed to the constant negotiation of assumptions (Scollon et al., 2012; Williams, 1999; Zuengler, 1991) that occurs in interactions. At any one time, speakers in an interaction have different communicative goals, which affect evaluations of the interaction (Soukup, 2012). Interactions that Americans find most satisfying can be characterized as having

an appropriate amount of accommodation, or even a lack thereof. This happens when an American's request to speak English is fulfilled or when the Americans are fluent in Dutch and converse fully Dutch. On the other hand, the most unsatisfying interactions have over- or under-accommodation. This happens when Dutch people speak English and their intent is unclear, or when Dutch people maintain Dutch but Americans struggle to speak the language. Evaluations of interactive strategies are context-dependent because both English and Dutch may be rated as either satisfying or unsatisfying.

Furthermore, Americans' evaluations of benevolence and frustration when Dutch people switch to English have implications for the status of English in the Netherlands. When Americans mention benevolence, they assume positions as guests who are being helped by their Dutch hosts. This idea implies that English is not part of Dutch culture. Despite the high proficiency of English in the Netherlands, Americans might think that English does not "belong" to the Dutch in the same way it "belongs" to them. A sense of language ownership could be an effect of the monolingual English dominance in the United States (Schmidt, 2008), further illustrating that English is a *lingua culturae* for monolingual Americans (Spencer-Oatey & Franklin, 2009). Furthermore, the fourth strategy also suggests that acculturation is contingent on increasing Dutch use and decreasing English use. In this case, bilingualism in the Netherlands (Van Oostendorp, 2012) would imply a deficiency in English compared to the "ideal" monolingual English-speaking United States. Overall, Americans' feelings that Dutch people switching to English can be benevolent or frustrating highlights the paradox of freedom and dependency in SLA (Paiva, 2011), as well as the paradoxical nature of face with involvement and independence (Scollon et al., 2012).

5.3 Overall Linguistic Experiences

The linguistic experiences of Americans when interacting with Dutch people can be characterized by ongoing negotiation with their Dutch interlocutors. The frequency and the extent to which Americans engage with either language depend on the factors that motivate them to learn Dutch, as well as the communicative strategies that emerge in an interaction. English is primarily used when it is mandatory at work, when Americans find it easier to use to express emotions, or when there is a perceived struggle with the Dutch language. Dutch is used when English is not readily available, when parties refuse to speak English, or when Americans desire to acculturate. The varied, often interconnected reasons to speak Dutch illustrate the circumstances in which Americans either cannot use their L1 or choose not to use it.

While Americans learning Dutch may reduce complexity, it can also increase complexity by widening the range of linguistic repertoires from which to choose. This aligns with Pym's (2004) argument that reducing transaction costs does not necessarily mean reducing complexity. When Americans in the Netherlands learn Dutch or interact with Dutch people, they engage with people equipped with different cultural toolkits (Scollon et al., 2012) and expand upon their own toolkits. If culture is "[...] a way of dividing people up into groups according to some feature of these people which helps us to understand something about them and how they are different from or similar to other people" (Scollon et al., 2012, p. 3), then there are endless possibilities in dividing up groups of people. Therefore, depending on the language used and the particular goals of an interaction, communication between Americans and Dutch people arguably fluctuates between inter- and intra-cultural. Americans' linguistic experiences in the Netherlands can be summarized by constant negotiations of communicative needs and desires, as well as negotiations of self-imposed identities and identities perceived by others. Consistent with the

Acculturation Model (Schumann, 1986), there seems to be a positive relationship between acquiring Dutch proficiency and becoming part of Dutch society. Though several participants are not highly proficient in Dutch, their motivations and personal desires indicate that they wish to acculturate and that they are on the path to doing so.

6. Conclusion

The main research question was *What are the linguistic experiences of Americans when interacting with Dutch people?* The experiences of the Americans in this study can be summarized by ongoing negotiations with their Dutch interlocutors about which language brings the most satisfaction and success to a conversation. The answers to the two sub-questions—*What factors motivate Americans to learn Dutch?* and *To what extent do Americans feel accommodated by the interactive strategies of their Dutch interlocutors?*—show that the Americans in this study are highly motivated to learn Dutch, and their motivation influences how they feel about interactions in either English or Dutch. The interconnected factors that drive Americans to learn Dutch explain why Americans evaluate some interactions as satisfying and others as unsatisfying. Feelings of accommodation depend on the Americans' communicative goals, their Dutch proficiency, and their interlocutors' judgments of their Dutch proficiency. The results suggest that Americans wish to assert their individual identities and linguistic needs, but with a consistent desire to be competent in Dutch. Despite the global influence of English (Jenkins, 2011) and high proficiency of English in the Netherlands (Education First, 2020; Van Oostendorp, 2012), L1 English speakers may still choose to learn Dutch.

The Americans in this study are particularly oriented towards the Dutch language and/or culture. They exhibit a movement away from being monolingual Americans. There is also an aversion to being *perceived* as a monolingual American. The results of this study indicate a

relationship between learning the Dutch language and acculturating to Dutch society, in line with the Acculturation Model (Schumann, 1986). Even for participants who are not yet fluent in Dutch, there are intentions to become closer to the target culture. When Americans do achieve Dutch proficiency and then sense that their competence is judged, they may feel that they are stripped of their new identity.

As indicated in existing literature and discourse, this study also shows a contradictory narrative regarding English use. Participants say that everyone *and* not everyone speaks English in the Netherlands. This narrative could be a result of switching between “everyone” and “not everyone” depending on which story the participants are trying to tell. It may seem that everyone speaks English when Americans want to speak Dutch but are responded to in English. On the other hand, if an American lives in a small town and does not yet speak Dutch, it becomes clear that not everyone speaks English. Regardless of the story being told, it is evident that the Americans in this study engage with both English and Dutch.

This study shows that communication is complex, even if two speakers know the same languages. Reducing transaction costs does not always mean reducing complexity (Pym, 2004). People develop language preferences, keeping complexity high by increasing the linguistic repertoires from which to choose. The future of intercultural communication relies not only on people adding languages to their linguistic repertoires, but also on deciding which communication strategies are most appropriate. For Americans in the Netherlands, confusion about language use in particular contexts does not stop after they decide to learn Dutch; however, it is evident that learning Dutch is beneficial if Americans seek to make the Netherlands their new home.

6.1 Limitations And Further Research

The aim of this study was to fill in a gap regarding L1 speakers of English in the Netherlands. At the same time, this study may serve as a catalyst for future studies of Americans or English speakers abroad. While the participants in this study provided rich data, the research also has limitations. Studies using qualitative methods are subject to researcher bias in interpreting the results (Dörnyei, 2007), especially when ideas of culture are salient. The researcher in this study aimed to reduce bias as much as possible, but future research could potentially be carried out by cross-referencing results with other researchers. A larger pool of participants could potentially include Americans who are not motivated to learn Dutch, have a short-term work contract, or grew up bi- or multilingual. A larger study could also include a questionnaire to investigate the statistical significance of participants' answers and see if other linguistic phenomena are relevant. A questionnaire could also ask participants for various demographic data to make connections between identities under the umbrella of being American, such as age, gender, or race. Furthermore, future studies could include Dutch nationals as participants. Including Dutch participants could expand upon, for example, research regarding motives behind certain interactive strategies. Another possibility is a case study observing interactions between Americans and Dutch people. Such a case study could then be analyzed using conversation analysis, which would provide first-hand qualitative data rather than story-telling data.

Beyond Dutch language learning motivation and interactive strategies, future research could further investigate the language ideologies in Americans' cultural toolkits (Scollon et al., 2012). Research could examine the extent to which the English-Only ideology plays a role in the

lives of Americans that move abroad. Such a study could expand research into the politics of language and investigate language as a resource (Baker, 2001) in an English-dominated world.

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Appendix A

Participant Information

Participant Number	Gender	Age	Occupation	Location*	Time lived in the Netherlands (in years)
1	Female	46	Stay-at-home mother	South Holland	23
2	Female	49	Teacher	Gelderland	28
3	Female	25	Healthcare worker	North Holland	1
4	Female	28	Student	Utrecht	0.5
5	Male	55	Teacher	North Holland	20
6	Female	27	Teacher	South Holland	2.5
7	Male	48	Chiropractor	Gelderland	1
8	Female	29	Plant care worker	South Holland	7.5
9	Female	39	Stay-at-home mother	South Holland	14.5
10	Female	47	Teacher	North Holland	1.5

**For privacy reasons, the location refers to each participant's respective province rather than city/town.*

Appendix B

Interview Topic Guide

1. Introductory questions

- a. Name, age, gender, occupation, etc.
- b. Where they grew up

2. Living in the Netherlands

- a. Where do they currently live?
- b. Why did they move to the Netherlands?
- c. How long have they lived here/how long do they plan to stay?

3. Interacting with Dutch people

- a. Where/when do they come in contact with Dutch people?
- b. Can they think of particularly successful/unsuccessful interactions? Why were they successful/unsuccessful?

4. Language use

- a. Speaking Dutch
 - i. Why/how did they learn/not learn?
 - ii. What motivates them/would motivate them?
 - iii. Has anyone ever made comments on their Dutch/English?
 - iv. How important is it to speak Dutch?
- b. In which contexts do they use Dutch and/or English?
 - i. Does the language ever switch during a conversation? How do they feel about it?
 - ii. Confusion on which language to use?

5. Comparing English and Dutch

- a. Which language do they prefer speaking?
- b. What are the advantages to speaking Dutch/English? Any disadvantages?
- c. Has their English changed at all since living in the Netherlands?

6. Reflection

- a. Has their identity changed at all?
- b. How prepared were they for life in the Netherlands?
- c. Advice and/or questions on language in the Netherlands?
 - i. For Dutch people? For Americans?

7. Closing statements

- a. Anything else they'd like to add?

Appendix C

Information Letter



Information Letter about participation in

Interview for MA Intercultural Communication Thesis Project: Americans in the Netherlands

1. Introduction

Thank you for your interest in participating in this thesis project as part of the MA Intercultural Communication program at Utrecht University. The researcher, MA student Madison Steele, kindly asks you to read the contents of this letter so that you can give your informed consent to participate in the research.

This study consists of an interview with the researcher that will take place via an online platform unless otherwise agreed upon by you and the researcher to meet in-person. The contents of the interview will be used in writing the researcher's thesis paper. You may withdraw your consent at any time prior to or during the interview by informing the researcher verbally or in writing.

2. What is the background and purpose of the study?

The purpose of this study is educational. It aims to collect and analyze the diverse experiences of American expatriates living in the Netherlands, particularly those who grew up monolingual/only speaking English. The primary topic of interest is Americans' use of the English and Dutch languages when interacting with the Dutch population.

3. How will the study be carried out?

This study consists of one-on-one interviews between the researcher and each participant. Interviews will be conducted via an online platform unless otherwise agreed upon by you and the researcher to meet in-person. Interviews will last for approximately 30 minutes.

Audio and/or video recordings of the interviews will be made with your consent. This is necessary in order for the researcher to capture the everyday experiences of Americans living in the Netherlands. During the interview, the researcher will ask you questions about your experiences living in the Netherlands, with a particular focus on language.

4. What is expected of you?

It is expected of you to allow approximately 30 minutes of your time for the interview on the date agreed upon by you and the researcher. The interviews will take place during the most convenient time agreed upon by you and the researcher. You are expected to participate in one interview session, but you are requested to be available to receive follow-up questions in writing from the researcher if necessary.



5. What are the possible advantages and disadvantages of participating in this study?

You will not benefit directly from participation in this study. However, the study may provide useful data for the future. For example, research into how Americans experience language use in the Netherlands can also provide basic information on how Americans can adapt to life in the Netherlands. Potential disadvantages include that you might find some of the questions confrontational.

6. Voluntary participation

Participation is voluntary. If you decide that you do want to participate after all, no action is necessary on your part. You do not need to sign anything. In addition, you do not need to explain why you do not want to participate. If you are participating, you can always change your mind and stop at any time — including during the study. In addition, you can still withdraw your consent after you have taken part. If you choose to do so, your research data will not be included in the analyses. However, your research data can no longer be deleted if the data have already been analyzed or if the research data can no longer be traced back to you (see below).

7. For what purpose will the data collected be used?

Your personal data (name, location, and other privacy-sensitive data) will be managed by the researcher, Madison Steele. Audio/video recordings will be stored on the researcher's personal, password-protected devices. If you wish to correct or have this personal data deleted, you can do so by contacting Madison Steele. The personal data will not be shared with other people for purposes outside of the research.

Your identity will be made anonymous in the data analysis. Any personal information that could reasonably identify you will be removed or changed before files are shared with other researchers or results are made public. In addition, only the researcher and the thesis supervisor will have access to the signed consent forms.

