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Language Variation on Jamaican Radio

Michael Westphal

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Language Variation on Jamaican Radio

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Language Variation on Jamaican Radio
by Michael Westphal

Language Variation on Jamaican Radio

Michael Westphal
University of Münster

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Abbreviations

JC	Jamaican Creole
JE	Jamaican English
StE	Standard English
AE	American English
BE	British English
RP	Received Pronunciation
StAmE	Standard American English
BIE	British-influenced English
AIE	American-influenced English
MGT	Matched Guise Test
VGT	Verbal Guise Test
SLICE	Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe
UWI	University of the West Indies
UTech	University of Technology
JIS	Jamaica Information Service
CARIMAC	Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication
MTI	Media Technology Institute

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CHAPTER 1

Introduction to studying language on Jamaican radio

An integrated approach

The English language of today is a conglomeration of a vast array of different Englishes which interact in complex ways on a global and local level. British colonialism and the rise of the USA as a world power have pushed the global spread of English and its position as a global lingua franca. However, the English language has not been simply spread from Britain and the USA around the world to passive receivers but intensified language contact and local linguistic appropriations have led to the emergence of a multitude of distinct varieties of English. The resulting "concert of World Englishes" is not "a happy democracy of voices" but is marked by severe inequalities on a national and transnational level (Mair 2013: 257). Although these different varieties are not inherently better or worse, people attach very different values to them. These differing superimposed values of varieties have real life consequences for the life chances of their speakers. For example, on a national level speakers of non-standard varieties, such as African American English in the USA, are subject to linguistic discrimination (e.g. Lippi-Green 2012: 182–212). And on a global scale speakers of New Englishes, such as Indian English, seek to modify their accents toward a British English (BE) or American English (AE) target in order to advance their career opportunities (e.g. Cowie 2007). Values of language varieties or more generally linguistic resources also shift when they are transported from one context to another: for example, a variety of English which is considered highly prestigious in sub-Saharan Africa might have very little value when transported to the USA or Britain (Blommaert 2005: 78–83). However, this local and global value distribution is subject to a constant process of renegotiation. Schneider (2007: 21–70) describes how postcolonial Englishes pass through a dynamic process at the end of which they ultimately stabilize as new standards. At the same time locally discriminated non-standard varieties have been re-appropriated as powerful symbols of identity and in the cases of African American English and Jamaican Creole (JC) have even risen to global relevance (Mair 2013: 262–265). Particularly the mass media push processes of destandardization, where the ideological distinction between standard

and non-standard varieties is increasingly blurred (e.g. Coupland 2014). Thus, the interplay of different norms is not stable but is subject to a constant process of sociolinguistic change and also depends on the particular context.

Jamaica is a prime example of the dynamic interaction and evolution of different varieties of English. English is the sole official language of the country, while the mother tongue of the majority of the population, JC, has long been discriminated against as 'broken English' and has been barred from public contexts. However, since Jamaica's independence from Britain in 1962 the status of JC has changed as it has increasingly become a symbol of national identity and has pushed into domains formerly reserved for English. At the same time Jamaican English (JE) has been emerging as the local standard variety of English and has been progressively replacing the colonially inherited British standard. In addition, an increasing influence of US English on Jamaica has been claimed (e.g. Christie 2003: 20–23) which is particularly linked to the accessibility of US mass media. One domain where all these different varieties meet, coexist, and interact is the mass media, and in particular radio. Radio has a long history in Jamaica: radio broadcasting started in the 1940s when Jamaica was still a British colony. Yet, radio has played an important part in the national development of Jamaica as an independent country and has become a truly Jamaican medium. There is a multitude of different radio stations, radio staff is almost entirely Jamaican, and almost all programs are produced locally. In this way radio stands in stark contrast to Jamaican TV, where airtime is dominated by imported US programs and local productions are often modelled on US formats (Gordon 2008). Radio is a very multifaceted medium as it encompasses diverse genres, ranging from very formal newscasts, where trained newscasters present scripted news texts, to highly informal talk shows, where hosts interact freely with Jamaican callers from all walks of life. This diversity is also mirrored on a linguistic level: language on Jamaican radio includes a wide range of the Jamaican speech spectrum from JE to JC, and also incorporates British and American language norms. Despite the rise of electronic media, radio is still a central medium in Jamaica and is heard everywhere, whether at home or in public buses, as well as via online streaming by Jamaican expatriates all around the world.

Language in the mass media is a very specific type of linguistic data. Language in the media is always a public performance – it is deliberately produced to be consumed by an audience. From the perspective of variationist sociolinguistics, which is based in the tradition of analyzing the vernacular as an individual's most natural speech, media language is thus considered inauthentic (Eckert 2003). Moreover, language in the media is highly heterogeneous as there is a multitude of different genres, which provide very different frames for the appropriation of linguistic resources. Even individual genres themselves are not homogenous as they often consist of different segments which provide potential constraints on

linguistic variation. An analysis of linguistic variation in mass media also needs to take into account the different components of media discourse: the texts themselves, their reception by the audience, and their production. In order to deal with this special character of language in the media, I propose an integrated approach to the investigation of the linguistic variation on Jamaican radio. This approach employs a mixed methodology on different levels, it is context-sensitive, and takes into account the diversity of Jamaican radio. I study linguistic variation in two genres of Jamaican radio, newscasts and talk shows, with regard to all three components of media discourse but with a focus on text, i.e. radio talk, and reception. The production of Jamaican radio talk is additionally investigated by means of interviews with Jamaican radio insiders. In the analysis of broadcast talk I combine a quantitative analysis of accent variation with a qualitative analysis of the appropriation of linguistic resources of the Jamaican speech community in different segments of the two genres. This approach aims to demonstrate how linguistic variation in Jamaica is reflected, utilized, and reconstructed on the radio as a public institutional form of discourse. I further work with an anti-essentialist notion of authenticity, i.e. it is not a given feature of talk but is constructed by speakers in specific contexts (e.g. Van Leeuwen 2001): instead of assuming one authentic way of speaking I investigate how speakers use linguistic resources to construct media personas and radio talk in specific contexts. This study also aims to demonstrate how listeners engage with radio talk by studying their attitudes toward linguistic variation in Jamaican newscasts and talk shows. The language attitude part also employs a mix of methods to study the audiences' perceptions: in a quantitative survey I combine direct questioning of informants about their preferences of language use on the radio with two variety rating studies, where informants listen to and evaluate seven newscast and four talk show excerpts which represent linguistic variation in these two genres. This quantitative approach is complemented with qualitative folk-linguistic interviews which leave more room for the informants to express their overt attitudes freely. The results of all of these different individual parts and approaches are combined and interpreted in relation to each other to depict linguistic variation on Jamaican radio in an integrated way. With this integrated approach to mass media and the mix of different research methods this study shows the complex interplay of different norms on Jamaican radio.

The study combines research on language in the media with Jamaican sociolinguistics and language attitude research. These three aspects are discussed theoretically in the Chapters 2, 3, and 4. The empirical investigation is split into two parts: Chapters 5, 6, and 7 focus on language use in Jamaican newscasts and talk shows, while Chapters 8 and 9 deal with language attitudes in the context of Jamaican radio. The final Chapter 10 brings together these two parts and connects the results with theories and previous studies introduced in the first three chapters.

Chapter 2 discusses the special character of language in the media and illustrates different sociolinguistic approaches to this specific type of data. In this way this chapter establishes the theoretical foundations for the integrated approach to language in mass media taken in this study. The theoretical discussion shows that language in the media is a public performance, where linguistic resources of the speech community are deployed in diverse ways. With regard to the performative character of mass media language, different style theories are introduced in this chapter, which are used in the analysis of and the discussion of the results concerning linguistic variation on Jamaican radio. By discussing previous sociolinguistic research on newscasts and talk shows, the first theory chapter illustrates the heterogeneity of language in the media. This heterogeneity is taken into account in the analysis by investigating language use in two genres of Jamaican radio, newscasts and talk shows, and by analyzing linguistic variation along different segments within these two genres. Furthermore, Chapter 2 illustrates the controversial discussion within sociolinguistics of the effects of mass media on the audience. This analysis takes into account this controversy and includes an audience perspective by investigating the language attitudes of a Jamaican audience. The chapter closes with a summary of the findings of previous research and theories of sociolinguistics and mass media and highlights research controversies and gaps which are addressed in this analysis.

Chapter 3 illustrates the sociolinguistic situation in Jamaica by discussing theoretical models on the relationship between English and JC as well as describing the functional distribution of both varieties in Jamaica. This discussion establishes the theoretical basis for the analysis of how linguistic resources of the Jamaican speech community are appropriated on Jamaican radio. The chapter also includes a theoretical discussion on the notion of StE in Jamaica, which is addressed empirically for the radio context in this study. Furthermore, Chapter 3 addresses sociolinguistic changes in post-independence Jamaica and includes a diachronic perspective on language use on Jamaican radio. The results of the current synchronic analysis are discussed in this diachronic frame with regard to how current Jamaican radio reflects these sociolinguistic changes. The closing summary of findings, research gaps and controversies establishes the basis for the research questions which are tackled in the analysis of language use in newscasts and talk shows in Chapters 6 and 7, respectively.

Chapter 4 opens with a theoretical discussion of language attitudes and presents major findings from language attitude research, focusing on the anglophone Caribbean. Language attitudes are defined as multidimensional concepts. The opening theoretical part also distinguishes language attitudes from ideologies and discusses standard language ideology (i.e. the shared belief in one variety as the only legitimate one) and its relationship to mass media in detail. The following

discussion of previous language attitude research focusses on attitudes toward English vs. creole and emerging standard varieties in the anglophone Caribbean but connects these findings to major language attitude studies from other, mainly postcolonial, contexts. This last theoretical chapter closes with a summary of results of previous attitude studies and highlights research gaps and controversies which are the basis for the research questions on language attitudes addressed in Chapter 9.

Chapter 5 describes the data and the method used in the analysis of language use in radio newscasts and talk shows presented in Chapters 6 and 7. The chapter opens with a discussion on the collection, selection, and processing of radio data, which forms the basis of the analysis of language use presented in the following two chapters. The following account of the quantitative approach to analyzing accent variability includes a detailed description of the auditory analysis of consonantal variation, the acoustic measurement of vowels, and the statistical procedures employed in this study. The chapter also includes a discussion of the realization of the accent variables used in this study in JE, JC, Standard American English (StAmE), and Received Pronunciation (RP). The chapter also introduces the qualitative analysis of language use in newscasts and talk shows on two levels: individual linguistic variants, which are associated with specific varieties, accents or styles, and longer stretches of discourse, which are more or less strongly marked for these varieties, accents, or styles.

Chapter 6 presents the findings on language use in radio newscasts. The quantitative analysis of seven selected newscasters shows accent variation between JE, RP, and StAmE norms. The qualitative analysis of linguistic variation along different newscast segments shows that Jamaican newscasts are dominated by StE and that genre-internal variation is strictly constrained by the communicative setting of the segment.

The language use by four selected talk show hosts, which is analyzed in Chapter 7, covers a wide range of the continuum between JE and JC. The quantitative analysis shows this variation in detail on an accent level and the following qualitative approach illustrates variation between JE/StE and JC on an accent, morpho-syntactic, and lexical level. The qualitative analysis also shows that the four talk show hosts appropriate the linguistic resources of the Jamaican speech community in very different and diverse ways in their on-air performances.

Chapter 8 describes the methods and data used in the analysis of language attitudes toward linguistic variation on Jamaican radio. The three approaches used in the analysis (i.e. direct questioning, variety rating study, folk-linguistic interviews) are first discussed on a theoretical level and then their application is explained in detail. This discussion aims to highlight the benefits and drawbacks of each individual approach and advances a mix of methods for language attitude research.

The account of the fieldwork describes problems as well as favorable conditions for conducting language attitude research. The chapter closes with a detailed linguistic analysis of the seven newscast and four talk show excerpts which are used as vocal stimuli in the variety rating studies and the folk-linguistic interviews.

Chapter 9 presents the findings on attitudes toward linguistic variation on Jamaican radio. The results of direct questioning, the two variety rating studies and the folk-linguistic interviews show that the informants' attitudes are multifaceted and context-sensitive. The chapter closes with a brief analysis of the language ideological norms of radio production.

Chapter 10 brings together the diverse results from the different approaches of the analysis of linguistic variation in Jamaican newscasts and talk shows and the listeners' language attitudes in the radio context. This last chapter discusses the findings with regard to constraints of variation, roles, functions, and social meanings of the different varieties on the air, as well as the notion of StE, sociolinguistic changes, and endonormativity in the context of Jamaican radio. The concluding discussion then widens the focus and discusses the results in the framework of shifts and disruptions in a standard language ideology. The chapter closes with a reflection on the integrated approach to mass media used in this study.

CHAPTER 2

Language in the media

This chapter lays the theoretical foundations for the analysis of language on Jamaican radio with the integrated approach to mass media. I discuss the complex relationship of sociolinguistics to mass media, on the one hand, focusing on performance and stylistic variation and, on the other hand, illustrating the controversial discussion within sociolinguistics on the role of mass media in society and its effects on the audience. Then I present a comprehensive account of different approaches to media discourse and of the most relevant previous studies on newscasts and talk shows with a focus on postcolonial varieties of English. The chapter closes with a brief summary of general research findings, controversies, and gaps in the area of language in the media.

2.1 The mass media and sociolinguistics

The relationship between sociolinguistics and media has always been an intricate one. This discussion of media in relation to sociolinguistics deals with media in the sense of mass media, i.e. mainstream television, radio, films, newspapers, magazines, and focuses on broadcast media. Variationist sociolinguistics (e.g. Labov 1972) as the study of the structure of language variation in its social context has largely refrained from investigating media texts because the importance of mass media to language change is largely seen as subordinate to 'real', i.e. face-to-face, social interactions (e.g. Labov 2001) and media texts provide no 'authentic' environment to study the vernacular. In contrast, discourse analytical approaches, including interactional sociolinguistics (e.g. Goffman 1981), Critical Discourse Analysis (e.g. Fairclough 1995a), and Conversation Analysis (e.g. Hutchby 2006), have repeatedly drawn on media texts for their analyses. Studies which incorporate both approaches and address linguistic variation and change in relation to the construction of meaning in specific contexts increasingly incorporate mass media texts into their analyses (e.g. Bell 1999; Coupland 2007, 2009b).

