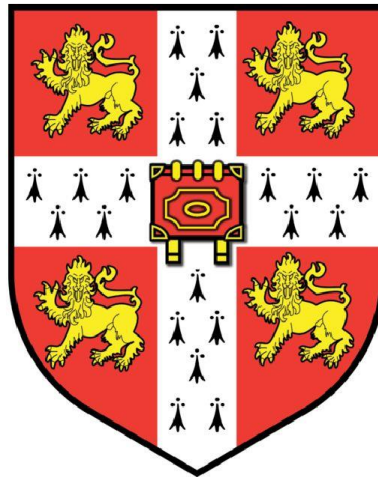


English in the Netherlands

Functions, forms and attitudes



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Dissertation submitted for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Declaration

This dissertation is the result of my own work and includes nothing which is the outcome of work done in collaboration except where specifically indicated in the text.

Statement of length

This dissertation does not exceed the extended word limit granted by the relevant degree committee.

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Annotated glossary

This glossary defines and describes, in alphabetical order, a number of terms as used in this thesis. This use is broadly in line with the understanding of these terms in the field of World Englishes.

codification

The description and recording of the features of a variety of English in reference books, usage guides, dictionaries, grammars, etc. As this implies official acceptance of these features, codification is considered an advanced stage in the development of a variety; the end point of the processes of nativisation and institutionalisation. Only Inner Circle varieties have fully achieved this, and some only recently; e.g. the codification of Australian English began as late as the 1970s. However, localised dictionaries are beginning to emerge for some Outer Circle varieties.

Dunglish

Name used in popular media in the Netherlands to refer, derogatorily, to more or less ‘flawed’ English as used by Dutch speakers (in Dutch: *Nederengels* or *Steenkolen-Engels*); coined in analogy with other common hybrid names such as *Chinglish* and *Franglais*.

Dutch English

Name used in this thesis to refer to the variety of English used in the Netherlands, not to replace the derogatory term *Dunglish* but to refer to a qualitatively different phenomenon (cf. Singlish versus Singapore English, Chinglish versus China English). The distinction between *Dunglish* and the potentially legitimate variety *Dutch English* is not widely recognised in the Netherlands.

English as a foreign language (EFL)

The function of English in contexts where it is not an official language or formally established in schooling or administration. In such contexts it is not a typical means of intranational communication but is instead associated with instrumental functions, i.e. for use with tourists or when abroad. In teaching it is explicitly associated with Inner Circle countries and speakers, and the target model is typically that of an Inner Circle variety.

English as a native language (ENL)

Although the notion of the ‘native speaker’ is nowadays rightly problematised, the term ENL is still broadly used to refer to the function of English in countries considered the traditional

bases of English, where English is the mother tongue of a majority of the population (i.e. Inner Circle countries).

English as a second language (ESL)

The function of English in countries where it has some official status, usually as a result of colonisation. A bi- or multilingual environment is assumed, and English forms an intrinsic part of the public domain. Note that this usage of the term ESL, typical in the field of World Englishes, differs from the alternative meaning in second language acquisition (SLA), where it refers to settings in which English is the primary language and ESL is learnt by e.g. immigrants.

error

Term usually associated with deviations from a (native) target model made by learners of English as a foreign language in the Expanding Circle. Contrasted with *innovation* or *feature*.

Expanding Circle

Part of Kachru's (1985b) Three Circles model covering contexts where English does not have an intranational status, although it may be extensively learnt due to its global importance (i.e. countries not in the Inner and Outer circles, e.g. France, Russia, Brazil). Considered 'norm dependent' and associated with EFL.

feature

Structural, lexical or pragmatic phenomenon that characterises a particular variety of English. Typically refers to linguistic phenomena of Inner and Outer Circle varieties, in contrast with *error* as associated with the Expanding Circle.

Inner Circle

Part of Kachru's (1985b) Three Circles model referring to the traditional bases of English where it is the primary language, e.g. the UK, USA, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand. Inner Circle varieties are considered endonormative and associated with ENL.

innovation

Area of structural, lexical or pragmatic divergence cf. a reference variety of English. Typically associated with agentive use of ESL in the Outer Circle, and contrasted with *error* as associated with the Expanding Circle.

institutionalisation

The broad process through which English becomes established usually in an Outer Circle context. Involves the emergence of local literatures and localised media and teaching materials which make use of nativised features. Considered a precursor to, and partly overlapping with, codification.

learner

Individual who learns English as a foreign language, typically associated with the Expanding Circle. In contrast to *users*, learners are usually regarded as exonormatively oriented and their deviations from the (native) target model as errors.

learner variety

Used to refer to any form of English spoken by individuals in Expanding Circle contexts, for whom English functions as a foreign language. More or less synonymous with *performance variety*.

nativisation

The process of adapting English to a transplanted setting, usually an ESL/Outer Circle context. The structural, lexical and pragmatic features become localised to suit the culture and communicative needs of the local speech community. Used more or less interchangeably with *indigenisation*, and seen as a precursor to institutionalisation and codification.

New Englishes

Refers to second-language varieties of English that have emerged in the former colonies of the Outer Circle. The term ‘new’ is sometimes problematised as some of the New Englishes (e.g. Indian English) predate ‘non-New’ Englishes (e.g. Australian English). New Englishes has a narrower scope than *World Englishes* and *Postcolonial Englishes*.

Outer Circle

Part of Kachru’s (1985b) Three Circles model referring to multilingual contexts in which English was transplanted through colonisation and became an official language and/or the language of governance, education, etc. (e.g. India, Singapore, Nigeria). Considered ‘norm developing’ and associated with ESL.

Postcolonial Englishes

Term used by Schneider (2003, 2007) to refer to all varieties that have emerged in former colonies, i.e. Outer Circle varieties but also Inner Circle varieties such as American and Australian English. Emphasises the developmental processes shared by all such varieties; does not take account of the role of English as a global economic commodity in the development of Englishes.

user

Individual who acquires and uses English as a second language, typically associated with the Outer Circle. In contrast to *learners*, users are not necessarily aiming for an Inner Circle model and their deviations may be considered innovations or features of their local variety rather than errors.

variety

Term that came about to avoid loaded terms such as *dialect*. Used here to refer to all forms of English, from native to learner varieties. *Variety type* refers to the tripartite classification of the functions of English as ENL, ESL or EFL.

World Englishes (WEs)

Used as a generic, neutral term covering the diverse varieties of English around the world, in all three of Kachru's (1985b) circles. Unlike the terms *New Englishes* and *Postcolonial Englishes*, it encompasses all forms of English spoken everywhere.

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Motivation for the research project

Before beginning my PhD in Cambridge, I worked in the Translation and Editing Service at Maastricht University, the Netherlands. As an English native speaker, one of my duties was to edit texts written in English by my Dutch colleagues. Over time I began to sense that I was constantly ‘correcting’ the same things, which were less idiosyncratic than they were predictably recurrent. Some such phenomena clearly stemmed from transfer from the authors’ L1; at other times, it was more difficult to put my finger on exactly what gave these texts a distinctly ‘Dutch’ feel.

It was clear that I was not dealing with the phenomenon referred to in jest as *Dunglish*¹ (known in Dutch as *Nederengels*). This is exemplified in Maarten Rijkens’s (2005) popular book *I always get my sin: Het bizarre Engels van Nederlanders*, a collection of literal, often comical, translations of Dutch expressions. The title itself is derived from the Dutch ‘*ik krijg altijd mijn zin*’, meaning ‘I always get my own way’. One reason behind the success of this book, I suspect, is that such literal transfers tend to be transparent; they are comical to the average Dutch reader precisely because they are clearly wrong. In contrast, the ‘deviations’ from Standard English in the texts I was editing – written by academics and seasoned writers, such as press officers or communications staff – were often far more subtle, but nevertheless gave the text a ‘foreign’ flavour:

A relevant international partner for education, research and (technology) development in the context of improving our ‘quality of life’. That is Brains Unlimited in short. UM together with the city Maastricht and the province Limburg realized this good example for the strategy of UM at the Health Campus, which grows every day.

Alongside my work, I also wrote my master’s thesis in sociolinguistics, focusing on the field of World Englishes (henceforth WEs). In settings where English has become entrenched as a result of colonisation, ‘New’ Englishes have emerged as ‘adaptive responses to new ethnographic and other cultural ecologies’ (Mufwene, 1993: 195). These new contexts give rise to the development of divergent linguistic forms ‘to recreate, maintain, or represent more faithfully local cultural practices and culturally embedded meanings’ (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 132). In such postcolonial settings, these divergent forms are often construed as ‘innovations’ rather than ‘errors’. However, I was struck by the fact that many of these same

¹ See the glossary starting on p. ix for a definition of *Dunglish*, and a number of other terms, as used in this thesis.

innovations – relating to tense and aspect, for example, or loss of the mass/count distinction – also surfaced in the texts I was editing. And I was not alone. Based on her experiences teaching English in Germany, Erling (2002: 8) reported:

After reading about certain features of New Englishes – the Englishes of post-colonial countries like Ghana, India, Nigeria, and Singapore – I noticed that several features of the so-called New Englishes were the same as those manifesting in my classroom. Such linguistic features, which are apparently gaining ground in their native contexts, are considered errors when made by German students. In other words, according to the research, certain grammatical formations are now considered part of the standard in India, for example, but continue to be dismissed as incorrect in Berlin.

Erling faced what she called a ‘moral quandary’ (2002: 9): ‘I was having problems employing L1 standards of correctness, as they seemed neither possible nor useful to maintain’ (2004: 6). This recalls Crystal’s (2004: 40) observation that, given the rapid spread and diversification of English, ‘for those who have to work professionally with English, ... it is a very difficult time’ – ‘a pedagogue’s nightmare and a variationist’s delight’, as Kachru (1985a: 208) put it. I found myself struggling to reconcile the competing identities of ‘descriptive’ sociolinguist and ‘prescriptive’ editor. I had been hired at least in part by virtue of being an English native speaker, but grew increasingly uncomfortable making ‘corrections’ that seemed inappropriate in the local setting, or that were even resisted by my Dutch colleagues. A case in point was the use of multiple titles, such as *Prof. Dr. X*. In Dutch, as in German, all titles are retained; constructions such as *Mw. Prof. mr. X*.² are therefore not uncommon. Although Dutch academics are typically aware that in English only the highest title is used, they not infrequently insisted on retaining multiple titles, especially in texts destined for a domestic readership, out of personal preference, pride or fear of misunderstanding. In the spirit of ‘respectful editing’ (Burrough-Boenisch, 2003a: 3), I started to wonder whether it was not a cultural imposition on my part to constantly ‘correct’ this.

During this time I gradually became aware of the dearth of research in Expanding Circle settings (Kachru, 1985b). Europe as a whole appeared to have been largely ignored, despite attempts by scholars such as Berns (1995, 2005) to draw researchers’ attention to it. Some previous work had examined countries such as Germany (e.g. Erling, 2004; Hilgendorf, 2001) and Denmark (Preisler, 1999, 2003), but the Netherlands in particular seemed to have

² *Mw.* = Ms/Mrs; *mr.* = a law degree under the old Dutch higher education system, approximately equivalent to an LL.M.

been all but overlooked, or was mentioned at most peripherally; for example, Habermas (2001) referred in passing to English as a ‘second first language’ in the Netherlands. No comprehensive research on the case of the Netherlands within the WEs paradigm seemed to exist.

Moreover, the WEs literature in general did not appear to do justice to the reality of the roles and uses of English in the Netherlands. The literature typically assumed that English in Expanding Circle countries is used only in highly restricted contexts – yet in my experience, English was being used confidently, comfortably and creatively in the Netherlands well beyond the confines of the foreign-language classroom. Further, WEs scholars typically focused on postcolonial contexts, which due to their particular circumstances are seen as breeding grounds par excellence for the emergence of New Englishes. Edgar Schneider’s (2003, 2007) seminal Dynamic Model of the Evolution of Postcolonial Englishes, purported to be inclusive, encompassing all varieties of English outside England, from American English to Asian and African Englishes to pidgins and creoles. However, in positing colonisation as the common process underlying the emergence of all these varieties, it did not account for other settings in which English has taken root. A prime example was the Netherlands where, despite the lack of a colonial legacy, English seemed to have become irreversibly entrenched.

1.2 Research questions

In short, the theorising in WEs seemed to have overlooked those countries where English had been transplanted through forces other than colonisation, notably globalisation. In 2008, shortly after the development of the Dynamic Model, it was acknowledged that ‘[g]lobalisation has made English a part of the linguistic ecology of most nations’ (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 24), and that

international economic (globalization) and political (EU) imperatives appear to have largely assumed the role of colonialism in the past, and to have become an at least equally effective means of facilitating [English-]language spread and the promotion of its use. (Hilgendorf, 2007: 145)

In 2011 Schneider himself acknowledged the changing uses and roles of English in the Expanding Circle, noting that sociolinguistic theorising ‘has not always lived up to the challenge’ of accounting for such developments (Schneider, 2011: 335). In an address the following year (Schneider, 2012a), elaborated on in a recent article (Schneider, 2014) he discussed the potential for extension of his model to non-postcolonial settings. It is in this context that the following research questions were formulated:

- RQ1 Should the English used in the Netherlands be considered a second-language variety or should it simply be regarded as learner English?³
- RQ2 Can Schneider's Dynamic Model be extended to account for non-postcolonial, Expanding Circle settings such as the Netherlands?

1.3 Theoretical background

In addressing the above questions, this thesis responds to various desiderata and contributes to current theorising in WEs in a number of ways. First, it remedies the lack of systematic investigation of the Netherlands in the WEs framework, allowing us to determine whether we can refer to 'Dutch English' (as a second-language variety) or simply 'English in the Netherlands' (a learner variety) (Schneider, 2007: 50), an issue of varietal status that will have practical implications for teachers, editors and other English-language practitioners. In doing so, it ties in with a – slowly but surely – growing body of research on the expanding roles of English beyond native and postcolonial settings, especially in continental Europe. This work responds to calls to take greater account of factors that have accelerated the spread and diversification of English, such as globalisation and the advent of the internet. As Buschfeld (2011: 104) writes, the examination of non-postcolonial Englishes will 'contribute to an even wider understanding of World Englishes in general, in particular since the emergence of second-language varieties does not necessarily seem to be restricted to postcolonial contexts'. This supports the recent shift from a top-down, macro-level approach in WEs, whereby varietal status is assigned based on political-historical considerations (cf. Bruthiaux, 2003), in favour of more bottom-up, fine-grained analyses that integrate sociocultural and ethnographic research to paint a more authentic picture of English in its multifarious contexts worldwide, as advocated in e.g. Blommaert (2003) and Bonnici (2010).

Further, this thesis ties in with recent attempts to assess the suitability and robustness of existing models of English worldwide as well as labels such as English as a second language (ESL) and English as a foreign language (EFL). As Lim (2007: 180) points out, we should not be held hostage by the established classificatory schemes. The investigation of settings that defy easy classification (e.g. Buschfeld, 2011; Hilbert & Krug, 2012; Weston, 2011) allows us to determine whether they 'can be integrated into existing models or whether they pose a challenge to them, making new taxonomies necessary' (Schreier, 2009: 20).

³ This research question echoes that by Buschfeld (2011: 3), whose dissertation asked 'Should the English language spoken in the Greek part of Cyprus be considered a second-language variety or should it simply be regarded as learner English?' As discussed in section 1.4.1, Buschfeld's thesis challenged the traditional classification of an Outer Circle variety. This thesis goes one step further, challenging the traditional classification of an Expanding Circle variety.

Thus, by examining whether the prevailing models are compatible with changing sociolinguistic realities in countries such as the Netherlands, this thesis aims to contribute to the further refinement and development of such models.

1.4 Methodological framework

RQ1 will be answered by way of a three-part framework for establishing variety status, which provides the structure for the three empirical chapters of this thesis (chapters 3 to 5). RQ2 will be addressed in Chapter 6, which applies Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model to the case of the Netherlands.

1.4.1 Should the English used in the Netherlands be considered a second-language variety or should it simply be regarded as learner English?

As will be seen in Chapter 2, a 'second-language variety' is an ESL variety in the sense of Kachru's (1985b) Outer Circle, while 'learner English' is operationalised as a foreign-language (EFL) or Expanding Circle variety. RQ1 therefore essentially revolves around the distinction between ESL and EFL variety types. To date, investigations of variety status 'from scratch' are uncommon in the WEs literature (Buschfeld, 2011: 4). Notable exceptions include Mollin (2006) on Euro-English and, building on this, Buschfeld (2011) on Cyprus English. Both these authors established a set of criteria for assessing variety status, against which they tested the observed linguistic and sociolinguistic realities. Thus, the present study appropriates the three-part framework set out in Mollin (2006), complemented by additional elements from Buschfeld's (2011) 'criteria catalogue'.

Both Mollin's and Buschfeld's frameworks built on earlier attempts to establish criteria for ESL status. Kachru (1983b), for example, noted the importance of 'range' and 'depth'. Range refers to the use of English in various domains, while depth refers to its use across social classes as well as lectal variation within individual speakers (e.g. formal versus colloquial style, or an acrolectal–mesolectal–basilectal range). Later, Kachru (1992: 55) added nativised linguistic forms and a nativised literature to his criteria. Platt, Weber and Ho (1984: 2–3) also established four criteria, asserting that ESL varieties (a) develop through the education system (rather than as a first language at home), (b) emerge in areas where the majority of the population are not native speakers of English, (c) are used for a range of functions, such as correspondence, literature and government communications, and (d) display localised or nativised linguistic properties, such as a distinct accent, lexis and syntax. Butler (1997) established her own five criteria (summarised in Kirkpatrick 2007): (a) accent: a standard and recognisable pronunciation handed down through generations, (b) vocabulary: new lexical items denoting key features of the local environment, (c) history: a sense that the

variety has developed as a result of the particular history of the speech community, (d) literary creativity: a literature written ‘without apology’ in the local variety, and finally (e) reference works: dictionaries and style guides that draw on endonormative standards.

Clearly, there are certain similarities and overlaps among these criteria, such as a wide range of roles and functions for English in the society in question, localised linguistic features, and some measure of social acceptance which may ultimately lead to institutionalisation and codification. Mollin (2006) therefore synthesised such criteria into a three-part framework encompassing (1) the *functions* of English in society, (2) *attitudes* towards English and (3) the linguistic *forms* of English. She expressly hoped her application of this framework to ‘Euro-English’ would

inspire research based on the criteria catalogue of non-native variety status concerning other putative varieties of English ... There are a large number of types of English that could and should be subjected to an analysis of *function*, *form* and *attitude*, leading to a well-founded decision on whether the particular variety indeed is legitimately called a variety. (Mollin, 2006: 201; italics added)

Accordingly, Buschfeld (2011) appropriated elements of this framework in her dissertation on the varietal status of English in the Greek part of Cyprus. Given its British colonial history, Cyprus English would at first glance seem to be a typical ESL variety. Buschfeld, however, challenged this traditional classification, showing that it can in some ways better be classed as EFL. This thesis works from the opposite direction, exploring whether the English used in a traditionally EFL country cannot better be seen as ESL. In an effort to answer RQ1, Mollin’s (2006) overarching framework, interwoven with elements of Buschfeld’s (2011) criteria, is applied to the case of the Netherlands as follows.

Functions of English in society

The first criterion incorporates the spread of bilingualism in English and expanded functions of English.

- (a) With respect to bilingualism, to be considered ESL English should have spread throughout society and be used by most parts of the population, not only by the elite (as is the case with EFL). This concerns societal, rather than individual, bilingualism. Buschfeld (2011: 89), like Kloss (1966: 15), considers societal bilingualism to exist when ‘a sizeable segment’ of the population is bilingual, specifically ‘all adults’, ‘all breadwinners’, ‘all literate adults’ or ‘all secondary school graduates’. However, she notes that within a bilingual society, individual proficiency may vary from the basilectal to acrolectal ends of the spectrum (Buschfeld, 2011: 89). Both Mollin (2006: 47) and Buschfeld (2011: 88–9) thus define individual bilingualism as the ability to converse in English (in addition to the L1) as required by domain and context.

- (b) With regard to expansion in function, English must be used intranationally in various domains of everyday life. Mollin (2006) divides these into official domains (e.g. education and administration) and grassroots domains (e.g. media, social communication, literature). Buschfeld (2011: 90) requires a wide range of ‘internal instrumental, regulative, and interpersonal functions’ beyond the international lingua franca functions to which English is typically restricted in EFL countries.

To explore these aspects, Chapter 3 investigates the spread of English in Dutch society and its functions in different domains, such as education, the media and the workplace. The aim is to create a holistic sociolinguistic profile (e.g. Hilgendorf, 2007; Kachru, 1983b) of English in the Netherlands, tapping into Berns’s (2005) call to draw up comprehensive profiles of countries and regions previously neglected in WEs research.

Attitudes towards English

The second criterion considers people’s attitudes towards English. The aim here is to identify whether institutionalisation has set in, which occurs ‘when the speakers start accepting and recognizing [the local variety] as the aimed at and actually implemented performance’ (Buschfeld, 2011: 94). Thus, norm orientation is key: whether speakers aim for and identify with the local variety. However, given Kachru’s (1983a: 179) notion of ‘linguistic schizophrenia’, whereby the performance variety does not match the target model, this should not be taken as an ‘exclusion criterion’ but rather as ‘indicative of a well advanced developmental stage of a variety’ (Buschfeld, 2011: 94). Mollin and Buschfeld also include acceptance in the form of codification in dictionaries, grammars and usage guides under this criterion, but note that this, too, is not essential to ESL status as speakers may well endorse a variety long before it is officially recognised (Buschfeld, 2011: 94; Mollin, 2006: 173).

To investigate this criterion, Chapter 4 reports on the design, dissemination and results of a large-scale survey among native Dutch speakers (henceforth referred to as Dutch L1s) examining their attitudes towards and perceptions of English in the Netherlands as well as Dutch English. This responds in part to Van Oostendorp’s (2012a: 257) observation that research on attitudes towards language in general and English in particular remains scarce in the Netherlands. Previous attitude studies have been narrow in scope (e.g. the government-commissioned *Taalpeil* polls) or have included highly restricted populations, such as secondary school students (e.g. Berns, De Bot, & Hasebrink, 2007). The present attitudinal study is, to my knowledge, the largest and most inclusive of its kind in the Netherlands.

Nativisation of linguistic form

The third criterion relates to the nativisation of linguistic features, phonologically, morphosyntactically, lexically and pragmatically. There should also be stylistic variation, with a formal and informal style and register range. To differentiate errors from innovations, the linguistic features identified should be widespread and used in a systematic and stable way (Buschfeld, 2011: 92; Mollin, 2006: 49).

To address this criterion, Chapter 5 first sketches the potential features of Dutch English on the basis of previous literature and observation. It then discusses the design and compilation of the Corpus of Dutch English. This corpus was specially developed for the present project to permit, for the first time, empirical analysis of the linguistic features of the educated English of Dutch L1s. Next, the chapter presents a comparative analysis of the progressive aspect in Dutch English compared to several ENL and ESL varieties of English. This ties in with the recent trend of comparing linguistic phenomena across variety types with a view to shedding light on the similarities and differences between these types (Davydova, 2012; Hundt & Vogel, 2011; Nesselhauf, 2009; Van Rooy, 2006). To establish the acceptability of the corpus findings, the results are finally integrated into a grammaticality judgement survey among Dutch L1s.

1.4.2 Can Schneider's Dynamic Model be extended to account for non-postcolonial, Expanding Circle settings such as the Netherlands?

To answer RQ2, the empirical results from the preceding three chapters on the functions, forms and attitudes with respect to English are synthesised in Chapter 6, which attempts to apply Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model to the case of the Netherlands. As described in section 2.1, the model encompasses five developmental phases and interconnecting parameters in the emergence of postcolonial varieties of English. These phases have been found to hold relatively uniformly across varieties in the Inner Circle (e.g. America and Australia) and the Outer Circle (Asian and African Englishes). The model has also stood up to modification and flexible application in various contexts (cf. Buschfeld, 2011; Evans, 2009; Spencer, 2011; Weston, 2011; §2.1). Moreover, Schneider (2012a, 2014) himself has made a first attempt to apply it to the Expanding Circle based on the limited data available for various East Asian contexts. To my knowledge, this thesis represents the first comprehensive attempt to apply the Dynamic Model to an Expanding Circle, European country.

1.5 Outline

Chapter 2 provides the theoretical backdrop for this thesis, introducing the field of WEs and models of English worldwide, especially Kachru's (1985b) Three Circles model and,

naturally, Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model. It then considers the distinction between second-language and learner Englishes, before turning to the existing research on Europe and finally the Netherlands. As described above, chapters 3 to 5 are structured around the three parts of Mollin's (2006) basic framework. Specifically, Chapter 3 revolves around the functions of English in the Netherlands, Chapter 4 considers attitudes towards English and Chapter 5 is concerned with its linguistic forms. Chapter 6 draws on the results of the preceding chapters in an attempt to apply Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model to the case of the Netherlands. Finally, Chapter 7 summarises the results, considers the implications and contribution of the work, and provides suggestions for future research.

2. WORLD ENGLISHES RESEARCH AND THE CASE OF THE NETHERLANDS

2.1 The field of World Englishes and models of English worldwide

The legacy of British (and American) imperialism and the advent of globalisation have seen the spread of English around the world. Since the mid-1970s, World Englishes (WEs) has emerged as a new sociolinguistic discipline, focusing on the varied ways in which English speakers and speech communities appropriate the language to suit their own purposes and local settings. The field was initially, and has largely remained, dominated by research into varieties of English in former colonies, especially in Asia and Africa; ‘countries to which English was transported in colonial history and where, interestingly enough, it has remained firmly rooted and mushroomed after independence’ (Schneider, 2012a: 59). A key focus is on how these ‘New Englishes’ have nativised English, tying in with the early political and social message of the discipline. WEs, a ‘revolutionary’ paradigm (Proshina, 2014: 1), was concerned with democratising Englishes:

In strong opposition of conservative and purist positions, the decentralising agenda of [WEs] posits that the ownership of the language is not (at all) the prerogative of the native speakers, and that non-native forms of English are as valid as the varieties found in the birthplace of the language. (Saraceni, 2010: 5)

A tripartite division of English varieties around the world emerged: Strang’s (1970) classification into A, B and C speakers (cited in McArthur, 1998: 42), followed by Quirk et al.’s (1972: 3–4) distinction between English as a native (ENL), second (ESL) and foreign (EFL) language. ENL countries are those where English is spoken natively, such as the UK, USA and Australia. ESL countries are typically former colonies – e.g. India, Nigeria and Singapore – where English is established as an additional, often co-official language, and still serves *intranational* functions in domains such as governance and education. By contrast, in EFL countries (Brazil, France, Japan, etc.) English is used for *international* communication, with foreigners rather than compatriots. Building on this distinction, Braj Kachru published his seminal Three Circles model in 1985. It consists of an Inner, an Outer and an Expanding Circle which roughly map on to the categories ENL, ESL and EFL, respectively. The Inner Circle, with its distinct, codified varieties of English, is said to be ‘norm providing’ or ‘norm independent’. The postcolonial Outer Circle is typically characterised as ‘norm developing’; that is, users are seen as agentively nativising and acculturating English to their own ends, and linguistic forms that ‘deviate’ from Standard English (StdE) may be seen as ‘innovations’

rather than ‘errors’ (B. B. Kachru, 1983a). By contrast, Expanding Circle populations (e.g. Brazil, France, Japan, Russia) are seen as learners proper (hence the alternative terms, *learner* or *performance variety*, cf. Davydova, 2012; Mukherjee & Hundt, 2011). As such, they are regarded as ‘norm dependent’ – that is, reliant on the Inner Circle for their target model – and their deviations from StdE are by definition classed as errors. Table 2.1 provides a summary of this tripartite classification.

Table 2.1: Tripartite classification of English worldwide

ENL/Inner Circle	ESL/Outer Circle	EFL/Expanding Circle
English as a native language users	English as a second language users	English as a foreign language learners
norm providing	norm developing	norm dependent
English acquired at home, at school and in wider society	English acquired at school and in wider society	English acquired at school
English used for intranational communication	English used for intranational communication	English used for international communication
StdE	deviations from StdE seen as innovations	deviations from StdE seen as errors

Kachru’s (1985b) model broke new ground in that it challenged the established dichotomy of native (NS) and non-native (NNS) speakers, helping to break down the barrier between the Inner and the Outer Circle; that is, between ‘traditional’ and New Englishes (Bruthiaux, 2003: 160; Buschfeld, 2011: 69). It prompted new waves of research focusing on the dynamic Outer Circle, which was seen as the breeding ground par excellence for emergent varieties (e.g. Schneider, 2011: 336). Further, it provided WEs researchers with a useful taxonomy – ‘a convenient shorthand for labeling contexts of English worldwide’ (Bruthiaux, 2003: 174) – that has remained in use to the present day. However, the model is not without its shortcomings; many of which, it should be noted, were observed by Kachru (1985b) himself. As extensive critiques have been presented elsewhere (e.g. Bruthiaux, 2003; Saraceni, 2010), the present discussion is limited to only two relevant criticisms.

First, like any model, Kachru’s (1985b) model necessarily abstracts away from complex realities of English within societies. Speech communities are classified at the level of the nation state, a ‘broad-brush’ (Bruthiaux, 2003: 159), static approach that does not account for the heterogeneity and dynamic nature of English within societies. For example, numerous countries and contexts have been shown to display structural and/sociolinguistic characteristics of two or even all three varietal types: South Africa is home to ENL, ESL and

EFL speakers (Schneider, 2007: 174), and mixed ESL/EFL characteristics have been found for Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2011), Ethiopia (Ambatchew, 1995), Hong Kong (Groves, 2009), Kenya (Michieka, 2009) and Malta (Michaela Hilbert & Krug, 2012). Yet more countries are said to be in transition between circles; for example, Singapore may be moving from ESL to ENL (Görlach, 2002), whereas Malaysia is reportedly reverting from ESL to EFL (Moag, 1992). Importantly for this thesis, numerous EFL countries have also been claimed to be transitioning to ESL; Graddol (1997: 11) identified almost 20 such countries, including Denmark, Switzerland and the Netherlands (see also Buschfeld & Kautzsch 2014 for a recent study on the case of Namibia). In this regard, Kirkpatrick (2007: 28–9) observed that the Three Circles model seriously ‘underestimated the roles that English would come to play in Expanding Circle countries’, noting that the forces of globalisation mean that fewer and fewer societies can still genuinely be classed as EFL.

Second, Kachru’s (1985b) classification rests exclusively on political and colonial history at the expense of sociolinguistic considerations. As Bruthiaux (2003: 167) points out, the model draws on ‘accidents of political history’ which only partially correlate with current sociolinguistic data. In doing so, it ‘assumes that present-day structural variation and ideologies surrounding English are able to be understood in terms of historical events alone, and in the case of postcolonial nations, by postcolonial history’ (Bonnici, 2010: 22). As a result, it fails to capture transplantations of English elsewhere due to forces other than colonisation, notably globalisation (e.g. Bonnici, 2010; Bruthiaux, 2003; Buschfeld, 2011; Erling, 2004; Hilgendorf, 2001).

Kachru’s (1985b) model is perhaps the most pervasive, but not the only ‘static’ or categorical model of English worldwide. Over the years various other such models have been developed and discussed at length.⁴ Suffice it to note here that other such models have faced similar criticisms; as ‘snapshots’ in time, they are unable to account for the diachronic processes involved in the emergence of English varieties; nor do they allow for variety-internal variation (cf. Buschfeld, 2011: 226).

In contrast to these static models, several developmental or cyclic models have also been introduced. These models take account of the different evolutionary steps involved in the emergence of English varieties, from the transplantation of English in a given society through to the ultimate recognition and codification of the variety. One such model was

⁴ Other such models include those in Strevens (1980), McArthur (1987), Görlach (1990), Gupta (1997), Modiano (1999) and Melchers and Shaw (2003). For extensive discussions of these different models, see e.g. Bonnici (2010), Buschfeld (2011), Jenkins (2009) and Mollin (2006).

devised by Kachru (1992) himself. In the first phase, *non-recognition*, a strong exonormative orientation and prejudice against the local variety prevails. In the second phase, *co-existence*, the local and ‘imported’ varieties exist side by side. Bilingualism in English spreads through the speech community and the local model comes to be used widely, but its users still consider it inferior. Kachru (1983a) refers to this phenomenon as ‘linguistic schizophrenia’, whereby linguistic attitudes (favouring the idealised, exonormative standard) do not match up with linguistic behaviour (i.e. the local forms actually in usage). Finally, in the *recognition* phase the local variety is acknowledged and receives wide social acceptance, becoming a marker of identity as well as a teaching model with localised materials.

Moag (1982; 1992), too, proposed a developmental model based on his work on Fiji: the Life Cycle of Non-Native Englishes. In the first phase, *transportation*, English is introduced into a new environment. Next, the new variety starts to break away from the imported variety and to reflect the local culture. During this *indigenisation* phase, which is similar to Kachru’s (1992) second phase, it gains wider currency in domains such as education, the media and government. This process continues into the *expansion* phase: the new variety begins to be used for more and more purposes and is no longer restricted to the elites, but used across all social strata. As a result there is an increase in variation, such as the development of a colloquial style. Over time, *institutionalisation* sets in. The new variety becomes the target model, taught in schools by locally trained teachers, and local literature begins to appear. This phase marks the transition of English from a foreign to a second language. Finally, English may ultimately undergo a phase of *decline*, in which it is displaced by a local official language and its functions restricted. According to Moag (1992), all varieties eventually go through the first four stages, but do not necessarily reach the fifth.

Kachru’s (1992) and Moag’s (1982; 1992) earlier developmental models provided the foundations for Schneider’s Dynamic Model of the Evolution of Postcolonial Englishes, which he introduced in a 2003 article and elaborated in his seminal 2007 monograph. As this model forms an integral part of this thesis, it is discussed in greater detail here. Schneider’s overarching hypothesis is that all ‘postcolonial Englishes’ (from Kenya and Malaysia to Australia and America) undergo a uniform developmental process ‘which drives their formation, accounts for many similarities between them, and appears to operate whenever a language is transplanted’ (Schneider, 2007: 29). The model describes five successive phases, seen from two perspectives: that of the colonisers (referred to as the ‘settler’ or STL strand) and that of the colonised (the ‘indigenous’ or IDG strand). Over time, the two strands become increasingly intertwined and their identity constructions converge, leading to linguistic

accommodation between the two groups. Ultimately, they merge into a single speech community. Each phase is further characterised by four interconnected parameters (Schneider, 2007: 30–31), addressed from the perspectives of both strands. First are (a) *historical and political factors*, which give rise to (b) particular *identity constructions* in both the IDG and STL strands, which in turn manifest in various (c) *sociolinguistic factors*: the intensity and type of linguistic contact between the strands, their norm orientation, language attitudes and so on. Finally, all these give rise to (d) *structural effects* in terms of lexis, morphosyntax and phonology. These four parameters are to be considered in each respective phase, as shown in Figure 2.1 below. The five phases can be summarised as follows.

- (1) *Foundation*. In this first phase (Schneider, 2007: 33–36), English is introduced into a territory by an English-speaking immigrant group (similar to Moag’s (1992) transportation phase) in the context of a trading outpost or military stronghold. Relationships between the STL and IDG groups may be anything from friendly to hostile; what little contact there is at this stage is exclusively utilitarian. There is a clear ‘identity boundary’ or ‘us’–‘other’ distinction. Gradually, language contact begins with ‘incipient pidginisation’ leading to ‘marginal bilingualism’, restricted to a small IDG sub-population who serve as traders, translators or guides. Toponymic borrowing in the form of indigenous place names can be observed.
- (2) *Exonormative stabilisation*. During the second phase (Schneider, 2007: 37–40), the colony stabilises under foreign political dominance and contact between the strands increases. English is formally established in spheres such as administration, education and the legal system. Bilingualism begins to spread in the IDG strand, remaining associated with the elite. In both strands, a hybrid identity begins to develop: ‘British-plus-local’ for the STL strand, and ‘local-plus-English-knowing’ among the IDG bilinguals. The use of local lexical items for flora and fauna, customs and food increases, but the first signs of transfer at the phonological and structural levels begin to emerge as well. However, this remains limited to colloquial language. At this stage the local uses are still best characterised as interlanguage or learner English, and teaching remains firmly exonormatively oriented. Schneider’s first two phases roughly align with Kachru’s (1992) stage 1. Fiji is considered to be in this phase (Schneider, 2007: 117).
- (3) *Nativisation*. Phase 3 is the ‘most interesting and important, the most vibrant one, the central phase of both cultural and linguistic transformation’ (Schneider, 2007: 44). This phase (Schneider, 2007: 40–44) sees drastically increased contact between strands and, on the part of the IDG population, large-scale second-language acquisition. The societal gap between the two groups is reduced, they become increasingly intertwined and their identity constructions begin to merge. The settlers’ ties to Britain begin to loosen, and the territory either gains political independence or begins to call for it. This changed state of affairs and the new

identity constructions increasingly find linguistic expression, with local forms at the levels of pronunciation, lexis, morphosyntax and pragmatics (e.g. greetings) being added to the ‘feature pool’ (Mufwene, 2001). Such nativised forms are initially variants selected only occasionally by some speakers; gradually they become preferred uses and then group habits, picked up by a snowballing number of speakers, until eventually, by way of reinforcement and cognitive entrenchment, they become the rule. This marks the birth of a new variety. At the same time, however, a ‘complaint tradition’ emerges with respect to perceived falling standards (Schneider, 2007: 43), as does public discussion on issues of correctness and appropriate norms, especially among local elites. This ‘linguistic insecurity’, with competing norm orientations (exonormative in theory, endonormative in practice), recalls Kachru’s (1983a) ‘linguistic schizophrenia’. This phase roughly aligns with Kachru’s (1992) stage 2; countries reportedly in this phase include Cameroon, Malaysia and Tanzania.

(4) *Endonormative stabilisation*. This phase (Schneider, 2007: 48–52) typically follows political independence, which goes hand in hand with a newfound cultural self-reliance and sense of national identity. This in turn engenders greater linguistic self-confidence, leading to the acceptance (rather than stigmatisation) of local norms, including in formal usage. This phase may be triggered by ‘Event X’, a major political event that highlights for the settlers the ‘inverse mis-relationship between the (high) importance which they used to place on the mother country and the (considerably lower) importance which the (former) colony is given by the homeland’ (Schneider, 2007: 49). This prompts the STL strand to reorient towards the new nation, converging with the IDG strand into a single group with a shared local identity. It becomes clear that a new, distinct and fairly stable variety has emerged which is a carrier of local identity and creativity. New literatures start to develop and codification begins, typically in the form of local dictionaries. Importantly, the developments in this phase are reflected in the transition from the label ‘English in X’ to ‘X English’. As an upshot of the nation-building process, the new variety is perceived as fairly homogeneous: ‘putting an emphasis on the unity and homogeneity of one’s own still relatively new and shaky identity is a natural sociopolitical move with the function of strengthening internal group coherence’ (Schneider, 2007: 51). This phase roughly aligns with Kachru’s (1992) third stage. Countries said to be currently in this phase include Barbados, Jamaica and Singapore.

(5) *Differentiation*. By this final phase (Schneider, 2007: 52–54), the still somewhat shaky independence of the previous stage has been replaced by a stable young nation, and the existence of the new variety of English is no longer disputed. With this newfound security the need to emphasise linguistic homogeneity decreases, allowing for the emergence of new social and regional varieties (‘dialect birth’), with different phonological, lexical and structural features symbolising group membership. Countries reported to have reached this phase are Australia, New Zealand and the United States.

Phase	History and politics	Identity construction	Sociolinguistics of contact/ use/attitudes	Linguistic developments/ structural effects
1: Foundation	STL: colonial expansion: trade, military outposts, missionary activities, emigration/ settlement IDG: occupation, loss/ sharing of territory, trade	STL: part of original nation IDG: indigenous	STL: cross-dialectal contact, limited exposure to local languages IDG: minority bilingualism (acquisition of English)	STL: koinéization; toponymic borrowing; incipient pidginization (in trade colonies)
2: Exonormative stabilization	stable colonial status; English established as language of administration, law, (higher) education, . . .	STL: outpost of original nation, “British-plus-local” IDG: individually “local-plus-British”	STL: acceptance of original norm; expanding contact IDG: spreading (elite) bilingualism	lexical borrowing (esp. fauna and flora, cultural terms); “-isms”; pidginization/creolization (in trade/ plantation colonies)
3: Nativization	weakening ties; often political independence but remaining cultural association	STL: permanent resident of British origin IDG: permanent resident of indigenous origin	widespread and regular contacts, accommodation IDG: common bilingualism, toward language shift, L1 speakers of local English STL: sociolinguistic cleavage between innovative speakers (adopting IDG forms) and conservative speakers (upholding external norm; “complaint tradition”)	heavy lexical borrowing; IDG: phonological innovations (“accent,” possibly due to transfer); structural nativization, spreading from IDG to STL: innovations at lexis – grammar interface (verb complementation, prepositional usage, constructions with certain words/word classes), lexical productivity (compounds, derivation, phrases, semantic shifts); code-mixing (as identity carrier)
4: Endonormative stabilization	post-independence, self-dependence (possibly after “Event X”)	(member of) new nation, territory-based, increasingly pan-ethnic	acceptance of local norm (as identity carrier), positive attitude to it; (residual conservatism); literary creativity in new variety	stabilization of new variety, emphasis on homogeneity, codification: dictionary writing, grammatical description
5: Differentiation	stable young nation, internal sociopolitical differentiation	group-specific (as part of overarching new national identity)	network construction (increasingly dense group-internal interactions)	dialect birth: group-specific (ethnic, regional, social) varieties emerge (as L1 or L2)

Figure 2.1: The evolutionary cycle of New Englishes: Parameters of the developmental phases
(Schneider 2007: 56)

The benefit of Schneider's (2003, 2007) model is that, unlike the earlier static models, it adds a dynamic, diachronic dimension, considering the entire developmental course of English in a given territory. It takes into account different perspectives and variation within societies rather than seeing them as undifferentiated blocs of ENL, ESL or EFL (Mukherjee & Hundt, 2011; Van Rooy, 2011). It adds sociolinguistic considerations to the equation, emphasising identity constructions and language attitudes (cf. Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 31; Van Rooy, 2010: 6). Moreover, it is flexible, which Schneider himself intended. He cautioned that the characteristics he described for each phase were not to be regarded as checklists of 'necessary and sufficient conditions' (Schneider, 2007: 310), and wrote that '[f]urther testing against global realities is invited, and further refinement is to be expected' (Schneider, 2003: 273). In this regard, the model has indeed stood up to flexible application to societies that deviate in some way from its predicted developmental path, thus testifying to its robustness and adaptability.

For example, various authors have further investigated the contexts of Schneider's (2007) initial brief case studies. Evans's (2009) diachronic investigation of Hong Kong broadly supports Schneider's earlier conclusions, but finds that the 'complaint tradition', described as characteristic of phase 3, can in fact be traced back to phase 1 in Hong Kong, during the early years of colonial rule. Spencer (2011) revisited the case of South Africa, proposing a reconceptualised version of Event X. Schneider (2007: 48) described Event X as 'some exceptional, quasi-catastrophic political event', and himself identified the defeat of apartheid as South Africa's Event X. However, according to Spencer (2011: 269),

The positive outcome of 'Event X' invites one to question Schneider's use of the phrase 'quasi-catastrophic' as the results of Event X are beneficial from the perspective of the ex-colonial nation. Catastrophic need not carry a negative or destructive meaning but can refer to events that bring about monumentous change.

She goes on to argue that Event X 'need not be restricted to politics but that major, international sporting events can prompt similar national identity re-constructions' (Spencer, 2011: 269). She proposed that the 1995 Rugby World Cup and the 2010 FIFA Soccer World Cup, both hosted in South Africa, 'prompted identity re-alignment, acted as a spur to the development of South African English, and promoted South African national identity' (Spencer, 2011: 267).

Other researchers have applied the Dynamic Model to contexts not initially investigated by Schneider. Buschfeld (2011) applied the model to Cyprus, also proposing a reconceptualised version of Event X. She identifies Event X as Britain's failure to support the

Greek Cypriots (the IDG strand) against the Turkish invasion in 1974. In Schneider's model, Event X prompts the STL strand to reconsider its ties to Britain and converge towards the IDG strand. In Cyprus, however, it seems to have affected the IDG strand instead: rather than resulting in the ultimate assimilation of identity constructions between the two groups, it led to the Greek Cypriots' 'ultimate dissociation from the British' (Buschfeld, 2011: 31). Thus, the predicted convergence in identity constructions between the IDG and STL strands did not materialise. Buschfeld (2011: 241) nevertheless concludes that Schneider's model is 'best suited' for placing Cyprus on the map of WEs because '[e]ven though Cyprus clearly deviates from some of the prototypical developments envisaged by this approach, it is flexible enough to account for these deviations by explicitly allowing for a flexible handling'.

Weston (2011) applied the Dynamic Model to the case of Gibraltar, observing that it does not have a prototypical IDG strand. When 'the Rock' was annexed by an Anglo-Dutch fleet in 1704, most of the indigenous Spanish population left. In the ensuing years the population developed a 'motley' nature, comprising the British garrison and some remaining Spaniards, but also Jews, Genoese, Portuguese and others. Moreover, the identity of this 'faux' IDG strand 'is weighted not against a British identity, but rather a Spanish one ... Spain is the presumptive colonial power, and the United Kingdom the Rock's defence against it' (Weston, 2011: 355). When tensions with Spain increased and the border was closed in 1969, English became more and more entrenched, albeit through a different route than that predicted by Schneider. During the third, nativisation phase, ties with Britain are normally weakened, but in this case the population became increasingly anglicised. Further, the fourth phase, endonormative stabilisation, 'typically follows and presupposes political independence' (Schneider, 2007: 48), whereas Gibraltar was never formally decolonised. Instead, "'independence" for the citizens of the Rock is not configured to mean separateness from the United Kingdom, but rather separateness from Spain' (Weston, 2011: 358). Weston (2011: 361) therefore describes the case of Gibraltar as characterised by 'both the breach and the observance of the Dynamic Model'. He concludes that 'The Dynamic Model does an excellent job of capturing the historical similarities between territories'; however, as 'each (post)colonial territory has a differentiating "back story"', more detailed investigation is required to do justice to these unique contexts (Weston, 2011: 365).

Some modifications notwithstanding, the above applications of the Dynamic Model to the cases of Hong Kong, South Africa, Cyprus and Gibraltar all retained Schneider's (2003, 2007) focus on (post-)colonial settings. In contrast, Kirkpatrick (2007) takes a further leap, considering – admittedly briefly – the application of the model to Expanding Circle countries.

[I]t is possible that new varieties are also developing in ... 'expanding circle' countries, where, by definition, there has been no significant settlement of English speakers. It would appear that, in certain circumstances, expanding circle countries can develop their own Englishes without going through the first 'transportation' or 'foundation' phases.

(Kirkpatrick, 2007: 32)

Kirkpatrick notes that in countries such as China, no foundation phase took place. However, he equates the characteristic reliance in the Expanding Circle ELT industry on Inner Circle norms with phase 2, exonormative stabilisation, and concludes that China is 'currently somewhere between Schneider's phase two and phase three' (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 182–3).

Kirkpatrick's perhaps surprising application of Schneider's model to China ties in with criticisms of the model. Although it added the crucial diachronic element missing from the static approaches, the Dynamic Model, too, has been criticised for its focus on colonial history. As Buschfeld (2011: 76) writes, 'it should be noted that the applicability of the model is to some degree limited by its restriction to Englishes which emerged from (post)colonial contexts'. While she concedes that a postcolonial history 'is indeed an important and often decisive element for the development of variety status', she contends that it is 'not necessarily a mandatory one' (Buschfeld, 2011: 104; see also Bonnici, 2010: 32). Mollin (2006: 45), too, argues

that the mechanisms of language contact are not restricted to settings where English was introduced in colonial times, but that these processes are more universal (cf. Brutt-Griffler 2002: 145). [I]t is clear that changes in the English language may result from econocultural as well as from imperial spread. (Mollin, 2006: 45–6)

In this context, 'econocultural' spread can be understood to refer to the forces of globalisation, which various authors have drawn attention to in the development of new varieties (e.g. Bonnici, 2010; Bruthiaux, 2003; Buschfeld, 2011; Erling, 2004; Hilgendorf, 2001). As Bonnici (2010: 23) writes, 'The circumstances motivating English language acquisition and use today are not exclusively colonial. They include such non-colonial reasons as the role of English as a global linguistic commodity.' Indeed, Hilgendorf (2007: 145) claims that globalisation and (European) economic integration have now usurped the former role of colonialism in the spread and development of English.

Taking stock of his Dynamic Model ten years on, Schneider himself addressed the model's neglect of non-postcolonial settings. Referring to criticisms that his model disregards the increasing roles and functions of English in the Expanding Circle, he acknowledged that this is indeed 'true – but not intended' (Schneider, 2012a). Like Kirkpatrick (2007) above, he

questioned whether his foundation phase is indeed a necessary precondition for the emergence of new English varieties. Recently, he recognised ‘the spread and growth of regionally distinctive forms of English in countries without a British (or American) colonial past’ and thus in the absence of a settler group, attributing this to

the immense attractiveness and pull of English today as the language of globalization, business, access to technology, etc., and in many cases, for millions of people, as the gateway to reasonably well-paid jobs and a better life. And this ... is visible also in countries without a former (British) colonial past, e.g. Thailand, China (with huge learner numbers reported), Korea (where an ‘English fever’ has been diagnosed), or Japan (where one encounters the notion of a ‘Japanese English’ (e.g. Stanlaw 2004) ... (Schneider, 2013: 141)

Schneider refers to this phenomenon, a supplement to the Dynamic Model, as ‘Transnational Attraction’, the driving force behind the ‘vibrant dynamics’ in the Expanding Circle today (Schneider, 2012a). In Schneider (2012a) and Schneider (2014) he makes an initial attempt to apply the characteristics of different phases in his Dynamic Model to various ‘emergent contexts’ of English: China, Japan, South Korea and the lingua-franca setting of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) (Table 2.2). In the table, phases 1 and 5 are considered inapplicable and are thus left out. The number of question marks makes clear that further research is needed in such contexts, but as Schneider (2012b) acknowledges, they are ‘ultimately worth considering/integrating into the theoretical quest’.

To summarise the foregoing, it is clear that Schneider’s (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model has advantages over the earlier static models of English worldwide (e.g. Kachru, 1985b), as it is better able to account for ongoing developmental processes as well as internal variation. It expressly allows for refinement (Schneider, 2003: 273; see also Buschfeld, 2011: 76) and has stood up to flexible applications (Buschfeld, 2011; Evans, 2009; Spencer, 2011; Weston, 2011). Moreover, Schneider (2012a) himself has proposed its extension to Expanding Circle contexts and questioned the necessity of some of its tenets, such as the foundation phase, which were established with postcolonial settings in mind but are less relevant to Expanding Circle contexts. Therefore, based on the empirical research presented in chapters 3 to 5, Chapter 6 will return to the Dynamic Model – and Schneider’s more recent theory of Transnational Attraction – to explore their applicability to the case of the Netherlands.

Table 2.2: Application of the Dynamic Model to ‘emergent’ English contexts
(Schneider, 2012b, 2014)

	China English	Korean English	Japan English	ASEAN English
<i>Phase 2 components</i>				
Use in higher education	?/(+)	(+)	?	+/-
Use in other formal contexts	-/?	-/?	-/?	+/-
Exonormativity	?	+	+/?	?
Increasing bilingualism	?/(+)	?/(+)	?/-	+
Cultural borrowings	(+)	?	?	+
<i>Phase 3 components</i>				
Identity affected	?/-	?/-	-	?/+
Regular use in interethnic contacts	(-)	(-)	-	+
Widespread use	-	-	-	(+)
Heavy lexical borrowing	(+)	?	?	+
Phonetic transfers	+	?/+	?/+	+
Syntactic transfer	(+)	?	?	+/?
<i>Phase 4 components</i>				
Toward endonormativity	?	?/-	?/-	?/+
Positive acceptance	?/-	-	-	?/+
Codification	-/?	-	-	?/+
Homogeneity/stability	-	-	-	?
Literary creativity	(+)	-	-	?/+

Key: From Schneider (2014: 27): + = applicable, - = not applicable, ? = uncertain; evidence incomplete, () = weak applicability, / = some degree of uncertainty between predominant and secondary categorisation.

2.2 The paradigm gap: L2 and learner Englishes

The prospect of applying Schneider’s (2003, 2007) model, originally aimed at the second-language (L2) Englishes of the postcolonial Outer Circle, to the ‘learner’ or ‘performance’ Englishes of the Expanding Circle gives rise to the question of the distinction between these two types of English. L2 and learner Englishes are traditionally the domains, respectively, of WEs on the one hand and second-language acquisition (SLA) on the other. As early as the 1980s, Sridhar and Sridhar drew attention to the ‘paradigm gap’ between these two fields of research. With proponents of WEs promoting a pluralistic view of English in multilingual settings, traditional SLA, with its focus on acquisition in target-language environments, began to be seen as too narrow and its key assumptions as untenable in the context of WEs (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986). One such assumption is that the goal of language acquisition is native-like competence or, as Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 25) put it, ‘imitating NS’. WEs scholars see this assumption of integrative motivation, involving ‘admiration for the native speakers of the language and a desire to become a member of their culture’ (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986: 5) as evidence of the ‘monolingual bias’ in SLA research, arguing in favour of

a bi- or multilingual perspective (e.g. Y. Kachru, 1994). They highlight the difference between learners in target-language environments as opposed to those in Outer Circle settings, who ‘are not attempting to identify with inner circle speakers or to produce the norms of an exonormative variety of English grounded in an inner circle experience’ (Jenkins, 2006a: 167; see also Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986: 6). The ‘deficit perspective’ (Jenkins, 2006b: 139) that permeates much SLA research is appropriate only when the goal is near-native competence. By contrast, Outer Circle speakers may instead be aiming for an indigenised norm. WEs researchers emphasise that in such contexts, divergence from StdE and transfer phenomena are not always the result of imperfect learning; rather, they can stem from social or interactional ends such as constructing an identity, showing empathy or accomplishing mutual understanding (Firth & Wagner, 1997: 293; B. B. Kachru, 1990: 10). For WEs scholars, it is this social dimension, or recognition of the diverse sociolinguistic functions that an L2 performs in a community, that is lacking in traditional SLA accounts (Firth & Wagner, 1997: 289; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986: 5).

Another tenet of SLA considered problematic in the WEs paradigm is its view of transfer (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986). In early SLA approaches, such as Lado’s (1957) Contrastive Analysis Hypothesis, L1 influence was predominantly seen in a negative light, as ‘interference’. This fails to account for the creative, communicative and identity-signalling functions of phenomena such as code-switching and -mixing in Outer Circle contexts where, ‘[f]ar from impeding intelligibility, transfer acts as the grease to make the wheels of bilingual communication turn smoothly’ (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986: 10; see also B. Kachru, 1990: 10). Earlier SLA views also assumed that learner language will likely ‘fossilise’ at an intermediate stage somewhere short of the native target. From the perspective of WEs, this is untenable, because for Outer Circle speakers the target ‘is not the native norm but an indigenised one’ (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986: 8). Structures that are seen as fossilised errors in learner languages may, in New Englishes, be systematic, socially acceptable and stable across generations (Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986: 8; see further Biewer, 2011: 11–13). More recent approaches to SLA, however, such as the interlanguage approach (Selinker, 1972) and the learner variety approach (Klein & Perdue, 1992), are less focused on the features of the target language and its attainment by L2 learners. Instead, a learner’s interlanguage at any given proficiency level is assumed to be guided by an inherent set of rules, and it gradually transitions from one level to the next. As a result, learner language is, by default, error-less. This latter approach better corresponds with WEs views on English in the Outer Circle, which add a societal element: ‘[w]hile individual SLA might be said to give rise to an “interlanguage” ... macroacquisition

(or social SLA) necessarily gives rise to a new language variety' (Brutt-Griffler, 2004: 136). Since, as Brutt-Griffler (2004: 129–131) points out, 'any language is the linguistic expression of the speech community that speaks it ... there cannot be *error* as such between two separate speech communities but, rather, *difference*' (italics original).

Outer Circle Englishes have thus been 'emancipated' from some of the more traditional tenets of SLA, such as the persistence of native target models. The Expanding Circle, however, continues to be seen as characterised by learner varieties that are not acceptable in their own right (Chen & Hu, 2006: 44; Mollin, 2006: 29; Nesselhauf, 2009: 4). Indeed, some WEs researchers actively resist drawing parallels between Outer and Expanding Circle varieties and even emphasise the purported divide between them, presumably so as not to compromise the hard-won special status of ESL varieties (Buschfeld, 2011: 98; Mukherjee & Hundt, 2011: 1–2):

Although there are some obvious parallels between speakers of new varieties of English and learners of English as a foreign language, such comparisons have long been almost a taboo, since they are often considered counterproductive to the acceptance of emergent norms in second-language varieties of English and might thus be in stark contrast to the emancipatory stance of scholars such as Kachru. (Götz & Schilk, 2011: 80)

As a result of this taboo, in much WEs research ESL and EFL are held up as fundamentally different. It is conceded that the two varietal types share a common acquisitional starting point, which results in similar strategies such as transfer, redundancy and regularisation (Biewer, 2011: 13; Buschfeld, 2011: 10; Götz & Schilk, 2011: 80–81; Schneider, 2012b: 57; Van Rooy, 2011: 193–5). However, they are said to differ fundamentally in terms of extra-linguistic – specifically, sociolinguistic – factors, such as exposure to and opportunities to use English, the functions of English in the community, and speakers' norm orientations and identity constructions (Davydova, 2012: 383–4; Gut, 2011: 120; Nesselhauf, 2009; Schneider, 2007; Sridhar & Sridhar, 1986: 6 and the contributions in Mukherjee & Hundt, 2011). In EFL settings, English exposure and input is thought to derive from limited arenas, such as pop songs, the internet and the foreign-language classroom, which may be the only place English is actively used. Further, the functions of English in such contexts are said to be highly restricted, typically limited to international communication, multinational companies or educational settings (as the topic of instruction rather than its medium). Learners are typically aiming for a standard native model, and deviations from StdE are seen as errors resulting from imperfect learning. In contrast, in ESL contexts English is used frequently and in a wide variety of intranational settings in everyday life, providing much more regular

opportunities for use than in EFL countries. Typical domains of use include education (as the medium of instruction), the media, courts and parliament, but also informal settings, which gives rise to a range of different styles. These extended functions and uses mean that, as opposed to EFL contexts, in ESL settings there are ‘greater opportunities for the conventionalization of innovations’ and thus a higher likelihood that new linguistic forms will become entrenched (Van Rooy, 2011: 193–5 and 205). Deviations from StdE in these norm-developing Outer Circle settings may come to be accepted, since ‘the target norm itself may deviate from native-speaker norms’ (Götz & Schilk, 2011: 80–81; see also Gut, 2011: 121).

If the factors held to distinguish ‘innovation’ from ‘error’, ESL from EFL, are largely sociolinguistic in nature, the implication is clear: in order to investigate variety status it is necessary to chart the full socio-historical picture of a society; its entire linguistic ‘ecology’ (Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011: 37; Mufwene, 2001; Schneider, 2007: 4). Contrary to the approach in static models of English worldwide, which class countries in a top-down fashion based on political-historical facts, detailed investigation of English-using locales is needed to understand the sociolinguistic landscape as a whole. This can help to explain the processes underlying the emergence of New Englishes, notably the phenomena whereby some variants from the feature pool (cf. Mufwene, 2001) stabilise and come to be accepted whereas others do not. Variants may be selected as a result of unintentional linguistic processes, such as reinforcement or regularisation, but also through social processes such as accommodation, ‘acts of identity’, prestige and so on (Van Rooy, 2010: 9–10, 2011: 193–5). As Schneider (2007: 21) writes,

in selecting from this pool, speakers keep redefining and expressing their linguistic and social identities, constantly aligning themselves with other individuals and thereby accommodating their speech behavior to those they wish to associate and be associated with.

That the distinction between ESL and EFL is largely sociolinguistic in nature is further evidenced by recent empirical studies that find similar structural properties across varietal types. For example, features said to be characteristic of New Englishes are regularly observed in the English of German learners, including structures such as *How does it look like?* (Schneider, 2012b: 70), countable use of mass nouns and as various features relating to tense and aspect (Erling, 2002: 10). In one of few papers to date that explicitly compares L2 and learner varieties, Nesselhauf (2009) traces the parallel emergence of new prepositional verbs in both varietal types (e.g. *discuss about, enter into, request for*). Such findings highlight the paradox that the ‘innovations’ identified in ESL varieties tend to coincide with those held up

as common ‘errors’ in EFL. In doing so, they lend weight to recent claims that the strict dichotomy between ESL and EFL is, in fact, ‘rather hazy’ (Buschfeld, 2011: 102). As Davydova (2012: 366) writes,

similar to second-language varieties of English, learner Englishes can be conceived of as self-contained forms of English because: (i) they yield systematic accounts of their structural characteristics; and (ii) their description must take into account characteristics pertaining to the sociolinguistic history and sociocultural background.

It has therefore been asserted that these varietal types should not be seen as strictly separate and clearly delimited, but rather as two poles on a continuum (Biewer, 2011: 28; Bongartz & Buschfeld, 2011: 48; Buschfeld, 2011: 219; Gilquin & Granger, 2011: 76; Leitner, 1992: 186). On this continuum, varieties can be positioned differently in relation to more or less prototypical ESL or EFL (or, for that matter, ENL) varieties (Biewer, 2011: 27–28). The upshot of this view is that the study of different varietal types should be merged and approached in an integrated fashion (Buschfeld, 2011: 105; Davydova, 2012: 366; Hundt & Vogel, 2011: 213; Mukherjee & Hundt, 2011: 1–2). In exploring the case of the Netherlands, this thesis therefore represents an attempt not just to further embed Expanding Circle varieties in existing theorising on WEs, but at the same time to examine whether the frameworks used to date to explore L2 settings can also be applied to putative learner varieties, such as those in mainland Europe.

2.3 Expanding Circle Europe

It has been pointed out that ‘the WE framework has been very useful in dealing with Outer Circle Englishes, but much less sure of what to do with the Expanding Circle’ (Pennycook, 2008: 443). Scholars remain sceptical that Englishes that emerged through forces other than the Outer Circle experience of colonisation can be accorded legitimate variety status or serve as identity markers for their speakers (Berns, 2005: 88; Jenkins, 2006a: 164). Thus, research on European Englishes has lagged behind that in Africa and Asia, although this has recently begun to change. By the early 2000s, according to Saraceni (2010: 84), ‘the WE model’s exclusive focus on the “Outer Circle” began to feel somewhat restrictive’. It was becoming clear that, as a result of globalisation, a critical mass of English on the Continent could engender the development of European varieties – and soon: ‘Given the extraordinarily high current demand for English, European Englishes ... are likely to develop at a far greater pace than did their outer or inner circle counterparts’ (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 182–3). Research on the roles and status of English in Europe is therefore sorely needed.

The presence and influence of English in Europe rose sharply in the 20th century. Britain's traditional influence remained strong, and that of the USA grew drastically following its part in ending the world wars and its rise as a superpower. In the 1970s, increasing European integration gave rise to more uses for English as a lingua franca. In international companies, diplomacy and international relations, science and technology, travel and tourism, but also domestic marketing, media and entertainment, English now enjoys an unprecedented role. Education, too, plays its part. English is by far the most taught language in schools across the EU (Eurydice, 2012: 3), although '[s]tudents need little encouragement to study English as its utility is so clearly evident' (Labrie & Quell, 1997: 22). With bilingual schooling and content-based language teaching also increasing, 'Europe has reached a point where young learners can expect to become fluent in English' (Preisler, 1999: 266). Even the ELT industry seems to be changing, with the traditional focus on teaching English for interaction with Britons no longer seen as tenable. Instead, the emphasis is shifting to 'communicative competence'; that is:

providing learners with the wherewithal to locate themselves in the real world as bona fide users of English – not in the role of an imaginary speaker – for their intended purposes with other users of English, not exclusively their compatriots or Inner Circle speakers. (Berns, 2005: 87)

In higher education, too, measures to promote mobility, such as the Bologna Process, the European Credit Transfer System and the Erasmus exchange programme, have the indirect upshot of strengthening the position of English. Exchange students tend to rely on English rather than learning smaller European languages. In various countries the presence of such students in the classroom triggers a wholesale switch to English, and to further enhance international appeal an increasing number of courses, degree programmes and even entire faculties have English as their only working language (e.g. Berns, De Bot, & Hasebrink, 2007: 28; Björkman, 2008: 36; Doiz, Lasagabaster, & Sierra, 2011: 348). As a result, 'the "common" European area for higher education has evolved in such a way that English has become the "common language"' (Björkman, 2008: 35).

The media is another area in which English has an 'obvious impact' on European life (James, 2000: 24). English advertising on billboards and in magazines and newspapers is pervasive, as is popular English-language entertainment such as films, television and music. As early as 1994 Ammon observed that English language music was 'considered normal by the vast majority of the population in virtually all the European countries' (cited in Erling, 2004: 118–9); similarly, Preisler (2005: 242) notes that European musicians are virtually

expected to use English lyrics. New media such as the internet, social media and computer games have only furthered the presence and use of English; information online, soft- and hardware documentation and ‘the globalized new tech slang or jargon’ are all predominantly in English (Berns, De Bot, & Hasebrink, 2007: 113).

As a result, young Europeans now have higher proficiency in English than ever before, and this is only expected to increase (Berns, De Bot, & Hasebrink et al., 2007; Hilgendorf, 2001: 200). Moreover, in many countries English is not restricted to the elite but is widespread across society. A major survey of English in Finland (Leppänen et al., 2011) showed that student writing is ‘only a small part of its uses in Finland in the early 21st century’. Similar observations have been made for countries such as Sweden – ‘English is in the process of being appropriated and integrated with daily interaction in public and interpersonal domains as well’ (Hult, 2003: 59–60) – and Germany – ‘There are many people who use English every day—at work, in their leisure time and maybe even at home’ (Erling, 2004: 135). Crucially,

[w]ith each additional opportunity to use English its functionality increases: the language develops from a rather uni-dimensional tool – for example, to take part in international pop music or to solve classical tasks in English lessons at school – to a multi-dimensional means of expression and communication which is linked to the professional sphere as well as the private sphere, to globalized mass media entertainment as well as private communication. (Berns, De Bot, & Hasebrink, 2007: 114)

Given such range and depth, it has been claimed that English is no longer a foreign language in many European contexts, but has reached the status of an L2 (Berns, 1995: 6; de Swaan, 2001: 151; Görlach, 2002: 139; Hult, 2003: 43; Leppänen et al., 2011: 168; Phillipson, 2001). It would seem to follow that this will lead to new, nativised forms of English (Cenoz & Jessner, 2000: viii; de Swaan, 2001: 192; Jenkins, Modiano, & Seidlhofer, 2002; Modiano, 2003: 36; Yano, 2009: 217–8). However, it is not clear whether this will be a single ‘Euro-English’ or various European Englishes (see Kirkpatrick, 2007: 165–6). Berns (1995: 4) alluded to a single European standard when she suggested that the then 12 EU countries, which in effect constitute a political and economic unit, could also be seen as a sociolinguistic unit akin to that of multicultural/multilingual India. She observed that continental Europeans are de-Americanising and de-Anglicising English, and at the same time nativising it through lexical, semantic and discursal innovation (Berns, 1995: 6). She suggested that

[t]his European English would have the potential to become institutionalized, and one day its speakers may produce an 'EU literature' in English. This literature would contribute to the establishment of a new standard (institutionalized, second language) to serve as norm and pedagogical model. (Berns, 1995: 9–10)

Mollin (2006: 1), in contrast, considers the idea of a single European variety wishful thinking: 'Euro-English seems to be the Yeti of English varieties: everyone has heard of it, but no one has ever seen it'. This recalls Görlach's (2002: 151) assertion that the concept of European English 'is little more than a catchphrase'. Using a small corpus of speech and writing by EU nationals, Mollin did not find evidence of systematic nativisation. Nor did she find attitudinal support for Euro-English: her survey of European academics showed that '[t]he respondents largely cling to native speaker standards' (Mollin, 2006: 195). She concluded that while Europe is perhaps beginning to resemble ESL more than EFL in terms of the functions of English, this is not the case for its linguistic form, nor for attitudes towards it (Mollin, 2006: 197). Like Görlach (1999), Mollin (2006: 89) attributed this to the strength and success of the ELT industry in Europe. She asserted that Europeans see English not as a marker of identity but as a tool and qualification, whereby native-like English remains a status symbol and non-native English is considered 'deficient' (Mollin, 2006: 199–201).

Mollin (2006: 200) further claimed that national European varieties of English were unlikely to emerge: 'The individual European nations necessarily cannot fulfil even the most basic requirement of ESL status, namely that of English being used as a contact code: Polish speakers simply do not speak English with each other'. However, her work focused on Europe as a whole; it neither examined any one country in depth nor took into account the differences between and within individual European countries. It would therefore seem that her conclusion overlooks the complex realities of countries such as the Netherlands. In contrast to Mollin, Wilkinson (1990: 325) suggests that Euro-English can be conceived of as the 'convergence that obtains between the functionally adequate varieties of English existing in the various European language communities'. He goes on to say that English will be indigenised in different ways in Europe as a result of differences in the respective European cultures (Wilkinson, 1990: 328). This notion is reflected in McArthur's (1998: 10) suggestion of 'Anglo-hybrids', that is, varieties such as Danish, Dutch, French and Italian English, each with their own characteristic pronunciation and lexical, syntactic, semantic and pragmatic features. Even Görlach (2002: 151) conceded that the English of Germans or French nationals, for example, might have recurrent features that 'if a tradition establishes itself, [may] lead to a national variety of English, at least in certain domains'.

The possibility of the emergence of national European Englishes finds particular support in countries with generally high proficiency levels (e.g. Bruthiaux, 2003: 168). For example, Berns (1995: 8) claims that in true EFL contexts, such as France, Greece, Italy, Portugal and Spain, 'learners are expected to acquire the norms ... appropriate to users of English in the inner circle'. But she questions this exonormative orientation for the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Germany, asserting that these are closer to ESL than EFL countries (Berns, 1995: 8). Several dissertations (Erling, 2004; Hilgendorf, 2001) on the case of Germany provide support for this, testifying to the potential emergence of a German English; indeed, Hilgendorf (2001: 170) concludes, 'it is only a question of time before individuals recognize and readily acknowledge the existence and legitimacy of a German variety of English ... German English is in fact a social reality'. While less detailed attention has been paid to the Netherlands and the Scandinavian countries, it has been claimed that the far-reaching use of English in higher education, their small populations and their stake in international trade and commerce 'may provide part of the necessary social platform for norms to develop', potentially giving rise to 'Dutch English' or 'Norwegian English' (Bruthiaux, 2003: 168; see also Berns, 1995: 8).

It is important to note here that hand in hand with the rise in the presence and use of English in Europe come fears concerning the loss of local languages. This, too, echoes postcolonial contexts, which harbour conflicting discourses on the hegemony versus the usefulness of English (Erling, 2004: 50). While Europeans are generally pragmatic about the necessity of English, many worry that it threatens other European languages and could erode Europeans' cultural and linguistic identities (Erling 2004: 38). The most vociferous opponents of English in this regard are Phillipson (1992) and Skutnabb-Kangas (2000), who see it as a proponent of imperialism and 'linguicism'. Others, however, see the claims of linguistic imperialism as 'unscientific' (Schneider, 2011: 351): they are typically 'more emotional than factual' (Sharp, 2004: 200), are based on superficial data, such as English loanwords in the L1 (J. Joseph, 2004: 18), assume the existence of a global hegemonic structure driving English, and do not account for agency among those acquiring the language (Erling, 2004: 49).

Legitimate concerns about diglossia, however, have been voiced in some countries. Preisler (2005: 242) highlights concerns about Danish being relegated to the status of a home language while English takes over as the language of business, education and administration. However, he observes that 'in a typical diglossic society the choice of language is determined by the domain as such'. In Denmark, few domains have been fully 'conquered' by English

such that ‘the domain itself defines the choice of language’ (Preisler, 2005: 245–47). For example, even within scientific research, the choice of language is determined by the interlocutors involved; that is, Danish researchers communicate with one another in Danish, whereas English is used with outsiders (Preisler, 2005: 247). Exceptions include the domains of air traffic control and music, where the domain itself indeed dictates the use of English. With respect to the latter, ‘certain genres require lyrics in English, even if both band and audience are Danish’ (Preisler, 2005: 245); thus, the use of English here ‘is in fact obligatory, in a form of intra-Danish (mass) communication’ (Preisler, 2005: 242). University teaching in Denmark is also threatened by diglossia, in that the pressure on institutions to create educational programmes in English may have consequences for the long-term status and viability of Danish in knowledge transfer (Preisler, 2005: 239).

Similar concerns about diglossia in higher education have been voiced for Sweden, notably by Gunnarsson (2001). She warns that ‘young students are not being taught to use Swedish for professional purposes’; thus, ‘English constitutes a threat to the continued existence of a scientific register in Swedish’ (Gunnarsson, 2001: 311–2). Moreover, she describes the dominance of English in Swedish science as a ‘democratic problem’: with science being conducted and communicated in English, this not only strengthens the ivory tower image of academic elites, but also harms the right of the domestic community to have insight into research activities (Gunnarsson, 2001: 307). Across the Continent, academics themselves face the ‘unfair and onerous’ burden of being unable to use their native languages for research and scholarship, but also of having to follow ‘Anglo’ rhetorical styles and an Anglo scientific knowledge paradigm (Kirkpatrick, 2007: 180–81; see also Görlach, 2002: 16 and Ammon, 2001).

At the other end of the spectrum are linguists who believe that English and other national languages can and do co-exist, and that the increased use of English does not automatically entail the abandonment of national languages in Europe (Erling, 2004: 171–2). In particular, De Swaan (2001) points out that while European languages today face similar challenges as local languages in former colonies, they are in a stronger position because, given the high levels of literacy across the EU, citizens ‘cannot be prevented from learning the elite language ... That is why elite closure and mass exclusion do not occur in the Union as they do in the recently independent countries’ (De Swaan, 2001: 184). Moreover, the national European languages are ‘robust’, having been protected at state level for several centuries and imposed in schools, courts and bureaucracies. People will therefore learn to live

with both English and their native language, use them as required by the occasion and ‘seek a feasible accommodation between the two’ (De Swaan, 2001: 185–6).

One potential way of balancing the practical need for English and the threat it may pose is precisely to embrace European forms of English. As Erling (2004: 39) writes, ‘there have been proposals for Europeans to assert their linguistic independence in English and recognize their own localized standards’. Scholars have already commented on the ways in which Europeans are asserting ownership and demonstrating agency in their use of English. For example, Preisler (2003) distinguished between ‘English from above’ and ‘English from below’. ‘English from above’ refers to the promotion of English within the educational system and by official agencies for the purposes of international communication (e.g. foreign trade and tourism). In this ideology, the foreign-language classroom is seen as the only systematic influence on individuals’ English, and the aim of ELT is to enable future professionals to conduct cross-border business. This implies a belief that the use and influence of English can be regulated and controlled in a top-down manner. According to Preisler (2003), this ideology is untenable. In a globalising Europe, English is no longer learnt exclusively through formal interaction; moreover, this view ‘*ignores* the social function of language’ (Preisler, 2003: 3; italics original).

This ‘social function’ is captured in ‘English from below’, which recognises the use of English as an expression of subcultural identity and peer group solidarity (Preisler, 1999: 259). Preisler (2003) argues that claims that English plays no role in informal domains in EFL societies (e.g. Moag, 1982: 28) are outdated; he notes that Danish children and adolescents acquire and use English in peer group contexts, such as code-switching in discussions of the latest rock music or computer games. Such informal uses of English have become ‘an inherent, indeed a defining, aspect’ of youth subcultures (Preisler, 1999: 244). This relates to Gardner and Lambert’s (1972) distinction between instrumental and integrative motivation (i.e. the use of English as tool or for integration into British or American culture). In the traditional, ‘English from above’ ideology, Europeans are assumed to be instrumentally motivated. In contrast, ‘the motivating force behind the learning of “English from below” is basically integrative’: not to assimilate in Britain or the US, however, but ‘to symbolise subcultural identity or affiliation, and peer group solidarity’ (Preisler, 1999: 246–7). Hult (2003: 60) identifies a similar trend in Sweden, observing that ‘[r]ather than being imposed only from above, [English] is seemingly developing from the ground up as an integral part of Swedish linguistic culture as well’.

It is thus starting to be acknowledged that despite Europe's Expanding Circle status, for a growing number of Europeans English plays a role in terms of identity construction that has traditionally been reserved for Outer Circle contexts. For example, Leppänen et al. (2011) found that English is becoming increasingly important in the linguistic repertoires, social relationships, hobbies and interests of young Finns. Moreover, '[f]or many, it also is a means of verbalizing their emotions, and sometimes even an essential factor in the construction of their identities' (Leppänen et al., 2011: 163). This is supported by Erling's (2004) work among German university students. Given their historical legacy, many Germans are still reluctant to embrace their national identity; English therefore offers them an 'escape from national identity' while at the same time providing 'an additional marker of a European or global identity' (Erling, 2004: 169–70). Further, young Germans see their English skills as a sign of their 'Europeanness', which distances them from the previous generation and links them 'to the emerging political and cultural identity of Europe' as well as 'global culture' (Erling, 2004: 249). Thus, English serves not just a communication tool or lingua franca for such students, but also as a means of 'self-representation', allowing them to express hybrid German, European and global identities – a role that, '[i]n conventional typologies of English users, ... is reserved for first and second language speakers' (Erling, 2004: 217). This use of the language therefore 'defies the conventional categorization of Germany as an expanding circle/EFL context' (Erling, 2004: 250).

In sum, with globalisation now playing the role that colonisation previously played in entrenching English in Outer Circle societies, English in Europe today – certainly in some domains and countries – seems to be inching slowly but surely towards ESL status. The time is ripe, therefore, for a comprehensive application of the WEs framework – including Schneider's (2003, 2007) model – to the European context. To this end, we now turn our attention to the Netherlands.

2.4 The case of the Netherlands

Given its relatively small language area and historical reliance on cross-border trade and commerce, the Netherlands has a long history of multilingualism, particularly with regard to French and German. However, in the aftermath of two world wars and with the advent of globalised popular culture in the 20th century, English has become increasingly entrenched in Dutch society. According to Van Oostendorp (2012a: 252), 'the Dutch are moving from being a traditionally *multilingual* population, priding themselves on their knowledge of many

foreign languages, to being *bilingual*, priding themselves on their knowledge of English' (italics added).

Despite the apparent entrenchment of English in Dutch society in recent decades, no comprehensive study has yet explored the case of the Netherlands within the WEs paradigm. As English is not transmitted naturalistically from parent to child as in the Inner Circle, and as the country lacks a colonial history in the Outer Circle sense, it largely continues to be seen as an EFL, Expanding Circle country. It is identified in the literature with some regularity as one of several countries potentially transitioning from the Expanding to the Outer Circle. Such mentions, however, are typically fleeting and always anecdotal. As McArthur announced at a conference in Amsterdam over two decades ago,

[The Dutch] have a special relationship with English. At some point since the Second World War, so it seems to me, English in this country ceased to be a foreign language properly so called. It has entered too much into the blood and sinews of education and the media here. Just as English is now widely acknowledged in India as an Indian language, so English is now simply one of your languages, along with Dutch and Frisian. Not really an indigenous language but, as the Indians put it, 'a window on the world'. In a sense the Dutch are special: not quite inside or outside the English-speaking world, but maybe slipping further into it with every passing decade. (McArthur, 1993: 35)

Other scholars who have noted this ESL-like status of English in the Netherlands include Ridder (1995: 44), who observed that 'particularly in areas related to commerce and popular culture English is often used as a second language next to Dutch'; Booij (2001), who noted that it is becoming increasingly difficult to identify the Netherlands with the Expanding Circle; and Ammon and McConnell (2002: 99), who stated that English in the Netherlands 'could almost be called a second national language, rather than a strictly foreign one, given its wide use in the country in a large number of public spheres' (see also Jenkins 2009: 16–17; Kirkpatrick 2007: 165; McArthur 1998: 54; Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008: 211).

Berns (1995: 9–10) asserted that the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Germany share characteristics which 'make it difficult to exclusively identify them with the expanding circle'. She therefore proposed a revised version of Kachru's (1985b) Three Circles model for European Englishes with a permeable, dotted line separating the Expanding Circle proper, with countries such as France and Greece, from a 'dual' Expanding/Outer Circle with the Netherlands, Luxembourg and Germany, in turn separated from the Inner Circle countries of Great Britain and Ireland. However, it is not clear that this solution is sufficient. Like Kachru's (1985b) original model, it does not account for internal variation or ongoing

developmental processes. Nor does it explain the differences between the three ‘dual circle’ countries and a setting like Denmark, for which potential ESL status has also been claimed (cf. Graddol, 1997: 11).

Almost a decade later, Gerritsen and Nickerson (2004) investigated English in the Netherlands on the basis of Kachru’s (1985b) criteria for his Outer Circle. They concluded the Netherlands ‘partly satisfies’ the criteria, indicating that the role of English in Dutch society exceeds that of a typically Expanding Circle country but falls short of that in Outer Circle countries (Gerritsen & Nickerson, 2004: 114–117). While English is not an official language, they point out that it does serve intranationally as a working language in many educational institutions and companies, and has expanded functions in areas such as the Dutch music scene. They also attest that Dutch speakers give English words new meanings (e.g. *smoking* for *dinner jacket*) as well as Dutch morphology and spelling. However, Van Meurs (2010: 42) points out that this applies to English loanwords in Dutch, not to the wholesale use of English by Dutch speakers, which remains to be investigated. Further, given the lack of empirical data, Gerritsen and Nickerson’s (2004) analysis necessarily relied on anecdote and incidental observation (Van Meurs, 2010: 40).

No comprehensive studies have since returned to the question of whether the traditional classification of EFL still holds for the Netherlands or whether the transition to ESL has taken place. Nor has it been investigated how the Netherlands fits into a more dynamic model of English worldwide, such as that by Schneider (2003, 2007). These issues are examined, respectively, in the two research questions of this thesis (§1.4). This chapter has established the case for the application of Schneider’s model to non-postcolonial societies, as well as the potential emergence of national European varieties of English, particularly in high-proficiency countries where English is playing an increasing role in intranational communication and identity constructions. In the next chapter, we turn to the roles and functions of English in Dutch society today.

3. THE FUNCTIONS OF ENGLISH IN THE NETHERLANDS

3.1 Introduction

*Doe maar gewoon, dan doe je al Engels genoeg.*⁵
(‘Just act normally, that’s already English enough’)

The quote above is a play on a common Dutch saying: *Doe maar gewoon, dan doe je al gek genoeg* (‘Just act normally, that’s already crazy enough’). The suggestion is that English has become commonplace in the Netherlands – encountering it and using it are part of normal everyday life. This chapter explores how and to what extent this is the case.

Recall that the first research question of this thesis is: Should the English used in the Netherlands be considered a second-language variety, or should it simply be regarded as learner English? Three criteria were established in Chapter 1 to answer this question, revolving around the functions of, attitudes towards and forms of English in the Netherlands. This chapter addresses the first of these criteria: the functions of English in Dutch society. Bilingualism should be widespread, not restricted to just an elite segment of the population. In addition, English should have expanded functions that go beyond the international lingua franca functions to which English is typically restricted in EFL countries. That is, English must be used *intranationally* in different areas of everyday life.

To explore these elements, this chapter establishes a sociolinguistic profile of English in the Netherlands. Sociolinguistic profiles are commonly used in WEs research. The application of this framework was inspired by work such as Berns, De Bot and Hasebrink’s (2007) sociolinguistic study of four European countries, Mollin’s (2006) macrosociolinguistic study of the European Union as a whole, and Hilgendorf’s (2007) macrosociolinguistic profile of Germany. The notion of a sociolinguistic profile can be traced back to authors such as Ferguson (1975), Kachru (1983b) and Kachru and Nelson (1996). In short,

this framework takes into account both the users and the uses of the language and brings together its historical context, domains of use, role in the educational system, influence on the media, levels of proficiency, and attitudes toward it among learners and users. In the broadest sense, a profile documents the presence of the language and the breadth and depth of its presence. (Berns, De Bot, & Hasebrink, 2007: 15)

A sociolinguistic profile typically includes some configuration of the following elements:

- history of contact

⁵ Source: www.dickwaanders.nl

- speaker numbers
- sociocultural attributes of speakers
- cline of proficiency/bilingualism
- legal status
- language planning
- degree of institutionalisation/standardisation
- use in domains such as politics, law, business, advertising, science and research, mass media, literature and education
- individual and institutional attitudes.

The present chapter establishes a sociolinguistic profile of the Netherlands encompassing the elements listed above.⁶ The aim, as noted, is to determine the degree and spread of bilingualism in the Netherlands and the various functions of English in society. To do so, the chapter draws on data from many and varied sources. Scholarly research tends to be restricted to specific areas, such as English in Dutch advertising or bilingual education in the Netherlands. This is therefore supplemented by information from national newspapers⁷ as well as the reports and publications of official bodies⁸. Data also come from more obscure sources, such as the newsletters of the Stichting Taalverdediging⁹, an organisation aiming to combat the influx of English in the Netherlands. Finally, this chapter also incorporates new empirical data from television programme guides, music charts and the like. Much of this information was not previously available in English. It is hoped that synthesising all these disparate sources for the first time will provide a comprehensive basis for the sociolinguistic profile described above.

First, section 3.2 explores the history of English contact in the Netherlands and the present demographics of English proficiency. The subsequent parts explore different societal arenas: section 3.3 focuses on education; section 3.4 considers the domains of science and research; section **Error! Reference source not found.** explores business and advertising, section 3.6 addresses public administration and governance; and section 3.7 focuses on different types of media. Finally, section 3.8 interprets the findings in view of the criteria discussed above: the spread of bilingualism and the expanded functions of English.

⁶ With the exception of the last point, as attitudes towards English and target norms are addressed separately in Chapter 4.

⁷ Specifically, relevant articles from the archives from 2000 onwards of four national newspapers: *De Volkskrant*, *De Telegraaf*, *Algemeen Dagblad* and *NRC Handelsblad*.

⁸ E.g. the Dutch Language Union (Nederlandse Taalunie), which establishes policy relating to the Dutch language and literature on behalf of the Dutch and Flemish governments, and the Stichting KijkOnderzoek, the official provider of television audience ratings in the Netherlands.

⁹ 'Foundation for Language Defence', www.taalverdediging.nl

3.2 History of contact: the Netherlands and its languages

The primary official language in the Netherlands is Dutch. A member of the West-Germanic branch of the Indo-European language family, Dutch is closely related to Frisian, English, German and the Scandinavian languages. It is also an official language in Flanders (the northern part of Belgium), Suriname (South America) and Aruba, Curaçao and Sint-Maarten (southern Caribbean sea). With approximately 22 million native speakers, it is the 37th largest language in the world and the 8th largest in the European Union (Van Oostendorp, 2010: 1). Within the Netherlands, Frisian is officially recognised as a regional language. The minority languages of Low Saxon, Limburgish, Yiddish and Roma-Sinti are also recognised, but only symbolically (Van Oostendorp, 2012a: 266). Major immigrant languages include Sranan, Papiamentu, Malay, Turkish and Arabic (Van Essen, 1997a).

In terms of foreign language learning, the Netherlands has a long history. In 1581 the northern provinces of the Low Countries declared independence from the Habsburg Empire, creating the precursor to the modern-day Netherlands in the form of the United Provinces. The Dutch Golden Age, in the second half of the 17th century, was a period of worldwide empire building and trade; hence, '[t]he Dutch have believed since the Golden Age that knowledge of more than one – and preferably more – foreign languages is an indispensable component of a good education' (Van der Horst, 2012: 176). The Dutch East India Company, established in 1602, is considered the world's first multinational corporation. Nowadays the Netherlands remains an important exporter and importer of goods and a major player in foreign investments, said to have one of the most open and globalised economies in the world (Edelman, 2010: 28; Weenink, 2005: 9). As a small country located at the crossroads of three major language areas – German, French and English – 'its economic survival depends to a large degree on cross border economic and cultural transactions within these areas' (Ammon & McConnell, 2002: 98). In short, the Dutch have 'a serious stake in successful transnational communication' (McArthur, 1998: 106).

German and French are the traditional foreign languages. Some people learnt English as early as the 1500s, and 'it was claimed (although not the case) that during the 18th century English was almost universally understood in Holland' (Berns, De Bot, & Hasebrink, 2007: 17). Between 1500 and 1800 it was mostly used instrumentally, for example in ports. After 1800 English was introduced into the modern language curriculum and it became a compulsory school subject in 1863, although French and German still predominated. Only in the second half of the 20th century did English finally develop into the first foreign language

in Dutch education (Bonnet, 2002: 45). WWII was a major turning point: ‘English was the language of the liberators, the money providers and progress’ (Ridder, 1995: 44). By the 1960s English ranked well above German and French, spurred on further by the popularity of American popular culture (Van Essen, 1997b: 97).

Today, the position of English in the education system means that the number of Dutch people with little to no knowledge of English is dramatically decreasing (Nortier, 2011: 117). In the English Proficiency Index (Education First, 2013), a benchmark of 54 countries in which English is not the national language, the Netherlands is rated as having ‘very high proficiency’, ranking behind only Sweden and Norway. Ninety percent of Dutch people report being able to hold a conversation in English (European Commission, 2012), although proficiency levels vary, ranging from nativelike to what is derogatorily referred to as *Nederengels* or *Steenkolen-Engels* (‘coal English’). We will return to this spread of bilingualism in section 3.8.1.

3.3 Education

This section considers the position of English in Dutch education at all levels: primary, secondary and higher education. Figure 3.1 provides an overview of the Dutch education system. Primary education lasts for eight years from the age of 4 or 5, after which all children move on to secondary school at the age of about 12. Depending on the pupil’s academic level, secondary schooling is divided into various streams (represented by the purple boxes in the figure) preparing them either for university, vocational education or professional training (the pink boxes). All levels of education in the Netherlands have been characterised by an increase in English, in the form of both EFL and bilingual education. According to Ammon and McConnell (2002: 99),

the Netherlands is certainly one of the most advanced countries in Europe concerning the integration of instruction of English in the national education system. The whole process was seriously begun in the 1950’s and its expansion has continued unabated since then.

English became the only compulsory language for all types of secondary education in 1968, and was introduced as compulsory subject in the last two years of primary education in 1986. In total, 400 hours are dedicated to EFL during compulsory education (Drew, Oostdam, & Van Toorenburg, 2007: 322). Added to this is the trend in recent years of introducing bilingual education in secondary, but sometimes even in primary, education, as well as the pervasive ‘Englishisation’ of higher education. The sections below describe the status quo and ongoing developments at each of these educational levels.

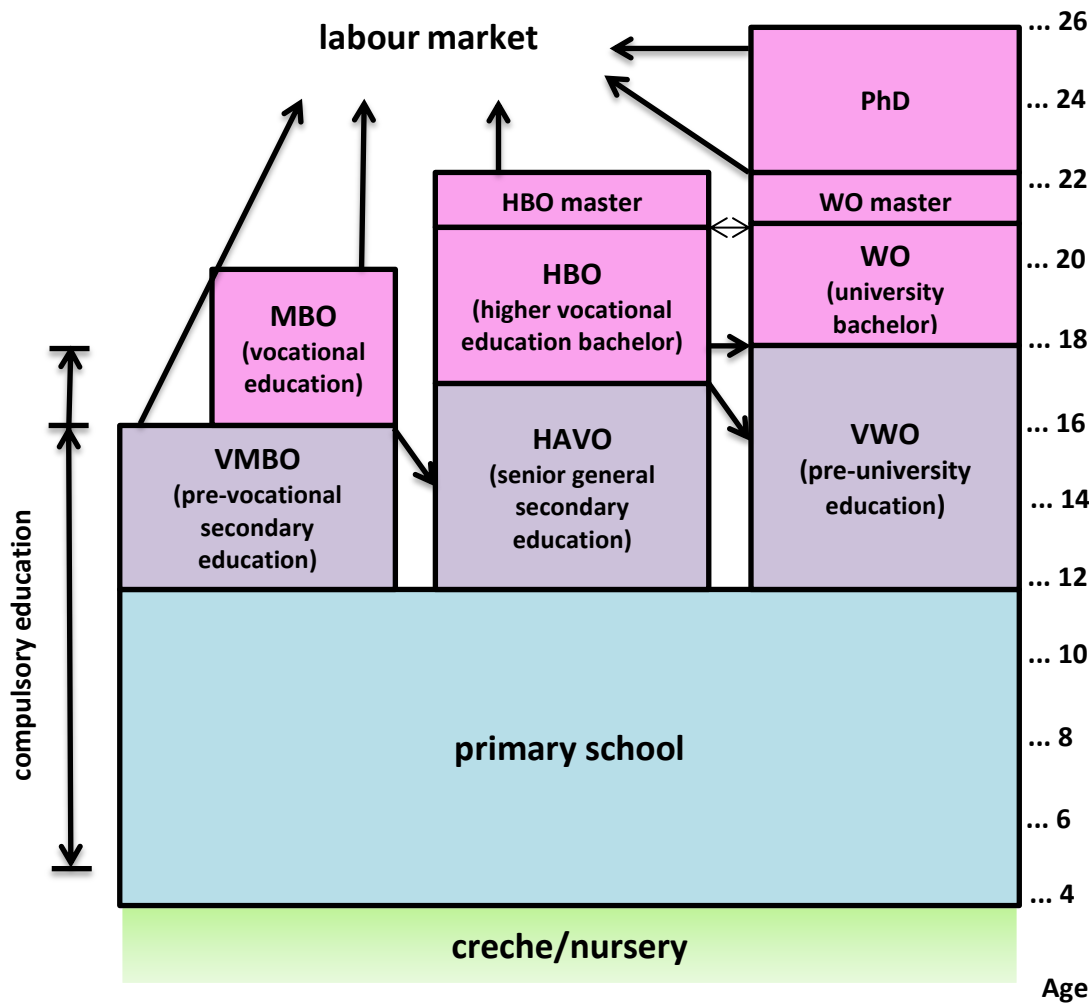


Figure 3.1: Overview of the Dutch education system
Adapted from Tijmen Stam (2006)

3.3.1 Primary education

Article 9 of the Primary Education Act (Wet op het primair onderwijs, WPO) stipulates that Dutch is the language of instruction in primary education in the Netherlands, although schools in the province of Friesland may also teach in Frisian. In 1986 English was introduced as a subject in primary schools from group 5 level, i.e. for pupils aged about 9. Pupils receive 50 hours of instruction at the primary level. There is no prescribed curriculum; schools can determine themselves what to teach. Interestingly, English is taught by regular primary school teachers who require no additional qualification to teach English (Van Essen, 1997a). It has been reported that ‘the subject is largely ignored in teacher training’ (Drew, Oostdam, & Van Toorenburg, 2007: 335) and that nearly half of primary school teachers receive no formal further education in English (Oostdam & Van Toorenburg, 2002).

Further to English in the last two years of primary school, many schools have introduced early foreign language education (*vroeg vreemdtalenonderwijs*, VVTO). This is a form of bilingual education in which children are familiarised with English, typically by way of games or singing, from group 1, at age 4 or 5 (Nortier, 2011: 115). Far from this being imposed at state level, its increase seems to be largely attributable to parental (and student) demand (Bonnet, 2002: 46; Dronkers, 1993: 295; Maljers, 2007: 130). The number of schools offering VVTO has risen from 20 in 1999 (Taalunieversum, 2006) to 1000 today (“Meer en eerder Engels in het basisonderwijs,” 2013), representing 17% of all primary schools in the Netherlands (Dekker, 2013: 2). Although the government promotes this development by offering schools grants to introduce VVTO (“Steeds vaker vreemde taal op basisschool,” 2012), some objections have been raised. There are linguistic concerns, that more time spent on English means less time for Dutch (De Korte, 2006), and cultural ones, that ‘Dutch children are being effectively raised as English children’¹⁰ (Bregman, 2012). Others worry that children from immigrant families will end up starting secondary education with deficiencies in both English and Dutch (Appel, 2003, though see Dessing, 2012 for counter-arguments).

VVTO has also been controversial because, as noted, Dutch is the statutory language of instruction in primary education. Other languages can naturally be taught in foreign language lessons, but as subjects are not always clearly delimited in primary education, the question of how much English is permissible is a legal grey area. This gave rise to a protracted court case instigated by the Stichting Taalverdediging (ST). In brief, the ST filed a case against the Stichting BOOR, a foundation responsible for public primary education in Rotterdam, which had initiated VVTO under the name ‘Early Bird’ in 2003. The ST alleged that the initiative amounted to using English as the language of instruction and was thus illegal. In 2008 the administrative court (*bestuursrechter*) ruled in the ST’s favour, confirming that bilingual primary education indeed contravened the law. However, this court was not authorised to prohibit Early Bird in practice. The ST therefore filed a collective action against BOOR and the Rotterdam city council in the civil court (*burgerrechter*). In 2012 this court reconfirmed that Early Bird was unlawful, but said it would be tolerated (in Rotterdam but also in other districts where it had since been implemented) until the end of a similar, government-run VVTO pilot. The government pilot had been launched in 2009 under the Law on Experimental Education (Experimentenwet Onderwijs), which allows forms of

¹⁰ ‘Nederlandse kindjes worden vakkundig opgevoed tot Engelse kindjes.’

education not normally permitted by law. Both the government pilot and Early Bird would end in late 2012, at which point parliament would be tasked with deciding how to proceed with respect to bilingual primary education.

Interestingly, the ST's decade-long legal action was largely ignored by the national press. In 2013, a new government plan announced that steps would be taken to change the law on the language of instruction in primary education, and a new experiment would be launched in 2014 in which 20 primary schools would teach in English up to 50% of the time (Dekker, 2013). It thus appears that, thanks to a combination of parental demand and government support, bilingual primary education will continue to forge ahead in the Netherlands.

3.3.2 Secondary education

At the end of primary school, all Dutch pupils sit the *cito-toets*, an exam on Dutch, maths and academic skills. Based on their test results and teacher recommendation, pupils are then streamed into different types of secondary schooling (see also Figure 3.1):

- VMBO (pre-vocational secondary education; four years)
- HAVO (senior general secondary education; five years)
- VWO (pre-university education; six years).

English, French and German were compulsory subjects in high schools in the Netherlands until 1968, when the Secondary Education Act (*Wet op het Voortgezet Onderwijs*) made only English mandatory. Today, English is compulsory in all streams; students in the higher school types, HAVO and VWO, also study two other modern languages (often French and German, although typically only for the first few years), while pupils in VMBO study one (Dutch Eurydice Unit, 2007: 9).

VWO, which prepares the more academically able students for university (20% of all Dutch secondary school students), is itself divided into three streams, all of which are state funded. In addition to the *athenea* (regular VWO schools) and *gymnasia* (which also teach Greek and Latin), there are now 'internationalised' (i.e. bilingual) curricula. In all but one case (a Dutch/German school in the border town of Venlo; Nortier, 2011: 115), these are bilingual in Dutch and English. Their introduction has met with no noticeable opposition (Van Oostendorp, 2012a: 262). In fact, bilingual secondary education in the Netherlands – like its counterpart VVTO at primary level – has largely been a bottom-up, grassroots movement driven parents and teachers aware of the educational and socioeconomic benefits of proficiency in English (Admiraal, Westhoff, & De Bot, 2006: 77; Berns et al., 2007: 26–27; Bonnet, 2002: 46; Maljers, 2007: 130; Piketh, 2006: 6; Snow, 2001: 7; Weenink, 2005).

Numbers rose from one school in 1989 (Piketh, 2006: 14) to over 150 in 2012, catering to around 25,000 pupils (“Steeds vaker vreemde taal op basisschool,” 2012). A quarter of VWO schools are now reported to be bilingual (Dronkers, 2013).

However, bilingual secondary education is not restricted to VWO schools but has been implemented in HAVO streams as well. In both school types, 50% of lessons are taught in English for first three years, meaning that in addition to 90 hours of EFL, pupils receive a further 500 hours of English-medium education each year (Verspoor, De Bot, & Xu, 2011: 96). Moreover, bilingual education is also offered in the lowest school stream, VMBO, spurred on by a statement by the education ministry’s Marja van Bijsterveldt that ‘In particular, welders, nurses and hotel employees can profit immensely from knowing a language such as English or German [...]’ (Van Oostendorp, 2012a: 262). In 2010 at least five VMBO schools offered bilingual streams and a further 16 were planning to, a figure that is expected to increase further still (Schrauwens, 2010). In all schools, classes in the last two years are taught in Dutch to prepare pupils for their final exams, which are held in Dutch only, although an increasing number of students also sit the international baccalaureate (Weenink, 2005).

The government supports bilingual secondary education and sets only loose criteria for its use; specifically, that the Dutch curriculum is to be followed, pupils’ proficiency in Dutch is not to be affected and the internationalised streams may not be financially elitist (Admiraal et al., 2006: 77). Bilingual secondary schools typically rely on their regular (Dutch) staff, occasionally offering them additional training to teach their subject matter in English (Eurydice, 2004: 9). The European Platform, which coordinates bilingual education in the Netherlands on behalf of the Ministry of Education, requires that the teachers involved must have a proficiency level of at least B2 in the Common European Framework of Reference (CEFR) and that each school have at least two teachers who are native speakers of English.

Given the existence of separate, private international schools for the children of expats in the Netherlands, bilingual secondary schools are not meant ‘to serve the needs of foreign children, but are explicitly meant for Dutch children raised monolingually at home’ (Booij, 2001: 2). They are intended to enhance pupils’ opportunities in higher education and on the labour market, not just abroad but also domestically. Research results seem to confirm the success of the bilingual streams. Students achieve the expected higher results in English, displaying better vocabulary and writing skills and producing more idiomatic language than regular students (Verspoor, Schuitemaker-King, Van Rein, De Bot, & Edelenbos, 2010),

while no detrimental effects for Dutch or subjects taught in English have been found (e.g. Admiraal et al., 2006; Huibregtse, 2001).

3.3.3 Higher education

Higher education in the Netherlands is provided by universities of applied sciences (HBO institutes or *hogescholen*) and research universities, which since 2002 have used the three-phase system of bachelor's, master's and PhD degrees. In recent years Dutch universities have been characterised by a process of internationalisation, which some consider more or less synonymous with Englishisation (Zegers & Wilkinson, 2005). As early as 1989, the then education minister Jo Ritzen proposed to introduce more teaching in English at Dutch universities. This prompted parliamentary as well as public outcry. Proponents felt it would give the Netherlands a greater role in the global academic community and better prepare students for an increasingly international working environment. Opponents worried it would result in decreased educational quality and/or a divide between an elite and the rest of the population (Adam, 2012; Ridder, 1995). In addition, '[a]side from the objection that it just won't do to squander one's own language, there was the fear that [...] the uniqueness of Dutch academics would be lost' (Hagers, 2009b). After an official inquiry, the proposal was rejected and in 1992 the parliament adopted a proviso in the law reaffirming Dutch as the language of higher education (Berteloot & Van der Sijs, 2002: 43; Dronkers, 1993: 295). Today, Article 6 of the Higher Education and Research Act (Wet op het hoger onderwijs en wetenschappelijk onderzoek, WHW) states that '[c]lasses should be taught and exams should be offered in Dutch'. However, the article goes on to mention two possible exceptions:

- a. when the teaching concerns the language in question, or
- b. if the specific nature, the structure or the quality of the teaching, or otherwise the origin of the participants requires such, conforming to a code of conduct which has been established by the authorities [i.e. the individual universities].¹¹

As Van Oostendorp (2012a: 257) notes, '[t]he second clause makes the whole article all but vacuous, since one can always argue that "the specific nature" of the education requires using a different language (the books are only in English, or there is a foreigner in the audience)'. Indeed, the codes of conduct of various universities give unequivocal precedence to English, such as those of Delft and Twente (Vandaele, 2007); Leiden University stipulates that although the official language of its BA programme is Dutch, this 'can be English if the

¹¹ 'Het onderwijs wordt gegeven en de examens worden afgenomen in het Nederlands.' Exceptions: 'a. wanneer het onderwijs met betrekking tot die taal betreft, of b. indien de specifieke aard, de inrichting of de kwaliteit van het onderwijs dan wel de herkomst van de deelnemers daartoe noodzaakt, overeenkomstig een door het bevoegd gezag vastgestelde gedragscode.' Available at www.wetten.overheid.nl.

provenance of the students makes such necessary', while the official language of its MA programme is English (Van Oostendorp, 2012a: 261); and according to Groningen's code of conduct '[t]eaching can be in English if at least one English-speaking foreigner has an inadequate level of Dutch'. Such applications of the law in practice prompted De Bot, Kroon, Nelde and Velde (2001: 7) to note that the discussion in the media and political arena of the merits or otherwise of Ritzen's proposal 'seems somewhat outdated and showing little awareness of the existing situation'. By way of their codes of conduct, it seems that universities have been able to make the purported exceptions to the WHW the norm (Roukens, 2008). In characteristically alarmist fashion, the Stichting Taalverdediging announced, 'Now there is no turning back: with [exception (b)] and a code of conduct, the universities can definitively eradicate Dutch.'¹²

It is worth noting that Flanders, the Dutch-speaking part of Belgium, has tighter legal restrictions in higher education, limiting the use of English to 20% of a study programme. This greater reluctance to give up Dutch may be attributable to the historical circumstances that saw Dutch banned from Flemish higher education until 1930, a struggle still fresh in people's minds (Reynebeau, 2010; Roukens, 2008). Indeed, the Flanders–Netherlands Cultural Treaty Committee (CVN) reported that between 2000 and 2007 English-medium higher education dramatically increased in the Netherlands, whereas the situation in Flanders remained more or less the same (Oosterhof, 2007). Indeed, the Netherlands has become the largest provider of English-language higher education in continental Europe (Wächter & Maiworm, 2008). While Dutch still predominates at the bachelor level – with notable exceptions such as Maastricht University, where almost all bachelor programmes are in English – about 80% of all master's programmes are now only available in English (Van Oostendorp, 2012a: 257).

Not just individual courses and degree programmes, but also faculties and, in some cases, entire institutions, have switched to English. It is the only working language of the economics faculties in Maastricht, Tilburg and Utrecht, to name just a few (Berteloot & Van der Sijs, 2002: 43). Maastricht University became officially bilingual in 2001, as did Delft University of Technology in 2007, and Radboud University Nijmegen was reportedly investing €2.5 million to do the same (Klaassen, 2011). The Roosevelt Academy in Middleburg and the university colleges in Amsterdam, Maastricht and Utrecht are all complete English-language bachelor institutes. Research, though still scarce, has shown no

¹² 'Hiermee is het hek van de dam: met punt 3 en een gedragscode kunnen de universiteiten het Nederlands definitief uitbannen' (Maenen, 2011: 8).

negative effects for students following English-medium higher education. Klaassen (2001: 180), for example, found that while ‘student learning results are influenced in the initial phase’, this influence ‘dissipates after one year of English-medium instruction’.

This switch to English in Dutch higher education can partly be seen in the context of competition and the commodification of education. It is recognised that ‘students from abroad have no intention of learning Dutch to an advanced level of proficiency’ (Berns et al., 2007: 29); thus, ‘English represents a selling point, an inducement’ (Truchot, 2002: 9). Students are said to be attracted to the Netherlands as ‘the English used there is adapted to second language learners rather than native speaker students’ (Berns et al., 2007: 29), and ‘the Dutch variety of English is easier for them than the high variety used in English universities’ (Booij, 2001: 8). Interestingly, the considerable rise in tuition fees in England as of 2012 appears to have prompted an increase in British students too: as the *Daily Mail* reported, ‘You don't have to speak double Dutch – and the fees are significantly cheaper’ (Watson, 2012).

Critics of this mass transition to English warn that it may lead to a loss of the distinct cultural identity of Dutch higher education. Referring to Europe in general, Haberland and Mortensen (2012: 2) cautioned that the commodification of education may result in uniformity rather than diversity and the rise of ‘generic’ international universities. Pijpers (2004) suggested that students interested in studying in English per se would do better to go to the UK or US; foreign students should preferably be attracted by the academic quality of Dutch universities. These concerns, however, seem to be drowned out in practice. The wholehearted embrace of English by university administrators and tacit government support appear to have irreversibly engendered a situation in which, in the Netherlands today, ‘there is hardly any chance to complete a university degree programme without demonstrating a high level of linguistic competence in English’ (Dybalska, 2010: 23).

3.4 Science and research

Like students, for Dutch scientists to succeed today, they must have a considerable command of English. Indeed, it is no longer unusual for academic positions to be advertised in English even in domestic newspapers (Berns et al., 2007: 36). That said, Dutch remains the main language of interaction among academics in the Netherlands, who turn to English only in the presence of a non-Dutch colleague. Van der Horst (2012: 182) contends that

in the immediate surroundings of the university or the laboratory, Dutch remains the working language and foreigners who stay here for any length of time without learning Dutch will find

that this ultimately leads to isolation and considerably hinders their ability to function on a day-to-day basis [...].

However, conferences and workshops in the Netherlands are increasingly held in English even when all attendees speak Dutch. As Nortier (2011: 115) reports,

even when there is no overt necessity, English is sometimes used. I attended a symposium where attendance was open to an international audience. All participants turned out to speak and understand Dutch. In spite of this, however, the language used was English. This situation is not exceptional.

Von der Dunk (2008: 7) recalls a similar situation at a conference held in the eastern Dutch city of Enschede. When the organisers announced that the language was to be English,

I refused and said: for a symposium on German–Dutch relations at the German–Dutch border for a German–Dutch audience, only two languages come in for consideration: Dutch and German. [...] So in short I decided, if it has to be in a foreign language, I'll just speak in German [...].

No one from the audience complained about my subversive act, and if I had spoken Dutch, probably few of the German listeners, who largely came from the area, would have made a point out of it, because in Gronau and Nordhorn Dutch is also understood quite well: the real reason it 'had' to be in English had nothing to do with the audience, but everything to do with the ambition of a board member who had just been appointed professor and wanted to make his international reputation by organising international conferences – and you know: 'international' to us means English, because the rest of the world doesn't count in such a worldview.¹³

Similarly, high-profile lectures, such as inaugural lectures by newly appointed professors, are so often in English that those in Dutch are regarded as somewhat radical (consider that by the linguist Kees de Bot (1994), 'Why this lecture is not in English'¹⁴). In a study on the effects of having to lecture in English (Vinke, 1995), engineering lecturers at Delft University of Technology reported having difficulties expressing themselves accurately and precisely, explaining topics in different ways and improvising. They also needed more preparation time

¹³ *'Ik heb dat vertikt en gezegd: voor een symposium over Duits-Nederlandse betrekkingen op de Duits-Nederlandse grens voor een Duits-Nederlands publiek komen maar twee voertaalen in aanmerking: Nederlands en Duits. [...] Kortom: ik spreek dus, als het al een vreemde taal moet zijn, gewoon in het Duits [...].*

Niemand uit de zaal heeft over mijn subversieve optreden geklaagd, en als ik Nederlands had gesproken, hadden de meeste, grotendeels uit de buurt afkomstige Duitse toehoorders [...] er vermoedelijk ook geen punt van gemaakt, want in Gronau en Nordhorn verstaat men ook best wel Nederlands: de ware reden dat het in het Engels 'moest' had niets uit te staan met het publiek, maar alles met de streberigheid van een net tot hoogleraar opgeklommen bestuurslid dat zo internationaal naam wilde maken, door internationale congressen te organiseren – en U weet: 'internationaal' betekent bij ons Engels, want de rest van de wereld telt in zo 'n wereldbeeld niet mee.'

¹⁴ *'Waarom deze rede niet in het Engels is.'*

and felt that lecturing in English took more mental energy. Such difficulties are further illustrated in the newspaper extract below:

Monday morning, University of Tilburg. Marloes van Engen is giving an English-language bachelor/pre-master course in Social Relations and Organisation. Her English is decent, but you can clearly hear it is not her native language. She stands before an audience of at least 200 students and, of necessity, reels off her story quite alone. And, she says beforehand: ‘I felt a flu coming on all weekend and if I’m not at my best, it’s easy to get stuck halfway through every sentence.’ Automatic pilot doesn’t work in English.

Van Engen is one of hundreds of Dutch lecturers who have been required to give their lectures in English for several years now. ‘[...] And it’s okay, but in English I improvise less during lectures. I can’t just pull an example from my sleeve and don’t make jokes here and there, all things that make my Dutch lectures more fun.’

[...] Martijn van Tuijl, an associate professor of economics in Tilburg who has been lecturing in English since 1995, says it still doesn’t come naturally. ‘You think: the working language in economics is English, it’s easy. And that *is* true to some extent. Explaining the fundamentals is also fairly easy. And yet, if a great anecdote pops into my head, in Dutch I just throw it in. But in English I very quickly think ... don’t bother, otherwise halfway through I might not know how to continue.’¹⁵ (Hagers, 2009a)

Even more so than lecturing, publishing in English has become a must. Ammon and McConnell (2002: 23) point out that, like Scandinavian scientists, Dutch academics ‘have long been known for their whole-hearted and practically complete shift from German or French to English as their main language of publication’. In an evaluation of psychology departments in the Netherlands, the Netherlands Organisation for Scientific Research (NWO) decided not to consider Dutch-language publications as research output. This stance, remarkably, ‘did not stir the academic world at all’ (Berns et al., 2007: 28), and appears to have since spread to other disciplines (Couwenberg 2007: 4). This may explain why a

¹⁵ *Maandagmorgen, de Universiteit van Tilburg. Marloes van Engen geeft een Engelstalige bachelor/pre-master cursus Social relations in organisation. Haar Engels is verdienstelijk, maar je hoort goed dat het haar moedertaal niet is. Ze staat voor een zaal met zeker tweehonderd studenten en draait noodgedwongen vrij eenzaam haar verhaal af. En, zegt ze vooraf: „Ik voelde al het hele weekend een griep opkomen en als ik niet op m’n best ben, loop ik gemakkelijk halverwege vast in mijn zinnen.” In het Engels werkt de automatische piloot niet.*

Van Engen is een van die honderden Nederlandse docenten die sinds een paar jaar hun colleges in het Engels (moeten) geven. „[...] Het gaat ook wel, maar in het Engels kan ik tijdens hoorcolleges minder improviseren. Ik schud niet zomaar een voorbeeld uit m’n mouw en maak niet even een grapje tussendoor, allemaal dingen waar mijn Nederlandse colleges leuker van worden.”

[...] Martin van Tuijl, universitair hoofddocent Economie in Tilburg, die al sinds 1995 in het Engels college geeft, zegt dat het nog steeds niet vanzelf gaat. „Je denkt: in de economie is de voertaal al Engels, dat is gemakkelijk. Dat is tot op zekere hoogte ook zo. De basis uitleggen is ook vrij eenvoudig. En toch, als ik een smeuge anekdote in mijn hoofd krijg, gooi ik die er in het Nederlands zo uit. Maar in het Engels denk ik al gauw ... laat maar, anders weet ik misschien halverwege niet hoe ik verder moet.”

number of renowned Dutch-language journals, such as *Psychologie en Maatschappij*, have now folded due to a lack of copy (Hagers, 2009a). Even journals focused on seemingly Netherlands-specific topics, such as the *Journal of Dutch Literature*, are published in English. University policies further contribute to this; for example, in various departments at Maastricht University, academics receive a budget for editing but not for translation costs, essentially forcing them to write in English.

The pressure to publish in English was confirmed by the Amsterdam professor Thomas Vaessens: ‘All academics have to acquire their own funding for research time. If you only publish in Dutch, that dries up. Certainly for young academics, there is a great deal of pressure’¹⁶ (Fortuijn, 2011). This pressure, and the problems that come with it, is illustrated in the extract below, from the preface of an English-language PhD thesis on bilingual secondary education in the Netherlands (Weenink, 2005). It is worth quoting at length:

Given the fact that this research pertains to the Dutch situation, I think that writing in English rather than in my mother tongue reduced the size of my audience considerably. Moreover, it made the task of writing much harder. [...] So, why is this written in English? Current Dutch social science is increasingly penetrated by the English language as a consequence of the internationalisation of Dutch social science. Publishing in international scientific journals has become the standard of ‘good’ social scientific research. Scientific careers and institutions are benchmarked by the number of citations in such journals, which at the same time provided university administrators with a quasi-objective tool to evaluate and select staff. Currently, international publications have become a necessary precondition to enter sought-after positions in the social scientific world, like that of university teachers. [...] In my view, the importance of cosmopolitan assets in Dutch social science will continue to increase. So I found that writing this thesis in English might help to prepare myself for these cosmopolitan circumstances. Moreover, the idea was that after having written the thesis in English, it would take less of an effort to transform separate chapters into articles for international journals. Interestingly, my first attempt to publish an earlier version of chapter 3 in a British social scientific journal failed exactly because, according to the editor, my text was ‘marred by a very large number of infelicitious expressions, many of them cause serious problems for the reader’. I then responded by saying that rejection of the paper on linguistic grounds is not fair because non-native authors are handicapped in this respect. The editor was prepared to consider this argument and gave me a second chance to improve the paper. Unfortunately, I spoiled this second chance; I hired a non-professional editor whose efforts could not prevent the text from failing to meet the standards of proper English usage. [...] (Weenink, 2005: i)

¹⁶ ‘Iedere wetenschapper moet bij NWO zijn eigen fondsen voor onderzoekstijd binnenhalen. Als je alleen in het Nederlands publiceert dan houdt dat op. Zeker voor jonge onderzoekers is die druk heel groot.’

De Roder (2010) suggests that such issues may fade in the coming generations:

The first time I gave a lecture in English was a traumatic experience. After the lecture I ran to my office, closed the door and lied down on the floor for half an hour. It was the fear that I might be perceived as a Dr Strangelove, the Dutch variant of him. What to do? I could have gone to the dean of my faculty and said to him: no more English for me. I wouldn't have lost my job – I think. But adapting to this new environment was inevitable.

[...] So, English could have been a killer in my life. And I know of some colleagues for whom English was indeed a killer in their career. For young colleagues this is a different matter: for them English is a fact of their academic life. (De Roder, 2010)

Given the marked increase in bilingual schooling and English-language higher education as discussed in section 3.3, it will be interesting to see how young academics, now confronted with English early on, will deal with the expectations to lecture, present and publish in English in the future.

3.5 Commerce

3.5.1 Business

English has come to be seen as a basic skill and job requirement in the Netherlands. So self-evident is this that job vacancy advertisements mention English explicitly only 'when very special skills or near-native command is necessary'; some even 'explicitly state that proficiency in Dutch is not required' (Berns et al., 2007: 20). As noted in section 3.2, the Netherlands depends on cross-border trade and commerce, and thus command of foreign languages has long been indispensable to its business interests. While French and German were traditionally prized and are still considered valuable, English has far surpassed them in importance. The UK is a key trading partner and the Netherlands is home to a number of major Anglo-Dutch firms, such as Royal Dutch Shell and Akzo Nobel. As early as 1987, a survey of the language needs of the 800 largest companies in the Netherlands reported that the foreign language most frequently used was indeed English (Van Dalen 1987, cited in Nickerson, 1998: 282). Today, major companies in the Netherlands have bilingual websites, and internationally oriented companies have taken on English as their primary working language. As a result, many such companies – including Aegon, Philips and Shell – publish their annual reports to shareholders only in English. In fact, De Groot (2008) reported that a third of Dutch companies with stock market quotations do not publish a Dutch version of their annual reports, a practice that may not always have the desired effect. Comparing the English used in the annual reports of Dutch and British companies, she found that the British

versions scored better among stakeholders on qualities such as text comprehensibility and corporate reputation (De Groot, 2008).

While it is apparently not infrequent for business meetings to be held in English even when no foreigners are present (Onze Taal, 2009), in everyday verbal interaction the choice of language typically seems to be motivated by pragmatic considerations, as illustrated by the quote below from an ING spokesperson:

At the ING headquarters in Amsterdam the official company language is English. The management board includes an American and two Belgians. Only one of them speaks Dutch, so for pragmatic reasons the meetings are in English. But as soon as it comes to a local matter, Dutch is the language of oral as well as written communication. After all, most of our employees are native speakers [of Dutch]. Only if the recipient does not speak Dutch is the switch to English made.¹⁷ (Daelmans, 2005)

In written communications such as email, English is typically used in such companies either symbolically, ‘to underscore the international flavour of the company’, or pragmatically, ‘because one individual in the communicative chain may not be a native speaker of Dutch’ (Berns et al., 2007: 20–21). Half of the employees of a multinational based in the Netherlands reported having to write in English on a daily basis (Hemmes 1994, cited in Nickerson, 1998: 283). Similarly, in over half of the 100 Dutch subsidiaries of British-owned companies in the Netherlands surveyed in Nickersen (1998), internal communication was generally in English.

Interestingly, the Netherlands seems to stand out even compared to countries such as Sweden. Daelmans (2005) reports on a survey of the language of annual reports, executive meetings, websites and internal communications of the 20 largest companies in five European countries. In France, Germany, Italy and even Sweden, the national language was always or almost always used (with the exception of executive meetings in Sweden, which used English about half the time). In the Netherlands, English was preferred about three quarters of the time for all communication types investigated.

It is worth noting that the use of English by Dutch workers is not restricted to international companies; rather, it seems to have become a fixture of working life for all. As noted in section 3.3.2, bilingual education is also being introduced in lower forms of secondary schooling given the importance of English in vocational occupations, such as trades and hospitality. ‘Think of a car mechanic, for example’, said Alexander Pechtold,

¹⁷ ‘Op het ING-hoofdkantoor in Amsterdam is de officiële bedrijfstaal Engels. In het hoofdbestuur zetelen een Amerikaan en twee Belgen. Slechts één van hen spreekt Nederlands, dus wordt er om pragmatische redenen in het Engels vergaderd. Maar zodra het om een lokale aangelegenheid gaat, is het Nederlands de voertaal in de mondelinge én schriftelijke communicatie. De meeste van onze werknemers zijn immers moedertaalsprekers. Enkel als de ontvanger geen Nederlands spreekt, wordt er op Engels overgeschakeld.’

leader of the D66 political party. ‘They have to study the manuals in English and also follow the latest developments in their field on the internet in English’¹⁸ (“Engels voor alle kleuters?,” 2010). The government indeed seems to be in favour of the Englishisation of the business sector, lending its support to initiatives such as the annual Big Improvement Day¹⁹ where high-ranking public officials and entrepreneurs share their visions – in English – on issues such as sustainability and leadership.

Job titles are often in English, ostensibly to make them accessible in an international work environment, but also because they apparently seem fashionable or prestigious (e.g. Ridder, 1995: 48). Zenner found that English job titles in vacancy advertisements in the magazine *Intermediair* rose from one in seven in 1989 to over half in 2008, especially in the areas of ICT and consultancy (in Verbeylen, 2013). Van Meurs (2010: 383) reported that 40% of the job ads in the *Volkskrant* newspaper and 88% of those on the Dutch job site Monsterboard.nl contained one or more words of English origin. English *job titles* were evaluated more negatively than their Dutch counterparts, but *jobs* with English titles were considered more international and prestigious and thought to have higher salaries (Van Meurs, 2010: 385).

Given the growing pervasiveness of English, concerns have occasionally been raised about the increasing neglect of other languages traditionally seen as important for Dutch business interests. In the late 1990s, Fenedex, the Dutch Export Federation, estimated that Dutch enterprises were missing out on 20 billion Dutch guilders (close to €10 billion) due to foreign-language deficiencies (Tuin & Westhoff, 1997: 22–23). Earlier still, a government-sponsored commission (the National Action Programme, NAP) emphasised the importance of German in particular: ‘in practice the need for German is almost as great as that for English, indeed, in a number of sectors it is even greater’ (Van Els et al. 1992: 20–21). The commission’s report was presented to the education minister with a view to developing educational policies in line with its findings. Given the education sector’s continued focus on English, however, the findings do not seem to have had much impact.

3.5.2 Advertising

The use of English in advertising is said to have ‘snob appeal’ (Booij, 2001); that is, to ‘convey an air of modernity and progress, to sell a lifestyle as well as a set of values and attitudes’ (Berns et al., 2007: 21). It is widely used in all forms of advertising in the

¹⁸ ‘Denk bijvoorbeeld aan een automonteur. Die moet de handleidingen in het Engels bestuderen en volgt de nieuwste ontwikkelingen in zijn vak op internet eveneens in het Engels.’

¹⁹ www.bigimprovementday.nl

Netherlands, from television and print advertising, to product packaging, commercial signage and business names and slogans.

Television and print advertising

Commercials in English are common on Dutch television. Not infrequently, they are not subtitled. Referring to Chevrolet's fully English-language advertisement on Dutch television in summer 2009, the sales director of the company's Dutch outfit asserted that 'subtitles spoil the image and the message would still come across to most people in the target group'²⁰ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2009a: 9). Gijsbers, Gerritsen, Korzilius and Meurs (1998) calculated that of the 128 commercials shown over a week on the public television channel Nederland 1, one third were either fully or partly in English. Interviews with advertising executives revealed that English is preferred because it is cheaper than paying for translation, it is associated with a young, cosmopolitan lifestyle, and not all words or expressions can easily be translated; *airbag*, for example, does not have a Dutch equivalent (Gijsbers et al., 1998: 176). Young people and those with higher education levels were found to be more positive about the use of English and better able to translate the English terms and slogans than others (Gerritsen, Gijsbers, Korzilius, & Van Meurs, 1999). In general, participants overestimated their comprehension of the English used. Around 80% reported that they understood it but less than 40% were able to correctly explain the meaning (Gerritsen, Gijsbers, Korzilius, & Van Meurs, 1999). More recent data on English in television commercials is lacking; it seems safe to assume, however, that it will continue to increase.

In print advertising, too, many advertisements are either fully or partly in English. A glance at any major newspaper reveals that large companies and other organisations not infrequently advertise fully in English. When complaints were made after DSM placed a full-page English advertisement in *De Telegraaf*, a spokesperson responded:

The reason to place our brand advertisement in English was to indicate that DSM wants to manifest itself more explicitly as a company that operates internationally. We received many positive responses to this. Incidentally, [...] we also received some responses from readers to place this advertisement in Dutch in the future. We have discussed this internally and [...] decided to heed this and to indeed place advertisements such as those in *De Telegraaf* in the Dutch language in future.²¹ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2011a: 9)

²⁰ 'ondertitels het beeld bedierven en [...] bij de meesten onder de doelgroep de boodschap wel zou aankomen'

²¹ 'De reden om onze merkadvertentie in het Engels te plaatsen was om aan te geven dat DSM zich nadrukkelijker wil manifesteren als een internationaal opererend bedrijf. Wij hebben hier veel positieve reacties op gekregen. Daarnaast hebben wij overigens ook [...] enkele reacties gekregen van lezers om deze advertentie in het vervolg in het Nederlands te plaatsen. Wij hebben dit intern besproken en hebben reeds begin maart

Gerritsen (1996) collected almost 650 advertisements from national newspapers and magazines in October 1994 and found that around 20% were fully or partly in English. She found that attitudes to the use of English were fairly neutral, but people under 25 were more positive and had better comprehension than those over 45. As with the research on television commercials above, the participants generally overestimated their comprehension. While 70% claimed to be able to translate the English, only 51% were able to do so accurately; *splashproof*, for example, was typically translated as *waterproof*. When this study was repeated a decade later, the use of English in magazine advertisements had risen fourfold to 81% (Gerritsen et al., 2007). Respondents showed greater comprehension than in the earlier study; 88% of Dutch respondents were able to comprehend the texts, compared to 84% of the German and only 49% of the Spanish participants. Interestingly, attitudes to the use of English were neither positive nor negative, suggesting that it may be viewed by consumers as a neutral advertising language. This is in line with Dasselaar et al. (2005), who studied company websites in Dutch and fully or partly in English, and found no difference in teenagers' attitudes towards the websites and the products they were promoting.

More recently still, Hornikx, Van Meurs and De Boer (2010) looked at attitudes towards car advertisements with English slogans pretested as easy or difficult to understand. Participants preferred the English slogans when they were easy to understand (e.g. 'A better idea') and had no preference when they were difficult to understand (e.g. 'Once driven, forever smitten'). In contrast, Westerburgen (2010) reported that if readers found the English in advertisements hard to understand they also had more negative attitudes towards it. Interestingly, the origin of a product also seems to influence attitudes towards the use of English: for example, English advertising for Levis was seen as more appropriate than for a cheese slicer, a typically 'Dutch' implement (Nortier, 2011: 119). It therefore seems that, while advertisers appear to be convinced of the superiority of English in advertising, there are nuances in the target groups and products for which it is best suited.

Product packaging, commercial signage, and business names and slogans

It is not uncommon in the Netherlands to come across product packaging with labelling in English. Food products are no exception, although the Commodities Act Decree (Warenwetbesluit) stipulates that edible products must be labelled in Dutch. A prominent example is Euro Shopper, the discount brand of the Dutch supermarket Albert Heijn, which is sold all over Europe (except in the UK). The main labels on its products are in English, with

besloten hier gehoor aan te geven en advertenties, zoals die in De Telegraaf, in het vervolg wel in de Nederlandse taal te plaatsen.'

translations in various languages – often but not always including Dutch – in smaller font at the bottom of the packaging. Citing linguistic discrimination, the Stichting Taalverdediging held demonstrations against this practice, claiming that Euro Shopper buyers are more likely to be older or from lower socioeconomic groups; precisely those groups that may struggle most to understand English or read the small font in Dutch (Venema, 2011). In 2012, Albert Heijn announced that once the old items had sold out, the Dutch label would take a more prominent place on the new items (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2012a: 9). It is not yet clear whether this new policy has been implemented.

Many companies in the Netherlands also use English slogans. International brands tend to keep their original slogans, e.g. *Welcome to the Coca Cola side of life*. But Dutch companies, too, often have English slogans. This includes globally operating companies – *Philips invents for you* – but also domestically operating ones, such as the public pop/rock station 3FM with its slogan *Serious Radio* (De Vogel, 2007: 5). Likewise, countless stores – not just British- or American-owned chains – have fully or partly English names. Several empirical studies have investigated commercial signage in the Dutch linguistic landscape. Almost two decades ago, Ridder (1995: 45) found that 80% of the shops in a main Rotterdam shopping area had a fully or partly English name: In de Linen Shop, Cosmo Hairstyling and so on. Bierma (2008) investigated a shopping street in a much smaller city, Franeker, and found that English was present on more than 20% of the signs. The shop owners cited the connotational attractiveness of English (‘It sounds better’, ‘cooler’) (Bierma, 2008: 35). In Edelman (2010), Dutch and English were the most common languages on signs in shopping areas in Amsterdam, but also in Friesland; in the latter, English thus outweighed the second official language, Fries.

The rationale behind the use of English product packaging, business names and slogans seems to be to give off an international or trendy image. For example, card-carrying clients of the upmarket department store De Bijenkorf are called *members*, receive a *Bijenkorf card*, and are urged to make use of the *presale* and *contact center*. The symbolic function of English is illustrated in the following quote from a store representative:

In all informative texts De Bijenkorf always uses Dutch. In inspirational texts, English is indeed also used. This is a deliberate choice by De Bijenkorf because it suits our target group. These customers are generally well educated, travel a lot, see a lot of the world and come

across different international department stores. ‘Tone of voice’ therefore fits with our target group and the style of De Bijenkorf.²² (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2011b: 9)

Various researchers have investigated whether English is indeed perceived as more international, prestigious or ‘hip’ in commercial advertising. De Vogel (2007) found Dutch slogans to be more positively rated than English slogans and better linked to the right company or product. However, participants generally considered English slogans to be more modern (De Vogel, 2007: 33). In Renkema, Vallen and Hoeken (2001: 111), English shop names were rated as more attractive, but not more exclusive, than Dutch names, and the choice of language did not influence participants’ judgements of the shop itself. This again may point to the growing ‘neutrality’ of English as an advertising language, as suggested in the previous section. On the basis of such findings, Nortier (2011: 120) concludes that English ‘has become “normal” and therefore is not suitable anymore for attention-seeking purposes in advertising’.

3.6 Public administration and governance

In general, the government seems to take a favourable stance towards English, particularly where it will enhance Dutch business interests and its prospects or image on the world stage. This section considers official language policy and legislation; the use of English in internal government communications, initiatives and bodies; and government communications abroad.

3.6.1 Language policy

Language policy in the Netherlands is the domain of the Dutch Language Union (NTU). Mandated by the governments of the Netherlands, Flanders and Suriname, the NTU is a common legal body aiming to promote the Dutch language and literature both at home and abroad, and to ensure that Dutch stays vital for use in the home, at school and in the workplace (Dutch Language Union, 2013: 5). In the rare cases that language policy appears in the agendas of Dutch political parties, this typically concerns the question whether immigrants should be required to learn Dutch, or whether the position of Dutch should be expressly anchored in the Dutch Constitution. Although it is the language of the government, parliament and the courts, this is not officially indicated in the Constitution. Over the years the Christian parties in particular have pushed to make this explicit. In September 2008 the then interior minister Guusje ter Horst stated ‘If you incorporate Dutch into the Constitution,

²² *‘De Bijenkorf gebruikt in alle informatieve teksten altijd Nederlands. In inspiratieve teksten wordt ook wel Engels gebruikt. Dit is een bewuste keuze van de Bijenkorf omdat dit aansluit bij onze doelgroep. Deze klanten zijn over het algemeen hoog opgeleid, reizen veel, zien veel van de wereld en komen bij andere internationale warenhuizen. ‘Tone of voice’ past dus bij onze doelgroep en stijl van De Bijenkorf.’*

you protect the language. Then you ensure that Dutch will not be replaced by a different language, such as English'²³ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2008a: 3). However, these attempts have so far failed to garner the required two-thirds majority, despite their non-binding tone (e.g. 'The Dutch government promotes the use of the Dutch language', Van Oostendorp, 2012a: 256).

3.6.2 Internal government communications

Individual politicians do not seem to shy away from using English. The prime minister Mark Rutte was criticised by the Stichting Nederlands²⁴ for his frequent use of English words in Dutch. When a Dutch reporter asked if he had seen this criticism, Rutte replied 'I've seen it' (in English); '*Maar het is lastig hoor. Minder Engels ... dat is een tall order*' ('But it's difficult. Less English ... that's a tall order') ('Minder Engels is voor Rutte 'tall order','' 2011).²⁵ Even the far-right, anti-immigrant politician Geert Wilders seems unable to do without English; of the government's response to the financial crisis, he alleged '*Het is too little en het is too late*' ('It's too little and it's too late') (Wilders, 2013). It is not unusual for parliament members to give entire speeches in English even within the Netherlands; the former Labour Party (PvdA) leader Wouter Bos, for example, was particularly known for doing so.

In written government communications, too, English is a frequent fixture. The website of the Dutch government²⁶ is available in both Dutch and English, as are a large number of official forms. Strikingly, many official reports are available in English only: Bos issued a report on the future of the welfare state entitled 'Lessons from the Nordics' in 2006; the Province of Utrecht commissioned a report on citizen engagement called 'Local and regional level participation' in 2009; and the Ministry for Economic Affairs launched a sustainability initiative called 'Green Deals' in 2011. Recently, the government identified nine 'top sectors' to be pursued. The official list, as Van Oostendorp (2012b) notes, is a 'strange jumble of Dutch and English'²⁷: *Agrofood, Creatieve Industrie, Energie, Tuinbouw en Uitgangsmaterialen, Life Sciences and Health, Water, High Tech, Logistiek and Chemie*.

²³ '*Als je het Nederlands opneemt in de Grondwet, dan bescherm je deze taal. Dan zorg je ervoor dat het niet meer zo kan zijn dat het Nederlands vervangen wordt door een andere taal, zoals bijvoorbeeld het Engels.*'

²⁴ Dutch Language Foundation, www.stichtingnederlands.nl

²⁵ When the US president Barack Obama visited the Netherlands in March 2014, Rutte held a joint press conference with him in Amsterdam's Rijksmuseum. Interestingly, this time around Rutte was criticised not for using English instead of Dutch, but for his perceived less than native-like pronunciation of English (Edwards, 2014b).

²⁶ www.overheid.nl

²⁷ '*merkwaardig allegaartje van Nederlands en Engels*'

Informational and promotional campaigns at the national and provincial level are peppered with English. One of the most visible is the ‘I Amsterdam’ campaign, with the English word ‘I’. In 2009 the D66 politician Jan Paternotte proposed to implement English as the city’s official second language (Van de Crommert, 2009). Promotional material has since taken to referring to Amsterdam as ‘the largest Anglophone city in continental Europe’ (Jansen, 2011). The former transport minister Karla Peijs launched the ‘I love’ campaign, with slogans such as *I love goed verkeersgedrag* (‘I love good traffic behaviour’). In The Hague and Delft, public transport cards are officially called ‘citycards’. Eindhoven has dubbed itself the City of Light, while Groningen has declared itself the City of Talent, organises an annual Healthy Ageing Week and has installed a Groningen City Club, complete with ‘city stewards’²⁸. For ‘Brabant Day’ in 2010, the provincial authorities disseminated an invitation aimed at regional guests in English only (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2010a: 6). In the same year, the government released a public safety informational film in English. According to a government spokesperson, the reasoning was as follows:

An English(-speaking) actor was chosen because he comes across more credibly as an authoritative expert. Because the Netherlands is a country with little tradition and/or knowledge of survival techniques, it is unlikely you will find a real expert in the Netherlands. ... The advantage of a foreigner is also that he is further away from you and you are more likely to think: what a klutz; in the Netherlands we solve that more intelligently.²⁹ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2010b: 5)

The first part of the argument for using English – a foreign actor is more authoritative – seems to be contradicted by the second – a foreigner is easier to poke fun at. This is just one example of somewhat unclear reasoning for the use of English. Often it is ostensibly for the benefit of tourists and foreigners; however, at times English seems to be preferred not out of necessity, but rather because it is seen as cosmopolitan or ‘hip’. For example, the uniforms of members of the Royal Marechaussee, responsible for civil and military policing, are often branded *POLICE* (Figure 3.2). It seems unlikely that tourists, confronted with an armed and uniformed officer, would genuinely have trouble deciphering the Dutch *POLITIE*.

²⁸ Chronically unemployed people who work in the inner city selling maps, providing assistance to less mobile people and supporting organisers during city events (www.groningencyclub.nl).

