The social 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, linguistic studies mainly focused on inventorying the number of English loanwords found according to the degree of morphological and phonological adaptation to the receptor language (micro level influence), the new English Lingua Franca paradigm has shifted attention towards the spread of English as language for communication (macro level influence). Nevertheless, one important question concerning English insertions still remains: what are the social and discursive functions of English insertions in monolingual settings? This paper addresses this question by means of a local, interactional analysis of the use of English multi-word units in one season of the Dutch reality TV show *Expeditie Robinson* (known as *Survivor* in the English-speaking world). Specifically, the analysis first reveals how the occurrence of English multi-word units is mainly linked to three male participants. It is shown how some of these participants form an ingroup. More particularly, they form a community of practice that has its own discursive norms, of which the regular use of English multi-word units is an important part. Next, the analysis focuses on an interesting opposite: one other male participant to the show also uses English very frequently. However, in his case, this does not help him attain any notable social prestige on the island. The two contrasting cases illustrate the locally emergent character of the social meaning of borrowed phraseology in spontaneous conversations between (largely) monolingual interlocutors in weak contact settings.

Keywords: interactional sociolinguistics; community of practice; globalization; English; borrowing; phraseology

1. The social function of English in weak contact settings

The spread of English around the world is one of the most visible symptoms of globalization (de Swaan 2001; Blommaert 2003; Phillipson 2004). Not surprisingly then, the phenomenon has been described from many different angles in many different linguistic paradigms. An important distinction in this respect concerns the use and spread of English in intense versus weak contact settings. In intense contact settings, contact with English mainly results from colonization and immigration, most speakers are (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 linguistics studies (e.g. Poplack 1980 or Orthigosa and Otheguy 2007 on Spanish-English contact in New York). In weak contact settings, contact with English is remote, indirect, asymmetrical and primarily mediated through internet, radio and television (Onysko 2009; Androutsopoulos *forthcoming;* Stefanowitsch 2002). English has a lot of social prestige and most speakers have some

command of English, but English does not function as the means of communication in day-to-day life, nor does it have official status (Truchot 1991).

Focusing on such weak contact settings, which are predominantly found in Western-Europe and, more recently, in Asia (Kirkpatrick 2007: 155), research on the use of English is mainly conducted in two different frameworks. First, on the macro level, we find the English Lingua Franca (ELF) paradigm, where the focus lies on patterning the spread of English as a language for communication between (non-native) speakers of English with different mother tongues (e.g. a business phone call between a German and a Chinese manager). Drawing on sociolinguistic interviews, surveys and qualitative corpus-based studies, ELF research primarily aims to identify the core linguistic features of ELF (Firth 1996; Jenkins 2000; Dewey 2009), to advance the debate on the question whether ELF can be regarded as a variety in its own right (House 1999; Seidlhofer 2009) and to develop tools and methods for teaching ELF in foreign language classrooms (Kuo 2006). Second, on the micro level, we find the long-standing tradition of anglicism research. The main aim here is to provide inventories for the amount and types of English loanwords found in different languages (most notably German and French) and on deriving structural patterns, such as the amount of loanwords per word class, gender assignment or any other type of morphophonological nativization (Carstensen 1965; Yang 1990; Onysko 2007) (and cf. Zenner et al. *forthcoming, a* for a comparison of the diffusion of English on both levels).

Despite this wide variety of approaches, one question still remains: what is the social value attached to the use of English loanwords and English phrases in weak contact settings? More specifically, what are the social and discursive functions of code choice (i.e. English vs. mother tongue) in monolingual settings (e.g. a conversation between native speakers of German)? In tackling this question, our study ties in with research on glocalization, which aims to pattern the localized social meaning of English insertions in weak contact settings (Pennycook 2003 on English in Japanese rap, Machin and Van Leeuwen 2003 on discourse schemas in *Cosmopolitan,* Sifianou 2010 on English in announcements in the Athens subway). Crucially, we also add to this line of research by focusing explicitly on the social meaning of English in *spontaneous* conversation. Moreover, this study adds to existing ELF research, where the focus lies on interactions between people with *different* mother tongues instead of on monolingual settings, and on language shift (communicating in English) instead of on style-shifting (inserting English elements). Next, we add to the anglicism research tradition by introducing a social perspective to the predominantly structural focus of the paradigm, addressing the crucial (but often ignored) question of what *motivates* the use of English loanwords in monolingual conversation. Finally, addressing this question adds to style research and research on the (metaphorical) function of code choice (e.g. Blom and Gumperz 1972 on dialect switching). In particular, our study is comparable to de Fina (2007a, 2007b, 2012), who presents interactional analyses on the role of Italian code-switches in Italian-English communities of practice in New York. However, while she focuses on L1 insertions in intense contact settings, our study focuses on L2 insertions in weak contact settings.

More specifically, this study traces the social meaning of English insertions in the reality TV show *Expeditie Robinson* (known as *Survivor* in the Anglo-Saxon world): how do Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch participants to the show use English insertions to help shape their social identity? In particular, we focus on the use of English multi-word units, as will be accounted for below. A basic quantitative analyses of these English multi-word units shows that participants frequently use English

in the show, although all of them are native speakers of Dutch. Relying on qualitative analyses, we are able to show how the use of such English multi-word units can to a large extent be explained by their social function: English is a crucial mechanism to delineate the boundaries between ingroups and outgroups. As such, English on the island is recognized and used as a means to perform local identity.

To ensure maximal understanding of the social setting on the island, the next section describes the format of the reality show. Moreover, the section serves as a critical appraisal of using reality TV data for interactional analyses: both the most important benefits and drawbacks of this type of material are indicated. Section 3 briefly presents the notion of borrowed phraseology, illustrated with some quantifications. The section shows how most longer stretches of English occurring in the data are both highly fixed and highly conventional. Attention is also paid to the different communicative functions expressed by these items, and how they often trigger mirroring in discourse. Section 4 zooms in on a limited number of participants who use English multi-word units most frequently and it presents an in-depth qualitative analysis of the way these English borrowings function in their local, discursive environment, paying specific attention to the way they are used in their immediately surrounding sequential contexts. A final section summarizes the main findings and theoretical contributions of this work.

2. *Expeditie Robinson*: Data and transcriptions

When trying to assess the social meaning of English insertions, it is best to rely on naturally occurring data. Collecting such data is however far less straightforward than assembling written text corpora. As a result, anglicism research has so far mainly focused on analyzing the use of English loanwords in print media corpora (e.g. Carstensen 1965; Yang 1990; Onysko 2007, Zenner et al. 2012). However, the advent of reality TV at the end of the eighties (Murray and Ouellette 2004) opened up a wide variety of options for the study of spontaneous communication. As one illustration of these possibilities, the present paper analyses the use of English by Dutch participants to the fourth season of *Expeditie Robinson* (broadcast in 2003 on the network stations VT4 and Net5). Below, we discuss the main structure of the season, present its participants and summarize the benefits and drawbacks of working with reality TV as data.

2.1 Expeditie Robinson 2003

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). In the course of forty to fifty days, sixteen contestants try to survive on a (supposedly) desert island and strive to be awarded with the title of Robinson of the Year (cf. Table 1 for participant info of the season we are discussing). Crucial in this respect is the principle of progressive elimination: at regular intervals (shown at the end of every episode), participants gather in the so-called Tribal Council, where they have to vote one participant home. The final participant to survive these Tribal Councils wins a sizeable amount of money and is awarded with the title of Robinson of the Year.