The vernacular, i.e. an individual's most natural speech, which is acquired first in life, has a highly regular structure and is only produced when minimum attention is paid to speech (Labov 1972: 208), has become the "central naturalizing

concept of sociolinguistics" (Eckert 2003: 394). Recording speakers' authentic vernacular is a paradoxical endeavor, also referred to as the 'observer's paradox', because the aim is to record how people speak when they are not being observed. The traditional method of approaching this problem is the sociolinguistic interview (Labov 1984), where different devices are employed to divert the informants' attention away from speech and allow the vernacular to emerge (Labov 1972: 209). From this perspective, mass media texts are unsuitable for sociolinguistic research because media by negative definition is not face-to-face communication (Spitulnik 2000: 148): media talk as an "institutional form of discourse", (Hutchby 2006: 18) is set at the interface of public and private domains and is addressed to an "overhearing audience" (Heritage 1985: 100) – "it is knowingly, wittingly *public*" (Scannell 1991: 11). It is characterized by its "liveliness", i.e. by constructing a feel of spontaneity it is perceived as lively (Tolson 2006: 11). Thus, media language is a self-conscious, self-reflexive performance for distant audiences (Scannell 1991: 11). In this way media talk involves the conscious control of speaker agency and hence runs counter to an ideology of sociolinguistics of authenticity (cf. Eckert 2003: 394).

From a traditional variationist perspective media speech styles are not authentic and cannot be described with a conception of style as a one-dimensional continuum from formal speech in which speakers pay most attention to speech to informal speech which approximates the vernacular and the least attention is paid to speech (Labov 1972). Models of style which take into account more diverse motivations (conscious and unconscious) for individuals to alter their speech production provide more apt frameworks for describing the linguistic variation of media talk. According to Communication Accommodation Theory (e.g. Giles & Powesland 1975), speakers design their speech in relation to their interlocutors: speakers either adapt to others' communicative behaviors to reduce social distance (convergence) or accentuate speech differences between themselves and others (divergence). In the Audience Design framework Bell (1984, 2001) describes how radio announcers accommodate their speech to their audiences. He compares the realization of linguistic variables by the same newsreaders when reading the news for a community and a national station, in which case they produced around twenty percent more standard variants. Bell explains this style-shift with the newsreaders' accommodation to suit their expected audience because the other relevant factors, speaker, setting, and genre, were constant. Bell (1990, 1999) adds an 'initiative' dimension of style to this 'responsive' Audience Design where speakers model their speech not in response to a (co)present audience but in reference to an absent referee group (Referee Design): for example, Bell (1992, 1999) describes how New Zealand advertisement speakers put on a British or American accent and thus style their speech in relation to these absent referee groups and not in response to the audiences' expectations. For Bell stylistic variation mirrors linguistic variation

of the speech community and draws on existing social meanings of variables. He sees media talk as useful for stylistic analyses as linguistic strategies of everyday social interactions may be used in a hyperbolic way. This often exaggerated use of linguistic variation provides a clearer framework to study the social and cultural forces which operate and shape language use in a community (Bell 1990: 190).

In LePage & Tabouret-Keller's (1985) Acts of Identity framework speakers take the initiative to project their identity in interaction by means of their linguistic behavior – in "a series of acts of identity […] people reveal both their personal identity and their search for social roles" (p. 14). Individuals adjust their speech toward social groups they wish to be identified with or distinguish themselves from other groups they wish to be distinguished from (cf. 1985: 181). The model works with a hybrid notion of identity and rejects essentialist ideas of an authentic way of speaking. However, Coupland (2007: 111) highlights that the model pays little attention to contextual factors and how they shape the projection of identities. He himself draws on Goffman's (1974) concept of framing to describe how projected identities are made salient in discourse. The social meaning of linguistic features or styles in specific contexts, according to Coupland, depends on three types of discursive frames: the sociolinguistic structure of the speech community (sociocultural frame), the genre of the linguistic interaction (genre frame), and the interpersonal relationship of the participants (interpersonal frame). For the analysis of media talk in contrast to face-to-face conversations this means that in both contexts speakers draw on the same sociolinguistic structure of the speech community but the genre and interpersonal frame are essentially different. If we treat sociolinguistic variation as framed in specific contexts then notions of the vernacular as the only authentic way of speaking dissolve (Coupland 2007: 180–184; Eckert 2003). Van Leeuwen argues that authenticity is not an objective feature of talk but that it is about validity in specific contexts and is best described as a kind of modality, i.e. semiotic resources are used to express 'how true' or 'real' a representation is to be taken as (cf. 2001: 396). Discourse analytical studies have shown how different 'authenticities' are constructed in specific media genres, for example, in broadcast news (Tolson 2001) or audience participation broadcasting (Thornborrow 2001).

Different researchers have proposed that public and private discourses are becoming increasingly similar: Fairclough (1995b) has identified a tendency toward conversationalization of media discourse, i.e. the increasing use of informal and conversational styles. Androutsopoulos (2010) sees this trend connected to vernacularization, i.e. "an increase in the currency of non-standard speech" (p. 742). Coupland (2007) adds that many speech styles outside the mass media increasingly "have the feel of mediated discourse" (p. 185) by using the indexical loadings of linguistic items in a hyperbolic and performative way. This convergence of

public and private discourse is tied to the notions of performance and stylization (Coupland 2007: 146–176). Media talk can be seen as instances of performance in keeping with Baumann's (1992) criteria: it is a public and planned event, which is temporarily and spatially bound and requires an active audience. Media talk can also be characterized as stylizations in accordance with Coupland's (2007: 149–154) description: by means of emphatic, figurative, creative, hyperbolic, and also often stereotypical use of linguistic variation personas, identities, and genres are constructed, which derive from existing identity repertoires. This metaphorical characteristic requires an acculturated audience which is able to decode the semiotic value of the projected personas, identities, and genres. Rather than rejecting media talk as inauthentic sociolinguists need to turn to the unique opportunities to study how and which existing linguistic resources (e.g. conversational styles or vernacular variants) are used in performances and how mediated stylistic variation connects to higher level variation.

2.2 The role(s) of mass media in the speech community

Mass media have been accorded a central role in society from different perspectives, however, their effects on the audience are judged controversially from a sociolinguistic perspective. McQuail (2000) describes mass media as a social institution embedded in and delimited by the wider society. Media have a political as well as a social dimension as they provide a site for political debate and a shared cultural environment (McQail 2000: 5). Bell (1995) and Spitulnik (1997) see media as a linguistic institution in addition to its sociopolitical aspect: for Bell (1995) media discourse is an integral part in the speech community because it reflects and shapes both language use and attitudes and, on a social dimension, culture, politics, and social life. Media language also makes up a large proportion of the language people engage with on a daily basis. Spitulnik (1997) describes mass media as reservoirs and reference points for the circulation of words, phrases, and discourse styles. She argues that media discourse and the active engagement of people with it are key components in the construction of speech communities. Appadurai (1996) discusses the role of the mass media for the social imaginary in a transnational framework for the global deterritorialized world of today. The social imagination is no mere contemplation but a wide field of social practices and a form of negotiation between sites of individual agency and globally defined fields of possibility (cf. 1996: 30). Media are an essential part of this cultural/social activity as they provide a transnational audience access to a wide range of cultural modes, ideas, images, life styles, and linguistic styles which are (often) beyond the interpersonal reach of an individual. Many researchers focusing on language ideologies in relation to

mass media (e.g. Johnson & Milani 2010) take a more critical stance. They embed their analyses in the context of the media as an institution of power, i.e. a public state-connected institution which promotes and maintains (language) ideologies. Coupland (2009a) further describes the increasing mediatization of late-modern life as the most evident social change of the last fifty years and advances a view of broadcast media having a substantial impact on speakers' evaluative and ideological worlds in which language variation exists (cf. p. 40).

Despite this seeming agreement on the central role of media in society and a widespread popular view of a strong influence of TV on language (Chambers 1998) the actual impact of broadcast media on linguistic variation and change remains a much-debated issue (e.g. Bell 2014: 185–286). Sociolinguists who have analyzed linguistic variation in the USA and the UK in a variationist tradition have contested the direct role of broadcast media in language change toward the standard due to continuing dialectal diversity (e.g. Labov 2001) and have judged the possible impact of broadcast media to be a language myth (Chambers 1998). The diffusion of linguistic innovations is seen as taking place primarily in face-to-face encounters (Chambers 2002: 370) while media exposure to linguistic innovations may only "soften up" the audiences' adoption of a spreading feature (Trudgill 1986: 55). Actual effects of media exposure are difficult to assess and empirical evidence from sociolinguistic studies is rare (e.g. Carvalho 2004). Most recent evidence for media effects on language use comes from Stuart-Smith et al. (2013) on linguistic change in Glaswegian vernacular toward *TH*-fronting and *L*-vocalization, two features typically associated with the London Cockney accent. Among other social and linguistic factors they found a positive correlation with a psychological engagement with the London TV soap opera EastEnders. They concluded that media engagement accelerates linguistic diffusion of the new features.

In discussions of mass media effects audiences need to be regarded as active consumers rather than passive recipients of media content. Furthermore, audiences as well as the media themselves are heterogeneous and thus ideas of uniform media effects need to be abandoned. Hall (1980) describes audiences as actively decoding media messages which have been encoded in the production process. The decoding process is heterogeneous and depends on an individual's own socioeconomic context. Encoding and decoding do not have to be symmetrical – to the extreme of oppositional readings. This view of audiences rejects a linear communication model for media discourse in favor of a cyclical one (Livingstone & Lunt 2001: 587). McQuail (2000: 359–411) describes audiences as very diverse in terms of their group character, i.e. their social and cultural identities. Audience members also engage with media content in various ways and with different goals. Furthermore, he describes a growing diversification of mass media audiences and their increased 'power', i.e. resistance to media content. Audience members bring

different social experiences to their media engagement and hence mass media can be seen as one contributory factor among others. Stuart-Smith et al. (2013) show that the psychological engagement with EastEnders contributes to language change in Glasgow in addition to other social practices.

Homogenous media effects can be challenged with regard to the broadcasting media's internal heterogeneity. Broadcasting media overall encompass a wide range of genres, which provide different frames for language use and varying prospects for audience engagement. This genre diversity potentially affects the audiences in various ways. Furthermore, broadcast media present linguistic variation very diversely. Coupland (2009a: 40–43) demonstrates how British TV has confirmed as well as challenged social stereotypes which attach to dialect varieties. He describes how stereotypical media representations of urban varieties in soap operas have reproduced the sociolinguistic stratification within British society. Contrarily, varieties are increasingly presented in unconventional ways: for example, the use of a Sheffield dialect in the children's program Dick & Doom in Da Bungalow has constructed cool, edgy, and somewhat dissident associations with the variety (Coupland 2007: 172). In this way, the media can also pose powerful challenges to traditional sociolinguistic orders. Coupland (2009a: 40–43) further illustrates how the conversationalization and vernacularization of media discourse have created a linguistic bricolage, i.e. "individual resources […] can be interpreted and combined with other resources to construct a more meaningful entity" (Eckert 2008: 456): the audiences encounter a complex and condensed admixture of a wide range of varieties (standard and non-standard), styles, stereotypes, and sociolinguistic types. Coupland (2009a: 41) argues that an empowered audience is able to reflect critically on this bricolage and understand it as assorted stylizations of a traditional sociolinguistic order.

2.3 Approaches to media discourse

Media talk comprises three core components: production, text (meaning, form, function), and reception (Spitulnik 2000). The production process is hard to assess for media outsiders and has been mostly neglected in linguistic research. Institutionalized production has largely been discussed in relation to news media. Bell (1991) shows the complexity of the production process of news language: for radio news it involves a principal (the manager or editorial executives) who provides general language guidelines, an author (the journalist) who generates the news text and language, an editor (the news editor or the newsreader) who modifies the language and an animator (the newsreader) who enunciates the text. Cotter maintains that this process is guided by prescriptive and conservative

language attitudes of news professionals who self-identify as protectors of a standard language (2010: 187).

Different discourse analytical approaches have been employed to study media texts from a linguistic perspective: Conversation Analysis (e.g. Hutchby 2006; Tolson 2006) is strongly data driven, focusses on the text exclusively, and is concerned with how participants structure a specific discourse in terms of adjacency, turn-taking, and sequencing. Researchers in a Critical Discourse Analysis tradition (e.g. Fairclough 1995a) have criticized Conversation Analysis for lacking contextualization, i.e. for not looking at how the micro details in interaction relate to macro levels of linguistic variation (e.g. social class) and to higher-level features of society and culture (e.g. power) (cf. Fairclough 1995a: 23). A Critical Discourse Analysis approach to media talk investigates how power inequalities, ideologies, and dominance are represented, reproduced, or resisted in media as an institutional discourse. Critical Discourse Analysis links texts with society (Fairclough & Wodak 1997: 277) and in this way also seeks to analyze links between the text, production, and perception. The discursive practices of media talk have received far more attention than micro-level lexical, morpho-syntactic, and phonological variation. Yet, sociolinguists have been increasingly merging discourse analytical approaches with quantitative methods (e.g. Bell 1990; Hinrichs 2011) or detailed qualitative micro-linguistic analyses (e.g. Coupland 2001; Johnstone 2011). This approach is strongly tied to theories of style (e.g. Bell 2001) and performance (e.g. Coupland 2009b). Analyses of style in media talk relate their approach to higher level variation by treating stylistic variation as reflecting and feeding back into the linguistic production of a community (e.g. Spitulnik 1997) and by highlighting how linguistic resources and their indexical loadings of a community are used in mediated performances (e.g. Coupland 2009b). Investigations of stylistic variation of media talk are also connected to the level of audience reception as speakers are held to design their style for audiences in mass communication (Bell 1984: 197).

