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Stylistic Patterns 'On Air': Intra-speaker Variation in Canarian Radio Presenters

Patrones estilísticos 'en directo': variación intra-hablante en los presentadores radiofónicos canarios

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Social identities are created from the organisation of a series of coordinates that cross different areas in a community: the characteristics of the social group to which the individual belongs; the position that this individual has within the group; the social attitudes towards the own group and other groups; the type of activity that takes place (public or private); or the linguistic policies existing in the community towards the different linguistic norms that coexist in it. By incorporating all these (and other) aspects to the variationist approach, we are admitting that neither the strictly structuralist nor the strictly interactional positions in Sociolinguistics allow us to properly explain the social dimension of language. The analysis of these relationships allows us to explore with better criteria the different levels in which the sociocultural meaning that the forms of language acquire in specific social situations are organised. Within the framework of these ideas, this research studies the way in which six radio broadcasters from the Canary Islands stylise their speech in order to achieve certain communicative purposes.

Keywords: *dialect contact, interdialectalisms, standardisation, semi-standardisation, stylistic variation*

Las identidades sociales se crean a partir de la organización de una serie de coordenadas que atraviesan distintos ámbitos de una comunidad: las características del grupo social al que pertenece el individuo; la posición que este individuo ocupa dentro del grupo; las actitudes sociales hacia el propio grupo y otros grupos; el tipo de actividad que se desarrolla (pública o privada); o las políticas lingüísticas existentes en la comunidad hacia las diferentes normas lingüísticas que en ella conviven. Al incorporar todos estos (y otros) aspectos a la aproximación variacionista, estamos admitiendo que ni las posiciones estrictamente estructuralistas ni las estrictamente interaccionales en Sociolingüística nos permiten explicar adecuadamente la dimensión social del lenguaje. El análisis de estas relaciones permite explorar con mejor criterio los diferentes niveles en los que se organiza el significado sociocultural que adquieren las formas del lenguaje en determinadas situaciones sociales. En el marco de estas ideas, esta investigación estudia la forma en que seis locutores de radio de Canarias estilizan su discurso para lograr determinados propósitos comunicativos.

Palabras Claves: *contacto dialectal, interdialectalismos, estandarización, semi-estandarización, variación estilístic*

1. INTRODUCTION

Given the singularly central position of style in the correlation of *linguistic, social* and *diaphasic* elements, intra-speaker variation is undoubtedly seen as consubstantial to sociolinguistic studies now and is becoming a major focus of research within the field (see Coupland, 2007; Eckert, 2018; Eckert & Rickford, 2001; Hernández-Campoy, 2016). While everybody would agree that stylistic variation is a phenomenon conditioned by extralinguistic factors, its presence in language production and effective social meaning has been associated with different linguistic constructs and theories trying to account for its nature and functioning.

Historically, the debate on *responsive-initiative* motivations in stylistic variation constitutes a central issue of the traditional pendulum-oscillating dilemma in social theory about the relationship between *structure* and *agency*, i.e. between sociolinguistic limitations and creativity, and also between speaker intention and listener understanding (Schilling, 2013: 342-343). As Bell says, "[a]pproaches which treat speakers as untrammeled agents do not take enough account of the role of structure in interaction and life, just as approaches which treat speakers as sociodemographic correlates did not take adequate account of individual agency" (2014: 305-306). Structure refers to the social norms that shape as well as constrain the way we live and sociolinguistically behave. Conversely, agency is our ability to customise that way we live and sociolinguistically behave according to our individual requirements and intentions—taking our own actions, following our own practices, and making our own way and with our own choices (Bell 2014). It is in recent Sociolinguistics that the oscillation of the pendulum is swinging towards agentivity and creativity, and thus moving away from structural constraints and norms (see also Johnstone, 2000, 2001).

Based on mechanistic foundations, Labov's *Self-Monitoring model* (1972, 2006) of stylistic variation conceives style-shifting as a reflection (or the product) of the awareness and attention paid by the speaker to their own speech, depending on external factors (such as topic, addressee, audience and situation) which 'determine' the level of formality and, thus, the linguistic variety to be employed—as well as the degree of self-monitoring in speech production: the more attention a speaker pays, the more formal their style will be, and vice versa. Style is thus a conscious social reaction (response) to a situation and appears scaled within a formality continuum ranging from least to most formal (see Hernández-Campoy, 2016: 65-94): Casual style (CS), Formal style (FS), Passage Reading style (PRS), Word List style (WLS) and Minimal Pair style (MPS). In this axiom, the same speaker uses different linguistic varieties in different situations and for different purposes, and shared patterns of style-shifting are thus one of the defining characteristics of membership in a particular speech community (Rickford & Eckert, 2001: 10). Intra-speaker (stylistic) variation is largely a function of inter-speaker variation, where some individuals exhibit a much wider range of stylistic variation than others. The indexical relationship of stylistic variation with the individual's social background and situation means that, although the different social class groups have different levels of usage of a given variable, their evaluation of the different variants is exactly the same: speakers of all classes change their pronunciation in exactly the same direction—i.e. by increasing the frequency of prestige forms in their speech as stylistic context becomes more formal, and vice versa. Labov (2006) was able to quantify stylistic variation and to extract its indexical relationship with the individual's social background and situation. When exploring the [r]/[ø] alternation, he found that all social groups increase the use of syllable-final /r/ as they move from less formal to more formal styles, regardless of their characteristics, which reveals the existence of common positive attitudes to [r] in terms of social status (see Figure 1).