8. Is any reimbursement provided for your participation in the study?

NO

9. More information about this study?

If you have any questions before, during, or after the interview, please contact the researcher, Madison Steele, at: m.a.steele@students.uu.nl.

If you have any questions or complaints that you would not like to direct towards the researcher, please contact the thesis supervisor at: a.m.micklos@uu.nl.

10. Appendices:

Please see the Declaration of Consent.

Appendix D

Consent Form



Universiteit Utrecht

DECLARATION OF CONSENT for participation in:

Interview for MA Intercultural Communication Thesis Project: Americans in the Netherlands

I confirm:

- that I have been satisfactorily informed about the study via the Information Letter;
- that I have been given the opportunity to ask questions about the study and that any questions I may have asked have been satisfactorily answered;
- that I have had the opportunity to carefully consider my participation in this study;
- that I am voluntarily participating.

I agree that:

- the data collected will be obtained for educational purposes and retained as stated in the Information Letter;
- the collected research data may be shared with the professor who is assessing the project;
- video and/or audio recordings may also be made for educational purposes.

I understand that:

- I have the right to withdraw my consent for the use of data, as stated in the Information Letter.

Name participant: _____

Date of birth: ___ / ___ / ___ (dd/mm/yyyy)

Signature: _____

Date, place: ___ / ___ / ___, _____

To be completed by the researcher with ultimate responsibility:

Name: _____

I declare that I have explained to the above person what participation involves.

Date: ___ / ___ / ___ (dd/mm/yyyy)

Signature: _____

Appendix E

NVivo Codes

Motivation to learn Dutch

1. Location

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

1 reference coded, 0.54% coverage

Reference 1: 0.54% coverage

So yeah, I think it really has to do with that. I think if you stay in an expat community, and you have a job that, you know, where you work with, people only speak English, or, for example, at Unilever, or somewhere where there are lots of expats, that I think that there's very little reason to learn Dutch.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 4

3 references coded, 2.15% coverage

Reference 1: 0.66% coverage

Um...actually...well, so far, it's been pretty terrible. Because of COVID. I, I have some Dutch family friends, who, they - their English is not good. So then they speak a lot of Dutch to me.

Reference 2: 0.95% coverage

Yeah, it depends on the person. Um, it really does. And I think it helps because I - where I'm living right now is a small village. So like, people aren't used - as used to hearing someone speaking English and not being able to speak Dutch. So I tried really hard to speak Dutch.

Reference 3: 0.53% coverage

And it depends too, like um...on the Dutch person's confidence in their English, like, um, sometimes some people, like, I got my dog groomed last week.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

3 references coded, 4.42% coverage

Reference 1: 1.76% coverage

Um, I definitely think the smaller towns and like the villages, English is used - isn't as common, and I definitely think they're not as exposed to native speakers, right? And [city] is a student city, but it's so far away from, you know, the west and like the Randstad, so, I think they just aren't as exposed. And all of the students, um, tend to just be in like, one place in the city. And so even if you go further around to those smaller villages that are nearby, people like, tend to not speak English as much

Reference 2: 0.88% coverage

I actually did my research for [grant] on the willingness to communicate in the classroom in English, because although my students were in a bilingual program, they were still so reluctant to speak English. And, um, for a number of different reasons

Reference 3: 1.78% coverage

Um, honestly, like, so yeah, I was in a small town. And I was quite shocked. You know, so everyone was like, "No, everyone speaks English. And I was like, No, they don't." ((laughing)) And I think everyone is just thinking about, like, The Hague, and Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, you know, I don't think that they think about the eastern part, or the, like, the southern part of the Netherlands, or even the northern part where...um, English isn't the working language there. You know, and those smaller communities.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 7

2 references coded, 3.52% coverage

Reference 1: 1.78% coverage

Well, yeah, I live here. So ((laughing)) it's just, and I don't live, you know, I don't live in one of the big cities, I don't live in Amsterdam, I don't live in Rotterdam, where everybody speaks English. I live in a little farming community, you know, about 20 minutes from Zwolle and people here...they probably can, but they don't.

Reference 2: 1.73% coverage

Well, where I live, it's very important. Yep. Where I, like I said, I don't live in Amsterdam. So where I live, it's very important. People here are, a little, well not a little, a lot more reserved when it comes to...uh...to wanting to speak English. So yeah, the part of the country where I live, it's really pretty crucial.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 8

2 references coded, 6.02% coverage

Reference 1: 3.31% coverage

I think living in the, living in this town instead of living in like Amsterdam, or, or The Hague or something. It also, um, I think, made a difference. Yeah, made a difference for my Dutch because if you're like, still, when I'm in some of the cities, then people just talk English to me. And like, and in a small town, they just speak Dutch to you and they're not going to switch to English as easily

Reference 2: 2.71% coverage

Yeah, I think so. Yeah. Yeah. Like where I work, there's a lot of people from Poland who work on the nurseries. So, like, so, a lot of them don't speak any English, and they speak very basic

Dutch. So that's also just a lot more difficult to, for the Dutch people to communicate with them since, yeah, they can't speak English

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

1 reference coded, 0.91% coverage

Reference 1: 0.91% coverage

Because I went from having an attitude, in the beginning of, well, everyone here speaks English. Why do I have to learn Dutch? I don't want to learn Dutch. And then I lived in Zeeland of all places, where not many people speak English. And so I was like, "Oh, crap, I really need to learn some Dutch.

2. Personal Interest

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

7 references coded, 4.09% coverage

Reference 1: 0.48% coverage

And I set myself a goal that - I knew I wasn't going to be fluent in six weeks, but I really set myself a goal that I wanted to feel at the end of those six weeks that I had at least made a good start in the language and that I had faith that I was going to be able to speak the language

Reference 2: 0.24% coverage

So that gave me confidence because it's hard, the pronunciation's hard...and the fact that I was enjoying the language lessons.

Reference 3: 0.07% coverage

I wanted to feel capable in the language.

Reference 4: 1.38% coverage

And I found out that the Dutch course was a whole year. And I thought, "Well, I don't want to do that. I want to start in September." So I went to the professor's office ((laughing)) I had lot of guts, I went to the professor's office, I knocked on her door and I said, "I want to start in September, I already speak Dutch, can I just take the final exam?" and she looked at me like, "Wow, you've got some nerve." You know, my students spend a whole year learning Dutch, and you just want to come in and take the final exam. So she sat me down, and she gave me a practice exam. And I took it and she said, "Huh, your Dutch is actually quite good." And so she said, "You know what, I'm going to suggest a book to you, I want you to go home and study it for six weeks, come back and take the exam."

Reference 5: 0.66% coverage

And I knew I was coming here, I didn't know if it was going to stay for the rest of my life, but I knew I was going to stay for a long time. And so I really was on a mission to put down roots here. And I knew that if I wanted to put down roots, and I wanted to feel happy, I wanted to make friends. And the only way you can really, really get to know someone is to speak their language.

Reference 6: 0.80% coverage

You know, that's a really good question too. Because when I look back, I only spoke Dutch because I was so determined to be taken seriously as someone who really lives here. Um, but it might have made things easier for me that first pregnancy if I had been willing to speak English. Because there were miscommunications. ((laughing)) Nothing, it wasn't anything detrimental. Yeah. You know, like those conversations were kind of strange. Yeah

Reference 7: 0.46% coverage

Yeah, I think...it's important for us to remember that that language is not just a tool for you know, getting what you want. It's um...it's an art form too. It can be an art form. And to that, I think that that's something we forget to appreciate these days.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

1 reference coded, 0.32% coverage

Reference 1: 0.32% coverage

Yeah...it's very, I think it's much harder. You have to be, um, you have to be really, really driven to learn Dutch. Here.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 3

3 references coded, 3.16% coverage

Reference 1: 1.22% coverage

But my thing with that is, I feel like, before I moved here, I was so excited about learning Dutch, and I was so like, intrigued with them, like, oh, I'm going to speak such good Dutch there, it's going to be amazing. And I did all kinds of online things, I even had like, a Dutch tutor, um, in America, that was super...she was super nice.

Reference 2: 1.00% coverage

And I'm like, wanting to learn Dutch but it's like, do I want to go like, bike over like, 10-15 minutes that way, like, every night to go to a Dutch lesson? Do I want to do that? I don't know. So it's like, a little bit...less... excited to learn, I guess. I don't know why that is.

Reference 3: 0.93% coverage

Yeah, so that's what I'm waiting back for right now, to hear from the school because I might...take some lessons here in town just like force myself to go because I know I have to. If I'm ever going to have a life here, I have to like get out of my comfort zone.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 4

11 references coded, 12.38% coverage

Reference 1: 0.98% coverage

So...like, personally, I really want to live here because I feel really connected to the culture and I feel um, really good here. I also would like to learn Dutch myself. And just...Netherlands as a country is really, it's really international, has a really cool expat community

Reference 2: 1.30% coverage

A little bit. Um...so before I came here, I did like Duolingo and stuff. Um...and then when I was small, I was like 9 or 10. There is a little, little Like Dutch American community in Minnesota, and these ladies set up, like, a Dutch school. And so like, once a week on Saturdays as a kid, I would go and learn Dutch words. Um...never learned anything like grammar or anything.

Reference 3: 0.86% coverage

Because I took a little placement test, and they had me write a little bit, and I wrote very little, you know, so, but, I'm excited because I would - I'd rather have it be challenging, and then I'll just really try to work and try really hard. So. Yeah.

Reference 4: 1.10% coverage

I have heard about American expats who have lived here for like 10, 15 years, and they have not learned Dutch because it's not necessary, because they can talk in English in their, in their jobs. And you know, everybody speaks really good English here, whatever. For me, it feels a little disrespectful to not try.

Reference 5: 0.76% coverage

So I do it out of, um, respect for the country, because this is where people speak Dutch and you should learn if you want to live here. Um, but then also just like personally, I think, too. Um, I just think it would be cool.

Reference 6: 1.68% coverage

I think it depends on people's comfort level too, and like, who you talk to. It's like, I know, you're not interviewing my husband, [Interviewer]. But like, he is a lot more nervous. And like...for me, I'm like, whatever. I just shove some Dutch on people. If it works, it works. And if it doesn't, it doesn't. I'm like, eh, whatever. Like I'm learning. You know, that's how I learn. And for him, his lack of Dutch skills, like it actually makes him, like, uncomfortable a little bit

Reference 7: 0.82% coverage

Like, for me, it's like a point of pride and like, I'm like, "Okay, if I stay here, like, I definitely want to." But I can easily understand why people wouldn't, you know, especially since Dutch people are so...proficient in English.

Reference 8: 1.15% coverage

Yeah, and then I would say, for American people...um... this is not right, because it doesn't apply to everybody, of course. But like, why do you, why do you feel that not learning Dutch is an okay thing to do if you're planning on staying here long term? Yeah, like why do you think that's okay? I think those would be my questions.

Reference 9: 1.09% coverage

But then I think once you've been there for two years, you've kind of maybe, you've, you know, found a place to live, you found your job, like, you've kind of figured out your routine, you're starting to feel comfortable, like okay, if you want to stay longer, then I think you should really invest time in learning

Reference 10: 1.14% coverage

it's just interesting because like, I'm interviewing with this company, and like I learned in the interview, like, "Oh, yeah, a lot of us are internationals, like some of us have been here for 10 years, and we don't speak Dutch." And when I hear that...yeah, I want to hear that, I'm like, "Huh?" Like, "what?" It's interesting

Reference 11: 1.51% coverage

Mmm...just that I really want America to figure out their shit because I...truly think the world is becoming more global and it's important to learn languages. And my American education...um, was...crap, from a language perspective, compared to some of our classmates in our program. Like I feel, um, woefully inadequate compared to a lot of our classmates. People speaking like six languages, I'm like ((widening eyes)).

Files\\PARTICIPANT 5

5 references coded, 2.84% coverage

Reference 1: 0.41% coverage

Why have I learned Dutch?" And, for me, it was a matter of respect. A: and also I'm a linguist, and B: was also, the Dutch want to speak Dutch when they're with each other at a certain point.

Reference 2: 0.46% coverage

Um ((laughing)) yeah, I was really motivated actually to learn Dutch because I speak, um, I learned, I have a background in foreign language. So...um, and I thought it'd be nice to learn my partner's language.

Reference 3: 0.47% coverage

But we were going to be here for at least two years, and I thought, "I should learn the language." And I didn't have any job at the time, I didn't have a job at the time, so I thought, "What else can I do? I'll learn Dutch."

Reference 4: 0.25% coverage

Yeah. If I were...um...I think that, I mean, I think that, um, I think that Dutch is a really beautiful language.

Reference 5: 1.26% coverage

And I think once you get here...don't...um, don't hide in an expat community. I think, because there are people especially in Amsterdam, there are people that have hidden in an expat community and it's a bubble, you live in a bubble. So you're not...I don't know if you've discovered this or not, but their expat life is - I don't consider myself and expat. Expat life is different than people who live in the country. And I think that that's a shame because you don't learn. You don't get to know the Netherlands and I think...um...the Netherlands is a, is a very sweet country.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

2 references coded, 1.20% coverage

Reference 1: 0.16% coverage

Um, I always wanted to live and teach abroad.