Table 1 - participants to Expeditie Robinson 2003

speaker	sp.code	gender	age	profession	country	start	shuffle	exit episode
jutta	JUT	female	30	general physician	BE	pantai	timo	finalist
ilona	ILO	female	22	management assistant	NL	pantai	pantai	13
robin	ROB	male	28	psychologist	BE	timo	timo	13
franca-maria	FRC	female	41	life-style journalist	NL	pantai	pantai	12
bjorn	BJO	male	34	truck driver	BE	pantai	pantai	11
karen	KAR	female	28	marketeer	BE	pantai	timo	9
eva	EVA	female	25	booking agent theatre	BE	pantai	pantai	5
esther	ETH	female	33	booking agent dj's	NL	pantai	*<home>*	3
marlieke	MAK	female	19	student	NL	pantai	*<home>*	2
judge	JUD	male	30	interior decorator	NL	timo	pantai	finalist
giovanni	GIO	male	27	chef	BE	timo	pantai	13
ryan	RYA	male	37	entrepreneur	NL	timo	timo	13
geert	GEE	male	39	b&b owner	BE	timo	timo	10
eric	ERI	male	43	officer of justice	NL	timo	timo	6
fatima	FAT	female	33	head of police office	NL	timo	timo	4
simon	SIM	male	19	student	BE	timo	*<home>*	1

Our analyses are based on detailed manual transcriptions of season 4 (3323 utterances for approximately 12 hours of recordings). These utterances were transcribed using the Jeffersonian transcription system (Jefferson 2004) typically used in conversation analytic studies[1] (for a list of conventions, see the appendix and Antaki 2002). Eight participants are Belgian Dutch, eight are Netherlandic Dutch (though note that Judge, one of the Netherlandic Dutch participants, grew up in the United States). The events on the island are broadcast in fourteen episodes, which can be grouped in four different sections. First, at the start of the show, the different participants are divided into two tribes. One tribe consists of all the women in the show, except for Fatima. They have to live together on the island Pantai. The producers award Bjorn, the only man on this island, with the special task of leading the team. Being the leader, Bjorn is given immunity at the initial Tribal Councils: a basic rule of the game is that he *cannot* be voted home. The other tribe, Timo, shows the reverse situation: Fatima, the only woman on the team, has been given the task to lead an exclusively male team. She too gets immunity during the first episodes of the show. As Fragment 1 and Fragment 2 illustrate, Bjorn and Fatima clearly have different ideas about leadership: while the former clearly presents himself as an authorative leader who makes the decisions on his own, in spite of what the others may think (hence the 'unfortunately' in line 3, fragment 1), the latter proposes a more collaborative leadership style, while minimizing the whole concept of 'leadership' (cf. line 2, fragment 2):

Fragment 1

1	BJO	ik eb ee leidersrol op me gekregen dus ik moet min of meer jullie leiden (.)
2		akkoord (.) as er dan knoop moet doorgehakt worden
3		zalt door mij gebeuren (.) jammer genoeg (.)

[1] One CA-convention is not followed, namely the use of capital letters for louder speech. In the translation of our transcripts, capitals indicate the use of English in Dutch and they serve to disambiguate these English insertions in the translation for the benefit of readers who are not familiar with the Dutch language.

1	*BJO*	*I have been given the role of leader so I sort of have to lead you (.)*
2		*okay (.) if any sort of decision has to be made,*
3		*it will be made by me (.) Unfortunately (.)*

Fragment 2

1	FAT	euh ik wil het liefste gewoon een democratische leiderschap
2		of leiderschap vin ik groot woord
1	*FAT*	*erm I just prefer a democratic leadership,*
2		*or leadership I think is a big word*

Every couple of days, the two tribes compete with each other and the losing team is sent to the Tribal Council. Naturally, the elimination process causes social stress, intrigues and strategic alliances between candidates. Episode 4 is the start of the second part of the show: the tribes are shuffled, and a handful of participants have to swap teams. Because the participants have started to connect with their tribe members by this time, identification with the ingroup is maximal, and reactions to the social shuffle are highly emotional. At the start of the third part of the show (episode 7), the two tribes merge and move to the island Kelapa where the participants are reunited. This merge is accompanied by some drastic changes to the game structure: from this point onwards, participants compete individually in the challenges instead of per tribe, and the leaders lose their immunity. An extra addition to the game as of episode 7 is the 'loner's island' Gual: participants who are voted home, get the opportunity to live on Gual. On this island, they have to survive in solitude. When a newly eliminated participant arrives, the current inhabitant of Gual and the new arrival have to compete. The winner gets to stay on the island and the loser inevitably goes home. The final part of the show consists of electing the winner of the season. Based on the experiences of the participants on the island, three types of fragments are shown on television: informal dialogues on the island, dialogues at the more formal Tribal Councils, and utterances from video diary fragments, which are "like secret correspondence with the viewer, providing information about the game that the other castaways may not have" (Haralovich and Trosset 2004: 88).

2.2 Benefits and drawbacks of reality TV

Working with reality TV is rather new in the field of interactional sociolinguistics and discourse analysis. As such, it is important to note that this type of data has several important benefits, but that it also comes with some drawbacks which should be taken into account. Focusing on the benefits, we note the following 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 and their social networks than in regular settings: the concept of progressive elimination forces people into more public affiliations. This raised social awareness might also reflect on 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 twenty-four hours a day, following their own norms and regulations. As such, the tribes form a prototypical instance of a community of practice (CofP), which is

> 'principally a model of social learning and development, an account of how people progressively acculturate to new social environments. The concept is particularly suggestive when we are dealing with social settings

(...) where social and linguistic change, and identity change, are in the air.' (Coupland 2007: 50 on Lave and Wenger 1991 and Wenger 1999)

The main benefit of this type of CofP is that it enables us to study *local* social patterns and local construction of social meaning in variation (Blom and Gumperz 1972; 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 a CofP *ex nihilo*: the sixteen participants have never met before, but they have to engage in social activities and hence have to find a way to get along. A next benefit is more specific to *Expeditie Robinson*: in contrast to other reality TV shows like *The Bachelor* or *Temptation Island*, participants to the show come from a wide variety of social backgrounds (cf. Table 1). Finally, reality TV offers high quality recordings which are relatively easy to gather: it is feasible to acquire enough data to pattern online social meaning formation, and as recordings are made by professionals, they allow researchers to study images and gesture in more detail than is typically the case in data collection for the purpose of ethnography and interactional sociolinguistics.

As concerns the drawbacks of reality TV, one rather severe drawback 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, extreme happiness, or unnatural game format. Second, because of the amount of cutting and pasting, there is less (proof of) sequentiality than in other discourse analytic studies: when looking across scenes, there is not much guarantee (except the tribe make-ups and the exits) that one event took place prior to another. Of course, when attaching social meaning to language use, it is important to keep these limitations into account. In this case, this was done in two different ways. First, sequence-by-sequence analyses only focus on utterances within one set fragment (i.e. scenes consisting of uninterrupted dialogue, filmed in one shot). Second, in interpreting the results, we are careful to only take them for what they are, not forgetting that what we get to see is what got selected, i.e. what is interesting enough to be broadcast on television.

3. English and borrowed phraseology

3.1 The use of English

As this paper focuses on the social meaning of English insertions in Dutch, it is important to define more precisely what is meant with 'English insertions'. Overall, many different options are available in defining what an anglicism is, ranging from highly inclusive (Poplack et al. 1988) to more restrictive (Görlach 2001; Chesley and Baayen 2010). We adopt a more restrictive approach by only considering those English items which are structurally recognizable as English to a native speaker of Dutch 'due to the fact that they largely retain their English graphemic-phonemic correspondence' (Onysko 2007: 10). The main reason for this approach is that 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) (cf. Zenner et al. *forthcoming, b* for more details). As one important exception to this general rule, we exclude anglicisms which were introduced in

Dutch to fill a lexical gap (Myers-Scotton 2002's core vs. cultural borrowings, and cf. Onysko and Winter-Froemel 2011), and for which no native alternative is available (e.g. *cocktail, barbecue*). As language users cannot avoid using these items, we are not dealing with code choice; consequently, it would be methodologically unsound to attach social meaning to their use in discourse.

Using this definition, we still find a variety of different types of English. The English items found in Fragments 3, 4 and 5 serve as illustration: *gym, battle* and *take care* (elements occurring in English in the original fragments are represented in small caps in the English translations). First, we can contrast established items like *gym* with newer items like *battle*: *gym* has an entry in descriptive dictionaries of Dutch (e.g. Den Boon and Geeraerts 2008), *battle* does not. Second, where items like *gym* primarily serve a referential function, the phatic and emotive function predominates for items like *take care* (Jakobson 1960). Finally, *gym* and *battle* are simplex forms, where *take care* is a multi-word unit.

