Emotional Speech:

Dutch Speakers' English Usage with Respect to the Emotional Context

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Abstract

This study aims to illustrate the English use by Dutch speakers with respect to the emotional context. Research on bilingual processing of emotion words predicts that English usage will decrease as emotions run higher. However, a study conducted by Zenner et al. (2015) on the reality TV show *Expeditie Robinson* revealed Dutch speakers used more English when the context became more emotionally charged. The study presented here is an attempt to replicate these findings, using a newer season of *Expeditie Robinson.* The results turned out largely similar. While English usage overall had increased, this study shows that the English insertions that were used, are highly fixed words and similar to those found 15 years ago. Still, some code-switches were found, providing support for the idea that for some Dutch speakers English is taking on the role of a second language.

Keywords: sociolinguistics, English, Dutch, emotion, bilingualism, reality TV

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Theoretical Background

Research into emotion is a relatively young field of study: it is since the end of the 20th century that psychologists, sociologists and neuroscientists have conducted experimental research on human emotion. According to leading psychologist in the field, Antonio Damasio, emotions are biological bits of intelligence and situations can trigger distinct packages of certain behaviours, feelings, psychological changes and cognitive actions that we label as anger, disgust, fear, and so on (Shiota & Kalat, 2017). These emotional reactions are subconscious most of the time and often intuitive (Shiota & Kalat, 2017).

In recent years, the study of emotion has extended itself to the domain of linguistics. Different angles on emotion and language have been taken already: Kotz & Paulmann (2011) researched emotional speech processing in the brain while Bamberg (1997) conducted constructivist research on the role of language in the construction of emotion. More classic sociolinguistic research is also growing, like Ben-David et al.'s (2019) research on the difference in perception of emotional language according to age. Pavlenko's (2008) influential research on emotion and language outlined the many subcategories of emotion words, including taboo and swearwords, reprimands and insults, and argues that they are an inherently different class of words from concrete and abstract words. She also shows that the usage and perception of emotion words differ cross-linguistically and that bilingualism calls for different emotion word usage (Pavlenko, 2008). This usage is determined by the difference in emotion concepts, the context of acquisition and dominance of the languages involved. Another important determiner in how bilinguals and multilinguals use emotion-words, is age of acquisition of the languages involved. Numerous studies, including Pavlenko (2008), Dewaele (2004) and Bakić & Škifić (2016) have firmly established the idea that expressing emotion and hearing emotion words in languages learned as first languages or early in life is experienced as more emotional than doing the same in languages learned later

in life. Dewaele's (2004) study on taboo and swearwords with bilinguals and multilinguals reveals that speakers refrain from using taboo- and swearwords in their first language (L1) because those are felt to be too emotional, while falling back on their L1 when emotions are high and uncontrollable. Another study on bilinguals reported that all participants felt their mother tongue was more emotional and many mention this to be because their first language is their language of childhood (Bakić & Škifić, 2016). The participants also mention they do not have to "think about the vocabulary" (p. 42), an important observation regarding highly emotional situations and expressive utterances, as those situations are often uncontrollable and result in intuitive reactions that are not thought out, as explained in Shiota & Kalat (2017).

Research into the usage of expressive utterances by Dutch and Belgian participants in the reality TV show *Expeditie Robinson* reveals that many participants use more English in highly emotional situations than in less emotional situations (Zenner et al., 2015). Given the findings that first languages are more emotional than languages learned later in life and that emotional responses are often intuitive and happen without thought, these findings appear to be contradictory, as English is not the first language of the speakers involved. Dutch people and the English language are in a "weak contact" situation, meaning that the contact Dutch people have with English is indirect and primarily mediated through the media (Zenner & De Mieroop, 2017). Nevertheless, many Dutch people can be considered to be bilingual according to some definitions of bilingualism, as data from the *Eurobarometer* 2012 shows that 90% of Dutch people report they could hold a basic conversation in English (Zenner & De Mieroop, 2017). Furthermore, the EF English Proficiency Index (2013) ranked the proficiency of Dutch adult users of English as third best out of 60 countries, giving Dutch people the status of having a "very high proficiency". According to Nuffic (2020), at least 130 secondary schools nowadays offer a form of bilingual education and according to Verspoor et