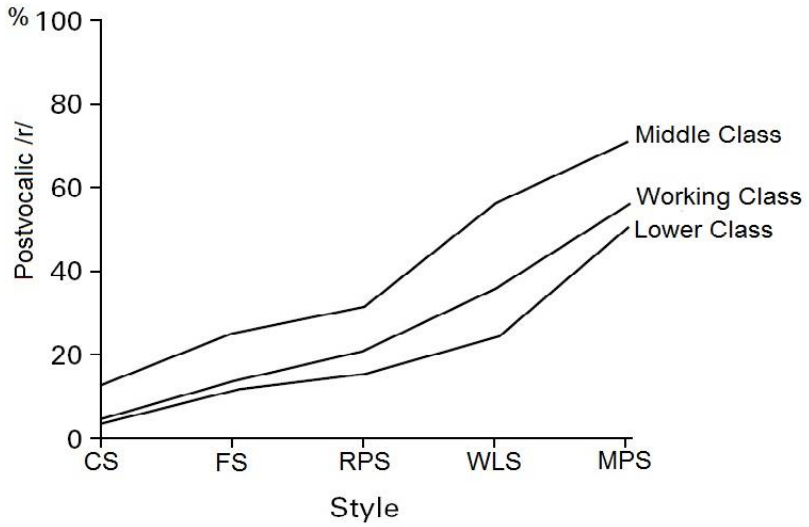

Figure 1: ***Postvocalic /r/, social class and styles in the New York City. Adapted from Labov (2006: 141)***

Inspired by the Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1979) and Linguistic Marketplace (Bourdieu & Boltanski, 1975 or Sankoff & Laberge, 1978), Bell's *audience design* theory (1984, 2001) conceived stylistic variation as an essentially responsive action to the characteristics of a present or absent audience and introduced an initiative (proactive) dimension—in addition to the responsive (reactive) dimension. Intra-speaker variation appeared then as a response to interspeaker variation (Bell 1984). All stylistic variation began to be explained through the audience. Factors such as "audienceship" "addressivity," "responsiveness" and "speaker agency" became crucial, putting the audience at the centre of intra-speaker variation. The best example is the pioneering case studied by Allan Bell on four radio broadcasters who worked for two radio stations in the same New Zealand public broadcasting service and were able to switch between them very quickly: YA Station, the 'National Radio'—playing classical music and attracting a higher-status audience—and ZB Station—a local community radio station playing popular music and attracting a wider range of social groups. Bell found that the speech of the same individual newsreader was different when reading bulletins in one radio station or the other, making considerable style shifts to suit the audience (see Figure 2). The newsreader's frequency of use of the *T*-voicing form was usually 20% higher in ZB radio Station than in the more conservative YA.

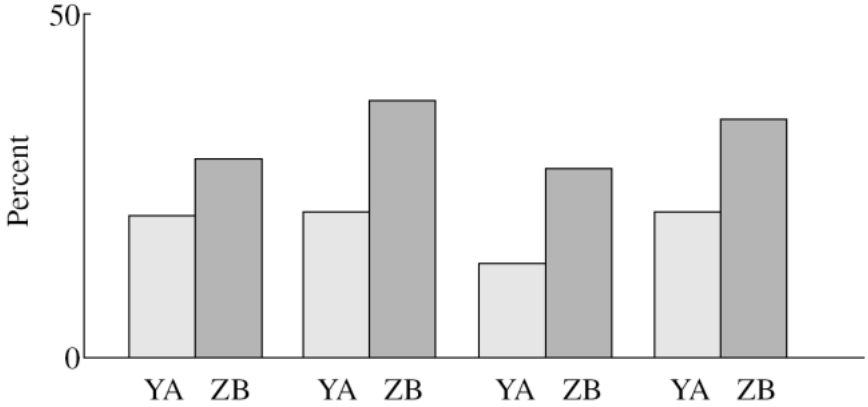

Figure 2: ***T-voicing in intervocalic contexts by four broadcasters on two New Zealand radio stations: YA and ZB. Source: Bell (1984: 171)***

The *Script Design model* (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy, 2006, 2007) stresses the need to consider not only responsive and even initiative-based performance, but also the

'script', as part of structural constraints that condition the individual linguistic behaviour in public occupations. Script takes the form of a professional voice used strictly following a particular linguistic policy which is based on canonical sociolinguistic norms and attitudes to language: linguistic performers are conditioned by audience considerations to some extent, since those performing in mass mediated contexts are also constrained by the norms of the particular media and performance event in which they are participating. This view urges us to consider community-specific structural factors anchored to linguistic norms, correctness and appropriacy restraints in the explanation of, at least, some cases of stylistic variation. There is a 'structural' dimension in stylistic performance in the form of script inevitably predetermining a professional voice ('normativity', 'correctness', 'appropriacy', etc.), which also needs to be explored when attempting to account for stylistic variation. Therefore, the essence of the Script Model somehow alludes to the standing debate in both classical and contemporary sociological theory about the primacy of social structure or agency in shaping human behaviour and its social significance itself (Ritzer & Goodman, 2000). Companies based on dealing with the public are very aware of the potential influence and ideological effect of language on customers or audiences (Schrøder, 2001). As a result, they have traditionally assumed the responsibility of promulgating linguistic norms and have developed language policies resulting in the imposition of a professional voice to their employees. In Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2006, 2007), the speech so eminently standard (92%) of a radio presenter in the traditionally non-standard local community of Murcia Region (Santomera) during his programme MQM was investigated, as well as the speech of his audience when making phone calls (mostly non-standard: ±13,4%). However, in a private interview with the researchers, his sociolinguistic behaviour was then radically different, being more local and attached to non-standard frequencies (30% standard as opposed to his 'on air' speech: 92%). This diverging pattern of verbal behaviour meant that the Script Design Model was used as a professional voice (Figure 3).