Systematic investigations of the audience's percepetion of media talk are rare in the field: Stuart-Smith et al. (2013) study language attitudes of Glaswegians toward a London accent typical for the soap opera EastEnders in relation to their engagement with the show. Engaging with EastEnders does not promote positive attitudes toward the mediated variety but raised the awareness for EastEnders characters' varieties. Jaffe (2007) combines a qualitative analysis of the linguistic variation between French and Corsican in formal and informal genres of Corsican radio with a reception assessment. She shows that the formality of the genre exerts a strong influence on the evaluations: the informants reproduce a purist standard language ideology in their negative judgments of language mixing and informal speech for newscasts, whereas they appreciate these linguistic practices in informal media genres. Soukup (2009) studies the use of dialect as an interaction strategy

in an Austrian TV talk show by means of a discourse analytical approach and two audience reception tests. She uses talk show excerpts in a dialect perception test, in which informants marked dialect vs. standard use in transcripts, and in a Verbal Guise Test.[1] Soukup argues that the different approaches complement each other and in sum depict a larger picture of interactional meaning-making than the individual parts on their own (2009: 171). Jaffe (2007) and Soukup (2009) highlight the benefits of a mixed approach to media talk. Although production, text, and reception can be studied separately they are not independent of each other and only in their totality do they depict media discourse.[2]

The integrated approach to linguistic variation on Jamaican radio taken in this study follows Jaffe's (2007) and Soukup's (2009) mix of methods and brings together different approaches to language in the media. This interdisciplinary mixed methods approach addresses all three components of media discourse and takes into account the heterogeneity of media discourse on different levels with regard to language use and listeners' attitudes.

2.4 Studies on newscasts and talk radio

News broadcasts are the most formal radio genre and their primary aim is to inform and educate the audience on current events. The neutral presentation of news de-emphasizes their complex selection and production process. Hence, the role of news in constructing the social and political world as a social institution has been studied highly critically (e.g. Fairclough 1995b). Two types of radio newscasts can be distinguished: in news bulletins a newscaster reads a number of short news items in a monologue framed by opening and closing words. Longer news journals combine news items with reports, interviews, and other material. Besides reading the news, the newscaster also functions as the moderator for reports and interviews, which are normally pre-recorded, have an 'on the spot feeling', and provide more detailed information. The text of news items is pre-scripted, read live, and has a feel of non-spontaneity and writtenness. The presentation of news items follows a strict structure (e.g. Bell 1991; Thornborrow & Fitzgerald 2004) and is subject to pronunciation guidelines (e.g. Schwyter 2008). In this neutral presentation of events the newsreader becomes the homogenized voice of authority which leaves little to no room for an opposing interpretation – "the authentic voice of

1. See Chapters 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3 for a description of methods for the measurement of language attitudes.

2. Compare to Hall's (1980) discussion of the different moments in the communicative processes of media discourse.

what has happened and what is happening in the world for its particular audience" (McKay 2011: 45–46). The syntax of news items is marked by simple sentences and a tendency toward indirect speech (Burger 2005: 250) and the language variety of newscasts is strongly associated with the standard language: "The language of broadcast news is regarded as the embodiment of standard speech" (Bell 1983: 29). Jaffe (2007) shows that audiences judge the language of newscast with regard to purist, conservative language ideologies.

This highly formal style of news presentation is claimed to be very stable (Burger 2005) but Tolson (2001) demonstrates tendencies toward conversationalization in broadcast news interviews and Bell (2011) attests shifting linguistic norms for New Zealand radio news: he shows evidence for a de-Europeanization of broadcast speech from a British/RP model, which served as the traditional norm for newscast speech in New Zealand (Bell 1982), as well as in Singapore (Kuo 1984) or Australia (Leitner 1984), toward an American norm with regard to determiner deletion and toward a local norm as New Zealand English has become the established standard on spoken media (Bell 2011: 196). For one commercial radio station, he identifies tendencies toward vernacularization and conversationalization via an increase of distinct New Zealand uses and general colloquialisms. Bell (1984, 2001) also describes variation in newscasters' speech in the realization of standard pronunciation for different target audiences. Price (2008) describes a similar linguistic emancipation process for spoken Australian English in news broadcast speech away from an RP accent toward general or even broad Australian English accents and also toward American intonation patterns in commercial stations.

Talk radio comprises a range of different genres, contents, levels of formality, and interactions with the audience. In on-air talk shows experts discuss, for example, current political issues, while in phone-in formats the audiences can join in these discussions, introduce a personal topic, or seek advice from experts. Talk radio can inform or educate the audience and provide a forum for public discussion but can also serve mainly as entertainment. What is common to all formats is the central role of the host: as the moderator who frames the discussion, allocates speaker turns, controls the length of turns and the technical devices the host is in a position of power and hence discussions are marked by inequalities (e.g. Hutchby 2006). As linguistic media experts hosts often control a range of language varieties and styles which they use strategically in on-air discussions: for example, Selting (1985) demonstrates style-shifting as an interactive strategy of a host in a German phone-in program. The host strategically shifts from an informal variety of Standard German toward everyday speech styles in dialogues with callers to signal solidarity, in-group sympathy, or support for the listeners' perspective. Hinrichs (2011) describes how the host of a Toronto-based reggae show shifts

between JC and Canadian English to achieve authenticity and intelligibility among her listeners and callers.

Radio talk blends private and public discourse (Tolson 2006): the 'private' dialogues between participants are also geared toward an overhearing audience. Radio talk is largely unscripted, spontaneous, and speaks to the audience in a 'lively' way as if it was co-present (McKay 2011: 408). Tendencies of vernacularization and conversationalization are strongly felt in this genre and Jaffe (2007) shows how audiences perceive linguistic variation of talk radio in relation to everyday speech. Despite this blend into private interactions the host and the other participants need to be interpreted as constructing an on-air media persona. Vernacular performances remain public talk directed at an overhearing audience. These performances have mostly been discussed in relation to DJ talk (Coupland 1985, 2001) and comedy sketches (Johnstone 2011). Studies have highlighted how mediated linguistic stylizations reflect or challenge established social meanings or construct new indexical loadings for semiotic resources.

2.5 Findings, controversies, and gaps I: Language in the media

1. The media play a central role in society but actual effects of media engagement cannot be assumed to be homogenous and are hard to pinpoint.
2. Linguistic variation and its reception are framed very differently in different radio genres.
3. Media talk is always public and designed toward expected audiences but also blends in aspects of 'private' discourse, e.g. conversational or dialect features.
4. Media are highly heterogeneous: mass media comprise different genres and use linguistic variation in complex ways by reflecting, challenging, and recontextualizing the linguistic variation of the speech community.
5. Authenticity of media talk is constructed by speakers in specific contexts in different ways.
6. Media talk includes performances and stylizations which provide valuable frames to studying style at work in spoken performance and the (re)contextualization of semiotic resources.
7. Most generally, vernacular speech is confined to informal genres while formal genres are reserved for standard speech. Yet, tendencies toward vernacularization and conversationalization disrupt this distinction variably in different genres.
    a. Newscasts have remained a stronghold of standard speech. However, news interviews and reports tend to include conversational features.

   b. Talk radio commonly features dialect performances and is styled according to 'everyday' linguistic interactions.
8. BE/RP as the colonially inherited standard for most postcolonial anglophone speech communities has served as the standard for news and serious media talk in general but is increasingly being replaced by new national standard varieties and rivaled by US norms.

These findings suggest that media talk relates to linguistic variation in the speech community in complex ways. The linguistic bricolage of mass media reflects and exaggerates traditional sociolinguistic orders but also challenges them and constructs new meanings for existing linguistic features, styles, or varieties. Media data is not suitable to describe the social stratification of language in society but is valuable for an analysis of style and linguistic performances. The public treatment of linguistic variation in the media can tell sociolinguists much about the social meaning of linguistic variation because it is used in an exaggerated way in media discourse. Media effects on language use have been discussed controversially. This study follows Coupland's (2009a) approach that broadcast media affect the audiences' "evaluative and ideological worlds in which language variety exists" (p. 40) and seeks to investigate the language attitudes audiences hold toward linguistic variation on Jamaican radio.

Most research on linguistic variation in media discourse has focused on western societies but research on media talk in multilingual or multidialectal settings has shown the importance and fruitfulness of conducting research on such linguistically complex and as of yet relatively unstable speech communities (e.g. Cormack & Hourigan 2007). For example, Spitulnik (1997) highlights the role of mass media in contributing to a construction and integration of communities in newly independent nations with highly complex linguistic ecologies. Few studies have investigated the linguistic emancipation in mass media: BE/RP has been functioning as a colonially inherited standard for mass media in postcolonial speech communities, on the one hand, disseminated via the BBC Empire/Overseas/World Service and, on the other hand, taken up by local radio stations as the standard (Bell 1982, 2011; Kuo 1984; Leitner 1984; Price 2008). In linguistic emancipation processes this exonormative standard is gradually replaced by local ones (Schneider 2007). Media studies have also strongly focused on old and new written media, which are restricted in their depiction of linguistic diversity. Broadcast media and especially radio have the potential to depict a linguistic diversity in more detail and to provide a public space for minority languages (Cormack & Hourigan 2007), linguistic pluralism (Spitulnik 1992), or, in general, non-standardized varieties. Very few studies have taken an integrated approach to media discourse taking into account the reception (Soukup 2009; Jaffe 2007) while

there has been a major focus on talk or the text itself and how it relates to power structures. Studies dealing with mediated dialect performances (e.g. Coupland 2009b) have also neglected the perception of the stylized language use, although these performances are designed for audiences.

CHAPTER 3

Jamaican sociolinguistics

Jamaica is the most populous anglophone Caribbean island and it is also the best researched speech community in the region. JC often serves as a prime example for Caribbean English creoles and JE is the most advanced emerging StE in the region. This chapter discusses the complex relationship between JC and JE with regard to their structural and functional relationship. I present a brief account of the sociolinguistic changes in Jamaica since the country's independence from Britain in 1962. The mass media and radio in particular is shown to be a prime example for these far-reaching changes. Finally, I bring together these different aspects and highlight major findings, research controversies, and gaps, which form the basis for the research questions addressed in this study.

3.1 Linguistic complexity in Jamaica

On a highly idealized level two varieties of English with distinct functions coexist in Jamaica: JC, locally called Patwa, is an English based creole which developed as a result of colonial contact between European colonizers and deported Africans (e.g. Lalla & D'Costa 1990). JC functions as the everyday first dialect for the majority of the population. English, more precisely the local standard variety JE, is the sole official language of Jamaica (Devonish 1986) and is natively available only to a small minority of Jamaicans, whereas the majority acquires English as a second dialect in school or via written sources (Patrick 2008: 610). While JC possesses a distinct lexicon, morphology, syntax, and phonology JE bears the main characteristics of standard varieties of English (e.g. British and American StE) but has certain features, particularly phonological, which distinguish it (Devonish & Harry 2008: 257). English conventionally dominates in public, formal domains like education or the court room, whereas JC is the language of choice for private, informal contexts across most sections of Jamaican society (Christie 2003: 2). The two varieties carry converse scales of prestige (Hinrichs 2006: 6–7): English is traditionally the code of overt prestige; JC is the code of covert prestige. Jamaicans mostly perceive linguistic variation in this dichotomous way (Devonish & Harry 2008: 256), which resembles a diglossic situation (Ferguson 1959): English as the High (H) variety and JC as the Low (L) variety (Devonish 2007).

In contrast to this dichotomous perception and diglossic functional distinction, the Jamaican language situation is most commonly described as a creole continuum with regard to the structural relationship of JE and JC: there is a continuous spectrum of speech varieties without any sharp cleavage between creole and standard (cf. DeCamp 1971). This continuum ranges from the acrolect, i.e. English or the standard, to the basilect, i.e. most conservative JC (Stewart 1965) and all intermediate varieties constitute the mesolect (Bickerton 1975). The model entails that any utterance can be expressed linguistically in numerous ways differing in their creoleness. The creole continuum model was first proposed by DeCamp (1971)[1] and further developed, reassessed, and put to use for Jamaica and other Caribbean territories (e.g. Bickerton 1975; Rickford 1987; Winford 1997). Rickford (1987) identifies two principles of the model: unidimensionality and non-discreteness. Unidimensionality means that linguistic variation can be ordered on a single dimension from standard to creole. Yet, Patrick (1999) suggests that linguistic variation and its social constraints are best understood as multidimensional. Non-discreteness describes the continuous variation between the two extreme poles, which in DeCamp's description entailed implicational scales, i.e. "hierarchical co-occurrence patterns in the use of […] linguistic variables" (Rickford 2002: 143): variables differ in their creoleness and are binary, i.e. they comprise a standard and creole variant. The presence of a creole realization of a highly creole variable implies the use of creole variants for less creole variables.

The initial view proposed by early creolists (e.g. DeCamp 1971; Bickerton 1975; Rickford 1987) of the creole continuum as one single grammatical entity without any internal boundaries but implicationally ordered variation has been contested by linguists who propose coexisting systems, which interact leading to intersystemic variation along a continuum (e.g. Bailey 1971). This critique often entails an ideological stance of many Caribbean linguists because treating English and JC as two distinct systems allows viewing JC as a separate language: for example, Devonish & Harry (2008) view the Jamaican sitation as diglossic and describe JC and JE phonology as two separate subsystems. Similarly, Akers (1981) refuses the assumption of a unitary linguistic code and sees the Jamaican language situation as constituting "two distinct codes, and intermediate stages through which individuals pass in switching from one to another" (p. 10). In contrast, Patrick (1999) advances the view of the mesolect as a separate subsystem and maintains

1. In his description of Jamaica as a *post*-creole continuum DeCamp (1971) assumed a diachronic development via decreolization, i.e. the gradual change of a creole language toward its lexifier language due to continuing contact, and saw it as a late stage of the pidgin-creole life cycle (Hall 1962). This view has been contested by several researchers who argue for an existence of a continuum from early on (e.g. Lalla & D'Costa 1990).

that while the basilect is distinct from the mesolect there is continuous variation between mesolect and acrolect. Winford (1997) differentiates between a sociolinguistic and a systemic linguistic use of the creole continuum model. He affirms the model's sociolinguistic validity, where the boundaries between standard and creole are indeed blurred in a complex pattern of variation (Winford 1997: 258), but he warns of transferring this concept to a systemic grammatical level. Creole and English grammars coexist and interact but do not merge into a seamless unit.

