

# Translanguaging and the perception of exclusion in ELF context

**BA Thesis English Language and Culture, Utrecht University**



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## Foreword

The growing demand for internationally oriented education creates multi-cultural environments that comprise multiple languages creating a lot of challenges and opportunities. Where English often functions as the lingua franca, other languages blend in through the interaction between these different cultures. This study will focus on the blending and simultaneous use of these languages and the effect on the interlocutors. The time I spent abroad during my studies have made me very curious about this subject because of the increasing relevance in the present international educational environment. To my knowledge, however, this subject has not received any scholarly attention in the field of linguistics.

I would like to take this opportunity to show my gratitude to some people. First of all, I would like to thank all the participants who took part in the semi-structured interviews. I very much enjoyed conducting the interviews and I want to thank you for your enthusiasm and kind words.

Secondly, I would like to thank my supervisor Rias van den Doel for providing me with useful insights and feedback during my research. His expertise and knowledge in the field of translanguaging have guided me in the right direction. I want to thank Roselinde Supheert for providing me with useful feedback as well.

Lastly, I would like to thank my family and friends for their care and support during the writing of my thesis. Their suggestions and comments have provided me with some creative and useful insights into the field of translanguaging.

This BA-thesis will be focusing on the effects of translanguaging on the perception of exclusion in other ELF users with a different first language. I hope you enjoy reading it.

## Abstract

This study has contributed to the field of linguistics and intercultural communication by providing more insight on the possible relationship between translanguaging and the perception of exclusion in other ELF users with a different L1. The purpose of this study was to determine if there is a relationship between translanguaging and the perception of exclusion. The results could lay a foundation for future research in this field that can help improve the informal international educational environment. A substantial amount of research has been conducted in the field of translanguaging focusing on the different theories, (in)effectiveness and analysis of translanguaging (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004; Briggs & Smith, 2017; Canagarajah, 2007; Cogo, 2016; García, 2010; García & Li Wei 2014; House, 2013; Kappa, 2016; Prodromou, 2007). However, this research mostly left out the effects of translanguaging on interlocutors with a different first language (L1). The interlocutors with a different L1 could feel excluded from the conversation due to incomprehensible conversation. During this study, seven semi-structured interviews were conducted with international students who had spent at least 5 months in the Netherlands. The interviews were recorded, transcribed and coded according to the relevance. The results from this limited study suggest that there is a negative influence of translanguaging on the perception of exclusion of ELF users with a different first language. This relationship is dependent on four contextual factors: the awareness of the linguistic repertoires, the intended collaborative actions to bridge differences, the interpersonal relationship and the level of uncertainty. It is advised that future research on the effects of translanguaging on the perception of exclusion takes these new insights into consideration.

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## 1. Introduction

Languages continually change. Languages clash and counteract or blend and cooperate. The majority of people have been in situations where two languages interact. The phenomenon of ‘translanguaging’ illustrates how two (or more) languages blend and help to achieve the communicative ends of the interlocutors (a detailed description is given in section 2.1). Most of the present research focuses on the collaboration by which these individuals reach collective meaning, but it often leaves out one important element: the perception of being excluded in other interlocutors who do not share the same first language (Blackledge & Creese, 2010; Blackledge & Pavlenko, 2004; Briggs & Smith, 2017; Canagarajah, 2007; Cogo, 2016; García, 2010; García & Li Wei 2014; House, 2013; Kappa, 2016; Prodromou, 2007). In these studies, the translanguaging is often illustrated through the use of a lingua franca as main language. A lingua franca frequently used in international context is English as a Lingua Franca (ELF). Research on ELF suggests that interlocutors create mutual understanding even though the ELF utterances are grammatically and lexically deviant by Inner Circle norms (Mollin, 2007). The combined perceived positive influence of both ELF as well as translanguaging trivialize the possible negative influences of translanguaging such as the perception of exclusion. This has resulted in surprisingly few studies on the effects of translanguaging on the perception of exclusion, and therefore, this research was conducted.

The increasing globalization has led the educational systems around the world to focus on multilingual education facilitating a multinational educational environment. These international students all bring their language and cultures to a new place, where their languages arguably develop in new ways. The focus of this research will be on the informal educational environment of international students. In the informal environment, there is no formal language enforcement as opposed to the formal environment where a lecturer or boss

might take corrective actions. The absence of such a language enforcement allows a more natural response and interplay of languages.

The purpose of this study is to determine if there is a relationship between translanguaging and the perception of exclusion of interlocutors with a different first language. If translanguaging can be proved to negatively influence the perception of exclusion of ELF users with a different L1, then these insights could contribute to a more inclusive informal educational environment. Revealing this relationship can help to create awareness that the international educational environment is not marked by the walls of the institution, but is extended to informal social practices outside of the classroom requiring a lingua franca. Both overt and covert forms of translanguaging (e.g. translanguaging and unilateral idiomaticity) were included to assess the effects of translanguaging to their full extent (Cogo, 2016). Since the researcher's country of residence is the Netherlands, the research was conducted in this country. Through the use of semi-structured interviews, rich descriptive data on translanguaging experiences was provided by seven participants, which has led to interesting insights.

## 2. Theoretical Framework

This chapter will explain the key terminology and theories that are related to the use of translanguaging and the environment. Firstly, we will define what translanguaging is and on which factors it is dependent. Secondly, Unilateral Idiomaticity is explained and how it affects the feeling of inclusion or exclusion. Thirdly, the complexity of the ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) environment, which can better be defined as the EMF (English as a Multilingua Franca) environment, will be discussed. Fourthly, the impact of Lingua Receptiva will be explained. After the theoretical framework, the resulting research questions will be formulated. Please note that the examples illustrated in the theoretical framework are not based on actual conversations, but have been coined to elucidate the theory.

### 2.1 Translanguaging

In order to investigate the effect of translanguaging on international students with a different L1, translanguaging needs to be clearly defined. For this research, we use the definition by García and Li Wei (2014), who define this as “linguistic resources [that] are not separated or treated as distinct systems[;] they are instead creatively transformed into new linguistic realities” (p. 24). In translanguaging, the boundaries between two or more languages become fluid and therefore offer a unique multilingual set of words and phrases constructed with the linguistic resources of the interlocutors. To illustrate translanguaging practices, consider table 2.1.1 below.

**Table 2.1.1 Translanguaging example 1**

**Student A:** Dutch (L1), English (L2)  
**Student B:** English (L1), Dutch (L2)  
**Student C:** Dutch (L1), English (L2)

*Student A, B, and C meet at the theatre to go to the movie. They chat in English about what they can expect from the movie. Student C wants to point out that he is very curious, but he can't find the right words.*

- **Student C:** ‘The last movie of this director was really good, so I am very... eh... what’s the word...’
- **Student B:** ‘Excited?’
- **Student C:** ‘No...’
- **Student A:** ‘Nieuwsgierig’
- **Student C:** ‘Yes, but in...’
- **Student B:** ‘Ah, you mean ‘curious’, I get it’

The linguistic repertoires of the interlocutors make it possible to deduce the meaning of the words. The context in which the conversation takes place limits the possible word-options. However, the first option given was not the word Student C was looking for. The translanguaging effort of Student A by suggesting the Dutch word ‘Nieuwsgierig’, which means curious, made it possible for Student B with a different L1 to still understand the word due to his second language. In this example, the linguistic repertoires could still be matched due to Dutch being the L2 of Student B. However, there are instances where translanguaging occurs, but can cause a gap between the interlocutors. Consider table 2.1.2.

***Table 2.1.2 Translanguaging example 2***

**Student A:** *Dutch (L1), English (L2)*  
**Student B:** *Dutch (L1), English (L2)*  
**Student C:** *Spanish (L1), English (L2)*

*After class, student A, B and C are walking outside talking to each other. Outside, Student A switches to Dutch with Student B, a language student C does not understand. After a short utterance, Student A and B laugh, but continue talking in English again after this.*

This example shows that one of the interlocutors (Student C) is not part of the joke Student A and B make together. By switching to their native language with his L1-peer, the interlocutors with the same L1 limit the other interlocutor with a different L1 from the same resources (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). Even though the meaning of the translanguaging feature(s) can in some instances be derived from the context of the rest of the utterance, its effect on the inclusion or exclusion of the interlocutor with a different L1 is often not taken



into account. The extensive research on this subject has led to detailed descriptions/perspectives of what translanguaging is and which variables are affected by it. However, it has also brought to light the weaknesses and downsides of translanguaging. To the knowledge of the researcher, there was no existent corpus on the effect of translanguaging on the perception of social exclusion; however, multiple researchers have suggested it as a potential field of research (Cogo, 2016; Li Wei 2016; Prodromou, 2007). While most studies on translanguaging focus on empirical studies and conversation analysis, they have mostly ignored how ELF users with a different L1 experience the translanguaging behaviour of the other interlocutors (Blackledge & Creese, 2015; Briggs & Smith, 2017; Cogo, 2016; House, 2013; Kappa, 2016; Li Wei, 2016; Prodromou, 2007).