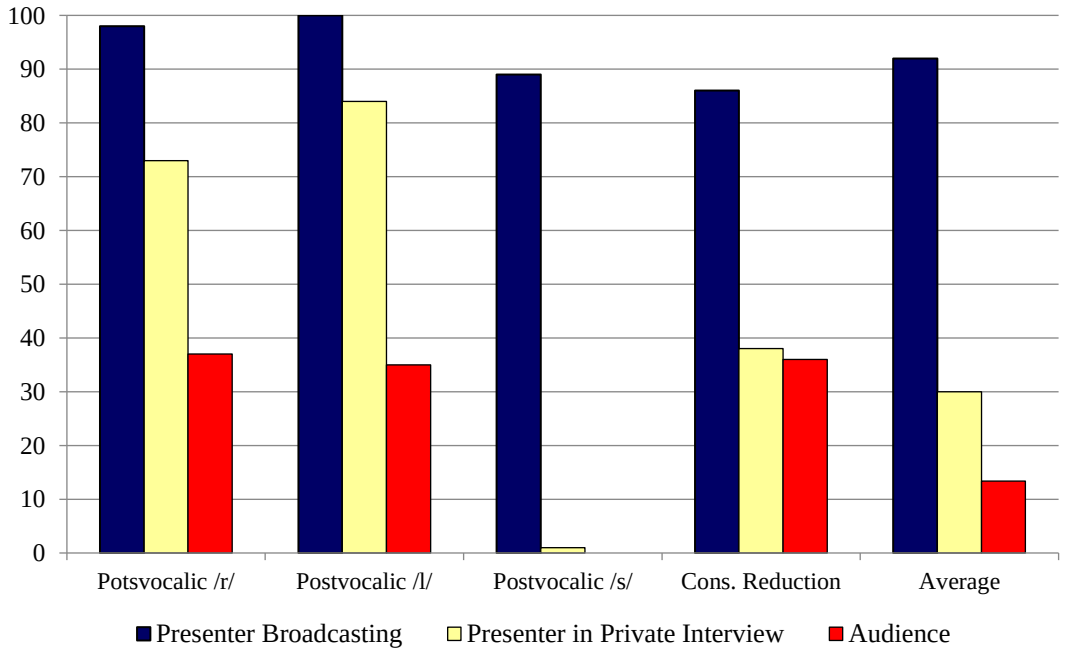

Figure 3: ***Usage of standard forms by presenter and audience interlocutors. Adapted from Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007: 137)***

Finally, the *Speaker Design model* (Coupland, 1985, 2001a, 2001b, 2007) focuses on the proactive facet of style-shifting and the individuality of speakers, where the individual voice is

seen as an active agent for the transmission of sociolinguistic meaning (Johnstone, 2000: 417). Assuming that language acts *are* acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller, 1985:14), linguistic variation is viewed as the verbal instrument for semiotic identificational and interactional meanings in public: a resource for identity projection and positioning in society, where individuals and individual voices are actively responsible for the transmission of sociolinguistic meaning (Giddens, 1991: 82-85; Johnstone, 2000: 417). The speaker's sociolinguistic behaviour is now conceived as inevitably based on social meaning, where language is a social practice, and style-shifting is socially motivated through its diverse linguistic resources and mechanisms. In this way, like any other social stereotypes, the different ways of speaking constitute prototype categories within a wider frame that comprises not only ideological components, but also markers from a wide variety of dimensions, such as speech, physical appearance, dress, dance and music (Halliday, 1978: 162; Kristiansen, 2008). Styles thus represent our ability to take up different social positions (Bell, 2007), because styling is a powerful device for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance-taking, and identity projection. Consequently, this means that identity is dynamic and that every speech act is performance—with speakers projecting different roles in different circumstances,—because we are always displaying some particular type of image and identity (see Eckert, 2018). Building on individual agency, the Speaker Design Model views stylistic variation as a resource in the performance of speakers' personal and interpersonal social identity (active creation, presentation, and even recreation) for creating as well as projecting one's persona. Style-shifting is therefore now understood as a proactive (initiative) rather than responsive (reactive) phenomenon. This theory was developed in sociolinguistic styling by Nikolas Coupland (1981, 1985) with his study on the multiple personal identity images projected by a Cardiff travel agent through her speech when addressing her clients and co-workers; or in the case of a disc jokey in a Cardiff radio station (Coupland, 1985). Similarly, this phenomenon had also been observed by Trudgill (1980, 1983) in his study on the use of American vs. British working class linguistic features in British pop-rock music bands. Whereas singers in the mainstream pop tradition showed a tendency towards the use of American features, those in the punk-rock movement, particularly Ian Dury, exhibited an exclusive tendency towards British features, in line with the self-image they wanted to project and with the profile of those fans (see Table 1).

Table 1: ***Usage of American and British features by British pop and rock groups. Source: Trudgill (1983: 156)***

Groups	**American**			**British**
	(r)	**(t)**	**/æ/**	**[ʔ]**
Rolling Stones	19	46	100	0
Supertramp	7	81	-	0
Dire Straits	1	92	-	0
Stranglers	0	88	80	0
Clash	6	71	24	10
Sham '69	1	57	50	9
Ian Dury	0	5	0	22

2. OBJECTIVES

The present study aims to explore the patterns of intra-speaker variation found in radio presenters and explain their motivations within the framework of the different theoretical models of stylistic variation. What we are trying to demonstrate here is that the linguistic performance of individuals can be explained through a combination of objective and subjective factors whose interrelation give shape to their discursive style. Among the objective factors are

the characteristics of the social group to which the individual belongs (socio-demographic and biological), the context of situation where the interaction takes place (formality), and the existence or not of specific patterns of performance related to broadcasting (script), (see Androutsopoulos, 2014; Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy, 2007; Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa, 2017; Talbot, 2007; Tolson, 2006) Among the subjective ones, it is necessary to highlight the attitudes of individuals about the perception of the individual, social and cultural identity that they want to show (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida, 2005: 92-108). To this aim, the linguistic variation of six speakers, four women and two men, was observed. All of them have a high degree of public contact, since they are people working in radio broadcasting, as presenters in the studio. In this research we will analyse the patterns of use of three phonological variables registered in the Spanish spoken in the Canary Islands: (c), (h) and (s-θ). Each of these variables has three variants: a vernacular, a standard Castilian Spanish, and a third one which is a hybrid or interdialectal form, built with features of the vernacular and of standard forms. The existence of these hybrid variants adds a certain degree of complexity to the study of the socio-stylistic meaning of linguistic forms.

The world of broadcasting represents a very appropriate scenario to analyse how the interaction of objective and subjective factors shapes the discourse of individuals. In the Canarian Archipelago, the more or less cultured form of the dialect (characterised by the maintenance of idiosyncratic phonetic forms, avoiding deletions and confusion between sounds) is accepted as a means of oral communication in formal situations (in the regional Parliament, in education, on radio and television, etc.). However, during the dictatorship of General Franco (1939-1975) a series of requirements were imposed on radio broadcasters: the adoption of a solemn tone (except in comedy programmes), avoidance of improvisation and of maintenance of excessive trust with the public, and strict use of the national standard. The ultimate purpose of these demands was to unify radio discourse throughout the state to serve as effective propaganda in the dissemination of fascist ideas. In order to control these formal aspects of speech in future professionals, very strict speech academies were created, since applicants needed to have an adequate voice timbre and demonstrate studies in a singing or declamation conservatory. With the arrival of democracy, this rigid norm was relaxed, and announcers were allowed to use a more or less cultured variety of the Canarian regional variety. However, some announcers went on using the standard Castilian variety for a number of reasons, in particular, because they considered this to be the most appropriate variety in broadcasting (Yanes, 2013).

