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The social and pragmatic function of English in weak contact situations: Ingroup and outgroup marking in the Dutch reality TV show *Expeditie Robinson*

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Abstract

The world-wide spread of English is one of the most visible symptoms of globalization. In weak contact settings such as Western Europe, where contact with English is usually indirect, remote and asymmetrical, a paradigm shift has occurred. Where, previously, Anglicism research has mainly adopted a structuralist perspective, inventorying the number of English loanwords found according to the degree of morphological and phonological adaptation to the receptor language, the focus has recently been shifted to the pragmatic and social function of Anglicisms in discourse. This article aims to add to this new perspective by means of an interactional analysis of the use of English insertions in one season of the Dutch reality TV show *Expeditie Robinson*. Specifically, we focus on the three participants that use English most frequently on the island. It is shown how two of these participants form an ingroup with its own discursive norms, including the regular use of English items. Next, the analysis focuses on an interesting opposite: another participant who also uses English frequently, but who does not attain any notable social prestige on the island. The two contrasting cases illustrate the locally emergent and highly fluid nature of the social meaning of English elements in the spontaneous conversations of these Dutch-speaking interlocutors.

Keywords: Interactional sociolinguistics; Globalization; English; Borrowing

1. The social and pragmatic function of English in weak contact settings

The spread of English across the world is one of the most visible symptoms of globalization (De Swaan, 2001; Blommaert, 2003, 2010; Phillipson, 2004). Not surprisingly then, the phenomenon has been described from different angles in different linguistic paradigms. An important distinction in this respect concerns the use and spread of English in intense versus weak contact settings (see Onysko, 2009). In intense contact settings, contact with English mainly results from colonization and immigration, most speakers are balanced or near-balanced bilinguals and English typically has some form of official status. The types and mechanisms of contact-induced change in such intense contact settings are studied in the World Englishes paradigm (e.g. Kachru, 1986; Wolf and Polzenhagen, 2009) and in more traditional contact linguistic studies (e.g. Ortigosa and Otheguy, 2007). In weak contact settings, contact with English is remote, indirect, asymmetrical and primarily mediated through the Internet, radio and television (Androutsopoulos, 2012; Onysko and Winter-Froemel, 2011). English has social prestige and most speakers have a good command of the language, but it does not serve for day-to-day communication, nor does it have official status.

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Focusing on such weak contact settings (most notably Western Europe and parts of Asia), we find that research on English loanwords has mainly taken a structuralist perspective, e.g. studying the degree of morpho-phonological nativization of loanwords (Yang, 1990; Onysko, 2007). Recently, however, the focus has shifted to the social and pragmatic value attached to the use of English loanwords and phrases in discourse (see amongst others Zenner and Kristiansen, 2014; Andersen, 2014; Zenner et al., 2014; Peterson and Vaattovaara, 2014, and see earlier work on *glocalization* such as Pennycook, 2003).

This article aims to add to this perspective by presenting a discursive analysis that scrutinizes the highly variable and interactionally negotiated social meanings attached to the use of English insertions in one season of the Dutch reality TV show *Expeditie Robinson*. In particular, we aim to illustrate how English may contribute to establishing the boundaries between ingroups and outgroups within the structure of the game show, while at other points, it may not have such a social meaning. As such, we aim to demonstrate that the indexical value of this code is not fixed, but fluid instead. The analysis focuses on Dutch-English contact, as it forms a prototypical instance of weak contact settings. Similar to Germans (Onysko, 2007) or Danes (Sandøy, 2014; Gottlieb, 2005), most speakers of Dutch are at least weakly bilingual: in the *Eurobarometer* data of 2012, 90% of the Dutch claim to be able to have a basic conversation in English (cf. Gerritsen et al., 2007).[1] Despite this high percentage, the English language has no official status in the Low Countries, and contact with English is indirect: mass media form the prime source for contact (Booij, 2001), and (bilingual) communication between Dutch and native English speakers is (outside of business contexts) rare. Hence, English-Dutch code-switching and shifts to English should not be expected to occur regularly in day-to-day conversations between Dutch speakers.

In our focus on Dutch-English contact, this article presents a weak-contact counterpart for existing research on the metaphorical and discursive function of code choice (Blom and Gumperz, 1972) in intense contact settings, such as De Fina's (2007) and De Fina's (2012) interactional analysis on the role of Italian code-switches in Italian-English communities of practice in New York. Additionally, as mentioned above, aiming to reveal the interactional and discursive function of English insertions within the structure of the game show forms an explicit attempt to add to the ongoing paradigm shift in Anglicism research from a structuralist to a socio-pragmatic perspective.

To ensure maximal understanding of the social setting of the game show, the next section describes the format of *Expeditie Robinson* in more detail. Additionally, the section serves as a critical appraisal of using reality TV data for interactional analyses. Section 3 zooms in on the use of English on the show, with special attention for our operationalization of the notion ''English insertions''. Section 4 presents an in-depth qualitative analysis of the way English insertions function in their local, discursive environment. A final section discusses the main findings of this article.