3.2 Shifting focus: From the basilect to the acrolect

Linguistic research on Jamaica has traditionally focused on the basilect (e.g. Cassidy & LePage 2002) and on theoretical discussions of the creole continuum (e.g. DeCamp 1971; Bickerton 1975); the mesolect has been largely neglected except for Patrick (1999) and the acrolect has only recently moved to the focus of research (e.g. Shields 1989). Patrick (2008) criticizes the research focus on the extreme poles of the continuum which he dismisses as "idealized abstractions, a collection of features most like standard Englishes (the acrolect) or most distant from them (basilect)" (p. 611). While Patrick (1999) provides a much needed analysis of the mesolect, his dismissal also reveals that there is no clear understanding of the poles, which are marked by a circularity of definitions: acrolect and basilect are solely defined in reciprocal maximal distance to each other and thus become idealized varieties, not actually spoken in the Jamaican speech community but still used for the description of it (cf. Irvine 2004: 45).

Whereas the features of JC have been thoroughly described in lexical (e.g. Cassidy & LePage 2002), morpho-syntactic (e.g. Patrick 2008), and phonological terms (e.g. Devonish & Harry 2008), the issue of JE as a distinct variety of English was raised only in the late 20th century. Shields (1989) criticizes the idealized monolithic treatment of StE in Jamaica found in previous theory driven approaches, presents evidence for the existence of a new emerging StE in Jamaica and describes several distinctive characteristics. She emphasizes the existence of dual standards in Jamaica: the traditional metropolitan, i.e. British and American, and the emerging local one, used and promulgated by the majority of educated Jamaicans. Shields (1989) stresses the crucial role of "real speaker[s]" (p. 41) and context in negotiations of Standard English (StE) in Jamaica. She identifies two main shaping forces on JE: the substrate influence of JC and learner effects, as JE is an adoptive variety for most speakers. Mair (2002) adds a growing American influence, parallel developments in postcolonial StEs, which include learner effects, and independent JE innovations.

Irvine (2004, 2008) provides a detailed phonetic analysis of JE advancing a new view on its relationship to JC: she analyzes phonological variation along seven linguistic variables in the speech of highly educated frontline staff of a governmental agency in formal interviews, i.e. acrolectal speakers in a formal context. To explain the mixed use of Jamaican variants among her informants, Irvine (2008) divides the variables under scrutiny into load-bearing, i.e. essential and thus defining for the structure, and not load-bearing, i.e. supporting the structure's character (p. 19). For example, stopping of voiceless dental fricatives is avoided in acrolectal speech and thus /θ/ is load-bearing for JE, whereas /ð/, in contrast to /d/, is not load-bearing as it varies more freely and does not separate JE and JC. Rosenfelder (2009) analyzes rhoticity and vowel quality in educated Jamaican speech in data from the Jamaican component of the International Corpus of English (ICE Jamaica). She identifies JE as a distinct Jamaican standard which is nevertheless influenced by British and also to a certain degree American norms of pronunciation.

Several studies based on the ICE Jamaica have investigated lexical and morpho-syntactic features of JE and variation in educated use (e.g. Sand 1999; Mair 2002; Deuber 2009a, 2011, 2014; Jantos 2009). These studies have identified major differences between written and spoken language: the influence of JC on JE in 'traditional' written genres, such as newspapers or students' essays, is marginal and they are dominated by a diglossic distribution of codes where JC passages are clearly marked off from the dominantly English text (Mair 2002; Sand 1999). Such a clear separation is also apparent in emails as an example for 'new' written genres but here JC passages are used fairly frequently for a variety of purposes (Hinrichs 2006). For spoken language JC has been demonstrated to be a strong shaping force (Mair 2002: 36) but Deuber (2009a, 2011) and Jantos (2009) show that the degree of the influence of JC depends on the formality of the situation: overt creole forms are mostly confined to "informal" and "anti-formal" (i.e. "[d]eliberately rejecting [f]ormalness") language use (Allsopp 1996: lvii).

All studies show JE to be a distinct variety with internal variation which relates in complex ways to JC. In terms of the continuum model the acrolect comprises a linguistic range of its own whose proximity to the mesolect depends on the context of language use (e.g. formality or genre). The emergence and elaboration of JE as new national standard variety is echoed in other anglophone Caribbean territories. For example, Bruckmaier & Hackert (2011) analyze the emerging standard in the Bahamas and Deuber (2009b: 101) states that Trinidad Standard English has largely replaced BE as the island's de facto standard though the local variety's overt recognition is lagging behind. On a global scale, Schneider (2007) describes the development and stabilization of new standard varieties for a wide range of postcolonial speech communities.

3.3 Functional distribution and sociolinguistic changes

While the creole continuum models linguistic variation between JE and JC, the diglossia framework in Ferguson's (1959) narrow sense describes a stable linguistic and sociocultural relationship between two related varieties, defined as H an L (English and JC when applied to the Jamaican case). The members of the speech community use the two varieties in complementary distribution: H is used in the domains of university lectures, news broadcasts, newspaper editorials, or poetry; L is used in conversations with family and friends, radio soap operas, newspaper cartoons, or folk literature. In contrast to L, H is the prestige code, has a literary heritage and an established orthography and has undergone a standardization process. Whereas L is the first language of the majority, H is mainly acquired via education. This framework has been subject to many extensions and broader applications, most importantly Fishman (1967), who extended the model to bilingual settings. The diglossia framework has been applied to Caribbean creole settings in a broad sense to describe the complementary functions and roles of English and English lexified creoles and their unequal political and social power relations (e.g. Winford 1985): in Jamaica, English is traditionally the prestige variety which dominates all formal and public domains, has a literary tradition, and is highly codified, whereas JC is the first language of the population, is not standardized or recognized officially, and overall has less social and political power.

Different sociolinguistic changes which disrupt this traditional distribution of English and JC have been proposed for Jamaica. The concept of sociolinguistic change unifies the notions of linguistic change and social change and is "broad enough to conceptualise the interplay between the existing variationist field and changes in the structure and application of beliefs and social evaluations of language varieties" (Coupland 2009a: 43). Thus, sociolinguistic change incorporates changes in language functions, structure, and attitudes.

Shields-Brodber (1997) analyzes changes in language functions in 20th century Jamaica. Her observations are based on anecdotal evidence from the formal public domains of literature, education, and mass media. She shows an erosion of the diglossia of the past, i.e. a functional blurring of English and JC, in these domains and suggests a destabilization of the sovereignty of English leading to a transformation of English itself in Jamaica (cf. Shields-Brodber 1997: 65). This functional shift is accompanied by changes in attitudes: conservative views of Creole as inferior to English still exist but many Jamaicans think of JC as "the language of national identity, the first language of the majority and like any other language, available for, and easily facilitating the self expression and communicative purposes of its speakers" (Shields-Brodber 1997: 63). These sociolinguistic changes can be regarded as trends of destandardization (e.g. Mattheier 1997),

which describes a disruption of the standard language ideology resulting in value leveling of English and JC: "the established standard language loses its position as the one and only 'best language'" (Kristiansen 2009b). Shields-Brodber (1997) goes so far as to postulate a requiem for StE in Jamaica, which Mair (2002: 39) judges to be rather premature based on his findings of very limited JC influence on written sources.

Schneider's (2007) Dynamic Model proposes a general sociolinguistic evolution for all postcolonial English speech communities from exonormativity, i.e. the reliance on foreign norms, toward endonormativity, i.e. the reliance on local norms and also applies this model to Jamaica. According to Schneider (2007: 227-238) Jamaica is currently in the phase of "endonormative stabilization". This phase presupposes political independence and the newly independent nation establishes a new cultural self-reliance increasingly distinct from the former colonial power. On a sociolinguistic level, the local variety of English, which has developed in earlier phases as a result of colonial contact, gains prestige as there is an elaboration of its functions to public formal domains and as it is also recognized officially via linguistic codification. These developments are linked to an increasing acceptance of the new variety as the norm, while there is a receding complaint tradition, which deprecates local linguistic variants. The three indicators of this linguistic emancipation process, codification, functional elaboration, and acceptance, characterize a (re)standardization process as described by Haugen (1966). Hence, Schneider formulates a demotization process (Mattheier 1997), i.e. the replacement of the colonially inherited standard by the new local variety as the prestige norm, for postcolonial speech communities. In contrast to destandardization, "the belief that there is, and should be, a 'best language' is not abandoned in a process of demotization, but the idea of what this 'best language' is, or sounds like, changes" (Kristiansen 2009b).

According to Schneider (2007: 234-238), Jamaica's independence from Britain in 1962 marks the beginning of endonormative stabilization. He describes a growing sense of national identity which incorporates Jamaica's African heritage and its local cultural manifestations, such as reggae music. JC has increasingly become part of this process and has acquired new prestige, changing from covert to overt (Schneider 2007: 236). JC has been pushing into new domains where it threatens the prestige position of English, for example the education system and radio but also written domains like the newspaper or literature. Schneider further argues that there are first steps of codification via Cassidy & LePage's (2002) *Dictionary of Jamaican English* and Allsopp's (1996) *Dictionary of Caribbean English Usage* and also first signs of an official political recognition. Concomitant with the growing acceptance of JC a conservative linguistic ideology, which discriminates against JC, is increasingly receding.

Mair maintains that the most conspicuous sociolinguistic developments in Jamaica over the past decades have been that JC has challenged English in the public space but also that there has been a shift in the definition of what (standard) English means – a development largely overlooked (2002: 32). For example, Schneider's discussion of endonormativity in Jamaica focusses on JC while emerging JE is neglected, although his discussion of other postcolonial speech communities focusses on the endonormative stabilization of standard varieties. He also pays less attention to the fact that in 20th and 21st century postcolonial speech communities the emergence and assertion of local educated norms of speech do not take place in a vacuum but evolve in a "three-way competition between an inherited, usually British, colonial norm, an American one which is currently dominant globally, and strengthening tendencies to assert local identity through the promotion of local accent features" (Mair 2006: 158).

As the different studies on JE indicate, the norm reorientation on the level of standard speech in Jamaica toward endonormativity indeed evolves in a conflict between local, British, and American influences. An exonormative orientation for standard norms especially toward BE remains strong but at the same time local norms seem to be gaining increasing acceptance (e.g. Devonish & Thomas 2012; Deuber 2013). Several linguists have proposed an increasing influence of the USA on Jamaica (Christie 2003: 20–23; Mair 2002) but substantial empirical evidence is still missing.

Mühleisen (2002) advances a discourse analytical approach to study sociolinguistic prestige changes for creole languages in specific domains, where the relationship between StE and creole is negotiated – "norms are violated and new norms are created" (p. 12). In this investigation Mühleisen's context-sensitive approach is applied to radio and extended to the negotiation of norms for StE. Besides mass media, education is a prime example for negoations of standards and the relationship between English and creole. In the Jamaican education system with its strong British colonial roots, standard British use/RP was set as the linguistic target of speaking while JC had no place in the pre-independence Jamaican classroom (Christie 2003; Cassidy & LePage 2002). The democratization of the education system in post-independence Jamaica has led to a gradual localization of both curricula and linguistic targets: Jamaican curricula address the linguistic diversity of the Caribbean, include Caribbean literature, use locally based exams administered by the Caribbean Examination Council (CXC), and have set Standard JE as the target of teaching (Devonish 2007; Deuber 2013). The use of JC in classrooms is still being hotly debated. Although JC is used unofficially by many teachers alongside English when necessary, propositions for bilingual education by Caribbean linguists are frequently met with severe public opposition. However, the Jamaican Language Unit (JLU 2005) shows that a majority of Jamaicans favor

an "English and Patwa School" over monolingual education, there is a Bilingual Education Project, and efforts to standardize JC for official educational purposes are ongoing (e.g. Devonish 2007).

3.4 The media as a prime domain of sociolinguistic change

The mass media and radio in particular are another domain where English and JC clash and new norms and functions are negotiated. It differs from education in several ways: first, in the public domain of radio the interaction of language varieties is experienced by a wide range of listeners. Second, radio is less influenced by official linguistic policies and enjoys greater linguistic freedoms. Third, linguistic diversity on the radio is not restricted by an orthographic system for JC, crucial for school material. Fourth, in addition to negotiations of English and Creole, radio offers the possibility to study the diversity for standard speech as local and global norms of English clash.

Similar to a variationist approach, research on language in Jamaica, based in a creole studies tradition, has mainly focused on studying JC by means of 'authentic' spoken data which represents vernacular speech (e.g. Cassidy & LePage 2002; Patrick 1999). The media in its traditional role as a domain of acrolectal focusing (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985), i.e. public institutions which promote regularization of language use in the direction of the standard, has been precluded from serving as a data source for linguistic investigations in Jamaica. However, in more recent studies, the media have frequently served as prime examples for sociolinguistic change (e.g. Shields 1989; Mair 2002; Schneider 2007). Yet, evidence from the media for sociolinguistic change tends to be impressionistic (e.g. Shields 1989) while systematic studies of media discourse in Jamaica are rare (e.g. Sand 1999).

Among the different Jamaican mass media, radio has received the most attention and has been proven to be a useful domain for sociolinguistic investigations as it covers a wide range of the creole continuum. Sand (1999) uses newspaper texts and formal radio programs from ICE Jamaica in her morpho-syntactic and lexico-semantic analysis of educated JE. She concludes that the Jamaicanisms identified are not the preferred forms in her media corpus and that JE does not constitute "a monolithic norm, but rather a range that includes a high degree of variation" (p. 175). She shows linguistic variation in newspaper texts to be clear cut, as switches from the default code StE to JC are clearly demarcated, largely restricted to direct quotes, often emotionally loaded, or humorous. The linguistic variation in monologic scripted radio genres largely resembles the written texts: news broadcasts exhibit no shifting at all away from StE and JC influences in broadcast talks are only used to "spice up" the content in a folksy or humorous

way (Sand 1999: 158). Contrarily, style-shifts toward informal styles with JC features are a common feature in dialogic unscripted radio genres; complete switches to JC are rare.