Fragment 3

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 work in a* GYM

Fragment 4

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.*

Fragment 5

1	ERI	TAKE CARE eh.

These different types of English are also attached to different degrees of awareness. Longer stretches and unestablished items are more easily noticeable by others and are hence most likely to be used for their social meaning. Because of this potentially high indexical value, we focus on such longer stretches of English. Given this focus, our paper ties in with a variety of interactional sociolinguistic research studying the (metaphorical) meaning of code choice. However, where traditional research on code choice primarily deals with code mixing by proficient bilingual speakers in intense contact situations (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Auer 1998; de Fina 2007a, 2007b; Hickey 2009), our study focuses on typically monolingual or weakly bilingual speakers in a weak contact situation. Given this lower proficiency level, prototypical instances of codeswitching are rare. More often, the longer stretches of English we find in our data are fixed units which are conventional in the source language (i.e. English). Below, we discuss the main characteristics of such 'borrowed phraseology' in some more detail.

3.2 English Phraseology

Overall, we find 178 longer stretches of English in the data (i.e. English insertions containing more than one word). Most typically, these stretches are fixed units which are highly conventionalized in English, such as *home sweet home; game, set, match; she kicked ass; ready to rumble* etc: these

examples are all listed in the Oxford English Dictionary or in the Urban Dictionary. As such, they fit in very nicely with the definition of formulaic sequences as

> "[any] sequence, continuous or discontinuous, of words or other elements, which is, or appears to be, prefabricated: that is, stored and retrieved whole from memory at the time of use, rather than being subject to generation or analysis by the language grammar" (Wray 2002: 9).

In contrast, these phrases cannot be considered as prototypical instances of codeswitching. Codeswitching entails the switching between different grammatical systems within a single conversation, but it is not at all required to switch to the English grammatical system when using prefixed chunks stored as a whole in grammar: examples such as *home sweet home* should rather be considered as instances of lexical borrowing instead (cf. Backus 1999; Zenner et al. 2010; and several chapters in Furiassi et al. 2012 for more information on the borrowability of pre-fixed chunks). The remainder of this paper zooms in on such borrowed chunks in more detail, analyzing their social meaning in discourse. Here, we first provide some general information on the functions and distribution of these chunks in our data.

First, note that not all longer stretches of English are equally fixed and conventional. On the one hand, we sometimes find variability within one of the slots of the pre-fixed chunk. Fragment 6 serves as an example: Ryan's *I'm the king of the island* is most likely patterned on the schematic phrase [I'm king of the N] (think of Titanic's *I'm the king of the world*) (Goldberg 1995 on constructions). On the other hand, occasionally we find more spontaneously coined longer stretches of English, which are better classified as true codeswitching than as borrowing (e.g. Fragment 7).

Fragment 6

1	RYA	yes (.) honderd punte (.) I'm the king of the island.
1	*RYA*	*YES (.) one hundred points (.) I'M THE KING OF THE ISLAND.*

Fragment 7

1	JUD	'k moest echt op mezelf gaan zitte vloeke van:
2		"go leak, come on baby, you can do this shit"
1	*JUD*	*I really had to go and curse myself:*
2		*"GO LEAK, COME ON BABY, YOU CAN DO THIS SHIT"*

Fragment 8

1	GEE	SOUP OF THE DAY

Second, it is important to note that the English chunks found in our data can serve a variety of communicative functions. In more than half of the cases, English multi-word units are used to express emotion and evaluation (e.g. Fragment 6). The remaining cases are distributed rather evenly over phatic uses (e.g. Fragment 7 for an example of encouragement, Fragment 5 for greeting) and more referential uses (e.g. Fragment 8). Table 2 gives an overview of the proportions in which these communicative functions occur in our data.

Third, these longer stretches are used both monologically and interactionally: 57 of the 178 multi-word units (32%) are used in the strictly monological setting of the video diary fragments (e.g. Fragment 6). The remaining 121 cases occur in dialogues on the island, either in an utterance

directed specifically at one of the participants (e.g. Fragment 5), or in more general statements (e.g. Ryan's utterance in Fragment 9).

Table 2 - proportions of the different communicative functions of English multi-word units in the data

communicative function	n	%
expressions of emotion and evaluation	94	53%
phatic uses	44	25%
referential uses	40	22%

Finally, these longer stretches of English are often subject to mirroring by other participants in the sense that the other interlocutor in an interaction quite often picks up the specific English phraseology that is used by the first interlocutor, usually to express agreement with the statement uttered by the latter. Fragment 9 serves as an example. As Fragment 10 illustrates, single word units are sometimes also mirrored. The fragment is specifically interesting, as the single word unit (*spirit*) (part of a calque of *that's the spirit*) is mirrored in a multi-word unit, in which the initial single word unit occurs at the very end of this relatively lengthy example of borrowed phraseology (*part of the **spirit***) thus signaling agreement with the lexical choice of the other interlocutor.

Fragment 9

1	RYA	Judge is out of order (.) game over
2	FAT	game over ja
1	*RYA*	*JUDGE IS OUT OF ORDER (.) GAME OVER*
2	*FAT*	*GAME OVER yes*

Fragment 10

1	ROB	das de spirit ze Bjorn.
2	BJO	ik ik ben één van hen (.) it's part of Robinson
3		en eu:hm part of the group en part of the spirit dus.
1	ROB	that's the SPIRIT Bjorn.
2	BJO	I I'm one of them (.) IT'S PART OF ROBINSON
3		and e:rm PART OF THE GROUP and PART OF THE SPIRIT SO.

Finally, when looking at the distribution of the multi-word units, we clearly find variation between the different speakers. Of course, the absolute figures are influenced by how long participants stay on the show. However, 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 multi-word units than others[2].

[2] The results in Table 3 should not be overinterpreted: on occasion, one utterance contains more than one English multi-word unit. Consequently, the percentages are only a rough indication of the amount of utterances containing English MWU's.

Table 3 - English MWU's per speaker

speaker	sum English MWU	sum utterances	%	exit episode
JUD	58	289	20.1%	finalist
ROB	41	389	10.5%	13
BJO	32	476	6.7%	11
GIO	9	356	2.5%	13
RYA	8	244	3.3%	13
JUT	7	243	2.9%	finalist
ILO	6	258	2.3%	13
KAR	5	124	4.0%	9
FAT	4	163	2.5%	4
FRC	3	186	1.6%	12
GEE	3	280	1.1%	10
ERI	2	62	3.2%	6
SIM	0	9	0.0%	1
MAK	0	21	0.0%	2
ETH	0	69	0.0%	3
EVA	0	39	0.0%	5

It is interesting to see that the background of two of the three "high frequency users" of English can help explain their use of English: Judge grew up in the United States (and is hence near-native), and as a long-distance truck driver, Bjorn has quite some international contacts in his job. Also, all three of them are male, which is one of the main features of the prototypical user of English on the island (cf. Zenner et al. *forthcoming*, b). In the remainder of this paper, we focus on the social meaning of code choice for the three speakers with the highest use of borrowed phraseology (both absolute and relative): Judge, Robin and Bjorn. Since the case of Giovanni is linked to that of the two former participants (Judge and Robin), we will also discuss his use of English multi-word units in Section 4.1. As a final interesting observation, note that we found no statistically significant differences in the use of English multi-word units for the Belgian Dutch and Netherlandic Dutch participants ($p > 0.1$ for a Chi-square test) (cf. Zenner et al. *forthcoming*, b for more details).

4. English Phraseology as a Social Marker

For the three participants with the highest frequency of English multi-word units, namely Judge, Robin and Bjorn, we see quite a divergent pattern, opposing Bjorn with the other participants. In this section, we qualitatively analyze the way these English borrowings function in their discursive environment, paying specific attention to their location and use in the immediately surrounding sequential context. We start by focusing on the interrelated cases of Judge and Robin, which we will also link to the case of Giovanni in Section 4.1, after which we will discuss Bjorn's use of English multi-word units in Section 4.2.