²⁹ ‘*Er is gekozen voor een Engels(talig)e acteur omdat hij geloofwaardiger overkomt als een zogenaamde expert met autoriteit. Omdat Nederland een land is met nauwelijks een traditie en/of kennis over overlevingstechnieken, is het niet aannemelijk dat je in Nederland een echte expert vindt. De soort persoon waar we de hoofdrolspeler aan spiegelden zijn mensen zoals Bear Grills (nu te zien op Discovery Channel), Steve Irwin en Crocodile Dundee. Het voordeel van een buitenlander daarbij is ook dat hij verder van je af staat en je eerder denkt: wat een kluns; in Nederland lossen we dat slimmer op.*’

The police force also uses English terms for some job titles (e.g. chief information officer) and department names (e.g. Integrity and Security). After a complaint about the English name of the High Tech Crime Unit on the grounds of the General Administrative Law Act (Algemene Wet Bestuursrecht, AWB), which stipulates that the government must function in Dutch, the then interior minister Guusje ter Horst pointed out that another language can be used if this is deemed to be more appropriate and does not harm the interests of third parties³⁰ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2008b: 3). Various police actions and initiatives also have English names. For example, an Amsterdam campaign warning people to be wary of thieves on scooters when using their mobile phones was called ‘Use it – Lose it’ (Figure 3.3). Another police action, targeting bag-snatchers in a ring of Amsterdam neighbourhoods, went by the name ‘Lord of the Ring’. Police attract prospective recruits in the Roze Zaterdag parade (the Dutch version of the gay pride parade) under the banner ‘Never be afraid to be different, join us’ (Figure 3.4). Further, a police website for reporting instances of verbal and physical abuse goes by the name Hate Crimes.³¹ According to the project founder Jan Snijder, ‘This name ... seemed to be the most appealing. Young people often use the English language; in addition, the project will be offered to tourists in English’³² (Schrauwens, 2008: 5).

In the defence forces, too, English has a prominent place. In 2010, it was reported that English would henceforth be the language of major Dutch military operations (Klopper, 2010). Various army units have English names (e.g. Joint Intelligence, Surveillance, Target Acquisition and Reconnaissance Commando, or JISTARC), as does the Netherlands Maritime Force. Dutch air force planes had English lettering on their sides until the words *Koninklijke Luchtmacht* were restored, apparently after complaints by the Stichting Taalverdediging (Grezel, 2007: 53).

³⁰ AWB Artikel 2:6

1. Bestuursorganen en onder hun verantwoordelijkheid werkzame personen gebruiken de Nederlandse taal, tenzij bij wettelijk voorschrift anders is bepaald.

2. In afwijking van het eerste lid kan een andere taal worden gebruikt indien het gebruik daarvan doelmatiger is en de belangen van derden daardoor niet onevenredig worden geschaad.

³¹ www.hatecrimes.nl

³² ‘Deze naam bleek ons [...] het meest aan te spreken. Veelal jonge mensen gebruiken de Engelse taal; daarnaast zal het project ook engelstalig worden aangeboden aan toeristen.’



Figure 3.2: POLICE on jackets of the Royal Marechaussee

Source: www.dvhn.nl/nieuws/groningen/article10319993.ece/Duitsers-bij-Stadskanaal-aangehouden-voor-witwassen



Figure 3.3: 'Use it – Lose it' police campaign, Amsterdam

Source: www.amsterdam.nl/@524807/pagina/



Figure 3.4: Police float in Roze Zaterdag parade, Zwolle

Source: Stichting Nederlands, 2006: 3

In 2008 the right-wing PVV party agitated for a law permitting only Dutch to be used in government spaces, such as city councils and chambers of commerce. The interior minister Guusje ter Horst rejected the proposal as unnecessary (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2008c: 3). Particularly in public spaces considered ‘international’, such as airports and museums, English is rife. Schiphol Airport in Amsterdam is a case in point. In an effort to minimise and streamline its signage, over the last decade the airport seems to have been gradually phasing Dutch out. As the airport is considered state property, questions have been raised about this in parliament. Bas van der Vlies (SGP) pointed out that ‘The Netherlands is one of very few countries whose own language cannot be found on all signs’³³ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2008b: 2). The CDA politicians Maarten Haverkamp and Jan Schinkelshoek called for steps to be taken to prevent the ‘abolition’ of Dutch from Schiphol airport (“Borden Schiphol ook in Nederlands,” 2007). The government responded that as a shareholder it could not force the Schiphol Group to change its signs, and expressed support for the international character of the airport (Schrauwers, 2007: 4). Later, it was reported that Schiphol had started airing fully English-language television commercials (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2009a: 7).

Museums are another case in point. Amsterdam’s Beurs van Berlage hosted an exhibition called ‘The Complete Rembrandt’, a title that in Dutch would read ‘*De Complete Rembrandt*’. Recalling the dubious reasoning behind the use of *POLICE* above, the Stichting Nederlands (2009: 6) remarked ‘Yes, those poor tourists would have been thoroughly confused by the word *the [de]*’³⁴. Exhibitions frequently have English titles; some recent examples from Amsterdam’s Stedelijk Museum include Touch & Tweet!, Eyes Wide Open and Snap Judgments. English is not restricted to exhibition titles, however; according to a report of the museum’s recent reopening,

[t]he American director, Ann Goldstein, gave a speech in English, the Dutch National Youth Choir sang a song in English, the Queen unveiled an English-language canvas. The first exhibition, Beyond Imagination, has also been launched, the museum website is infested with English and the museum is currently broadcasting commercials with English text with Dutch subtitles! If you didn’t know better, you would think this museum was in England. In fact the museum announced earlier, in December 2010, that the language of the museum would be English, or rather American.³⁵ (Marteijn, 2012: 11)

³³ ‘Nederland is een van de zeer weinige landen waar de eigen taal niet op alle borden te vinden is’

³⁴ ‘Ja, die arme toeristen zouden toch danig in de war raken van dat woordje “de”.’

³⁵ ‘Op 22 september jl. heropende koningin Beatrix in Amsterdam het vernieuwde Stedelijk Museum. Daarbij hield de Amerikaanse directrice, Ann Goldstein [who had previously advertised in various national newspapers for a personal assistant who was a native speaker of american english – AE], een toespraak in het Engels, zong het Nederlandse Nationaal Jeugdchoor een lied in het Engels, onthulde de koningin een Engelstalig doek. Verder

The presence of English is by no means restricted to the capital. Industrial parks and health complexes sport English-only names, such as the Hansa Oncology Clinic on the Health Campus Boxmeer ('We care'), Orbis Medical Park Geleen and the Teddy Bear Hospital in Groningen, to name just a few. The route around the province of Drenthe that follows the megalithic tombs, or *hunebedden*, is called the Hunebed Highway. The former Trefpunt at Utrecht central station has been renamed 'Meeting Point', public bike stalls in Eindhoven go by the name 'Lock 'n Go' and signs on the Koningin Astridboulevard in Noordwijk read 'Participant non-stop neighbourhood security surveillance' (Schrauwers, 2006: 4). In short, English is highly visible in taxpayer-funded public spaces in the Netherlands.

3.6.3 Government communications abroad

Outside the Netherlands, Dutch government representatives regularly use English as a *lingua franca*. Dutch delegates, like their peers from other small European countries, typically use English in their addresses to the European institutions. In 1997 the government of Flanders announced that Flemish civil servants would henceforth use Dutch during official meetings of the European Union. In his response, the former prime minister of the Netherlands Wim Kok stated that the Dutch government placed great value on the Dutch language, but notably refrained from making any concrete statements about the language Dutch representatives in Brussels should use (Van Oostendorp, 1997). Those delegates who do make a point of speaking in Dutch are considered newsworthy; for instance, the European parliamentarian Maartje van Putten was quoted as saying 'When I use a different language [other than Dutch], forced by the circumstances, I say first to my interlocutor that this goes against my conviction. I did that with the Dalai Lama for example'³⁶ (Heijmans, 1995).

Representatives of the Dutch state abroad sometimes even use English in communication with compatriots, at the expense of Dutch. The Stichting Taalverdediging laments that the staff of the Dutch embassy in Beijing speak only Chinese and English (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2012a: 8), and that the newsletter of the Dutch diplomatic office in Moscow is issued in Russian and English but not Dutch (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2011c: 12). Queen Beatrix consistently held her speeches during official state visits in English, apparently disregarding the usual protocol of speaking in the mother tongue and providing a

is de eerste tentoonstelling Beyond Imagination gedoopt, is de webstek van het museum vergeven van het Engels en zendt het museum momenteel reclamespotjes met Engelse tekst met Nederlandse ondertiteling uit! Als je niet beter wist, zou je toch denken dat dit museum in Engeland stond. Het museum heeft in feite al eerder, in december 2010, aangekondigd dat de voertaal van het museum Engels of liever gezegd Amerikaans zou worden. [...]

³⁶ 'Als ik een andere taal gebruik, gedwongen door de omstandigheden, dan zeg ik eerst tegen mijn gesprekspartner dat dat tegen mijn overtuiging is. Dat heb ik bijvoorbeeld bij de Dalai Lama gedaan.'

written translation in the language of the other party. Reportedly, she did this both when visiting other countries and when receiving foreign dignitaries in the Netherlands. For example, when the Brazilian president Lula da Silva visited the Netherlands in April 2008 she gave her speech in English, despite the fact that he does not speak English (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2008d: 2). Whether King Willem-Alexander, who succeeded her in April 2013, will follow in her footsteps in this regard remains to be seen.

3.7 Media

3.7.1 TV and film

Television and film are major sources of contact with English, as the Netherlands – like the Scandinavian countries – follows the practice of subtitling rather than dubbing. Basic television packages typically include public channels run by the Nederlandse Publieke Omroep (NPO), commercial Dutch channels, and European and US channels such as BBC, CNN and MTV. Bonnet (2002) reported that ‘a surprising more than 30% [of Dutch viewers] indicate to watch BBC programs that are typically not subtitled’. Official viewing figures, however, show that English-language channels capture only small market shares; e.g. Nickelodeon 1.8%, Discovery Channel 1.6%, Comedy Central 1.4%, MTV 0.7% (Stichting KijkOnderzoek, 2012: 20; figures were not available for BBC or CNN). The NPO holds the largest market share of all broadcasters, at 34.5% (Stichting KijkOnderzoek, 2012: 20). It also airs more programmes in Dutch than do the commercial broadcasters. Given recent budget cuts, however, it is unclear whether the NPO will be able to maintain its current level of Dutch programming, as it is cheaper to buy shows from abroad than to produce them (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2012a: 1).

Informal counts have suggested that 40% to 60% of the programmes shown on Dutch channels are in English (Berns et al., 2007: 33). To corroborate this, I gathered data on television programmes shown over one week in August 2013. As Table 3.1 shows, a total of 434 programmes were broadcast on the 10 main channels. Approximately 42% had Dutch titles, 51% English titles and the remaining 7% a combination of Dutch and English. In comparable data from 1993, approximately 28% of programmes had an English title (Ridder, 1995: 44); in other words, this figure has almost doubled over the past two decades. Looking at the public and commercial channels separately, almost three quarters of NPO programmes have Dutch titles, while English titles predominate on the commercial channels.

Table 3.1: Language of television programme titles on 10 main channels

Language	NPO		Commercial		Total	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Dutch	109	73.2	73	25.6	182	41.9
English	34	22.8	188	66.0	222	51.2
Dutch + English	6	4.0	24	8.4	30	6.9
Total	149	100.0	285	100.0	434	100.0

Source: www.tvgids.nl, 19–25 August 2013. Data are from the 10 channels aired by the three largest broadcasters, NPO, RTL Nederland and SBS, which account for over 70% of the entire market share (other channels receive no more than a few percent each). In line with Ridder (1995), only programmes shown after 6pm are included, and news and weather programmes are excluded, namely NOS Journaal, NOS Sportjournaal, NOS Jeugdjournaal, NOS op 3, RTL Nieuws, RTL Weer, Shownieuws, Piets Weerbericht, Hart van Nederland and Editie NL.

Zooming in on the 222 programmes with English-only names, Table 3.2 shows that US productions predominate, followed by Dutch programmes with English names, then British and Australian productions. Interestingly, the US total – just over 70% – is lower than the approximately 88% from Ridder’s early data, and the Dutch proportion – almost 15% – is much higher than the 3% found by Ridder (1995: 44). These results suggest that more Dutch programmes are now being made and watched, but with English names. This may be partly attributable to the proliferation of franchised series such as *Idols*, *Next Top Model* and *So You Think You Can Dance*, which retain their original names but are produced in localised Dutch versions. This is corroborated by official viewing figures from the Stichting KijkOnderzoek, which show that while the top ten most watched shows in 2012 were all Dutch, seven had English names (e.g. *Voice of Holland*).³⁷

Table 3.2: Country of origin of television programmes with English titles

Country	No.	%
US	156	70.3
Netherlands	33	14.9
UK	13	5.9
Australia	12	5.4
other*	8	3.6
Total	222	100.0

* Canada=1, Denmark=5, Thailand=2

³⁷ Source: www.kijkonderzoek.nl/component/Itemid,45?option=com_kijkcijfers/file.n1-0-1-p. The reported figures exclude sports programmes and refer to single shows/episodes.

The practice of subtitling foreign programmes naturally leads to a great deal of English input for viewers. In 2012 Dutch people watched on average three and a quarter hours of television per day, up from two hours in 1990 (Stichting KijkOnderzoek, 2012: 7). Of the total amount of television watched per day, Enever (2011: 118) speculated that about half was likely to be in English, while Bonnet (2002: 47) and Verspoor, De Bot and Van Rein (2011: 150) came up with a figure of at least one hour of English television per day. Enever (2011: 118) also reported that Dutch children have some of the highest levels of exposure to English-language television of all European children. As research has shown that Dutch viewers process both text and sound when watching subtitled television (e.g. Verspoor, De Bot, & Xu, 2011), this no doubt serves to facilitate the acquisition of English. Indeed, one of the reasons cited for Dutch viewers' preference for subtitling over dubbing is to maintain or improve their language skills (Bonnet, 2002: 47).

Interestingly, while Dutch speakers from Flanders and even Limburg are sometimes subtitled, subtitles for English speakers are occasionally lacking all together. This is most common in commercials, as noted in section 3.5.2. However, it also occurs on regular shows, such as when a news or sports programme shows clips of foreigners speaking, or when an English-speaking guest is interviewed on a live show. Another notable example is the programme *So You Think You Can Dance*, which includes an American panellist, whom the (mostly young) audience are apparently expected to understand and, in the case of contestants, respond to (see further Dybalska, 2010: 15–16 for the use of English on Dutch reality shows).

Cinema is another area in which Dutch viewers are exposed to English. As with television, foreign films are shown in the original language with Dutch subtitles. Using data collected for the this thesis, Table 3.3 shows the languages of the titles of all films being screened at cinemas across the Netherlands for a week in August 2013. Of the 222 films, 62% had an English title and only 17% a Dutch title. Compare this latter figure to the 75% of Dutch film titles in 1962 and less than 10% in 1987 (Ridder, 1995: 44). It seems that cinemas were dominated by Dutch productions in the early 1960s, but overtaken by English films by the late 1980s. The latest figure suggests a small recovery, which may be attributable to greater funding for Dutch productions or to an increase in children's films, which tend to be dubbed and given Dutch titles. Other languages accounted for almost 21% of film titles in 2012, the main ones being French (8%) and Italian (5%).

Table 3.3: Titles of films screened in the Netherlands, 19–25 August 2013

Film title	No.	%
Dutch	39	17.2
English	141	62.1
other*	47	20.7
Total	222	100.0

* Danish, French, German, Hebrew, Indonesian, Italian, Japanese, Kurdish, Portuguese, Spanish or Swedish, or a combination of one of these languages + English

Source: www.filmladder.nl, 19–25 August 2013

Table 3.4 shows that, of the top 20 films in the Netherlands for the year 2012, half were US productions (e.g. *Hobbit*, *Skyfall*), 40% were Dutch (e.g. *Alles is Familie*, *De Marathon*) and 10% were French (*Intouchables*, *Amour*). This does not present as dire a picture for Dutch filmmakers as is often suggested. Since Dutch-language productions account for far less than 40% of the total films screened in the Netherlands, this suggests that Dutch productions are disproportionately popular.

Table 3.4: Country of origin of top 20 films screened in the Netherlands in 2012

Country	No.	%
US	10	50
Netherlands	8	40
France	2	10
Total	20	100

Source: www.biosagenda.nl/films

3.7.2 Music and radio

Music and radio provide another important source of English input. As with television, there are both public and commercial radio operators, with fairly even market shares (Ward, 2004: 132). Even on the public stations a great deal of English can be heard, and not just in music and advertising. On a random day in August 2013, Radio 1 and Radio 2 aired programmes with English titles such as *BNN Today*, *Plots*, *For the Record*, *Music Matters* and *The Best of 2Night*. The programmes themselves are, of course, predominantly in Dutch; but even on Radio 1 news and talk shows, English fragments such as quotes regularly go untranslated. According to Nettie Kosterman from the public broadcaster NOS,

We are in favour of enlivening the news on the radio. And this includes, wherever possible, letting the main players themselves be heard, instead of having everything read out in translation by the newsreader or presenter.³⁸ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2010a: 15)

Like the public television channels, public radio has suffered heavy cutbacks in recent years. Radio Nederland Wereldomroep was a well-known public station that produced programmes for audiences outside the Netherlands, including Dutch expats. After the government drastically reduced its budget in 2012 it was forced to abandon its Dutch language broadcasts (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2012b: 2). It is now marketed under the name Radio Netherlands Worldwide, and its website appears in English, French, Spanish, Arabic and Chinese, but not Dutch.³⁹

With regard to music, in June 2011 parliament passed a motion stipulating that 35% of music played on Radio 2 (the main public pop channel) must be in Dutch. However, broadcasters were opposed to any such restriction and the then minister for Education, Culture and Science, Marja van Bijsterveldt, ultimately rejected the measure (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2011d: 5). With no such restriction in place, even on the public stations about 85% of the music played is reportedly in English (Dutch Language Union, 2010). By and large, this does not seem to faze listeners: only three in ten Dutch people agree with the statement ‘More Dutch language music should be played on the radio’ (Dutch Language Union, 2010). Bonnet (2002) reported that Dutch school pupils spend some three hours per day listening to English music. More than 40% of pupils also indicated that the lyrics are important to them, suggesting that ‘they actually listen to them and try to understand’ (Bonnet, 2002: 140).

For the present analysis, I collected data on the top 40 music singles charts for one week in August in 2013 and in 2001 for both the Netherlands and the USA.⁴⁰ In 2001, 7 of the top 40 hits in the USA were also in the Dutch top 40. Twelve years later, this figure was approximately the same (n=8). Looking at the data for the Dutch charts only, Table 3.5 shows the language of song titles and the country of origin of artists/bands in the top 40. The limited dataset notwithstanding, Dutch songs and artists seem to be on the increase: In the 2001 data, 90% of the top 40 hits had English titles, and none were in Dutch. In comparison, in 2013 the proportion of English titles dropped to 75% and the Dutch titles rose to 20%. Similarly, the

³⁸ *‘Wij zijn voorstander van het verlevendigen van nieuws op de radio. En daarbij hoort dat wij waar mogelijk de hoofdrolspelers zelf laten horen, inplaats van alles door de nieuwslezer of presentator te laten voorlezen in vertaling.’*

³⁹ www.rnw.nl

⁴⁰ Source: www.top40-charts.com. The records for the Netherlands from this source only go back as far as 2001.

figures for the countries of origin reveal almost twice as many Dutch artists in the top 40 in 2013 compared to 12 years earlier (40% in 2013, cf. 23% in 2001). One reason for this increase may be that new media such as YouTube and SoundCloud make it easier for local artists to disseminate their work without the need for backing from major (typically foreign) labels.

Table 3.5: Language of song titles and origin of artists in Dutch top 40 charts

Song title	2001		2013	
	No.	%	No.	%
Dutch	0	0	8	20
English	36	90	30	75
other	4*	10	2 [†]	5
Total	40	100	40	100
Origin of artist/band				
Dutch	9	23	16	40
US	17	43	11	28
UK	7	18	6	15
other	7 [‡]	18	7 [§]	18
Total	40	100	40	100

* Italian=2, Spanish=2

[†] French=1, German=1

[‡] Belgium=1, Denmark=1, France=3, Germany=1, Sweden=1

[§] Austria=1, Belgium=1, France=1, Russia=1, Suriname=1, Sweden=1, Switzerland=1

Source: www.top40-charts.com, 13–19 August 2001 cf. 10–16 August 2013

As the mismatch in the proportion of Dutch artists (40%) and that of Dutch song titles (20%) in Table 3.5 suggests, Dutch artists regularly sing in English. Notable examples include the band Shocking Blue from The Hague, which topped charts around the world in 1970 with its hit *Venus*, and Rob Hoeke's Rhythm & Blues Group from the late 1960s. The rock singer Anouk and Ilse de Lange, a country singer who has enjoyed moderate success in the US, have both been performing in English since the 1990s. A recent example is the indie rock band Go Back to the Zoo, whose single *Beam Me Up* was used in the promotional video for the American television series *Californication* in 2011. And there are countless more, giving rise to the question of *why* Dutch artists prefer to sing in English. The obvious answer is to reach a wider audience. In a survey by the Dutch Language Union (2010: 5), eight in ten respondents identify this as a major contributing factor. As the Flemish singer Barbara Dex was quoted as saying, '[...] you'll never score a world hit with our crazy language'⁴¹ (Dutch

⁴¹ '[...] een wereldhit scoor je nooit met onze gekke taal.'

Language Union, 2010: 5). Fifty percent said singing in English is easier, and almost 60% agreed that Dutch does not sound good for some music genres. Not unexpectedly, young people were more positive about English lyrics than older ones (Dutch Language Union, 2010: 5).

Of course, some Dutch artists do sing in Dutch, as evidenced in the ‘Neder-pop’ and ‘Neder-rock’ movements (the former term was popularised around the 1970s). IJsblok from Osdorp Posse, one of the first groups to make rap music in Dutch from the late 1980s, explained ‘I can express myself better in my own language; the puns are clearer’⁴² (Heijmans, 1995). Others feel more connected to their audience when they sing in Dutch. According to Bas Kennis from the rock band Bløf, ‘Dutch people who don’t like Dutch music, I think there’s also an element of shame in that ... That directness of the language, they can’t handle it. With English they can take it a bit easier’⁴³. His bandmate Peter Slager says, ‘I still think there’s a sort of inferiority complex about Dutch as a pop language’⁴⁴ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2012b: 12). Such artists have criticised the practice in Dutch record stores of having a separate section labelled ‘Dutch language’, while English-language artists are categorised into the appropriate genres. As Tomas Van Uffelen from the group Andes asks, ‘What do we as a pop group have to do with [the singer] Laura Lynn? And since when is “Dutch language” a music genre?’⁴⁵ (Dutch Language Union, 2010: 5).

Many artists also code-switch within songs. An analysis of this practice illustrates the changing status of different languages in Dutch society over time. Around the 17th century, Dutch singers tended to use Latin, French or Italian. Reinsma (2009: 127) notes that while French used to feature in songs by Dutch artists as the language of love and eroticism, it later lost ground to English. Still, by the mid-20th century English was not yet widely known. Following World War II emigration became a topical theme, and Hetty Blok and Joop Vischer Jr. released a song called ‘Wil joe hef a kup of tie’ (‘Will you have a cup of tea’, in a strong Dutch accent) about a Dutch couple practising their English as they waited to leave the country:

Dan zeg ik: ‘William, ik zit te puffen van de hiet’.

⁴² *‘Ik kan me lekkerder uitdrukken in mijn eigen taal, de woordgrapjes zijn duidelijker.’*

⁴³ *‘Nederlanders die Nederlandse muziek niet leuk vinden, daar zit volgens mij ook een element van schaamte in ... Dat directe van die taal, dat kunnen ze niet handelen. Bij het Engels kunnen ze wat meer achterover gaan liggen.’*

⁴⁴ *‘Ik denk nog steeds dat er een soort van minderwaardigheidscomplex is over het Nederlands als pop-taal.’*

⁴⁵ *‘Wat hebben wij als popgroep met Laura Lynn te maken? En sinds wanneer is Nederlandstalig een muziekgenre?’*

Dan zeg ik: ‘Hef je sometsing voor me om toe iet?’⁴⁶ (Reinsma, 2009: 128)

As of the 1960s the Netherlands was flooded with popular music and culture from the US and UK. The two examples below illustrate the type of codeswitching that is now common in contemporary youth culture. The first extract, by De Jeugd van Tegenwoordig, is from a 2005 song called *Watskeburt*, a contraction of the Dutch sentence ‘*Wat is er gebeurd?*’ (used in the sense of ‘*Wassup?*’). It is a good example of the symbolic use of English words such as *motherfucking* and *for shizzle* to mark membership of hip-hop culture. Among other things, it also creatively assigns a double meaning to the word ‘*spacen*’, as an appropriation of ‘space out’ as well as to mean ‘outer space’ followed by a reference to *Star Trek* (whose adherents are clearly marked as *not* part of the present in-group).

[...] *ik drink tot de motherfucking fles leeg is*

Heb pas doekoe als ik bierflesjes inwizzel

Dan ben ik pas stang, yo uh, for shizzle

Je lacht maar ik maak hier geen motherfucking grappen

Pus uit m’n pik je kan een lauw biertje tappen

Staan te spacen, maar ik ben niet van Star Trek

Ook geen bustabust maar ik breek wel je nek

In the next extract, from the song ‘*Ik heb je gewist*’ (‘I deleted you’) by the girl group *Kus*, English words are used in reference to mobile technology and provide an extra creative resource to facilitate rhymes (e.g. *ge-erased* with *geweest*). English loanwords are also given the morphology of Dutch past participles (e.g. *geremoved*):

Ik heb je nummer gedelete

Ik heb je genaam ge-erased

Ik heb je foto geremoved

*wat tussen ons was is geweest.*⁴⁷

In section 3.8.2 we consider such examples of bilingual creativity in more detail, addressing the use of English as a resource for identity construction and signalling group membership.

3.7.3 Computers and the internet

Yet another major source of English input in the Netherlands is computers and the internet, especially among young people. Van der Horst (2012: 180) notes that the vast majority of Dutch computer users were online within a year of broadband internet becoming available.

⁴⁶ ‘Then I say: “William, I’m puffing from the heat”.
Then I say: “Do you have something for me to eat?”’

⁴⁷ ‘I deleted your number
I erased your name
I removed your photo
What was between us is over.’

However, a great deal of software and instructional/help documentation, not to mention countless websites, are simply not available in Dutch. In a survey asking respondents whether they struggled with computer software available only in English, 38% answered yes, 27% no, and 29% sometimes yes/sometimes no (6% did not respond) (Dutch Language Union, 2010: 4). Asked whether they found it difficult when websites contain only English text, 55% of respondents agreed, 30% disagreed and 15% were neutral. Respondents from Flanders found this to be more problematic than those from the Netherlands. There was also a clear age effect: respondents under the age of 25 had much less difficulty with English websites than those over 50 (Dutch Language Union, 2010: 4). This ties in with findings on the extensive exposure Dutch youth nowadays have to English. Compared to children in other European countries, Dutch (along with Swedish) children use the internet in English for the largest range of purposes, including online games, YouTube and Facebook (Enever, 2011: 6). Moreover, Dutch high school students report using English more than Dutch with newer technologies such as DVDs, mp3s and computer games (Piketh, 2006: 60). Over time, it seems likely this will contribute ever further to the entrenchment of English in Dutch society.

3.7.4 Print media

Newspapers and magazines

English-language newspapers and magazines are readily available even in smaller towns throughout the Netherlands. In addition, English regularly appears in Dutch publications. An increasing number of publications are switching to partly or fully English titles; for example, the magazine *Grasduinen* has been renamed *Roots*, *Psychologie* is now *Aware Psychologie* and *Milieu Defensie Magazine* has become *Down to Earth*. The NRC newspaper has launched a morning edition called *NRC Next* and an online service called *NRC txt*. Furthermore, English quotes and passages in Dutch newspapers not infrequently go untranslated, as Ridder (1995: 45) highlighted almost two decades ago. Following the birth in July 2013 of the son of William and Kate, the Duke and Duchess of Cambridge, the front-page headline of the *Volkskrant* read ‘It’s a boy’.

This practice is especially predominant online. Figure 3.5 shows a typical screenshot from the *NRC Handelsblad*: a film of Barack Obama being interviewed by NBC about the escalating situation in Syria in September 2013 is followed by numerous lengthy and untranslated excerpts from the interview. Another notable example from the *NRC* is its ‘Longreads’ section, which links readers to articles from other news providers that are

frequently in English.⁴⁸ Figure 3.6 shows a screenshot of four ‘longreads’ posted in July 2013, all of them linking to English articles in publications such as the *San Francisco Chronicle* and *The Atlantic*.

Figure 3.7 zooms in on the ‘longread’ for 15 July 2013 from *The Atlantic*. The box in the top right-hand corner indicates that the article is just over 4000 words in length, which the editors estimate should take the average NRC reader approximately 18 minutes to read. The brief descriptions are in Dutch and, interestingly, make no mention of the fact that the articles themselves, which readers are expected to link through to, are in English.

Over het voorstel van Rusland:

"Well, I think you have to take it with a grain of salt initially. But between the statements that we saw from the Russians– the statement today from the Syrians– this represents a potentially positive development. We are going to run this to ground. John Kerry will be talking to his Russian counterpart. We’re going to make sure that we see how serious these proposals are."

Verder opvallend: Over de schaal van een mogelijke aanval:

"The U.S. does not do pinpricks. Our military is the greatest the world has ever known. And when we take even limited strikes, it has an impact on a country like Syria. But does not have-- a tremendous military capability. They have a tremendous military capability relative to civilians."

Figure 3.5: Untranslated English quotes on the NRC website
(Huiskamp, 2013)

⁴⁸ www.nrc.nl/longreads

28
juli

Het eerste uur na de crash van een Boeing

3.279 woorden



Drie weken geleden crashte er een Boeing 777 van de Zuid-Koreaanse luchtvaartmaatschappij Asiana Airlines op de luchthaven van San Francisco. In een uitgebreide reconstructie beschrijft de *San Francisco Chronicle* wat er in het eerste uur na zo'n crash gebeurt. [LEES VERDER](#)

15
juli

Ook na je 35ste is er geen reden tot babypaniekvoetbal

4.008 woorden



Het is een herkenbaar probleem voor vrouwen die kinderen willen: rond je 35ste slaat ineens de angst toe over je vruchtbaarheid. Vrouwenbladen staan vol met paniekerige verhalen over dat je te laat bent, dat de kans om zwanger te worden bijna nihil wordt en dat je dus moet opschieten. Maar hoeveel tijd heb je echt? [LEES VERDER](#)

13
juli

Tevergeefs op zoek naar de liefde in Odessa

2.551 woorden



Eenzaam en op zoek naar de liefde? En via een chatsite waar je flink voor moet betalen in gesprek geraakt met een Oekraïense blondine van in de twintig? En overweeg je naar Odessa te vliegen om met haar te trouwen? Doe het niet. [LEES VERDER](#)

8
juli

Het einde van Miami

7.215 woorden



Miami zal overstromen. Kenners weten zeker dat het laaggelegen en slecht beschermde Miami geen kans maakt tegen de stijgende waterspiegel en tropische stormen. Mogelijk zal Miami over tientallen jaren niet langer bestaan. Die realiteit wil de politiek in Florida niet onder ogen zien, al kijken sommigen nieuwsgierig naar Scheveningen.

[LEES VERDER](#)

Figure 3.6: Links to English 'longreads' on the NRC website, July 2013

15
juli
2013

Ook na je 35ste is er geen reden tot babypaniekvoetbal



Na je 30ste en zeker na je 35ste gaat de klok tikken als je nog zwanger wil worden, is de algemene teneur doorgaans. Maar dat blijkt misschien wel mee te vallen. Foto ANP / Lex van Lieshout.

Het is een herkenbaar probleem voor vrouwen die kinderen willen: rond je 35ste slaat ineens de angst toe over je


door Anouk Eigenraam

OVER DEZE LONGREAD

[How Long Can You Wait to Have a Baby?](#) door Jean Twenge.

Lengte 4.008 woorden (ongeveer 18 minuten).

Geen cijferbrij, maar heel leesbaar verhaal

LONGREADS 

Op internet moeten teksten kort zijn, was jarenlang het devies. Mensen lazen namelijk geen lange artikelen van een beeldscherm; daar was het papier voor. Tegenwoordig is dat anders. Met de komst van de [tablets](#) en e-readers is van een scherm lezen aantrekkelijker geworden. Bovendien ontstonden diensten als [Instapaper](#), [Pocket](#) (voorheen [Read It Later](#)) en [Klip.me](#), waarmee je een artikel van een website kunt bewaren om later te lezen - en belangrijker: in een aantrekkelijke opmaak. Op [nrc.nl/longreads](#) verzamelen we de beste lange artikelen die op internet staan. Diepgang zonder haast, met meer dan tweeduizend woorden.

LEES MEER

Figure 3.7: Link to the NRC 'longread' for 15 July 2013

Code-switching and -mixing is also frequent in Dutch newspapers and magazines. English loanwords and phrases are used for new technologies and buzzwords, to seem 'hip' or 'cool', and for snob appeal. Interestingly, letters to the editor complaining about this often have the opposite of the intended effect, prompting tongue-in-cheek responses from journalists. In an NRC article headlined '*Te veel Engelse woorden in de krant? Point taken!*' ('Too many English words and the newspaper? Point taken!'), the author acknowledges a reader's complaint about a previous column in which he had used English terms such as *grungerocker*, *no pun intended* and *out of character*: 'Fortunately the piece also contained a good nine hundred normal Dutch words'⁴⁹ (De Jong, 2010). Similarly, a mock complaint after the Dutch national television news (*NOS Journaal*) broadcast a story called 'De Ajax-soap continues' read '*Anglicismen are not done, laat staan in een NOS Journaal!*' ('Anglicisms are not done, especially in an *NOS Journaal!*') (Van der Sijs, 2012).

Editors call for caution in using English words, but point out numerous situations in which they are justifiable; for example, when coming up with a Dutch equivalent would be difficult (e.g. 'hedge fund') or laughable (e.g. *slim mobieltje* for 'smartphone',

⁴⁹ 'Gelukkig bevatte het stuk ook zo'n negenhonderd normale Nederlandse woorden.'

computerspelletjes doen for ‘gaming’) (Belsack, 2008: 51; “Engels in de krant, soms juist wel,” 2004; Haak, 2002). The *Volkscrant* has a list of alternatives for English terms, but the former editor Bas van Kleef admits that some are rather far-fetched (Belsack, 2008: 49). Moreover, *Parool* editor Rob Sieblink points out that some English terms, such as the expression ‘fifty-fifty’, are now so integrated into Dutch that they have been included in the *Groene Boekje*⁵⁰ (Belsack, 2008: 49). Another editor defended the use of English words to evoke a certain image:

In reviews of pop concerts, for example, it is virtually impossible to stick to Dutch completely. Also on special pages, or in sections like *Stijl van Leven*, you sometimes can’t avoid it. A good example was the story ‘All lifestyles in a house’ in *Stijl van Leven* last Saturday. Under the heading *Cool, vet en hip* I come across a nice ‘cocktail’ of English words: homestore, hotspot, corner, standup comedians, fashion design, custom made, styling and look and feel. That this is a story aimed at younger readers is amply illustrated by a box in which the editor informs the readers that ‘every Saturday we take a peek into the world of young adults’. ‘What is news, what is hot and what not?’ is the message. The character of the piece justifies the use of many English words [...].⁵¹ (“Engels in de krant, soms juist wel,” 2004)

Some editors suggest that young journalists in particular are spearheading this phenomenon. According to Theo den Boer of the *Algemeen Dagblad*, ‘if you don’t watch out, some Dutch reporters would write half of their articles in English’⁵² (Belsack, 2008: 51). This ties in with De Jong’s (2010) claim that the increasing Englishisation of higher education is partly to blame:

She [the head of the *NRC* editorial office] gives the example of a young colleague who was told off for the great deal of English in his copy; his defense was that he had barely spoken

⁵⁰ ‘The Green Booklet’: the official spelling guide for the Dutch language.

⁵¹ ‘*In recensies van popconcerten bijvoorbeeld is het zo goed als onvermijdelijk om het helemaal Nederlands te houden. Ook op speciale pagina’s, of in rubrieken als ‘Stijl van Leven’ ontcom je er soms niet aan. Mooi voorbeeld was het verhaal ‘Alle lifestyles in een woonhuis’ in ‘Stijl van Leven’ van vorige week zaterdag. Onder de extra kop ‘Cool, vet en hip’ tref ik een aardige ‘cocktail’ van Engelse woorden aan: homestore, hotspot, corner, standup comedians, fashion design, custom made, styling en look and feel. Dat het hier een op jongere lezers gericht verhaal betreft blijkt ten overvloede uit een kadertje waarin de redactie de lezers meedeelt dat ‘elke zaterdag een kijkje wordt genomen in de wereld van jong-volwassenen’. ‘Wat is nieuws, wat is hot en wat not?’, zo luidt de boodschap. Het karakter van het stuk rechtvaardigt het gebruik van veel Engelse woorden [...].’*

⁵² ‘*als je niet uitkijkt, dan zouden sommige Nederlandse verslaggevers de helft van hun teksten in het Engels schrijven*’

Dutch over the past five years, during his studies. Couldn't he practice at home? No, because his girlfriend works at an accounting firm and is even worse.⁵³

Interestingly, complaints about the use of English in newspapers seem to concern the *misuse* as often as they do the *overuse* of English. Klaassen (2002) reports on complaints from *Volkscrant* readers about the columnist Kees Schuyt's mention of *life-televisie* (instead of 'live'). Meens (2004) cites reader complaints about the use of *lady's* (ladies) and *leasure* (leisure) in an issue of the *Volkskeuken*.⁵⁴

Given the foregoing, the question arises just how frequent English is in Dutch newspapers. According to one informal count, a 2010 issue of the *NRC* contained approximately two dozen English words and quotes (De Jong, 2010). These were largely book and exhibition titles ('And there is of course nothing wrong with that. We also don't call Shell *Schelp*'⁵⁵). The remainder were English loanwords and expressions, such as *gentlemen's agreement*, *peer review* and *display ads*. This result does not seem to confirm the impression of an overwhelming inundation of English. Similarly, Van der Sijs's (2012) *NRC* data revealed that an average A4 page with 500 words of text contains approximately seven English loanwords, which 'can hardly be called an invasion of English influence'⁵⁶.

Finally, some Dutch journalists write directly in English as well as in Dutch. This became evident during the data collection process for the press section of the corpus reported on in Chapter 5. Many are foreign correspondents who work for syndicated outfits such as Associated Press, which sell articles to publications worldwide. Others, however, write for the increasing number of English-language publications within the Netherlands, such as *ACCESS*, *Amsterdo*, *FOAM Magazine*, *Rush On Amsterdam*, university magazines and the online news sites the Amsterdam Times, Dutch Daily News and DutchNews.nl. The national newspaper *NRC* had an English-language site until 2010, and as noted in section 3.7.2 English is the main language of the online news site of Radio Netherlands Worldwide.⁵⁷

Books and poetry

As with newspapers and magazines, English-language books are readily accessible in the Netherlands, and they 'are not there for the tourists' (Van der Horst, 2012: 180). Even

⁵³ 'Ze geeft het voorbeeld van een jonge collega die op het vele Engels in zijn kopij werd aangesproken; zijn verweer was dat hij de afgelopen vijf jaar, tijdens zijn studie, nauwelijks Nederlands had gesproken. Of hij het niet thuis kon oefenen. Nee, want zijn vriendin werkt bij een accountantsbureau en is nog erger.'

⁵⁴ This ties in with criticisms of Prime Minister Rutte during President Obama's visit in March 2014, as mentioned in section 3.6.2: they were concerned not with the fact that he used English instead of Dutch, but with the quality of his English.

⁵⁵ 'En daar is natuurlijk niets mis mee. We noemen Shell ook niet Schelp.'

⁵⁶ 'dat kan toch nauwelijks een invasie van Engelse invloed genoemd worden'

⁵⁷ The other languages are Arabic, French, Mandarin and Spanish, but not Dutch (www.mw.nl).

bookstores in small towns have English sections, and larger cities have fully English-language bookshops. English books are also widely available in libraries. Prior to World War II, the Netherlands imported a substantial number of German and French books; however, their numbers are now far eclipsed by English imports. In fact, the Netherlands reportedly imports more books in English than any other non-English-speaking country (Ammon & McConnell, 2002: 99; Van der Horst, 2012). Like Sweden, the Netherlands also prints and exports many English books (Ammon & McConnell, 2002: 100).

Among Dutch writers, it is safe to say that a flourishing literary tradition in English has not (yet) developed. In the 1950s, after a run-in with the Dutch government when it was discovered that a book he was writing with the help of a government grant contained a masturbation scene, Gerard Reve moved to London and decided to write in English. Although he published *The acrobat and other stories* in English in 1956, ‘the difficulties of writing in English proved too much for him and a few years later he went back to his mother tongue’ (Raat, 2000). Others have met with more success, at least within the Netherlands. A notable example is the poet John O’Mill, the pseudonym of the Dutch author Johan van der Meulen. From the 1950s onwards he published more than a dozen anthologies in his unique version of English which, as the verse *Rot Young* shows, only makes sense to readers also fluent in Dutch:

Rot Young
A terrible infant called Peter,
sprinkled his bed with a geeter.
His father got woost,
took hold of a knoost
and gave him a pack on his meeter.⁵⁸

Today, the writers Arnon Grunberg, Dirk van Weelden and Claire Polders blog in English.⁵⁹ Van Weelden also writes short fiction in English, while Polders is working on her debut English-language novel. With more and more Dutch children receiving bilingual education and English creative writing courses being offered in major cities and by universities (e.g. Maastricht University and University College Utrecht), this phenomenon may increase in the future.

⁵⁸ geeter = *gieter* (watering can), woost = *woest* (angry), knoost = *knoest* (gnarled piece of wood), gave him a pack on his meeter (*iemand een pak op zijn mieter geven*) = to give someone a good beating

⁵⁹ Their work can be found at www.arnongrunberg.com, www.dirkvanweelden.net and www.clairepolders.com.

3.8 Discussion

So far this chapter has profiled the uses and functions of English in the Netherlands in the domains of education, science and research, business and advertising, public administration and governance, and the media. Drawing on this material, this section turns to the criteria established in Chapter 1 for ESL (as opposed to EFL) societies: English should have spread throughout society and be used by most parts of the population (spread of bilingualism), and should be used in various domains of everyday life, including intranationally (expansion in function).

3.8.1 Spread of bilingualism

A precondition for ESL status is that English is used by large parts of the population, not only by the elite (as is the case in EFL). As noted in Chapter 1 (§1.4.1), this form of ‘societal bilingualism’ is considered to exist when ‘a sizeable segment’ of the population is bilingual, specifically ‘all adults’, ‘all breadwinners’, ‘all literate adults’ or ‘all secondary school graduates’ (Buschfeld, 2011: 89). Within a bilingual society, individuals can communicate in English as required by domain and context (Mollin, 2006: 47), although individual proficiency may vary from the basilectal to acrolectal ends of the spectrum (Buschfeld, 2011: 88–9).

This precondition is met in the Netherlands. Various authors note that today it is scarcely possible to find a Dutch citizen under the age of 50 who does not speak English (Nortier, 2011: 148; Verspoor, De Bot, & Van Rein, 2011: 148). Young people are plugged into digital media as well as global culture and trends, and have ever increasing opportunities for bilingual education at all levels. As a result, it seems clear that proficiency levels will only continue to rise. Major surveys already confirm the spread of and competence in English across the Dutch population (Education First, 2013; European Commission, 2012). There can be no doubt that in this regard the Netherlands goes far beyond ‘typical’ EFL countries such as Brazil, Japan, France or Russia; further even than established ESL countries, where estimates of English competence vary between perhaps 5% of the population in India (Mukherjee, 2007: 163) to over 50% in the Philippines (Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008: 141).

In addition to these ‘official’ sources, evidence for the spread of English in Dutch society can be inferred from the *assumption* of bilingualism that is so often made. As noted, in the media, entire English quotes and passages go untranslated with increasing frequency. The ‘Longreads’ section of the *NRC* is a notable example: not only does it simply assume *NRC* readers are also competent readers of English; it also assumes they will not be put off by the lack of forewarning that the articles linked to are in English, and even provides an

estimated reading time. On television, Dutch interpretation or subtitling is not infrequently neglected due to time pressure, costs or inconvenience. On the radio, too, even public stations play untranslated English fragments. According to a spokesperson from the public broadcaster NOS,

We ... make very sparing use of Russian, Chinese or Japanese quotes, because these mean nothing to most listeners. It's different with English. So many people in the Netherlands are more or less spoonfed this as a 'second language' (through computer usage, video games, films, TV series and so on) that we can take some more liberties with English quotes.⁶⁰

(Stichting Taalverdediging, 2010a: 15)

Advertisers also assume that their target audience is sufficiently competent in English. To cut costs, advertising materials used for Anglophone audiences are simply reused in the Netherlands without translation or subtitles. The fact that such materials are localised for countries such as Germany, France and Italy further underlines the special position of English in the Netherlands (Gijsbers et al., 1998: 176). This assumed bilingualism also gives advertisers an additional creative resource to play with. Booij (2001) gives the example of a billboard by the women's underwear label Sloggy, which showed the bottoms of five women sitting in a row, dressed in Sloggy pants. The advertisement itself contained the word *billboard*, a pun on the fact that the Dutch word for 'buttock' is *bil*. As Booij (2001) writes, 'Such jokes are only possible in a well-established form of bilingualism'. There are even suggestions that the use of English in domains such as advertising is now so widespread as to have lost its special 'aura' and become commonplace, leading Ridder (1995: 49) to suggest 'there is the possibility of a new fashion in language now that everyone uses English to express themselves' (see also Dasselaar et al., 2005; Gerritsen et al., 2007; Nortier, 2011; Renkema et al., 2001).

Further evidence of the spread of bilingualism can be seen in the use of public signage. The Amsterdam council implemented what it calls 'Real Time Parking' in 2008, asserting that '[e]veryone in the city understands English'⁶¹ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2008d: 7). Similar reasoning has been given for the gradual disappearance of Dutch from the signs at Schiphol airport. According to a spokesperson, 'For internationally recognised words we use English and a pictogram next to the word. Dutch people understand that too; it's about

⁶⁰ '[...] maken wij maar zeer spaarzaam gebruik van Russische, Chinese of Japanse citaten, omdat daar voor de meeste luisteraars geen enkel aanknopingspunt in zit. Met het Engels ligt dat anders. Die taal krijgen zó veel mensen in Nederland als 'tweede taal' min of meer met de paplepel ingegoten (door computergebruik, videospelletjes, films, tv-series enzovoorts), dat we ons met Engelstalige citaten iets meer kunnen veroorloven.'

⁶¹ 'Iedereen in de stad verstaat Engels'

expediency'⁶² (“Schiphol: niets mis met bewegwijzering,” 2007). Even when public safety is at stake, the assumption of bilingualism prevails. Many major venues in Amsterdam have signs marked ‘EXIT’ rather than ‘UITGANG’, a conscious choice because foreigners are not expected to recognise the Dutch word, but the Dutch are presumed to know the English one (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2009a: 6). Similarly, the uniforms of lifeguards in Scheveningen read ‘LIFEGUARD’. According to The Hague’s fire chief, the English word was chosen for the benefit of tourists, whereby ‘[i]t is assumed the Dutch are also familiar with the meaning of this word’⁶³ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2010a: 5).

In the business sector, English is simply an assumed basic skill that need not be expressly specified in job advertisements. Corporate employees are required to read and write in English, yet rarely receive additional English training; their proficiency level must simply be adequate on recruitment (Nickerson, 1998: 292). Further, the use of and need for English is not restricted to multinational corporations but extends to trades and the hospitality industry, hence the government’s support for bilingual education in all school types, not just pre-university education. Labour market research points further at the normalcy of English competence among workers: just one in ten Dutch university graduates feel that English-language job advertisements are aimed at the best candidates only (Leaufort, 2008).

In short, the combination of official figures and the phenomenon of assumed bilingualism makes clear that the first criterion is met: a (varying) degree of English competence is widespread throughout the Netherlands, and by no means restricted to just an elite segment of the population.

3.8.2 Expansion in function

To meet the criteria for a second-language variety, English should also have expanded functions in the Netherlands that go beyond the uses to which it is typically restricted in EFL countries. EFL predominantly serves as a lingua franca, for use abroad or with tourists and expats. Its use is therefore instrumental and it is not considered a language of identification. ESL varieties, by contrast, are used intranationally in different societal domains, serve expressive and emotive functions, and are an essential means of identity construction.

In the Dutch media, English seems to play a greater role than is normally the case in an EFL country. Research results confirm this: pupils from the Dutch Reformed community, who are not permitted to watch popular television or listen to popular radio, have been found

⁶² *‘Voor internationaal bekende woorden gebruiken we Engels en staat er een pictogram bij. Dat begrijpen Nederlanders ook, het gaat om doelmatigheid.’*

⁶³ *‘Er is vanuit gegaan dat ook Nederlanders bekend zijn met de betekenis van dit opschrift’*

to significantly underperform other Dutch children on their English learning outcomes (Verspoor, De Bot, & Van Rein, 2010: 14–15). The expanded role of English can also be seen with new digital technologies. High school students reported using English more often than Dutch with newer technologies such as DVDs, mp3s and computer games, ‘which seems to indicate that, within a specific niche or context, English is the language of choice and fulfils a specific function’ (Piketh, 2006: 60).

In administration, relaxed language policies have allowed English to take on expanded, internal functions. The position of Dutch is not anchored in the Constitution, and while legislation purports to guarantee the use of Dutch in certain sectors, the stated exceptions seem to undermine this. For example, while Article 2.6 of the General Administrative Law Act (AWB) stipulates that the government must function in Dutch, it also allows for the use of another language if this is deemed more appropriate. According to Article 9 of the Primary Education Act (WPO), the language of instruction in primary schools is Dutch. However, on the basis of the Law on Experimental Education (Experimentenwet Onderwijs) the government has been able to implement long-running bilingual ‘pilot’ projects, and the state secretary for education recently announced his intention to amend the WPO to allow more room for teaching in English (Dekker, 2013). Similarly, Article 6a of the Higher Education and Research Act (WHW) stipulates that higher education is to be in Dutch, unless ‘the specific nature, organisation or quality of the education’⁶⁴ necessitates the use of another language (read: English).

This tenuous legal protection for Dutch has increased the speed and extent to which English has been implemented in the education system at all levels. As noted, there has been a massive increase in bilingual education even at primary level. Interestingly, one of the main arguments is to prepare students not just for the possibility of studying or working abroad, but also for each successive step of the Dutch education system and to function well in Dutch society later. As stated on the website of Early Bird, the bilingual primary education platform, ‘A very good command of [English] is of increasing importance for future study, work and social contact’⁶⁵ (i.e. *within* the Netherlands itself) (Early Bird, n.d.). Two empirical studies serve to highlight this. Weenink (2005) identified a group of parents of children in bilingual education streams in the Netherlands whom he called ‘instrumental cosmopolitans’: while they valued high proficiency in English, they ‘were not particularly

⁶⁴ ‘de specifieke aard, de inrichting of de kwaliteit van het onderwijs’

⁶⁵ ‘Een echt goede beheersing van die taal is van steeds groter belang voor latere studie, beroep en in de maatschappelijke omgang.’

interested in the opportunities for their children to go abroad'. Rather, '[t]hey saw fluency in English as a head start, a competitive edge' that would 'improve the position of their children in future social arenas, like university studies and the *domestic* labour market' (Weenink 2005: 124; italics added). Plas (2009) investigated foreign language teaching in *praktijkonderwijs* in the Netherlands; that is, secondary schools for pupils with low IQs. She noted that in countries like the UK, foreign languages for such students are considered superfluous. However, the status of English in the Netherlands is such that withholding English lessons for such students would serve only to further exclude and stigmatise them. As Plas (2009: 85) writes, their comments in (1) to (3) below 'suggest a certain degree of experience with Dutch being insufficient and English being a solution'. Therefore, even for those not necessarily harbouring international aspirations, English seems to be an integral part of Dutch life.

(1) Well it's just very useful for everything because you come across English everywhere!⁶⁶

(2) Then when you hear an English word you know what it is.⁶⁷

(3) Yes because it's important to know English because you'll have to use it sooner or later.⁶⁸

The expansion of English can also be seen in the new role that the Netherlands has developed for itself as an English education 'destination'; that is, a place where students from abroad can come specifically to study in English. This ties in with the phenomenon noted in other World Englishes literature: students from Expanding Circle countries relocate to Outer Circle countries, such as Singapore and the Philippines, as these are seen as having high English proficiency but also more similar or appropriate cultures than native-speaking countries (e.g. Coetzee-Van Rooy, 2008; Lowenberg, 2002). The Netherlands seems to be tapping into this phenomenon too, especially attracting students from southern and eastern Europe who wish to study in English (e.g. Booij, 2001). This highlights the entrenchment of English in the Dutch education system and at the same time raises questions about its purportedly EFL status.

That said, incoming foreign students are naturally not the only driver behind the use of English in higher education. As Dronkers (1993: 295) noted more than two decades ago, 'it is not the supply of internationally oriented education, but rather the demand expressed by pupils, students and parents for such education, which determines the degree of internationalisation.' In other words, English in Dutch higher education – ostensibly used to

⁶⁶ 'Naa meestal wel handig voor alles want overal kom je wel eens Engels tegen!'

⁶⁷ 'Als je een Engels woord hoort dat je weet wat het is.'

⁶⁸ 'Ja want het is belangrijk dat je Engels kan want vroeg of laat dan moet je Engels praten.'

attract foreign students and to prepare Dutch students for exchanges abroad – is also internally prestigious. This helps to explain why ‘Dutch students attend classes in English taught by Dutch teachers’ even when no international students are present (Weenink, 2005: 211), and why conferences and workshops are held in English even when all attendees understand Dutch (Nortier, 2011; Von der Dunk, 2008). Truchot (2002: 14) described this phenomenon as the ‘ostentatious adoption of English’, attributable less to overt need and more to the desire to project an international ‘flavour’. This can also be seen in wider society. While English is ostensibly used for the benefit of tourists and foreigners, this reasoning seems doubtful at times. While the use of the English *POLICE* is presumably for the benefit of non-Dutch speakers, ‘foreigners can never be so stupid not to know that *Politie* means the same as *Police*. These uniformed officers are also walking around with a lovely hat and a clearly visible firearm’⁶⁹ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2008c: 11). It is the internal prestige of English that leads it to be used *intranationally*, among Dutch speakers themselves.

This ties into the notion that second-language varieties of English are not purely instrumental, but also used expressively and emotively, serving as an additional linguistic resource. This can be seen in the expression of creative bilingualism (or the *imaginative* or *innovative function* of English, Kachru, 1992) in the Netherlands. The Sloggy billboard mentioned above (Booij, 2001) is a good example. Because such uses rely on knowledge of both languages, they are clearly not directed at tourists but instead serve as an in-joke among the domestic population. The poet John O’Mill is another good example. His poetry is aimed at a domestic readership, whereby his (and his readers’) knowledge of English offers an extra creative resource. The same can be said for music, where code-switching into English gives artists greater flexibility with lyrics and rhymes. Moreover, it symbolises an individual’s membership of a particular community, such as a hip-hop subculture (or a gaming community, or a particular academic discipline ...), allowing them to construct new and extended identities. In this way, English is used beyond purely instrumentally; it also serves *intranationally* as a language of identification.

3.9 Summary and conclusion

To establish whether the English used in the Netherlands can be considered a second-language variety or should simply be regarded as learner English, three criteria were identified in Chapter 1. The present chapter has addressed the first of these criteria, concerning the functions of English in the Netherlands. It profiled the uses and roles of

⁶⁹ ‘buitenlanders kunnen nooit zo dom zijn om niet te weten dat *Politie* hetzelfde als *Police* inhoudt. Daarnaast lopen die geüniformeerde mensen met een mooie pet en een duidelijk zichtbaar vuurwapen’

English in a range of societal domains, then showed how the subcriteria – the spread of bilingualism and expansion in the functions of English – are met. First, the wide spread of bilingualism across all sectors of Dutch society is not only evidenced by official survey figures (Education First, 2013; European Commission, 2012), but can also be inferred from the *assumption* of English competence made in domains such as the business sector and the media. Second, the functions of English have expanded such that they now go far beyond the lingua franca uses to which EFL is typically restricted. Piketh (2006: 61) confirms that ‘English seems to be used more frequently than one would expect in a region where only one language, Standard Dutch, is officially recognised’. In domains such as education, business and the media, it has taken on expanded, internal functions that cannot be attributed merely to the accommodation of foreigners. Sound knowledge of English is seen as essential to students’ future work and lives within Dutch society. Indisputably a useful language internationally, *intranationally* it also serves as an expression of status and prestige and allows users to construct cosmopolitan, academic or subculture identities. Thus, earlier suggestions that the ever greater presence of English in Dutch society is suggestive of a shift from a purely foreign to a second language can be confirmed. Functionally at least, English plays the role of a second language in the Netherlands, thereby satisfying the first criterion established in Chapter 1. In the coming chapters we turn to the other criteria: first to the attitudes towards English, and subsequently to the linguistic forms of English in the Netherlands.

4. ATTITUDES TOWARDS ENGLISH IN THE NETHERLANDS AND 'DUTCH ENGLISH'

4.1 Introduction

This chapter revolves around Dutch people's language attitudes. The focus is predominantly on English, but the relationship between English and Dutch is also considered. The chapter helps to address the first research question of this thesis – should the English used in the Netherlands be considered a second-language variety or should it simply be regarded as learner English? – by investigating the second criterion established in Chapter 1: what the users themselves think of it. As discussed in Chapter 2, attitudinal factors such as social acceptance of English, its prestige in relation to the native language(s), and general attitudes towards it are all important when it comes to classifying English-using societies within the established models and schemas of English worldwide.

To date, insight into societal attitudes towards English in the Netherlands has remained largely speculative. De Bot and Weltens (1997: 144) point out that 'studies on attitudes towards other languages are particularly rare in the Netherlands'. According to Van Oostendorp (2011), too, 'It is clear that something is afoot: English is slowly but surely acquiring an ever stronger place in our society. But how that is happening, how harmful it is, how people are responding to it – that we don't know.'⁷⁰ This lack of evidence notwithstanding, language attitudes are routinely aired in public, typically with 'anglophile' linguists on the one hand pitted against puristic '*moord-en-brand-schreeuwers*'⁷¹ on the other. This has been referred to as the 'spokesman problem' (De Bot & Weltens, 1997: 145–7; Van Meurs, Korzilius, Planken, & Fairley, 2007: 202): it remains unclear whether the views reported in the media are shared by people on the ground. To investigate whether these represent majority or extreme opinions, more empirical research is needed.

This chapter therefore describes the design, dissemination and results of the survey 'English in the Netherlands: uses and attitudes'. To my knowledge, this is the largest of its kind conducted in the Netherlands. Section 4.2 briefly describes the five key areas explored in the survey: (a) learning English, (b) using English, (c) perceived competence, (d) models and varieties of English, and (e) the respective status of English and Dutch. Section 4.3 reports on the methodology and the background variables of the respondents. Section 4.4

⁷⁰ 'Het is duidelijk dat er iets gaande is: het Engels krijgt langzaam maar zeker een steeds sterkere plaats in onze samenleving. Hoe dat gebeurt, hoe schadelijk het is, hoe de mensen erop reageren, dat weten we niet.'

⁷¹ Loosely, those who cry blue murder.

presents the results of the questionnaire. Finally, section 4.5 discusses the results in view of previous findings for the Netherlands and other European countries, and considers the implications for whether English in the Netherlands can best be considered a second-language or learner variety.

4.2 Background and context

As noted above, empirical evidence on attitudes towards English in the Netherlands is scarce. However, ‘what data there are seem to suggest that English is seen as a useful and attractive language and not a threat to the Dutch language’ (Berns et al., 2007: 39). Dutch secondary school students have been found to like English and to regard it as important (e.g. Berns et al., 2007; Bonnet, 2004). Other surveys target a broader population but are restricted in scope, such as the polls on individual questions regularly published in the *Taalpeil* monitor.⁷² In *Taalpeil* 2010, for example, 86% of respondents responded affirmatively to the question ‘Are you proud of your language?’, down from 92% in 1995. The present attitudinal survey has a broader scope in both respondents and themes. It is aimed at all sectors of the Dutch population and encompasses a range of questions in the following areas.

4.2.1 Learning English

The first main area to be considered is where Dutch people learn English. As established in Chapter 3, English plays a considerable role in Dutch society beyond the foreign-language classroom. However, few studies have investigated where people actually acquire it. Berns, De Bot and Hasebrink (2007: 57) reported that Dutch students come into contact with English via music, television, computers and travelling abroad as well as school, and Verspoor, De Bot and Van Rein (2011) confirmed the importance of media input among Dutch learners. Locus of acquisition is important because, as discussed in Chapter 2, in EFL societies learners are assumed to acquire English predominantly in the foreign-language classroom, whereas in ESL countries English is also acquired through contact with the language in wider society (e.g. Van Rooy, 2011: 193–5). This survey therefore aims to establish whether Dutch people attribute their English skills largely to school-based learning or also to their experiences outside of it.

4.2.2 Using English

This section focuses on when and why Dutch people use English, and how they feel when doing so. In the public sphere, the practice of code-switching and -mixing is subject to fierce debate. Some commentators view it with amusement or appreciate the additional possibilities

⁷² An annual publication commissioned by the Dutch Language Union (NTU) on a specific aspect of Dutch and aimed at a general audience.

for expression; others consider it a hallmark of the deterioration of Dutch. But what lies behind the use of English words and expressions in Dutch? Is it largely instrumental (e.g. because there is no Dutch equivalent), or also done for affective reasons (e.g. to evoke a certain image)? And how do Dutch people feel in situations and domains requiring a wholesale switch to English? These questions relate to the notion of identity construction. While EFL learners use English predominantly for instrumental reasons, for ESL users English is an essential tool in constructing their identity, signalling (sub-)culture membership and expressing themselves (Moag, 1982: 32; cf. Berns et al., 2007: 10; Berns, 2005: 87; Erling, 2004: 217; Preisler, 1999: 246).

4.2.3 Perceived competence

In line with major surveys that report high levels of English proficiency in the Netherlands (e.g. Education First, 2013; European Commission, 2012), a key finding of Chapter 3 was that a measure of bilingualism among the Dutch population is simply assumed. This part asks respondents to rate their proficiency levels in writing, reading, listening and speaking. Further, it explores the association between perceived competence and attitudes. The aim is to determine whether proficiency (and confidence) in English is restricted to an elite sector of the population, as is typically the case in EFL countries, or widespread, as in ESL societies. Links are also drawn with persistent claims that the Dutch tend to overestimate their command of English and the notion of ‘English knowing’ as an integral part of Dutch national identity (further explored in Chapter 6).

4.2.4 Models and varieties of English

The traditional model in the Netherlands, as in the rest of Europe, is British English (e.g. Van der Horst, 2012: 180; Wilkinson, 1990: 325). Given the rise of American English in the media and popular culture, it will be interesting to see how this plays out attitudinally, particularly across generations. Further, this section considers the notion of Dutch English. Over a decade ago Van Oostendorp (2000) called for the promotion of *Steenkolen-Engels* to redress the disadvantage faced by English NNS, but he seemed to be referring to any hybrid form (Hinglish, Swenglish, etc.) rather than specifically Dutch English. Booij (2001) made structural proposals such as the use of a general tag question similar to the Dutch form ‘*is het niet?*’, but he was promoting an international rather than a Dutch form of English. Two small-scale master’s studies have also been conducted. Edwards (2010) considered attitudes to Dutch English, but only among language editors. Wayling (2012) found negative attitudes to Dnglish, but her survey did not distinguish between this stigmatised form and its potentially legitimate variant Dutch English. Among laypeople the discussion has similarly

been restricted to *Dunglish*, in the form of books like Rijkens's (2005) *I always get my sin*. This study considers attitudes to both *Dunglish* and Dutch English. It also investigates whether Dutch people are still predominantly oriented towards native models of English, as expected of EFL speakers, or whether acceptance of a local model is emerging, as is typical of ESL societies.

4.2.5 Status of English and Dutch

This section explores the perceived importance of English in the Netherlands, but also its relative importance compared to Dutch. There is no doubt that English enjoys a high status in the Netherlands. However, it often seems to be assumed that this comes at a cost to Dutch. Moreover, it is commonly claimed that the Dutch do not take pride in – indeed, undervalue – their own language (De Bot & Weltens, 1997; Groeneboer, 2002; Smaakman, 2006; Van Oostendorp, 2012a). Perceptions of the respective importance of the two languages are therefore examined. So, too, is the notion of English as a threat to Dutch. While the media regularly gives voice to concerns about Dutch losing ground to English, Weltens and De Bot (1997: 146) assert that '[s]o far, there is simply no empirical evidence on the real or perceived threat of English or the position of Dutch in the Netherlands.' The extent to which English is seen as necessary for full participation in Dutch society will be a strong indicator of its status as a second-language or merely a learner variety.

4.3 Methodology

4.3.1 Questionnaire

The questions were derived and adapted from relevant attitudinal surveys, such as that in Bushfeld (2011) for Cyprus, Preisler (1999) for Denmark and Erling (2004) for Germany. In particular, Leppänen et al.'s (2011) 'National Survey on the English Language in Finland: Uses, meanings and attitudes' was a major source of inspiration. The present questionnaire had a similar broad scope and target population, aiming to develop an overall picture of attitudes towards English and its status in the Netherlands vis-à-vis Dutch. A number of questions are the same, making direct comparisons possible. However, the survey was also designed with a view to the Dutch context; for example, given the increasing 'Englishification' of higher education in the Netherlands, higher education language was included as a background variable (§4.3.3).

The questionnaire was originally written in English. Feedback was sought from three experienced linguists, including a specialist in qualitative research methods. The revised questionnaire was translated into Dutch by a professional translator. This version was then piloted on six Dutch volunteers (four linguists, an anthropologist and a journalist), who were

asked to fill in the questionnaire as respondents but also to provide feedback on the phrasing of the questions and timing. An English version of the final questionnaire can be found in Appendix 1. It consists of three main parts:

- *Part I: Personal information.* Questions 1 to 13 asked for the respondents' personal and demographic data. Described in section 4.3.3, this information allows us to verify the representativeness of the sample and to identify attitudinal differences between young and old, male and female, urban and rural respondents, and so on.
- *Part II: Learning and using English.* The main part of the attitudes survey, questions 14 to 22, consisted of a range of questions on respondents' experiences with and attitudes towards English. These questions fall into the five areas discussed above: (a) learning English, (b) using English, (c) perceived competence, (d) models and varieties of English, and (e) status of English and Dutch. The questions typically require answers on a four-point scale (*strongly agree, agree, disagree, strongly disagree; often, sometimes, rarely, never, etc.*) or a selection of one or more options from a predefined list. Similar questions were asked in different ways to ensure both robust and complementary results (e.g. 'I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible' and 'I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so'). The results are presented in section 4.4.
- *Part III: Grammaticality judgement.* Finally, question 23 asked respondents to judge a series of sentences involving the progressive aspect. This was included as a follow-up to the corpus study presented in Chapter 5, and so is not further discussed here.

4.3.2 Sampling and data collection

The questionnaire was designed and disseminated using Google Forms.⁷³ This platform allows users to send a link to a customised form via email or social media to potential respondents, whose responses are automatically collated in a downloadable spreadsheet. This approach has various advantages. Unlike commercial survey software, Google Forms is free and does not restrict the number of questions that can be asked or responses that can be received. Administrators can view a summary of responses at any time in the form of pie charts and bar graphs, and can edit the questionnaire even if it is already live.

The questionnaire was live for approximately six months in 2013. The target population was defined as all Dutch people who met a certain residence requirement. For the sake of consistency, this is the same residence requirement used for the corpus contributors in Chapter 5: they must not have spent more than 10 years or over half their lifetime abroad.⁷⁴ People with non-Dutch or dual citizenship were included provided they also met this

⁷³ www.google.com/drive

⁷⁴ This is in line with the guidelines for the International Corpus of English (ICE), on which the Corpus of Dutch English presented in Chapter 5 is based (Holmes, 1996; Nelson et al., 2002). See section 5.3.2 for further detail.

residence requirement. Initially, the link to the questionnaire was disseminated via my own contacts: former colleagues in the Netherlands and contacts on Facebook, Twitter and LinkedIn. Respondents were asked to pass the survey on to their own networks to create a snowball effect. In addition, student associations and language organisations were requested to forward the link and covering information via their mailing lists. Various language-related platforms also publicised the link on their own initiative.⁷⁵ As subscribers to such platforms may be inordinately proficient in/positive towards English, the link and covering information was also sent to organisations known to be more or less hostile to English in the Netherlands, such as the Stichting Nederlands and Stichting Taalverdediging. Finally, I also publicised the survey in several newspaper articles on my research in *Trouw*⁷⁶ and the *Volkskrant*⁷⁷ during the survey period. Although it is acknowledged that the above approach may elicit responses from people disproportionately exercised by the issues involved, the same can be said of all questionnaires. The aim was therefore simply to obtain as many responses as possible, and measures were taken in the analysis stage to guard against potential bias (cf. §4.3.4).

A total of 2257 responses were received. These were downloaded into Microsoft Office Excel 2010 for manual processing, whereby 318 responses were excluded. In 172 of these cases the respondent did not meet the residence requirement (e.g. people born and raised in Belgium, Dutch respondents who had spent more than 10 years abroad). The remaining 146 were excluded due to issues with the form: the same respondent had submitted the form multiple times; blank forms had been accidentally submitted; or answers had been given for the personal/demographic questions but not for the attitudinal questions. This left a total of 1939 responses.⁷⁸

The issue of incomplete forms could have been avoided by requiring respondents to answer all questions. Based on feedback received in the piloting phase, however, the decision was made not to do so. In Google Forms, respondents who try to submit an incomplete form receive a message instructing them to fill in all fields. However, the unanswered question(s) are not highlighted, making it tedious for respondents to find them. As respondents' goodwill was needed to further spread the questionnaire, it was decided not to require answers to all questions. This means some degree of item non-response is to be expected. The lowest

⁷⁵ E.g. *Taalpost* (www.taalpost.nl), the e-newsletter of the language association *Onze Taal*, and *Neder-L* (<http://nederl.blogspot.co.uk>), an e-zine for Dutch linguistics

⁷⁶ Edwards, A. (2013). 'Nederlanders maken de taart van de taal groter' [The Dutch are enlarging the language cake], *Trouw*, 22 October.

⁷⁷ Müller, H. (2013). 'Als je niet oppast, verdwijnt het Nederlands binnen paar decennia uit openbare leven' [If you're not careful, Dutch will disappear from public life within a few decades], *De Volkskrant*, 12 September.

⁷⁸ cf. 1467 respondents in Leppanen et al.'s (2011) national Finnish survey.

response rates were for the statement ‘I mix Dutch and English with ...’, subpart ‘schoolmates or fellow students’ (97%) and subpart ‘someone else’ (96%). Although respondents could choose ‘N/A’ if the question was not relevant for them, it seems a number (n=56 and n=75, respectively) simply left these statements blank instead. However, item-specific response rates were at least 99% in almost all cases.

4.3.3 Background variables

Part I of the questionnaire asked respondents for demographic information concerning their age, sex, nationality, home languages, education, occupation and region. These background variables allow for a more fine-grained analysis of respondents’ attitudes, as will be seen in section 4.4. The respective distributions for these variables are presented below.

Age

Table 4.1 shows the respondents’ age distribution. The age groups used are the same as those used in Leppänen et al.’s (2011) attitude survey in Finland. The two middle groups are the largest: the age category 25 to 44 has approximately 38% and the category 45 to 64 approximately 34% of respondents.

Table 4.1: Distribution of respondents by age

Age	No.	%
≤24	296	15.3
25–44	731	37.7
45–64	658	33.9
≥65	253	13.0
no answer	1	0.1
Total	1939	100.0

Sex

As shown in Table 4.2, more women than men completed the survey (roughly 56% vs 44%, respectively). It may be that women are more willing to participate in online survey research (W. G. Smith, 2008) or more interested in language issues in general. However, this higher proportion of women did not unduly influence the results (§4.3.4).

Table 4.2: Distribution of respondents by sex

Sex	No.	%
female	1082	55.8
male	849	43.8
no answer	8	0.4
Total	1939	100.0

Nationality

The respondents were overwhelmingly Dutch (Table 4.3). Eight respondents had other nationalities but as they met the residence requirement (i.e. had spent no more than 10 years or over half their lifetimes abroad), they were not excluded from the analyses.

Table 4.3: Distribution of respondents by nationality

Nationality	No.	%
Netherlands*	1929	99.5
other [†]	8	0.4
no answer	2	0.1
Total	1939	100.0

*Including respondents with dual (Dutch + other) nationality (n=10)

[†]Belgium n=3, Germany n=2, UK n=2, USA n=1

Home languages

The first language of almost 99% of the respondents was Dutch (Table 4.4). Numerous respondents specified a particular dialect of Dutch, but as it is not clear whether all respondents did so where relevant, regional dialect is not included as a variable here. The remaining 27 respondents had a first language other than Dutch. However, they had managed to fill out the Dutch-language questionnaire and, moreover, met the residence requirement, and so were not excluded from the analyses.

Table 4.4: Distribution of respondents by first language

First language	No.	%
Dutch	1912	98.6
other*	27	1.4
Total	1939	100.0

*Bosnian n=1, Cebuano n=1, Czech n=1, English n=8, French n=3, German n=5, Italian n=3, Kurdish n=1, Papiamentu n=1, Polish n=2, Turkish n=1

Similarly, over 95% of the respondents' parents (Table 4.5) spoke Dutch as their first language. The most frequent other language was German, followed by English, Indonesian and Polish.

Table 4.5: Distribution of respondents by parents' first language

First language	Mother		Father	
	No.	%	No.	%
Dutch	1850	95.4	1867	96.3
other	76*	3.9	57†	2.9
no answer	13	0.7	15	0.8
Total	1939	100.0	1939	100.0

*Bosnian n=1, Chinese n=2, Croatian n=1, Czech n=1, English n=15, French n=5, German n=26, Hindustani n=1, Hungarian n=1, Indonesian n=5, Italian n=2, Japanese n=1, Kurdish n=1, Malaysian n=1, Papiamentu n=1, Polish n=4, Portuguese n=1, Russian n=1, Serbian n=1, Spanish n=1, Tagalog n=2, Turkish n=1, Vietnamese n=1

†Afrikaans n=1, Arabic n=1, Bosnian n=2, Croatian n=1, Czech n=1, English n=9, French n=2, German n=14, Greek n=1, Hebrew n=1, Hindustani n=1, Indonesian n=7, Italian n=3, Javanese n=1, Kurdish n=1, Malaysian n=1, Papiamentu n=2, Polish n=3, Russian n=2, Swedish n=1, Turkish n=1, Vietnamese n=1

Education

Table 4.6 shows the respondents' education levels, based on the highest qualification obtained. Fourteen respondents (less than 1%) had completed primary school only, all but one of whom were still in high school. Just over 20% had a high school diploma only, around 40% of whom were still in higher education. Slightly over 27% had a vocational bachelor's or master's degree, while the largest group, at 44%, had a university bachelor's or master's degree. Nearly 6% had doctorates. This distribution is somewhat skewed towards highly educated people (see §4.3.4), which may be attributable to the data collection method and/or to greater interest in participating in academic research. Where education level is used as a variable in analysing the results, only respondents aged 30 and over are included, on the assumption that they have reached their final educational attainment level.

Table 4.6: Distribution of respondents by education level

Diploma	No.	%
primary school	14	0.7
secondary school*	424	21.9
higher vocational education†	525	27.1
university‡	855	44.1
PhD	111	5.7
no answer	10	0.5
Total	1939	100.0

*VMBO (vocational secondary education), HAVO (general secondary education) and VWO (pre-university education)

†HBO

‡WO

For the vast majority of respondents, Dutch was the main language of instruction in their primary education (almost 98%, Table 4.7) and secondary education (95%, Table 4.8). Just over 1% of respondents received their primary education and 4% their secondary education either fully in English or bilingually in Dutch and English.

Table 4.7: Distribution of respondents by primary school language

Language	No.	%
Dutch	1890	97.5
fully or partly English	28	1.4
other*	8	0.4
no answer	13	0.7
Total	1939	100.0

*Catalan n=1, Dutch+French n=3, Dutch+German n=1, Dutch+Indonesian n=1, Dutch+Spanish n=1, German=1

Table 4.8: Distribution of respondents by secondary school language

Language	No.	%
Dutch	1843	95.0
fully or partly English	84	4.3
other*	1	0.1
no answer	11	0.6
Total	1939	100.0%

*Catalan n=1

Compared to the results for primary and secondary education language, the results for the main language of instruction in higher education reflect the internationalisation (some would say: Englishisation) of this sector. As Table 4.9 shows, Dutch was the language of instruction in higher education for just under 60% of respondents. For 36%, instruction was either fully or partly in English (12% followed higher education in English only). ‘No answer or N/A’ refers to respondents who either left the question blank or did not attend higher education.

Table 4.9: Distribution of respondents by higher education language

Language	No.	%
Dutch	1149	59.3
fully or partly English	693	35.7
other*	27	1.4
no answer or N/A	70	3.6
Total	1939	100.0

*Dutch+Catalan n=1, Dutch+French n=4, Dutch+French+Portuguese n=1, Dutch+Italian n=1, Dutch+Spanish n=2, Dutch+Swedish n=1, French n=7, German n=7, Italian n=1, Spanish n=2

Occupation

The respondents' occupations were classed into the same groups used in Leppänen et al. (2011), with the additional categories students, unemployed people and retired people. Managers are heads of organisations, such as CEOs and directors. Experts are professionals whose positions require a university education: consultant, doctor, lawyer, architect, scientist, etc. PhD candidates were also included in this group, as they are considered employees rather than students in the Netherlands. Office and customer service workers include secretaries, office managers, wait staff, sales staff and so on. Healthcare workers include anyone in the health sector not classed in the expert category, e.g. masseuse, pastoral worker or dental assistant. Manual workers are those working in trades, such as construction workers, cleaners and technicians. Students include school pupils as well as university students. The unemployed category includes respondents who described themselves as job seekers or answered 'no' or 'none' in the occupation field. The retired category includes people who described themselves as pensioners as well as those over the age of 60 who answered 'no' or 'none' in the occupation field.⁷⁹

Table 4.10 shows that the largest group, accounting for over 50% of respondents, is that of experts. This reflects the high education levels of the respondents, which should be kept in mind when interpreting the results (see also §4.3.4).

Table 4.10: Distribution of respondents by occupation

Occupation	No.	%
manager	74	3.8
expert	1038	53.5
office & customer service worker	145	7.5
healthcare worker	48	2.5
manual worker	23	1.2
student	296	15.3
unemployed	59	3.0
retired	228	11.8
no answer	28	1.4
Total	1939	100.0

⁷⁹ It is unfortunate that this study conflates retired people of all professions in the same category. In contrast, Leppänen et al. (2011) asked respondents to indicate their present or former occupation.

Place of residence

Respondents were asked to list each town/city and province they had lived in, and at what ages they had lived there. In line with Leppänen et al. (2011), respondents' current place of residence is used for the present analyses. The residential classes were city (more than 50,000 inhabitants), town (5,000 to 50,000 inhabitants), rural centre (1,000 to 5,000 inhabitants) and countryside (fewer than 1,000 inhabitants). As the latter two categories were rather small, they are combined here into the category 'country'. 'Not specified' means the appropriate category could not be identified from the respondent's answer, e.g. they indicated 'North Holland' without specifying a town or city within that province. As shown in Table 4.11, almost 70% of respondents were currently based in cities, while 21% lived in towns and 6% in the country.

Table 4.11: Distribution of respondents by current place of residence

Place	No.	%
city	1344	69.3
town	405	20.9
country	116	6.2
not specified	71	3.7
no answer	3	0.2
Total	1939	100.0

Associations between background variables

Various background variables are correlated with one another. For example, having a high education level was associated with having a higher level job. Eighty percent of respondents with PhDs and 65% of those with other university degrees (compared to just 20% of people with high school diplomas only) worked as experts. Conversely, half of all manual workers and 36% of office and customer service workers (compared to around 10% of managers and experts) had only secondary school diplomas. Half of all healthcare workers had vocational education diplomas, compared to approximately a quarter of managers and experts. Place of residence, too, was associated with education level and occupation: city residents were more often university educated and worked in higher level jobs. Eighty one percent of people with PhDs and 77% of people with other university degrees lived in cities, compared to 67% of people with a high school or vocational education diploma. Over 70% of managers, experts and students (compared to 55% of retired people) lived in cities; conversely, twice the proportion of retired people compared to that for managers or experts lived in the

countryside. These associations between variables can also be seen in Leppänen et al. (2011: 43–44) for Finland.

4.3.4 Statistical analyses

The results of the questionnaire are organised into five themes (§4.2). The next section presents the overall results for each question in the form of stacked horizontal bar charts or tables. In addition, the results for each question are broken down into the six background variables age, sex, education level, higher education language (if applicable), occupation and place of residence. The figures for each background variable are provided per question in Appendix 2, with accompanying chi square statistics and p-values. Where any expected values in 2x2 data matrices or where more than 20% of the expected values in larger matrices were below 5, Fisher's exact test was used. All statistical analyses were conducted in R version 3.0.2⁸⁰ and p-values were considered statistically significant at the .05 level. As in Leppänen et al. (2011), the four-point scale *strongly agree*, *somewhat agree*, *somewhat disagree* and *strongly disagree* was dichotomised into *agree* and *disagree* to simplify the statistical analyses and reporting. As the figures in Appendix 2 still show all four categories, this was not considered to result in a loss of information.

As noted in section 4.3.2, data collection by way of snowball sampling risks biasing the results. For example, highly educated respondents are likely to forward the questionnaire to their own highly educated contacts, who in turn do the same. Efforts were therefore made to identify and minimise the effects of a skewed sample that may not be representative of the wider Dutch population. For example, as observed in section 4.3.3, more women than men filled in the questionnaire. To control for this skewed proportion, for several questions the proportions of responses from women (56%) and from men (44%) were weighted such that they each accounted for 50%. As this changed the 'un-weighted' results by well under 1% in each case, this approach was not pursued further.

The results are also skewed in favour of highly educated people. Table 4.12 compares the present distribution of education levels to data from Statistics Netherlands (CBS). According to CBS, 76% of the Dutch population has a secondary school diploma only, compared to 22% of the present respondents. Further, only 7% of people in the CBS data have either a master's degree or a doctorate, whereas in the present dataset this figure is as high as 50%. One option to address this would be to weight the responses for each education level to reflect the proportions in the CBS data, just as the responses per sex were weighted

⁸⁰ www.r-project.org

above to each account for 50% of the sample. This, however, would introduce a new bias. For example, correcting for the fact that respondents with only a primary school diploma account for 1% of the present sample but 5% in the CBS data would mean ‘expanding’ the responses from 14 people (see Table 4.6) to account for around 100 people, which could distort the results if these 14 responses are themselves not representative.

Table 4.12: Education attainment levels in the present sample cf. Netherlands-wide CBS data

Education level	Present data (%)	CBS data (%)*
primary school	1	5
secondary school	22	76
bachelor	27	12
master + PhD	50	7
Total	100	100

* Source: www.cbs.nl > English > Figures > Figures by theme > Education > Education level

Therefore, in interpreting the results it should be kept in mind that the present sample is more highly educated than the Dutch population at large. However, it is worth pointing out several mitigating factors. First, any skew in the present dataset will only affect the overall results for a given question. Readers concerned that these overall results may obscure differences within variables – men versus women, lower versus higher education levels, etc. – can turn to Appendix 2, which provides the accurate breakdowns per variable for every question. Second, any skewing in the sample compared to the wider population only matters if the responses for the relevant variable indeed differ. For example, although the present respondents are on average better educated than the Dutch population as a whole, education level did not seem to have a major effect on respondents’ attitudes; as the figures in Appendix 2 show, education level has fewer significant effects than any other background variable apart from place of residence. With some caveats in mind, therefore, the present results can be seen as valid and generalisable.

4.4 Results

Sections 4.4.1 to 4.4.5 present the results for each individual question, organised into five themes: (a) learning English, (b) using English, (c) perceived competence, (d) models and varieties of English, and (e) status of English and Dutch. Each theme is followed by a brief summary and interim discussion. Given this thematic organisation, the questions are not addressed in the same order they were asked in the questionnaire itself (Appendix 1). For

each question, an overall figure or table is presented, and the effects of the six demographic variables are described with reference to the relevant figures in Appendix 2. Only significant differences are mentioned in the text; the chi square statistics and p-values are indicated in the appendix for each figure. Subsequently, section 4.4.6 aggregates the results into groups of people with shared attitudes and identifies their respective demographic characteristics.

4.4.1 Learning English

For this theme respondents were asked ‘In the course of your whole life, what has contributed to your current level of English?’ As shown in Table 4.13, they could choose several answers. The most frequent response was English classes at school (88%), followed by media (books, TV, etc.) (84%). Over half of the respondents also mentioned English in higher education, travelling/living abroad and having foreign friends/acquaintances, while just under half chose contact with English at work. Respondents who answered ‘other’ mainly reported having English-speaking relatives or engaging in English-language activities online, such as gaming or blogging.

In terms of the breakdown per variable, respondents in the two older age groups identified work as contributing to their current level of English more frequently than did younger respondents. The youngest age group frequently chose school and higher education, but also media as well as foreign friends/acquaintances (Figure 1, Appendix 2). Interestingly, women identified higher education as having contributed to their English proficiency more frequently than men, while men more often mentioned work (Figure 2). As is to be expected, people whose higher education was in English or bilingual in Dutch and English more frequently chose the option English in higher education, whereas people whose higher education was in Dutch relatively more often chose school and work (Figure 4). Students most frequently identified higher education and especially the media as contributing to their English level. Managers typically identified work, as did experts, who also frequently chose living/travelling abroad. The first choice for respondents in lower level professions – manual workers, health workers, unemployed people – was school (Figure 5).

Table 4.13: Responses to the question ‘What has contributed to your current level of English?’

Type of English contact	No.	%
school English lessons	1704	87.9
media	1636	84.4
English in higher education	1103	56.9
travelling/living abroad	1075	55.4
foreign friends/acquaintances	985	50.8
work	903	46.6
other*	21	1.1
no answer	5	0.3

* e.g. English-speaking relatives, online gaming, blogging

Note: As respondents could choose more than one answer, the percentages do not add up to 100.

Learning English: summary and interim discussion

Clearly, Dutch people do not learn English only in school. Young respondents in particular also acquire English through the media and through their interactions with foreign friends and acquaintances, as may be expected given the increased mobility in contemporary Europe. For people in higher level jobs, work is an important contributing factor in their English proficiency, and for experts in particular, living/travelling abroad – which may be facilitated by their jobs – also plays a role. Older people and people in lower level jobs, who likely have less exposure to English through higher education and in their working lives, attribute relatively more importance to school.

4.4.2 Using English

The theme ‘Using English’ covers both the use of English words and expressions in Dutch (i.e. code-switching and -mixing), and attitudes towards using English in general. First, respondents were asked who they used English words and phrases with (i.e. partner, parents, children, other relatives, friends, colleagues, schoolmates/fellow students, someone else). For each interactant, respondents could answer *often*, *occasionally*, *rarely* or *never*. They could also choose N/A, for example if they had no children. The results are shown in Figure 4.1, with parents, children and other relatives collapsed into the category ‘family’. As can be seen, respondents more frequently code-switched outside the home (with friends, colleagues and classmates) than with their families.

In terms of the breakdown per variable, younger respondents reported code-switching with all interactants more often than did older respondents (Figure 7–Figure 11) and women more often than men (Figure 12–Figure 16). While respondents with vocational or university bachelor’s or master’s degrees code-switched more frequently with their families, partners and friends than did people with PhDs, people with PhDs code-switched with colleagues

more often than did people with lower education levels (Figure 17–Figure 21). Respondents whose higher education was in English or bilingual code-switched more often than those who studied fully or mainly in Dutch (Figure 22–Figure 26). In terms of occupation, students code-switched most frequently, followed by managers and experts (except with colleagues, naturally; managers, experts and customer service/office workers code-switched with colleagues most frequently, Figure 27–Figure 31). At the other extreme were manual workers, unemployed people and retirees, who code-switched least frequently. Finally, city residents reported code-switching with friends more frequently than did town and country dwellers (Figure 32–Figure 36).

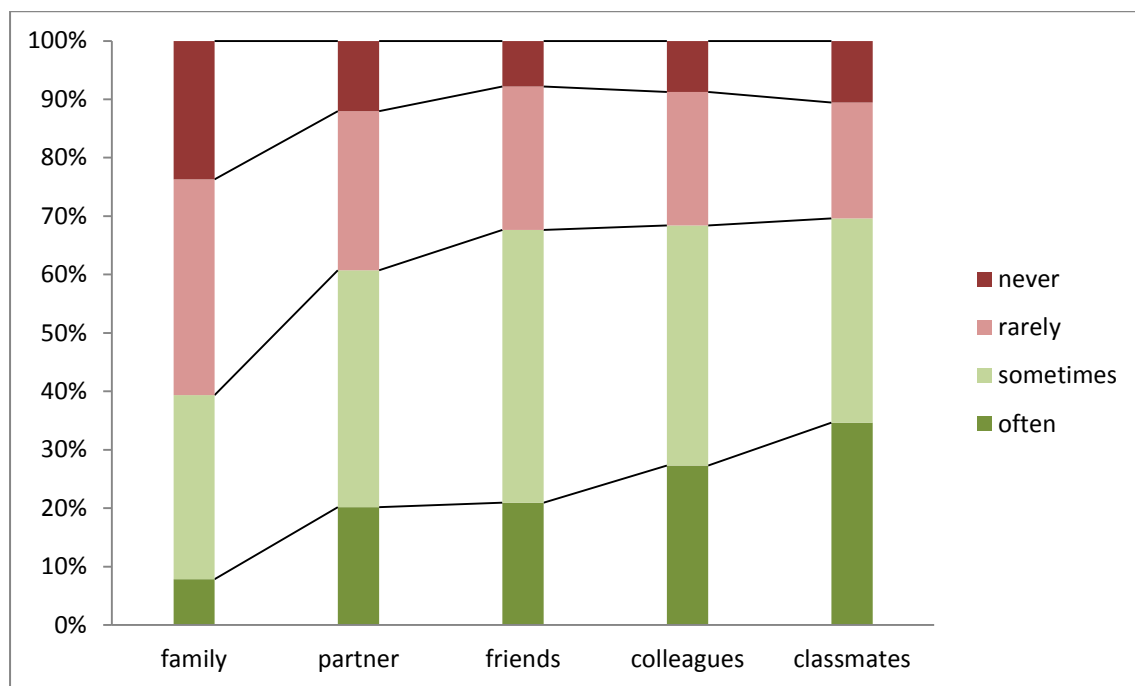


Figure 4.1: Responses to the statement ‘I mix Dutch and English with ...’

Respondents were then asked ‘For what reason(s) do you use English words or phrases when speaking with other Dutch people?’ They could choose several answers from the options shown in Table 4.14. The responses can broadly be divided into instrumental reasons (‘Finding another suitable expression is difficult’ and ‘I use professional or specialist terminology’) and emotive or integrative reasons (‘Some things just sound better in English’, ‘It is a good way to create an effect’ and ‘The people I interact with do the same’). Instrumental reasons were the most popular, selected by over 60% of respondents. Emotive/integrative reasons were chosen less frequently: 40% of respondents found that English sounds better, while 26% used English to create an effect or because the people

around them used English too. Around 23% reported not noticing their own use of English, while fewer than 5% claimed never to use English words or phrases when speaking Dutch.

In terms of age (Figure 37), the oldest group more frequently reported code-switching for lack of suitable word or expression in Dutch, and less frequently to create an effect. The older age groups also claimed never to code-switch relatively more often than did younger respondents. The youngest age group more frequently reported that they did not notice themselves doing it, that the people they interact with did the same, and that some things just sound better in English. The middle age groups – i.e. those of working age – reported using professional or specialist terminology more than the younger and older age groups.

Women chose the option ‘some things just sound better in English’ more frequently than men. Men more often reported using professional or specialist terminology, and also more often claimed never to code-switch (Figure 38).

Highly educated respondents more often reported using professional or specialist terminology, while those with lower education levels more often indicated that English sounds better and that they did not notice themselves using it (Figure 39). Respondents whose higher education was in English or bilingual more frequently reported not noticing themselves code-switching, whereas those whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch more often reported that they never code-switch (Figure 40).

Students tended not to notice that they were code-switching more frequently than did people with other occupations, while managers and experts more frequently reported using specialist and professional terminology. Health workers, manual workers, unemployed people and retirees more frequently attributed their code-switching to the lack of a suitable Dutch word or expression, and unemployed and retired people claimed never to code-switch more frequently than did others (Figure 41).

Table 4.14: Reasons for code-switching/-mixing

Reason	No.	%
finding another suitable expression is difficult	1273	65.7
I use professional or specialist terminology	1183	61.0
some things just sound better in English	773	39.9
it is a good way to create an effect	509	26.3
the people I interact with do the same	506	26.1
I don't even notice I'm doing it	445	22.9
I never use English words or phrases when speaking Dutch	93	4.8
no answer	18	0.9

Note: As respondents could choose more than one answer, the percentages do not add up to 100.

Figure 4.2 shows the overall results for the statements ‘I like using English’ and ‘Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English’. Respondents could choose one option on a four-point scale: *strongly agree*, *somewhat agree*, *somewhat disagree* or *strongly disagree*. Almost 80% of respondents either somewhat agreed or strongly agreed with the statement ‘I like using English’. There was a considerable age effect, with almost 90% agreement among respondents in the two younger age groups, dropping to below 60% among the oldest respondents (Figure 43). The higher the education level, the more frequently respondents agreed (Figure 45). Respondents whose higher education was either fully in English or bilingual agreed more frequently than those whose higher education was mainly or fully in Dutch (Figure 46). Students and managers agreed most frequently, unemployed and retired people the least (Figure 47).

In contrast, fewer than 30% of respondents agreed with the statement ‘Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English’. Respondents in the oldest age group agreed with this statement twice as often as those in the younger two age groups (Figure 49). Also more often in agreement were men (Figure 50), respondents whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch (Figure 52), and manual workers, unemployed people and retirees (Figure 53).

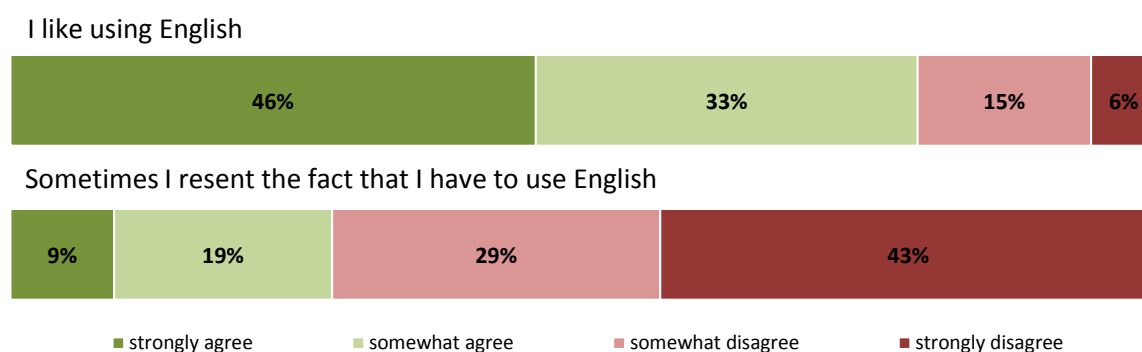


Figure 4.2: Respondents’ liking of and resentment towards English

Figure 4.3 presents the results for the statements ‘I always use English when I have the opportunity to do so’ and ‘I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible’. A quarter of respondents reported using English whenever the chance arises. Younger respondents agreed more frequently than older ones (Figure 55), and women more so than men (Figure 56). People whose higher education was in English agreed twice as often as

those who studied in Dutch (Figure 58). Students agreed more frequently than any other occupation group (Figure 59).

Eighty percent of respondents indicated that they prefer using Dutch whenever possible. Around 90% of those aged 45 and over agreed with this statement, compared to just over 60% of the youngest age group (Figure 61). Also more often in agreement were men (Figure 62), respondents whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch (Figure 64), unemployed and retired people (Figure 65), and town and country dwellers (Figure 66).

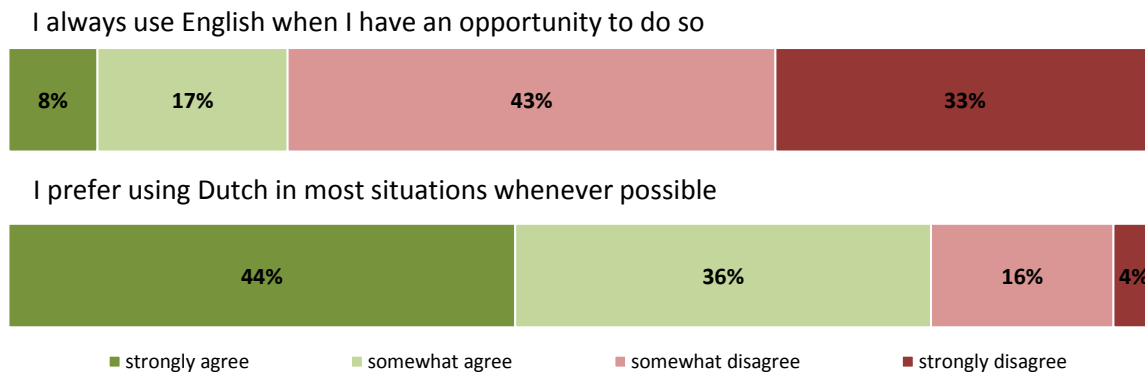


Figure 4.3: Preferences for using English and Dutch

Figure 4.4 shows that over three quarters of respondents mostly used English with native speakers or other foreigners. Ninety percent of respondents in the oldest age group agreed with this statement, dropping to around 60% of the youngest respondents (Figure 67). Men agreed more frequently than women (Figure 68). Respondents whose higher education was mainly or fully in Dutch agreed more frequently than those with an English-only or bilingual higher education (Figure 70). Around 90% of manual workers and retirees agreed, whereas only 60% of students did (Figure 71).

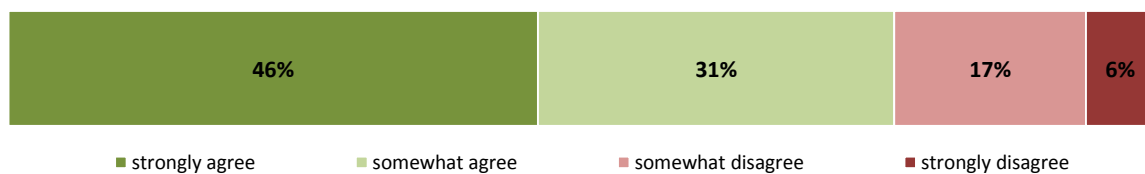


Figure 4.4: Responses to the statement 'When I use English, it is most often with native speakers or foreigners, not with Dutch people'

Participants were asked to respond to the statement ‘When I use English, I ...’ followed by the attributes shown in Figure 4.5. One third agreed that they are quieter in English. The youngest age group agreed with this statement more frequently than others (Figure 73), as did women (Figure 74) and people whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch (Figure 76). By contrast, 15% of respondents reported feeling more talkative in English. Interestingly, although the youngest age group agreed more frequently than other respondents with the previous statement on being quieter in English, they also more frequently reported being more talkative in English than older respondents (Figure 79). People whose higher education was fully in English also agreed to being more talkative in English more often than did others (Figure 82), while students agreed more often than managers, manual workers and retired people (Figure 83).

A quarter of respondents indicated feeling less capable in English. Women (Figure 86) and people whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch (Figure 88) agreed with this statement more frequently than others. In contrast, almost a quarter of respondents reported feeling smarter when they use English. Almost 50% of respondents aged under 25 agreed with this statement; among those 65 and older, this figure was just over 10% (Figure 91). Women (Figure 92), people whose higher education was in English or bilingual (Figure 94) and students (Figure 95) were also more frequently in agreement than other respondents.

Nearly 40% of respondents reported using less humour in English. People aged 25 to 44 agreed less frequently with this statement than did other respondents (Figure 97). Women agreed comparatively more often than men (Figure 98). Respondents with PhDs (Figure 99) and those whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch (Figure 100) agreed more frequently than others. Interestingly, 21% of people reported finding it easier to talk about emotional things in English. Relatively more often in agreement were younger respondents (Figure 103), women (Figure 104), people whose higher education was entirely in English (Figure 106) and students (Figure 107).

Fourteen percent of respondents reported feeling like an outsider when they use English. The two older age groups (Figure 109) and people whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch (Figure 112) agreed with this statement more frequently than others. Finally, 64% of respondents indicated feeling the same in English as when using their mother tongue. More highly educated respondents, especially those with PhDs, disagreed more often than those with lower education levels (Figure 117). People whose higher education was in English or bilingual agreed more frequently than others (Figure 118).

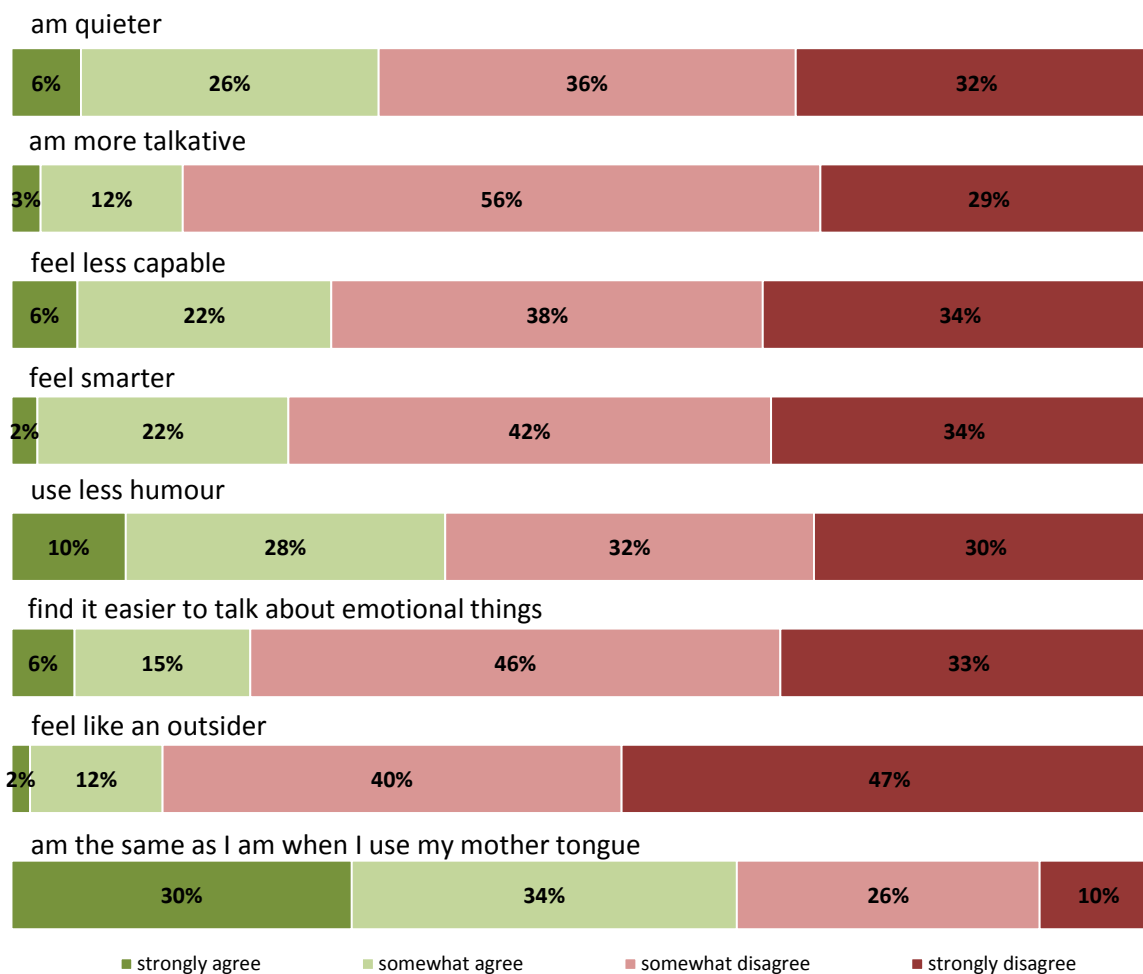


Figure 4.5: Responses to the statement 'When I use English, I ...'

Using English: summary and interim discussion

The majority of respondents seem to have generally positive attitudes; eight in ten agree that they like using English. However, some clear trends can already be discerned with respect to the background variables. Broadly, youth, a high-level job and at least a partly English-language higher education are associated with positive attitudes towards English. People with these characteristics are probably more accustomed to using English and so more confident and comfortable with it. Indeed, a quarter of respondents use English whenever they can. However, eight in ten people prefer to use Dutch in most situations, and three in ten even resent having to use English; these are more often older, retired or unemployed, and mostly educated in Dutch. These people also more frequently report using English mostly with English native speakers or other foreigners. In contrast, 40% of the youngest age group

disagree with the latter statement, suggesting that they also frequently use English with other Dutch people.

Interestingly, the respondents who report using English whenever they can are more often female, and those who resent using English are more often male. It is not altogether clear why this may be, though it may be speculatively linked to different degrees of willingness to accommodate oneself to others. Further, people who experience a sense of inadequacy in English – feeling quieter, less capable, less funny and more like an outsider – are typically female, older and educated fully or mainly in Dutch. The majority (64%) of people feel the same in English as in their mother tongue, although the highest educated respondents agreed with this statement less frequently than others. This suggests that overall proficiency levels are largely sufficient; however, as people with PhDs are typically required to function in English at a high level, they may have more occasion to sense a lack of nuance or spontaneity. People who feel more talkative, smarter and better able to talk about emotional things in English are more often younger people, students and those whose higher education was in English or bilingual; again, those who are no doubt more accustomed to using English.

The majority of code-mixing and -switching appears to happen outside the home, with friends, colleagues and classmates. People who code-switch most often have the same characteristics as people with positive attitudes towards English: they are younger, female, and followed higher education in English or bilingually. They also more frequently have higher level jobs. The most highly educated respondents code-switch less often than others with their families, partners and friends, but more frequently with their colleagues. This suggests their work content requires some measure of English, but outside their work they are more aware of it and try to use it less (or perceive themselves as using it less). Older people and people with lower level jobs more frequently use English words for instrumental reasons: because a Dutch equivalent does not exist or because they need professional or specialist terminology. By contrast, students and younger respondents relatively more often code-switch for more emotive/integrative reasons: to sound better, to create an effect or to signal group membership by mirroring the people they interact with. They also more frequently report not noticing their use of English words and phrases.

4.4.3 Perceived competence

Respondents were asked to rate their English writing, speaking, listening and reading skills on a four-point scale: *fluently*, *reasonably*, *with difficulty* or *not at all*. As shown in Figure 4.6, over 90% of respondents rated themselves as reasonable to fluent on all four skills.

Fewer than 1% of respondents indicated *not at all* for any skill. The passive skills listening and reading were rated better than the productive skills writing and speaking.

The demographic variables were explored using an average of the ratings for all four skills per variable.⁸¹ As noted, most people rated themselves as at least reasonable. However, there were differences between respondents who described themselves as fluent and those who reported having difficulty with English. Respondents aged 25 to 44 most frequently rated themselves as fluent, followed by those aged 24 and under, then 45 to 64 and finally 65 and over. This same order was found in reverse for respondents who reported having difficulty: this was reported most often by people 65 and over, then respondents aged 45 to 64, then 24 and under and finally 25 to 44 (Figure 121). The proportion of respondents who rated themselves as fluent increased with education level (Figure 123) and from respondents whose higher education was in Dutch only, to mainly Dutch, to bilingual, and finally to fully in English (Figure 124). Respondents whose higher education was entirely in Dutch more frequently reported having difficulty with English. In terms of occupation (Figure 125), students followed by managers and experts rated themselves as fluent most frequently, and unemployed people and retirees the least; while approximately 70% of students considered themselves fluent, only 30% of retired people did. Retirees and unemployed people also relatively more often reported having difficulty with English. Finally, city respondents rated themselves as fluent more often than town and country dwellers (Figure 126).

⁸¹ E.g. the *fluent* rating for the age group ≤ 24 was calculated by averaging the number of respondents in this age group who rated themselves as fluent on writing (n=171), speaking (n=164), listening (n=247) and reading (n=245) to produce an overall rating for this age category (n=207) that was used as input for chi square testing.

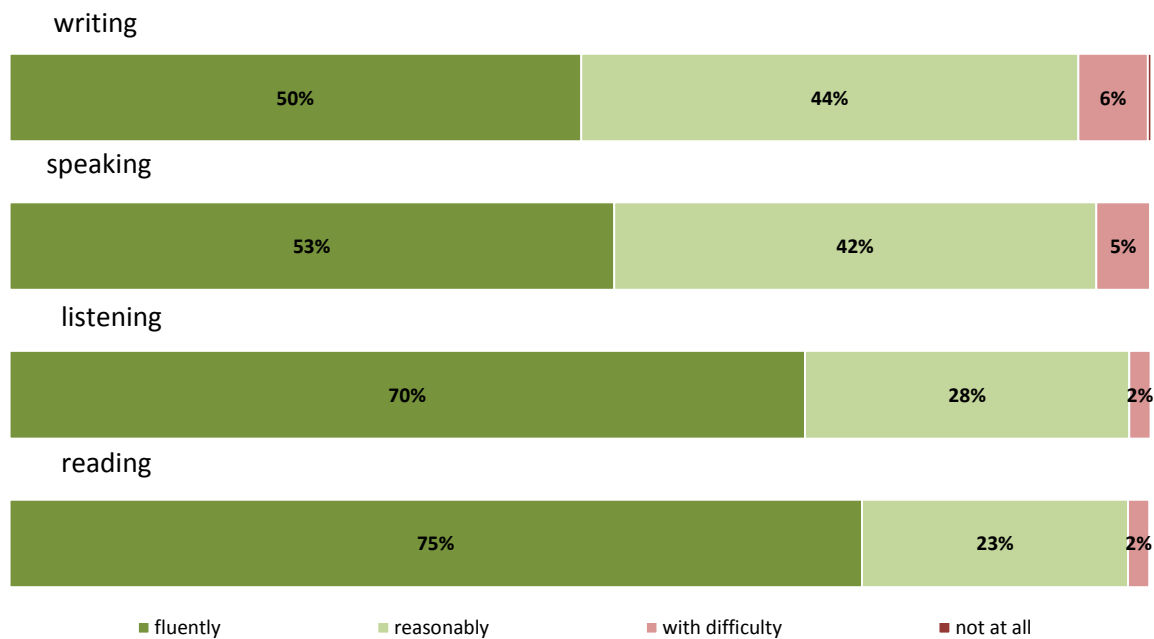


Figure 4.6: Self-reported proficiency levels per skill

Figure 4.7 reports the results for the statements ‘I am ashamed of my English skills’ and, conversely, ‘I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people’. Fourteen percent of respondents reported feeling ashamed of their English skills. People aged 25 to 44 agreed least often and those aged 65 and older agreed most often with this statement (Figure 127). Women agreed more frequently than men (Figure 128). Respondents whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch agreed more frequently than those whose higher education was in English or bilingual (Figure 130), and retired and unemployed people agreed more often than others (Figure 131).

Strikingly, almost 90% of respondents considered themselves as having better English than most other Dutch people. The age group 25 to 44 agreed with this statement most often, while respondents aged 65 and over agreed least often (Figure 133). Men agreed more frequently than women (Figure 134). The higher the education level (Figure 135) and the more English their higher education involved (Figure 136), the more frequently respondents agreed with this statement. Students, managers and experts agreed more frequently than manual workers, retirees and especially unemployed people (Figure 137). City residents strongly agreed more frequently than people in towns, who in turn strongly agreed more often than people living in the countryside (Figure 138).

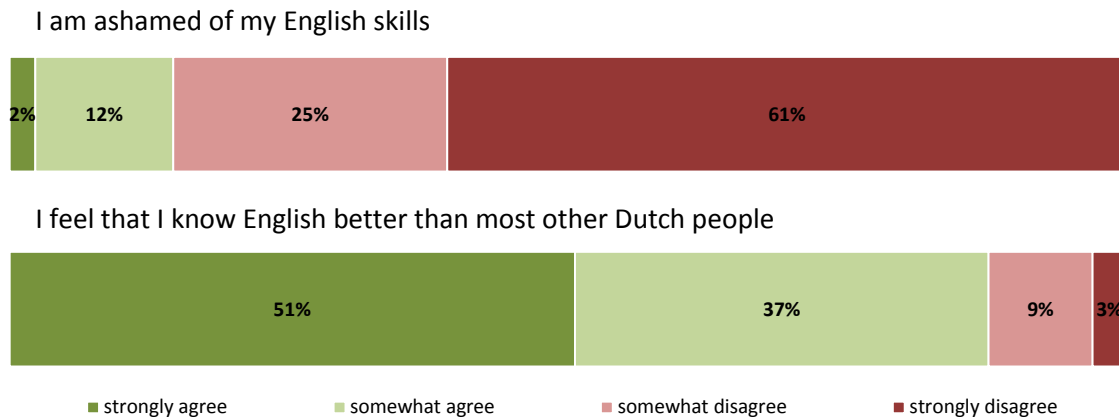


Figure 4.7: Responses to the statements ‘I am ashamed of my English skills’ and ‘I feel that I know English better than most other people’

Perceived competence: summary and interim discussion

Nine in ten respondents rate their English proficiency as at least reasonable, and the same proportion feel they know English better than most other Dutch people. This confidence may reflect the higher education levels in the present sample as compared to the Dutch population as a whole (§4.3.3), or the apparent tendency of Dutch people to overestimate their capacities in English (§6.4.2). The most confident respondents are more often younger, better educated and live in cities. They frequently followed higher education in English or bilingually in English and Dutch, and work as manager or experts (or are still students). In contrast, the minority who feel ashamed of their English skills are more often older, unemployed or retired, and followed higher education fully or mainly in Dutch. Male respondents more frequently report being confident and female respondents are more often ashamed of their English, seemingly reflecting the oft-cited tendency for men to over- and women to underestimate their skills.

4.4.4 Models and varieties of English

Respondents were asked about their target model and perceived performance variety; that is, the type of English they aim for and the type of English they actually speak. They could choose two answers for each question. Table 4.15 shows that the most popular target model overall was British English, chosen by over half of the respondents, followed by a neutral variety that does not represent a particular country or culture, chosen by around three in ten. ‘A standard native model with some Dutch “flavour”’ was chosen least often.

The younger age groups chose American English as a target model relatively more frequently than the older age groups; the latter, especially respondents aged 65 and over, chose British English more often. The youngest age group chose a standard native model with some Dutch ‘flavour’ least often (Figure 139). Respondents whose higher education was in English opted for a British model more frequently than did others. Those whose higher education was bilingual chose American English more often, while those educated fully or mainly in Dutch were more often accepting of Dutch ‘flavour’ (Figure 142). Students most often opted for American English and least often preferred a Dutch-flavoured model. Managers and retired people opted for British English most and American English least frequently. Manual workers and unemployed people chose ‘don’t care’ relatively more often than others (Figure 143). City residents opted for an American model more often and Dutch ‘flavour’ less often than others. Respondents living in towns chose British English most frequently, followed by Dutch ‘flavour’, while those in the countryside also chose British English most often, followed by ‘don’t care’ (Figure 144).

Table 4.15: Target models

Variety	No.	%
British English	1067	55.0
a neutral variety of English that does not represent one culture or country	563	29.0
American English	290	15.0
I don't care	189	9.7
a standard native model with some Dutch ‘flavour’	120	6.2
other*	1	0.1
no answer	8	0.4

* This respondent reported aiming for a mixture of British, American, Australian and New Zealand English
Note: As respondents could choose more than one answer, the percentages do not add up to 100.

Table 4.16 shows the results for perceived performance variety: the type of English respondents feel they actually speak, irrespective of target model. Here again British English was chosen most frequently (37%), but less so than above, suggesting that a considerable number of people fall short of their target model. Strikingly, over a quarter of respondents chose ‘Dutch English’ as their performance variety (compared to the 6% above who reported actually aiming for a variety with Dutch ‘flavour’). Twenty percent reported speaking American English, compared to the 15% above who were actually aiming for it. Interestingly, 16% and 17% reported using ‘International English’ and ‘Euro-English’, respectively.

As with target model above, when it comes to performance variety the younger age groups again chose American English more frequently, while the older groups opted more often for British English. For Dutch English there was a progressive increase with age: older respondents more frequently reported speaking Dutch English than younger ones. Younger respondents also selected ‘Euro-English’ comparatively more often than older ones (Figure 145). Women most frequently reported speaking Euro-English, followed by Dutch English then British English, whereas men opted for International then American English (Figure 146).

Respondents whose higher education was in English only most often chose British English as their performance variety. Respondents whose higher education was in English or bilingual chose Dutch English least often, whereas respondents who studied fully or mainly in Dutch chose Dutch English relatively more frequently. Respondents whose higher education was a combination of Dutch and English (i.e. either bilingual or mainly Dutch/some English) chose Euro-English and International English relatively more often (Figure 148).

Students most frequently reported speaking American English, followed by Euro-English, with Dutch English their last choice. Retired people chose Dutch English relatively more frequently, followed by British English; they chose American English and Euro-English less frequently. Experts most frequently reported speaking International English (Figure 149).

Table 4.16: Performance varieties

Variety	No.	%
British English	709	36.6
Dutch English	529	27.3
American English	377	19.4
International English	324	16.7
Euro-English	300	15.5
no answer	15	0.8

Note: As respondents could choose more than one answer, the percentages do not add up to 100.

The three questions presented in Figure 4.8 can be interpreted as further measures of the degree of acceptance of Dutch English as a variety. Over 60% of respondents agreed with the statement ‘When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I’m from’. Younger people (Figure 151) and respondents whose higher education was in English or bilingual (Figure 154) agreed most frequently. Manual workers agreed less often than

people in other occupations (Figure 155). Similarly, over 70% of respondents agreed that ‘Dunglish’ is ‘bad English’. No significant differences were found on any of the background variables for this statement, suggesting that people from all walks of life view Dunglish in a negative light. Conversely, the same proportion – over 70% of respondents – agreed that ‘As long as my English is good, I don’t mind if it has a bit of Dutch “flavour”’. Older respondents (Figure 157) and those whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch (Figure 160) agreed most frequently, while students agreed least frequently (Figure 161).

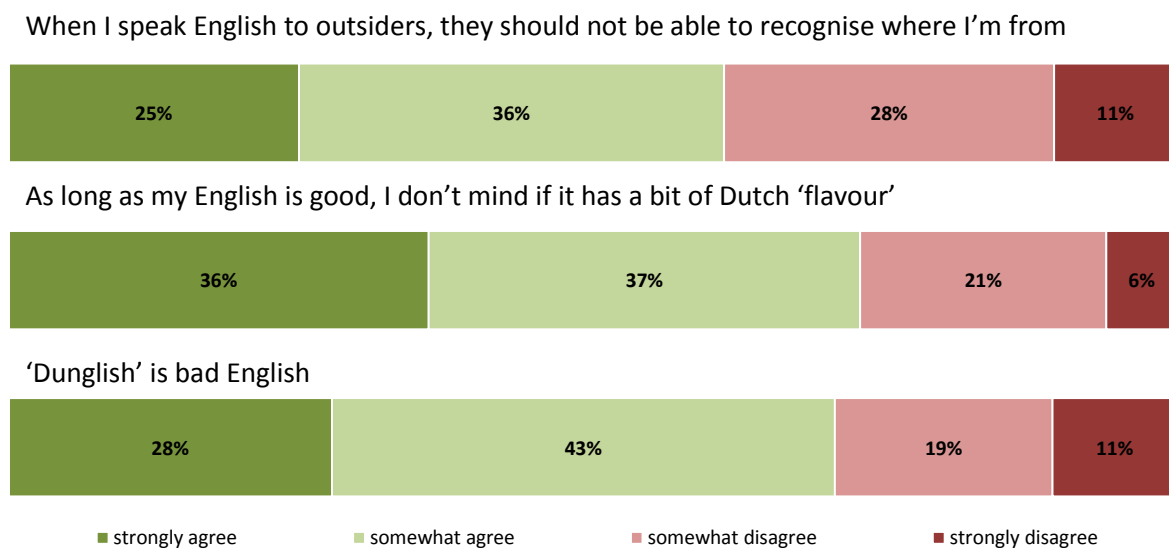


Figure 4.8: Attitudes towards Dutch English and Dunglish

Models and varieties of English: summary and interim discussion

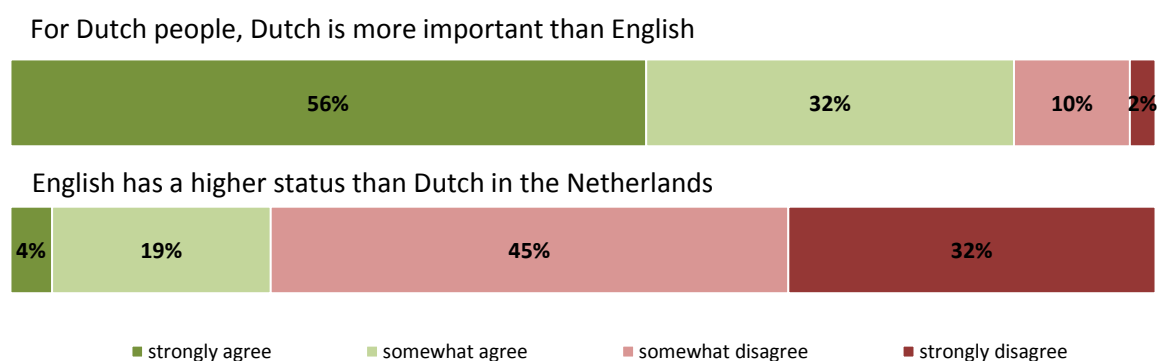
Over half of the respondents aim for British English as their target model, whereas around 37% report actually speaking it. Conversely, fewer respondents identify American English as their target model than report actually speaking it. Younger respondents/students, perhaps more influenced by US media and pop culture, more frequently aim for and report actually speaking American English than older people/retirees, who more often aim for and actually speak British English. British English also more frequently serves as both a target model and a performance variety among people whose higher education was entirely in English, which may reflect the ongoing preference in Dutch universities for a British model. Young people/students reported speaking ‘Euro-English’ more often than others, potentially the result of recent socio-political developments and increased mobility in Europe.

A standard native model with Dutch ‘flavour’ was the least popular target model, especially among young people, who perhaps fancy their own English as far removed from

what they see as the *steenkolen-Engels* of their grandparents. Older people/retirees, people in lower level professions and people whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch – that is, those for whom near-native mastery of English is likely a distant or an uninteresting prospect – are more often accepting of Dutch flavour in their target model, ‘Dutch English’ as their performance variety, people being able to recognise from their English where they come from, and ‘Dunglish’ in general. In contrast, people with better English – young people, students, people whose higher education was in English or bilingual in Dutch and English – are most opposed to the notion of a Dutch English. Seven in ten people across all population sectors see ‘Dunglish’ as bad English. However, since roughly the same proportion do not mind if their English has some Dutch ‘flavour’, the negative response here may be linked to the word *Dunglish*⁸² itself, which has rather negative connotations. The mismatch between Dutch English as a target model (6%) and as a performance variety (27%) recalls Kachru’s (1983a: 179) notion of ‘linguistic schizophrenia’, which both he and Schneider (2007) see as a precursor to eventual acceptance of a new variety (further discussed in Chapter 6).

4.4.5 Status of English and Dutch

Figure 4.9 shows the responses to two questions relating to the respective status of English and Dutch in the Netherlands. Nearly nine in ten respondents rated Dutch as more important than English for Dutch people. There was a strong age effect: the youngest group agreed less frequently than others, with only 40% of respondents aged 24 and under strongly agreeing as compared to 70% of those aged 65 and older (Figure 169). More highly educated respondents (Figure 171) and those residing in cities (Figure 174) agreed relatively more frequently than others. Conversely, almost a quarter of respondents agreed with the statement ‘English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands’. Interestingly, the two older age groups agreed more frequently than the two younger ones (Figure 175), as did unemployed people in particular (Figure 179).



⁸² *Nederengels*, as it was termed in the Dutch version of the questionnaire.

Figure 4.9: The respective status of English and Dutch

The questions in Figure 4.10 concern the perceived usefulness of English and Dutch in seeking employment. Almost nine in ten respondents believed that without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands. There were few meaningful demographic differences: respondents whose higher education was in Dutch agreed somewhat less frequently (Figure 184), as did managers and manual workers (Figure 185). People residing in the countryside agreed most and people in cities least frequently (Figure 186). Interestingly, roughly the same proportion – over nine in ten respondents – agreed that English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities. Almost all respondents in the youngest age group agreed with this statement, whereas older people agreed relatively less often (Figure 187). Respondents whose higher education was in English, not surprisingly, also agreed more frequently than others (Figure 190), whereas healthcare workers, manual workers, unemployed people and retirees agreed less often (Figure 191).

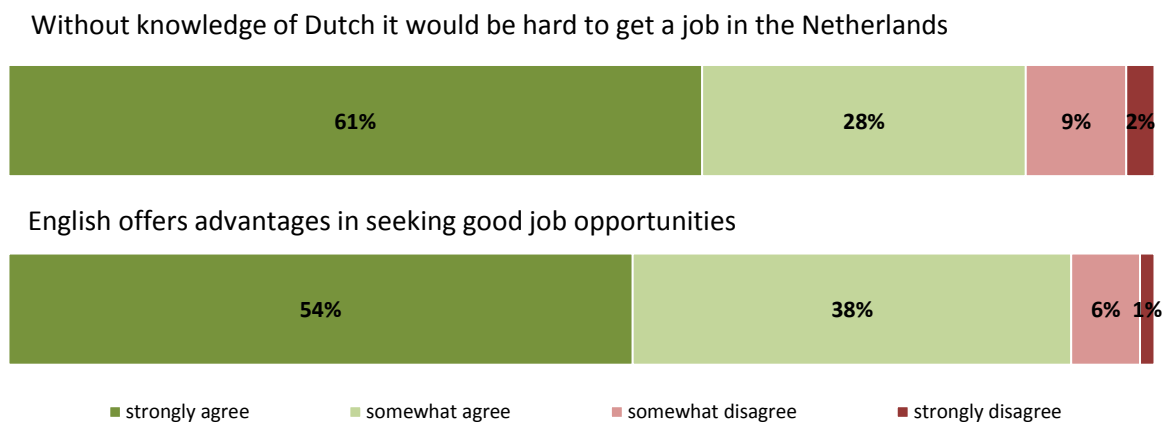


Figure 4.10: The respective advantages of Dutch and English on the labour market

Virtually all respondents agreed that speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage (Figure 4.11). The demographic differences are therefore largely to be found in the respective proportions of people who strongly agreed. The two younger age groups strongly agreed with this statement more frequently than the two older age groups (Figure 193). The higher the education level, the more frequent the strong agreement (Figure 195). Respondents whose higher education was in English or bilingual strongly agreed more often than those whose higher education was mainly or fully in Dutch (Figure 196). Manual workers strongly agreed

more often than others (Figure 197), and people living in towns strongly agreed more than those in cities and the countryside (Figure 198).

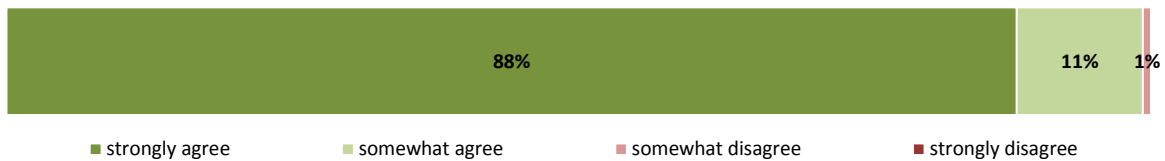


Figure 4.11: Responses to the statement ‘Speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage’

Figure 4.12 shows that 83% of respondents agreed that ‘English is very important to me personally’, however they chose to interpret this statement. The two younger age groups, at around 90%, agreed more frequently than the older groups, especially people 65 or older (under 70%) (Figure 199). Women agreed more often than men (Figure 200). Respondents whose higher education was in English or bilingual agreed more often than others; in fact, those whose higher education was in English only strongly agreed twice as often as those educated in Dutch (Figure 202). Retired and unemployed people agreed significantly less frequently than all other occupation groups (Figure 203).



Figure 4.12: Responses to the statement ‘English is very important to me personally’

As shown in Figure 4.13, 42% of respondents agreed that English skills are overrated. The two older age groups agreed with this statement more frequently than the younger groups; in fact, respondents aged 65 and over agreed almost three times as often as people 24 and under (Figure 205). Men agreed more frequently than women (Figure 206), and people whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch agreed more often than other respondents (Figure 208). Healthcare workers, unemployed people and retirees agreed most frequently; more than twice as often as students and managers (Figure 209). Respondents residing in the

countryside agreed relatively more often than those in towns, who in turn agreed more often than city residents (Figure 210).

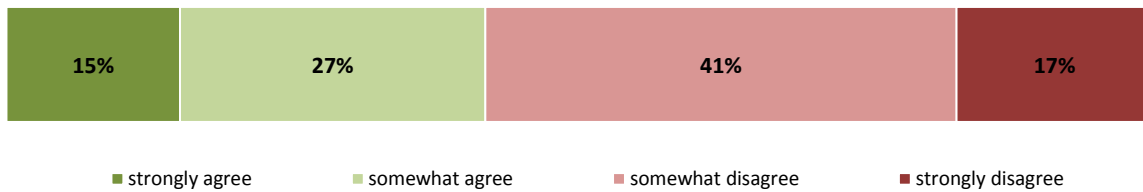


Figure 4.13: Responses to the statement ‘English skills are overrated’

Figure 4.14 shows the results for perceptions of English as a threat or an enrichment to Dutch, respectively. A quarter of respondents see English as a threat to the Dutch language. The oldest respondents agreed almost twice as often as the youngest age group (Figure 211). There was also more agreement among men (Figure 212), manual workers, unemployed people and retirees (Figure 215), and people living in the countryside (although the latter difference was not significant, Figure 216). Conversely, well over half of the respondents felt that English enriched the Dutch language. The younger age groups agreed with this statement more frequently, particularly compared to respondents aged 65 and over (Figure 217). No significant differences were found for the other background variables on this question.

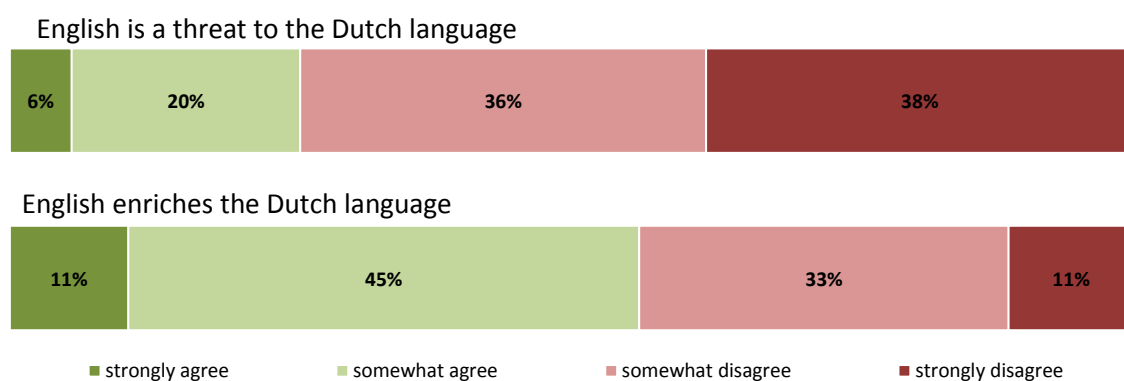


Figure 4.14: Perceptions of English as a threat or an enrichment to Dutch

Status of English and Dutch: summary and interim discussion

Contrary to the frequent claim that the Dutch do not care for their own language (§4.2.5), Dutch, alongside English, appears to be highly valued. The statement ‘Speaking both Dutch

and English is an advantage' received 99% agreement, the highest for any question. Further, nine in ten people see Dutch as more important than English for Dutch people, although almost a quarter think English has a higher status within the Netherlands. The vast majority – nine in ten – also see both Dutch and English as advantageous when job seeking. Compared to city residents, people living in the countryside place more emphasis on the need for Dutch and less on English when job seeking, suggesting that cities, being more cosmopolitan, have more opportunities for non-Dutch speakers. Over eight in ten people see English as personally important for them, particularly younger people, women, and people whose higher education was in English or bilingual in English and Dutch. Half this proportion consider English skills to be overrated, especially older people, men, people whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch, unemployed people, retirees and non-city residents. These people also more often see English as a threat to Dutch. Since, as noted, virtually all agree that speaking English is an advantage, this hints at some form of instrumentalism; even people who feel that English is overrated and poses a threat to Dutch are aware of its importance on the labour market and in other areas of life.

4.4.6 Three groups: instrumental, anglophile and anti-English

The previous sections presented the results for each individual question in the survey. This section examines the relationships between these questions, aggregating the responses into groups of people with shared attitudes and identifying the distinct characteristics of the group members. This allows us to identify and quantify the patterns underlying the individual responses.

The bivariate correlation matrix in Table 4.17 shows the pairwise relationships between 19 survey questions. The questions run along the vertical and horizontal axes, with the box at the intersection of each pair of questions showing the relevant correlation coefficient. To compute the coefficients and corresponding significance levels (indicated with asterisks), the responses to each question were coded on a four-point scale (1=*strongly agree*, 2=*somewhat agree*, 3=*somewhat disagree* and 4=*strongly disagree*) for inputting into R.⁸³ In the table, strong, moderate and weak positive correlations are highlighted in shades of green and negative correlations in shades of red. A coefficient of 1 represents a perfect positive correlation, –1 a perfect negative correlation. The coefficients for all correlated questions (i.e.

⁸³ Thanks are due to Nicole Janz from the Department of Politics at the University of Cambridge for supplying the R script for this procedure. The script creates a function called *corstars* which computes the correlation coefficients using a chosen method (Spearman's rho in this case) and outputs a matrix with these coefficients and asterisks indicating the corresponding significance levels.

Table 4.17: Bivariate correlation matrix for attitudinal questions

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19
1																			
2	-0.09***																		
3	0.00	-0.03																	
4	0.28***	0.00	-0.06**																
5	-0.20***	0.01	0.12***	-0.37***															
6	0.13***	0.15***	-0.19***	0.33***	-0.38***														
7	-0.15***	-0.06*	0.34***	-0.38***	0.51***	-0.49***													
8	0.13***	-0.04	0.06**	0.13***	-0.05*	0.06*	-0.03												
9	-0.08***	0.02	0.29***	-0.14***	0.16***	-0.22***	0.28***	0.04											
10	0.23***	0.15***	-0.13***	0.27***	-0.25***	0.31***	-0.28***	0.07**	-0.21***										
11	-0.11***	-0.01	0.34***	-0.26***	0.41***	-0.40***	0.65***	0.01	0.30***	-0.21***									
12	0.00	-0.04	0.24***	-0.19***	0.28***	-0.31***	0.50***	-0.01	0.19***	-0.10***	0.54***								
13	0.04	0.11***	-0.15***	0.10***	-0.16***	0.31***	-0.35***	0.02	-0.11***	0.10***	-0.34***	-0.51***							
14	0.17***	0.04	-0.03	0.36***	-0.24***	0.22***	-0.27***	0.14***	-0.05*	0.19***	-0.16***	-0.11***	0.08***						
15	0.07**	-0.01	0.00	0.11***	-0.15***	0.12***	-0.17***	0.01	-0.01	0.05*	-0.19***	-0.18***	0.14***	0.14***					
16	0.00	0.07**	0.07**	0.08***	-0.02	0.03	0.01	0.06*	-0.04	0.07**	0.07**	0.04	0.04	0.06**	-0.23***				
17	-0.07**	0.01	0.13***	-0.12***	0.24***	-0.18***	0.33***	0.01	0.18***	-0.09***	0.34***	0.30***	-0.17***	-0.07**	-0.39***	0.26***			
18	0.11***	0.23***	-0.15***	0.23***	-0.20***	0.34***	-0.26***	0.02	-0.14***	0.23***	-0.19***	-0.13***	0.14***	0.18***	-0.05*	0.08***	-0.04		
19	-0.13***	-0.02	0.14***	-0.26***	0.28***	-0.26***	0.33***	0.00	0.16***	-0.16***	0.24***	0.13***	-0.08***	-0.19***	0.03	-0.08***	0.06**	-0.36***	

 = strong positive correlation, $\rho \geq 0.5$
 = moderate positive correlation, $0.3 \leq \rho < 0.5$
 = weak positive correlation, $0.1 \leq \rho < 0.3$
 = weak negative correlation, $-0.1 \geq \rho > -0.3$
 = moderate negative correlation, $-0.3 \geq \rho > -0.5$
 = strong negative correlation, $\rho \leq -0.5$

Strong and moderate correlations are also indicated in **bold** typeface.
 $p < 0.05 = *$, $p < 0.01 = **$, $p < 0.001 = ***$

Question key:

- | | |
|--|--|
| <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1 For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English. 2 English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands. 3 Speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage. 4 I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible. 5 I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so. 6 Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English. 7 I like using English. 8 Without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands. 9 English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities. 10 English skills are overrated. | <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 11 English is very important to me personally. 12 I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people. 13 I am ashamed of my English skills. 14 When I use English, it is most often with native speakers or foreigners, not with Dutch people. 15 As long as my English is good, I don't mind if it has a bit of Dutch 'flavour'. 16 'Dunglish' is bad English. 17 When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I'm from. 18 English is a threat to the Dutch language. 19 English enriches the Dutch language. |
|--|--|

highlighted boxes) are highly significant, as indicated by the asterisks.⁸⁴ No pairwise correlation had fewer than 1887 respondents; the vast majority had well over 1900.

A clear pattern emerges from the table: statements reflecting positive attitudes towards English tend to correlate with other positive statements, whereas those reflecting negative attitudes towards English correlate with other negative statements. To start with pro-English statements: strong positive correlation coefficients were obtained between the statements ‘I like using English’ and, respectively, ‘I always use English when I have the opportunity to do so’ ($\rho=.51$, $p<0.001$), ‘English is important to me personally’ ($\rho=.65$, $p<0.001$) and ‘I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people’ ($\rho=.50$, $p<0.001$). These statements also correlate positively with statements such as ‘English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities’ and ‘English enriches the Dutch language’. In other words, respondents who like English also use it often, are confident of their proficiency, feel English plays an important role in their lives, consider it beneficial on the job market, and see it as enriching Dutch. Interestingly, the most pro-English respondents do not seem to be in favour of Dutch English: positive correlations can be seen between respondents who always use English when they get the chance, regard it as important to them personally and feel they know it better than most other Dutch people, on the one hand, and the anti-Dutch English statements “‘Dunlish” is bad English’ and ‘When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I’m from’, on the other. Thus, those respondents who are most positive towards and confident in English seem to be the least accepting of Dutch English.