2. *Expeditie Robinson*: data and transcriptions

Within the broader field of reality TV, *Expeditie Robinson* belongs to the subgenre of the gamedoc: it is a social game where different participants compete in physical, intellectual and social challenges (Couldry, 2004). The analyses are based on detailed transcriptions of season 4: 3323 utterances for approximately 12 h of recordings were transcribed. An utterance is defined as a turn in conversation. In monological fragments the delineation of utterances is based on phonetics (silent pauses). We relied on the Jeffersonian transcription system (see e.g. Antaki, 2002 for a list of conventions), though one convention, namely the use of bold face, was changed. In the translation of transcripts, bold face indicates the use of English in Dutch and it thus serves to disambiguate these English insertions in the translation for the benefit of readers who are not familiar with the Dutch language. The season contains eight Belgian Dutch and eight Netherlandic Dutch participants.

In the course of forty to fifty days, the sixteen contestants try to survive on a deserted island and strive to be awarded with the title of Robinson of the Year. At the start of the show, the participants are divided into two tribes. The tribes regularly compete with each other as part of a gradual elimination process: at the end of every episode, participants gather in the so-called tribal council, where they vote one participant home. One tribe, that lives on the island Pantai, consists of almost all the women in the show who are led by Bjorn, the only man on this island. Being the leader of this group, Bjorn is given immunity: he cannot be voted home in the tribal council. The other tribe, located on the island Timo, shows the reverse situation, namely one woman with immunity leading an exclusively male team. Importantly, after some episodes, there is a tribe shuffle: a handful of participants have to swap teams. In the final part of the show, all participants are reunited again. This merger is accompanied by some drastic changes to the game structure: from this point onwards, the leaders lose their immunity and participants compete individually in the challenges instead of per tribe, which will eventually lead to the election of the winner. Three types of fragments are shown on television: informal dialogs on the

[1] For Belgian respondents to the survey, this level drops to 38%. However, as the Belgian respondents are sampled across the three linguistic communities of Belgium – French-speaking in the South, Dutch-speaking in the North, and a German-speaking minority in the East, these data are not necessarily very representative for Belgian Dutch speakers.

island, dialogs at the tribal councils, and utterances from video diary fragments, where participants individually share their thoughts and emotions with the camera.

Working with reality TV is rather new in the field of interactional sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. This type of data has several important benefits, but it also comes with some drawbacks that should be taken into account. Focusing on the benefits, we note four points. First, social identity is crucial on the island: if people do not like you, they will cast a vote for you at the tribal council, and you will end up going home. Consequently, we expect participants to be more aware of their social position than in regular settings: the concept of progressive elimination forces people into more public affiliations. This raised social awareness might also be reflected in language use, making social patterns of linguistic variation more outspoken and more obviously discernible. Second, the tribes form isolated communities functioning as micro-societies where participants live together 24 h a day, following their own norms and regulations. This enables researchers to study the local construction of social meaning in variation (cf. Eckert, 2008), without necessarily having to immerse oneself in ethnographic methods of data collection. Moreover, the tribes are interesting in that they allow us to study the emergence of ingroups and outgroups: while we may not be certain that we witness the participants from their first arrival on the island and their first encounter with their fellow tribe members (see drawbacks in the next paragraph), there is in any case less 'history' between the participants to take into account than in regular mundane interactions. A third benefit is more specific to *Expeditie Robinson*: as opposed to reality TV shows such as *The Bachelor* or *Temptation Island*, participants to this show come from a wide variety of social backgrounds. Finally, reality TV offers high quality recordings which are relatively easy to gather, which renders it feasible to acquire enough data to pattern online social meaning formation.

One rather severe drawback, though, is that the researcher does not have any grip on the amount of editing, cutting and pasting that has been conducted prior to broadcasting. This leads to two important shortcomings. First, what we see in the episodes is unrepresentatively 'exciting': the fragments that are shown always contain some sort of social conflict or extreme happiness. Second, because of the amount of cutting and pasting, there is less sequentiality in the broadcast fragments than in self-recorded naturally occurring data: when looking across scenes, there is not much guarantee that one event took place prior to another. Of course, when attaching social meaning to language use, it is important to take these limitations into account. In this case, this was done in three different ways: first, sequence-by-sequence analyses only focus on utterances within an uninterrupted dialog, filmed in one shot; second, in interpreting the results, we are careful not to forget that what we see is what got selected as interesting enough to be broadcast on television; and third, we avoid investigating the development of the participants' language use (e.g. norm formation) as the chronological order of the broadcast fragments is not guaranteed.