The learning environment of the international students is not marked by the physical walls of the institution. This environment is extended to informal situations, where different kinds of communication are being conducted as opposed to formal educational situations. Kappa (2016) has shown that not all informal ELF scenarios show collaborative actions to bridge the differences between interlocutors. House (2013), however, points out that the incomprehensible parts in ELF communication are often ignored by the ELF participants by adopting a “let-it-pass” mentality. In such instances, the incomprehensible parts are not deemed significant enough to trigger any corrective actions (e.g. suggesting talking in English). However, the “let-it-pass” mentality does not rule out that such incidents do not contribute to the perception of exclusion.

Translanguaging is a result of the increasing globalisation, which has offered “individual resistance to the monolingual ideological positioning of societal requirements,” however, it does not replace monolingual ideological habits (Cogo 2016, p. 11). The language choice in intercultural interactions involves negotiation dependent on the purpose of the interlocutors and the social context, though these are mostly constructed in accordance to

the interlocutors' own norms (Canagarajah 2007; García, 2010). As Creese and Blackledge (2010) point out, the fact that multilingual speakers have more linguistic resources to shape the communicative context creates linguistic gaps between the interlocutors. Additionally, García and Li Wei (2014) indicate that “translanguaging transgresses and destabilizes language hierarchies, and at the same time expands and extends practices” (p. 68). The addition of these translanguaging-claims consecutively contributes to the complexity of translanguaging and strengthens the assumption that there is a potential problem of the exclusion of interlocutors through translanguaging.

Exclusion by translanguaging can be done consciously or unconsciously. Whether someone follows a monolingual or a multilingual ideology, sudden translanguaging is sometimes done unconscious. Interlocutors can emphasize monolingual ideological separation of language and use it to their own benefit (Cogo, 2016). In this sense, the interlocutors initiating the translanguaging are aware of the exclusion of the other interlocutor(s) with a different L1. According to Makalela (2015), translanguaging “involves a high degree of social sensitivity and selectivity within short time intervals during a communicative act” (202). This points out that translanguaging is context-dependent (Cogo, 2016). Factors such as interpersonal relationship and linguistic repertoires could therefore influence the response to translanguaging. However, researchers often expect the interlocutors to be omniscient of the linguistic repertoires of their fellow-interlocutors, where this is often not the case. In fact, there are multiple instances where the interlocutors are simply not aware of the effects their translanguaging behaviour brings about in informal ELF contexts.

## 2.2 Unilateral Idiomaticity

Apart from overt forms of translanguaging, there is also a covert form called Unilateral Idiomaticity (UI). UI is “the use by speakers and writers of idiomatic language which is not understood by the other participants in the interaction” (Prodromou 2007, p. 34). To elucidate this phenomenon, consider Table 3.2.1 below.

**Table 3.2.1 Unilateral Idiomaticity example.**

<p><b>Student A:</b> <i>Dutch (L1), English (L2)</i>  <b>Student B:</b> <i>Dutch (L1), English (L2)</i>  <b>Student C:</b> <i>English (L1)</i>  <b>Student D:</b> <i>Italian (L1), English (L2)</i></p> <p><i>Students A, B, C and D are at the pub having a drink and chatting in English.</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- <b>Student C:</b> ‘You guys in the Netherlands drink more than I thought...’</li> <li>- <b>Student B:</b> ‘Well, I don’t drink that much... But I am sure I’ll drink you under the table! HAHA’</li> <li>- <b>Student A:</b> ‘HAHAHA’</li> <li>- <b>Student C:</b> ‘HAHAHAHA’</li> </ul> <p><i>Student D smiles, but does not understand the joke.</i></p>
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Unlike with translanguaging, high language proficiency is not in direct relation to the comprehensibility of the idiom. Advanced learners and users of English can have problems with idiomaticity (Prodromou, 2007). If the Italian Student in the example is a proficient speaker of English, he/she might still not know the English idiom ‘drinking under the table’. Academic use of idiomaticity, whether written or spoken, is often understood by the advanced learners and users of English due to the skills and strategies they have acquired in an academic context (Briggs & Smith, 2017). However, the international students might not have been sufficiently exposed to idiomaticity in (informal) interactional ELF contexts. In this way, the students are unable to develop confidence and skills outside the academic settings (Briggs & Smith, 2017). The misunderstanding resulting from the use of UI can create a gap between the interlocutors and can therefore aid the perception of exclusion. The translation-attempts of the interlocutors with a different L1 cannot rely on their linguistic

repertoires and the contextual cues as is done with translanguaging. The explicit meaning is often understood, but in the case of idiomatic phrases, this meaning does not fit the context of the interaction. The implicit meaning of idioms can often not be deduced from the context. Nevertheless, Garcia (2009) suggests that such bilingual language use and bilingual contact can also be considered as being a part of translanguaging. Prodromou (2007) also points out that UI in ELF-discourse is potentially a “rich territory for further research” (38). This suggests the importance of the UI phenomenon and that it should not be neglected in this research.

### 2.3 English as a Multilingua Franca (EMF)

In today’s international educational environment, multilingualism is becoming the structural ideology in educational environments, with ELF (English as a Lingua Franca) often being a part of it. In most multilingual research, ELF is described as a form of English that is an aggregation of different contact varieties which is socially constructed (Mauranen, 2012). Since ELF is socially constructed, the languaging can be seen as a fluid, dynamic and creative process, and is therefore very suitable for international situations (Li, 2016). From this perspective, multilingualism has been viewed as part of ELF. However, Jenkins (2015) and Cogo (2016) claim that in the conceptualisation of ELF, multilingualism should be seen as the basis of ELF rather than being a part of it. Jenkins also suggested using the term ‘English as a Multilingua Franca’ (EMF), since this strengthens the claim that this language is an aggregation of different contact varieties (Jenkins 2015). Jenkins’ interpretation defines EMF as “multilingual communication in which English is available as a contact language of choice, but is not necessarily chosen” (p.73). Prior to this interpretation of Jenkins (2015), Mauranen (2012) argued that interactions involving a lingua franca show features of

uncertainty and unpredictability. This uncertainty and unpredictability adds to the claim that translanguaging creates complex linguistic realities.

The aggregation of the contact varieties (*lingua franca*) of English contributes to ‘translanguaging’ practices. The collaborative nature of EMF is often emphasized, leaving a niche available for more EMF research on the negative influences of the phenomenon. As per the ELF definition of Jenkins (2015), the use of ELF is seen as an important aspect of the translanguaging process since ELF is the most common form of language used in international settings in the Netherlands. In case English is included in the translanguaging, it is important to note that these English users are not all ELF oriented and might as well be based on Native forms of English (Van den Doel, 2008). For this reason, this study will be limited to the users of ELF in the educational environment.

Since EMF is a fairly new concept, the adoption of this term has sparked discussion on the conceptualization of ELF due to its continuing shifting position (Modiano, 2017; Jenkins, 2017). EMF has not yet been adopted in other literature in linguistics to a sufficient extent. Consequently, since a lot of the existing literature on multilingualism uses ELF, throughout the rest of this study, the term ELF will be used accordingly.

## 2.4 *Lingua Receptiva*

Translanguaging can take place in a multiplicity of settings. There are specific variables to take into account when measuring the effect of translanguaging on the feeling of exclusion. For instance, some international students might have an L1 that is similar to the L1 of the other interlocutor(s). Rehbein et al. (2011) define this as *Lingua Receptiva*: “the ensemble of those linguistic, mental, interactional as well as intercultural competencies which are creatively activated when interlocutors listen to linguistic actions in their ‘passive’ language or variety” (249). ‘Passive language’ refers to the different L1 involved in the

translanguaging, meaning that even though the ELF user is not a speaker of other language involved in the translanguaging instance, he/she can still comprehend the meaning for the larger part (Rehbein et al, 2010).

Linguae Receptivae typically occur in border regions. In this research dealing with the Netherlands the German language is a good example of a Lingua Receptiva since it is closely related to Dutch.

## 2.5 Research question

In order to assess whether translanguaging has an effect on the perception of exclusion in the informal educational environment the following research question was formulated: To what extent does translanguaging<sup>1</sup> by ELF users contribute to a perception of being excluded in other ELF users who do not share the same L1?

The theoretical framework has offered an overview of variables and theories that are relevant for the analysis of the semi-structured interviews. As a result of defining the relevant topics for this study and in order to answer the research question to its full extent, the following sub-questions were formulated:

- What is the response-action of the ELF users with a different L1 to translanguaging?
- What is the interpersonal relationship between the ELF users?
- How do these ELF users with a different L1 feel about the translanguaging?
- To what extent is knowledge of the linguistic repertoires relevant to the perception of exclusion?

The answers to these questions will be provided by conducting semi-structured interviews.

Since these questions are mostly dependent on the experiences of ELF users with a different

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<sup>1</sup> This research focuses on the translanguaging in informal ELF scenarios outside of the classroom.

L1 in translanguaging situations, the answers to the interview questions will provide descriptive data on their experiences. The answers will be analysed and summarized into assumptions. The results from this inductive qualitative research will hopefully give a better view on the effects of translanguaging on communication and social inclusion and exclusion of interlocutors. Knowledge of such relationships could help to improve the overall informal educational environment for international students.