The strongest negative correlation coefficient was obtained for the statements ‘I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people’ and ‘I am ashamed of my English skills’ ($\rho=-.51$, $p<0.001$). This indicates, not surprisingly, that respondents who agreed with the first statement tended to disagree with the second, and vice versa. The statement ‘I am ashamed of my English skills’ was also negatively correlated with ‘I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so’, ‘I like using English’ and ‘English is very important to me personally’. Conversely, it was positively correlated with ‘I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible’, ‘Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English’, ‘English skills are overrated’ and ‘English is a threat to the Dutch language’. In other words,

⁸⁴ Some pairs of questions that do not reach a weak correlation level are also significant. For example, the correlation coefficient for q1 (‘For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English’) and q2 (‘English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands’) is -0.09. The negative correlation means that respondents who agree with q1 are more likely to disagree with question 2, and vice versa. This effect is not very strong; the coefficient does not reach the typically accepted threshold for a weak correlation, i.e. ± 0.1 . However, it is highly significant, indicating that the data on which the correlation is based and the matrix as a whole are robust.

these respondents dislike English, resent having to use it and try to avoid doing so, are ashamed of their lack of mastery, reject its high status in public and personal life, and see it as a threat to Dutch. Further, these anti-English respondents seem to be relatively more accepting of Dutch English. Positive correlations can be seen between respondents who prefer using Dutch whenever possible, resent having to use English and are ashamed of their English skills on the one hand, and the pro-Dutch English statement ‘As long as my English is good, I don’t mind if it has a bit of Dutch “flavour”’ on the other hand. Thus, those respondents who are less confident in and positive about English also seem to be less interested in attaining native-like proficiency and more accepting of Dutch English.

The correlation matrix seems to suggest the presence of underlying groups of respondents with shared attitudes, but it remains to be seen how large and distinct these groups are. The next step, therefore, was to cluster multiple statements into groups in such a way as to cover the largest possible number of respondents. As the vast majority of respondents agreed with several statements (e.g. 99% agreed that speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage), it was assumed that most respondents would fall into some sort of moderate group, while the minority of respondents with more extreme attitudes would fall into one or more peripheral groups. I therefore focused first on statements with high levels of agreement (or disagreement) and, using Table 4.17 as a guide, gradually branched out to correlated statements.

Figure 4.15 shows the results of this analysis. The three triangles represent the three groups that ultimately emerged: an instrumental group in the centre, and peripheral anti-English and anglophile groups (referred to as –English and +English, respectively). At the points of each triangle are three statements considered representative of the attitudes of that group, together with the percentage of agreement (or disagreement) per statement. The correlation coefficients for each pair of statements are shown on the sides of the triangles. To be placed in a particular group, a respondent was required to have answered all three statements in the same way as all other members of the group. The percentages of respondents included in each group, shown in the centre of the triangles, add up to a total of 128%. This is because there is some overlap: as will be discussed below, approximately 19% of the anti-English group and 19% of the anglophiles can be subsumed in the main instrumental group. Subtracting these from the total of 128%, we are left with 90%. In other words, these three groups provide fairly robust coverage, accounting for 90% of the nearly 2000 respondents in the entire dataset. The remaining 10% seem to have answered randomly or form groups too small to be identified here.

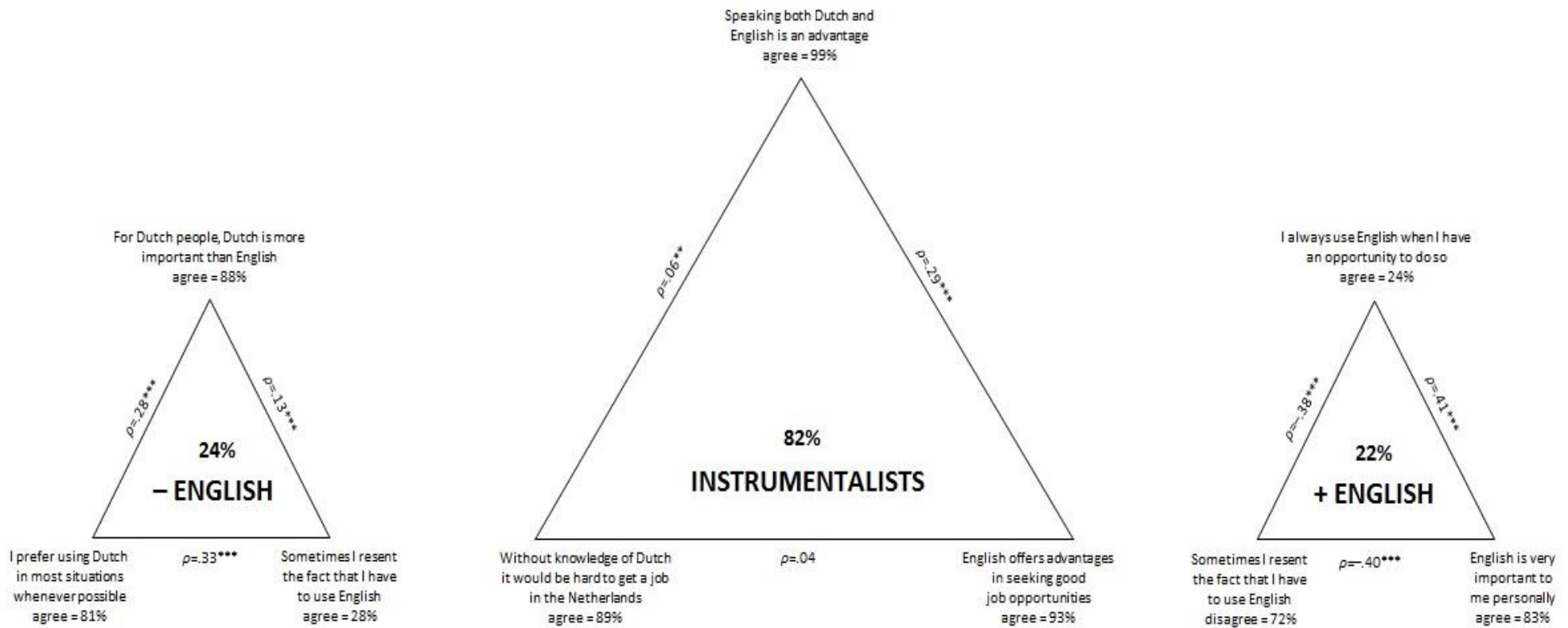


Figure 4.15: 'Required' statements per group

As can be seen in the figure, over 80% of respondents can be placed in the instrumental group. Based on their responses to the ‘required’ statements, their attitudes appear to be quite pragmatic: they consider speaking *both* Dutch and English an advantage in general as well as on the labour market. This immediately seems to do away with the common claim that the Dutch undervalue their own language (§4.2.5): the vast majority of people regard English as important, but at the same time consider Dutch equally if not more important, at least for instrumental purposes.

As noted, two peripheral groups also emerged: an ‘anti-English’ group on the one hand, and an ‘anglophile’ group on the other, each encompassing just over 20% of the respondents. The key statement for the anti-English group is ‘Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English’; 28% of all respondents agreed with this statement. This figure drops only to 24% when the two other statements are added (‘For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English’ and ‘I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible’). This suggests that resentment towards English is the driver for this group: respondents who resent using English are also highly likely to value Dutch over English and to prefer using Dutch at all times. Conversely, the key statement for the anglophile group is ‘I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so’; 24% of all respondents agreed with this statement. This figure stays as high as 22% when agreement with the statement ‘English is very important to me personally’ and disagreement with the statement ‘Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English’ are also required. In other words, far from resenting English, anglophiles use it whenever possible and consider it of personal importance in their lives.

As noted, 90% of respondents can be placed into the instrumental, the anti-English or the anglophile group based on their responses to one of three sets of ‘required’ statements. To identify other attitudes typically shared by the members of each group, a series of ‘optional’ statements was added, again using the correlation matrix in Table 4.17 as a guide. As shown in Table 4.18, respondents had to agree with a minimum number of these statements to still be included in the group. Naturally, this process involves a trade-off: fleshing out the attitudes shared by group members reduces the number of people accounted for. Here the totals add up to 110%, as 15% of the anti-English group and 17% of the anglophiles can be subsumed in the instrumental group. Discounting overlap, therefore, the addition of the optional statements to each group reduces the total coverage to just under 80% of all respondents. However, it allows for a more detailed picture of the attitudes typically shared by the members of each group.

Table 4.18: Required and optional statements for the three groups

– English (18%)	Instrumental (71%)	+ English (21%)
<p><i>Required:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English • I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible • Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English. 	<p><i>Required:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage • Without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands • English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities 	<p><i>Required:</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so • English is very important to me personally • *Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English
<p><i>Optional (3 of 5):</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • *English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands • *I like using English • Without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands • English skills are overrated • *English enriches the Dutch language 	<p><i>Optional (4 of 6):</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English • I like using English • English is very important to me personally • I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people • *I am ashamed of my English skills • English enriches the Dutch language 	<p><i>Optional (5 of 7):</i></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I like using English • English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities • *English skills are overrated • I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people • *I am ashamed of my English skills. • *English is a threat to the Dutch language • English enriches the Dutch language

* indicates disagreement with the statement

The final step of this analysis, having roughly mapped the attitudes of the respective group members, is to identify who they are. What demographic characteristics do they share? Below, the demographic variables age, education level, higher education language (if applicable), occupation and place of residence, as well as the additional variable self-reported proficiency level, are addressed. Table 4.19 to Table 4.24 present the distributions of these variables in each group – anti-English, instrumental and anglophile – compared to the dataset as a whole (the grey columns on the right). The asterisks indicate significant differences within a particular group compared to the full dataset as identified by pairwise chi square tests.

Table 4.19 presents the age distribution for each group as well as the dataset as a whole. To start with the anti-English group, the table shows that relatively fewer young people and more older people are represented in this group. Specifically, in the dataset as a

whole 15% of respondents are 24 or younger and 38% are aged 25 to 44, whereas the anti-English group has significantly lower proportions of respondents in these age groups: 8% are 24 or younger ($\chi^2=11.743$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$) and 25% are aged between 25 and 44 ($\chi^2=20.060$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$). Correspondingly, in the dataset as a whole 34% of respondents are aged 45 to 64 and 13% are 65 or older, whereas the anti-English group has significantly higher proportions of respondents in these age groups: 44% aged 45 to 64 ($\chi^2=13.417$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$) and 22% aged 65 and older ($\chi^2=19.475$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$). In other words, younger people are less represented in the anti-English group than may be expected, and older people are overrepresented. As may be expected, the anglophile group shows the opposite trend: 20% and 48% of respondents in this groups are in the two younger age groups, respectively, making these groups significantly overrepresented compared to the dataset as a whole (≤ 24 : $\chi^2=5.250$, $df=1$, $p=0.022$; 25–44: $\chi^2=14.950$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$). Correspondingly, only 25% and 7% of anglophiles are in the older age groups, making them significantly underrepresented compared to the dataset as a whole (45–64: $\chi^2=12.881$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$; ≥ 65 : $\chi^2=10.240$, $df=1$, $p=0.001$). The instrumental group also has a relatively lower proportion of people aged 65 and over (10%) compared to the dataset as a whole ($\chi^2=9.216$, $df=1$, $p=0.002$). As we know these older people are also less likely to be anglophiles, this suggests they are heavily converging in the anti-English group (specifically, in the non-overlapping part of this group). In short, people with negative attitudes towards English are disproportionately older than in the dataset as a whole, while those with highly positive attitudes tend to be disproportionately younger.

Table 4.19: Age distribution in the three groups cf. the dataset as a whole

Category	– English		Instrumental		+ English		Full dataset	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
≤ 24	29***	8	229	17	79*	20	296	15
25–44	88***	25	549	41	191***	48	731	38
45–64	154***	44	445	33	98***	25	658	34
≥ 65	77***	22	130**	10	29**	7	253	13
<i>no answer</i>	<i>1</i>		<i>1</i>		<i>0</i>		<i>1</i>	
Total	349	100	1354	100	397	100	1939	100

Table 4.20 shows no significant differences in education level across the three groups. However, as Table 4.21 shows, the language of instruction in higher education had a significant effect. Respondents whose higher education was in Dutch only were significantly

overrepresented in the anti-English group ($\chi^2=9.269$, $df=1$, $p=0.002$) and underrepresented in the anglophile group ($\chi^2=27.930$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$). The reverse is also true, as may be expected: those whose higher education was either fully in English or bilingual in English and Dutch were significantly underrepresented in the anti-English group ($\chi^2=12.881$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$) and overrepresented among the anglophiles ($\chi^2=25.831$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$). Interestingly, the instrumental group shows the same pattern, with a disproportionately greater proportion of people whose higher education was fully or partly in English ($\chi^2=10.223$, $df=1$, $p=0.001$), suggesting that the (non-overlapping part of the) anti-English group is the main locus for people whose higher education was entirely in Dutch. It may be that those with higher degrees, but who followed them in Dutch, face the most strenuous demands on their English in their working (and perhaps social) lives.

Table 4.20: Education level distribution in the three groups cf. the dataset as a whole

Category	– English		Instrumental		+ English		Full dataset	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
primary school	2 [†]	1	13	1	6 [†]	2	14	1
high school	72	21	284	21	94	24	424	22
HBO	99	28	351	26	110	28	525	27
WO	150	43	609	45	167	42	855	44
PhD	25	7	90	7	18	5	111	6
<i>no answer</i>	1		7		2		10	
Total	349	100	1354	100	397	100	1939	100

[†] As one or more of the expected frequencies was below 5, Fisher's exact test was used

Table 4.21: Higher education language distribution in the three groups cf. the dataset as a whole

Category	– English		Instrumental		+ English		Full dataset	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
Dutch	237**	73	730**	57	178***	48	1149	63
fully or partly English	88***	27	549**	43	193***	52	680	37
<i>Other</i>	12		44		21		70	
<i>no answer</i>	12		31		5		40	
Total	349	100	1354	100	397	100	1939	100

Turning to occupation in Table 4.22, we see that the significant differences are to be found among students and retirees. The anti-English group has a disproportionately high percentage of retired people ($\chi^2=16.809$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$) and a disproportionately low percentage of

students ($\chi^2=8.951$, $df=1$, $p=0.003$) compared to the dataset as a whole. By contrast, the anglophile group shows the reverse trend, with a significantly lower proportion of retired people ($\chi^2=6.676$, $df=1$, $p=0.010$) and a higher proportion of students ($\chi^2=14.879$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$). The instrumental group also has a relatively lower proportion of retired people ($\chi^2=6.340$, $df=1$, $p=0.012$), indicating that retirees are disproportionately converging in the non-overlapping part of the anti-English group.

Table 4.22: Occupation distribution in the three groups cf. the dataset as a whole

Category	– English		Instrumental		+ English		Full dataset	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
manager	10	3	48	4	16	4	74	4
expert	192	56	746	56	193	50	1038	54
office & customer service worker	19	6	97	7	34	9	145	8
healthcare worker	7	2	36	3	14	4	48	3
manual worker	2 [†]	1	16	1	4 [†]	1	23	1
student	32**	9	234	18	92***	24	296	15
unemployed	14	4	36	3	7	2	59	3
retired	69***	20	122*	9	29**	7	228	12
<i>no answer</i>	4		19		8		28	
Total	349	100	1354	100	397	100	1939	100

[†] As one or more of the expected frequencies was below 5, Fisher's exact test was used

Table 4.23 shows the residential distribution across each of the three groups and in the dataset as a whole. The anti-English group has relatively fewer city residents and more country dwellers, but these differences were not significant.

Table 4.23: Residential distribution in the three groups cf. the dataset as a whole

Category	– English		Instrumental		+ English		Full dataset	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
city	230	68	930	72	281	73	1344	72
town	79	23	287	22	84	22	405	22
country	28	8	83	6	21	5	116	6
<i>not specified</i>	11		53		11		71	
<i>no answer</i>	1		1		0		3	
Total	349	100	1354	100	397	100	1939	100

Finally, Table 4.24 shows the proficiency distribution across all groups. The figures are based on self-reported speaking proficiency (Figure 4.6), and show a clear association between respondents' perceived competence and their attitudes towards English. People who report speaking English fluently appear half as often in the anti-English group as in the dataset as a whole ($\chi^2=83.979$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$), while those who speak it with difficulty appear twice as often in this group ($\chi^2=35.579$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$). People who rate themselves as fluent are significantly overrepresented in the anglophile group ($\chi^2=97.368$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$), whereas virtually nobody in this group has difficulty speaking English. Interestingly, the instrumental group also has a disproportionately high percentage of fluent English speakers ($\chi^2=24.754$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$), suggesting that non-fluent speakers are converging heavily in the non-overlapping part of the anti-English group. Further, people who rate their proficiency as reasonable are overrepresented in the anti-English group ($\chi^2=40.601$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$) and underrepresented among both the instrumentalists ($\chi^2=9.701$, $df=1$, $p=0.002$) and the anglophiles ($\chi^2=66.755$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$) compared to the dataset as a whole. This suggests that speaking English 'only' reasonably is unusual for the population as a whole and associated with negative attitudes towards English.

Table 4.24: Proficiency distribution in the three groups cf. the dataset as a whole

Category	– English		Instrumental		+ English		Full dataset	
	n	%	n	%	n	%	n	%
fluently	91***	26	832***	62	316***	80	1022	53
reasonably	211***	61	496**	37	80***	20	815	42
with difficulty	45***	13	22***	2	1***	0	91	5
not at all	1 [†]	0	1 [†]	0	0 [†]	0	2	0
<i>no answer</i>	1		3		0		9	
Total	349	100	1354	100	397	100	1939	100

[†] As one or more of the expected frequencies was below 5, Fisher's exact test was used

Figure 4.16 combines all the insights yielded in this section. First, three clusters of correlated 'required' and 'optional' statements were identified and the majority of respondents placed into three groups based on their responses. To further flesh out the profiles of the members of each group, their demographic characteristics and proficiency levels were then considered. Figure 4.16 gives an overview of all this information. As has been noted, the instrumental group is the largest, with over 70% of all respondents ($n=1354$). The two peripheral groups

account for about 20% of respondents each, but 15% of the anti-English group and 17% of the anglophile group overlaps with the instrumental group. The remaining 3% and 4% represent the people with the most extreme anti- and pro-English views, respectively. These three groups are therefore together able to account for almost 80% of all respondents.

To summarise the information in the figure, the instrumentalists believe that knowledge of both Dutch and English is advantageous for Dutch people both in general and on the job market. Although they tend to believe Dutch is more important than English for Dutch people, they have largely positive attitudes towards English, so much so that ‘instrumental’ may in fact be too neutral a label for this group: they typically like using English, are not ashamed of their English skills – indeed, most consider their English better than that of other Dutch people – and regard English as personally important and as an enrichment to Dutch. In other words, the vast majority of Dutch people place high value on both English and Dutch, have positive views of the two languages, and are confident in their English skills. The two peripheral groups, although there is quite some overlap with the instrumental group, have more specific attitudes. Respondents in the anglophile group use English whenever they get the chance, do not believe English is overrated in the Netherlands and do not see English as a threat to the Dutch language. They are typically young, are often still studying, followed or are following part or all of their higher education in English, and view ‘Dutch English’ in a negative light. For the true anglophiles in this group (i.e. the area with no overlap), their positive orientation towards English comes at the expense of Dutch; for example, they see English as more important and would rather use English than Dutch. In contrast, the anti-English group prefer using Dutch whenever possible, do not like and even resent using English, and typically view English skills as overrated and English as a threat to Dutch. Compared to the rest of the sample, these respondents more often consider themselves non-fluent and have difficulty speaking English. They are typically older, retired, followed higher education in Dutch only, live in the countryside and are more accepting of Dutch English. Where this group overlaps with the instrumentalists, people typically dislike English, but see it as important. The small minority who do not overlap with the instrumentalists both dislike English and do not regard it as important.

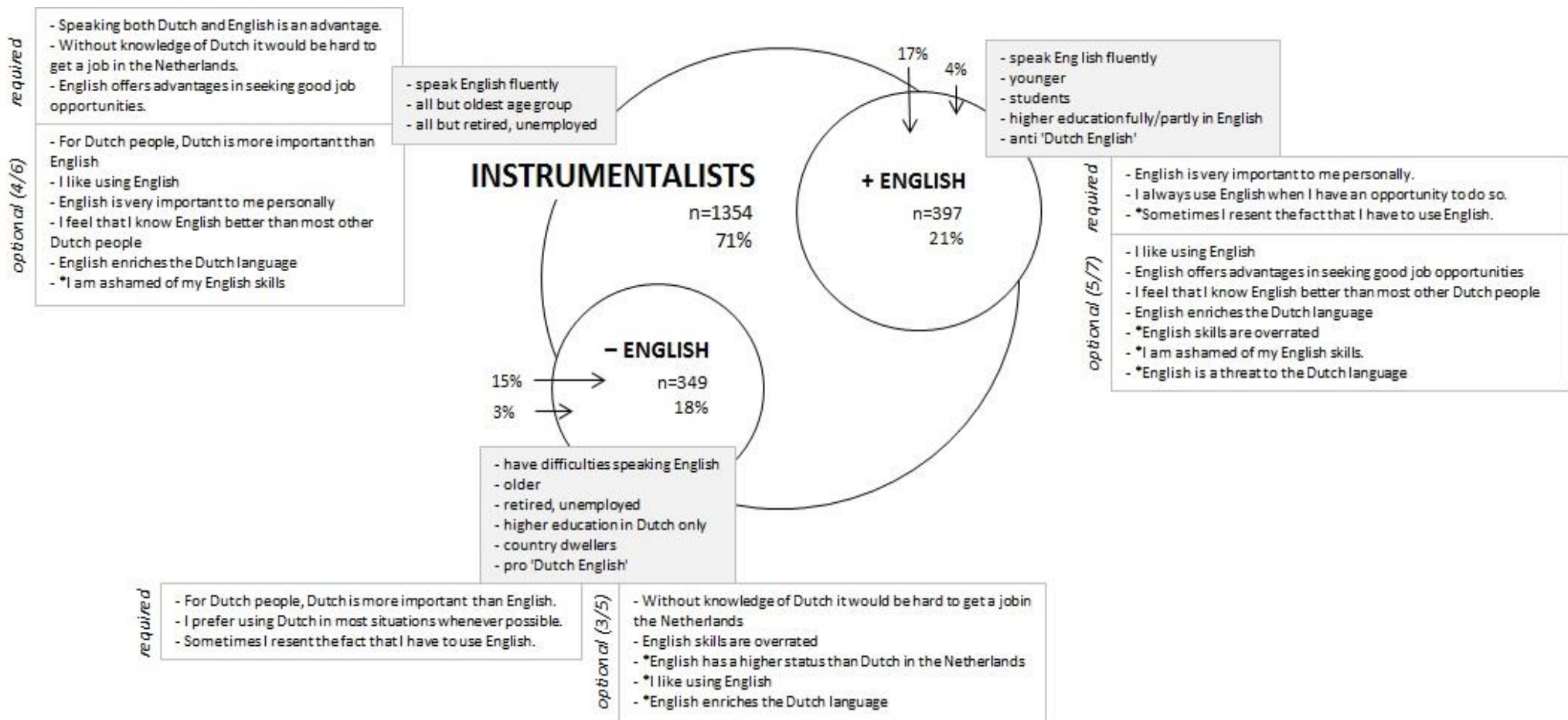


Figure 4.16: Instrumental, anti-English and anglophile groups: Overview

4.5 Discussion

This survey has provided the first overall picture of Dutch people's attitudes towards English (and Dutch) across wide-ranging topics and population sectors. The sections below summarise and discuss the results for each theme in turn. Relevant previous findings from the Netherlands and from other European countries are noted. Further, the implications of the present results for the status of English in the Netherlands as a learner or second-language variety are considered.

4.5.1 Learning English

The aim of this section was to establish where Dutch people acquire English: either largely in the classroom, as expected in EFL countries, or also in wider society, as in ESL countries. As noted in passing by various authors (e.g. Ammon & McConnell, 2002: 99; McArthur, 1993: 35; Ridder, 1995: 44) and established more comprehensively in Chapter 3, English has permeated many domains of life in the Netherlands. The present findings provide further support for this: Dutch people report acquiring English not just in the foreign language classroom, but also outside of it. While 9 in 10 of respondents identified school as having contributed to their current English level, 8 in 10 also noted the important role of the media. This supports Verspoor, De Bot and Van Rein (2011), who associated the lack of media input among Dutch children at Reformed schools with lower English proficiency levels. Further, half of the respondents also reported acquiring English through higher education, work and having foreign friends/acquaintances. In short – and in line with Leppänen et al.'s (2011: 102) findings for Finland – Dutch people acquire English through various societal domains. Moreover, this trend seems to be increasing: older people (and people in lower level jobs) gave relatively more importance to school. In contrast, for young cosmopolitans, who have access to globalised society, media and higher education, the process of acquiring English continues throughout life and spans multiple domains.

4.5.2 Using English

This section first examined the use of English in Dutch, i.e. code-switching and -mixing. Again, similarities can be drawn with Leppänen et al.'s (2011) study on Finland: in the Netherlands, too, the majority of code-switching appears to happen outside the home – with friends and colleagues – more so than with family. Highly educated people and those in higher level jobs code-switch relatively more than others with their colleagues, but less so with their families, partners and friends. This may be due to the internationalisation of their work fields or, as Leppänen et al. (2011: 139) suggest, greater concern for purity of the mother tongue. Older people code-switch less than others, and typically more for

instrumental reasons. This may relate to the apparently traditional sense in the Netherlands that foreign words should only be used for good reason. For example, a popular article by Bakker (1987) listed 10 good reasons for the use of foreign (especially English) words in Dutch. These included the absence of Dutch equivalent (*jazz*, *jet lag*) or the need for a euphemism/softening (*sorry* for '*het spijt me*'). Others have found that English loanwords indeed appear to be more successful if they have some instrumental advantage, e.g. if they are easy to pronounce or shorter than the Dutch equivalent (Gerritsen & Jansen, 2000; Venker, 2012: 28; Zenner, Speelman, & Geeraerts, 2012). In the present data young people/students use English words for emotive/integrative reasons relatively more often than older people: to sound better, to create an effect or to signal group membership. This ties in with Erling's (2004: 103) German university students, who used English because it sounds 'cool', 'trendy' or 'better than German'. Thus, the use of English among young people in the Netherlands can be seen as an aid for creating or expressing aspects of identity; a characteristic ESL usage.

This section also considered the wholesale use of English, beyond merely code-switching and -mixing. The majority of Dutch people are positive about, confident in and like using English. A quarter of respondents reported using English whenever the chance arises. The most positive attitudes were associated with young people/students, women, better educated people, people whose higher education was partly or fully in English, and those in high level jobs. These people also use English among themselves more and consider themselves more talkative, smarter and better able to talk about emotional things in English. Negative feelings, such as resentment at having to use English, were restricted to less than one third of the population – more frequently men, unemployed and older/retired people, and those whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch. Compared to their more positive peers, these people also report using English only with foreigners relatively more often.

As Leppänen et al. (2011) found for Finland, women and older people (as well as those whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch) more often experience feelings of inadequacy in English. However, the Dutch seem to be more confident than Finns. Comparing with Leppänen et al. (2011: 123), fewer Dutch people than Finns report being quieter (33% cf. 41%) or feeling less capable (27% cf. 38%) in English, and the Dutch more often report feeling smarter (23% cf. 3%) and more talkative (15% cf. 3%) in English than Finns. Strikingly, 64% of Dutch people (cf. 12% of Finns) report feeling the same in English as in their mother tongue. In short, it seems that the majority of Dutch people feel confident, comfortable and quite themselves using English, and for young people in particular it plays an integral role in expressing themselves and constructing their identities.

4.5.3 Perceived competence

The respondents' self-reported proficiency levels corroborate other findings that English proficiency is high and widespread in the Netherlands (e.g. Education First, 2013; European Commission, 2012; cf. Chapter 3). Over 90% of respondents rated themselves as having reasonable to fluent reading, writing, speaking and listening skills (cf. 50%–70% of Finns in Leppänen et al. 2011: 103⁸⁵). Virtually no respondents indicated 'not at all' for any skill (cf. 19% of Finns in Leppänen). Interestingly, having 'only' reasonable English seems to be associated with negative attitudes towards English. The most confident users are aged 44 and under, male and well educated, followed higher education in English or bilingually in English and Dutch, have high level jobs or are still students, and live in cities. Somewhat less confident are older people, women, people who followed higher education fully or mainly in Dutch, people in lower level jobs and retirees.

Self-evaluation, with all the issues this can entail, was the only feasible way to gain insight into respondents' proficiency levels in this study (see also Leppänen (2011)). The fact that almost 9 in 10 respondents report having better English than the average Dutch person could be due to the high education level of this sample, or to the apparent tendency of Dutch people to overestimate their skills in English. This purported overestimation may be linked to the development of a sort of collective mythology or national identity as English users, which would be reminiscent of ESL (see Chapter 6 for further discussion). In any event, it is clear that English in the Netherlands is by no means restricted to the elite, as is typically the case in EFL countries; the widespread competence found in the Netherlands is more suggestive of ESL.

4.5.4 Models and varieties of English

The traditional target model in the Netherlands, as in the rest of Europe, is British English. However, pop culture, globalised media and the like have seen the rise of American English as a performance variety as well as a target model for some. This has been noted among young Danes (Preisler, 1999), among German university students (Erling, 2004), and in Finland, where British English remains the most appealing variety but younger people are more open to American English (Leppänen et al., 2011). The present results showed a similar trend. The most popular target models in the Netherlands are British English, followed by a neutral variety, then American English. Young people chose American English relatively

⁸⁵ NB. For this comparison Leppänen et al.'s (2011) categories *fluent* and *fairly fluent* were collapsed and matched with the *fluent* category in the present study; their *moderate* category was considered the equivalent of the present *reasonable* category; and their categories *with difficulty* and *only a few words* were collapsed into the present *with difficulty* category.

more frequently, while older people preferred British English. This supports previous findings for the Netherlands. Van der Haagen (1998: 50–76), for example, found that Dutch high school students think their teachers should speak British English, but see American English as more dynamic and friendly. Gerritsen, Korzilius, Van Meurs and Gijbers (2000) suggested the openness towards American English in the Netherlands could be a reaction against school, which people associate with British English. As in Erling (2004: 214–5), whose German students consciously embraced a European identity, in the present data younger Dutch respondents reported speaking ‘Euro-English’ more often than others; it may be that recent sociopolitical developments and their experiences with exchange programmes such as Erasmus lead them to identify more with Europe than their parents and grandparents.

Although Van Oostendorp (2002) called for a Dutch variety of English to be embraced as a reaction against the unfair advantage of native speakers, this attitude does not appear to have trickled down. Like other Europeans (Erling, 2004; Leppänen et al., 2011; Mollin, 2006) and unlike established ESL societies, the Dutch do not see their local variety as a target model. Evidence can be seen of Kachru’s (1983a: 179) ‘linguistic schizophrenia’, a mismatch between the target and local norm: only 6% of respondents accept Dutch ‘flavour’ in their target model, whereas a quarter admit to speaking Dutch English. This mismatch is regarded as characteristic of a transition stage that foreshadows the development of an ESL variety (B. B. Kachru, 1983a; Schneider, 2007). In line with attitudes towards Finnish English in Finland (Leppänen et al., 2011: 71–72), in the present data greater acceptance of Dutch English was found among respondents with lower proficiency levels: older people/retirees, people in lower level occupations and people whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch. In contrast, young people/students and those whose higher education was in English or bilingual were more opposed to the notion of a local variety.

A terminology issue may be at play here. While 7 in 10 respondents consider ‘Dunglish’ to be ‘bad English’, the same proportion do not mind if their English has a bit of Dutch ‘flavour’. Yet the notion of Dutch English as a communicatively successful and internationally intelligible variety, does not seem to be viewed as distinct from Dunglish, the derided, ‘broken’ hybrid that is subject to public ridicule (consider also Singlish cf. Singapore English). In a small-scale master’s study, Wayling (2012: 9) reported that 9 in 10 respondents did not accept Dunglish as a variety, concluding that Dutch people ‘do not wish to be labelled as Dunglish speakers: they rather see their English as an interlanguage, hopefully continually improving’. It may be that as awareness increases of English varieties and variation, the

notion of Dutch English, as opposed to *Dunglish*, may come to be better understood and find greater acceptability.

4.5.5 Status of English and Dutch

The responses concerning the respective status of English and Dutch reveal that while English is held in high regard in the Netherlands, so too is Dutch. Virtually all respondents agree that competence in both languages is important. As in Finland (Leppänen et al., 2011) and Germany (Erling, 2004: 139), the mother tongue is still valued as the primary national language. However, 8 in 10 also agree that ‘English is very important to me personally’ (cf. 6 in 10 Finns in Leppänen et al., 2011: 20). Moreover, a quarter think English has a higher status in the Netherlands than Dutch, reflecting its perceived importance in domains such as higher education and the labour market. These respondents are more frequently young people, women, city residents, and people whose higher education was in English or bilingual. Four in ten see English as overrated and a quarter as a threat, similar to comparable figures for Denmark (Preisler, 1999: 247), Germany (Erling, 2004: 155) and Finland (Leppänen et al., 2011: 80). These are more often older people, men, people whose higher education was fully or mainly in Dutch, unemployed people, retirees and non-city residents.

These results do away with the widely held notion that the Dutch do not value their own language. This has been claimed for both the past and the present: authors point to the colonial policy not to teach Dutch to the local population (Smaakman, 2006: 45; Van Oostendorp, 2012a: 254), for example, or the fact that Dutch reportedly all but disappears among emigrants by the second generation (De Bot & Clyne, 1994; Smolicz, 1992). By contrast, this study supports De Bot and Weltens (1997), who found no empirical support for this apparent lack of regard for Dutch. They surveyed the attitudes of Dutch, English, German and Turkish speakers living in the Netherlands towards their own and each other’s languages. Although foreigners often complain they never get the chance to acquire Dutch, so keen are the Dutch to switch to English (see further Chapter 6), the immigrants in De Bot and Weltens considered it important to learn Dutch. Moreover, the Dutch participants rated Dutch as their most important language, followed by English, then German, French and finally Turkish, showing no signs of undervaluing Dutch. The same trend can be seen in the present results, where 9 in 10 respondents consider Dutch more important than English for Dutch people.

Further, three quarters of respondents do not see English as a threat to Dutch. This supports academics who, despite the concerns voiced in the media, regularly point out that Dutch has survived foreign influences before (e.g. Nortier, 2011). Latin and French worried

early purists, then German: in fact, the Genootschap Onze Taal⁸⁶ was founded in 1931 partly to combat the perceived infiltration of German (Onze Taal, n.d.). The society's magazine now espouses a more balanced outlook, which has prompted those with less moderate views to establish splinter groups such as the Stichting Nederlands (SN) and Stichting Taalverdediging Nederlands (ST) (Van Oostendorp, 2012a: 258). One of the SN's main initiatives has been to propose Dutch alternatives for English words, with varying success. Its more far-fetched suggestions meet with ridicule (Nortier, 2011: 114), while most simply fall on deaf ears. It is generally agreed that the impact of English on Dutch is only superficial, as loans are adjusted to the linguistic system of Dutch⁸⁷ (e.g. Booij, 2001; Nortier, 2011: 116; Van der Sijs, 2009). Therefore, '[t]he Dutch do not seem entirely dedicated to this fight' (Smaakman, 2006: 43). The ST is perhaps more extreme. It publishes a regular, rather vitriolic newsletter, labelling prominent individuals who appear all too pro-English as 'language traitors' and 'cultural wimps'⁸⁸, comparing the promotion of English to the Nazi occupation during World War II⁸⁹, and equating the threat posed by English lessons with that of paedophilia.⁹⁰

Needless to say, Van Oostendorp (2012a: 260) describes the members of such organisations as 'militants' and in a 'very small minority'. The present results instead support the more mainstream view of English as an additional resource rather than a threat. While

⁸⁶ Society of Our Language, <https://onzetaal.nl>

⁸⁷ For example, English verbs take the Dutch infinitival forms (*blind daten*), nouns take Dutch suffixes (*een fileetje*, i.e. a small file) and attributively used adjectives receive Dutch morphology (*coole muziek*). Indications of a structural effect of English on Dutch to date remain anecdotal; Berteloot and Van der Sijs (2002: 46, 50), for instance, suggest that orthographical influence of English can be seen in the use of the possessive apostrophe in e.g. *Pietje's tas* and the spelling of Dutch compound words separately.

⁸⁸ 'taalverraders' and 'culturele slapjanussen'; e.g. the former finance minister Wouter Bos, who would give speeches in English a foreigner may be present (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2009b).

⁸⁹ When the then deputy mayor of Amsterdam Lodewijk Asscher supported a proposal to make Amsterdam bilingual, the ST wrote: 'Where this language traitor gets the audacity is anyone's guess; as a member of a very prominent Jewish family from Amsterdam, he must have heard from his grandparents how it was to live in a city where foreigners held the power and where a different language (German) had be introduced as the second language. Apparently this man has learnt nothing [...]' ('*Waar deze taalverrader de euvele moed vandaan haalt mag Joost weten; als lid van een zeer vooraanstaande Joodse Amsterdamse familie zou hij toch van zijn (groot)ouders moeten hebben gehoord hoe het was om in een stad te leven waar anderstaligen de macht uitoefenden en waar een andere taal (het Duits) als tweede taal ingevoerd was. Deze man heeft er kennelijk niets van geleerd [...]*') (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2009a: 6)

⁹⁰ 'Parents, watch out for your children! Some time ago the Netherlands was rocked by the widespread abuse of young children by a paedophile working at an Amsterdam day care centre. ... Since October parents have something new to worry about. Following on from the paedophile dangers comes the anglophile danger. Namely: the De Dribbel child care centre in Hoogland (province of Utrecht) has started giving ENGLISH LESSONS!' ('*Ouders, pas op uw peuters! Enige tijd geleden werd Nederland opge-schrikt door misbruik op grote schaal van kleine kinderen door een pedofiele medewerker op een Amsterdams kleuterdagverblijf. [...] Sinds oktober hebben de ouders iets nieuws om zich zorgen over te maken. Na het pedofielengevaar is er het anglo-fielengevaar bij gekomen. Wat is namelijk het geval: In Hoogland (prov. Utrecht) is op "Kinderdagverblijf De Dribbel" een aanvang gemaakt met ENGELSE LES!*') (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2012c: 2)

English has a strong position in the Netherlands, it is seen as providing access to the outside world rather than detracting from the Dutch mother tongue and cultural heritage:

[T]he Dutch language attitude at the beginning of the 21st century is a rather relaxed one; the average Dutch person does not seem to suffer from a lot of anxiety regarding the state of his language, even though of course occasionally certain concerns are expressed. (Van Oostendorp, 2010: 4)

How the actual threat of English and perceptions of this threat will develop in the future remains to be seen. Several authors have pointed out that the ongoing global significance of English, Dutch speakers' highly positive orientation towards it and their eagerness to use it may mean that concerns about English are more justified than those of previous 'threats' (e.g. Smaakman, 2006: 44). It is increasingly an indispensable tool educationally, professionally and socially, and – as in ESL societies – those with poor English in the Netherlands may find themselves marginalised or excluded. For the time being, however, English serves not as a replacement for Dutch but as an addition to it. Twice as many respondents in the present data saw it as an enrichment than as a threat. As has been found elsewhere in Europe (Erling, 2004; Leppänen et al., 2011), English mainly serves a resource that enhances individuals' local identities and links them to the European and global communities.

4.5.6 Three groups: Instrumental, anglophile and anti-English

In the final analysis, three groups of people with shared attitudes were identified, along with their associated demographic characteristics. These groups accounted for almost 80% of the respondents. This analysis confirmed that the majority view of English is a positive one: most Dutch people like using English, have high proficiency levels and regard it as personally important. At the same time, they place great value on Dutch as well. Two marginal groups were also identified. The anti-English group prefer using Dutch whenever possible, do not like using English – in fact, resent having to use it – and see it as a threat to Dutch. These people are typically older, have lower level occupations, are less proficient in English and are more accepting of Dutch English. In contrast, the anglophiles use English whenever the chance arises. They are often younger people, students, followed higher education in English or bilingually in English and Dutch, rate English as more important than Dutch, and view Dutch English in a negative light.

These three groups can loosely be mapped onto those identified by Leppänen et al. (2011: 164–66) in Finland. They, too, found a larger group with more moderate opinions (the *haves*), flanked by two peripheral groups: the *have nots*, people with relatively low proficiency who seldom use English; and the *have-it-alls*, people who have fully adopted

English, use it well and frequently, and consider it an integral part of their lives. The highly pro-English groups in Leppänen et al. (2011) and the present study represent an addition to Preisler's (1999) earlier distinction between the *haves* and *have nots* of English in Denmark. This addition recognises the growing group of people in Europe for whom English has taken on increasing importance: well-educated young professionals with urban, cosmopolitan lifestyles. Various authors – e.g. Dronkers (2013) in the Netherlands, Hyltenstam (1999) in Sweden (cited in Berg, Hult, & King, 2001: 307) and Leppänen (2011) in Finland – have warned that this development could give rise to a societal divide, where poor English equates to lesser opportunities and a marginalised position in society. However, as English becomes a basic tool available to virtually everyone, this polarisation may lessen (Leppänen et al., 2011: 167). Indeed, the present 'instrumental' group is not in fact neutral: these respondents, who represent over 70% of the sample, have positive attitudes towards and good proficiency in English. Moreover, even people in the anti-English group typically report having at least reasonable English skills, reflecting the widespread competence across the entire population. The promotion of Dutch English may ultimately benefit inclusivity, in that greater awareness and acceptance of Dutch English may result in less stigmatisation of, and negative attitudes among, people with less native-like English.

4.6 Summary and conclusion

This survey aimed to identify the attitudes of Dutch people towards English (and Dutch). With almost 2000 respondents across all population sectors, it is the largest of its kind in the Netherlands. The results show that while English is highly valued, Dutch continues to be seen as a vital and valuable part of life in the Netherlands.

A number of the results are suggestive of a gradual shift from EFL to ESL status. English is not learnt only in the foreign-language classroom, but acquired in wider societal domains. English skills are by no means restricted to an elite section of the population, but are widespread; even people with relatively negative attitudes towards English are still reasonably proficient. While older people use English more for instrumental reasons, for young people English has become an additional and increasingly essential means for constructing and expressing their identities. Indeed, it may be tied up with the Dutch identity itself, with knowing English becoming a crucial part of the national psyche. The broadly positive attitudes will likely allow the trends identified here to develop further, such that people with lesser English may find themselves unable to function fully in Dutch society.

However, it has not come to that yet (and education policies, which see English taught at all school levels, may prevent this from eventuating). The present results do away with popular belief that the Dutch undervalue Dutch. English, despite its prestige, is not seen as a threat to the mother tongue, which remains an integral part of Dutch life. Moreover, characteristics of EFL remain. Specifically, Dutch people are still oriented towards native models, and ‘Dutch English’ is not viewed in a positive light or seen as target model. It should be noted, however, that acceptance of local norms emerges only at a very advanced developmental stage of a variety (Buschfeld, 2011: 94). The results instead showed evidence of ‘linguistic schizophrenia’ (B. B. Kachru, 1983a: 179), whereby few people aim for Dutch English, but many more concede that they probably speak it. This mismatch between target model and performance variety is said to characterise the transition period that foreshadows the later acceptance of local standards (B. B. Kachru, 1983a; Schneider, 2007) (see further Chapter 6).

Greater awareness of the development of Englishes varieties and variation may foster awareness of the distinction between Dungleish, the derided hybrid variety, and Dutch English as a potential local norm. It may therefore be useful for future studies to distinguish terminologically and conceptually between Dungleish and Dutch English. The issue of representativeness should also be borne in mind: the present sample was more highly educated than the wider Dutch population. However, highly educated people are more likely to become future opinion leaders and to represent the local prestige variety; thus, they are also likely to have a disproportionate influence on the future development of English in the Netherlands. Most importantly, it would be desirable for this survey to be repeated at regular intervals. Given that English continues to become more and more entrenched in Dutch society, longitudinal data will shed light on how the present positive attitudes towards English develop and change in the future.

5. THE FORMS OF ENGLISH IN THE NETHERLANDS: A CORPUS STUDY

5.1 Introduction

This chapter explores the third and final criterion for the development of a second-language variety, as opposed to merely a learner variety, of English; namely, the linguistic forms of the variety in question. As established in Chapter 1, ESL varieties show widespread and systematic nativisation of features at the phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical and pragmatic levels (cf. Buschfeld, 2011; Mollin, 2006). To address this criterion, section 5.2 first outlines the potential features of Dutch English that have been suggested in the literature on the basis of contrastive analyses, observation and anecdote. Section 5.3 then introduces the Corpus of Dutch English, which consists of nearly half a million words of texts written in English by Dutch native speakers. This corpus was developed as part of the present research to allow, for the first time, empirical investigation of the purported features of Dutch English, as well as comparison with other varieties of English. To my knowledge, it is the first Expanding Circle corpus that extends beyond merely student writing to include correspondence, press writing, fiction and other genres. Subsequently, a case study of the progressive aspect is presented. The aim is to ascertain whether Dutch English behaves like a second language or rather a learner variety with respect to this particular linguistic phenomenon. To this end, section 5.4 reports on a comparative corpus analysis of the progressive aspect in Dutch English compared to a range of ENL and ESL varieties. The corpus findings are corroborated with acceptability data in section 5.5, which presents a grammaticality judgement survey among Dutch L1s that draws on the results of the corpus analysis. Finally, section 5.6 discusses the findings with a view to the status of Dutch English as a second-language or learner variety. Parts of section 5.3, on the design and compilation of the corpus, were published in Edwards (2011), and the comparative corpus analysis of the progressive aspect in section 5.4 appeared in Edwards (2014a).

5.2 Potential features of Dutch English

To date, no comprehensive study within the World Englishes paradigm has considered the linguistic forms of Dutch English. Indications of these forms must instead be inferred from work published for other ends. For example, potential features of Dutch English can be identified in:

- popular accounts of mistranslations (e.g. Rijkens, 2005)

- contrastive analyses of different areas of English and Dutch (e.g. Hannay, 1997; Tavecchio, 2010; Tops, Dekeyser, Devriendt, & Geukens, 2001)
- English grammar and usage guides aimed at Dutch speakers (e.g. Hannay & Mackenzie, 2009; Van de Krol, 2008)
- studies in the fields of SLA/ELT (e.g. Burrough-Boenisch, 2003b; De Haan & Van der Haagen, 2012, 2013; Hendriks, 2002; Springer, 2012).

Only rarely is the notion of Dutch English as a potential contact variety touched upon, and the examples of linguistic features given necessarily remain at the anecdotal and observational level; see for example the master's theses by Edwards (2010), Dybalska (2010), Wayling (2012) and Wubben (2007). The tables below provide an overview of these potential features, compiled on the basis of the multifarious sources listed above as well as personal observation. Table 5.1 provides an overview of the potential morphosyntactic features of Dutch English, Table 5.2 lexicosemantic features and Table 5.3 pragmatic/discoursal features. Not considered here are phonological features, as extensive discussion of the features of Dutch-accented English can be found in Gussenhoven and Broeders (1997), Koet (2007), Tops et al. (2001), Van den Doel (2006) and Van der Haagen (1998); moreover, the Corpus of Dutch English, whose design and contents are described in this chapter (§5.3), contains only written language and so is not suited to the study of phonological features. For the sake of providing authentic examples, the examples in the right-hand columns are largely taken from this corpus, as indicated by the identifier 'NL ...'.⁹¹ Some seem to be the result of transfer phenomena, while others may be tied to universal acquisition processes; detailed discussion of the sources of these potential features/innovations is beyond the scope of this section. The tables are not meant to provide an exhaustive overview but should be regarded as impressionistic sketches, presented for the purposes of illustration only.

Table 5.1: Overview of potential morphosyntactic features of Dutch English

Articles	
Use of articles with non-count and plural nouns referring to things/people in general	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I wanted to put these situations in a broader light to see whether or not there is some sort of trend with regards to <u>the</u> Dutch society. (NL W1A-002) • Geert Wilders even called it an 'Islamic tsunami' but the reality is that <u>the</u> Islam is a normal and institutionalized part of the political arena. (NL W2B-008)
Omission of article at start of sentence	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Next target was retirement itself. (NL W2E-002)

⁹¹ The identifiers are modelled on those used in the International Corpus of English (ICE), on whose design the Corpus of Dutch English is based (§5.3). The corpus was not large enough to contain examples of some potential lexical features. Rather than give contrived examples, therefore, some were taken from the literature and others from .nl domains online. This is indicated where relevant.

	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problem was that Metro claimed to be the largest paper but that there was no data on other papers. (NL W2C-010)
Adjectives and adverbs	
Loss of adverb/adjective distinction	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • They should behave <u>altruistic</u>. (NL W2B-001) • 'We do everything very <u>official</u> here', she promised. (NL W2A-006)
Insertion of adverbial between verb and object/complement	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I will send you <u>this weekend</u> some chapters. (NL W1B-017) • We have <u>now</u> about 1000 products under development which have been designated as orphan drugs. (NL W2B-030)
Aspect	
Lack of perfect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • That is what we <u>are doing</u> for the last million years or so. (NL W2B-015) • Until now, only 15 papers dealing with the different economic aspects of particle therapy <u>were reported</u>. (NL W2A-033)
Extension of perfect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We <u>have started</u> this trip in two weeks ago Memphis. (NL W2B-006) • Yesterday, July 18, the court <u>has been asked</u> to start a bankruptcy procedure against A1. (NL W2C-010)
Lack of progressive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • I am sorry but it <u>takes</u> me too much time to finish the paper. (NL W1B-027s1) • The very kind busdriver decided that things <u>took</u> too long with us and started to offload our bags without discussing anything with us. (NL W1B-008)
Extension of progressive	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • We <u>are working</u> with the Problem Based Learning, which means that you have only about 8/10 hours per week lectures and tutorials. (NL W1B-030s2) • But then it can be the case that somebody <u>is writing</u> his numbers with decimals behind the comma, with paper and pencil. (NL W2D-001)
Auxiliaries	
Lack of <i>do</i> -support	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [O]nly in the last part of our holiday I <u>started</u> to really enjoy Ghana. (NL W1B-007) • Maxim smiled, explained over and over again that it was really true, and only when Kommersant dug up a copy of a signed agreement the rest of the world <u>believed</u> it. (NL W2E-006)
Use of past participle with auxiliary	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The two <u>didn't spoke</u> much until the doorbell rang. (NL W2F-018) • The papers <u>had to closed</u> down because the tax office said they were behind 21 million in taxes. (NL W2C-010)
Conditionals	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • If I <u>would ever be forced</u> to chose between either listening to this record once more, or sticking my testicles in the toaster oven, I know what I'd choose. (NL W2E-003) • No, we don't have to make a movie (unless someone <u>would</u> really <u>want</u> to). (NL W1B-001)
Constructions with <i>it</i> and <i>there</i>	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Please check your contract if <u>there</u> is anything mentioned about damages. (NL W1B-019) • However <u>it</u> is allowed to follow courses of the master programme if the remaining amount of credits of the Bachelor's curriculum does not exceed 15 ECTS. (NL W2D-009)
Countability and number	
Countable use of mass nouns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • [Name] will also do <u>a research</u> together with three master's students. (NL W2C-006) • It is advised to make <u>these trainings</u> mandatory for all staff. (NL W1A-010)
Loss of distinction between quantifiers for count vs non-count nouns	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Therefore, in the end there is <u>little</u> definite and concrete <u>answers</u> to give whether or not the decrease after the referendum and the increase after the credit crisis are because of the media. (NL W1A-002) • Yep, I'm with you guys in hoping the bill passes the senate without <u>much hick-ups</u>, though I'm certainly expecting the Republicans to unnecessarily lengthen

	the process and maybe try a few legislative tricks to derail the process a bit more. (NL W1B-006)
Future time	
Use of present tense for future happenings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We also <u>go</u> to Portugal, to visit his family. (NL W1B-015s3) So I <u>call</u> them back tomorrow, hear what they can tell. (NL W1B-009)
Gender	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The most powerful - normally one nation - derives the greatest benefits from <u>his</u> international order. (NL W1A-006). Studio [name] has <u>his</u> own garment factory in Nepal. (NL W2B-009s2)
Modal verbs	
Substitution of <i>could</i> for <i>was able</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Goodmorning, I <u>could</u> sleep in and just woke up, will not get to Brighton until after lunch. (NL W1B-012) Yesterday he <u>could</u> catch the 7 o'clock train. (Tops et al., 2001: 9)
Lack of modal verbs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I also <u>like</u> to compliment my team of Examinations who always put together a nice program [...]. (NL W2B-013) I've also put footnotes in the outline, I don't know how strict they are, but I've experienced some tutors who were very strict so <u>we better let</u> them in. (NL W1B-015s1)
Non-finite forms	
Substitution of <i>that</i> clause for infinitive/noun phrase/gerund after verb	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Despite that</u> the markup has little to nothing to do with EE, it does affect my opinion on the book. (NL W2D-011) This way they can <u>prevent that</u> your valuable newsletter ends up in the email spam filter. (NL W2D-014)
Substitution of <i>to-</i> infinitive for gerund	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I realised it was already my eleventh year <u>to go</u> there! (NL W1B-007) No human being should want to consider <u>to obliterate</u> any country entirely, if you'd ask me. (NL W2B-016)
Prepositions	
Nonstandard prepositions/phrasal verbs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Welcome in</u> the twenty-first century folks: No we don't travel in spaceships but we do have five bladed razors! (NL W2B-032) <u>Congratulations with</u> the graduation of Brian!!! (NL W1B-004)
Insertion of prepositions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> I don't like to just <u>relax around</u> all the time, but to constantly learn and be challenged. (NL W1B-020) Of course, due to internal economic growth but also sometimes through expansion, these power differentials change and the unipolar order of the hegemon <u>crumbles down</u>. (NL W1A-006)
Omission of prepositions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Their blog [URL] is definitely worth <u>subscribing</u>. (NL W2B-037) [I]s it for you really completely not understandable that left earlier because she could not <u>pay</u> the room because of unexpected hospital bills? (NL W1B-008)
Sentence fragments	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Two reasons for that. (NL W2E-007) Because the economy editor of the Wall Street Journal is one of the best in his country. (NL W2D-016)
Tag questions	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You're really in a flow, <u>isn't it</u>? (NL W1B-016) What are you going to do with your appartement, because as I know, you are only allowed to life in Cambridge during the terms, <u>isn't it</u>? (NL W1B-002)
Use of <i>of</i>-structure with animates	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The Flemish master student Globalisation and Law, [name], is not impressed by the <u>theory of Arnall</u>. (NL W2C-005) We were all present at a free debate in a heavily funded cultural institute (a representative of the so called high culture), but the walls surrounding us were covered with large <u>prints of famous fashion photographer Sasha</u>. (NL W2F-010)
Word order	
Non-inversion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> If you do, it is often for free, and only sometimes <u>it will</u> cost a little. (NL W1B-

	026)
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • But only when you know what can go wrong with open data <u>that reluctance can be eased</u>. (NL W2B-039)
Noun post-modification	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • director HR branding Unilever (NL W1B-024) • language teacher English (NL W1B-022)
Substitution of phrasal modifier for relative clause	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • So, it would seem like an Apple event in London is the perfect occasion to wrap a new iPad cover around my beautiful, <u>and borrowed from work</u>, iPad. (NL W2B-040s3) • The <u>by the senate with unanimity voted down</u> proposal (Tops et al., 2001: 12)
Frontal overload*	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Problematic may be the way in which the extra costs of joint breeding programmes need to be divided throughout the chain [...] (NL W2B-022) • Especially the many issues young people came up with have inspired me. (NL W2C-007)

* Term from Hannay (1994: 86); Burrough-Boenisch (2002: 61)

Table 5.2: Overview of potential lexicosemantic features of Dutch English

Lexical shift and false friends	
<i>accent</i> for emphasis	The Trinitarian structure of the Sanctus got a strong <u>accent</u> on the unity of the three divine persons, at the expense of the mediating function of the Son and the Spirit. (NL W2A-003)
<i>actual</i> for topical/current	Not exactly recent, but seeing how in Pakistan both politics and cricket seem to be in constant disarray, Khan's views on these subjects remain <u>actual</u> and relevant. (NL W2E-004)
<i>agenda</i> for diary/calendar	Please let me know if it fits your <u>agenda</u> ? (NL W1B-027s1)
<i>backside</i> for back/rear	The perfect locations, from an RFI point of view, will be a Moon orbit (at the <u>backside</u> of the Moon), at the Earth-Moon L2 point, or at the Sun-Earth L4/5 points. (NL W2A-027)
<i>beamer</i> for projector	Special equipment (if any) needed to teach the course (<u>beamer</u> , computer ...)¹
<i>college</i> for lecture	ps, maybe nice to give a guest <u>college</u> once in one of your classes :-)
<i>consequent</i> for consistent	The most <u>consequent</u> party until now seems to be the leftwing Polo Democrtico Alternativo. (NL W2E-001)
<i>diverse</i> for various	Several of her female colleagues agreed with her in interviews in <u>diverse</u> papers, saying that their work was attended in another way than that of men, if it was attended at all. (NL W2B-001)
<i>eventual</i> for possible/potential	I don't know how good/bad your Dutch is but they've got gaming nights every thursday and sunday evening at 8pm at the. They do however <u>eventually</u> require a membership fee. (NL W1B-001)
<i>find</i> for think	The current guarantee might be a bit too comfortable, Van Oorschot <u>finds</u> . (NL W2C-017)
<i>function</i> for position	Last thursday we held elections for different <u>functions</u> for the board of my fraternity! (NL W1B-004)
<i>heavy</i> for intense/fierce	Ruff males don't care for young, and a <u>heavy</u> competition over females is the consequence. (NL W2B-021)
<i>in case</i> for if/in the event that	<u>In case</u> you are among the students that have to do the resit, please send me your paper as well via email and upload it in safe assign. (NL W1B-018)
<i>inform</i> for obtain information from	However you could <u>inform</u> the agents of the 'Strijkijzer' building in the Hague. (NL W1B-029s1)
<i>mail</i> for email	I received your last <u>mail</u> in January! (NL W1B-011)
<i>next to</i> for in addition to	<u>Next to</u> artists from the world top and the Euro-regional top there are films, an

(figurative usage)	exhibition, a light show and flower artists. (NL W2B-010s1)
<i>paragraph</i> for section	Walter Ken refers shortly to Athanasius in the <u>paragraph</u> Der Schöpfer ist der Dreieine Gott (NL W2A-003)
<i>perspective</i> for prospect	Children in rural areas don't have <u>perspectives</u> and therefore join guerrilla or new paramilitary groups or gangs. (NL W2E-001)
<i>price</i> for prize	Also we have the <u>pricewinners</u> ceremony for the best creative work in recruitment communications. (NL W1B-024)
<i>public</i> for audience	I think it's mainly because they aren't known to a big <u>public</u> though. (NL W1B-001)
<i>relation</i> for relationship	He'll talk about his career so far and about his <u>relation</u> with Peter O'Leary, who also got selected for the World Cup in South Africa, but only acted as fourth official. (NL W2C-007)
<i>so-called</i> with no derogatory connotation	This is the <u>so-called</u> European Credit Transfer System, an international credit system that expresses the scope of training courses. (NL W2D-003)
<i>study</i> for degree programme	PNL would like to see students get more guidance when they are choosing their <u>study</u> . (NL W2C-002)
<i>technique</i> for technology	Modern technologies as telephones, webcams and other <u>techniques</u> , are only mediocre surrogates in this respect. (NL W2B-015)
<i>when</i> for if	<u>When</u> you have any question, please let me now! (NL W1B-002)
Overuse of light verbs such as <i>make, do, have</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> You want to <u>make</u> a tour with us the week after your wedding right? (NL W1B-014s2) I had them <u>make</u> a small written assignment before the lecture, so I knew what they had understood from the articles we were discussing in today's classes. (NL W2F-005)
Coinages/transliteration	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> In five American cities we asked 200 people with a psychiatric problems and who are treated in an institution, tell us, what are your experiences. We had a long <u>questionlist</u>. (NL W2C-006) (<i>vragenlijst</i> = questionnaire) So I was wondering if you both could search a little bit for some sources to <u>underbuild</u> this statement. (NL W1B-1015s1) (<i>onderbouwen</i> = underpin, substantiate) Do I also qualify for a study grant if I follow an accepted accredited <u>post-initial</u> master's programme?² (<i>post-initiële</i> = postgraduate/professional study programme) To get cigarettes from a vending machine in bars and restaurants you need to get a special <u>age-coin</u> available at the bar if you are older than 16.³
Expressions and idioms	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Free newspapers lost readers <u>in the last years</u>. (NL W2C-010) This <u>cucumber-time</u> is perfect for watching easy to digest artworks.⁴ (<i>komkommertijd</i> = high summer)
Truncation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> This time we will discuss the necessary accessories for a <u>smoking</u>.⁵ Camping de Branding is a <u>camping</u> where you can just drop in without a reservation.⁶ So i pulled into a <u>parking</u> and found out the welds on my 4th mount broke!⁷ The show was ended by a model wearing a <u>body</u> with strass beads and the solid contours of a skirt.⁸

¹ www.lotschool.nl/index.php?p=8&date=2011-06-16

² <http://students-faq.leiden.edu/faq/do-i-also-qualify-for-a-study-grant-if-i-follow-an-accepted-accredited-post-initial-masters-programme>

³ <http://use-it.nl/node/78>

⁴ dutchreview.com/art/cucumber-time-five-easy-to-digest-artworks/

⁵ www.profuomo.com/magazine/en/2012/12/20/accessoires-voor-je-smoking

⁶ www.campingdebranding.nl/uk

⁷ www.fiero.nl/cgi-bin/fiero/showThread.cgi?forum=1&thread=085278&style=printable

⁸ www.teampeterstigter.com/amsterdam/hunkemoller-catwalk-fashion-show-fw2011-3/

Table 5.3: Overview of potential pragmatic/discoursal features of Dutch English

Politeness and salutations	
Multiple titles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The co-ordinator of Environmental Sciences is <u>Prof. Dr. Ir.</u> [name] (NL W2D-003)
Dutch titles	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> For more information on this specialization, please consult: <u>Drs.</u> [name] (lecturer and coordinator), tel. [phone number], or go to: [URL]. (NL W2D-009)
Greetings	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <u>Greetz</u> from the Netherlands.¹
Politeness formulae	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Hope to have informed you further. (NL W1B-024) Don't take me badly. (Edwards, 2010: 20)
Directness	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Dear [name], I <u>want</u> to introduce you to [name] (e-mail in the CC). (NL W1B-029s2) <u>Can</u> you open the window? (Dybalska, 2010: 38)
Hedging	
Lack of hedging	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The fact that they grow faster <u>caused</u> an increased need for nutrients. (Burrough-Boenisch, 2005: 32) This makes these species more efficient growers and competitors because the higher specific leaf area <u>causes</u> results in a higher RGR. (Burrough-Boenisch, 2005: 29)
Register	
Informal style in formal contexts	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> De Witt's Deduction of 1654 is essentially a defence of the Act of Seclusion, but actually it was <u>way</u> more than that. (NL W1A-005) After rethinking these question I came to the conclusion we did a <u>pretty good</u> job. (NL W2B-020s2) <u>True</u>, satellite-espionage and nuclear weapons weren't features of the international state system in the nineteenth century. (NL W1A-006)
Sentencing	
Short, 'choppy' sentences	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> We are [name] and [name]. We work for a Dutch talkshow. We are at this moment unable to reach both of you by phone. We hope our e-mail reaches you today. [...] We wonder if mrs Reding could share her thoughts with us in our program. For exemple by phone in the program of tonight. (NL W1B-029s2) If you mean the carpet in the staircase the cost for replacing it is for the association of owners. That means that it has to come out of the savings of the association. So it can be paid out of the service costs but all the other owners need to agree with it. Inside your apartment the costs are for you. I hope you will find a nice piece of carpet and it will look new again. (NL W1B-019)

¹ <http://prosim-ar.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=4&t=702>

As noted, the phenomena listed above are observational. As yet, no study has attempted to ascertain systematically whether any of the above can genuinely be considered widespread, stable features of Dutch English. The study of Dutch English to date remains at the initial level in the emergence of an English variety, a stage characterised only by 'sketchy and impressionistic' anecdote (De Klerk, 2006: 15). The next section describes the building of the Corpus of Dutch English, which, for the first time, allows for empirical investigation of these potential forms of Dutch English.

5.3 The Corpus of Dutch English

Whether a spoken or written text is a fully fledged variety of English or incompetent English ... cannot be answered until we have an appropriate empirical means to describe this variety.

(De Klerk, 2006: 15)

To be able to address the varietal status of Dutch English, we must first be able to identify what Dutch English is. As noted, however, at present we have only an impressionistic picture of the forms of English used in the Netherlands. This is a symptom of the wider lack of corpora of Expanding Circle Englishes in general. Corpora of Inner Circle varieties abound, and corpora of Outer Circle varieties are increasingly being developed as well. However, Expanding Circle corpora have not progressed much since Jenkins (2006a: 163) referred to them a number of years ago as being ‘in the pipeline’. The International Corpus of English (ICE) (Greenbaum 1991), one of the largest and most well-known corpus initiatives in WEs, expressly includes only ‘countries where [English] is either a majority first language ... or an official additional language’ (Greenbaum 1996: 3); that is, Inner and Outer Circle countries. Researchers interested in Expanding Circle countries are pointed to ICE’s sister project, the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE) (Granger 2003), which has components for countries like Brazil, China, France – and the Netherlands. However, because in these countries English is considered a foreign language that is largely confined to the classroom, the ICLE corpora only include undergraduate essays. The scope of the available corpus data therefore fails to reflect the sociolinguistic reality of the Netherlands and other Expanding Circle countries where the functions of English are on the rise. As noted by Laitinen (2011) for Finland, ‘there is a need to reconsider the existing stock of data used in the field ... It is essential that new corpora, which match the global spread of the language, are developed.’ The Corpus of Dutch English was developed in response to this perceived gap in the existing corpora used in WEs research. The following sections describe its compilation and design, which is based on that of the ICE corpora to promote comparability.

5.3.1 Data collection

The corpus texts were collected between January and September 2011. Potential contributors were identified in two main ways. Either a suitable text was identified online, and the author then invited to take part, or a potential contributor or group of potential contributors was identified and asked if they had written any texts in English they might be willing to contribute. Further details of the data collection strategy are given in section 5.3.3 per text category.

Prospective contributors were contacted by email in Dutch.⁹² They received an introductory email explaining the project, and a questionnaire to fill in should they choose to contribute a text to the corpus. The introductory email was piloted on two Dutch academics and two Dutch businesspeople who were personal contacts of the author. On the basis of their feedback, the email was shortened, made somewhat less polite/apologetic in tone (i.e. less culturally ‘British’ and more ‘Dutch’), and a line was added stating that contributors could opt to be kept up to date on the findings. Appendix 3 presents an English version of the basic email, which was tailored to each recipient.

The questionnaire collected information about both the author and the text being supplied (Table 5.4). It was based on the surveys used in the ICE project, with some modifications as suggested by different ICE teams on the basis of their experiences. For example, the questionnaire used for ICE New Zealand asked contributors for their birthplace but not where they had been raised, which is more useful for identifying regional effects on language use, and whether they had spent time out of the country, but not where (e.g. in an English-speaking country or otherwise) (Holmes, 1996: 171). The present questionnaire therefore asks such details. It was first written in English, then translated by a professional Dutch translator and piloted on the same four contacts as the introductory email. Based on their feedback, minor revisions were made; for example, the word ‘consecutive’ was added to the question ‘Have you ever spent more than six months abroad?’ An English version of the final questionnaire can be found in Appendix 4.

Table 5.4: Data collected via the contributor questionnaire

Author information	Text information
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Age • Sex • Place of birth • Place(s) where the contributor grew up • Time spent abroad, where, and when • First language(s) of the contributor and the contributor’s parents • Language(s) the contributor uses regularly • Language(s) of instruction in schooling and (if applicable) higher education • Education level • Occupation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Year in which the text was written • Where the text was written • Affiliated organisation (if applicable)

⁹² Except those who were personal contacts of the author with whom English was normally spoken.

Contributors were also asked to declare on the questionnaire that their text had not been edited by a native speaker of English. While other ICE components include texts that may well have been subject to editing (Bolt & Bolton, 1996: 203; Nelson, 1996: 32), the present approach ensures that all texts included are authentic examples of ‘Dutch English’. Finally, contributors were asked to sign the consent form, giving permission for their text to be used in the corpus and subsequent analyses. This form was drawn up in line with the legal and ethical requirements of the Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics at the University of Cambridge (now the Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics).

Fortunately, our initial concern that the individuals approached may be offended at the attention drawn to their use of English, or put off by the premise of a ‘Dutch English’, did not bear out. The vast majority were forthcoming and even enthusiastic, with many mentioning that given the pressure to study, work and publish in English, it was a topic of daily interest and concern. Contributors were always asked to spread the email with information about the study via their own networks.

5.3.2 Population

In line with the ICE corpora, there were two main inclusion criteria. These concern the amount of time they have spent abroad, and the form of their education. Other variables were taken into consideration but, for practical reasons, not strictly controlled for.

Inclusion criteria

The first criterion for inclusion was that corpus contributors should have been largely raised in the Netherlands (cf. Holmes, 1996: 165; Nelson, Wallis, & Aarts, 2002).⁹³ This precondition was chosen instead of nationality, as merely stipulating that contributors be Dutch citizens could exclude individuals who have lived in the Netherlands their entire lives and regard Dutch as their native language, but are not Dutch citizens, or include individuals who are hereditary or naturalised Dutch citizens but do not necessarily speak Dutch. As Table 5.5 shows, approximately 97% of contributors were born and raised in the Netherlands. The remainder were born abroad but moved to the Netherlands as infants. A quarter of the contributors were raised in Zeeland, followed by North Holland.

⁹³ This residence requirement echoes that for the participants in the attitudes study in Chapter 4.

Table 5.5: Provinces in which contributors were born and raised

Province	Born		Raised	
	No.	%	No.	%
Drenthe	6	2.9	7	3.4
Flevoland	0	0.0	1	0.5
Friesland	3	1.4	7	3.4
Gelderland	20	9.7	33	15.9
Groningen	4	1.9	8	3.9
Limburg	26	12.6	31	15.0
North Brabant	25	12.1	32	15.5
North Holland	31	15.0	38	18.4
Overijssel	16	7.7	18	8.7
South Holland	56	27.1	18	8.7
Utrecht	10	4.8	4	1.9
Zeeland	3	1.4	52	25.1
other	7*	3.4	5 [†]	2.4
Total	207	100.0	254	122.7 [‡]

*Belgium=1, Curaçao=1, France=1, Germany=1, Hong Kong=1, Indonesia=1, South Africa=1

[†] UK=2, Germany=1, Luxembourg=1, Denmark=1

[‡] This percentage total exceeds 100 as contributors who had lived in several provinces are counted several times.

In addition, contributors should ideally not have spent more than 10 years or over half their lifetime abroad, whichever is greater (cf. Holmes, 1996: 165).⁹⁴ Some time abroad was considered acceptable, as this is relatively common for young Dutch people in particular, and when it comes to corpus creation ‘it is essential to include these speakers as well since they form an integral and significantly large part of the English-speaking community’ in the country in question (Mukherjee, Schilk, & Bernaisch, 2010: 68). Table 5.6 shows the time spent abroad by the contributors. The N/A row refers to those who have spent negligible time abroad, e.g. vacations only (66%). Eighteen percent had lived abroad for one year or less, 9% had spent more than one and up to three years abroad, and 7% had spent more than three years abroad. Contributors who had spent up to three years abroad tended to be in their 20s, while those who had spent more than three years abroad were most often in their 40s. As noted above, contributors were also asked *where* they had spent time abroad. Interestingly, this was almost always in an English-speaking country, so a separate table for this is not included here. The most frequent destinations were the UK and the US.

⁹⁴ At the time of data collection, some contributors had been living outside the Netherlands for longer than 10 years, but had written the text included in the corpus at a time when they had been living outside the Netherlands for fewer than 10 years.

Table 5.6: Time spent abroad by contributors

	No.	%
N/A	137	66.2
≤1	38	18.4
(1,3]	18	8.7
>3	14	6.8
Total	207	100.0

In line with the ICE corpora, the second inclusion criterion concerned education. Educated varieties carry the most prestige and are likely to yield more reliable evidence of a settled linguistic system rather than an interlanguage (Jenkins, 2009: 94; Mauranen, 2006: 148; Mollin, 2006: 155). The ICE project therefore typically requires contributors to have received their formal education through the medium of English (Schmied, 1996: 187). Unfortunately, this does not apply in the Netherlands. Although an increasing number of Dutch children are educated bilingually, as discussed in Chapter 3, the main teaching language remains Dutch. The two highest levels in the secondary school system give access to higher education in the Netherlands, where students even in Dutch-language programmes must be, at the very least, competent to read in English at an academic level.⁹⁵ Thus, the lower of the two secondary school diplomas (HAVO) giving entry to higher education is taken as the minimum education requirement for the present corpus.

It is worth noting that modifications regarding the education criterion have also been made for various national components of the ICE project. Prospective contributors who did not complete secondary schooling tend not to be excluded if their ‘public status makes their inclusion appropriate’; for example, neither the Queen (who was home-schooled) nor the former prime minister John Major (who left school aged 16) would be eligible for inclusion in ICE Great Britain were the education requirement rigorously applied (Greenbaum & Nelson, 1996: 5). Table 5.7 shows the distribution of the present contributors in terms of education level. Around 90% have completed at least a first degree. Four of the 207 contributors do not meet the HAVO criterion, but three of these nevertheless went on to higher education, while the fourth left school at 15 but has since become a successful entrepreneur and writer.

⁹⁵ Recall from Chapter 3 that there are three secondary school streams in the Netherlands for students of different academic ability: VMBO (pre-vocational secondary education; four years), HAVO (senior general secondary education; five years) and VWO (pre-university education; six years).

Table 5.7: Distribution of corpus contributors by education level

Diploma	No.	%
primary school	1	0.5
secondary school*	22	10.6
bachelor [†]	43	20.8
master [†]	100	48.3
PhD	41	19.8
Total	207	100.0

* VMBO (vocational secondary education), HAVO (general secondary education) and VWO (pre-university education)

[†] Includes HBO (higher vocational education) + WO (university education)

Table 5.8 shows the main languages of instruction in the contributors' schooling and (where applicable) higher education. The main language in primary and secondary schooling for over 95% of contributors was Dutch. For higher education, this drops to below 60%. Numerous contributors who reported that the language of their higher education was Dutch also indicated that much or all of the literature was in English. Instruction was either fully or partly in English at school for less than 5%, but in higher education for almost 40% of contributors. Of the latter, almost 10% followed higher education entirely in English.

Table 5.8: Distribution of corpus contributors by main language of instruction

	School		Higher education	
	No.	%	No.	%
Dutch	197	95.2	120	58.0
fully or partly English	9	4.3	82	39.6
other	1*	0.5	2 [†]	1.0
N/A	0.0	0.0	3	1.4
Total	207	100.0	207	100.0

*French, German and Luxembourgish

[†] Dutch and German=1, Dutch, Icelandic and Swedish=1

Other variables

In addition to the residence and education criteria, other variables were of interest: age, sex, occupation and first languages of the contributors and their parents. In line with ICE, for practical reasons the decision was taken not to strictly control for these variables (e.g. Greenbaum & Nelson, 1996: 5; Nelson et al., 2002). Instead, they were monitored loosely throughout the data collection process and efforts were made to obtain balanced proportions

of men and women, different age groups and so on. The relevant data are included in the metadata in the corpus texts, which allows the corpus to be searched using these variables as filters.

Table 5.9 shows the age distribution of the corpus contributors. Nearly 38% were aged 29 or under, around 45% were between 30 and 49, and roughly 17% were 50 or older. There was a slightly higher proportion of men than women (Table 5.10). The first language of 99% of the contributors was Dutch (Table 5.11); the remaining two respondents had a first language other than Dutch, but as they met the residence requirement (see above), they were not excluded.⁹⁶ Dutch was also the first language of approximately 98% of contributors' parents. In terms of occupation (Table 5.12), 81% of the corpus contributors were experts and 10% were students. The remainder were mainly managers (4%) and office and customer service workers (3%).⁹⁷

Table 5.9: Distribution of corpus contributors by age

Age	No.	%
≤29	78	37.7
30–39	47	22.7
40–49	47	22.7
50–59	29	14.0
≥60	6	2.9
Total	207	100.0

Table 5.10: Distribution of corpus contributors by sex

Sex	No.	%
male	111	53.6
female	96	46.4
Total	207	100.0

⁹⁶ As in the attitudes survey in Chapter 4, numerous respondents specified a particular dialect of Dutch, but as it is not clear whether all respondents did so where relevant, regional dialect is not included as a variable here.

⁹⁷ The occupation categories used here are the same as those used to classify the respondents to the attitudinal question in Chapter 4. There is a clear skew towards experts (professionals whose positions require a university education, in this case mainly researchers, lecturers and journalists). This is to be expected, as their jobs are more likely than others to require them to write in English. This also explains the skew towards highly educated contributors, nearly 70% of whom has a master's or doctoral degree (Table 5.7). The nature of the corpus text categories (mainly academic and professional writing) makes this inevitable. This does not invalidate the data, however; as discussed above, the purpose of the corpus is to capture an acrolectal variety.

Table 5.11: Distribution of corpus contributors by home languages

First language	Contributor		Mother		Father	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
Dutch	205	99.0	202	97.6	203	98.1
other	2*	1.0	5 [†]	2.4	4 [‡]	1.9
Total	207	100.0	207	100.0	207	100.0

* Cantonese=1, Serbo-Croatian=1

[†] Cantonese=1, English=1, German=1, Hebrew=1, Serbo-Croatian=1

[‡] Cantonese=1, French=1, German=1, Serbo-Croatian=1

Table 5.12: Distribution of corpus contributors by occupation

Occupation	No.	%
manager	8	3.9
expert	168	81.2
office & customer service worker	7	3.4
healthcare worker	0	0.0
manual worker	0	0.0
student	21	10.1
unemployed	1	0.5
retired	2	1.0
no answer	0	0.0
Total	207	100.0

5.3.3 Sampling

The ICE corpora are each made up of approximately one million words divided over a spoken (60%) and a written (40%) part. The present Corpus of Dutch English comprises only a written part; that is, 200 texts divided over eight different genres, totalling approximately 400,000 words. It is acknowledged that emergent changes are first traceable in spoken language. However, the present focus on writing stemmed from practical constraints; it would not have been feasible to also collect the required spoken data in the available time frame. It was also felt that any incipient norms observed in writing could provide even stronger evidence of endonormative developments. A spoken component may be added in due course.

All texts in the corpus date from 2005 onwards.⁹⁸ The first ‘wave’ of ICE components (e.g. ICE Great Britain, India and Singapore) dates from the early 1990s. This was followed by a second wave, dubbed ‘ICE Age 2’ (e.g. ICE Nigeria, Fiji and Sri Lanka), with texts dating from 2005 (see the special issue of *ICAME journal* ‘ICE Age 2: ICE corpora of New

⁹⁸ With the exception of two texts, which date from the 1990s.

Englishes in the making', volume 34). The present corpus is therefore of the same 'era' as the second wave of ICE corpora. Although the time lag compared to the first wave of ICE corpora is not desirable, it was considered unavoidable for practical reasons; collecting such dated texts would have been much more difficult. As with the second wave of the ICE corpora, therefore, comparisons with earlier ICE corpora should be made with caution (cf. Krug, Hilbert, & Fabri, in press).

Each text is approximately 2000 words. However, in many cases the original texts collected were significantly longer (e.g. PhD theses). Thus, in line with ICE, extracts were taken from longer texts, starting from 'structurally justifiable' (Holmes, 1996: 164) points in the text, such as section or paragraph beginnings, and ending with paragraph endings. Efforts were made to maintain a balance within each text category of introductions, bodies and conclusions (cf. Dunlop, 1995: 2). Conversely, in other cases the original texts are considerably shorter than 2000 words (e.g. emails). Composite texts of two types were therefore formed: those with the same author and those with different authors. Short texts with the same author were combined under a single identifier, e.g. text W1B-003 comprises three social emails written by the same author. Those with different authors are treated as separate sections of the same text, e.g. text W1B-025 is composed of W1B-025s1 (section 1), with business emails from one author, and W1B-025s2 (section 2), with business emails from a different author. In such cases efforts were made to combine texts on similar topics, e.g. application letters. These composite texts with multiple authors explain why there are 207 contributors (as shown in Table 5.5 to Table 5.12) for a total of 200 texts.

As noted, to promote comparability, the Dutch English corpus uses broadly the same category breakdown as that used in the written ICE components. Given the difficulties of corpus compilation, however, some concessions are always required. From the outset of the ICE project, it was acknowledged that different ICE teams may need to adjust or extend the basic corpus design. For example, some categories are rather Western-centric and thus pose problems elsewhere; as East Africans tend not to transmit how-to knowledge through books, the skills and hobbies category proved difficult in the compilation of ICE East Africa (Schmied, 1996: 188–90). Therefore, the ICE framework always needs to be localised somewhat. Other modifications arise as a result of technological developments since ICE was initiated. For instance, the original ICE classification distinguishes between printed and non-printed texts. But are texts published on a website 'printed' or not? And how should blogs be categorised? As they do not constitute a genre as such but rather serve as a tool or platform for any genre, in the present corpus blog texts were classed into different categories as

appropriate: fiction, instruction manuals, popular writing, etc. The following sections outline the different text categories included in the corpus, and Table 5.13 below gives an overview of the corpus in its entirety.

Correspondence

This category consists in 30 texts, 15 representing ‘social’ and 15 ‘business’ correspondence. The social correspondence texts are predominantly emails written to a single or multiple recipients. A number are made up of Facebook messages and/or forum posts on hobby sites/online communities (crochet, music, politics, etc.). As with blogs, this reflects ongoing technological developments: the social correspondence categories in the original ICE corpora from the 1990s include only letters, the ‘ICE Age 2’ corpora include emails, and the present corpus extends to correspondence via social media. The business correspondence includes job applications, recommendation letters and business emails the author received while working in the Netherlands. Several texts are from an online forum where immigrants in the Netherlands can post questions that are answered by a local expert, in which case only the local’s (i.e. the Dutch correspondent’s) answers are used.⁹⁹

Student writing

This section comprises 10 untimed essays and 10 examination (timed) essays. The untimed essays are considered ‘apprentice academic writing’ (e.g. Römer, 2009) and as such are mostly master’s theses or term papers in any academic discipline. The examination essays were drawn from the Dutch component of the International Corpus of Learner English (ICLE-DU).¹⁰⁰ This learner language in the strict sense – that is, written by classroom learners of English – should provide for interesting comparisons with the apprentice academic writing from the master’s essays, and with the professional academic writing in the following section.

Academic writing

The academic writing category includes extracts from journal articles, conference papers and book chapters, with 10 texts each in the humanities, social sciences, natural sciences and technology. This was perhaps the easiest category to fill, through personal contacts and word of mouth on the one hand, and the Narcis repository on the other. Narcis is the central bibliographic repository for all theses, journal articles and monographs published at Dutch universities.¹⁰¹ It is easily searchable using the subject and date filters to identify potential

⁹⁹ Expatica’s ‘Ask an Expert’ section, www.expatica.com/nl/ask_expert.html

¹⁰⁰ As such, they remain the property of the ICLE project and are not officially part of the present corpus.

¹⁰¹ www.narcis.nl

corpus contributors. The contributors to this category range from PhD candidates¹⁰² and postdocs to lecturers and professors.

Popular writing

The popular writing category is divided into 10 texts each in the same subcategories as academic writing above: humanities, social sciences, natural sciences and technology. The text types include magazine articles, blog posts, web copy, brochures, press releases, exhibition materials and so on. In this sense it is something of a catch-all category for texts that do not belong in other, more specific, categories.

Reportage

This category consists of 20 press news reports. As it is not common for news in the Netherlands to be reported in English by Dutch journalists, this category was relatively more difficult to fill. For example, the website DutchNews.nl is written for expats *by* expats, and the *NRC* newspaper discontinued its online English version in 2010. Moreover, any reporting at the national level would almost certainly be edited professionally by English native speakers. Thus, the focus was on smaller publications (e.g. university newspapers) and foreign correspondents (the most likely of Dutch journalists to write in English). Prospective contributors were identified via LinkedIn and groups such as the Dutch Association of Journalists¹⁰³ and the Dutch Association of Science Journalists¹⁰⁴.

Instructional writing

Instructional writing is divided into two subcategories, each consisting of 10 texts: administrative/regulatory and skills/hobbies. In the ICE corpora, the administrative/regulatory subcategory is typically made up of business reports, meeting minutes, codes of conduct, course materials, etc. However, in the present project the more commercial texts proved difficult to obtain: private corporations do not tend to be overly forthcoming, and are also most likely to pay for professional translation or editing. Thus, this subcategory is dominated by one of the recommended text types: university study guides and course materials. As such texts tend to be written by relatively senior academics and serve as examples for students, they will be of particular interest.

The skills/hobbies subcategory is intended for manuals, menus, book reviews, and texts related to tourism, gardening, etc. The most readily available such texts by Dutch authors were found to be ‘how-to’ type articles for tech/social media bloggers (e.g. how to

¹⁰² As PhD candidates are considered employees in the Netherlands, they were included in the academic writing rather than the student writing section.

¹⁰³ Nederlandse Vereniging voor Journalisten (NVJ), www.nvj.nl

¹⁰⁴ Vereniging Wetenschapsjournalisten Nederland (VWN), www.wetenschapsjournalisten.nl

build websites, how to make the best use of Twitter), though this section also includes rules for computer games and a martial arts instruction leaflet.

Persuasive writing

In ICE this category is composed of press editorials, distinguished from the reportage category in that the aim is not to report but to persuade. The 10 texts in the present corpus include press editorials, but also newspaper/magazine columns and opinion pieces, music/theatre reviews and an advertorial.

Creative writing

This category consists of 20 extracts from short fiction, travel memoirs (especially from blogs), autobiographical pieces and a play. It also includes several pieces of fanfiction, a relatively new genre where fans of a particular work, e.g. Harry Potter, write new stories based on the characters or settings in the original work. Unlike in the ICE corpora, few of the texts included in this category were printed in the traditional sense, given that fiction published in English by Dutch writers is usually aimed at an Anglophone market and professionally translated by a publishing house. Instead, the texts were largely published (or self-published) online. To identify contributors, established Dutch authors who blog in English were approached, as were contributors to various online writers' communities,¹⁰⁵ whose profiles typically indicate their country of origin.

¹⁰⁵ E.g. www.fanfiction.net, a platform for fanfiction writers, and www.deviantart.com, a platform for digital art and prose.

Table 5.13: Overview of the Corpus of Dutch English

Category	Texts	Words
Correspondence		
Social	15	29,862
Business	15	28,786
Student writing		
Untimed essays	10	20,283
Examination essays*	10	20,143
Academic writing		
Humanities	10	20,967
Social sciences	10	20,145
Natural sciences	10	18,697
Technology	10	19,846
Popular writing		
Humanities	10	20,296
Social sciences	10	19,712
Natural sciences	10	20,478
Technology	10	20,379
Reportage		
Press news reports	20	40,401
Persuasive writing		
Press editorials	10	20,670
Instructional writing		
Administrative/regulatory	10	19,218
Skills/hobbies	10	20,411
Creative writing	20	40,905
Total	200	401,199

* As noted, the texts in this category were drawn under licence from ICLE-DU.

5.3.4 Building the corpus

The texts were saved as Microsoft Word files, each labelled with a unique identifier derived from the ICE numbering system (see also §5.2). Once the texts for all categories had been collected, they were uploaded into the Java-based platform Eclipse¹⁰⁶ for encoding in XML following the principles outlined in the ICE markup manual for written texts (Nelson 2002). There are two types of markup: metadata and textual markup. The metadata consists in the author and text information obtained from the contributor questionnaires (Table 5.4), which had been recorded for each text in an Excel database (Microsoft Office 2010) for easy reference. Figure 5.1 shows an example of the metadata entered into Eclipse for text W1A-001. The purpose of the second type of markup, textual markup, is to add pertinent information or to restore information from the original text that is lost in the conversion to

¹⁰⁶ www.eclipse.org

XML (cf. Greenbaum, 1996: 7). This includes formatting markup (e.g. paragraph breaks, special character encoding¹⁰⁷) and content markup (e.g. anonymisation of names, marking of extra-corpus material to be excluded from search queries). An example of a marked-up text is shown in Figure 5.2, and the markup scheme used is detailed in Appendix 5. In Eclipse the XML coding is automated; that is, once the markup tags have been defined they can be selected from a dropdown list when the user begins typing in the text. This helps to prevent errors that arise when having to write out the XML code manually. The use of XML is in line with current best practice (Meurers & Wunsch, 2010; Wynne, 2005), and the output is compatible with common corpus analysis tools (e.g. AntConc).¹⁰⁸

At present, the corpus is available in the form of raw or marked-up text files on request from the author. It is hoped that in due course it will be officially released with an accompanying manual detailing its compilation and contents.

¹⁰⁷ Some characters cannot be used in XML due to formatting issues or because they have a special meaning in XML. For example, characters with accents or umlauts need to be replaced with special entity references, e.g. *ö* must be replaced by *ö* such that *coördinator* becomes *coördinator*. The appropriate entity references were found in the ICE manual for written markup (Nelson, 2002) or online (e.g. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_XML_and_HTML_character_entity_references).

¹⁰⁸ The output is also compatible with Pacx (Gut, 2010; www.pacx.sf.net), an open-source software platform for annotated corpus creation developed in the context of ICE Age 2 projects (Nigeria, Bahamas, Malta etc.).

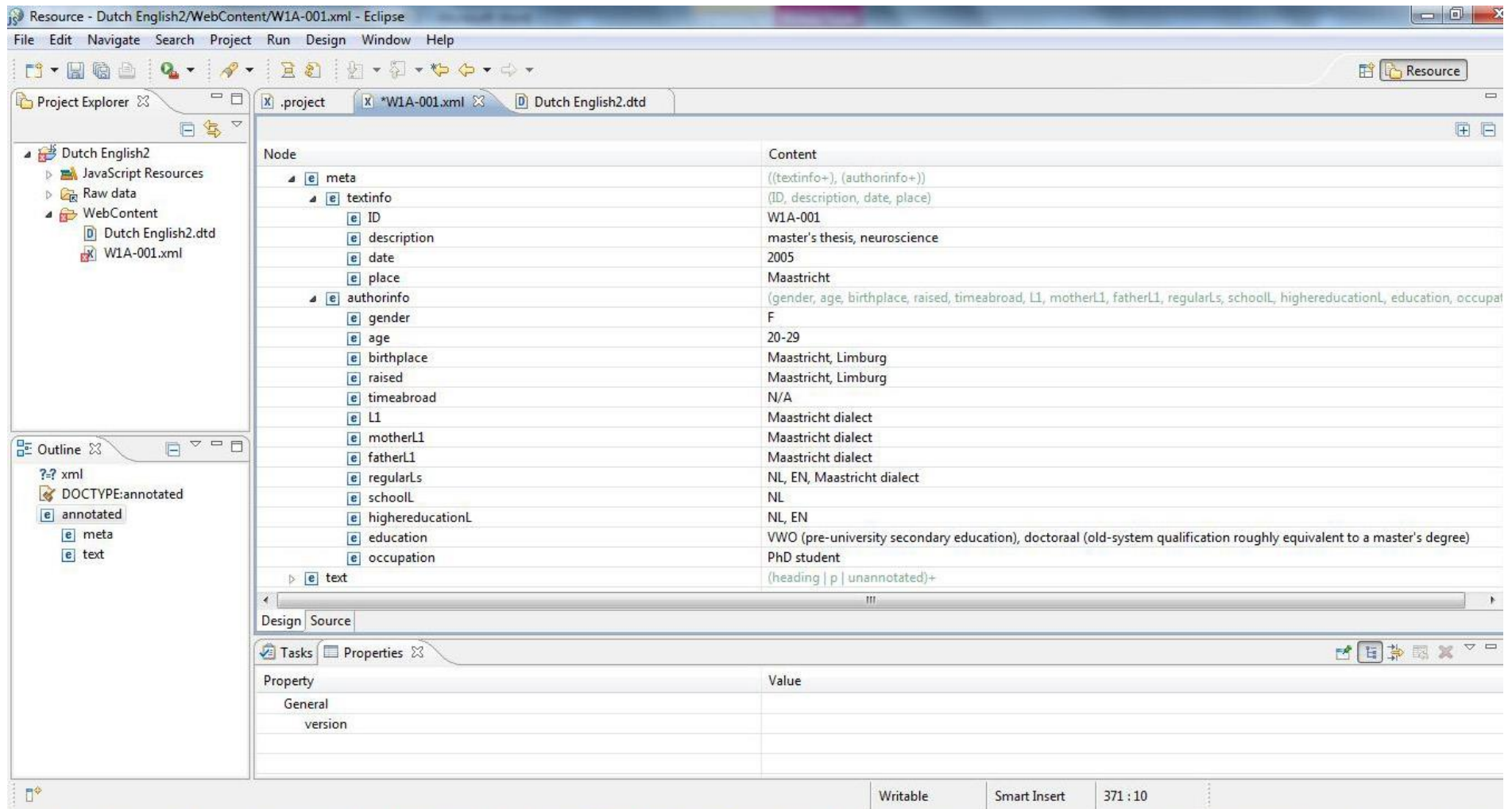


Figure 5.1: Screenshot of metadata for a corpus text in Eclipse

```

<text>
  <p>
    Dear <anonymisation type="first-name"/>,
  </p>
  <p>
    Thank you very much for getting me in touch with your American
    friends so quickly. I am delighted by <anonymisation
    type="first-name"/>'s welcoming response. I will e-mail
    <anonymisation type="first-name"/> and <anonymisation
    type="first-name"/> this weekend.
  </p>
  <p>
    After your question, I've tried to find out more about
    Christiaan Kr&ouml;ner. He has just been appointed Secretary-
    General at the Permanent Court of Arbitration in the Hague, in
    April this year. He left his position in Washington because of
    a disagreement with his deputy, the so-called <dutch>'tweede
    man'</dutch>. The Dutch government denies this and states
    'personal circumstances' as his reason for leaving the job.
    He's been replaced by a lady, Renee Jones-Bos, as of
    September, accompanied by a new deputy, Gerard van der Wulp, a
    former journalist, who used to be in charge of the
    <dutch>Rijksvoorlichtingsdienst</dutch>.
  </p>
  <p>
    It was hard to find anything about the exact nature of the
    disagreement that made Kr&ouml;ner leave. My friend
    <anonymisation type="first-name"/> might be able to tell me
    some inside rumours from the embassy.
  </p>
  <p>
    I expectantly look forward to my trip to the United States and
    your help makes it ever more exciting.
  </p>
  <p>
    Lots of love from my family, and from my grandmother
    <anonymisation type="first-name"/>,
  </p>
  <p>
    <anonymisation type="first-name"/>
  </p>
</text>

```

Figure 5.2: Example of a corpus text with XML markup

5.4 Progressive aspect I: Comparative corpus analysis

We now turn to a case study that makes use of the newly developed Corpus of Dutch English (henceforth NL). In Table 5.1, nativised use of the progressive aspect was identified as a potential feature of Dutch English. The aim of this case study is to explore whether on the basis of this particular linguistic feature it can be ascertained if the traditional classification of EFL still holds for the Netherlands, or whether the transition to ESL has taken place. The decision was made to focus on a single linguistic feature thoroughly rather than numerous features superficially. The choice for the progressive aspect in particular was motivated as follows. First, the case study should focus on an area that is prone to variation in different Englishes, for instance because its realisation or frequency in StdE differs compared to that in the L1 of the speakers under investigation, in this case Dutch. Obvious candidate features include the present perfect, which occurs in different contexts in English and Dutch (e.g. De Vuyst, 1985; Korrel, 1993), or the progressive, which is subject to more constraints in Dutch than in English (§5.4.1). The feature must also be frequent enough to allow for robust findings; corpora of the relatively restricted size used here are better suited to analyses of common grammatical forms than lexical analyses, for example. Finally, it must be feasible to extract and analyse the feature in question; in this case, the salience of the English progressive marker *-ing* makes it relatively straightforward to identify in untagged corpora such as those used in the present study. Moreover, innovative use of progressive marking has already been identified as a shared or even universal feature of a range of New Englishes (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi, 2004; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Platt et al., 1984).

This study therefore focuses on progressive marking in Dutch English, compared to that in British, American, Indian and Singapore English. Section 5.4.1 discusses progressive marking in English and the respective substrate languages. The research questions and a number of expectations are formulated in section 5.4.2, and the data and methods described in 5.4.3. Section 5.4.4 then presents the results of the analyses of the overall frequencies, lexical diversity, semantic distribution and nonstandard uses of progressive marking in varieties under investigation. Subsequently, section 5.4.5 addresses the implications for the classification of Dutch English as a second-language or learner variety, and revisits the notion of an ESL–EFL continuum (cf. Chapter 2).

5.4.1 The progressive aspect

Progressive aspect in English

The English progressive consists of a form of the auxiliary BE plus the *-ing* form of the main verb. It is subject to variation even in ENL, with different frequencies of occurrence found

between BrE and AmE (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan, 1999: 473; Leech, Hundt, Mair, & Smith, 2009: 122–140). Further, it is described as having an ‘unusually wide range’ (Comrie, 1976: 33) and its manifold functions continue to expand and change over time (Mair & Hundt 1995: 116; Smith 2002; Smitterberg 2005). However, it is generally taken to relate to action in progress, characterised by durativity and dynamicity (Biber, Johansson, Leech, Conrad, & Finegan 1999; Binnick 1991; Quirk, Svartvik, Leech, & Greenbaum 1985).¹⁰⁹ Activity verbs (e.g. *play, run, write*) thus combine readily with progressive marking:

- (1) She is jogging to the shop.
- (2) I am talking to your sister.

In contrast to activity verbs, verbs denoting states tend to be less compatible with progressive marking (3), unless there is some emphasis on temporariness: (4) suggests that living in London was a temporary rather than a permanent arrangement.

- (3) *I am knowing her name.
- (4) She was living in London.

The research questions and expectations for this case study (§4.4) draw on two complementary theories from the field of second-language acquisition (SLA): the lexical aspect hypothesis (LAH) and prototype theory. First, the LAH in L1 acquisition emphasises activity as the prime progressive situation, and further predicts that progressive marking is not incorrectly overextended to states (e.g. Andersen & Shirai 1996). In SLA, however, empirical findings have led researchers to predict that progressive marking may be extended to states in L2 acquisition (e.g. Housen 2002; Robison 1990; Rohde 1996). By the same token, many WEs researchers have claimed stative progressives to be a typical feature of New Englishes (e.g. Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008; Platt, Weber, & Ho 1984). Second, according to prototype theory, some members of a particular category of entity are perceived to be more fundamental whereas others are more peripheral. Thus, L1 learners are said first to discover the central form–meaning association between progressive marking and activity verbs, and only then to extend progressive marking to other verb classes (Shirai 2002; Shirai & Anderson 1995). However, findings from L2 acquisition suggest that the prototypical association between progressive marking and activities in fact strengthens with increasing proficiency or even becomes overused (Bardovi-Harlig & Bergström 1996, Robison 1995,

¹⁰⁹ Beyond the prototypical action-in-progress meaning, progressive marking in English may be used to express politeness (*I was hoping you could give me some advice*) or irritation (*She’s always buying too much junk food*), or to refer to an event in the very near future (*She’s coming back tomorrow*).

Salaberry 2002). Rather than progressing from prototypical to less prototypical uses, learners seem to be increasingly constrained by the prototype.

The SLA literature therefore leaves us with two hypotheses relating to the progressive aspect: L2 learners will incorrectly extend progressive marking to states, and will show overreliance on the prototypical action-in-progress meaning of the progressive. WEs researchers, however, differentiate between such predictions depending on the acquisition setting. With EFL varieties said to be confined to the classroom and international contacts, it is claimed that they are exonormatively oriented and will overuse the prototype of the progressive. In contrast, norm-developing ESL varieties are also acquired in wider society and put to intranational uses, which gives rise to more variability as well as more opportunities for conventionalisation of innovation (Van Rooy 2011: 193–5). Various studies provide empirical support for these differentiated claims. For example, Hundt and Vogel (2011) compared the use of progressive marking in student writing from Kenya, Singapore, the Philippines, Fiji and Malaysia (ESL) with that in German, Finnish, Finland-Swedish and Swedish (EFL) student writing. They observed that progressives are used in a ‘creative way’ in the ESL varieties, showing ‘stretched’ tolerance towards new aspectual uses and combinations of the progressive with stative verbs. However, they stated ‘this is not the case in learner English’, claiming that EFL varieties are ‘more likely to overuse the prototype of the construction and less likely to “stretch” the progressive to new contexts’ (Hundt & Vogel 2011: 160). Van Rooy (2006), too, investigated ESL and EFL varieties using data from, respectively, the Tswana Learner English Corpus (TLE) and ICLE Germany. He found that German learners put the progressive construction to a ‘slightly more limited range of uses’, while the TLE corpus made significantly less use of the prototypical structures and used the progressive ‘in very different ways’ (Van Rooy 2006: 37; see also Van Rooy 2014 for the existence/development of a different prototype for progressive marking in Outer versus Inner Circle varieties). Specifically, he attested to the development of a different constructional prototype expressing ‘a kind of continuous aspect without temporal immediacy’, which he ascribed to substrate influence from the persistitive aspect in Bantu languages (Van Rooy 2006: 37). Based on such results, it may be expected in the present case study that if the NL corpus indeed performs like an EFL variety, as it is traditionally regarded, it will stick closely to the action-in-progress prototype of the English progressive, while the ESL varieties will show greater variability.

Progressive aspect in Dutch

The suggestion of a restricted range of progressive marking in the NL corpus is reinforced by the fact that progressive marking in Dutch is subject to more constraints than in English (Boogaart 1999). There are two main progressive constructions in Dutch: the prepositional locative, using *aan het* (5), and the postural locative, using a form of the verbs *zitten*, *staan* or *liggen* (6).

(5) Ik was aan het lezen.

(6) Ik zat/stond/lag te lezen.

[I was reading.]

Unlike in English, progressive marking in Dutch is not fully grammaticalised, meaning it is never obligatory, and indeed it is used considerably less frequently than progressive marking in English (Mortier 2008; Von Stutterheim, Carroll, & Klein 2009). Moreover, the Dutch locatives cover only a subdomain of use of the English progressive. The English progressive is obligatory to express imperfective aspect for activities, and as noted in the previous section it can be used for temporary states as well (4). In contrast, the Dutch locatives can optionally be used for activities (as in (5) and (6) above), but cannot be used for states at all (7) (Boogaart 1999: 32, 203).

(7) *Ze was in London aan het wonen.

[She was living in London.]

In sum, Dutch locatives are primarily used in the prototypical context of durative activity (Ebert 2000; Haeseryn, Romijn, Geerts et al. 1997: § 18.5.5.2), which may work in tandem with prototype theory as discussed above to produce a more restrictive use of English progressive marking.

Progressive aspect in Indian and Singaporean English substrates

The literature is rife with claims that New Englishes or ESL varieties show overuse and extension of progressive marking (e.g. Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008; Platt, Weber, & Ho 1984). Indian English (IndE) in particular is said to have a ‘well-known ... predilection for extension of progressive *-ing* to habitual and stative contexts’ (Mesthrie 2005: 322). This has been attributed to influence from the major Hindi/Punjabi substrates (Bickerton 1984; Davydova 2012; Sharma 2009). For example, in Hindi all imperfective clauses must be overtly marked. This results in substrate pressure to mark imperfectivity in English as well, causing IndE speakers to ‘overshoot Standard English usage in their use of progressive morphology’ (Sharma & Deo 2011: 119). In contrast, imperfective marking in the Chinese dialects spoken in Singapore (Cantonese, Hokkien Mandarin, Teochew, etc.) is much more limited and often

optional, which could explain why variation in progressive marking in Singaporean English (SinE), though present, is not on the scale of that in IndE (Sharma 2009); for example, unlike in IndE, ‘in general, the state-process distinction holds for Singaporean Chinese learners of English’ (Ho & Platt 1993: 189). Register differences also play a role. The claims of overuse seem to hold more for spoken and especially basilectal data than for more formal, written language. For instance, Hundt and Vogel (2011: 160) find little extension of progressive marking in SinE student writing, but report ‘typical ESL’ overextension for spoken SinE. In the present case study we may therefore expect to see overuse of progressive marking in the ESL varieties, though perhaps less so in SinE than in IndE, and perhaps tempered somewhat as the data are drawn from written texts only.

5.4.2 Research questions and expectations

The aim of this case study is to explore the system of progressive aspect marking in different English varieties spanning the ENL–ESL–EFL spectrum. The research questions are as follows:

- RQ1 Do Dutch native speakers show the ‘typically’ EFL characteristics of norm orientation and overreliance on the prototype, or the purported ESL tendency towards greater variability and extended uses of the progressive?
- RQ2 Is there a strict divide between varietal types or do the results rather suggest a continuum?

This case study reports on the overall frequencies of progressives in the corpora under investigation, lexical diversity in the verbs used, semantic distribution of progressive verbs, and nonstandard uses of progressive marking. In Table 5.14, separate expectations are formulated for each of these four variables.

5.4.3 Data and methods

The data for Dutch English are drawn from the NL corpus. As described in section 5.3, this corpus is readily comparable with the written components of the ICE corpora. To compare across varietal types, therefore, four ICE corpora are also used: Great Britain and the United States (two ENL varieties, henceforth ICE-GB and ICE-USA), and India and Singapore (two ESL varieties, ICE-IND and ICE-SIN). The respective sizes of these corpora can be seen in Table 5.15. This study focuses on four areas: overall frequency of progressive marking, lexical diversity, semantic distribution and nonstandard uses. The subsections below describe the extraction and annotation procedures for each of these areas.

Table 5.14: Expectations per variable in comparative corpus analysis of progressive aspect

Variable	Expectations
Overall frequencies	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. It is expected that NL will underuse progressives cf. the ENL varieties, as progressive marking in Dutch is subject to greater constraints than in English. 2. It is expected that the ESL varieties will overuse progressive marking cf. the ENL varieties.
Lexical diversity	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 3. It is expected that NL will show less variation, i.e. a more restricted range of verbs with progressive marking, than the other varieties. 4. It is expected that the ESL varieties will show greater lexical variation, i.e. a wider range of verbs with progressive marking, cf. NL.
Semantic distribution	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 5. It is expected that NL will overuse the ‘activity’ category cf. the ENL varieties, as action in progress is both the prototype sense of the English progressive and the only meaning of progressive marking in Dutch. 6. It is expected that the ESL varieties will overuse stative progressives, i.e. the ‘existence’ semantic category, cf. the ENL varieties.
Nonstandard uses	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 7. It is expected that NL will be more norm oriented, i.e. display fewer nonstandard uses, cf. the ESL varieties. 8. It is expected that the ESL varieties will show the greatest variation, i.e. the highest proportion of nonstandard uses, especially stative progressives.

Overall frequency

All progressive concordances in the five corpora under investigation were extracted using AntConc (Laurence Anthony, version 3.2.4)¹¹⁰ and imported into Microsoft Excel 2010. To arrive at the final frequency counts, the following types of unwanted occurrences were manually excluded (cf. Ranta, 2006; Römer, 2005; Smitterberg, 2005; Van Rooy, 2006):

- nouns and pronouns, e.g. *This is a great thing*
- adjectives, e.g. *Pregnancy is the starting point*
- gerunds, e.g. *It was about losing control*
- predicative adjectival participles, e.g. *This is already very encouraging*
- appositively used participles, e.g. *There are people dancing on the street*
- present participles, e.g. *They are also traders, trying to make a buck*
- non-finite clauses, e.g. *Most cases of re-housing in new favelas are due to people wasting their compensation allowance*

¹¹⁰ To identify all concordances with BE + a word ending in *-ing*, the following regular expression was used: (be|am|[Ii]'m|[A-Za-z]+'re| [Aa]re[n't]*| [Ii]s[n't]*|[A-Za-z]*'s|[Ww]as[n't]*|[Ww]ere[n't]*|been)\b\W*(\b[a-z]*\W*){0,3}?[a-z]*ing\b (adapted from Fuchs 2012, personal communication). Five intervening words were initially allowed; however, spot-checks indicated that three intervening words were enough to capture all relevant occurrences.

- phrasal expressions/frozen forms, e.g. *The information was really worth having*
- the future marker *be going to*, e.g. *Emily was going to make it big.*

Lexical diversity

To explore quantitative variation in the use of progressive verbs across the corpora, two measures of lexical diversity were calculated: the type/token ratio (TTR); and a normalised measure of verb types per 100,000 words (Table 5.16).¹¹¹ In addition, frequency lists of progressive verbs were compiled and compared across all corpora and the cumulative percentages of the top 5 and top 20 most frequent verbs calculated.

Semantic distribution

The progressive concordances for all corpora were categorised into the seven-class taxonomy of semantic domains developed by Biber et al. (1999: 360f) and adopted by Smith (2002) and Collins (2008):

- (1) Activity verbs are used for events controlled by a volitional agent, e.g. *bring, go, open, run, take*
- (2) Communication verbs are a subcategory of activity verbs involving spoken and written communication, e.g. *ask, describe, say, write*
- (3) Mental activities and states are those experienced by humans and fall into the categories perception (*see*), cognition (*think*), decision (*accept*), mental effort or intent (*aim*) and receipt of communication (*read*)
- (4) Occurrence verbs denote physical events that occur independently of volitional activity, e.g. *becoming, dying, emerging, happening, increasing*
- (5) Existence verbs can be divided into verbs of existence or stance (e.g. *be, exist, live, stay, stand*) and relational verbs (e.g. *appear, belong, depend, hold, resemble*)
- (6) Causative verbs ‘indicate that some person or inanimate entity brings about a new state of affairs’ (Biber et al. 1999: 363), e.g. *causing, having, helping, letting, making*
- (7) Aspectual verbs characterise the stage of progress of an event or activity, e.g. *begin, continue, keep, start, stop.*

As the classification above is to some degree necessarily subjective, steps were taken to ensure consistency as far as possible; in particular, careful attention had to be paid to polysemous verbs.¹¹² Once classified, the raw frequencies and percentage distribution of

¹¹¹ The two different measures were used as they yield different types of insight. TTR is typically used in analyses of lexical diversity; see Gilquin and Granger (2011) for an application of the normalised measure.

¹¹² See also Smith (2002, p. 322): ‘In applying this scheme ... it is difficult to be objective’. First, lists of verbs belonging fairly unambiguously to each of the seven categories were drawn up based on Biber et al. (1999), Smith (2002) and Collins (2008). Then 100 concordances were selected at random from ICE-GB and classified. Difficult cases were discussed with the thesis supervisor and contact made with Collins to ensure that the classifications were in keeping as far as possible, after which further verbs and examples were added to the lists. Subsequently, another 100 random concordances were selected, this time from ICE-USA, and were classified independently by

progressive verbs in each class were calculated. Subsequently, a qualitative analysis of the existence category, expected to be the main locus of stative verbs, was performed.

Nonstandard uses

Following Gut and Fuchs (2013), Ranta (2006) and Westergren Axelsson and Hahn (2001), all progressives in ICE-SIN, ICE-IND and NL were classed in terms of standardness. As this classification was conducted by one native speaker only, the present author, the results should be taken as indicative (cf. Gilquin & Granger, 2011). Occurrences classed as nonstandard were subsequently further coded as representing either (a) structural variation or (b) semantic extension to new contexts; subcategories that emerged from the data. Structural variation refers to standard use of the progressive aspect but with a tense that would be considered unconventional in StdE. Semantic extension refers to use of the progressive aspect in unconventional contexts cf. StdE, for example in stative contexts. Occurrences that showed more than one type of variation were classified multiple times; for example, *I have been going out yesterday, again* (NL W2F-017) was classed both as a semantic extension, in that it refers to a point in past time, and as a type of structural variation, in that the adverbial *yesterday* would conventionally call for the simple past form *went*.

5.4.4 Results

Overall frequency

Table 5.15 shows the progressive frequencies in all corpora (raw and normalised per million words).^{113,114} The normalised frequencies range between 3100 and 3500 in ICE-USA, ICE-

the present author and the thesis supervisor. Inter-rater agreement was found to be 83%, which increased to 100% after discussion. Finally, the semantic classification was completed for all five corpora. Initially classification proceeded semi-automatically, on the basis of the verb only. Then, the full concordances were checked to ensure that the code given was correct in context, whereby polysemous verbs could be classed in different categories depending on context. For example, in (1), *developing* is clearly a volitional activity, whereas in (2) there is no volitional agent and it is classed as an occurrence. Likewise, in (3) *having* is classed as an activity, but in (4) it is causative.

- (1) We are currently developing the tools to unravel how the interaction in the ecosystem works. (NL W2B-023)
- (2) In the north-facing wall of this house there has been for some years a narrow crack which appeared not to be developing further. (GB W1B-027)
- (3) Mark and Emma are having a baby, their second one. (NL W2F-017)
- (4) She's having her personal mail sent to our address (i. e. the one at the top of this letter), so write to her care of me and I'll forward the letter to wherever she is. (GB W1B-015)

¹¹³ Table 5.15 shows the respective sizes of all corpora. The present word counts for ICE-IND and ICE-SIN are somewhat divergent from those reported in e.g. Schneider (2004) (450,847 and 442,284, respectively), which is undoubtedly due to different methods of obtaining word counts. Given the nature of the markup included in the ICE corpus files, obtaining true word counts is not straightforward. Various studies simply take the *target* word counts of the ICE components as a whole or their individual text categories as the actual word counts (e.g. Collins 2008). As Table 5.15 shows, ICE-GB, for example, is around 6% larger than the target word count, and could thus give rise to reporting inaccuracies. However, obtaining token counts using corpus analysis software is complicated by the fact that for some types of markup both the tags and the matter between them need to be excluded, whereas for other types only the tags need to be excluded. For example, a word count simply excluding all matter between angle brackets <> would in various cases leave words between the tags that should not be counted, e.g. in *The cat sat on the mat* the tags would be deleted and the word count would be

GB, ICE-SIN and NL, with only ICE-IND standing out with just 2559. A global chi square test of all corpora returned a highly significant result ($\chi^2=63.75$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$), with post-hoc chi square testing using the Bonferroni correction revealing that this difference can be attributed to the highly significantly fewer progressives in ICE-IND compared to all other corpora.¹¹⁵ Expectation 1 is thus not confirmed: the narrower range of progressive marking in Dutch does not seem to result in underuse of progressive marking in the NL corpus. Expectation 2 predicted that the ESL varieties would overuse progressive marking compared to the ENL varieties, in line with the claims rife in the literature of overuse of the progressive in New Englishes (e.g. Mesthrie & Bhatt 2008; Platt, Weber, & Ho 1984). No difference was found between ICE-SIN and the ENL varieties, while ICE-IND in fact significantly *underused* progressive marking. Contrary to expectation 2, therefore, the present results seem instead to support recent empirical findings of marginal to no quantitative overuse (Hundt & Vogel 2011; Hilbert & Krug 2012).

correct, but in *The cat <deleted>cat</deleted> sat on the mat* the tags would be removed but the second *cat*, which had been deleted by the original author, would still (erroneously) be included in the word count. A different approach was therefore taken here. After uploading the marked-up .txt files per corpus into the open-source text editor Notepad++, regular expressions were used to strip away all relevant markup and extra-corpus material to revert to clean, original texts. The regular expressions in (1) below were used to remove the various types of opening and closing tags as well as the extra-corpus material included between them (using the ‘Replace in all opened documents’ function with the ‘matches newline’ box checked). The regular expression in (2) was then used to remove all other single tags.

```
<\+>.*?</\+>
<del>.*?</del>
<X>.*?</X>
<O>.*?</O>
<|*>.*?</|*>
<&>.*?</&>
<.*?>
```

Token counts were then conducted using AntConc (Laurence Anthony, version 3.2.4).

¹¹⁴ As these corpora (except ICE-GB) are untagged, the raw frequencies were normalised against the total word counts rather than the number of verbs, as proposed by e.g. Gries (2006: 112). This is in line with Hundt and Vogel (2011: 153): ‘We decided against taking into consideration possible differences in the verbal densities of the subcorpora. Such a procedure would not only involve a time-consuming manual tagging of all finite verb phrases, but is unlikely to produce results that are largely different from the number of progressive constructions in relation to the number of words, in Vogel (2007), for instance, the general order of the varieties under analysis was the same for both calculation methods.’

¹¹⁵ The function for this procedure was `chisqPostHoc` (available in the `NCStats` package for R), which performs pairwise chi square tests for all pairs of corpora, then adjusts the resulting p-values for the increased chance of false positives due to multiple pairwise comparisons. The adjustment method was the Bonferroni correction, which consists of dividing the significance level of 0.05 by the number of tests (Gries, 2009: 242).

Table 5.15: Progressive frequencies per corpus

Corpus	Total word count	Progressive tokens (raw)	Progressive tokens (pmw)
ICE-GB	422,622	1396	3303
ICE-USA	419,183	1456	3473
ICE-IND	411,491	1053	2559
ICE-SIN	399,350	1289	3228
NL	401,199	1271	3168

Lexical diversity

To shed light on quantitative variation in the use of progressive verbs across corpora, Table 5.16 shows two measures of lexical diversity: TTR and a normalised measure of verbs per 100,000 words. A chi square test revealed significant differences in TTR across corpora ($\chi^2=14.53$, $df=4$, $p=0.006$), which post-hoc pairwise tests attributed to the higher TTR in ICE-IND (nearing 39) than all other corpora (around 30). This is indicative of greater variability in the verbs used with progressive marking in ICE-IND. Looking at the normalised measure (in the final column of Table 5.16), NL appears to stand out with just 92 verb types per 100,000 words, suggesting a more restricted range of verb types; however, the differences between corpora on this measure were not significant ($\chi^2=5.29$, $df=4$, $p=0.26$).

Table 5.16: Lexical diversity in progressive verbs per corpus

Corpus	Types	Tokens	TTR	Type/100,000 words
ICE-GB	433	1396	31.0	102.5
ICE-USA	450	1456	30.9	107.4
ICE-IND	409	1053	38.8	99.4
ICE-SIN	411	1289	31.9	102.9
NL	369	1271	29.0	92.0

Table 5.17 shows the token frequencies of the 5 and 20 most frequent verb types used with the progressive in each corpus, and the percentages they constitute with respect to the total number of progressive tokens per corpus. Highly significant differences between corpora were found for both the top 5 ($\chi^2=37.12$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$) and top 20 ($\chi^2=25.04$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$) verb types, with post-hoc chi square testing revealing that the most frequent verbs

in NL account for a significantly higher proportion of all progressive usage than in virtually all other corpora.¹¹⁶

Table 5.17: Proportions of high-frequency progressive verbs per corpus

Corpus	Tokens of top 5 progressives	% of all progressives	Tokens of top 20 progressives	% of all progressives
NL	283	22.2	555	43.6
ICE-USA	271	18.6	558	38.4
ICE-SIN	207	16.0	491	38.0
ICE-GB	221	15.8	521	37.3
ICE-IND	143	13.5	356	33.6

Based on the results for lexical diversity, expectation 3 can at least partially be confirmed. While the NL corpus does not show less variation in the number of different verb types used with progressive marking (Table 5.16), it does concentrate progressive marking on the commonest of these types (Table 5.17). This ties in with claims that learners may stick to what they know, relying heavily on known verb–form combinations (Gilquin & Granger 2011; Zipp & Bernaisch 2012). With respect to expectation 4, that the ESL varieties will show greater lexical variation, the results are mixed. While this certainly seems to be the case for ICE-IND, with its significantly higher TTR than all other varieties, ICE-SIN was rather more exonormatively oriented, not differing noticeably from the Inner Circle varieties on any of the above measures of lexical diversity.

Semantic distribution

Figure 5.3 shows the distribution of progressive marking across the different semantic classes in each corpus.¹¹⁷ As is to be expected, the activity category is by far the largest, accounting for almost 50% of progressive occurrences in all corpora (see also Biber et al. 1999; Collins 2008; Smith 2002). Contrary to expectation 5, that NL may overuse the prototypical action-in-progress meaning of the progressive aspect, the percentage of activity progressives in the NL corpus in fact lies between the figures for ICE-GB and ICE-USA.

¹¹⁶ Although the pairwise difference between NL and ICE-USA was not significant for the proportion of top 5 progressives ($p=0.20$), it was marginally so for the top 20 ($p=0.05$).

¹¹⁷ The progressive frequencies per semantic domain largely reflect those reported in Collins (2008) for various ICE corpora. However, the present figures for the activity and communication classes were lower than his, which is probably attributable to the inclusion of spoken texts in his data, which comprised 60,000 words of spoken conversations and 60,000 words from the press, fiction and academic writing in the humanities sections per corpus.

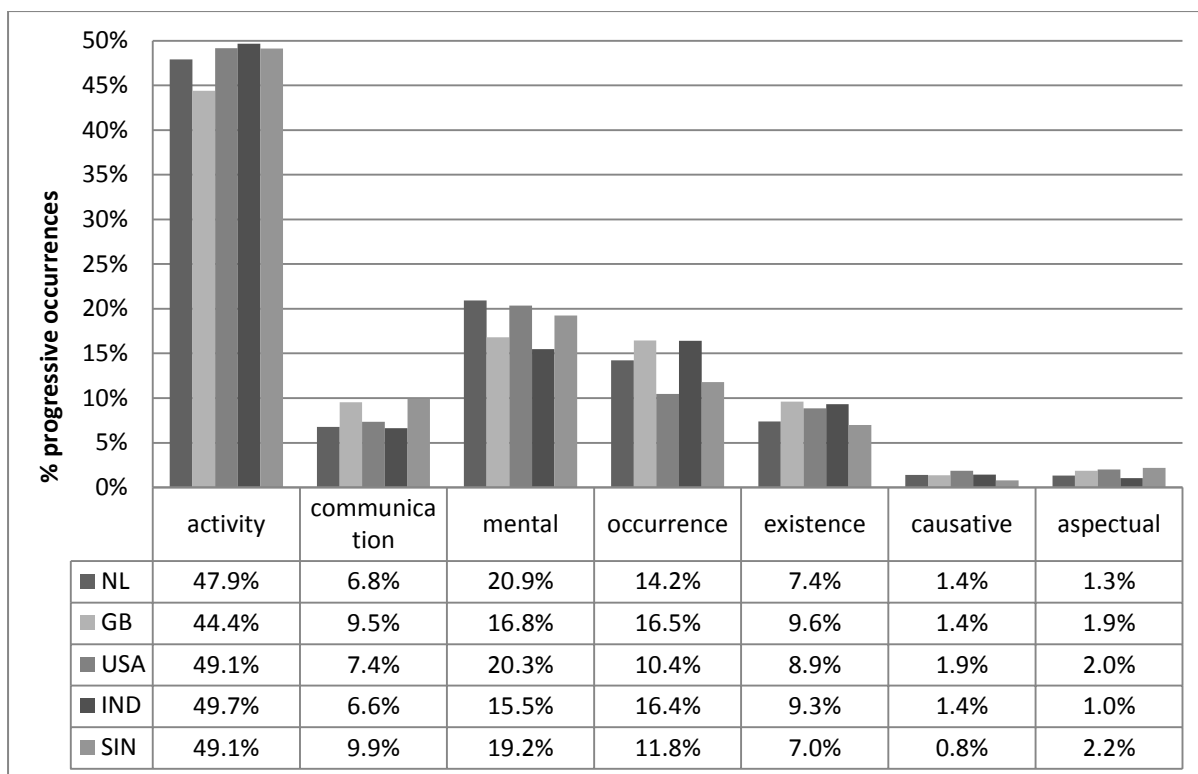


Figure 5.3: Distribution of progressives per semantic domain across corpora

Expectation 6 predicted that the ESL varieties will overuse the existence category due to an excess in stative progressives.¹¹⁸ Quantitatively speaking this does not seem to be the case, since ICE-GB has the highest proportion of existence verbs. A qualitative examination, however, reveals stative verbs used in innovative ways in the ESL varieties, even if the existence category is not overused in an absolute sense. As noted earlier, verbs such as *be*, *have* and *live* are compatible with the progressive when emphasising limited duration or temporariness, as in (8).

- (8) [...] maybe we were being very colonial to expect to see a black guitarist on every porch singing his way into the Mississippi night. (NL W2B-006)

When used in a genuinely stative sense, however, such verbs are not conventionally compatible with the progressive aspect. Yet ICE-IND in particular showed a notably high frequency of stative *having*, as exemplified in (9) and (10). As in Balasubramanian (2009: 90; see also Sharma, 2009), such usages accounted for almost half of the stative progressives in ICE-IND.

- (9) This women's co-operative credit society was formed by the women, for the women and of the women. This society is having 1,500 members working in its eight branches. (IND W1A-008)

¹¹⁸ It should be noted that the mental category in particular also includes verbs of state, e.g. *know*, *like*, *believe*.

- (10) Aphids are oval creatures with short aristate antenna. They are having bulging abdomen with two outgrowths on the dorsal side. (IND W1A-017)

Expectation 6 was thus partially confirmed; while the existence category as a whole was not overused, the ESL varieties showed extended uses of stative progressives. It is also worth noting that such uses were found not only in the ESL varieties but also in the NL corpus (11)–(15). The frequency of such uses in NL was comparable to that in ICE-SIN and about half that of ICE-IND (see Table 5.18 below), despite Hundt and Vogel's (2011: 158) assertion that stative progressives are characteristic of New Englishes but not Expanding Circle varieties (see also Van Rooy 2006). While Hundt and Vogel (2011: 158) claimed that this is one context 'where ESL indeed differs from both ENL and EFL' the present data do not support the assertion of a strict divide between ESL and EFL with respect to stative progressives.

- (11) This means that quality of the assessment will increase if different perspectives are used to reach a final decision. The perception of rater I is not supporting this view. (NL W2A-011)
- (12) Outside these disciplines and outside academia in general, the modern, positivist view on science is still ruling. (NL W2A-014)
- (13) I have kind of a problem by building my arguments. Almost all the sources on the source list are dealing with DNA and sexual offenders registration. (NL W1B-015s1)
- (14) [Name] is only now able to finish the financial side of the last project and furthermore, the last schedule you sent us is overlapping with all the final exams in [location] and we are quite pessimistic about our chances of getting players for the project. (NL W1B-005)
- (15) This free digital learning environment, which is said to be used in 49% of all Dutch primary schools, is just meant to teach small children about the functioning of a healthy body. And so it does. It is not really showing what our bodies looks like on the inside, but medical reality tv covers that nicely. (NL W2B-030)

Nonstandard uses

Table 5.18 shows the results of the nonstandard classification with an example of each type of nonstandard usage. ICE-SIN has the fewest nonstandard progressives of any type, at just 2.3% overall, followed by NL with 3.8% and finally ICE-IND with 5.7%. The overall figures for NL and ICE-SIN are comparable to those found by Westergren Axelsson and Hahn (2001) for German and Swedish learners (2.4% and 3% respectively). A chi square test returned a highly significant result ($\chi^2=17.93$, $df=2$, $p<0.001$), with post-hoc pairwise testing attributing this to the significant difference between ICE-SIN and ICE-IND. Contrary to expectation 7, that NL as purportedly the most exonormatively oriented variety would have the fewest nonstandard occurrences, ICE-SIN appears to perform in the most exonormatively oriented manner. Expectation 8, that the ESL varieties would show the greatest variability by

way of the highest proportion of nonstandard uses, holds only for ICE-IND and is therefore only partially confirmed.

Table 5.18: Variation and extension in progressive usage in ICE-IND, ICE-SIN and NL

TYPE OF NONSTANDARD USAGE	NL	ICE-IND	ICE-SIN
Variation			
Simple instead of complex form			
<i>A record China <u>is hunting</u> for some time now is the train speed record. (NL W2B-033)</i>	9 (0.7%)	11 (1.0%)	5 (0.4%)
Complex instead of simple form			
<i>I <u>have been going</u> out yesterday, again. (NL W2F-017)</i>	2 (0.2%)	0 (0.0%)	1 (0.1%)
Other			
<i>We <u>had been living</u> in peace and amity with our former enemies for a long time now. (SIN W2B-009)</i>	0 (0.0%)	0 (0.0%)	5 (0.4%)
Total	11 (0.9%)	11 (1.0%)	11 (0.9%)
Extension			
Point in time			
<i>I <u>am trying</u> to send you the paper today or tomorrow. (NL W1B-027s1)</i>	5 (0.4%)	7 (0.7%)	0 (0.0%)
General validity/habitual activity			
<i>[E]very two months <u>i'm sending</u> out an alumni newsletter. (NL W1B-07)</i>	19 (1.5%)	18 (1.7%)	9 (0.7%)
Stative			
<i>You must <u>be having</u> a lot of friends of your own age. (IND W2F-006)</i>	11 (0.9%)	23 (2.2%)	9 (0.7%)
Other			
<i>Because of their porosity and other unusual properties, zeolites <u>are finding</u> many uses. (IND W2B-027)</i>	2 (0.2%)	1 (0.1%)	1 (0.1%)
Total	37 (2.9%)	49 (4.7%)	19 (1.5%)
Overall total	48 (3.8%)	60 (5.7%)	30 (2.3%)

In Table 5.18, the nonstandard uses are further classed as representing either structural variation or semantic extension to new contexts (cf. §5.4.3). Variation was rare, accounting for about 1% of the nonstandard progressives in all three corpora. By and large it involved the use of a simple form where a complex form would conventionally be required.¹¹⁹ This has also been reported for ESL in Hilbert and Krug (2012) and Hundt and Vogel (2011); the present data, although the numbers are low, seem to suggest that this phenomenon may be common to both ESL and EFL, tying in with notions of simplification and regularisation in new varieties of English. Worthy of note is the co-occurrence of these simple progressive

¹¹⁹ Following Collins (2008), simple progressive forms comprise the present and past progressive, whereas complex progressive forms include all perfect, modal, infinitival and passive forms.

forms with adverbials that would conventionally call for a perfect form. This was also found in Hilbert and Krug (2012) for Maltese English with adverbials like *now* and *at the moment*, and discussed in Hundt and Vogel (2011) for adverbials like *ever since* and *this is the first time*. The examples below from NL demonstrate that this phenomenon is not restricted to ESL varieties.

- (16) Our universities are working closely together *since 2005* and have established Centres of Competence in several areas [...] (NL W2B-035)
- (17) Contrary to the European trend, newspaper readership in Italy is growing for most major titles *in the last years*. (NL W2C-010)
- (18) *Lately*, a lot is happening for [company name]. At the photo above you see [name] and me finalizing the business plan for [company name] at my home in March 2009. (NL W2B-009s1)
- (19) *For months already* he was getting to know the guitar, trying to understand it. (NL W2F-004)
- (20) People still like to talk to people in real life. That is what we are doing *for the last million years or so*. Modern technologies as telephones, webcams and other techniques, are only mediocre surrogates in this respect. (NL W2B-015)

Turning to the second type of nonstandard usage, semantic extension, Table 5.18 shows that the most common types of extension in all three corpora were (i) to stative contexts and (ii) to denote general validity or habitual activity. The first type, stative progressives, were addressed above in the semantic classification. The second type, the use of progressives to denote general validity and habitual activity, was also observed in Ranta (2006) with respect to English as a Lingua Franca (ELF), Gut and Fuchs (2013) in Nigerian English and Hilbert and Krug (2012) in Maltese English. Occurrences in the NL corpus included the following:

- (21) The site is poorly accessible at the moment because it is using auxiliary networks maintained by The Pirate Bay itself. (NL W2C-018)
- (22) We are working with the Problem Based Learning, which means that you have only about 8/10 hours per week lectures and tutorials. (NL W1B-030s2)
- (23) In Spanish nests of the twig ant, *Leptothorax acervorum*, each colony houses several queens, but only one of them is laying eggs. (NL W2B-021)
- (24) after that they asked me to stay as alumni officer, and now i'm organising an alumni reunion in November, and every two months i'm sending out an alumni newsletter. (NL W1B-007)
- (25) [...] for two years I lived in Vermont, a very liberal American state, a kind of hippie-region where almost everyone walks around in a woodman's blouse and hulking shoes. [...] Diner is being served in a surprise box with organic and local vegetables [...]. (NL W2C-006)

In sum, the nonstandard uses were generally infrequent, accounting for fewer than 6% of progressives in all corpora. Despite the low frequencies, it is interesting to note that all three non-native corpora showed similar types of divergence from StdE, in particular to stative and habitual contexts. Further, with ICE-SIN performing in the most exornormatively oriented manner, ICE-IND the least and NL in between, there was no evidence of a strict divide between the ESL and EFL varieties.

5.4.5 Discussion

This section returns to the research questions formulated in section 5.4.2 for the comparative corpus analysis, and additionally considers the influence of the relevant substrate languages on the results reported above. Recall that RQ1 asked ‘Do Dutch native speakers show the ‘typically’ EFL characteristics of norm orientation and overreliance on the prototype, or the purported ESL tendency towards greater variability and extended uses of the progressive?’ In fact, the results for the NL corpus showed characteristics of both ESL and EFL varieties. Its EFL-like exornormative orientation was reflected in the overall frequency of progressives, which did not differ significantly from the ENL corpora. In addition, progressive marking in NL was concentrated more heavily on the most frequent progressive verb types. However, it did not use a narrower range of verb types with progressive marking than the ENL varieties, and the semantic analysis showed no evidence of over-reliance on the action-in-progress prototype. Moreover, the NL corpus displayed similar qualitative patterns of divergence from StdE as the ESL varieties, in particular extension of the progressive to stative verbs and contexts of habitual activity or general validity. It therefore seems that, in NL, structural properties of both EFL and ESL coexist. This has also been reported for other varieties. For example, in their Maltese English data, Hilbert and Krug (2012) found both overreliance on the dominant modal progressive construction (with the modal verb *will*) – seemingly typical of EFL – but also greater variability than BrE (i.e. use of more different modals) – said to be typical of ESL. In the case of Cyprus English, Buschfeld (2011) found that older speakers showed more ESL-like systematicity in their use of nativised linguistic features (e.g. *like* + zero object) than younger speakers, who showed more learner-like variability. She linked this generational difference to the sociopolitical development of the territory, suggesting that after the Turkish invasion in 1974, Cyprus English began undergoing a reversal from ESL to EFL.

Such findings lend weight to challenges to the ESL–EFL dichotomy that is typically assumed, thereby tying in with RQ2, ‘Is there a strict divide between varietal types or do the results rather suggest a continuum?’ As discussed in Chapter 2, although the two varietal types share a common acquisitional starting point (Biewer 2011: 13; Buschfeld 2011: 10;

Goetz & Schilk 2011: 80–81; Schneider 2012: 57; Van Rooy 2011: 193–5), and structural similarities have been observed (e.g. Erling, 2002: 10; Nesselhauf, 2009; Schneider, 2012b: 70), to date the ‘innovations’ identified in ESL varieties have been commonly construed as ‘errors’ in EFL. In the present case study, the gradient between the varieties under investigation never reflected a divide between the ESL corpora on the one hand and NL on the other: ICE-SIN consistently performed in the most exonormatively oriented manner and ICE-IND the least, with NL in between. Similar findings emerged in Edwards and Laporte (in press), the only other study to date using the NL corpus. They investigated the patterning of the preposition *into* in the NL corpus in terms of overall frequency, syntactic and semantic distribution, lexical variation of the verbal structures used with *into*, phraseological uses and nonstandard uses of *into*. They then compared the findings with those for a range of ICE corpora and concluded that, as in the present study, ICE-SIN was highly similar to the ENL varieties and NL clustered with ICE-IND as well as ICE-HK. In a further step, they conducted a hierarchical cluster analysis comparing their results for NL and the ICE corpora with comparable previous results for a range of ICLE (i.e. learner) corpora, including the component for the Netherlands (ICLE-DU) (Gilquin & Granger, 2011). The resulting dendrogram is reproduced in Figure 5.4 below, where the boxes represent significant clusters. It shows that NL clusters with the ICE corpora and significantly differently from the ICLE corpora, including ICLE-DU. This suggests that the term ‘Expanding Circle’ is not necessarily synonymous with ‘EFL’, but instead covers a heterogeneous range of English users and learners. The results for ICE-SIN in both Edwards and Laporte (in press) and the present study further suggest that, just as Expanding Circle status is not incompatible with emergent nativisation, as with NL, nor does Outer Circle status preclude ongoing exonormative orientation (see also Hundt & Vogel, 2011: 160).

With regard to substrate influence, the present results for NL showed no evidence of direct transfer of the constraints on progressive marking in Dutch. The NL corpus did not underuse the progressive in terms of overall frequency, did not overly concentrate progressive marking on the activity category, and even extended the use of progressive marking to habitual and stative contexts. This variation may still be explained by substrate influence indirectly, however, in that the mismatch between the multifarious uses of the English progressive and the narrow L1 form ‘is likely to always instigate some variation ... and a resulting search for the correct semantic scope of *-ing*’ (Sharma 2009: 17).

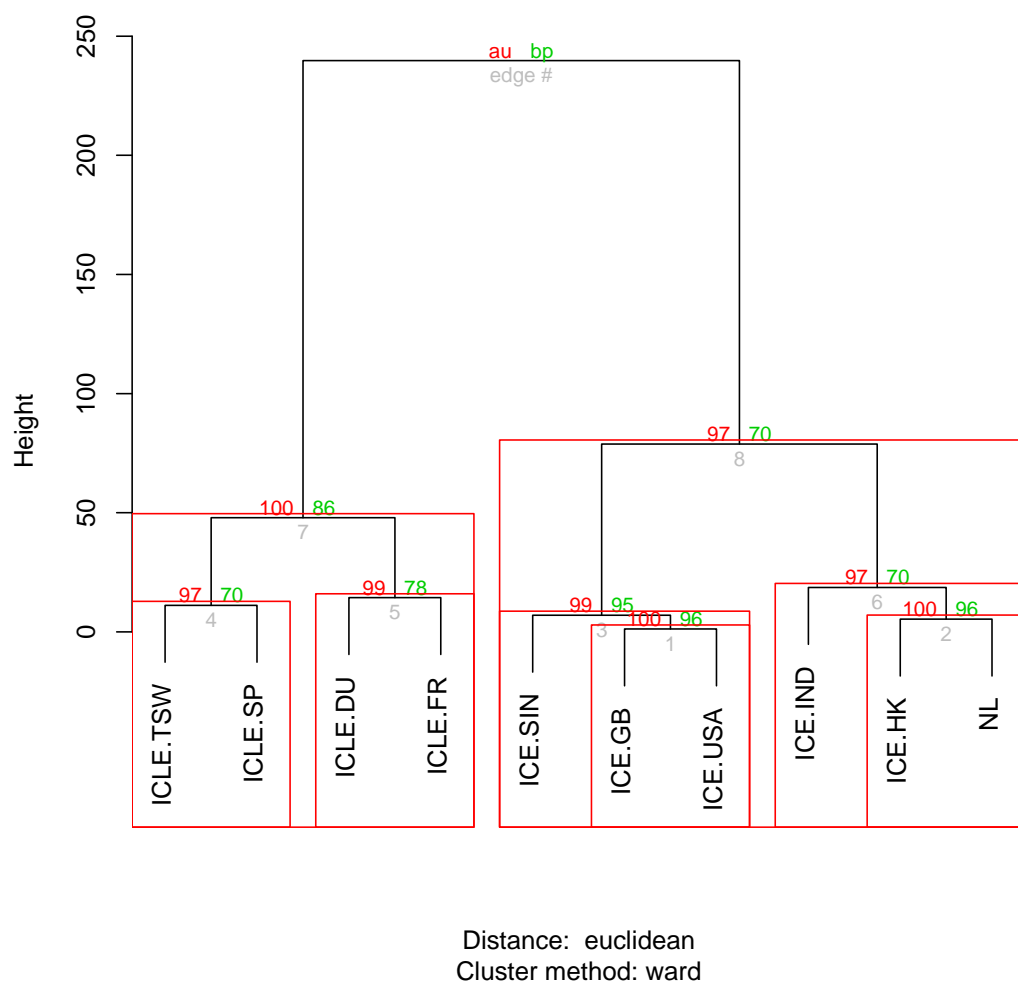


Figure 5.4: Hierarchical cluster analysis of patterning of the preposition *into*
(Edwards & Laporte, in press)

Conversely, we might have expected to see quantitative *overuse* of the progressive in ICE-IND as opposed to significant *underuse*, given the obligatory imperfective marking in its major substrate. Sharma (2009) indeed found *overuse* of the progressive in her basilectal spoken IndE data. This suggests that proficiency levels and register play important roles and that in the educated, written data represented in ICE-IND the typically extended uses in IndE are tempered somewhat. The same can be said for ICE-SIN; while extended uses in the present data were rare, Hundt and Vogel (2011) showed that they are more typical in spoken rather than written SinE. Thus, it would be interesting to see whether these findings hold for basilectal or spoken data.