3. English insertions in Dutch

As our analysis focuses on the use of English in the show, it is important to define more precisely what we consider as English. We only include direct anglicisms that are structurally recognizable as English to a naïve native speaker of Dutch ''due to the fact that they largely retain their English graphemic–phonemic correspondence'' (Onysko, 2007:10) (for instance, the direct anglicism *film* is not considered, as a naïve Dutch pronunciation is very close to English/fɪlm/) (cf. Zenner et al., 2014). We choose this rather restrictive approach (e.g. excluding loan translations) as we are trying to find out what triggers language users to insert English elements in their speech, and naturally ''the non-Dutch character of a word can only exert influence on the language user's behavior when the expression at issue is identifiable as a non-Dutch word'' (Geeraerts and Grondelaers, 2000:56). Additionally, we exclude all Anglicisms that were introduced in Dutch to fill a lexical gap and for which no native alternative is available (e.g. *cocktail, barbecue*) (cf. Onysko and Winter-Froemel, 2011; Zenner et al., 2012). As language users cannot avoid using these items, we are not explicitly dealing with the (socio-pragmatically inspired) *choice* for a foreign-language element. Naturally, social meaning will still be attached to the use of such unavoidable English items (on behalf of the hearer), but using an item like *shampoo* is largely inevitable (on behalf of the speaker) (see Fragment 1). Hence, they are not the best starting point for an interactional analysis.

(1) Fragment 1
1 BJO ik ga mn haar wassen en oh nen douche oh shampoo
1 BJO I'm going to wash my hair and oh a shower oh **shampoo**

(2) Fragment 2
1 BJO int andere kamp lijke mij jonges om euh in een gym te fungeren
1 BJO *in the other camp it seemed to me like boys to erm function in a* ***gym***

(3) Fragment 3
1 GIO webbe morge nen battle dus ik oop dat er iets mee te winne valt want anders euh.
1 GIO *tomorrow we have a* ***battle*** *so I hope we can win something because otherwise erm.*

Table 1
English insertions (non-established, avoidable items) per speaker.

Speaker	Number of English insertions	Utterances	%	Exit episode
Judge	76	280	27.1%	Finalist
Robin	47	382	12.3%	13
Bjorn	29	465	6.2%	11
Giovanni	15	345	4.3%	13
Ryan	11	232	4.7%	13
Geert	8	276	2.9%	10
Jutta	7	236	3.0%	Finalist
Ilona	7	250	2.8%	13
Karen	6	121	5.0%	9
Fatima	6	160	3.8%	4
Franca-Maria	4	181	2.2%	12
Eric	2	58	3.4%	6
Esther	2	68	2.9%	3
Eva	0	37	0.0%	5
Marlieke	0	20	0.0%	2
Simon	0	9	0.0%	1

A further restriction can be introduced through the contrast between established loanwords like *gym* (Fragment 2) and newer items like *battle* (Fragment 3): *gym* has an entry in descriptive dictionaries of Dutch (e.g. Den Boon and Geeraerts, 2008), *battle* does not. For established items, we can apply the same reasoning about social meaning as for necessary anglicisms: they are less felt to be foreign items by Dutch speakers and will hence be less socially and pragmatically marked in discourse. Hence, established English items were not considered for our analyses.

Table 1 provides the amount of English insertions per speaker after applying these restrictions. The table reveals strong variation in the amount of (avoidable non-established) English insertions used by the different speakers. Of course, the absolute figures are influenced by how long participants stay on the show. When also considering the total number of utterances for the different speakers and using these to normalize the absolute figures, we see that the length of a participant's stay on the show cannot explain all variation. Some participants are generally more inclined to use English than others.[2]

In the remainder of this article, we focus on the social function of English insertions for the three speakers with the highest (both absolute and relative) use of English: Judge, Robin and Bjorn. The background of two of the three high frequency users of English can help explain their use of English. First, Judge grew up in the United States and is near-native. Second, as a long-distance truck driver, Bjorn has quite a few international contacts in his job. For Robin, the third participant, there is less support from his background. Nevertheless, as a psychology major, he has had higher education, which might naturally come with higher English proficiency.

Below, we zoom in on the interactional context in which English insertions of these three men occur. Since the case of Giovanni is linked to that of Judge and Robin, we will also discuss his use of English insertions in section 4.1. The qualitative analyses start off from excerpts that include English multi-word units (such as *as good as it gets* or *not amused*), as these are more focal in discourse (both for the researcher and for the interlocutors): they are typically longer than single word units, can easily be paraphrased in the receptor language (and are hence avoidable) and are usually lowly entrenched in the receptor language lexicon in terms of frequency of use (see Zenner and Geeraerts, 2015). Each of these characteristics is linked to varying degrees of awareness: longer, unestablished, lowly entrenched items are more easily noticeable and are hence possibly more likely to be used to create social meaning. Despite the initial focus on multi-word units, all English insertions (including single-word units) are considered and discussed.

4. English insertions as social markers

For the three participants with the highest frequency of English insertions, namely Judge, Robin and Bjorn, we see quite divergent patterns. In this section, we qualitatively analyze the way their English insertions function in the discursive environment, paying specific attention to their location and use in the immediately surrounding sequential context. We

[2] The results in Table 1 should not be overinterpreted: on occasion, one utterance contains more than one English insertion. Consequently, the percentages only provide a rough indication of the amount of utterances containing English insertions.

start by focusing on the interrelated cases of Judge and Robin, which we will also link to the case of Giovanni, after which we will discuss Bjorn's use of English in section 4.2.