Reference 2: 1.04% coverage

You know, I don't know any other language. You know, you come here and everyone speaks English, German, French, like Spanish. And then it's just like, oh, you only speak English, right? Yeah. So that kind of motivates me. I want to be more well rounded and be able to, like, interact with other people.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

7 references coded, 8.77% coverage

Reference 1: 0.70% coverage

Well, the funny thing is, so my Dutch, my grandparents, my paternal grandparents are Dutch. They immigrated in the early 1950s to America. And so I've always had an interest in this country and culture, since I grew up with it.

Reference 2: 0.60% coverage

I didn't really grow up, they spoke the language to each other, but I never picked up on it. A couple words here and there. But other than that, nothing, which to my greatest regrets ((laughing)).

Reference 3: 1.04% coverage

That it's not only the language, but it's also culture, history, and different things. But because I had a, I scored a higher level, and my goal was to work and/or do a study here as well, I was able to do what's called a *NT2 staats examen*, that's a higher level, and the focus is really on the language. So I was really glad that I got to do that.

Reference 4: 1.23% coverage

When I'm with living here and my daily interactions...and it's funny because I have often, of, things like, you know, bol.com, you know, you can speak, uh "Press 1 for Dutch or 2 for English," you know, and I can speak to customer service person in English, and that would be a lot easier for me, but I..I choose for myself to do it in Dutch, because it's good to keep myself stimulated in the language

Reference 5: 1.26% coverage

Ooh. ((laughing)) Looking back now, probably not as prepared as I wish I was because, um... you know...when I, when I was living in, doing the volunteer, volunteer work in Amsterdam, that was for me, you know, Amsterdam is very international, you don't need to speak Dutch ever, if you don't want to, other than maybe understanding some things at the grocery store. You know, so that was I was spoiled in that.

Reference 6: 2.65% coverage

So but, you know, I've also read...I've also read online, people who, you know, different Americans, or different people from other countries that...they're just adamant like, "Well, I have no desire to learn the language. So I will just live in an area where I don't have to, or I just make my partner translate everything for me." And...um...if I'm brutally honest, that frustrates me to no end, because I'm thinking, "You made the decision to, for whatever reason, to immigrate to this country, whether it be permanently or even if it's for a longer period of time, and you have a desire to go back to your homeland or somewhere else. You're still here for right now. And the fact that you're asking people, natives in their native country to speak a secondary language to you." I find that a bit...uh...that that's, yeah, like, not a good sense of pride.

Reference 7: 1.29% coverage

And stay true to who you are in terms of where you come from your cultures, your values, but also...don't have the expectation that people are going to adjust to your cultural norms, because you've entered into a country with different cultural norms. Um...people shouldn't have to adjust for you, you need to adjust yourself to where you've made the decision to move to, to immigrate to, but don't lose who you are.

Files\\z PARTICIPANT 10

3 references coded, 3.50% coverage

Reference 1: 0.53% coverage

So, there were a couple of...of jobs and occupations that kind of pushed my needing to learn Dutch or, even really wanting to spend the time to do it to...the background

Reference 2: 2.03% coverage

So that was like the first step. And then I have this huge notebook of like, all the notes and all the verbs and stuff. So I'm a really visual learner. So I have to write everything down. So that's kind of what, what I've been doing lately. And if I could go to school right now, I would. Like, I have the time to do it. And it's, it's a little bit expensive. But you can, I've been told that you can get a loan if you need to, interest free, so that you can pay off the cost. Like for people who wouldn't be able to pay the whole thing upfront. But now, it's just kind of a matter of the fact that Corona is here, and higher education isn't, as you know, isn't open. So.

Reference 3: 0.95% coverage

So let - my language acquisition when I was younger was, when I was at school, was much faster and much more accurate as compared to when I'm older and have a family and can't concentrate on it. So, I think if I had the opportunity to go to school, I think I would, my learning would be much, much much faster.

3. External Pressure

a. Work/living requirements

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

2 references coded, 1.92% coverage

Reference 1: 1.38% coverage

And I found out that the Dutch course was a whole year. And I thought, "Well, I don't want to do that. I want to start in September." So I went to the professor's office ((laughing)) I had lot of guts, I went to the professor's office, I knocked on her door and I said, "I want to start in September, I already speak Dutch, can I just take the final exam?" and she looked at me like, "Wow, you've got some nerve." You know, my students spend a whole year learning Dutch, and you just want to come in and take the final exam. So she sat me down, and she gave me a practice exam. And I took it and she said, "Huh, your Dutch is actually quite good." And so she said, "You know what, I'm going to suggest a book to you, I want you to go home and study it for six weeks, come back and take the exam."

Reference 2: 0.54% coverage

So yeah, I think it really has to do with that. I think if you stay in an expat community, and you have a job that, you know, where you work with, people only speak English, or, for example, at

Unilever, or somewhere where there are lots of expats, that I think that there's very little reason to learn Dutch.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

1 reference coded, 1.17% coverage

Reference 1: 1.17% coverage

But I haven't ever really put a lot of effort ((laughing)) into that. Um, but I can. But, but even just, just to get maybe lower level skilled jobs, obviously, you just need to be able to talk. And if you can talk you can work in a...by IKEA, or the supermarket or in official workings to house like nursing home, or health care or something. But, but you gotta have, you gotta have something. You don't have to have a lot, but you got to have something.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 3

2 references coded, 2.33% coverage

Reference 1: 1.10% coverage

Um, just...I guess, like, job wise, because, as, as well as they speak English in this country, like most people speak English....um, that also lessens the jobs for people that only speak English, because why would take me over a Dutch person that can speak perfectly good English just as much as me?

Reference 2: 1.23% coverage

So it's like...I work in home health, which I normally would not be able to do that unless I spoke perfect Dutch, but I got really lucky with this very small business, but normally no, I would not be able to speak...I mean, I wouldn't be able to work anywhere in healthcare at all, which is what I do, um, if I don't speak Dutch. Great Dutch.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 4

1 reference coded, 1.01% coverage

Reference 1: 1.01% coverage

Yeah, um...I think...it's really interesting. So like, for my field, I thought, "Oh, my god, I'm gonna be like, screwed," um, speaking, not being able to speak Dutch. And it is true. Like some of the jobs I've been looking at, they've been like, we need fluent Dutch and English speakers.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 5

1 reference coded, 0.76% coverage

Reference 1: 0.76% coverage

Yeah, I'm wondering if - I mean, I, um...I do have British friends that don't speak Dutch very well, or one friend of mine, lived here for, I don't know, 12, 13 years? And, um...learned it passively but had a major health crisis, and then needed to speak Dutch in order to get his needs met. But before that, he'd completely, he'd always spoke English

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

1 reference coded, 0.98% coverage

Reference 1: 0.98% coverage

I have been learning some Dutch, not regularly. I actually have some Dutch workbooks sitting right next to me, and I hope to take it a little bit more seriously um, in the coming months, and in, the last like, few years, I'm here, so I can take the inburgersings exam. And yeah, that's it.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 7

2 references coded, 2.80% coverage

Reference 1: 1.41% coverage

You can't, I can't get licensed to work here, until I reach at least level B1 in the Dutch language. And that's to start, I have to finish, I have to complete up to level B2. But once I hit the level 1, which were I, which is where I am now I just barely completed level B1.

Reference 2: 1.39% coverage

And, and so that's, I think, also I don't find it to be a beautiful language. ((laughing)) You know, it's to me it sounds harsh, and, and it's, and it's, and...it sounds harsh and primitive to me. And so I don't love language. I'm learning it, but I don't love it.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 8

2 references coded, 3.13% coverage

Reference 1: 1.32% coverage

Um, well when I was an au pair,, there was two little boys who didn't speak any English. So I kind of had to learn it really quickly to be able to understand them

Reference 2: 1.81% coverage

Uh, I was a bit frustrated in the beginning. And also just with the, yeah, with the two little kids to take care of and you're trying to figure out what's, what they want. And, yeah, can't understand each other at all.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

6 references coded, 7.62% coverage

Reference 1: 1.52% coverage

So. um, I learned only some of the funny social words when I was working in Amsterdam. And I picked up a little bit more in the couple of months that I was an au pair for the family that was in a village near Hilversum. Um, you know, because they were trying to teach me some Dutch words because they, were the kids were speaking Dutch to each other and I didn't know what they were saying and I heard them talking about me. I knew enough words to know, you know, so I was like, "I want to learn a little bit."

Reference 2: 0.83% coverage

It wasn't until...so my husband is originally from the province of Zeeland. And, um, we were, we were living there our first year in an apartment and I got a letter from the gemeente, so the town hall, saying that I had to follow an integration language course for Dutch

Reference 3: 1.26% coverage

So then, um, I got that letter, and we made the decision to move to [city] and so I switched everything over to this township and started a course. I had to do an entrance exam, to see what my level of Dutch was, my starting level of Dutch. And I forget all the levels now like A1, A2, B1, and all of that. Um, I started at a high enough level, because you have here the basic Dutch *inburgeringscursus*, they call that.

Reference 4: 1.04% coverage

That it's not only the language, but it's also culture, history, and different things. But because I had a, I scored a higher level, and my goal was to work and/or do a study here as well, I was able to do what's called a *NT2 staats examen*, that's a higher level, and the focus is really on the language. So I was really glad that I got to do that.

Reference 5: 0.91% coverage

Because I went from having an attitude, in the beginning of, well, everyone here speaks English. Why do I have to learn Dutch? I don't want to learn Dutch. And then I lived in Zeeland of all places, where not many people speak English. And so I was like, "Oh, crap, I really need to learn some Dutch."

Reference 6: 2.06% coverage

So, you know, those were areas, or, or times in my life that, here, that I didn't have to speak Dutch if I didn't want to. But then, you know, I got married, and I was living in Zeeland, and then we moved, and then life happened, and I, you know, I got pregnant, and we bought a house and all of these life instances, and I'm like, "Oh, my gosh, you know, I need to change my attitude." Because here, I was, like, you know, I went from, "Oh, I don't have to learn the language, they'll do everything in English for me," which, that's a bunch of crap, you know, to "Wow, if I really want to do what's best for myself and for my family, I need to learn the language and take it seriously."

Files\\z PARTICIPANT 10

2 references coded, 2.03% coverage

Reference 1: 1.18% coverage

So yeah, so he really picked it up quickly. And my plan was, you know, I have a residency permit for five years. So it's required that I have to take a language test at the, kind of around the

end of it. And I have - was...you couldn't see this, but it's this program. ((holding up paper)) And I, I really liked it. I went there and I took a test class, it was like an hour and a half class.

Reference 2: 0.86% coverage

So I don't have to take, I think, the, the most stringent citizenship tests, but I do have to take the language exam within that five year window. So before I...either decide to go for my citizenship, or I go to renew my, my residency permit, they want me to have that language

b. From Dutch people

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

2 references coded, 1.29% coverage

Reference 1: 0.41% coverage

And my host family, cut me off from English the day I walked in the door...So that within, within three, you know, within three months, I was chatting away.

Reference 2: 0.88% coverage

And my mother in law was really good. She made me go to this fitness class, I remember, I was like, you've got to be kidding me. It's like, you know, like, like a delayed reaction, everybody else starts doing jumping jacks, and you're like, oh yeah ((laughing)) I'll just join it. But I learned to count, I learned, uh...just basic stuff.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 4

3 references coded, 3.44% coverage

Reference 1: 0.98% coverage

Um, honestly, it's both. It's both because I...I grew up monolingual. But like, my whole life, I was always told, like, "well, why doesn't she speak Dutch?" Like, I have my dad's family here. But my dad only spoke English to me at home. And my mother too. So I have pressure from that.

Reference 2: 1.17% coverage

I mean, I just feel like, yeah, I finally mastered a second language, like after all these years of my family being like, "Oh, what a shame! It's such a shame that you don't speak Dutch." Like every time I hear them, every time I see them, it's always, that, like, nonsense. So it'd be nice to be like, "Actually!" ((laughing)) "I do now!"

Reference 3: 1.29% coverage

Um...I'm trying to think a little bit. I mean...so my landlord...I'm like, looking around. Uh...I get a vibe from him, that he is not pleased that I was raised by a Dutch guy, but I don't speak Dutch. I think he thinks that I should. Um...and especially that I'm living here now, like he, I think that's kind of his attitude. Yeah. So sometimes I feel a little shade from him.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 5

1 reference coded, 0.22% coverage

Reference 1: 0.22% coverage

And my partner said, "Well, you live here and you conduct your life in Dutch. So we should up the ante."