It is likely that, despite the fact that the language policy in Spanish broadcasting during the dictatorship required the use of the national standard, more emphasis was given to the most outstanding features of the standard than to other types of features. For instance, with respect to the [s]-[θ] distinction instead of *seseo*, those who took care of the linguistic policy in Canarian radio broadcasting were probably more concerned with maintaining the distinction between the two sibilants than with the pronunciation of /s/ as alveolar, as in Castilian standard (in the Canary Islands it is dental). In other cases, there could be real problems in correctly articulating the standard form, as in the case of [tʃ]. For a Canarian speaker it is very difficult to perfectly imitate this sound due to the articulatory differences between the vernacular and the standard. In this case, Canarian speakers try to produce the Castilian standard sound by lengthening the fricative phase and thus giving the sound more stridency. However, it is difficult for them to control the proportion of duration of the two phases, that is, that the occlusion is 25-30% longer than friction, an important feature of the standard sound (see 4.1 section). In the resulting sound the duration of the two phases, occlusive and fricative, is approximately the same (Almeida 2019).

3. METHODOLOGY

3.1 *The Linguistic Variables*

Three linguistic variables have been selected in this research: (c), (h) and (s-θ). All of them have three variants: a local or vernacular realisation, a Standard Castilian one, and an interdialectal variant as an intermediate alternative created from features present in the vernacular and standard variants. These intermediate forms could be considered examples of semi-standardisation or imperfect or incomplete standardisation of the dialect. Of these variables, the most relevant is (s-θ) given its exceptional phonological implications. In standard Spanish, the opposition s/θ allows the distinction in pairs of words like *casa* /'kasa/ 'house' and *caza* /'kaθa/ 'hunting', or *coser* /ko'seɾ/ 'to sew' and *cocer* /ko'θeɾ/ 'to cook', although, admittedly, the number of minimum pairs based on this opposition is low. In the Canarian linguistic norm, there is only /s/, so words like *casa-caza* and *coser-cocer* are homophones (a phenomenon called *seseo*). Furthermore, the articulation of the Canarian /s/ is predorsodental and not apical, as the Castilian realisation is. Table 2 shows the main characteristics of each variant.

Table 2: ***Vernacular, standard, and interdialectal variants of variables (c), (h) and (s-θ) in Canarian Spanish***

Linguistic Variable			Standard	Vernacular	Interdialectal
Variable (c)	Examples	*pecho* (‘chest’)	['petʃo]	['peco]	['pecʃo]
		chino (‘Chinese’)	['tʃino]	['cino]	['cʃino]
	Realisation	Mode of articulation	Affricate	Occlusive	Affricate
		Place of articulation	Prepalatal	Mid-, postpalatal	Mid-, postpalatal
		Voicing	[- voiced]	[+/- voiced]	[+/- voiced]
		Duration of plosive phase	25-30% longer than fricative phase	200-500% longer than fricative phase	Similar to fricative phase
Variable (h)	Examples	*bajo* (‘under’)	['baxo]	['baho]	['bahˣo]
		jabón (‘soap’)	[xa'βon]	[ha'βon]	[hˣa'βon]
	Realisation	Mode of articulation	Fricative	Fricative	Fricative
		Place of articulation	Velar	Glottal	Glottal-velar
		Voicing	[- voiced]	[+/- voiced]	[- voiced]
Variable (s-θ)	Examples	*acero* (‘steal’)	[a'θeɾo]	[a'seɾo]	[a's$^{\theta}$eɾo]
		zona (‘zone’)	['θona]	['sona]	['s$^{\theta}$ona]
	Realisation	Mode of articulation	Fricative	Fricative	Fricative
		Place of articulation	Interdental	Dental	Postdental
		Stridency	[- strident]	[+/- strident]	[- strident]
		Voicing	[- voiced]	[- voiced]	[- voiced]

The vernacular variants of the three variables are the most frequent in the Canarian dialect[1] in any speech style. The interdialectal variants of (c) and (h) can also be heard in all styles of speech, both in rural and urban areas, and in individuals of any social class, but they seem to be more frequent among the young people of the highest social groups (Almeida, 1992, 2019; Almeida & Díaz-Alayón, 1989: 37, 62; Alvar, 1972: 127). Hybrid variants of (s-θ) are

[1] There are different opinions about the dialectal status of Canarian Spanish. Authors like Alvar (1996), Trujillo (1981) and Zamora-Vicente (1974: 332) deny that the Canarian variety is a dialect. The reasons put forward by these researchers are of two types: the non-existence of exclusive linguistic forms and the wide internal variability. Almeida (2014) analyses this reasoning in the light of the most recent dialectal and variationist theories and considers that such a variety constitutes a dialect.

rarely heard in informal styles. Finally, the standard variants have a different frequency of use in each variable, for while the standard forms of (c) are hardly heard in the speech of Canarian speakers, even in the most formal speech, the standard variants of (h) and (s-θ) can be heard relatively frequently in this type of discourse. The cause of the different behaviour of standard variants may have to do with the fact that it is more difficult for a Canarian speaker to pronounce the standard forms of (c) than those of (h) and (s-θ). This difficulty is found especially in the control of the articulation time of the occlusive and fricative phases of [tʃ]. In the Canarian vernacular variant, [c], the fricative phase is either absent or very short, while the standard articulation needs to accomplish two requirements: firstly, for the consonant to be perceived as affricate, the fricative phase must last at least 50 milliseconds (Quilis, 1981: 259), and secondly, the occlusive phase should be 25-30% longer than the fricative (Gili, 1923; Navarro Tomás, 1918; Quilis 1981: 259). Given the difficulty of overcoming both obstacles, the speakers of the vernacular dialect, aware that the traditional form lacks stridency (friction time), when trying to imitate the standard [tʃ] they choose to lengthen the fricative phase, but they do so beyond the required limit. In this way they end up equalising the duration of the two phases (Table 2). This behaviour could be considered as a case of hypercorrection.