4.1. English insertions and the construction of an ingroup

First, the social constellation of a particular ingroup/outgroup on the island is discussed, which we then relate to the specific role of English in constructing these social groups and to the language proficiency of the group members.

4.1.1. The ingroup of Judge and Robin, with Giovanni as a peripheral member

From quite early on in the show, there is one clear ingroup which consists of two core members, namely Judge and Robin, and one more peripheral member, namely Giovanni. They are the only male participants under thirty on the island and they are all found – in one way or another – to orient to ''masculinity'', which can be defined as ''a bundle of stances, which have in common a claim to authority that puts a person at the top of some hierarchy'' (Kiesling, 2001:252). All three members excel in one way or another within this ingroup: while Robin is the humorous one, occasionally running around in a Zorro cape on the island, Judge is the 'cool dude' who likes to enjoy life and, especially, food, and Giovanni fulfills the role of the ultimate handsome male survivor, showing off his 'six-pack' and climbing just about any palm tree he encounters on his path – both activities which earn him much explicit praise.[3]

There are of course many different semiotic resources by means of which the closeness between the members of this ingroup is manifested. For example, non-verbally, we observed a certain degree of physical, typically heterosexual closeness between these group members, often displayed by a pat on the back, while verbally, the members are quite explicit in openly admitting that they have a special bond. For example, during a tribal council, Judge calls Robin his ***soulbrother*** or his ***partner*** in front of the other participants. His use of English here is already quite indicative for the role of English as the special code of the ingroup, which we will discuss in detail in the next section. Similar positive evaluations of the relation between Robin and Judge also occur in the other direction. Giovanni, the peripheral member of the ingroup, is also positively evaluated (e.g. Robin calls him *nen hele lieve, warme gast* 'a very sweet, warm guy'), but there are also some conflicting opinions with Giovanni, especially in relation to Judge. For example, when Judge and Giovanni's team loses a challenge, Giovanni blames this explicitly on Judge's weak performance, which results in a lengthy argument between the two of them. Finally, even though all the members of the ingroup Judge-Robin-Giovanni frequently use English insertions, Giovanni's command of English is more limited (as we will discuss below) and his pronunciation is often non-native-like (for example, he pronounces *judgment* as/ˈdʒʌdz.mənt/ instead of /ˈdʒʌdʒ.mənt/). Given the fact that English-Dutch contact is indirect and mediated through mass media, these proficiency issues, especially concerning native pronunciation, are not surprising. This observation will also become relevant in the next sections.

4.1.2. The use of English as an ingroup marker between the two core members

Judge and Robin are the two core members of the ingroup and, interestingly, these are also the two participants on the island who use the highest percentage of English insertions (cf. Table 1). When studying in detail at which points these English insertions occur interactionally, we see a significant pattern emerging,[4] namely that both participants use English insertions most frequently when they address each other and to a much lesser extent when addressing other participants on the island.[5] Furthermore, both Robin and Judge's use of English fluctuates depending on their co-presence: initially they are part of the same team but, when the teams are shuffled, Robin and Judge are separated, and reunited again during the merger. Interestingly, for both participants there is a clear decrease in the use of English when they are separated during the shuffle. Such increases or decreases do not occur when studying the use of English by the other participants (see Fig. 1).

These findings suggest that Robin and Judge's use of English is not coincidental, but rather that it is related to their social position as members of an ingroup within the larger context of their 'tribal group'. We now scrutinize when and how they use English by qualitatively zooming in on a number of excerpts in which English insertions occur, focusing on those cases where longer English phrases are used.

[3] For example, Robin says to him at one point: 'Jean-Claude Van Damme means nothing anymore, **you**'**re my new hero**'.

[4] Fisher's exact for both Judge and Robin: $p < 0.001$. (Fisher's exact is an inferential test that can be used as an alternative for Chi Square tests when the assumptions for Chi Square testing are not met. In this case, the expected cell frequencies are below five in more than 20% of the cells, which makes Fisher's the more reliable test).

[5] Of course, this significant difference may be related to a possible general pattern of a higher frequency of mutual addressing by both core ingroup members, which would of course underline their ingroup status rather than the specific importance of English insertions as a significant marker of ingroup identity. The latter thesis is however further supported by the following qualitative analyses.

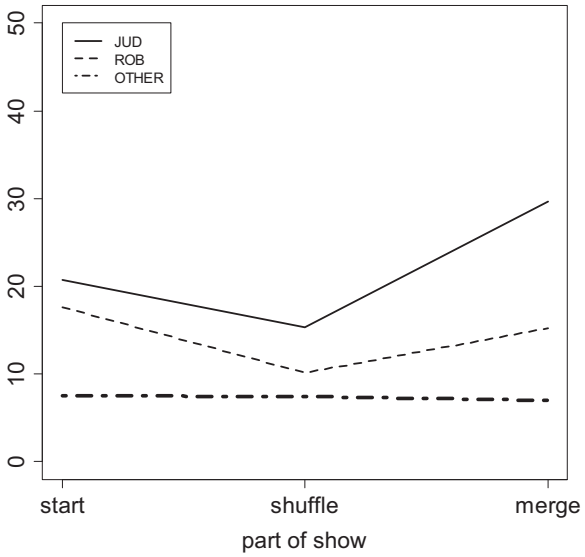

Fig. 1. Relative frequency of English insertions by Judge and Robin compared to other participants.