In her final case study on the talk show Hotline, Sand (1999: 162–173) also analyzes linguistic variation in a more informal radio genre. Sand demonstrates that the host combines conventions for serious broadcasting in the standard language and an approximation of everyday speech by shifting back and forth from her relaxed, slightly colloquial JE baseline code toward mesolectal speech styles and JC. The host style-shifts in order to show emotional involvement in a topic, to accommodate to her callers, to express views of the 'average Jamaican', and to facilitate understanding by illustrating a point with a quotation or a proverb. Sand (1999) concludes that "style-shifting and CS are a linguistic reality in Jamaican radio and newspaper usage" (p. 173). However, this linguistic diversity is most vivid in the informal genre of talk radio, which she largely neglects, while shifts and switches toward more JC are seen as deviations from the baseline English in formal genres. Furthermore, linguistic variation strongly surfaces on a phonological level, which Sand excludes as not central to the issue of StE in her main analysis (1999: 14) but includes in her discussion of linguistic variation in the radio corpus.

In various analyses Shields-Brodber (1992) demonstrates phone-in programs to be a "potential gold mine for the study of conversational techniques and language styles" (p. 487) because linguistically versatile hosts interact with a wide range of the Jamaican population in this public domain. Shields-Brodber (1992) illustrates how callers show assertiveness in on-air talk despite the host's *a priori* more powerful position. She also describes how callers and hosts cooperate as simultaneous speech and interruptions are accommodated rather than ruled out in turn taking in Jamaican talk radio. These on-air discussions are not marked by linguistic prescriptivism as callers use the variety they feel most at ease with (Shields-Brodber 1992: 494). Shields-Brodber (1992) highlights the hosts' linguistic dynamism as they manipulate different varieties and styles to enhance the effectiveness of communication between hosts, callers, and listeners but she maintains that hosts at the same time function as agents of acrolectal focusing via their production of "discursive prose in Standard English" (p. 495).

Radio as a domain for negotiations of English and Creole in public discourse has also been discussed from a diachronic perspective (e.g. Devonish 1986; Shields-Brodber 1995; Westphal 2010, 2015). Pre- and early post-independence Jamaican radio conformed to the official monolingual English language policy and was governed by linguistic prescriptivism corresponding to a diglossia framework. JC was marginalized and restricted to folk culture presentations and comic relief. Popular attitudes toward JC on the airwaves were mixed: for example, MockYen (2003: 47) recalls her aunt's negative reaction toward the use of JC in the radio drama Life

with the Morgan Henrys, the first radio program scripted and performed in JC, which, however, was highly popular with general audiences. Jamaican radio was also dominated by a strong exonormative orientation, mainly toward BE: staff was largely British or British-trained, many foreign productions were aired, and radio followed a BBC (linguistic) model (Shields-Brodber 1995). This diglossic situation on the radio is best encapsulated by the "official Independence Broadcast (of 1962), which duly celebrates and illustrates the folk heritage of Jamaica and its associated Patois but uses British standard English pronounced in a near RP accent for the commentary" (Mair 2002: 33).

This situation began to change in the 1970s. The democratic socialism of the 1970s under Michael Manley was marked by political control of radio but offered more linguistic freedoms: political prescriptivism replaced linguistic constraints. Radio increasingly aired public participation programs where callers were granted uncensored linguistic freedom in contrast to earlier times when contributions of callers not fluent in StE were translated instantly (Shields-Brodber 1995). Hosts also increasingly incorporated JC into their speech for pragmatic effects and to ensure effective communication. Shields-Brodber (1995, 1997) sees phone-in programs as being in the vanguard of the erosion of diglossia via increasing use of JC by hosts and callers.

The increase in the use of JC on the radio has not been restricted to phone-in programs but has also occurred in other genres: JC has been progressively more employed for the purpose of realism and authenticity by characters in advertisements (Devonish 1986: 32; Alleyne 1985: 170). Newscasts have increasingly featured clips where interviewees express their views or experiences in JC, while newsreading has remained StE (Shields-Brodber 1997: 62). In the 1980s, Radio Central, a regional radio station, broadcasted news in the form of casual conversation between friends who exchange the latest news in JC, whereas English was restricted to the introduction and conclusion. These newscasts were geared toward the rural population to overcome their linguistic difficulties in understanding conventional newscasts. Devonish reports that this linguistic novelty was well received by the target audience but it was also met with hostile reception among Jamaica's elite, who saw these broadcasts as a threat to their and StE's social position (1986: 32–35).

Linguistic liberty further increased with the liberalization and privatization of the radio sector in 1989, which allowed the establishment of new radio stations and thus ended the monopoly of commercial Radio Jamaica and Rediffusion (RJR) and governmental Jamaica Broadcasting Corporation (JBC). With an all-reggae format and an integration of Jamaican cultural issues and Rastafari IRIE FM has been the most progressive new radio station. Their local cultural approach to radio also included experiments with JC on the airwaves. For example, in the

early 1990s they broadcasted newscasts in JC in cooperation with the University of the West Indies (UWI) and the well-known Rastafarian Mutabaruka but the project had to be stopped due to a lack of funding (MockYen 2003: 336). Shields-Brodber (1995: 27) describes code-switching between English and JC as the norm for Jamaican radio in the 1990s and maintains that JC has overcome stereotypical stigmata of the past as it has achieved legitimacy in the formal public domain of radio. She concludes that media, especially talk radio, reflect the variation which normally characterizes everyday speech in Jamaica.

However, JC has only partly challenged the dominant position of English on Jamaican radio as traditional inequalities have remained largely intact. Devonish (1986: 31–35) interprets the increasing use of JC on the radio as necessary for the radio stations to cater to a wide cross section of the Jamaican population. Yet, he sees effective communication to large parts of the Jamaican audiences not fulfilled because scripted formal 'serious' broadcasting has remained predominantly English. Bohmann (2015) illustrates normative pressures of the media domain for one remarkable example: he describes how a JC speaker feels under pressure to conform to the expected formal language when interviewed in a news segment but fails in his attempt, reverts to hypercorrect speech, and becomes subject to ridicule by acrolectal media personalities. Alleyne (1985: 170) describes how the unequal socioeconomic relationship between English and JC is still reflected in broadcast advertisements: JC is restricted to everyday items, such as beverages; high quality products, such as jewelry, are advertised in English. Furthermore, JC is only used in simulated real-life situations of advertisements while the commentary must be in English. Devonish (1986) sees the postcolonial language order collapsing in the Jamaican media landscape of the 1980s but maintains that although JC has acquired an important role it remains subordinate to English.

Radio and Jamaican media in general are also a domain where norms for StE are negotiated. Shields sees media personalities influential for focusing, i.e. regularizing, the emerging JE as they are part of the group of English speakers with a high social and educational status who provide the target model for standard speech in Jamaica (1989: 47). Media is critical for endonormative stabilization as it is one domain where the target variety is publically disseminated to the population. In this vein, Shields (1989) and Sand (1999) both base their descriptions of specific features of JE on media data. However, media does not only project JE to the audiences but publicly reflects the competition between Jamaican, British, and American norms for educated English use. Holm (1994: 354) describes this norm clash for radio and TV announcers for the wider anglophone Caribbean:

> In the Commonwealth West Indies standard American English is competing with southern British Received Pronunciation in influencing the emerging standard

> West Indian English and its regional varieties. In many Commonwealth Islands the pronunciation favoured by television and radio announcers depends on where they as individuals received their higher education, although local pronunciation of standard English is finding increasing favour among the younger members of the new elite.

Belgrave (2008) also sees this three-way accent diversity for formal speech in Barbadian media. Deuber & Leung (2013) describe this three-way norm competition for Trinidadian radio newscasts and further identify local norms as the strongest force: Trinidadian English is the de facto standard of newscasts. The Jamaican radio landscape since the 1990s seems to have a strong local orientation as there is predominantly Jamaican staff, local productions (MockYen 2003: 329–343) and also local training for media studies at the Caribbean Institute of Media and Communication (CARIMAC) institute of the UWI. Although an American influence via the Jamaican media on the population has been suggested (e.g. Christie 2003: 21) systematic investigations have been mainly concerned with JC influences in formal speech on the radio (e.g. Shields 1989; Sand 1999). Altogether, these observations suggest that Sand's concluding perspective on standard speech in Jamaican media not as a monolithic entity but as a range can be extended to incorporate American and British parts.

3.5 Findings, controversies, and gaps II: Jamaican sociolinguistics

1. The sociolinguistic situation in Jamaica in general and the public domain of radio in particular are highly complex. The distinction between JE and JC is often not clear cut and is best described sociolinguistically as a continuum. However, language use in Jamaican media is more diverse than postulated by implicational scales and the unidimensionality principle.
2. JE is not a focused, i.e. fully regularized or standardized, monolithic entity but rather constitutes a range, which also includes British and American influences besides local variation. Educated spoken use as encountered on the radio incorporates JC features and also commonly involves subtle style-shifts or more marked switches to JC.
3. Post-independence Jamaica has been subject to major sociolinguistic changes, which are manifest in specific domains, like education or media:
    a. JC has challenged English in the public sphere and has acquired new prestige in terms of increased functions, more positive attitudes and generally higher status.

   b. JE has evolved as the new national standard variety of English. However, this emancipation of a new local standard from a colonially inherited one emerges in a tripartite competition between local, British, and American norms.
4. These sociolinguistic changes are manifest in Jamaican radio. However, they have proceeded heterogeneously in different radio genres while the unequal socioeconomic status of English and JC has been partially retained:
   a. Scripted formal genres are a stronghold of English where JC remains marginal but manifest the norm diversity of standard speech in Jamaica.
   b. Talk shows, particularly phone-in formats, cover wide ranges of the creole continuum: callers enjoy linguistic freedom and using JC has become the norm for many hosts.

The different studies based on Jamaican media and investigations of sociolinguistic change which reference mass media suggest radio to be an important public domain which deploys the linguistic variation of everyday Jamaica language use in diverse ways. Radio is also a major domain where values and functions of different Englishes and JC are negotiated. However, the linguistic diversity following media liberalization and privatization in 1989 has not as yet been addressed: Devonish's (1986) and Shields-Broder's (1992, 1995) studies describe the sociolinguistic situation in Jamaican media up until the 1980s and early 1990s. The more recent study by Sand (1999) also largely draws on radio data from 1992 and 1993 from the two traditional stations RJR and JBC. Furthermore, no study has addressed linguistic variation in different genres of Jamaican radio: for example, Sand (1999) largely focusses on formal media genres; Shields-Brodber (e.g. 1992, 1995) is mainly concerned with phone-in programs. Joining analyses of different genres offers the possibility to investigate how linguistic variation is employed in different ways in specific contexts. Such a context-sensitive view is needed in light of the controversial views on sociolinguistic changes in Jamaican media: whereas Shields-Brodber (1997) describes an erosion of diglossia and a requiem for English in Jamaica, Devonish (1986) sees a persisting subordinate role of JC and continuing normative pressure in the formal public domain. Many observations of language use in the Jamaican media are based on impressionistic descriptions while systematic analyses are rare. Similarly, there is no systematic evidence for suggestions of a growing American influence in Jamaica. Sand (1999) addresses the linguistic variation of educated English use in Jamaica but is mainly concerned with the influence of JC. She also does not take into account the phonetic variation in her radio sub corpus. However, accent variability has been shown to be one salient area where the three-way norm competition between local, British, and American norms can be observed (Deuber & Leung 2013). Except for Sand (1999)

the issue of a local Jamaican standard variety of English has not been addressed for the media domain. Finally, linguistic media studies in Jamaica have largely failed to investigate the percepetion of audiences. Devonish criticizes the popular view, which linguists and non-linguists share, that Creole speakers would reject the use of JC in an official public domain like newscasts. Devonish (1986) further deplores that no one "has ever systemically asked Creole speakers their opinion" (p. 34). This is also true for other Jamaican audiences, for example speakers of educated JE, and their views on JC and different Englishes in public discourse.

3.6 Aims and research questions I: Language use

The investigation of language use on Jamaican radio aims to demonstrate the complexity of sociolinguistic variation in the mass media. The study is concerned with how Jamaican linguistic variation is reflected, utilized, and reconstructed in specific radio contexts and how speakers use linguistic resources to achieve authenticity and effective communication but also to project their media personality. The analysis treats linguistic variation as context-sensitive and encompasses two genres to take into account the heterogeneity of media discourse – which ranges from quasi-spontaneous speech and dialect performances in phone-in programs to highly formal scripted newscasts. The study of language use in different communicative settings of Jamaican radio also aims to show the constraints on linguistic variation on the air and the different functions language varieties and styles serve in particular contexts. The current approach to language use on Jamaican radio combines discourse analytical methods (i.e. qualitative analyses of language use in specific contexts) with a detailed quantitative analysis of accent variation among newscasters and talk show hosts. The study takes into account the heterogeneity of standard speech in Jamaica and aims to highlight the dynamics of the proposed norm competition of StE in the anglophone Caribbean by analyzing accent diversity in newscasts. The perception by the audiences, who include acrolectal and more mesolectal/basilectal speakers alike, is addressed in a language attitude study based in the context of newscasts and talk radio. In relation to the wider sociolinguistic situation in Jamaica, this study aims to highlight radio as one public domain where linguistic variation in Jamaica is negotiated. However, findings are specific to the media context as other domains, like education, provide different frames for linguistic variation. On a general level, this investigation aims to demonstrate the value of mass media data for sociolinguistic investigations, creole studies, and analyses of postcolonial Englishes. To fulfill these aims the following research questions are addressed in the analysis of language use:

- Which language varieties and styles are used in newscasts and talk shows?
- How is this linguistic variation constrained in the two genres?
- Which roles do the different varieties or styles play, which functions do they serve in the different genres, and which social meanings do they convey?

The results of the study of language use (together with the attitudinal results) are used to discuss the subsequent research questions:

- What is the nature of StE in Jamaican radio newscasts and talk shows? What are the relative influences of local (JE and JC), British, and American norms on StE on Jamaican radio?
- How do the results of the synchronic analysis of Jamaican radio reflect sociolinguistic change in Jamaica with regard to endonormativity, the relation of StE and JC, and also on the level of StE?