4.1 English multi-word units and the construction of an ingroup

In this section, we first discuss the social constellation of a particular ingroup on the island, after which we discuss the specific role of English in constructing this ingroup and how this role also depends on the position and language proficiency of the ingroup 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 within the social constellation on the islands, and this consists of two core members, namely Judge and Robin, and one more peripheral member, namely Giovanni. There are many different ways in which the closeness of the members of this ingroup manifests itself and one of the most explicit means is the fact that the members are not afraid to openly admit in front of other participants that they have a special bond. An example of this can be seen in the next fragment, in which the show host asks Judge during a tribal council whom he looked forward to meeting again after the shuffle, during which Judge and Robin had been separated. The obvious answer is of course Robin, but interestingly, he explicitly elaborates on their close relation without any further prompts by the show hosts in front of all the other participants.

Fragment 11

1	PRE	Judge, naar welk expeditielid keek jij het meeste uit
2		bij de samensmelting?
3	JUD	Euh voor mij was dat euh Robin (.) da's my soulbrother
4	ROB	[@@
5	JUD	[@@=nou je jebt gewoon wel 'ns connecties met
6		mensen en euh ja de eerste dag dat ik hem euh
7		dat we eigenlijk op het eiland waren (.) toen euh
8		toen was die die band er en euh ja
9		dat gebeurt niet [vaak en (.) 't is men PARTNER ja.
10	ROB	[@@
1	*PRE*	*Judge, to which member of the expedition did you look forward to the most*
2		*at the merge?*
3	*JUD*	*Erm for me that was erm Robin (.) that's MY SOULBROTHER*
4	*ROB*	*[@@*
5	*JUD*	*[@@=well you from time to time you just have connections with*
6		*people and erm yes the first day that I him erm*
7		*that we were actually on the island (.) then erm*
8		*then that that bond was there and erm yes*
9		*that does not happen [often and (.) it's my PARTNER yes.*
10	*ROB*	*[@@*

In line 3, Judge not only answers the question, but then after a pause, self-selects again and categorizes Robin as 'my soulbrother'. 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. Then there is joint laughter by Robin and Judge, clearly demonstrating their alignment (Jefferson 1979: 83), after which Judge latches on an explanation of this initial categorization of Robin as his soulbrother. This account foregrounds the marked and rare nature of this bond, and it is closed by another categorization of Robin as his 'partner', again using an English word. Also in this case, Robin aligns with Judge by means of overlapping laughter.

Unsurprisingly, similar positive evaluations of their relation also occur in the other direction: in the following example, in a conversation with Bjorn, Robin defends his choice to vote out another participant in favor of Judge. The latter is not particularly positive about urbanite Judge's qualities as

a survivor. In his answer, Robin starts by acknowledging that Judge is a typical city dweller who is not familiar with nature and who screams when he sees a fly or a frog (in the lines immediately preceding the following fragment). The fragment starts when Robin closes this description:

Fragment 12 – turn by Robin

1	ik dacht van “oh oh wat is dat voor iets”
2	alleen ik vond dat zo’n oprechte en eerlijke gast
3	diejen op zo’n mooie manier is gegroeid binnen de Expeditie
1	*I thought “oh oh this is quite something”*
2	*just I thought that was such a sincere and honest guy*
3	*who has grown in such a beautiful way during the Expedition*

In line 1, Robin expresses his initial surprise and possibly negative evaluation of somebody who is so unfamiliar with nature as he just described Judge was. As such, he links up with Bjorn’s ideas of Judge as out of place on a deserted island. But then he juxtaposes this with a very positive evaluation of Judge, qualifying him as sincere, honest (line 2) and capable of adapting himself to the situation (line 3). By prosodically stressing both the initial juxtaposing adverb *alleen* ‘just’ (line 2) and the demonstrative pronoun *zo’n* ‘such a’ (line 3), which underlines the high degree of progress Judge made, he emphasizes his alternative positive evaluation of Judge and explicitly defends his friend against Bjorn’s negative judgment.

Regarding Giovanni, the peripheral member in the ingroup, there are also a number of similar positive evaluations, as for example in the following video diary fragment uttered by Robin:

Fragment 13 – turn by Robin

1	In mijn ogen (.) is er echt een respect (.) naar Giovanni gegroeid (.)
2	ik vind dat eu:h nen hele lieve, warme gast
3	ik heb diejen echt heel graag.
1	*In my opinion (.) there is really a respect (.) that has grown towards Giovanni (.)*
2	*I think that is e:rm a very sweet, warm guy*
3	*I really like him very much.*

Again, Robin’s highly positive evaluation demonstrates the close bonds between himself and Giovanni. However, unlike in the relation between Robin and Judge, there are some conflicting opinions with Giovanni, especially in relation to Judge. For example, in the fifth episode, the team of Judge and Giovanni[3] loses a challenge and Giovanni blames this on Judge’s weak performance during the test. While the latter acknowledges his failing, Giovanni remains angry and this results in quite a lengthy argument, of which we only show a small fragment here:

Fragment 14

1	JUD	ik heb alles gegeven wat in mij zat (.)
2		en ik heb verkeerde ↑judgment gemaakt en dat is hem=
3	GIO	=ik vind dat een immense (.) misjudsment=
4	JUD	=ja je laat me vallen als een bakste[en.

[3] Due to the shuffle, Robin was part of the other team.

5	GIO	[>da's niet waar<
1	*JUD*	*I have given everything that was inside me (.)*
2		*and I have made wrong ↑JUDGMENT and that's it=*
3	*GIO*	*=I find that an im<u>men</u>se (.) MISJUDSMENT=*
4	*JUD*	*=yes you drop me like a hot bri[ck.*
5	*GIO*	*[>that's not true<*

In the initial lines, Judge explicitly acknowledges his mistake and describes his failure as a wrong 'judgment' and then minimizes the issue, claiming that that is all there is to it. Giovanni immediately latches on his counter and asserts the gravity of this 'misjudgment' by qualifying it by means of the prosodically marked semantically extreme adjective *immense* (Edwards 2000), thus constructing an Extreme Case Formulation (Pomerantz 1986). Judge then shifts the focus of the argument to a personal level, claiming that Giovanni is not a loyal friend (line 4), which the latter rebuts in overlap (line 5). As mentioned before, this is only a small part of a lengthy discussion about the issue, but its shift in topic (from oriented to the failure in the challenge to failing ties of friendship) already shows that Giovanni's position in the ingroup is not as strong as that of the two core members Judge and Robin. Also, and anticipating on the following section, it shows the regular use of English (in this case of the English single word unit *judgment*) by the members of this ingroup, which especially becomes clear because of the mirroring of Judge's lexical borrowing by Giovanni in the next line[4]. This case is interesting for two reasons: first, it demonstrates that even in spite of explicit local topical divergence, the use of an English lexical borrowing is mirrored by the other interlocutor, indicating that there is still convergence in codes typical of the community of practice of the ingroup Judge – Robin – Giovanni, as we will discuss in more detail later. Second, the poor pronunciation of Giovanni's mirroring lexical borrowing 'misjud**s**ment' indicates his relatively limited command of English. Given the fact that English-Dutch contact is indirect and primarily mediated through the internet and television, this lack of proficiency (and especially the lack of native pronunciation) is typical of borrowings in weak contact settings. This observation will become relevant in the next section as well.

Even in spite of his more peripheral status in the ingroup, Giovanni is defended by the two core ingroup members when he is attacked by the outgroup. These attacks are related to Giovanni's role as a cook on the island and they mainly focus on his alleged theft of bananas, which form an essential means of nourishment on the island, and his presumably unnecessary tasting of food while cooking, thus potentially granting himself a larger food ration than the other participants receive. Since the availability, or rather the lack, of food on the island is a big issue, both allegations cause heated discussions in the entire group. Most discussions are initiated by, or revolve around Ryan, who is the accuser, and Giovanni, the accused. All three ingroup members contribute to a hate campaign against Ryan, and Robin and Judge defend Giovanni against any possible criticism uttered by other participants on the island. The following fragment contains an example of such a discussion, which focuses on Giovanni's aggressive behavior towards Ryan (he drew a knife on him), with as interlocutors on the one hand Judge and Robin in favor of Giovanni and Jutta and Franca (who does not contribute to the discussion in this short extract) in favor of Ryan.