First, we see a large amount of mirroring of borrowed English insertions between Robin and Judge, who both have an almost equal share of initiating English insertions and mirroring these. As we see in Excerpt 1, two English insertions are initiated, first one by Judge (line 2) and then one by Robin (line 6). Both are mirrored by the other interlocutor in the subsequent line (lines 3 and 7 respectively):

Excerpt 1 – episode 11 – Judge and Robin comment on a previous tribal council

	1	ROB	*wat een dag jonge (.) 'k ben effe nog aant bekome.*
->	2	JUD	*zeg ik altijd (.) emotional rollercoaster*
->	3	ROB	*.h@ welcome to the emotional rollercoaster*
	4	ROB	*amai vandaag von ik et toch wel euh*
	5	JUD	*ja:::::::*
->	6	ROB	*von ik et toch wel a ↑joyride @*
->	7	JUD	*ja twas echt een joyride*

	1	ROB	what a day boy (.) I am still recovering for a bit.
->	2	JUD	I always say (.) **emotional rollercoaster**
->	3	ROB	.h@ **welcome to the emotional rollercoaster**
	4	ROB	well today I found it really erm
	5	JUD	ye:::::::s
->	6	ROB	I found it rather **a ↑joyride** @
->	7	JUD	yes it really was a **joyride**[6]

In the initial line, Robin formulates a general assessment of the day. Judge agrees with this assessment in the next line, in which he initiates the English noun phrase *emotional rollercoaster*. Robin again aligns with this in the subsequent line by briefly laughing and then formulating an elaborated version of this phrase, which contains a partial repetition. Both the elaboration and the triple stress in prosody underline his agreement with Judge's formulation once again, thus displaying a high degree of convergence in the interlocutors' language use (Giles, 2001; Coupland, 2010). We see a similar–but reversed in terms of interlocutors–pattern in lines 6–7. In line 6, Robin qualifies the day as *a joyride*, thus inserting another English noun phrase. The marked rising pitch of the word *joyride* adds emphasis to his evaluation. Judge agrees with Robin and mirrors his use of English by repeating *joyride*. Furthermore, by upgrading the assessment (from *rather* to *really*), he formulates a preferred second pair part (Pomerantz, 1984). So, in this case, we see that both interlocutors

[6] As mentioned before, the use of bold face in the English translations of the excerpts indicates that it concerns an English insertion in the original Dutch dialog here.

strongly agree with one another regarding the evaluation of the day, and this is supported by various aspects of their language use, among others, their use of English. Their complementary initiation of English insertions indicates that they have their own way of speaking within their ingroup, and that the regular use of English has a prominent place in these discursive norms.

This is further supported by the fact that there are a number of conversational exchanges which contain no Dutch. An example of such a complete switch to English can be seen in Excerpt 2, which occurs when Robin and Judge meet again after they have been separated for some time during the shuffle.

Excerpt 2 – episode 7 – Robin and Judge are re-united

1 ROB **how are you mate**
2 JUD **you've got your ↑sparkle back**
3 (1.5)
4 ROB **I do::**

It is crucial that this interaction is the first exchange between the two core ingroup members after their separation. Especially at a point in which previous ties need to be re-affirmed, it is not surprising that both interlocutors switch to English entirely and mirror each other's extensive use of English (cf. Lønsmann, 2009:1146). By using the code typical of their ingroup, they confirm their orientation to its discursive norms. In addition, since this code is otherwise typically expressed through the insertion of English elements in a Dutch context, as in Excerpt 1, their complete switch to English emphasizes these norms and thus re-establishes their social bond as members of the same ingroup.

Sometimes, such switches also have a disambiguating function, as in Excerpt 3, which occurs during a challenge within which Robin won a highly envied dessert, that he then eats in front of all the other hungry participants.

Excerpt 3 – episode 11 – Robin wins and eats a dessert

1 JUD *you're hurtin' me baby you're hurtin' me baby*
2 JUT *oh dieje geur [alleen al*
3 ROB *[I'm sorry*

1 JUD **you're hurtin' me baby you're hurtin' me baby**
2 JUT oh that smell [alone
3 ROB **[I'm sorry**

Judge expresses his painful feelings while watching Robin eat, but by endearingly addressing him as *baby*, he downplays the critical nature of his comment. Then Jutta comments on the smell of the dessert, but Robin overlaps with an apology formulated in English (line 3). By using English here, he disambiguates the orientation of his utterance, namely toward Judge, while otherwise it could have been interpreted as a general apology to all the other participants. Robin thus not only mirrors Judge's code-switch of line 1, but he also orients to the discursive norms of the ingroup which has English as its special code, and at the same time he affirms this ingroup relation with Judge through the speech act of apologizing, which acknowledges Judge's status within the ingroup as the cool food lover. After all, one would not apologize for having won a challenge to a competitor, but one would do that toward a friend.