al. (2015) many people have substantial contact with the language, even outside of the classroom context. Clearly, English has a prominent role in Dutch society and the education system which for many would mean they use English in their everyday lives, which is one of the many definitions given to bilingualism (Bakić & Škifić, 2016). For some, English functions as a language reserved for specific purposes, giving them the status of a functional bilingual (Nagel et.al., 2015). According to Edwards (2016), English in the Netherlands has long been classified according to Schneider's model as a Foreign Language, belonging to the Expanding Circle. However, with her research into present day usage of English in the Netherlands, Edwards (2016) shows that based on some aspects of Dutch speaker's English usage, English can be classified as a second language. This supports the claim that English in the Netherlands has the potential to transition to the Outer Circle (Edwards, 2016). This development means Dutch people are able to use English in more creative and complex ways, for example by code-switching. Code switching, defined as switching between languages within an episode of speech production, is common among bilinguals and does not only serve functional purposes, but is also viewed as a creative act that differs per person (Kharkhurin & Wei, 2015). In addition to code-switching, Dutch people also use a large number of English insertions in their speech, as found by Zenner & De Mieroop (2017), by borrowing lexical items such as words and short phrases from English (Furiassi et al., 2012). English insertions are common in weak contact situations and are used to denote a cosmopolitan and modern personality (Zenner & De Mieroop, 2017) and a high level of competence and professionalism (Furiassi et al., 2012).

The high proficiency of English spoken by Dutch speakers and the prominent role English has in the Netherlands is firmly established, which makes the results from Zenner et al. (2015) even more striking, as research on bilingualism would predict that Dutch speakers would fall back on their L1 in highly emotional situations and refrain from using English,

as that holds less emotional value. This thesis will look into a newer season of *Expeditie Robinson* and analyse the English use in expressive utterances among participants, seeking to relate this usage to the emotional context.

As Zenner et al. (2015) used data from seasons dating back to 2003-2005, the aim is to see if the quickly developing role of English in the Netherlands of last 15 years has influenced this particular use of English emotion words by Dutch speakers. Furthermore, the English usage in general will be compared to that found by Zenner et al. (2015), with a particular focus on age and celebrity-status, since the cosmopolitan and modern values English denotes, might be favoured more by younger people and celebrities respectively. The main focus will be on the relation between bilingual speech and emotion, which Zenner et al. (2015) only discussed briefly. A comparison with their results may shed some light on the contradiction in their results and provide a potential explanation.

Research Question and Hypotheses

The following research question was formulated: to what extent do Dutch speakers use English in expressive utterances and how is this related to the emotional context? Using *Expeditie Robinson* as data for the study enables me to answer the question as to whether the amount of English used by Dutch speakers on the show has increased relatively to that found by Zenner et al (2015). Further questions that will be answered are: is there an effect of age on the English usage? Is there an effect of celebrity status on the English usage? I have formulated the following hypotheses with respect to these questions:

1. Participants will use less English in highly emotional situations than in less emotional situations, as findings in bilingual research predict that highly emotional situations will call for expressive utterances in the L1, in this case Dutch.

2. Participants will use more English in their expressive utterances than participants in earlier seasons of *Expeditie Robinson* (early 00s).

3. Younger participants will use more English in expressive utterances than older participants.

4. Celebrities will use more English in expressive utterances than non-celebrities.

Methodology

Materials

The data for this study comes from season 19 (aired in 2018) of *Expeditie Robinson (NL)* and comprise a total of 923 minutes. The episodes were accessed via a subscription to Videoland. *Expeditie Robinson* is a reality TV show in which in the course of roughly a month, around 20 contestants try to survive on an deserted island and compete in physical and intellectual challenges to earn immunity for the next round and eventually the title of "Robinson of the Year". The contestants, celebrities and non-celebrities, are divided into camps on different islands and progressively have to eliminate each other in a so called "island council".

Using a reality TV show as data in lieu of spontaneous speech has some disadvantages. The participants on the show are aware they are being filmed and monitored and that that footage will be shown on national television, making the influence of the Hawthorne effect (altered behaviour due to the awareness of being observed) particularly likely here. Participants' speech might be guarded because of this and might thus not be completely spontaneous. However, this research looks at emotional speech specifically, and is based on the assumption that emotional speech is uncontrollable most of the time. Still, as with any TV show, for a viewer it is unclear how much of the footage is edited and how much of the speech is scripted. This is something that should always be taken into consideration. Furthermore, since the show revolves around an elimination match, participants will not have had equal screen times, which should be considerate when analysing the results.