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

2 references coded, 2.81% coverage

Reference 1: 0.83% coverage

Oh, all the time. Well, what I get more so is, "Why don't you speak Dutch?" Like, "Oh, how long have you been here? Oh, you should speak Dutch now." So I get a lot of passive aggressive comments like that usually from people that I don't even know

Reference 2: 1.97% coverage

So I think that's why it might also be difficult to like, form friends or like, there are Dutch people who are like, "Oh, why don't you know, Dutch yet?" I think it's because they're afraid that they will lose, their, like, sense of Dutch culture and the process of like, English becoming, you know, one of the - because I do think English will be an official language here. In at least 10 years, it has to be, you know? And so I, sometimes, I don't understand, like, the resistance to English speaking here. Because I'm like, I don't think that Dutch will disappear, you know?

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

2 references coded, 1.61% coverage

Reference 1: 1.25% coverage

And so, and I was scrambling to, for the words and there was just some miscommunication in the phone call. And, you know, my, my Dutch teacher, she heard me in the background, "No, no, really try and speak Dutch try and speak Dutch." And I'm just like, "Oh, I just want to switch to English because this is too hard." I don't know what to say. And I feel like, I feel really stupid, because you know, I sound stupid

Reference 2: 0.36% coverage

And my in-laws were like, "well, we don't want to speak English with you. You live here now, you need to speak Dutch."

Files\\z PARTICIPANT 10

3 references coded, 4.35% coverage

Reference 1: 1.62% coverage

But I find that...the longer and more native speakers, for instance, like my father-in-law, or even my husband, they...I feel a little intimidated by speaking with them, because they are really focused. You know, like, say, say, like, "*Maag ik een kop thee?*" They'll focus in on the of like,

one word, like, “*kop...thee*.” And it’s really like, ah! I’m even just proud of myself for getting the words out and remembering how to say the things and...but, but my son is, is, you know, he’s just learning how to speak it.

Reference 2: 1.52% coverage

Yeah, I mean, like my father-in-law, yeah. ((both laughing)) Sometimes when, you know, they come here, they’ll say, “Well, we’re gonna, you know, we’re gonna speak the entire time in Dutch,” and then like, “Well...” yeah, so I think because they want so much for me to be part of the society and feel comfortable in the culture. They, sometimes...people will go to extremes, they’ll say things like, “Well, the best way to learn Dutch is to just speak it.” And it’s like, well, with what?

Reference 3: 1.21% coverage

And...and I think at first it was a little bit intimidating. And it made me a little bit frustrated, like, you know, you’ve been, they’ll say, “Well, we know two languages.” And I know now that from a really young age, people learn English in school. So if I had been learning Dutch in school at age 10, I probably would know it too. So, now I just kind of say, “Well, I’m doing the best I can!”

4. Social Inclusion

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

1 reference coded, 0.45% coverage

Reference 1: 0.45% coverage

so did I feel...? So I felt very welcome. I also felt like an outsider. At the same time. Especially in the moments when people would switch to English with me. Um... it was hard when I didn’t understand the language enough in - in groups, it was really hard.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

6 references coded, 3.58% coverage

Reference 1: 0.82% coverage

And my host brothers, my host family had three boys. And um...the two older boys could speak English, but my husband couldn’t. He was, in his, in the MAVO. And he, again, he could do his, his work. But speaking was something he wasn’t planning on doing. So if I wanted to communicate, I had to...pick up some words.

Reference 2: 0.75% coverage

I think it's a disadvantage. Because you don't really integrate into Dutch society? Like you're always the odd man out, because when you come to a party, right, so when you go to a party, and everybody's speaking Dutch, the whole party has to start speaking English to accommodate you.

Reference 3: 0.13% coverage

Um, I think I would have found it too restricting.

Reference 4: 0.67% coverage

But, but you gotta have, you gotta have something. You don't have to have a lot, but you got to have something. So I think if you don't have that little bit, it's going to restrict where, you, you know, how, how freely you can move, in society. In the community.

Reference 5: 0.50% coverage

And for, yeah, for Americans, or people coming here I do - you have to learn. If you really, really want to enjoy it here, and really want to be completely independent, you have to learn Dutch

Reference 6: 0.72% coverage

So like, don't get me wrong, there are - it's very easy to live, I think in Amsterdam, and Rotterdam, uh, The Hague, and work in an English language environment. And, live in an English language environment. So, to not to have to do it. But, um, you make your world...smaller.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 5

5 references coded, 3.10% coverage

Reference 1: 0.41% coverage

Why have I learned Dutch?" And, for me, it was a matter of respect. A: and also I'm a linguist, and B: was also, the Dutch want to speak Dutch when they're with each other at a certain point.

Reference 2: 0.58% coverage

And suddenly, when we came back, there was this person on the phone arranging all these things, or speaking this foreign language, I didn't understand. He was like another person. So I wanted to learn it, so I could learn part of the culture and part of my partner.

Reference 3: 0.29% coverage

And also my, my mother-in-law doesn't speak English very well. And it was really important that I learned to communicate with her.

Reference 4: 1.26% coverage

And I think once you get here...don't...um, don't hide in an expat community. I think, because there are people especially in Amsterdam, there are people that have hidden in an expat community and it's a bubble, you live in a bubble. So you're not...I don't know if you've discovered this or not, but their expat life is - I don't consider myself and expat. Expat life is different than people who live in the country. And I think that that's a shame because you don't learn. You don't get to know the Netherlands and I think...um...the Netherlands is a, is a very sweet country.

Reference 5: 0.56% coverage

Um, and I think what...um...I think what motivates them, we don't have children, but I think what motivates a lot of people who have children is they finally realize, oh, well I can't, I gotta learn Dutch because I gotta communicate with my...kids' friends

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

3 references coded, 6.02% coverage

Reference 1: 3.35% coverage

Um, what really motivates me is just wanting to be included, more. Um, I'm, I'm very aware that I would have a much more enriching experience, um, in the Netherlands if I spoke the language. Um, and even with my boyfriend's family, I don't care to speak to them all the time. But stuff like, for Christmas. I had an awful time because everyone was just speaking Dutch. And I was just sitting there like...okay? You know? And I'm trying not to look sad or angry or whatever. But it's just kind of like, yeah, everyone's just so unaware that I'm there. And I don't understand what's happening. And so there's just some moments when I want to be involved. And also just shame. You know, I don't know any other language. You know, you come here and everyone speaks English, German, French, like Spanish. And then it's just like, oh, you only speak English, right? Yeah. So that kind of motivates me. I want to be more well rounded and be able to, like, interact with other people.

Reference 2: 0.93% coverage

But then someone said to me, like, "Well, Amsterdam is just like an American bubble." You know, like, and so I think what really connects us, like language connects us so much. And I think we don't even realize, you know, and so, for some people it's comforting, right?

Reference 3: 1.75% coverage

No. And maybe it's just my attitude on it. I think that...if it really...I think it'll be the same, I think. Yeah, I think the language helps with making friends. But I think like, if, like I do, like, I've been here for two and a half years already, and I see how hard it is to make friends. And I think learning a language would make it better. But I feel like...the language can't be the only factor. You know? I'm so, I'm not really expecting such a huge shift. Or maybe I'm just being pessimistic right now. But.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 7

1 reference coded, 1.87% coverage

Reference 1: 1.87% coverage

So there's that. The other motivating factor is, you know, I'm here with partner and she has four kids, and when we sit around the dinner table, they're speaking Dutch. So in order to not be excluded from conversations, you know, in order to sort of fit in socially, I think it would be a good idea to learn how to speak the language if I'm gonna live here.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 8

2 references coded, 2.50% coverage

Reference 1: 1.30% coverage

Yeah. I think that language plays a big part. I think if I didn't speak, yeah, If I didn't speak Dutch with Dutch people, then. Yeah. It would be different.

Reference 2: 1.21% coverage

Um...well, advice, I'd say to, try and learn the language. I think that like, yeah, opens a lot more doors and like, socially and also workwise

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

1 reference coded, 1.52% coverage

Reference 1: 1.52% coverage

So. um, I learned only some of the funny social words when I was working in Amsterdam. And I picked up a little bit more in the couple of months that I was an au pair for the family that was in a village near Hilversum. Um, you know, because they were trying to teach me some Dutch words because they, were the kids were speaking Dutch to each other and I didn't know what they were saying and I heard them talking about me. I knew enough words to know, you know, so I was like, "I want to learn a little bit."

Files\\z PARTICIPANT 10

2 references coded, 1.61% coverage

Reference 1: 0.67% coverage

From what I understood of the test class that I took, it's so that you can go out and be in the community and be able to speak Dutch to other Dutch people and buy groceries and maybe even get a job and be able to function.

Reference 2: 0.94% coverage

But oftentimes, I'm not included in the conversation, or they'll almost like tag me in, they'll have the conversation and it's fast. And they'll say something like, "Well, what do you think?"

or, “Have you ever done this?” And it, it makes me feel panicked, because my level is, is not, it’s not fast.

Interactive Strategies

1. Americans speaking English

a. Necessary

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

1 reference coded, 0.36% coverage

Reference 1: 0.36% coverage

Another thing that really impacted my experience in the early days, is that uh, in the early days I only spoke English with the children and when I say children actually it was with Sean, our oldest.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

2 references coded, 1.29% coverage

Reference 1: 0.91% coverage

But the regular stream is, um...the kids that choose for the bilingual are really excited to be there and want to speak English all the time. And the regular stream...some will there, and others won’t. So I have to like, pick and choose my battles there. So I might, I might speak more Dutch to a kid outside of class than I would in a bilingual stream.

Reference 2: 0.37% coverage

And I speak, and um, I spoke English with, with Allie and Jacob, and I kept their, um, input all English from me. So I only read to them in English.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 3

1 reference coded, 1.26% coverage

Reference 1: 1.26% coverage

So if I’m like talking, it’s like, when I go out in public and I...someone talks to me in Dutch shape, they say something very basic, I reply back in Dutch, and then like, the conversation will keep going, and then I have to stop them and be like, “Hey, I’m sorry, but I don’t speak that well, so I have to speak English” and they’re like, “Oh, okay!”

Files\\PARTICIPANT 4

1 reference coded, 1.24% coverage

Reference 1: 1.24% coverage

Like a company I'm interviewing right now, one of the reasons that they like me is because I'm a native English speaker. So like, for writing and stuff, like, I'm going to be able to translate materials...and, and write materials that are very clear for an international English audience, cuz I'm a native speaker. So that's like an advantage, you know?

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

5 references coded, 3.15% coverage

Reference 1: 0.30% coverage

Um, I do everything in English. So the English department does everything in English

Reference 2: 0.41% coverage

So it's actually nice to be in an environment where that rule is actually adhered to where it's just strictly English.

Reference 3: 1.28% coverage

But I think my students being exposed to me will help them with their self confidence, would help them with their pronunciation. And also...I think with just like, fluency and accuracy, in terms of just actually being able to speak the language and being comfortable speaking the language in front of native speakers, so, becomes less intimidating, I think for them.

Reference 4: 0.65% coverage

And just being - yeah, and I think I live, like, in a neighborhood that's kind of like filled with expats, so. It's not an issue for any, anyone here especially the locals, to speak English.

Reference 5: 0.51% coverage

Whereas like, um, sometimes when I speak English with Dutch people I'm just constantly in my head so much that I can't even enjoy the conversation.

Files\\z PARTICIPANT 10

2 references coded, 3.52% coverage

Reference 1: 1.30% coverage

But you know, we're talking about things that are...kind of a deep level, you know, like, how our families are doing, or what are, what are some issues that are going on with their kids, and her mom is not feeling well. So those aren't topics that you want to bother to struggle with, you know, really kind of elementary level of language, you really want to be able to communicate your full range of emotions, I think.

Reference 2: 2.22% coverage

But oftentimes, I'm not included in the conversation, or they'll almost like tag me in, they'll have the conversation and it's fast. And they'll say something like, "Well, what do you think?"

or, “have you ever done this?” And it, it makes me feel panicked, because my level is, is not, it’s not fast. And they also use a lot of, you know, like...phrases that mean the opposite, or sarcasm, or humor that...they say one thing, but it means another. And those, those are really hard to understand in a social situation. So I tend to either seek out people that I know can speak English, if I get in trouble, or I stay with my husband, or now with my children ((laughing)), because they know what people are saying.

b. Easy

Files\\PARTICIPANT 5

2 references coded, 1.29% coverage

Reference 1: 0.30% coverage

and eventually, if somebody switches into English, then we all go into English, if everybody stays in Dutch, then we stay in Dutch as well.