5.5 Progressive aspect II: Acceptability study

This second part of the progressives case study starts from the premise that corpus-based research should be supplemented with sociolinguistic data to arrive at a more reliable description of speakers' linguistic systems (cf. Gilquin & Gries, 2009; Gut & Fuchs, 2013;

Krug, Hilbert, & Fabri, n.d.). It combines the findings for the NL corpus above with acceptability ratings, which are, in turn, linked back to the attitudinal findings from Chapter 4. Section 5.5.1 describes the expectations of the study and 5.5.2 the data and methods used. Section 5.5.3 presents the results for the acceptability ratings, which were elicited from Dutch informants on different types of nonstandard uses of the progressive from the NL corpus (§5.4.4) as well as several standard uses. It then explores the relationship between these acceptability ratings and the frequency of the respective progressive verbs in the NL corpus. Subsequently, the acceptability ratings are linked to informants' self-reported proficiency levels and attitudes to Dutch English as identified in Chapter 4. Finally, section 5.5.4 considers whether the acceptability ratings point to the development of ESL-like endonormativity, or whether, in a more EFL-like fashion, they can be directly attributed to proficiency levels. That is to say, in the performance of ESL users proficiency level will play a role, but it is to be expected that this will also be mediated by their local (endonormative) norm orientation. In contrast, as the target for EFL learners is a standard native variety, their approximation of StdE will be determined by their proficiency levels.

5.5.1 Expectations

Table 5.19 provides an overview of the expectations formulated for the three parts of this analysis. Expectation 1 is based on the results for nonstandard uses of the progressive in the NL corpus (Table 5.18) combined with Hundt and Vogel's (2011: 160) claim that stative progressives are more characteristic of Outer than Expanding Circle varieties of English. Expectation 2 concerns comparison of these acceptability ratings with frequency data from the NL corpus. Expectation 3 is based on the findings from Chapter 4, which revealed correlations between proficiency levels and attitudes towards Dutch English.

Table 5.19: Expectations per analysis in the progressives acceptability study

Analysis	Expectations
Acceptability ratings	1. It is expected that stative progressives will be judged least and progressives denoting general validity or habitual activity most acceptable.
Comparison with corpus data	2. It is expected that high acceptability will be associated with high frequency in the corpus data and, conversely, that low acceptability will be associated with low frequency.
Comparison with attitudinal findings	3. It is expected that respondents who are most accepting of nonstandard progressive usage will have lower proficiency scores and more positive attitudes towards Dutch English. Conversely, those who more often reject nonstandard progressive usage are expected to have higher proficiency scores and more negative attitudes towards Dutch English.

5.5.2 Data and methods

The acceptability ratings were gathered by way of the same questionnaire used in Chapter 4. The design of the questionnaire and the demographic data of the respondents were described in sections 4.3.1 and 4.3.2. The relevant component for the present study is part III of the questionnaire, which asked respondents to judge 14 sentences involving the progressive aspect.¹²⁰ These included standard distractor items in addition to the test items, which were derived from the most frequent types of nonstandard usage identified in the NL corpus in section 5.4.4. All are authentic, but in some cases they were lightly edited to serve the purposes of this analysis. They can be categorised as follows:

1. stative use of progressive (3 items)
2. use of progressive to denote general validity or habitual activity (4 items)
3. standard use of progressive aspect but in a nonstandard form, e.g. *I'm listening to a lot a music lately*, where *lately* conventionally requires use of the perfect aspect (*have been listening*); henceforth referred to as the 'substituted form' category (3 items)¹²¹
4. standard (distractor) progressives (4 items).¹²²

The sentences were piloted on five English NS (three British and two American) to verify that the sentences in types 1 to 3 and type 4 were indeed perceived as nonstandard and standard, respectively. Table 5.21 below shows the sentences and their respective categories.

Respondents were asked to assess the grammatical correctness of each sentence. If they thought it to be correct, they did not have to do anything. If they thought it was incorrect, they were asked to enter a corrected version in the field below the sentence. A total of 1921 respondents completed this part of the questionnaire.¹²³ As noted in Chapter 4, the respondents are more highly educated than the Dutch population at large. Therefore, it can be assumed that if they accept a particular structure, the chances that the average Dutch speaker will do the same is high (see also Gut & Fuchs, 2013: 257).

Acceptability ratings

The dataset had already been downloaded into Microsoft Excel 2010 for the purposes of Chapter 4 and invalid responses filtered out (§4.3.2). For this study, the responses to each sentence were coded as either acceptance or rejection of the progressive form, as shown in

¹²⁰ To minimise the length of the questionnaire, there were no distractor items not involving the progressive aspect. It may be that this raised respondents' awareness of the object of study; see section 5.5.4 for discussion.

¹²¹ i.e. the 'structural variation' category in Table 5.18.

¹²² The results are presented with the sentences ordered per category. For the actual order in which they were presented to respondents, see the questionnaire in Appendix 1.

¹²³ That is, 18 fewer than the 1939 who completed the first two parts of the questionnaire (cf. Chapter 4); it seems that by this point questionnaire fatigue had set in.

Table 5.20. Subsequently, Table 5.21 gives an overview of the typical corrections made to the sentences, any notable nonstandard corrections, and miscellaneous corrections to other parts of the sentence.

Table 5.20: Coding scheme for grammaticality judgements

Accept	Reject
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sentence accepted with no changes • Change made, but original progressive verb retained or different progressive verb substituted 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Progressive changed to standard non-progressive form • Progressive changed to nonstandard non-progressive form

Comparison with corpus data

For this analysis the percentage of acceptance for each progressive verb was compared with the likelihood of that verb appearing in the progressive in the NL corpus. To this end, the relative proportions of progressive and non-progressive occurrences in the corpus of each relevant verb are needed. The progressive occurrences were already extracted for the comparative corpus analysis above. To obtain the non-progressive occurrences, as the corpus is not POS-tagged, first all non-progressive lemmas of each verb had to be extracted (e.g. *work, works, worked; show, shows, showed, shown*). Non-relevant occurrences were then manually excluded (e.g. *good work, the show*). The respective proportions of progressive and non-progressive occurrences of each verb could then be calculated. This allowed for comparison of the percentage of progressive forms of a verb in the corpus with the percentage of acceptance to identify any potential association between the frequency data and the acceptance rate.

Comparison with attitudinal findings

This analysis compares respondents' acceptance or rejection of nonstandard progressives with (i) their self-reported speaking proficiency levels and (ii) their attitudes towards Dutch English, as identified in Chapter 4 (§4.4.3 and §4.4.4, respectively). The expected correlations are shown in Table 5.22. The responses to the proficiency and attitudinal questions are interpreted as indicative of the participants' norm orientation towards either StdE or 'Dutch English'. The responses for the acceptability of each verb (coded as 1=accept, 2=reject) were tested pairwise against the responses to the proficiency and attitudinal questions with the `cor.test` function in R using Spearman's rho. A StdE norm orientation is expected to correlate positively with rejection of nonstandard progressive usage, while a more positive attitude towards Dutch English is expected to correlate negatively with rejection of nonstandard progressive usage.

Table 5.21: Respondents' corrections to test and distractor sentences

	Correction (standard)	Correction (nonstandard)	Miscellaneous corrections
Stative			
1	This photograph is showing my daughter on her 21st birthday.	shows, is a picture of	on > at
2	That bag is belonging to my sister.	belongs, is my sister's bag	
3	The organisation was established in 2010 and is already having nearly 2000 members.	has	is having already/has already
General validity/habitual activity			
4	Every morning I'm going jogging.	I go jogging, I jog	am jogging, going to jog
5	When my father was in hospital, I was visiting him every Monday.	visited, used to visit, went to visit	in the/a hospital
6	This is the office of the secretary, who is administering the personnel files.	administers	administrates, administrating the secretary's office
7	In a type of Spanish ant, <i>Leptothorax acervorum</i> , each colony has several queen ants, but only one of them is laying eggs.	lays, produces	ant > ants in > with/at
Substituted form			
8	We are working together since 2005.	have been working, have worked	work, worked
9	The economy is shrinking in recent years.	has been shrinking, has shrunk	shrank, shrinks recent years > last/past years In recent years, ...
10	I'm listening to a lot of music – especially rock and pop – lately.	have been listening, have listened	listen, listened deletion of <i>to</i> Lately, I'm ...
Distractor			
11	You're always making a mess in the kitchen!	make*	in > of
12	I've been thinking recently about taking a holiday.		Recently, I've taking a holiday recently taking > going on
13	I'm reading a book about Amsterdam at the moment.		read At the moment, I'm ...
14	I was cooking dinner when the phone rang.		when > as/while rang > was ringing

* Both 'You're always making' and 'You always make' are acceptable in StdE.

Table 5.22: Expected correlations between nonstandard progressive usage and attitudinal/proficiency ratings

Proficiency and attitudinal questions (cf. Chapter 4)	Norm orientation if agree	Expected correlation with rejection of nonstandard progressive usage
As long as my English is good, I don't mind if it has a bit of Dutch 'flavour'	Dutch English	Negative correlation
<i>Dunghish</i> is bad English	StdE	Positive correlation
When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I'm from	StdE	Positive correlation
Self-reported speaking proficiency	–	Positive correlation

5.5.3 Results

This section presents the results per category of progressive usage, followed by an overview of all relevant verbs in Figure 5.5. There was a highly significant difference in the acceptance rate between categories ($\chi^2=8811.64$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$), with post-hoc chi square testing revealing significant differences between all pairs of categories except that of substituted form cf. general validity/habitual activity. In line with expectation 1, stative progressives were judged the least and progressives denoting general validity/habitual activity the most acceptable of the nonstandard forms. The distractor sentences, with their standard use of progressives, were judged most acceptable overall.

Stative progressives

Stative progressives, as noted, were judged least acceptable overall. Only 83 (4%) respondents accepted the progressive use in the sentence *That bag is belonging to my sister*. Stative *having* fared somewhat better: 300 (16%) respondents accepted the nonstandard progressive in *The organisation was established in 2010 and is already having nearly 2000 members*. Stative *showing* was judged most acceptable in this category, with 556 (29%) respondents accepting the nonstandard progressive in *This photograph is showing my daughter on her 21st birthday*. In all three cases, the vast majority of corrections were to the standard simple present forms *belongs*, *has* and *shows*, respectively.

General validity/habitual activity

In the sentence *When my father was in hospital, I was visiting him every Monday*, 300 (16%) respondents accepted the nonstandard use of progressive marking. The majority of corrections were to the standard simple past *visited*. For the other sentences in this category, approximately 4 in 10 respondents accepted the nonstandard use of progressive: 811 (42%) accepted *In a type of Spanish ant, *Leptothorax acervorum*, each colony has several queen*

ants, but only one of them is laying eggs, 828 (43%) accepted *This is the office of the secretary, who is administering the personnel files*, and 762 (40%) accepted *Every morning I'm going jogging*. The majority of the corrections were to the standard present simple forms *lays, administers* and *go*. Interestingly, 161 (8%) respondents changed the latter sentence to *Every morning I'm going to jog*, apparently interpreting it as an expression of future intent.

Substituted form

The sentences in this category involve standard use of the progressive aspect, but in a nonstandard grammatical form, i.e. present progressive instead of perfect progressive (or present perfect). Approximately one third of respondents accepted the present progressives in this category: 606 (32%) respondents accepted *We are working together since 2005*, 699 (36%) accepted *The economy is shrinking in recent years* and 682 (36%) accepted *I'm listening to a lot of music – especially rock and pop – lately*. The majority of the corrections were in favour of the perfect progressive (*have been working, have been shrinking* or *have been listening*) or present perfect (*have worked, has shrunk, have listened*). However, notable minorities substituted the nonstandard present progressive for a different nonstandard usage, i.e. simple present: 226 (12%) respondents opted for *we work* and 303 (16%) for *I listen*.

Distractor sentences

The StdE progressive marking in these sentences was mostly recognised as such: 99% of respondents accepted the standard progressives in *I'm reading a book about Amsterdam at the moment* and *I was cooking dinner when the phone rang* (n=1897 and n=1912, respectively). This may be because these are prototypical progressive uses as presented in ELT textbooks; *at the moment* is often an overt signal to learners of a progressive situation, as is the framing construction with *when*.¹²⁴ A total of 1847 (95%) respondents accepted the progressive usage in *I've been thinking recently about taking a holiday*. This dropped to 1296 (67%) respondents for *You're always making a mess in the kitchen!*, where progressive marking is not used prototypically to express action in progress but instead to signal irritation. Almost all of the corrections in this case were to the present simple *make*, which is also standard in this context (cf. the other sentences in this category, where the use of a simple form would be unacceptable in StdE).

¹²⁴ Although Römer (2005) highlighted the disproportionate amount of attention ELT textbooks pay to the use of the progressive as a temporal frame (e.g. *I was cooking dinner when the phone rang*), given its negligible appearance in BrE corpus data (see also Collins, 2008).

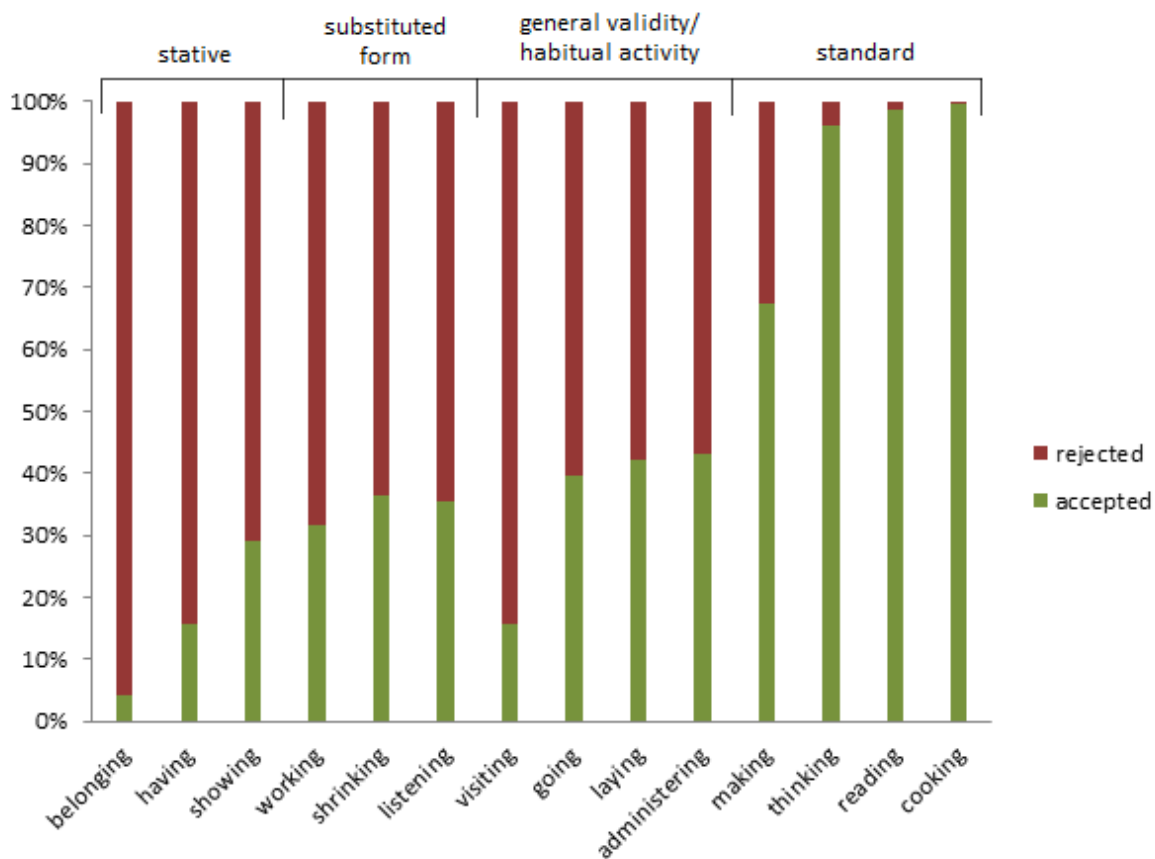


Figure 5.5: Acceptance and rejection rates for progressive verbs

Other changes

As Table 5.21 showed, respondents often made changes unrelated to the use of progressive marking. These changes are interesting in themselves, as they offer clues as to other areas of variation in Dutch English. For example, in *When my father was in hospital [...]*, 337 (18%) respondents inserted an article, mostly in *the hospital*. Prepositions are another case in point: *on* and *in* were changed to various other prepositions in the sentences *This photograph is showing my daughter on her 21st birthday* and *In a type of Spanish ant, [...]*, while *to* was occasionally deleted in *I'm listening to a lot of music [...]*. However, the proportions for all prepositional changes remained below the 10% mark.

Some lexical changes were also in evidence. For example, 101 (5%) respondents changed the verb *administering* into *administrating* (or *administrate*), and 97 (5%) replaced *taking a holiday* with *going on holiday*; from the comments provided, it appears that many of these respondents suspected *taking a holiday* to be a literal translation of the Dutch *vakantie nemen*. Further, 283 (15%) respondents changed *ant* to *ants* in the sentence *In a type of Spanish ant [...]*.

The area subject to most change was that of syntax, specifically the placement of adverbial modifiers. In *The organisation [...] is already having nearly 2000 members*, 323 (17%) respondents preferred the adverbial to follow the verb (*is having already* or *has already*), as it does in Dutch (*heeft al*). There was also a tendency to move temporal adverbials to either the start or the end of sentences. In 128 (7%) cases *The economy is shrinking in recent years* was changed to *In recent years, the economy is shrinking* and in 264 (14%) cases *I'm reading a book about Amsterdam at the moment* was changed to *At the moment, I'm [...]*. Almost half of the respondents (n=861, 45%) moved *recently* to the start or end of the sentence in *I've been thinking recently about taking a holiday*. As the progressive usage in the latter two sentences is standard, it may be that respondents were expressly seeking something else to 'correct' in the sentence. However, the respondents' comments hinted that Dutch speakers may simply have a particular preference when it comes to adverbial placement, irrespective of standardness. As one commented, 'I would put *recently* either at the start or end of the sentence. But I don't think anyone whose mother tongue is English would be bothered by this sentence.'¹²⁵

Comparison with corpus data

Next, the above acceptance rates were compared with frequency data from the NL corpus. The expectation was that high frequency of the progressive form of the verb in the corpus would be associated with high acceptability levels, and low frequency with low acceptability. Unfortunately, the corpus is too small to yield sufficient frequencies of the progressive forms in question to allow for statistical testing. However, comparison of the percentages in Table 5.23 supports the notion that high frequency implies high acceptability, in that the higher frequency progressive verbs (e.g. *shrinking, listening, working*) all have acceptance rates of over 30%. Conversely, high acceptability does not always imply high frequency, since the most accepted progressive verbs all have low frequencies in the corpus (*thinking, reading, cooking*). As expected, low acceptability suggests low frequency; the progressive verbs with acceptance rates below 30% are infrequent or absent in the corpus (e.g. *belonging, having, showing*). But again conversely, low frequency does not always imply low acceptability, since verbs with some of the lowest frequencies have the highest acceptability rates. Thus, the relationship between frequency and acceptance is far from clear. This supports the findings of Gut and Fuchs (2013), who compared progressive usage in ICE Nigeria with acceptability ratings by Nigerian informants. They concluded that 'The observed mismatch between the

¹²⁵ 'Ik zou *recently* vooraan of achteraan in de zin zetten. Maar ik denk niet dat iemand met Engels als moedertaal zich aan deze zin zou storen.'

acceptability ratings and the corpus results ... seems to contradict usage-based theories of language', in which the frequency of use of a given structure plays a major role (Gut & Fuchs, 2013: 262). It is clear that further research using much larger corpora would be needed to tease apart the relationship between frequency and acceptability.

Table 5.23: Percentages of progressive forms in corpus cf. acceptance rates

	Progressive tokens in corpus	Progressive form as % of lemma	Acceptance rate (%)
belonging	0	0.0	4.3
having	14	0.9	15.6
visiting	6	7.1	15.6
showing	7	1.8	28.9
working	64	17.0	31.5
listening	10	22.7	35.5
shrinking	3	42.9	36.4
going	55	10.1	39.7
laying	1	5.9	42.2
administering	1	10.0	43.1
making	17	2.1	67.5
thinking	17	3.3	96.1
reading	7	6.0	98.8
cooking	0	0.0	99.5

Comparison with attitudinal data

The comparison of the acceptability ratings for the nonstandard progressive uses with the answers to the proficiency and attitudinal questions in Chapter 4 confirms expectation 3. As Table 5.24 shows, high self-reported proficiency levels correlate positively and highly significantly with the rejection of nonstandard progressive usage. For the three attitudinal questions the correlation coefficients are somewhat weaker, but all point in the predicted direction and most are significant. The two questions that indicate an orientation towards StdE correlate positively with the rejection of nonstandard progressive usage; that is, respondents who consider *Dunlish* to be 'bad' English and do not wish to be recognised as Dutch speakers of English more frequently corrected the nonstandard progressives. The question indicating some degree of acceptance of Dutch English correlates negatively with the rejection of nonstandard progressive usage; that is, respondents who were more

permissive towards Dutch-‘flavoured’ English more frequently accepted the nonstandard progressive uses.

Table 5.24: Correlations between nonstandard progressive usage and attitudinal/proficiency ratings

	As long as my English is good, I don't mind if it has a bit of Dutch 'flavour'.	'Dunglish' is bad English.	When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I'm from.	Self-reported speaking proficiency
working	-0.13***	0.02	0.14***	0.26***
shrinking	-0.13***	0.04	0.16***	0.31***
listening	-0.09***	0.05*	0.12***	0.18***
showing	-0.10***	0.06*	0.11***	0.20***
belonging	-0.05*	0.05*	0.08***	0.16***
having	-0.05*	0.07**	0.09***	0.21***
going	-0.10***	0.05*	0.10***	0.19***
visiting	-0.08**	0.00	0.07	0.13***
administering	-0.07**	0.00	0.08***	0.21***
laying	-0.10***	0.05*	0.12***	0.23***

 moderate positive correlation, $0.3 \leq \rho < 0.5$
 weak positive correlation, $0.1 \leq \rho < 0.3$
 weak negative correlation, $-0.1 \geq \rho > -0.3$
 moderate negative correlation, $-0.3 \geq \rho > -0.5$

$p < 0.05 = *$, $p < 0.01 = **$, $p < 0.001 = ***$

5.5.4 Discussion

The motivation for this second part of the progressives case study was to determine whether there is evidence of ESL-like norm development or whether the acceptability ratings can better be attributed to proficiency levels, as is characteristic of EFL. The results, in line with those of the preceding comparative corpus analysis, seem to point to a hybrid case. On the one hand, the acceptability ratings are directly related to proficiency levels: respondents who report higher proficiency levels are oriented towards StdE and less accepting of nonstandard progressive usage, whereas those with lower proficiency levels have more positive attitudes towards Dutch English and are more accepting of nonstandard progressives. On the other hand, some developing norms seem to be in evidence. Many respondents preferred adverbials to appear either at the start or end of sentences (almost half the respondents in the case of *recently*), despite acknowledging that English NS may well place it elsewhere. Moreover, considerable proportions opted for nonstandard usages. For example, in the sentences *We are working together since 2005* and *I am listening to a lot of music [...] lately*, approximately

half of the respondents either accepted the nonstandard present progressive or changed it to the nonstandard simple present (*work* and *listen*), which is suggestive of the lack of perfect aspect in Dutch English as noted observationally in section 5.2. These results point to a sense of ‘linguistic schizophrenia’ (Kachru, 1983a: 179); while an exonormative orientation predominates and, indeed, is approximated by those with the highest proficiency levels, the reality is that some structures retain a stubbornly Dutch ‘flavour’, which could ultimately form the basis for the development of local norms.

This does not seem to be as far developed, however, as in Nigeria, a traditional ESL country for which Gut and Fuchs (2013) recently performed a comparable study. Their respondents showed much higher acceptance of nonstandard progressives: for example, the average acceptance rate for stative progressives in their study was 71%¹²⁶, compared to just 16% in the present study. This is unlikely to be attributable to lower proficiency rates, since the majority of Nigerian informants were teachers of English. It may be an effect of methodology; their study included distractor sentences not containing progressives at all, which may have better obscured the object of study and thus resulted in higher acceptance rates. In any event, stative progressives seem to be more acceptable in Nigeria than in the Netherlands; the mental states *believing* and *trusting* were accepted in almost 100% of cases (Gut & Fuchs, 2013: 260). In the comparative corpus analysis in section 5.4, the NL corpus had fewer stative progressives than progressive uses denoting general validity or habitual activity, whereas the ESL corpora ICE-IND and ICE-SIN had more stative progressives than any other extended form. These findings do not seem to have a straightforward relationship with the substrate languages in question, although teaching traditions may play a role; Dutch pupils tend to be explicitly instructed that progressive marking and stative verbs are incompatible. The result of such teaching traditions may well be that stative progressives are less typical of the Expanding than the Outer Circle (Hundt & Vogel 2011: 160).

In terms of methodology, it should be acknowledged here that asking respondents to correct sentences may put them in a prescriptive frame of mind – but if so, the present findings for speakers of Dutch English will be, if anything, overly conservative. Further, this study did not differentiate between acceptability of nonstandard forms in spoken and written discourse, formal and informal contexts and so on. To control for this, Krug and Sell (2013) propose asking respondents whether the test item would be used in an informal conversation,

¹²⁶ This figure represents an average of the acceptance rates for their two stative categories, stative verb denoting a mental state and nonagentive stative verb (Gut & Fuchs, 2013: 259).

an email or a piece of writing by all, many, some or no people from the country in question, although for reasons of practicability this suggestion was not taken up here.

5.6 Summary and conclusion

This chapter explored the final criterion established in Chapter 1 for a second-language as opposed to a learner variety of English; namely, the linguistic forms of the variety in question. First, it highlighted a range of potential features of Dutch English derived from divergent literature and observation. It noted the lack of Expanding Circle corpora in general and for the Netherlands in particular, which hinders the empirical description of emergent varieties. It then described the design and compilation of the Corpus of Dutch English, developed as part of the present project to allow, for the first time, systematic investigation of the potential features of Dutch English. This corpus is readily comparable with the written components of the ICE corpora and can be made available to other researchers. Next, a case study of the progressive aspect was presented in two parts: a comparative corpus analysis and an acceptability study. The corpus study was one of the first studies comparing several ENL and ESL varieties, including the recently released ICE-USA, with an Expanding Circle corpus that includes the full range of ICE written text types (see also Edwards & Laporte, in press; Edwards, 2014a). Both the corpus study and the acceptability study revealed characteristics of ESL as well as EFL in Dutch English, providing support for the notion that varieties can be located on a continuum of ‘more’ or ‘less’ EFL or ESL, rather than unequivocally one or the other (Biewer, 2011; Buschfeld, 2011; Gilquin & Granger, 2011). These findings lend weight to Szmrecsanyi and Kortmann’s (2011: 171) claim that the appropriacy of labels such as ESL and EFL ‘is not an a-priori issue but rather an actual empirical question’. The Dutch English corpus can now serve as a jumping-off point for exploring the potential nativisation of other linguistic features and, it is hoped, as an example of the possibilities for corpus development in countries that similarly challenge the existing conceptions of the sociolinguistic realities in the Expanding Circle.

6. THE DYNAMIC MODEL AND THE NETHERLANDS

6.1 Introduction

The three preceding chapters addressed the three criteria of research question 1: Should the English used in the Netherlands be considered a second-language variety or should it simply be regarded as learner English? In Chapter 3, we saw that the roles and functions of English in the Netherlands resemble those of an ESL society: English is wide spread throughout society, not restricted to elites, increasingly used internally as a symbol of prestige, an identity marker and an additional creative resource, and acquired not just at school but also in wider society. Chapter 4, on attitudes towards English in the Netherlands, supported the notion that young and well-educated people in particular use English as an essential means of identity construction, a characteristic ESL usage. However, as is characteristic of EFL, the target model remains exonormative, the hybrid variety *Dunglish* is stigmatised, and Dutch English as a potentially legitimate variety is scarcely acknowledged. Chapter 5 identified an extensive range of potential features of Dutch English, as is typical of ESL varieties (although empirical research is needed as to their spread and systematicity). The case study of the progressive aspect demonstrated that Dutch English has similarities with ESL varieties in its use of this feature, and is markedly different to the learner language captured in ICLE-DU. However, the acceptability ratings, in line with the earlier attitudinal findings, were suggestive of an EFL-like external norm orientation.

Table 6.1 summarises the criteria for ESL varieties and the findings so far. It shows that, given the mixed results, the Netherlands cannot be said unequivocally to be either a second language or a learner variety, making it difficult to provide a definitive answer to research question 1. This ambiguous outcome is in line with other comprehensive studies of varieties, such as Buschfeld (2011) on Cyprus and Hilgendorf (2001) on Germany. As Hundt and Mukherjee (2011: 213) write, as we increase ‘the level of granularity and home in on the use of English in a particular country, it may turn out that the degree of variation within the country defies easy labelling of a variety as either ESL or EFL.’ This certainly seems to be the case here.

Table 6.1: Fulfilment of ESL criteria in the Netherlands

Criteria for ESL	Presence in the Netherlands
Functions	
• spread of bilingualism	+
• expansion in use	+
• intranational functions	+
• acquisition in wider society as well as in school	+
Attitudes	
• recognition/acceptance of local variety	–
• endonormative orientation	–
• codification	–
Forms	
• phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical and pragmatic innovations	+
• widespread, systematic, stable use of innovations	?

That it can be difficult to identify countries unambiguously as either ESL or EFL supports the recent trend discussed in Chapter 2 towards a continuum of, rather than a categorical distinction between, varietal types. This calls into question the usefulness of the dichotomous approach implied by research question 1. Therefore, this chapter turns away from the categorical approach in favour of a diachronic account, thereby seeking to answer research question 2: Can Schneider’s Dynamic Model be extended to account for non-postcolonial, Expanding Circle settings such as the Netherlands?

As described in Chapter 2, Schneider’s (2003, 2007) model has three main components. First, a five-stage process ‘leads from the transplanting of English to a new land through a period of vibrant changes, both social and linguistic, to a renewed stabilization of a newly emerged variety’ (Schneider, 2007: 30). Second, these phases are experienced by two strands, the settler (STL) and the indigenous (IDG) populations. Third, each phase involves manifestations of four different parameters: (a) *historical and political factors* give rise to (b) particular *identity constructions* in the respective strands, which in turn manifest in various (c) *sociolinguistic factors*, ultimately giving rise to (d) *structural effects*. According to Schneider, the key underlying process is that the gradual convergence in identity constructions between the IDG and STL groups – from an us/them divide to, eventually, a sense of shared nationhood – leads to linguistic convergence; that is, the birth a new variety.

Clearly, this model does not straightforwardly apply to the Expanding Circle. The first phase, foundation – the rooting of English in a society – does not happen by way of the

physical presence of colonists; in fact, Expanding Circle contexts have no substantial STL strand. As a result, the history/politics and identity parameters will not follow the trajectories that Schneider predicts. It is possible that these divergences could be resolved by modifying the model. Based on his work on China, Kirkpatrick (2007: 32) noted that ‘It would appear that, in certain circumstances, expanding circle countries can develop their own Englishes without going through the first “transportation” or “foundation” phase’. Indeed, Schneider’s own sketched application to Expanding Circle contexts such as China and Japan (§2.1) simply skips phase 1, noting that ‘in the absence of a colonial background there was no “foundation” phase’ (Schneider, 2014: 26). An alternative approach may be to reconceptualise rather than do away altogether with phase 1. As English must take root in some way, a foundation phase seems necessary; it cannot, however, be restricted to foundation-through-colonisation. In fact, Schneider’s model already allows different linguistic outcomes to result from different foundation types. He differentiates between settlement colonies, where the indigenous populations were overrun and Inner Circle varieties such as American and Australian English ultimately emerged, and exploitation colonies, where there colonists always remained a minority and Outer Circle varieties such as Indian and Singapore English evolved (Schneider, 2007: 66). For the Expanding Circle, foundation-through-globalisation could perhaps be posited as an alternative foundation type. This is in line with Hilgendorf (2007: 145), who observed that ‘international economic (globalization) and political (EU) imperatives appear to have largely assumed the role of colonialism in the past’, and Buschfeld (2011: 105), who proposed globalised pop culture and the internet as substitutes for a physical STL strand.

That the model will require some modification to accommodate the Expanding Circle is not problematic per se. It may be that, despite some obvious differences, Expanding Circle settings retain enough fundamental similarities with the Outer Circle to render the model still useful. After all, as noted in Chapter 2, Schneider (2007: 67) himself recognised that the model necessarily abstracts away from complex realities and expressly invited flexible applications, stressing that ‘Against all these differences between linguistic evolution patterns ... I emphasize again the underlying similarities, the common core which unites all these contexts’. The key, therefore, will be to assess whether such modifications remain cosmetic, or render the model so fundamentally altered as to necessitate a new one.

This chapter therefore applies the phases of the Dynamic Model to the case of the Netherlands. In this effort, it follows on from work on other countries not considered by Schneider, such as the Outer Circle contexts of Cyprus (Buschfeld, 2011) and Gibraltar

(Weston, 2011). However, it goes one step further in its focus on an Expanding Circle country. As noted, Schneider (2014) recently made an initial attempt to apply his model to the Expanding Circle, focusing on East Asian settings. To my knowledge, the present study is the first comprehensive application to an Expanding Circle country, and the first application to a European country. To this end, this chapter combines existing sources on Anglo-Dutch relations and the history of English in the Netherlands with the findings from the previous chapters. Sections 6.2 to 6.5 consider the phases of the model in turn, starting from the early roots of English in Dutch society through to the present day. For each phase, Schneider's four parameters are considered: (i) historical and political background, (ii) identity constructions, (iii) sociolinguistic conditions, and (iv) linguistic effects.¹²⁷ To highlight the similarities and differences between the Netherlands and the postcolonial settings for which the model was designed, Schneider's key predictions are paraphrased in boxes at the start of each section.

6.2 Phase 1: Foundation, c. 1500–1945

6.2.1 Historical/political background

English is brought to a new territory in the context of emigration settlements or trading outposts. The number of migrants is relatively small in the latter case but considerably larger in the former. Relationships between the STL and IDG strands may be anything from friendly to hostile. (Schneider, 2007: 33)

This phase of the Dynamic Model focuses on colonial expansion and trade on the part of (usually) Britain, which is experienced by the local population as invasion and occupation. By contrast, the foundations of English were laid in the Netherlands through early Anglo-Dutch commercial, political and ideological relations. Early mercantile ties in the wool and cloth trade developed such that, by the 16th century, 'England had closer links with the Netherlands than with any other country' (Sprunger, 1982: 3). When the northern provinces of the Low Countries declared independence from Spain in 1581, Elizabeth I pledged British support. For nearly a century, British officers as well as thousands of British soldiers and mercenaries fought alongside the Dutch.¹²⁸ In exchange for British troops and cavalry, the Dutch towns of Vlissingen and Brielle were garrisoned and held as 'English fortresses', and the period thereafter saw a dramatic increase in the English populations of the Low Countries (Sprunger, 1982: 34–35). In addition to soldiers and officers, Holland hosted many traders and merchants as well as religious refugees who faced persecution in England. At this time,

¹²⁷ Note that in Schneider (2014: 17) he renames two of the parameters to render them more suitable for the Expanding Circle; that is, (i) becomes language policy and English in education (policy and pedagogy), and (ii) becomes attitudes.

¹²⁸ Although some British mercenaries fought with Spain against the Dutch (Sprunger, 1982: 34).

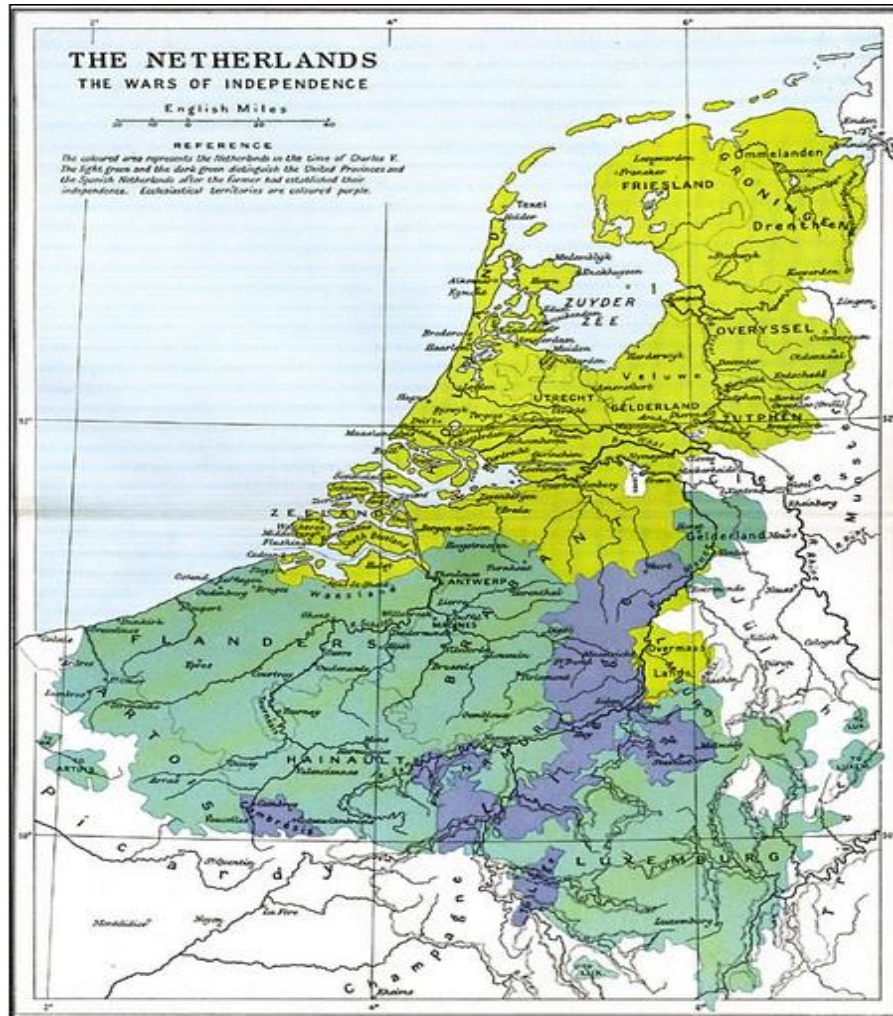


Figure 6.1: Map of the Low Countries, 1500
The northern provinces, which declared independence in 1581, are shaded in light green. Source: <http://etc.usf.edu/maps/pages/7300/7398/7398.htm>



Figure 6.2: Map of the modern-day Netherlands
Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/File:Netherlands_pol87.jpg

‘the Dutch were the world economic power and the English a “junior partner”. As late as 1670, the volume of Dutch-owned shipping “considerably exceeded” that of England, Spain, Portugal, France, Scotland, and Germany combined’ (Sprunger, 1982: 8). In 1688 King James II of England was overthrown by an invading army led by William of Orange, who ascended the English throne with his wife Mary. In the 17th and 18th centuries, conflicts over trade routes and seafaring rivalry led to the four Anglo-Dutch wars. Each side won two wars, but the fourth (1780–1784) left the Dutch economy in ruins. By this point, dominance of world trade had already shifted to Britain.

The ensuing period saw a great deal of turmoil. When the Dutch Republic collapsed in 1795 it became a French vassal state under Napoleon, who described it scathingly as ‘*une province anglaise*’ (Asbeek Brusse, 2007: 204). After the fall of Napoleon around 1813, a new Dutch state under the Orange monarchy was proclaimed. This feat can largely be attributed to goodwill on the part of the British, who were loath to see the North Sea coast fall prey to the mainland continental powers of France and Germany (Van Goor, 2007: 25). The maintenance of Dutch independence was to remain a maxim of British foreign policy well into the 20th century. During WWI, the neutral Netherlands found itself sandwiched between two Great Powers, Germany and Britain, and given its economic interests on both sides, had to maintain good relations with both (Ashton & Hellema, 2007: 274). It clashed with Britain over shipping and trade matters as well as its continuing economic and political relations with Germany (Frey, 2007: 75). Still, ‘[t]he vast majority of the Dutch population was sympathetic towards the Allied cause’ (Frey, 2007: 75) and, given the circumstances, the Anglo-Dutch relationship remained surprisingly strong (Ashton & Hellema, 2007: 11). In 1934 the British Foreign Office reported that

Relations with Great Britain may be regarded as genuinely friendly ... Dutch feelings for England are influenced strongly by a community of civilisation. Both countries cherish long traditions of democracy and Protestantism; the existence of both depends on foreign trade and peaceful world conditions: neither has anything to fear from the other, and the bitterness aroused by the South African war has now subsided. The Dutch admire things British, and even cricket is considerably played. (Moore, 2007: 138)

This phase of the early rooting of English in the Netherlands can be seen as lasting until around WWII, which would be a turning point that kicked off a new phase for English in the Netherlands.

6.2.2 Identity constructions

The two strands see themselves as clearly distinct from the 'other'. The STL population regard themselves as full members, and representatives, of Britain. IDG people regard themselves as the only rightful residents, perhaps owners, of the territory. (Schneider, 2007: 33–34)

Identity constructions during phase 1 in the Netherlands diverge considerably from those in Schneider's model. The Netherlands was not colonised and the local population neither resented the British communities on their soil nor experienced their presence as invasion or occupation. There was certainly no need to learn English unless they personally sought to for commercial or scholastic purposes. The 'settlers' were mostly soldiers, merchants, students and refugees. Many were based in the Netherlands only temporarily, and naturally continued to consider themselves fully British. However – at least in the earlier periods – merchants and traders 'were not loath to learn Dutch', at the time a major European language (Loonen, 1991: 31). It was not until the 18th century that political developments left the English less willing to accommodate, and English thus became the main language of commercial interaction between Dutch and British traders (Loonen, 1991: 271). In contrast, religious and ideological refugees, who intended to stay longer, typically assimilated into Dutch society. While the Catholic refugees in the southern provinces of Brabant and Limburg 'were mostly bent on preparing themselves and others for their return to England and Ireland' and 'did not mix much with the local population' (Loonen, 1991: 35–36), the Protestant refugees who sought shelter in the north tended to settle for good, learn Dutch, and within a few generations 'became more Dutch than British' (Sprunger, 1982: 7, 40).

6.2.3 Sociolinguistic conditions

Contact between the strands is limited and utilitarian, for specialised purposes such as trade, territorial negotiations, etc. The responsibility to acquire the necessary linguistic skills usually falls to some IDG members (interpreters, traders, guides, functionaries). (Schneider, 2007: 34–35)

This parameter covers the sociolinguistics of contact between the two strands. More so than for the above two parameters, parallels can be seen here between the Netherlands and Schneider's model. Some members of the Dutch population acquired English – by choice, often with the help of a native speaker from the British community in the Netherlands. In the 17th and 18th centuries there were tens of thousands of English and Scottish settlers in the Netherlands, the largest group of British emigrants on the continent (Sprunger, 1982: 3). The Dutch had a pragmatic, tolerant attitude to immigration, not least because it paid off: according to the English politician Sir John Reresby, 'They admit persons of all countries and opinions amongst them, knowing well that this liberty draws people, numbers of people increase trade, and that trade brings money' (Sprunger, 1982: 5). The ambassador George

Downing reported that craftsmen and tradesmen ‘come daily from England hither’ and ‘bring with them their families, and who pretend the reason thereof to be for the liberty of their consciences’ (Sprunger, 1982: 8). Many, of course, were genuine religious refugees or ideological dissenters; in those days ‘[a] man had to decide whether to go to New England or to Holland, and some thousands chose the latter refuge’ (Sprunger, 1982: 3). John Locke took refuge in Rotterdam, and the poet Thomas Wyatt, the dramatist Christopher Marlowe, the theologian William Ames, the mathematician John Pell and many other British scholars spent time in Holland. Thousands of English-speaking students matriculated at Dutch universities, such as Leiden (founded in 1575), Franeker (1585) Utrecht (1636) (Loonen, 1991: 30–31; Sprunger, 1982: 357). In addition, numerous British regiments and garrisons were located in the Low Countries, and it was estimated that at least one in five sailors on Dutch ships were in fact English or Scottish (Sprunger, 1982: 4).

Thus, the local Dutch population was exposed to English ‘from many different sides and at all levels’ (Loonen, 1991: 30). Indeed, ‘the Protestant Netherlands were the first English language learning stronghold on the Continent’ (Loonen, 1991: 29):

English was needed in commerce by traders, fishermen, bankers, art dealers and colonists; in the armed forces by those who had dealings with the many English and Scottish troops stationed in the Low Countries until well into the 18th century; by men of letters and students who progressively began to read in the vernacular the scholarly, literary and cultural products from overseas. (Loonen, 1991: 27)

However, before 1800 English was by no means widely learnt; as Loonen (1991: 23) writes, ‘if learnt at all, English was learnt for commercial purposes’. Indeed, in periods of slow economic trade, the production of ELT textbooks declined (Meijer, 2008: 345). Loonen’s detailed monograph on English language learning (ELL) in the Low Countries from 1500 to 1800 is titled ‘*For to learne to buye and sell*’¹²⁹, which he considers ‘the thread running through the story of ELL in the Low Dutch area for a period of well over 200 years’:

Although it would be a serious simplification to state, as popular belief had it, that French was needed for culture, German for horse riding and English for trade, there is some justification in placing ‘for to learne to buy and sell’ among the main motives for ELL. The majority of Dutch ELL textbooks contain commercial letters, unlike their German or French opposite numbers, and often commercial information as well. (Loonen, 1991: 22)

Still, for a long time English held a ‘humble position’ (Loonen, 1991: 48) as one, and by no means the most important, of several foreign languages of interest:

¹²⁹ After a dialogue in Berlaimont’s ELT textbook printed in 1576.

English writings were invariably translated into Dutch or French, and they were discussed in French magazines edited in the Dutch Republic, a sign no doubt of the general incompetence to deal with the English language. In the literature of the time references to English are few and very far between. All this may explain why the only places where ELL was in some demand, were located in the main trading ports along the North Sea, where English was needed in commercial activities, and even there the English language was almost a curiosity. (Loonen, 1991: 271)

Besides the major trading areas, ‘the rest of the area was virtually virgin territory’ (Loonen, 1991: 33). As late as the 1790s a member of the Utrecht University board could still exclaim: ‘But who, gentlemen, reads English?’ (*‘Maar wie, heeren, leest er Engelsch?’*; Loonen, 1991: 48). Over time, however, English rose slowly in stature ‘from an insignificant, ugly and even preposterous language (in the eyes of many) to the language of a world power’ (Loonen, 1991: 8). By 1800, Dutch power had waned in world affairs and British dominance had set in. Around this time a national school system was introduced in the Netherlands and English began making inroads in the curriculum. Thus, the early 19th century saw a sharp increase in the numbers of learners, teachers and textbooks (Meijer, 2008: 345) and the locus of learning shifted from adults to children (Loonen, 1991: 20). There was also increased interest in English literature; in 1825 the first English language periodical (*The English Adventurer*) was launched in the Netherlands and a number of English literary societies were founded (Meijer, 2008: 345). In 1863 English became a compulsory school subject, although French and German still predominated. It was not until 1921, when degrees and teaching qualifications could be awarded in modern foreign languages, that the position of English was consolidated in the Dutch education arena (Meijer, 2008: 345). Still, a British intelligence report of 1934 is undoubtedly overly optimistic in its assessment that ‘[a]lmost all educated Dutchmen speak English well’ (Moore, 2007: 138).

6.2.4 Linguistic effects

Three processes are worth observing at this stage: (i) koineization (settlers who come from different regional backgrounds accommodate to one another and develop a ‘middle-of-the-road’ variety), (ii) toponymic borrowing in the STL strand, and (iii) incipient pidginisation between strands, especially in trade colonies. (Schneider, 2007: 35–36)

Given the lack of historical corpora covering early Anglo-Dutch contact, it is difficult to investigate systematically the linguistic features of the English used in the Netherlands in this period. In the IDG strand it seems that, in line with Schneider’s predictions, some form of pidginisation developed. The term still used today to refer to poor, ‘broken’ English, *Steenkolenengels* (‘Coal English’), supposedly derives from the language Dutch port workers

used in their contacts with English coal ships (M. Jansen, 2006). In addition, many Dutch loanwords entered English in this period: Van der Sijs (2009: 13) finds approximately 1500 words of Dutch origin in the Oxford English Dictionary, most dating from before 1800. Many of these can be tied to military contacts with the Dutch, such as beleaguer (*belegeren*) and quartermaster (*kwartiermeester*). Others are shipping and seafaring terms: anchor (*anker*), skipper (*schipper*) and scurvy (*scheurbuik*). Probably not unrelatedly, alcohol-related words like booze (*buizen*) and drunkard (*dronkaard*), and curses such as fucking (*fokkinge*) and crap (*krappe*), all derive from Dutch (Salverda, 2003: 307). Dutch painting of the Golden Age also gave English many words, such as landscape (*landschap*), masterpiece (*meesterstuk*) and still life (*stilleven*) (Van der Sijs, 2009: 13). Indeed, Gulliver, the character created by Jonathon Swift in 1726, was said to have picked up the word quacksalver (*kwakzalver*) during his medical studies in Leiden (Salverda, 2003: 308).

6.3 Phase 2: Exonormative stabilisation, 1945–1993

6.3.1 Historical/political background

The colony stabilises politically under foreign domination. English is regularly spoken and formally established in education, governance, etc., at least in some regions and social strata. Contact between strands increases and many IDG people acquire English to secure or advance their status or economic prosperity. (Schneider, 2007: 36–37)

The start of phase 2 in the Netherlands is dated here to the end of WWII. Unlike in Schneider’s model, it does not relate to colonial status or the formal establishment of English in education, governance and so on. Instead, it was the events of and the aftermath of the war that kicked off a period in which English established itself firmly as the ‘first second language’ of the Netherlands.

After Germany invaded the Netherlands in 1940, Queen Wilhelmina and the Dutch government went into exile in England. Five years later, the Netherlands was liberated by Allied – notably, American, British and Canadian – troops. That English was ‘the language of the liberators, the money providers and progress’ (Ridder, 1995: 44) gave it a major boost, which went hand in hand with the decline of German but also French as foreign languages in the Netherlands. The Dutch admired the British for having ‘continued the struggle with Germany when other nations and their political leaders had capitulated on the battlefield or in their minds’ (Kersten & Van Faassen, 2007: 175). According to Booij (2001), ‘English is still felt as the language of the liberators, even by people born after the war’.

Dutch foreign policy after WWII is often characterised as Anglophile and Atlanticist by both Dutch and British historians (Asbeek Brusse, 2007: 203). The Dutch were fervent

supporters of Britain's attempts to join the European Economic Community (EEC) in the 1960s. Just as Britain had long seen the Netherlands as a territorial buffer against the continental powers, the Dutch hoped that British membership in the EEC would serve as a political counterweight against protectionist Germany and France (Ludlow, 2007: 224). Thus, throughout the negotiations the Dutch representatives 'were rarely outdone ... in their determination to assist in the British in every way possible' (Ludlow, 2007: 225). The Germans and French were less than enthusiastic about the entry of yet another country that they saw as, like the Netherlands, 'not so much a European as a maritime nation', one that was less interested in Europe than in 'looking out over the waters at other areas of the world' (Ashton & Hellema, 2007: 9). Britain's first attempt to join the EEC was vetoed by France in 1963, but the second attempt succeeded in 1973. This inevitably accelerated the displacement of French as the language of diplomacy and strengthened the position of English (Berns et al., 2007: 17–18).

Meanwhile, in the aftermath of the war the US was seen as 'the new leader of the Western, capitalist, free trading world' (Ashton & Hellema, 2007: 14). From the 1960s onwards, the power of the US economy and popular culture served only to consolidate the role of English as Europe's lingua franca and to increase its popularity and influence in the Netherlands (Wilkinson, 1990: 324).

6.3.2 Identity constructions

The settlers perceive themselves as outposts of Britain, but their identity expands to encompass something like 'British plus', with the additional, enriching flavour of the colonial experience. The English-knowing locals gain an additional worldview, an extra edge of experience and competitiveness in which they take pride. (Schneider, 2007: 37)

Despite the absence of a prototypical STL strand, a parallel can be seen here with Schneider's model in that a 'local-plus-English-knowing' identity indeed seems to have developed in the IDG strand. While people's self-perception and identity remained strongly Dutch, English provided an extra source of enrichment and prestige. This can be attributed to agency on the part of the Dutch, who sought out English for scholarly or commercial purposes or simply to tap into Anglo pop culture. This is in contrast to Schneider's model, where developments in both phase 1 and phase 2 are attributed to the colonisers, and the colonies themselves 'simply served the purposes for which [they were] founded': accommodating settlers and missionaries, serving as trading or military outposts or 'providing a dumping ground for criminals and other folks unwanted at home' (Schneider, 2007: 36; see also Brutt-Griffler, 2004 for an alternative account of agency on the part of the local populations).

6.3.3 Sociolinguistic conditions

Contact between the two groups increases and bilingualism spreads among the IDG strand, associated with higher social status. In the STL strand, the conservative, external norm orientation remains unquestioned. (Schneider, 2007: 38)

In this period English spread more widely in the Netherlands, though, in line with Schneider's model, it was still restricted to certain population sectors and associated with a higher social status. Its spread was largely propelled by educational reforms, such as the 1968 Secondary Education Act (Wet op het Voortgezet Onderwijs), which made English the only mandatory foreign language in secondary education. The incorporation of English into the Dutch education system 'has continued unabated since then' (Ammon & McConnell, 2002: 99). By the late 1960s, English had by far eclipsed French and German as the first foreign language, and was further spurred on by the popularity of British and American music and pop culture. In 1986, English was introduced as a subject in the last two years of primary school. In line with Schneider's predictions, teaching and learning remained firmly exonormative and no signs emerged of recognition of, or a desire for, local norms.

6.3.4 Linguistic effects

The 'British-plus' identity of the STL strand and the 'British-cum-local' identity in parts of the IDG strand, as well as the broader range of cross-cultural language contacts, trigger changes in the linguistic systems of the two strands. At this stage the changes are largely lexical; the STL strand adopts indigenous loanwords, especially for local flora, fauna and food. The English of the IDG strand is considered more or less 'good' or 'broken', and further pidginisation or creolisation may develop. (Schneider, 2007: 38–40)

In line with Schneider, the use of local lexical items continued, but early signs of structural innovation also began emerging in the Netherlands. An example can be seen in the title of the 1962 record 'I feel me a king' by Marc Verhaegen¹³⁰ (a direct translation of the Dutch *Ik voel mij een koning*, Figure 6.3). A characteristically 'Dutch' accent also started developing, as parodied in the 1956 song 'Wil joe hef a kup of tie' by Hetty Blok and Joop Vischer Jr. Again, however, given the lack of diachronic corpus data, it is difficult to make comprehensive claims about the English used in the Netherlands in this period. What is certain is that the increasing acquisition of English and access to British and American pop culture contributed to the incorporation of a great many English loanwords into Dutch. Public debate focused on whether this was an enrichment or a manifestation of what some saw as the 'English disease' (*Engelse ziekte*¹³¹). This culminated in the publication of a widely read

¹³⁰ It should be noted that Marc Verhaegen is a Dutch-speaking Belgian.

¹³¹ A play on words, as *Engelse ziekte* is also the colloquial term for rickets.

article that identified 10 good reasons for the use English words in Dutch, concluding that in the absence of good reason English words should be avoided (Bakker, 1987).



Figure 6.3: 'I feel me a king', Marc Verhaegen 1962

6.4 Phase 3: Nativisation, 1993–present

6.4.1 Historical/political background

The STL strand experiences loosening personal, economic and political ties with the 'mother country'. At this stage many countries ultimately gain political independence, and others work towards it. (Schneider, 2007: 40–41)

Once again, this phase in the Netherlands diverges from that in Schneider in that it does not revolve around a colony striving for or gaining political independence. Rather, it is driven by European and global developments. As noted in Chapter 3, European integration has vastly increased the roles of English both across EU borders and domestically, and the advent of globalised media culture and technologies has only reinforced the position of English, particularly among younger generations. Thus, although the Netherlands is not undergoing the sorts of political developments seen in colonial societies at this stage in Schneider's model, the stage is set for the predicted far-reaching identity rewritings and linguistic restructuring.

The onset of this phase is dated to 1993, when the Treaty on European Union, also known as the Maastricht treaty, came into force. English quickly developed into the de facto lingua franca within the European institutions, but also among citizens: '[a]lthough it is the first language nowhere on the European continent, it has become the most widely spoken second language everywhere' (De Swaan, 2001: 153). This state of affairs is perpetually

reinforced by EU policies. The Bologna process, launched in 1999 to promote comparable systems and standards in higher education, culminated in the creation of the European Higher Education Area in 2010. This also kicked off the process that led to the introduction in 2001 of the three-cycle ‘Anglo’ system in Dutch higher education (bachelor/master/PhD). Meanwhile, over three million European students have taken part in the Erasmus programme, which has developed into ‘a social and cultural phenomenon’ (British Council, n.d.). While such initiatives aim to promote mobility and cultural exchange, as a side effect they tend to strengthen the position of English. For example, as exchange students to the Netherlands are unlikely to have an adequate command of Dutch, their presence in the classroom often triggers a wholesale switch to English (Berns et al., 2007: 28).

From the early 1990s, therefore, political developments in Europe vastly increased the functions and uses of English both across EU borders and within the Netherlands. They also helped to trigger a different conception of the role of English, from a language used to foster Anglo-Dutch relations to a language that serves as a gateway to the rest of Europe as well. Combined with the rush towards computers, the internet and social media, technologies that the Dutch population are typically quick to embrace (Van der Horst, 2012: 180), this has laid fertile ground for drastically increased contact with, acquisition of and opportunities to use English in the past two decades.

6.4.2 Identity constructions

The movement towards independence affects the identity constructions of the two strands: both parties consider themselves permanent residents of the same territory. They accept that they will have to get along with each other for good, and therefore, for the first time, the STL and IDG strands become closely intertwined and the us–other distinction is lessened. (Schneider, 2007: 41)

As noted, the Netherlands has undergone political and societal changes, but not the same ones as the colonies. The establishment of the EU has eroded national borders, and the Netherlands has embraced and projects the idea of a cosmopolitan, mobile, outward-looking society. National identity is no longer the cornerstone of an individual’s identity; instead a sense of European or even global identity has emerged, particularly among younger people (cf. §4.4.4). Moreover, an ‘English-knowing’ identity has developed in the Netherlands, as predicted by Schneider for the IDG strand in this phase. The vast majority of Dutch people are not only reasonably competent in English, but also take pride in this fact (cf. Chapter 4).

In a study of the linguistic behaviour of Dutch and Flemish participants on a reality television show, Zenner found that the Dutch codeswitched with English more when speaking among themselves than with the Flemish participants, suggesting a subconscious

but collective English-knowing identity (in Verbeylen, 2013). This can also be seen in the apparently collective belief among the Dutch that their English is invariably better than the Dutch of English-speaking foreigners in the Netherlands. There are countless stories of exasperated foreigners trying to practise their Dutch yet finding their interlocutors immediately switching to English (McArthur, 1992: 2; Ridder, 1995: 50; Smaakman, 2006: 45; Van der Horst, 2012; Van Oostendorp, 2012c). This national habit is so pervasive that a language institute in The Hague sells badges for English-speaking expats reading *Spreek Nederlands met mij!* ('Speak Dutch with me!') (Spijkerman, 2013) (Figure 6.4). Another manifestation of this English-knowing identity may be the oft-cited overestimation by Dutch people of their own mastery of English (Booij, 2001: 7; Hendriks, 2002: 1; Nortier, 2011: 125; see also §4.5.3). In professional editing and translation circles in the Netherlands it is a common gripe that Dutch clients, more so than other continental Europeans, have no qualms about 'correcting' or overruling the English of native-speaking translators and editors; as Burrough-Boenisch (2000: 4) writes, 'Dutch authors are very assertive about their English and often challenge changes made to their texts'. An interesting example can be seen in the post below from the forum of the Society for English Native Speaking Editors in the Netherlands.¹³²

Imagine this situation:

On your trawls across the internet you come across a Dutch website advertising a bunch of technical consultants operating in the international market. You notice that the English version of the site is drowning in Dungleish. The Dungleish is making a bad impression and that's a pity because the services on offer seem rather good ... if only you could make sense of them. Wading through all that Dungleish is a real turn-off.

So, you email the owner of the business, offering your language editing services. You don't want to offend but perhaps the owner doesn't realize his website text doesn't read that well in English. Would he be interested in some native-English expertise [...]?

The owner writes back: 'It's okay for people to know that we're not English; good actually. So I take those language mistakes for granted, and no one will be disturbed by them. After all I don't sell texts, but services.'¹³³

This perception that adherence to external norms is not always necessary or even desirable suggests, in line with Schneider's (2007: 45) predictions for this phase, that the Dutch – some

¹³² www.sense-online.nl

¹³³ 'Mensen mogen rustig weten dat wij geen native Engelsen zijn, graag zelfs. Dus die taalfoutjes neem ik voor lief en er zal zich verder ook niemand aan storen. Ik verkoop namelijk geen teksten maar diensten.'

of them at least (cf. Chapter 4) – are willing to act as ‘language builders’ rather than as passive recipients, actively shaping the English used in their own environment.



Figure 6.4: Expats' buttonactie: 'Speak Dutch with me!'
Source: www.directdutch.com/spreek-nederlands-met-mij

6.4.3 Sociolinguistic conditions

This phase sees mass acquisition of English among the IDG strand. In the STL community, linguistic insecurity and a divide between innovative and conservative speakers can be observed: is the old, external norm still the only 'correct' one, or can local educated usage be accepted? A 'complaint tradition' emerges that is really a class struggle in disguise. Over time, the readiness to accept localised forms increases. (Schneider, 2007: 41–43)

As demonstrated in Chapter 3, there can be no doubt that acquisition of English is widespread in the Netherlands today, even more so than in postcolonial societies like Hong Kong and the Philippines (cf. §3.8.1). Thus, the mass bilingualism that Schneider predicts for the IDG strand in this phase is certainly present. So, too, is the predicted sociolinguistic cleavage, although in Schneider's model this emerges among the STL strand. In line with Schneider's (2010) description of 'linguists and others who suggest that the educated local variety of English should be accepted as correct and as a model for others', a handful of Dutch academics have called for greater tolerance of the ways in which English is used in the Netherlands, most prominently the linguist Marc van Oostendorp (2002: 2):

We Dutch should recognise that we speak our own variety of English ... And we should do that without qualifying it as ‘crude’. We should gradually learn to cultivate and appreciate this variety of ours. We should not find it less beautiful than the English of the bowler hats or the hamburgers.¹³⁴

On the other hand, many others reject this notion, and the views of these conservative elements tie in with the notion of a complaint tradition (‘the stereotypical statement by conservative language observers that linguistic usage keeps deteriorating’ and that ‘corrupt’ usage should be avoided; Schneider, 2007: 11). Despite increasing proficiency levels, the past decades have seen recurring complaints about inadequate standards (Van Essen 1997b), often voiced in letters to the editor and opinion pieces, such as the following:

With typical overconfidence, Dutch people think they are extremely proficient in the English language in particular, but that is not true. They don’t know the idioms, they have no subtlety, all they have is the modern-day Dungleish of American origin that the business world has produced.¹³⁵ (Van Haren, 2000)

Evidence of the predicted linguistic insecurity/linguistic schizophrenia can also be seen. This is characterised by a mismatch between the external variety that users aim for and the local variety actually used, which is said to foreshadow the eventual acceptance of a new variety (B. B. Kachru, 1983a: 179; Schneider, 2007: 43). Chapter 4 showed that only 6% of Dutch people aim for Dutch English, and yet 27% admit speaking it (§4.4.4). This phenomenon has also been identified in Hong Kong (Groves 2011: 38) and India (Mukherjee, 2007). Groves (2011: 38–39) points out that American, Australian and New Zealand English took up to two centuries to pass through this phase before their own norms gained overt prestige.

Despite this ongoing external orientation, the mass use of English in Dutch society means that structural innovations are bound to arise, particularly as awareness increases of global ‘Englishes’ and the problems surrounding the notion of ‘native speaker’. According to Berns, Hasebrink and De Bot (2007: 23–24), ELT in Europe is already moving away from teaching for ‘integrative purposes’ – that is, purely for use with native speakers – towards ‘the communicative competence that is useful with other English learners and users like themselves within and beyond Europe.’

¹³⁴ *‘wij Nederlanders zullen moeten erkennen dat wij een eigen variant van het Engels spreken [...] We zouden dat dan wel moeten doen zonder er “crude” bij te zeggen. We zouden langzamerhand moeten leren die eigen variant te cultiveren en te waarderen. We zouden hem niet minder mooi moeten vinden dan het Engels van de bolhoeden of de hamburgers.’*

¹³⁵ *‘Met de gebruikelijke vaderlandse zelfoverschatting vinden Nederlanders juist dat ze vooral de Engelse taal geweldig beheersen, maar dat is helemaal niet waar. Ze kennen geen idioom, geen enkele subtiliteit, alleen het moderne steenkolen Engels van Amerikaanse bodem dat de zakenwereld heeft voortgebracht.’*

6.4.4 Linguistic effects

The changed state of affairs and new identity constructions increasingly find linguistic expression. This stage results in the heaviest effects on the restructuring of the language and lies at the heart of the birth of a new, formally distinct variety. In addition to heavy lexical borrowing, IDG speakers consistently show a marked local accent. Changes can now also be observed in morphology, syntax and pragmatics. (Schneider, 2007: 44–48)

In this phase, in line with Schneider, a large range of phonological, morphosyntactic, lexical and pragmatic innovations can be identified in the English used in the Netherlands. The tables in Chapter 5 (§5.2) provided overviews of these features; for reasons of space only a limited number of examples are provided here, which are well attested observationally. As noted in Chapter 5, however, empirical research is needed to determine the degree of their spread, systematicity and acceptability.

In terms of phonology, a range of English accents can be heard in the Netherlands, from natively like to heavily marked. Typical phonological features are described in Gussenhoven and Broeders (1997), Koet (2007), Tops et al. (2001), Van den Doel (2006) and Van der Haagen (1998), including the substitution of voiced consonants at the end of words with their unvoiced counterparts, such as /f/ for /v/ (*life* for *live*), /s/ for /z/ (*price* for *prize*) and /t/ for /d/ (*set* for *said*). Interestingly, these can be transferred into spelling, as can be seen in Figure 6.5–Figure 6.7, respectively. Other phonological features include a narrower intonation range, the pronunciation of silent letters in words like *sword* and *psychiatrist*, and a preference for strong over weak forms for words like *and*, *but*, *than*, etc. (Tops et al., 2001: 2–4). Schneider (2007: 44) suggests that, over time, the initial variability gives way to a ‘focusing’ process, resulting in a fairly stable local pronunciation. This seems to be the case in the Netherlands, where even proficient English speakers tend to retain a number of local features. As school teachers of English are usually Dutch, they may pass on such features. Anecdotally, I was told about a British parent whose child was informed at school that he was pronouncing words like ‘caravan’ incorrectly: ‘The Dutch teacher was (of course) pronouncing it as *cereven*, since that’s the Dutch concept of an English *a*, and told the parent that he was wrong and she was right because she was a trained professional’ (see also Figure 6.8).



Figure 6.5: 'Life actors' at Madame Tussauds in Amsterdam
Source: www.dunenglish.nl



Figure 6.6: 'Surprijs', a combination of 'surprise' and 'prijs'
Substitution of /s/ for /z/ (the pun works if *surprise* is pronounced as *surprice*)
Source: www.dunenglish.nl

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Figure 6.7: 'Insight information' at the former Amsterdam School of Business
Substitution of /t/ for /d/
Source: www.dunenglish.nl



Figure 6.8: 'Svencouver', a combination of Sven (Kramer, a Dutch speed skater) and Vancouver
Substitution of /e/ for /æ/ (the pun works if the pronunciation of Van rhymes with that of Sven)
Source: www.dunenglish.nl

Turning to lexis, in Schneider's model the previous phase was characterised mostly by loans, whereas this phase is characterised also by semantic shifts. These are well attested in the Netherlands: *consequent* for consistent, *function* for position, *heavy* for intense, *beamer* for projector and so on. So, too, are innovative word formation products such as truncation: *camping* for camping site, *body* for bodysuit, etc. Compounding is also extremely common, given that in Dutch noun compounds are typically spelt as one word (cf. Figure 6.9). Transliterations are another case in point, as shown in Figure 6.10, where the Dutch *eethuis* appears to have given rise to the rather quaint 'eating house'. Furthermore, the widespread competence in English allows for creativity in areas such as advertising; in Figure 6.11 the Dutch word *hout* (wood) and the English 'outlet' are combined in the name of a furniture company, Houtlet. Knowledge of both languages needed to appreciate this.



Figure 6.9: Compounding at KLM: boardingpass

Source: www.dunenglish.com



Figure 6.10: The Small Talk Eating House, Amsterdam

Source: www.dunghish.com

HOUTLET.nl
LEVERANCIER VAN ALLE HOUTEN VLOEREN



Figure 6.11: 'Houtlet', a combination of *hout* (wood) and outlet

Source: www.houtlet.nl

While structural innovations in the previous phase were mostly restricted to lexis, in this phase morphosyntactic innovations also appear. According to Schneider (2007: 47), this typically concerns phenomena at the interface of grammar and lexis. In the Netherlands these include innovative use of prepositions and phrasal verbs, verb complementation patterns, levelling of the adverb/adjective distinction, countable use of noncount nouns, lack of do-

support and so on. Examples of these nativised usages in Dutch public spaces are shown in Figure 6.12 to Figure 6.16. As can be seen, the advertising and signage of major companies and organisations, such as Essent, KLM, KPN, McDonalds, Sitecom and Schiphol airport, are no exceptions. Also striking is that the same sorts of innovations have been observed in many postcolonial Englishes in Africa and Asia (cf. Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi, 2004; Mesthrie & Bhatt, 2008; Platt, Weber, & Ho, 1984).

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tues-thursday 08:00-10:00

Visit the physiotherapist without
an appointment! And get answers on
every medical question you have.

Feel good and healthy, BE SPORTIVE.
Everyone is welcome.

Figure 6.12: Poster with a range of structural features of Dutch English, including nonstandard prepositions (get answers on your questions)

Source: www.dunenglish.com



Figure 6.13: Nonstandard prepositions and lack of do-support at Holland Boulevard, Schiphol airport
Source: www.dunenglish.com



Figure 6.14: Lack of do-support: Price not includes saus
Source: www.dunenglish.nl



Figure 6.15: Loss of adverb/adjective distinction: Amsterdam parking
 Source: www.dunenglish.com

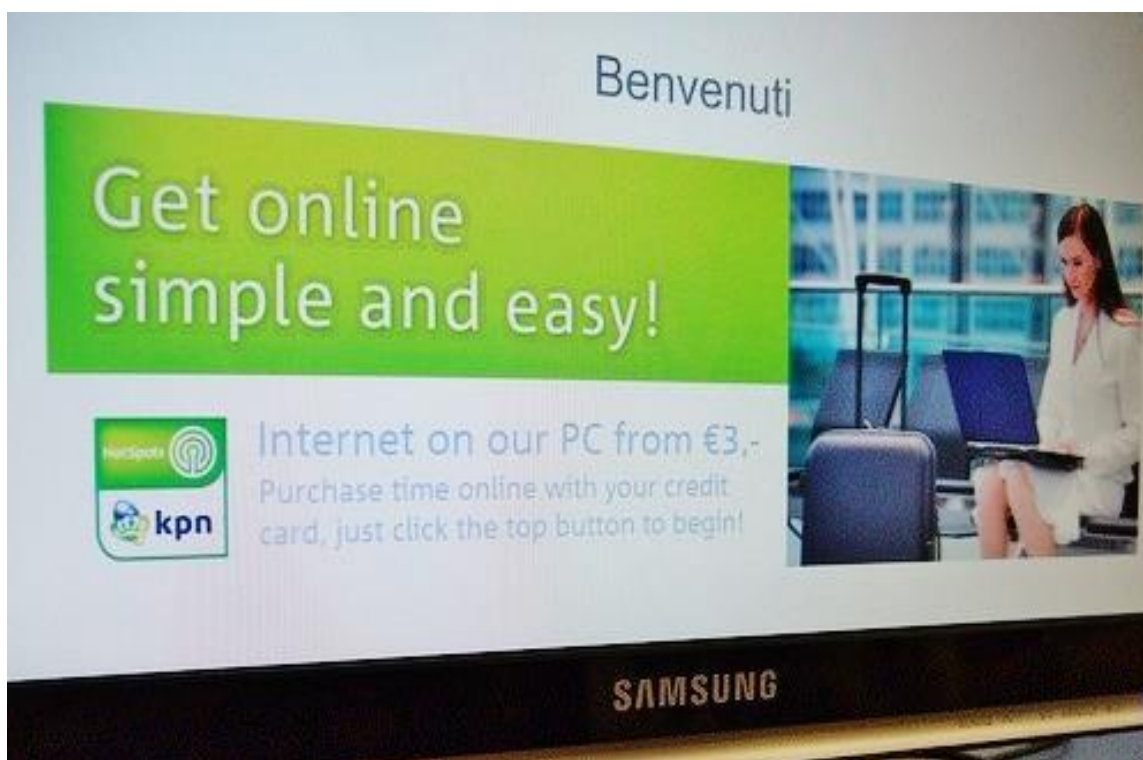


Figure 6.16: Loss of adverb/adjective distinction: KPN
 Source: www.dunenglish.com

Finally, in line with Schneider's predictions, pragmatic and discursal innovations, often transferred from the L1, can also be seen in the Netherlands. One area in which this is salient is higher education and academia where, as Zegers and Wilkinson (2005: 2) found at Maastricht University, 'the culture of the instructional English itself is mediated by the local national culture ... and the linguistic cultures of the actors (students and staff)'. This can frequently be seen in the use of Dutch and multiple titles, the 24-hour clock or the notation 'hours' (*uur*), as shown in Figure 6.17 and Figure 6.18 below. In written discourse, sentencing practices, such as the use of short, choppy sentences, and pragmatic aspects such as a lack of hedging can also be transferred (e.g. Burrough-Boenisch, 2005). In addition, the salutation 'greetz' is used, especially among young people and in online discourse (Figure 6.19).



On Monday 14 January 2013, Maastricht University will celebrate its 37th anniversary, or Dies Natalis.

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Programme

During the morning, several activities will be organised at the faculties

14.15 Reception with coffee

14.55 Arrival of cortège

15.00 Word of welcome: Rector Magnificus Prof. Dr Luc Soete

Figure 6.17: Multiple titles ('Prof. Dr') and the 24-hour clock

Source: www.maastrichtuniversity.nl



Figure 6.18: Road closed from 20:00 to 05:30 hour

Source: www.dunlish.nl

POSTREPLY Search this topic. 7 posts

Greetz from the Netherlands
 by [dvincent](#) » 14 Jun 2011, 11:33

Hi all,

from the Netherlands. I recognize a lot of names so that will be vice versa I think 😊 But further no comment, I think everybody is doing his best. Good [software](#) package. I installed it a while ago.

 Last edited by [dvincent](#) on 15 Jun 2011, 21:43, edited 1 time in total.

Regards,
 Dirk


dvincent
 Posts: 1738
 Joined: 14 Jun 2011, 11:21
 Location: Nederland - Vlissingen

Figure 6.19: Greetz from the Netherlands

Source: <http://prosim-ar.com/forum/viewtopic.php?f=4&t=702>

6.5 Beyond phase 3?

Political independence goes hand in hand with a newfound cultural self-reliance, sense of national identity and linguistic self-confidence. This in turn engenders the acceptance of local norms, including in formal usage. A new, distinct and fairly stable variety has emerged which is a carrier of local identity and creativity. New literatures start to develop and codification begins, typically in the form of local dictionaries. The new variety is perceived and promoted as fairly homogeneous. (Schneider, 2007: 48–52)

Although political independence is characteristic of this stage in (post)colonial settings, Schneider concedes that this is neither a necessary nor a sufficient characteristic of phase 4. Instead, cultural self-reliance and identity constructions are ‘ultimately decisive’ (Schneider, 2007: 48) – thus, it may be possible for the Netherlands to reach this stage despite the absence of a colonial background. The identity rewritings of phase 3, towards a European, global and English-knowing identity, may suffice to bring about the sociolinguistic and linguistic aspects of phase 4; that is, the recognition and acceptance of the local variety. At present, however, this does not seem to be the case. Dutch English does not serve as a target model (Chapter 4). Its basilectal counterpart, *Dunglish*, is widely acknowledged and stigmatised, but Dutch English, with few exceptions, does not appear to be recognised at all as a potentially legitimate variety.

Another characteristic of phase 4 is that the variety ‘is perceived as remarkably homogeneous’, and ‘this homogeneity is in fact emphasized’ (Schneider, 2007: 51). This is an essential part of the nation-building agenda; the deliberate promotion of an imagined community. Although further empirical work is needed, the linguistic features of Dutch English are certainly salient and stable enough that Dutch people and those familiar with Dutch English recognise it when they hear it. This allows it to be parodied in popular culture and advertising; for example, the character Johan van der Smut in the 2002 film *Austin Powers in Goldmember*, a 2009 television commercial by the energy company Eneco (‘From the wind, we cannot live’)¹³⁶ and a 2010 commercial by the budget holiday company *Prijsvrij* (‘I move to you, you move to me’)¹³⁷ all parodied the Dutch accent and way of speaking. However, the homogeneity of Dutch English is certainly not *promoted*, nor need it be; after all, the Netherlands is not on the same nation-building path as former colonies. It may be, therefore, that this stage is superfluous, i.e. that different social and regional varieties could emerge (as in Schneider’s phase 5) without first a single, homogeneous national variety emerging (as predicted for phase 4). As Mesthrie and Bhatt (2008: 35) suggested, ‘it seems possible to us that a territory could move from phase 3 to 5, bypassing phase 4’.

As for literary creativity, another phase 4 aspect, besides some isolated examples (e.g. John O’Mill, §3.7.4) the Netherlands has not developed a local literature in English. Nor is English used in the home, between parents and their children. However, anecdotally at least, some people feel a sense of having to adjust to English in their own country. With reference to English-language product packaging, Jansen (2010: 31) wrote ‘The strange names for

¹³⁶ www.youtube.com/watch?v=0EjyS6PP-Ro

¹³⁷ www.youtube.com/watch?v=quj67Za8qLc

familiar products serve as a signal of exclusion for the ordinary citizen: he remains, but the land is moving under his feet'¹³⁸. According to the Leiden professor G.M.J. Beijersbergen, 'it is starting to seem that we are immigrants in our own country, that we have to become a kind of Americans or Englishmen'¹³⁹ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2009a: 3). An employee of the Dutch steel producer Hoogovens, which merged with British Steel in 1999, reported on a colleague with computer problems:

He contacted the 'HELPDESK' (because what else could we call such an institution? 'Hulplijn' might be an idea). To his surprise, he was addressed in English. After some back-and-forth, my colleague made clear to the person in question that the conversation was rather awkward, to which the voice replied: 'I am from Britain.' The question that immediately comes to mind is: who adapts in the Netherlands to whom? The answer is probably as clear as it is incomprehensible to me.¹⁴⁰ (Stichting Taalverdediging, 2008a: 5)

In this context, it seems inevitable that Dutch English will continue to develop. As Dybalska (2010: 36) points out, the necessary factors are in place: high levels of exposure to English and daily opportunities to use it; extensive promotion of 'post-puberty bilingualism in two genetically related languages', which fosters transfer; and high prestige of and generally positive attitudes towards English. Legislation is more likely to promote than to curtail the spread of English (see Chapter 3). Moreover, given that ELT is largely performed by Dutch teachers and, in educational and commercial contexts, there are practical constraints on the resources that can be devoted to professional translation and editing, structural changes would seem to be inevitable (see also Aaltonen, 2006: 193 on Finland) (cf. Figure 6.20). Given the impracticability of imposing native standards Görlach (2002: 11), referring to Asian and African Englishes, suggests that 'the solution can only be to accept local norms that have developed for internal communication, and to reserve international norms for a few specific purposes, often formal written communication.' Although they should not be overstated, there are signs that this may already be happening in the Netherlands, where language editors have been found to be more permissive towards features such as Dutch and multiple titles if the target readers are primarily Dutch (Edwards, 2010).

¹³⁸ *'De vreemde namen voor vertrouwde producten fungeren voor de gewone burger als uitburgeringssignaal: hij blijft, maar het land onder zijn voeten vertrekt.'*

¹³⁹ *'Door de positie van het Nederlands als onderwijstaal te ondergraven begint het erop te lijken dat we immigrant worden in eigen land, dat we een soort Amerikanen of Engelsen moeten worden.'*

¹⁴⁰ *'Hij nam contact op met de "HELPDESK" (want hoe zou men zo 'n instelling bij ons anders kunnen noemen? Wellicht is "hulplijn" een idee). Tot zijn verbazing werd hij in het Engels te woord gestaan. Na enig heen-en-weer gepraat maakte mijn collega de persoon in kwestie duidelijk dat de conversatie wel erg stroef verliep, waarop de stem aan de andere kant antwoordde: "I am from Britain." Direct dringt zich dan bij mij de vraag op: wie past zich in Nederland nu aan wie aan? Het antwoord is waarschijnlijk even duidelijk als voor mij onbegrijpelijk.'*



Figure 6.20: McDonalds 'homerules', Amsterdam

6.6 Summary and discussion

It is clear that there are a number of similarities between the development of English in the Netherlands and the predictions of Schneider's (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model, but also considerable differences. The Netherlands neither follows the same political trajectory as former colonies, from occupation through colonial domination to fledgling statehood, nor does it have the prototypical STL strand or foundation-through-colonisation phase. As a

result, the thread running through the first parameter, political and historical background, differs. This necessarily entails that the identity constructions of the second parameter do not evolve from two distinct strands with a clear ‘us–them’ division into a shared national identity. Instead the STL strand is largely absent; far from being colonists, British settlers in the Netherlands, always a minority compared to other immigrant groups (Sprunger, 1982: 5), were often refugees fleeing persecution who either quickly assimilated or eventually returned home. The rise of English in the Netherlands cannot be attributed to them. Instead English became entrenched in the Netherlands through global political and economic forces and only began in earnest after WWII, when the phase 2 characteristics elite bilingualism and lexical nativisation began emerging. The early 1990s, with the advent of globalised media culture and the development of the EU, kicked off the phase 3 characteristics mass bilingualism, nativisation at all linguistic levels, an English-knowing identity and bilingual creativity, but also an ongoing exonormative orientation and a complaint tradition. Dutch English also shows a degree of homogeneity/stability, a phase 4 characteristic, though this would have to be confirmed through further research.

Table 6.2 summarises the key components of Schneider’s model and the relevant findings for the Netherlands. It shows that while the initial means of foundation was different and the history/politics parameter consistently developed along different lines, in phases 2 and 3 parallels can be seen in the other three parameters of identity constructions, sociolinguistic conditions and linguistic effects. Clearly the Netherlands has not emerged from phase 3 and moved into phase 4. While phase 3 in Schneider’s (2007: 50) model ‘marks the dialect as just a variant without a discrete character of its own’, phase 4 ‘credits it with the status of a distinct type, set apart from and essentially on equal terms with all others’, with the resulting terminological change from merely ‘English in X’ to ‘X English’. According to this model, therefore, ‘English in the Netherlands’ is a more appropriate term than ‘Dutch English’.

Table 6.2: Overview: the Dynamic Model and the Netherlands

Phase		History and politics	Identity constructions	Sociolinguistic conditions	Linguistic effects
1. FOUNDATION	DM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: colonial expansion/trade • IDG: invasion/occupation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: British • IDG: rightful owners of territory 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: limited contact with local languages • IDG: marginal bilingualism (interpreters, functionaries, etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: koineisation, toponymic borrowing • IDG: incipient pidginisation
	NL 1500–1945	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Anglo-Dutch commercial and political ties • Dutch then British imperial/economic power 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: temporary visitors: British; long-term settlers: assimilated • IDG: host nation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: British merchants, refugees, soldiers, students • IDG: marginal bilingualism, English for special purposes ✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: military/seafaring/artistic loanwords ✓ • IDG: Steenkolen-Engels? ✓
2. EXONORMATIVE STABILISATION	DM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stable colonial status • English established in education, governance, etc. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: British plus local • IDG: local plus British 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: exonormative orientation • IDG: spreading (elite) bilingualism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: lexical borrowing, early signs of structural and phonological nativisation • IDG: pidginisation, creolisation
	NL 1945–1993	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-WWII: English the language of liberators • English established as first foreign language in education ✓ • Anglo pop culture 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local plus English-knowing ✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Exonormative orientation ✓ • Spreading (elite) bilingualism ✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • English loanwords in Dutch ✓ • Early signs of structural and phonological nativisation ✓
3. NATIVISATION	DM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Weakening ties to Britain • Political independence? • Drastically increased contact between strands 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Reduced us–other divide • STL: permanent resident of British origin • IDG: permanent resident of indigenous origin; English-knowing identity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • STL: sociolinguistic cleavage (conservative/exonormative vs progressive), complaint tradition, linguistic schizophrenia • IDG: mass bilingualism 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nativisation at all levels: phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic, discursal/pragmatic
	NL 1993–present	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • EU integration • Internet and digital media • Drastically increased contact with and use of English ✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Collective English-knowing identity ✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Sociolinguistic cleavage, complaint tradition; linguistic schizophrenia; exonormative orientation ✓ • Mass bilingualism ✓ 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Nativisation at all levels: phonological, lexical, morphosyntactic, discursal/pragmatic ✓
4. ENDONORMATIVE STABILISATION	DM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Post-independence (possibly after Event X) • Nation-building, imagined community, cultural self-reliance 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Integration of strands: all members of new, pan-ethnic nation 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Local linguistic self-confidence • Acceptance of and positive attitudes towards local norm • Towards endonormativity • Literary creativity 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stabilisation of new variety • Emphasis on and promotion of homogeneity • Codification • Language shift among IDG?
	NL	–	–	–	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Homogeneity?
5. DIFFERENTIATION	DM	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Stable young nation • Question of new English variety now a thing of the past 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Identification with group rather than nation (age, region, subculture, etc.) 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mutual in-group accommodation • Selection of linguistic forms to mark membership 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Dialect birth (ethnic, regional, social varieties within nation)
	NL	–	–	–	–

With respect to research question 2 – Can Schneider’s Dynamic Model be extended to account for non-postcolonial, Expanding Circle settings such as the Netherlands? – Schneider (2014: 17) himself indicated that ‘probably not surprisingly, this is an issue of similarities and differences, of how finely grained our perspective wishes to be’. It short, it can – but only with major modifications. Given the different historical trajectories of countries of the Outer Circle compared to the Expanding Circle, large parts of the Dynamic Model are inapplicable in the latter contexts. The model is certainly still useful in that it highlights parallels between postcolonial societies and the Netherlands, such as the transition from marginal to increasing to mass bilingualism and from loanwords to lexical shift to pervasive linguistic nativisation, the presence of a complaint tradition and the notion of linguistic schizophrenia. However, the need to work around the colonial trappings of the model renders several of the phases and parameters drastically altered. This suggests that the parallels should be salvaged, but placed in a new framework. As Schneider (2014: 9) himself recently concluded, ‘despite some similarities’ the Dynamic Model ‘is not well suited’ to grasp the processes and developments of the Expanding Circle. In a preliminary application of the model to countries such as China and Japan (cf. Chapter 2), he identified several phase 2-like characteristics, such as a strong demand for English, exonormative orientation, use in higher education and increasing phonological and lexical nativisation, and concluded:

So there are a few similarities; but clearly there are also many gaps and many differences. Obviously, what is happening here is distantly related to what the Dynamic Model describes, but this works only on a rather general level, with some degree of abstraction. In essence, the Dynamic Model is not really, or only to a rather limited extent, a suitable framework to describe this new kind of dynamism of global Englishes. (Schneider, 2014: 27–28)

Instead, Schneider (2010, 2014) proposes the notion of Transnational Attraction. This is a conceptual framework that, unlike the Dynamic Model, takes account of the forces of globalisation and the fact that the uptake of English in the Expanding Circle has occurred in the absence of a colonial backdrop and an STL strand. It recognises that the driving force behind English today is its power as a symbol of modernity and ‘a linguistic gateway to economic prosperity’ (Schneider, 2011: 341). Unimpeded by the ‘distinctions of norms, nations or varieties’ (Schneider, 2014: 28), it manifests in such phenomena as mixed codes. Whereas in code-switching and -mixing, one language is clearly the matrix for the other, mixed codes are so intertwined they are hard to identify as being essentially one language or the other. They are used by young, urban, well-educated speakers, often explicitly and playfully as a deliberate exploitation of the user’s multilingual resources (Schneider, 2014:

25). This phenomenon does not yet appear to have developed among Dutch speakers; while corpus data for the Netherlands is lacking, a Flemish online chat corpus showed that the vast majority of code-switching into English was of the ‘traditional’ kind, consisting of single-word switches in an otherwise Dutch sentence (De Decker & Vandekerckhove, 2012). However, the notion of mixed codes ties in with the move towards a ‘post-varietal’ approach, as espoused by Pennycook (2007) and others. These authors have criticised the variety-centric approach that underpins the field of World Englishes. As Seargeant and Tagg (2011: 497) write, the notion of a language as a discrete entity is a historical product stemming from the outdated European ideal of the nation state and idealised ‘national languages’. In contrast, mixed codes cannot be subsumed under the category of a variety. Instead, they are communicative, semi-improvised acts which draw ‘in sundry ways on features from different “systems”’ (Seargeant & Tagg, 2011: 511). This ties in with Pennycook’s (2010: 2) calls to ‘look at language as a practice’; that is, ‘to view language as an activity rather than a structure.’

This ‘post-varietal’ approach would take into account the dynamic workings of these global and multilingual forces, and Schneider is to be lauded for incorporating them into his notion of Transnational Attraction, which seeks to account for the developments of English in the Expanding Circle. However, this newly proposed framework needs more detailed elaboration. In Schneider (2012a, 2014), it is presented as a ‘supplementary framework’ to the Dynamic Model, whereby Transnational Attraction, a globalisation-driven model, accounts for the developments in the Expanding Circle, while the colonisation-driven Dynamic Model accounts for the Englishes of the Inner and Outer Circles. This separation presents a neat picture, but does not take into account overlap in the mechanisms involved. As this chapter has shown, various elements of the Dynamic Model are in evidence in the Netherlands, an Expanding Circle country. Conversely, elements of Transnational Attraction would also seem to be relevant for the Outer Circle: with the colonising power long gone, the further development of English in postcolonial societies must now be explained by other factors, such as globalisation. If we are to accept the notion of a continuum rather than a strict divide between varietal types, it would seem that any new model should seek to account for all circles in an integrated manner.

7. CONCLUSION

This thesis revolved around two main research questions. To answer research question 1, ‘Should the English used in the Netherlands be considered a second-language variety or should it simply be regarded as learner English?’, chapters 3 to 5 investigated three areas: the functions of, attitudes towards and forms of English in the Netherlands, respectively. To answer research question 2, ‘Can Schneider’s Dynamic Model be extended to account for non-postcolonial, Expanding Circle contexts such as the Netherlands?’, Chapter 6 attempted to locate the Netherlands in Schneider’s (2003, 2007) model based on the available literature and the findings of the preceding three chapters. The main results and the answers to the research questions are summarised below. Finally, the contributions of the thesis are discussed and some areas of future interest outlined.

7.1 Summary

Chapter 3 investigated the first criterion for research question 1, the functions of English in the Netherlands. It was established that for English to be considered a second-language variety functionally, there should be widespread bilingualism (i.e. not restricted to an elite sector of the population) and expanded functions of English (i.e. intranational uses). To investigate this, a sociolinguistic profile was drawn up covering the history of English contact, the present demographics of English spread, and the domains of education, science and research, business, advertising, public administration and governance, and the media. To this end the chapter brought together disparate sources, including new data as well as previous scholarly research, newspaper articles and official reports and publications, much of which was previously unavailable in English. With respect to the spread of bilingualism, the chapter showed that the widespread competence in English indicated by ‘official’ surveys (e.g. Education First, 2013; European Commission, 2012) is supported implicitly by the *assumption* of English competence that prevails in the media, advertising, business, public signage and other areas. With respect to expansion in function, it was found that English is unmistakably part of life in the Netherlands even for those without international aspirations, and is used internally – even when not strictly necessary – for signalling functions (as a marker of prestige or group membership). In this way it serves as an additional linguistic resource, allowing users to construct cosmopolitan, scholarly or subculture identities. Thus, the wide spread of English and its expanded uses in the Netherlands are suggestive of a functionally ESL society.

Chapter 4 explored the second criterion for research question 1, attitudes towards English. Using a broad questionnaire with almost 2000 respondents, it aimed to remedy the lack of empirical data on language attitudes in the Netherlands. Five main areas were investigated: learning English, using English, perceived competence, models and varieties of English, and the respective status of English and Dutch. The results were indicative of a hybrid ESL/EFL status. As is characteristic of ESL, English in the Netherlands is acquired not just within the confines of the foreign-language classroom but also outside it, throughout the course of people's lives. Moreover, young people in particular use it not just instrumentally, but also as an additional means of identity expression. However, as is typical of an EFL context, BrE remains the main target model. Young people identify somewhat more than older people with Euro-English; Dutch English, however, is rarely viewed as a target model. The chapter also identified three groups of people with shared attitudes. The 'instrumental' group covered the majority of respondents, who have generally high proficiency levels, like using English and regard it as personally important, but place great value on Dutch as well. Two marginal groups were also identified. The 'anglophiles' – often younger people for whom a large part of their education was in English – use English whenever the chance arises and rate English as more important than Dutch. In contrast, the anti-English group – who are typically older and work in lower level occupations – prefer using Dutch whenever possible, resent having to use English and see it as a threat to Dutch. They are also more accepting of Dutch English. These three groups can loosely be mapped onto the *haves*, *have-nots* and *have-it-alls* of English identified in a recent, comparable survey in Finland (Leppänen et al., 2011: 165–66) – although in the case of the Netherlands, even the have-nots (i.e. the anti-English group) still report speaking 'reasonable' English (§4.4.6).

Chapter 5 focused on the third criterion for research question 1, the forms of English in the Netherlands. It was established that a second-language variety should show widespread, systematic nativisation at all linguistic levels. First, the chapter outlined potential morphosyntactic, lexical and pragmatic/discoursal features of Dutch English. Next, it described the 400,000 word Corpus of Dutch English (NL), which was compiled to allow for rigorous investigation of these features. The first Expanding Circle corpus of its kind, the NL corpus follows the design of – and is thus readily comparable with – the written components of ICE. The chapter then presented a case study of the progressive aspect, an area known to be particularly prone to innovation in New Englishes. The first part was a comparative corpus analysis involving several ESL and ENL corpora, making this one of the first studies to

approach different variety types in an integrated manner (cf. Davydova, 2012; Edwards & Laporte, in press; Nesselhauf, 2009). The NL corpus did not distinguish itself from the ESL varieties in terms of progressive marking. Nor did it do so in terms of preposition usage in Edwards and Laporte (in press); yet in that study it proved to be markedly different to the true learner data captured in ICLE. Next, the chapter presented an acceptability study, aiming to complement the corpus data with sociolinguistic data. The same 2000 respondents as in Chapter 4 provided acceptability ratings for a range of progressive uses identified in the NL corpus. The corpus proved to be too small to establish the relationship between the frequency data and acceptability ratings. Correlations with the attitudinal data in Chapter 4, however, showed that respondents with lower self-reported proficiency levels are more accepting of both Dutch English and nonstandard progressive usage. Yet even among high-proficiency respondents, some developing norms seemed to be in evidence in areas of syntax (adverbial placement) and aspect (dispreference for perfect marking). Again, therefore, the Netherlands seems to represent a hybrid case that supports the notion of continuum rather than a strict divide between varietal types, and suggests that the terms ‘Expanding Circle’ and ‘EFL’ are not synonymous. Further research is needed to see if these findings can be corroborated for other structural features of Dutch English.

The findings from the above three empirical chapters make clear that, in answer to research question 1, the Netherlands cannot be said unequivocally to be either a second-language or a learner variety. It is acknowledged, however, that this is partly attributable to the categorical nature of the question and the dichotomous conceptualisation on which it is based. Therefore, Chapter 6 turned to research question 2, which sought to determine whether the developments in the Netherlands could better be explained by a cyclical/developmental approach such as Schneider’s (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model.

Chapter 6 explored the first three phases of the Dynamic Model which, loosely, can be said to be relevant for the Netherlands. Phase 1 covers early Anglo-Dutch commercial, military and ideological relations and the development of the modern Dutch state. Phase 2 kicked off in the aftermath of WWII, when the position of English was radically strengthened by global political, economic and pop-cultural developments. The start of phase 3 was dated to 1993, when the birth of the European Union, quickly followed by the advent of the household internet connection, further reinforced the status and expanded the roles of English. All this, of course, relies on a fairly imaginative application of Schneider’s (2007) history and politics parameter. The similarities are more apparent for other parameters. In terms of sociolinguistic conditions, despite the absence of a prototypical ‘settler’ strand, the

Dutch population followed the predicted trajectory from marginal to spreading to mass bilingualism, and now shows evidence of phase 3 characteristics such as linguistic schizophrenia (Kachru, 1983a: 179) and a complaint tradition among conservative speakers. With respect to linguistic effects, the predicted development can be observed from loanwords to semantic shifts to nativisation at all linguistic levels. In answer to research question 2, therefore, parallels can certainly be identified with the Dynamic Model. However, these need to be selectively extracted from what is predominantly a colonial framework. As noted, Schneider (2014: 9) himself recently recognised that, ‘despite some similarities’, the model ‘is not well suited’ to explaining the developments in the Expanding Circle. In its place he proposes a new framework, Transnational Attraction, which pays due attention to the forces of globalisation (Schneider, 2014). Although not yet fully fleshed out, this is a promising development, tying in with other disciplinary approaches to the contemporary spread and uses of English, such as Blommaert’s (2010) ‘sociolinguistics of globalisation’ and Pennycook’s (2010) post-varietal take on ‘language as practice’.

7.2 Contribution

This leads in to one of the theoretical contributions of this thesis, concerning the prevalent models and approaches in the field of World Englishes. This thesis provides empirical support for the notion that static/categorical models such as Kachru’s (1985b) Three Circles are no longer sufficient to capture the dynamics of English around the world. Developmental approaches such as Schneider’s (2003, 2007) Dynamic Model are an improvement, but still focus almost exclusively on colonisation as the driving force behind English. A new model is needed that accounts for English spread of English beyond the Inner and Outer Circles to the Expanding Circle. To redress the limitations of existing models, recent attempts at new theoretical frameworks, such as Schneider’s (2014) Transnational Attraction and Mair’s (2013) World System of Standard and Non-Standard Englishes, have been designed to allow scope for developments like hybrid or mixed codes, diaspora varieties, computer-mediated forms, ‘transcultural flows’ (Pennycook, 2007), the forces of covert prestige and so on. It will be interesting to see whether these new models catch on and how they are further elaborated.

This thesis has also contributed to the growing body of research on Europe, where political and economic developments are turning the territory into a hotbed of English use. Along with the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands can be seen as a forerunner in the localised development of English in Europe, and this thesis represents the first comprehensive study of the country in the World Englishes paradigm. The NL corpus is the

first European – indeed, the first Expanding Circle – corpus that covers a broad range of genres beyond the foreign-language classroom. It can serve as resource for description of the structural features of Dutch English, but also for comparative corpus-based research with Inner and Outer Circle countries; an approach that Hilbert (2011: 142) describes as ‘bridging the paradigm gap [between varietal types] by intentionally ignoring it’. This integrated approach should contribute to a better understanding of shared phenomena such as transfer, regularisation and simplification processes, the development of ‘Angloversals’ (Kortmann & Szmrecsanyi, 2004) and so on.

Beyond the corpus, as a whole the three-pillar framework developed in this thesis could be appropriated to see how other countries, especially in Europe, compare with the case of the Netherlands. This multi-methodological framework was a deliberate response to calls to develop a ‘shared protocol’ for use across countries (Berns, 2005: 91) and to combine corpus-based research with sociolinguistic data (e.g. Hundt & Mukherjee, 2011: 217). Drawing on the criteria catalogues developed by Mollin (2006) and Buschfeld (2011), it was possible to produce a rich picture of English in the Netherlands today. The next step would be to add the dimension of time. While it may be difficult – although not impossible – to obtain diachronic corpus and sociolinguistic data for earlier phases of the development of English in the Netherlands, longitudinal research going forward is both possible and desirable. It would be particularly interesting to monitor the evolution of attitudes to, and awareness of the possible distinction between, ‘Dunglish’ and ‘Dutch English’. Zooming in on particular discourse communities – academics, online gamers, etc. – would be another worthy endeavour.

What is clear is that this is an exciting time for English in the Netherlands. The study of contexts that defy easy classification helps us refine our traditional conceptions of categories such as ‘second’ and ‘foreign’ language, ‘user’ versus ‘learner’, ‘error’ versus ‘innovation’ and so on. That the Netherlands is hard to pin down on the present map of World Englishes can be illustrated by the following two points. The very fact that it was possible to build an Expanding Circle corpus encompassing the same written text types included in the ICE corpora for Inner and Outer Circle varieties is in itself a sign that ‘the times, and the Expanding Circle, are changing’ (Berns, 2005: 88). What is more, early on in this project I was informed – quite understandably – that the NL corpus could not be incorporated under the umbrella of ICE as it was outside the scope of the initiative – yet it also could not be included in an online bibliography of learner corpora, including the ICLE corpora, because its contributors ‘are not necessarily learners’. Not quite users, not quite learners; this highlights

its unclear position of countries like the Netherlands even among scholars of World Englishes.

7.3 Looking ahead

It would hardly seem right to conclude this thesis without touching on what the future might hold for the Netherlands. A peripheral, but not insignificant, finding of the present research was that the Dutch language does not seem to be threatened by English. Chapter 4 did away with the notion that the Dutch do not value their language (see also De Bot & Weltens, 1997; Smaakman, 2006; Van Oostendorp, 2012a), and showed that the presence of English in the Netherlands is largely experienced as additive. This is in line with work by the Dutch sociologist Abraam de Swaan (2001), who indicated that the encroachment of English does not pose the same threat to national European languages as it once did in the British colonies. European societies are much wealthier than the former colonies, their populations are well educated, and their national languages are robustly protected and promoted at state level; thus, English ‘will not easily dislodge them from the domestic functions’ (De Swaan, 2001: 146). He concludes that, ‘as long as the state maintains its support of the national language, [the latter] will weather the pressures of the global language’ – albeit ‘in a precarious equilibrium of diglossia’ (De Swaan, 2001: 151). This is echoed by another Dutch academic, Jan de Roder (2010), who argues that in fact ‘the robustness of Dutch as a national language has become even stronger over the last ten years’:

[F]irst of all, the strength, the stability of the Dutch nation state and of other Western-European nation states too, strengthens the position of the national languages, and vice versa. Our language is part of national identity and for some it *is* our national identity. But until ten years ago the Dutch seemed pretty indifferent as to what their national identity might look like. For some this indifference was even the attractive part of our identity. Nationalism and chauvinism were never popular sentiments, except perhaps when our national soccer team was engaged in World or Euro-championships. With populist movements like the one of Pim Fortuyn, who was murdered in 2002, and now the one of Geert Wilders, this changed dramatically. The issue what our identity is or was or should be, has become an urgent political question. And not only in these populist movements ... other more traditional political parties are trying hard not to distance themselves too much from this new wave in Dutch politics, for obvious reasons. What is the result of this? ... What effect does this have on Dutch as a national language? First of all it shares in what we should all be proud of nowadays: our Dutch culture. Secondly and most importantly, traditional parties take great pains to show that they too think that immigrants should learn Dutch as soon as possible and

should see Dutch as their first language too. [...] The overall effect is clear; Dutch as our national language is sooner strengthening than weakening. (De Roder, 2010)

Thus, at this point the presence of English in the Netherlands does not seem to pose a threat – at least, not to Dutch. According to Van Oostendorp (2009), ‘English does not threaten Dutch: it threatens our knowledge of French, German, Italian, Spanish and other languages’¹⁴¹. He links this to similar developments in Scandinavia, suggesting a wider trend ‘in which (Northern) Europeans tend to become more English-centered and thereby less responsive to the languages of their direct neighbours’, thus becoming ‘more like English-speaking countries in their language attitudes, except that they are bilingual rather than monolingual’ (Van Oostendorp, 2012a: 253).

Moreover, these countries seem to face the realistic prospect of a societal divide between those who are competent English users and those who are not. Danes with poor English, Preisler (2003: 16) reports, suffer from ‘a new variety of functional illiteracy’. Various authors warn that this could especially affect immigrants, already struggling to acquire the national language while maintaining their home language (see e.g. Murray & Dingwell, 2001: 107 for Sweden and Leppänen et al., 2011: 166–67 for Finland). In the Netherlands, De Roder (2010) sees this as a resurgence of ‘the old class-society in disguise’:

In Dutch society the influence of English is a problem, not in itself but as a sign of a much bigger problem ... [I]t’s perhaps a good idea to remember that we belong to the elite of society. We are well-educated, well-trained. In government, politics, the media, in trade, we see well-educated and well-trained people too. We are the ones using English as a tool, a lingua franca, which enables us to move around and communicate with the world. We are the heralds of the globalizing world. We almost use English as easy as we do our national language. But there is a problem: this brave new world is not Dutch society, it’s a part of Dutch society. ... Seen from this angle, seen within this framework, complaining about the role of English in modern society is almost perverse. The use of English is a signal that *we* are on the right side of the divide. (De Roder, 2010)

The question, moving forward, will be whether this divide persists, given that the present educational policies ensure that English is a basic skill universally acquired in the Netherlands. Will a new divide arise between graduates of the bilingual school streams and ‘regular’ schooling? Will the majority, conservative view of a standard ‘native’ variety of English as the only acceptable model come to be challenged by progressives who embrace the linguistic expression of their Dutch identities, and eventually wear it as a badge of pride?

¹⁴¹ *‘Het Engels bedreigt het Nederlands niet: het bedreigt onze kennis van het Frans, het Duits, het Italiaans, het Spaans en andere talen.’*

What sorts of restructuring and mixing of Dutch, English and other languages in the linguistic ecology of the Netherlands are to be expected? We will have to wait and see what the future has in store for English in the Netherlands.

Appendix 1: Attitudinal questionnaire

English in the Netherlands: uses and attitudes

Dear Sir/Madam,

English is present in Dutch people's lives in many ways. However, there has been very little research on Dutch people's experiences with and opinions about English. By filling in this questionnaire you can share your views and experiences of the English language.

This isn't a language test on which you have to do really well. The questionnaire is addressed to all Dutch people, no matter what your level of English is. What we are interested in is what you personally think about each question asked. All responses are equally important.

Section I asks for some personal information. Section II asks about your use of and attitudes towards English (and Dutch). Finally, in Section III you will be asked to correct some English sentences. All data will be treated as confidential and individual responses will not be identifiable from the results.

The questionnaire takes approximately 15 minutes. Please fill it in and submit it by 1 May 2013.

You can find more information at [website], or by contacting the principal researcher on ae302@cam.ac.uk.

Thank you for your cooperation!

Alison Edwards
Department of Theoretical and Applied Linguistics
University of Cambridge
www.mml.cam.ac.uk/dtal

* Required

--- start of questionnaire ---

Section I: Personal information

1. What is your year of birth?
2. What is your sex?
 - a. male
 - b. female
3. What is your nationality?
4. What was the first language you learned?
5. What was the first language your mother learned?
6. What was the first language your father learned?

7. What are your educational qualifications? Please choose only the highest level obtained.
 - a. primary school
 - b. VMBO (or equivalent)
 - c. HAVO (or equivalent)
 - d. VWO (or equivalent)
 - e. HBO bachelor (or equivalent)
 - f. HBO master (or equivalent)
 - g. WO bachelor (or equivalent)
 - h. WO master (or equivalent)
 - i. PhD
8. What was the main language of instruction in your primary school? Please choose only one answer.
 - a. Dutch
 - b. English
 - c. bilingual (Dutch and English)
 - d. mostly Dutch, some English
 - e. other:
9. What was the main language of instruction in your secondary school? Please choose only one answer.
 - a. Dutch
 - b. English
 - c. bilingual (Dutch and English)
 - d. mostly Dutch, some English
 - e. other:
10. What was the main language of instruction in your higher education (if applicable)? Please choose only one answer.
 - a. Dutch
 - b. English
 - c. bilingual (Dutch and English)
 - d. mostly Dutch, some English
 - e. other:
11. What is your current occupation?
12. Where have you lived during your life? Please indicate the place and province (or country, if abroad) and your age when you lived there. Example: Valkenburg, Limburg from age 0-19; Den Haag from age 20-present
13. If you would like to be kept up to date about the results of this research, please enter your email address.

Section II: Learning and using English

14. Many Dutch people acquire English both at school and in everyday contexts, for instance at work or in their leisure activities. In the course of your whole life, what has contributed to your current level of English? You can choose several answers.

- a. school English lessons
 - b. English in higher education
 - c. work
 - d. media (books, newspapers, TV, internet, etc.)
 - e. travelling/living abroad
 - f. foreign friends/acquaintances
 - g. other:
15. Which type of English do you aim for when you speak English? Please do not choose more than two answers.
- a. American English
 - b. British English
 - c. a standard native model with some Dutch ‘flavour’
 - d. a neutral variety of English that does not represent one culture or country
 - e. I don’t care
 - f. other:
16. If you were to name the type of English you actually speak, what would you call it? Please do not choose more than two answers.
- a. American English
 - b. British English
 - c. Dutch English
 - d. Euro-English
 - e. International English
 - f. other:
17. Sometimes Dutch people use English words or phrases when they are speaking in Dutch. Do you ever do this when speaking with other Dutch people? If so, who do you do this with, and how often? I mix Dutch and English with ...
- NB. This only refers to conversations you have with Dutch people. If you have English-speaking friends, colleagues, etc., please do not consider them here. Please choose N/A if an option does not apply to you, e.g. you have no children, your partner is not Dutch, etc.

	often	occasionally	Rarely	never	N/A
a. my partner					
b. my parents					
c. my children					
d. other relatives					
e. friends					
f. colleagues					
g. schoolmates or fellow students					
h. someone else					

18. If you chose 'Someone else' in question 17 above, please specify with whom. I also mix Dutch and English with:
19. For what reason(s) do you use English words or phrases when speaking with other Dutch people? You can choose several answers.
- finding another suitable expression is difficult
 - I use professional or specialist terminology
 - the people I interact with do the same
 - it is a good way to create an effect
 - some things just sound better in English
 - I don't even notice I'm doing it
 - I never use English words or phrases when speaking Dutch.
 - other:
20. Please read the sentences below and choose the appropriate answer for each sentence.

	strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree
a. I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people.				
b. For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English.				
c. English skills are overrated.				
d. English enriches the Dutch language.				
e. I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible.				
f. English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities.				
g. When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I'm from.				
h. English is very important to me personally.				
i. Speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage.				
j. I like using English.				
k. Without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands.				
l. Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English.				
m. I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so.				

n. I am ashamed of my English skills.				
o. 'Dunglish' is bad English.				
p. When I use English, it is most often with native speakers or foreigners, not with Dutch people.				
q. English is a threat to the Dutch language.				
r. As long as my English is good, I don't mind if it has a bit of Dutch 'flavour'.				
s. English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands.				

21. When I use English I ... Please choose the appropriate answer for each item.

	strongly agree	somewhat agree	somewhat disagree	strongly disagree
a. am quieter				
b. use less humour				
c. find it easier to talk about emotional things				
d. feel smarter				
e. feel less capable				
f. am more talkative				
g. feel like an outsider				
h. am the same as I am when I use my mother tongue				

22. Please rate your English proficiency by choosing the appropriate answer for each of the four skills.

	fluently	reasonably	with difficulty	not at all
a. speak				
b. write				
c. listen				
d. read				

Section III: Grammaticality judgement

23. Please read each sentence below and decide if you think it is grammatically correct or not. If you think it is correct, you don't need to do anything. If you think it is incorrect, please write a corrected version in the box below the sentence.

NB. You may not need to write the whole sentence out in every case. For example, if you think only one word is wrong, write the right word in the box.

- a. When my father was in hospital, I was visiting him every Monday.
- b. We are working together since 2005.
- c. You're always making a mess in the kitchen!
- d. I've been thinking recently about taking a holiday.
- e. In a type of Spanish ant, *Leptothorax acervorum*, each colony has several queen ants, but only one of them is laying eggs.
- f. That bag is belonging to my sister.
- g. I'm listening to a lot of music – especially rock and pop – lately.
- h. This is the office of the secretary, who is administering the personnel files.
- i. The economy is shrinking in recent years.
- j. I'm reading a book about Amsterdam at the moment.
- k. The organisation was established in 2010 and is already having nearly 2000 members.
- l. I was cooking dinner when the phone rang.
- m. Every morning I'm going jogging.
- n. This photograph is showing my daughter on her 21st birthday.

Finally ...

24. Do you have any comments that you would like to make about English in the Netherlands?

Thank you for your cooperation!

Your participation is much appreciated.

If you indicated in question 13 that you would like to be kept up to date about the results of this research, you will hear from us in due course.

Please help us by forwarding the link to this survey (<http://tinyurl.com/akfuvmr>) to your Dutch friends, family and acquaintances!

--- end of questionnaire ---

Appendix 2: Questionnaire results per background variable

Figure 1: Age distribution for the question 'what has contributed to your current level of English?'
 $\chi^2=108.658$, $df=15$, $p<0.001$

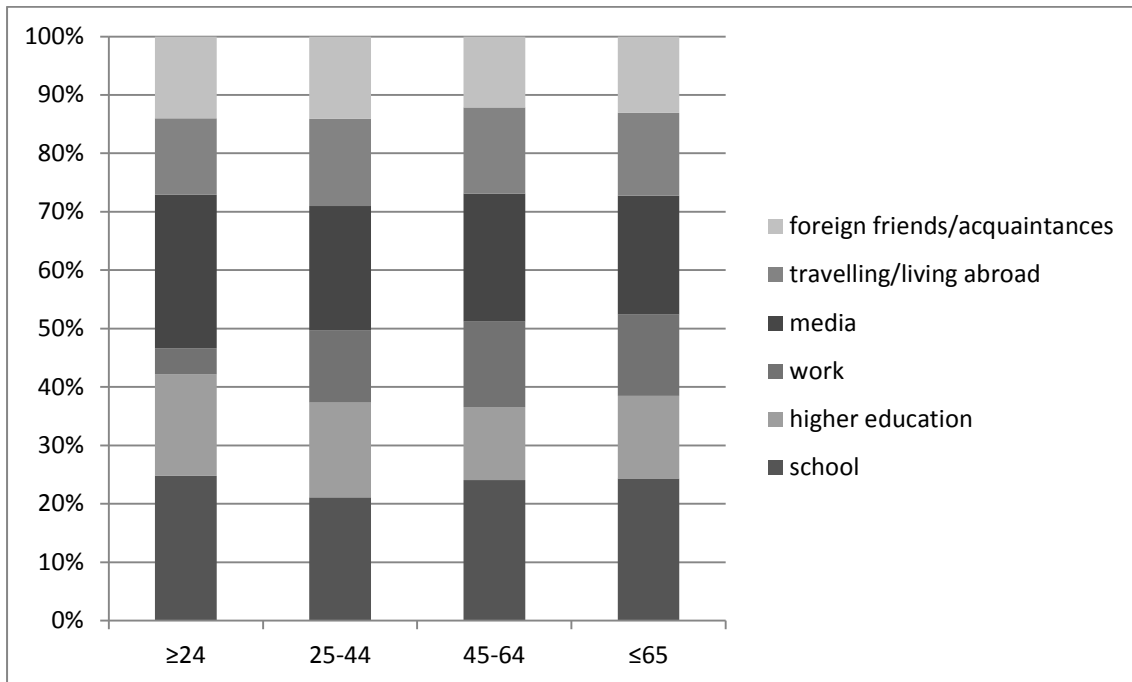


Figure 2: Sex distribution for the question 'what has contributed to your current level of English?'
 $\chi^2=22.166$, $df=5$, $p<0.001$

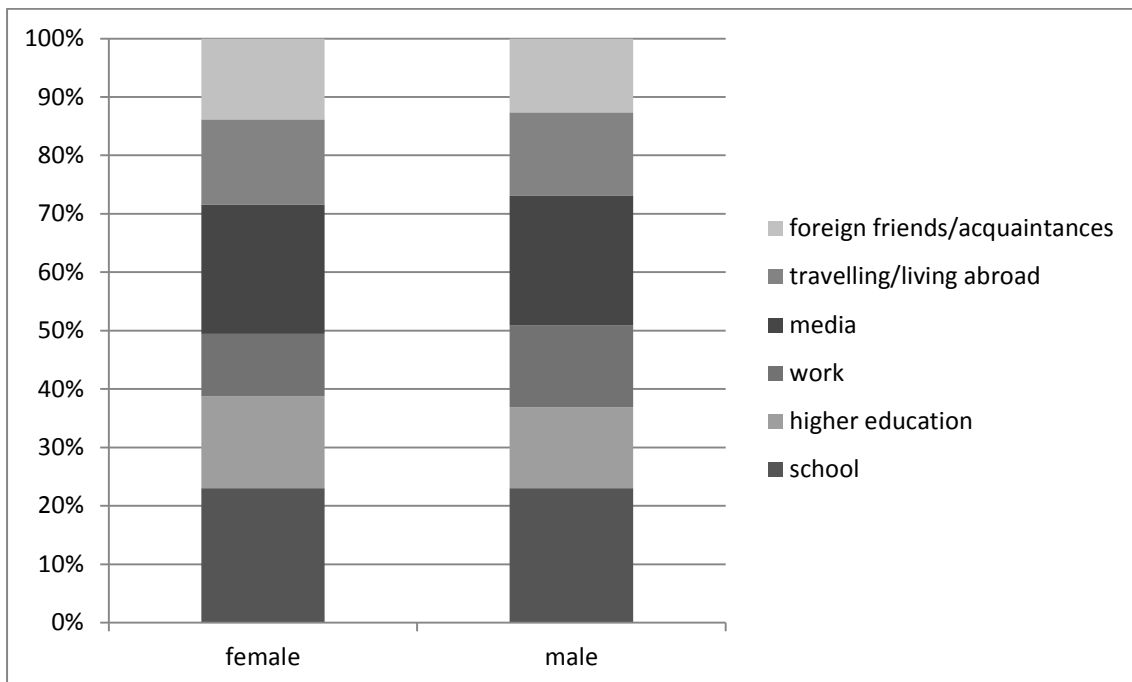


Figure 3: Education level distribution for the question 'what has contributed to your current level of English?'

$\chi^2=23.838$, $df=15$, $p=0.068$

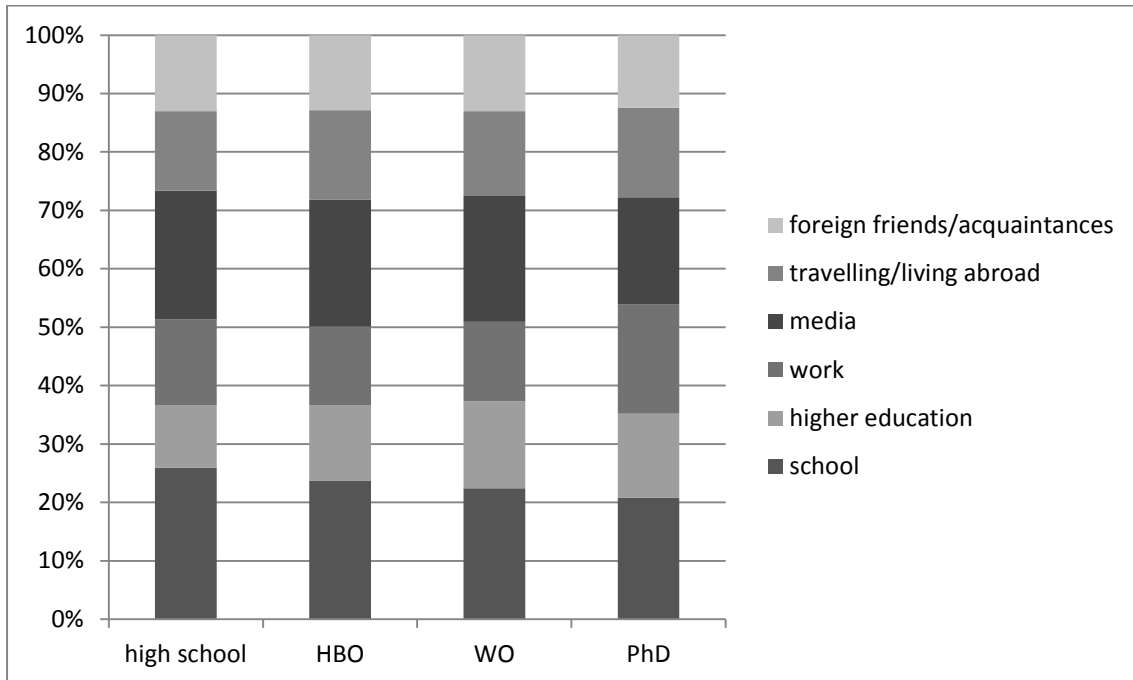


Figure 4: Higher education language distribution for the question 'what has contributed to your current level of English?'