The reason for choosing season 19 in the current study is twofold: as the goal of this research is to compare this study to that of Zenner et al. (2015), newest seasons will yield the most interesting results as the time gap between this season and those used in the previous study is large. Second, season 19, as opposed to season 20 or earlier seasons, features non-celebrities as well as celebrities. Since celebrity status is one of the variables included in the

research, the pool of participants needed to include celebrities as well as non-celebrities.
Table 1 in Appendix A shows all participants of season 19 with corresponding age, age group,
gender and occupation. The list starts with the first participant to be voted out and leave the
show and ends with the winner of the game. Age groups were determined following Zenner et
al. (2015): ten participants are 30 or under (group 1), six between 30 and 40 (group 2) and
five participants are 40 or over (group 3).

Independent Variables

Topic of Conversation

Zenner et al. (2015) included a total of 12 variables in their research, with varying effects
found. This research will focus on what they worded as "topic": the degree of emotional
involvement. The four categories established by Zenner et al. (2015) for this variable will be
used here as well and include: conversations about food, life on the island, social life and
conversations during challenges. These are arranged from having the lowest to the highest
degree of emotional involvement of the speaker. During the data collection it became
apparent that one type of conversation or context did not fit into any of these four categories
so an extra category was established, with an emotional involvement just below challenges,
worded "general excitement".

Category 1 included conversations about food, since food is the number one concern
for participants living on the island. It included exclamatives uttered after finding fresh fruits,
receiving crates of food from the game presenters, or at moments when food ran low.
Category 2 included utterances about life on the island, ranging from exclamations of
annoyance at the logistics of making camp to amazement at the flora and fauna on the island.
Category 3 held exclamatives that were expressed regarding other people on the island, either
during fights, discussions or when making plans with the others for their next vote on the
"island council". In later episodes, it also started to include happy emotions, as participants

who had become friends were reunited. Category 4 included utterances portraying the general excitement of being a participant in *Expeditie Robinson*: encouragement from player to player outside of challenges, excitement after receiving a letter on the island and utterances expressed when they read letters from loved ones back at home. It also includes utterances about the hardships of participating in the game and an occasional expressive utterance during the "island council". This category had noticeably high emotional involvement, as participants often shouted such encouragement and cried when reading letters from home, which is why it is placed just before the last category. Finally, category 5 included all expressive exclamatives spoken right before, during and right after challenges. During the challenges emotions were noticeably high and many expressions including taboo- and swearwords, encouragements and surprise were uttered. The reason to include moments before and after the challenge as well, is that the moment of suspense and tension regarding the challenges started when participants got told what they were about to do during the challenges and ended when everyone was made aware of the outcome and normal life on the island had resumed.

Age & Celebrity Status

Next to emotional context, age was also included in this research as one of the independent variables, as Zenner et.al. (2015) showed an effect of age group: older participants used significantly less English than the younger group. To see if this particular use of English can be tied to the spread and globalisation of English mainly found in younger generations, this variable will be included. Lastly, I will introduce the variable of "celebrity status", which includes two options (celebrity and non-celebrity), which I predict to have influence on the English use as well, because the values English usage denotes will be appreciated more by celebrities than non-celebrities.

Data Collection

The first step in the data analysis was selecting all expressive utterances from the data, which was done following the definition formed by Haeseryn et.al. (1997): all exclamatives that are spoken in a louder tone and express any form of emotion. "Expressive" here means that the person expresses a psychological state, an attitude with respect to a certain state of affairs. This means that exclamatives spoken in a louder tone that do not express a specific emotion will not be included (Beijer, 1999). The words "louder tone" are also important, since (expressive) exclamatives are a deviation from the norm, in this case a "normal" loudness (Beijer, 1999). Furthermore, expressive utterances are also characterized by a different pitch contour, where the precise values are not important, as long as it shows the speaker to be out of control and the values to be extreme, either by using an unexpected high pitch, low pitch or even a level pitch, marked by an unusually monotonous intonation contour (Beijer 1999). If there was any doubt if an utterance should be included or not, e.g. if it portrayed emotion or not, or the characteristics above were unclear, my own subjective interpretation of the participants and their theory of mind was used.

Scenes and fragments within the show can be categorised according to whom speech is directed to by the person talking: speech directed from participant to participant, speech directed to the game presenters, speech directed to a camera during reflective interviews and speech directed to the confessional camera ("biechtcamera"), to which players could talk in full privacy. Speech from all of these categories was used to extract expressive utterances from, except for the interviews, since these interviews elicited commentary and retellings of what had already happened in the game (challenges, social disputes and so on). This means that the emotions the participants express during those interviews had already passed, which evidently does not have the same emotional level as experiencing the emotion in the moment (Shiota & Kalat, 2017). Furthermore, speech that is most unguarded and spontaneous is what

is needed to answer the current research question, which makes speech produced in interview settings less important.