Reference 2: 0.99% coverage

But if it gets really emotional, my partner you know, my mother died a few years ago, about three years ago, and...um...we went to the United States and you know, we were dealing with difficult things, and I was dealing with them in English, and we would only speak Dutch when my partner wanted to asked me about the family politics that were going on, you know. But if something emotional happens, then we switch into English or he switches into Dutch.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

2 references coded, 1.16% coverage

Reference 1: 0.51% coverage

And then at home...same thing, my boyfriend’s Dutch, but he speaks English really well. And his family speaks English, so I speak English to them

Reference 2: 0.65% coverage

And just being - yeah, and I think I live, like, in a neighborhood that’s kind of like filled with expats, so. It’s not an issue for any, anyone here especially the locals, to speak English.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 8

1 reference coded, 2.16% coverage

Reference 1: 2.16% coverage

But sometimes we’ll switch to English, like if it’s, you know, if we’re reading the news in English or something, then I’ll say what I’m reading in English. Or if it’s been a long day and a bit tired, then I’ll just switch to English because it’s a bit easier.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

3 references coded, 4.08% coverage

Reference 1: 0.88% coverage

There are moments that when I only want to address my children about certain things that I don't need other children or other, you know, I'll speak to my kids in English or just, to try and stimulate my children because...they don't want to they can speak English, but they don't want to

Reference 2: 2.01% coverage

And so I really...and I remember also, even when I was still taking my Dutch course, and I remember, I had a phone conversation, I was in class and I got a phone call from a, from a Dutch bookstore that a book I had ordered...was in for me to pick it up. And so, and I was scrambling to, for the words and there was just some miscommunication in the phone call. And, you know, my, my Dutch teacher, she heard me in the background, "no, no, really try and speak Dutch try and speak Dutch." And I'm just like, "oh, I just want to switch to English because this is too hard." I don't know what to say. And I feel like, I feel really stupid, because you know, I sound stupid

Reference 3: 1.19% coverage

But, you know, she does have to speak Dutch with her sister or other relatives here who don't speak don't speak English. And but yeah, she - a little bit here. And there. I'll throw a couple words in Dutch and she'll be like, "huh? what did you say?" And so then I say that English. So that's funny. It's kind of a test and see, you know, what, she still knows. Not so much anymore. ((laughing))

Files\\z PARTICIPANT 10

2 references coded, 3.52% coverage

Reference 1: 1.30% coverage

But you know, we're talking about things that are...kind of a deep level, you know, like, how our families are doing, or what are, what are some issues that are going on with their kids, and her mom is not feeling well. So those aren't topics that you want to bother to struggle with, you know, really kind of elementary level of language, you really want to be able to communicate your full range of emotions, I think.

Reference 2: 2.22% coverage

But oftentimes, I'm not included in the conversation, or they'll almost like tag me in, they'll have the conversation and it's fast. And they'll say something like, "well, what do you think?" or, "have you ever done this?" And it, it makes me feel panicked, because my level is, is not, it's not fast. And they also use a lot of, you know, like...phrases that mean the opposite, or sarcasm, or humor that...they say one thing, but it means another. And those, those are really hard to understand in a social situation. So I tend to either seek out people that I know can speak

English, if I get in trouble, or I stay with my husband, or now with my children ((laughing)), because they know what people are saying.

2. Americans speaking Dutch

a. Habitual

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

1 reference coded, 0.66% coverage

Reference 1: 0.66% coverage

So I really was quite on a mission, and I said to Robert's family quite early on, I said to them, "please, mostly speak Dutch with me, try to just stay in Dutch, and if I - if I make a mistake or I don't know a word, correct me, tell me." And that helped a lot because at the time, you know, we were living very close to a lot of Robert's extended family. So I had a lot of help. Yeah.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

4 references coded, 2.40% coverage

Reference 1: 0.91% coverage

But the regular stream is, um...the kids that choose for the bilingual are really excited to be there and want to speak English all the time. And the regular stream...some will there, and others won't. So I have to like, pick and choose my battles there. So I might, I might speak more Dutch to a kid outside of class than I would in a bilingual stream.

Reference 2: 0.46% coverage

. Um...if a colleague comes up to me and starts speaking Dutch, then I will just switch to Dutch. It - for me it's real real easy. I can go back and forth constantly. ((laughing))

Reference 3: 0.08% coverage

I speak Dutch with my husband.

Reference 4: 0.94% coverage

And, and then Fred came. And so now you have eight kids. And now...no. And then I would find myself going right into Dutch. No, everybody sit down, everybody to, to organize the chaos, so that it was an organized chaos. So that was um, for the little guys...too bad, because that's the moment when I started, um...probably speaking more Dutch than I should have

Files\\PARTICIPANT 3

3 references coded, 2.57% coverage

Reference 1: 0.40% coverage

And I have to speak like a little bit of Dutch with them as well, because they don't speak that well of English.

Reference 2: 1.26% coverage

So if I'm like talking, it's like, when I go out in public and I...someone talks to me in Dutch shape, they say something very basic, I reply back in Dutch, and then like, the conversation will keep going, and then I have to stop them and be like, "Hey, I'm sorry, but I don't speak that well, so I have to speak English" and they're like, "Oh, okay!"

Reference 3: 0.90% coverage

Yes, I have had a few encounters where people like - actually when I was getting my COVID test once, this woman was taking my COVID test, and I was like, she said something in Dutch and I said, "I'm sorry, I - my Dutch is not that good. I speak English.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 4

2 references coded, 1.68% coverage

Reference 1: 0.77% coverage

And I think it helps because I - where I'm living right now is a small village. So like, people aren't used - as used to hearing someone speaking English and not being able to speak Dutch. So I tried really hard to speak Dutch.

Reference 2: 0.91% coverage

I just shove some Dutch on people. If it works, it works. And if it doesn't, it doesn't. I'm like, eh, whatever. Like I'm learning. You know, that's how I learn. And for him, his lack of Dutch skills, like it actually makes him, like, uncomfortable a little bit.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 5

3 references coded, 1.05% coverage

Reference 1: 0.52% coverage

Um, unless you, unless you're used to speaking English daily on a daily basis with native speakers, like my partner. At a certain point, Dutch people switch into Dutch, because it's just easier for them. It's their first language. So.

Reference 2: 0.30% coverage

And eventually, if somebody switches into English, then we all go into English, if everybody stays in Dutch, then we stay in Dutch as well.

Reference 3: 0.23% coverage

And.... I don't...well, um....and with my neighbors, if my neighbors are Dutch, I speak Dutch with them.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

2 references coded, 0.57% coverage

Reference 1: 0.26% coverage

Um, in public, every now and then I'll say like, "*Maag ik een* [inaudible]?"

Reference 2: 0.32% coverage

. Every now and then, but typically, no. Or I'll say, like, "Do you speak English?" in Dutch.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 8

3 references coded, 8.31% coverage

Reference 1: 1.58% coverage

Yeah, my work is, at my work it's all in Dutch and in German. And um, I'm right with my boyfriend. I speak Dutch with him. And then, like, most of the other people I speak to here, I speak Dutch.

Reference 2: 3.40% coverage

Um...yeah ((laughing)) probably multiple times. But um, I think like, when I was first here, I would speak in the stores. Like I could ask some basic questions, but then they start talking and talking and you're at a point where you don't understand them, but you're too embarrassed to like say, "Oh, well, I don't really understand you." So just keep like, yeah, smiling and, like, "Okay, okay." Yeah.

Reference 3: 3.32% coverage

I think living in the, living in this town instead of living in like Amsterdam, or, or The Hague or something. It also, um, I think, made a difference. Yeah, made a difference for my Dutch because if you're like, still, when I'm in some of the cities, then people just talk English to me. And like, and in a small town, they just speak Dutch to you and they're not going to switch to English as easily.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

2 references coded, 2.67% coverage

Reference 1: 0.67% coverage

It's very mixed. Um...I tend to, especially when they have friends and stuff around, speak more Dutch because I, I want...I don't want a child to feel like I'm speaking about them, you know, to my kids, kind of thing.

Reference 2: 2.01% coverage

And so I really...and I remember also, even when I was still taking my Dutch course, and I remember, I had a phone conversation, I was in class and I got a phone call from a, from a Dutch bookstore that a book I had ordered...was in for me to pick it up. And so, and I was scrambling to, for the words and there was just some miscommunication in the phone call. And, you know, my, my Dutch teacher, she heard me in the background, "no, no, really try and speak Dutch try

and speak Dutch.” And I’m just like, “Oh, I just want to switch to English because this is too hard.” I don’t know what to say. And I feel like, I feel really stupid, because you know, I sound stupid

Files\\z PARTICIPANT 10

3 references coded, 4.42% coverage

Reference 1: 1.65% coverage

But, and I also find that speaking with strangers, like people at the grocery store, and we have a little Spar in the next town, and I’ve known them since I’ve been here. And when I was first here, I couldn’t say anything. But I’ve gone there, right along, and so they know that I’m not a native speaker. And there, they also will say, like, “Good job, you’ve learned so much. You’re doing really well.” And so that feels good, to have that positive feedback. And if you make a mistake, they don’t know you, it doesn’t really matter.

Reference 2: 1.42% coverage

Um...I think the most challenging group of people to, try to speak Dutch to, but maybe, not because they weren’t willing, or because they were angry about it. But, but older people who have say, you know, maybe people who didn’t have it in school, when they were kids or their education, the level of education that they had, didn’t include language because they were focused on, you know, farming or some other area of study where they didn’t have that.

Reference 3: 1.35% coverage

So I find that, that older people say like...over 80, I want to talk to them, and they want to talk to me, but there’s a real language barrier. And they don’t always know English either. So, we do, like, a lot of sign language you know, like part English and part Dutch words that I know and, and sign language but the conversation seems to kind of only be able to go to a certain point, and then it’s either too tiring or they get impatient.

b. Self-identifying

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

8 references coded, 7.69% coverage

Reference 1: 0.66% coverage

So, um, in the early days uh because we had kids quite young I would do a lot of chores with the kids, I would go out to the post office and to stores to small shops you know the groente boer ((laughing)) um and to the butcher and things like that and then every time I would try to, you know interact in Dutch then they would switch to English. But I would keep going in Dutch.

Reference 2: 0.86% coverage

I'm trying to remember how old he was but anyway he became a little bit embarrassed of my speaking English in public. So then I really was conscious of only speaking Dutch outside the house. And once I did that it was also easier to get Dutch people to stay, you know, speaking Dutch to me. They didn't switch to English as quickly plus I think that throughout the years my Dutch improved and my accent became a little less prominent so...um, people didn't switch to English as fast.

Reference 3: 0.66% coverage

So I really was quite on a mission, and I said to Robert's family quite early on, I said to them, "Please, mostly speak Dutch with me, try to just stay in Dutch, and if I - if I make a mistake or I don't know a word, correct me, tell me." And that helped a lot because at the time, you know, we were living very close to a lot of Robert's extended family. So I had a lot of help. Yeah.

Reference 4: 0.76% coverage

What gave me - I think the fact that I could do very simple things, like go to the post office, like go to the grocery store. I think the fact that when I spoke, people mostly understood what I was saying, even if they switched into English, they seemed to understand what I was saying. ((laughing)) So that gave me confidence because it's hard, the pronunciation's hard...and the fact that I was enjoying the language lessons

Reference 5: 2.06% coverage

I feel very frustrated. I knew that they were doing it out of politeness. Uh and...and...um you know, I think that in general, in the Dutch culture, it's seen as a very...um...kind gesture to meet you in your language. But I found it frustrating. I found it frustrating because I wanted to learn the language. I wanted to feel capable in the language. And each time I did it, it made me feel less capable. And also...um...what was I gonna say? Sorry, my mind went blank because I got distracted by Robert...um... It also made me feel othered. And I had a hard time with that...um...One of the things that I noticed really early on when I first moved to the Netherlands, was that it was hard to not know the language because people would almost, almost, not intentionally, but they would almost treat me like a child. And I was almost like a child, I felt like a child. Because you know, how children they're like, pointing to things, and they can't find the words, you know, and, and that frustrated me. I wanted to be seen and heard as a capable and intelligent adult. So even though people were, you know, had the best of intentions, I found it difficult.

Reference 6: 0.79% coverage

Seeing it on paper, seeing - I thought to myself, if I could read this grammar book in six weeks, and then, you know, in addition to having learned all the vocabulary, and I can actually pass that exam, then I must know the language enough. And that came - and I was already speaking it, but

I spoke it much more confidently after, because I had proven to myself that I actually could, you know, master it. Yeah, not to blow my own horn. But yeah.

Reference 7: 1.10% coverage

And also, I had a very bad experience with the second professor? Um, because he really treated the people in the class like children. And I was so offended, I was so offended. And you know, that experience was really good for me, in that, you know, people, people who speak...um...people who have a harder time with Dutch, who have - have a different kind of accent, for example, a Moroccan accent. I witnessed a lot how they are treated like children. And I have a lot more compassion for that because I remember how frustrating it was for me when people didn't realize that I was a perfectly competent adult. Yeah.