Fragment 15

[4] Although the use of this particular word ('judgment' / 'misjudgment') may seem like a word play on Judge's name, it is used here without any irony by both interlocutors, who are strongly focused on their conflict here.

1	ROB	het is het is door Ryan eh,
2		dat diejen uit zijn lood wordt geslagen en door
3		Ryan dat die zich niet meer kan inhouden en
4		dan denk ik dan is het niet eerlijk dat Gio wordt afgerekend
5		op dat agressief gedrag en dan vind ekik het veel
6		eerlijker dat Ryan ne stamp onder zijn kloten krijgt=
7	JUT	=ik vind dan euh dat Gio even respectloos naar naar Ryan toe doet.
8	JUD	word je zoveel onrecht aangedaan waar je gewoon niks=
9	JUT	=maar zoveel onrecht allez

1	*ROB*	*it is because of Ryan eh,*
2		*that he gets beaten off his balance and because of*
3		*Ryan that he cannot restrain himself anymore and*
4		*then I think then it is not fair that Gio is judged*
5		*on that aggressive behavior and then I find it much*
6		*fairer that Ryan gets kicked in the balls=*
7	*JUT*	*=I think then that erm that Gio is just as respectless towards towards Ryan.*
8	*JUD*	*is so much injustice done to you against which you just nothing=*
9	*JUT*	*=but so much injustice, come on*

In the initial lines, Robin vigorously defends Giovanni by shifting the blame for his aggressive behavior to Ryan. Ironically, his language contains quite a lot of fight related metaphors, which frame Giovanni as the victim (Giovanni *gets beaten*) and Ryan as somebody who deserves a good beating (*a kick in the balls*, line 6). In her counter, Jutta attempts to shift this positioning of both protagonists towards equal victims of each others' disrespect. This is then countered by Judge, who again frames Giovanni as the victim of *so much injustice*, which is then again countered by Jutta. This discussion demonstrates the loyalty of Robin and Judge towards Giovanni, who, in spite of minor internal conflicts, all stand united as an ingroup against Ryan. This is also acknowledged by Ryan, who as a main motivation for becoming the winner of the loner's island's challenge, states the following:

Fragment 16 – turn by Ryan

1	tis mijn doel om Judge Giovanni en euh Robin euh hun
2	gezichten te kunnen aanschouwen als ze mij terug zullen zien in de finale

1	*it is my goal to be able to see Judge, Giovanni and erm Robin's erm*
2	*faces if they will see me again in the finale*

As an outgroup member, Ryan clearly distinguishes the three participants Judge, Giovanni and Robin as members of this particular ingroup, which, as we will discuss in the following section, almost seems to have its own set of linguistic norms.

4.1.2 The use of English as an ingroup marker between the two core members. As described above, Judge and Robin are the two core members of the ingroup and interestingly, these are also the two participants on the island who have the highest percentage of English multi-word units (respectively 20.1% and 10.5%, see Table 3 above). When studying in detail at which points those English multi-word units occur interactionally, we see a clear pattern emerging, namely that both Judge and Robin use English multi-word units most frequently when they address each other and to a much lesser extent when addressing other participants on the island. This difference is significant (Fisher's exact

for both Judge and Robin: $p < 0.001$)[5]. Furthermore, both Robin and Judge's use of English[6] fluctuates depending on their co-presence: as discussed above, initially all men (except Bjorn) are part of the same team, but after a few episodes, the teams are shuffled, resulting in the separation of Robin from Judge. Again, after a few episodes, both are joined in the same team again during the merge. Interestingly, for both participants there is a clear decrease of English use when they are separated (thus during the shuffle). Such increases or decreases do not occur when studying the use of English by the other participants. This is shown in the following figure, in which we clearly see a steady pattern of English use for the other participants throughout the show, while there is a clear evolution of English use by Judge and Robin related to the part of the show they are in, and thus to their co-presence.

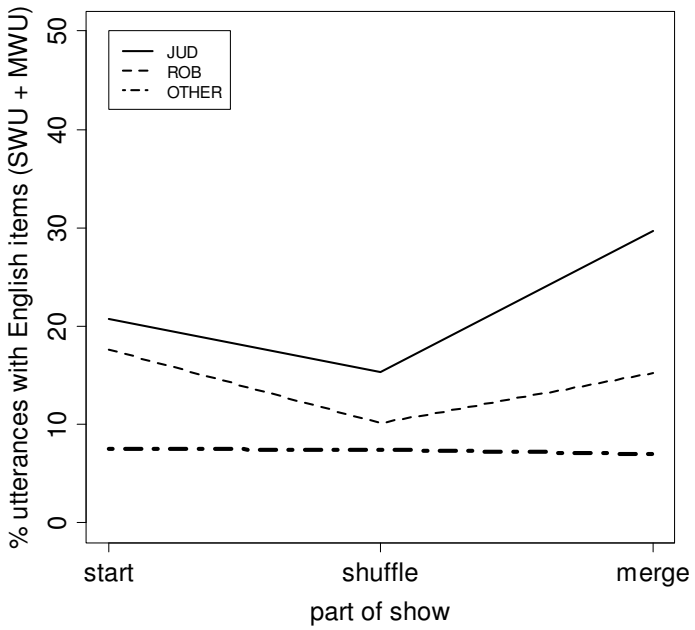

Figure 1: the relative frequency of the use of English by Judge and Robin compared to the other participants in the different phases of the show

These findings already 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. We now explore this hypothesis further by qualitatively zooming in on a number of typical fragments in which English multi-word units occur in our data.

First of all, we see quite a lot of mirroring of borrowed English phraseology between Robin and Judge, who both have an almost equal share of initiating English multi-word units and mirroring

[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 MWU's as a significant marker of ingroup identity. The latter thesis is however further supported by the following qualitative analyses.

[6] In this case, both English multi-word units and single word units are taken into account, since otherwise the other participants' limited use of English multi-word units would not make a comparison meaningful.

these. As we see in the following fragment, two lexical borrowings 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 (respectively lines 3 and 7):

Fragment 17

	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 really A ↑JOYRIDE @*
->	*7*	*JUD*	*yes it really was a JOYRIDE*

In the initial line, Robin formulates a general evaluation of the day as quite an intense one. Judge aligns with this evaluation in the next line, in which he initiates the English multi-word unit 'emotional rollercoaster'. Robin aligns with this in the subsequent line by briefly laughing and then formulating an elaborated version of this multi-word unit. Both the elaboration and the triple stress in prosody underline his agreement with Judge's formulation. He then self-selects again and starts formulating another evaluation, but then breaks off after a hesitation (line 4). Even in spite of the unfinished nature of Robin's evaluation, Judge agrees with this by means of a lengthily pronounced affirmative particle. Robin then finishes his evaluation in the subsequent line by qualifying 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 then agrees with Robin and mirrors his use of English by repeating 'joyride'. So in this case we see that both interlocutors strongly agree with one another regarding the evaluation of the day, and that agreement almost seems to be prediscursively determined, as Judge agrees with Robin's unfinished evaluation in line 4-5. Especially the latter observation confirms that Robin and Judge are part of the same ingroup. Their use of language provides further proof for this since their complementary initiation with subsequent mirroring of English multi-word units indicates that they have their own way of speaking within their community of practice, and that the regular use of English has a prominent place in these discursive norms.

This is further supported by the fact that a number of examples occur in which there is actual code switching to English, and where we thus see conversational exchanges which contain no Dutch. An example of this can be seen in the following fragment, which occurs when Robin and Judge meet again at the merge after they have been separated for some time during the shuffle.