$\chi^2=98.090$, $df=15$, $p<0.001$

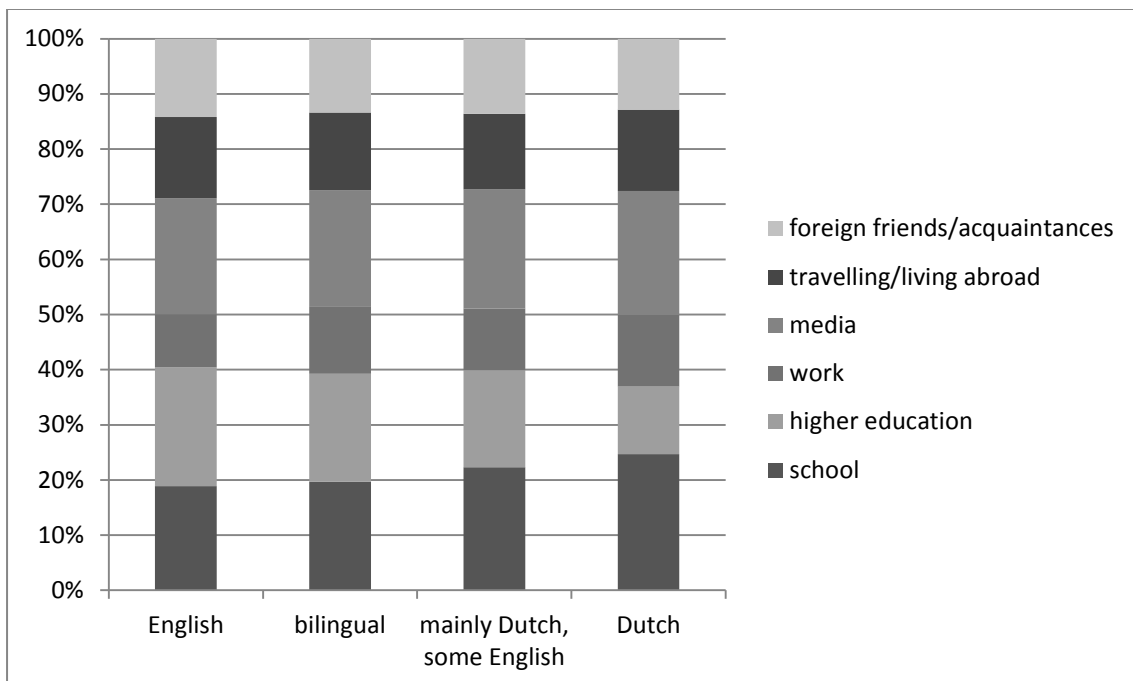


Figure 5: Occupation distribution for the question ‘what has contributed to your current level of English?’
 $\chi^2=118.330$, $df=30$, $p<0.001$

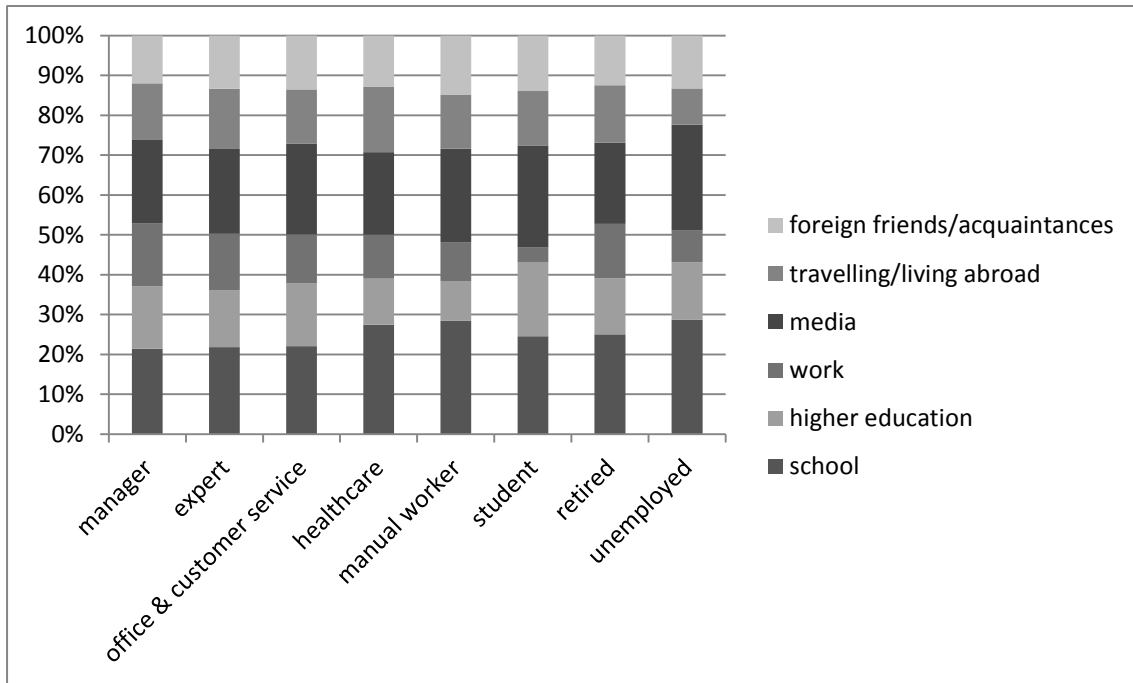


Figure 6: Residential distribution for the question ‘what has contributed to your current level of English?’
 $\chi^2=3.984$, $df=10$, $p=0.948$

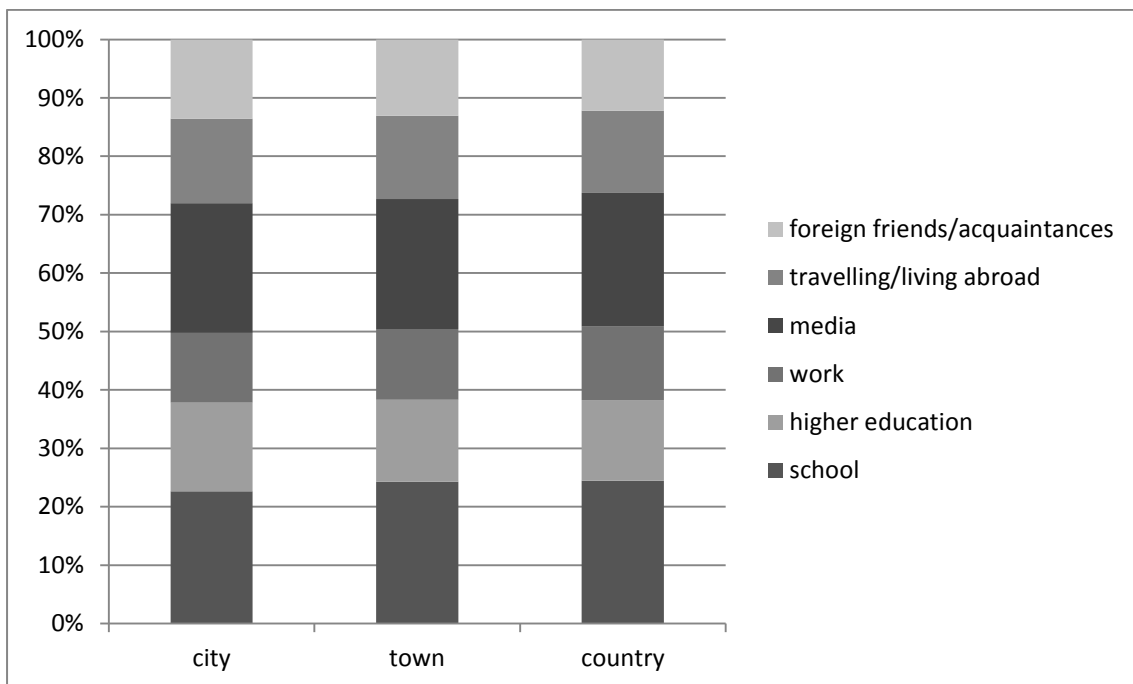


Figure 7: Age distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my family (parents, children, other relatives)'

$\chi^2=127.903$, $df=9$, $p<0.001$

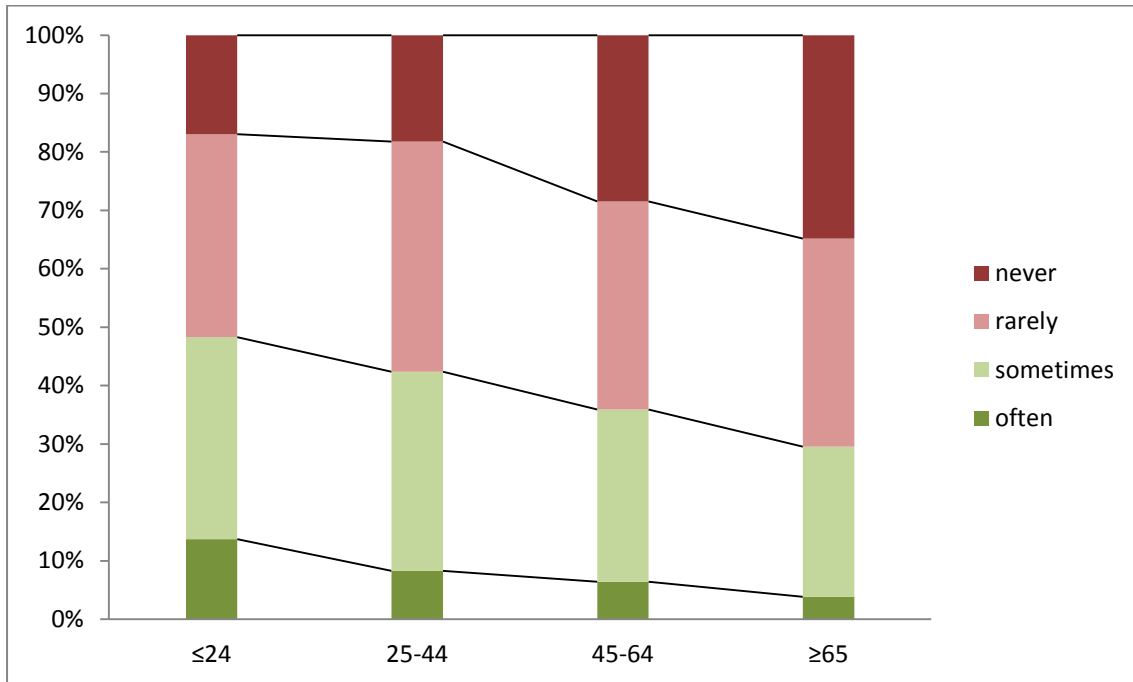


Figure 8: Age distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my partner'

$\chi^2=225.955$, $df=9$, $p<0.001$

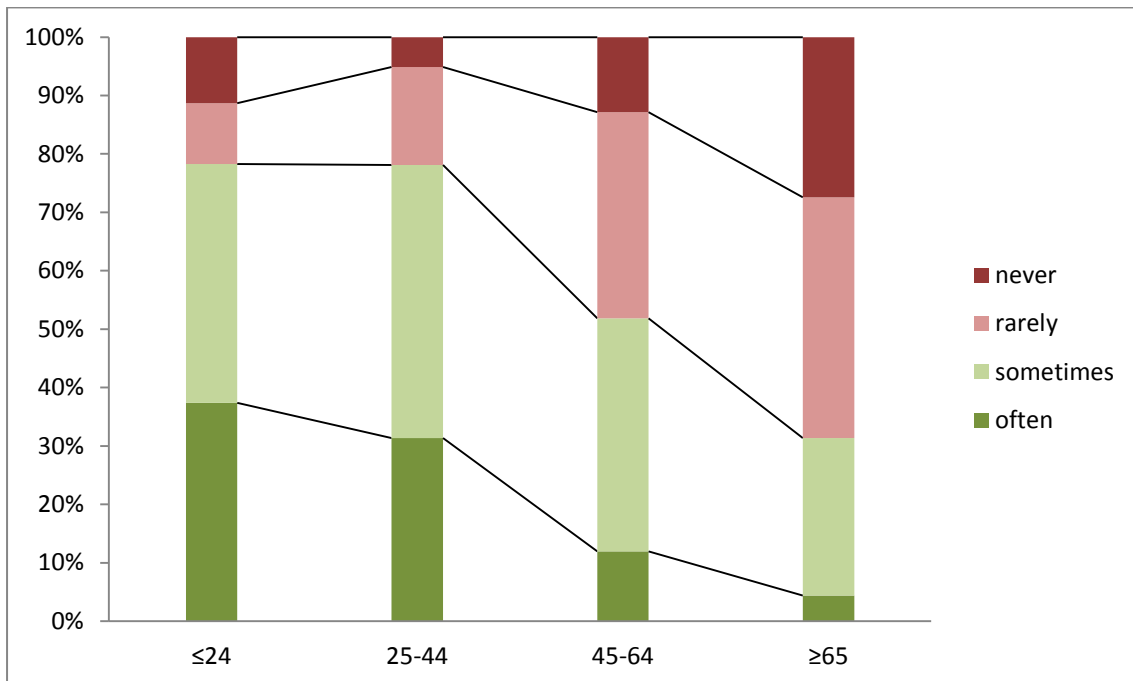


Figure 9: Age distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my friends'
 $\chi^2=402.603$, $df=9$, $p<0.001$

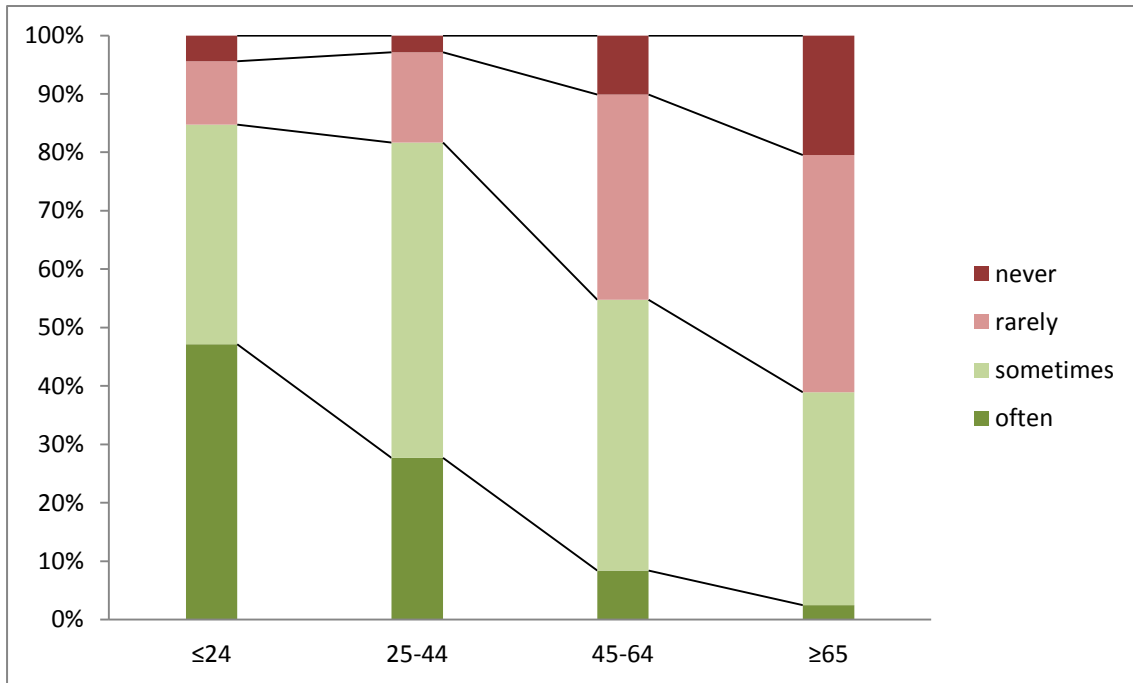


Figure 10: Age distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my colleagues'
 $\chi^2=143.114$, $df=9$, $p<0.001$

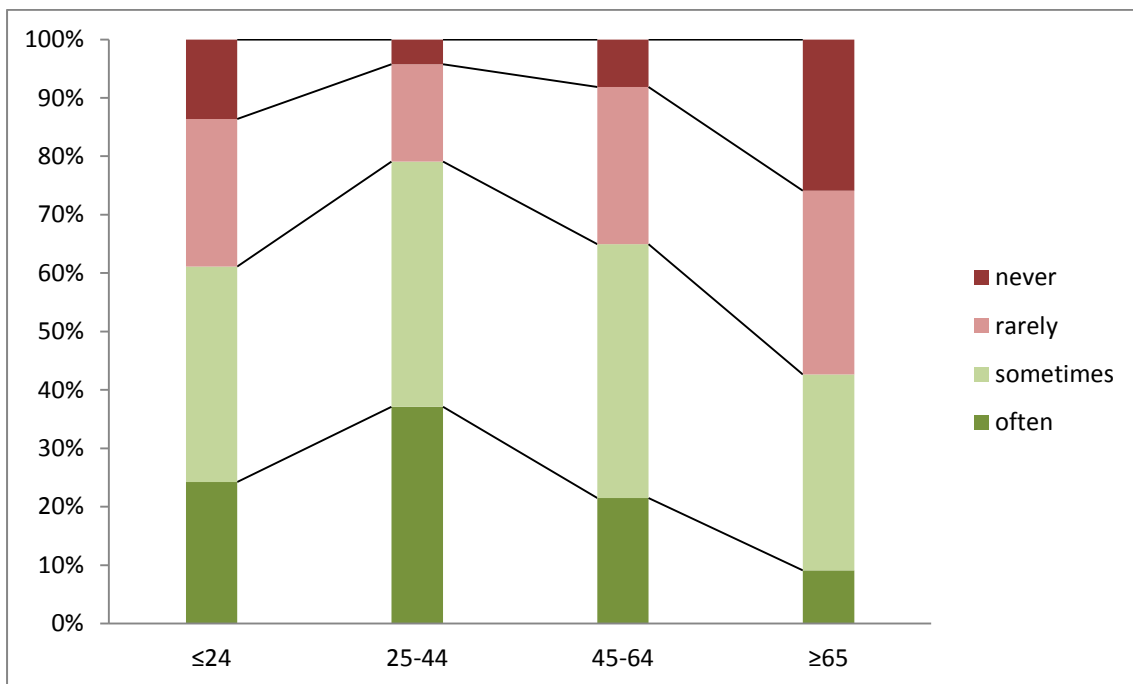


Figure 11: Age distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my classmates'
 $\chi^2=231.933$, $df=9$, $p<0.001$

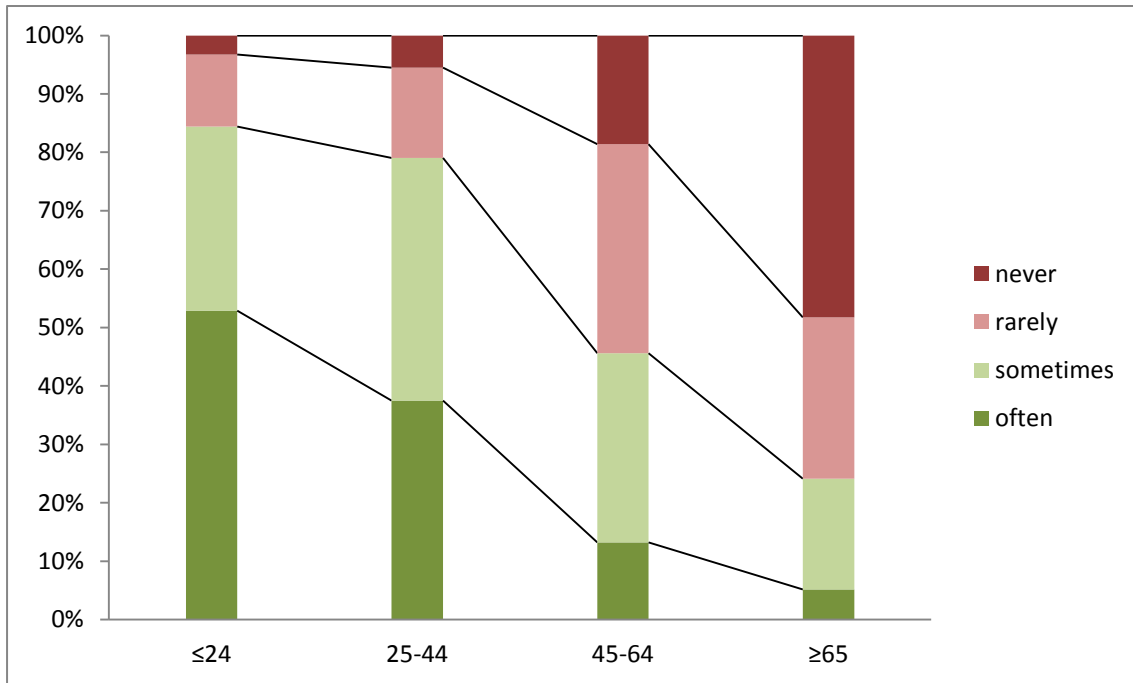


Figure 12: Sex distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my family (parents, children, other relatives)'
 $\chi^2=74.406$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

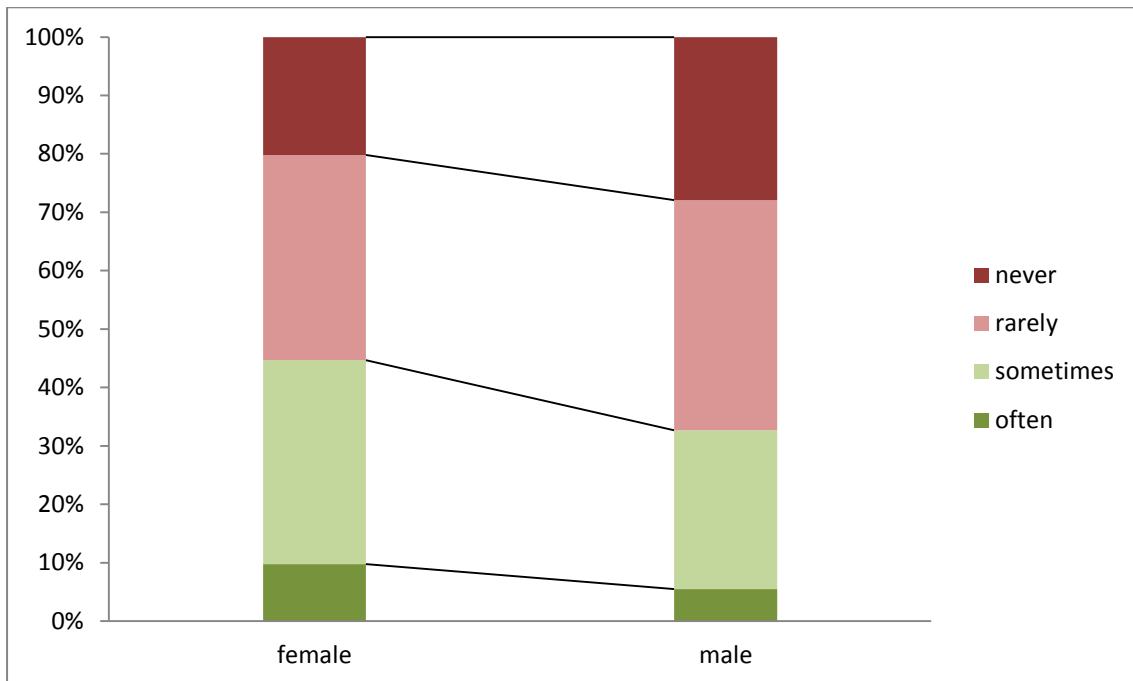


Figure 13: Sex distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my partner'
 $\chi^2=243.434$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

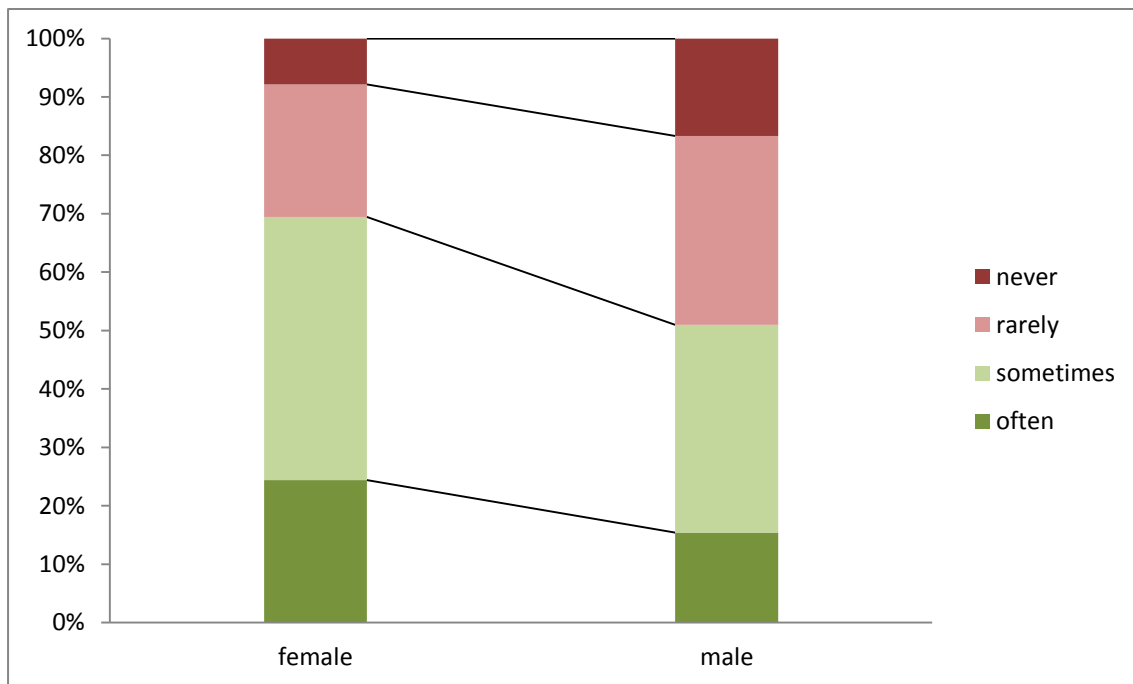


Figure 14: Sex distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my friends'
 $\chi^2=32.921$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

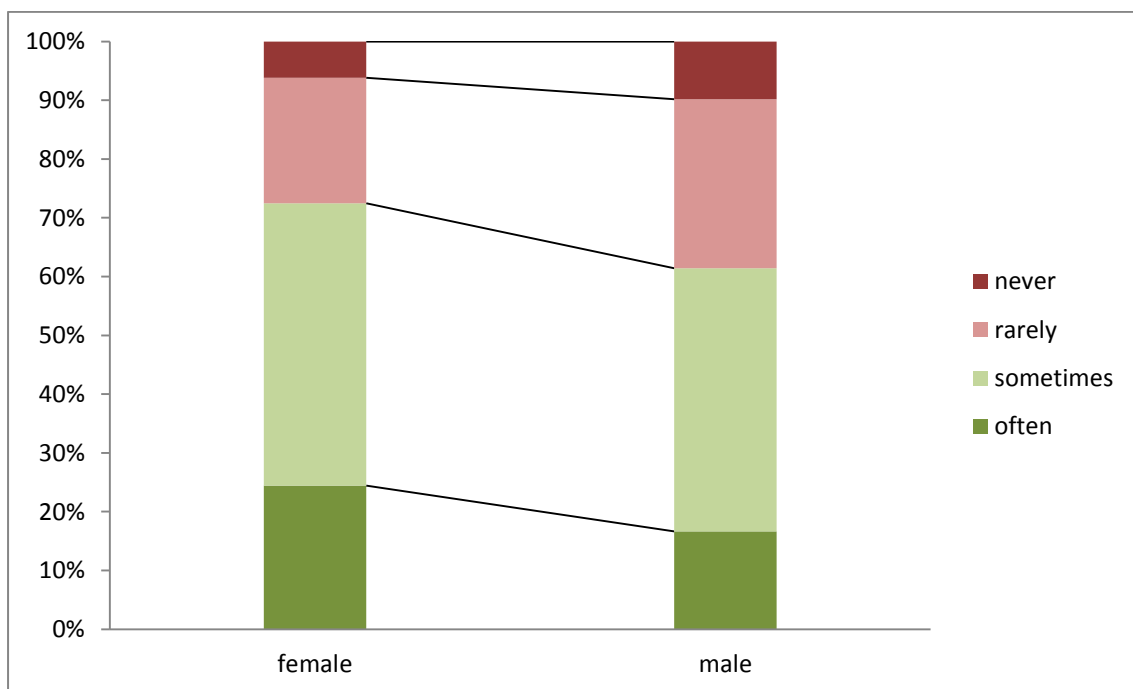


Figure 15: Sex distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my colleagues'
 $\chi^2=6.581$, $df=3$, $p=0.087$

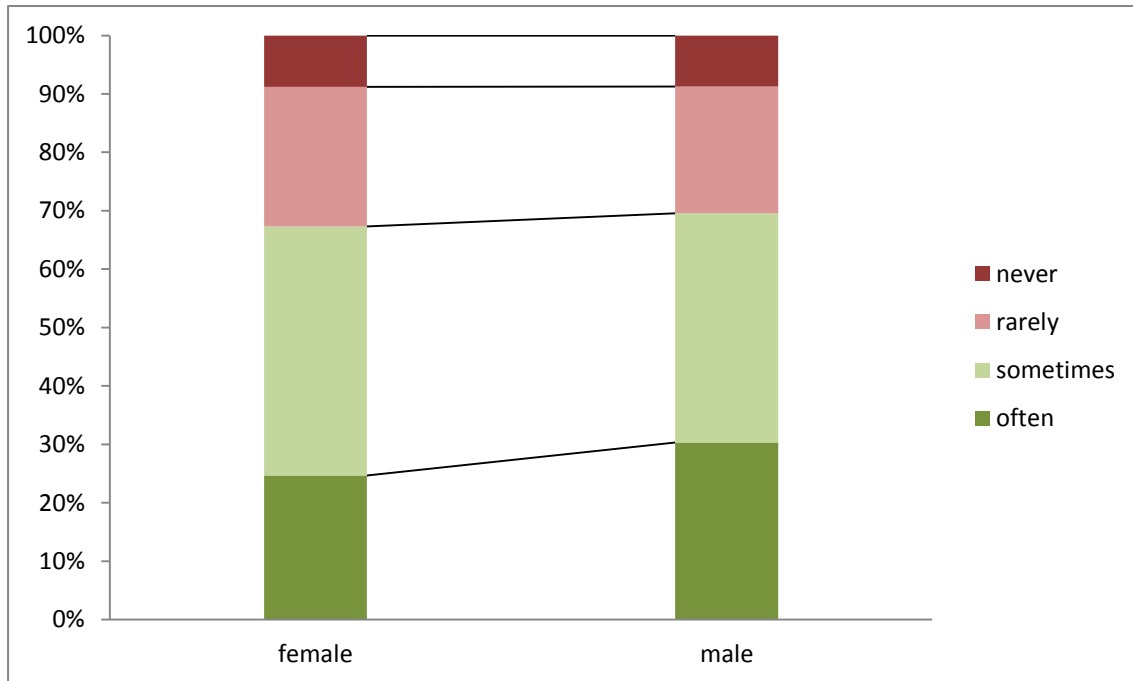


Figure 16: Sex distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my classmates'
 $\chi^2=15.251$, $df=3$, $p=0.002$

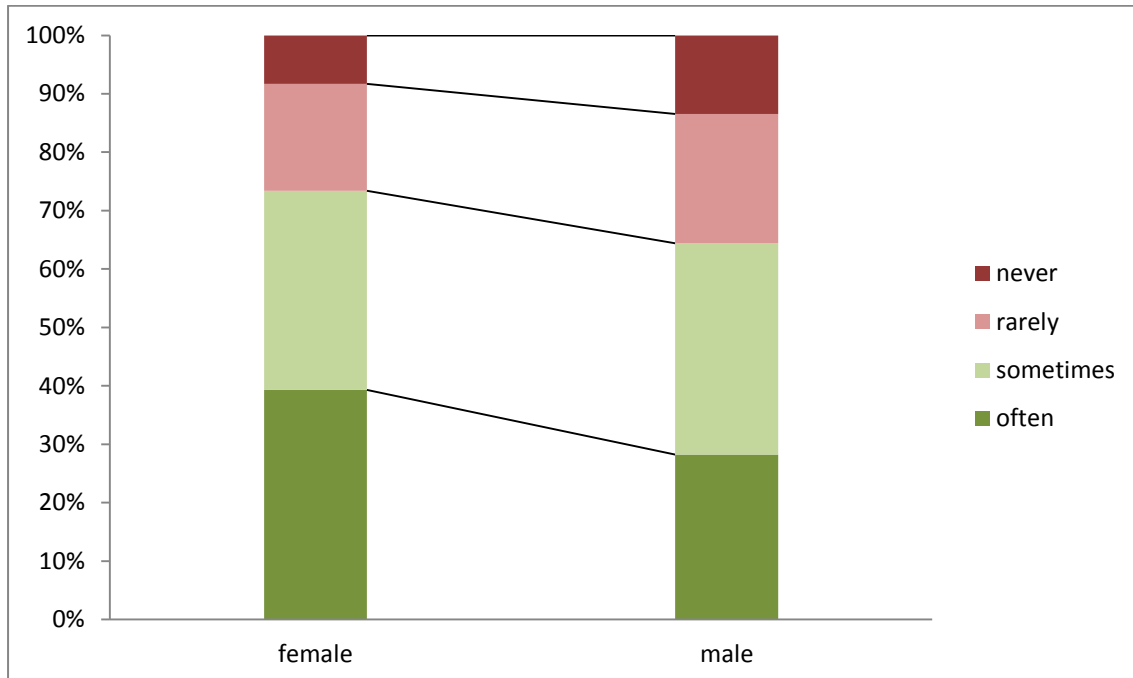


Figure 17: Education level distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my family (parents, children, other relatives)'
 $\chi^2=24.631$, $df=9$, $p=0.003$

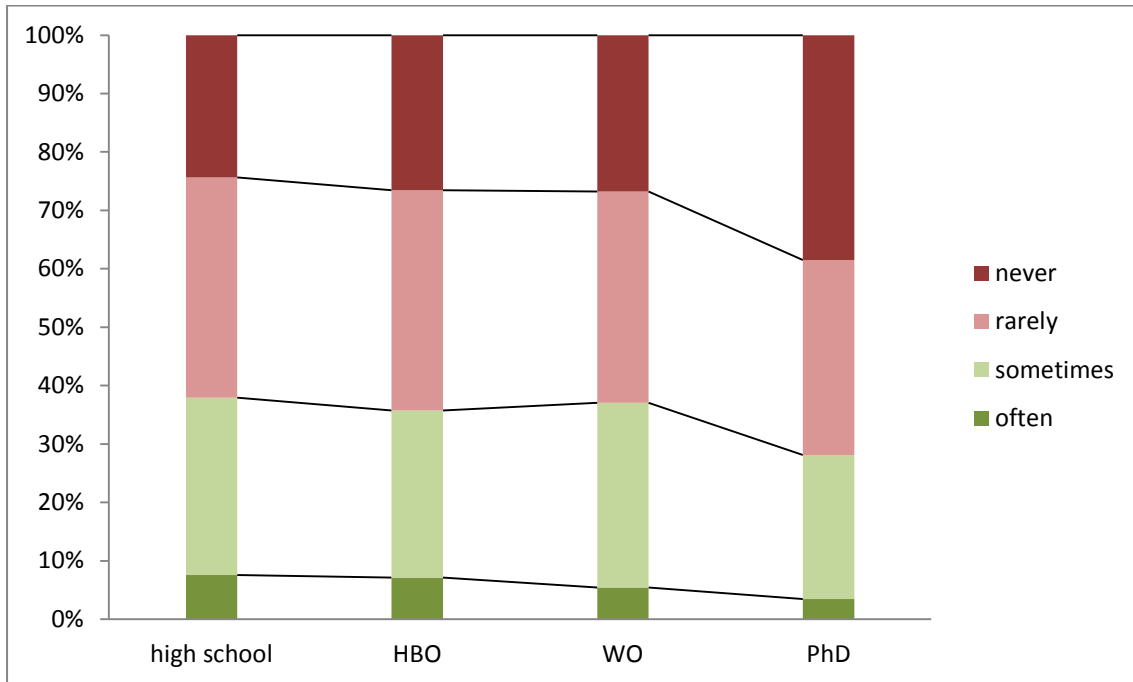


Figure 18: Education level distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my partner'
 $\chi^2=20.190$, $df=9$, $p=0.017$

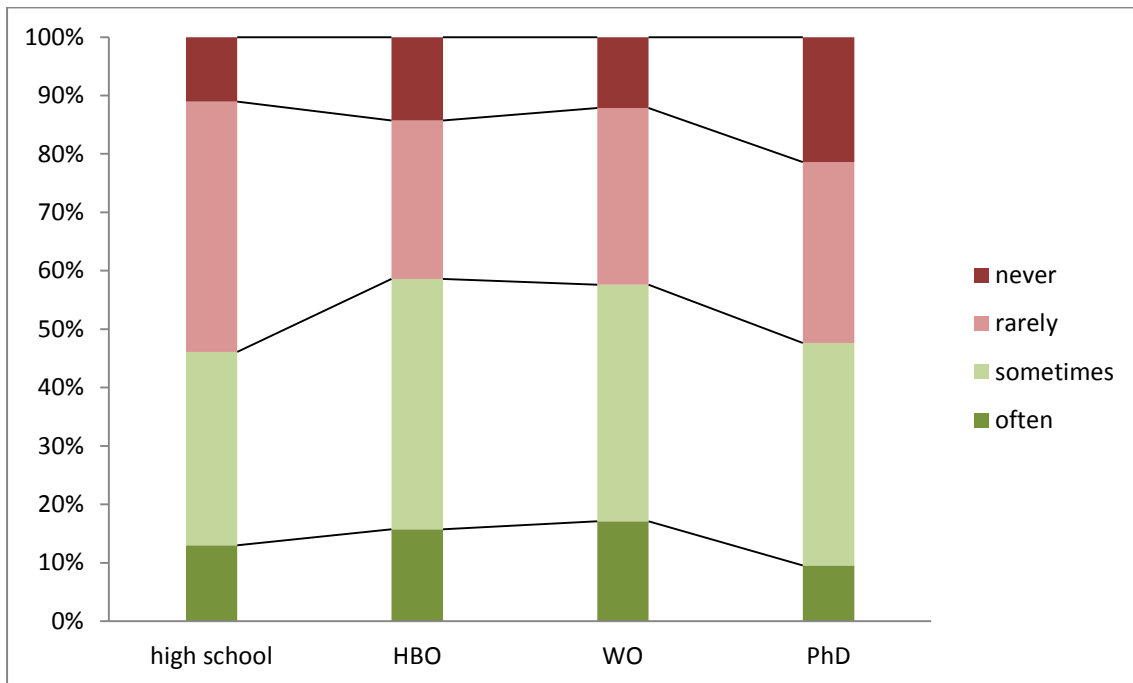


Figure 19: Education level distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my friends'
 $\chi^2=21.849$, $df=9$, $p=0.009$

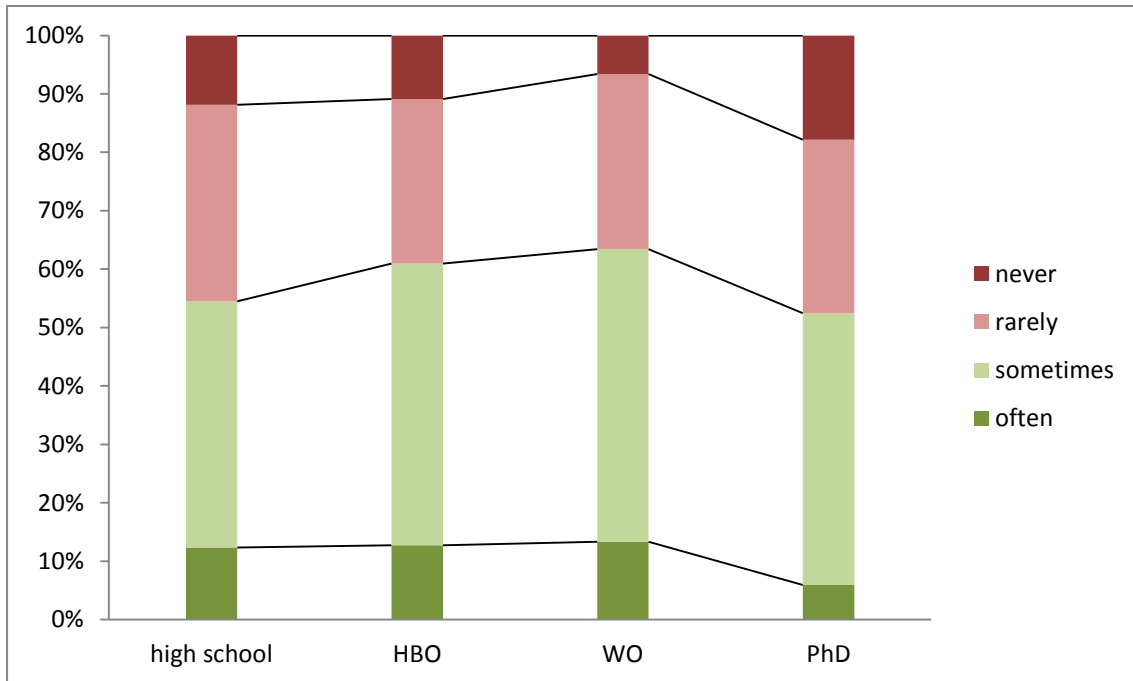


Figure 20: Education level distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my colleagues'
 $\chi^2=19.780$, $df=9$, $p=0.019$

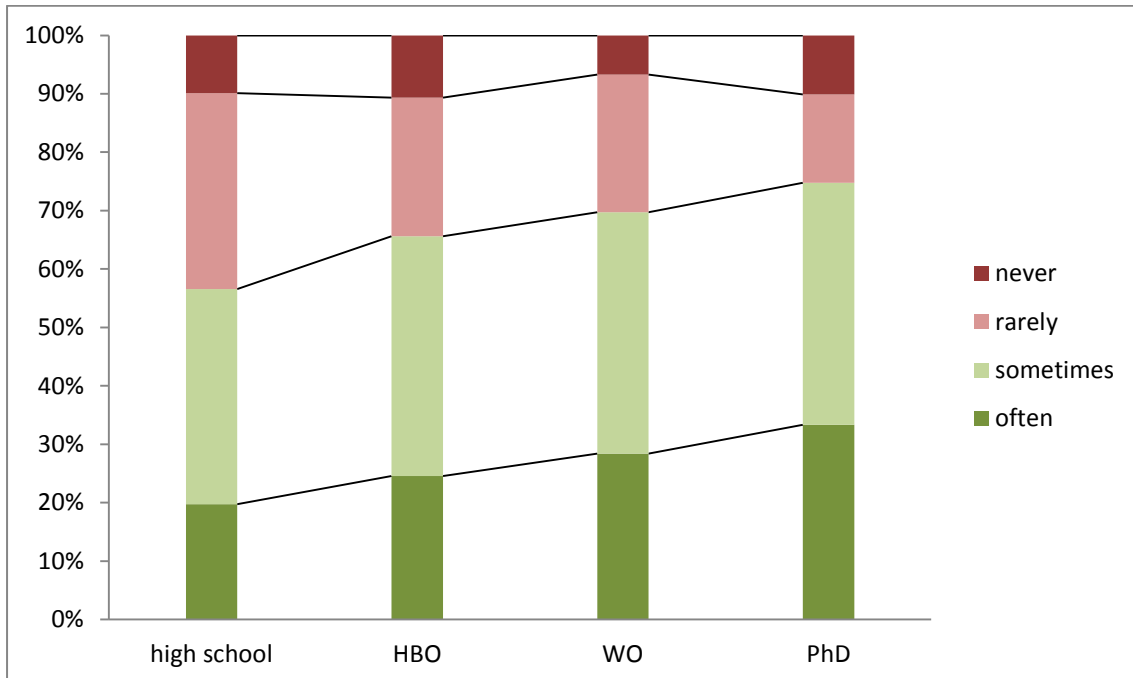


Figure 21: Education level distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my classmates'
 $\chi^2=8.477$, $df=9$, $p=0.487$

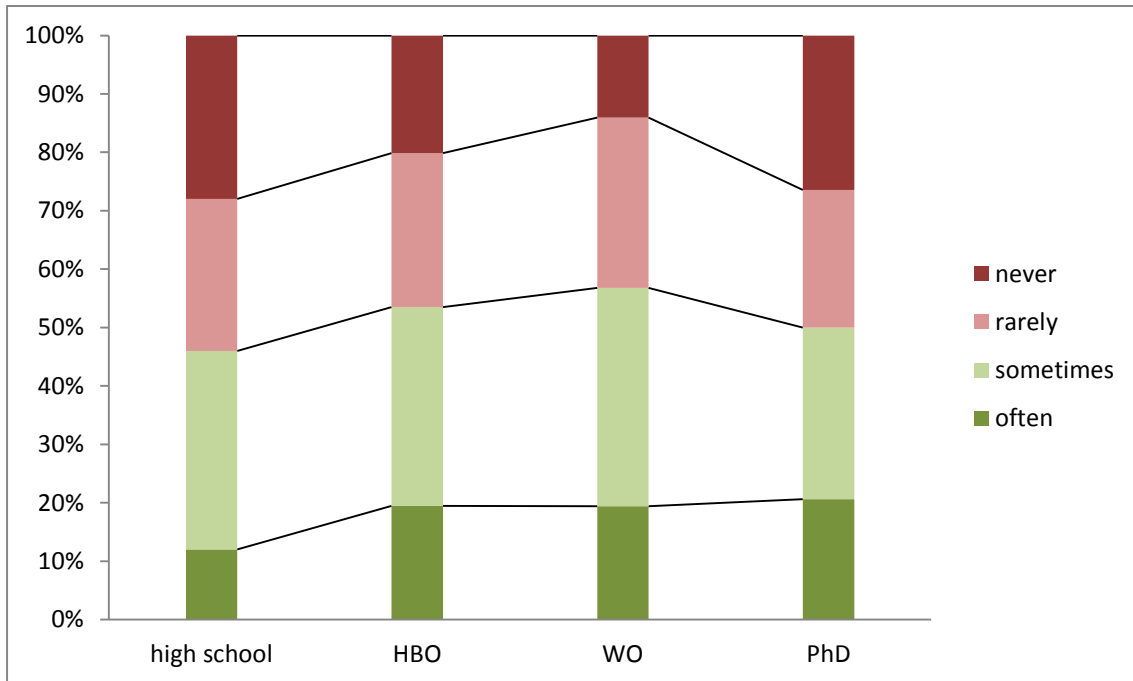


Figure 22: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my family (parents, children, other relatives)'
 $\chi^2=44.619$, $df=9$, $p<0.001$

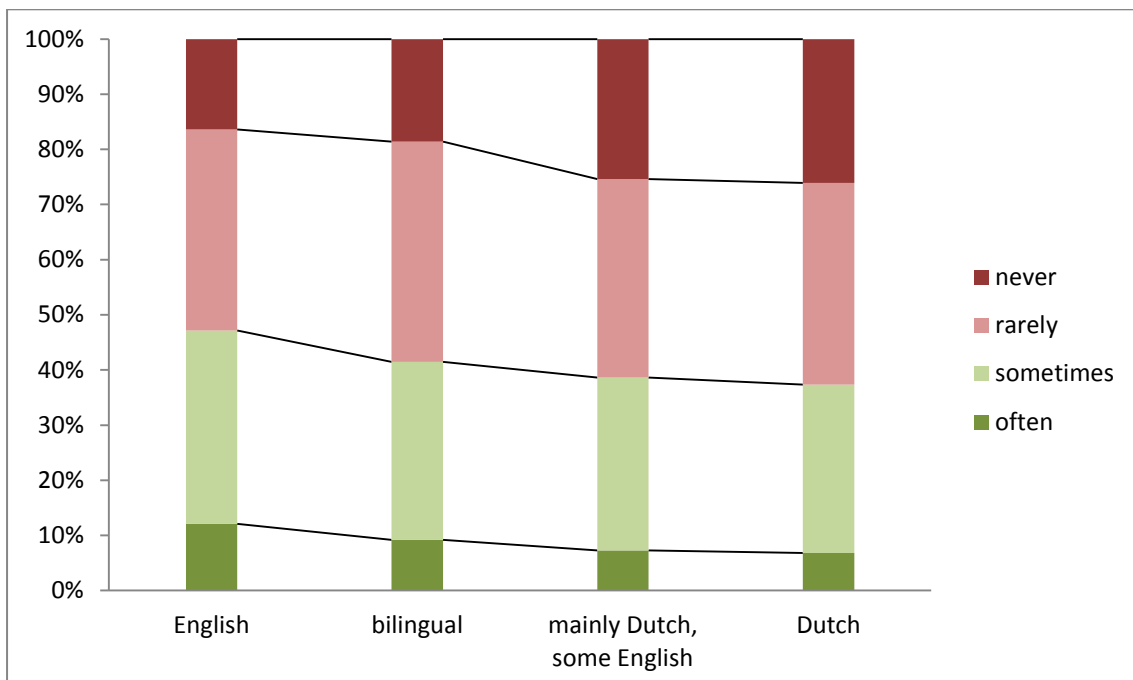


Figure 23: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my partner'

$\chi^2=36.409$, $df=9$, $p<0.001$

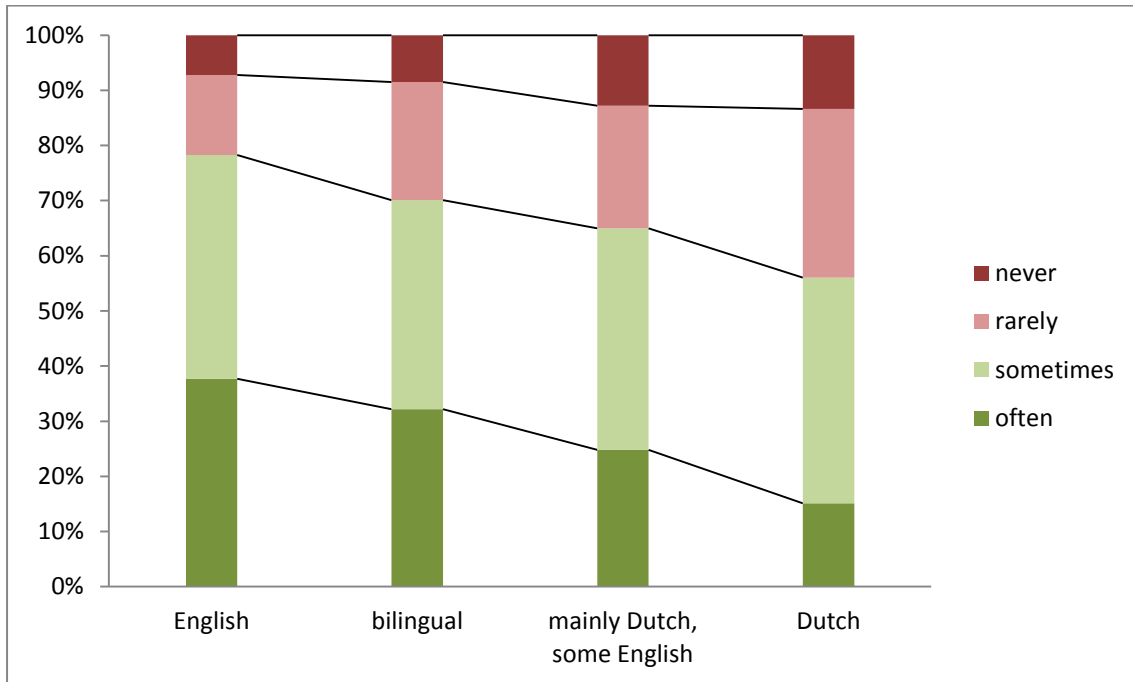


Figure 24: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my friends'

$\chi^2=128.134$, $df=9$, $p<0.001$

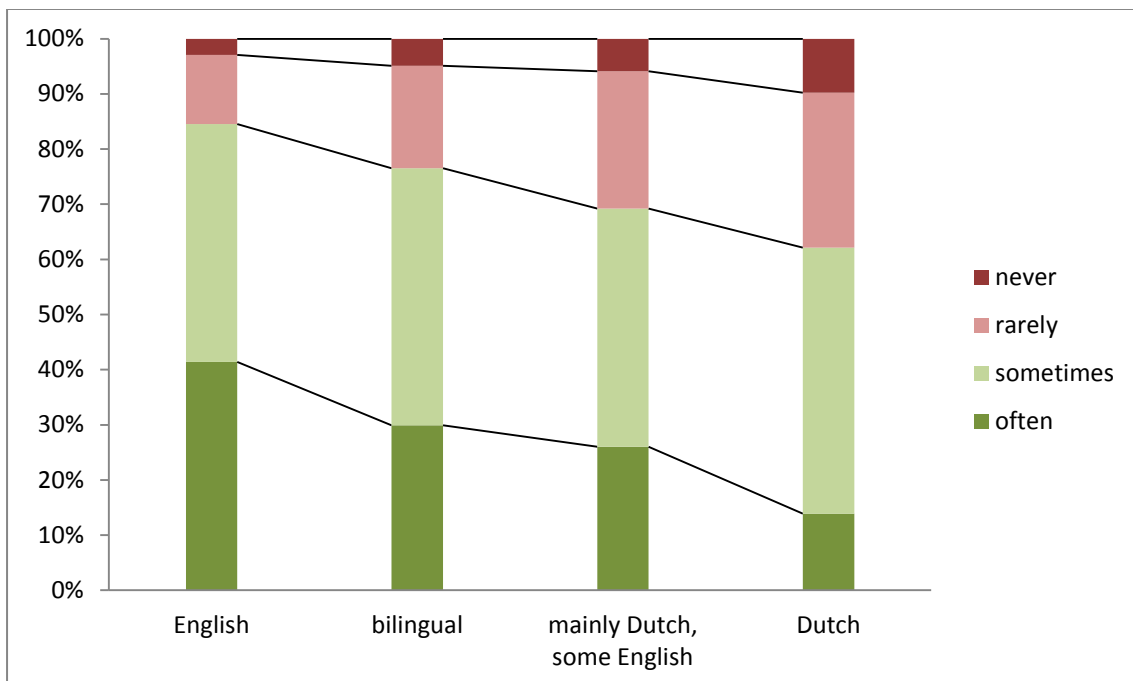


Figure 25: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my colleagues'

$\chi^2=51.679$, $df=9$, $p<0.001$

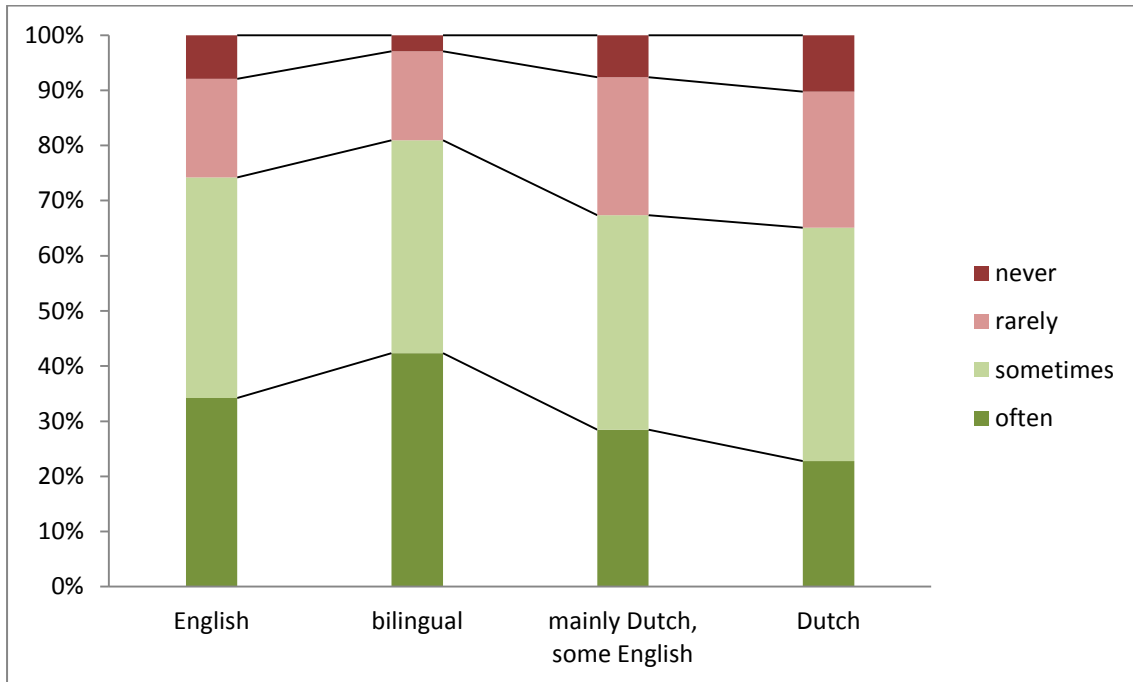


Figure 26: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my classmates'

$\chi^2=212.722$, $df=9$, $p<0.001$

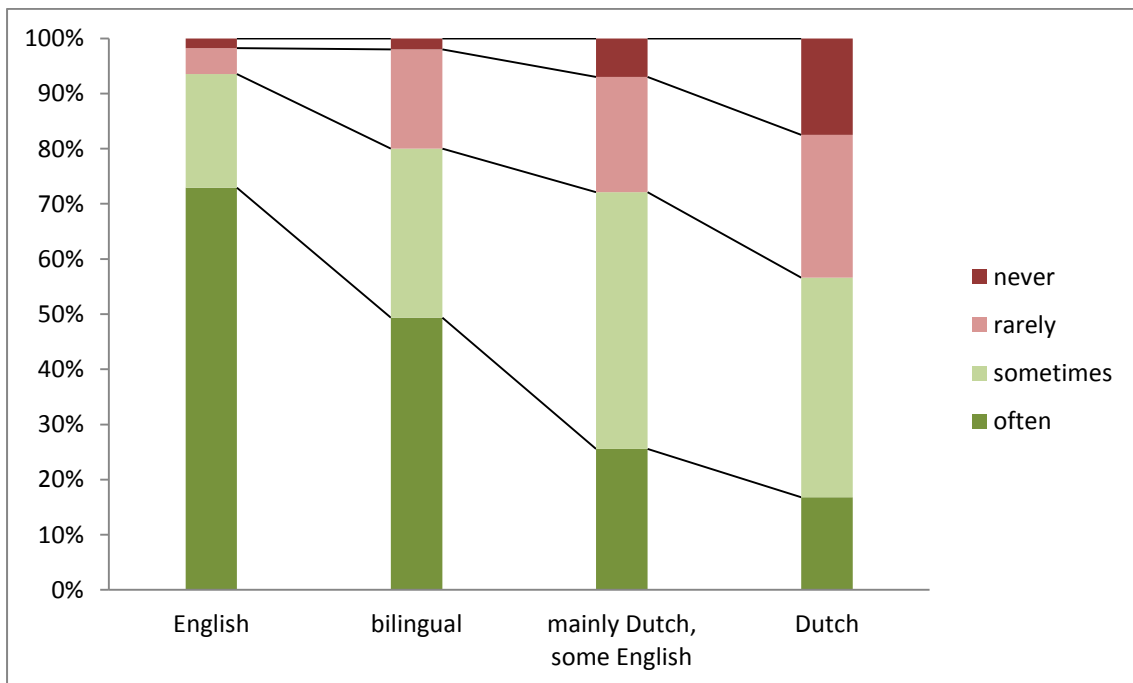


Figure 27: Occupation distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my family (parents, children, other relatives)'
 $\chi^2=110.029$, $df=18$, $p<0.001$

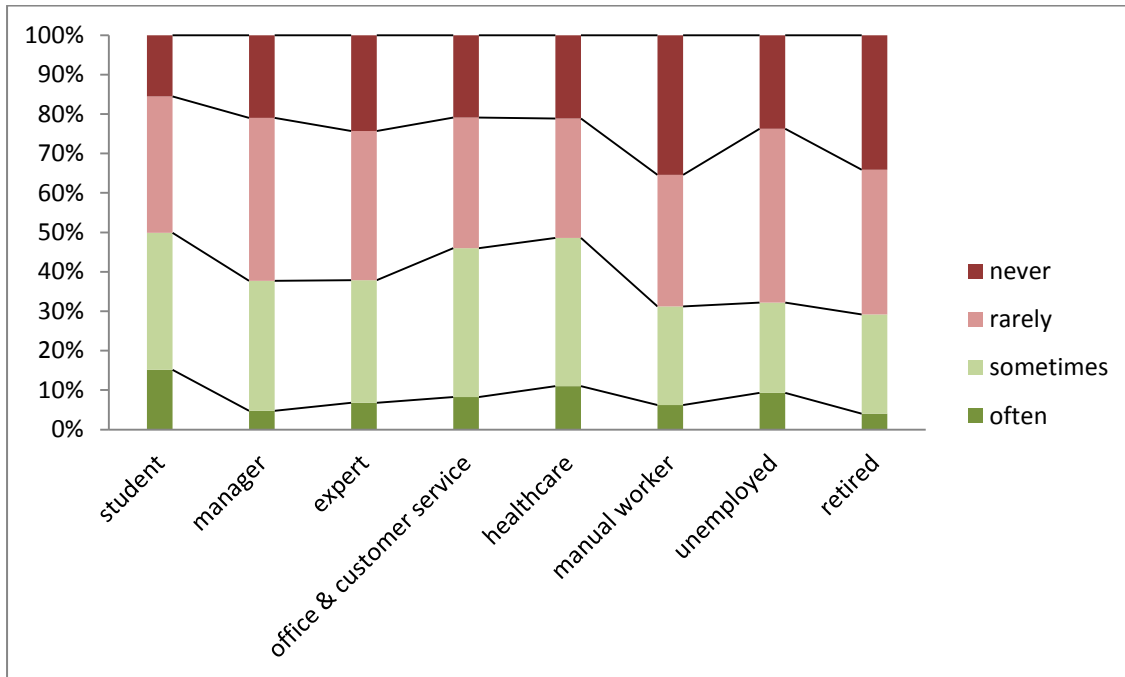


Figure 28: Occupation distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my partner'
 $\chi^2=120.721$, $df=18$, $p<0.001$

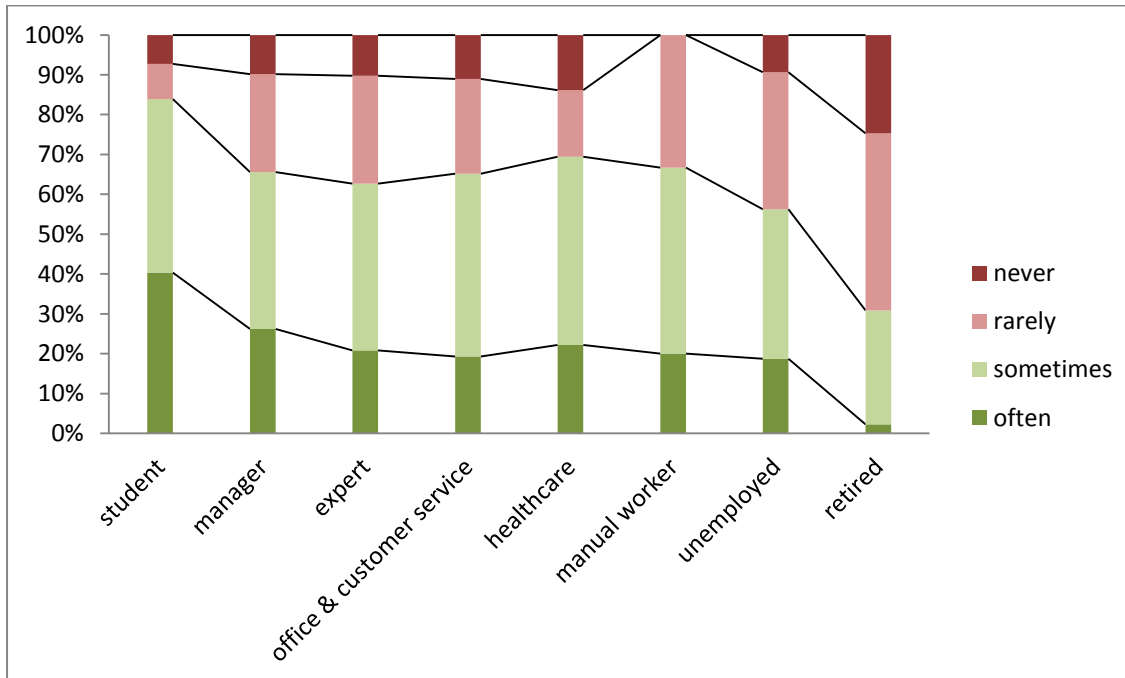


Figure 29: Occupation distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my friends'
 $\chi^2=235.330$, $df=18$, $p<0.001$

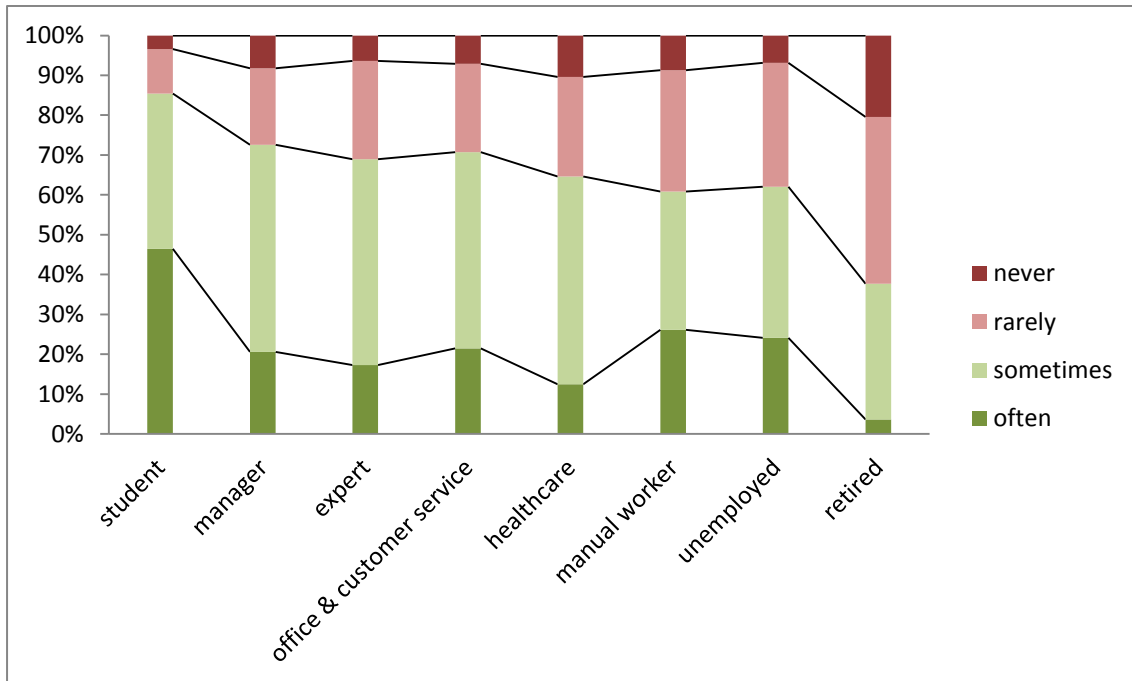


Figure 30: Occupation distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my colleagues'
 $\chi^2=111.148$, $df=18$, $p<0.001$

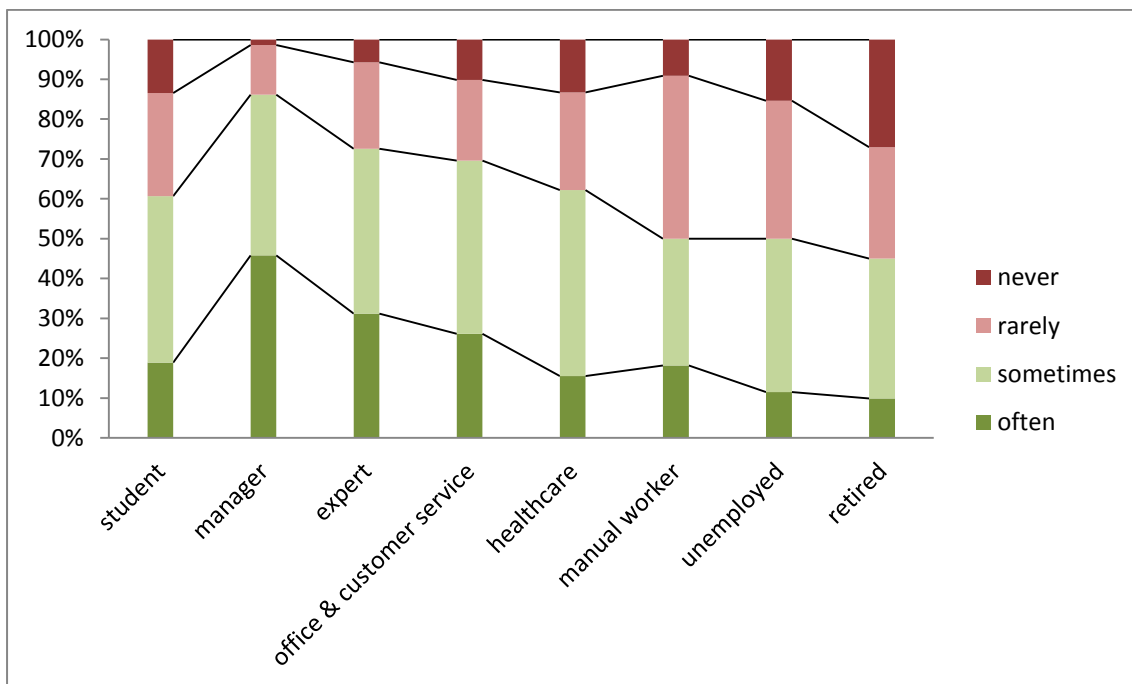


Figure 31: Occupation distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my classmates'
 $\chi^2=179.511$, $df=18$, $p<0.001$

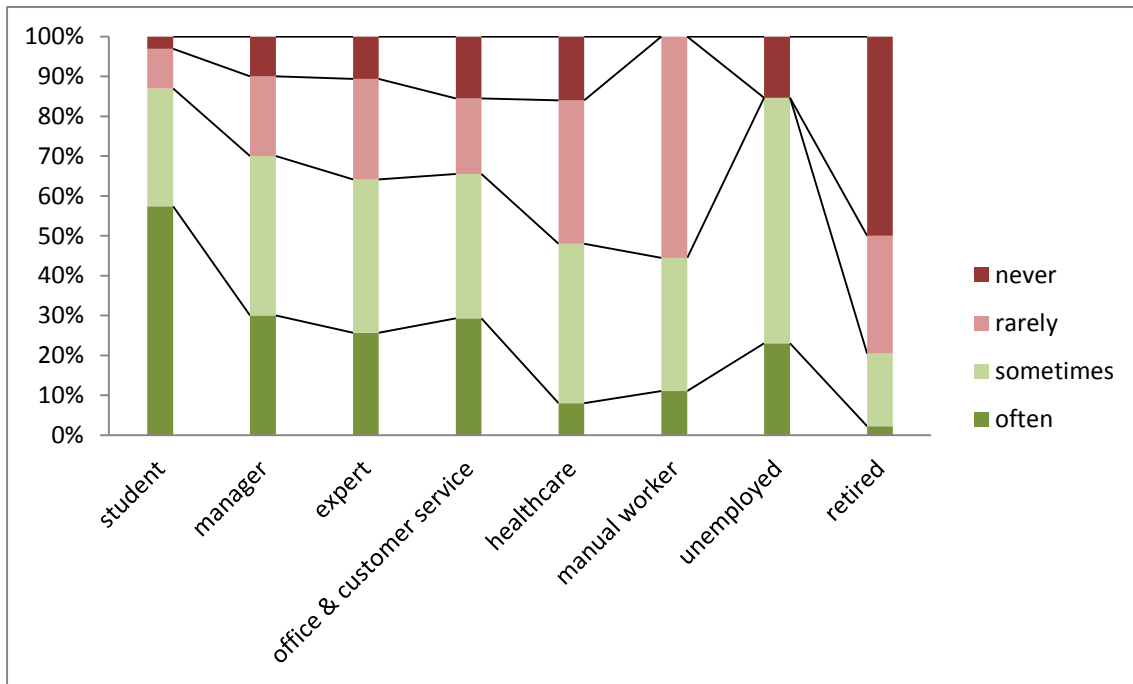


Figure 32: Residential distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my family (parents, children, other relatives)'
 $\chi^2=9.933$, $df=6$, $p=0.128$

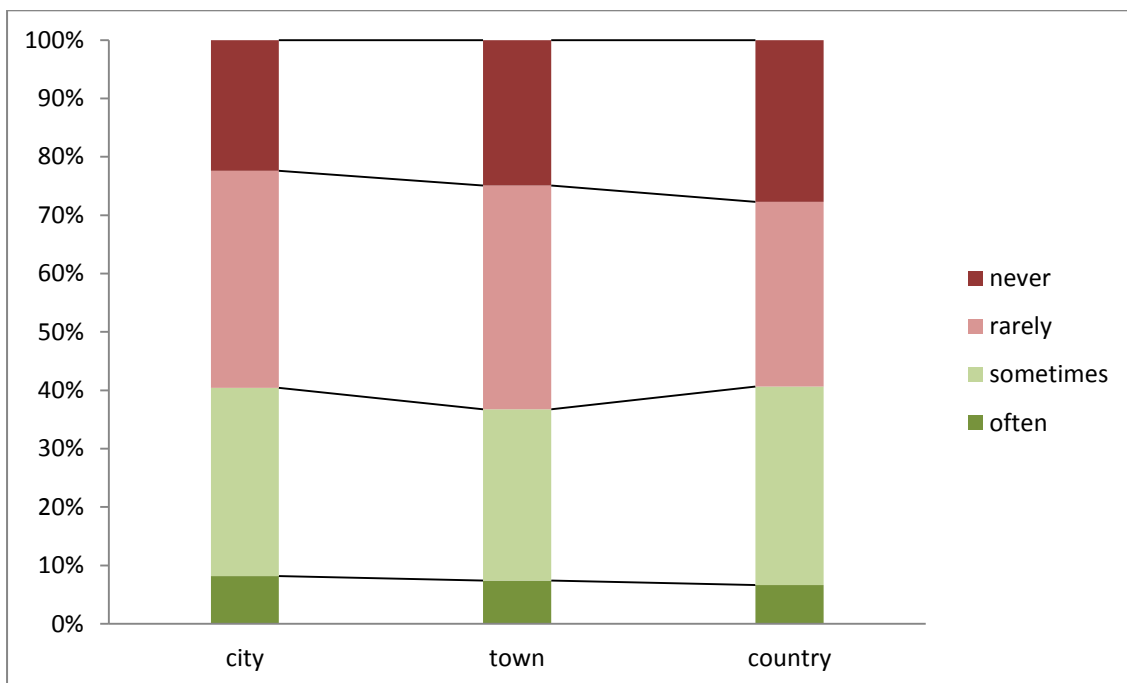


Figure 33: Residential distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my partner'
 $\chi^2=11.124$, $df=6$, $p=0.085$

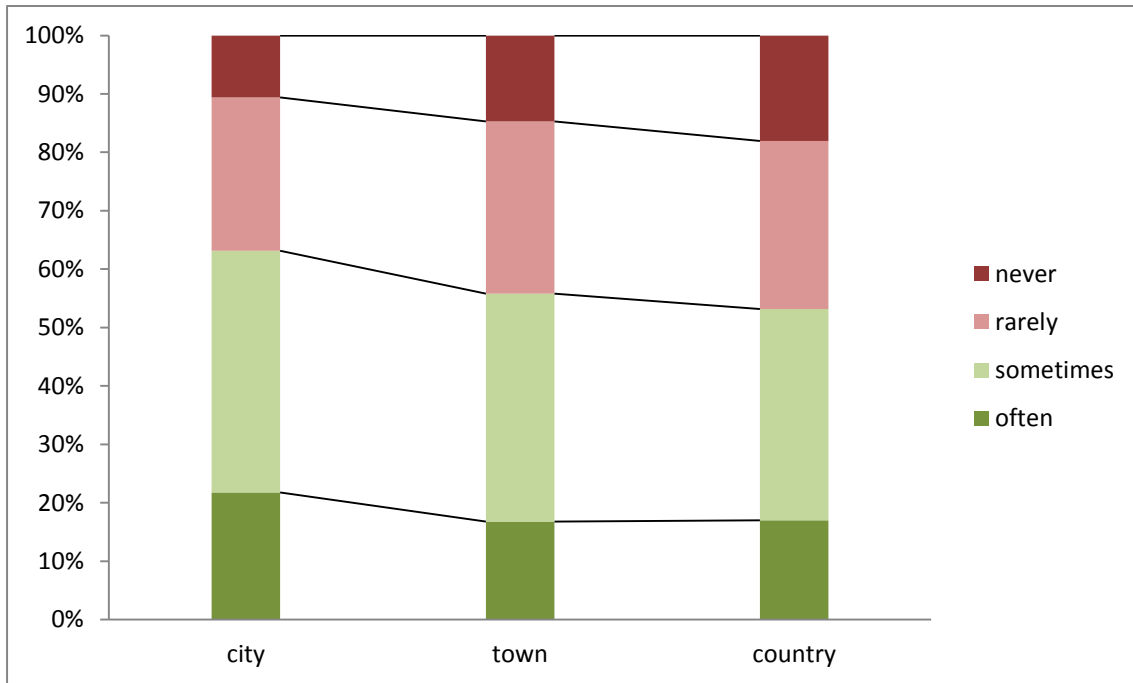


Figure 34: Residential distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my friends'
 $\chi^2=23.640$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

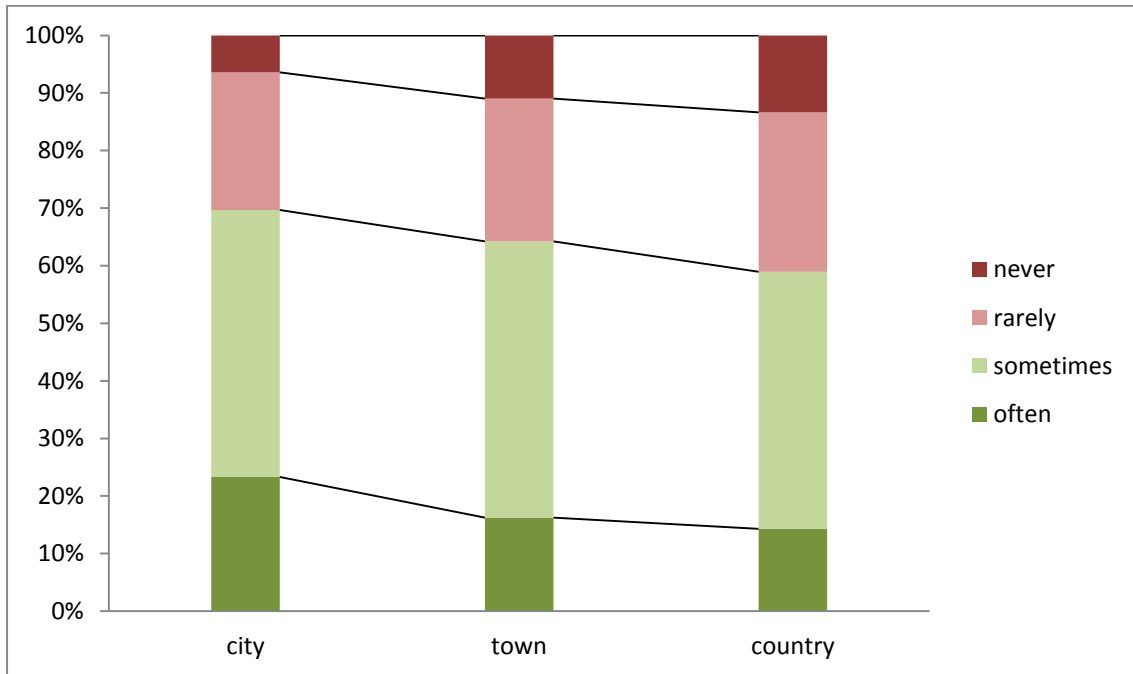


Figure 35: Residential distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my colleagues'
 $\chi^2=11.598$, $df=6$, $p=0.072$

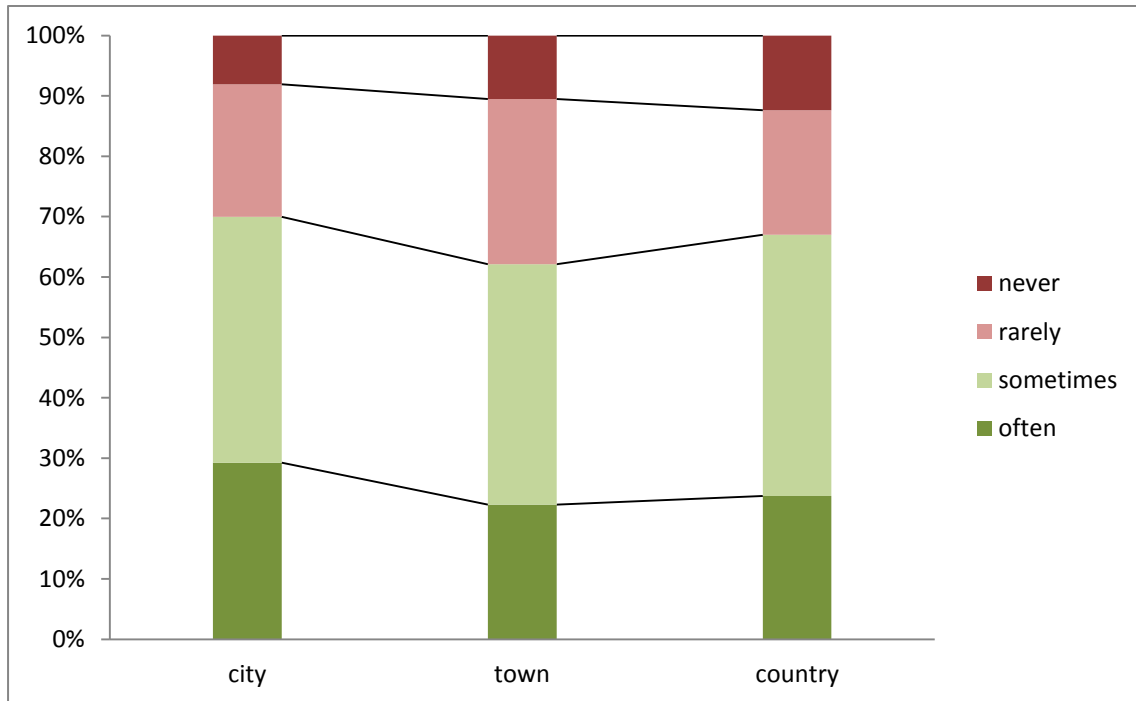


Figure 36: Residential distribution for the statement 'I mix Dutch and English with ... my classmates'
 $\chi^2=8.208$, $df=6$, $p=0.223$

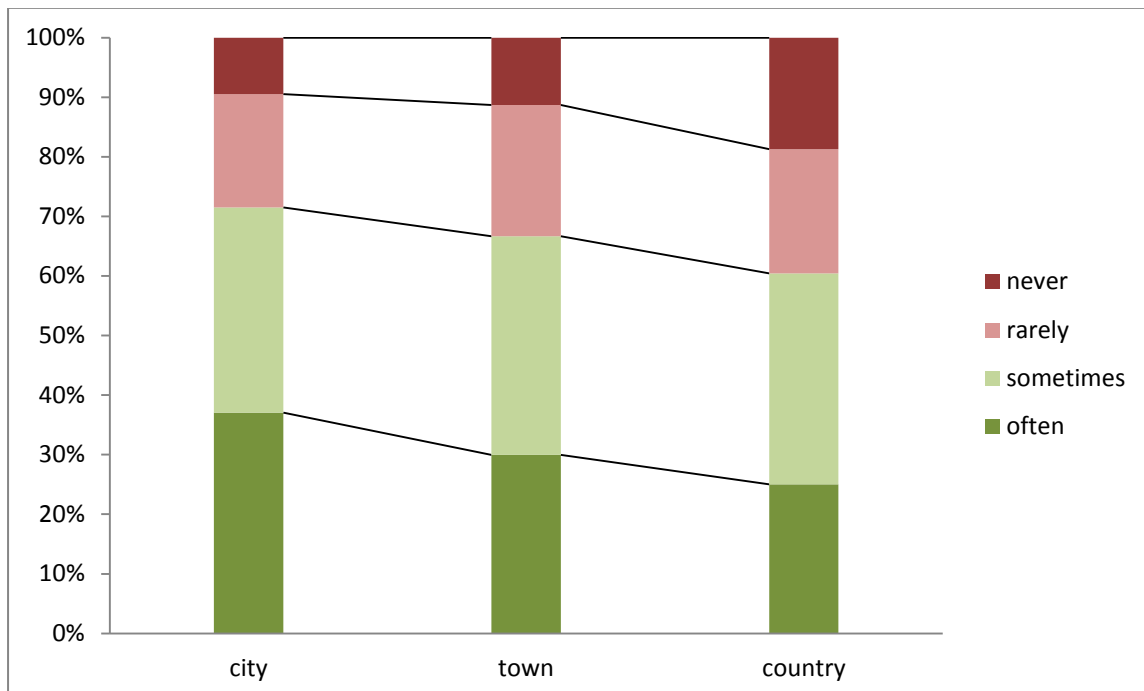


Figure 37: Age distribution for the question 'For what reason(s) do you use English words or phrases when speaking with other Dutch people?'

$\chi^2=198.051$, $df=18$, $p<0.001$

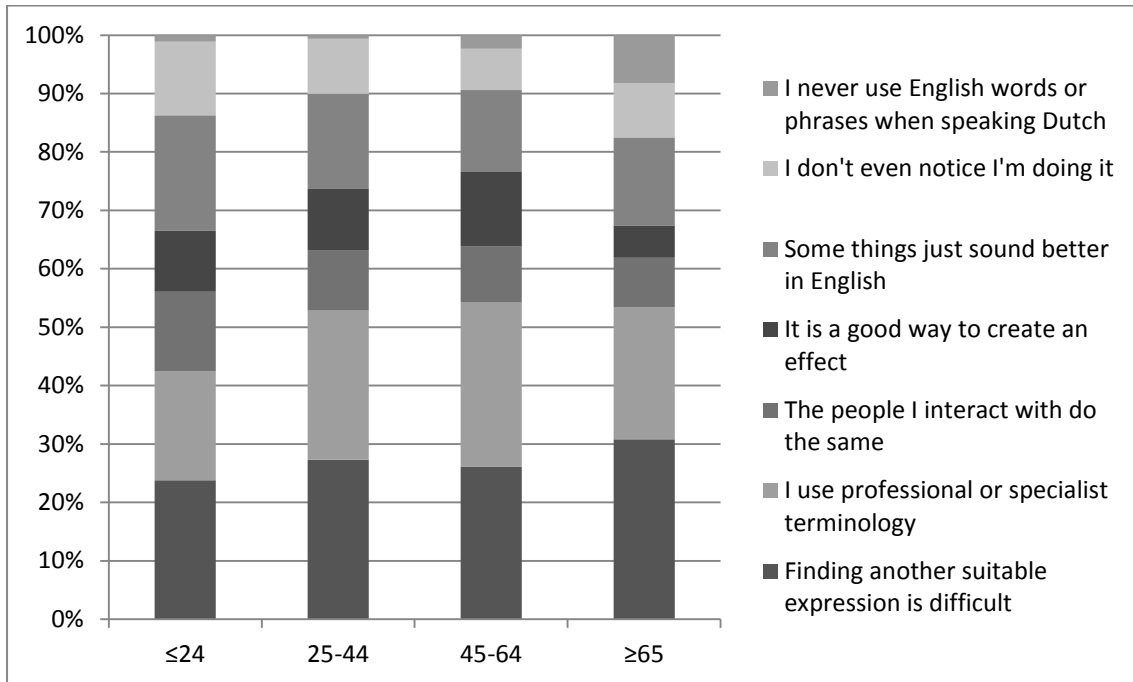


Figure 38: Sex distribution for the question 'For what reason(s) do you use English words or phrases when speaking with other Dutch people?'

$\chi^2=51.003$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$



Figure 39: Education level distribution for the question 'For what reason(s) do you use English words or phrases when speaking with other Dutch people?'

$\chi^2=49.800$, $df=18$, $p<0.001$

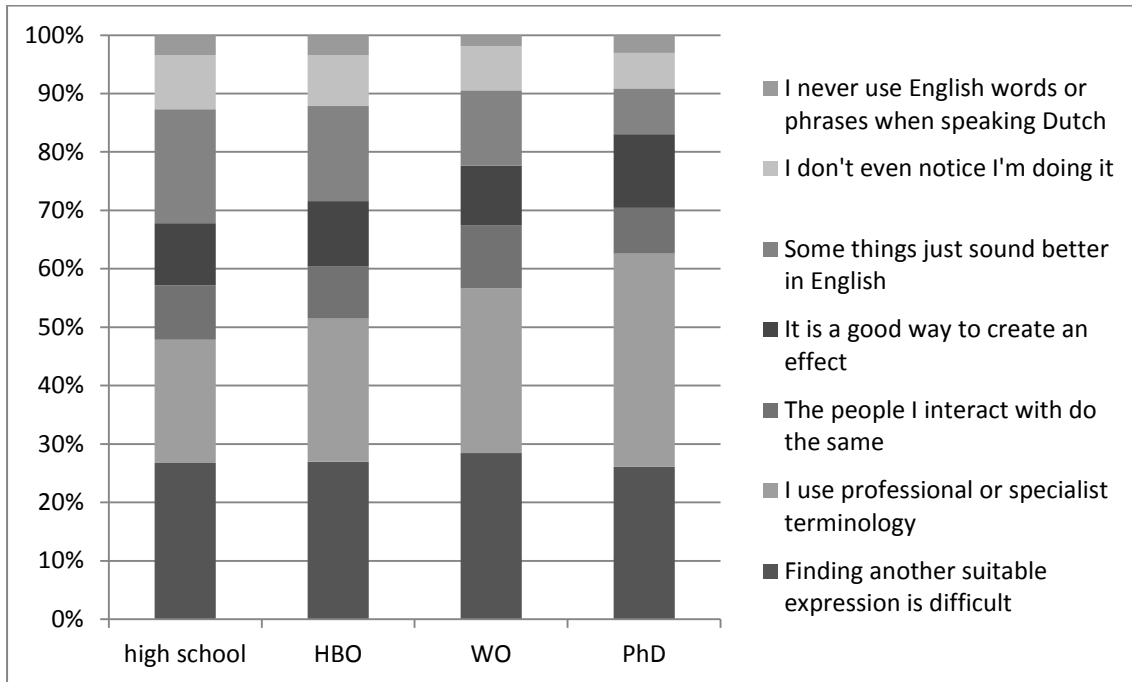


Figure 40: Higher education language distribution for the question 'For what reason(s) do you use English words or phrases when speaking with other Dutch people?'

$\chi^2=52.922$, $df=18$, $p<0.001$

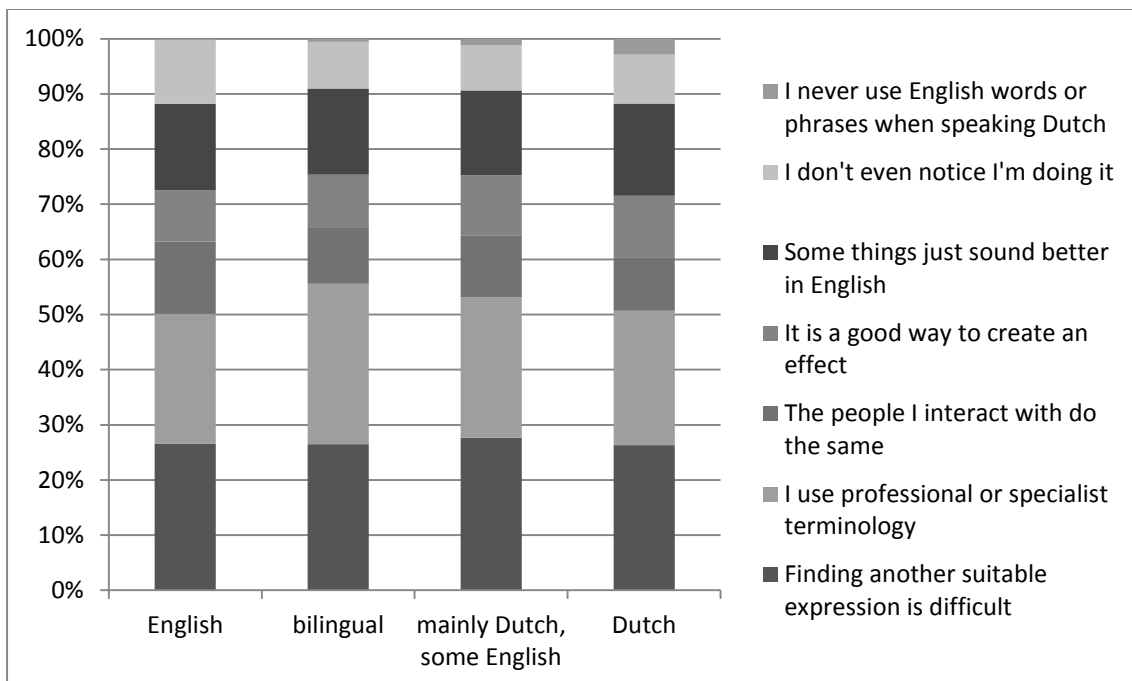


Figure 41: Occupation distribution for the question 'For what reason(s) do you use English words or phrases when speaking with other Dutch people?'

$\chi^2=170.358$, $df=36$, $p<0.001$

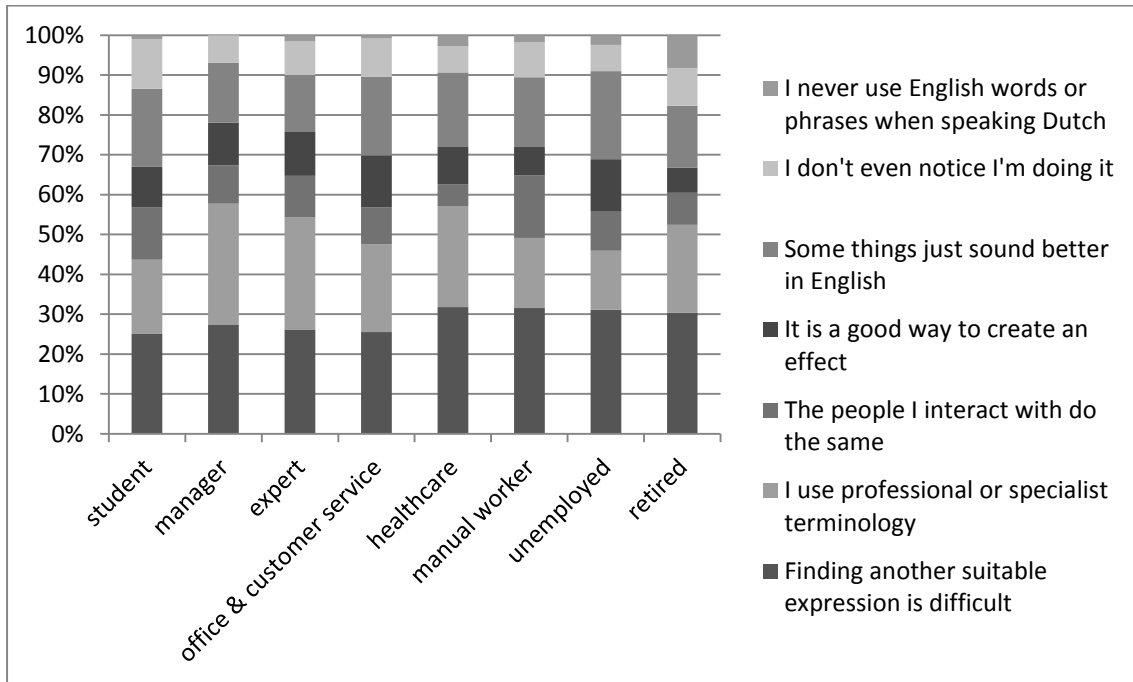


Figure 42: Residential distribution for the question 'For what reason(s) do you use English words or phrases when speaking with other Dutch people?'

$\chi^2=17.388$, $df=12$, $p=0.136$

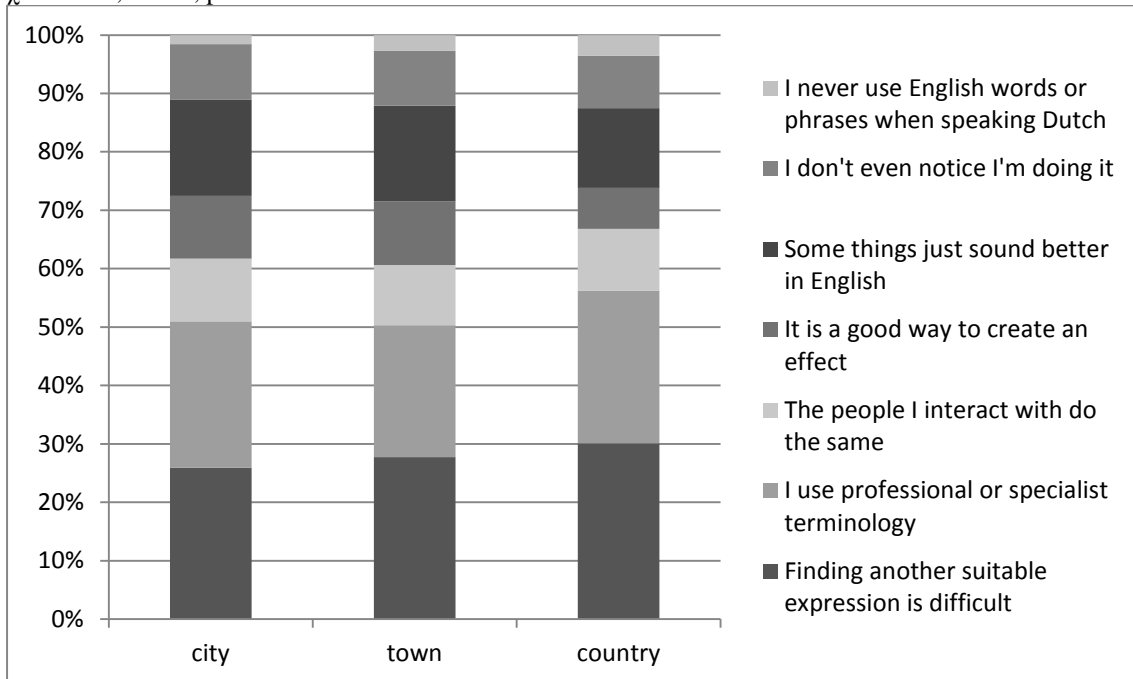


Figure 43: Age distribution for the statement 'I like using English'
 $\chi^2=144.582$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

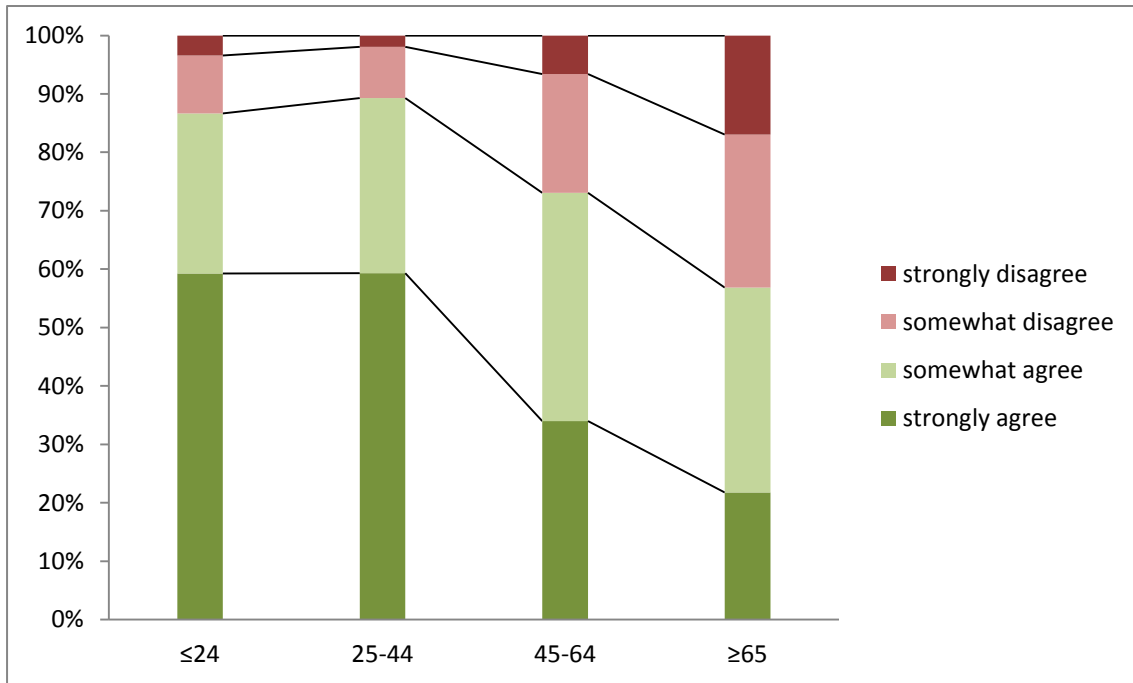


Figure 44: Sex distribution for the statement 'I like using English'
 $\chi^2=2.78$, $df=1$, $p=0.095$

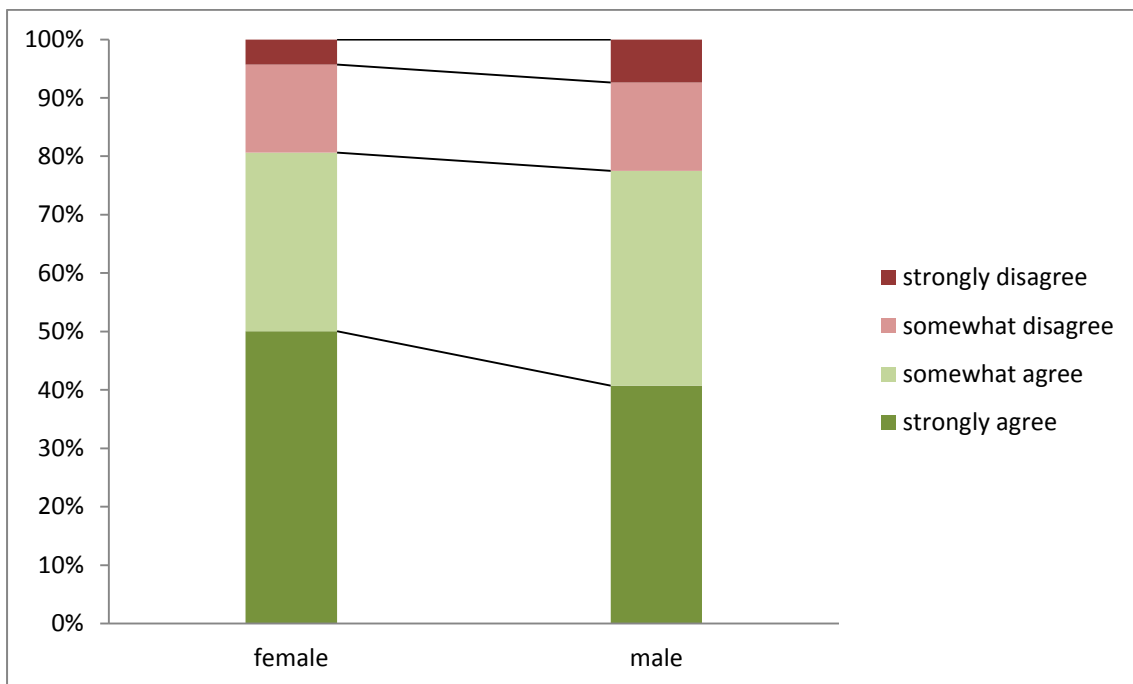


Figure 45: Education level distribution for the statement 'I like using English'
 $\chi^2=8.113$, $df=3$, $p=0.044$

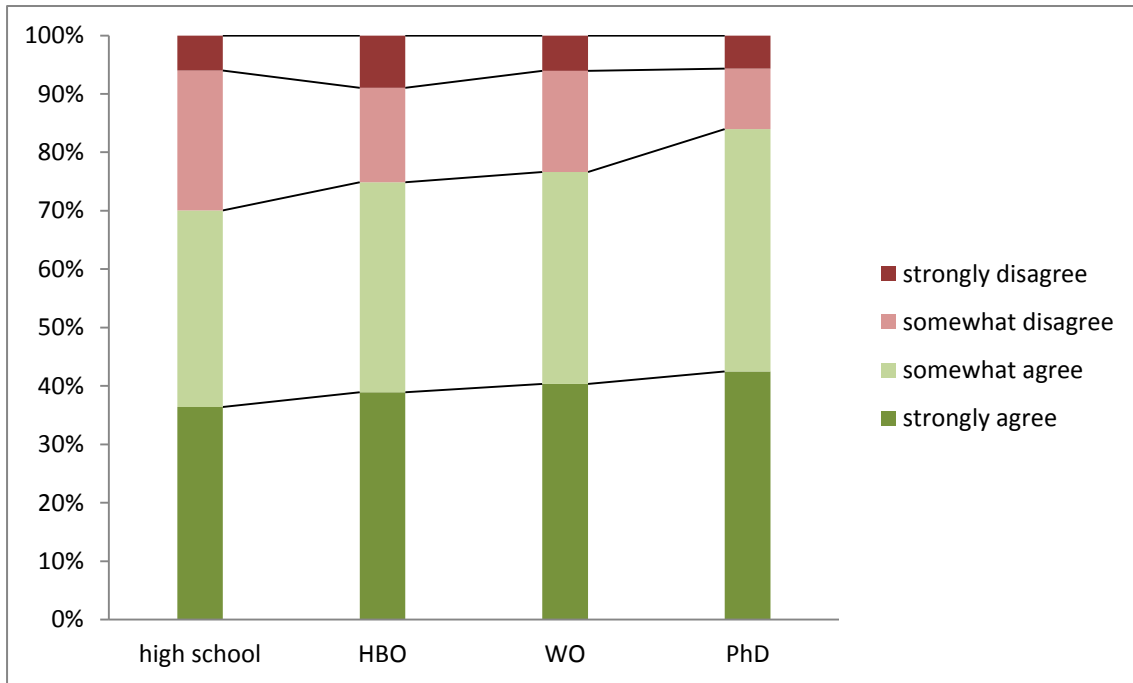


Figure 46: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'I like using English'
 $\chi^2=85.996$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

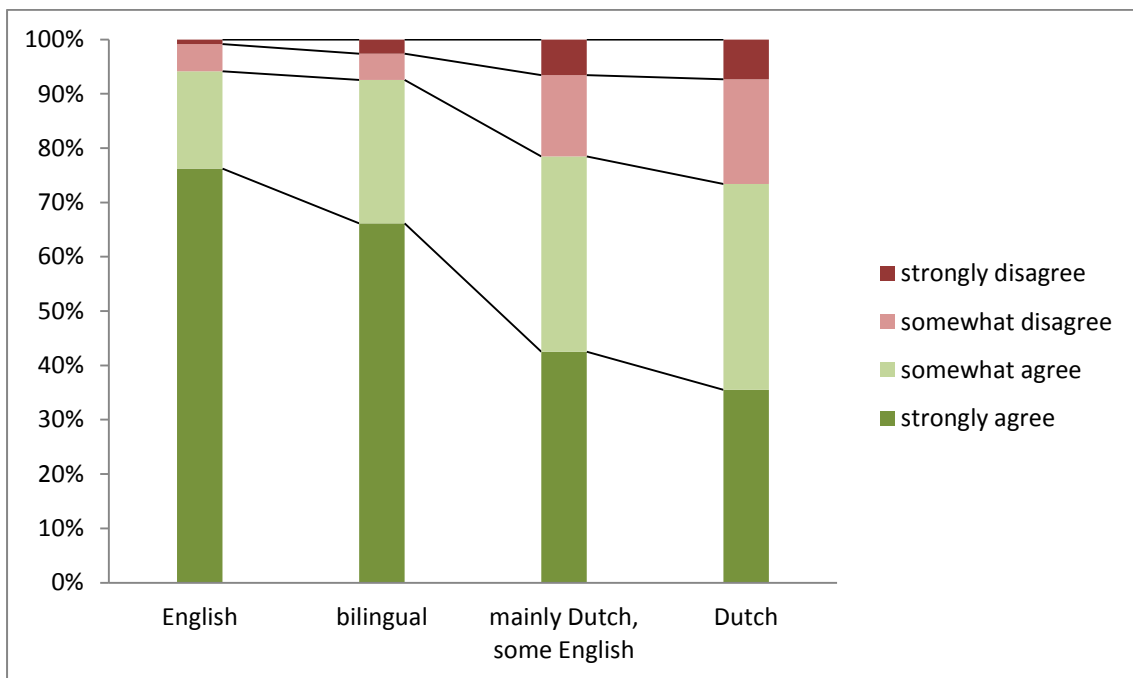


Figure 47: Occupation distribution for the statement 'I like using English'
 $\chi^2=98.254$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

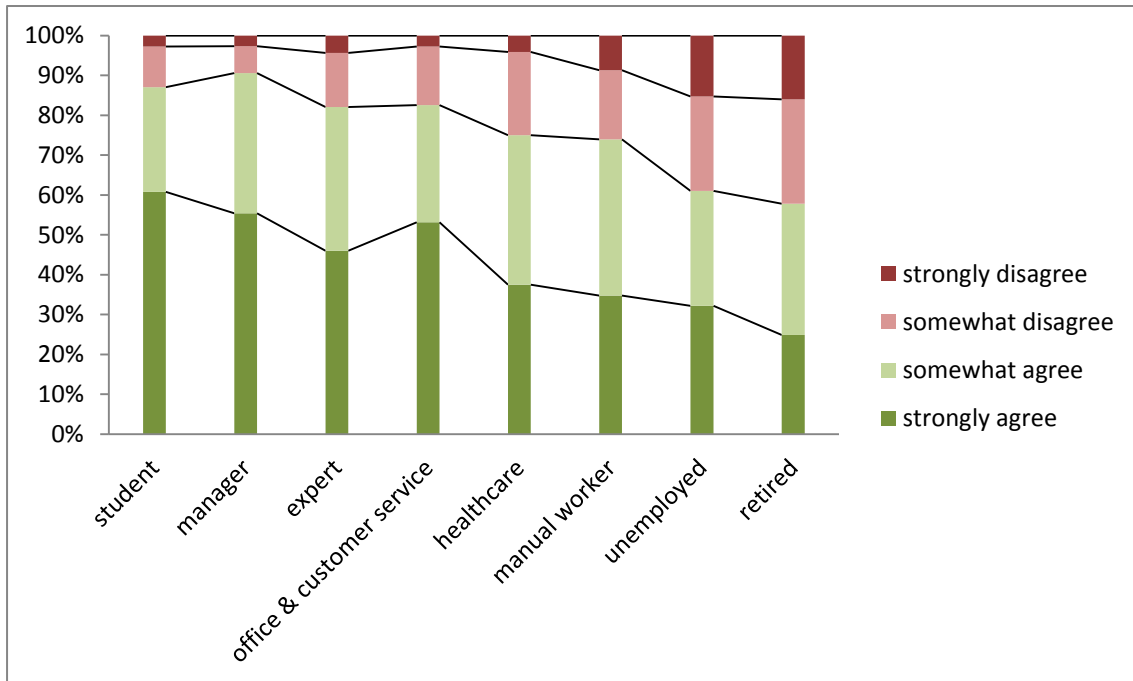


Figure 48: Residential distribution for the statement 'I like using English'
 $\chi^2=2.859$, $df=2$, $p=0.239$

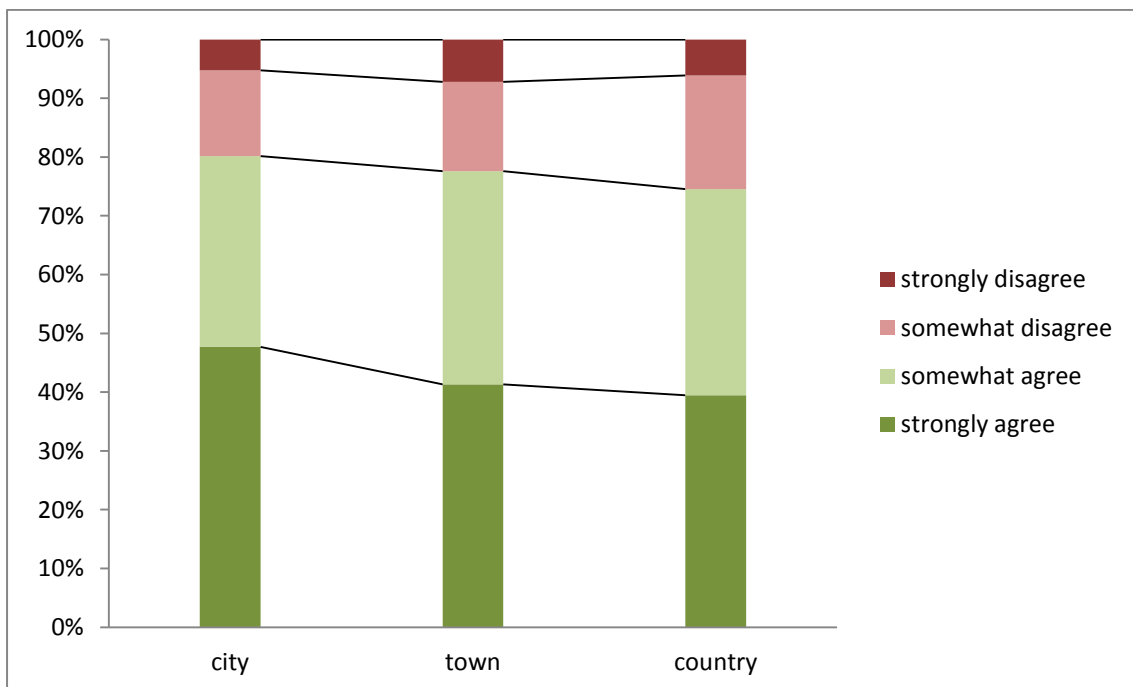


Figure 49: Age distribution for the statement 'Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English'
 $\chi^2=65.078$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

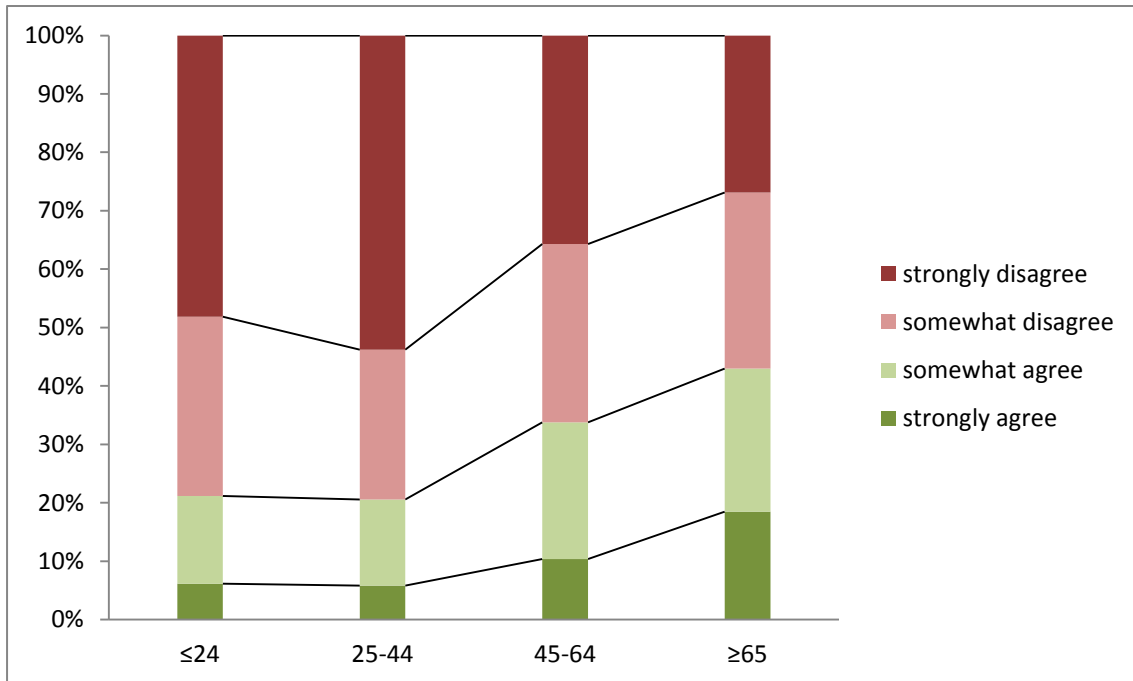


Figure 50: Sex distribution for the statement 'Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English'
 $\chi^2=12.680$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$

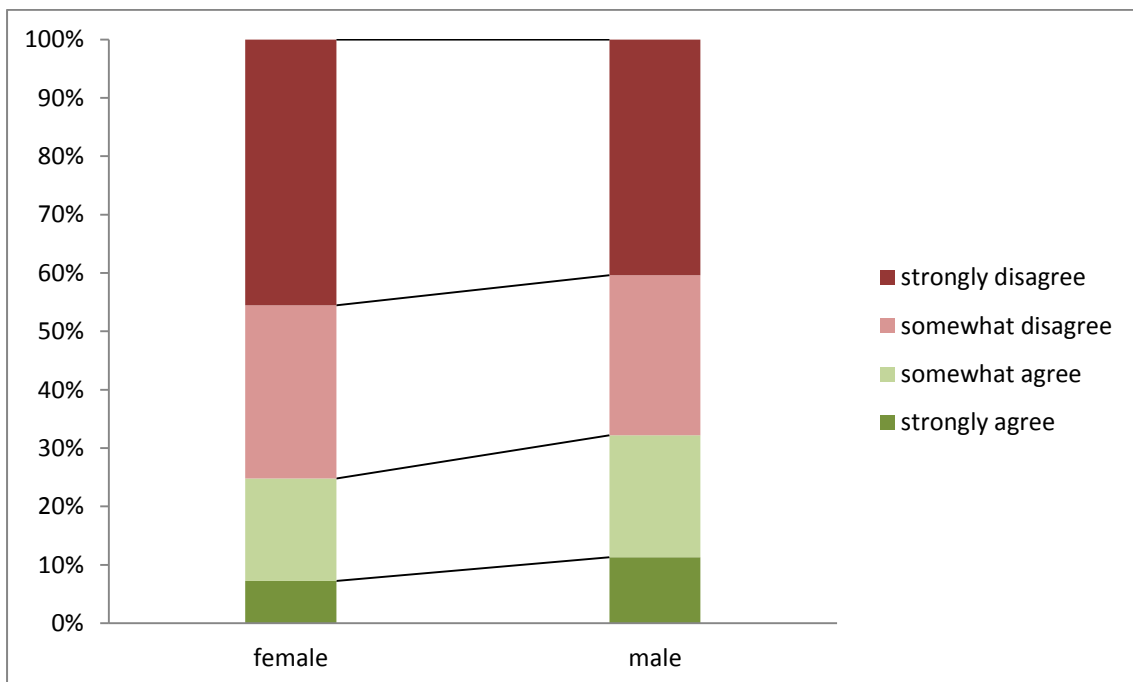


Figure 51: Education level distribution for the statement 'Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English'

$\chi^2=2.086$, $df=3$, $p=0.555$

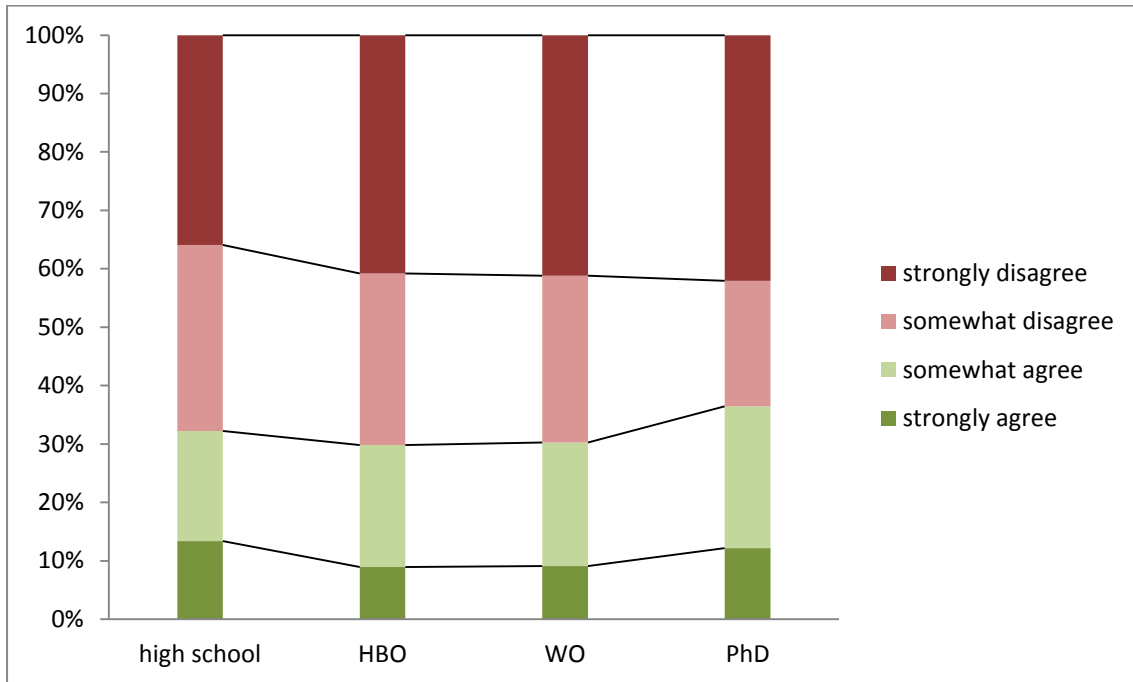


Figure 52: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English'

$\chi^2=54.503$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

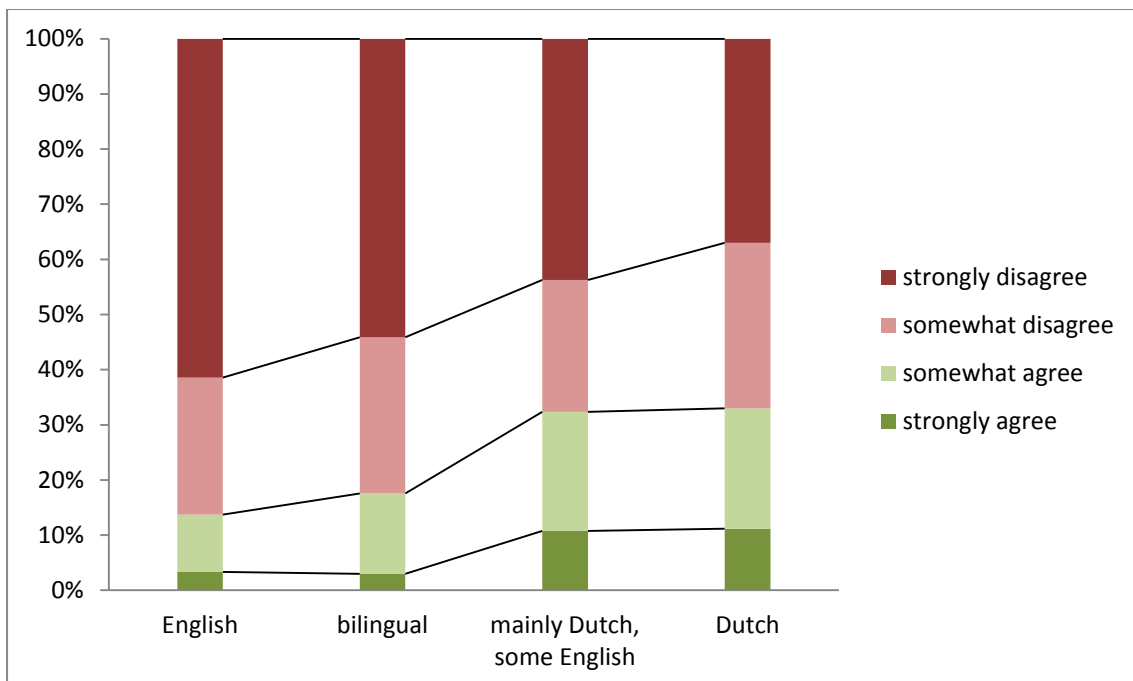


Figure 53: Occupation distribution for the statement 'Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English'
 $\chi^2=34.636$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

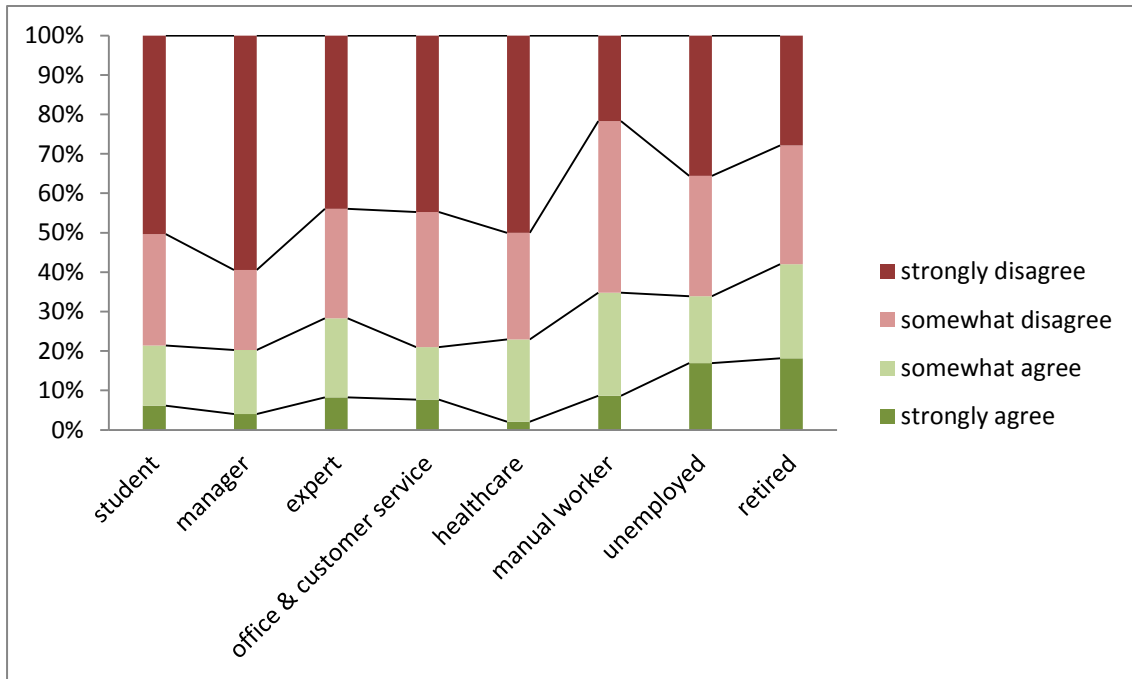


Figure 54: Residential distribution for the statement 'Sometimes I resent the fact that I have to use English'
 $\chi^2=1.043$, $df=2$, $p=0.594$

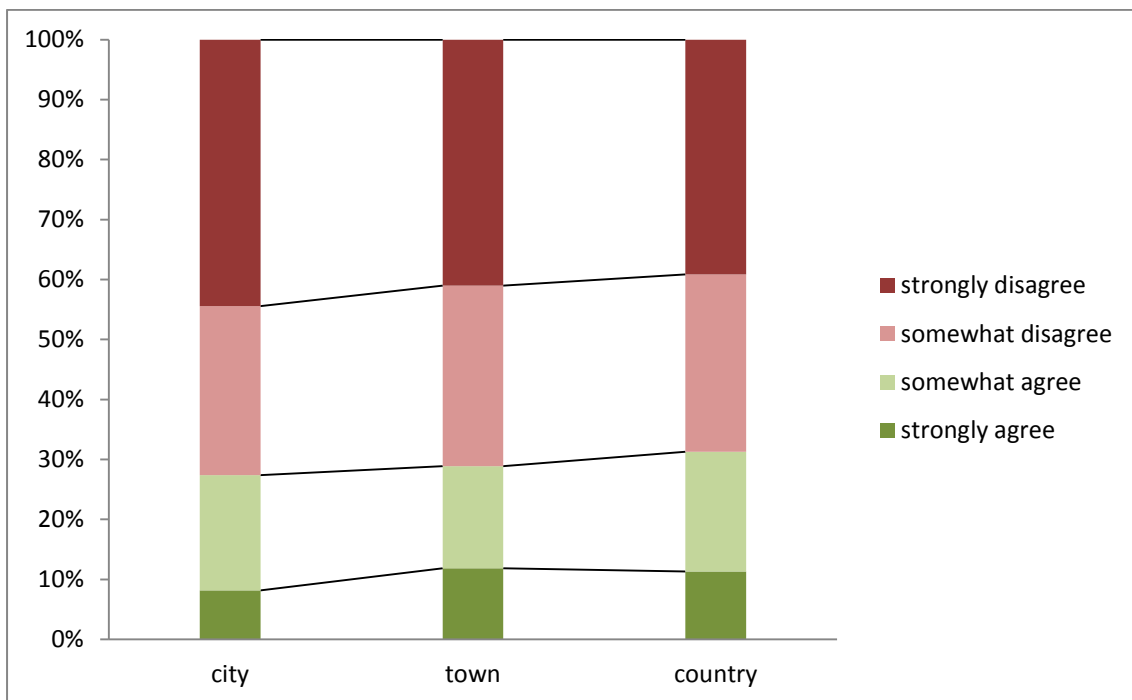


Figure 55: Age distribution for the statement 'I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so'
 $\chi^2=40.998$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

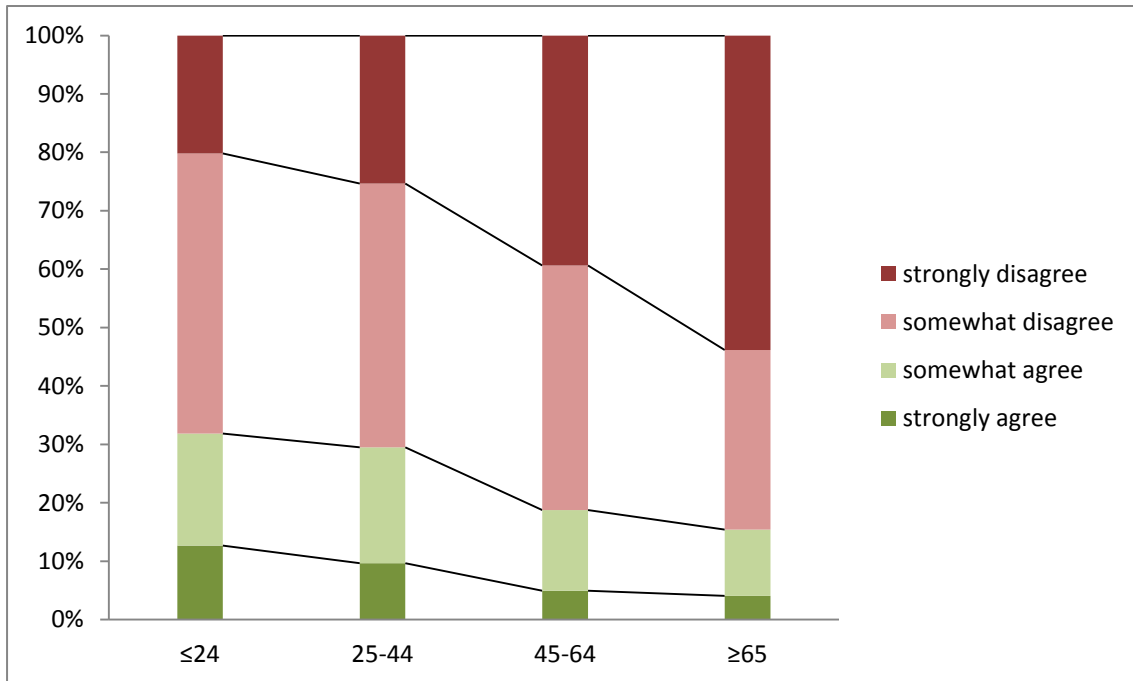


Figure 56: Sex distribution for the statement 'I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so'
 $\chi^2=8.052$, $df=1$, $p=0.005$

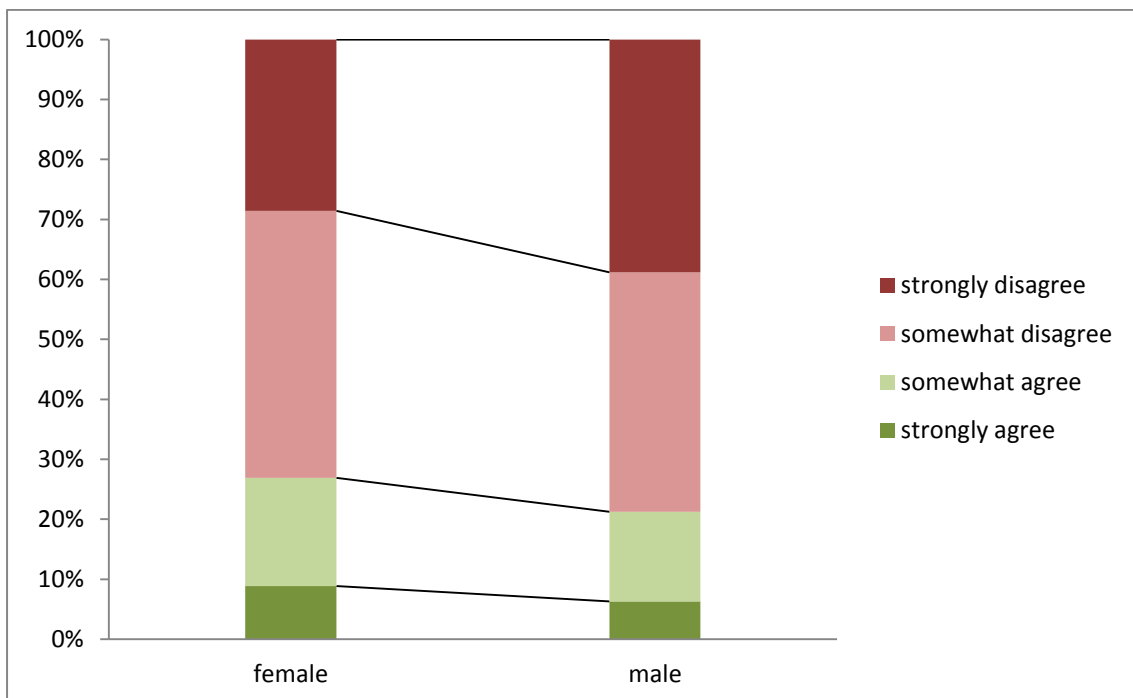


Figure 57: Education level distribution for the statement 'I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so'
 $\chi^2=4.370$, $df=3$, $p=0.224$

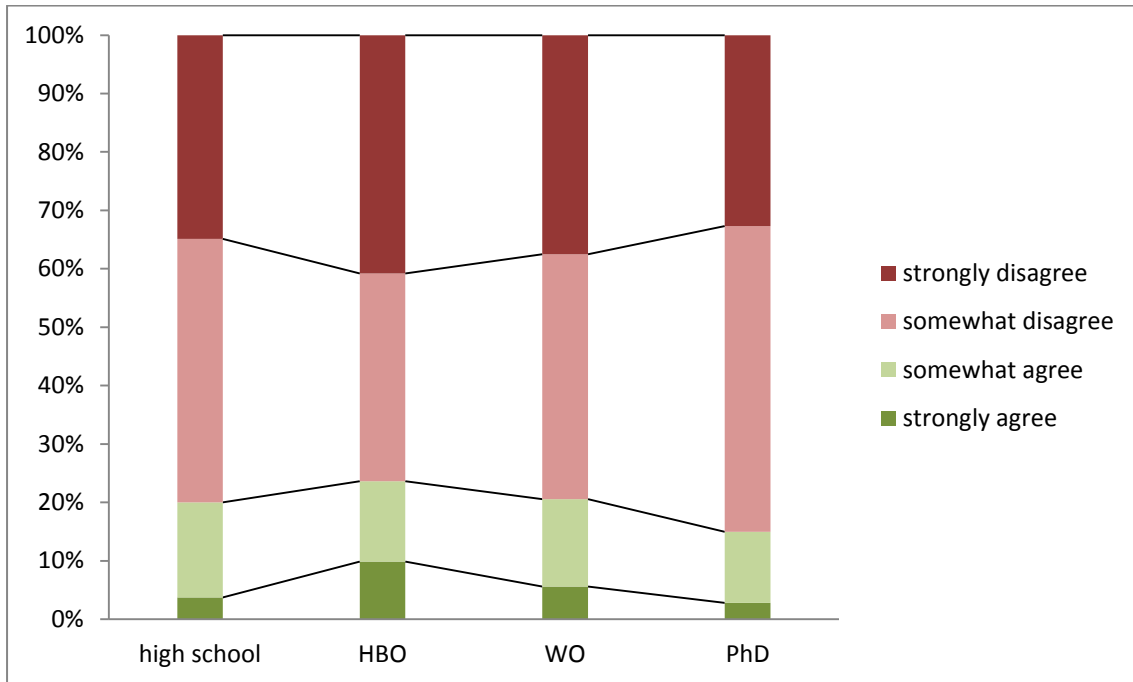


Figure 58: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so'
 $\chi^2=71.028$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

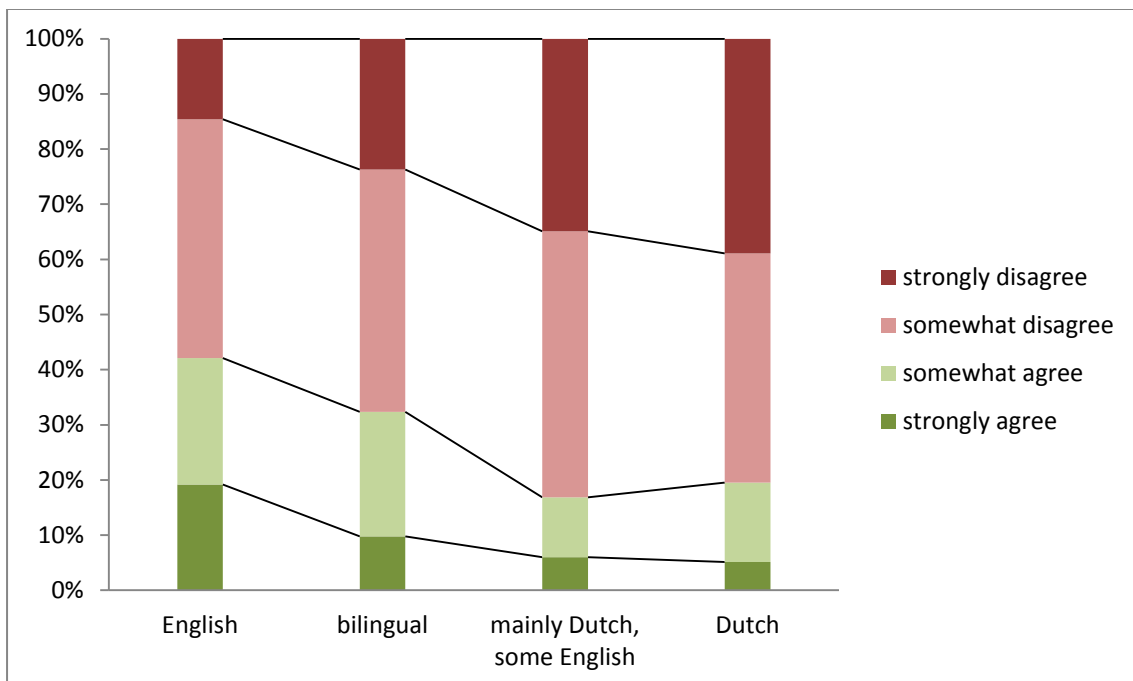


Figure 59: Occupation distribution for the statement 'I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so'
 $\chi^2=31.435$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

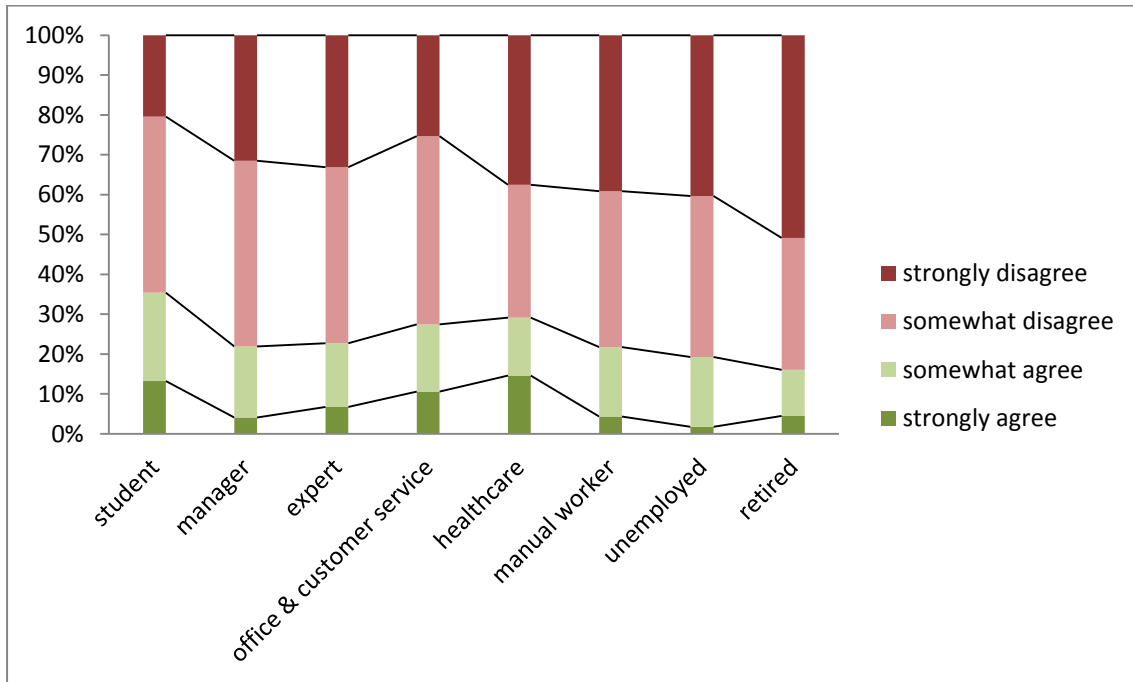


Figure 60: Residential distribution for the statement 'I always use English when I have an opportunity to do so'
 $\chi^2=0.659$, $df=2$, $p=0.719$

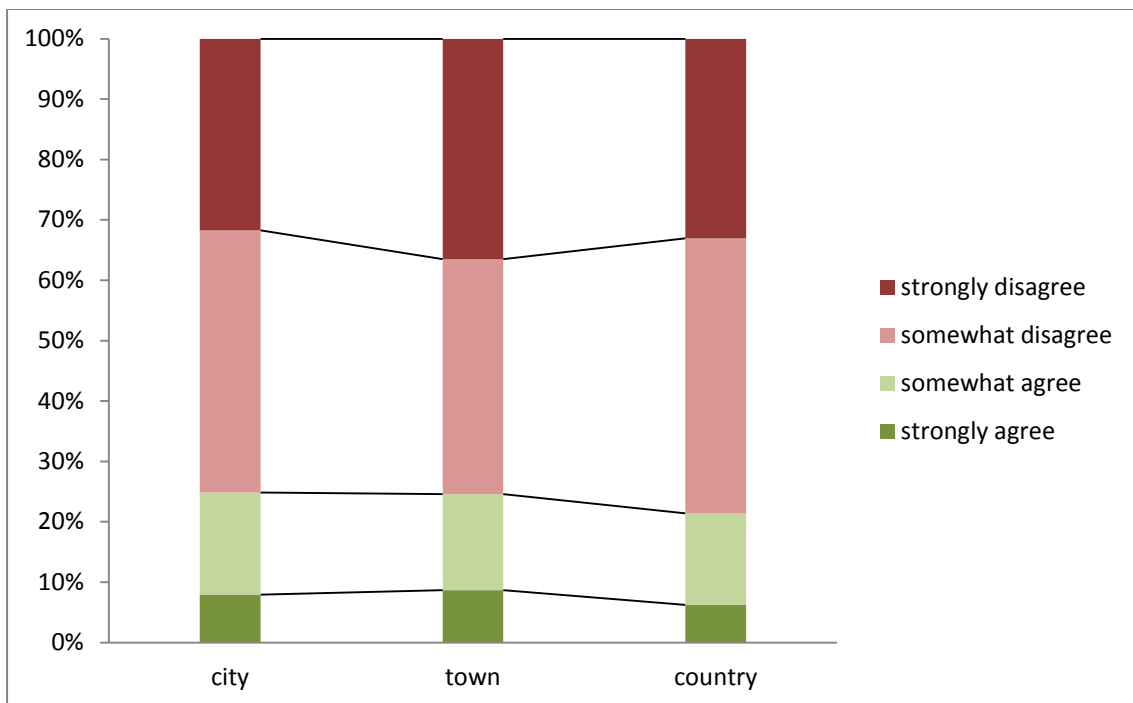


Figure 61: Age distribution for the statement 'I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible'
 $\chi^2=121.105$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

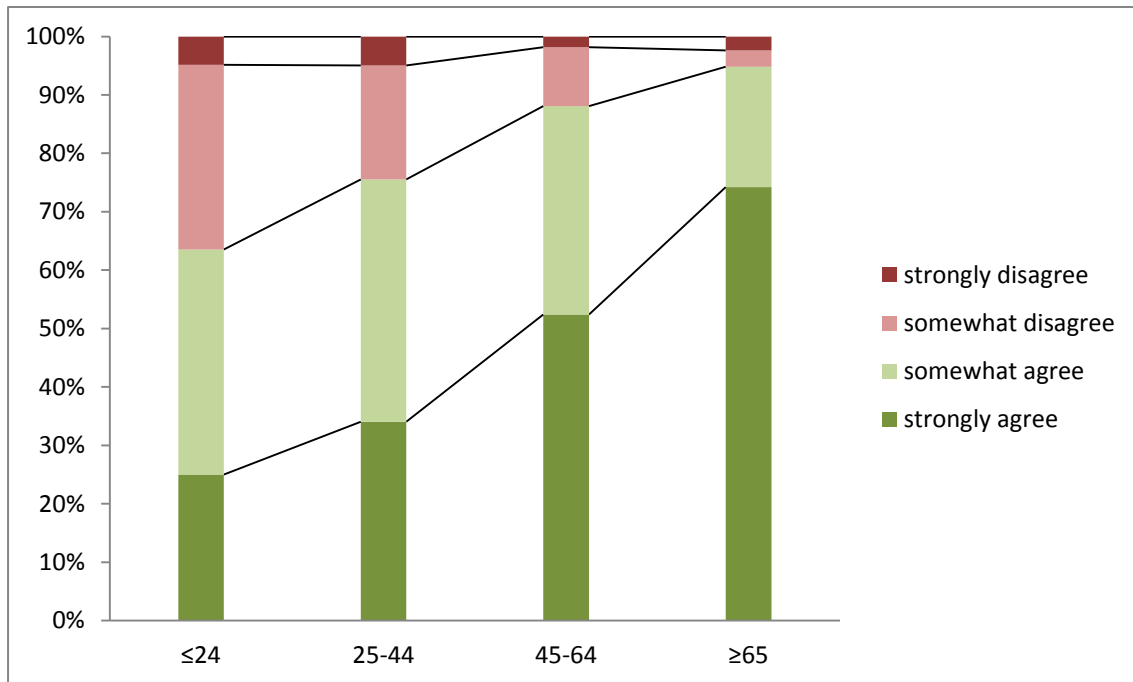


Figure 62: Sex distribution for the statement 'I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible'
 $\chi^2=5.459$, $df=1$, $p=0.0195$

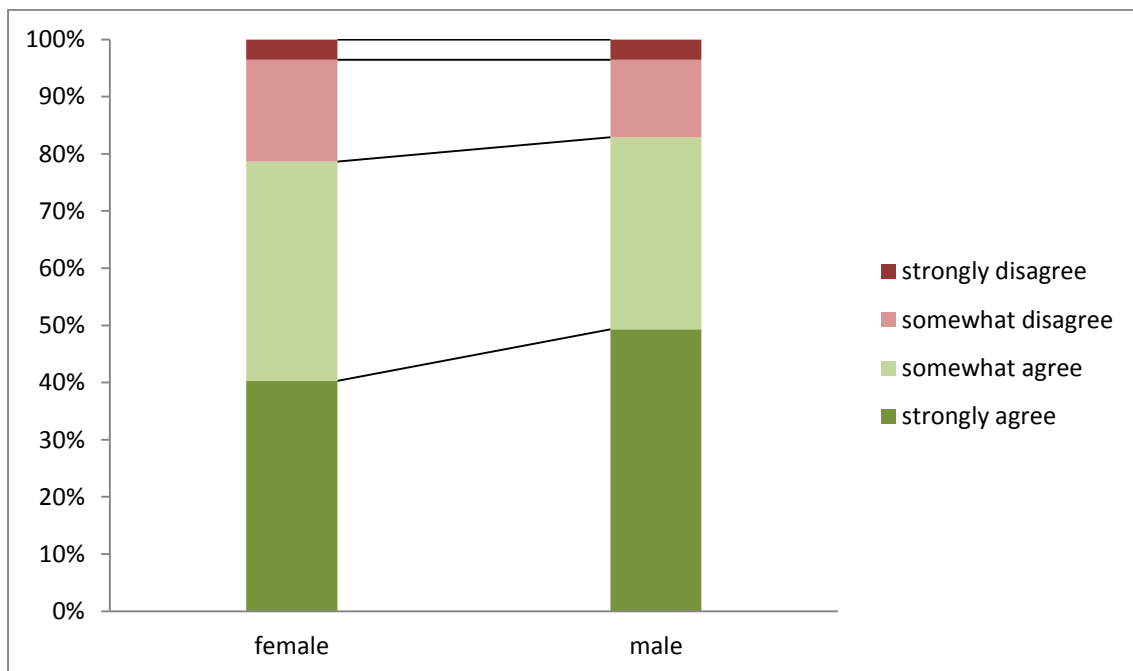


Figure 63: Education level distribution for the statement 'I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible'

$\chi^2=5.212$, $df=3$, $p=0.157$

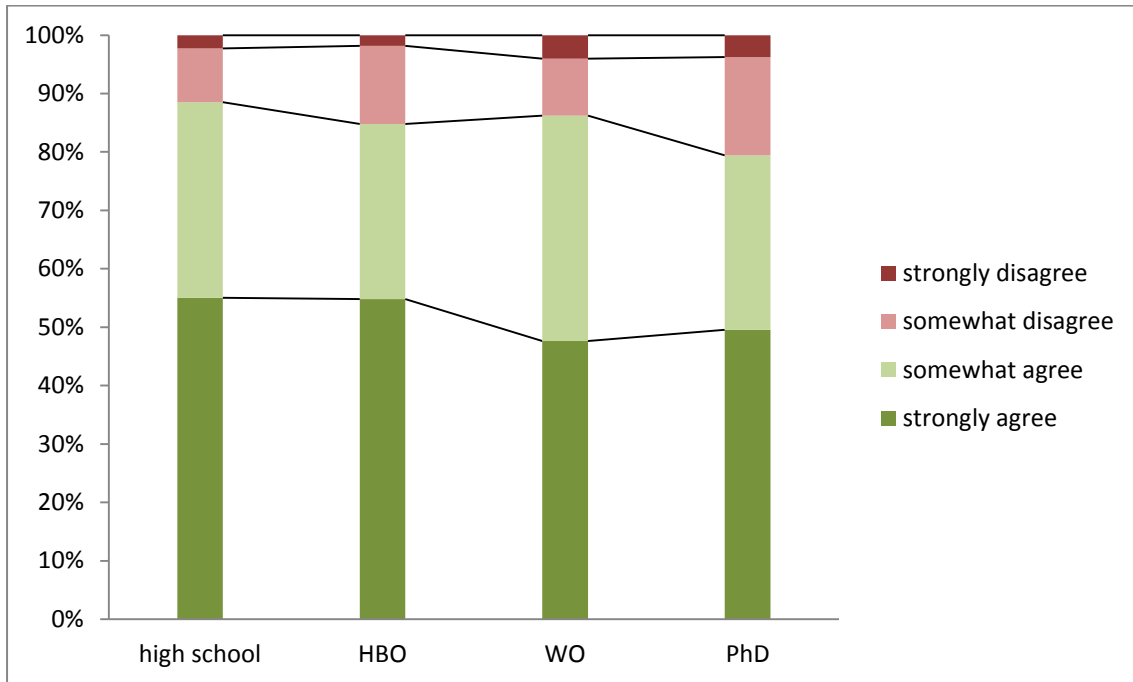


Figure 64: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible'

$\chi^2=49.663$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

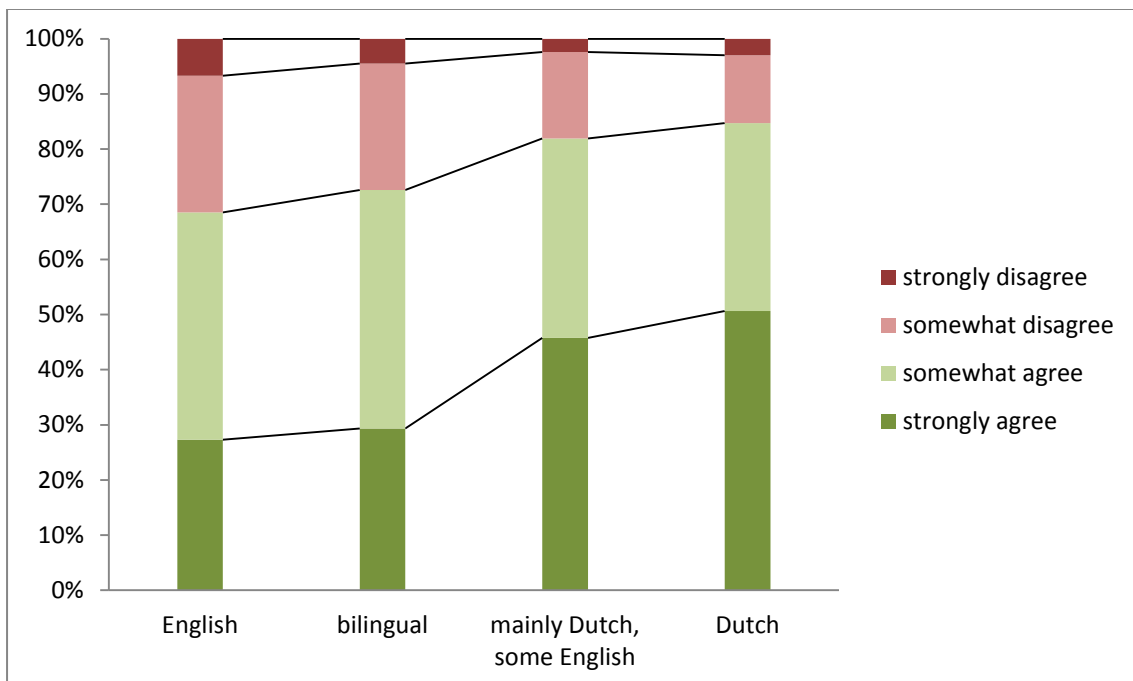


Figure 65: Occupation distribution for the statement 'I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible'