### 3. Methodology

#### 3.1 Research Design

##### 3.1.1 Inductive qualitative approach

Semi-structured interviews were conducted since these allowed the interviewer to demonstrate his control over the interview, and at the same time allowed the respondent and interviewer to follow new leads (McIntosh & Morse, 2015). In this way, rich descriptive data on personal experiences of participants was collected more naturally. Unlike questionnaires, the semi-structured build-up and pose questions give this method more flexibility. For this reason, semi-structured interviews were conducted with international students who have spent at least 5 months in the Netherlands. The interviews were either conducted through a video-call or in a physical face-to-face meeting. The use of video calls made it possible to interview participants who have already returned to their home countries. All the interviews were recorded and transcribed in order to filter the relevant information for this research. Transcripts of the relevant information can be found in Appendix 1.

##### 3.1.2 Topic list

The questions used for the interview were based on several topics related to translanguaging. Several supporting documents were used conducting the interviews. Please consider table 3.1.2.1 below.

**Table 3.1.2.1 Research topics**

Topic	Given number and colour
Translanguaging	1
Comprehension	2
Perception / Interpretation	3
Rationalization	4
Response to situation	5



Unilateral Idiomaticity	6
Situational Factors	7
Participant Information	8

Table 1.1.1 illustrates which topics were addressed in the semi-structured interviews. Each topic was given a code and was linked to a specific question, as illustrated in Table 3.1.2.2.

The interview questions attempted to provide insights in four key areas:

- Action and emotional response to translinguaging by the participant.
- The interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors.
- The awareness of the linguistic repertoires by the translinguaging interlocutors.
- The level of comprehensibility (uncertainty) in the conversation.

The questions that are being asked are all related to the sub-questions and main question of this study. These questions were specifically phrased in order not to lead answers of the participants and provide a truthful and accurate representation of their experience.

**Table 3.1.2.2 Interview questions related to topics**

Introductory questions	Related to topic		
For how long have you lived in the Netherlands?	7		
What was your motivation to go abroad?	7		
Translanguaging			
How many languages do you speak and how proficient are you in each of these languages?	2		
To what extent do you understand Dutch?	2		
Can you describe informal instances where Dutch natives switched to Dutch in your company?	2	3	
How long/significant were these language changes?	4		
Did these translanguaging instances affect you? If so, in what way?	1	3	
Have you ever felt excluded in a conversation due to a language change/translation? Who were the involved?	3		
How would you describe translanguaging behaviour?	1	3	4
What was the relationship between you and the other interlocutors?	7		
Unilateral Idiomaticity			
Can you describe informal instances where idiomatic phrases were used inappropriately?	6		
Have you ever tried to translate an idiom from your own language to English? How did people respond to it?	6		
Have you ever felt excluded in a conversation due to the use of idioms	3	6	

that were incomprehensible to you?		
<b>Response to situation</b>		
In case such translanguaging instances happened, what was your response?	5	
What did you learn about Dutch Natives during your stay abroad?	5	

The sequence in which the questions were used was not fixed due to the semi-structured build-up of the interview. Moreover, questions were rephrased in order to fit the needs of that particular interview. The probe questions allowed for more elaborative answers of the respondents (RECOUP, 2008). These probe questions can be found in Table 3.1.2.3.

*Table 3.1.2.3 Probe questions<sup>2</sup> (RECOUP, 2008)*

<b>Detail-oriented Probes</b>	‘When did that happen?’ ‘Who else was involved?’ ‘Where were you during this encounter?’
<b>Elaboration Probes</b>	‘Could you tell me more about that?’ ‘Why exactly did you feel that way?’ ‘What exactly made you feel that way?’
<b>Clarification Probes</b>	‘You said the conversation was “all over the place”. What do you mean by “all over the place”?’
<b>Silent Probe</b>	Remaining silent and waiting for the participant to continue, perhaps with a simple nod.
<b>Uh-huh Probe</b>	Encouraging a participant to continue by making affirmative but neutral comments, like ‘Uh-huh.’ or ‘Yes, I see.’
<b>Echo Probe</b>	Repetition/summary of the last things the participant said and asking them to continue. This is done to uncover more information about the process/event. ‘I see. So, you did .... Then what did you do next?’

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<sup>2</sup> All the probe questions were used from the RECOUP of the University of Cambridge. In some cases, the questions were slightly altered to fit the needs of this research.

## 3.2 Analysis of data

### 3.2.1 Thematic Content Analysis

For this research, a qualitative analysis was made since the goal was to measure if, how and why translanguaging effects the feeling of exclusion. The interviews were recorded and transcribed according to relevancy of content. The codes represent particular themes in order to assess the impact, relationships and trends. The coding (as can be seen in Table 4.2.1) allowed for a well-formulated, concise and accurate representation of the data.

**Table 3.2.1 Codes for transcription**

Topic	Given number and colour
Translanguaging	1
Comprehension	2
Perception / Interpretation	3
Rationalization	4
Response to situation	5
Unilateral Idiomaticity	6
Situational Factors	7
Participant Information	8

As mentioned before, the complex concepts of translanguaging have also raised questions about the vulnerabilities of translanguaging. These vulnerabilities are context-dependent since translanguaging is a collaborative linguistic phenomenon. The linguistic repertoires of the participants were taken into account when the data was analysed. Each code will be explained briefly.

#### *Translanguaging*

This code was mainly used to label the explanation of a translanguaging situation. In this way, the descriptive information the participant provided could be linked to other labels as well.

### *Comprehension*

The ‘comprehension’ code was mainly used to point out situations where there was either an understanding of the translanguaging or not. By including both, negative association with translanguaging is tried to be limited.

### *Perception / Interpretation*

During the interviews participants were specifically asked to describe how situations affected them and why. The interpretation of the translanguaging effort is therefore equally important and in relation with the perception. Whether a language switch is perceived as conscious or unconscious could possibly influence the perception of the participants.

### *Rationalization*

Most of the participants tried to justify the translanguaging behaviour without the interviewer specifically mentioning it. The ‘rationalization’ code is typically used in situations where the respondents justified the translanguaging event. In this way, important factors were uncovered that influenced the perception of these participants.

### *Response to situation*

The response of the participants to the translanguaging event may be an important predictor of the way in which interpersonal relationships affect the participants’ attitudes. This code is linked to the situational factors, since the setting is very important in the analysis of translanguaging events.

### *Unilateral Idiomaticity*

The code Unilateral Idiomaticity was used to tag UI situations. In this way, it was clear that the participants spoke about UI in particular. With UI being a part of the theories of translanguaging, the difference in the creation and process of translanguaging makes it relevant to this research.

### *Situational Factors*

Responses, emotions and attitudes are often dependent on certain situational factors. For this reason, the code 'situational factors' was included in the analysis to point out which factors influence the previously mentioned variables.

### *Participant information*

The 'participant information' code was used to point to relevant participant information. This would typically be demographic information about the participant, such as nationality, language proficiency, length of stay in the Netherlands and occupation.

## 3.3 Procedure

Participants were approached via email or telephone. Participants were told that the interview would be about their interaction with the Dutch natives. In this way, the response bias was minimized due to the participant's limited knowledge of the content of the questions. A date and time was picked to conduct the interview remotely or in person. In all cases, the interviewer instructed the participants prior to the interview. In this instruction, he stressed the anonymity of the interview, the recording and transcription of the interview.

In the introduction, the interviewer thanked the participants for their time and stressed his neutrality in the research. He suggested that the participants should not see him representative of the Dutch culture. As a result, the interviewer stressed that the participants therefore could share any story they deemed relevant. After conducting the interview, the researcher explained the purpose of the research.

## 3.4 Description of participants

For this research, semi-structured interviews were conducted with international students who met the following requirements:

- The student has studied in the Netherlands for at least one semester (>5 months).
- The student does not originate from a country where ‘English’ has a formal language function.
- The student is not a proficient speaker of Dutch, but is allowed to have some knowledge of this language.

The students were recruited through the personal network of the researcher. Table 4.3 presents a list of information on the participants.

**Table 4.3 Participant information**

	Nationality	Gender	Age	Time spent in the Netherlands	Linguistic repertoire
PA	Romanian	Male	24	5 years and 6 months	L1: Romanian L2: English L3: Dutch
PB	Finnish	Female	24	2 years and 2 months	L1: Finnish L2: English
PC	Polish	Female	23	5 months	L1: Polish L2: English
PD	Estonia	Female	20	6 months	L1: Estonian L2: English
PE	Burundi	Male	28	3 years	L1: Kirundi L2: French L3: English
PF	Syria	Female	29	3 years	L1: Arabic L2: English L3: Dutch L4: Spanish
PG	Italy	Female	24	7 months	L1: Italian L2: English

### 3.5 Validity and Trustworthiness

A semi-structured interview is an effective research method that can uncover valuable descriptive data on personal experiences of the respondents. However, there are also downsides to semi-structured interviews as research method. The interview process is time-consuming and can therefore limit the analysis of the resultative data given the time frame in

which this study has to be completed. Moreover, the time-consuming nature of the research could result in a limited sample size.

The role of the interviewer must also be noted as a limitation to this research. The face-to-face interaction with the respondents could have influenced the answers that were given. The participants could have tried to present themselves in a better light. In order to limit this effect, prior to the interview, the interviewer stressed his role as a neutral researcher and not as a representative of the Dutch culture. The interviewer also emphasized that the participants should answer the questions honestly. This does, however, not guarantee truthful representation of the situations. The aim therefore was to provide an environment where such instances would be less likely by discussing this issue.