Reference 8: 0.80% coverage

You know, that's a really good question too. Because when I look back, I only spoke Dutch because I was so determined to be taken seriously as someone who really lives here. Um, but it might have made things easier for me that first pregnancy if I had been willing to speak English. Because there were miscommunications. ((laughing)) Nothing, it wasn't anything detrimental. Yeah. You know, like those conversations were kind of strange. Yeah

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

2 references coded, 0.95% coverage

Reference 1: 0.46% coverage

Um...if a colleague comes up to me and starts speaking Dutch, then I will just switch to Dutch. It - for me it's real real easy. I can go back and forth constantly. ((laughing))

Reference 2: 0.49% coverage

Um, no, this is really what I have. Because I speak really well. Right? I speak really well. Um...but what I have noticed is like, when you speak with me, you won't notice that I'm not Dutch.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 4

1 reference coded, 0.91% coverage

Reference 1: 0.91% coverage

I just shove some Dutch on people. If it works, it works. And if it doesn't, it doesn't. I'm like, eh, whatever. Like I'm learning. You know, that's how I learn. And for him, his lack of Dutch skills, like it actually makes him, like, uncomfortable a little bit.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 5

7 references coded, 3.44% coverage

Reference 1: 0.51% coverage

You know. Um, and so getting back to that, I very quickly became adamant about it, that if you - I want you to speak Dutch with me. And I told people that in the beginning, um, and, that was the end of that. But people still hear my accent.

Reference 2: 0.23% coverage

And.... I don't...well, um...and with my neighbors, if my neighbors are Dutch, I speak Dutch with them.

Reference 3: 0.14% coverage

But I prefer... yeah, for my colleagues, I prefer to speak Dutch

Reference 4: 0.30% coverage

Don't wait. Um...and ask people to speak Dutch with you. Say to them, "You know, I'm trying to learn Dutch, could we speak Dutch with you?"

Reference 5: 1.06% coverage

Or, you know, it's less of a conversation piece now. You know, that, he's just like, oh. But like, it's integrating it into your personality, and I am at that stage right now, where, I remember I was talking to Annabelle a few years ago and I said, "How do you deal with it?" And she's just like, "Yeah, people hear my accent and I just say, 'you know what? That's right. I have an accent. I will never speak Dutch without an accent. It's...just the way it is. We gotta move on.'" ((laughing))

Reference 6: 0.76% coverage

Yeah, but I think, I think what you're doing is good, that you're, you know, that you, um...that you speak it at home, because your partner is your, your greatest resource right now. And, also that...um...asking friends, you know, I have, my Dutch friends, you know, I only wanna speak in English you - uh, sorry, I only wanna speak Dutch with you

Reference 7: 0.44% coverage

And...um...and that's why I prefer also to speak Dutch with people, because I know that my Dutch is not perfect, and that, if somebody, if I insult somebody, then they can say it to me and I'll apologize.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 8

2 references coded, 2.22% coverage

Reference 1: 1.58% coverage

Yeah, my work is, at my work it's all in Dutch and in German. And um, I'm right with my boyfriend. I speak Dutch with him. And then, like, most of the other people I speak to here, I speak Dutch.

Reference 2: 0.63% coverage

Like, it just depends on like, with my boyfriend, we normally speak Dutch.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

5 references coded, 8.05% coverage

Reference 1: 0.76% coverage

So. I've pretty much now let that go. I really don't have a desire to move back to the US. This is home for me. I have my Dutch citizenship. So I have dual citizenship. I speak the language, I would say pretty fluently. And I made a life here. So, yeah.

Reference 2: 1.41% coverage

No, but the only funny thing in recent years that I've experienced is, when we were, when I'll be at a grocery store or somewhere else out in public with my children, and I speak English to them. People think that, "Oh, I have to speak English with you." I'm like, "No, no, no." And I immediately switched with them to Dutch. "Oh, wow, your Dutch is really good." You know, so, that's really funny. But for the rest, I don't really experience that at all anymore.

Reference 3: 2.01% coverage

Um...I've always gotten complimented that...when I'm, like those instances that they will hear me speak English to my children. And then I started speaking Dutch in response to them, whether it be someone, you know, the, the cashier or someone in line behind me you know, it's because they, they will start speaking English to my kids thinking, you know, we're American or British or whatever. And I say, "No, no, we're not, you know, they speak Dutch." "Oh, okay!" And then they say, "Wow, you speak really great Dutch. I didn't realize that you were not native Dutch speaker until you said something, and now that you say it, I hear it a little bit."

Reference 4: 1.23% coverage

When I'm with living here and my daily interactions...and it's funny because I have often, of, things like, you know, bol.com, you know, you can speak, uh "Press 1 for Dutch or 2 for English," you know, and I can speak to customer service person in English, and that would be a lot easier for me, but I..I choose for myself to do it in Dutch, because it's good to keep myself stimulated in the language

Reference 5: 2.65% coverage

So but, you know, I've also read...I've also read online, people who, you know, different Americans, or different people from other countries that...they're just adamant like, "Well, I have no desire to learn the language. So I will just live in an area where I don't have to, or I just make my partner translate everything for me." And...um...if I'm brutally honest, that frustrates me to no end, because I'm thinking, you made the decision to, for whatever reason, to immigrate to this

country, whether it be permanently or even if it's for a longer period of time, and you have a desire to go back to your homeland or somewhere else. You're still here for right now. And the fact that you're asking people, natives in their native country to speak a secondary language to you. I find that a bit...uh...that that's, yeah, like, not a good sense of pride.

3. Dutch speaking Dutch

a. Helpful

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

3 references coded, 1.37% coverage

Reference 1: 0.51% coverage

And the fact that I saw right from the beginning that I had a lot of support, that I had a lot of people around me who were speaking Dutch, they were willing to speak Dutch with me, they were willing to...um..be patient with, with, you know, my trying to speak a language that was hard for me.

Reference 2: 0.22% coverage

Like I said, I think that people stop switching so much...when I, um started speaking Dutch with the kids outside the house

Reference 3: 0.63% coverage

Like I said, I think in the early years English, and then - and then at some point, at some point, I think that people could just hear that I had enough mastery of the language that I really could speak Dutch, and then they - and then they stopped switching to English. Yeah, people don't switch to English with me anymore. Very often, rarely, rarely. Yeah.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

3 references coded, 2.74% coverage

Reference 1: 1.40% coverage

But on a whole, I was in a wonderful family. And, and I learned fast because they helped me. And I noticed the difference between how fast I learned. And there were other Americans that I met, there were several other girls that I met. And they were hopeless, like they couldn't speak any Dutch. But that was because the people around them were speaking English to them all the time. And my host family, cut me off from English the day I walked in the door...So that within, within three, you know, within three months, I was chatting away.

Reference 2: 0.34% coverage

Slowly but surely, you picked it - and there, I met another really patient girl who spoke only Dutch to me, but it dragged me along.

Reference 3: 1.00% coverage

I think that, that...well, my...when I get on a soapbox about this ((laughing)) my point I always try to emphasize to friends or colleagues is that you have to give that foreign national, whether it be an American, or anybody else, that chance, you have to help. And you're not helping by filling in the words and speaking English to them all the time. You have to give them a chance.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 3

1 reference coded, 1.15% coverage

Reference 1: 1.15% coverage

But also I've had like, a lot of people comment in Dutch even though they know I speak English, so...but I can understand most of it. Very basic comments, but...they - I also find it interesting that they just comment back in Dutch even though they know I'm - I speak English, and they will be talking directly to me.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 5

2 references coded, 0.63% coverage

Reference 1: 0.33% coverage

But he also has trained himself to respond to people who are not native speakers of Dutch who want to speak Dutch, that he only speaks to them in Dutch.

Reference 2: 0.30% coverage

But the rest of my colleagues, if we start in Dutch, they'll speak in Dutch, and there's some colleagues I never have spoken English with.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 7

1 reference coded, 2.34% coverage

Reference 1: 2.34% coverage

Yes, because he, uh, there are no chiropractic schools in the Netherlands. So he did his training in, in England. And so he speaks, yeah, so he's, he speaks English really well. And, and so, of course, when we first started talking to one another, it was all 100% in English with no problem. Now we...still, his English is a lot better than my Dutch is, but we try to have our conversations mostly in Dutch now, just, just because I need that

Files\\PARTICIPANT 8

1 reference coded, 3.31% coverage

Reference 1: 3.31% coverage

I think living in the, living in this town instead of living in like Amsterdam, or, or The Hague or something. It also, um, I think, made a difference. Yeah, made a difference for my Dutch because if you're like, still, when I'm in some of the cities, then people just talk English to me.

And like, and in a small town, they just speak Dutch to you and they're not going to switch to English as easily

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

3 references coded, 2.88% coverage

Reference 1: 0.44% coverage

But the nice thing about [city] is you have a lot more people that will speak more Dutch back with you. So that was, that was a benefit for me.

Reference 2: 1.07% coverage

But, um, I think overall it was okay. It became over time, as, as I became more confident in the language. And I could carry that, exude that confidence in daily conversation, whether it be with a doctor, whether it be with my children's teachers, or just in a grocery store. People were speaking that, and just speaking Dutch back to me, and then.

Reference 3: 1.38% coverage

Oooh. I would say...um...Dutch, to Dutch people, thank you for encouraging us who are trying to learn your language. Keep doing that. And please be kind when we are, you know, or be cautious when, when we are trying to speak Dutch to you to, not try and jump to English, you know, back, because that's to our detriment in the end when we're genuinely trying to learn your language. But the the compliments and the encouragement, that goes a long way.

Files\\z PARTICIPANT 10

2 references coded, 1.45% coverage

Reference 1: 0.98% coverage

But I've gone there, right along, and so they know that I'm not a native speaker. And there, they also will say, like, "Good job, you've learned so much. You're doing really well." And so that feels good, to have that positive feedback. And if you make a mistake, they don't know you, it doesn't really matter. Yeah.

Reference 2: 0.47% coverage

And when I'm talking with, I have a cousin, next door, who is really wonderful. And I'm sure that if she knew that I only wanted to speak Dutch, we would

b. Unhelpful

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

1 reference coded, 0.45% coverage

Reference 1: 0.45% coverage

so did I feel...? So I felt very welcome. I also felt like an outsider. At the same time. Especially in the moments when people would switch to English with me. Um... it was hard when I didn't understand the language enough in - in groups, it was really hard.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

3 references coded, 2.85% coverage

Reference 1: 0.68% coverage

Because I noticed that my colleagues will. In the classroom, they'll speak English, but they'll fall into...Dutch maybe outside the classroom or for a tutor meeting or...not everybody, mind you, but, you know...not as consistent as you would like to see.

Reference 2: 1.32% coverage

It also depends who it is, you know, you have some teachers that are really sensitive. You know, they're like, "Oh, we're here in Holland, you have to speak Dutch." And I'm thinking "Yeah, but you're hired me to teach in your bilingual ((inaudible))" So you hired me not only to stimulate the kids, but you hired me to stimulate your staff, so that they would speak English...more, they'd have practice. So ((laughing)) when you say to me, "speak Dutch," that's fine, but there goes your...practice.

Reference 3: 0.86% coverage

Oh, so and so speaks, you know, awful Dutch." And say to them, "Well, how...how much of a chance have you given that person to learn Dutch? Because every time I see you, you're speaking English to them." And then at the same time, they're very quick to say, "Oh well you know, they don't speak Dutch. They don't try to assimilate."

Files\\PARTICIPANT 3

3 references coded, 3.25% coverage

Reference 1: 1.27% coverage

And she continued to speak in Dutch and she - which I understand what she said, um, pretty much and she was saying like - and also my boyfriend was with me so he could translate later. But she was like, pretty much said like, "Well, you - I'm gonna speak Dutch with you anyway, because you need to learn, so" and I was like okay.... and I was like, alright.

Reference 2: 0.82% coverage

But yeah, like stuff like that, I guess. Um, yeah, I've had - I've had a few times where people, they kind of refuse to...speak English because they think it'll help you learn, but then I just feel a little bit...pressured.

Reference 3: 1.15% coverage

But also I've had like, a lot of people comment in Dutch even though they know I speak English, so...but I can understand most of it. Very basic comments, but...they - I also find it interesting that they just comment back in Dutch even though they know I'm - I speak English, and they will be talking directly to me.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 4

1 reference coded, 1.12% coverage

Reference 1: 1.12% coverage

Um...they don't really tell me. She told me because like, I know her. You know! She'll be like, "Oh, *mijn Engels is heel slecht*." Whatever. Um...but, um...I feel like it's like a vibe they, like, if they realize like that I don't speak Dutch, it's like a little [inaudible] You know, and they just keep speaking Dutch to me

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

4 references coded, 3.36% coverage

Reference 1: 0.62% coverage

So the English department does everything in English. One thing that I would always hate as an [grantee] during my [grant] was the English teacher speaking Dutch to the students. I

Reference 2: 0.35% coverage

So the minute I'm like, "oh, speak to me in Dutch," it's just, yada yada, yada. And I just can't follow.