CHAPTER 4

Language attitudes

The concept of language attitudes has been of considerable importance to sociolinguistics since the seminal studies of Labov ([1966] 2006) on the social stratification of English in New York City and Lambert et al.'s (1960) language attitude study in Montreal. With regard to mass media discourse the contextualized investigation of language attitudes in this study is one part of the integrated approach and aims to highlight the perception of linguistic variation in Jamaican talk shows and newscasts. The following theoretical discussion outlines major qualities of language attitudes as well as their relation to language ideologies and to mass media.[1] Furthermore, this chapter presents an overview on language attitude research in the anglophone Caribbean and beyond.

4.1 Defining the multidimensionality of language attitudes

On a general level Sarnoff (1970) defines an attitude as "a disposition to react favorably or unfavorably to a class of objects" (p. 279). In this vein, it is an evaluative orientation to certain social objects, which, in the more specific case of language attitudes, are all connected to language. Language attitude research encompasses a wide range of possible topics geared toward studying a "record of [covert and] overt attitudes towards language, linguistic features and linguistic stereotypes" (Labov 1984: 33). As a disposition an attitude is generally held to be relatively enduring (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970: 139). This quality allows an attitude to be identified and measured in research. However, attitudes are not measurable directly because they are hypothetical constructs, a fact which is central to Oppenheim's (1982: 39) definition:

> a construct, an abstraction which cannot be directly apprehended. It is an inner component of mental life which expresses itself, directly or indirectly, through much more obvious processes as stereotypes, beliefs, verbal statements or reactions, ideas and opinions, selective recall, anger or satisfaction or some other emotion and in various other aspects of behavior

1. For a more detailed theoretical discussion of language attitudes see Garrett (2010: 19–36).

To be identified and measured, an attitude must be inferred indirectly from the observations of the overt processes through which it is expressed. Due to this quality different research methods, which show different aspects of language attitudes, have been developed: in societal treatment studies language attitudes are inferred from the observation of the treatment given to language varieties and their speakers. Most commonly these studies are qualitative analyses of language use, for example based on ethnographic field-work or speech data from the public domain (cf. Garrett 2006: 1251). Direct approaches involve direct questioning of informants about their knowledge, beliefs, and feelings toward languages, language varieties, and their speakers. This approach is geared toward documenting the more open and conscious attitudes of the respondents. Similarly, folk-linguistic studies aim to "discover and analyze beliefs about and attitudes towards language by collecting and examining overt comment about it by non-linguists" (Niedzielski & Preston 2009: 356). Yet, folk-linguistics leaves more room for the informants to express their conscious knowledge, beliefs, and feelings toward language and are capable of providing a valuable contextualized assessment of language attitudes. In contrast, indirect approaches aim to elicit the more covert attitudes "behind individuals' social façade" (McKenzie 2010: 45). They mainly follow the speaker evaluation paradigm, where informants listen to several sound samples of different languages, varieties or accents performed by one and the same speaker in different guises (Matched Guise Test MGT) or different speakers (Verbal Guise Test VGT). The informants are asked to rate different speakers on scales according to various personality traits (e.g. friendliness or level of education). The ratings of the speakers are taken to represent the more covert attitudes toward linguistic variation between the sound samples. This study combines aspects of these different approaches, discussed in detail in Chapters 8.1, 8.2, and 8.3.[2]

All these approaches infer an attitude from its observable processes, which Oppenheim (1982) separates into the three categories of cognition, affect, and behavior, i.e. the three general components of an attitude (Agheyisi & Fishman 1970: 138). Attitudes are cognitive in the respect that they contain beliefs about social objects: for example, judgments of JC as structurally inferior to English. Attitudes also have an affective component as they evoke feelings about a social object. Garrett (2010) describes this affective aspect as "a barometer of favourability and unfavourability" (p. 23). Hence, an attitude is not dichotomous but is graded in different nuances and consequently needs to be measured with scalar models. Attitudes also contain a behavioral component determining our social actions: for example, a listener's attitude toward a certain accent influences his or her beliefs and feelings toward a speaker of this accent but also influences the

2. For a general discussion of language attitude research methods see Garrett (2010: 37–59).

linguistic behavior in the very interaction. Thus, attitudes influence the output from social action but are also active on the level of input.

In addition to this complex componential structure, language attitudes are also multidimensional in further respects: on the one hand, multidimensionality means that language users evaluate languages and language varieties along different dimensions. Language attitude research commonly works with the two major universal attitudinal dimensions of competence (or social status) and social attractiveness (or solidarity) (e.g. Garrett et al. 2003; McKenzie 2010). Many attitude studies have shown a "classical pattern" (Bayard et al. 2001: 23), where standard varieties are valued highly in terms of competence but not for social attractiveness, while this pattern is reversed for vernacular accent varieties (e.g. Hiraga 2005). On the other hand, multidimensionality means that language attitudes strongly depend on the actual context in which they are activated. For example, Creber & Giles (1983) study the language attitudes of pupils toward RP and Welsh accented speakers in two settings of opposing levels of formality, school and youth club. The more positive evaluation of the RP speaker on a status dimension is strongly enhanced in the school context. They demonstrate that the social setting of evaluation affects language attitudes and conclude that children work with differing evaluative sets in formal versus informal situations (p. 159). This context-sensitivity of language evaluation in relation to the formality of the speech setting has been attested in further studies (e.g. Jaffe 2007). Context does not only include the formality of the situation but more generally the specific sociolinguistic environment in which language attitudes are analyzed. This context dependency also affects the composition of attitudes: although the two dimensions of competence and social attractiveness are taken as established in language attitude research, others might be at work in specific settings and the composition and interplay of the attitude dimensions also varies with context.

On a general level, language attitudes can be described as multidimensional clusters which are not chaotic but organized in different interrelated layers, which can be identified empirically. The relative saliences of these attitudinal layers shift from one context to another. Analyzing language attitudes in specific contexts rather than on a high level of abstraction leads to a better understanding of the dynamics of the shifting attitudinal layers, and therefore of language attitudes themselves.

4.2 From language attitudes to language ideologies

In addition to their latent character, complex composition and multidimensionality, language attitudes are learned by individuals and are informed by superordinate

ideologies. Attitudes toward a certain variety are not inherent to the variety but are learned by members of social groups through experiences in group socialization processes. On a macro level, the sociolinguistic concept of a speech community functions as such a group: Labov (1972: 120–121) defines it by referring to the participation in shared norms, such as overt types of evaluative behavior, rather than an agreement in the use of linguistic variables. This means that language attitudes are individual while their processing is influenced by more fixed social group or speech community norms, which translate to language ideologies, i.e. "self-evident ideas and objectives a group holds concerning roles of language in the social experiences of members as they contribute to the expression of the group" (Heath 1977: 53, quoted in Woolard & Schieffelin 1994: 57). Dyers & Abongdia (2010) argue that ideologies always precede attitudes, which "are shaped by the pervading ideologies in a society or community of practice" (p. 119). Kroskrity (2010: 195–201) highlights the variation of language ideologies in terms of the awareness, acceptance, and implementation by individual members of social groups. Hence, individuals' language attitudes are shaped differently by dominant group ideologies. To draw more meaningful conclusions from attitudinal data it must be analyzed with regard to the dominant language ideologies, the informants' position in a speech community, and the context of the research. If the heterogeneity of attitudes and their constraints are taken into account then "evaluative data allow us to access the dynamic identificational and relational forces at work within sociolinguistic communities" (Garrett et al. 1999: 321).

The prime example for ideologies shaping individuals' attitudes is standard language ideology: in the process of standardization one variety of a speech community is selected and accepted as the new norm, codified (i.e. fixed through grammar books and dictionaries), and elaborated in its functions in society (Haugen 1966). On the one hand, this standardized variety is highly functional in human affairs as it is more accessible than localized dialects. On the other hand, standardization leads to the superimposition of the idea of correctness and an unequal distribution of authority and prestige. The other varieties existing in the community are deemed incorrect, less prestigious, and non-standard. Hence speakers of non-standardized varieties are linguistically discriminated against (Milroy 2001). Lippi-Green (1994) defines standard language ideology as "a bias toward an abstract, idealized homogeneous language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions" (p. 166). For her mass media are one of these bloc institutions, where specific forms of talk become linked to social forms in a speech community, i.e. enregisterment (Agha 2003).[3] In the media these enregisterment

3. Agha defines processes of enregisterment as "processes through which a linguistic repertoire becomes differentiable within a language as a socially recognized register of forms" (2003: 231).

processes mainly work through variety stylizations: i.e. through emphatic, figurative, hyperbolic, or stereotypical language use personas, identities, and genres are constructed, which derive from existing identity repertoires. Through stereotypical language use, i.e. connecting speech varieties with stereotypical members of the associated social groups, the media constantly (re)construct prevailing social meanings of varieties and thus (re)produce the sociolinguistic stratification within a society. For example, Lippi-Green (2012: 101–129) shows how animated Disney movies use African American English in a linguistically discriminating way: it is mostly reserved for minor characters and used in contexts of comic relief while the main heroic characters use Standard American English (StAmE). Through such mediated enregisterment processes the circulation of the indexical links and the reproduction of language ideologies mass media affect the language attitudes of the audiences toward language varieties. However, mass media can also construct new social meanings by presenting varieties in new contexts or by using varieties in unconventional ways which are not in line with dominating linguistic ideologies: for example, Coupland (2009a: 41–42) describes the sociolinguistic bricolage of the reality TV show Strictly come Dancing where celebrities from all walks of life compete in a dance competition and many social and sociolinguistic types clash, breaking up predictable associations of standardness and social class. In the same vein, in her analysis of dialect use in radio comedy sketches Johnstone (2011) emphasizes the complexity and the non-uniform meaning making of enregisterment processes in mediated performances: stylizations of varieties potentially project more than just one set of meanings and as audiences bring varying interpretive repertoires to their media engagement the decoding processes may vary strongly.

> [T]he use of non-standard or otherwise unexpected forms in performances can reinforce existing form-meaning links, call existing links into question, or create new links, and which combination of these possibilities actually occurs depends on who is listening. (Johnstone 2011: 676)

This is an essential point as audiences are not passive consumers of ideologies embedded in media discourse but filter them through their own experiences and attitudes – decoding is an active process. In this way the attitudinal 'learning' process is an individual one with regard to mass media consumption. Thus, this study not only analyzes language use on the radio (and the embedded ideological dispositions) but also the perception by radio listeners of media performances in an integrated approach to mass media discourse.

4.3 Language attitude research on World Englishes

Language attitude research in various English-speaking speech communities has repeatedly shown that the evaluations of languages, varieties, and accents are multifaceted and that there are signs for a weakening standard language ideology. Many attitude studies from the UK (e.g. Giles 1970; Hiraga 2005; Coupland & Bishop 2007) have demonstrated a "classical pattern" (Bayard et al. 2001: 23) where Standard BE (or RP on an accent level) is valued highly in terms of competence but not for social attractiveness, while this pattern is reversed for urban and rural vernacular accent varieties. Although the most recent study by Coupland & Bishop (2007) has shown that this evaluative pattern is relatively stable they have also observed tendencies toward a weakening of the standard language ideology in Britain (Bishop et al. 2005: 61): in a large scale study 5010 British informants rated thirty-four conceptual English accent labels. Standard accents and "accent identical to own" were rated most positively along both dimensions of prestige and social attractiveness. Most foreign and rural British accents took a mid-position; the urban and ethnically marked accents were evaluated most negatively. Yet, "Queen's English" was downgraded for social attractiveness, there were strong regional differences with a preference for local accents, and the youngest age group ascribed less prestige to the standard accents. The youngest age group also evaluated many urban and ethnically marked accents more positively than the older informant groups. Tendencies toward such value levelling have also been observed by attitude studies from the SLICE (Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe) project in several European countries (e.g. Kristiansen & Coupland 2011). However, accent loyalty has remained relatively stable when the informants were asked directly: in both Giles' (1970) and Coupland & Bishop's (2007) studies informants consistently rated the label "accent identical to (your) own" very positively.

In postcolonial speech communities a similar classical evaluative pattern has been observed for perceptual differences between exo- and endonormative accent varieties of English. In attitude studies from New Zealand and Australia, local accent varieties were evaluated positively on a social attractiveness dimension but dispreferred for competence in contrast to BE and AE (e.g. Bayard et al. 2001). Bayard et al. (2001) refers to this linguistic deference toward exonormative standard varieties as "cultural cringe" (p. 23). Similar tendencies of a cultural cringe have been observed in anglophone Asian contexts: attitude studies from Hong Kong (Luk 1998; Zhang 2009) have repeatedly shown linguistic deference toward native speaker Englishes and, moreover, Hong Kong accent varieties received only low solidarity support. On the contrary, Tan and Tan (2008) found a pronounced local linguistic orientation in the context of Singaporean high schools: students consistently rated Standard Singaporean English higher than AE and also showed

support for Singlish, the local vernacular, on a social attractiveness dimension while downgrading it for competence. The immediate context also played a salient role for the students' evaluations: they perceived Singlish as strongly inappropriate for an English teacher but only mildly so for a Math teacher. Thus, the degree of linguistic deference depends on the context.

Despite this persisting pattern of local linguistic insecurity in postcolonial speech communities, several attitude studies have also shown language ideological changes toward growing endonormativity. For Australia and New Zealand, Bradley & Bradley (2001) and Gordon & Abell (1990), respectively, verified linguistic deference toward RP on a competence dimension and solidarity support for local accents but via diachronic attitudinal evidence they also showed growing acceptance for local varieties: Bradley & Bradley (2001) suggest that "Australians are feeling progressively more positive about Australian as opposed to other varieties of English" (p. 282). Gordon & Abell (1990) demonstrated a similar rising acceptance for New Zealand varieties and proposed a cultivated New Zealand accent as the new standard variety. They concluded that "Britain is no longer regarded by New Zealanders as 'Home'" (p. 35). Similarly, the language attitude studies by Kioko & Muthwii (2003) on Kenya and by Bernaisch (2012) on Sri Lanka have shown strong overt loyalty to endonormative varieties alongside lingering deference to native speaker Englishes. On a wider ideological level these studies indicate that postcolonial speech communities have been realigning themselves in their linguistic norm orientation away from a colonially inherited standard, which still holds a high global status profile, toward new national standards.