$\chi^2=76.928$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

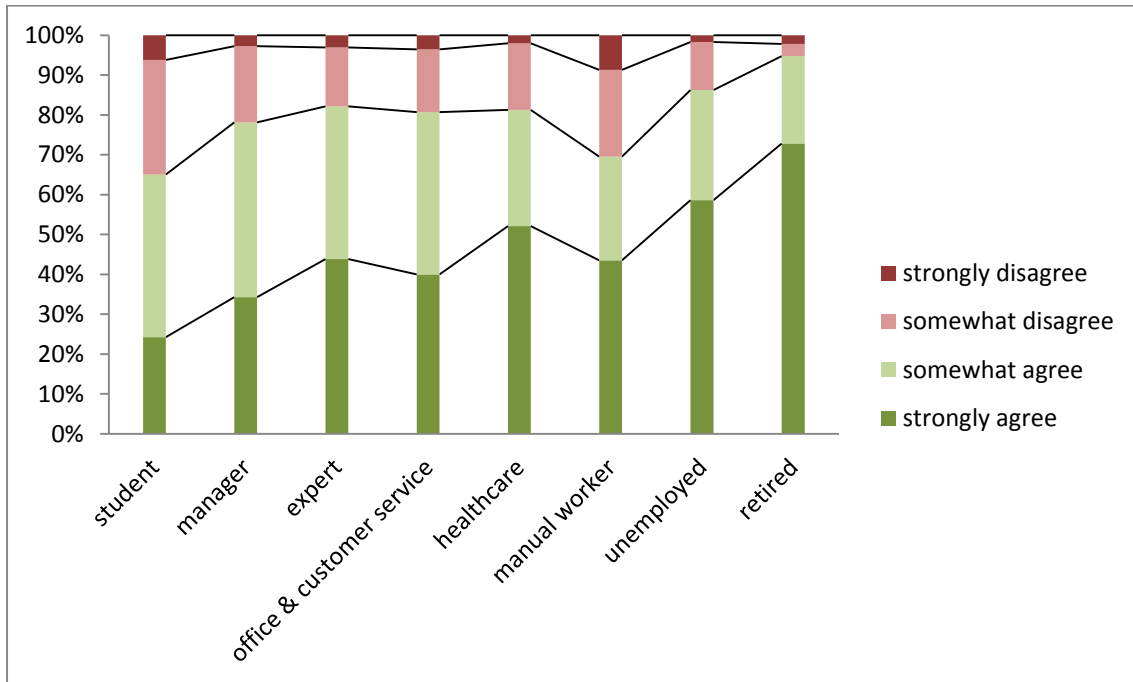


Figure 66: Residential distribution for the statement 'I prefer using Dutch in most situations whenever possible'

$\chi^2=12.302$, $df=2$, $p=0.002$

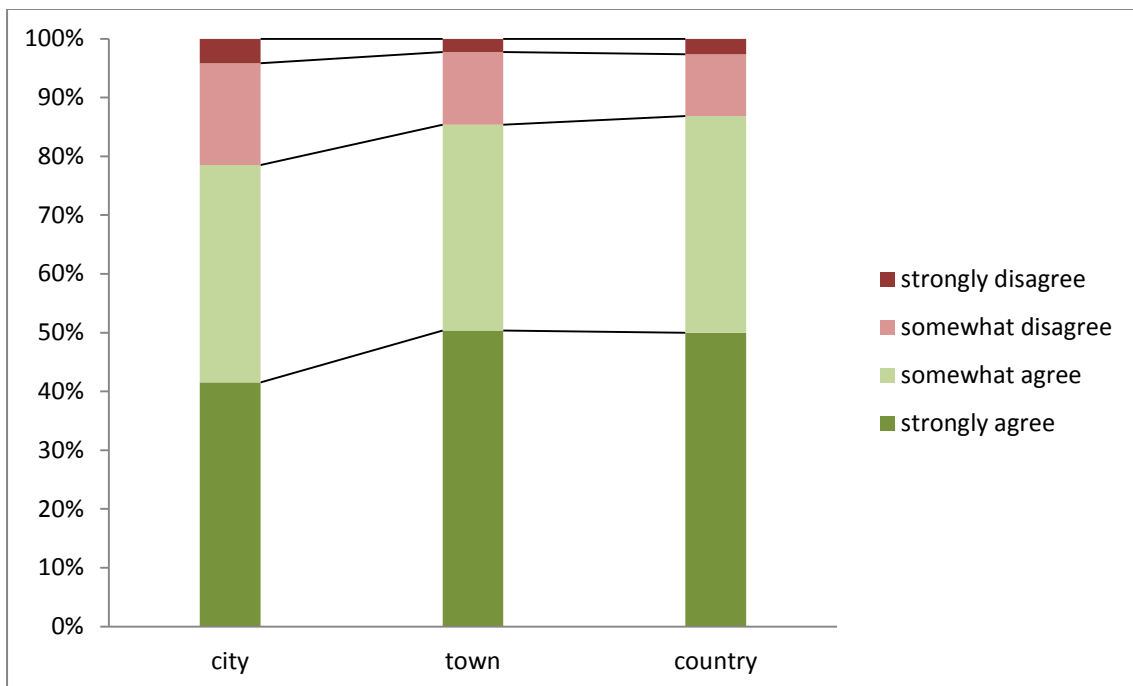


Figure 67: Age distribution for the statement 'When I use English, it is most often with native speakers or foreigners, not with Dutch people'

$\chi^2=89.687$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

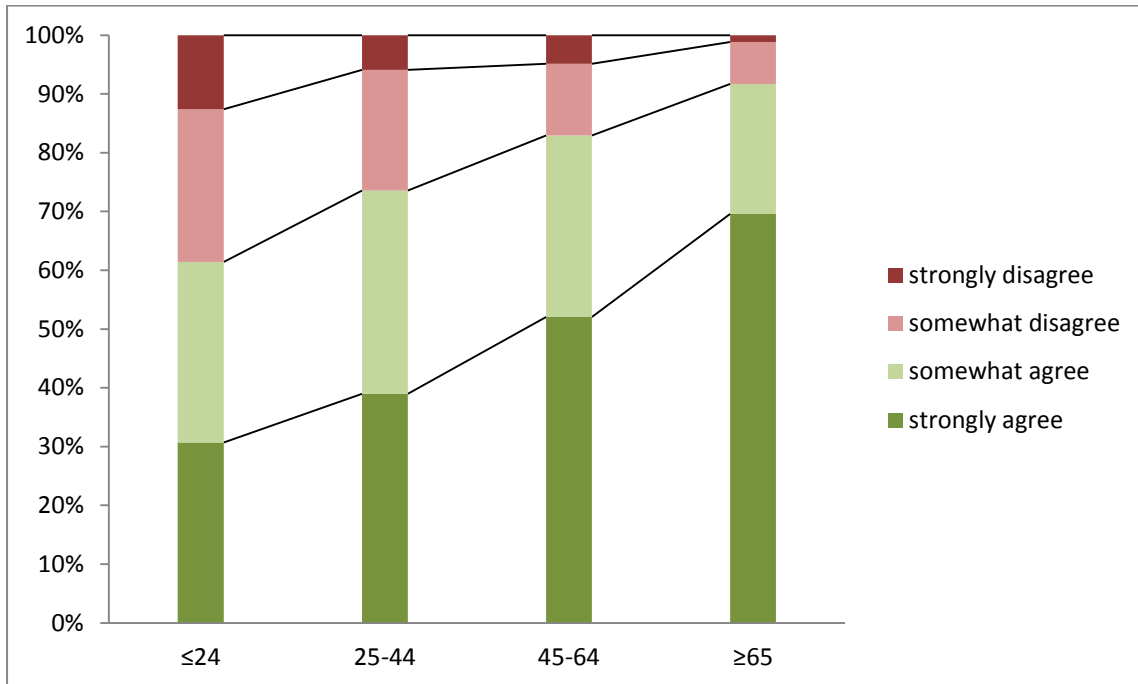


Figure 68: Sex distribution for the statement 'When I use English, it is most often with native speakers or foreigners, not with Dutch people'

$\chi^2=20.860$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$

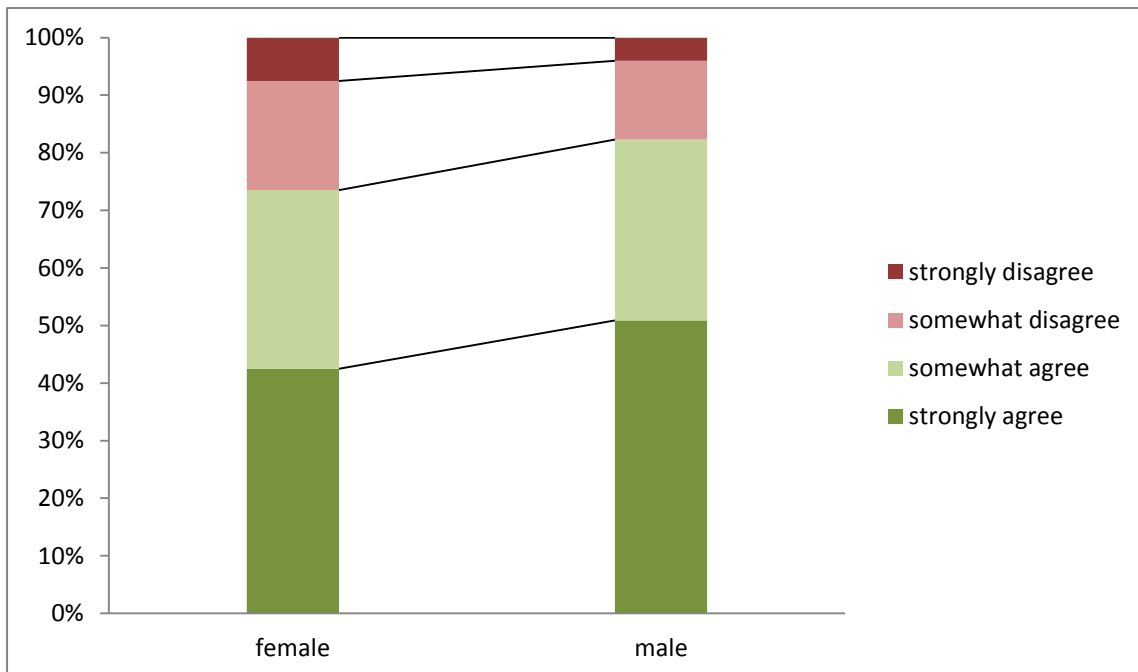


Figure 69: Education level distribution for the statement 'When I use English, it is most often with native speakers or foreigners, not with Dutch people'

$\chi^2=1.558$, $df=3$, $p=0.669$

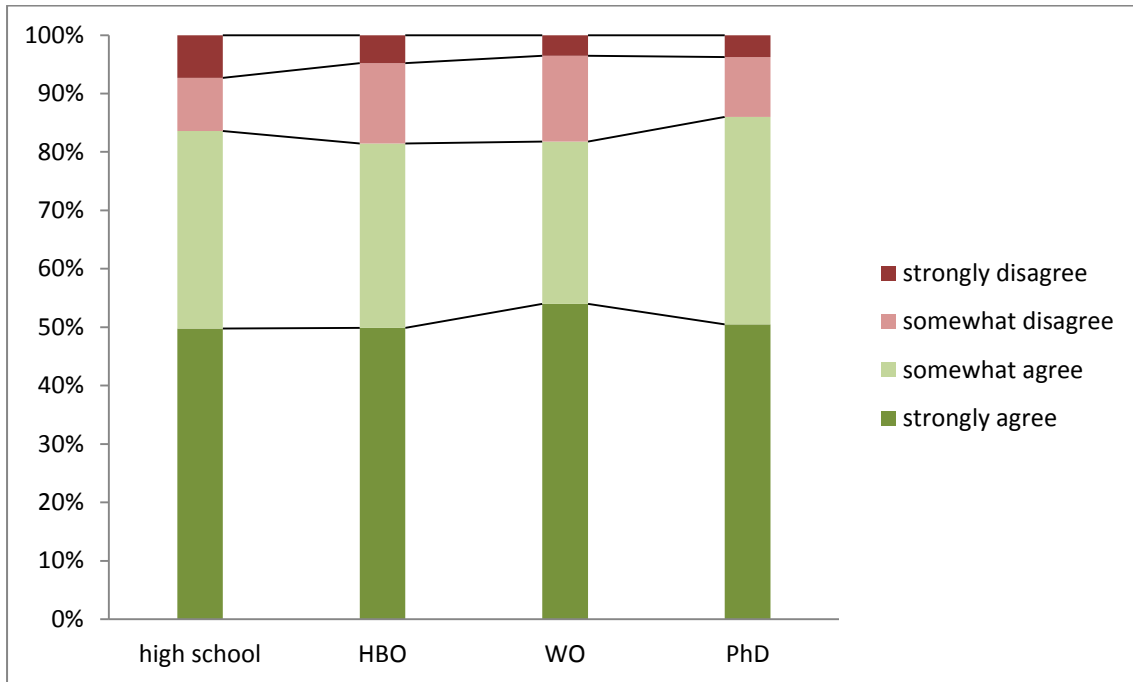


Figure 70: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'When I use English, it is most often with native speakers or foreigners, not with Dutch people'

$\chi^2=61.81$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

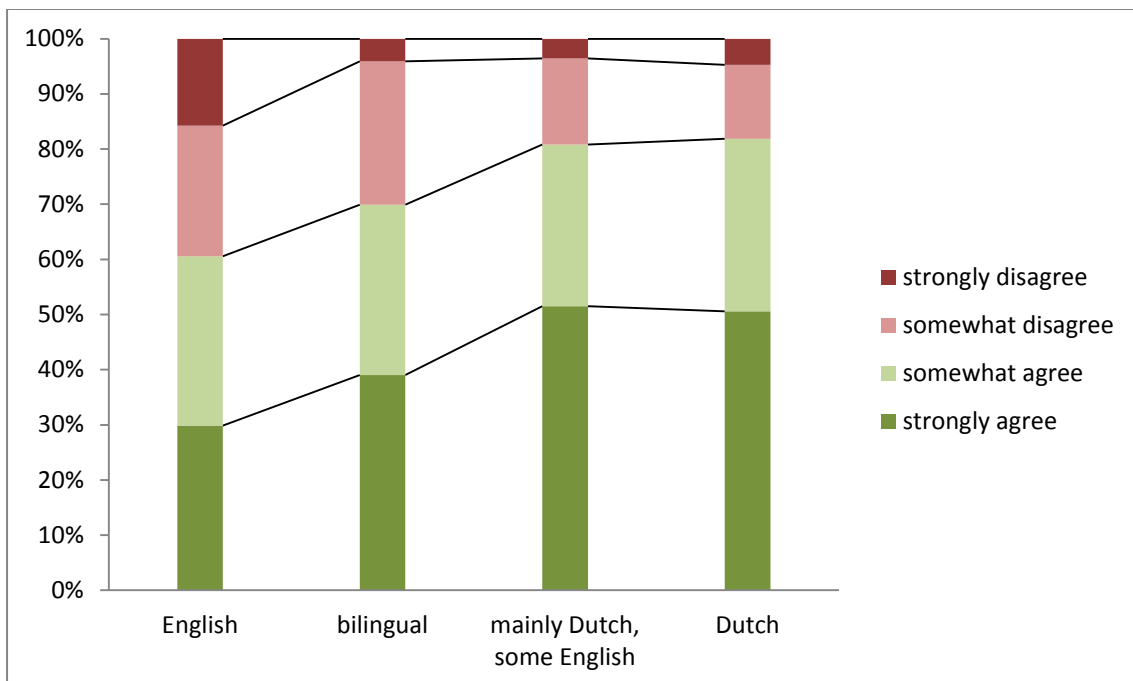


Figure 71: Occupation distribution for the statement 'When I use English, it is most often with native speakers or foreigners, not with Dutch people'

$\chi^2=73.341$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

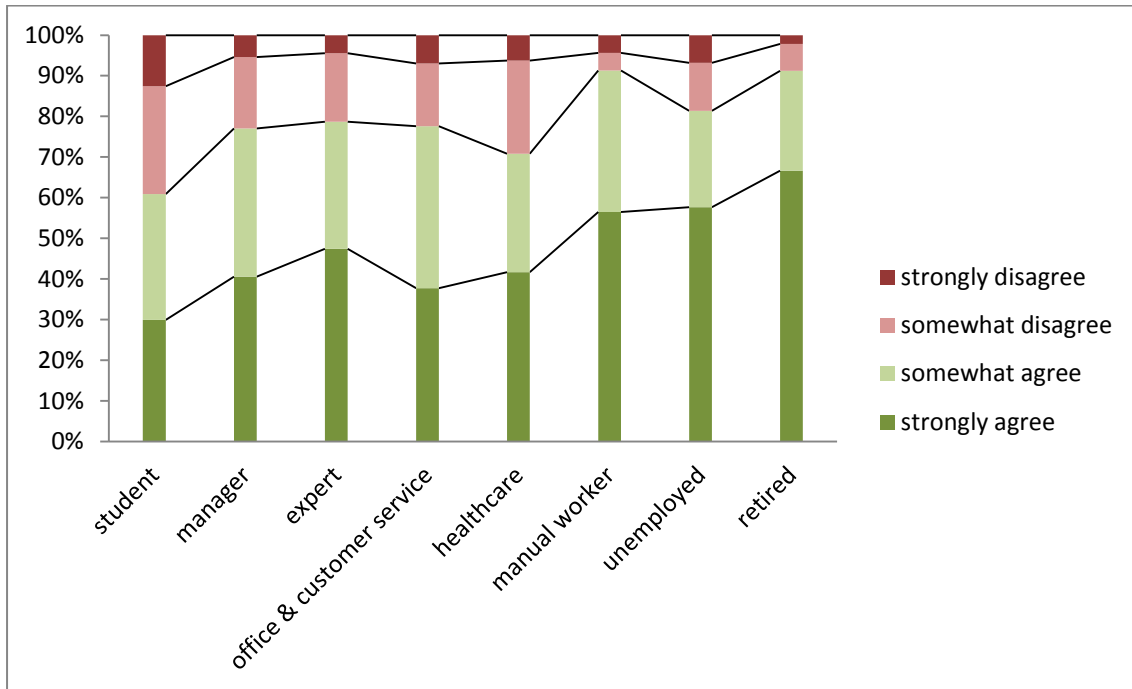


Figure 72: Residential distribution for the statement 'When I use English, it is most often with native speakers or foreigners, not with Dutch people'

$\chi^2=2.381$, $df=2$, $p=0.304$

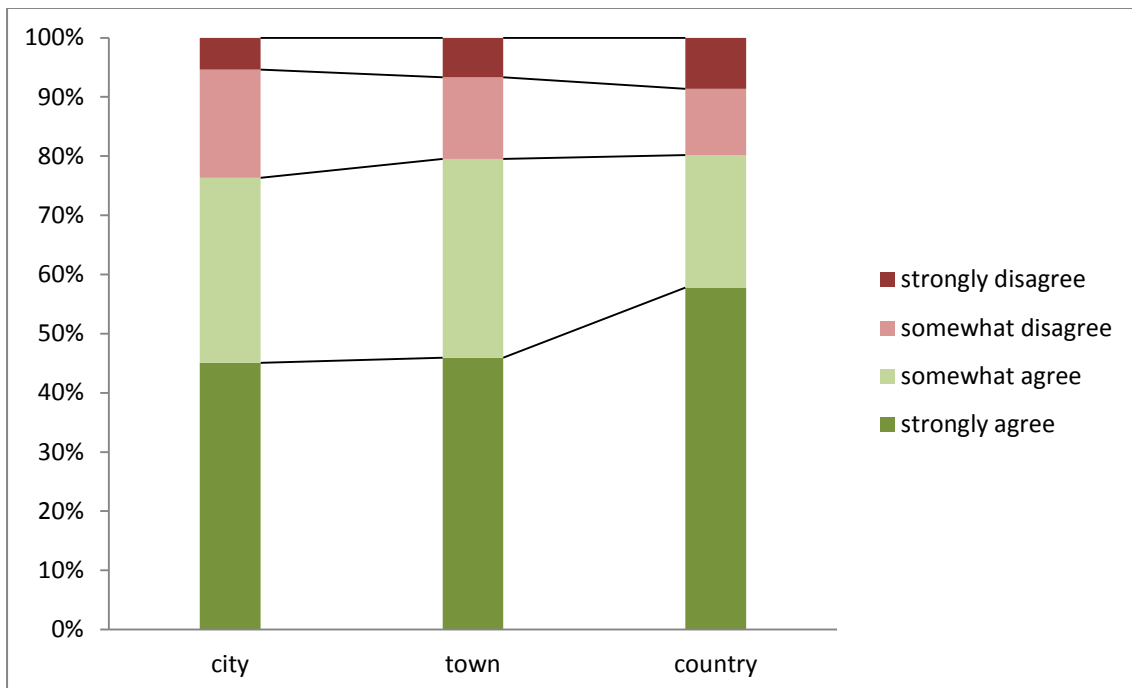


Figure 73: Age distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am quieter'

$\chi^2=10.036$, $df=3$, $p=0.018$

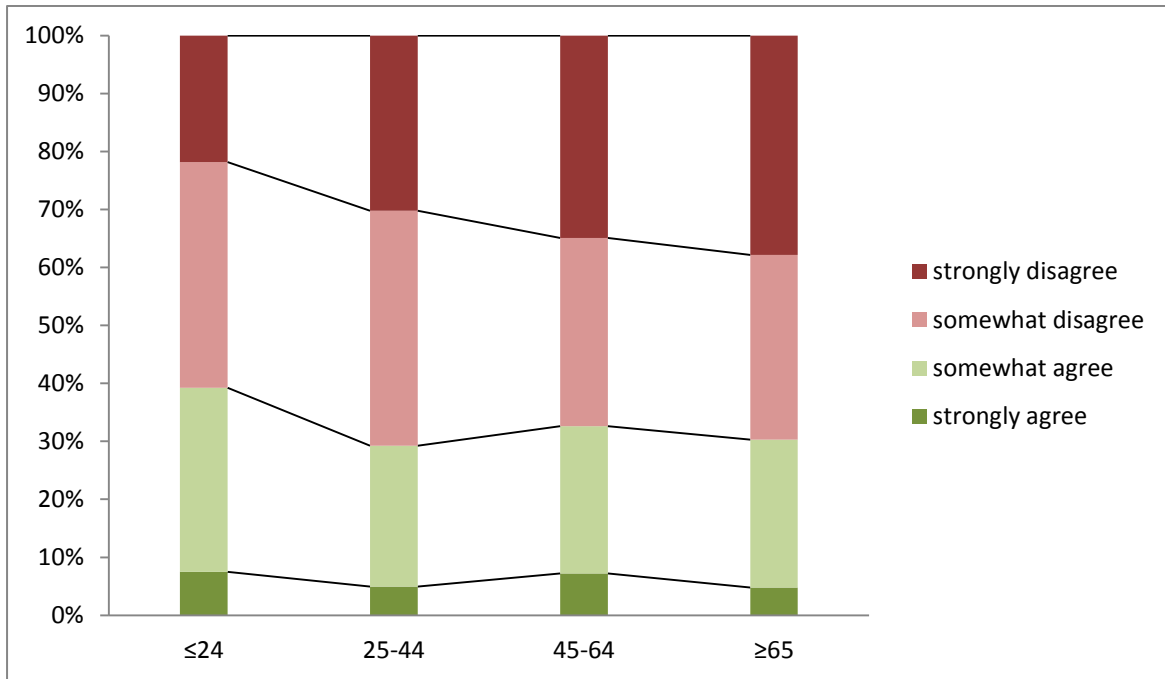


Figure 74: Sex distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am quieter'

$\chi^2=12.806$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$

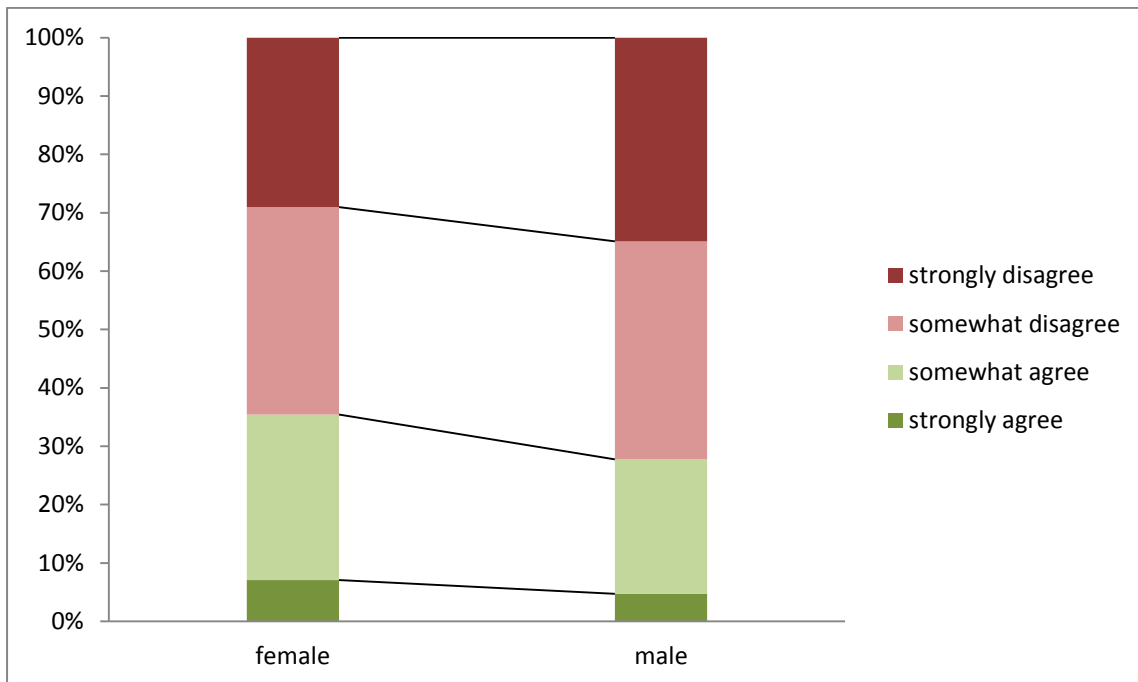


Figure 75: Education level distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am quieter'
 $\chi^2=1.715$, $df=3$, $p=0.634$

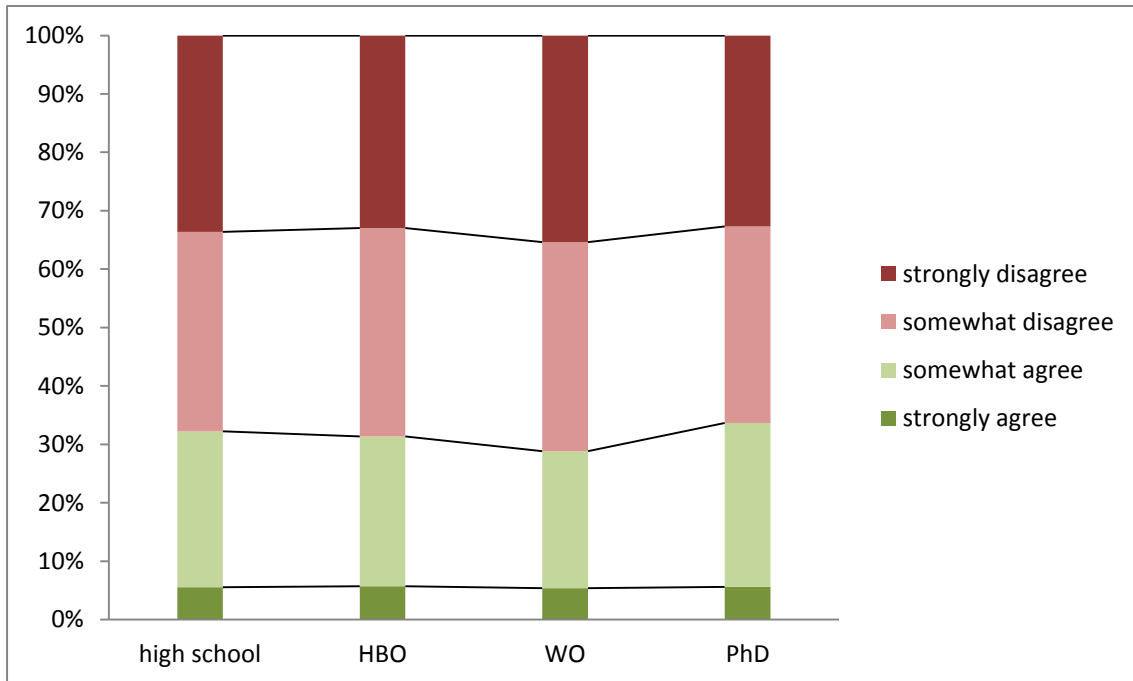


Figure 76: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am quieter'
 $\chi^2=19.389$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

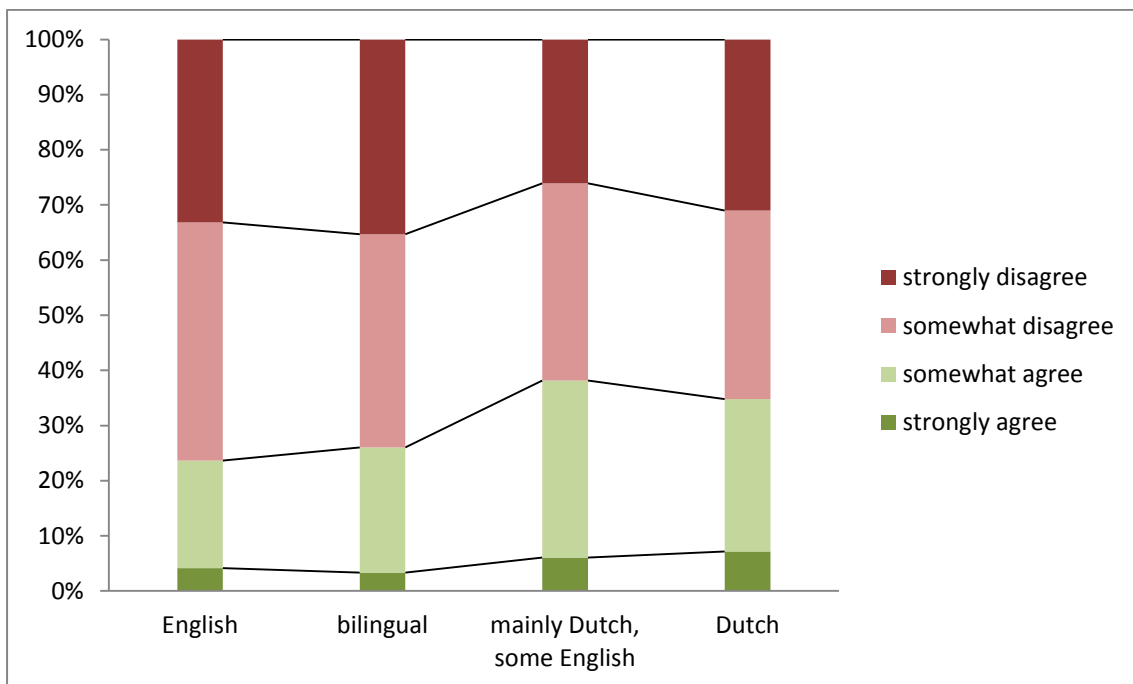


Figure 77: Occupation distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am quieter'
 $\chi^2=6.596$, $df=6$, $p=0.360$

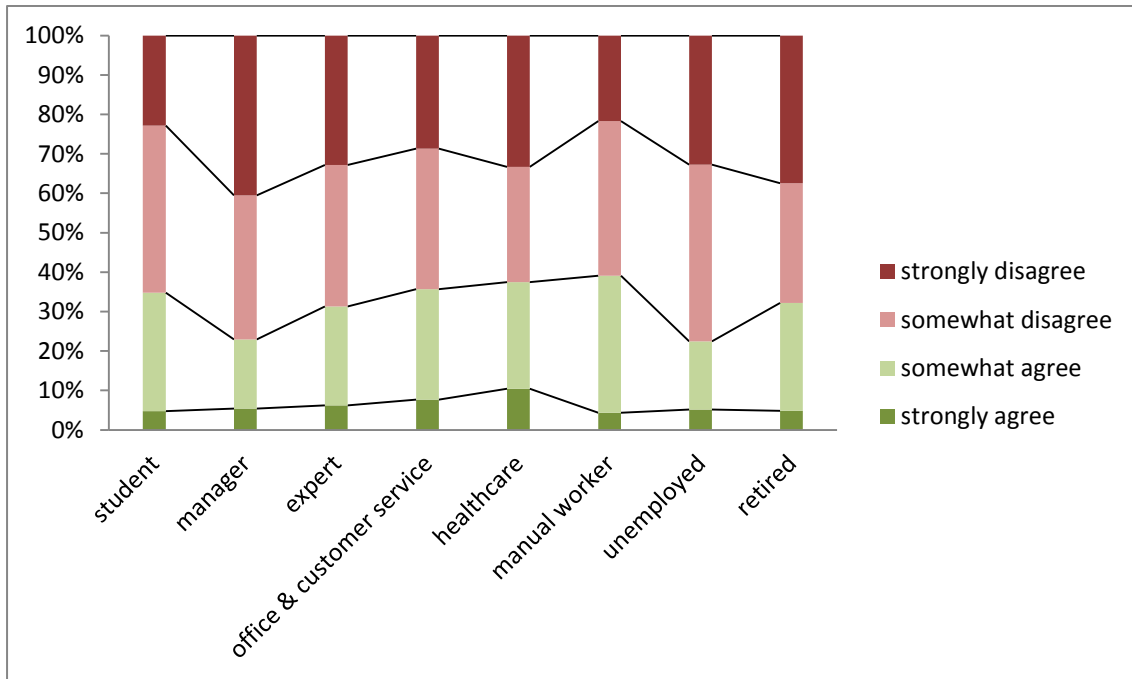


Figure 78: Residential distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am quieter'
 $\chi^2=0.917$, $df=2$, $p=0.632$

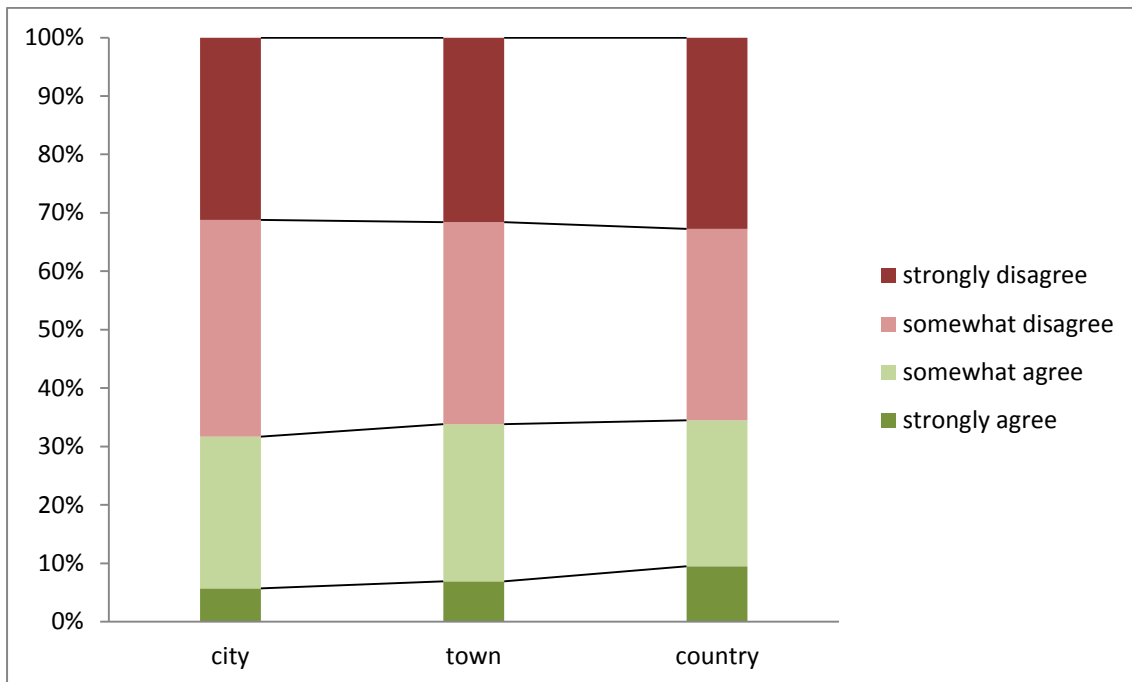


Figure 79: Age distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am more talkative'
 $\chi^2=24.838$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

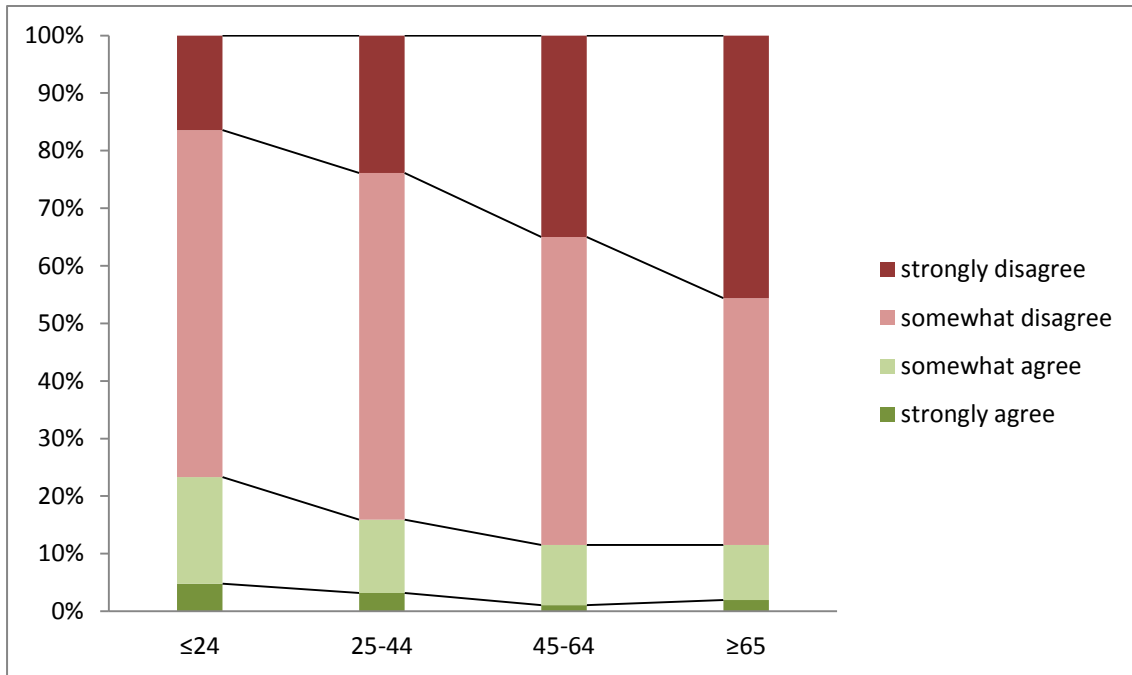


Figure 80: Sex distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am more talkative'
 $\chi^2=0.802$, $df=1$, $p=0.371$

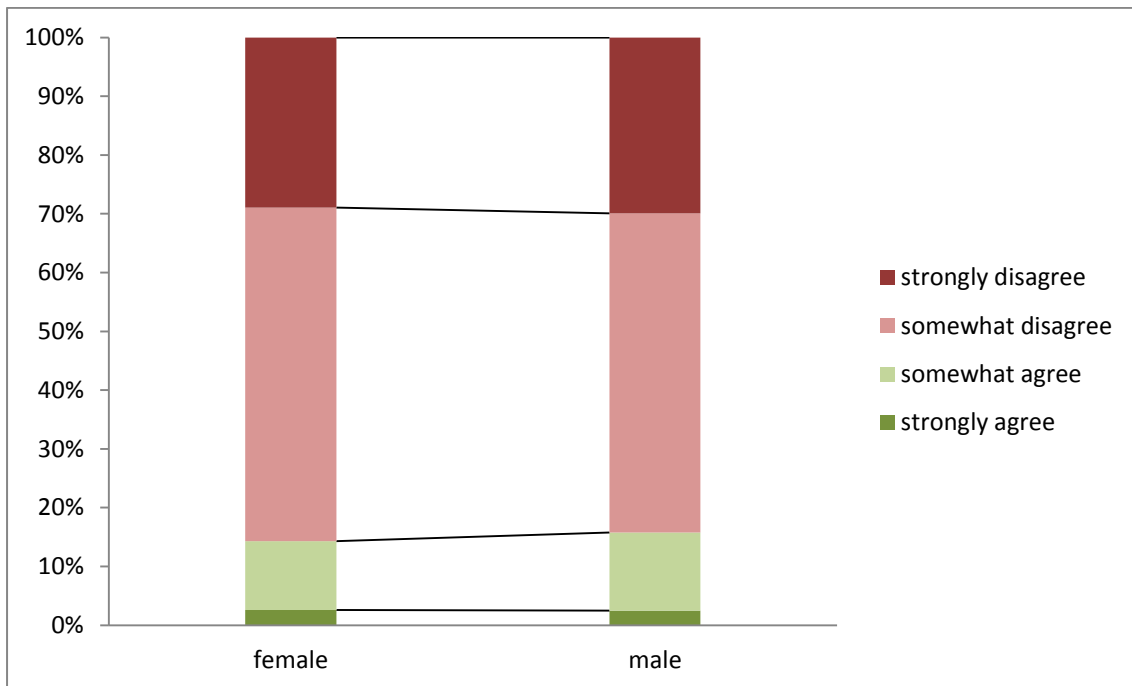


Figure 81: Education level distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am more talkative'
 $\chi^2=4.610$, $df=3$, $p=0.203$

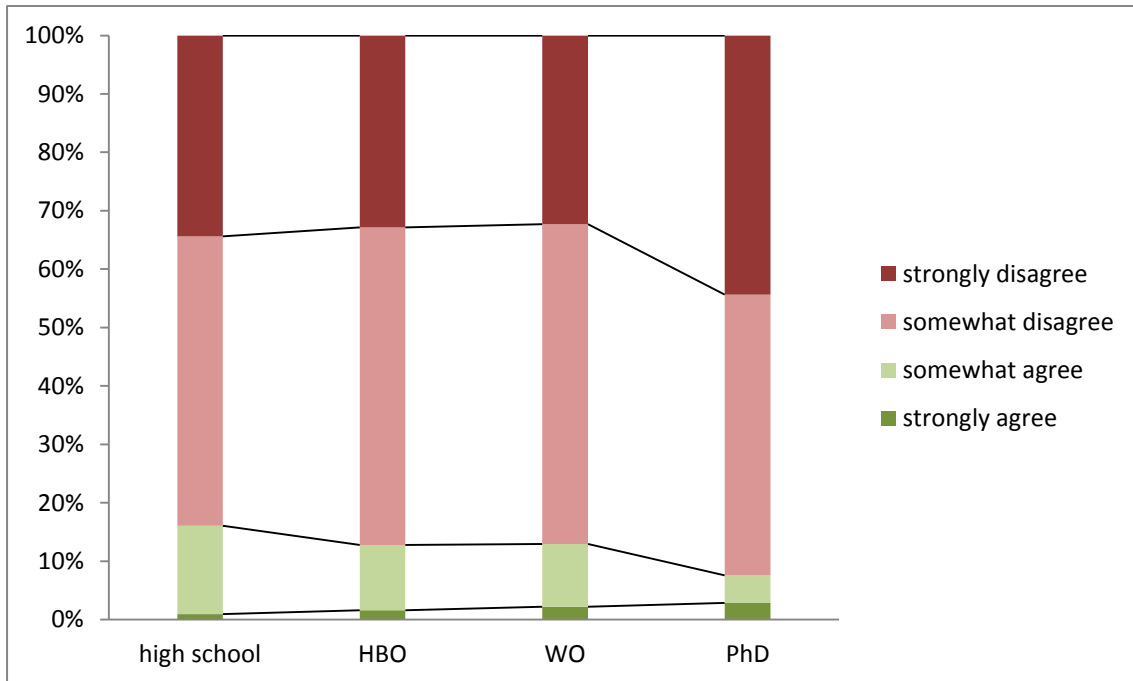


Figure 82: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am more talkative'
 $\chi^2=34.688$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

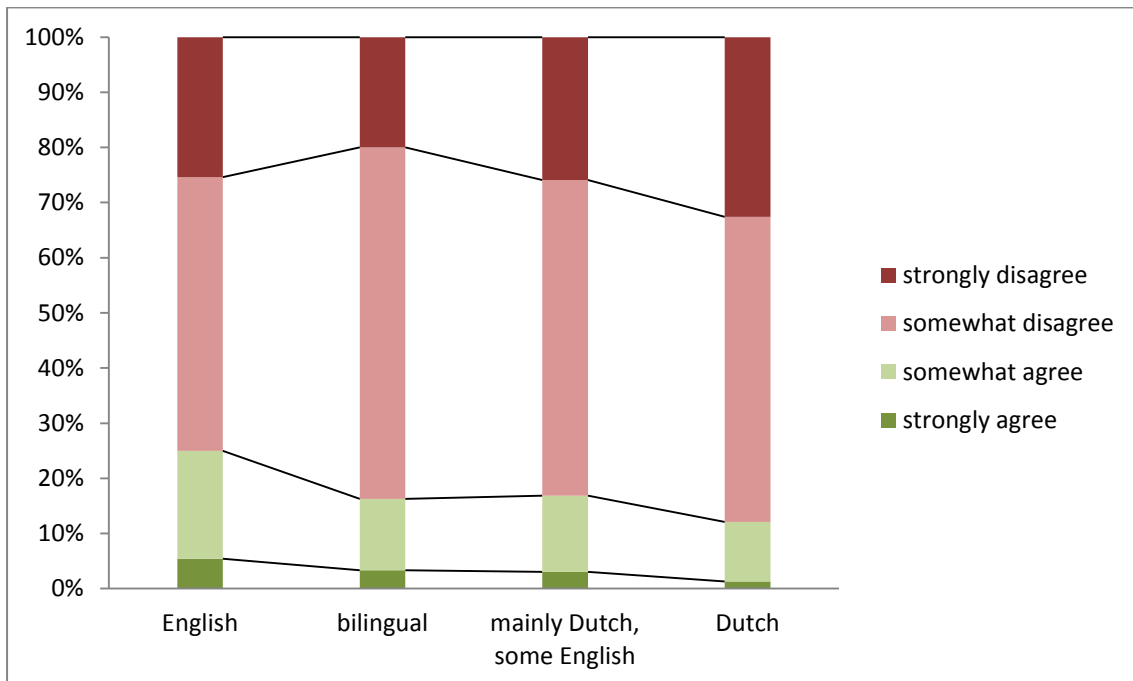


Figure 83: Occupation distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am more talkative'
 $\chi^2=19.713$, $df=6$, $p=0.003$

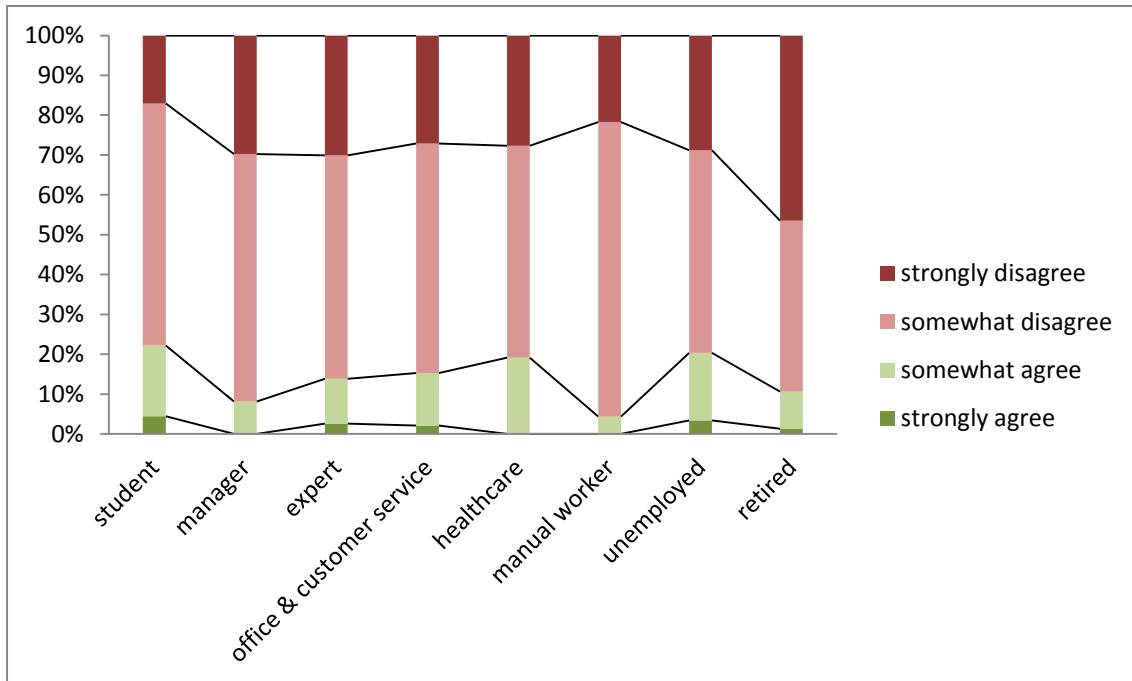


Figure 84: Residential distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am more talkative'
 $\chi^2=1.546$, $df=2$, $p=0.462$

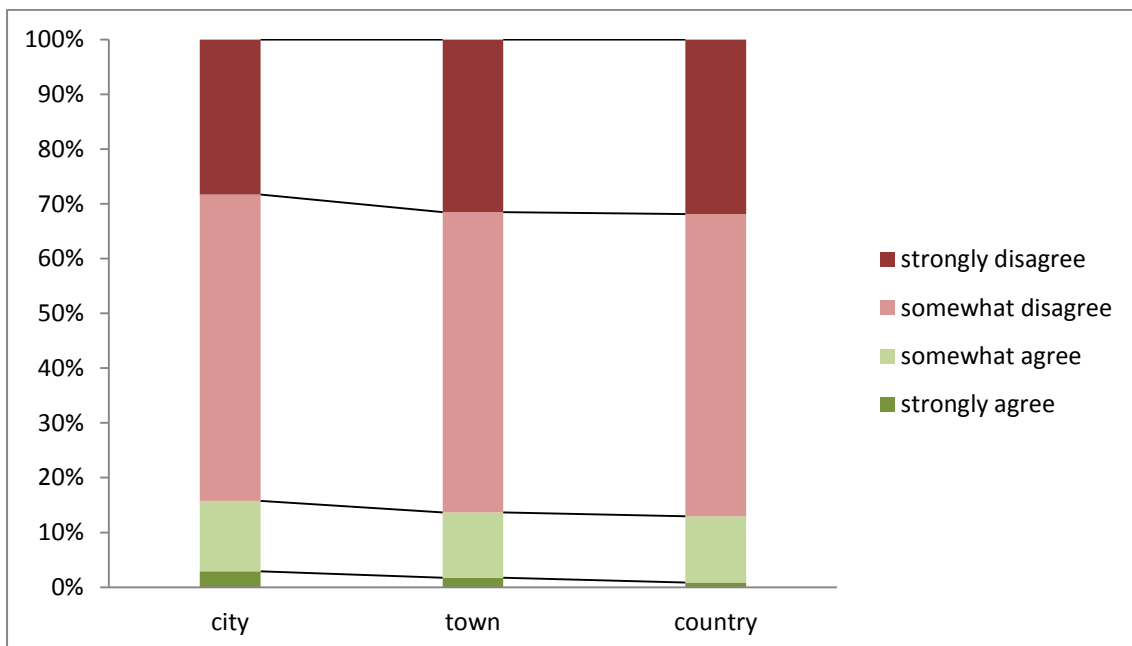


Figure 85: Age distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel less capable'
 $\chi^2=1.412$, $df=3$, $p=0.703$

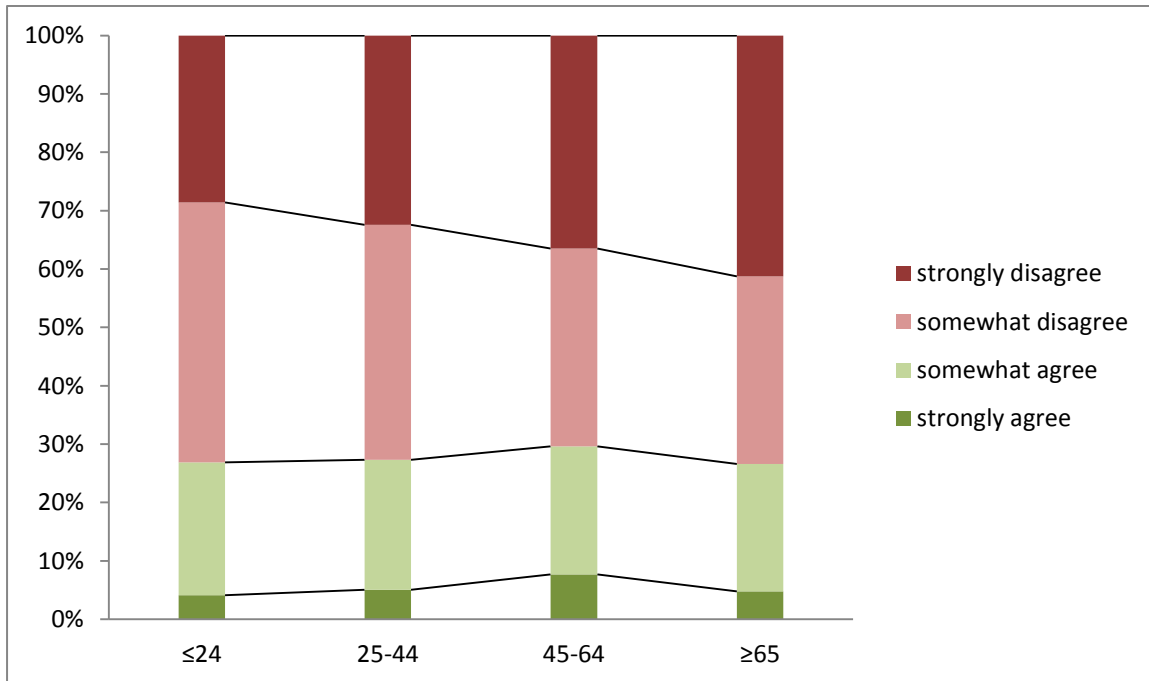


Figure 86: Sex distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel less capable'
 $\chi^2=6.118$, $df=1$, $p=0.013$

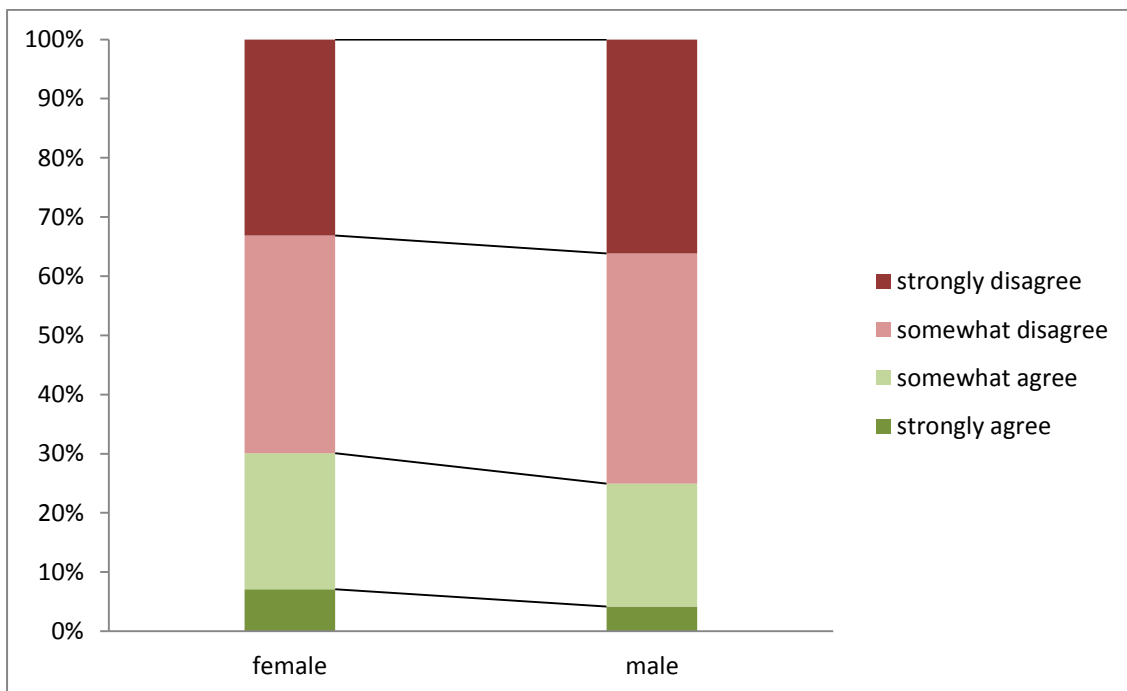


Figure 87: Education level distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel less capable'
 $\chi^2=6.5890$, $df=3$, $p=0.086$

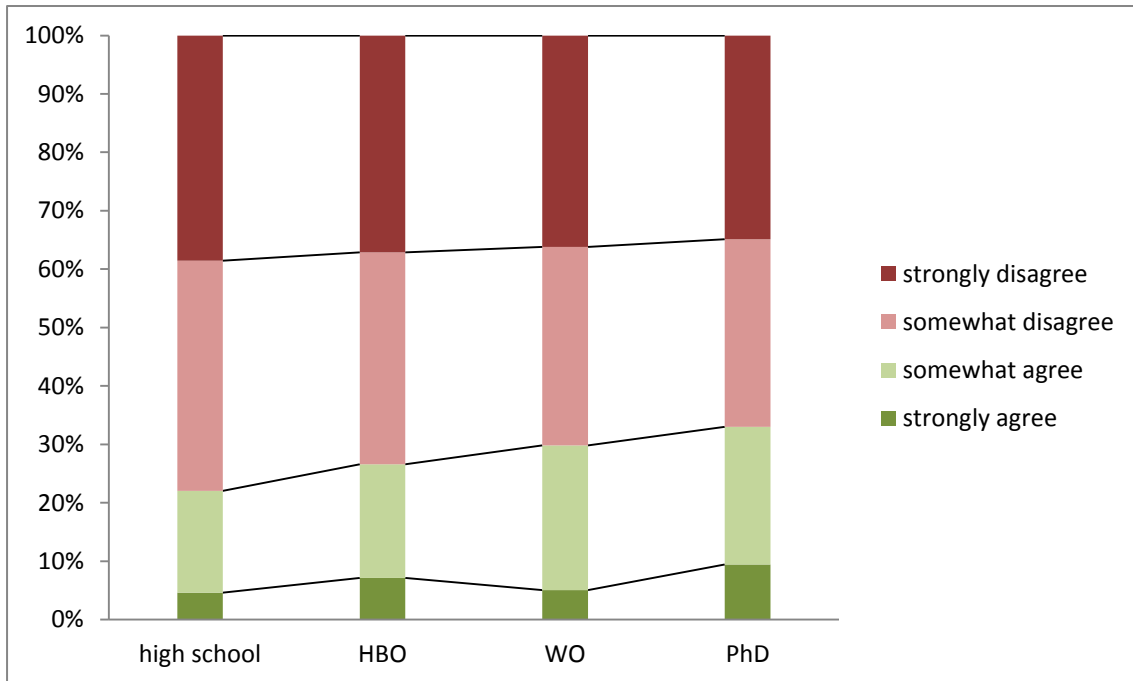


Figure 88: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel less capable'
 $\chi^2=36.148$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

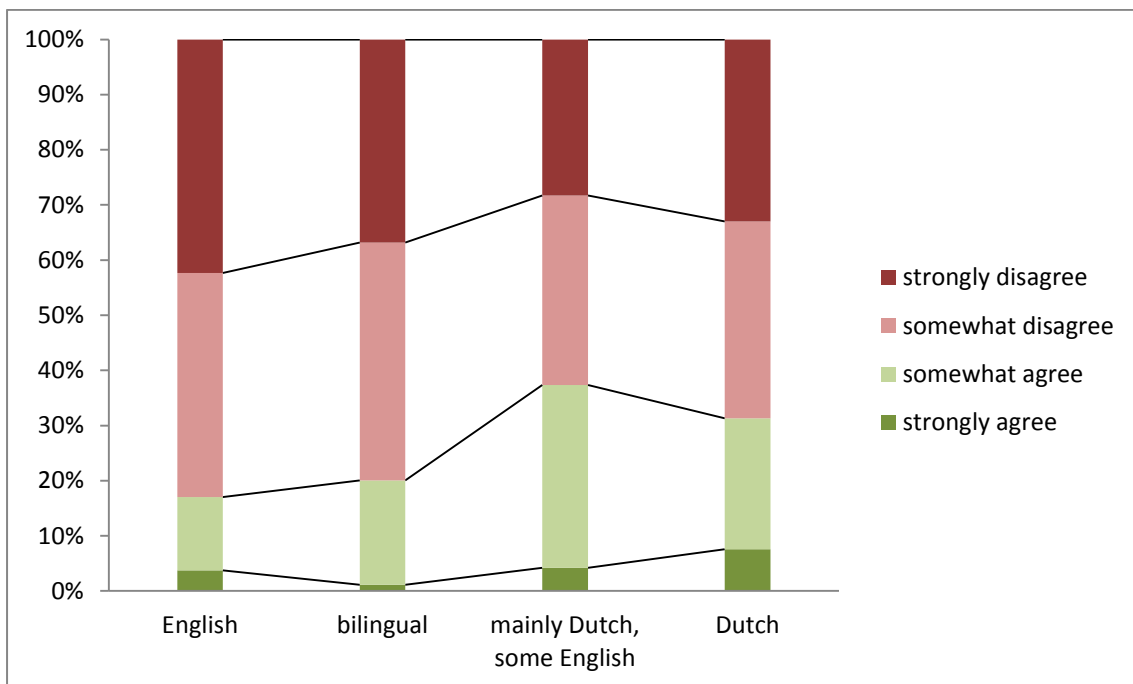


Figure 89: Occupation distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel less capable'

$\chi^2=6.575$, $df=6$, $p=0.362$

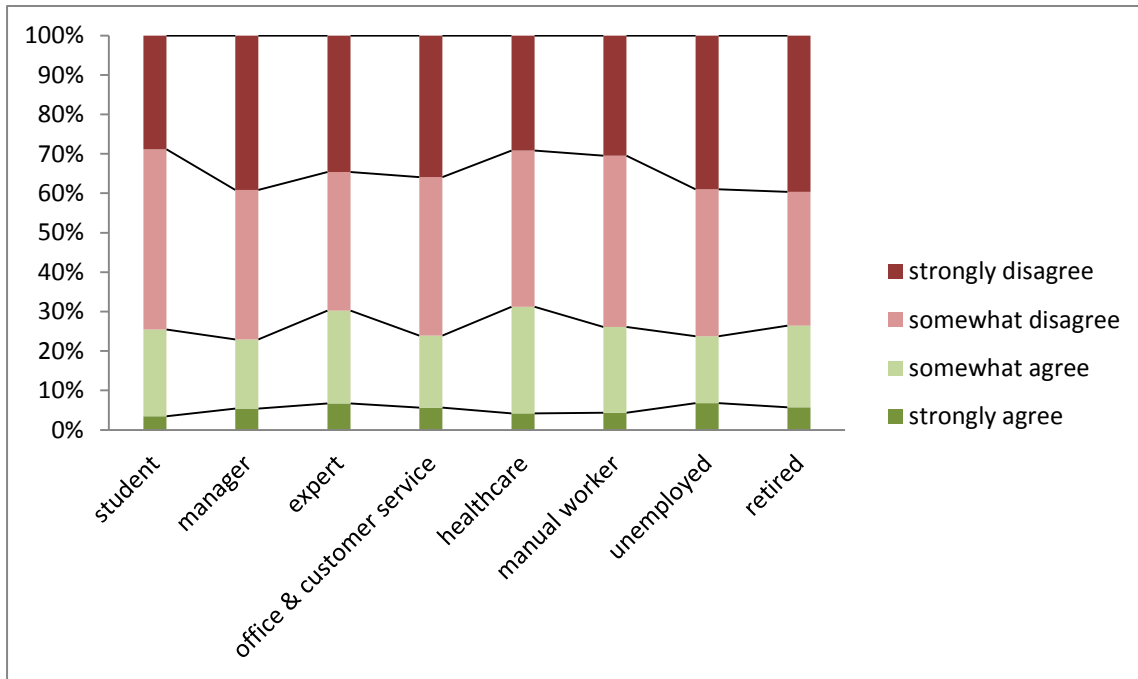


Figure 90: Residential distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel less capable'

$\chi^2=1.487$, $df=2$, $p=0.476$

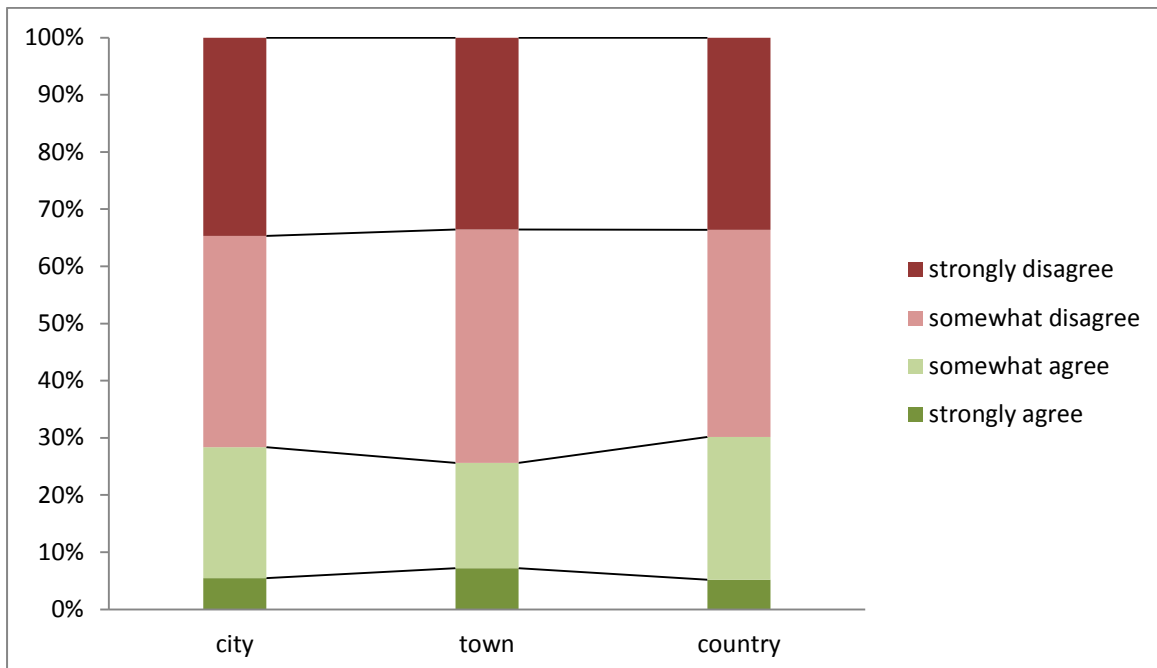


Figure 91: Age distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel smarter'
 $\chi^2=125.711$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

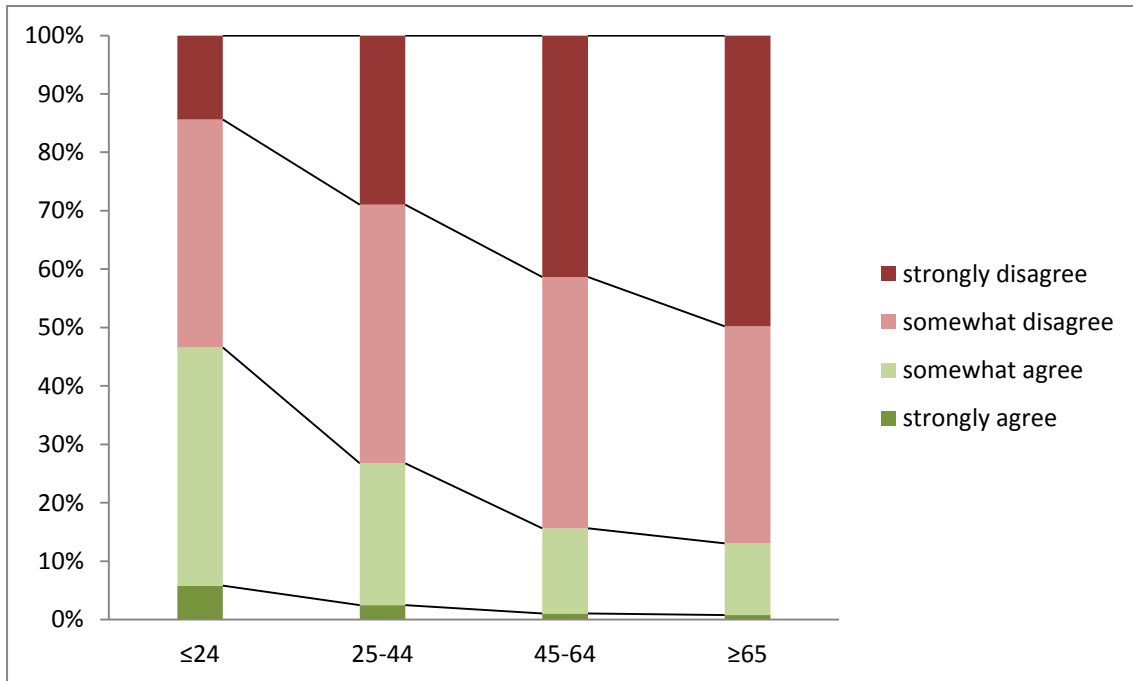


Figure 92: Sex distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel smarter'
 $\chi^2=4.599$, $df=1$, $p=0.032$

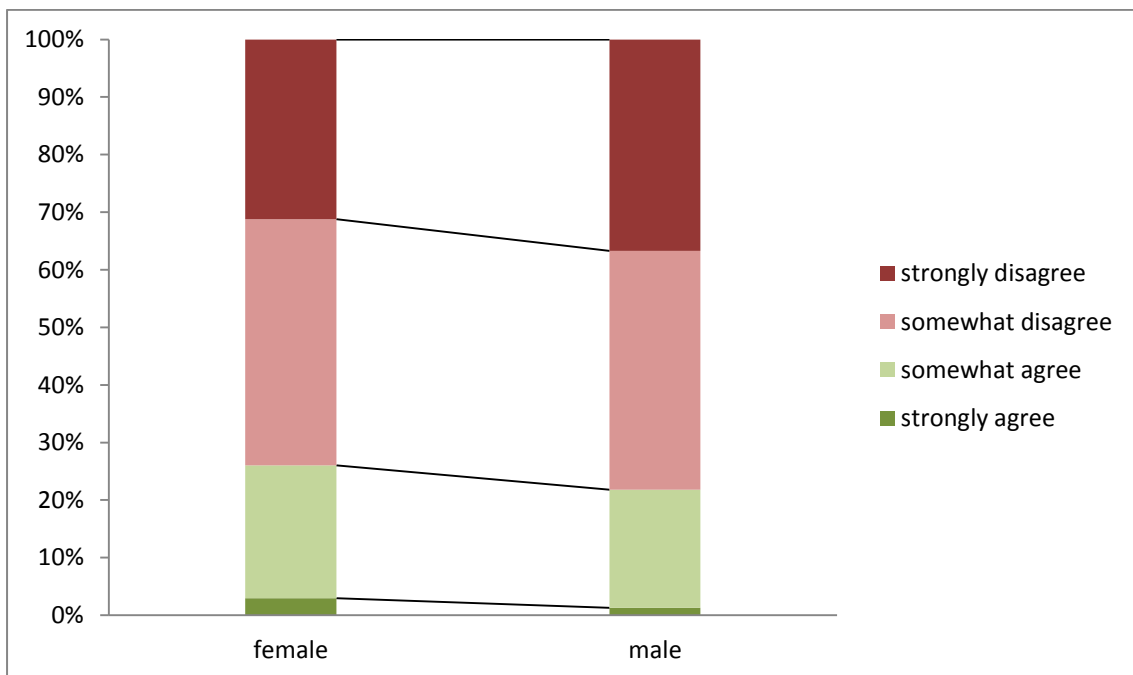


Figure 93: Education level distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel smarter'
 $\chi^2=3.629$, $df=3$, $p=0.304$

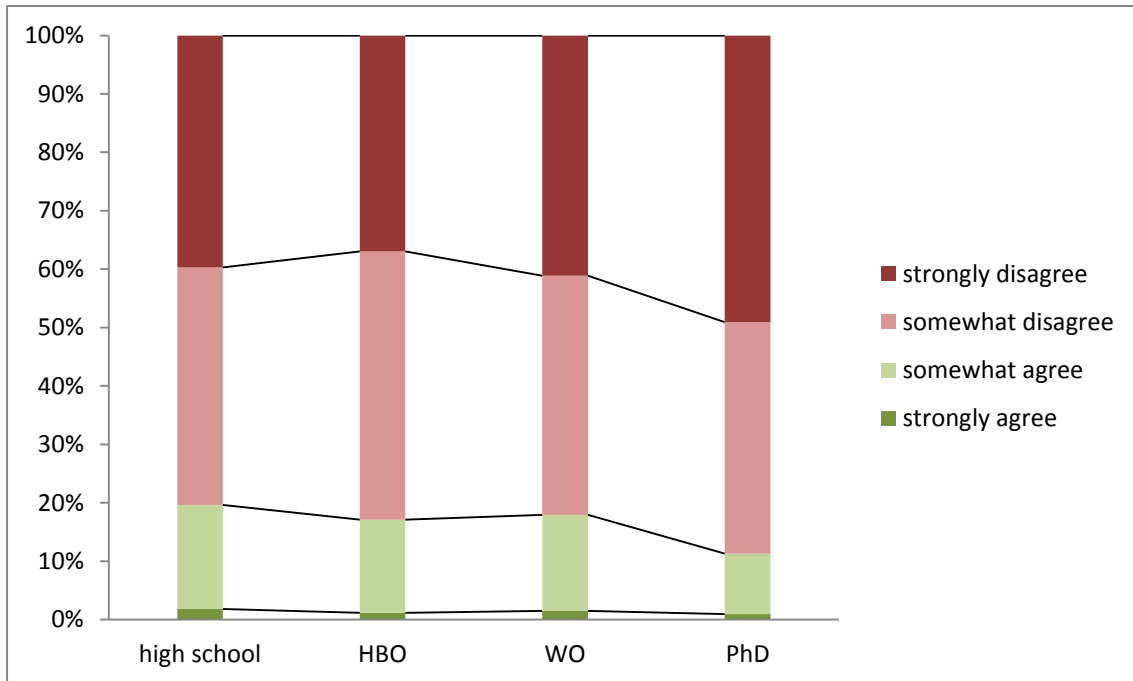


Figure 94: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel smarter'
 $\chi^2=79.30$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

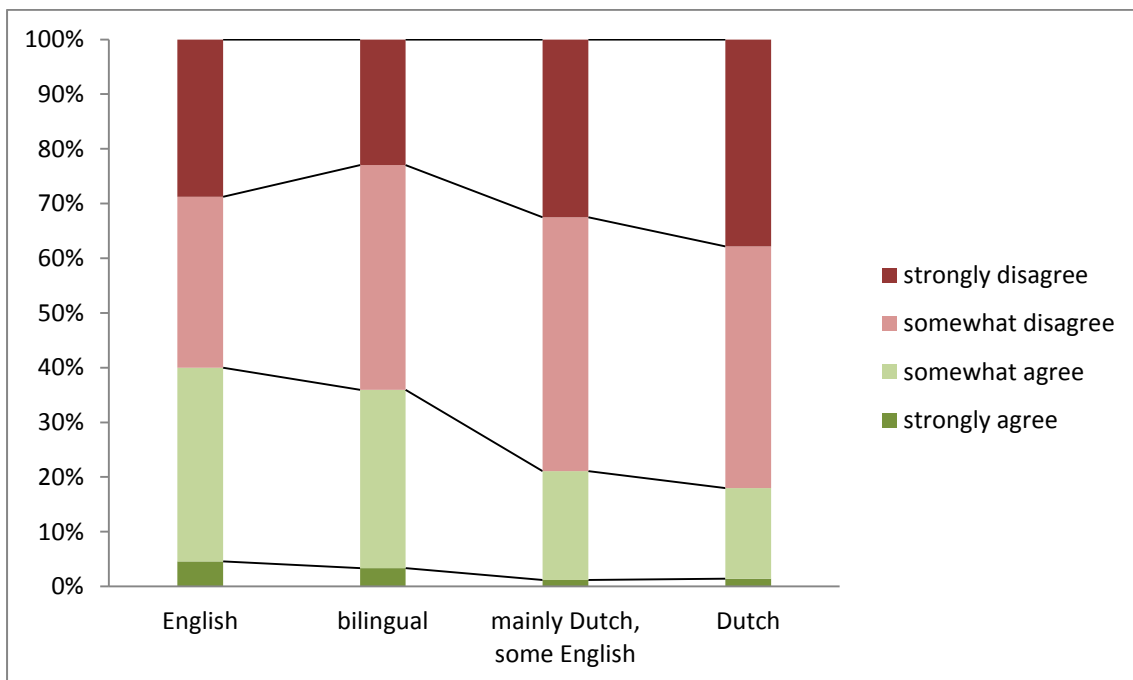


Figure 95: Occupation distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel smarter'

$\chi^2=95.973$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

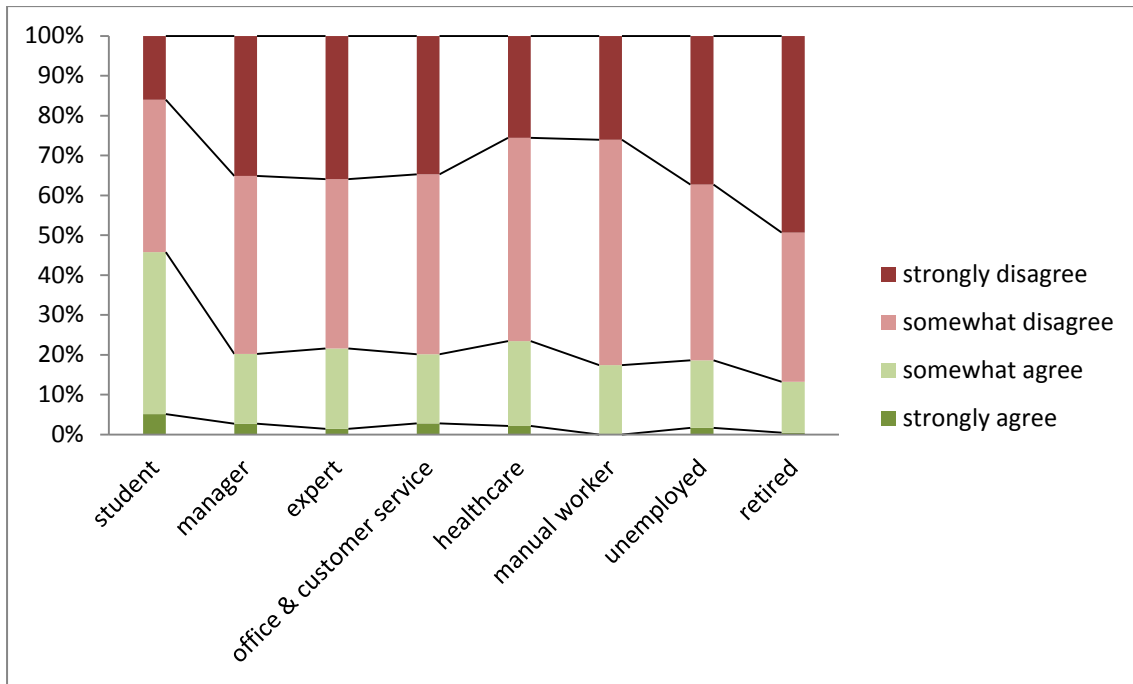


Figure 96: Residential distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel smarter'

$\chi^2=3.640$, $df=2$, $p=0.162$

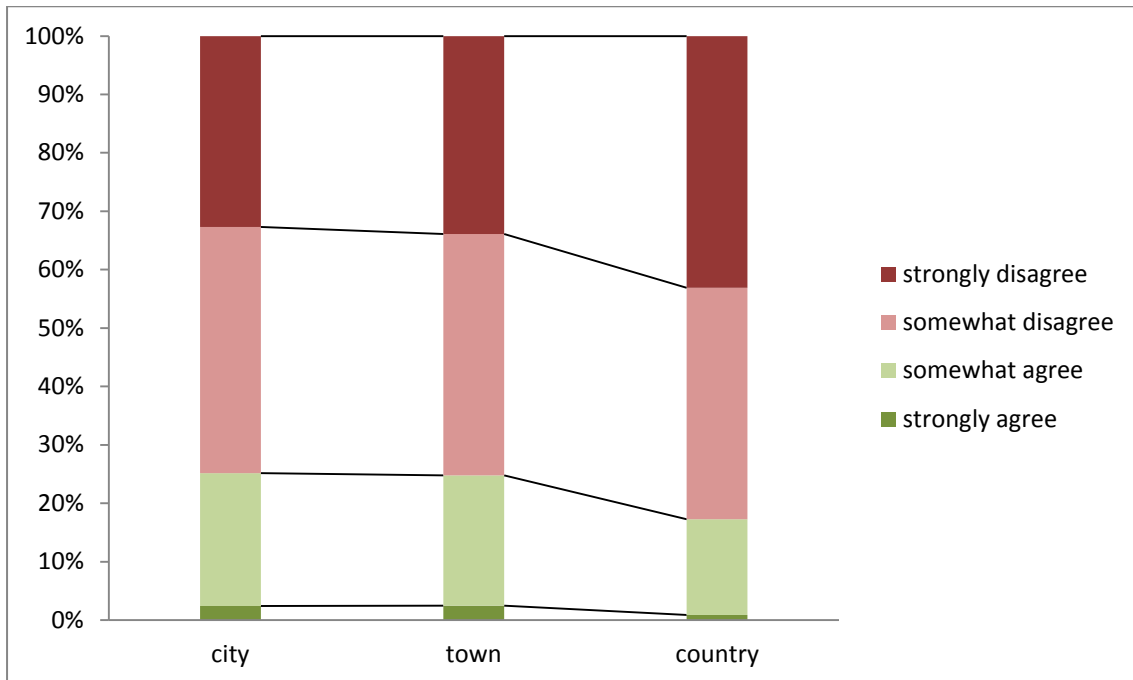


Figure 97: Age distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... use less humour'
 $\chi^2=15.709$, $df=3$, $p=0.001$

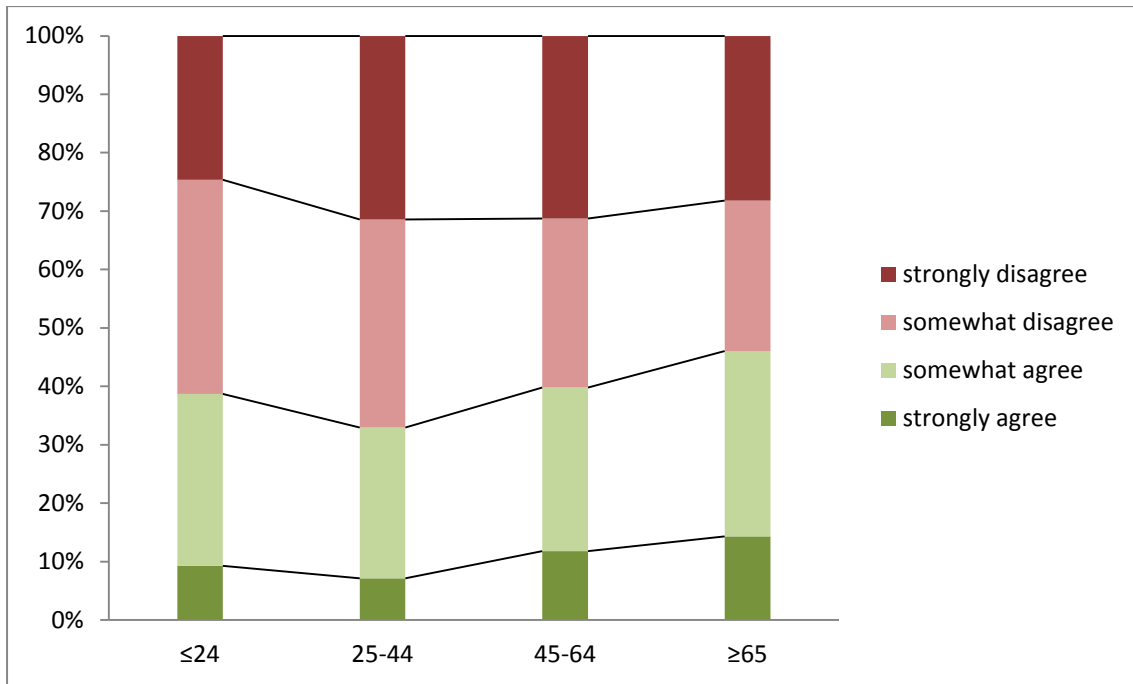


Figure 98: Sex distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... use less humour'
 $\chi^2=5.665$, $df=1$, $p=0.017$

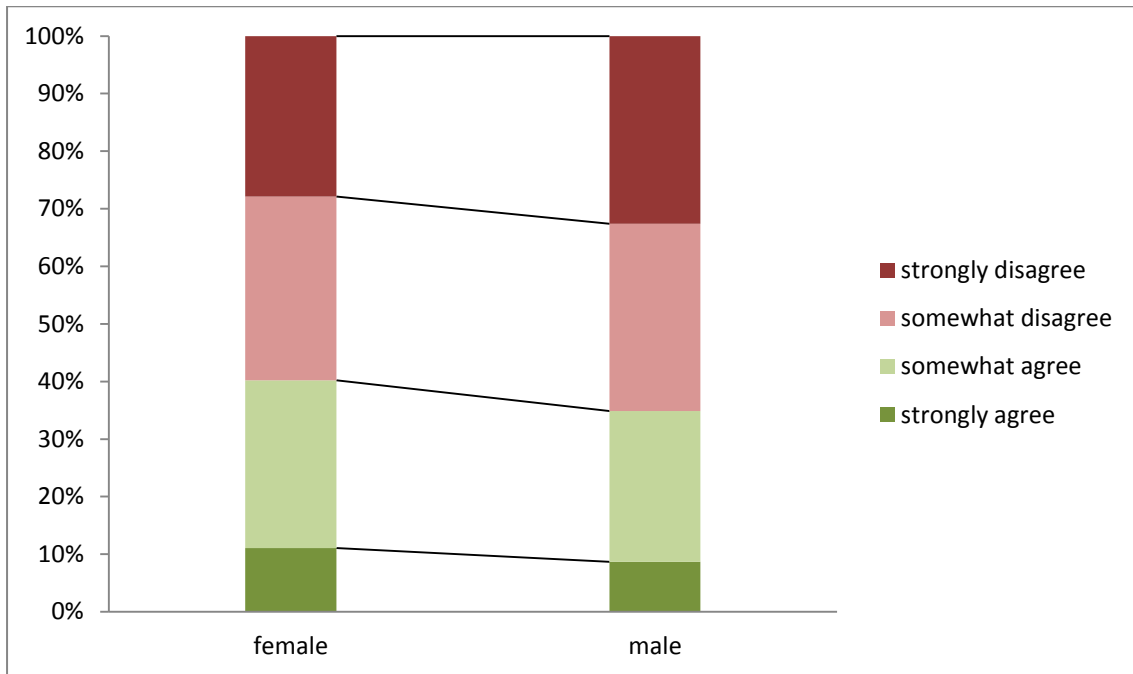


Figure 99: Education level distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... use less humour'
 $\chi^2=8.265$, $df=3$, $p=0.041$

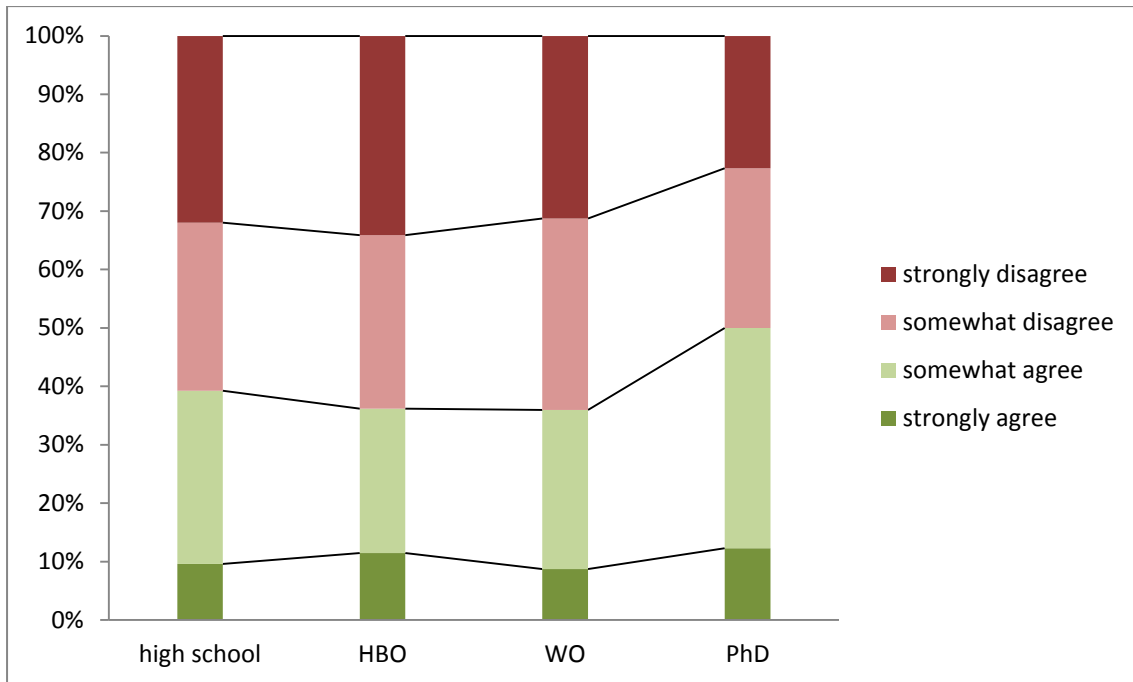


Figure 100: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... use less humour'
 $\chi^2=19.737$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

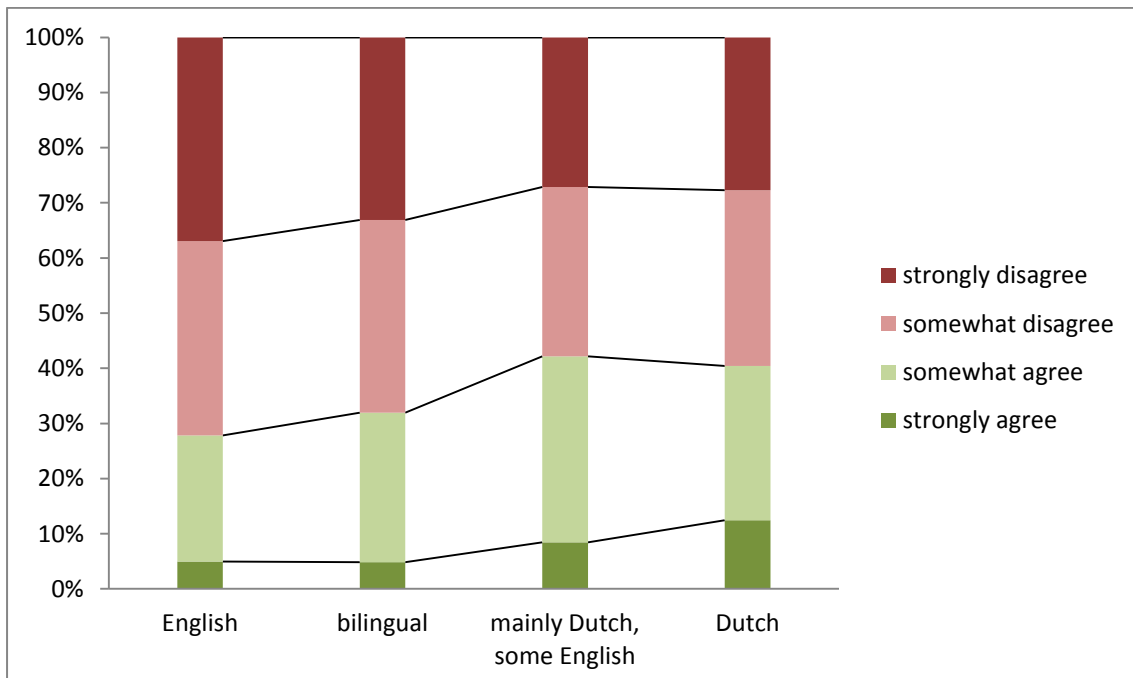


Figure 101: Occupation distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... use less humour'
 $\chi^2=8.981$, $df=6$, $p=0.175$

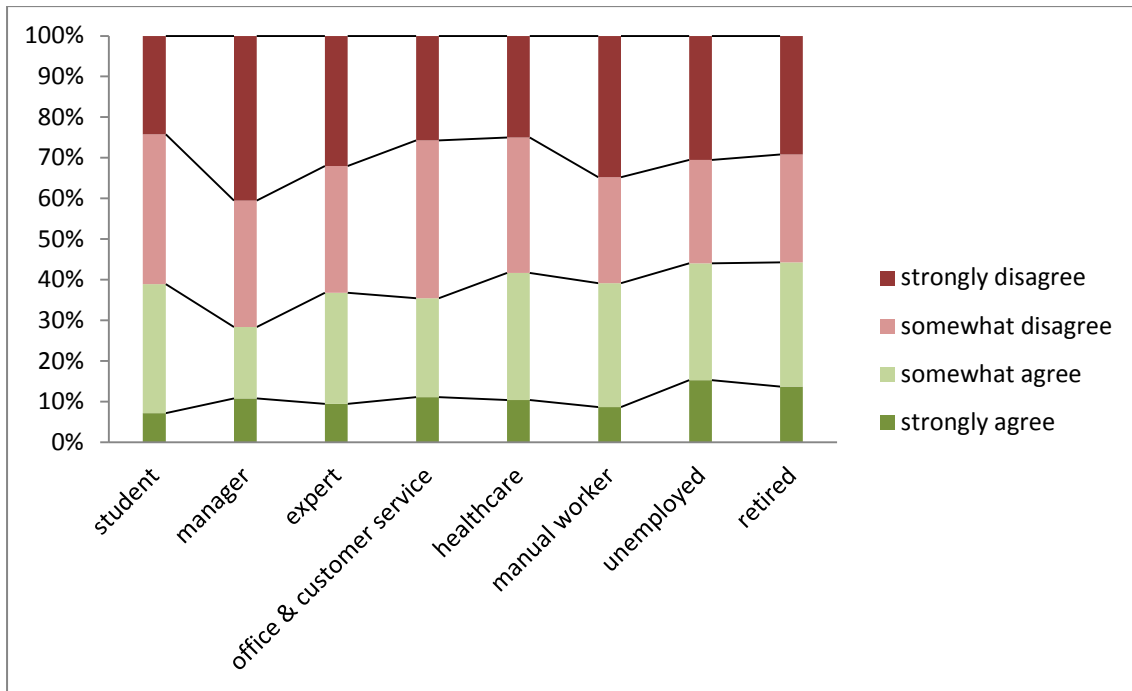


Figure 102: Residential distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... use less humour'
 $\chi^2=2.832$, $df=2$, $p=0.243$

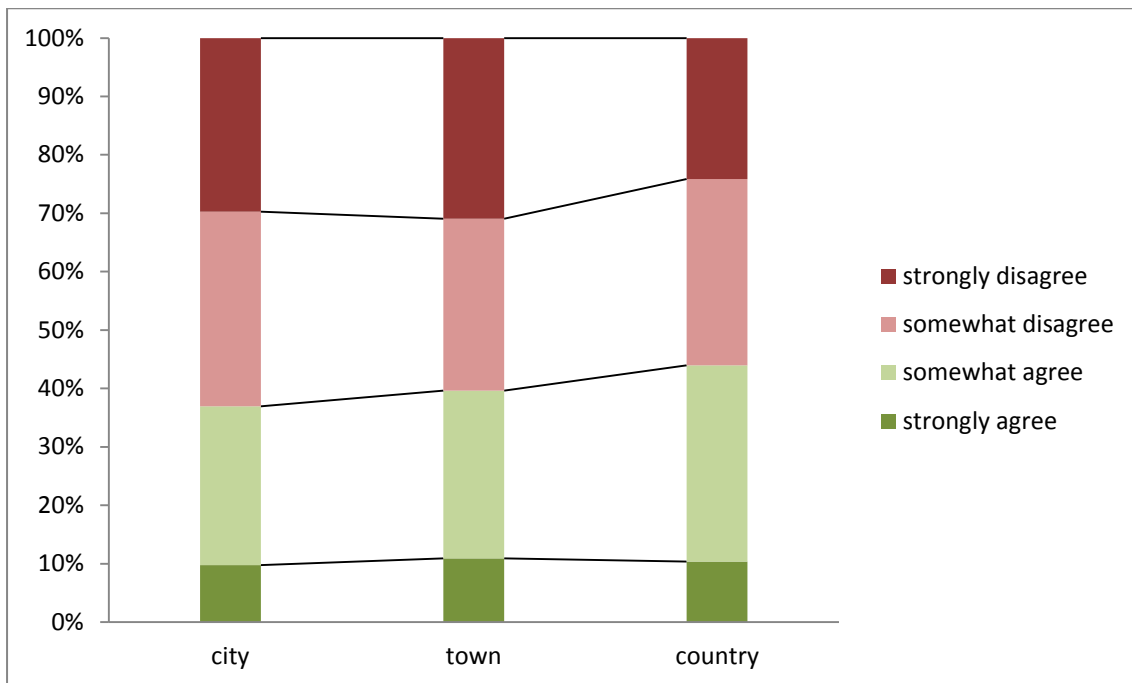


Figure 103: Age distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... find it easier to talk about emotional things'

$\chi^2=30.253$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

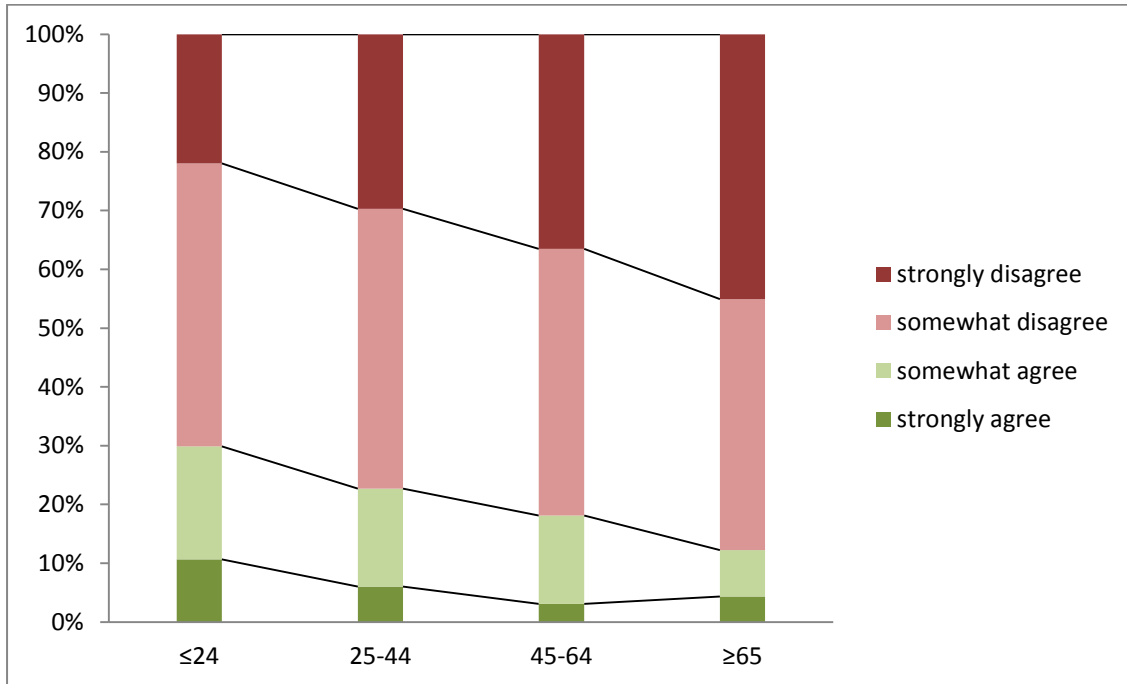


Figure 104: Sex distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... find it easier to talk about emotional things'

$\chi^2=8.503$, $df=1$, $p=0.004$

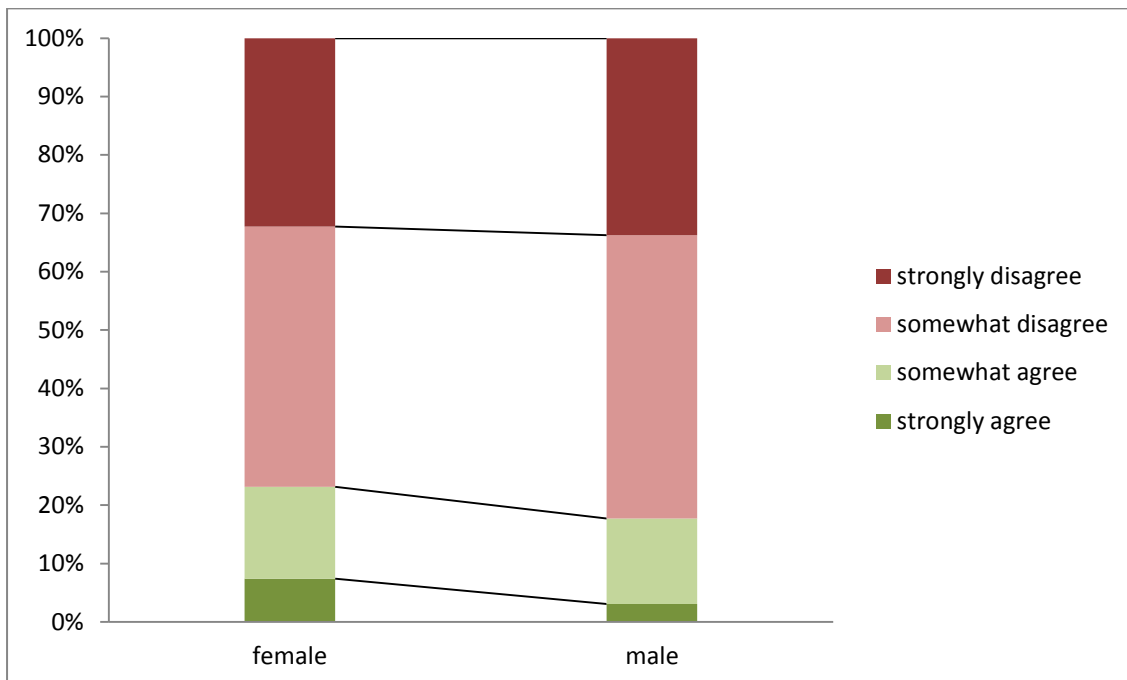


Figure 105: Education level distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... find it easier to talk about emotional things'

$\chi^2=3.0890$, $df=3$, $p=0.378$

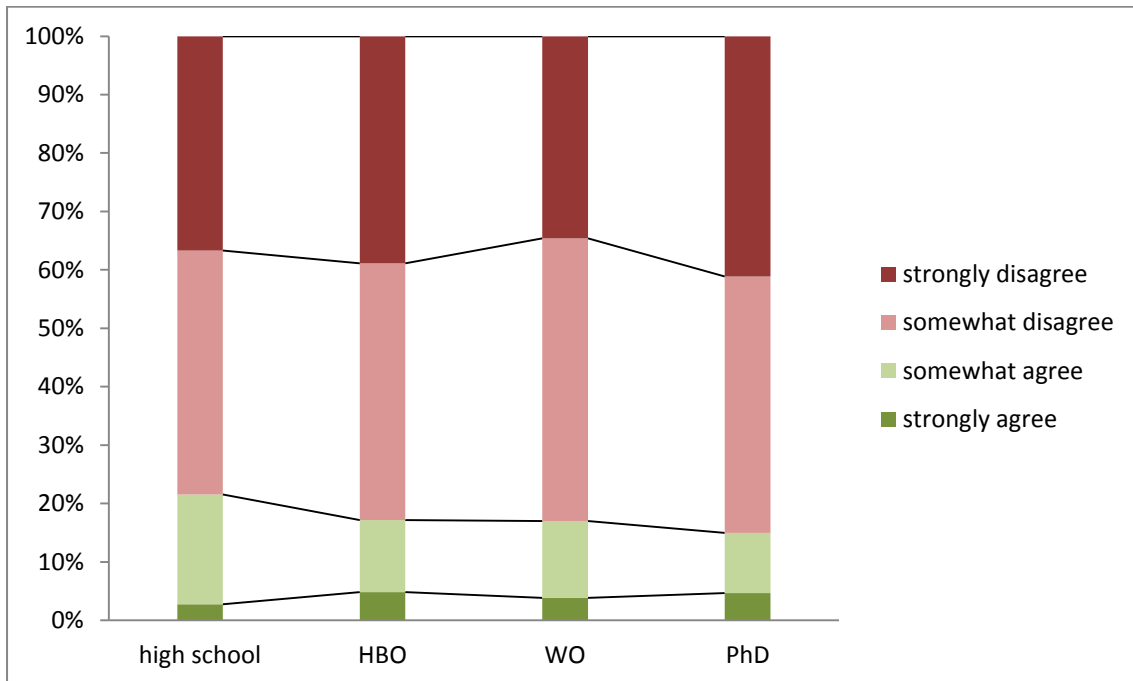


Figure 106: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... find it easier to talk about emotional things'

$\chi^2=45.781$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

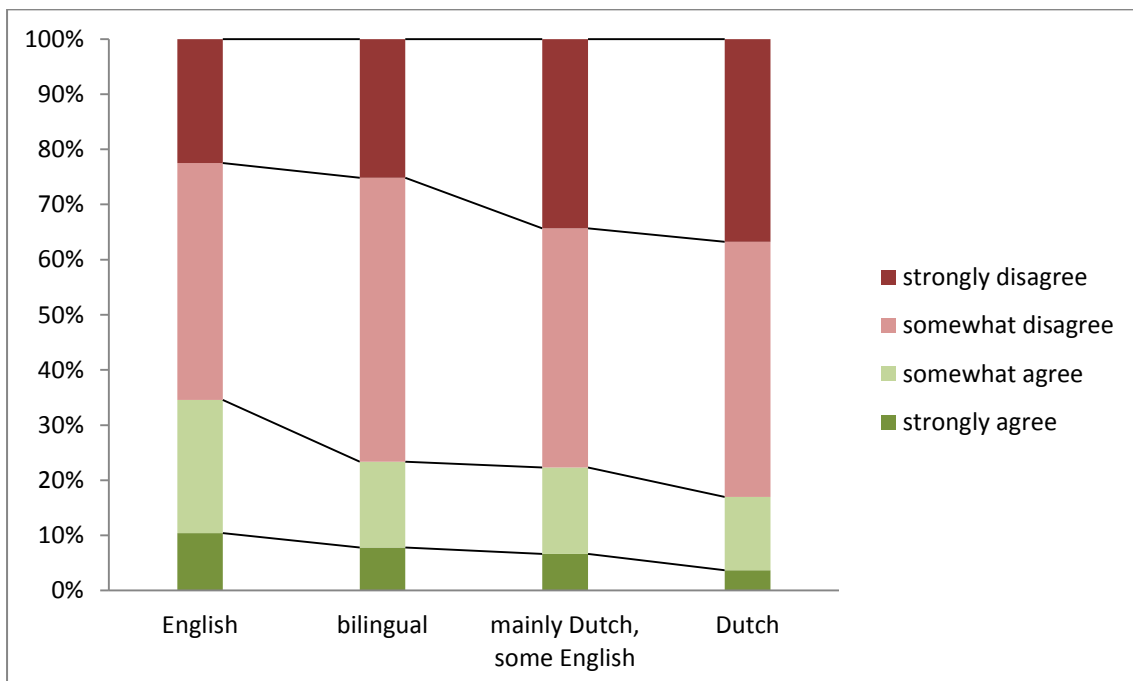


Figure 107: Occupation distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... find it easier to talk about emotional things'

$\chi^2=31.182$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

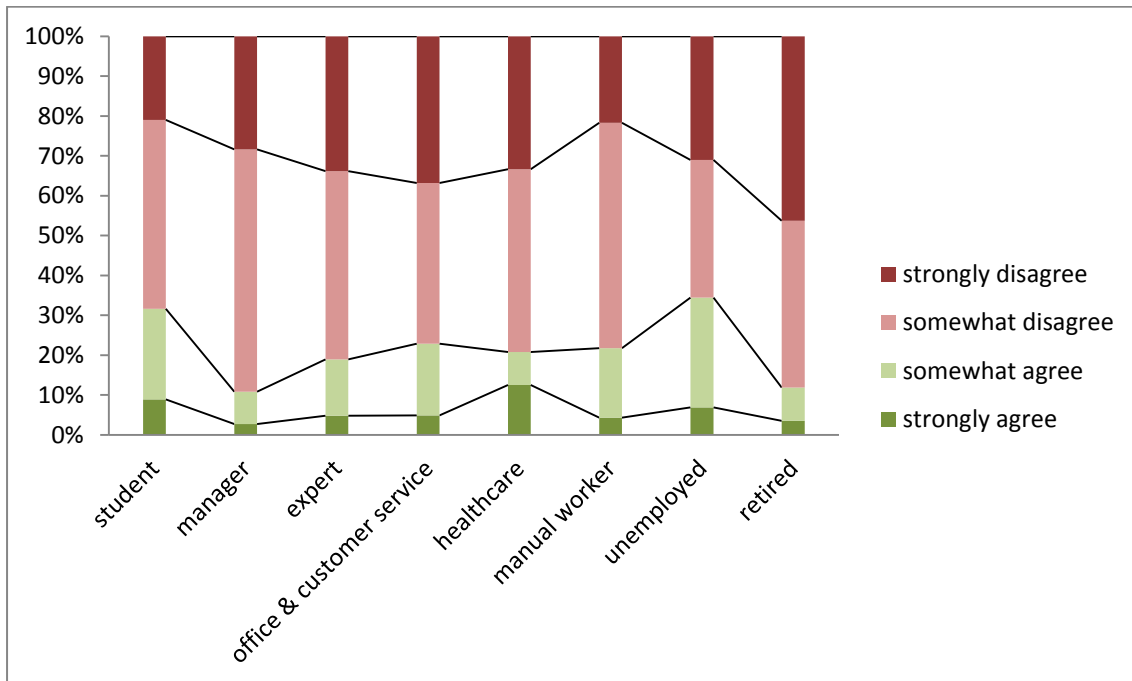


Figure 108: Residential distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... find it easier to talk about emotional things'

$\chi^2=1.935$, $df=2$, $p=0.380$

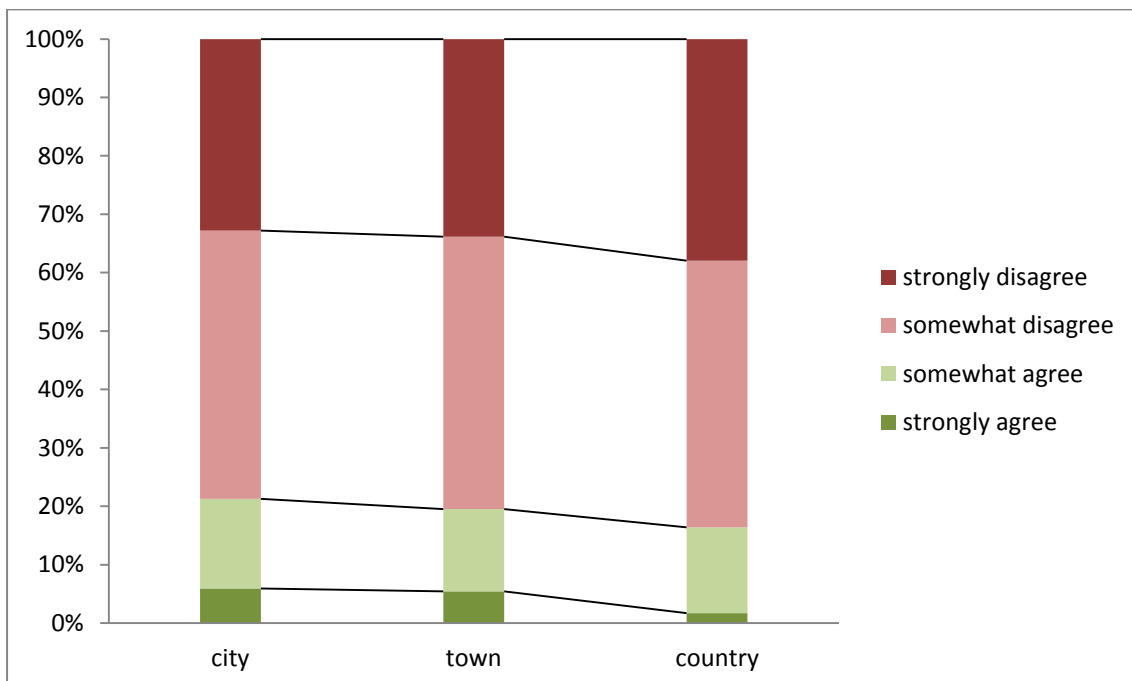


Figure 109: Age distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel like an outsider'
 $\chi^2=15.085$, $df=3$, $p=0.002$

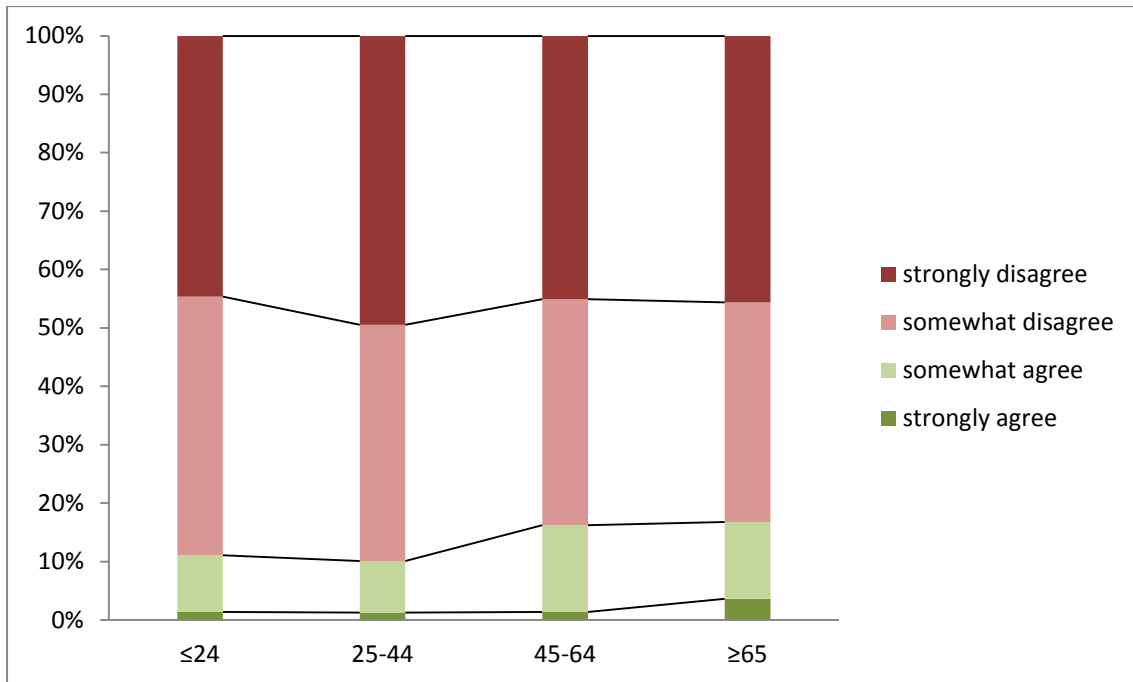


Figure 110: Sex distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel like an outsider'
 $\chi^2=0.312$, $df=1$, $p=0.576$

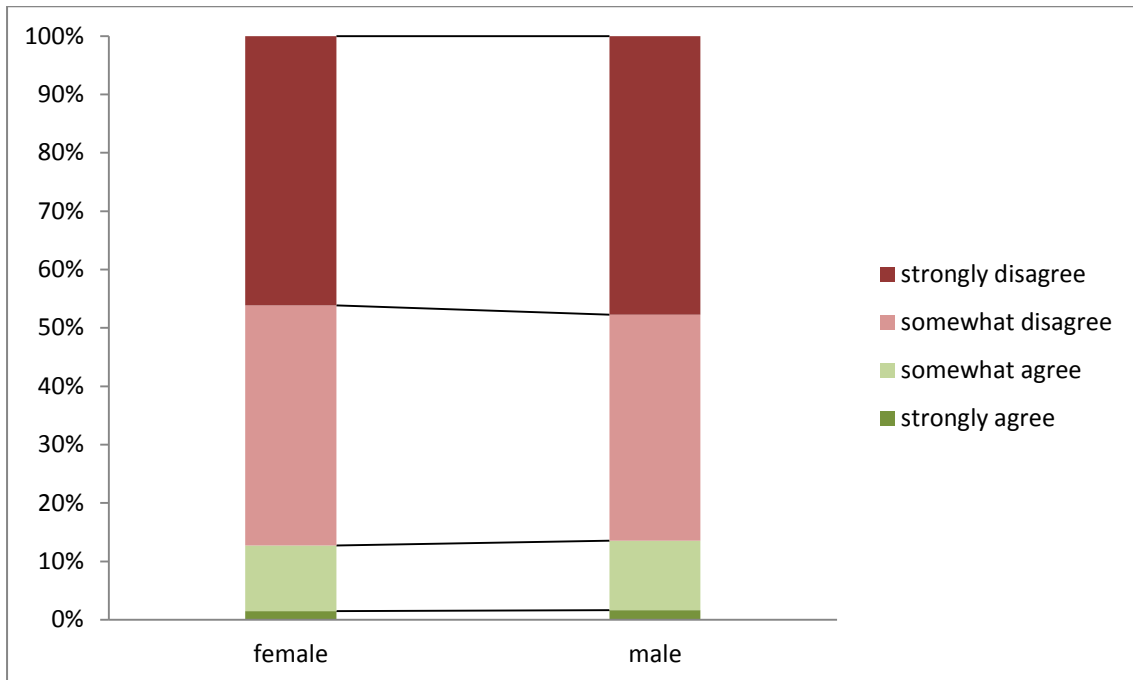


Figure 111: Education level distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel like an outsider'
 $\chi^2=1.503$, $df=3$, $p=0.682$

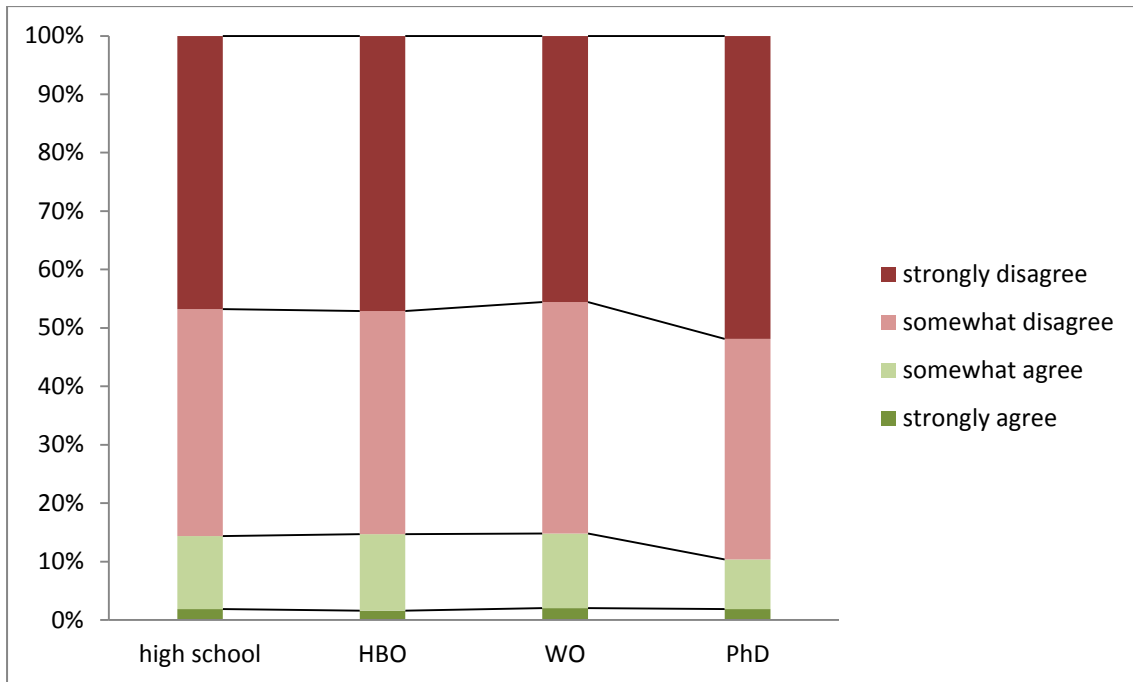


Figure 112: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel like an outsider'
 $\chi^2=12.871$, $df=4$, $p=0.012$

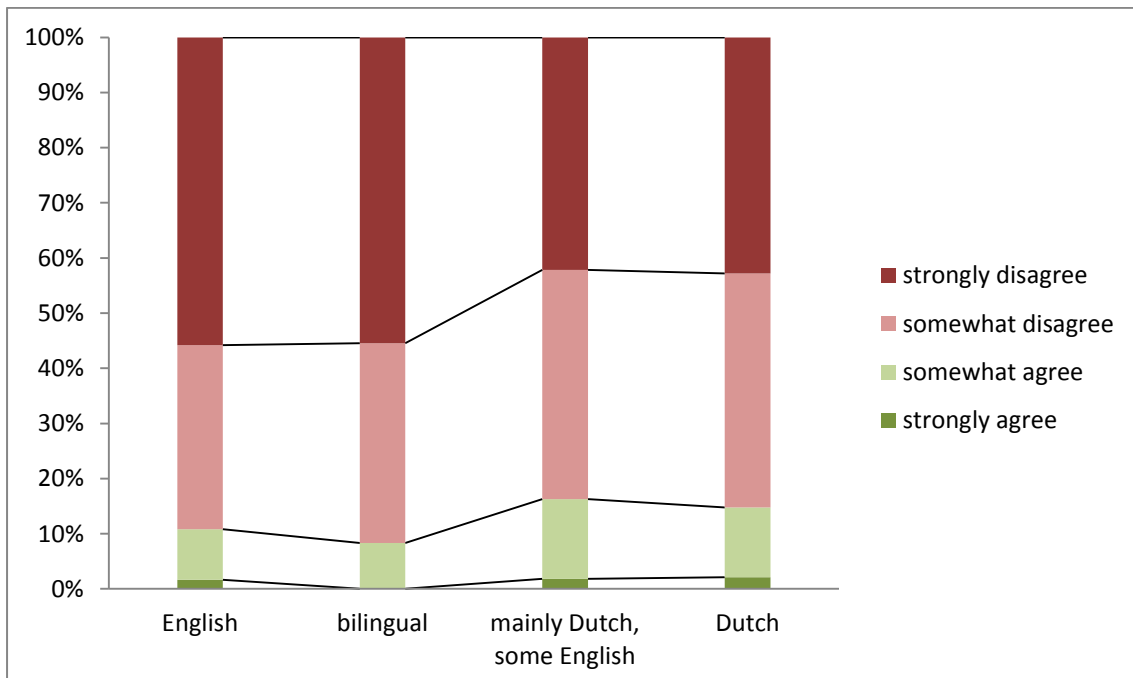


Figure 113: Occupation distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel like an outsider'
 $\chi^2=7.639$, $df=6$, $p=0.266$

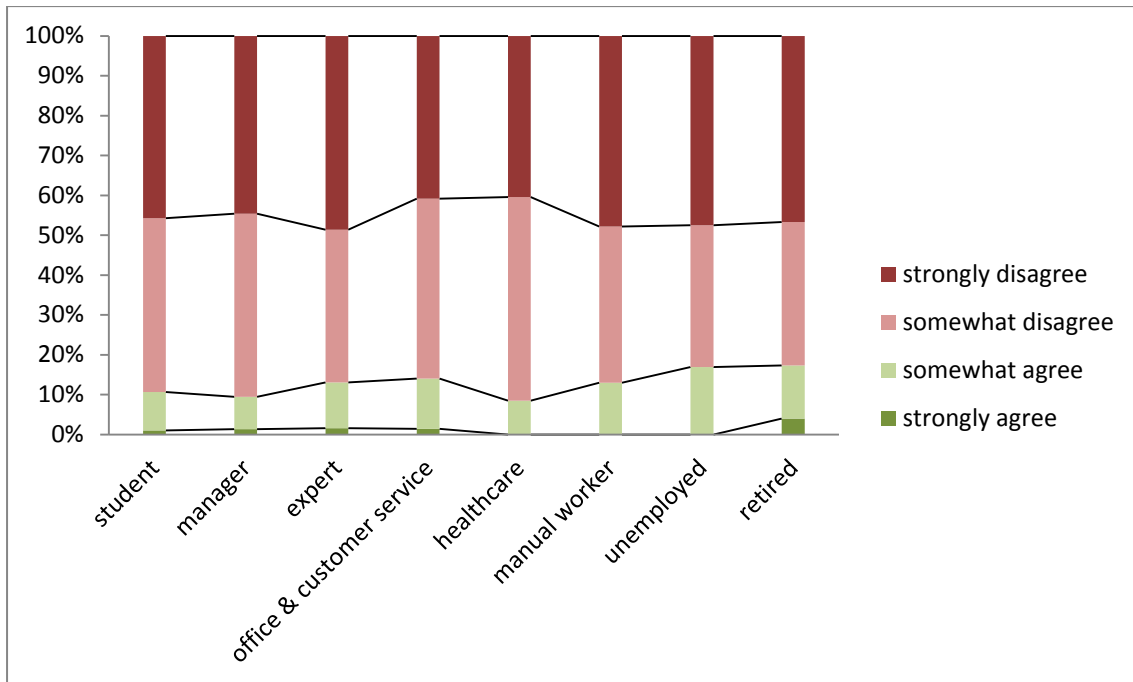


Figure 114: Residential distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... feel like an outsider'
 $\chi^2=1.020$, $df=2$, $p=0.601$

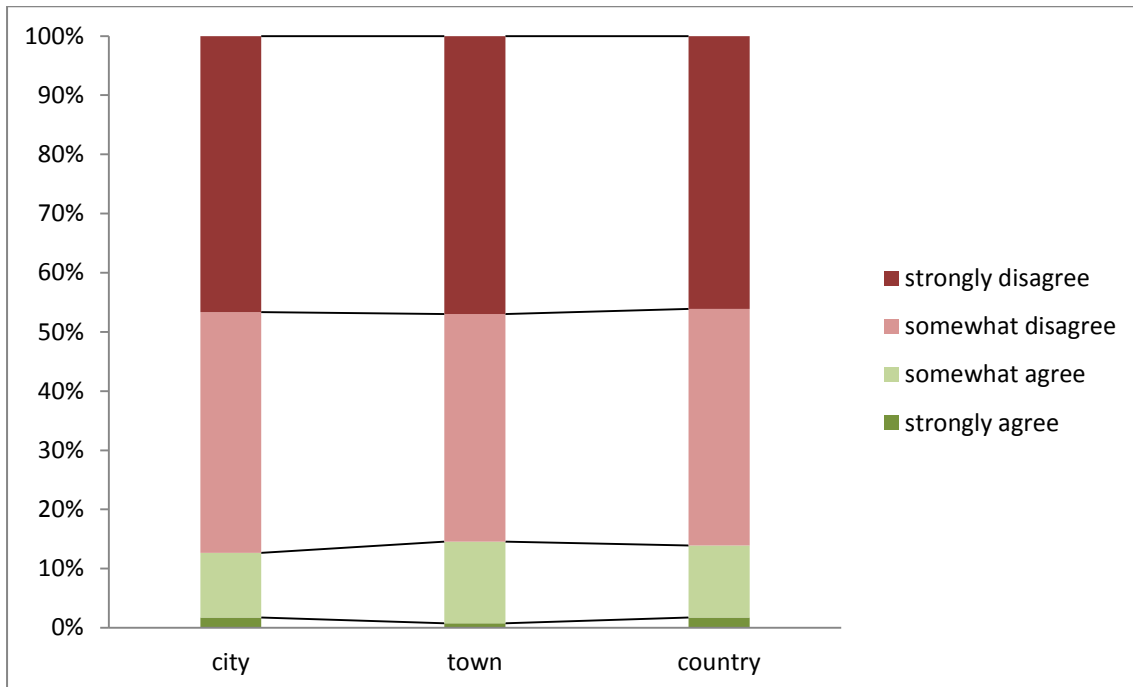


Figure 115: Age distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am the same as I am when I use my mother tongue'

$\chi^2=6.456$, $df=3$, $p=0.091$

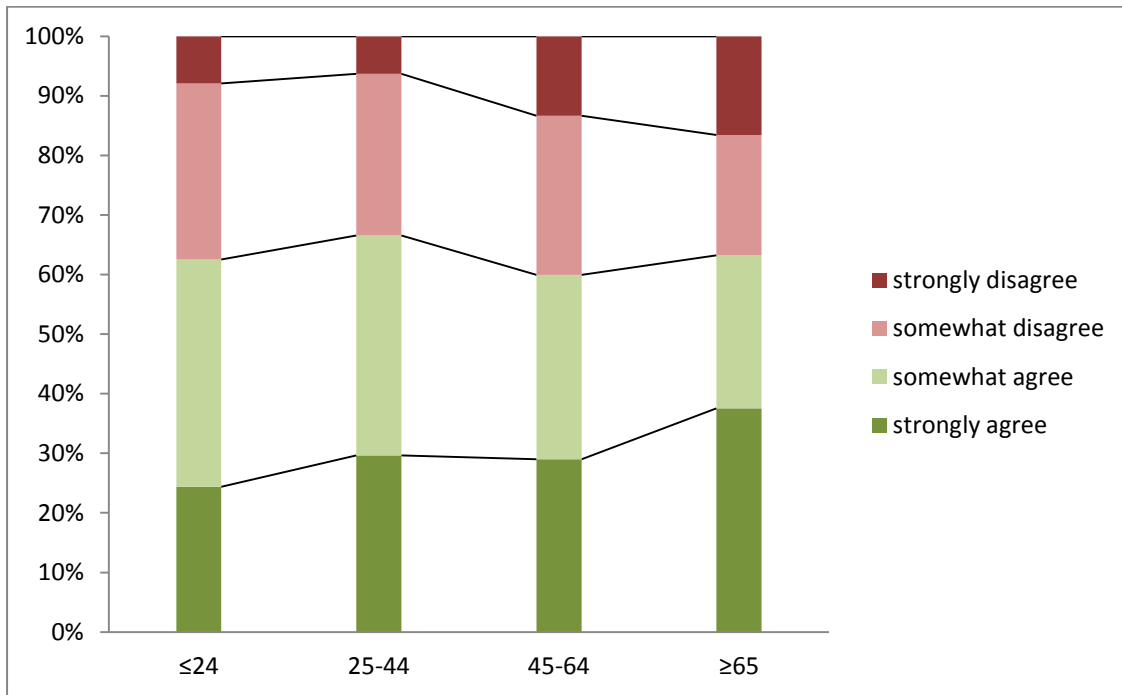


Figure 116: Sex distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am the same as I am when I use my mother tongue'

$\chi^2=0.990$, $df=1$, $p=0.320$

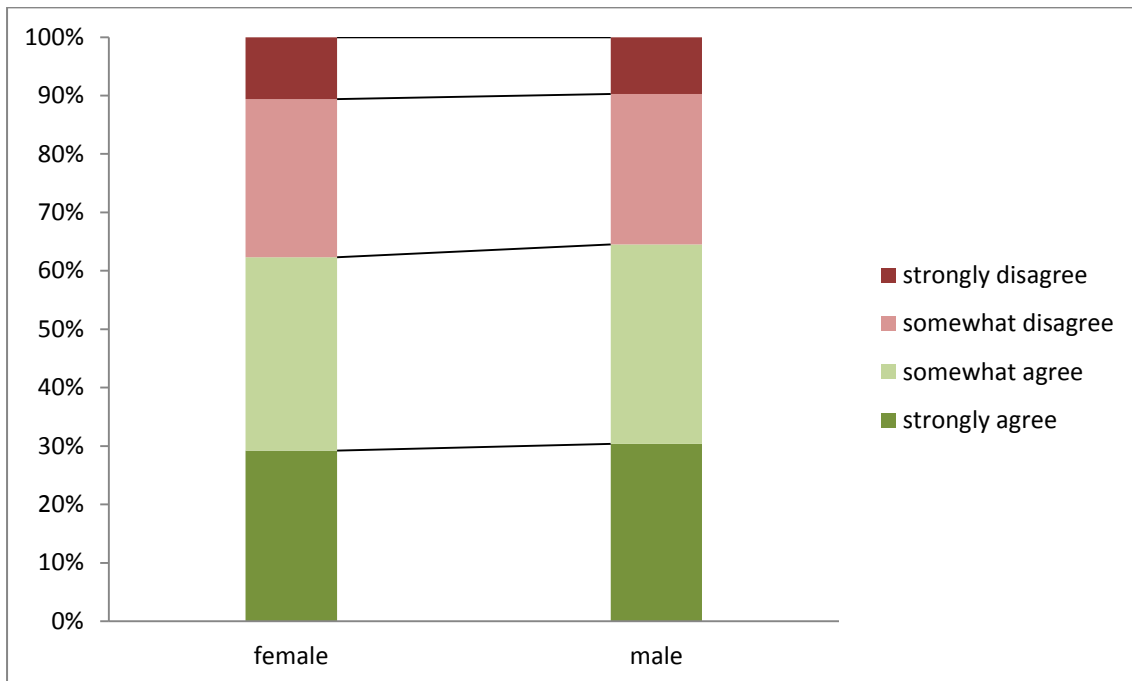


Figure 117: Education level distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am the same as I am when I use my mother tongue'
 $\chi^2=9.433$, $df=3$, $p=0.024$

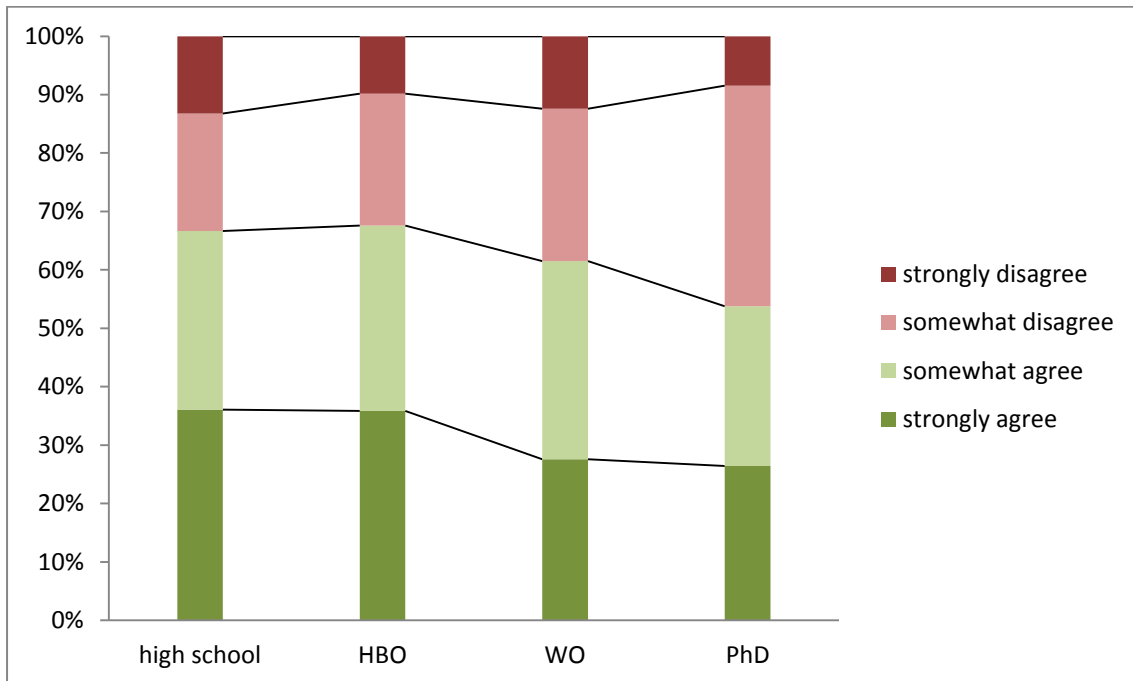


Figure 118: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am the same as I am when I use my mother tongue'
 $\chi^2=10.732$, $df=4$, $p=0.030$

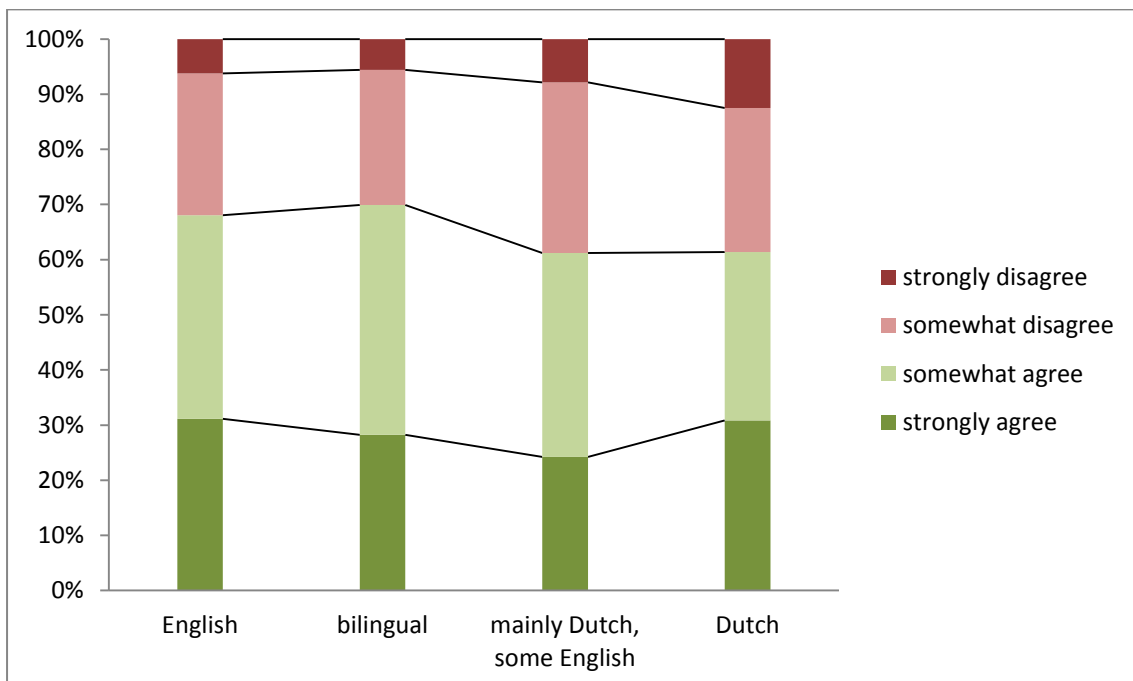


Figure 119: Occupation distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am the same as I am when I use my mother tongue'
 $\chi^2=5.231$, $df=6$, $p=0.515$