Fragment 18

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, and especially at such a point at which previous ties need to be re-affirmed, it is not surprising that both interlocutors switch to English entirely. By using the code typical of their ingroup, they confirm their orientation to the discursive norms of their community of practice. And since this code is otherwise typically expressed through the insertion of English multi-word units as in the previous fragment, they emphasize these norms and thus re-establish their social bond as members of the same ingroup.

Sometimes, this codeswitch also has a disambiguating function, as in the following fragment which occurs during a challenge within which Robin won a highly envied chocolate dessert, which he has to eat in front of all the other (hungry) participants. While Robin is eating it, this interaction occurs:

Fragment 19

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, but by endearingly addressing him as 'baby', he downplays the attacking 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 towards Judge, while otherwise it could have been interpreted as a general apology to all the other participants. By using English here, Robin not only mirrors Judge's codeswitch 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. After all, one would not apologize for having won a challenge to a competitor, but one would do that towards a friend, with whom one might have shared the prize if that were possible.

A final example that illustrates the importance of English as the ingroup code occurs when Judge is competing in a challenge in the finals. Robin just lost and watches from the beach while the remaining competitors are standing on a balance beam in the sea. Robin encourages Judge to stay on the beam, and, even though there is no response and Judge possibly cannot hear him[7], Robin mainly uses English to formulate these encouragements, as in the following fragment:

Fragment 20 – turn by Robin

1	nee Judgie please please please
2	Judgie boy stay stay stay stay
3	nee blijven staan Judge

[7] This is hard to prove, since the editing of the fragment may have increased or decreased the volume of Robin's speech or the images may give a deceptive idea of the distance between Robin and Judge.

1 *no Judgie* PLEASE PLEASE PLEASE
2 JUDGIE BOY STAY STAY STAY STAY
3 *no stay Judge*

In two out of three encouragements, Robin switches to English and this again marks English as the typical language of the ingroup and the preferred code to communicate in potentially ambiguous situations, namely when other participants are present and might interpret the utterance as oriented to them.

4.1.3 The use of English as an ingroup marker between the core members and Giovanni. Giovanni uses English much less frequently: English multi-word units occur only in 2.5% of his utterances. This may be due to the fact that his status in the ingroup is rather peripheral in comparison to the relation between the two core members, as described above. However, we argue that this is probably not the only reason, but that this may also be related to Giovanni's relatively more deficient command of English (see discussion of Fragment 14 above and Fragment 23 below).

First of all, we observe that there are quite a number of fragments in which Robin expresses his admiration for Giovanni's survivor qualities and he often formulates these positive evaluations by means of English multi-word units. In these cases, Giovanni never mirrors this code choice and often simply remains silent, as in the following fragment:

Fragment 21

	1	GIO	verser kunt guwe vis nie hebben dit is nie normaal (.)
	2	ROB	.hhhhhh=
	3	GIO	=ben ik nu nen bruut of ben ik nu ne survivor
	4	(1.2)	
->	5	ROB	You're the real one (.) man
	1	*GIO*	*you can't have fish that is fresher this is not normal (.)*
	2	*ROB*	*.hhhhhh=*
	3	*GIO*	*=am I now a brute or am I now a* SURVIVOR
	4	*(1.2)*	
->	*5*	*ROB*	YOU'RE THE REAL ONE (.) MAN

In this fragment, Giovanni is cleaning a fish which seems still quite alive. He comments on the freshness of the fish in line 1, and Robin inhales sharply. Giovanni responds to this by questioning his role, namely as a *brute* because he is killing the fish, or as a 'survivor' because he found much needed food. In line 3, Giovanni thus uses an English borrowing and Robin subsequently responds with an English multi-word unit containing a positive evaluation of Giovanni. After that, there is no reaction by Giovanni, who simply continues to clean the fish. This lack of response is quite typical of such interactions between Robin and Giovanni, of which we show another example here:

Fragment 22 – turn by Robin

1	Jean-Claude Van Damme stelt niks nie meer voor
2	you're my new hero

1 *Jean-Claude Van Damme means nothing anymore*
2 *YOU'RE MY NEW HERO*

In this fragment, Robin again addresses Giovanni and praises him for his survivor skills by comparing him to Jean Claude Van Damme, the only Belgian actor who made it in Hollywood and who is quite famous for his action movies. His admiration is very explicitly voiced, and again, it contains an English multi-word unit (line 2) that explicitly categorizes Giovanni as Robin's 'new hero'. Also in this case, a response from Giovanni remains absent. So it is often the case that Robin clearly orients to the discursive norms of the ingroup, thus projecting an ingroup identity upon Giovanni, but the latter does not show a similar orientation to this ingroup preference for the insertion of English.

Secondly, of the relatively few cases in which Giovanni uses an English multi-word unit, they serve a similar function as the one described for Robin and Judge. An example of this occurs during the tribal council of the finals, in which only Judge and Jutta are still competing for the title and others can ask them questions.

Fragment 23

	1	GIO	ja Judge euh ge weet dat ik (.) heel graag
	2		op uw plaats zou zitten (.) dat weet ge en (.)
	3		ik heb een voorstel voor jou (.) ik heb echt een voorstel (.)
	4		vorige keer bij de veiling wou ge heel graag NUGGETS (.)
	5		ik heb hier voor u een doosje
	6	(all)	@@@
	7	JUD	Kentucky
	8	GIO	Kentucky en en
	9	JUD	en en een Switch
	10	GIO	en een Switch
	11	*((JUD shakes his head))*	
->	12	GIO	I keep it for you (.) I keep it for you @@@@
	1	*GIO*	*yes Judge erm you know that I (.) very much wanted*
	2		*to be in your spot (.) you know that and (.)*
	3		*I have a proposal for you (.) I really have a proposal (.)*
	4		*last time at the auction you very much wanted NUGGETS (.)*
	5		*I have a little box for you here*
	6	*(all)*	*@@@*
	7	*JUD*	*KENTUCKY*
	8	*GIO*	*KENTUCKY and and*
	9	*JUD*	*and and a SWITCH*
	10	*GIO*	*and a SWITCH*
	11	*((JUD shakes his head))*	
->	*12*	*GIO*	*I KEEP IT FOR YOU (.) I KEEP IT FOR YOU @@@@*

In this fragment, Giovanni jokingly proposes to Judge to exchange his place in the finals for a box of chicken nuggets, since Judge had hoped to win a box of nuggets in one of the challenges. Of course, the terms that are used (*nuggets, Kentucky, switch*) are English, but since there are no Dutch lexical equivalents for them, we do not take these in account here. Interestingly however, at the end of the exchange after which Judge has paralinguistically marked his refusal of the offer (line 11), Giovanni

uses an English multi-word unit and the closing laughter again marks the playful character of the proposal. So in this case, Giovanni uses English to express his good will towards Judge and by using this borrowed phraseology here, he constructs himself as a member of the ingroup with Judge.

This analysis is supported by the set-up of this mock question of course. Giovanni's question stands in sharp contrast with the critical questions the other participants ask, and by making this fake proposal, Giovanni flouts the norms of the tribal council genre and instead explicitly expresses his loyalty towards Judge. And it is precisely this relation that is underlined by using the ingroup code English, since Giovanni displays an orientation to the discursive norms of this community of practice here, even though he is not able to adhere to these norms in unprepared communication on the island itself.

Also in this case, Giovanni's formulation and pronunciation of the English multi-word unit is a bit deficient, which supports the thesis that even though Giovanni is clearly aware of the fact that English is part of the preferred ingroup code, as proved in this fragment, he does not systematically orient to this discursive norm (as Judge and Robin do) probably partly because of his more peripheral position in the group and partly due to his weaker English proficiency, typical of weak contact situations. Giovanni's English proficiency is probably insufficient for participating in ad hoc verbal plays as Robin and Judge do, who both have a high English proficiency level, which is causally related to the latter's partial upbringing in the United States and probably to the former's higher level of education (see Table 1).

4.2 English multi-word units and the construction of an outcast identity

In this section, we discuss how English multi-word units function in their interactional environments when no ingroup is being constructed. We will follow a similar structure as in the previous section: first, we discuss Bjorn's social position on the island and give some 'circumstantial' evidence that supports our claim of Bjorn's identity as an outcast. Second, we zoom in on his language use and focus in particular on his use of English multi-word units and how these are responded to by the other participants.