In addition to BE, the colonially inherited standard for most postcolonial speech communities, these attitudinal findings also show AE as the second globally prestigious norm. In contrast to studies from the Caribbean (e.g. Deuber 2013), where BE has remained the main exonormative force, Bayard et al.'s (2001) study on attitudes of New Zealand, Australian, and US university students' attitudes toward each other's accents and RP shows an overall most positive evaluative profile (competence and social attractiveness) for a StAmE accent. They propose that "overall the American accents seems well on the way to equalling or even replacing the RP as the prestige – or at least preferred – variety" (p. 22). They explain this looming transition of power toward a linguistic hegemony of "Pax Americana" by the global media dominance of US programs and thus cultural models and AE (p. 41). However, in a more recent study on the same demographic Garrett et al. (2005) used a keyword technique where informants could express their associations with specific varieties of English freely and demonstrated a negative evaluative profile of AE and a prestigious cultured one for BE.

4.4 Creole and English: Paradoxical ideologies and attitudes

The popular perception of linguistic variation in Jamaica is that there are two distinct varieties, JC and English (Devonish & Harry 2008: 256). According to the conservative linguistic ideology, JC is no more than broken English, grammarless, and inferior (Christie 2003: 25; Devonish 2003: 45). In contrast, English is valued for its prestige, and mastery of it is crucial for a high social status (Christie 2003: 4). This diglossic ideology is the result of a colonial distribution of power (Patrick 2008: 408) and has well continued into post-independence Jamaica (Shields-Brodber 1997). JC shares this long history of linguistic discrimination with other creoles but they are also perceived as symbols of truth, reality, and solidarity (Rickford & Traugott 1985: 252). JC functions as a "marker of ethnic and national identity" (Patrick 2008: 408), whereas StE is traditionally perceived as Standard BE (Devonish 2003: 45) and thus as foreign and colonial. These contrasting ideologies can be rendered into "converse scales of overt and covert prestige for English and Patois [JC], where English is traditionally the code of overt prestige, and Patois the code of greater covert prestige" (Hinrichs 2006: 6).

Rickford and Traugott (1985) address this reversed ideological pattern of creoles being both "a symbol of powerlessness and degeneracy and a symbol of solidarity and truth" (p. 252). In a societal treatment study of mass media they identified three recurring discriminations: creole languages are considered to have no grammar and to be merely mangled versions of the standard, they are associated with low morals and vulgarity, and there is the tendency to view them as symbols of "social and political degradation" (p. 255). They explain these discriminatory views with the present association of creoles with the poor illiterate masses and historical associations with slavery. An analysis of literature showed that creoles had mainly been restricted to comedy and at the best to folk performance but have been increasingly used for presentations of rich cultural communities and as a voice of truth. Their brief analysis of popular attitudes, based on reactions to material in pidgins and creoles, anecdotal evidence and two surveys by Winford (1976) and Rickford (1985), verify the reversed ideological pattern. Rickford & Traugott (1985) conclude that these ambiguous attitudes toward creoles are due to the complex linguistic reality of their speakers: "to be a pidgin or creole speaker means to live in a multi-dimensional sociolinguistic world, and it therefore inevitably means to live with paradoxes (p. 260).

Rickford (1985) investigated language attitudes in a rural Guyanese community and adjusted his study design to a creole continuum situation: one male speaker performed a short narration in a basilectal, mesolectal, and acrolectal variety. Rickford distinguished two informant groups: the Estate Class, basilectal speakers and workers on the sugar estate, and the Non-Estate Class, acrolectal speakers

who work in white collar jobs. These two groups rated the three speaker guises on scales according to which kind of job they probably held and how likely they would fit into their circle of friends. Both groups associated the acrolectal guise with the most and the basilectal guise with the least prestigious jobs. However, the two groups disagreed on the nature of the status associations: the Non-Estate Class perceived acrolectal speech as *contributing* to socioeconomic status; the Estate Class saw language use as merely *reflecting* it (cf. Rickford 1985: 135). On the solidarity dimension the Non-Estate class viewed both the mesolectal and acrolectal guises as best fitting for their circle of friends, while the Estate Class evaluated the basilectal guise more positively. Thus, attitudes in Guyana vary along the two dimensions and according to the informant group. However, when asked directly there was a shared recognition in which domain Creole or English is suitable or not.

One hotly debated speech domain in creole using communities of the anglophone Caribbean is education: propositions for bilingual education by Caribbean linguists are frequently met with harsh opposition. Three studies (Winford 1976; Mühleisen 2001; Deuber 2009b) on Trinidad have addressed teachers' attitudes toward Trinidadian Creole and (standard) English and allow a diachronic perspective on language attitudes in this context. Mühleisen (2001) replicated Winford's (1976) investigation of Trinidadian teachers' language attitudes and overall demonstrated more positive views of Trinidadian Creole as a distinct variety rather than a corrupted version of English. She also found heightened linguistic self-confidence but rural informants were more linguistically insecure and negative judgments of rural speech persisted. In both studies, English was seen as the strongly preferred medium of education, whereas Trinidadian Creole was evaluated as fitting only specific purposes. Furthermore, there was a persisting distinction between formal and informal settings for language appropriateness. Overall, Mühleisen (2001) suggests a change in language attitudes and that the notion of Trinidadian Creole as "bad English" seems to be dying out (p. 75). She concludes that Trinidadian Creole is viewed as having its place in society but that there is no full acceptance in the public sphere. Deuber (2009b) conducted metalinguistic interviews where teachers generally expressed positive attitudes toward Trinidadian Creole as a linguistic system in its own right, as a medium of informal conversation and as a cultural marker of Trinidadian identity. Yet, all teachers were against Trinidadian Creole as an official medium of education and its role was perceived as complementary to English (Deuber 2009b: 99).

On a more general level, Mühleisen (2001) does not view her suggested attitudinal changes as restricted to Trinidad (or the education sector) but sees her findings as part of general prestige changes in the anglophone Caribbean. She aligns her results with the observations by Shields-Brodber (1997) on the changing

macro-functional language use in 20th century Jamaica. Shields-Brodber links her observations of the erosion of the diglossia of the past and the destabilization of the sovereignty of English and its transformation in Jamaica to shifts in language attitudes. She explains that conservative views of Creole as inferior to English still exist but that many Jamaicans think of JC as the language of national identity and self-identification, which fulfills all communicative needs. Similarily, Schneider (2007: 234–238) suggest increasingly positive attitudes toward JC as one main factor in endonormative stabilization processes in Jamaica.[4]

Beckford-Wassink's (1999) investigated these propositions for attitudinal changes by means of an attitude study in the semi-rural community of Gordon Town. The attitude systems of her informants were shown to be multivalued: they mainly viewed JC positively, variably regarded it as a language distinct from English, and indicated that it holds strong social values for them, but also maintained certain reservations. JC was perceived as suitable for informal settings and with in-group members but unsuitable for formal settings and with out-group members. Closed attitude questions were divided into three categories: 'feel' (held to represent covert attitudes), 'hear', and 'use' (held to represent overt attitudes). Attitudes were generally more positive for 'feel' than for 'hear and 'use'. In all three categories, males, led by the 20–45 age group, were generally more positively predisposed toward JC than females. The overall attitudinal picture of JC in Gordon town is more positive than the conservative ideology suggests but contrary to any suggestions of value leveling the respondents showed a strong awareness of a functional distribution.

A similar attitudinal picture emerged from the island-wide Language Attitude Survey of Jamaica (2005), conducted by the Jamaican Language Unit (JLU). The survey used a questionnaire with direct questions to assess the views of Jamaicans toward JC as a language. The 1000 informants generally viewed JC positively: a majority stated that it should become the second official language alongside English, supported bilingual education, and saw the use of JC as an effective means of communication in political speeches. Similarly to Beckford-Wassink's (1999) study, the respondents indicated that they used JC with friends and family but not with strangers or co-workers. However, stereotypical views in terms of social status were also expressed, e.g. English speakers were evaluated to be more intelligent and educated than speakers of JC. Scores of solidarity ratings were relatively equivalent for both codes. The oldest age group, unskilled workers/housewives and unemployed individuals tended to have more negative/conservative views of JC.

4. See Chapter 3.4 for a detailed discussion of sociolinguistic change in 20th/21st century Jamaica.

4.5 Attitudes toward Standard Englishes in the anglophone Caribbean

Language ideologies in the anglophone Caribbean toward standard speech are marked by a lack of recognition for local Caribbean StEs varieties and prevailing linguistic deference (Youssef 2004), mainly toward BE (Devonish 2003). Devonish states that there is a traditional association of StE with 'the Queen's English' and that it is widely considered synonymous with Standard BE (2003: 45). In this view English is not considered a local variety but foreign and colonial. This is similar to Schneider's (2007: 227-238) case study of Jamaica: the discussion of endonormativity is strongly focused on JC. This treatment of the local Standard variety of English as only semi-endonormative is also apparent in Christie's (2003) distinction between JE as a "sign" of Jamaican identity and JC as a "symbol" of it (p. 63).

In a more recent article Devonish & Thomas (2012: 196) are more optimistic about the status of Standard Caribbean Englishes suggesting that their colonial linguistic oppression by BE is waning. In her analysis of classroom speech and interviews with teachers in Trinidad, Deuber (2009b) showed that the overt recognition of the Trinidadian standard variety of English is lagging behind its development as the de facto standard in schools. Deuber (2013) reassessed the overt recognition of local standard varieties in the anglophone Caribbean by investigating school curricula and university students' beliefs about the existence of endonormative standards in Jamaica and Trinidad and Tobago. The students' perception of endonormative standards was equally mixed for both countries: about half of the students recognized the existence of a national standard in their country, while the others still believed in an exonormative, foremost British, standard. The majority of students rejected the idea of a regional Caribbean StE. Moreover, only Jamaican curricula officially recognize a national standard variety as a target of teaching.

Three attitude studies have addressed the perception of endonormative English in contrast to exonormative rivals in the anglophone Caribbean: Belgrave (2008) investigated the perception of the three accent groups of Barbadian formal speech: British, American, and Barbadian. She suggests the availability of US and British TV programs in Barbados as a source for this linguistic diversity. In a MGT thirty university students rated the three accent guises on different personality traits on seven point scales. Although many were unsure about a clear judgment (i.e. they selected the neutral rating of 4) a relatively clear rating pattern emerged: the British guise was rated most positively, followed by the American, while the Barbadian was rated most negatively. This rating pattern was most distinct for qualities indicating economic success in life. However, for solidarity traits the British guise was partially evaluated negatively, the American guise was rated rather positively, and the Barbadian guise was also considered to possess some of these traits. Belgrave (2008: 442) suggests that although attitudes might be changing,

linguistic stereotypes and an exonormative orientation persist: the British accent is associated with a high status and economic success.

Deuber & Leung (2013) analyzed the acceptance of an emerging standard (accent) variety for Trinidad in the context of radio news. They chose this context due to its strong association with standard speech, and because of the wide range of accents available to Trinidadian listeners via broadcast news. For accent variability, they report that Trinidadian accents, which vary in their phonological distance to Trinidadian Creole, dominate the genre but that there are also Trinidadian newscasters who employ a foreign-influenced (British or American) pronunciation. Forty-four university students rated eight news clips (6 local, 1 British, 1 US), representing different Trinidadian, foreign-influenced and foreign accents of English. The respondents disfavored the Trinidadian accent closest to Trinidadian Creole while favoring the Trinidadian accent most distant to Creole. The intermediate Trinidadian accents, foreign-influenced and foreign accents took a mid-position. Deuber & Leung (2013: 309) propose possibly conflicting factors influencing the attitudes toward standard speech variability in news broadcasts: standardness is perceived in terms of distance to the local creole, but at the same time there is increasing endonormativity at the level of English. Despite this local orientation, global influences are still at work in the Trinidadian media domain. StE in Trinidadian newscasting is not monolithic but it is shaped by partially conflicting factors. On an ideological level this means that the standard language ideology in this postcolonial setting seems to be more appreciative of a wider range of linguistic variation.

Sand (2011) did not investigate attitudes toward accent variation but tested the acceptability of several morpho-syntactic and lexical items which had been attested as more frequent in educated Jamaican use than in British or American StE in a previous corpus-based analysis (Sand 1999). For this aim she used a questionnaire presenting her respondents with thirteen sentence pairs which differed only in terms of one lexical or morpho-syntactic feature. Sentences containing the JE items under investigation were taken from the ICE-Jamaica corpus and then paired with a BE and AE alternative. The informants were asked whether they preferred one sentence over the other, whether they considered the two alternatives as "better English" or "bad English" and to assign regional labels (Jamaican, American, or British) to the two sentences. For the lexical items Sand identified a tendency among the informants to associate the dispreferred forms with Jamaican use and the preferred forms with British use. Direct loans from JC emerged as strongly stigmatized. For morpho-syntactic items respondents overall preferred the AE and BE alternatives to the JE items. Nevertheless, Sand (2011) sees an endonormative tendency on the level of acceptability: "It appears that the speakers of English in Jamaica are in the process of examining their norms of British English and developing their own" (p. 180).

4.6 Findings, controversies, and gaps III: Language attitudes

From the discussion of these different attitude studies from the anglophone Caribbean and beyond several general findings, controversies, and research gaps can be identified. These aspects are first summarized for attitudinal research on World Englishes, English vs. creole, and finally for the perception of different Englishes in the anglophone Caribbean.