A final interesting point concerns why and how it is precisely English that came to mark this specific ingroup. As discussed above (see section 4.1.1), both Judge and Robin each construct a masculine identity in their own particular way. One could thus hypothesize that their preferred code for the ingroup, English, indexes masculinity here. However, we should also take into account the fact that Judge grew up in the United States and that he is most likely more proficient in English than the other participants. Hence, this code is almost 'natural' to him and it may not particularly index 'something' for him. Conversely, for other participants who use English, it is not a 'natural' code and so their use of this code with Judge could index their attempts to bond with Judge by mirroring his use of English. If this is an important reason for this code choice, it would entail that Robin primarily uses English in relation to Judge, but that Judge uses English more broadly. One way to corroborate this would be to verify which one of the two men was the first who started using English, and who subsequently used English most frequently throughout their interactions. However, given the editing of reality TV, we do not have enough complete dialogs to assess this. Alternatively, we verified how often the two participants use English insertions when talking to each other, and how often they use English in the monological setting of their video diaries. For Robin, we see that 25% of his longer English insertions (10 out of 41) are directed at Judge, and only 8 are used in his video diary fragments (out of 96 video diary utterances). The other 23 are directed to the entire group or to other participants, but Robin never uses as many English insertions with any single participant as when talking to Judge. For Judge, we find 11 out of 58 longer insertions directed at Robin, and 21 used in his video diaries (out of 95 video diary

utterances). These data thus indeed suggest that Judge uses English more broadly on the island than Robin, and more explicitly to voice his own emotions and opinions. Furthermore, the fact that Robin uses English more when addressing Judge than when addressing any other individual participant, indicates that it is mainly a code for affiliating with Judge and constructing an ingroup with him, rather than indexing masculinity.[7] However, we have to admit it is hard to disentangle the two as the ingroup consists of men who perform masculinity in various ways (see section 4.1.1), and so one could conclude that in these interactions, English functions as a marker of an ingroup that is characterized by masculinity. Finally, it is important to note that Robin's proficiency is sufficiently high to establish and maintain the boundaries of this ingroup with the highly proficient Judge, in contrast to Giovanni, as we discuss in the following section.

4.1.3. The use of English as an ingroup marker between the core members and Giovanni

Giovanni uses English much less frequently (cf. Table 1), which may be due to the fact that his status in the ingroup is less harmonious in comparison to the relation between the two core members. However, we argue that this is probably not the only reason, as Giovanni is actually fulfilling an important role in the male ingroup, namely that of the macho survivor, but that his limited use of English may also be related to Giovanni's less native-like command of this code. However, of the relatively few cases in which Giovanni uses (longer) English insertions, they usually serve a similar function as the one described for Robin and Judge. For example, during the tribal council of the finals, Judge is one of the final competitors for the title, and other former participants can ask him critical questions. However, instead of questioning Judge, Giovanni jokingly draws on Judge's ingroup status as the food lover and offers him his favorite food, which he brought to the studio, in exchange for Judge's place in the finals. When Judge paralinguistically marks his refusal of the offer (line 1), Giovanni concludes his contribution as follows, as we see in Excerpt 4:

Excerpt 4 – episode 13 – Giovanni jokingly offers Judge food during the studio show

```
    1  ((JUD shakes his head))
->  2  GIO  I keep it for you (.) I keep it for you @@@@
```

In line 2, Giovanni uses an English phrase. Importantly, the closing laughter again marks the playful character of the proposal. So, in this case, Giovanni uses English to express his good will toward Judge and, additionally, he constructs himself as a member of the ingroup with Judge. This analysis is supported by the selection of the food topic, so typical of Judge's identity as the 'cool foodie' within the male ingroup (see also Excerpt 3), and by the set-up of this fake proposal, in which Giovanni expresses his loyalty toward Judge by refusing to ask a critical question, thus flouting the norms of the tribal council genre. It is precisely this loyalty relation that is further underlined by using English here, since Giovanni displays an orientation to the ingroup and its typical discursive norms.

Moreover, Giovanni's formulation and pronunciation of English in Excerpt 4 is not native-like.[8] This may prevent him from orienting to this ingroup code more systematically, as his lower proficiency level may not allow him to participate in ad hoc English verbal plays as Robin and Judge do (see Excerpt 2 above).

4.2. English insertions and the construction of an outcast identity

Based on the previous analyses, one might be tempted to conclude that using English on the island helps to portray oneself as a member of an ingroup. As we will see below, caution is needed: the third most frequent user of English, Bjorn, is quite a different case.

4.2.1. Bjorn as an outcast

Bjorn became an outcast quite early on in the show and this is, amongst others, clear from the many critical remarks that are made about Bjorn's character by the other participants. These negative comments start immediately after the participants met each other, as we see in the following fragment:

[7] One could expect dialectal features here, as they are typically markers of ingroups. However, as Judge is Dutch and Robin is Flemish, the interlocutors do not share the same vernacular features, and these are thus not available in this case. This could further explain why English was used as an ingroup code here, but further research would be needed to corroborate this hypothesis.