Previews of fragments from later episodes were not included, since that would lead to a repetition in the results, as expressive exclamatives would be included twice. Sometimes, two or more participants shouted simultaneously and individual expressions could not be discerned; these were left out of the analysis. The last episode was broadcast in a stadium in front of a live audience (around 10.000 people) and two presenters. In this case only the speech from the actual footage of the players on the island was used.

All expressive utterances were collected in written form and coded for English use, participant, time and topic category. The English usage was split up into two categories: insertions and code-switches. English words or highly fixed expressions (of no more than three words) were classified as insertions, while sentences with more than three words of sequential English were classified as code-switches. The first 3 episodes were analysed twice, so that an update to the methodology could be incorporated, in particular the addition of the fourth category of emotional context. The utterances from the remaining episodes were checked twice as well.

Results

Overall Results

In total, 286 expressive exclamatives were uttered by 18 participants. Save for about a handful

of utterances, all were recognizable according to the criteria for expressive exclamatives

established above. Three participants were excluded from the results, as they did not produce

any expressive utterances before they left the show (participants, 1, 2 and 9). They are still

included in the participant list for reference purposes and the remaining participants are

referred to with their participant number on the show. Of the 286 utterances, 99 contained

English words, almost 35 per cent. In Zenner et al. (2015) this was 198 over 1190 utterances,

a percentage of around 16. In other words, this means a doubling of relative English use in

expressive utterances over the course of 14 years, confirming hypothesis 2.

Figure 1

Number of English and non-English Expressive Exclamatives per Participant (N=18)
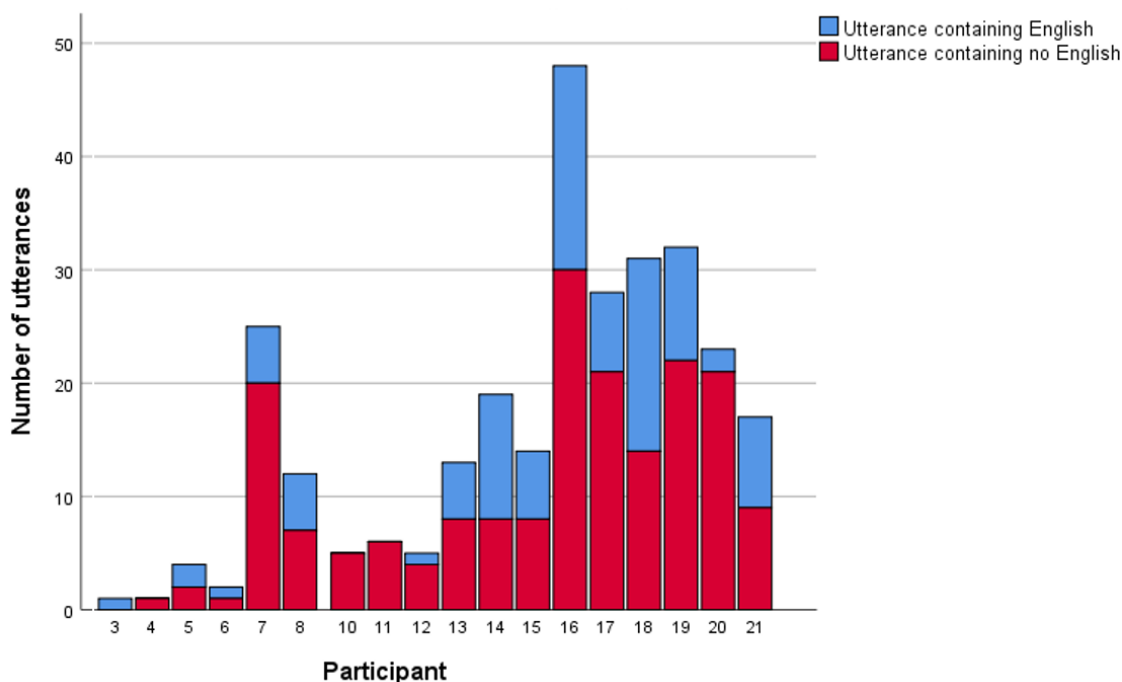
Figure 1 shows the number of expressive exclamatives uttered by each participant, with ascending participant numbers representing the relative time they spend on the show. It shows that the expressiveness varied per person and was partly determined by the screen time of each participant. The mean for usage of expressive utterances was 15.9 (σ: 13.1), with a minimum of 1 and a maximum of 48. The median was 13.5.

Table 1 below shows the five participants with highest degree of English use. The threshold for number of expressive utterances was ten.