The cultural awareness of the researcher resulted in his adoption of a multicultural perspective in evaluating and responding to the answers given. By showing unconditional positive regard in the interview and being cognizant of his own cultural assumptions, the interviewer tried to minimize his own cultural bias. Nonetheless, it is important to note that all interpretations stem from an individual's culture. For that reason, this bias could not completely be eliminated.

In case of a remote interview, a bad network connection impeded the succession of questions in some cases. However, as far as the interviewer was able to tell, this did not hamper the interview to a significant extent.

## 4. Results

As mentioned in the previous section, the codes were used to structure the analysis. For this reason, the results will first be presented in the codes. After that, the sub-questions will be answered resulting in an answer to the research question.

### 4.1 Comprehension

Participant A, E and F, who are learning Dutch, showed (occasional) tolerance towards translanguaging behaviour. These participants specifically told their conversational partners to speak Dutch in their presence in order for them learn from it. This suggests that there is a relationship between the willingness to learn and tolerance towards translanguaging. Nevertheless, translanguaging is not always tolerated. Once the level of Dutch becomes too difficult, all the participants indicated that they would switch back to English. This suggests that there is a relationship between the level of uncertainty within a conversation and the tolerance towards the translanguaging.

Additionally, the 'let-it-pass' mentality House (2013) suggested occurred in several situations. When the interlocutors were in a group where the majority of the people were Dutch, and the main language was Dutch, the ELF users with a different L1 sometimes pretended to understand the message, where they actually did not. These examples showed that the ELF users with a different L1 did not want to be a burden to the group and found it sometimes too much effort to even try to understand the message. In cases where the translanguaging was ignored, some of the participants might have been afraid to incur damage to their reputation.



## 4.2 Perception / Interpretation

The analysis of the semi-structured interviews shows that, even though translanguaging was a common phenomenon in their ELF-environment, all the participants were tolerant until a certain extent. An answer of participant B captures the overall opinion of the participants: “I can understand why they do that, because it happens so easily and they don’t even recognize it happening”. In this way, all of the participants were able to find themselves in the position of the Dutch speaking interlocutor and therefore justify their translanguaging behaviour.

In some cases, the ELF users with a different L1 were aware that the language switch limited them from the same resources (Pavlenko & Blackledge, 2004). However, these cases only mattered where the context was not clear to the participants. The ELF users with a different L1 would typically feel excluded from the conversation in the following situations:

1. The language switch is followed by laughing.
2. The participants are well-aware of the linguistic repertoires of the other interlocutors.
3. Prolonged language switches
4. The use of difficult terminology and vocabulary
5. Abrupt language change (e.g. in the middle of a conversation)

Translanguaging was never a problem in cases where it was used to fill linguistic gaps. If the Dutch interlocutors showed their willingness to express themselves and tried in the main language (in most cases ELF), then the ELF users with a different L1 would be very tolerant towards the language-switch. This trend is in line with the claims by Kappa (2016) that the interlocutors collaborate in their interaction in order to bridge linguistic differences. However, it is important to note that this should be a joint-process, which involves the awareness and decisiveness of all the interlocutors. In cases where the Dutch interlocutors

showed little to no effort, the translanguaging caused negative attitudes of the ELF users with a different L1.

Translanguaging behaviour that is ‘disturbing’ in the eyes of the respondents is labelled as being ‘rude’, ‘awkward’ and ‘disrespectful’. In this way, there is no collaborative effort from the Dutch interlocutors to create joint understanding, resulting in an unequal availability of conversational resources to all the interlocutors.

#### 4.3 Rationalization

Even though some of the participants showed negative attitudes towards translanguaging, most of the participants were able to justify the translanguaging behaviour of their interlocutors. The English proficiency of the Dutch interlocutors seemed to compensate for the translanguaging behaviour. Six out of seven participants mentioned that the English proficiency of the Dutch students is very good. Quotes such as “they really try to do their best and speak English all the time”, “Switching to English usually is not a problem at all” and “the Dutch are very consistent from that point of view” display the appreciation for the English proficiency of the Dutch and their joint efforts as seen from the vantage point of the international students. The participants labelled these with traits such as ‘inclusive’, ‘polite’ and ‘friendly’.

Nevertheless, the participants made a very important distinction between conscious and unconscious translanguaging. Unconscious translanguaging instances were not labelled “significant” unless they happened a number of times. In case the Dutch interlocutors were aware of the linguistic repertoires of their interlocutors, international students were annoyed when incomprehensible translanguaging occurred. The participants noted that the Dutch interlocutors at least made a partial conscious choice of choosing for their own (different) L1.

All of the participants admitted that they also engaged in translanguaging. The list below mentions the most significant reasons:

1. Expressions come most naturally in the native language. Resulting in conscious and unconscious translanguaging.
2. The participants tried to limit the other interlocutors from the content. This was done in cases where participants spoke badly about the people present in the situation.
3. When there was a situation where the participant did not know the translation for a word, he/she would ask his/her fellow countryman or countrywoman a question in the native language.

Reason number 2 is in line with the monolingual ideology interlocutors sometimes adopt, which can be used to the benefit of the translanguaging interlocutor(s) (Cogo, 2016). This shows that even though interlocutors show resistance towards translanguaging in some instances, they engage in translanguaging themselves as well for the same reasons.

Participant G specifically mentioned the significance of the learning-process of the translanguaging efforts. She mentioned that “some languages have more creative words describing things, and it is nice to exchange them with colleagues”. In this example, the Dutch word ‘gezellig’ was mentioned to prove her point. This example displays that the use of the interlocutors’ linguistic resources creates fluid boundaries between two or more languages and form a uniquely multilingual set of words and phrases (Garcia & Li Wei, 2014; Li Wei 2016).

#### 4.4 Responses to translanguaging

The responses to translanguaging were largely dependent on the group dynamics. In informal ELF conversations, acquaintances were often told to switch to English as compared to less familiar interlocutors. This can mainly be linked to the awareness of linguistic

repertoires by the Dutch natives. In instances where the Dutch interlocutors are less familiar, the international interlocutors often avoid addressing the language switch directly. As participant F put it very clearly “my attitude will show that I am uncomfortable with this”. Participant A, C, E and F told they would continue the conversation with other international students (if any) and use body language and/or facial expressions to illustrate their negative attitude. If the international students are familiar with the interlocutors they feel less constraint to address them on their inappropriate translanguaging behaviour. In cases where there is no significant relationship between the interlocutors, the linguistic problem becomes harder to solve directly. As Canagarajah (2007) and García (2010) pointed out, the language is negotiable, but is most likely to be in accordance with the interlocutors’ own norms. This is true for the translanguaging interlocutors with a different L1 as well as the interlocutors who are restricted from the same communicational resources.

#### 4.5 Unilateral Idiomaticity

In most cases where UI occurred, the interlocutors were aware that the idiomatic phrases they were trying to use were not easily translatable. There were only few examples of pure forms of UI. Nevertheless, these occurrences were often ignored and were not deemed relevant or problematic to the participants. In case these UI occurrences were noted as relevant, the ambiguity in meaning was immediately reduced by collaboratively creating meaning. An example given by participant B was the phrase “sleep like a rose”. She pointed out that mutual understanding was created after she had noted to the Dutch native that this phrase does not translate from Dutch into English. In this case, the phrase firstly created confusion and eventually resulted in a joint understanding. Based on this data, it is difficult to claim that UI contributes to the perception of exclusion of participants with a different L1. Instances of UI were often deemed to be insignificant and were therefore ignored. As

Prodromou (2007) pointed out: UI is hard to capture in naturally occurring speech. In times it does occur, as given in the example above, there was no communicative breakdown that can be deemed significant.

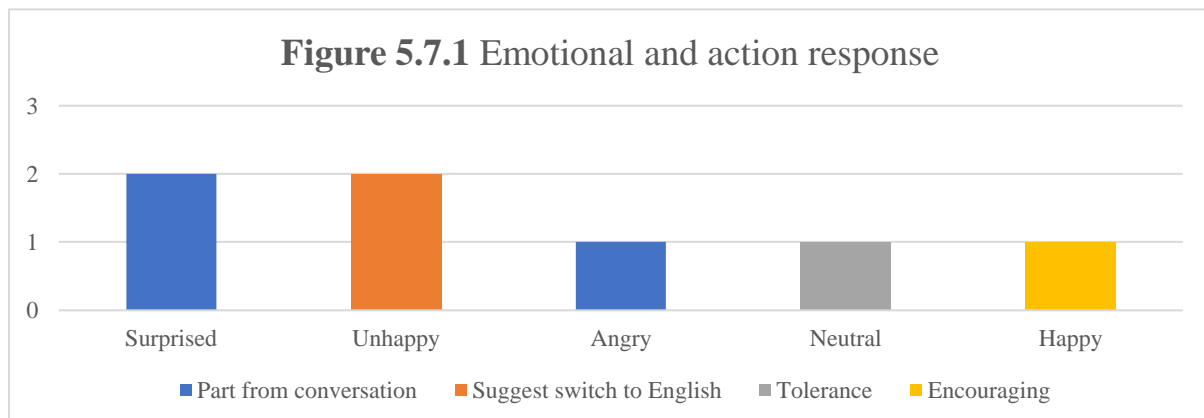
#### 4.6 Situational factors

Some participants noted that the number of language-representatives matters to the engagement in translanguaging of the Dutch natives. If the number of Dutch natives was significantly larger than the number of the English-speaking group of internationals, the Dutch natives were more likely to engage in translanguaging. Other participants noted that the mood of the translanguaging person would also be of relevance, since this affected their willingness to engage in the creation of collective meaning.