[8] We do not mean to express any opinions on the debate on the ownership of the English language and on the use of the term *native speaker*, but we do believe that in this specific case, Giovanni's weaker English proficiency may play a role in his ability to conform to the norms of the ingroup of Judge and Robin.

Excerpt 5 – episode 1 – Esther and Ilona are discussing Bjorn's character

1 ETH ik kom Bjorn-types ↑thuis niet tegen.
2 ILO ↑ja
3 ETH ik vind wel grappig maar ik moet effe
4 (.) ook beetje bijkomen van euh (.) ja van Bjorn zeg maar (.)
5 nog even een plaats geven.

1 ETH *I don't run into no Bjorn-types at ↑home.*
2 ILO *↑yes*
3 ETH *I think it is quite funny but now I need to*
4 *(.) recover a bit from erm (.) yes from Bjorn so to say (.)*
5 *digest it for a while.*

Esther formulates a person-oriented evaluation which initially just states Bjorn's markedness, characterizing him as outside of the normal spectrum of 'people-*types*' (cf line 1) she encounters *at home*, thus almost exoticizing his character. As this assessment is not followed by a preferred response, viz. an upgrade (Pomerantz, 1984), but by an affirmative particle (line 2), Ilona refrains from agreeing explicitly with Esther's assessment. Subsequently, the latter continues with a relatively positive assessment 'wel grappig' (*quite funny*, line 3). Yet this is immediately followed by the contrastive conjunction *but* (line 3) and another negative assessment (lines 4–5). This turn is strongly hedged, both by an accumulation of approximators (e.g. *quite, a bit*) and shields (e.g. *I think*) (Prince et al., 1982). This hedging is rather unsurprising due to Ilona's lack of a preferred response in line 2.

Actually, Ilona is one of the only participants who remains loyal to Bjorn for a while, but who then radically changes her opinion. She points at this change herself in the following fragment (line 6), taken from a video diary monolog:

Excerpt 6 – episode 4 – excerpt from a video diary fragment by Ilona

1 ja dat blijkt ook weer wat een achterbakse
2 uit de klauwen ge(.)groeide tuinkabouter euh (.) Bjorn is
3 met die >vieze ranzige rode< stipjes (.)
4 maar eu:h (.) nee hij is euh
5 't is een on↑eerlijke persoon ik eb me echt
-> 6 in 't begin echt in hem vergist (.)

1 yes this too shows once again what a sneaky
2 g(.)rown-from-the-claws garden gnome erm (.) Bjorn is
3 with those >dirty, rancid red< dots (.)
4 but e:rm (.) no he is erm
5 it is a dis↑honest person I have really
-> *6 in the beginning really misjudged him (.)*

Ilona's evaluation is framed as a form of ''bald on record impoliteness'' attacking Bjorn's positive face (Culpeper, 1996) by means of an accumulative description of his negative treats, focusing on his character and appearance. After a few hesitations and reformulations in line 4, she shifts to a less marked style and qualifies him as *dishonest* (line 5), before distancing herself from him further by acknowledging her own misjudgment (line 6). Next to Esther and Ilona, many other participants explicitly express their negative evaluations of Bjorn, although not so vividly as in the fragment above, viz. by qualifying him as a child (e.g. in episode 5 by Giovanni), a liar (e.g. in episode 8 by Karen) or as unable to act in socially acceptable ways (e.g. in episode 9 by Jutta). All these comments clearly illustrate Bjorn's outcast status.

4.2.2. Bjorn's English insertions

Importantly, Bjorn uses a large amount of English insertions (cf. Table 1), so it is interesting to see how these are used and responded to when they are uttered by an outcast. First, Bjorn's use of English has no explicitly interactional function: in almost half of the cases (46.9%) the utterances typically do not address participants who are physically present. Second, those insertions that do occur in the co-presence of other participants are hardly ever mirrored. To illustrate this, we present a rare example in which there is explicit agreement with this outcast. The following excerpt occurred right after Bjorn had won a challenge. As a prize, he could invite two island participants to a – much envied – sumptuous dinner. He invites Giovanni and Franca, who are both very grateful to Bjorn for this chance, and during the meal, the atmosphere is

excellent. Furthermore, they all agree on potential joint survival strategies, but even in spite of strong local convergence of opinions, no mirroring of Bjorn's English occurs:

Excerpt 7 – episode 6 – Bjorn, Franca and Giovanni have dinner together

	1	*BJO*	*hebbe we elkaar misschien later nog nodig*
	2		*dan kan er altijd gesproke worde*
->	*3*		*fo:r euh Noord and ↑honour*
	4	*FRA*	*((nods))*
	5	*GIO*	*'k ben et daar zeker mee eens.*
	1	BJO	maybe we still need each other later on
	2		then it can always be discussed
->	3		**fo:r** erm Noord **and ↑honour**
	4	FRA	((nods))
	5	GIO	I definitely agree with that.