Table 1

Top Five Participants with Most English Use (with a Minimum of 10 Utterances)

Participant	Utterances	English	English (%)
14	19	11	58
18	31	17	55
21	17	8	47
15	14	6	43
8	12	5	42

The use of English that was found can be split up into two categories: English insertions and code-switches to English. Below shows all the insertions found in the corpus with corresponding tokens, with a minimum of 5. The 5 other utterances ("nice", "go", "damn", "come on" and "what the hell") only had 1 token each, with the exception of "damn", which had 3 tokens. The insertions were all single-word or single-phrase utterances and no intra-phrasal English use of insertions was found.

Table 2

English Insertions in Expressive Exclamatives with Corresponding Tokens (with a min. of 5)

English insertion	N (= 82)
(holy) fuck	28
Yes	20
Oh my god / Jesus	16
(holy) shit	12
Motherfucker	6

Furthermore, the data showed some code-switches from Dutch to English.

Table 3

All Code-switches in Expressive Utterances with Corresponding Participant Number

Expressive utterance	Participant
One day, come on	7
Ja hoor jongens, what we expected!	7
Bring me the good news baby, bring the good news!	18
You got this man, push it to the motherfucking limit!	18
She did it man!	16
Gonna miss you babe	16
I love this motherfucking game	18
I don't care, I just don't care, I don't give a fuck	18
You sneaky bastard!	16

Age & Celebrity Status

As can be seen in the table below, there seems to be little difference in the amount of English use between age groups. Within age groups however, there are larger differences, specifically in the $40 \geq$ age group, as can be seen in figure 2.

Table 4

Average English Usage in Expressive Utterances for each Age Group

Age group	N (=18)	Mean frequency (%)
≤30	9	35
30-39	6	33
≥40	3	37

Note. The English usage is relative the total number of utterances of each individual.

Figure 2

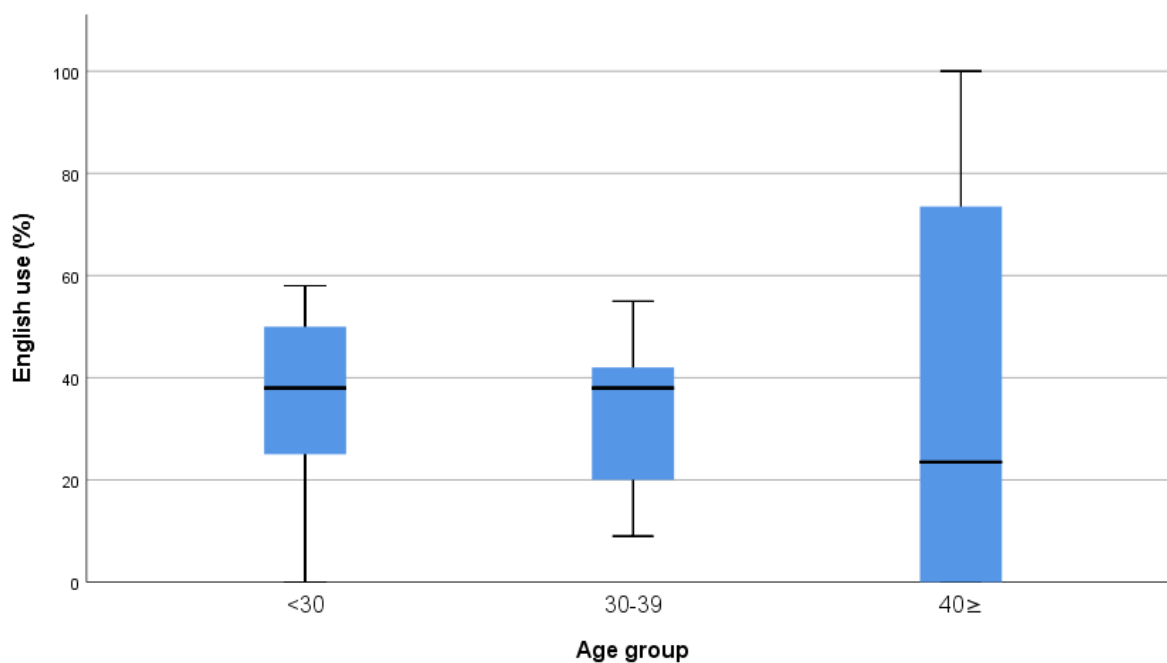*Distribution of English use (in %) Across Age Groups (N=18)*

Table 5

*Average English Use in Expressive Utterances for Celebrities and Non-celebrities*

	(N= 18)	**Mean frequency (%)**
Celebrity	11	38
Non-celebrity	7	30

Note. The English usage is relative the total number of utterances of each individual.