4.2.1 Bjorn as an outcast. Throughout the TV-show, it is clear that Bjorn is an outcast. Consequently, it might seem strange that he stays on the show relatively long. But note that this relatively lengthy presence is related to the fact that he was protected by immunity in the episodes because of his 'leader'-status. Crucially, this status was not the result of an election by the participants, but it was bestowed upon him by the producers of the show and it gave him immediate prominence in the group. However, this position did not result in the construction of affiliative relations with others or an ingroup with (a selection of) other participants, but rather, he became an outcast from quite early on in the show. Actually, it was already immediately after the participants met each other that critical remarks were made about Bjorn's character in spite of his industriousness to set up a high quality camp with enough food. For example, one of Esther's initial comments on Bjorn's leadership immediately positions him as a special type of person, of whom one needs to *recover*, as can be seen in the fragment below. Interestingly, this characterization occurs in the middle of a positive

evaluation of Bjorn's efficiency and diligence on the island, which is constructed after this fragment by Ilona, who will be one of his few fans for quite some time.

Fragment 24

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 2) she encounters *at home*, thus almost exoticizing his character. As this is not countered by the other interlocutor, who merely voices a continuer (line 2), she continues with a rather vague evaluation of Bjorn (line 4-5), framed as negative as indicated by the introductory contrastive conjunction *but* (line 3) which opposes the relatively positive initial evaluation 'wel grappig' (*quite funny*, line 3). 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: 5-6), and this is rather unsurprising given the fact that this negative criticism is voiced at a point in the game at which no real affiliations are established yet and potential ingroups/outgroups are tentatively tested. In the next shot, the other interlocutor responds by formulating a positive evaluation (*really great (.) everything was already there*), which thus counters Esther's negative remarks and focuses back on the situation rather than the person, thus further mitigating the criticism[8].

As the reality-show unfolds, there are many explicit discussions and debates between Bjorn and other interlocutors, especially Esther. One of the only participants who seems loyal towards him, is Ilona (as already hinted at in the fragment above), but over the course of the show, she radically changes her opinion of Bjorn as well. She points at this change herself in the following fragment (line 6). Moreover, this is also a nice illustration of quite an explicitly formulated negative evaluation of Bjorn, of which the vigor demonstrates that he clearly provokes strong negative feelings, especially since this turn is uttered as a monologue in a video diary fragment and thus does not have an interactional function:

Fragment 25, turn 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

[8] Since this utterance occurs in the next shot, which is situated in the same setting but of which it is not known how long after the fragment it was voiced, this was not added to the fragment itself and no conclusions are drawn regarding the sequential nature of the turns. Rather, it serves to sketch the context in which the fragment occurred.

	5	tis een on↑eerlijke persoon ik eb me echt
->	6	int begin echt in hem vergist (.) en euh
	7	ik kan hem nu helemaal niet meer luchten
	8	ik hoef hem ik kan hem niet eens meer aankijken
	1	*yes this too shows once again what a sneaky*
	2	*g(.)rown-from-the-claws <u>gar</u>den 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 (.) and erm*
	7	*I can't stand him at all anymore*
	8	*I should I can't look at him anymore now*

As the initial lines clearly demonstrate, Ilona's evaluation of Bjorn is framed as a form of "bald on record impoliteness" attacking Bjorn's positive face (Culpeper 1996). The accumulative description of his negative treats, focusing on his character (e.g. *sneaky, grown-from-the-claws*) and his appearance (e.g. *garden gnome*, *dirty, rancid red dots*) construct a non-literal Extreme Case Formulation (Edwards 2000) and demonstrate the strength of the interlocutor's feelings towards Bjorn. After a contrastive conjunction and 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 explicitly acknowledging her own misjudgement (line 6). She closes her negative evaluation of Bjorn by summarizing her changed opinion of him, which she repeats at other points in the show as well (e.g. in episodes 8 and 9, she expresses her feelings of hatred towards Bjorn). Others also express their negative evaluations of Bjorn, although not so vividly as in the fragment above, but they for example qualify him as a child (e.g. in episode 5 by Giovanni), as 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).

4.2.2 The use of and reaction to Bjorn's English multi-word units. Bjorn uses quite a lot of English multi-word units and so it is interesting to see how these are used and responded to when they are uttered by an outcast in contrast to when they are used to construct and reinforce ingroup ties, as we discussed in Section 4.1. A first observation is that Bjorn's English borrowings often have no explicitly interactional function since these utterances typically do not directly address other participants who are physically present. Of all his English multi-word units, almost half of them (46.9%) are uttered while no other participants are present. The remaining multi-word units that occur in the co-presence of other participants typically consist of general observations oriented to the situation as a whole. An example of this can be seen in the following fragment, which occurs right after the camps have been shuffled for the first time and Bjorn welcomes a couple of new, male members to his group, which previously consisted of only women, and of which some members have been sent to the other island:

Fragment 26

	1	GEE	oe wast afscheid van de ↑meisjes
	2	BJO	moeilijk ma we gaan verder me jullie
	3		'k bedoel euh ik zit nu in een ander groep (.) euh
->	4		it's part of the game en:eu:h
	5	?	↑ja

	6		en euh we spelen tspel eh
	7	RYA	inderdaad
	8	BJO	alles is aanwezig enkel een ↑dak bove jullie hoofd
	9		ebbe jullie nog nie as jullie moete slape (.)
	10	GEE	ok
	11	BJO	eu::h daar ginge we misschien toe kome
	12		ma de vrouwen vonden et euh even belangrijk
	13		om even in zee te liggen euh dus ja
	14	?	°@@°
	15	RYA	de vrouwe vonden et echter belangrijk
	16		effe in zee te ligge (.) okay
	17	BJO	↑ja
	1	*GEE*	*how was the parting from the ↑girls*
	2	*BJO*	*difficult but we go on with you*
	3		*I mean erm I am in another group now erm*
->	*4*		*IT'S PART OF THE GAME and:e:rm*
	5	*?*	*↑yes*
	6	*BJO*	*and erm we play the game eh*
	7	*RYA*	*indeed*
	8	*BJO*	*everything is available only a ↑roof above your head*
	9		*you don't have yet when you have to sleep (.)*
	10	*GEE*	*ok*
	11	*BJO*	*erm we were maybe going to get at that*
	12		*but the women thought it erm important for a bit*
	13		*to lie in the sea for a bit erm so yes*
	14	*?*	*°@@°*
	15	*RYA*	*the women thought it important however*
	16		*to lie in the sea for a bit (.) okay*
	17	*BJO*	*↑yes*

In line 1, Geert probes for Bjorn's feelings regarding the group shuffle. In quite a lengthy turn, Bjorn responds to this question and utters a general evaluation of the situation, for which he uses an English multi-word unit in line 4. After this utterance, an unidentified participant utters an affirmative particle, demonstrating agreement, but no mirroring of Bjorn's use of English occurs. Bjorn then switches to Dutch again in the following line. Interestingly, this fragment is also a good illustration of Bjorn's outcast status: in the answer in line 2-5, he starts his response from a collective perspective (*we* in line 2), thus constructing an ingroup with his female camp members. But in the subsequent line, he immediately self-repairs this collective perspective, shifts to a personal footing and describes the new, shuffled situation as *another group*. After his use of English in line 4, he again switches to the we-form, but this time it is a general, inclusive we-form, potentially referring to all the participants. So this clearly shows his lack of affiliation with the group he used to be a part of. Moreover, in the following lines, he explicitly distances himself from the rest of this initial group. This consisted entirely of women and, since he refers to it again by means of the exclusive we-form in line 11, he potentially constructs a collectivity again. However, this is soon repaired, since in line 12, Bjorn distances himself from *the women* and uses their alleged laziness (cf. description in lines 12-13) as an explanation for the lack of sleeping comfort for the newly arrived men. By blaming the women for the new men's lack of sleeping comfort, he polarizes the remaining women and the men, as such potentially attempting to set up new group affiliations with the new, male island inhabitants[9]. The immediate – however only local interactional – success of this strategy is reflected in the laughter

[9] This strategy backfired, since the remaining women on the island soon formed allegiances with the newly arrived men and Bjorn's negative remarks about the women then became an important issue which caused a lot of discussion.