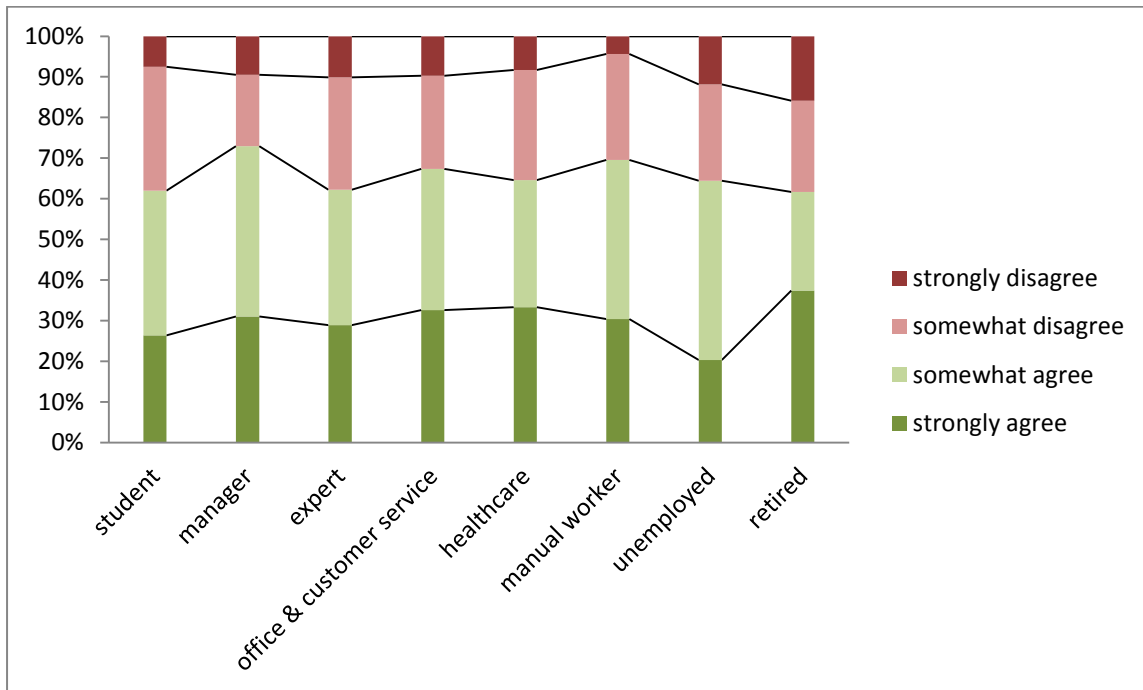


Figure 120: Residential distribution for the statement 'When I use English I ... am the same as I am when I use my mother tongue'
 $\chi^2=0.203$, $df=2$, $p=0.904$

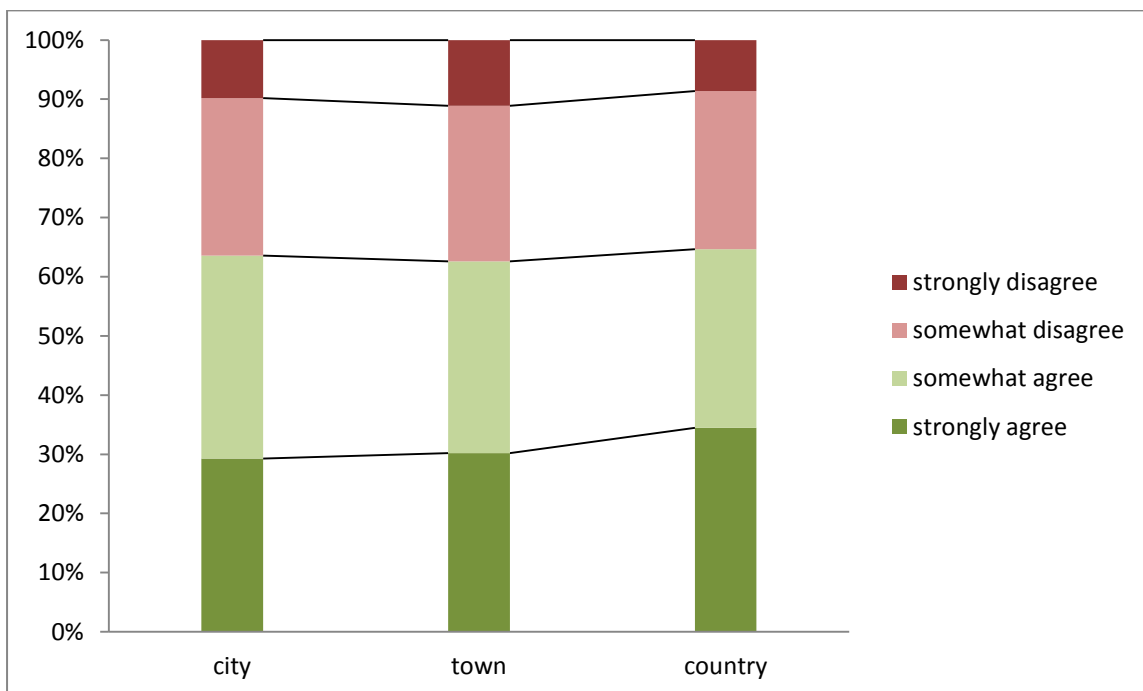


Figure 121: Age distribution for self-reported proficiency (averages of ratings for speaking, listening, reading and writing)

$\chi^2=161.951$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

(NB. The categories 'not at all' and 'with difficulty' are combined in the chi square input data)

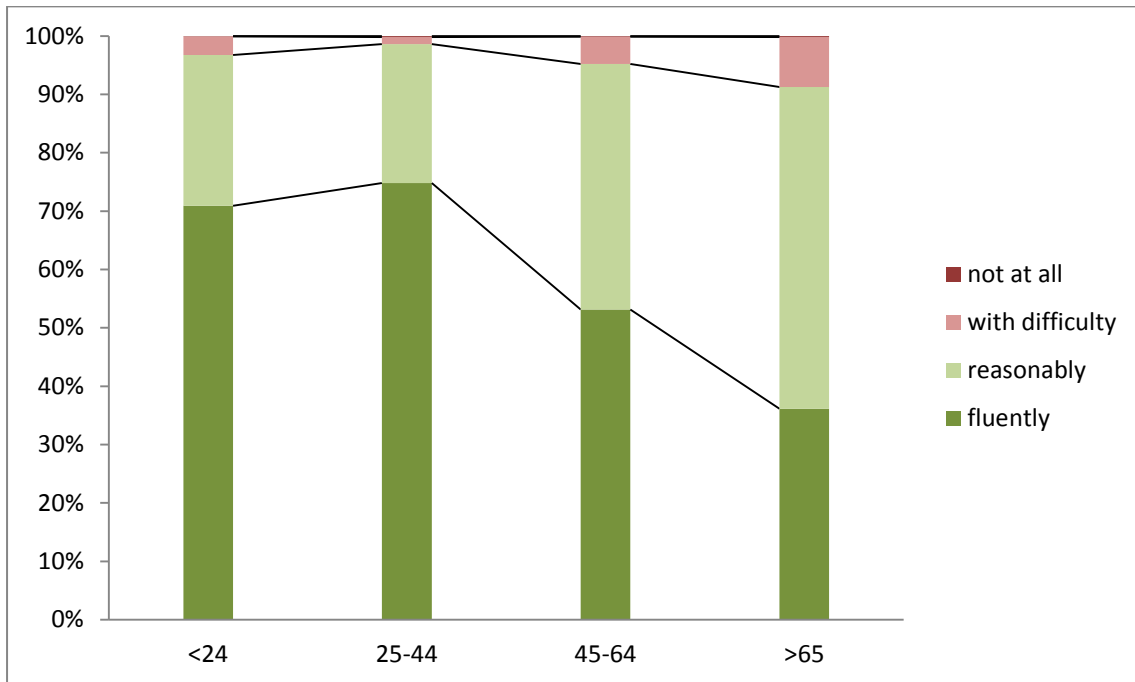


Figure 122: Sex distribution for self-reported proficiency (averages of ratings for speaking, listening, reading and writing)

$\chi^2=0.904$, $df=2$, $p=0.636$

(NB. The categories 'not at all' and 'with difficulty' are combined in the chi square input data)

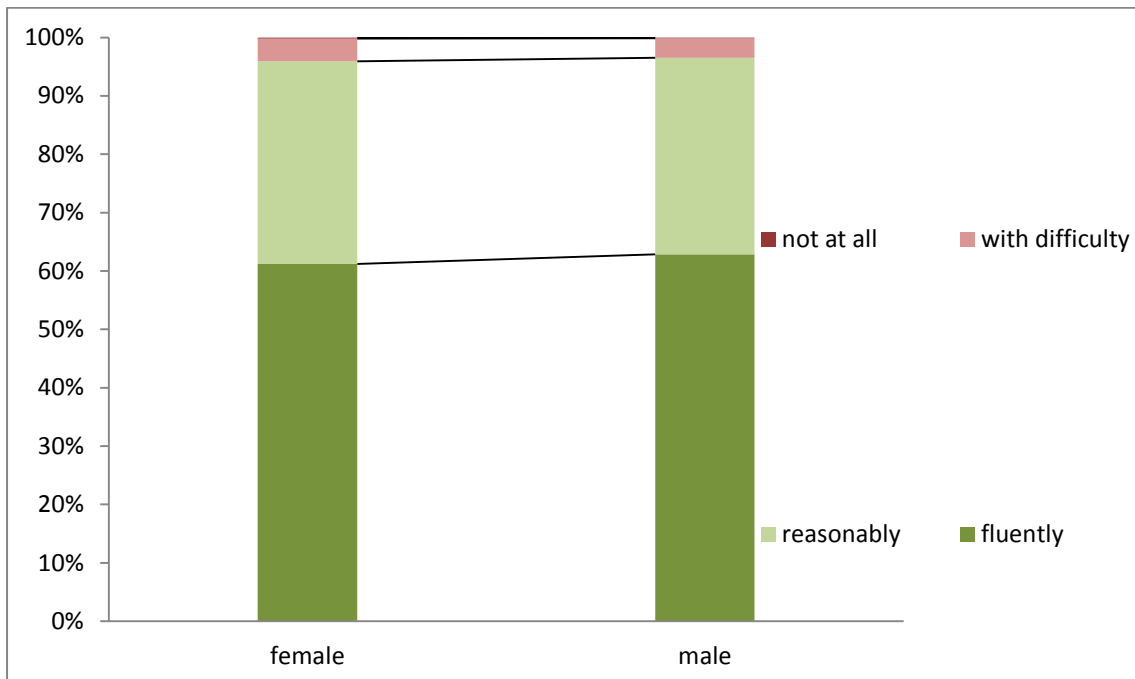


Figure 123: Education level distribution for self-reported proficiency (averages of ratings for speaking, listening, reading and writing)

$\chi^2=226.454$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

(NB. The categories 'not at all' and 'with difficulty' are combined in the chi square input data)

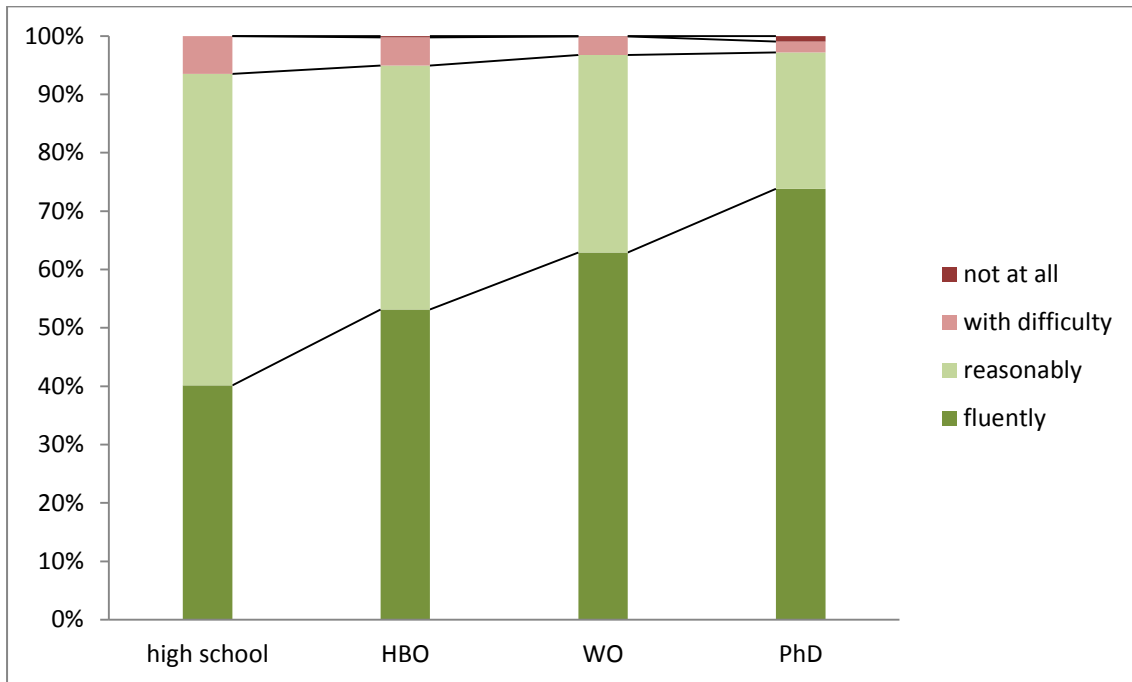


Figure 124: Higher education language distribution for self-reported proficiency (averages of ratings for speaking, listening, reading and writing)

$\chi^2=198.949$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

(NB. The categories 'not at all' and 'with difficulty' are combined in the chi square input data)

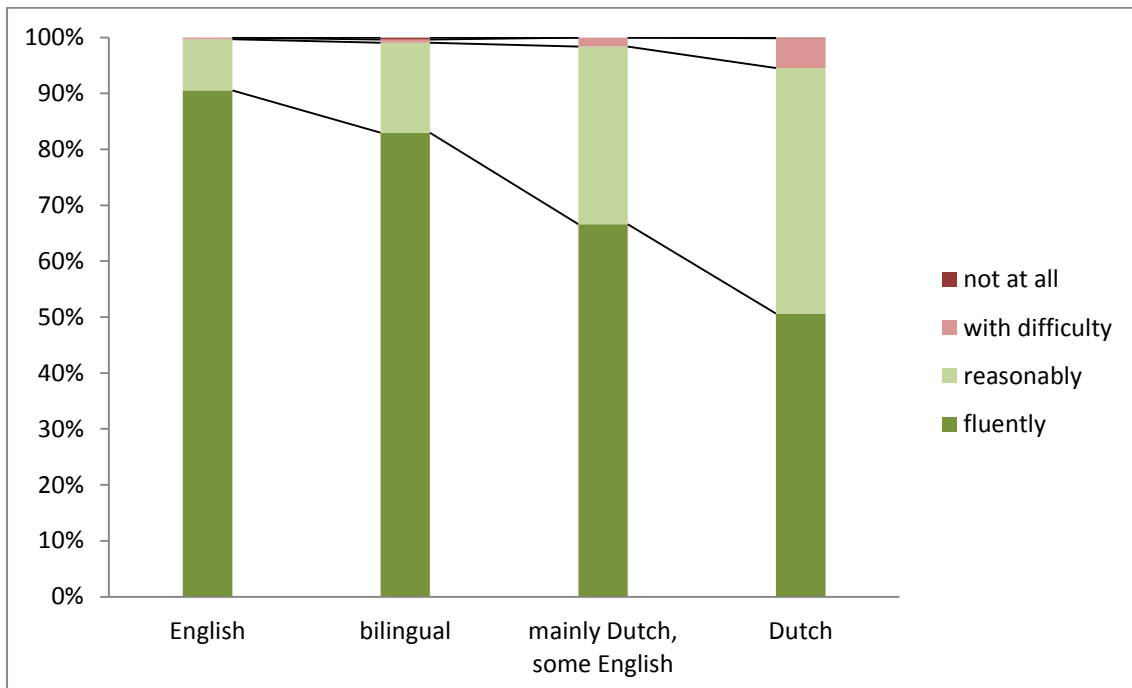


Figure 125: Occupation distribution for self-reported proficiency (averages of ratings for speaking, listening, reading and writing)

$\chi^2=174.972$, $df=12$, $p<0.001$

(NB. The categories 'not at all' and 'with difficulty' are combined in the chi square input data)

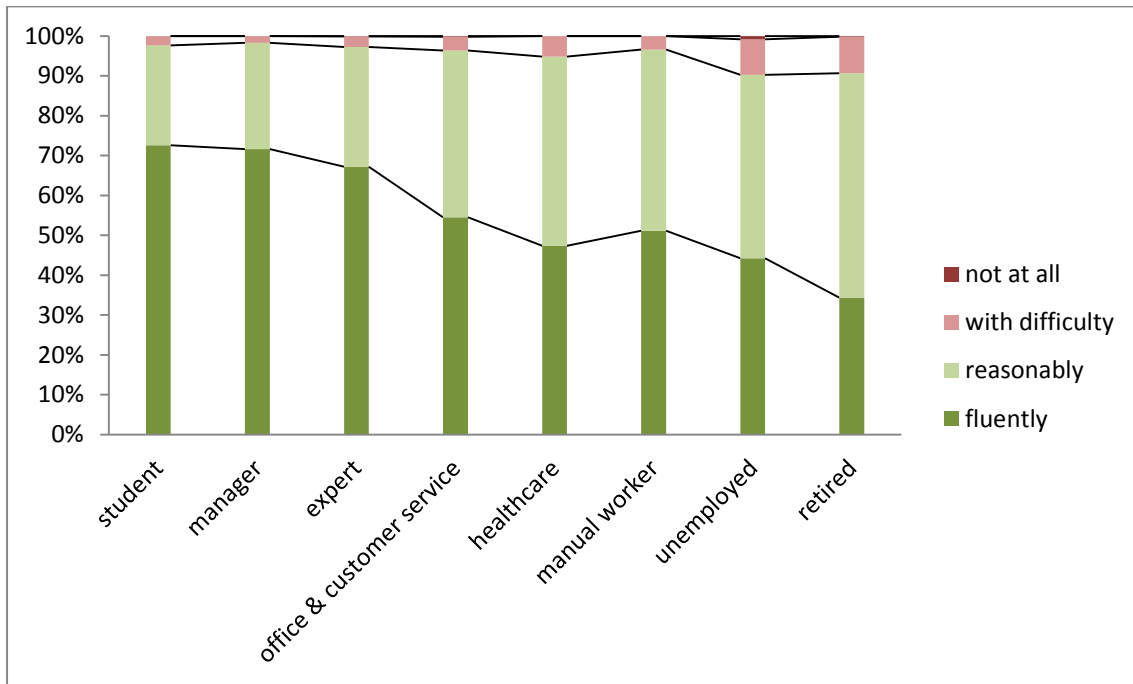


Figure 126: Residential distribution for self-reported proficiency (averages of ratings for speaking, listening, reading and writing)

$\chi^2=14.944$, $df=4$, $p=0.005$

(NB. The categories 'not at all' and 'with difficulty' are combined in the chi square input data)

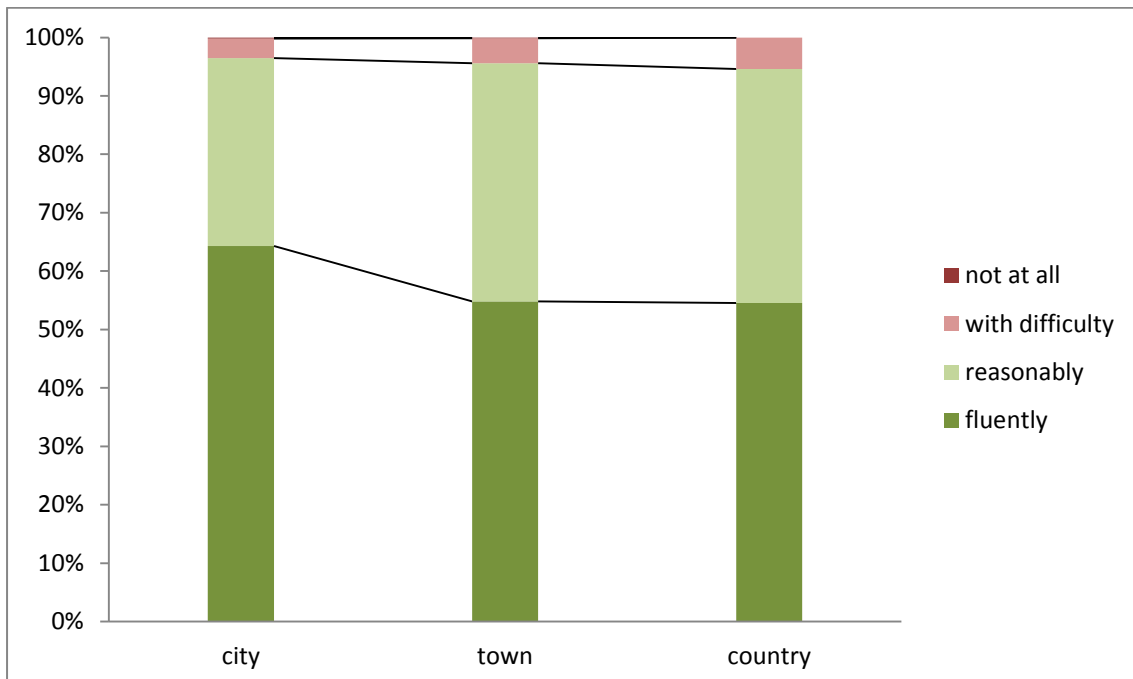


Figure 127: Age distribution for the statement 'I am ashamed of my English skills'
 $\chi^2=28.416$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

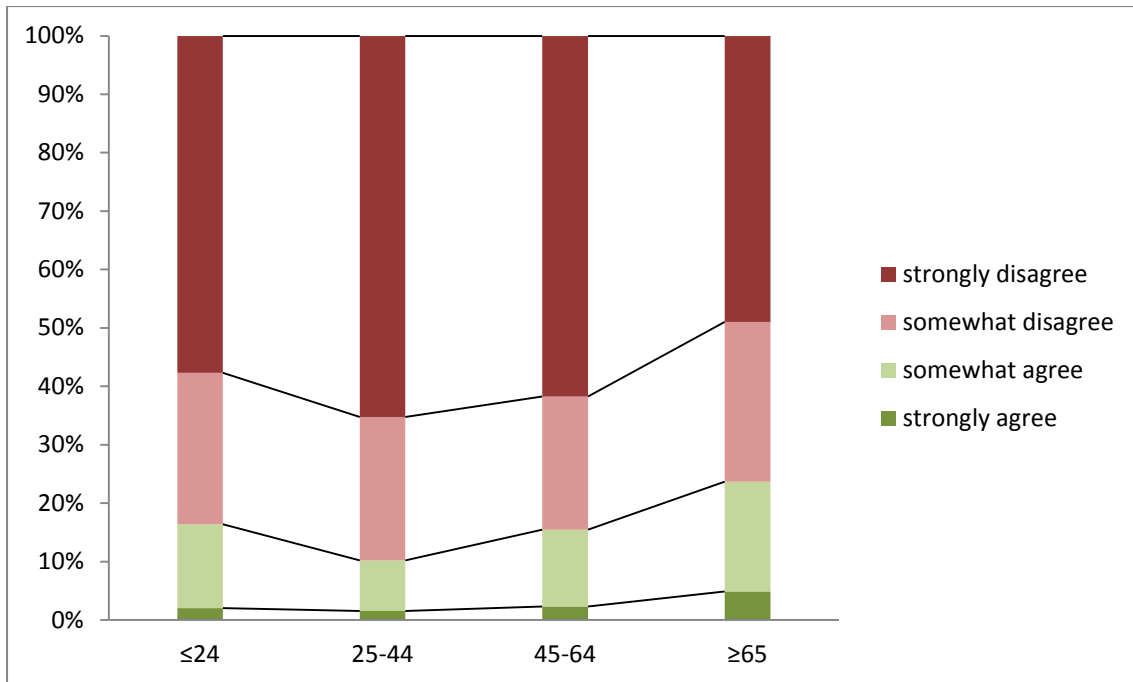


Figure 128: Sex distribution for the statement 'I am ashamed of my English skills'
 $\chi^2=8.040$, $df=1$, $p=0.005$

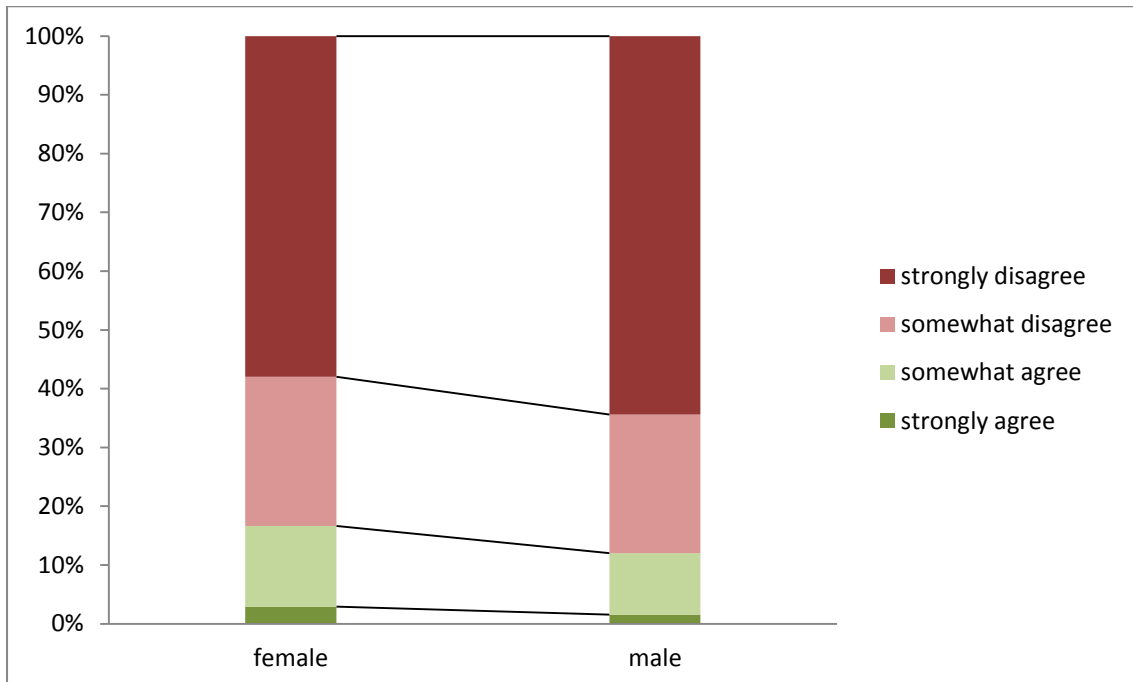


Figure 129: Education level distribution for the statement 'I am ashamed of my English skills'
 $\chi^2=6.607$, $df=3$, $p=0.086$

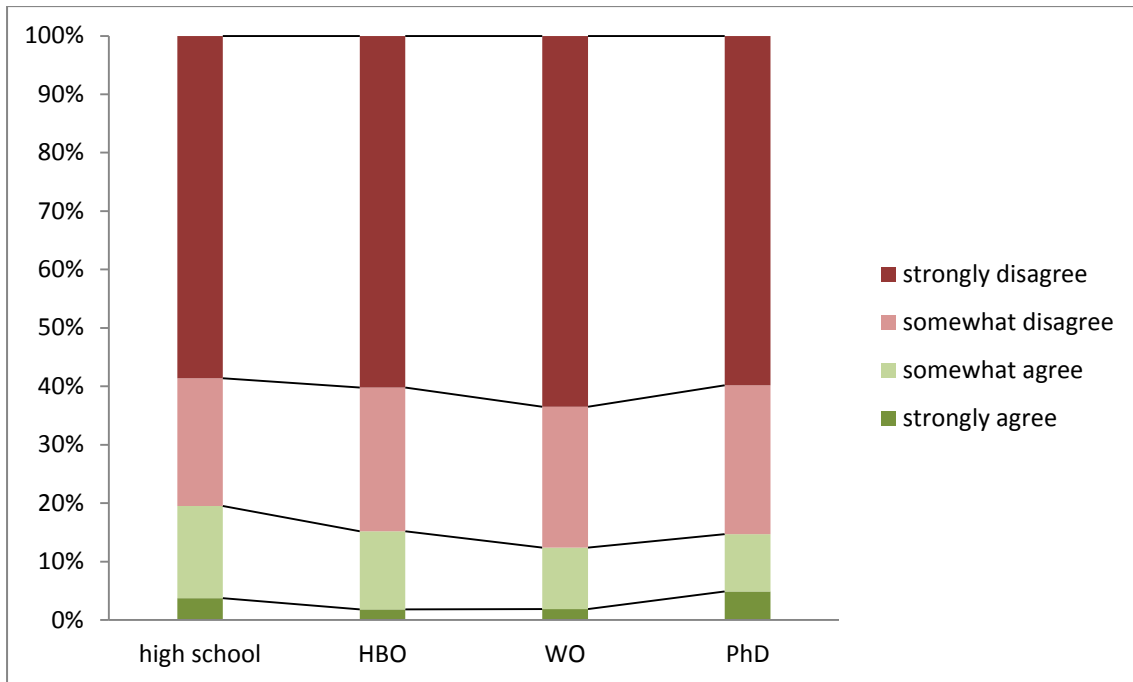


Figure 130: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'I am ashamed of my English skills'
 $\chi^2=32.297$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

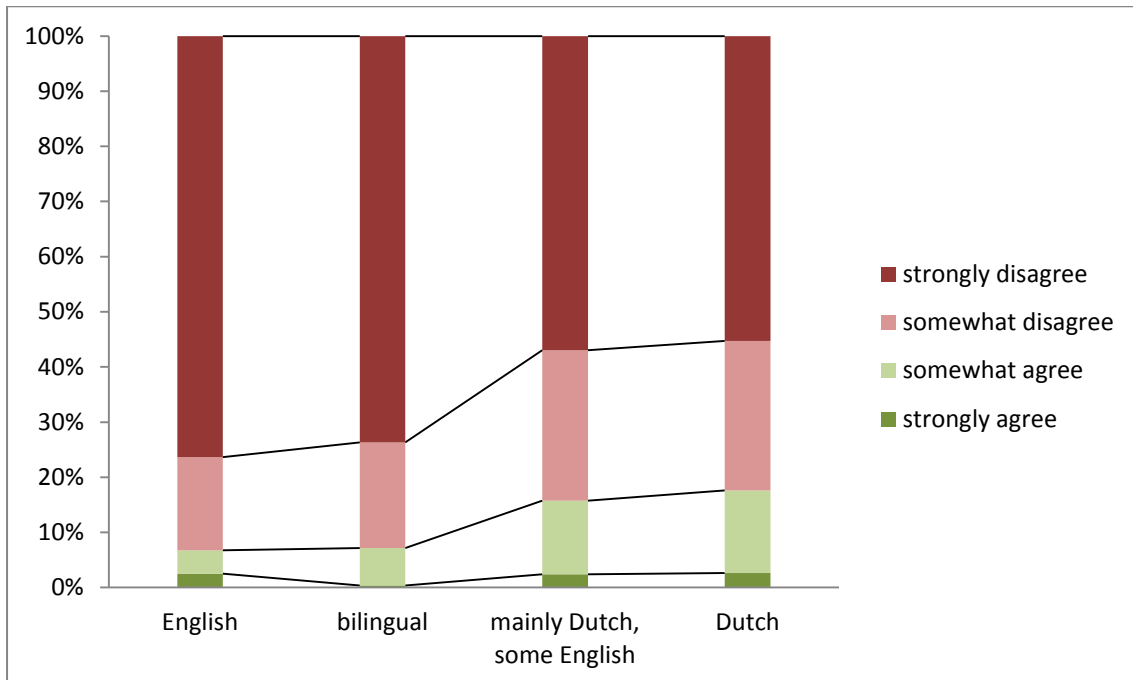


Figure 131: Occupation distribution for the statement 'I am ashamed of my English skills'
 $\chi^2=15.866$, $df=6$, $p=0.014$

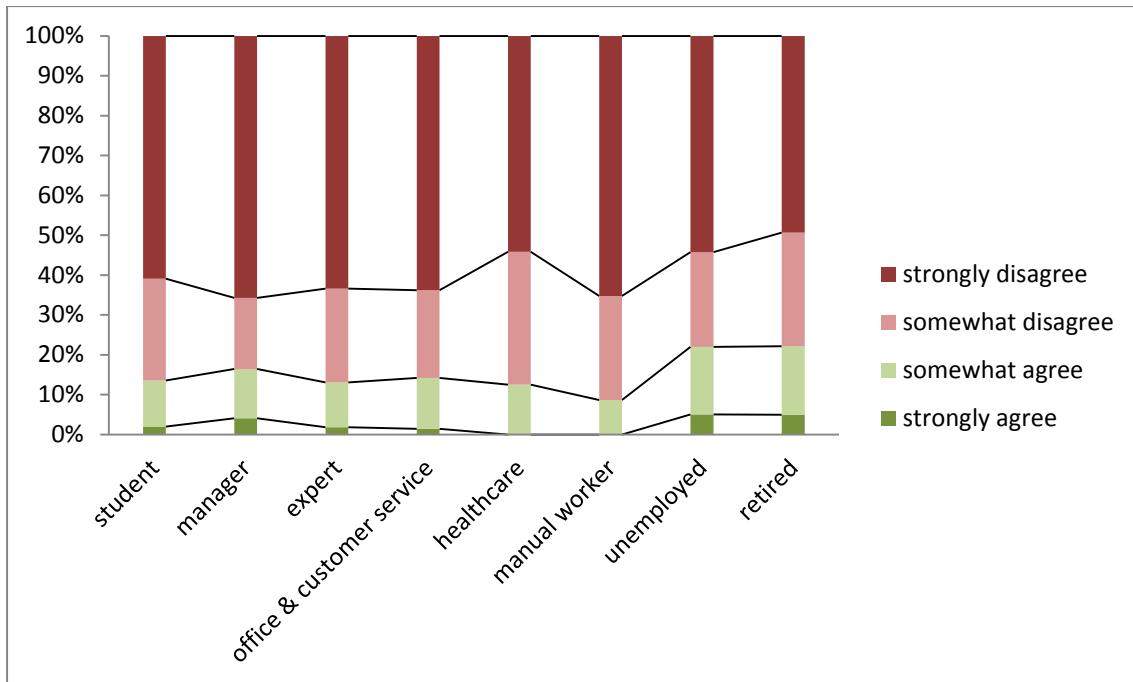


Figure 132: Residential distribution for the statement 'I am ashamed of my English skills'
 $\chi^2=2.060$, $df=2$, $p=0.357$

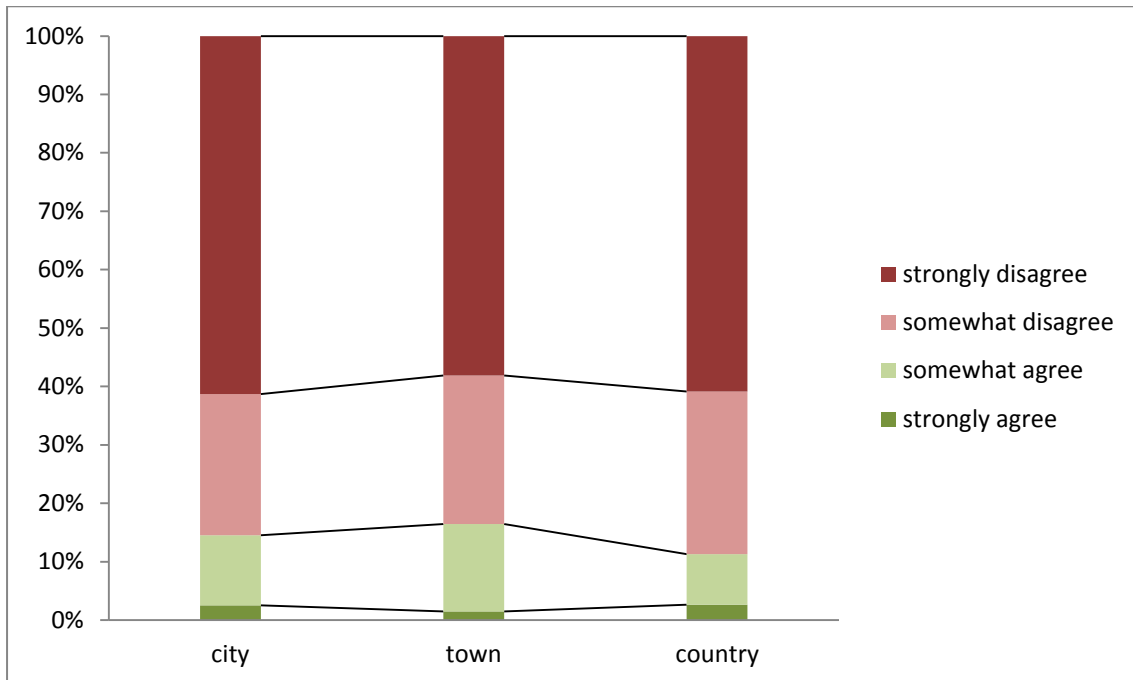


Figure 133: Age distribution for the statement 'I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people'

$\chi^2=85.294$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

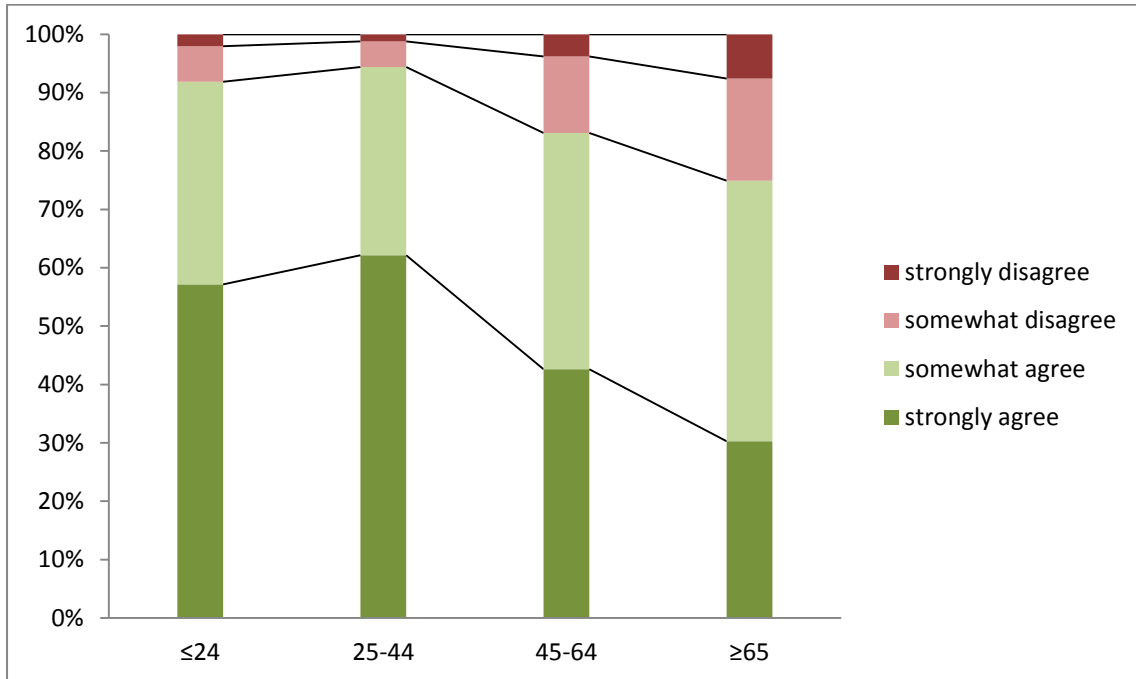


Figure 134: Sex distribution for the statement 'I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people'

$\chi^2=9.225$, $df=1$, $p=0.002$

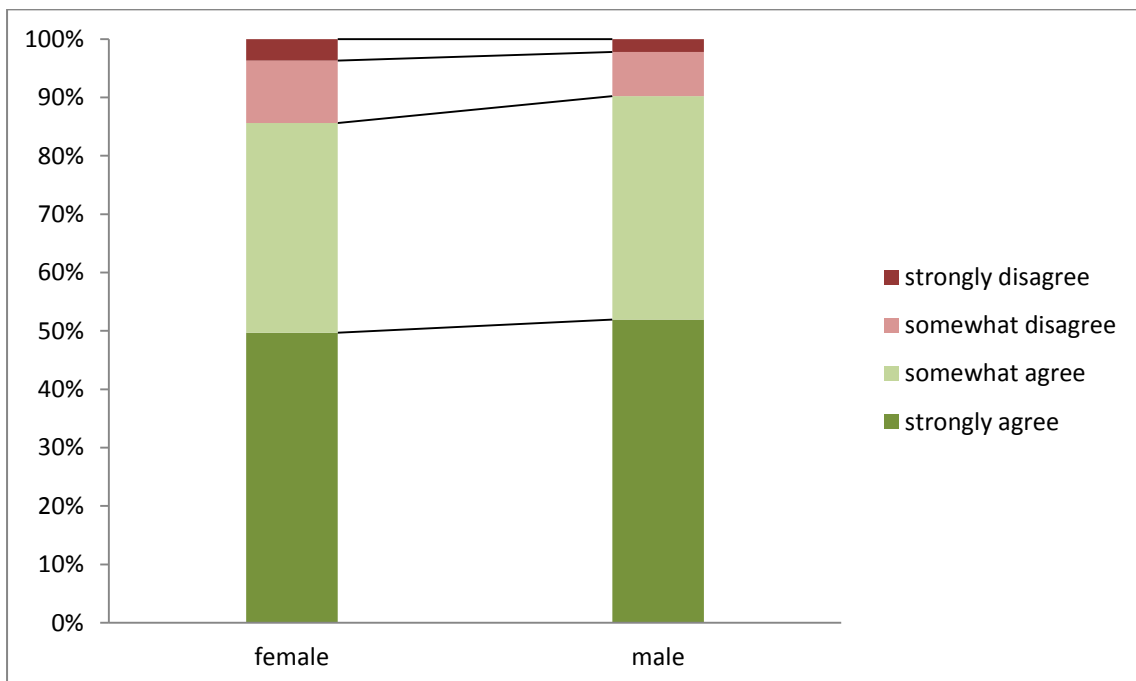


Figure 135: Education level distribution for the statement 'I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people'

$\chi^2=76.311$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

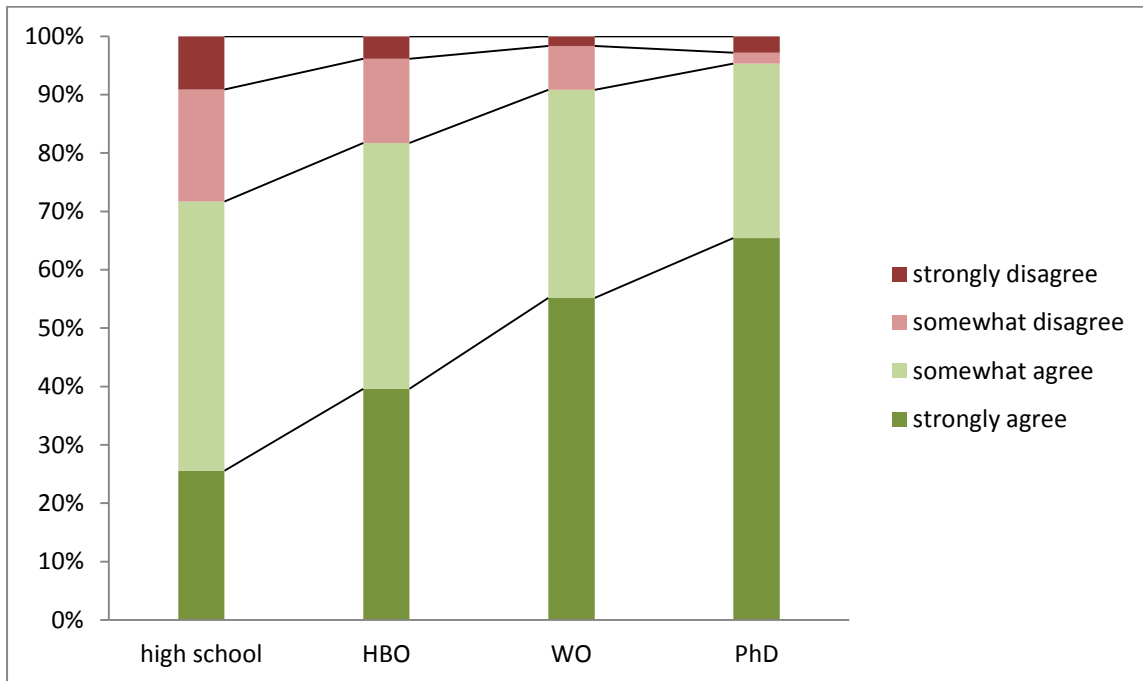


Figure 136: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people'

$\chi^2=88.870$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

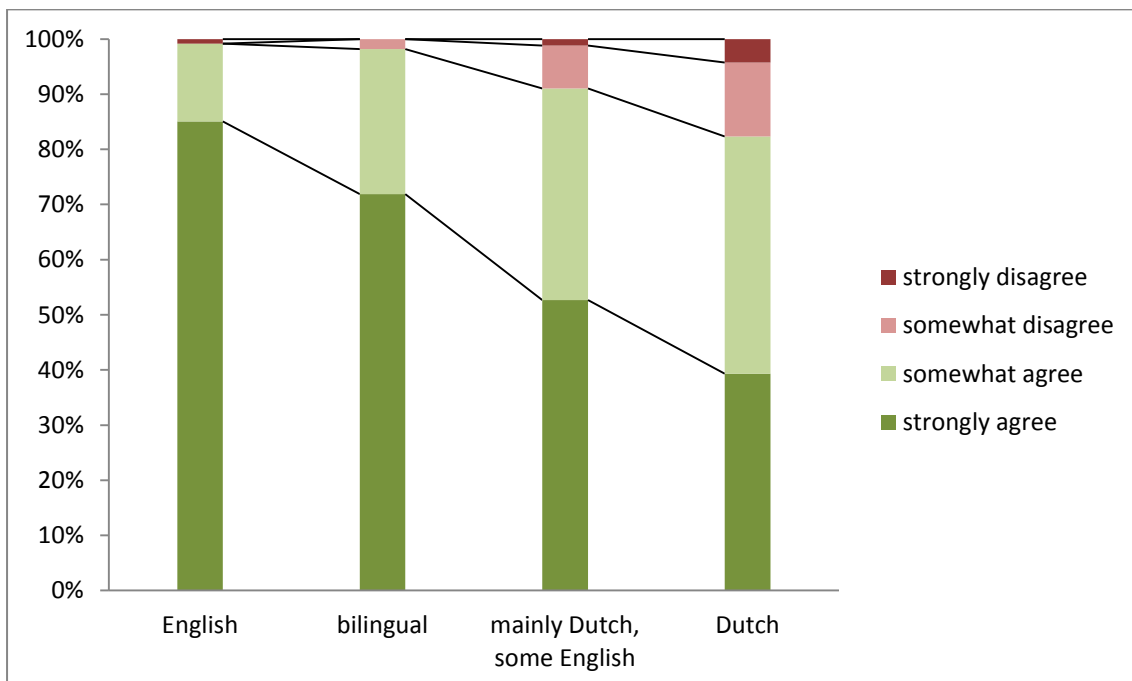


Figure 137: Occupation distribution for the statement 'I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people'

$\chi^2=77.851$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

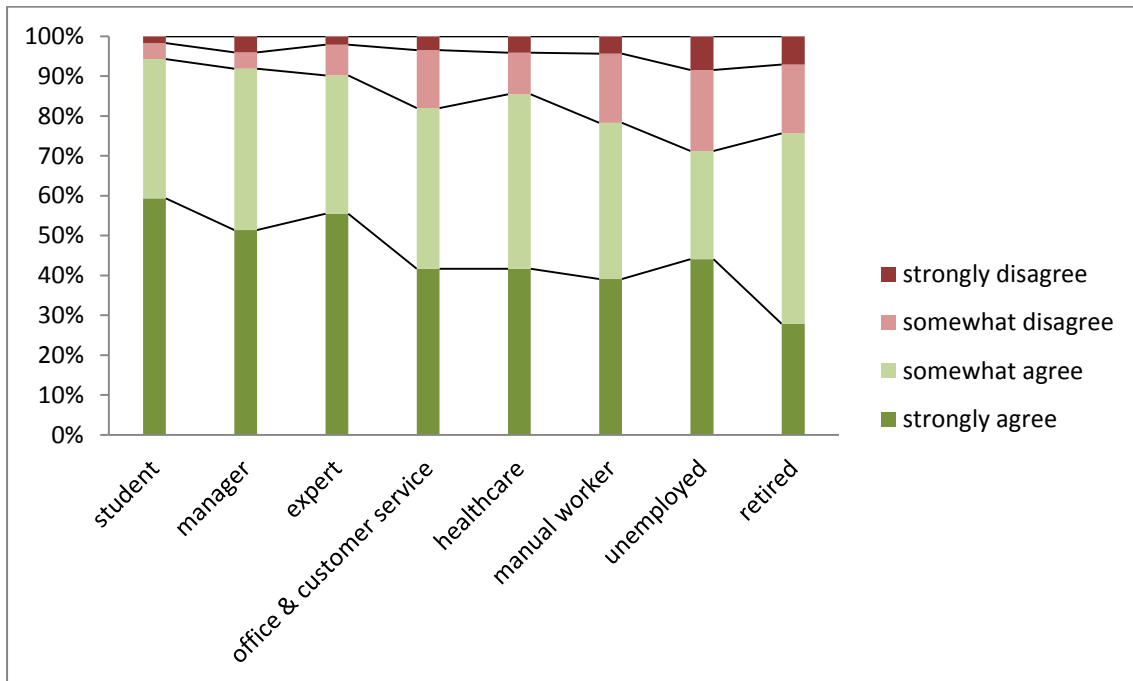


Figure 138: Residential distribution for the statement 'I feel that I know English better than most other Dutch people'

$\chi^2=232.181$, $df=2$, $p<0.001$

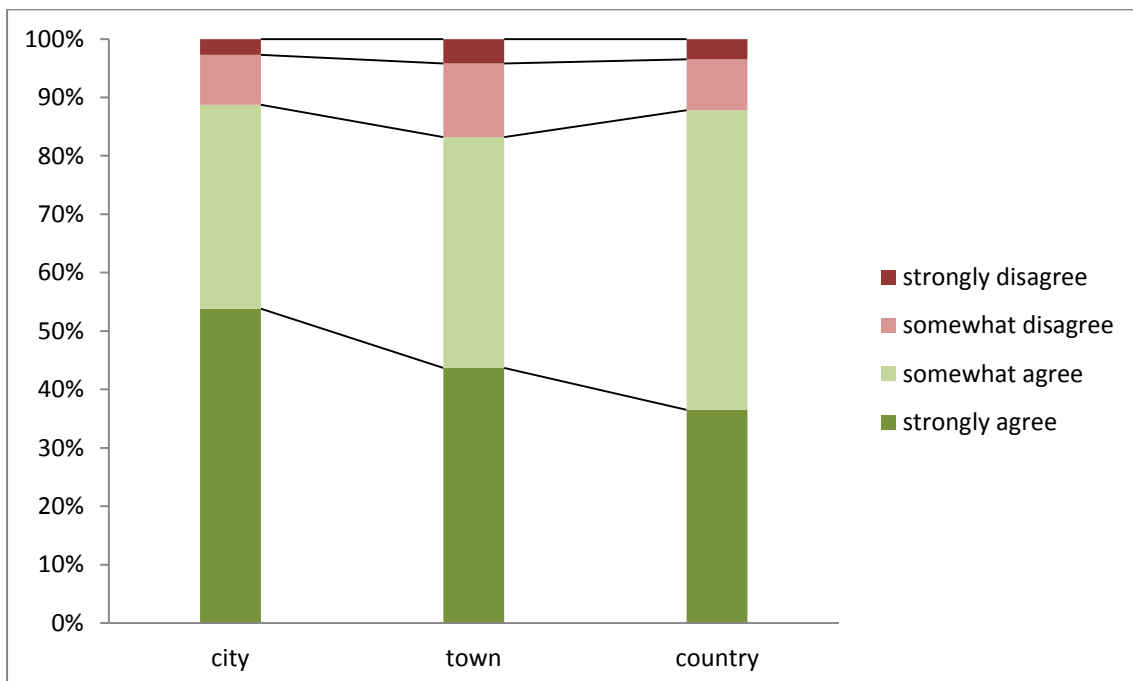


Figure 139: Age distribution for the question 'Which type of English do you aim for when you speak English?'
 $\chi^2=56.969$, $df=12$, $p<0.001$

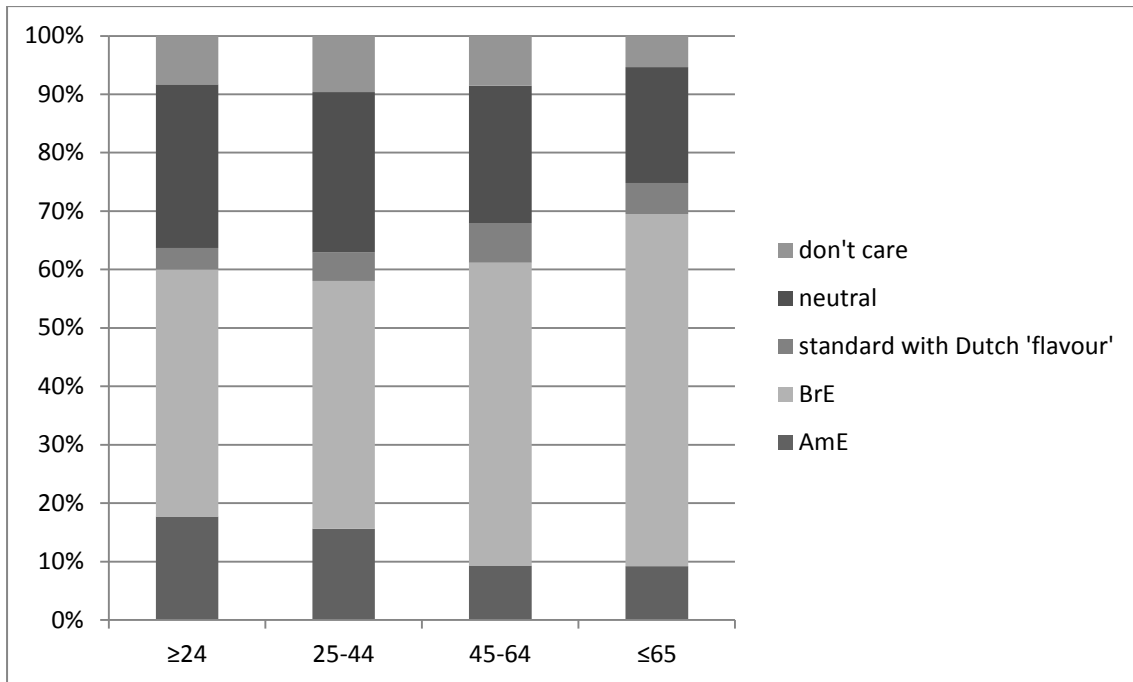


Figure 140: Sex distribution for the question 'Which type of English do you aim for when you speak English?'
 $\chi^2=1.196$, $df=4$, $p=0.879$

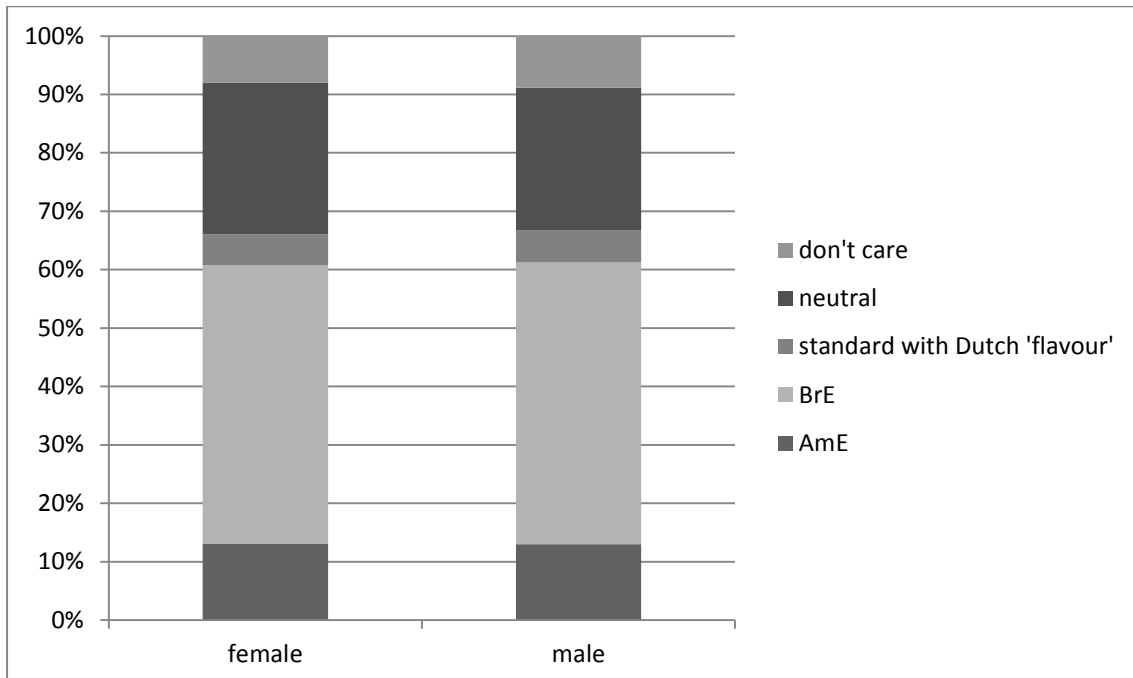


Figure 141: Education level distribution for the question 'Which type of English do you aim for when you speak English?'

$\chi^2=9.756$, $df=12$, $p=0.637$

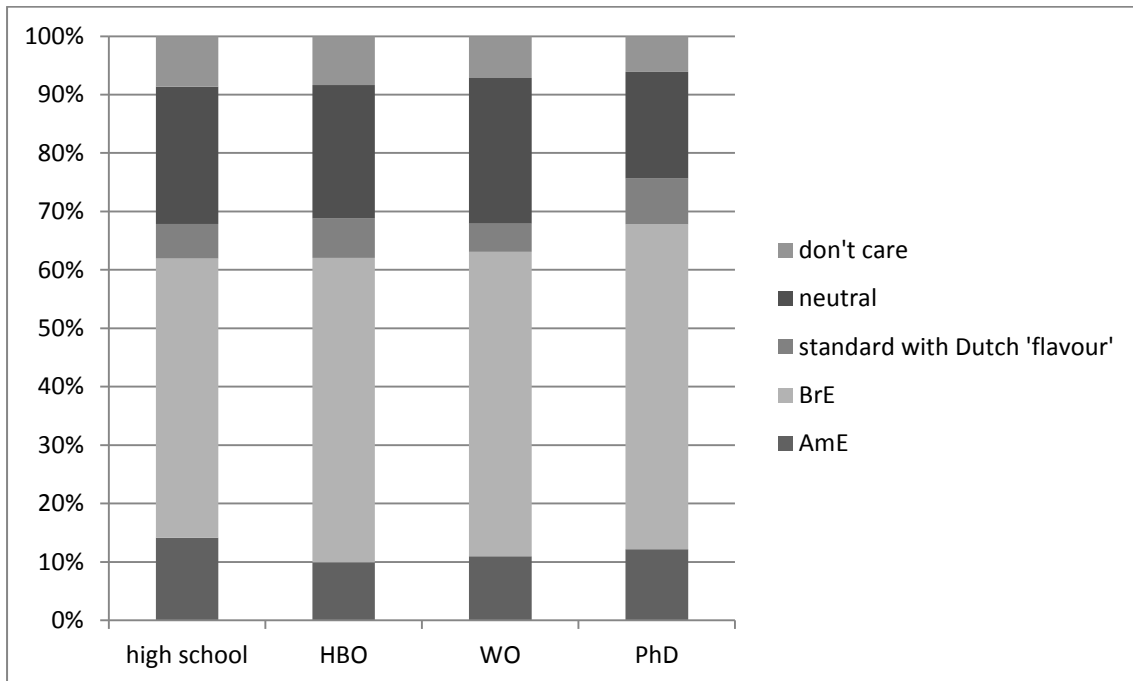


Figure 142: Higher education language distribution for the question 'Which type of English do you aim for when you speak English?'

$\chi^2=40.516$, $df=12$, $p<0.001$

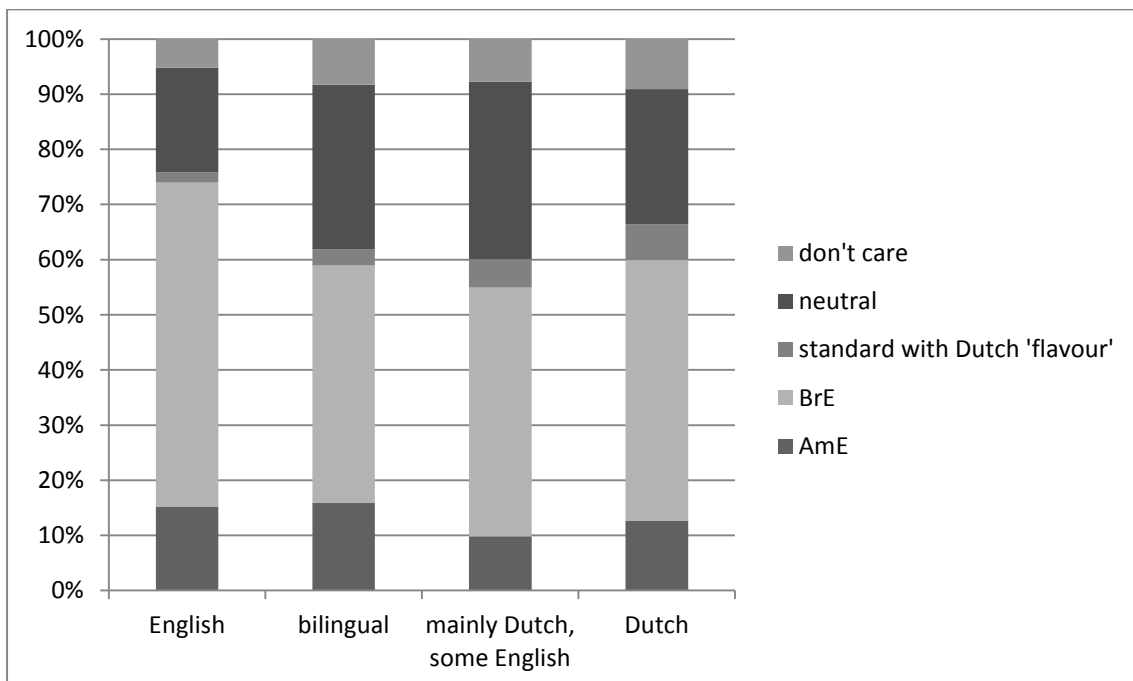


Figure 143: Occupation distribution for the question 'Which type of English do you aim for when you speak English?'

$\chi^2=38.699$, $df=24$, $p=0.029$

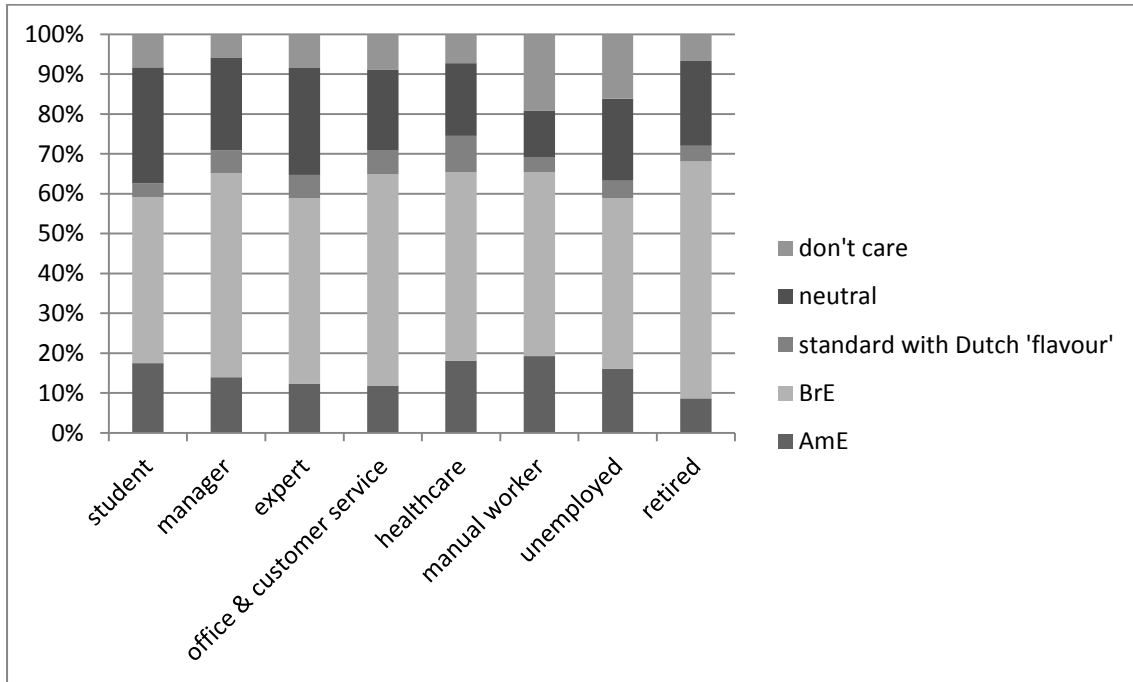


Figure 144: Residential distribution for the question 'Which type of English do you aim for when you speak English?'

$\chi^2=15.362$, $df=8$, $p=0.052$

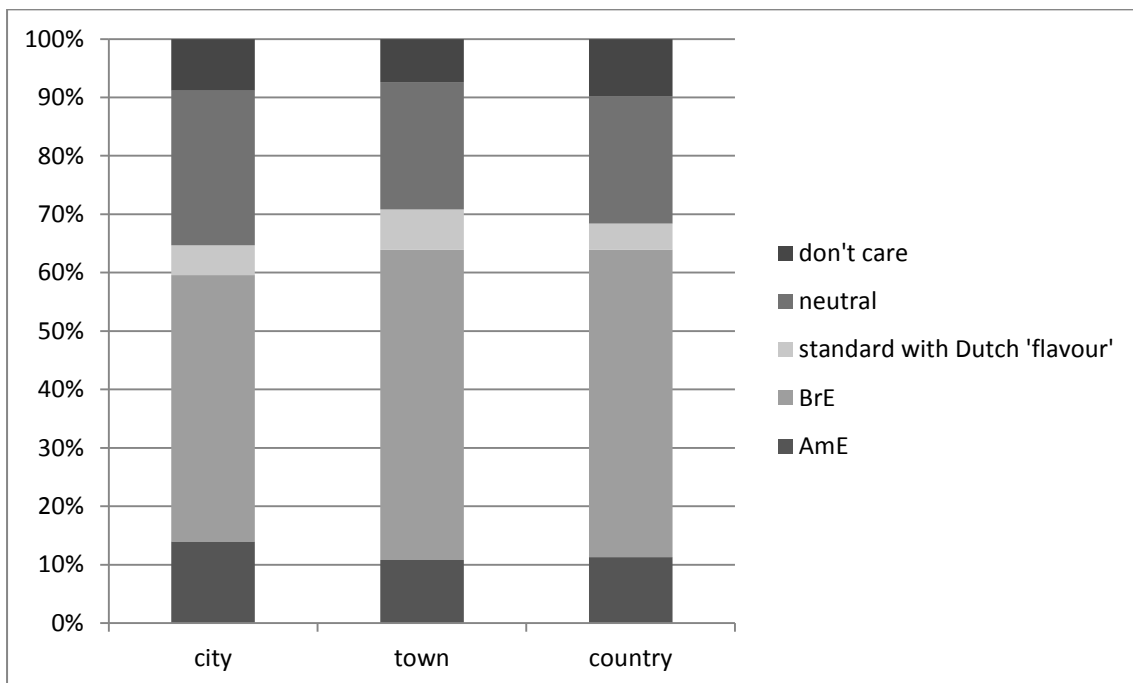


Figure 145: Age distribution for the question 'If you were to name the type of English you actually speak, what would you call it?'

$\chi^2=97.838$, $df=12$, $p<0.001$

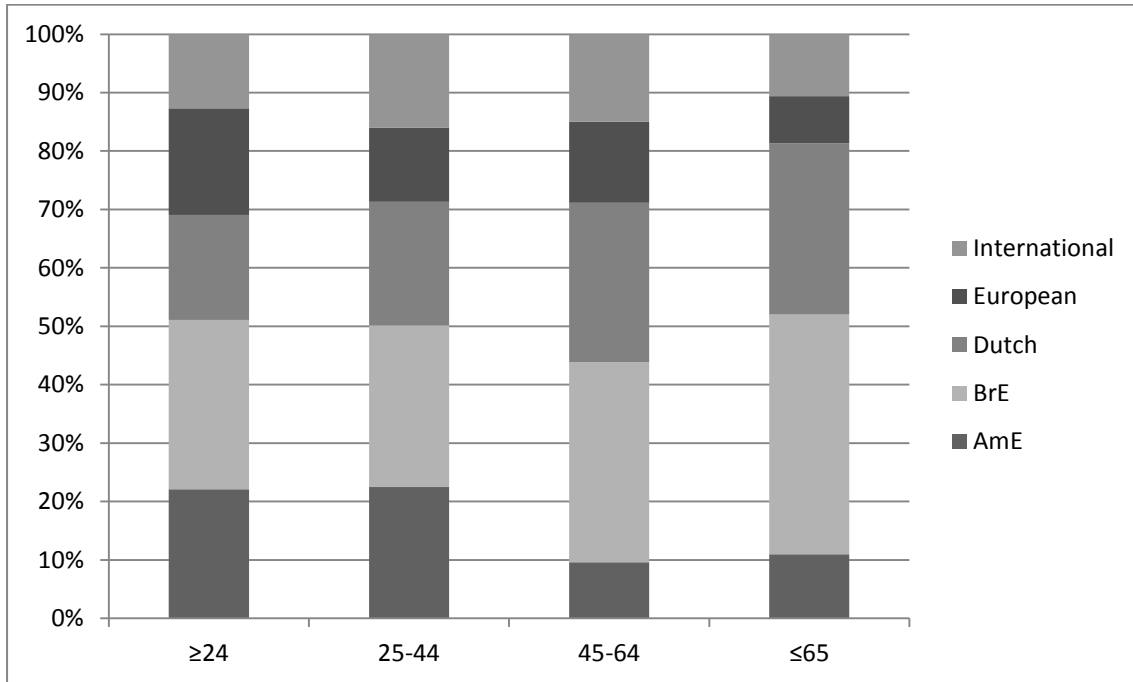


Figure 146: Sex distribution for the question 'If you were to name the type of English you actually speak, what would you call it?'

$\chi^2=17.626$, $df=4$, $p=0.001$

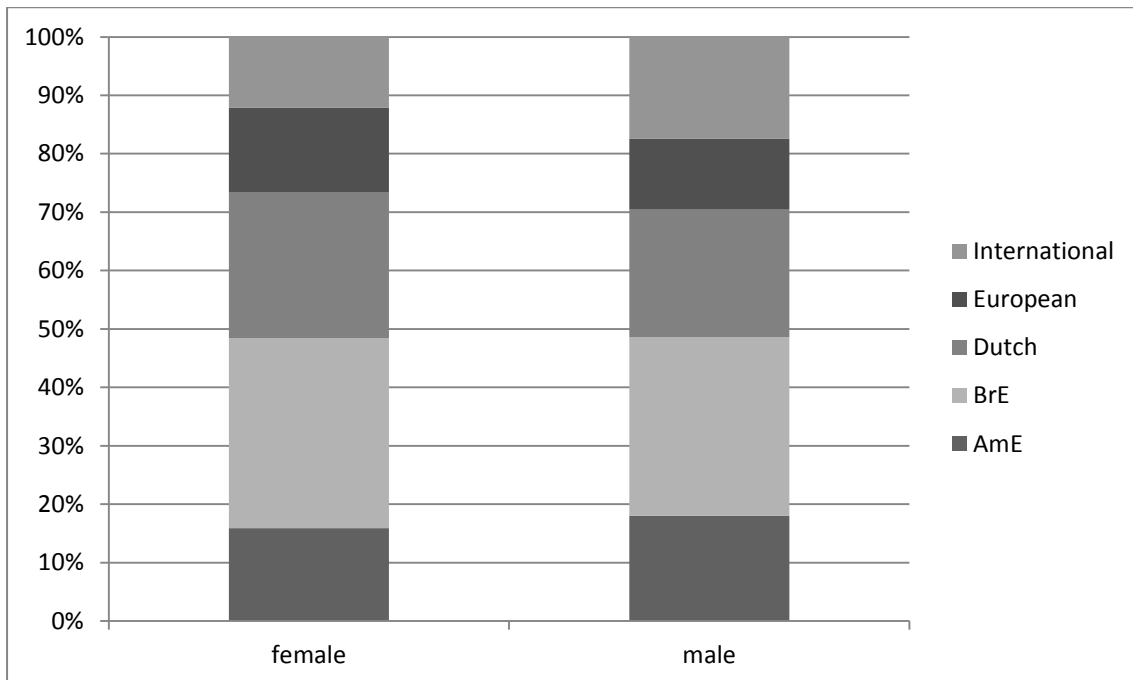


Figure 147: Education level distribution for the question 'If you were to name the type of English you actually speak, what would you call it?'

$\chi^2=16.118$, $df=12$, $p=0.186$

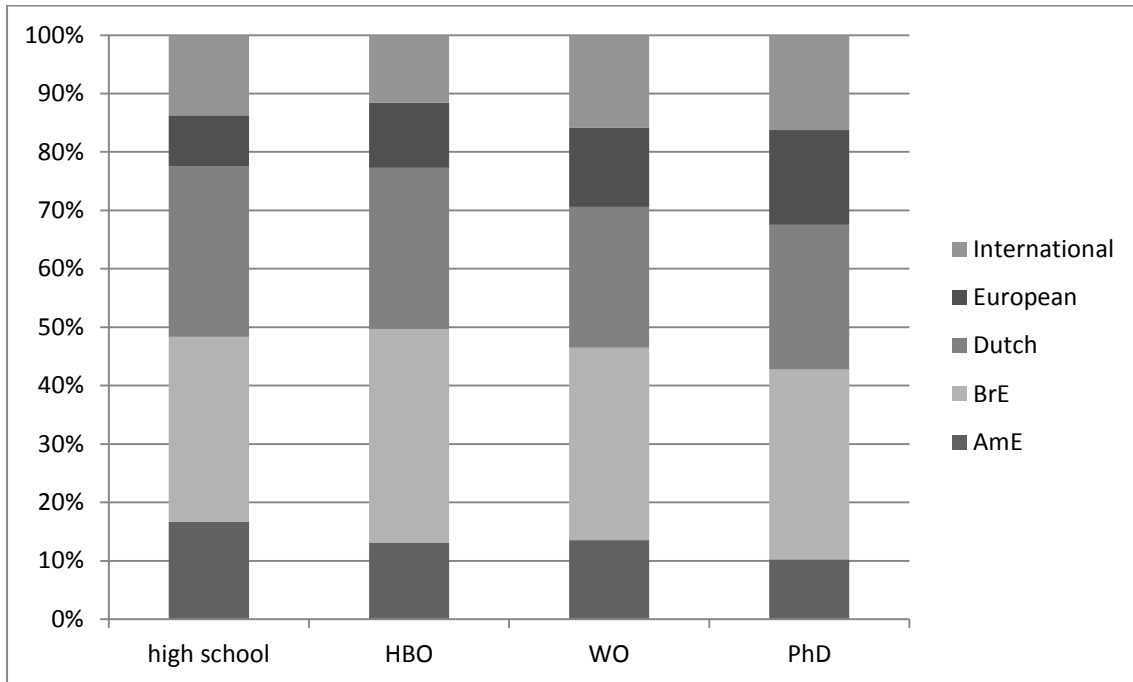


Figure 148: Higher education language distribution for the question 'If you were to name the type of English you actually speak, what would you call it?'

$\chi^2=115.576$, $df=12$, $p<0.001$

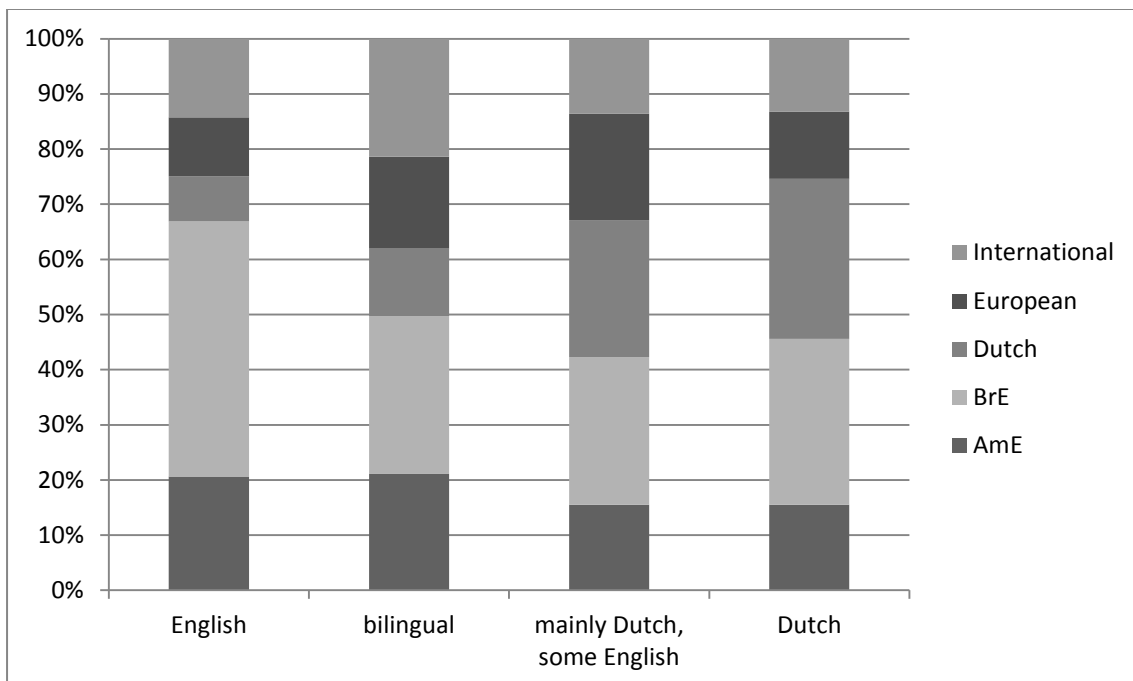


Figure 149: Occupation distribution for the question 'If you were to name the type of English you actually speak, what would you call it?'

$\chi^2=56.962$, $df=24$, $p<0.001$

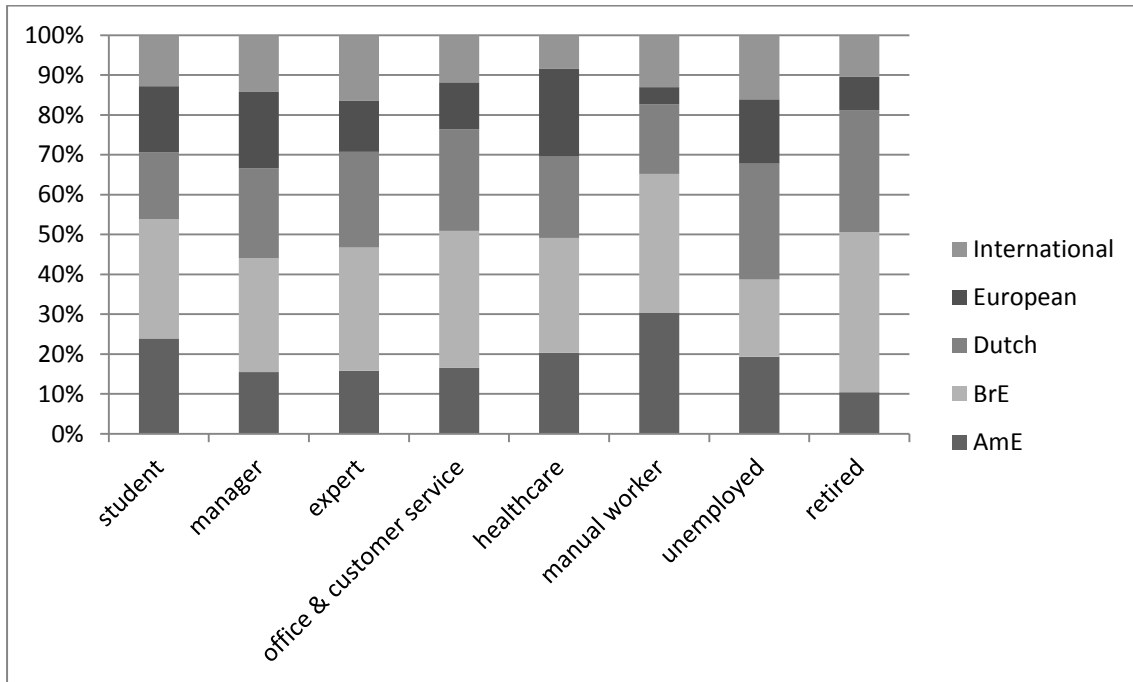


Figure 150: Residential distribution for the question 'If you were to name the type of English you actually speak, what would you call it?'

$\chi^2=8.321$, $df=8$, $p=0.403$

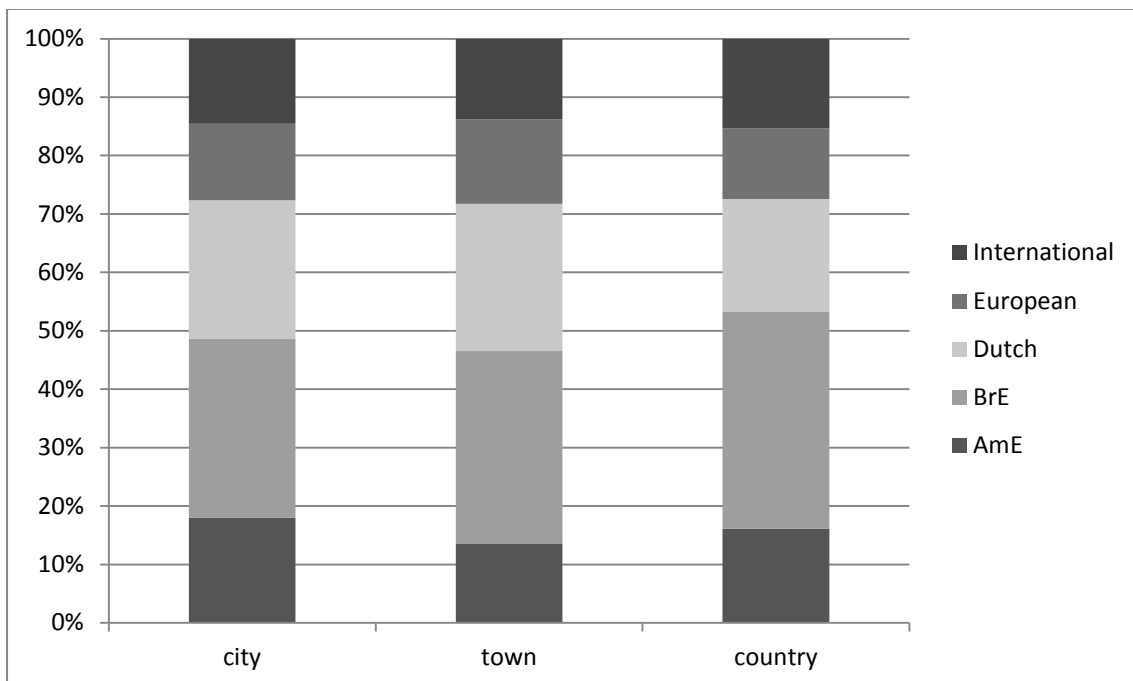


Figure 151: Age distribution for the statement 'When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I'm from'

$\chi^2=14.983$, $df=3$, $p=0.002$

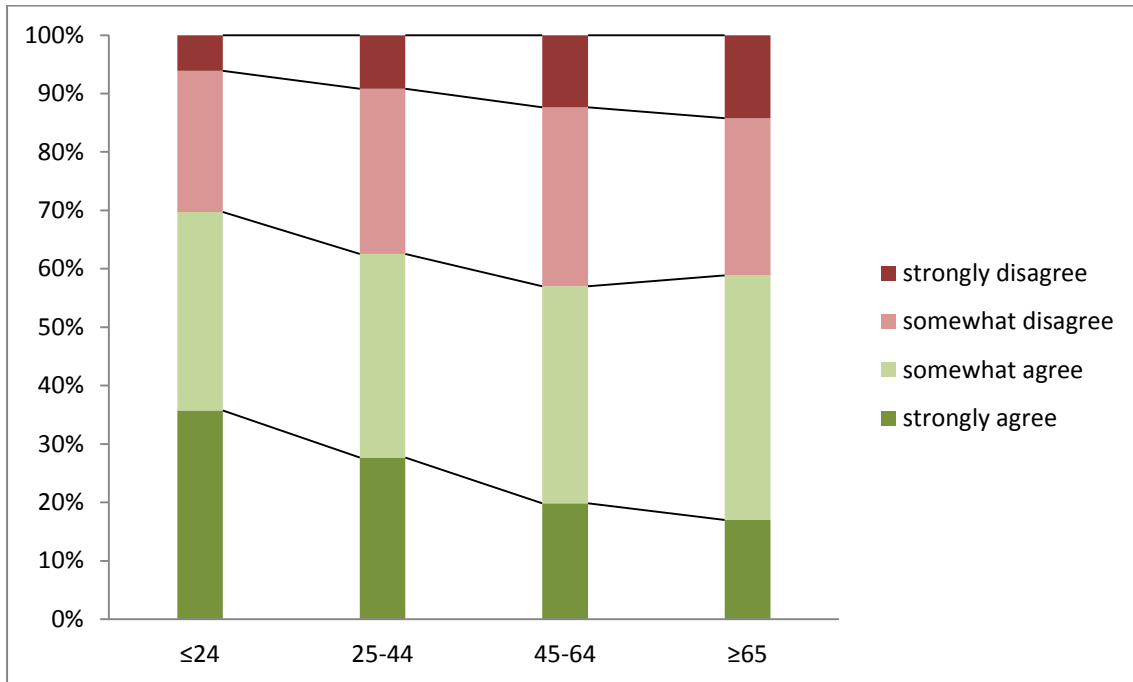


Figure 152: Sex distribution for the statement 'When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I'm from'

$\chi^2=0.558$, $df=1$, $p=0.455$

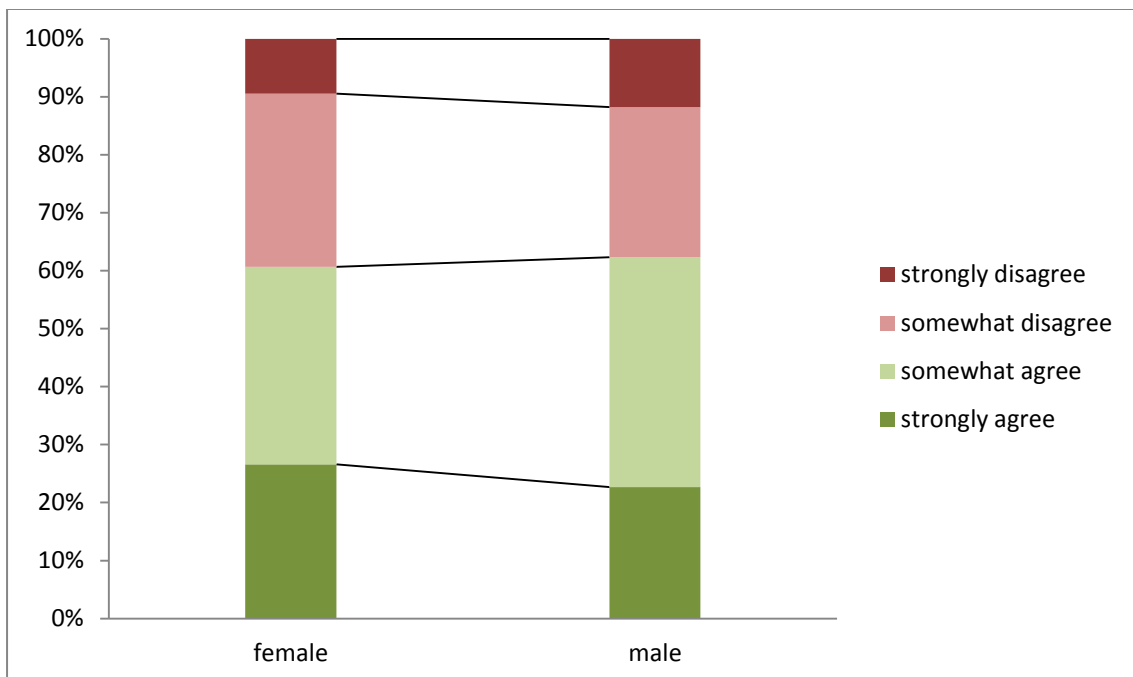


Figure 153: Education level distribution for the statement 'When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I'm from'

$\chi^2=4.497$, $df=3$, $p=0.213$

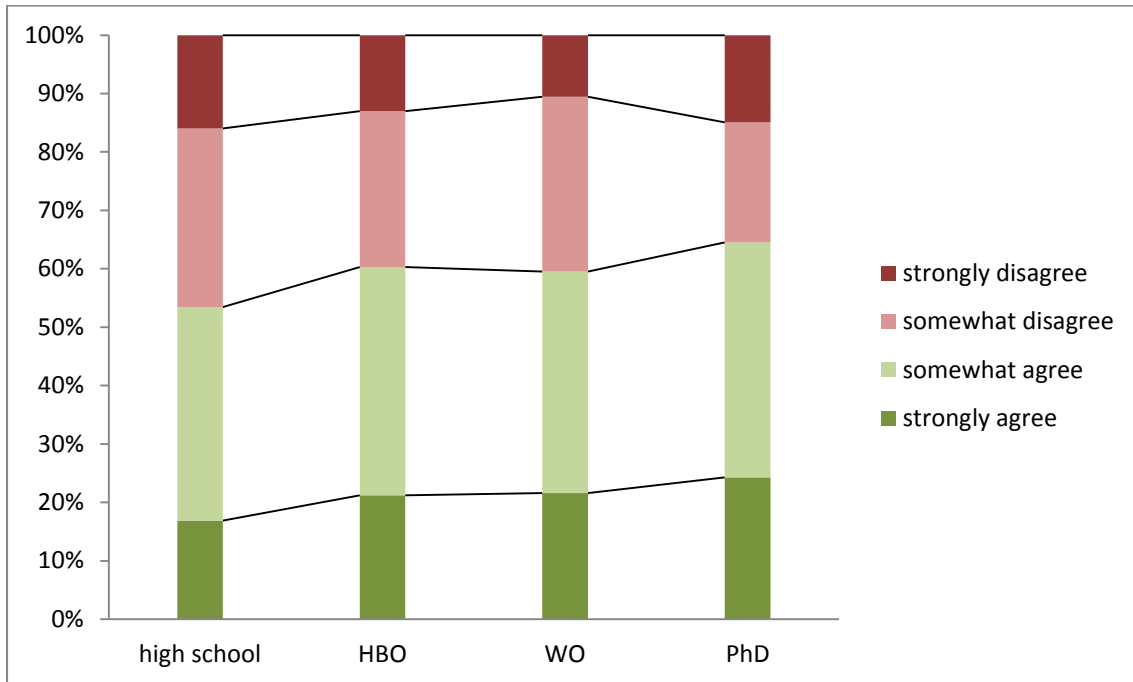


Figure 154: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I'm from'

$\chi^2=46.757$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

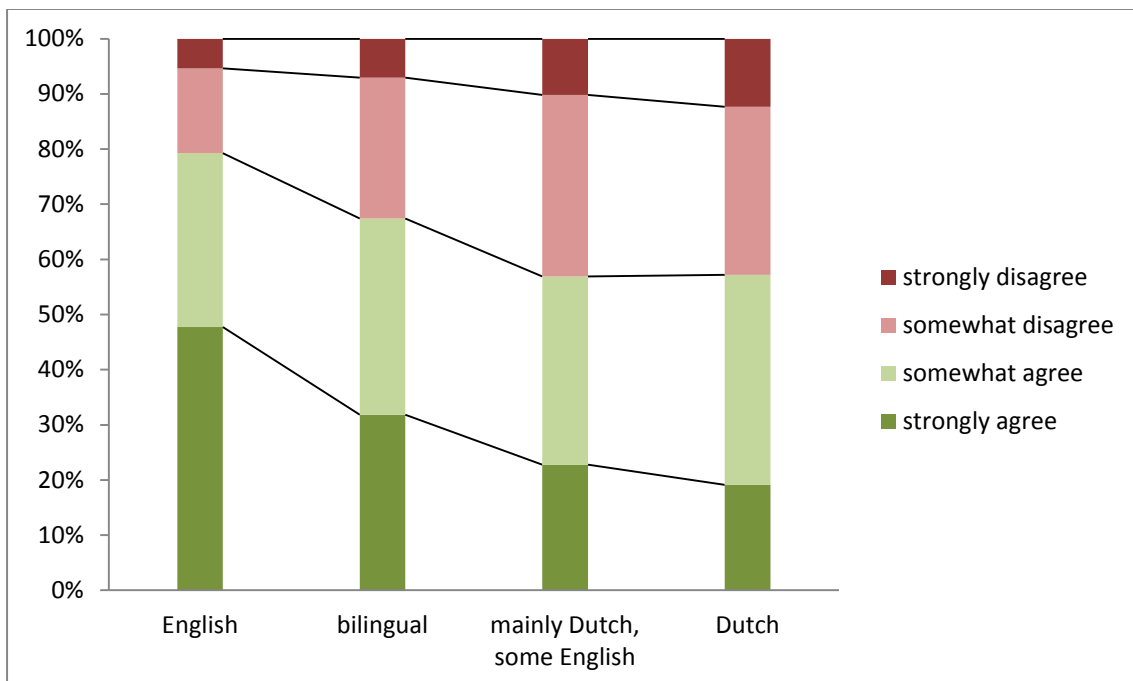


Figure 155: Occupation distribution for the statement 'When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I'm from'

$\chi^2=17.401$, $df=6$, $p=0.008$

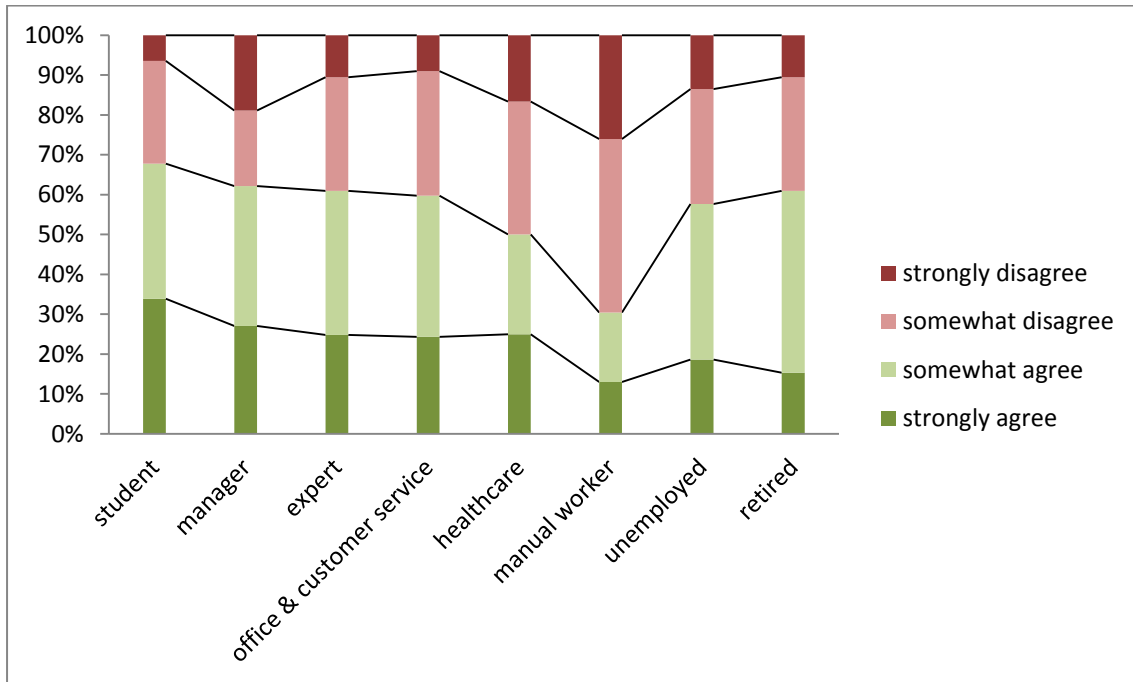


Figure 156: Residential distribution for the statement 'When I speak English to outsiders, they should not be able to recognise where I'm from'

$\chi^2=1.398$, $df=2$, $p=0.497$

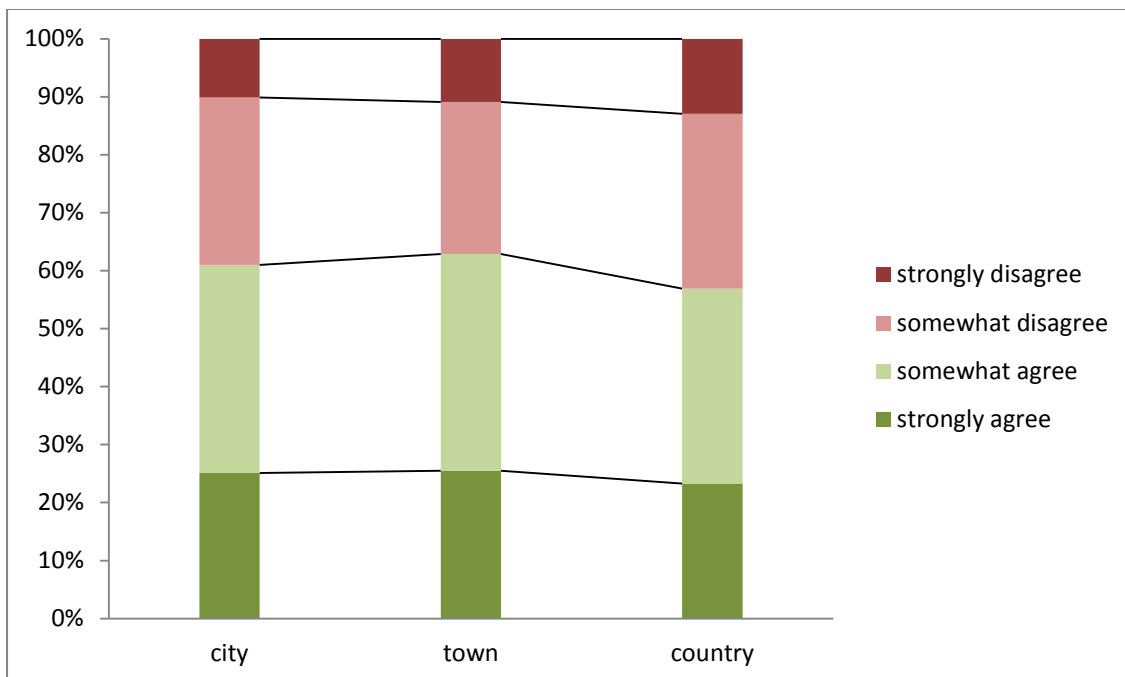


Figure 157: Age distribution for the statement 'As long as my English is good, I don't mind if it has a bit of Dutch "flavour"'

$\chi^2=25.057$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

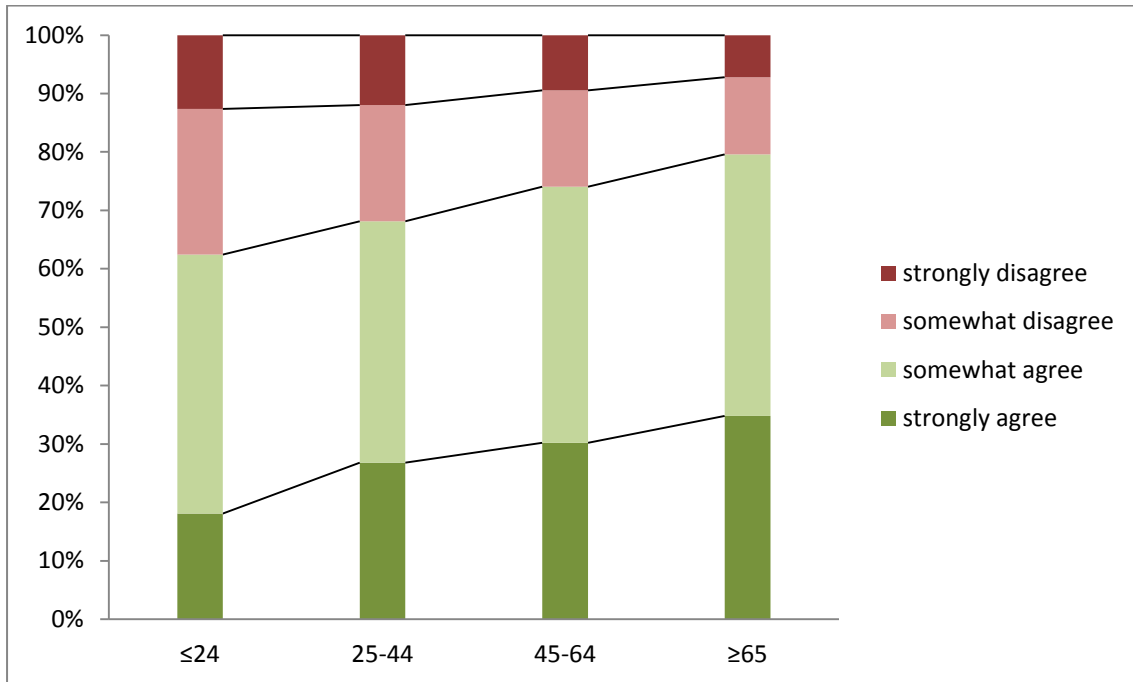


Figure 158: Sex distribution for the statement 'As long as my English is good, I don't mind if it has a bit of Dutch "flavour"'

$\chi^2=0.000$, $df=1$, $p=0.993$

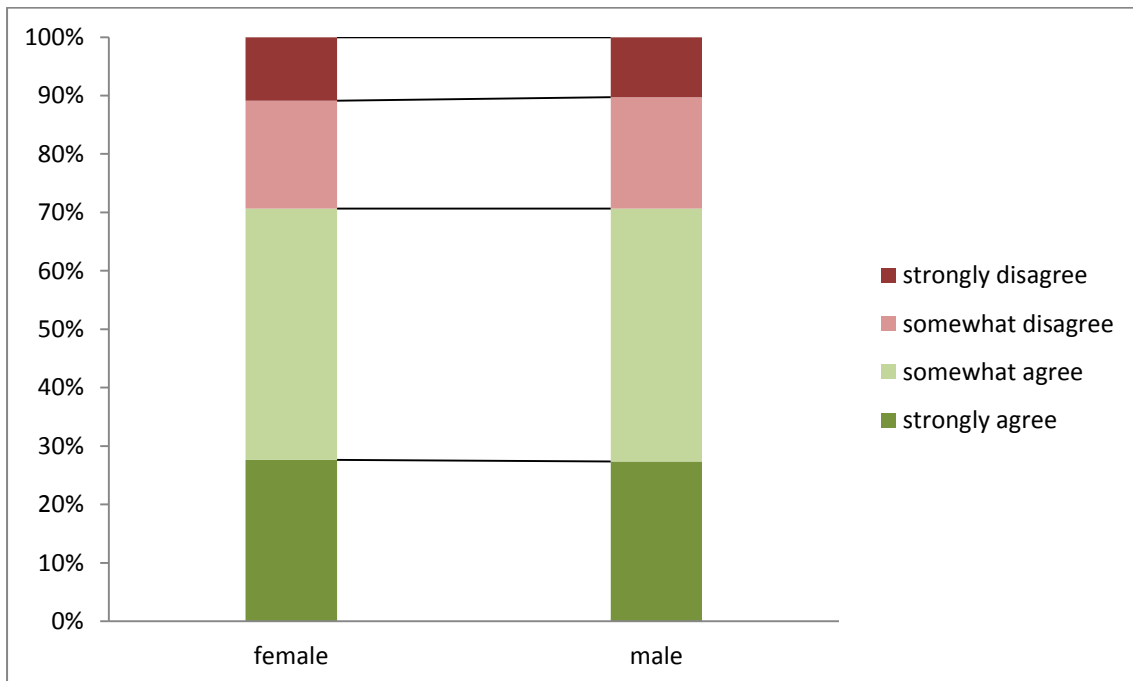


Figure 159: Education level distribution for the statement ‘As long as my English is good, I don’t mind if it has a bit of Dutch “flavour”’
 $\chi^2=2.875$, $df=3$, $p=0.411$

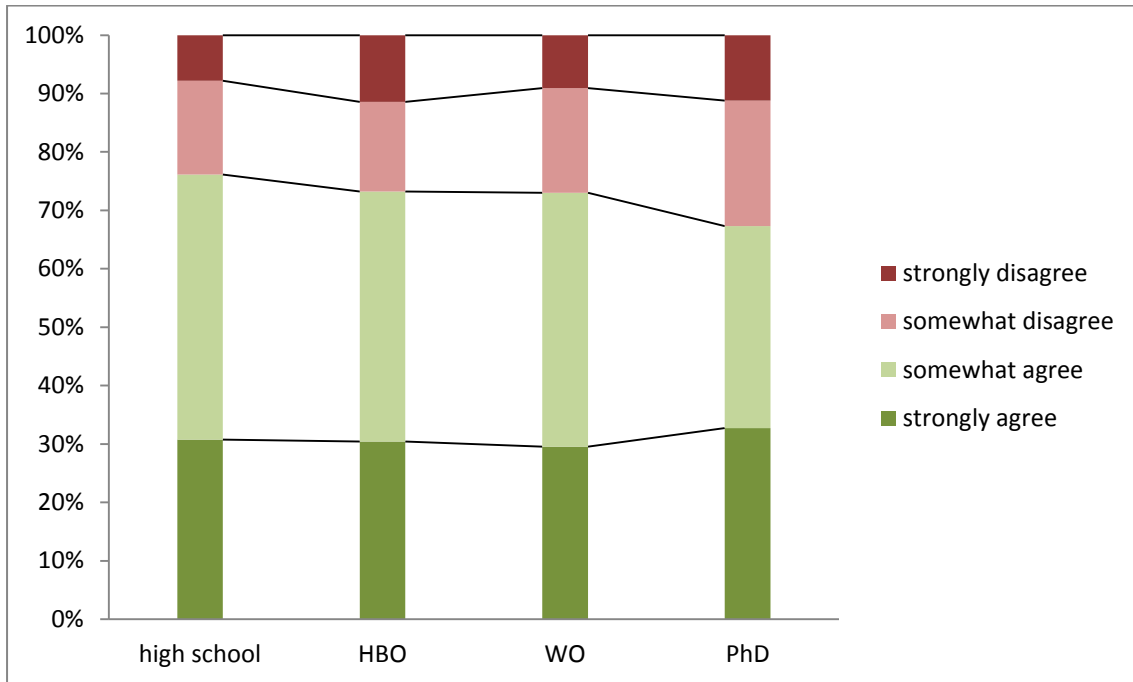


Figure 160: Higher education language distribution for the statement ‘As long as my English is good, I don’t mind if it has a bit of Dutch “flavour”’
 $\chi^2=66.236$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

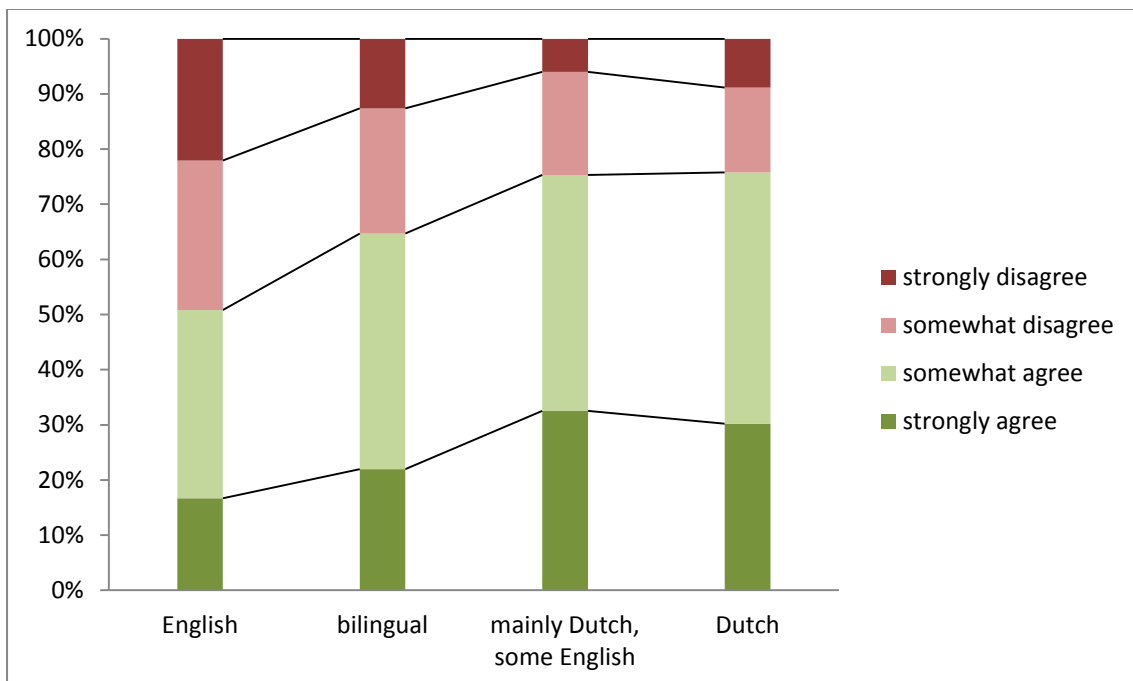


Figure 161: Occupation distribution for the statement 'As long as my English is good, I don't mind if it has a bit of Dutch "flavour"'

$\chi^2=26.906$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

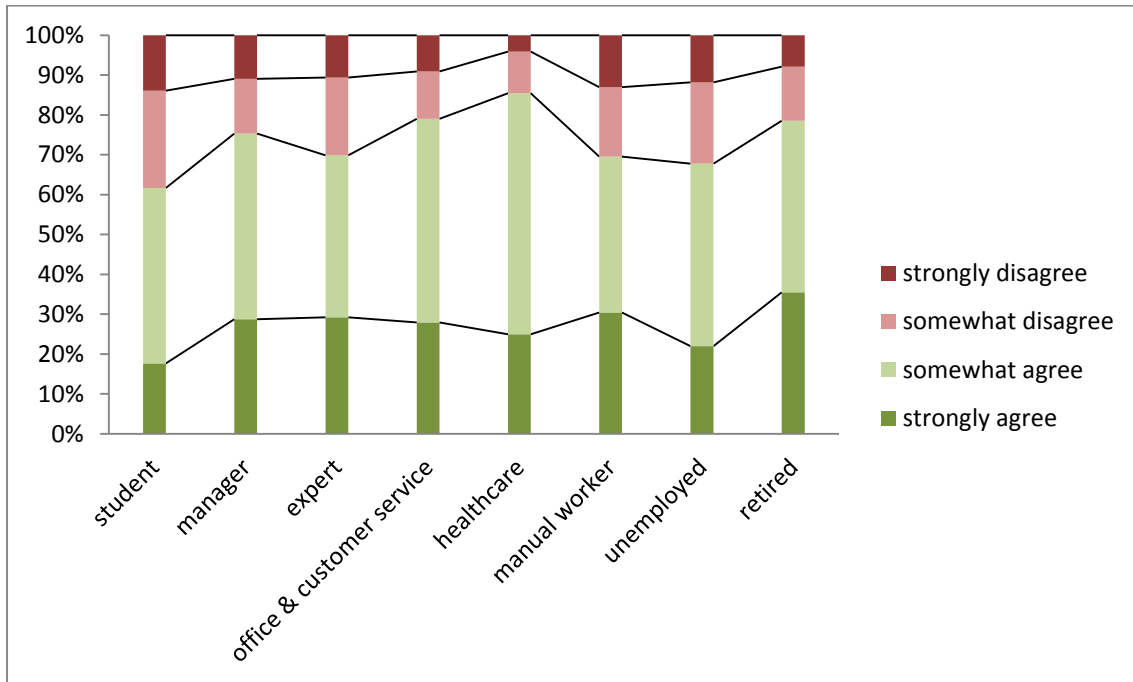


Figure 162: Residential distribution for the statement 'As long as my English is good, I don't mind if it has a bit of Dutch "flavour"'

$\chi^2=1.768$, $df=2$, $p=0.413$

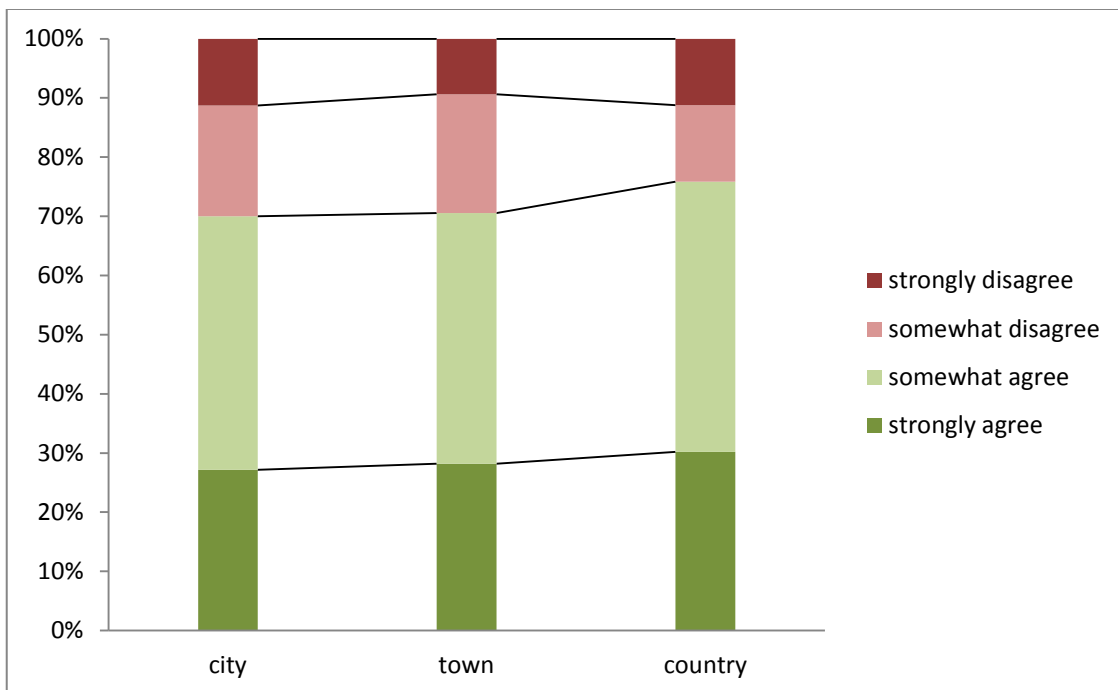


Figure 163: Age distribution for the statement “‘Dunglish’ is bad English’
 $\chi^2=2.370$, $df=3$, $p=0.499$

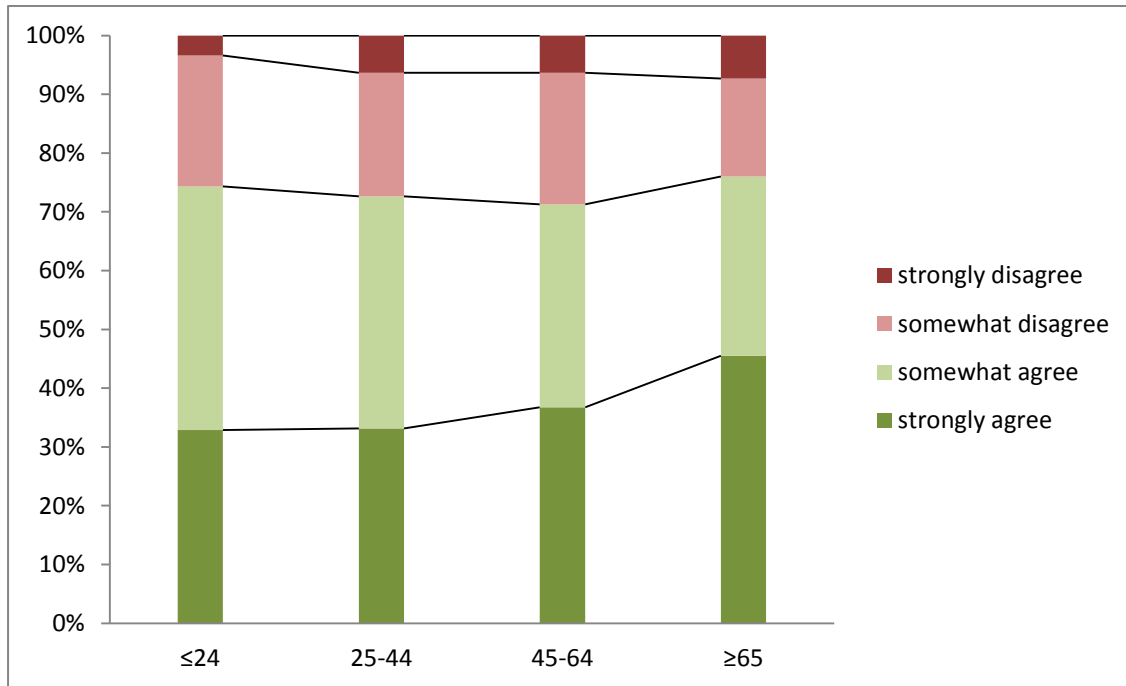


Figure 164: Sex distribution for the statement “‘Dunglish’ is bad English’
 $\chi^2=1.151$, $df=1$, $p=0.283$

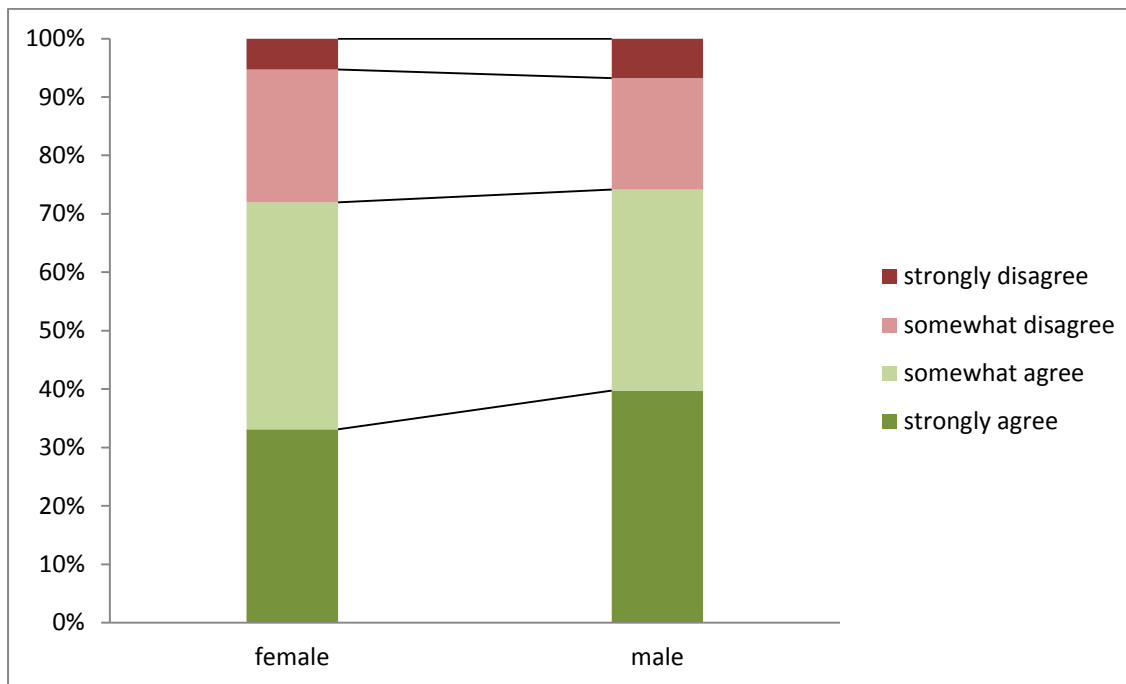


Figure 165: Education level distribution for the statement “Dunglish’ is bad English’
 $\chi^2=5.262$, $df=3$, $p=0.154$

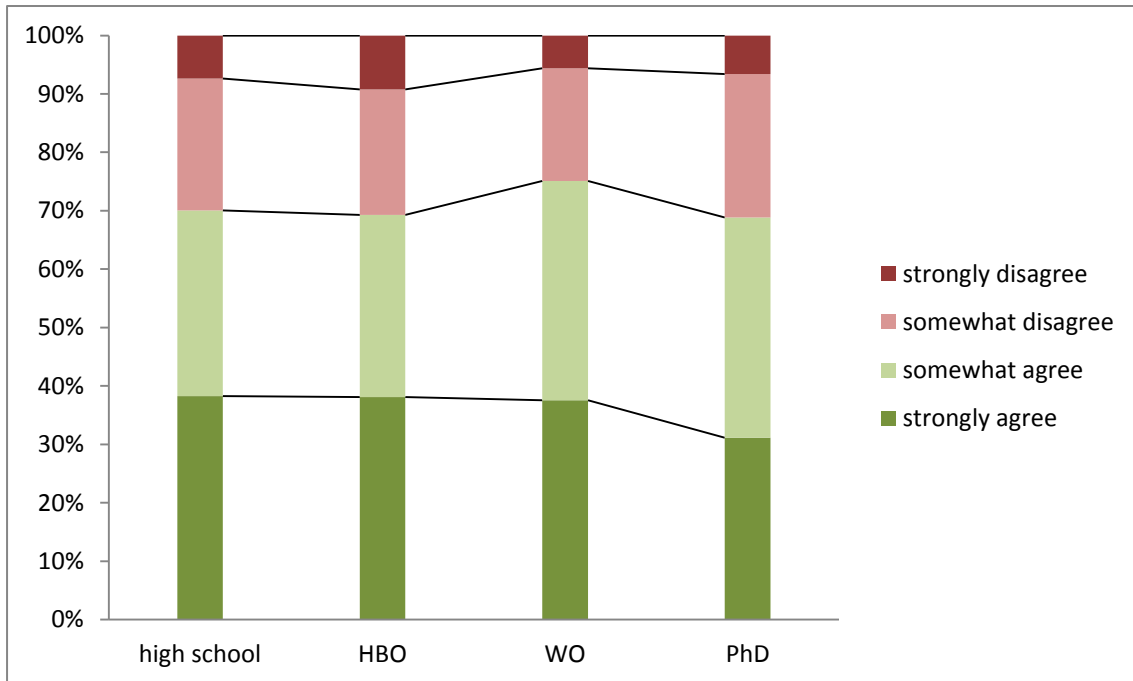


Figure 166: Higher education language distribution for the statement “Dunglish’ is bad English’
 $\chi^2=4.520$, $df=4$, $p=0.340$

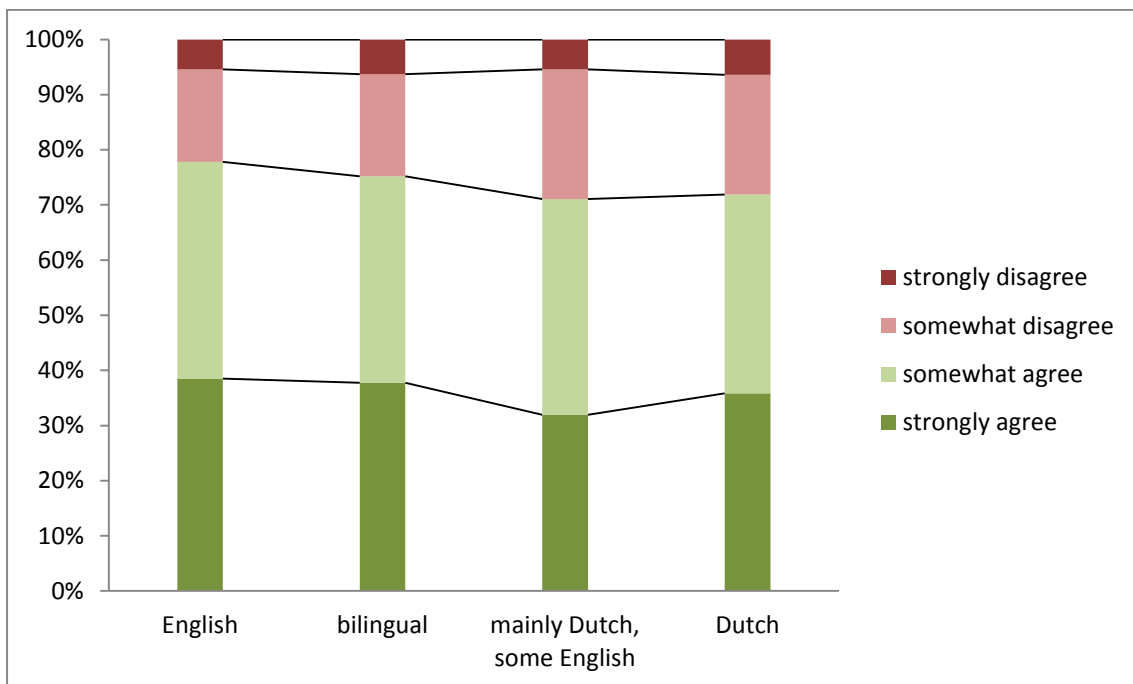


Figure 167: Occupation distribution for the statement “‘Dunglish’ is bad English’
 $\chi^2=12.347$, $df=6$, $p=0.055$

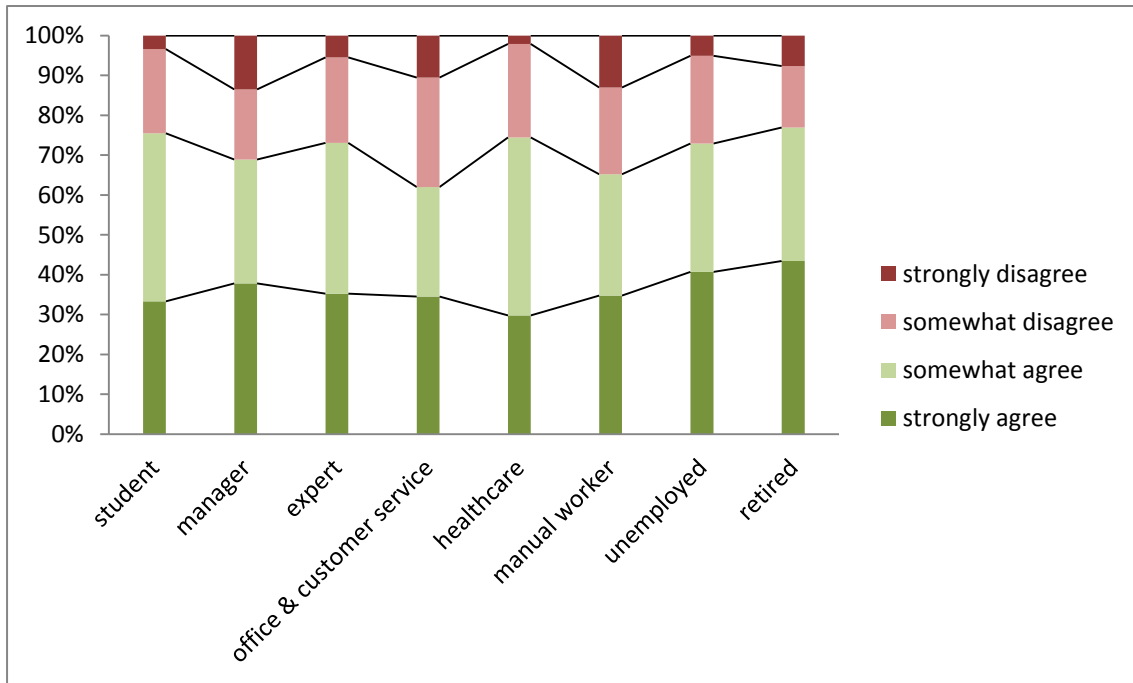


Figure 168: Residential distribution for the statement “‘Dunglish’ is bad English’
 $\chi^2=0.816$, $df=2$, $p=0.665$

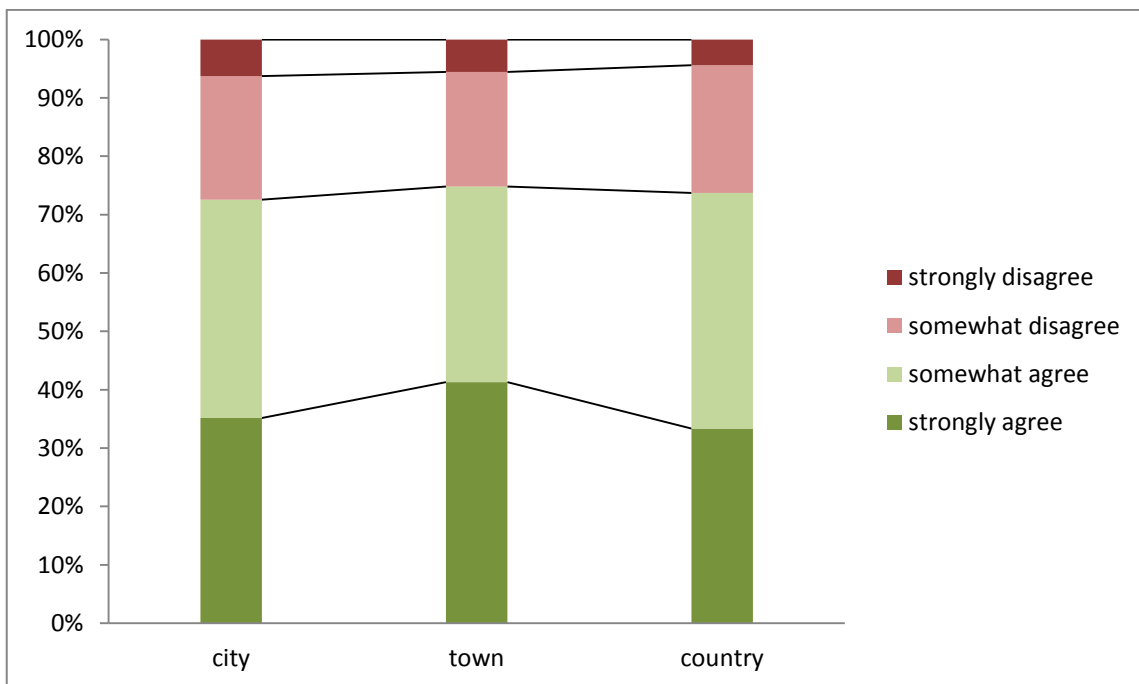


Figure 169: Age distribution for the statement 'For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English'
 $\chi^2=14.521$, $df=3$, $p=0.002$

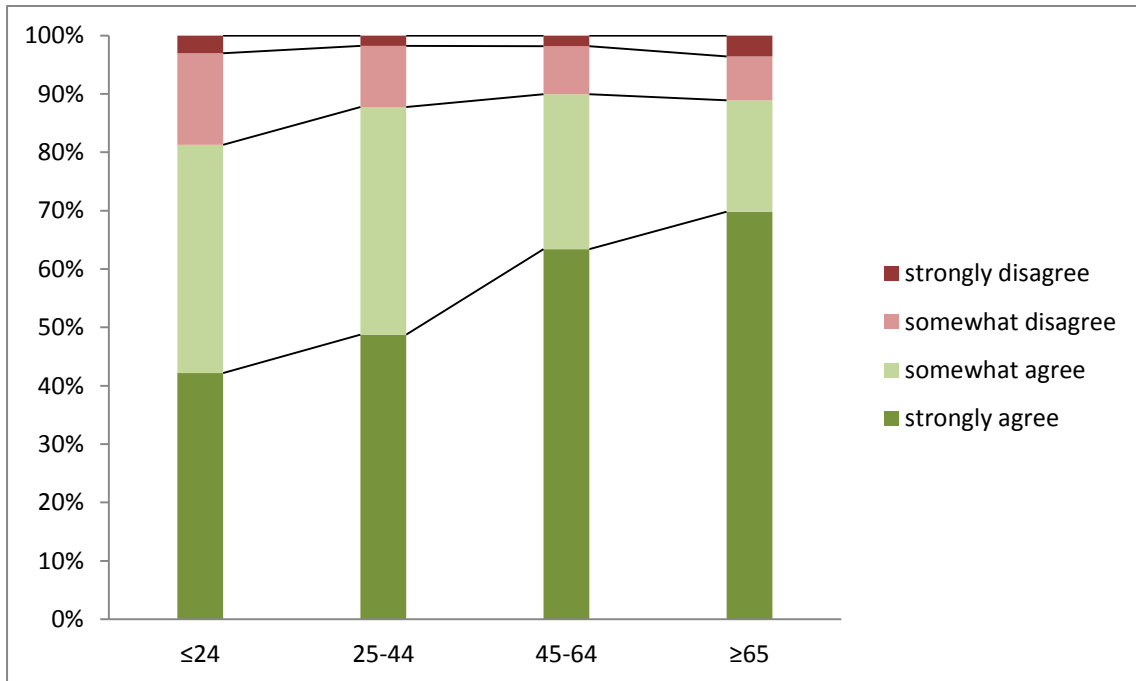


Figure 170: Sex distribution for the statement 'For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English'
 $\chi^2=0.006$, $df=1$, $p=0.938$

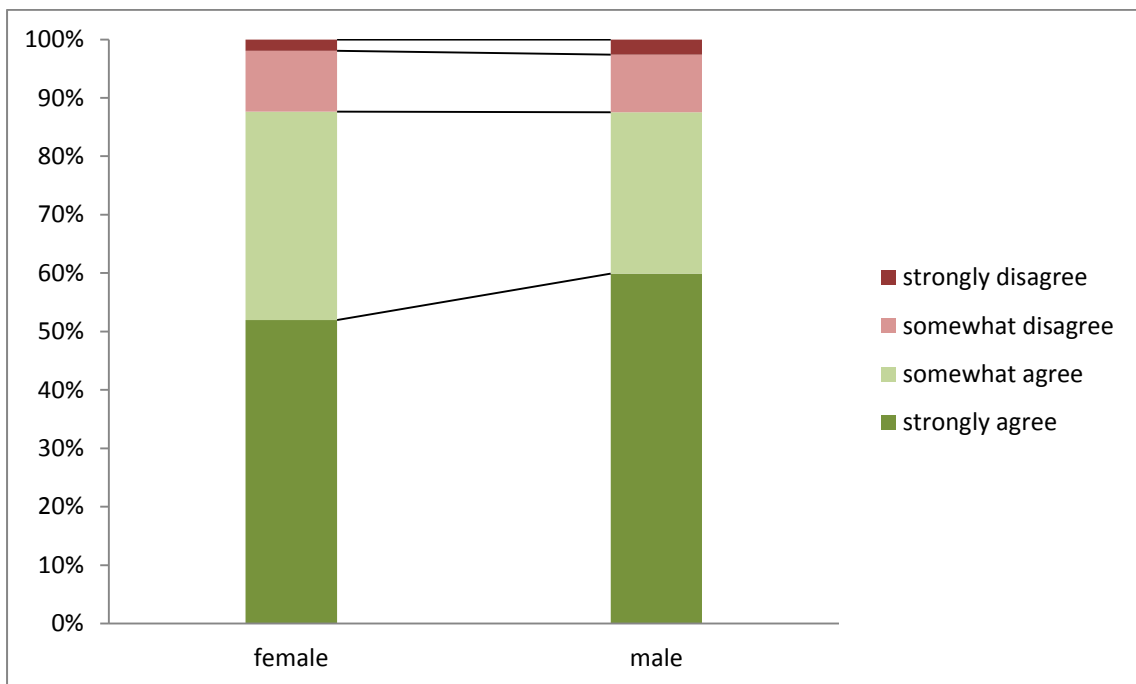


Figure 171: Education level distribution for the statement 'For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English'

$\chi^2=12.677$, $df=3$, $p=0.005$

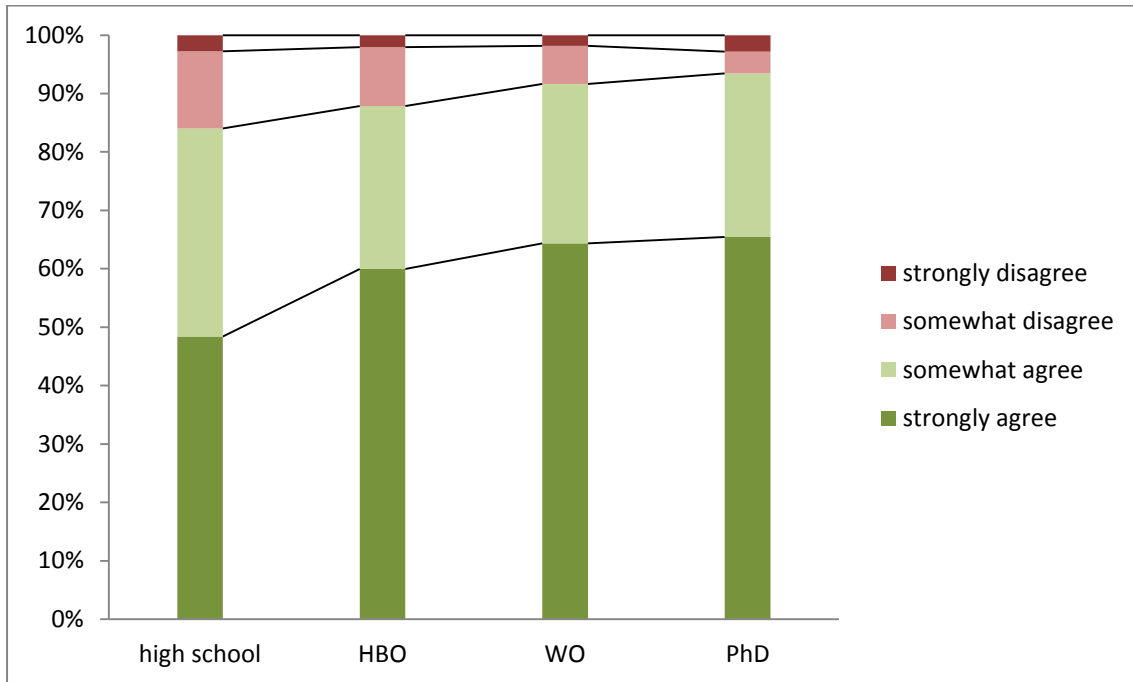


Figure 172: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English'