Reference 3: 1.22% coverage

Um, and even with my boyfriend's family, I don't care to speak to them all the time. But stuff like, for Christmas. I had an awful time because everyone was just speaking Dutch. And I was just sitting there like...okay? You know? And I'm trying not to look sad or angry or whatever. But it's just kind of like, yeah, everyone's just so unaware that I'm there

Reference 4: 1.16% coverage

Because I'm like, I don't think that Dutch will disappear, you know? Yeah. I don't think it, you know, I don't think it's a matter of like, preserving a language because I don't think the language, like anything will happen to it. So, I've always been very curious as to why there's such, a resentment to English speaking sometimes here.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 7

4 references coded, 7.09% coverage

Reference 1: 0.90% coverage

And I explain to them that, that I don't understand. They'll typically say, "Okay," but they don't, they don't, they don't make any attempt to, to speak to me in English

Reference 2: 2.67% coverage

You know...like I said, I, nobody, nobody, where I live speaks English to me. And, and so sometimes, you know, I may be by myself, I may be, I may go for a bike ride or something, and come across somebody, and they'll just, they have a little bit of a dialect here as well. And they'll just start, you know, saying something to me at full speed. And I'll try to follow along. And there are times where I just don't really want to explain myself. Because I know they're not going to speak English to me anyway.

Reference 3: 1.57% coverage

When I'm around groups of people, and they're speaking at full speed, and I think, "Hey, man, I'm here too," ((laughing)) you know, "Slow it down a little bit. I'm here too, I want to be a part of the conversation." And, uh, but when they're going full speed, sometimes it's hard for me to keep up.

Reference 4: 1.95% coverage

They have a really difficult time doing that, you know, and I'll even ask them, I'll say, "Can you please slow down so that I can understand you?" And "Oh, yeah," and maybe two sentences max, they'll slow down and then they'll, and then it's right back up. So, yeah, I'd say jeez, slow it down just a little bit so that those of us who are trying to learn can follow along.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 8

2 references coded, 4.18% coverage

Reference 1: 1.81% coverage

Uh, I was a bit frustrated in the beginning. And also just with the, yeah, with the two little kids to take care of and you're trying to figure out what's, what they want. And, yeah, can't understand each other at all.

Reference 2: 2.37% coverage

Like I could ask some basic questions, but then they start talking and talking and you're at a point where you don't understand them, but you're too embarrassed to like say, "Oh, well, I don't really understand you." So just keep like, yeah, smiling and, like, "Okay, okay." Yeah.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

1 reference coded, 1.03% coverage

Reference 1: 1.03% coverage

And that, because she couldn't speak hardly any English. And so that made me feel a bit, especially, you know, as a new mom, all kinds of hormones playing, you know, and...also the extra care and concerns for my son. That was for me...I tried, but there were, it was like, there was literal loss in translation with things at that time.

Files\\z PARTICIPANT 10

4 references coded, 5.44% coverage

Reference 1: 1.62% coverage

But I find that...the longer and more native speakers, for instance, like my father-in-law, or even my husband, they...I feel a little intimidated by speaking with them, because they are really focused. You know, like, say, say, like, “*Maag ik een kop thee?*” They’ll focus in on the of like, one word, like, “*kop...thee.*” And it’s really like, ah! I’m even just proud of myself for getting the words out and remembering how to say the things and...but, but my son is, is, you know, he’s just learning how to speak it.

Reference 2: 1.35% coverage

So I find that, that older people say like...over 80, I want to talk to them, and they want to talk to me, but there’s a real language barrier. And they don’t always know English either. So, we do, like, a lot of sign language you know, like part English and part Dutch words that I know and, and sign language but the conversation seems to kind of only be able to go to a certain point, and then it’s either too tiring or they get impatient.

Reference 3: 0.94% coverage

But oftentimes, I’m not included in the conversation, or they’ll almost like tag me in, they’ll have the conversation and it’s fast. And they’ll say something like, “Well, what do you think?” or, “Have you ever done this?” And it, it makes me feel panicked, because my level is, is not, it’s not fast.

Reference 4: 1.52% coverage

Yeah, I mean, like my father-in-law, yeah. ((both laughing)) Sometimes when, you know, they come here, they’ll say, “Well, we’re gonna, you know, we’re gonna speak the entire time in Dutch,” and then like, “Well...” yeah, so I think because they want so much for me to be part of the society and feel comfortable in the culture. They, sometimes...people will go to extremes, they’ll say things like, “Well, the best way to learn Dutch is to just speak it.” And it’s like, well, with what?

4. Dutch speaking English

a. Benevolent

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

2 references coded, 1.48% coverage

Reference 1: 0.16% coverage

So even though people were, you know, had the best of intentions, I found it difficult.

Reference 2: 1.33% coverage

At the time that I moved here, the older generation, a lot of the older generation were, you know, they had lived through the war. So they have a lot of really positive associations with the Americans. That's something that I see isn't really prominent anymore, I think because a lot of those elderly people have passed away. But like Robert's grandfather was thrilled when he found out that he was dating an American because he had been saved, you know, by the troops that came in from outside the Netherlands, just... and among them were, of course, the American troops to end the Second World War. So there was a very strong association of Americans with, you know, freeing the Netherlands when I arrived here, and that helped me a lot.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

3 references coded, 3.32% coverage

Reference 1: 0.98% coverage

After I've been speaking Dutch to them for like, 15 minutes or so, right? And they have had no problem, um, understanding me, they will turn and say, "Oh, do you want me to speak En- uh, English? Will that be easier for you?" And I'm like, really? What part of the last 15 minutes did you not get? And they go, "Oh, no, I got it all." I'm like, "So why do you want me to go back?" Yeah.

Reference 2: 1.19% coverage

That's not it. It's just this automatic tendency, like, oh, you're American. Boom, I should speak English....even though I've been speaking to you in Dutch the whole time. ((laughing)) I think it's just an automatic reflex. With me. Oh, you're American? Oh, would you rather. like accommodating, the Dutch are very accommodating. Um, oh, you want me to speak Dutch, uh English? Because I will. Well, that's great. But, you know, I'm speaking Dutch now.

Reference 3: 1.15% coverage

Which they will for a while, and then they will roll back to Dutch, which is fair enough, if you're in a Dutch environment, and everybody's speaking Dutch, and they'll always be very polite, and when they come to you, they'll speak English to you. So you'll, you'll always remain, um...like, your own separate kind of conversation. And so the rest of the party is going on and, and you're here with somebody who's willing to chat with you.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 3

2 references coded, 1.82% coverage

Reference 1: 0.92% coverage

"Hey, I'm sorry, but I don't speak that well, so I have to speak English" and they're like, "Oh, okay!" Um, so that, I had to like, pretty much cut off conversation sometimes because I just can't continue it in Du - I don't like, understand[?] anymore.

Reference 2: 0.90% coverage

But sometimes also, I'm like relieved, like okay, good. I'm glad that they caught that because I don't want to, um, mess up or, or, or continue, and then have to stop them and tell them that I speak English. But, so I guess it's like 50-50 with that.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 4

2 references coded, 1.70% coverage

Reference 1: 0.50% coverage

And I'll say, "Oh, I'm from I'm actually from, you know, *ik kom uit Amerika*," whatever, and then they'll say, like, "Oh, that's so cool." And then they might want to try to speak English with me.

Reference 2: 1.20% coverage

Yeah, it depends. It really, it depends. Yeah. And it depends too, like um...on the Dutch person's confidence in their English, like, um, sometimes some people, like, I got my dog groomed last week. And like the dog groomer, like, she has family in the United States. She's been to the United States. So she, like wants to speak English with me.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 5

1 reference coded, 0.39% coverage

Reference 1: 0.39% coverage

Whereas, when I moved to the Netherlands, for instance, they asked me, "Do you want to speak Dutch or you want to speak English?" and my partner's, like, "Let's do it in English."

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

3 references coded, 2.79% coverage

Reference 1: 0.41% coverage

So it's actually nice to be in an environment where that rule is actually adhered to where it's just strictly English.

Reference 2: 1.73% coverage

English really was just not spoken by those, in those smaller villages, like out east like it's... yeah, when I first moved there, and I was at the grocery store, and I would ask for help, people would walk away and get someone else to say, to speak to me, just because they couldn't. Even in [city], uh, yeah, if I start the conversation in Dutch, it'll continue in Dutch and then I say, "Oh, I don't speak Dutch," and then they'll switch to English, but I've never had anyone say, "Which do you prefer?"

Reference 3: 0.65% coverage

And just being - yeah, and I think I live, like, in a neighborhood that's kind of like filled with expats, so. It's not an issue for any, anyone here especially the locals, to speak English.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 7

1 reference coded, 1.91% coverage

Reference 1: 1.91% coverage

I also find, you know, since I live with a Dutch family, you know, and situations, social situations, like birthday parties and things like that. The hardest thing for me, we went to a birthday party once and I came, I came away, and everybody was nice. And those who could speak English spoke English to me, and we had conversations and all that kind of stuff.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 8

1 reference coded, 1.78% coverage

Reference 1: 1.78% coverage

Yeah, some people switched to English. And like, it's, well I think it's funny, but like, some people that I'll speak, I speak Dutch with, and then when they're drunk, then they'll start speaking English to me.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

2 references coded, 3.36% coverage

Reference 1: 2.01% coverage

Um...I've always gotten complimented that...when I'm, like those instances that they will hear me speak English to my children. And then I started speaking Dutch in response to them, whether it be someone, you know, the, the cashier or someone in line behind me you know, it's because they, they will start speaking English to my kids thinking, you know, we're American or British or whatever. And I say, "No, no, we're not, you know, they speak Dutch." "Oh, okay!" And then they say, "Wow, you speak really great Dutch. I didn't realize that you were not native Dutch speaker until you said something, and now that you say it, I hear it a little bit."

Reference 2: 1.36% coverage

I think sometimes. I think it depends on who I'm speaking to. Um, ((laughing)) I have some of my son's friends. They want to practice their English with me and so if I hear them speaking it with a Dutch accent, like for some reason I pick up on that, or with other people who want to start, practice their English with me, but when I speak like with you as a fellow American or I speak with other you know, I just jump into that American English mode.

Files\\z PARTICIPANT 10

4 references coded, 4.46% coverage

Reference 1: 1.37% coverage

Or, what I find happens sometimes is if I start if I try to speak Dutch, and the person sees that I'm struggling, or, I use like half English words half Dutch and they know English, they'll immediately switch over to speak English to me. So the element of struggle is, is removed. And then from that point on, we just speak English. And their English, even if it's not good, is way better than my Dutch is. So that that's usually what happens.

Reference 2: 1.02% coverage

Well, most of the time, I feel relieved. ((laughing)) I do know, I mean, I guess it's kind of like eating your vegetables. Like I, of course, you'd rather eat, you know, cookies and ice cream rather than your green beans. I know it would be better for me, for, for them to kind of help - speak Dutch and repeat things and go slowly.

Reference 3: 0.48% coverage

So. And I do my best, but most of the time, if it's just a one on one conversation, we end up speaking English pretty, pretty quickly. If it's just one on one.

Reference 4: 1.59% coverage

And it's hard to say whether they are fine with it, or whether they are, you know, the thought bubble is like, well, she should be speaking Dutch, or that they're fascinated by the fact that I'm from another place. Sometimes it's a little bit hard to read, read the crowd, especially with older people So, there's sort of a little generation gap, but I find that most younger people, you know, up to kind of my age and maybe in their 60s are fluent in English, and can just switch over, whatever the situation is.

b. Frustrating

Files\\PARTICIPANT 1

8 references coded, 5.17% coverage

Reference 1: 0.29% coverage

my accent was heavier back then than it is now and as soon as they heard my accent or noticed I was searching for a word, they would immediately switch to English.

Reference 2: 0.66% coverage

So, um, in the early days uh because we had kids quite young I would do a lot of chores with the kids, I would go out to the post office and to stores to small shops you know the *groente boer* ((laughing)) um and to the butcher and things like that and then every time I would try to, you know interact in Dutch then they would switch to English. But I would keep going in Dutch.

Reference 3: 0.27% coverage

So when people heard me speaking English with him they would immediately speak English with me. So it was very hard to get people to speak Dutch with me.