Perhaps the most striking aspect of the variation observed in these variables is the emergence of interdialectal variants. Two hypotheses about their origin have been proposed. Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 110-111) argue that these forms emerged as a strategy of neutrality that allows speakers to avoid having to choose between any of the variants that already exist, creating a new form that contains characteristics of both. For Trudgill (1986: 58-63), however, the origin of these forms must be sought in the imperfect learning of a second dialect. When the speakers of a dialect try to imitate certain forms of another dialect, some type of failure occurs that prevents the form to be imitated from being correctly articulated. In this way a third variant is created that contains features of the two forms that have served as a model. Applying these ideas to the three interdialectal forms of Canarian Spanish, it can be concluded that the interdialectal variants of (h) and (s-θ) have arisen in order to allow speakers to express a dual cultural identity, that is, to express their link both with regional culture and with national culture, while the hybrid variants of (c) may be the consequence of imperfect learning of a second dialect—see Almeida (2019) for variables (c) and (h). In any case, regardless of the reasons why these hybrid forms originated, what is important from a sociolinguistic point of view is that these innovative variants also end up becoming social and/or stylistic markers.

3.2 *The Sample*

The sample serving as the basis for this research is made up of approximately twenty hours of radio recordings obtained between 2006-2010. For the linguistic analysis, given that in Canarian Spanish it is very difficult to hear standard Castilian variants of (c), (h) and (s-θ) in less formal styles of speech, any text or text fragment that was read was eliminated—following Labov's (1972, 2006) style continuum. This means that there is no other alternative but to analyse formal speeches if we want to study the patterns of sociolinguistic variation for these variables: book presentations, academic events, sessions in the regional parliament, political debates, radio and television programmes, etc. In this case, it was decided to make recordings of different radio stations that were heard in most of the Archipelago: Radio Club Tenerife-Cadena SER, COPE, Radio Las Palmas and Radio Nacional de España. The use of oral sources from radio broadcasting is a widely employed resource in studies on linguistic variation and change, mainly due to the great variety of social groups that can be analysed and the ease of obtaining such materials (Bell, 1982; Coupland, 1996; Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy, 2006, 2007; Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes, 2010;

Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa, 2010, 2017; Hernández-Campoy & Jiménez-Cano, 2003; Van de Velde, Gerritsen & Van Hout 1996).

Six radio broadcasters, four women and two men, were selected for this investigation. They were all native speakers from the Canary Islands and grew up in Canarian families. The four females as well as male presenter #6 conduct magazine programmes that share a similar format: interviews with people from the world of politics, social life and culture, information on current events, etc. Presenter #5, on the other hand, participates in a sports programme in the afternoons. It was decided to analyse only the first 50 cases of each variable in each informant. The reason for establishing this limit has to do with the fact that the oral corpus varies widely between informants. If the analysis focused just on single individuals, there would be no problem in considering the total number of items for each presenter. But our study also analyses the variation in two social groups: woman and men. Having considered all the cases registered, some type of bias could be produced.

This research is part of a broader project on linguistic variation and change in the Canary Islands which tries to analyse not only the discourse of announcers, but also of people from the world of culture and politics who participate in gatherings and debates, and of people who are interviewed out in the street, or who call a programme for different reasons (asking health-related questions when interviewing a doctor, making demands when interviewing politicians, announcing the loss of objects, etc.). The oral sample of this last group of individuals is usually shorter than that of the two previous groups and thus might be seen as under-represented given the total time of each informant's sampling. However, given the low frequency of use of some variables, such as (c), and because of the shorter interventions of some informants, the 50 items were not reached in some cases –as occurs with speakers #1, #4 and #5 for variable (c) and with speaker #4 for variable (h).

4. RESULTS

The results are summarised in Table 3 and Figures 4-5. Male informants are more vernacular than female ones in the three variables: 98% vs. 83.5% in the use of the vernacular form of (c), 80% vs. 69.3% in the case of the vernacular variant of (h) and 99% vs. 77% for the vernacular forms of (s-θ).

It is in the case of female radio presenters that the pressure of the hybrid (17%, 28% and 2.5%) and standard forms (20% and 45%) may also be perceptible. The greater proximity of women to the linguistic variants of higher social status has been widely documented in correlational Sociolinguistics (Eckert, 1989; Fasold, 1990: 99; Labov, 2001; Lakoff, 1975; Moya-Corral & García-Wiedemann, 1985; Trudgill, 1974).

As shown in Figure 4, a first analysis reveals the existence of group differences between women and men. Furthermore, a closer examination also unveils the presence of dissimilarities within the individuals of each group (see Figure 5). The latter leads us to think that individuals may be manipulating their discourses to project a specific social image.

In the case of women, each of them has a characteristic behaviour, although the type of programme in which they intervene has a similar structure: magazine programmes with a great variety of contents (social, cultural and political information, interviews with relevant people in the community, sections dedicated to listeners, etc.). If we take the vernacular-standard continuum as a reference and try to locate the four informants along it, we find that female speaker #2 is the one that shows the closest proximity to the standard. Although she hardly uses the standard variants of (h) (8%), and rarely uses the hybrid variants of (c) (2%), she mostly uses the standard variants of (s-θ) (84%), as seen in Table 3.

*Table **3. Variation in variables (c), (h) and (s-θ) for male and female radio presenters***

Independent variable: Gender			**Dependent Variables**											
			Vernacular		**Hybrid**		**Standard**		**Total**					
			N	%	N	%	N	%	**Vernacular**		**Hybrid**		**Standard**	
									N	%	N	%	N	%
Variable (c)	Females	Presenter #1	33	82.5	7	17.5	0	0.0	137	83.5	27	16.4	0	0.0
		Presenter #2	49	98.0	1	2.0	0	0.0						
		Presenter #3	34	68.0	16	32.0	0	0.0						
		Presenter #4	21	87.5	3	12.5	0	0.0						
	Males	Presenter #5	34	94.4	2	5.6	0	0.0	84	98.0	2	2.0	0	0.0
		Presenter #6	50	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0						
Variable (h)	Females	Presenter #1	23	46.0	18	36.0	9	18.0	120	69.3	38	21.9	15	8.7
		Presenter #2	42	84.0	4	8.0	4	8.0						
		Presenter #3	32	64.0	16	32.0	2	4.0						
		Presenter #4	23	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0						
	Males	Presenter #5	34	68.0	12	24.0	4	8.0	80	80.0	12	12.0	8	8.0
		Presenter #6	46	92.0	0	0.0	4	8.0						
Variable (s-θ)	Females	Presenter #1	50	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0	154	77.0	4	2.0	42	21.0
		Presenter #2	5	10.0	3	6.0	42	84.0						
		Presenter #3	50	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0						
		Presenter #4	49	98.0	1	2.0	0	0.0						
	Males	Presenter #5	49	98.0	1	2.0	0	0.0	99	99.0	1	1.0	0	0.0
		Presenter #6	50	100.0	0	0.0	0	0.0						