#### 4.7 Integrated analysis

##### 4.7.1 Answers to sub-questions

The answers to sub-question 1 and 3 are shown in figure 5.7. The majority of the negative emotional responses (5 out of 7 respondents) shows that the overall experience of the participants is negatively influenced. This data shows that there is a (possible) negative relation between translanguaging and the perception of exclusion.



However, the relationship between the interlocutors also largely influenced the action

response of the participants. The answers in the semi-structured interviews showed that in answering sub-question 2, there were typically two types of relationships between the interlocutors: acquaintance/friend and an ordinary collocutor. Acquaintances/friends received more direct action responses as compared to less familiar interlocutors. This in turn affects the degree of relevance of the translanguaging to the ELF user with a different L1. Sub-question 4 can be answered by saying that if the interlocutors engaging in translanguaging have knowledge of the linguistic repertoires of their interlocutors, their conscious translanguaging behaviour contributes to the perception of exclusion.

#### 4.7.2 *Answer to Research Question*

Based on the limited data of this study, the previous section made an attempt to answer the sub-question. As a result, this section will combine the findings to the sub-questions and attempt to answer the research question: To what extent does translanguaging by ELF users contribute to a perception of being excluded in other ELF users who do not share the same L1? This study suggests that translanguaging will, if certain circumstances are met, contribute to a perception of being excluded in other ELF users who do not share the same L1. There are five important factors to take into account when analysing a translanguaging situation:

1. The awareness of linguistic repertoires by the translanguaging interlocutor(s).
2. The collaborative actions to create mutual understanding among the translanguaging interlocutors in incomprehensible translanguaging situations.
3. The interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors.
4. The comprehensibility in combination with the duration of the translanguaging instance.
5. Incomprehensibility of translanguaging followed by laughing.

An overview of the different factors is given in table 5.7.2. The table tries to create a framework for reference to evaluate translanguaging events.

***Table 5.7.2: Factors influencing perception of exclusion from translanguaging.***

<b>Factors</b>	<b>Positive influence</b>	<b>Negative influence</b>
Awareness of linguistic repertoires.		
Collaborative action to create mutual understanding.		
The interlocutors are acquaintances/friends <sup>3</sup> .		
Prolonged incomprehensible language switch		
Incomprehensibility followed by laughing		

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<sup>3</sup> With this factor, the long-term influence is measured. Since interlocutors with a close relationship are more likely to correct the translanguaging behavior of their interlocutors with a different L1 (short-term solution).

## 5. Conclusion

The results from this study appear to suggest that ELF users with a different L1 may feel excluded in other ELF users to a significant extent. In such cases, the perception of and response to the translanguaging event would be dependent on the following factors:

1. The awareness of the linguistic repertoires by the translanguaging interlocutor(s).
2. The collaborative actions to create mutual understanding among the translanguaging interlocutors in incomprehensible translanguaging situations.
3. The interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors involved.
4. Duration of language switch in combination with the comprehensibility.

If the interlocutor(s) with a different L1 were aware of the linguistic repertoires of the other interlocutors, the translanguaging efforts were labelled as rude, awkward and disrespectful. This made the participants feel excluded from the conversation. In case they were not aware of the linguistic repertoires, the participants did not seem to mind the translanguaging as much.

Another relationship that became apparent was that a high level of uncertainty resulted in low tolerance towards translanguaging. The higher the level of uncertainty in the conversation, the lower the tolerance towards translanguaging behavior.

If the interlocutors with a different L1 showed collaborative actions to bridge the linguistic differences or construct meaning, the incomprehensible translanguaging was not a problem at all. Bridging the differences and finding inventive linguistic solutions to the language gaps actually contributed to the group dynamics. The collaborative meaning was also created in instances where the participants tried to learn from the Dutch conversation of his/her conversational partners. Here, again, the harder the translation became (high uncertainty) the lower the tolerance towards prolonged translanguaging behavior.



The response to the situation was very much dependent on the interpersonal relationship between the interlocutors. Acquaintances/friends were often told to switch, as compared to ordinary collocutors, where there was little to no action response.

The purpose of these results is to create awareness among translanguaging communities rather than enforcing a behavior-change. Once people become aware of their translanguaging behavior, they can choose for themselves whether they adjust or maintain their language use.

## 6. Discussion

The sample size of this study was not considered large enough to make substantiated claims about the relationship between translanguaging and the perception of exclusion. More extensive future research on the effect of translanguaging on the perception of exclusion will have to be conducted in order to validate the findings of this study. The sample size for this research was limited due to the time-consuming nature of the research. Future research can possibly conduct a more in-depth analysis of the large number of different suggested factors influencing the perception of exclusion from translanguaging.

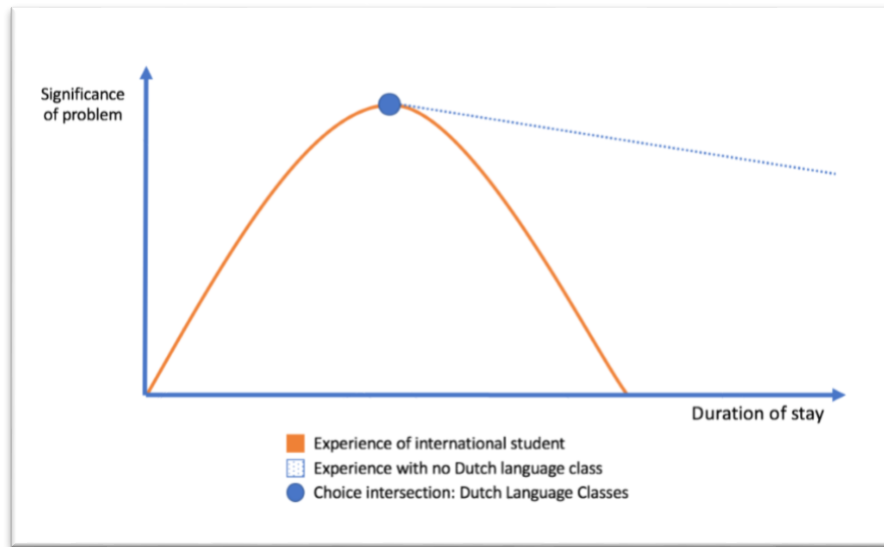
Almost all participants noted that the English proficiency of the Dutch natives was very high. Since this research was conducted in only one country, the results are likely to be culture-biased. It would be very useful and interesting to conduct a similar research in a country where the English proficiency is much lower as compared to the Netherlands.

In this research, the researcher was not able to find German participants, which would have been relevant in discussing the *Lingua Receptiva* phenomena. However, it is important to note that this phenomenon is equally important in conducting credible research in this field. Future research should include the relevant languages to conduct an analysis on *Lingua Receptiva*.

Participants who stayed for a period longer than a year (participant A, B, E and F) showed more willingness to learn Dutch and were therefore more tolerant towards translanguaging. Two of the short-term students (participant C and D) did not intend to learn Dutch and therefore became less tolerant as the exposure to translanguaging increased. Such a possible existent relationship would be an interesting topic for future research. In figure 7 a suggested simplified model is presented of the length of stay of the participants in relation to the significance of the problem. The blue dot in the figure suggests the start of language

classes in the country of residence and shows that the duration of the stay and an increased understanding of the language will minimize the problem until it is insignificant.

**Figure 7. Simplified relationship: experience and willingness to learn Dutch.**



This figure therefore suggests that the longer the stay, the more significant the problem becomes. If the students decide to follow Dutch classes, their proficiency increases, thus decreasing the significance of the problem. Students who do not follow these Dutch classes will continue to bother with the translanguaging behavior. However, a longer stay might slightly increase the proficiency of Dutch, therefore also slightly decrease the significance of the problem.

The changing nature of ELF will keep providing the world with communicative challenges. It is the duty of linguists and intercultural experts to provide relevant theoretical frameworks that help to elucidate the complexity of language and interaction. In this way, our communicative reach will continue to grow.