Table 5 presents the average English usage for celebrities and non-celebrities. Again, there is no significant difference between the amount of English usage between the two groups. The graph below shows there is little ingroup variance as well, as the two medians are close together and the middle 50 per cent of the data is largely similar in terms of range. However, the larger range of the celebrity group suggests there are a few participants who had a very high percentage of English use, while non-celebrities do not exceed the 47 percentage mark.

Figure 3

Distribution of English use (in %) Across Celebrity Status Groups
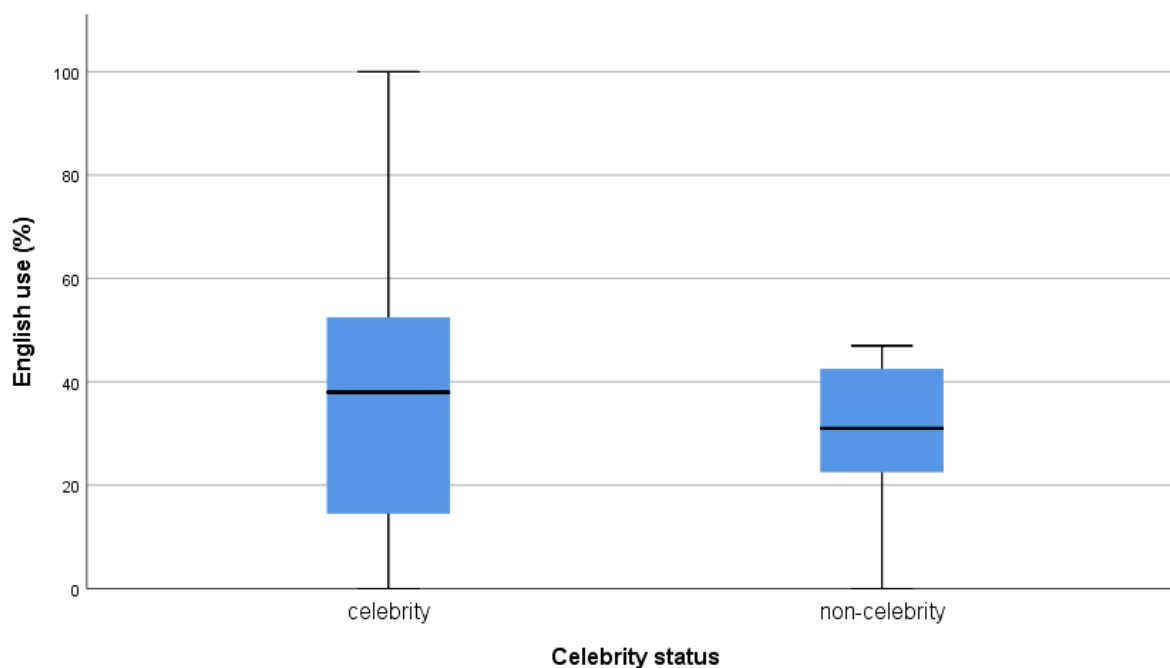
Topic of Conversation

The main question of this paper addresses the relationship between the L1 and emotion. In order to investigate this, all expressive utterances were tagged with a number that represents the emotional value of the context. Table 6 shows a crosstabs run on all 286 utterances divided by topic of conversation.

Table 6

All Expressive Utterances Arranged According to Topic of Conversation

	Non-English		English	
	N	N %	N	N %
Food	45	83.3	9	16.7
Life on the island	19	76.0	6	24.0
Social life	19	67.9	9	32.1
General experience	25	62.5	15	37.5
Challenges	84	60.4	55	39.6

Note. All percentages are relative to the total amount of expressions within the category.

As can be seen from table 6, the amount of expressive utterances containing English grows when the context becomes more emotional. Further analysis showed that the variables discussed in this research (age & celebrity-status) had no effect on these findings. This is similar to the results found by Zenner et al. (2015) and not in line with hypothesis 1. Hypothesis 1 can thus not be confirmed, as that would predict that English usage would decrease when context is more emotional.

Table 7 shows all code-switches containing English uttered by the participants, with corresponding topic of conversation. It indicates that all code switches were uttered in category 3 or higher, e.g. in highly emotional situations, which is similar to the results found for English insertions.