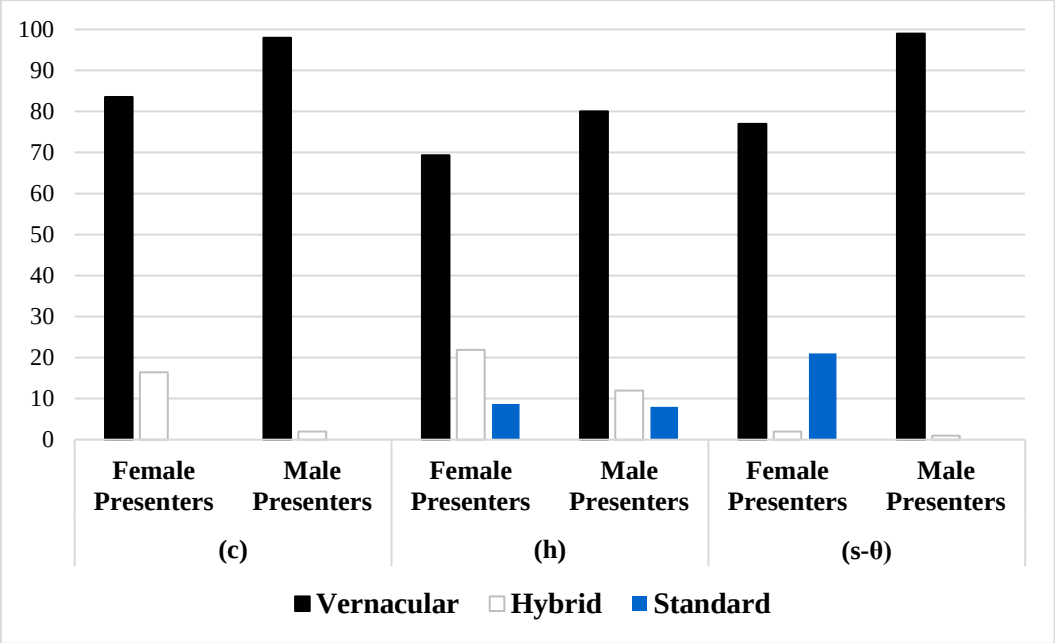

*Figure 4: **Pooled results for gender-based variation in (c), (h) and (s-θ) for radio presenters***

This speaker is the only informant in the sample who started working in Canarian radio broadcasting at the time of the dictatorship, a period where, according to the rules then in force in Spanish broadcasting, she was compelled to use the national standard. What is striking about the linguistic behaviour of this informant is the fact that she is so close to standard Spanish in the sociolinguistically most relevant variable, (s-θ), and so close to the Canarian vernacular in the other two. These two characteristics, greater proximity to the vernacular in some features

and greater distance in the other, allow this speaker to move in a very wide social space. Her attitude before the microphone is that of a person who tries to show seriousness, rigour and a certain dose of solemnity.

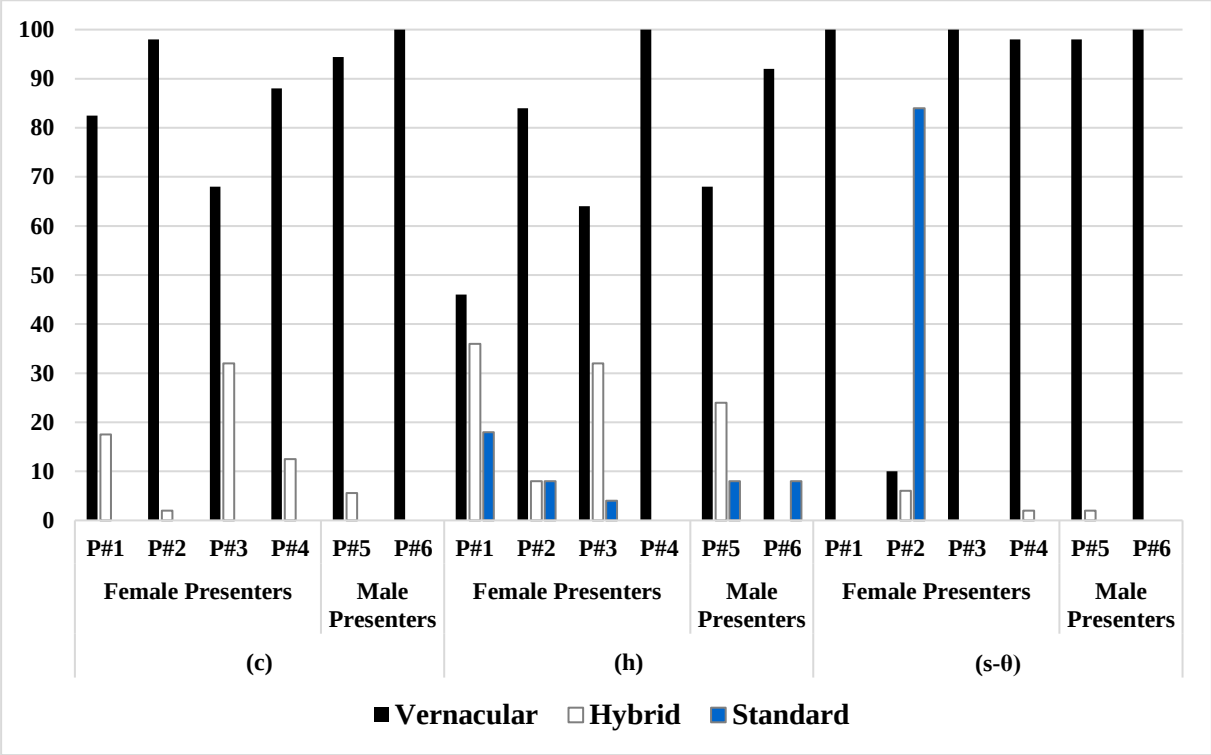

Figure 5: ***Gender-based variation in (c), (h) and (s-θ) for radio presenters and linguistic forms***