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## Appendices

### *Appendix 1: Transcription and coding of the semi-structured interviews.*

Participant A – Romania			
Quotes	Code		
‘If they were relaxing (inaudible) actually I told them that it’s fine if they speak in Dutch. Because it motivates me to learn. I was encouraging them to speak Dutch.’	1	2	7
‘I think last week for instance, when we were after the training, we were at the team bar, where we have our sponsor also. One guy was explaining the rules of a game of cards. I didn’t really get it, but then I was like ‘yeah, yeah, yeah’ (Here the participant was knotting that he did understand the rules of the game)	2	4	
‘Sometimes they ehm... It doesn’t really bother me unless they’re like... Well it did bother me once, quite recent. With some colleagues, we were in this group, there were some internationals and some Dutch people, but this girl, since she was also speaking to the Dutch people, she was straight going to Dutch not even trying to say it in English. Whereas in general, Dutch people between their selves when there are more internationals in the group. But here we were with like five people or something, and then two of us were internationals. And then when she came, she was just addressing them in Dutch completely ignoring us. And I was like ‘the fuck’...	1	4	
‘Yes. And it was at school, so that was even more weird, because in general most people speak English. [...] Yeah it was more some sort of a social setting after class.’	1		
‘In my response I didn’t say anything, because she speak really fast, so I couldn’t follow what she was saying. So, I just went and discussed with the international students, so we continued our conversation with the international students and then parted away from them, the Dutch. [...] Yes. Well, we were still together and it resumed after a while, but half of us were speaking English, half of us Dutch.’	4	5	
‘Yeah, nothing so concrete like this, but for instance, I was at a festival three months ago or something, and there were these girls and we just initiated a conversation. I think there were like two or three girls. I had the impression that one of them was not Dutch, but then she spoke Dutch very well. They started in English and we were just initiating conversation, but then they started speaking Dutch about something. [...] They were speaking in Dutch and they were laughing, so haha...’	1	2	3
‘I think the Dutch are very consistent from that point of view. Whenever there is an English person around, or there is an English setting, or they are at work or at school, they continue speaking English. Also in general when they speak between their selves, I mean when they are addressing their selves when there is an international person around.’	3	7	
Yes, she noticed that we were having a conversation in English and then came over and ‘bam!’ she just started talking in Dutch with the other Dutch people.	1	4	7
‘From what I’ve seen is, I’ve never experienced that somebody that somebody said something in English, which is a Dutch idiom. Can’t come up with any of the idioms now, but I didn’t experience that somebody said that... and didn’t realize that it’s a Dutch saying and then continued the conversation.’	2	6	

Participant B - Finland			
Quotes	Code		
‘All right. Ah, then I completely misunderstood the question. In that case, if there were like two Dutch, and then I, then they started to speak Dutch. That happened a lot of times. Yeah, sorry. [...] I thought it was like if someone was talking to me in English and then they switched to Dutch to me. I was like ‘no haha, that did not happen’	2	7	
‘This didn’t really happen at work, but for example, at some kind of parties, where there were a lot of Dutch people, I could be the only international. And then they were first... Like, I always kind of felt like that it could be some kind of barrier that they need to... Every time they need to talk, when they want to talk to me they need to speak in English, but otherwise, they would rather speak Dutch. I also found it to be... like from the context... like people who were eager to speak English they did that. But like some people, they kind of, I found it more kind of an obligation to do that instead of that they wanted to.’	3	4	7
‘I think it depends on the way of your English skills, and if you’re confident of speaking it.’	1	4	7
‘It was like, one example would be... we were in a circle. That, for example, me and... well, how to put this into an example. There could be me, Jasper, and then his friends. And then some people I maybe didn’t know. Or someone was there that I knew. So, we were discussing first, we were talking in English. And then if I wasn’t... then I started to talk to Jasper for instance, the two of us, the other people started to speak Dutch, like in the circle. So basically, they were talking their own things and they were talking in their own language, and then Jasper started to talk with them again in Dutch, and I was there standing. And when someone noticed it, like ‘okay, she is just standing there and doing nothing’, then they switched to English and explained what they talked. But that’s how it went, like, if they weren’t speaking directly to me while we were in the same group or in this same space, then they spoke their own language.’	1	4	7
‘Well, the thing is, I can understand why they do that, because it happens so easily and they don’t even recognize it happening. But at the same time, it feels like you’re a bit neglected or how would you say, like that you just feel like it would be way easier if you’d speak the same language.’	1	3	4
‘Yeah, I don’t think they did on purpose. It was like, you just don’t realize that... sometimes you forget that you’re like... That there is someone that doesn’t speak your language. And when you’re not focussing on that person, then you’re focussing on your friend, then you forget it.’	1	3	7
‘Yeah, I always felt like people were trying, they really tried their best, but at the same time you just forget it I think.’	1	3	
‘Yeah, I think it happened a lot. In Amsterdam, I had the situation where... My best friends in Amsterdam were these Finnish people. We had this Finnish gang. And then one of them had a Swedish boyfriend and one of them had a Dutch boyfriend. It would really happen when we would hang out together, we were speaking Finnish, but then someone would just say ‘hey, English!’ and then we switched. So that’s why I can also understand it, because it is just so easy to talk your own language	1	4	5



when you don't realise that 'okay, we should keep it English'. So yeah, it also happened to me'			
'During my exchange, when we had a party, and there were Dutch people and English, the level of English was way like, way better, because there were more international people to talk to. It wasn't divided like internationals and Dutch people.'	4		7
Yeah, for example, the 'sleep like a rose'. Like I don't remember who said that, or (inaudible). But someone was just like 'sleep like a rose' and I'm like 'What?...'	5		6
'Yeah, but no. I already knew that it does not work. It is not translatable, you know like, Finnish language is so difficult, so if you try to say it in English, it doesn't work. So already when you think about it, you think 'all right, this doesn't make sense'.'	2		6
'I think we did discuss about it immediately, like 'okay, that's not an English'... 'You can't say that in English'. So, I think it was more like a funny thing. Not like awkward or anything. Just more like 'yeah, that's not translatable' and he's like 'Oh...' haha'	5		6
'I think it is more funny, not awkward and there's nothing wrong too. Nobody's perfect, so that's fine.'	3		6

Participant C - Poland			
Quotes	Code		
'I didn't take any courses. Unfortunately, this wasn't in my program I couldn't a Dutch course. I only knew a few words, but at the moment I don't remember them. I didn't really understand a lot when I heard Dutch.'	2		8
'Yeah, it's been three years ago, so I don't remember that well, but yeah I think there were a few situations where this... where Dutch people started speaking Dutch instead of English. Yeah, I remember, but I don't really remember what kind of situation it was, but yeah. I think it happened for sure'	1		
'I feel it is a bit uncomfortable when you're not able to understand what people are talking about when you're with them... or when you are in their company. It's nice to understand what they are talking about and you might have this thought that they're talking bad things about you or you know... So, it's a bit uncomfortable because you don't really know what they are saying. They might actually talk about you as well so... And especially when you're speaking in English, before that event, they just switch language and you think like 'okay, maybe something happened'. They want to hide something or they don't want to tell something.'	1	3	4
'It wasn't always like that, that they started to speak Dutch and they continued. Sometimes there were just a few words as you said... Yeah that's a good point actually. I feel like there were some situations where Dutch people would use just a few words. Just you know like, they didn't know the right expression.'	1		7

‘Maybe not translating exactly the word, but more like they didn’t know the right expression. Because in Dutch you have these proper... or like better expression of something. So, it is not like a translation, but it’s more like you know a word to describe a situation, I don’t know. You have some special words in Dutch that probably... yeah, we don’t have it in English. But it wasn’t always like this. A few times there were like situations where people would just switch languages for a longer time.	1	2		
‘Yeah, but it wasn’t that often. They usually tried to speak English most of the time, but yeah, I can imagine like... if you... There is a bigger group of people and a few Dutch people and a few foreigners. When there is a conversation like, everyone is talking to another. Sometimes they just switch languages because they don’t talk with foreigners. At the moment, we just talk to Dutch people, but they are surrounded by other foreigners, so... yeah, it depends on the situation, I guess...	3	7		
‘I remember situations when I was the only foreigner, but also I remember situations where there were a lot of foreigners, like in the class for example. I mean, like Dutch people usually try to speak English.’	1	3		
‘I even remember a situation before the class, like some Dutch guys, they met up before the class. And at first, they started to talk in English, because they saw that there were a few foreigners and they’ll be like ‘okay, what did you do last weekend?’ and then they just switched languages and we had no idea what they were talking about. Yeah, but you’re right, when we’re in the class like when there was this formal environment I would say, then they stuck to English more often. But also, I mean, all the Dutch people that I’ve met, they really try to do their best and speak English all the time. So, it’s not like they switch languages, like, on purpose. ‘	1	2	3	4
‘Yeah, I feel like everyone has... everyone can express themselves better in their own languages.’	3	4		
‘Maybe it wasn’t even on purpose. They would just feel more comfortable when they’re speaking Dutch. And it was much easier probably, but you, Dutch people, are really good in English, so that is not a problem to be honest.’	3	4		
‘I was talking to the Dutch person before, another Dutch came and then they started the conversation in English, because I was there. But then they just switched. So, I was actually involved in the conversation before, but after that I wasn’t involved, because I had no clue what they were talking about.’	1	2	3	
‘Yeah, that was actually pretty awkward, you know. You are just standing there, you are in the middle of your conversation and then they just started to speak in Dutch. And I was like ‘okay’. So, I was just listening, but I couldn’t get the words, so. That was really uncomfortable I would say.’	1	2	3	5
‘Yeah, I think they were aware, they knew me. So, yeah, they were aware that I don’t speak Dutch at all.’	2	3	4	
‘It is actually really impressive, because I really didn’t pay that much attention to it. And now, when you are just asking questions, I’m just like ‘yeah, that actually happened’	1	3	4	
‘I think I just didn’t say anything, I was just standing there. [...] I didn’t talk to them, because they started speaking Dutch, but I think I didn’t go away, I was standing with them’	5			