Reference 4: 0.35% coverage

They didn't switch to English as quickly plus I think that throughout the years my Dutch improved and my accent became a little less prominent so...um, people didn't switch to English as fast

Reference 5: 0.76% coverage

What gave me - I think the fact that I could do very simple things, like go to the post office, like go to the grocery store. I think the fact that when I spoke, people mostly understood what I was saying, even if they switched into English, they seemed to understand what I was saying. ((laughing)) So that gave me confidence because it's hard, the pronunciation's hard...and the fact that I was enjoying the language lessons

Reference 6: 2.06% coverage

I feel very frustrated. I knew that they were doing it out of politeness. Uh and...and...um you know, I think that in general, in the Dutch culture, it's seen as a very...um...kind gesture to meet you in your language. But I found it frustrating. I found it frustrating because I wanted to learn the language. I wanted to feel capable in the language. And each time I did it, it made me feel less capable. And also...um...what was I gonna say? Sorry, my mind went blank because I got distracted by Robert...um... It also made me feel othered. And I had a hard time with that...um...One of the things that I noticed really early on when I first moved to the Netherlands, was that it was hard to not know the language because people would almost, almost, not intentionally, but they would almost treat me like a child. And I was almost like a child, I felt like a child. Because you know, how children they're like, pointing to things, and they can't find the words, you know, and, and that frustrated me. I wanted to be seen and heard as a capable and intelligent adult. So even though people were, you know, had the best of intentions, I found it difficult.

Reference 7: 0.25% coverage

So I felt very welcome. I also felt like an outsider. At the same time. Especially in the moments when people would switch to English with me.

Reference 8: 0.53% coverage

And...maybe they are more than I think. But my experience is that the Dutch are not that protective of their language. And I find that really interesting. But I wonder in the long term, how that will benefit and how that will...yeah I don't want to say damage, but how it will shape the language?

Files\\PARTICIPANT 2

10 references coded, 8.93% coverage

Reference 1: 1.39% coverage

And um, but, I've had some people say to me, "Oh, um...do you want me to speak English?" after I've been speaking Dutch to them. ((speaks to someone in room)) After I've been speaking Dutch to them for like, 15 minutes or so, right? And they have had no problem, um, understanding me, they will turn and say, "Oh, do you want me to speak En- uh, English? Will that be easier for you?" And I'm like, really? What part of the last 15 minutes did you not get? And they go, "Oh, no, I got it all." I'm like, "so why do you want me to go back?" Yeah.

Reference 2: 1.19% coverage

That's not it. It's just this automatic tendency, like, oh, you're American. Boom, I should speak English....even though I've been speaking to you in Dutch the whole time. ((laughing)) I think it's just an automatic reflex. With me. Oh, you're American? Oh, would you rather. like accommodating, the Dutch are very accommodating. Um, oh, you want me to speak Dutch, uh English? Because I will. Well, that's great. But, you know, I'm speaking Dutch now.

Reference 3: 0.86% coverage

Oh, so and so speaks, you know, awful Dutch." And say to them, "Well, how...how much of a chance have you given that person to learn Dutch? Because every time I see you, you're speaking English to them." And then at the same time, they're very quick to say, "Oh well you know, they don't speak Dutch. They don't try to assimilate."

Reference 4: 0.89% coverage

And if they can hear - but you're not, you're not helping. You're really not helping because the minute you...so they, they get up all this courage to struggle and ask a question in Dutch, you know? And then, um...and you answer them in English. Right? You've just deflated them. Completely. And the chances of them trying again, are zero.

Reference 5: 1.45% coverage

Whereas if you went to Spain, you'd be fluent in Spanish in no time. Because they are just so much more...open and, and patient. When I go, I speak baby Spanish, I call it baby Spanish. I took two years of Spanish at university. It's one of my biggest regrets that I didn't go that route ((laughing)) and not the other route. But anyway. Um, when I'd go there, and I asked for things, or I order off the menu, they let me struggle till I am absolutely out of words. And only then, and only then when I asked them, "Do you speak English?" will they help me in English.

Reference 6: 0.47% coverage

And they helped me, they'd give me the words and, and you know, off we go. Whereas the Dutch would just take over the conversation. Because they can. Yeah, yeah. Because they can.

Reference 7: 0.84% coverage

And, like, people might say...what I find hypocritical is like, people will say, "Oh, you know, that person's lived here for 20 years, and they're Dutch is still awful" or "their pronunciation is awful." But if you ask them, "So when you guys sit down and have a cup of coffee and you invite them over, what do you speak?"

Reference 8: 1.00% coverage

I think that, that...well, my...when I get on a soapbox about this ((laughing)) my point I always try to emphasize to friends or colleagues is that you have to give that foreign national, whether it be an American, or anybody else, that chance, you have to help. And you're not helping by filling in the words and speaking English to them all the time. You have to give them a chance.

Reference 9: 0.49% coverage

I don't think it's fair. Because you are all so fluid and so focused on adapting to...to your environment at that moment that you forget that other people are also trying to adapt to yours.

Reference 10: 0.36% coverage

And I thought to myself, "Ohhh. Oh my god, Johnny, if that...that it's come that far, that you have to say "Look, just give me a chance.""

Files\\PARTICIPANT 3

1 reference coded, 1.09% coverage

Reference 1: 1.09% coverage

Well, if I'm speaking, like plain Dutch, with somebody, and it's going pretty well and they switch to English, I kind of like, get taken back like, oh, am I my speaking it wrong? Or do they think I - they can't understand me? Or am I saying words wrong? And then I get like, a little backwards about it.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 4

2 references coded, 1.97% coverage

Reference 1: 1.25% coverage

Yup. Um, some people will indulge me but the only person I ever felt - whoever thought it was weird, was Vicky. I tried it on Vicky. And she was like, "this isn't comfortable for me, because I'm so used to speaking English in university that like, I don't like now reverting back to Dutch." Yeah, that's what she said. And I was like, "Okay," and we just went back.

Reference 2: 0.72% coverage

Um...I would say to Dutch people...why do you... ((laughing)) how do I phrase this nicely? Why do you tell us, "Oh, you need to speak Dutch," but then you only talk to us in English, you don't give us a practice.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 5

12 references coded, 9.37% coverage

Reference 1: 0.48% coverage

I speak both. Um, I speak...well, what happened when I...when I moved to the Netherlands, it was very difficult for me to learn Dutch in the sense that the Dutch wouldn't speak Dutch with me because they heard my accent.

Reference 2: 0.51% coverage

You know. Um, and so getting back to that, I very quickly became adamant about it, that if you - I want you to speak Dutch with me. And I told people that in the beginning, um, and, that was the end of that. But people still hear my accent.

Reference 3: 0.83% coverage

You know, I was walking my dog this weekend. And I was having a conversation about my dog with this older couple. And this man threw in this sentence, this English sentence. "Oh, I hope so." And I think to myself, yeah, I'm just talking to you about my dog. I have not made a grammar mistake. Yes, I have an accent and you hear it. But you still feel the need to throw in those English words

Reference 4: 1.02% coverage

Um...but it's also now, it's becoming, with this one colleague who was a stronghold of she wants to speak English with me, because, you know, she lived in the States for a number of years and things like that. Um...it has become embarrassing sometimes, because we'll be in a meeting where the meeting is conducted in Dutch. And then when she's addressing me, she'll switch into English. And she says, she does that unconsciously. And I think to myself, "Yeah. Okay."

Reference 5: 0.62% coverage

No, because, um...my Dutch is pretty good. ((laughing)) So, I mean, I find it actually insulting. Um, because we're speaking, we're speaking English - or speaking Dutch, I beg your pardon, and...why are you speaking - why have you switched into English? Because you hear my accent.

Reference 6: 0.71% coverage

And I'm like, okay, but now I just find it irritating and I usually call people on it. So I'd say to people, "Oh, um, excuse me, but I just spoke to you in Dutch, why are you speaking," in, in, in Dutch, "Why are you speaking to me in English?" "Oh, oh, I didn't speak to you in English." I'm like, "Well, yes, you did." ((laughing))

Reference 7: 0.50% coverage

And.... I don't...well, um...and with my neighbors, if my neighbors are Dutch, I speak Dutch with them. Although, most of them want to speak English with me to practice their English, but it's like, no. So...um...I get confused

Reference 8: 1.06% coverage

Or, you know, it's less of a conversation piece now. You know, that, he's just like, oh. But like, it's integrating it into your personality, and I am at that stage right now, where, I remember I was talking to Annabelle a few years ago and I said, "How do you deal with it?" And she's just like, "Yeah, people hear my accent and I just say, "You know what? That's right. I have an accent. I will never speak Dutch without an accent. It's...just the way it is. We gotta move on.""
((laughing))

Reference 9: 1.15% coverage

And also at a certain point, I know that a colleague of mine, she studied English and she wanted to speak English with me, because she considers herself...the closest thing to a native speaker. I was like, okay. And one time, uh...well, we don't have a great relationship. But, um, one time, she wrote to me in English, and I felt insulted, and I thought, "Uhhh." So I let a native friend of mine read it, my - a British friend of mine, and, without any precursor to it, and I said, and - my friend said, "Did you reply to this email?"

Reference 10: 0.56% coverage

To make a long story short, um, this is my feeling that people speak English very well, and on a very high level, but sometimes they don't know the nuances and then they say things...um...that inadvertently hurt your feelings, or, insult you or whatever.

Reference 11: 0.67% coverage

But, from the Dutch perspective, they often consider their English also to be...flawless.
((laughing)) But, it's like, yeah, but you're not a native speaker, and so you don't know all the nuances of the language. And...and, yeah. That's another discussion for another time I think.
((laughing)) Okay.

Reference 12: 1.26% coverage

And...um...it, that's a very high level of, of language command, you know. And...and I think with...Dutch people and when they speak English, at least in my experience, particularly in the environment that I work in, because they're English teachers over there, they think, "Oh, I'm a native speaker, because I speak it every day." It gives them also a false sense of security on some level. Um...but yeah, as a, I will never be a native speaker and I realize that, and...they never will be either. Because I wasn't born speaking Dutch and they weren't born speaking English

Files\\PARTICIPANT 6

1 reference coded, 0.51% coverage

Reference 1: 0.51% coverage

Whereas like, um, sometimes when I speak English with Dutch people I'm just constantly in my head so much that I can't even enjoy the conversation.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 7

2 references coded, 1.81% coverage

Reference 1: 0.75% coverage

nd, and a lot of people who can even speak English here, they can't really express themselves the way that we do as native English speakers.

Reference 2: 1.06% coverage

Yeah. There are a lot of, there are a lot of subtleties, there are a lot of things in, in language that are missed when you're not a - you know, when you're not a native speaker, and that goes on both ends.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 8

2 references coded, 6.74% coverage

Reference 1: 3.43% coverage

Uh...rather stay in Dutch. I think that, yeah. I don't know, like, in...I would think about like, if I'm in America. If someone has an accent, I'm not just going to like, switch to some other language. Like, and, and here, I guess it's more normal to do. But it's also like...yeah, it's kind of just a sign of like, you're an outsider that you, yeah, you're not from here. So I can't speak this language with you.

Reference 2: 3.30% coverage

And for Dutch people, I would say to, to not switch ov- not switch to English. So quickly. Because I hear that from, from like, other expats that live here that one of their complaints is that the Dutch people say, "well, you need to, you need to learn Dutch, if you're going to live here," but then the Dutch people switch to English so easily that it's...makes it really difficult to practice.

Files\\PARTICIPANT 9

4 references coded, 6.02% coverage

Reference 1: 1.29% coverage

Um, but it was, you know, it was hard because in the beginning, you know...and I experienced this also, even at times, like when I was in, living in Amsterdam, and you know, I would try and speak Dutch to people, but still had more of a heavier American accent. Dutch people wanted to

speak English back with me so they could practice their English, and that, you hear that very commonly. But that, so that was a struggle.

Reference 2: 1.32% coverage

Um, I mean, I could understand their point of view, but at the same time, it was frustrating for me because here I was trying to...you know, learn the language. Um...and, you know, it's already, like, if you can speak, I had the impression...uh, not now anymore, but then, back then, like, if you could speak five words in Dutch, "oh, that's so wonderful! Your Dutch is so good." ((laughing)) Like, okay, no, not really, you know?

Reference 3: 1.41% coverage

No, but the only funny thing in recent years that I've experienced is, when we were, when I'll be at a grocery store or somewhere else out in public with my children, and I speak English to them. People think that, "Oh, I have to speak English with you." I'm like, "No, no, no." And I immediately switched with them to Dutch. "Oh, wow, your Dutch is really good." You know, so, that's really funny. But for the rest, I don't really experience that at all anymore.

Reference 4: 2.01% coverage

Um...I've always gotten complimented that...when I'm, like those instances that they will hear me speak English to my children. And then I started speaking Dutch in response to them, whether it be someone, you know, the, the cashier or someone in line behind me you know, it's because they, they will start speaking English to my kids thinking, you know, we're American or British or whatever. And I say, "No, no, we're not, you know, they speak Dutch." "Oh, okay!" And then they say, "Wow, you speak really great Dutch. I didn't realize that you were not native Dutch speaker until you said something, and now that you say it, I hear it a little bit."

Appendix F

Interview Transcripts

If you would like to read the full interview transcripts, please contact the researcher at m.a.steele@students.uu.nl or steelem1231@gmail.com.