(line 14) and the subsequent mirror of his words in the next turn (lines 15-16). So this distancing from his previous group members is quite telling regarding Bjorn's inability to form social bonds with other participants and his status as an outcast.

Also when the English multi-word units occur right before turn transition points, in which cases it is quite likely to have mirroring, such mirroring never occurs when the turns are uttered by Bjorn, thus clearly showing a pattern that is diverging from the mirroring that regularly occurs when other, random participants utter such lexical borrowings (see Section 3.2). Even when there is a strong local topical convergence, as in the following example in which Giovanni agrees with Bjorn that arrangements could be made about who to vote for at the tribal councils, no mirroring of the English multi-word unit occurs:

Fragment 27

	1	BJO	hebbe we elkaar misschien later nog nodig
	2		dan kan er altijd gesproke worde
->	3		fo:r euh Noord en ↑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 utters a mildly changed version of the slogan of the camp, which Giovanni had used himself in another part of this episode (*for honour and for Noord*), thus showing the latter's potential ability to mirror Bjorn's utterance even in spite of his relatively weak English proficiency (cf. Section 4.1.3). Interestingly, though there is explicit agreement on this topic by both interlocutors (cf. the nodding of Franca in line 4), which is even underlined by Giovanni's use of the booster 'zeker' (*definitely*, line 5), there is no convergence regarding language use.

So in conclusion for the case of Bjorn, we observed that he uses quite a high amount of English multi-word units, but that these never result in mirroring. This can be related to the fact that Bjorn is an outcast to whom other participants react negatively, often in explicit ways. His lack of membership of a particular ingroup on the island is reflected in the fact that his particular language usage (in this case, his use of borrowed English phraseology) is not adopted by any other participant while interacting with him. This may of course be related to the fact that Bjorn often uses English multi-word units when he is alone or when he is making general observations, which are less inviting interactionally. And when these are potentially inviting, as in the final fragment, the often unprofessional way of pronouncing and constructing the English multi-word unit (e.g. the insertion of Dutch in the multi-word unit in fragment 27) is probably also a factor that does not incite the other participants to copy this switch to English.

5. Discussion and conclusion

In this article, we discussed the occurrence and function of English multi-word units in a season of the reality TV gamedoc "Expeditie Robinson". We first observed that the occurrence of English multi-word units is mainly linked to three participants, namely Judge, Robin and Bjorn, and to a lesser extent also to Giovanni. We then zoomed in on these four participants and qualititatively analyzed their use of English. This turned out to be interrelated in the case of Judge, Robin and Giovanni, which we thus discussed in relation to one another in Section 4.1. The analyses showed that their language use is related to the construction of an ingroup which revolves especially around Judge and Robin as core members. This ingroup is a community of practice which has its own discursive norms, of which the regular use of English multi-word units is an important characteristic. As we discussed, this not only comes to the fore through the participants' mirroring of the other's use of lexical borrowings, but also through their occasional code switches at points in the show in which the (re-)establishment of ingroup ties is particularly important (see fragment 18 and also fragment 20) or when the conversational partner needs to be disambiguated (see fragment 19). This regular insertion of English borrowings becomes part of the code of this community of practice and this is also, to a certain extent, oriented to by Giovanni, as we discussed in fragment 23. However, due to the interrelated reasons of his more peripheral position in the ingroup and his lower proficiency in English, Giovanni's use of this particular code remains limited. This is on the one hand emblematic for the social meaning of ingroup identity of these English lexical borrowings, but on the other hand, it shows that a practical reason such as linguistic proficiency also comes into play, which reflects the relatively limited exposure the speakers typically have to the source language (i.e. English) in weak contact settings. Quite an opposite case is that of Bjorn (discussed in Section 4.2), who also uses English very frequently but whose English multi-word units are never mirrored by other participants. This means that we never see clusters of lexical borrowings occur around Bjorn's English multi-word units, as was clearly the case for Judge and Robin. Again, this may be related to proficiency, in particular to Bjorn's rather poor pronunciation of these English multi-word units, which obviously does not contribute to the construction of an identity that seems desirable for others to align with linguistically. However, we argue that this lack of mirroring is also strongly related to Bjorn's outcast identity and the preference towards non-alignment, both content wise as well as linguistically, of the other participants.

In conclusion, we first of all aimed to show to what extent reality TV data can prove beneficial for conducting in-depth interactional analyses. As mentioned above, one needs to be careful since such data are obviously edited before being broadcasted and have undergone a thorough selection process, thus giving a distorted image of the participants and sometimes even of the events (e.g. because of non-chronological broadcasting). However, when adhering to certain criteria while studying the data (e.g. only analyzing the sequentiality of interactions when they appear within one shot), it is possible to use such data in a meaningful way and at the same time benefit from the advantages of the program format. These are mainly related to the fact that communities of practice are built from scratch and subsequently challenged (e.g. during the shuffle) before the researchers' eyes, thus making it possible to observe the emergence of an ingroup code as one would hardly be able to do during analyses of naturally occurring data. Also, the fact that the program format forced the participants to adhere special attention to their social position and make their social allegiances explicitly visible (e.g. during Tribal Councils), is an important advantage when studying the construction, negotiation and linguistic characteristics of social ingroups and so this data set proved to be ideally suited for our research question. Second, we have demonstrated that it is worth looking

at the social meaning of the insertion of English borrowings at a local, interactional level. When looking only at the initial quantitative findings, one would readily assume that Judge, Robin and Bjorn are similar cases, but when zooming in on how these English multi-word units are used by these participants, how they are responded to by the other interlocutors and what the functions of these insertions are in their discursive environments, quite a different picture emerges. As such, this paper is a first step towards assessing the locally emergent character of the social meaning of English insertions in spontaneous conversation between (largely) monolingual participants in weak contact settings. As the two opposing cases have demonstrated, this social meaning is constructed and negotiated by the interlocutors on a turn-by-turn basis and thus this article intended to illustrate the importance of qualitative analyses when conducting research in this area (compare de Fina 2007a, 2007b, 2012 for research on intense contact settings). Finally, in discussing the social value of borrowed English phraseology, we add both to existing code choice research and to the anglicism research tradition: where code choice research has predominantly focused on prototypical instances of codeswitching, in which two grammatical systems are juxtaposed, anglicism research has almost exclusively paid attention to the borrowing of single word units (but see recent advances in Furiassi 2012, and see Zenner et al. 2010). We argue that due to their high visibility in interaction, the study of the insertion of English multi-word units in Dutch conversations is particularly well suited for looking into the function of lexical borrowings and by particularly focusing on these relatively lengthy – and thus marked – borrowings in relation to their local, interactional contexts, we have sketched a nuanced picture of the diversity in social meanings they obtain in and through interactions.

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Appendix

Transcription conventions with examples from the fragments used in this article and an accompanying explanation taken from or based on Antaki (2002)

(.)	Just noticeable pause
(1.2)	Timed pause
↑yes	Onset of noticeable pitch rise
2 JUT oh that smell [alone 3 ROB [I'm sorry	Square brackets aligned across adjacent lines denote the start of overlapping talk.
.h	Audible in-breath
ye::::::::s	(Multiple) colons show that the speaker stretched the preceding sound (extensively)
8 JUD is so much injustice done to you against which you just nothing= 9 JUT =but so much injustice, come on	Equals sign shows that there is no discernible pause between two speakers' turns
<u>such</u>	Underlined sounds are louder
@	Laughter token
°@@°	Material between "degree signs" is quiet (i.c. quiet laughter)
>that's not true<	Inwards arrows show faster speech
->	Analyst's signal of a significant line
((JUD shakes his head))	Transcriber's effort at representing something hard to write phonetically