‘Yeah, I was the only one there with the Dutch person. And when another Dutch came, so we were with three altogether’.	7			
‘I feel like, that when there were more foreigners, that kind of situation happened like, less often. When there are like a lot of foreigners, they just stick to English usually.’	3		7	
‘And also, when there is a situation where there is only like one Dutch, maybe two Dutch people and then like, let’s say five foreigners, then they just stick to English, because we’re like a bigger group I would say. You know, it is harder to switch languages, when there are like less people speaking in that language, if that makes sense. If there were like two Dutch people they would just like... They just stick to English, because we were with more people than they were’	1	3	4	7
‘Usually, they just, as you said, they made their point and then switched languages I would say. When they switched immediately, it was usually because they knew better expressions, as I told you. Like you have some proper expression phrases for somethings. So, when it was like really sudden it was usually about this, but when they switched languages for good, or for like a longer time, it wasn’t in the middle of the conversation. It wasn’t like one sentence in Dutch and then suddenly, the same topic, but then in another language.’	1	6	7	

Participant D - Estonia				
Quotes	Code			
‘I came here at the end of August. So, like half a year, a little bit more.’	8			
‘It seemed like a pretty good place to study. I like the environment, and the fact that it is so international, probably would make it easier for me. And I can study in English, so.’	8			
‘Unfortunately, not. I tried to learn a little bit by myself, but no.’	2			
‘I guess it happens sometimes, that they want to say something in Dutch to each other, but it... I can’t recall it ever being a problem or anything. At least, for me’	1	3		
‘And even if I don’t understand, I kind of like listen to it anyway, to try to understand, so it’s never a problem’	1	2	3	
‘There was at a party, where Dutch people started speaking in Dutch and then another girl was like ‘why are they speaking in Dutch?’ or in my tutorials as well. Two girls just said a few terms in Dutch and our tutor was really upset about it, because we’re internationals. But I don’t know, like, they were never a problem to me’	5		7	
‘It is their native language and I don’t mind if they speak it. It is not a problem at all’	3		4	
‘Of course, if they would really have a conversation in Dutch, it would kind of not be nice. But in that specific circumstance, they wanted to explain something that they didn’t understand in English. Or like a term for example. I mean, obviously it makes it easier for them.’	3	4	7	
‘I don’t think that has happened.’	6			
‘Actually, yeah, I think it does happen quite frequently. Like sometimes without them noticing they start to speak in Dutch, which is fine, because they can. I mean I also want to speak in Estonian sometimes. And also at work, for example, they also speak in Dutch with other people and by	3		4	

themselves, because that is just easier for them sometimes. But yeah, it's never... It doesn't affect me that much.'			
'I have a friend that is studying the same thing coincidentally... So yeah, I get to talk in Estonian. Or sometimes even when I talk to my other friends or Skype, then after that. Or in random occasions you sometimes just want to say something in Estonian because it still comes back too, because it is your native language.'	3	4	7
'Sometimes, yeah, we do that. But usually when we realize that we're speaking in Estonian... and mostly it doesn't bother them, because they're doing other stuff and then we just switch to Estonian for a second. Because it is easy. But when we realize that they are also in the conversation now or whatever, then we automatically switch and that's never a problem as well.'	1	3	4
'Well, I mean... When there is another person standing next to us, then it is purely rude to continue speaking in my own language if I engage them in a conversation as well if it's not like super personal or something I don't want to tell them.'	1	3	
'It's kind of like respect, you know. I mean I can speak English as well, it is not a problem for me so, why not... why leave someone out of it?'	1	3	4
'No, because that would be super rude. That would be even worse. I mean, it could happen indeed, but usually I don't do that. That I want to say something about that person.'	3	5	
'I think probably in a situation where they start speaking and then it continues for a long time and you just... you know... exit the situation. Or when you think they are talking about you, I mean it is just paranoia, but it is also possible. And that would probably bother me, but otherwise no.'	1	2	3
'Well at work I don't have any response, because they just speak Dutch and that is fine. But in school, when the teacher was upset about them speaking Dutch, we actually discussed it afterwards. And I also discussed it with them, because I was like 'well, that is not even... that's not a problem'. And they themselves were also really confused because they just explained words to each other, so it should be a problem. It shouldn't be made an issue. So yeah, I just usually do my thing.'	3		
'But there is something that I like about Dutch people as well. Mostly, the fact that switching to English usually is not a problem at all, like ever. For example, when we are at work, I speak English, so they would expect me to speak Dutch. But I don't. But then they switch in like mili-seconds to English and it is never a problem, usually. I mean, I guess it depends on the people. And I barely had interactions with people that don't understand me. Unless they're older people.'	1	3	
'and like even when some old people don't understand me, because I don't speak Dutch, they're still friendly. They're not like 'who are you?' 'why are you here?' like 'why are you an international in my country?' like 'this is my country. Go away!' Never that. But it would be the case in Estonia, so that's why there is a big difference.'	3	7	

Participant E - Burundi			
Quotes	Codes		
‘I came here as human rights activist’	8		
‘My level is A2. [...] I can understand Dutch when people are talking very slowly. And I can take part in conversation. I can explain myself, order something in Dutch, in the restaurant, in the café, or at the supermarket. I can make like short conversation in Dutch, but not...’	2	8	
‘But most of the time, I think Dutch people speak very very fast. I can understand, not everything, but the context of what they are speaking about. But before, Dutch was like Chinese.’	3		
‘But when I started Dutch class, I feel more like, how can I say, curious to know what people are saying.’	2	3	
‘Yeah, sometimes very embarrassing. For me, because they were speaking English and then they switch to Dutch. Sometimes it’s okay, to improve my Dutch. For example, I started working recently, in a restaurant, and sometimes I speak with my colleagues. All of the time they speak English, but sometimes they switch to Dutch. ‘Come on, can you speak English?!’	3	5	
‘I know it is very important for me to listen when they are speaking Dutch. That is what my teacher told me ‘you should ask your friends to speak more Dutch’. And you know, Dutch people in general, I mean in Utrecht, all of them they speak English, so. It is sometimes really bad, because when you try to speak Dutch with them, they can hear like your Dutch is not good. And then they say ‘no please, don’t speak Dutch’. You are killing our language.’	3	4	
‘I think most of my friends, when I speak Dutch, they are really happy. They’re like ‘oh, you’re improving your Dutch’. I used to make it like funny. They would laugh at me.’	3	5	
‘Sometimes I speak Dutch with my girlfriend, she is Dutch, so.’	2		
‘Sometimes, I don’t like when they speak something I don’t understand. You want to take part in the conversation. I can understand a little bit, but... just to attend the conversation, join you guys.’	2	5	
‘I can speak good French, French is my second language.’	8		
‘I also play basketball. I play at the Netherlands’ champion. And all my teammates are Dutch. For them it’s easy... they always speak Dutch. Because in basketball, there are difficult words, I don’t know the meaning in Dutch.’	2		
‘All of them speak English, but I am the only non-Dutch.’	7	8	
‘It is very spontaneous. They don’t mean to do it, but it just happens. And it is also hard for me, I am coaching it, I am coaching the basketball team, under 16. They don’t speak good English. So, sometimes it is so hard to communicate with them, so.’	4		
‘If it’s something I don’t know, I try to use my body language. But only three can speak good English, can speak English fluently. There is one guy in the team trying to translate what I am saying to them. I am in a very embarrassing situation, so I think I should learn Dutch.’	2	3	7
‘It has happened many times, because English is like my third language. Sometimes I try to say things, and they don’t understand, because the meaning is changed. It is totally changed. I try to spend... taking time to use examples.’	1	6	



‘Where I work, there is international guys. They come from Italy, Spain, Portugal, they speak different languages. So, the majority of the guys they are Dutch. When they speak in Dutch, they say ‘come on, please, English!’ that’s what they say. I remember this last time, the only girl said ‘come on, can you switch to English, please’. Because she is here for just six months, she’s exchange student. She doesn’t intend to learn Dutch, so it’s not helpful. She is not going to use it, she said.’	1	3	5
‘Yeah, it’s with my girlfriend. Sometimes I say, let’s practice English. And I say: ‘how is your day?’, ‘what did you do during the weekend?’ [...] yeah, people I am familiar with. I want to practice. But for people I am not familiar with, I am scared I’ll make some mistakes.’	2		
‘I think it depends, with which guy I am hanging out, because some guys are really rude. If you told them to speak English, they said ‘no, you should learn Dutch, it’s not our fault, it’s your fault’’	3	5	7
‘Some guys, they don’t even know... I can pretend... I can take part in the conversation, you know when I’m playing basketball, out of my team, I am the only one who speaks Dutch, so I pretend, I didn’t tell them to switch to English, but I can pretend to take part in the conversation. And you say ‘ja, ja, ja’ or ‘goed, goed, goed’, ‘goed gedaan’. But some guys are really mean.’	5		7
‘I don’t like the really mean. Then I’m not even interested in what you’re saying. [...] then I’m off.’	3	5	
‘What it is about Dutch people, you know. When they don’t know you, they talk to people they only know. You know, only to their friends.’	3	7	
‘Yeah, they have a limited network. They are not really open, if I can say that. They are only open to people they know.’	3		
‘It’s like totally different to my culture. In Burundi, we talk to everybody.’	8		
‘We can talk about nothing. So, when you sit on the bus, we can start talking. But here in the Netherlands, people, when they don’t know you, they don’t talk to you. I remember the first time I traveled I, when I came to the Netherlands, I travelled from Groningen to Den Haag, which is three hours. There is one guy sitting face to face, we didn’t talk for three hours. For Dutch is very normal to be on their phone... listen to music. Constantly ignoring you, you don’t exist. But for us, I start talking. But when you’re Dutch and they know you, they are really open. They start talking to you. So, for them, it takes time.’	3	7	8
‘I am curious to know what they are speaking. Maybe they’re speaking about me. Look, it is not a comfortable situation, when they are speaking something you don’t understand.’	1	2	3