$\chi^2=2.358$, $df=4$, $p=0.670$

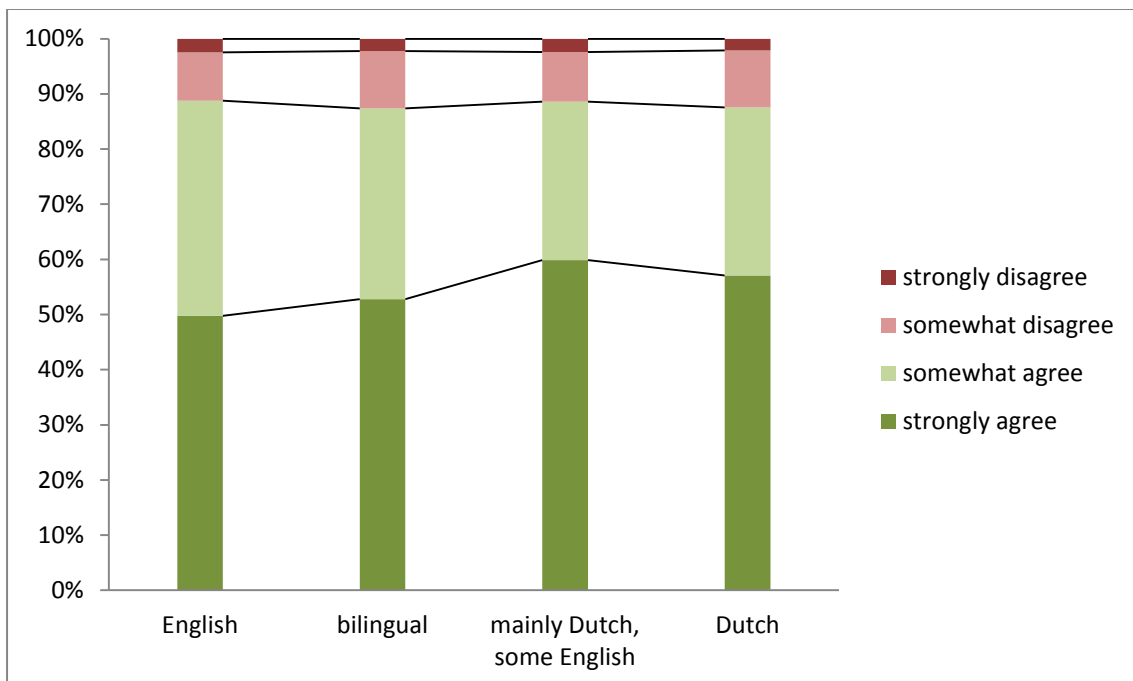


Figure 173: Occupation distribution for the statement 'For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English'

$\chi^2=10.793$, $df=6$, $p=0.095$

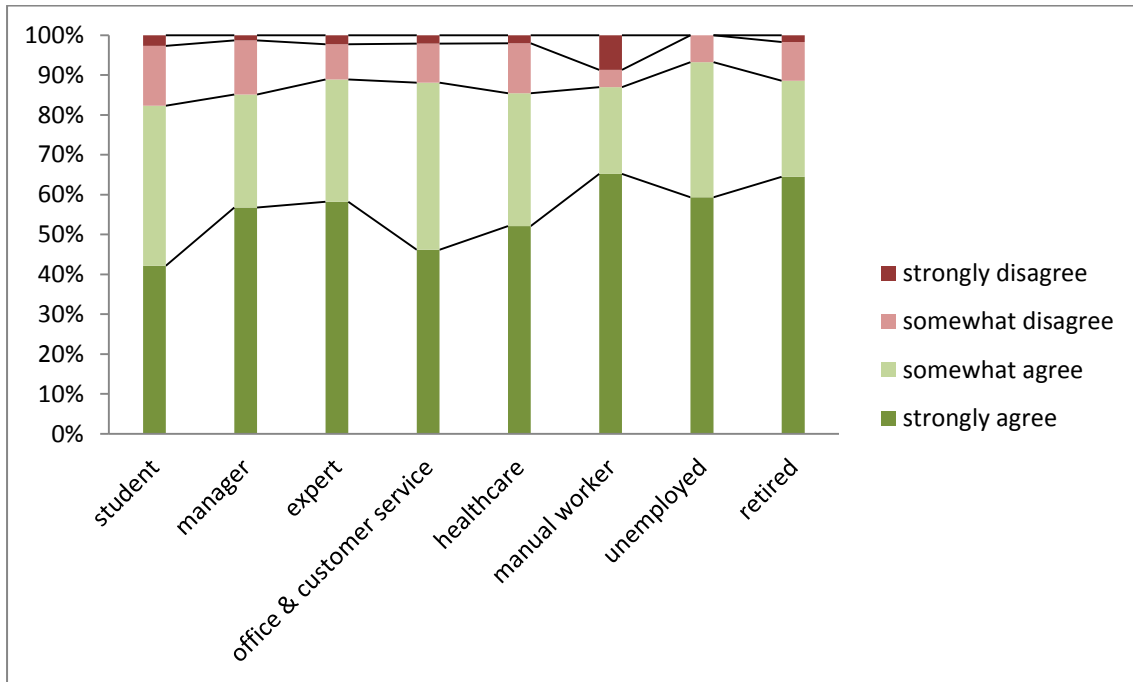


Figure 174: Residential distribution for the statement 'For Dutch people, Dutch is more important than English'

$\chi^2=9.779$, $df=2$, $p=0.008$

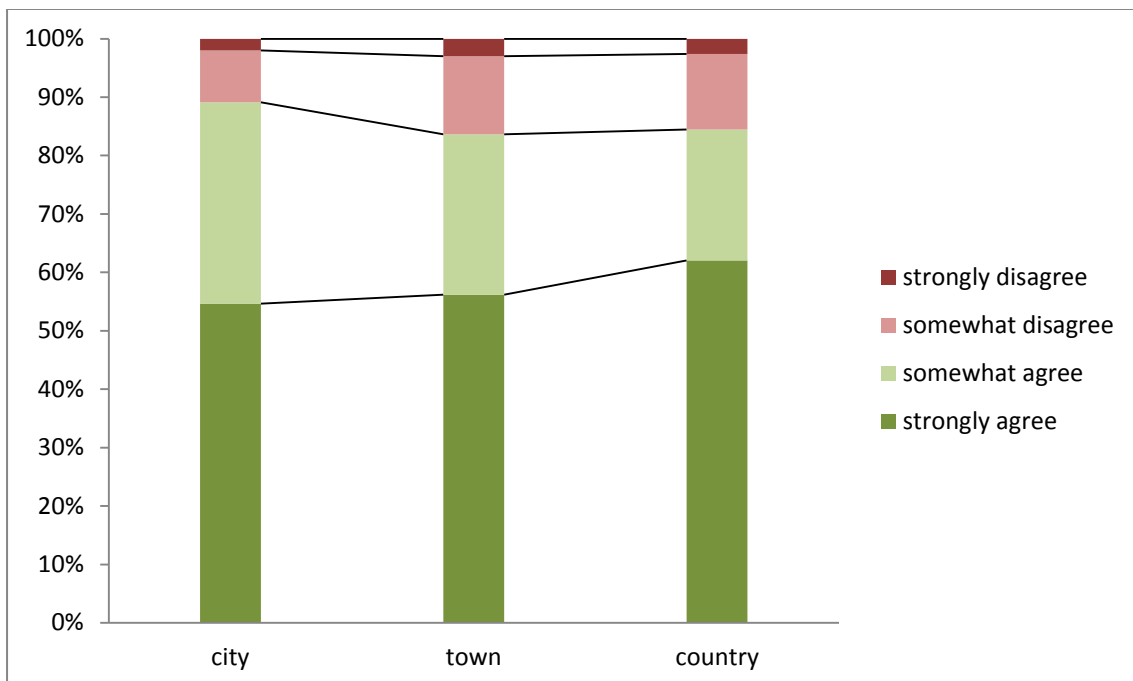


Figure 175: Age distribution for the statement 'English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands'
 $\chi^2=14.064$, $df=3$, $p=0.003$

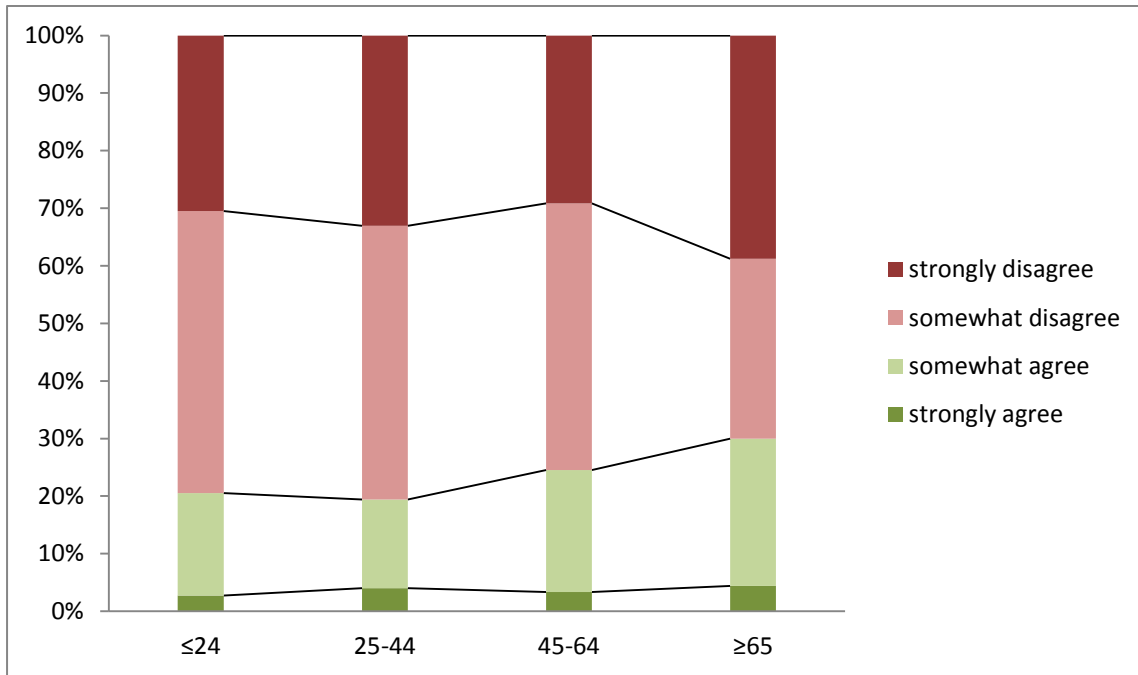


Figure 176: Sex distribution for the statement 'English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands'
 $\chi^2=1.671$, $df=1$, $p=0.196$

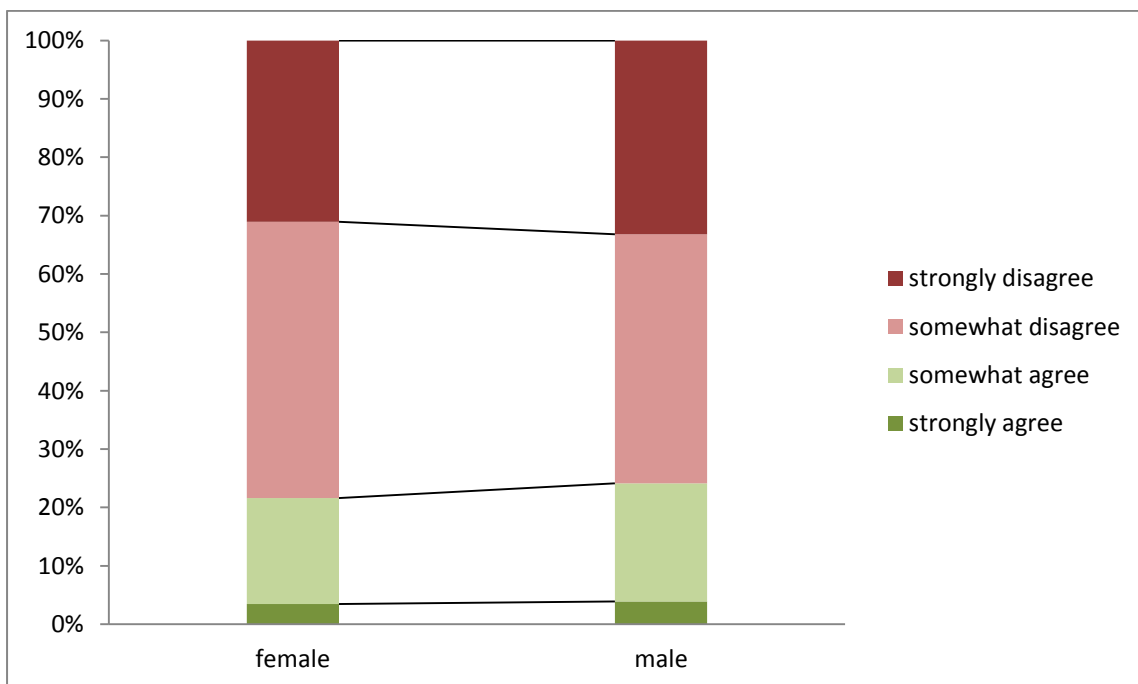


Figure 177: Education level distribution for the statement 'English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands'

$\chi^2=0.183$, $df=3$, $p=0.980$

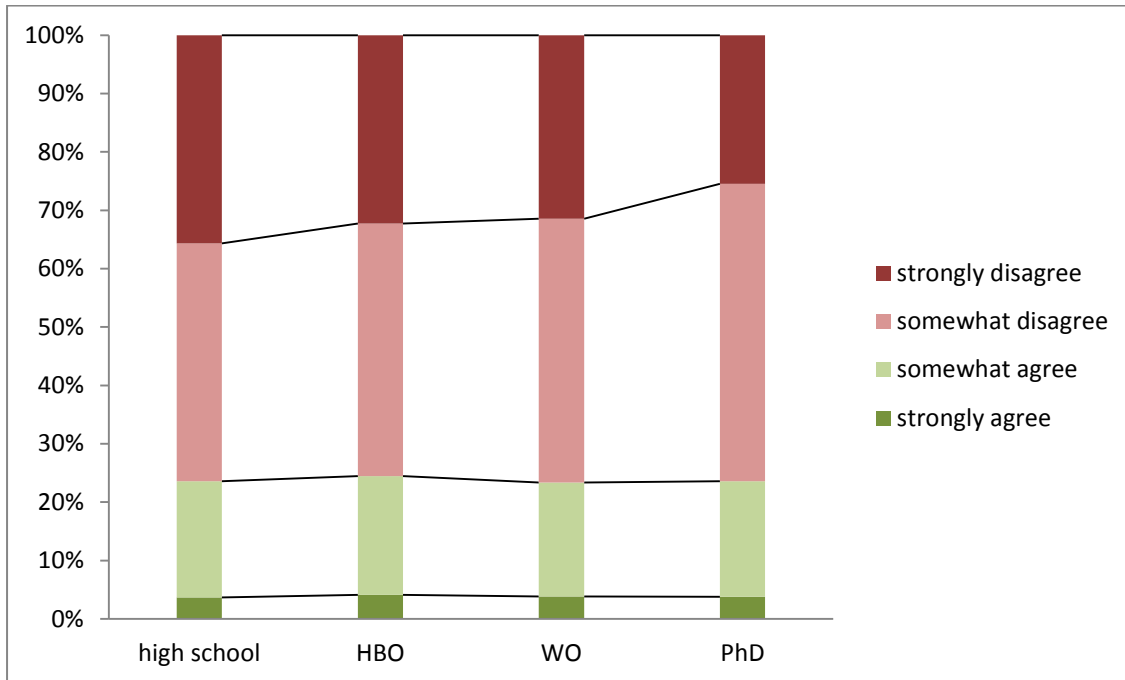


Figure 178: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands'

$\chi^2=4.169$, $df=4$, $p=0.384$

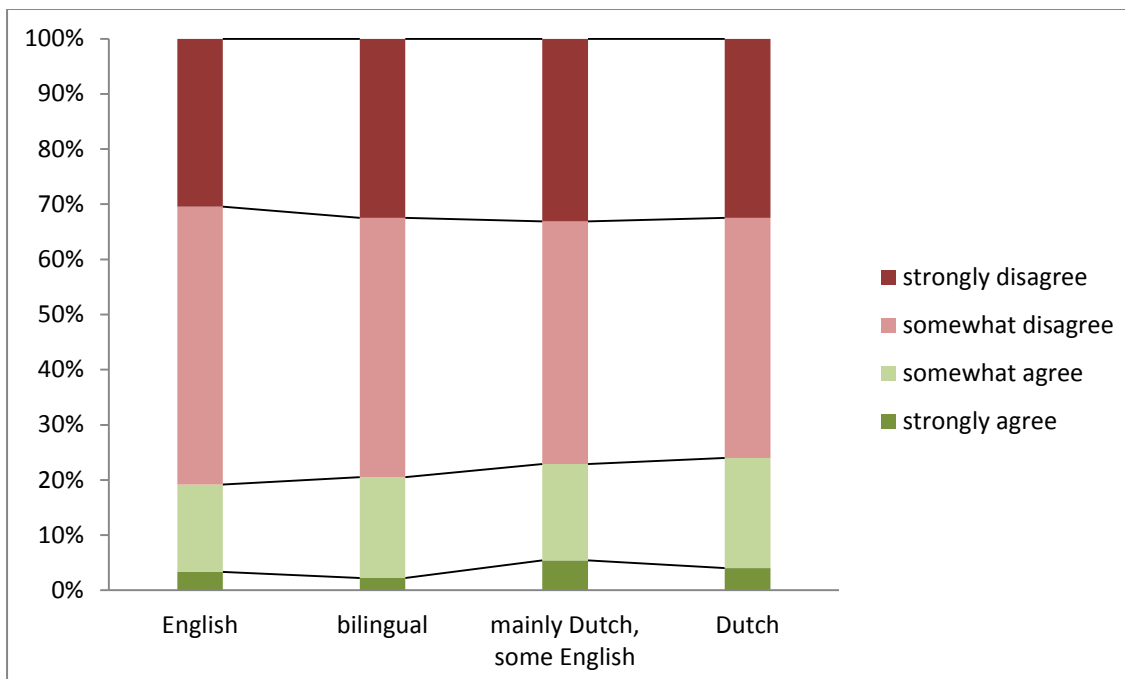


Figure 179: Occupation distribution for the statement 'English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands'

$\chi^2=98.086$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

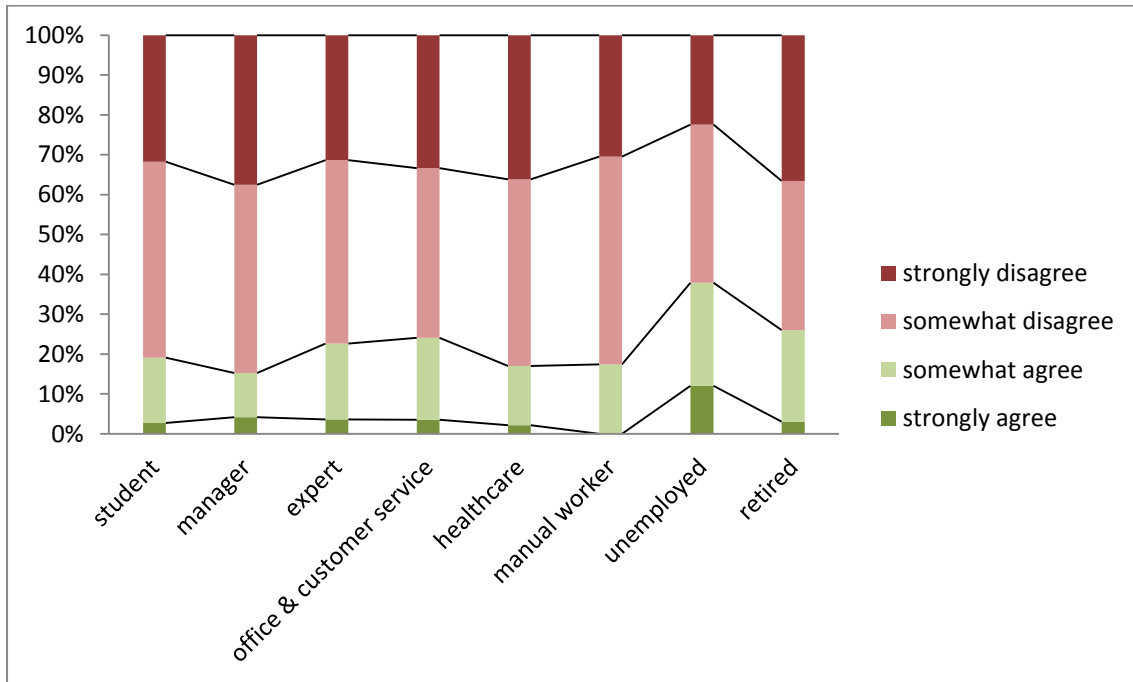


Figure 180: Residential distribution for the statement 'English has a higher status than Dutch in the Netherlands'

$\chi^2=0.547$, $df=2$, $p=0.761$

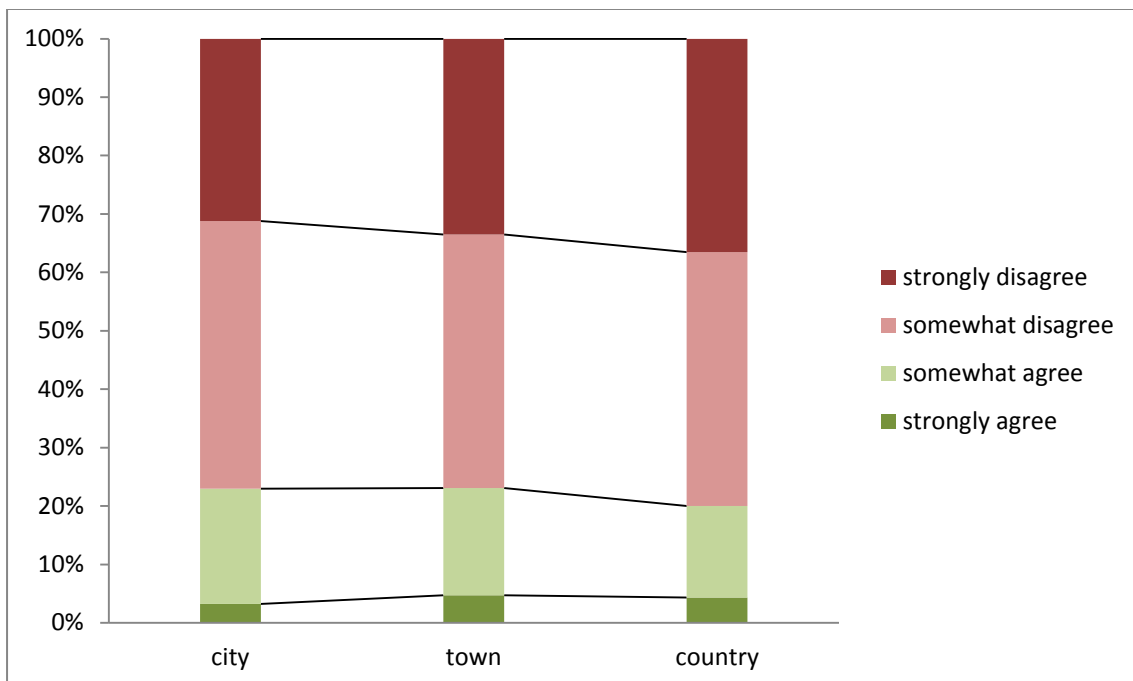


Figure 181: Age distribution for the statement 'Without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands'

$\chi^2=2.630$, $df=3$, $p=0.452$

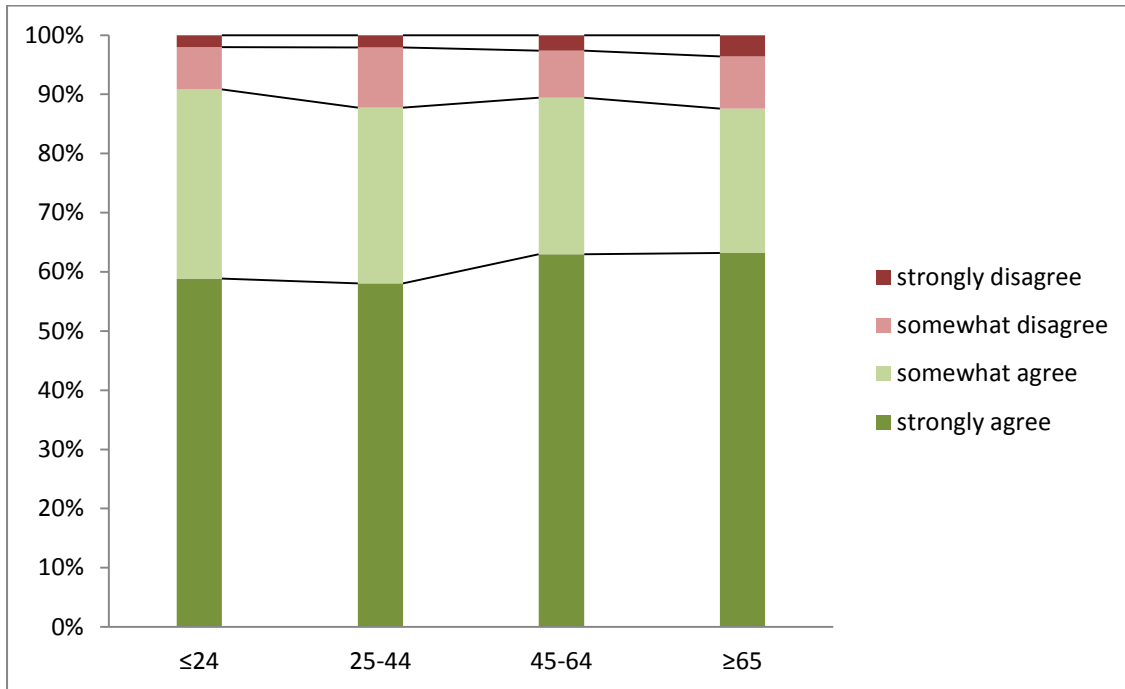


Figure 182: Sex distribution for the statement 'Without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands'

$\chi^2=3.200$, $df=1$, $p=0.074$

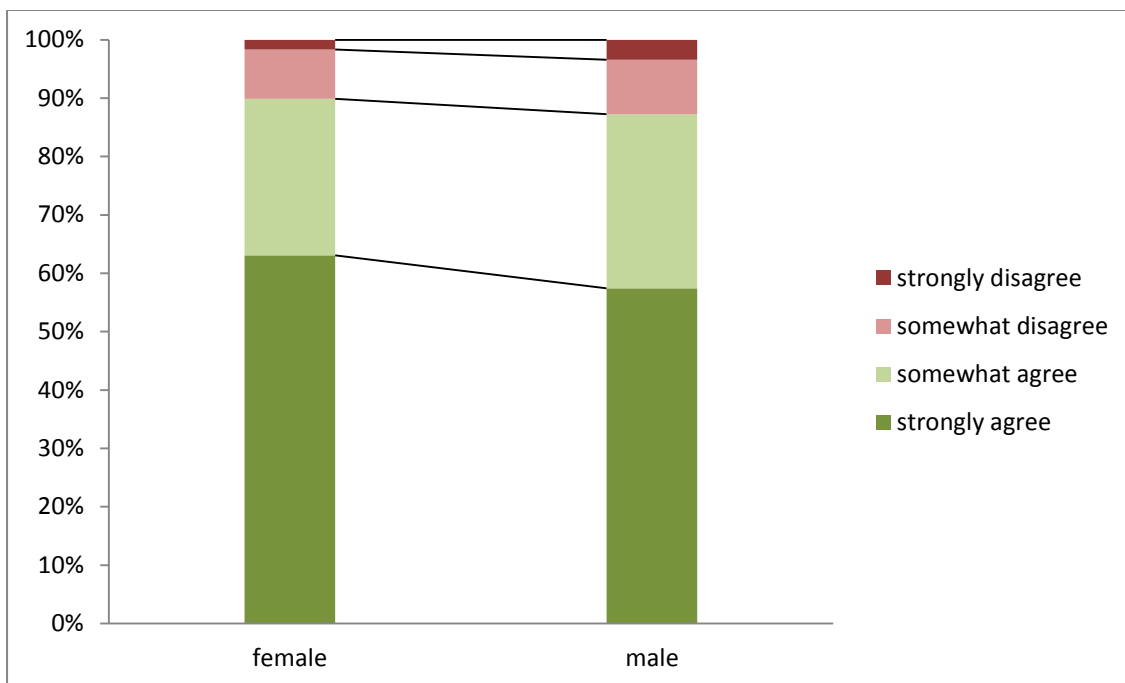


Figure 183: Education level distribution for the statement 'Without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands'
 $\chi^2=7.581$, $df=3$, $p=0.056$

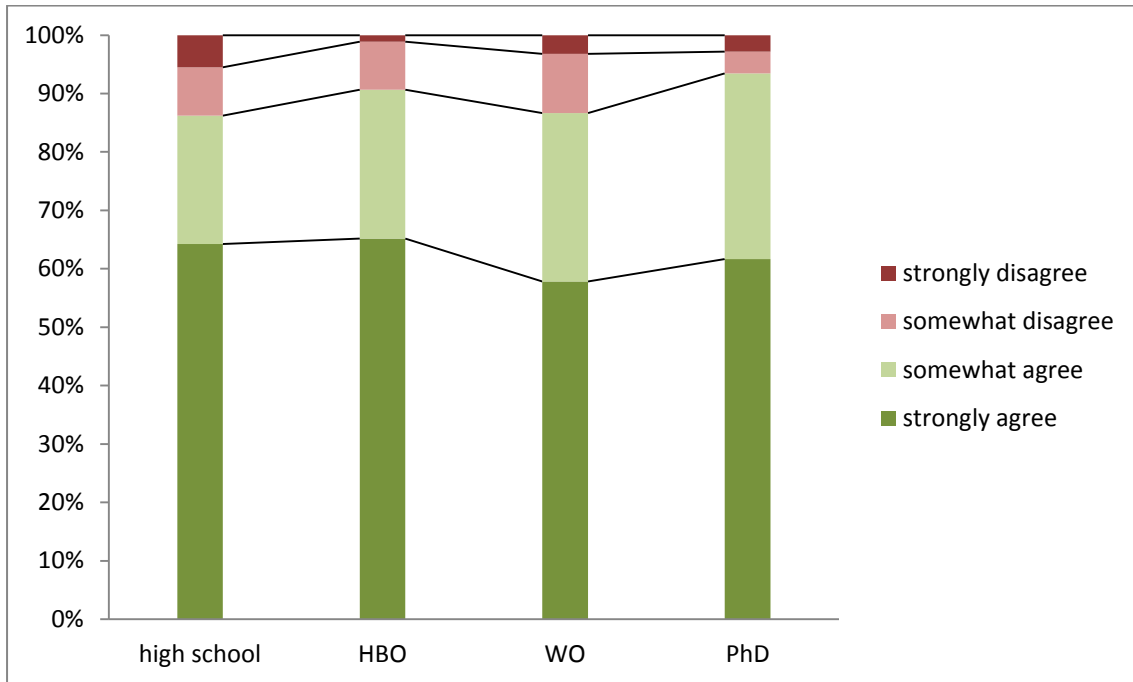


Figure 184: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'Without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands'
 $\chi^2=22.392$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

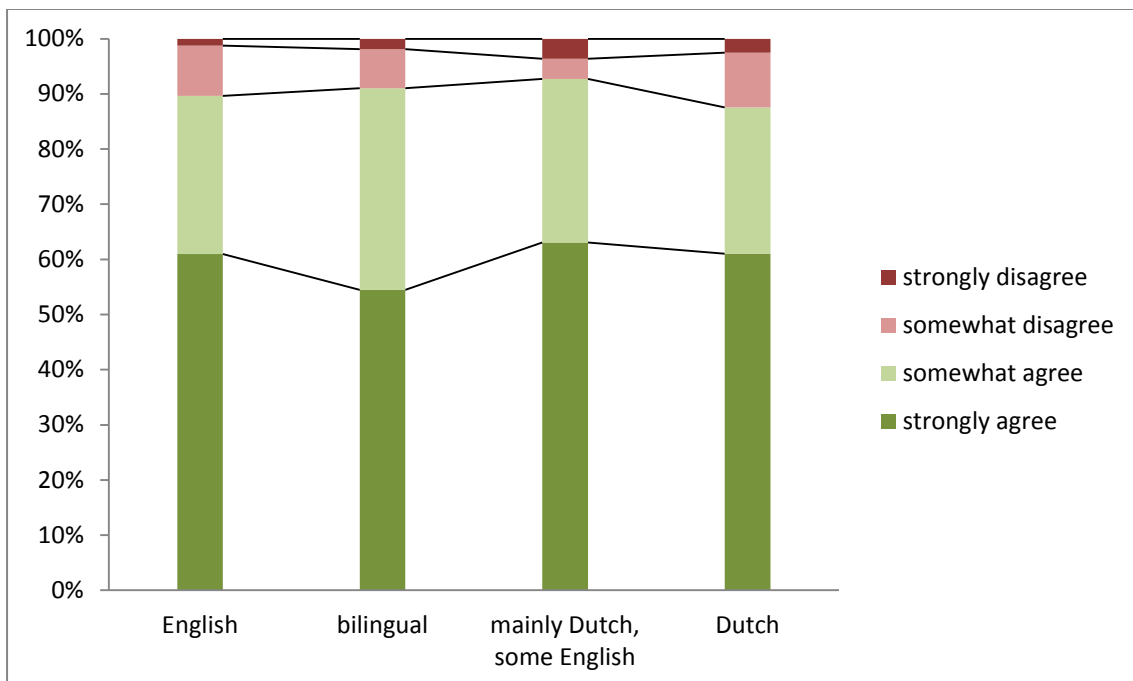


Figure 185: Occupation distribution for the statement 'Without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands'

$\chi^2=12.656$, $df=6$, $p=0.049$

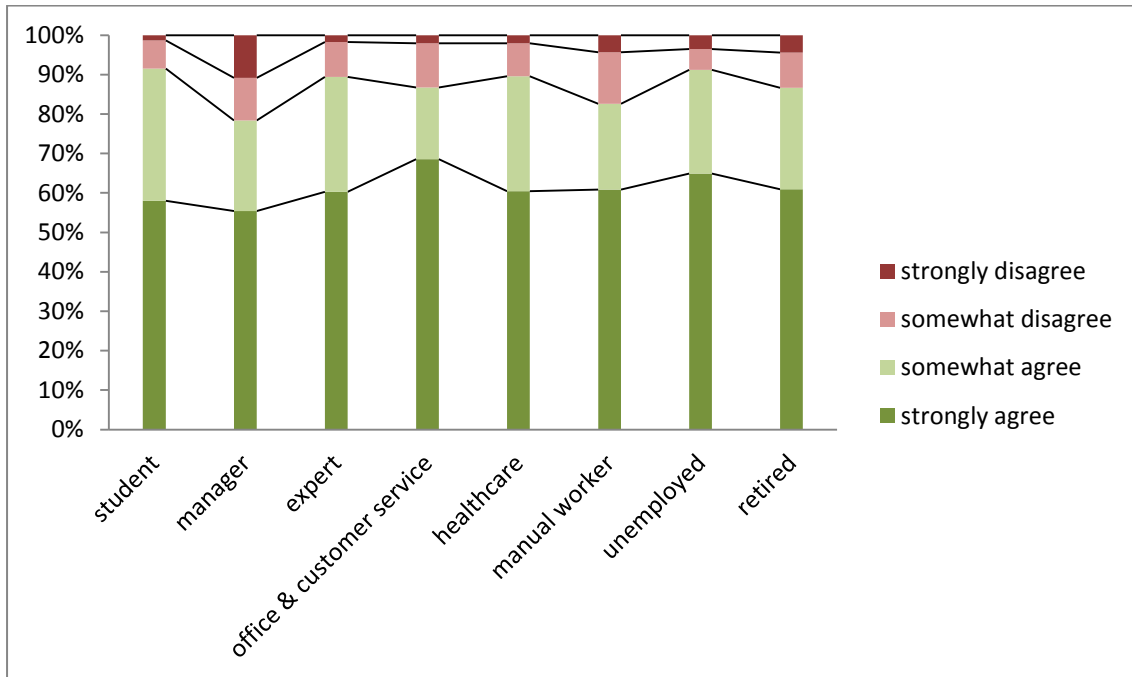


Figure 186: Residential distribution for the statement 'Without knowledge of Dutch it would be hard to get a job in the Netherlands'

$\chi^2=9.797$, $df=2$, $p=0.007$

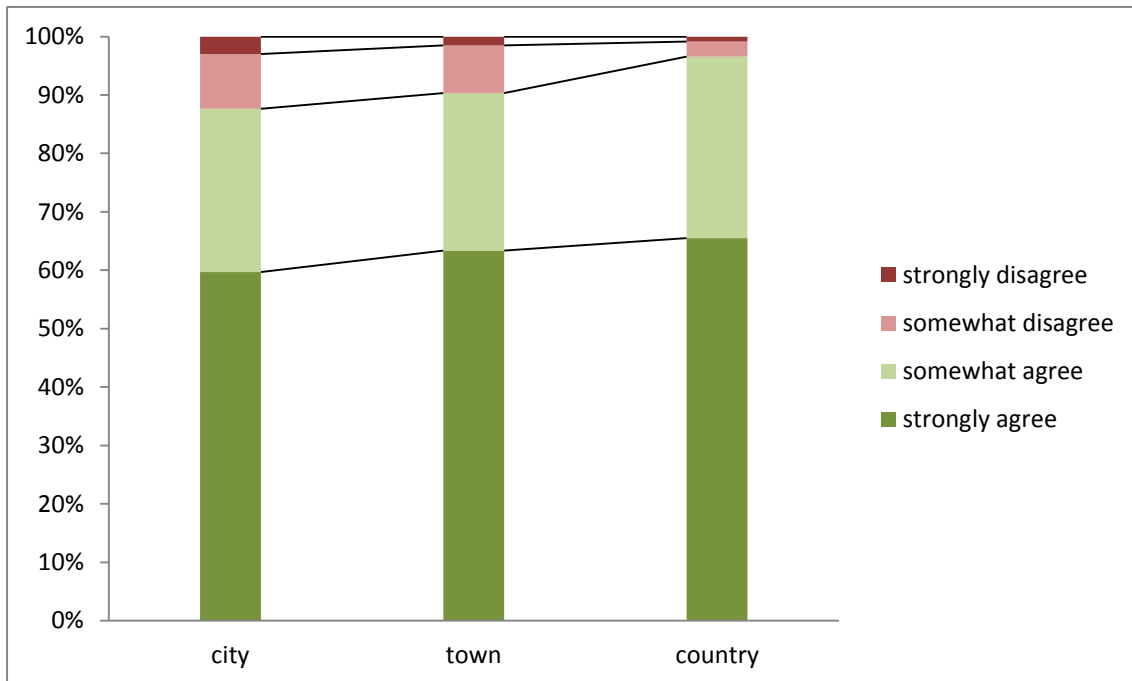


Figure 187: Age distribution for the statement 'English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities'
 $\chi^2=17.186$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

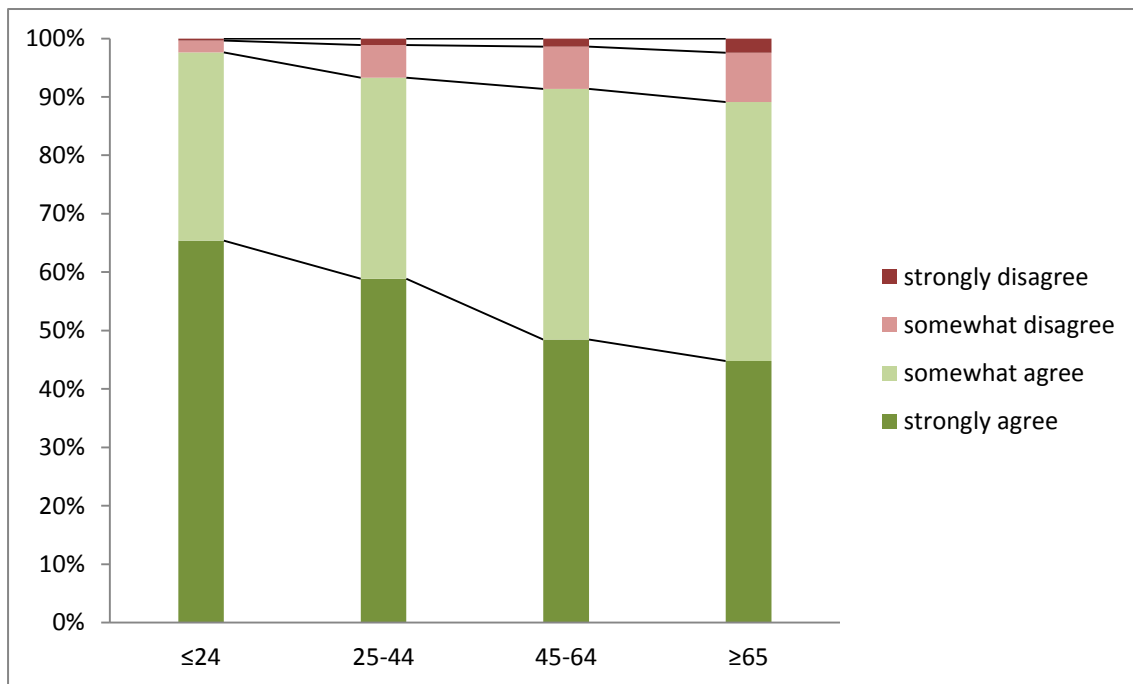


Figure 188: Sex distribution for the statement 'English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities'
 $\chi^2=1.454$, $df=1$, $p=0.228$

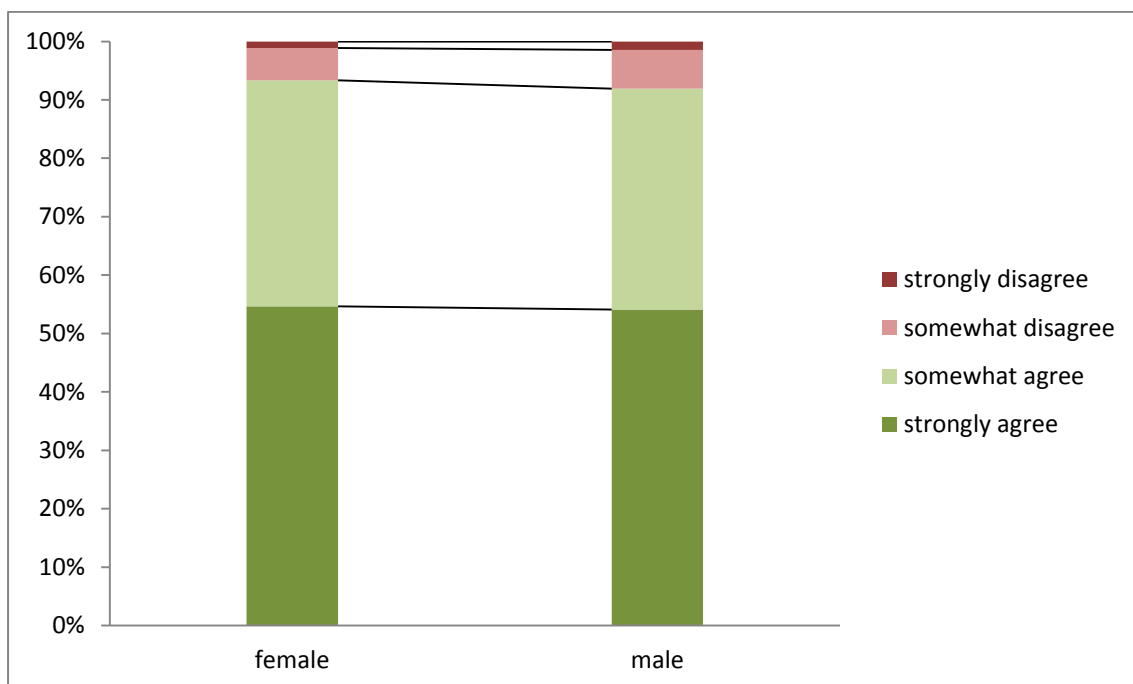


Figure 189: Education level distribution for the statement 'English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities'

$\chi^2=4.614$, $df=3$, $p=0.202$

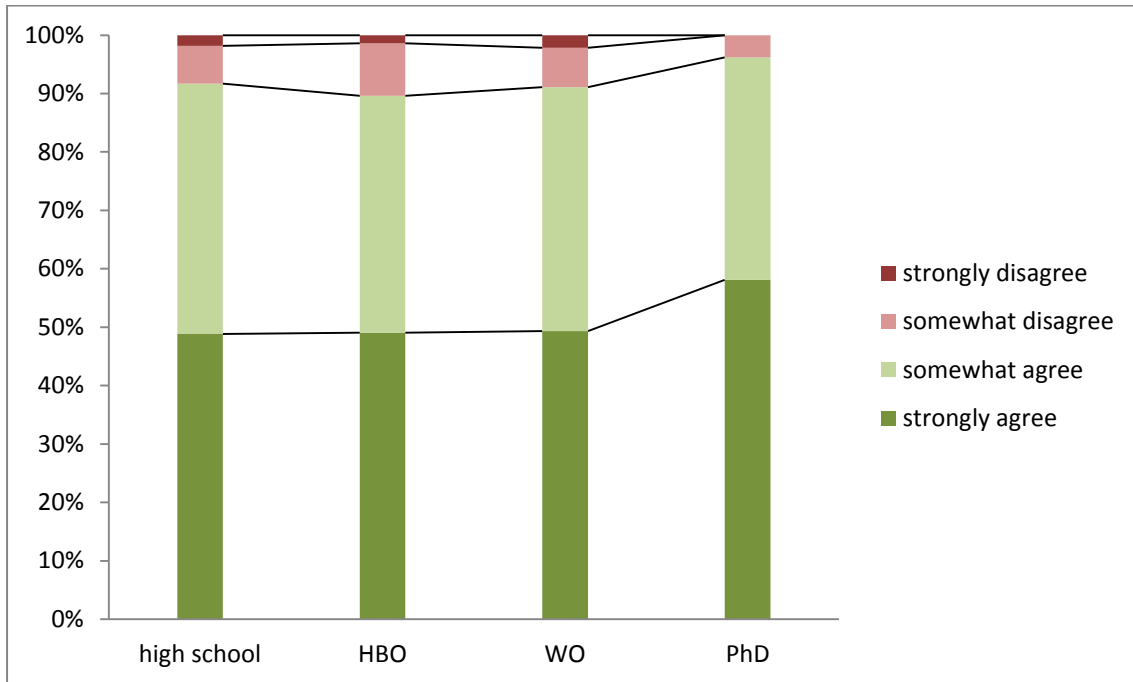


Figure 190: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities'

$\chi^2=18.190$, $df=4$, $p=0.001$

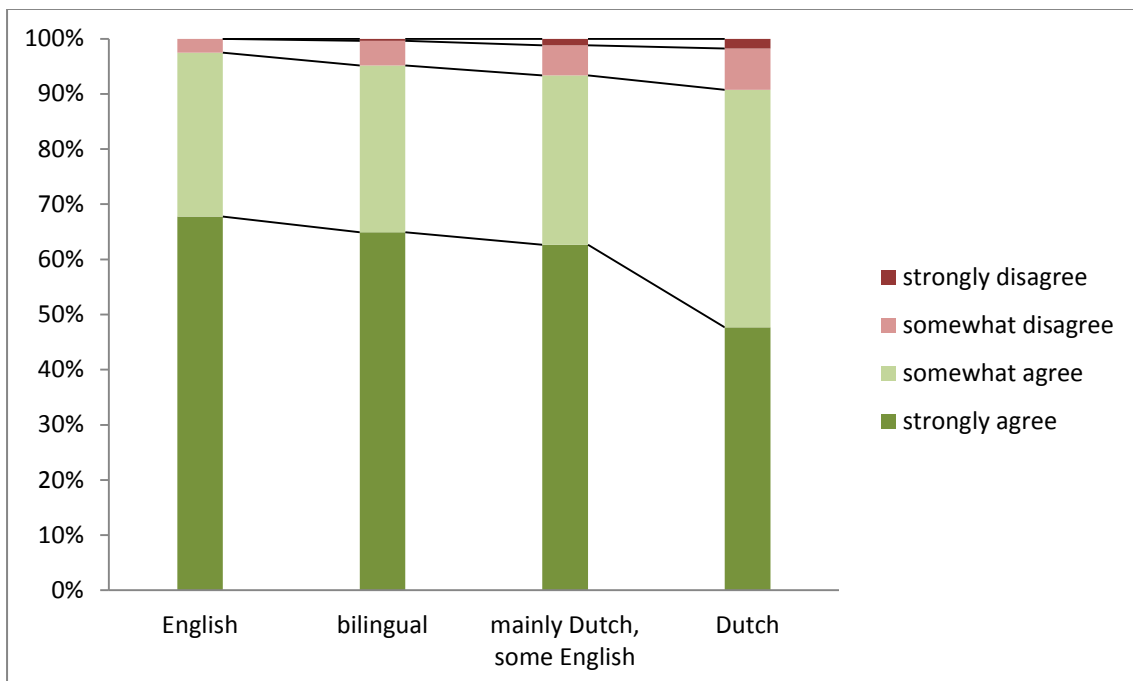


Figure 191: Occupation distribution for the statement 'English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities'

$\chi^2=14.073$, $df=6$, $p=0.029$

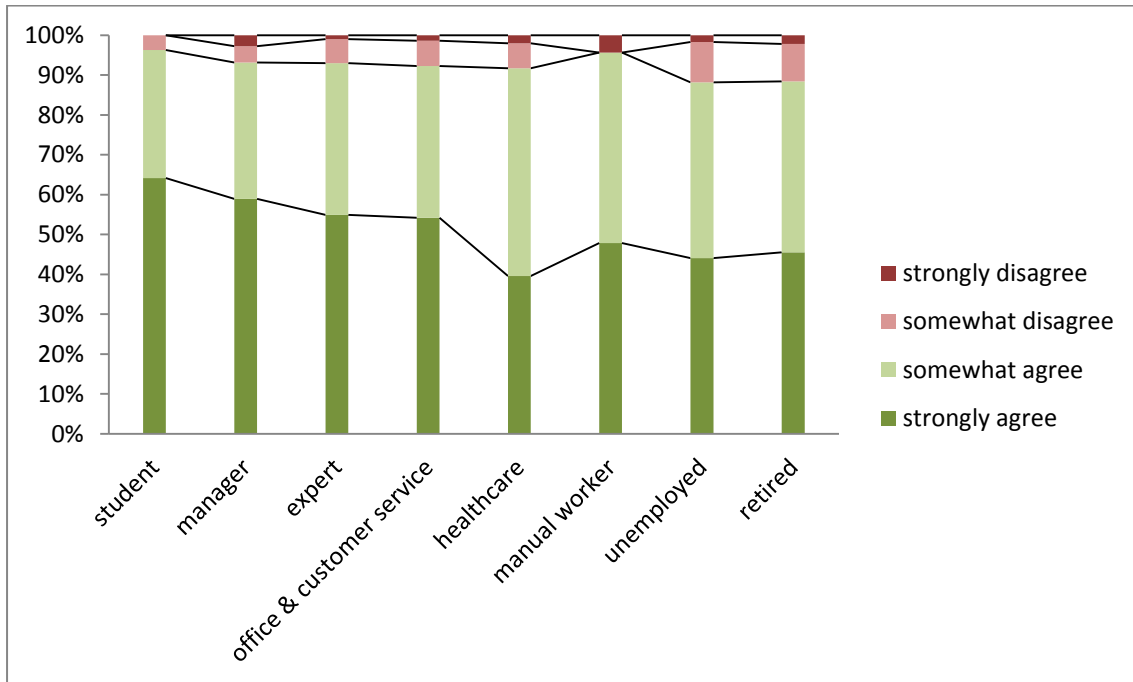


Figure 192: Residential distribution for the statement 'English offers advantages in seeking good job opportunities'

$\chi^2=1.010$, $df=2$, $p=0.604$

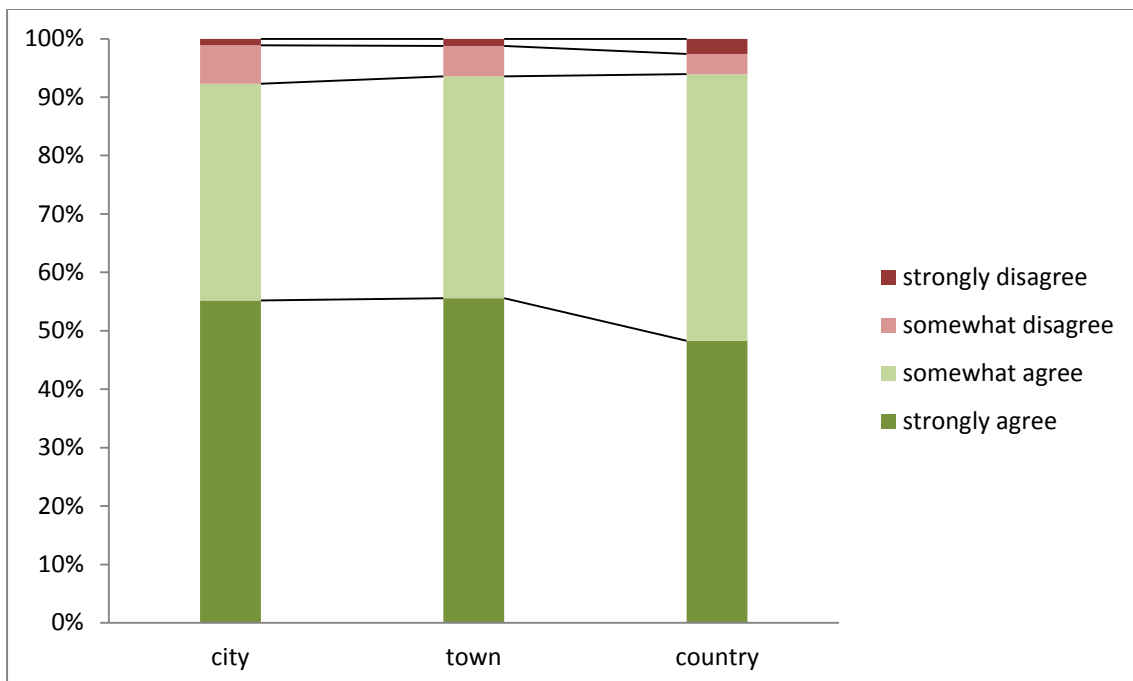


Figure 193: Age distribution for the statement 'Speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage'
 Fisher's exact test: p=0.432

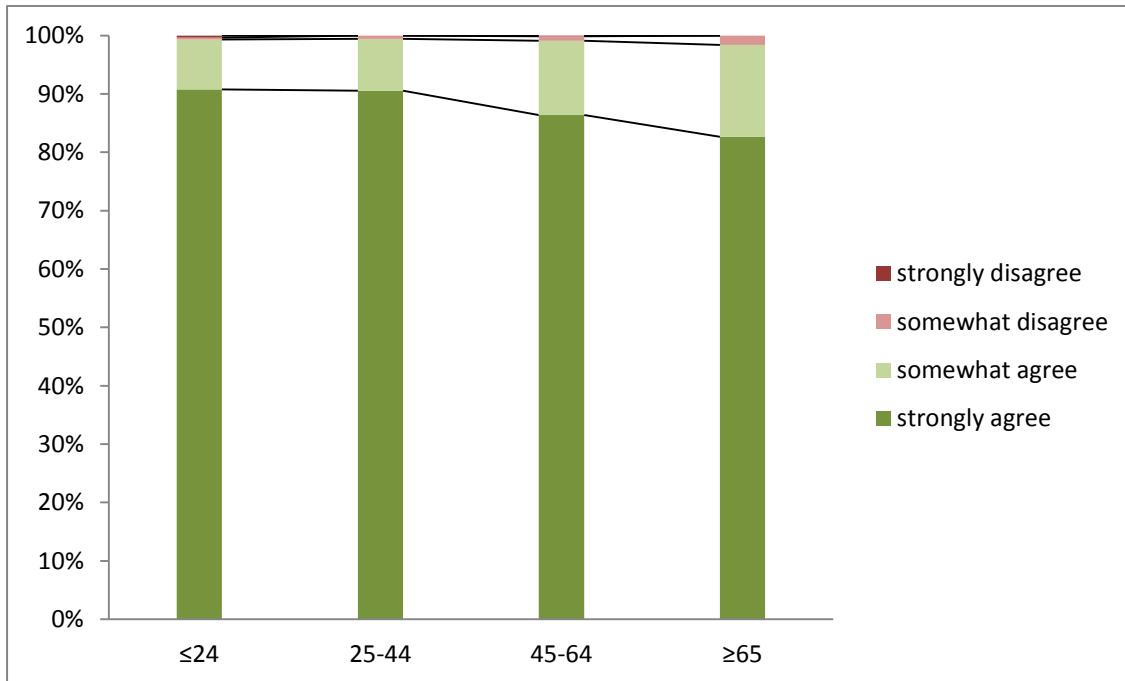


Figure 194: Sex distribution for the statement 'Speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage'
 $\chi^2=0.238$, df=1, p=0.626

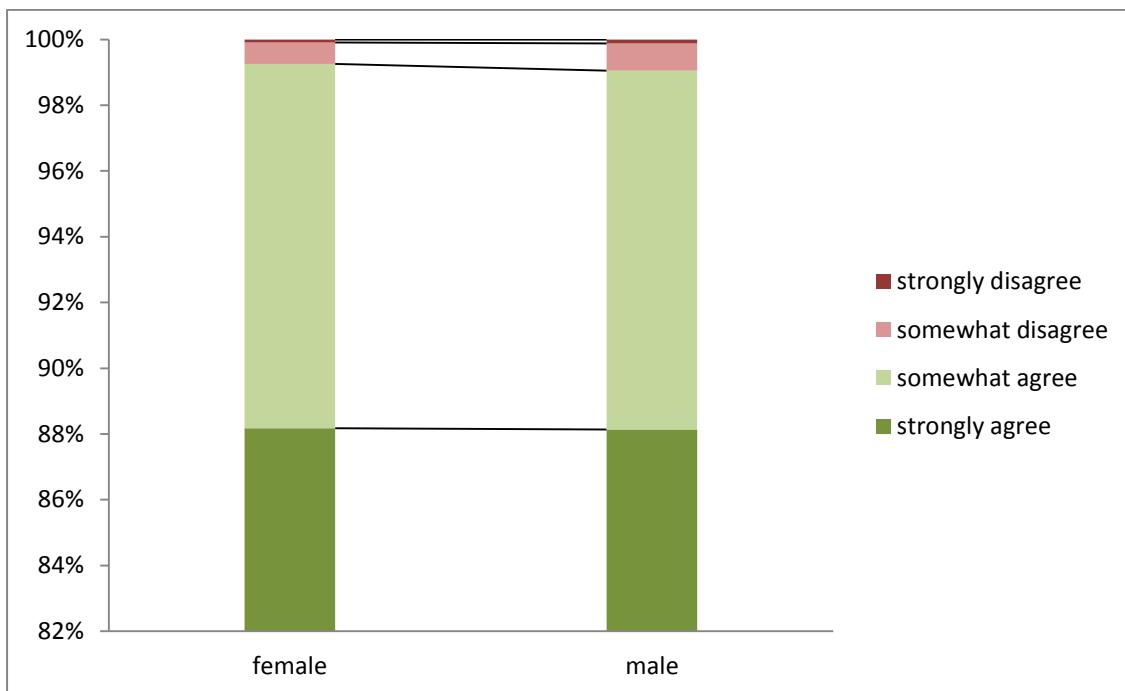


Figure 195: Education level distribution for the statement 'Speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage'
 Fisher's exact test: $p=0.482$

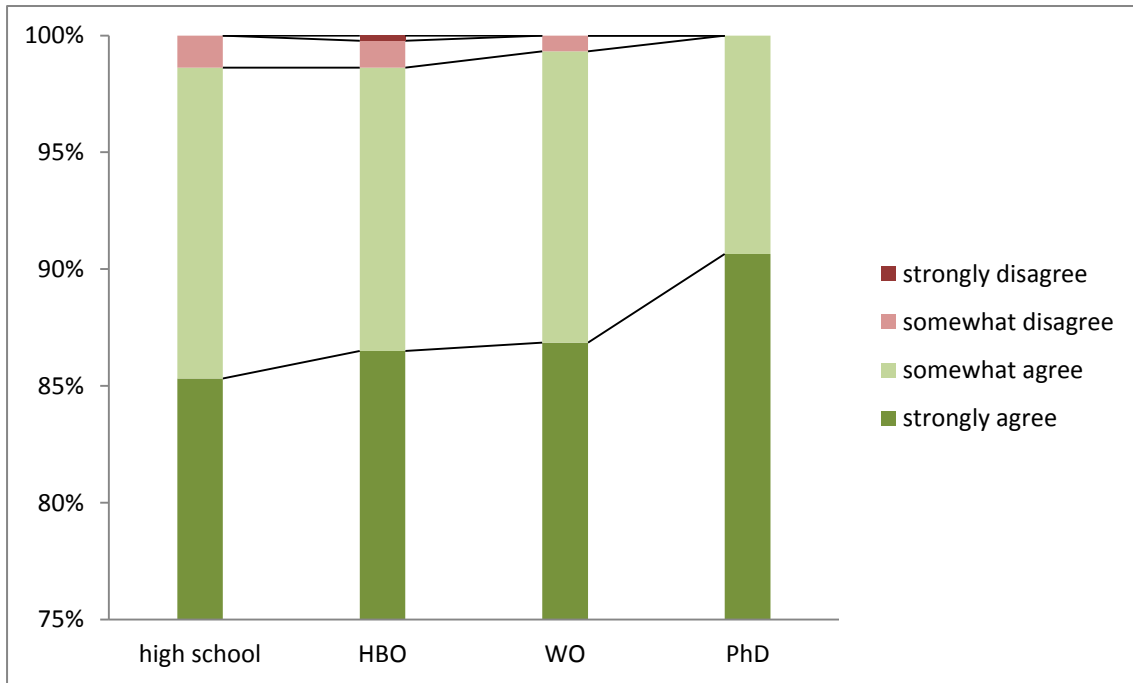


Figure 196: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'Speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage'

Fisher's exact test: $p=0.925$

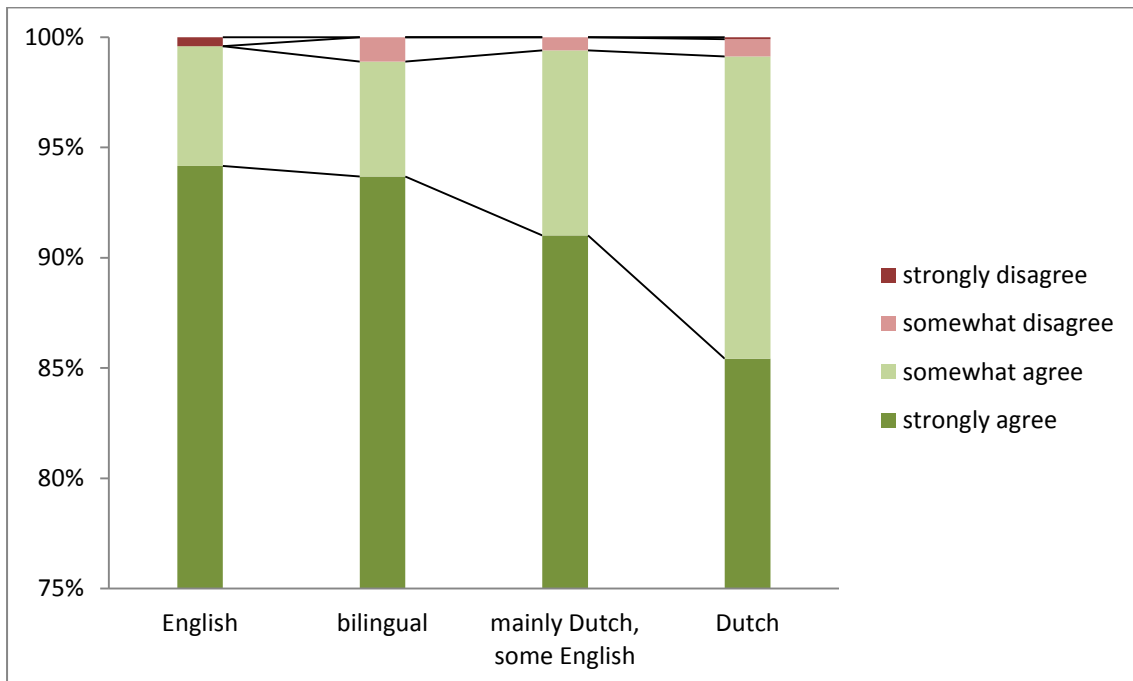


Figure 197: Occupation distribution for the statement 'Speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage'
 Fisher's exact test: $p=0.893$

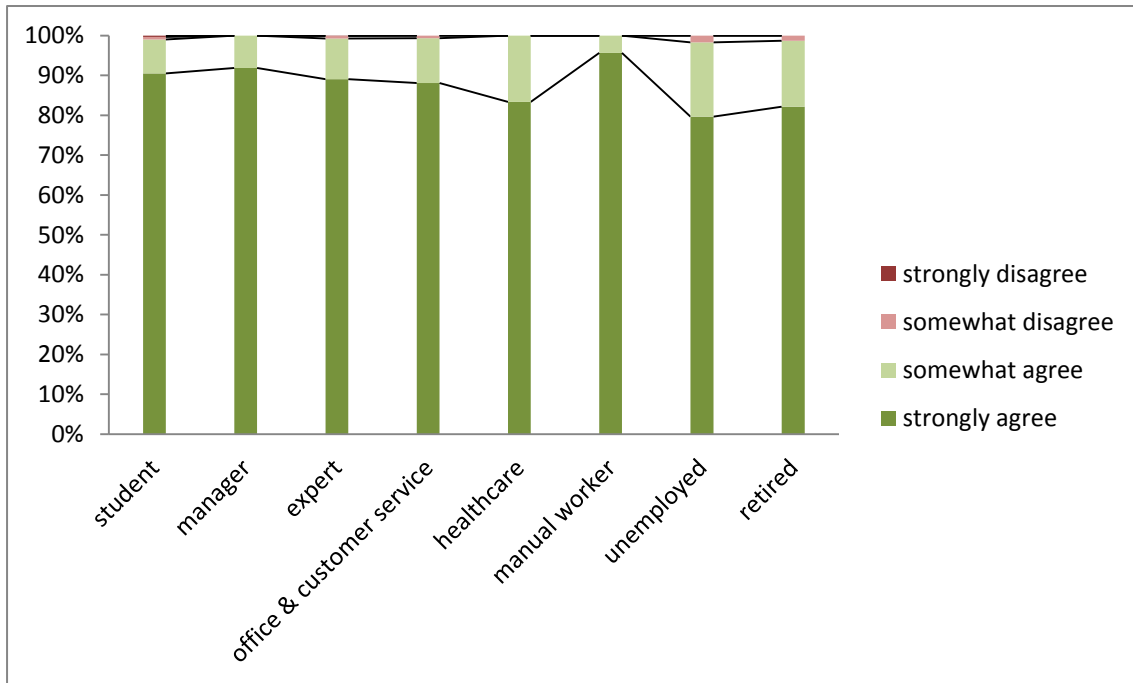


Figure 198: Residential distribution for the statement 'Speaking both Dutch and English is an advantage'
 Fisher's exact test: $p=1$

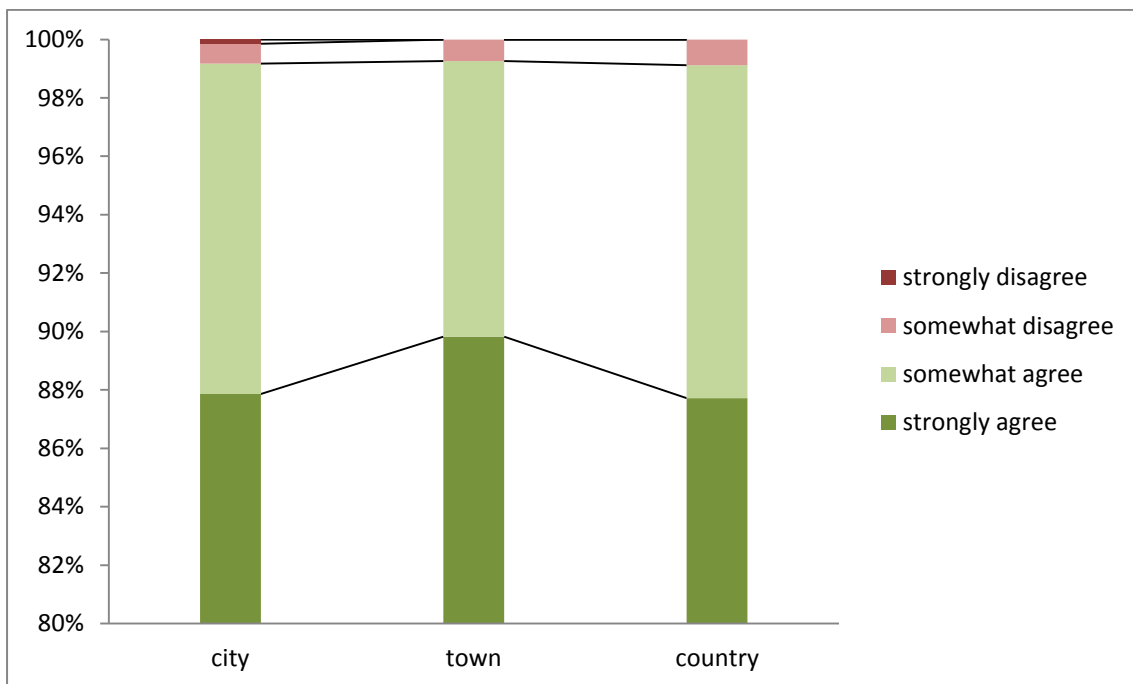


Figure 199: Age distribution for the statement 'English is very important to me personally'
 $\chi^2=73.887$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

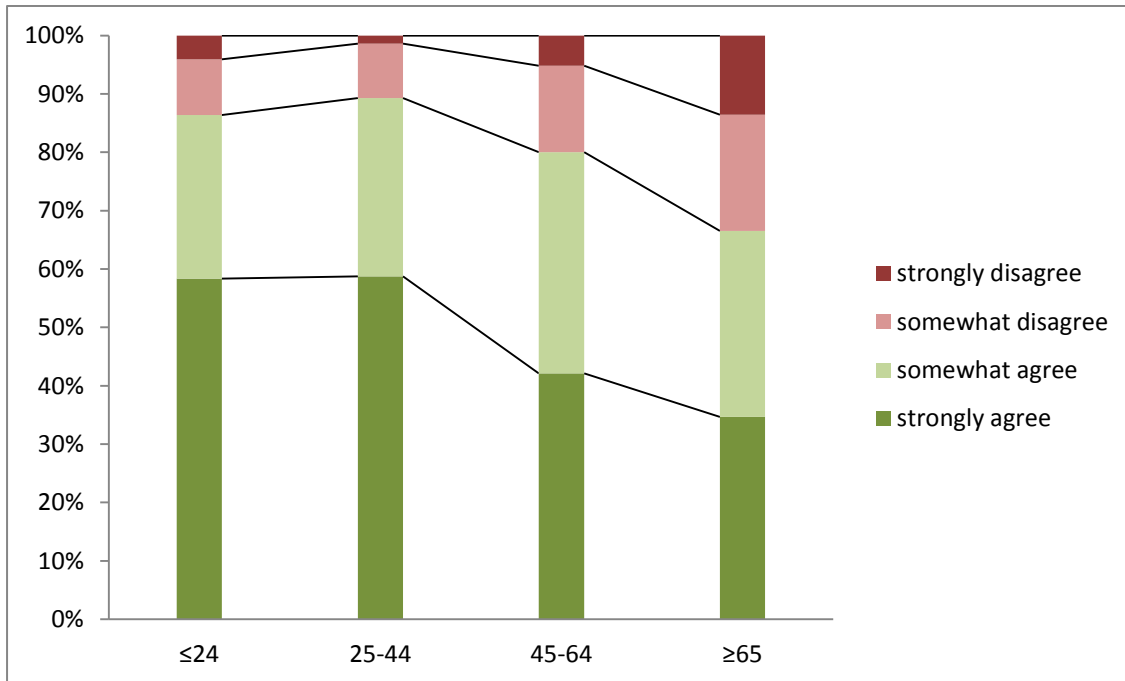


Figure 200: Sex distribution for the statement 'English is very important to me personally'
 $\chi^2=3.859$, $df=1$, $p=0.049$

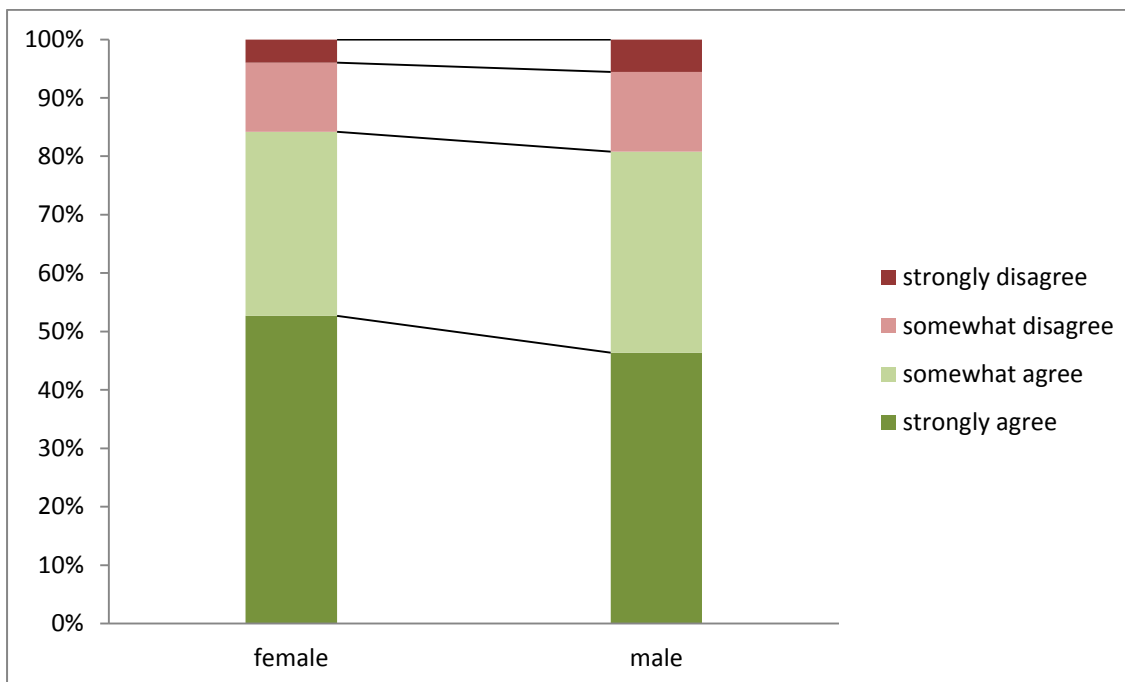


Figure 201: Education level distribution for the statement 'English is very important to me personally'
 $\chi^2=7.186$, $df=3$, $p=0.066$

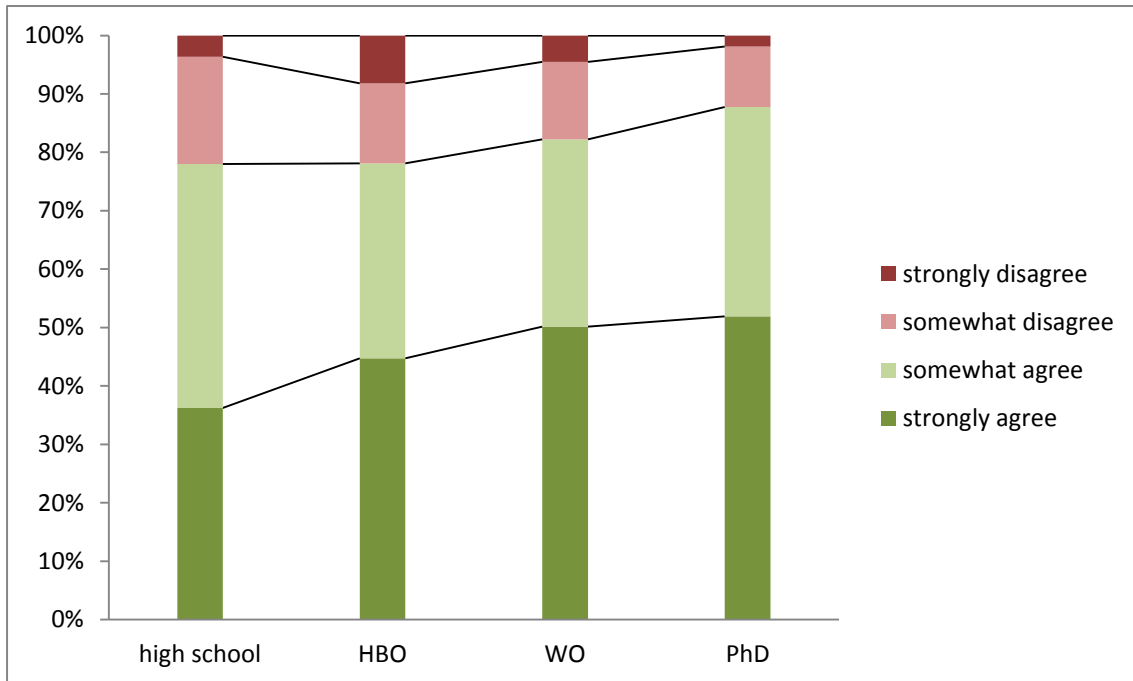


Figure 202: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'English is very important to me personally'
 $\chi^2=86.784$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

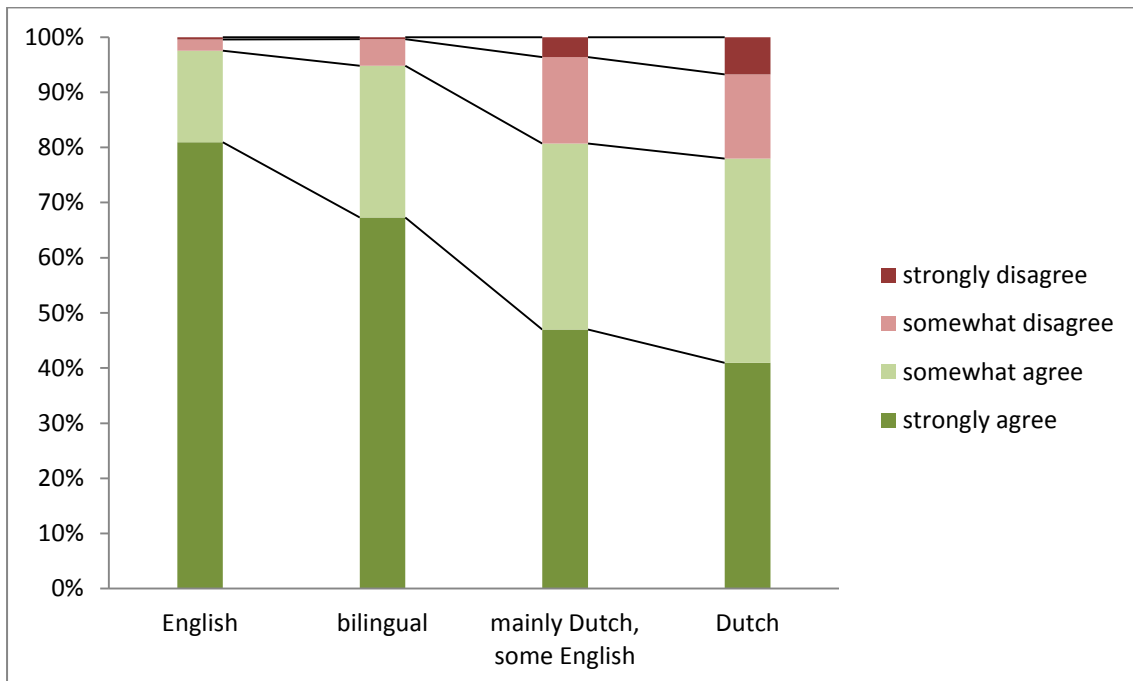


Figure 203: Occupation distribution for the statement 'English is very important to me personally'
 $\chi^2=58.388$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

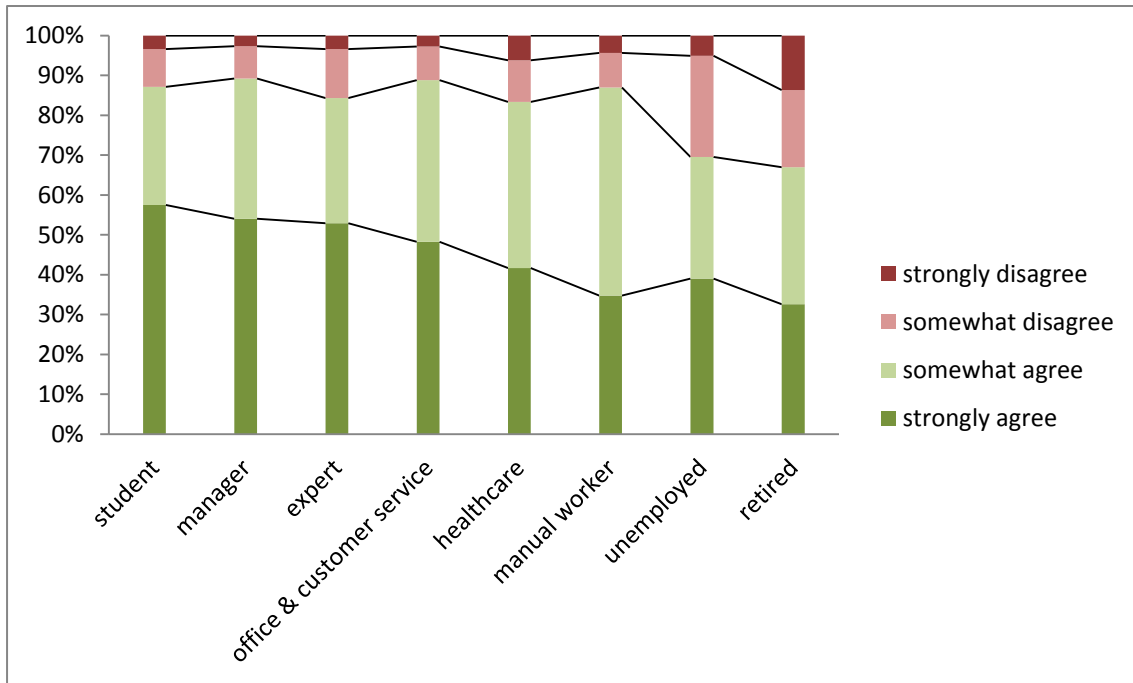


Figure 204: Residential distribution for the statement 'English is very important to me personally'
 $\chi^2=1.367$, $df=2$, $p=0.505$

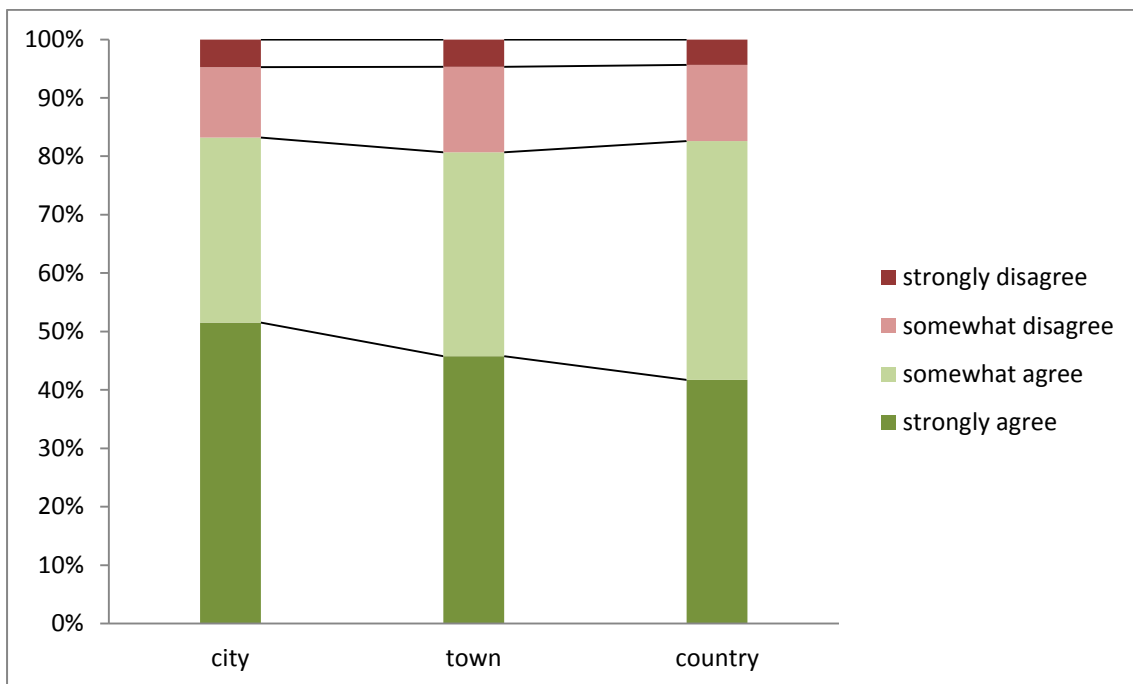


Figure 205: Age distribution for the statement 'English skills are overrated'

$\chi^2=127.851$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

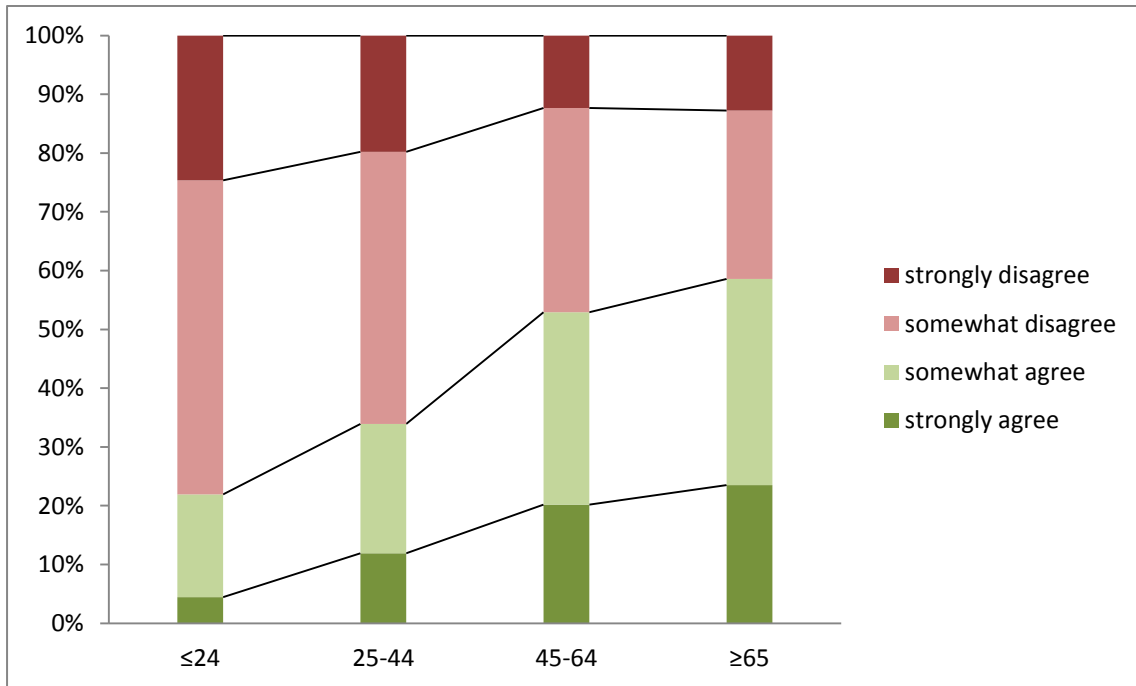


Figure 206: Sex distribution for the statement 'English skills are overrated'

$\chi^2=14.064$, $df=1$, $p<0.001$

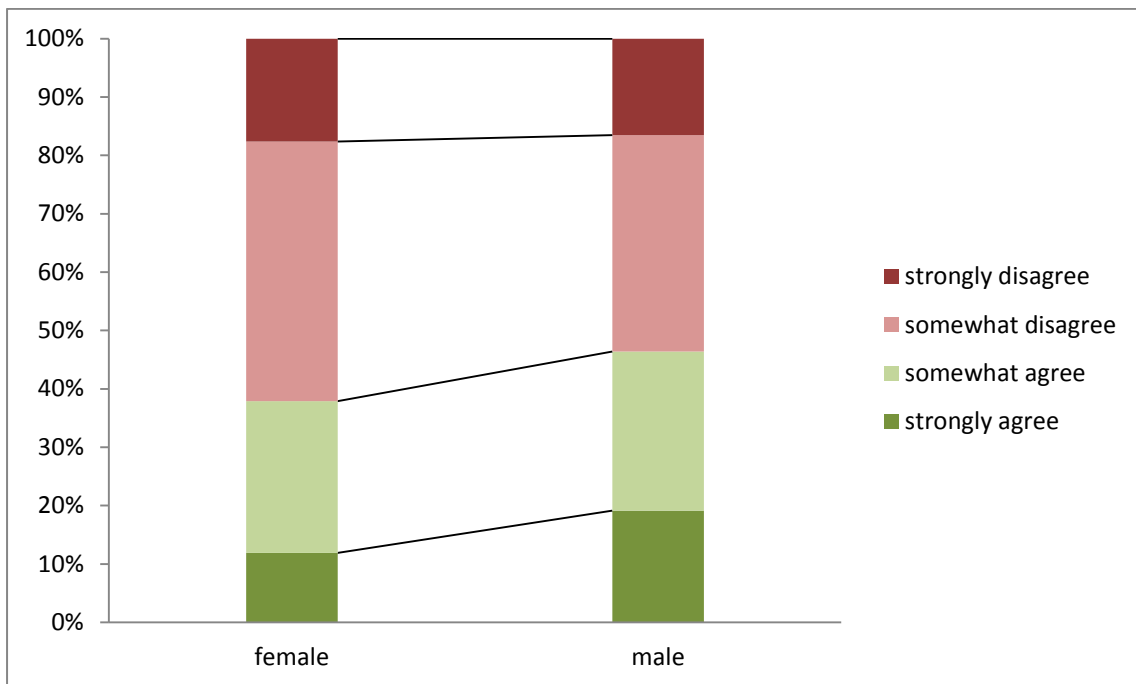


Figure 207: Education level distribution for the statement 'English skills are overrated'

$\chi^2=3.002$, $df=3$, $p=0.391$

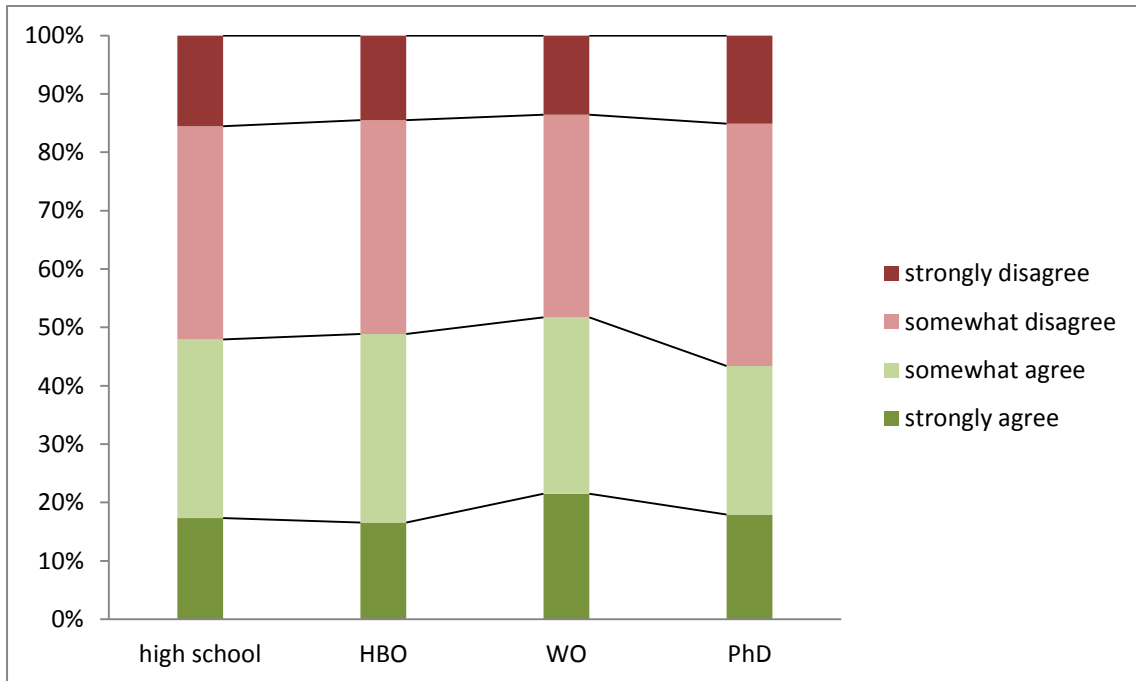


Figure 208: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'English skills are overrated'

$\chi^2=29.019$, $df=4$, $p<0.001$

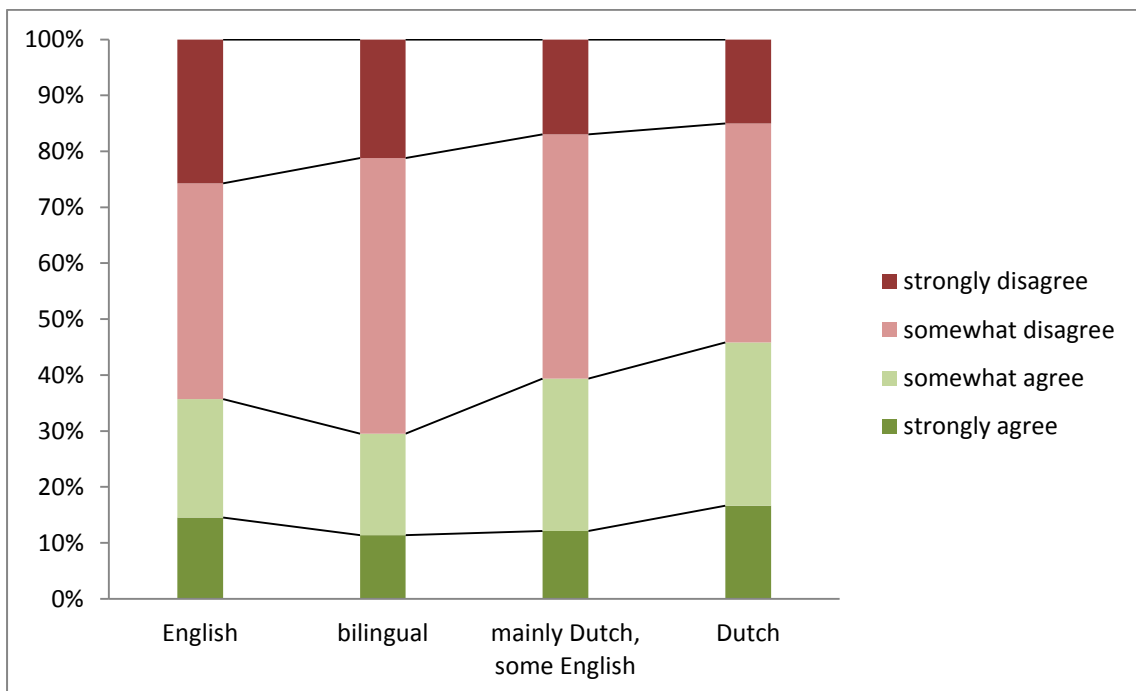


Figure 209: Occupation distribution for the statement 'English skills are overrated'
 $\chi^2=86.103$, $df=6$, $p<0.001$

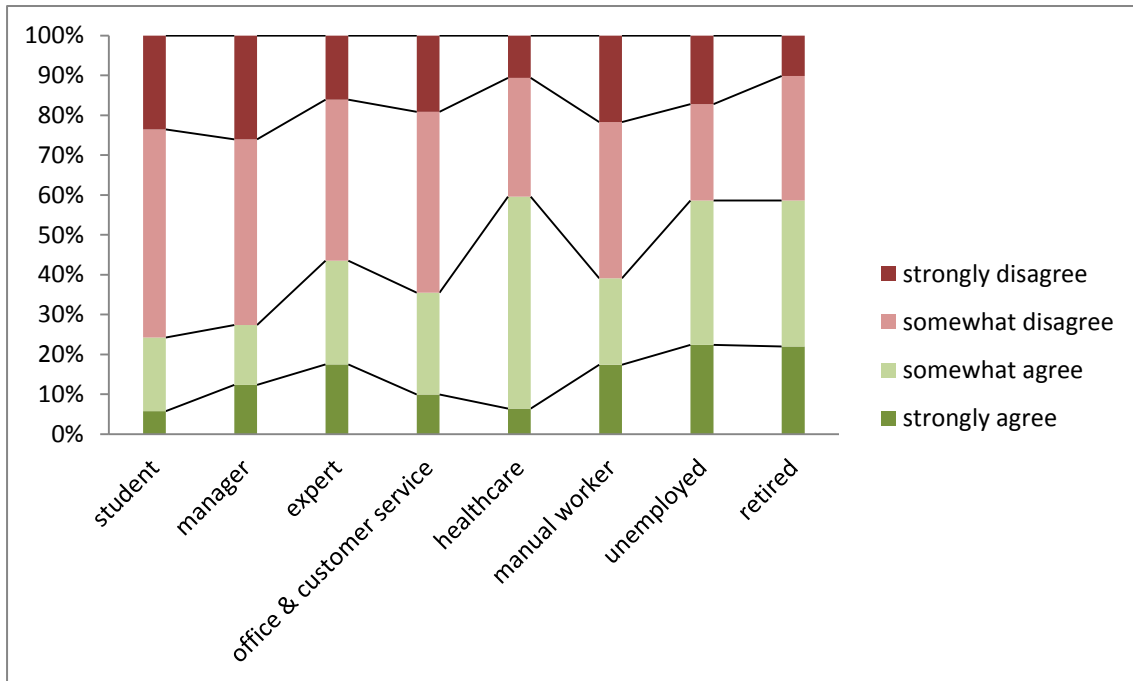


Figure 210: Residential distribution for the statement 'English skills are overrated'
 $\chi^2=6.089$, $df=2$, $p=0.048$

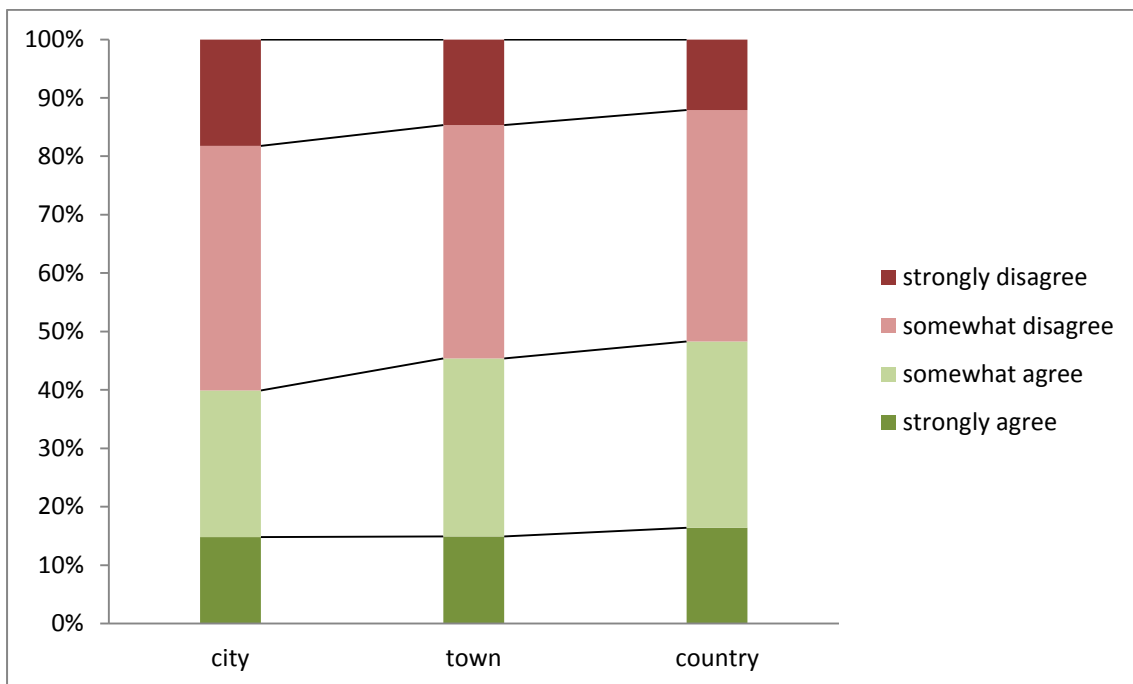


Figure 211: Age distribution for the statement 'English is a threat to the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=36.921$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

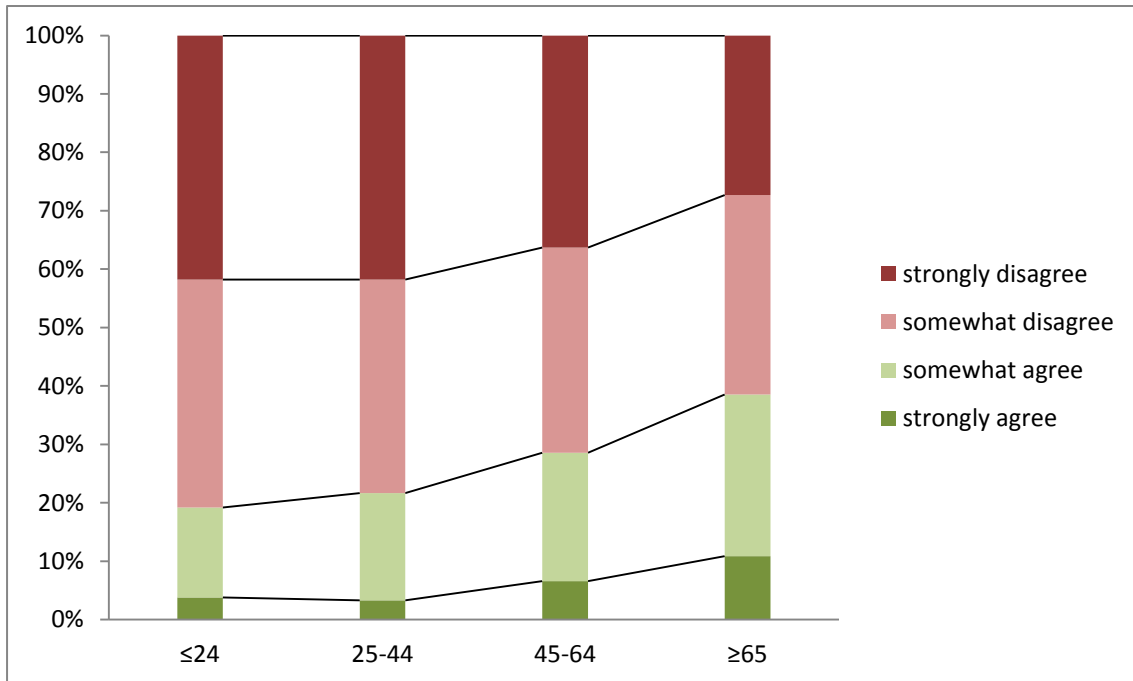


Figure 212: Sex distribution for the statement 'English is a threat to the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=10.705$, $df=1$, $p=0.001$

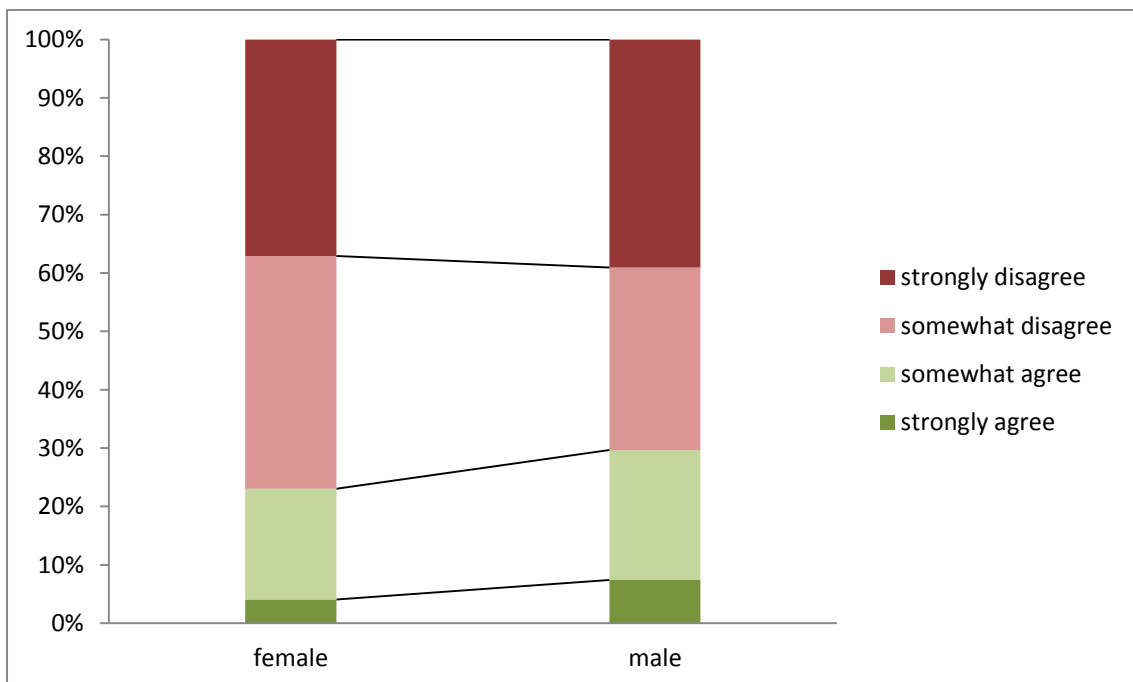


Figure 213: Education level distribution for the statement 'English is a threat to the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=0.846$, $df=3$, $p=0.838$

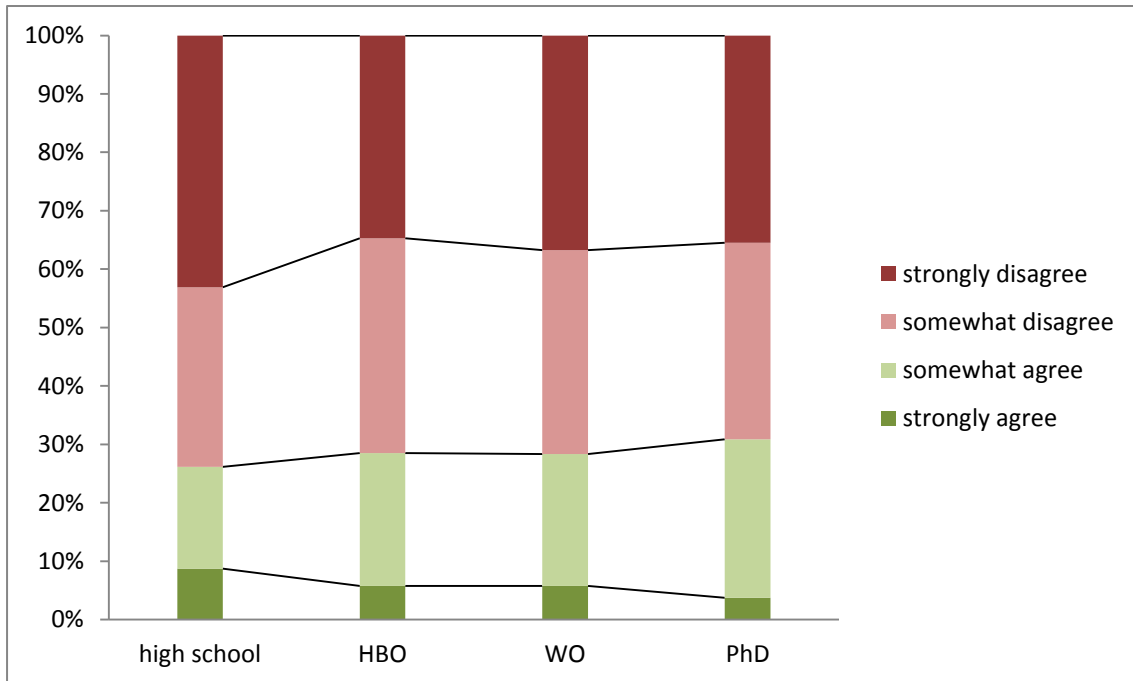


Figure 214: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'English is a threat to the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=7.118$, $df=4$, $p=0.130$

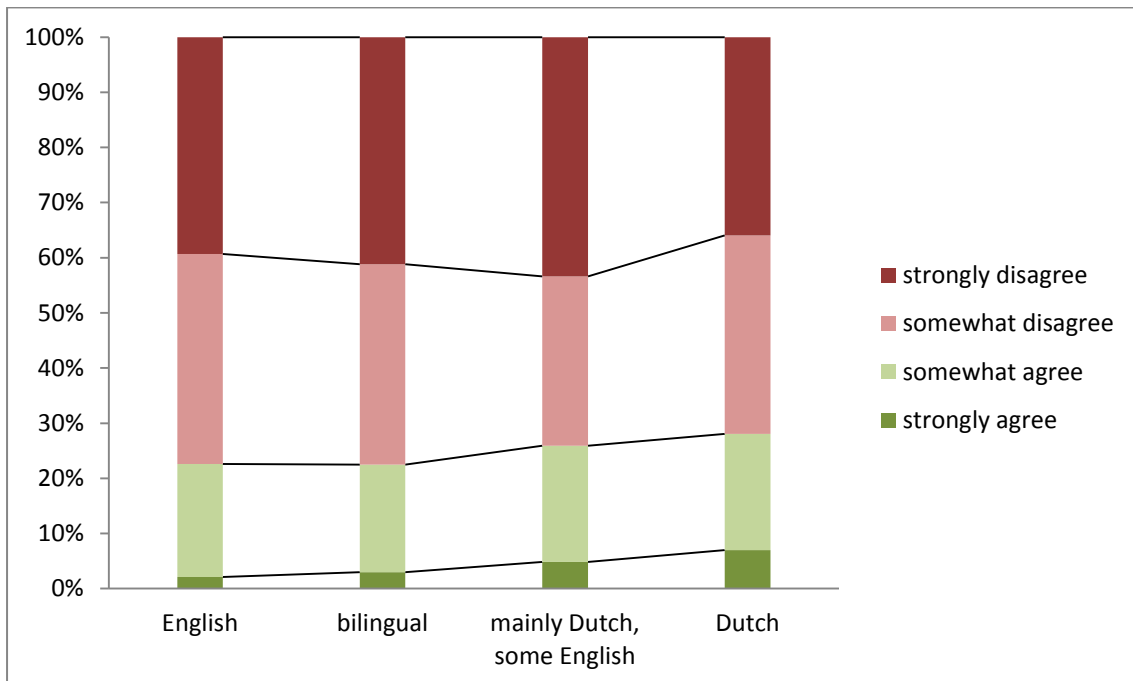


Figure 215: Occupation distribution for the statement 'English is a threat to the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=20.086$, $df=6$, $p=0.003$

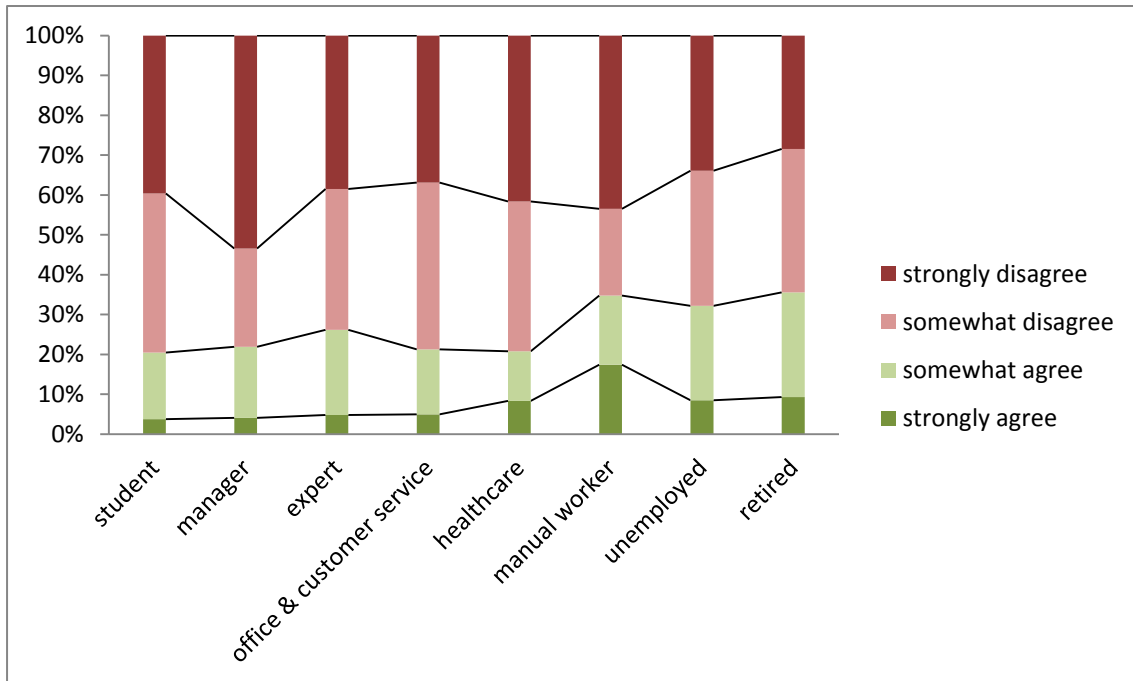


Figure 216: Residential distribution for the statement 'English is a threat to the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=4.523$, $df=2$, $p=0.104$

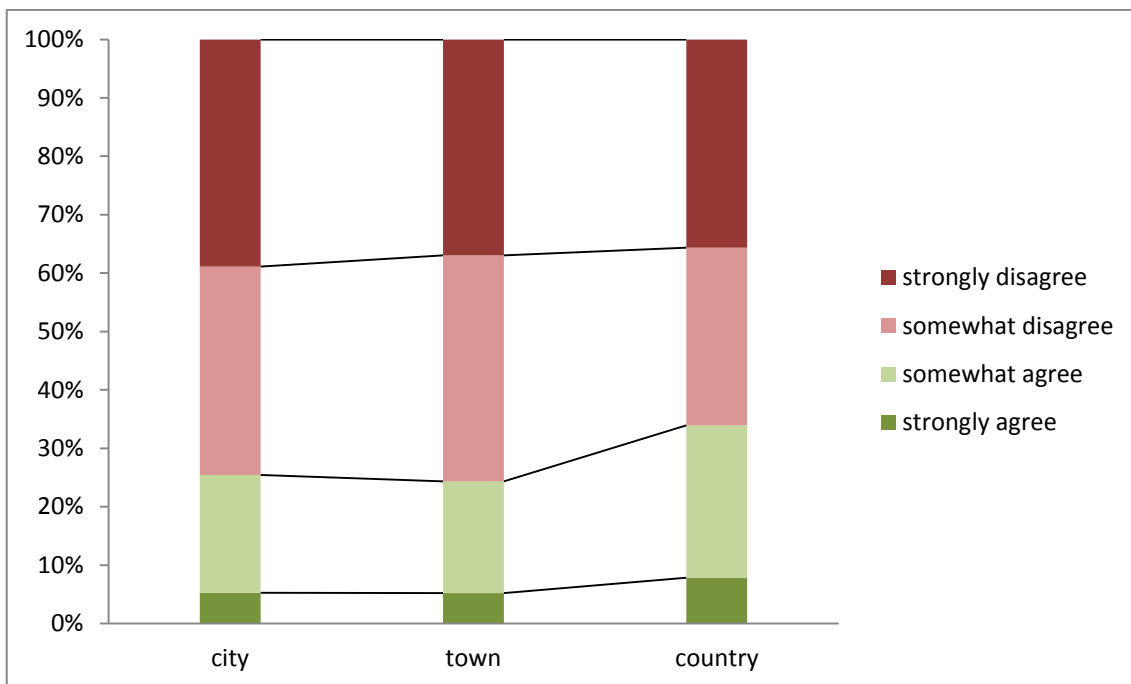


Figure 217: Age distribution for the statement 'English enriches the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=26.192$, $df=3$, $p<0.001$

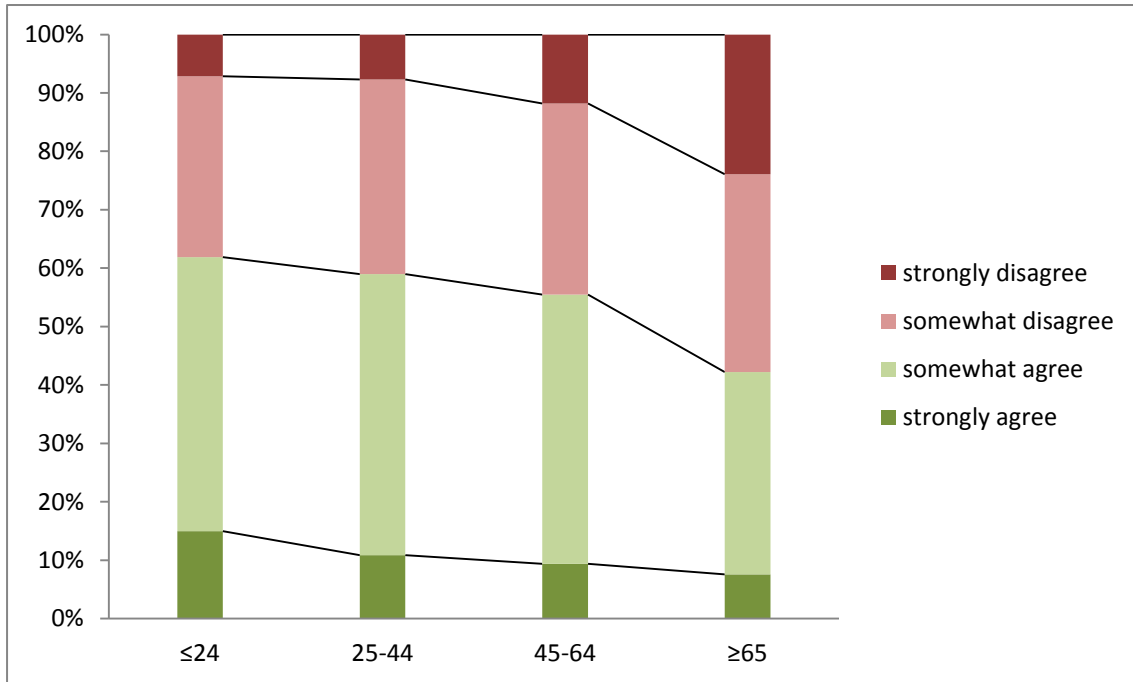


Figure 218: Sex distribution for the statement 'English enriches the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=1.832$, $df=1$, $p=0.176$

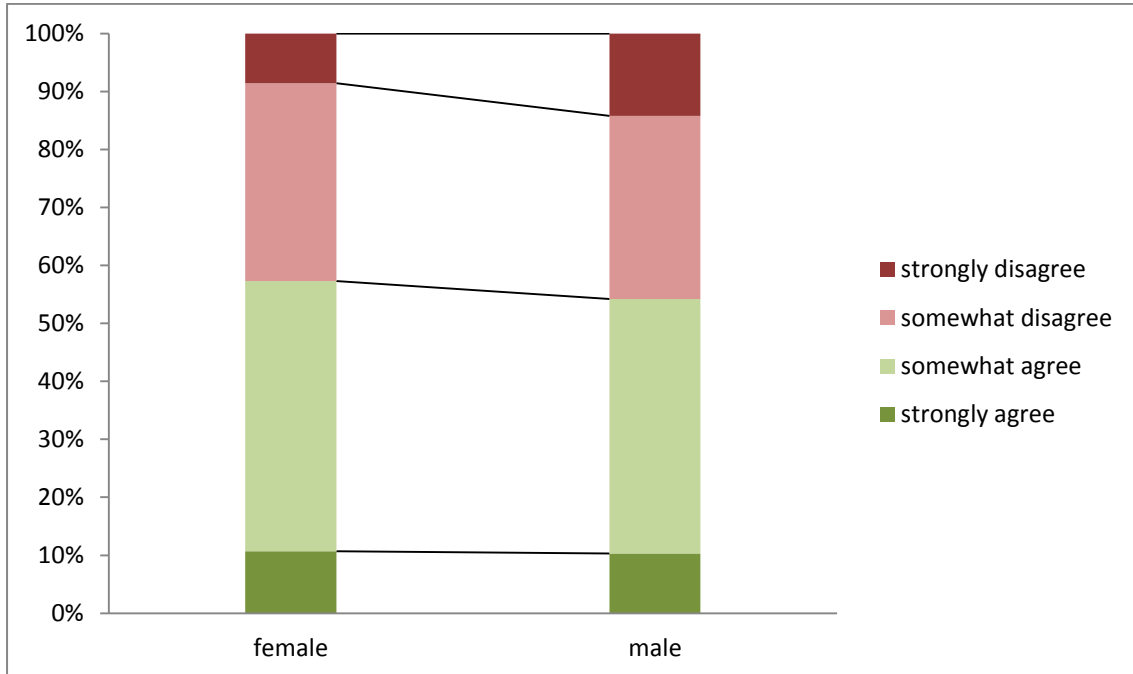


Figure 219: Education level distribution for the statement 'English enriches the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=2.373$, $df=3$, $p=0.499$

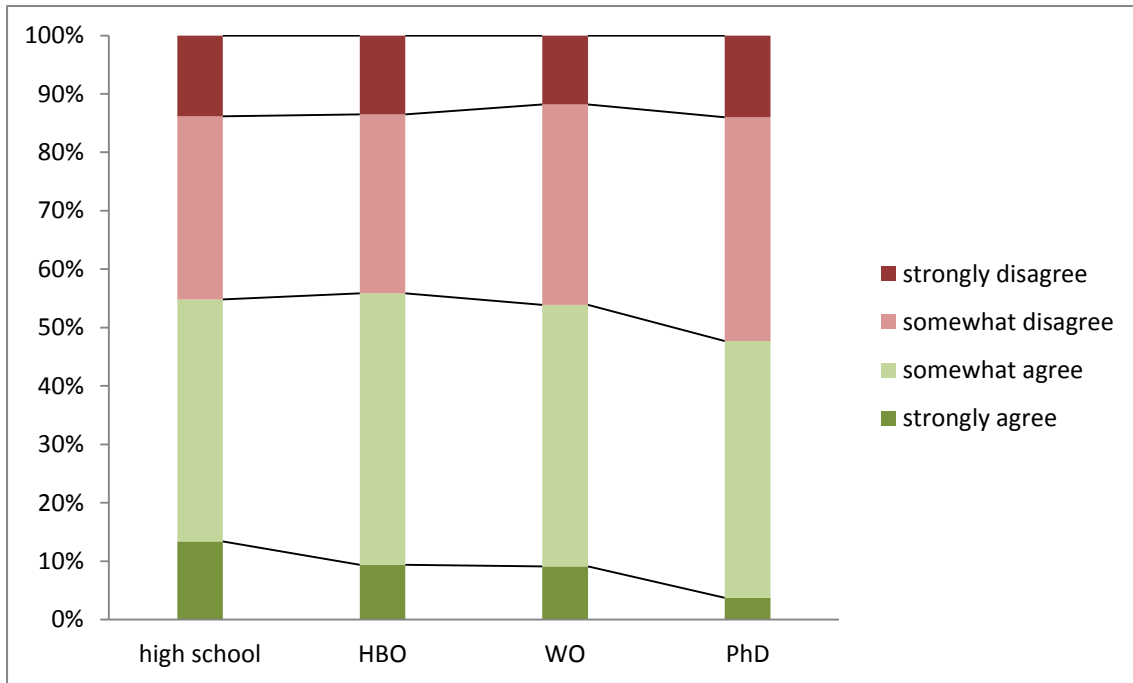


Figure 220: Higher education language distribution for the statement 'English enriches the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=6.078$, $df=4$, $p=0.193$

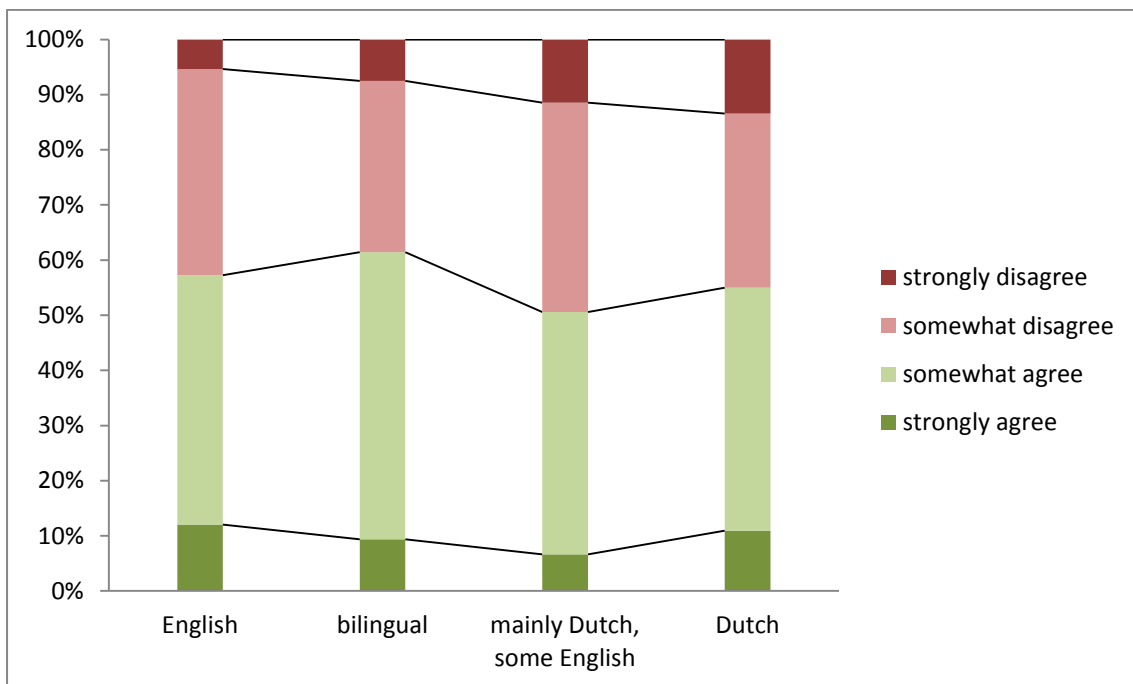


Figure 221: Occupation distribution for the statement 'English enriches the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=8.420$, $df=6$, $p=0.209$

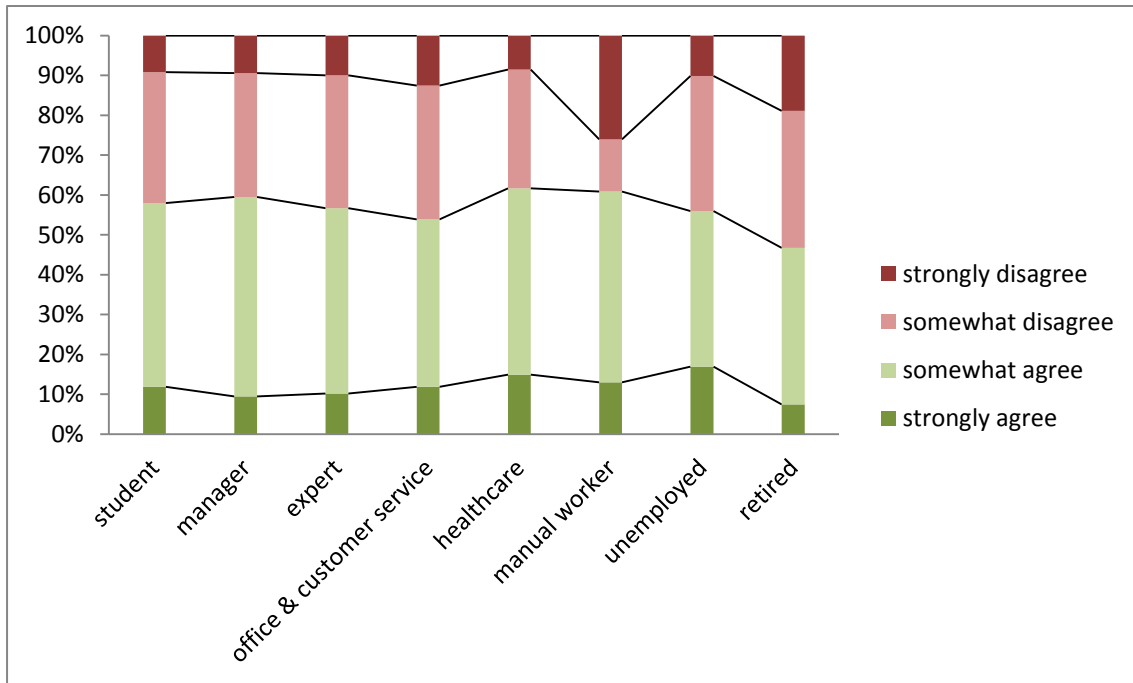
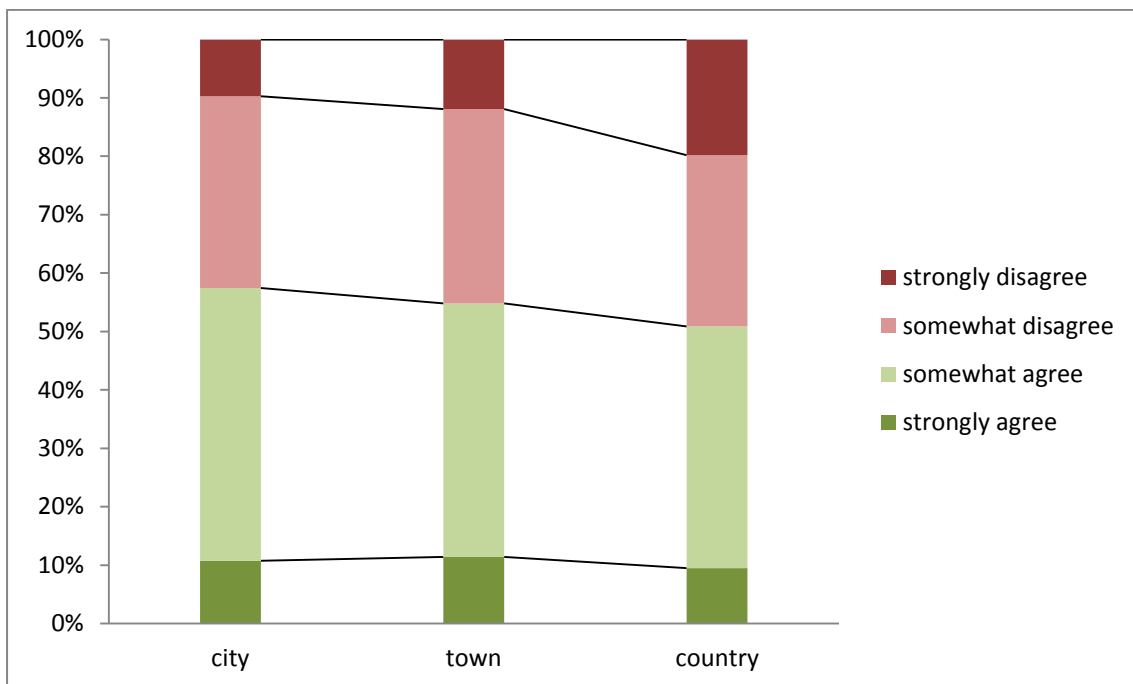


Figure 222: Residential distribution for the statement 'English enriches the Dutch language'
 $\chi^2=2.411$, $df=2$, $p=0.300$



Appendix 3: Introductory email for prospective corpus contributors

Re: Question about your article 'XXX'

Dear XXX,

Please allow me to introduce myself. My name is Alison Edwards and I am a PhD candidate in the Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics at the University of Cambridge. I found your details via Narcis, where your article 'XXX' is available.

I am looking for Dutch people who are willing to take part in my research. Participation is via email and takes no more than 10 minutes.

My research concerns the competent use of English by Dutch academics. To this end, I am collecting a large number of texts written in English by Dutch people. These texts will be entered into an electronic database and analysed. I am particularly interested in grammar or vocabulary features that are not considered typical 'British English', but nevertheless appear to be suitable, acceptable and understandable.

For this reason, I was wondering if you would be willing to contribute the article named above to my research. However, it is important that the text has not been translated by a professional translator or corrected/edited by a native speaker of English; in that case the text is ineligible for inclusion.

Confidentiality and anonymity: Your text will be treated anonymously and confidentially, and used exclusively for research purposes. An extract of a maximum of 2000 words will be used for the final analysis, identified with a code instead of your name. Other identifying details will be removed. Participants can request to inspect any articles that make use of data they contributed before the article is submitted for publication.

If you would consider contributing to this study, please let me know by responding to this email. You will then receive a short participant questionnaire with a consent form via email. This takes no more than 5 to 10 minutes to complete.

If you have questions about this study, or if you would like more information before you decide, please feel free to contact me. Of course, I would also be happy to keep those who contribute to this study up to date with any ensuing findings and publications.

Finally, if you know someone you think may also be able to contribute to this study (e.g. fellow researchers), I would be very grateful if you could forward my request to them. I am collecting master's and PhD theses as well as academic articles.

With many thanks and best regards,

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Appendix 4: Questionnaire and consent form for corpus contributors



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Study name or ID: Edwards/Hendriks, Dec 2010

CONTRIBUTOR QUESTIONNAIRE

- 1 a) Were you born in the Netherlands?
 - i. yes
 - ii. no
- b) If yes,
 - i. where were you born?
 - ii. where did you grow up? (more than one answer permitted)
- c) If no,
 - i. where were you born?
 - ii. where did you grow up? (more than one answer permitted)
 - iii. at what age did you come to the Netherlands?
- 2 a) Have you ever spent more than six months abroad?
 - i. yes
 - ii. no
- b) If yes, please state where and when.
- c) How long in total have you spent outside the Netherlands during your life (excluding brief holidays)?
- 3 a) Which language did you speak first at home?
- b) Which language did your mother speak first at home?
- c) Which language did your father speak first at home?
- d) Which language(s) do you use regularly?
- 4 Sex:
 - a) female
 - b) male
- 5 Age group:
 - a) ≤ 29

- b) 30–39
 - c) 40–49
 - d) 50–59
 - e) ≥ 60
- 6 a) What are your educational qualifications (e.g. *HAVO*, *VWO*, *kandidaatsexamen*, MSc, etc.)? (Please list all.)
- b) What language(s) did you study in at school? (This refers to the main language(s) of instruction, not ‘foreign’ languages that you may have learned for a few hours a week.)
- c) What was/were the main language(s) of instruction during your higher education (if applicable)?
- 7 What is your current job?
- 8 a) Text information:

	File name (only if you are submitting multiple texts)	Date when the text was written (month + year)	Place written (town/city)	Institution (university/company name)
Text 1				
Text 2				
Text 3				

- b) The text in question was written by me and not subsequently checked by an English native speaker.
- i. checked
 - ii. not checked
- 9 I would like to be kept up to date with the research results.
- a) yes
 - b) no

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CONSENT FORM

- 1 I confirm that I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the above study.
 - a) yes
 - b) no
- 2 I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason, without my rights being affected.
 - a) yes
 - b) no
- 3 I understand that the text I am providing can be used in analyses, publications and teaching by researchers and students of the Research Centre for English and Applied Linguistics, and that they may share the text and analyses with colleagues within this university and other universities. I give permission for these individuals to have access to these data.*
 - a) yes
 - b) no

Name

Date

* All data will be treated anonymously and confidentially, and used exclusively for research purposes. An extract of a maximum of 2000 words will be used for the final analysis, identified with a code instead of your name. Other identifying details will be removed. Participants can request to inspect any articles that make use of data they contributed before the article is submitted for publication.

Appendix 5: Markup scheme for corpus texts

(Adapted from the ICE markup manual for written texts, Nelson 2002)

Type of markup	Markup tag(s)	Description
General	<text>...</text>	Subtext marker. If the text is composed of a single text, e.g. a magazine article, only one opening and closing subtext marker is used. If a text is composed of multiple subtexts, e.g. a series of emails, each subtext receives an opening and closing subtext marker.
Content	<h>...</h>	Heading marker. Used to mark headings/titles of any level. Extra tags (bold, underline, etc.) are not used in headings.
Content	<p>...</p>	Paragraph marker. Used at the start and end of every paragraph.
Content	<footnote>...</footnote>	Footnote marker. The footnote is inserted directly after the end of the sentence in which the reference to it appears. As footnotes are considered extra-corpus material, there is no further markup within footnotes.
Content	<fnr>...</fnr>	Reference to footnote. Placed directly before and after the footnote reference, e.g. <i>This is a sentence.</i> <fnr>3</fnr>
Content	e.g. <anonymisation type="first-name"/>	Anonymisation marker. Used to replace identifying references to contributors, including first name, family name, email address, phone number, organisation name and bank account.
Content	<quote>...</quote>	Quotation marker. Used for quotes of three words or more. No further markup is used within quotes, although quotes of one sentence or more are also marked as non-corpus material (see entry below).
Non-corpus material	<X>...</X>	Extra-corpus text. This includes footnotes, quotes of one or more complete sentences, and any indented quotes. Extra-corpus text receives no further markup and is not included in analyses.
Content	<dutch>...</dutch>	Called 'indigenous' words in the ICE corpora. Used to mark Dutch words used in the English corpus texts. The Oxford online dictionary was used as a reference, e.g. <i>stadholder</i> was not marked as Dutch as it appears in this dictionary. Used for organisation and newspaper names, but not place names. Also used for words apparently accidentally spelled in Dutch, e.g. <i>en, astma, zeven</i> .
Content	<foreign>...</forei	Foreign word(s). Used for words that are neither Dutch

	<code>gn></code>	nor English. Often these appear in italics, so are marked as both. The Oxford online dictionary was used as a reference, e.g. <i>coup d'état</i> , <i>intelligentsia</i> , <i>par excellence</i> and so on were not marked as foreign as they appear in this dictionary.
Content / Non-corpus material	e.g. <code><untranscribed type="formula"/></code>	Untranscribed text. Includes tables, figures, formulas, images, etc. Typically used in technical texts.
Typographic	<code><bold>...</bold></code>	Boldface. Used to indicate start and end of word(s) in bold.
Typographic	<code><it>...</it></code>	Italics. Used to indicate start and end of word(s) in italics.
Typographic	<code>...</code>	Underline. Used to indicate start and end of underlined word(s).
Typographic	<code><sb>...</sb></code>	Subscript. Used before and after character(s) in subscript font.
Typographic	<code><sp>...</sp></code>	Superscript. Used before and after character(s) in subscript font. Note that there is a separate marker for footnote references (see above).
Typographic	<code><link>...</link></code>	Link marker. Used to indicate start and end of hyperlinked/bookmarked word(s) in online texts.

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