Therefore, it could be concluded that this informant models her speech trying to maintain a certain balance between the patterns of script design and audience design. The solemn form of her speech and its proximity to the standard have to do with a voluntary choice that associates this last dialect with elegance, correctness or the appropriate modality when speaking to a more or less wide audience. As already mentioned, this greater similarity with the standard seems to have facilitated a greater diffusion among some population groups (politicians, culture people) in recent years. This is a behaviour that can be diagnosed as Script Design (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy, 2006, 2007) and under the pressure of the prestige of the national standard variety, at least in this programme format. Truly, linguistic prescriptivism is an ideology and authority-based practice that has traditionally vindicated the use of norms of language as social conventions on correctness, appropriateness, aesthetics and validity, especially affecting media language (Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa, 2017). In fact, the development of prescriptive and purist judgements with the status of *canon* on what usages are socially proper or politically correct has normally resulted in the establishment of standard varieties. Despite their social or regional background, some speakers modify their linguistic production in public depending on the market characteristics and the structural constrains, as female presenter #2 does: the use of a professional voice that conditions the individual linguistic behaviour in public occupations such as radio broadcasting. There are some occupations, such as salespersons, receptionists, teachers, or journalists, which, due to their public exposure, somehow involve two kinds of activities: projecting a public image and linguistic socialisation (Guy, 2011: 166). Their degree of standardness tends to be even higher than that of other people belonging to the same level of status, income, or education, because they have some kind of responsibility for promulgating linguistic norms (see Cameron, 1995). Mass media do not simply *inform* but also *educate* audiences in a performative process that "includes the

(re)production and propagation of language ideologies, understood as particular views and beliefs *about* languages and their links to social, political, moral and aesthetic values" (Johnson, Milani & Upton, 2010: 241). Media representatives have been conferred status of authority in matters of language, acquiring a role as national models of linguistic appropriacy. This prescriptivist use of a standard variety in media communication has also traditionally been justified with the idea of intelligibility, as stressed by Lippi-Green (2012: 60), who suggests that the hypothetical standard is the language spoken and written by persons: i) with no regional accent; ii) with more than average or superior education; iii) who are themselves educators or broadcasters; iv) who pay attention to speech, and are not sloppy in terms of pronunciation or grammar; v) who are easily understood by all; and vi) who enter into a consensus of other individuals like themselves about what is proper in language.

Unlike speaker #2, informant #4 is the closest to the vernacular since she never uses standard variants and only rarely pronounces interdialectal forms: 12.5% of hybrid variants of (c) and 2% of hybrid variants of (s-θ). In her programmes she maintains a neutral discursive style, neither solemn nor carefree. Her speaking style clearly fits the Audience design model. This neutral speech can also sound more natural to her audience, allowing this speaker to easily empathise with her listeners.

Informants #1 and #3 generally design their speech according to the audience, since in most cases they use the vernacular variants more frequently than innovative ones. But, at the same time, they are the ones who mostly use the intermediate variants of (c) and (h), forms that allow them to exhibit both their desire to be linked to the Canarian regional culture and to the national culture of the country. However, there are some differences between both as for the indexical meaning and subsequent instrumentalisation of the linguistic variables: while female Presenter #1 uses the innovative variants of (h) more (36% of hybrid forms and 18% of standard realisation), female Presenter #3 exhibits important percentages of intermediate forms of variables (c) and (h) (32%). Neither uses the hybrid or standard variants of (s-θ). Despite this similarity at the linguistic level, the programmes they present have a different discursive style. Informant #1 maintains a neutral tone, neither solemn nor popular, directed at a politically conservative audience. On the contrary, announcer #3 presents the most spontaneous programme of all those analysed here. Both the interviews with people from the world of politics and culture during the programme and the general information provided are treated with a good deal of humor. From the first moment of the programme, this female announcer makes clear her intention to empathise with the people interviewed, with her collaborators and with the public, an attitude that is viewed in a positive way by the majority of the audience, although it is occasionally criticised by some listeners (according to the comments made by the presenter herself about the messages that listeners send to the station). The linguistic behaviour of informants #1 and #3 seems to be an audience-design practice, through which speakers exhibit a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees. The individual's multiplicity of social networks fosters the development of a polyhedral and versatile image, as well as a multifaceted behaviour, accommodating to their audience, as an ability to project different social identities in interpersonal communication for different purposes in also different moments, places, relational and interactional social contexts. Following Bell's (1984) Audience Design assumptions, Presenters #1 and #3 conceive style as a relational activity, in which individual speakers modify and make the necessary language attunements primarily for and in response to their audience, and where linguistic features are indexically associated with particular social groups. But, at the same time, the remarkable use that both speakers make of hybrid variants suggests that the form of their discourse also responds, in a certain sense, to the model of style as initiative. For example, in the case of variable (h), they show that they can perfectly use the standard forms but have chosen to use intermediate variants (semi-standard or

semi-vernacular) in order not to identify themselves excessively with the national standard, as seen in Table 3 above.

In the case of the two male presenters, Presenter #5 (a sports journalist) is somewhat more innovative than Presenter #6, an attitude that is seen in the greater use of interdialectal variants of (h): 24% compared to 0% of Presenter #6. We can also find some intermediate variants of (c) and (s-θ) in his speech. Presenter #6, who has a female collaborator in his programme, usually incorporates words typical of Canarian Spanish into his speech—some of them in the process of disappearing—in order to check whether she knows them. This allows him to introduce additional comments on the vitality of the Canarian lexicon and, in parallel, of certain customs of the traditional culture of the region. Therefore, this male presenter openly expresses a concern for the traditional values of Canarian culture and, consequently, also exhibits a greater sense of linguistic loyalty in his speech. Here, in addition to the effect of audience and script, there are other factors involved in stylistic variation, such as the Speaker Design motivations. Given the strong relationship that exists between language and society, the social meaning is stressed, conceiving language not solely as a means of communicating information (oral and written), but also as a means of establishing and maintaining social relationships (building bridges between speakers), and, crucially, as a very important instrument for conveying social information about the speaker (identificational and ideological). In this setting, for these Presenters styles and stylistic variation represent our ability to take up different social positions through linguistic choice (Bell 2007), because style-shifting is a powerful device for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance-taking, and identity projection.