Participant F - Syria		
Quotes	Codes	
‘For almost three years’	8	
‘Yeah, that happens a lot. And I can understand that you’re thinking in your own language. So, I can imagine this. There was an incidence that happened like two years and a half. I was calling for a problem with the internet and the Wi-Fi. And I was speaking English. I told them, I am speaking English, I am not speaking Dutch. And when the problem was a bit higher than we expected, she started speaking Dutch and refused to	3	4

‘speak English.’				
‘I was very angry, sure. Because, I spoke to her like five minutes ago and she was speaking English. And now speaking Dutch, so...’	3		5	
‘I don’t think it was a linguistic problem, or, no I don’t think so. She doesn’t want to explain it anymore or justify why they are doing this.’	4			
‘Sometimes, I ask them to switch to Dutch. Yeah, because most of the Dutch wants to practice their English language. So, it is okay for them to speak English. But at some point, I have to speak Dutch, so ‘please Dutch’.	1	3	5	
‘I like to pronounce things correctly, and in the street, it is different from school, so.’	7			
‘With a doctor or with a financial thing, I speak English.’	7			
‘No, when I come into conversation with some people or some Dutch, I try to involve in this conversation in Dutch, but when it has come to the point where I didn’t understand, so I start to ask to make it easier in Dutch. And if I didn’t get it, I’ll start in English.’	1		2	
‘For the Dutch, I think, most of them switch to English. Yeah, it is easier for them.’	4			
‘It happened a lot. Because in the minor-courses, the majority of them is Dutch. And I was like when you’re in teamwork, or with a group, they start discussing things with Dutch immediately. And then ‘oh sorry, we have to speak English, because you’re here’. So sometimes they, like for individuals, they ignore this. So, they continue their ideas with Dutch. And then maybe they change to English.’	1		3	
‘It’s the first that comes to their mind. Maybe yes, but sometimes you’re in an English course, so it is supposed to be all in English even for the discussion in class.’	7			
‘For greetings or something, it’s all in English’	7			
‘It’s different actually from the sphere that you’re in. Here in the university, no, it’s like totally English. But, for I know, like a ‘Taal-coach’ or like friends, neighbors, they start it with Dutch. I think that what everyone makes it, that’s an easier way for them.’	7			
‘Yeah, sure. Because this is the... like language is the main key for communication to understand it. Maybe I can justify with them ‘okay’, maybe it is done unconsciously. But at some point, come on, they know I don’t speak those terms or that high level of Dutch.’	3		4	
‘I switch to English’	5			
‘And if someone wants to make fun, they start to speak Dutch very fast. And then you’re like ‘okay, what are you talking about, are you insulting... or swear-words... or come on.’	1	2	3	5
‘Yeah, and they laugh. And then you’re like ‘okay, what is this about?’	5			
‘I would say ‘oh, what was that thing? Is it about me or something else?’	5			
‘Somebody explain it, or they will be like ‘oh no, we were just laughing’’	4			
‘It is not a respectable thing, I think’	3			
‘No, I try to ignore. I am not going to tell people they are going to... Yeah. My attitude will show that I am uncomfortable with this.’	3		5	
‘I will show it more’	5			
‘It happens with the ‘Taal-coach’. Or somebody who tries to help you with the language. How it is used in the streets, not in books, for grammar.	6			

So, he tried to give me some idioms about that.'		
'I would never know, if they say as idioms or literally. I would never know. What does it really mean?'	2	6
For like two days ago, for 'vieren pasen' or 'pasen vieren'. For me it is like 'ik vier pasen'. So, 'vier' is number four. How is it celebrating? It's not 'vier'.'	2	
'Mostly when they are written articles. For 'vier' it is not going to... With the Google Translate it is not going to give 'vier' to celebrate. [...] it is only the number. Unless you put it with a -en or a -t, or something.'	2	
'They are really judging. [...] you're less. So, they try and categorize you in some points and they're surprised like 'oh, you speak Dutch? You've been like two years and you started to understand'. So, they'll always be surprised. And I'm like 'oh, come on, that's nothing to be surprised about''	7	
'They will be like 'oh you're Syrian? You speak good English' and then I'm like 'yeah, we do have schools in Syria'. Sometimes, that's really annoying me.'	3	7

Participant G				
Quotes	Codes			
‘I have to think about it, but never... It never happened. Normally, they switch to English when I with them.’	1	3		
‘It depends on...because I know some Germans, so sometimes for easy speech, I am able to understand in Dutch, and when they know I can understand something they switch in Dutch.’	1	2	3	
‘A little bit. Not everything. For easy stuff, yes.’	2			
‘I am also doing joga in Dutch. It depends on the mood of the teacher sometimes he speaks in English and another time in Dutch.’	4	7		
‘Sometimes I ask him to repeat it in English’	2	5		
‘It depends on. When I started, yes, but now there is also my flatmate, she is coming... Michelle [...] in that case we are with two internationals.’	3	7		
‘I had once that I was in the supermarket and a woman asked me something in Dutch and I wasn’t able to understand. ‘English?’ and she said something in Dutch when she went away.’	1	2	3	
‘No, she could. Because (inaudible) it’s Dutch, I know, but I can’t understand everything. Sorry. Yeah, it happened something like that, but once.’	2	4		
‘I didn’t give at that moment the importance.’	4			
‘She asked me a thing if I know and I answer her that I wasn’t able to understand.’	1	2		
‘I was quite neutral. I can understand that maybe she had a bad day. The Dutch, you know... People are quite strange. I try not to give importance, but yeah it quite impolite I think.’	3	4	5	
‘I found my classmates always really... I would say polite, but really inclusive, because if they are the majority Dutch and there is only one international, they start speaking in English. Only the fact that we are nearby, they speak in English to let us understand everything.’	1	3		
‘But also, outside, when I’m in the bar, people have no problem to speak English I would say.’	3	7		



‘Normally, no, because I am not really fluent in English, I try to stay concentrated with my English and when I’m... It’s not so easy for me to switch from Italian to English. So, I try to stay always with my English. But yes, there are sometimes that I don’t want everyone to understand a thing and then I say it in Italian to my friend.’	1	2	7	
‘If someone is really annoying. That’s actually bad, haha! [...] but yeah, it is not something really common. It has to be a really bad day.’	1	7		
‘I think it is normal. I think it is the game with language. We speak the languages that we have in common and we use it. Sometimes, I don’t know, I said something in Spanish, well, the three words that I know. It is a personal way to interact with people.’	3	4		
‘It depends on the degree of friendship that you have. The more friends with a person you are, the more you’re able to play with languages and understand with other words that are not English’	1	4	7	
‘Maybe if I know, in Spanish or in Italy there is a word for a situation, for a strange situation, for a context.’	1	7		
‘Every language has different ways to see the words and some languages have more creative words describing things. And it is nice to exchange them with colleagues.’	1	3	4	5
‘It the game you start if you are confident with friends and... but I don’t know. For example, I give you an example, there is the Dutch word ‘gezellig’. That is something in Italian doesn’t exist. And you start using it in your normal speech.’	1	2	3	5
‘I think that as an international student in an international... or always being with international students and colleagues. Because at work I am always with international colleagues, you start to have a lot of languages collecting the funniest expressions.’	1	7		
‘If they know that the other knows the meaning.’	1	2	3	
‘I can divide between my colleagues and my university classmates that they are really confident with their English. For example, my joga teacher, I know that he prefers to speak Dutch, and he speaks English because of me basically. And for example, my classmates have no problem to speak... I think like to could even ask for the English translation directly.’	4	7		
My Joga teacher, he I don’t know, he asked the other Dutch for a translation for a word.’	7			
For example, when I arrived here, my level of English wasn’t so good. In the beginning, I was more interacting with my Italian colleagues and asking them for help. Now, I am quite independent and I am always speaking English. I even speak English when I am alone with them.’	7	8		
‘Normally I say that, but nobody cares about it. It depends on the context, I’d say. [...] When you speak between friends, there is a flow.... [...] If they ask for, I’ll explain, but sometimes, no.’	6	7		
For example, my Spanish friend can understand the context, but my Dutch friend, no. It depends on the majority of the people involved and if the majority understands, you go straight on. If someone asks me ‘what are you saying’, I can explain.’	1	2	3	
‘Normally nobody understands it when I speak.’ (Jokingly)	2	3		

'Sometimes I use really creative sentences and yeah, normally my friends know me.'	1	4	8
'I can say that sometimes it is difficult to reach the 'real person'. There is always some sort of wall of politeness. They are really polite, always. Or they generalize. For example, they say something really strong, but it is really difficult to see all the shadows inside a person. With other cultures, it is easier.'	3		7
'It is also difficult to recognize the weakness of a person. That I find important. When you interact as friends and it is more difficult to understand, completely, a person.'	3		