Table 7

All English Code-switches in Expressive Utterances

Expressive utterance	Participant	Topic Of conversation
One day, come on	7	3
You got this man, push it to the motherfucking limit!	18	3
She did it man!	16	3
Ja hoor jongens, what we expected!	7	4
Bring me the good news baby, bring the good news!	18	4
Gonna miss you babe	16	4
I love this motherfucking game	18	4
I don't care, I just don't care, I don't give a fuck	18	4
You sneaky bastard!	16	4

Discussion

Overall Results

The overall results bear some resemblance to those found by Zenner et al. (2015), while also producing some new findings. The data shows a doubling in English usage compared to the seasons from more than 15 years ago that formed Zenner at al.'s data. This should come as no surprise as the influence of English on the Dutch language seems to be exponentially increasing. Expressiveness was found to differ per person, which can mostly be explained by the participants' screen time, as figure 1 shows an increase of utterances parallel to the participant's time on the show. Participant 7's unusual high amount of English usage can be explained by the fact that this participant was brought back in the game twice via special rules and eventually left the show around where participant 16 and 17 did. The expressiveness of the participant in turn influenced the English usage, as the top five English users were all participants that had stayed on the show for a longer period of time.

The English insertions found in this study (seen in table 3) are very similar to those found by Zenner et al. (2015). The top 4 used English insertions can all be found in the list of top insertions in Zenner et al. (2015). It is an interesting finding, since a lot has changed regarding the Dutch language and the usage of English words. It seems expletives such as "shit" and "fuck" are highly fixed words that do not lose their meaning and appeal over time. Still, it would not have been surprising if some new words were found.

The fact that there were instances of code-switching is interesting, as this is new compared to Zenner et al (2015). Some of these code-switches were more fixed expressions, while some were spontaneous sentences. These code-switches belonged to only three participants, namely 7, 16 and 18 and these three participants were part of the top five expressive participants. It would seem that for expressive people, English could function to broaden their expressive tool set, while for less expressive people, this English usage would

seem less necessary. This would have to be looked into by means of a qualitative study of the produced speech. Furthermore, participants 7, 16 and 18 were all three celebrities (an *influencer*, a model and *influencer* and a comedian respectively). They are all active on social media and would thus use English a lot in their daily lives. For them, English could function as a second language, as opposed to a foreign language, which is why they would actually code-switch between the two languages. They also produced code-switches outside of expressive exclamatives, strengthening this claim.

The data shows very fixed and straightforward usage of English, much in the same way the participants used it roughly 15 years ago, with the exception of the code-switches found. Thus, it seems the bilingual status Dutch people often enjoy is not necessarily true in its fullest sense, as the data shows little creativity with the English language, an important aspect of bilingualism (Kharkhurin & Wei, 2015). However, keeping in mind that the speech was probably influenced by the fact that it was filmed, the code-switches found could be signs that show English is becoming more of a second language to certain people, as opposed to a foreign language.

Age & Celebrity Status

In general, age seems to have no effect on the English usage of the participants on the show. This can partly be due to the fact that the age groups were not entirely equal to one another in terms of size and that the group of participants was relatively small. A closer look at the data reveals within-group variation, particularly in the oldest age group (40 and up). The first two age groups seem to be roughly equal in distribution (figure 2), while the English use of age group 3 is much more stretched out, with a larger range. It makes sense that older generations have had less influence from English to have had a steady influence on their speech. They would only have picked up on the influence of English in the past decade and even then, not everyone will be equally prone to this influence, as it can mostly be found through new

media, school and the internet. A noticeable case in point is the difference between participant 11 and 21, who are only 10 years apart in age, and while belonging to the same age group, had a large difference in English use. Participant 21 (53 years old) was third in largest English use, while participant 11 (64 years old) produced zero English utterances, despite being on the show for a considerable long time. It is hard to not just ascribe this difference to personal preference, since there seem to be no factors that would predict this outcome. Participant 21 is a farmer who spends his days working on his land with his family in Overijssel, while participant 11, Johnny Kraaijkamp Jr., is a well-known actor and celebrity. If anything, their backgrounds seem to predict the opposite results. It shows that English usage really is a stylistic choice, especially for those people who have not had a steady influence from it from an early age.

Furthermore, some difference in English usage between celebrities and non-celebrities were found. Celebrities used English relatively more than non-celebrities, which seemed to be moving in the direction that hypothesis 4 predicts. Interesting was the occurrence of code-switches among celebrities' speech (as discussed above), and to strengthen the idea that for celebrities English functions as a second language, it is noteworthy to mention that participants 3 and 4 (both active in the Dutch Hip Hop scene) did also code-switch between Dutch and English, but outside of expressive utterances (and thus not noted). There were no non-celebrities who code-switches between languages, which also confirms this idea the other way around.