5. CONCLUSIONS

The motivations for the linguistic variation present among the six radio presenters can be diverse: Script Design, Audience Design, Speaker Design. The aim to appear more natural and, therefore, to easily reach the audience (female Presenter #3) by showing an identification with the Canarian traditional values (male Presenter#6), by combining affective proximity with the audience and by attaching to Canarian culture through aspects such as status, prestige, refinement, or cosmopolitanism (with an inclination towards the first values in male Presenters#5 and #6 and with an inclination towards the second values in female Presenter #2). All presenters make a greater or lesser use of vernacular, hybrid and standard forms depending on certain social and cultural perceptions that they wish to convey in their radio programmes. A stance closer to defend the values of Canarian culture or to receive the approval of listeners is associated with a more frequent use of vernacular forms. Nevertheless, a greater desire to identify with national cultural values is associated with a high use of typical standard Spanish linguistic forms. In some cases, such as that of female Presenter #2, the high use of some standard forms could be explained by the fact that during the Franco dictatorship the rule imposed the use of standard Spanish in radio broadcast. It is likely that the way of speaking of this announcer is more a reflection of this requirement of the past than a voluntary desire to express an identification with the national culture. Finally, there are other presenters who, in addition to show their clear adherence to regional cultural values, also express positive feelings towards national cultural values. Interdialectal variables are not frequent linguistic forms in dialects. However, inasmuch as innovative forms, they may be of interest to both theoretical and applied linguistics. Their own genesis is subject of an interesting debate: do they arise in a mechanical way or with the purpose of fulfilling a social function? The analysis of the phonetic characteristics of these forms, as well as of those that served as a model for their creation, seems to support the idea that the answer to the question cannot be given through an exclusive option. In other words, some hybrid forms may have arisen because individuals have not been able to perfectly articulate the linguistic form they intended to imitate, given the articulatory

complexity of the target form, as in the case of the interdialectal variants of (c) here. But others may have arisen because individuals wish to express a dual cultural identity, simultaneously expressing feelings of identification with regional and national cultural values, as in the case of the interdialectal variants of (h) and (s-θ) here.

The debate on *responsive-initiative* motivations in stylistic variation is a central issue in the traditional dichotomy in social theory about the relationship between *structure* and *agency* (Figure 6), that is, between sociolinguistic constraints and creativity, and also between speaker intention and listener understanding (Bell, 2014: 305-306; Schilling, 2013: 342-343). Agency is our ability to customise that way we sociolinguistically tend to behave according to our individual requirements and intentions—taking our own actions, following our own practices, and making our own way and with our own choices (Bell 2014: 305). It is in recent Sociolinguistics that the oscillation of the pendulum is swinging towards the treatment of agentivity and creativity, and thus moving away from structural constraints and norms (see also Johnstone, 2000, 2001).

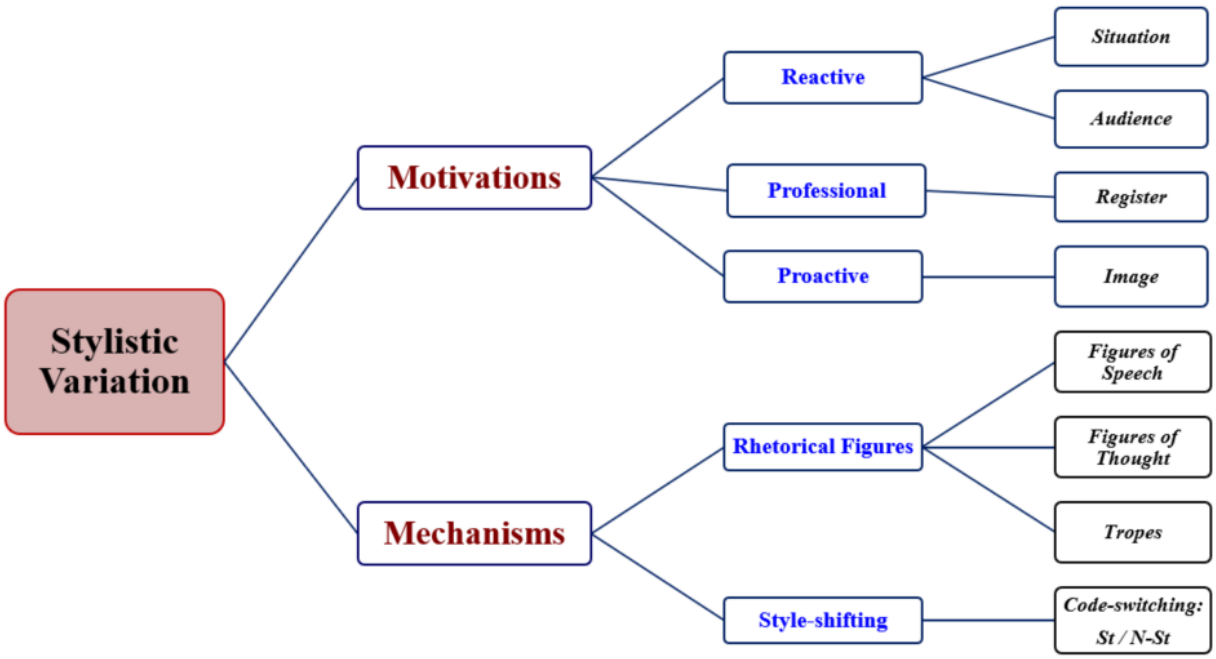

Figure 6: ***Motivations and mechanisms in stylistic variation. Source: Hernández-Campoy (2018: 53)***

As stated in Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012b: 7) in the epistemic evolution of Sociolinguistics since its origins in the 1960s, there has been a shift from the early deterministic and system-oriented assumptions to the recent socio-constructionist and speaker-oriented approaches to inter- and intra-speaker variation (see Eckert, 2018). Similarly, stylistic variation studies have also experienced the same epistemic evolution in the treatment of linguistic performance, rhetorical stance, and identity projection, among other effects (Hernández-Campoy, 2016). Style-shifting and its motivations is an extremely complex phenomenon. Style in general is a multidimensional phenomenon that cannot be modelled in a single unidimensional theory, so stylistic studies must progress, as Rickford and Eckert (2001: 2) state, by understanding the boundaries between the three main components of sociolinguistic variation—*stylistic*, *linguistic* and *social*—as more permeable within the study of speakers' agency and performance in society, and through multidimensional, multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approaches.

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