In line 3, Bjorn formulates a slightly modified version of the slogan of the camp, and this use of English, especially as it is uttered at the end of his turn with a rising intonation, calls for a repetition or some sort of mirroring by the other interlocutors. As such, it can be read as a bid for inclusion, which could be achieved if there were convergence in the subsequent turn. Giovanni had actually used this slogan himself in another part of this episode (*for honour and for Noord*), thus showing the latter's potential to mirror Bjorn's utterance. Interestingly, though there is explicit agreement on this topic by both interlocutors (cf. Franca's nodding in line 4), which is even underlined by Giovanni's use of the booster *zeker* 'definitely' (line 5), there is no convergence of language use, which is emblematic for the other interlocutors' reticence to construct an ingroup with Bjorn.

So, in Bjorn's case, we have observed that he uses quite a high number of English insertions, but that these never result in linguistic convergence. On the one hand, this can be related to the fact that Bjorn is an outcast to whom other participants react negatively, often in explicit ways, and with whom they refrain from constructing an ingroup. This lack of membership of a particular ingroup on the island is talked into being by, among other semiotic means, the fact that his use of borrowed English insertions is not adopted by any other participant while interacting with him. On the other hand, as the final excerpts illustrates, the often non-native-like way of pronouncing (e.g. consistent final devoicing, e.g. pronouncing *food* as *foot*) and of constructing the English multi-word unit (*for Noord and for honour* instead of *for honour and for Noord*) may also be a factor that does not incite the other participants to copy Bjorn's use of English, which we will discuss more extensively in the following section.

5. Discussion and conclusion

The analyses we presented here have revealed that the language use of Judge and Robin is related to the construction of an ingroup that revolves especially around Judge and Robin as core members. This ingroup is constructed by various linguistic and non-linguistic resources, one of them being the regular use of English. This not only comes to the fore through the participants' mirroring of the other's use of English insertions in Dutch utterances, but also through occasional complete switches to English at points in the show where the (re-)establishment of ingroup ties is particularly important (Excerpt 2) or where the conversational partner needs to be disambiguated (Excerpt 3). This regular insertion of English is also, to a certain extent, oriented to by Giovanni (Excerpt 4). However, due to the possibly interrelated reasons of his less harmonious position as an ingroup member and his lower English proficiency, Giovanni's use of this particular code remains limited. On the one hand, this is emblematic of the indexical value of these English items as ingroup markers here, but, on the other hand, it shows that a practical reason such as linguistic proficiency may also come into play, which reflects the relatively limited, direct, face-to-face contact Dutch speakers typically have with English in weak contact settings. Quite an opposite case is that of Bjorn, as discussed in section 4.2, who also uses English frequently but whose English is never mirrored by other participants. Again, this may be related to proficiency, in particular to Bjorn's non-native pronunciation of English, which does not contribute to the construction of an identity that seems desirable for others to align with linguistically. More probably, this lack of language convergence is strongly related to Bjorn's outcast identity and the preference toward non-alignment and non-affiliation, both content-wise as well as linguistically, of the other participants with him.

Summarizing, when focusing only on the initial quantitative findings, one would readily assume that the high frequency users are similar cases, but when zooming in on how English is used locally and interactionally, quite a different picture

emerges. While the use of English functions as a marker of social cohesion in one case, the lack of convergence with this code marks social isolation in another, demonstrating that the indexical value of English is highly dynamic.

Additionally, this article has illustrated how reality TV data can prove beneficial for conducting in-depth interactional analyses. The main analytical advantages are the following: first, the fact that ingroups and outgroups are being negotiated almost from scratch before the researchers' eyes, thus making it possible to closely observe the use of an ingroup code between participants who hardly have any 'shared history', is something one would hardly be able to do with naturally occurring data; second, the fact that the program format forces participants to award special attention to their social position and to make their social allegiances explicitly visible, which gave us more insight into the construction and negotiation of social identity.

Despite these benefits concerning the type of data we work with, some caution is needed. The analyses have pointed out the possibly crucial role of proficiency: a clear contrast emerged between participants who use English frequently and in a ''correct'' way, and others who use English frequently but not always in a near-native fashion. These observations present one important avenue for future research: how can we grasp the interplay of ingroup code and proficiency? Does Giovanni's proficiency (or the lack thereof) prevent him from truly conforming to the norm of the ingroup code, and hence of truly belonging? Such questions can only be tackled by studying more data from different interactional settings, uttered by speakers with varying degrees of proficiency in English, engaging in different types of identity work.

Notwithstanding these suggestions for future research, this article demonstrated the locally emergent nature of the social meaning of English insertions in spontaneous conversations between Dutch L1 participants in weak contact settings. In this case, we have observed that English may help participants create affiliations and construct ingroup identities depending on who uses this code and with whom, but that it not necessarily has this indexical value when used by other participants and/or in other contexts. As the two opposing cases have demonstrated, this social meaning can only be grasped by locally analyzing English insertions in interaction and by focusing on the way in which interlocutors construct and negotiate meaning on a turn-by-turn basis.

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