Topic of Conversation

As for the main question of this research, how the English use relates to the emotional context, similar results to those in Zenner et al. (2015) were found, refuting hypothesis 1. It was found that when emotions increase, so does the English use. Further analysis of the data showed this is the same for celebrities as well as non-celebrities and also for all age groups.

The results are thus conclusive. These findings can be ascribed to the fact that insertions were the main English use found. Bilingual research shows bilinguals will more likely express themselves in their first language as emotions run high (Pavlenko, 2008; Dewaele, 2004; Bakić & Škifić, 2016). It seems the participants on the show do not view these English words as being from a different language, but see them as a part of their Dutch repertoire, so it would be only logical to use them in highly emotional situations. The expressive English words shown in table 3 seem to hold emotional value to the same degree as Dutch, making them interchangeable with any other Dutch expressive utterance.

A closer look at the instances of actual code-switching revealed the same kind of pattern: the code switches were all uttered in category 3 or up. This is striking, since those would be instances where the participant is deliberately using English as a second language and they would thus, according to research (see above), be more likely to refrain from doing so when emotions are high. It seems that even though emotions are high, these participants manage to maintain a sense of self-control to switch to English. This could be explained by the fact that all of these participants were celebrities and that they are probably used to this kind of self-monitoring that they use to create an image of themselves. An alternative view would be that these participants use English in these moments to distance themselves from it in order to hide their emotions or feelings. This could contribute to the image they hold up of themselves, especially on TV, as some people hold an indifferent image to high regards. The fact that there were no non-celebrities who code-switched between languages seems to support this interpretation, suggesting that celebrities have better skills in keeping their emotions in check, while for people who do not appear daily in the public eye, this might be more difficult. In the end it comes down to personal preference and character, something that can indeed be influenced by one's constant appearance in the public eye.

Conclusion

This study sought to find an answer to the following question: to what extent do Dutch speakers use English in expressive utterances and how is this related to the emotional context? Results were compared to those found by Zenner et al. (2015) and showed that the use of English had doubled. Furthermore, instances of code-switches were found, which supports the idea that Dutch people are more influenced by the English language now, than 15 years ago, as this is common for bilingual speech. Still, the use of English insertions has not changed and it seems the expressive expletives found are highly fixed words that change little over time. It also showed that in regards to the emotional context, this particular English use does not behave in the way that is expected when looking at bilingual research. This could be explained by the interpretation that most people regard these English insertions as equal to their Dutch equivalent. However, code-switches were also found to be used exclusively in high emotional context, which is unexpected. The fact that these were uttered by celebrities, suggests that their English use might be influenced by their need to maintain a specific image of themselves. Further research could look into the English use of non-celebrities outside of the reality TV medium, where the pressure to guard one's speech will be weaker. Since the material used in this study comprised of relatively unnatural speech, more natural language situations could yield different results. For example, it could be that that is where code-switching will occur among non-celebrity Dutch speakers. It would support the idea that English is not only rapidly influencing Dutch speech by means of insertions, it is also developing as a second language in its own right and becoming increasingly important to Dutch speaker's personal language expression.

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Appendix A

Table 1

List of Participants of Season 19 of Expeditie Robinson *with Relevant Variables*

	Name	Age	Age group	Gender	Occupation
1	Toine van Peperstraten	50	3	Female	Presenter
2	Famke Louise	19	1	Female	Singer/Youtuber
3	Aisha Echteld	35	2	Female	Hip-Hop artist
4	Joost Dowib	26	1	Male	Rapper
5	Donny Roelvink	20	1	Male	Model
6	Tony Junior	28	1	Male	DJ
7	Nienke Plas	32	2	Female	Comedian/Youtuber
8	Gwenda Nielen	39	2	Female	Military
9	Corry Konings	66	3	Male	Singer
10	Sandra Spreij	51	3	Female	Café owner
11	Johnny Kraaijkamp Jr.	64	3	Male	Actor
12	Özgür Aksan	29	1	Male	Social worker
13	Jody Bernal	36	2	Male	Singer
14	Stijn Fransen	28	1	Male	Actor
15	Robin Bakker	26	1	Male	Port worker
16	Loiza Lamers	23	1	Female	Model
17	Laurie Scheerder	24	1	Female	Student
18	Steven Brunswijk	34	2	Male	Comedian
19	Dominique Hazeleger	21	1	Female	Student
20	Gregory Sedoc	36	2	Male	Former hurdler
21	Jan Bronninkreef	53	3	Male	Farmer

Note. Age is divided up into three groups: 1 (≤30), 2 (30-40) and 3 (40≥).