From the discussion of attitude research on World Englishes beyond the anglophone Caribbean the following findings can be summarized:

1. Many attitude studies show a "classical pattern" (Bayard et al. 2001: 23): standard accents are valued higher than vernacular accents in terms of competence but for social attractiveness this pattern is reversed. For postcolonial Englishes and the expanding circle, this standard-vernacular pattern has also been attested for the exo-/endonormative and native-/non-native speaker English distinction.
2. A diachronic perspective on attitude research in the UK suggests a tendency toward value leveling of the classical prestige distribution of accents.
3. For postcolonial Englishes, a norm reorientation away from exonormativity toward endonormativity has been evolving, while linguistic deference is still in place.
4. Informants have been shown to express greater accent loyalty when asked directly in contrast to indirect assessments.
5. The American (standard) accent has emerged as a rival global prestige variety to RP. This shift of power has been attributed to the US's global media dominance.
6. Attitude research from the anglophone Caribbean and beyond shows that the norm orientation in today's English-speaking world has become highly complex: in postcolonial speech communities, rivalling exonormative prestige varieties interact with rising acceptance of local, both standard and vernacular, varieties. The evaluative prestige distribution operates on several dimensions and also depends on the context.

Overall, this means that established (standard or 'colonial') language ideologies are still in place but they are diversifying and increasingly have to face competition by new ideological positions in the highly complex English-speaking world of today.

These findings suggest certain research controversies and gaps: some studies support the hypothesis of the rising global prestige of US English; others show RP/BE as the preferred accent/variety. For postcolonial Englishes, linguistic deference has been attested alongside a growing acceptance of local varieties. Current attitude research also needs to investigate the question of how the increasing

complexity of norm orientation and language ideologies affects the 'classical pattern' of evaluative prestige distribution. To cope with the increasing complexity of ideological orientations it is important to investigate language attitudes in specific contexts where norms for English are currently negotiated. Different approaches to studying language attitudes (quantitative vs. qualitative or direct vs. indirect) have demonstrated quite different attitudinal patterns (e.g. accent loyalty vs. linguistic deference) but very few studies have employed a mixed methodology to assess the informants' attitudes from different perspectives. Most attitude studies have been carried out in settings where English is the L1 of the majority of the population and where endonormative stabilization is completed or far advanced. However, situations where English has an official status but functions as a second language or dialect for the majority have received less attention. In these settings new national norms for English are currently negotiated at the intersection of local and global influences in ongoing processes of endonormative stabilization. Language attitude research which pays attention to context and employs a diversified methodology is necessary to enhance our understanding of language attitudes in these linguistically highly complex ecologies.

These challenges, controversies, and gaps also apply to the anglophone Caribbean. From the literature review on creoles in contrast to English the following findings can be summarized:

1. The 'traditional' ideological ambiguity still applies to today's sociolinguistic situation in Jamaica: JC is viewed positively mostly in terms of a cultural/national identity and solidarity, but negative, even stereotypical, views with regard to social status still exist.
2. The studies which stratified their sample illustrate significant attitudinal variation among the informants. Older informants generally held more negative attitudes toward JC, social network ties proved to be influential and, in analogy to a classic gender pattern males viewed the non-standard variety, JC, more positively than females. Socioeconomic status also proved to be a highly important factor.
3. All the studies taken together only partially confirm the proposed attitudinal/prestige changes in the anglophone Caribbean. Although local creoles are increasingly viewed positively, a standard language ideology still remains intact.
4. The perception of the functional distribution and the situational appropriateness of the two varieties has remained stable and strong.

Summary finding (4) again draws attention to the urgent need to analyze language attitudes in specific contexts. Mühleisen (2002) highlights this need to analyze specific discourses and micro-functions and explains that "while the social macro structure of the respective societies has been relatively untouched by changes, the

uses, functions and negotiations of Creole in particular domains and environments have shifted considerably" (p. 3). With a discourse analytical approach, she is able to show changes in prestige in specific contexts: intergenerational changing use of creole in an urban diaspora community, changing representations of creole in writing and translation. The discourse analytical approach with a focus on language functions and status makes her attitudinal conclusions difficult to compare to previous research. Discursive "force fields" (Mühleisen 2002: 12), i.e. domains where the prestige of creoles is renegotiated (e.g. literature or media), are especially worthwhile sites for attitudinal research which ideally also work well for comparisons and reduplications.

Although education has received much attention in attitudinal research in the anglophone Caribbean, other contexts, among them the domains of media and literature, have been largely neglected. Furthermore, most attitude research discussed so far has employed direct methods, whereas Rickford (1985) has shown the benefits of an indirect approach for highly linguistically diverse speech communities. Similarly, most studies besides Rickford (1985) have treated the linguistic variation as dichotomous, i.e. English vs. creole. Hinrichs describes the general status of JC from a macro-sociolinguistic point of view as one in which code-switching between both varieties is the unmarked choice (cf. 2006: 13). Thus, in questionnaires, options offering levels of language mixes should be preferred over a strict dichotomous distinction.

Research on the perception of different Englishes in the anglophone Caribbean shows the following overall attitudinal tendencies:

1. There seems to be a growing endonormative orientation toward English in the anglophone Caribbean. However, language use has advanced further than the acceptance of local Englishes. Salient creole influences on the emerging standards are stigmatized.
2. Although attitudes toward the linguistic diversity of StE vary, the main perceptual differences exist between English and creole.
3. Despite increasing endonormativity British influences on language use and language attitudes persist. AE has been identified as a second exonormative authority. Regardless of the close geographical proximity and availability of US media, BE has remained the main exonormative prestige variety.
4. The ideological standard speech orientation does not seem to be strictly one-dimensional as there is relative acceptance of different accents.

So far only three studies have provided a first attitudinal perspective on the tripartite competition for StE in the anglophone Caribbean. Further research in this framework is necessary to account for the resulting complexity of language ideologies and to investigate linguistic emancipation processes in these postcolonial

speech communities. In this regard those domains where global influences are strongly felt and thus clash with the local linguistic diversity, like the media, are of special interest. Although JE has received the most scholarly attention among the newly emerging Caribbean standards a study investigating Jamaicans' attitudes toward this emerging standard in contrast to the exonormative influences on the level of pronunciation, where differences are most salient, is still missing. In order to better understand this norm competition in Jamaica and the wider region, it is also very important to assess people's overt attitudes toward the newly emerging standard. Furthermore, qualitative approaches, drawing on folk-linguistic methods, are needed alongside quantitative investigations. While highly sophisticated research designs result in valuable attitudinal data, there also needs to be room for the views and beliefs of the people who are confronted with this linguistic complexity on a daily basis.

4.7 Aims and research questions II: Language attitudes

The investigation of language use shows the complexity of the linguistic variation in the public sphere of Jamaican radio, whereas the language attitude part focuses on the audience and aims to demonstrate the listeners' perceptions of the mediated linguistic diversity. The complexity of the audience's attitudes toward linguistic variation in newscasts and talk radio is illustrated by means of a mixed methodology, which combines direct questions, an accent rating study in the tradition of indirect attitude research, and a qualitative folk-linguistic assessment. In the context of newscasts attitudes toward spoken StE are investigated; talk radio as a second domain allows studying attitudes toward variation between English and JC. This mixed contextualized approach aims to investigate the multidimensionality of language attitudes – i.e. the composition of language attitudes in overt and more covert expressions, the underlying attitude dimensions, and the context-sensitivity of language attitudes. The evaluative data also aims to provide an attitudinal perspective on restandardization processes and proposed sociolinguistic changes in Jamaica and relate these findings to other postcolonial Englishes. This attitude study in the context of mass media can provide a Jamaican perspective on the increasing complexity of today's English language and its dynamics at the periphery of globalization. To fulfill these aims the following research questions are addressed in the attitude part:

– Which attitudes do listeners hold toward linguistic variation in Jamaican radio newscasts and talk shows when questioned directly, in an accent rating study, and from a folk-linguistic perspective?

– To which degree are the informants' attitudes toward linguistic variation on Jamaican radio multidimensional?

The attitudinal results (together with the results on language use) are used to discuss the subsequent research questions:

– What is the nature of StE in Jamaican radio newscasts and talk shows? What are the relative influences of local (JE and JC), British, and American norms on StE on Jamaican radio?
– How do the results of the synchronic analysis of Jamaican radio reflect sociolinguistic change in Jamaica with regard to endonormativity, the relation of StE and JC, and also on the level of StE?

CHAPTER 5

Data and methods I

Language use

In the following two chapters, I analyze linguistic variation in Jamaican newscasts and talk shows. The analysis employs both quantitative as well as qualitative research methods and takes into account variability in pronunciation, morpho-syntax, and to a lesser extent lexicon. This investigation aims to analyze how linguistic resources of the Jamaican speech community and beyond are used in media discourse. In accordance with Blommaert's (2010) "sociolinguistics of resources, not of languages" (pp. 20–21), the analysis is based on resources as culturally-specific sets of linguistic signs, which perform contextualized indexical functions and can be activated by the speakers' use of certain features (cf. Hinrichs 2011: 5). In a "linguistically messy domain" (Blommaert 2010: 28–61) like the Jamaican media, where different local and global norms interact in complex ways, such a pragmatic approach which focuses on the indexical loading of linguistic signs is helpful in understanding the contextualized social meaning behind linguistic variation. However, such an approach is difficult to employ and reproduce when no linguistic abstractions take place. To this end the classification of individual linguistic items is based on reference descriptions of JE, JC, StAmE, and RP.[1] In addition, the analysis focusses on how these linguistic items cluster together to meaningful resources and how they are used in media performances in specific contexts. The analysis takes into account two distinct genres, newscasts and talk shows, and shows how linguistic resources are put to use in specific situations in both genres.

5.1 Collection, selection, and processing of radio data

A comprehensive quantitative account of language use on Jamaican radio was impossible due to the sheer number of radio stations, genres, and programs. Hence,

1. Upton's (2008) description of traditional RP is used as a reference variety as this traditional variety has served as the pronunciation model (e.g. in education) in the Caribbean and recent changes of RP in Britain are not likely to have affected the traditional understanding of RP in the Caribbean.

specific radio stations, genres, and programs were selected with the aim of representing major aspects of the Jamaican radio landscape and language use in this domain of mass media. Out of the twenty-nine companies licensed to broadcast in Jamaica, three radio stations were selected for analysis: RJR, IRIE FM, and Newstalk93FM. These three radio stations differ in their history, their target demographic, and their content focus.[2]

With a history of over sixty years of broadcasting, RJR is Jamaica's oldest commercial radio station. In Jamaica, commercial broadcasting began in 1950 when the Jamaican Radio Company took over the governmental radio station ZQI, which had been broadcasting since 1939, and founded the station Radio Jamaica and Rediffusion (RJR) (MockYen 2003: 37–50). RJR has been renamed Real Jamaican Radio and now belongs to the RJR Communications Group together with two other radio stations, Fame95FM and Hitz92FM. Together with the governmental JBC, which broadcasted from 1959 to 1997 (MockYen 2003: 192–284), RJR had a radio monopoly until 1989, when the government allowed the licensing of new broadcast companies (MockYen 2003: 329–343). Due to its long history RJR has the image of a more traditional conservative radio station with a somewhat older target audience. However, RJR adapted its program to the changed media landscape after 1989. In terms of language use RJR long refrained from using JC but increasingly opened up to the Jamaican linguistic diversity in the course of the 1990s. The use of JC on RJR antagonized many listeners, especially older demographics, who had differing expectations of language use on RJR. Musically, RJR now offers both non-Jamaican/Caribbean music as well as local musical genres, which had been long neglected in the station's playlists. In terms of programs and radio personalities RJR today offers a wide range: RJR broadcasts talk shows, different news programs, cultural programs, and music shows. Among RJR presenters are both well-established media personalities, such as Barbara Gloudon, who has been the host of the talk show Hotline since the 1980s, as well as younger staff, oriented more toward Jamaican dancehall culture, such as Miss Kitty, who broadcasted the afternoon music show Ruption from 2008 to 2013.

IRIE (FM) started broadcasting in 1990 and the station has become a market leader thanks to their focus on local popular culture and their all-reggae program (MockYen 2003: 333–336). The station's name is an acronym for Imaginative Radio with Innovative Excellence and originates from the Rastafarian concept of irie, i.e. a positive adjective denoting something nice, happy, lovely, or giving pleasure to

2. Information on the three stations' and the JIS' programs, personalities, target audiences and histories is based on MockYen (2003), interviews with production managers and radio staff of the stations and the stations' websites <http://www.rjr94fm.com/>; <http://www.iriefm.net/>; <http://www.newstalk93fm.com/; http://jis.gov.jm/>.

the senses also often used as a greeting among Rastafarians (Allsopp 1996: 306). IRIE emphasizes local popular Jamaican culture and focuses on broadcasting various genres of Jamaican popular music, from 1970s reggae to contemporary dancehall, which were marginalized by Jamaican radio until the 1990s. IRIE also offers newscasts and programs on local culture but only very few talk programs. The station provides airtime to media personalities who emphasize Afro-Caribbean culture, like the Rastafarian poet-philosopher Mutabaruka. IRIE has also included JC into their local cultural approach and, thus, has pushed the status of JC in broadcasting media. For example, in the 1990s the station broadcasted news in JC in cooperation with the Jamaican Radio Education Unit and Mutabaruka (MockYen 2003: 336). With this more informal approach IRIE is especially successful among younger audiences but also aims to cater to a wider demographic. The success of IRIE has forced the other stations to change their programming in terms of music and language use. Thus, the station has changed the Jamaican radio landscape permanently.

Newstalk93FM broadcasts from the campus of UWI Mona, Kingston and developed out of the commercial radio station Radio Mona. Since 2010 the station has been fully owned by UWI. The station strongly focusses on news and talk programs. Newstalk is in a difficult position as they have to fulfill an educational mandate and at the same time provide entertainment to diverse audiences. In contrast to RJR or IRIE, Newstalk93FM describes an educational mission: "Our goal is to deliver responsible and sustainable programming rooted firmly in the needs and language of our audiences" (Newstalk93FM). The station has to cater to young university students, well-educated Jamaican demographics, and to wider Jamaican audiences alike. This dichotomy is reflected in the varied talk programs the station offers: on the one hand, there are political talk programs, like Jamaica Speaks, and, on the other hand the station also broadcasted the highly controversial Ragashanti Live Show, which was mainly geared toward entertainment and strongly featured sexually explicit topics; it was ordered to be taken off the air by the Broadcasting Commission of Jamaica following numerous public complaints in early 2011.

In addition to these three radio stations, two newscasts produced by the Jamaica Information Service (JIS) were included in the radio corpus. Since the demise of the JBC there has been no public broadcasting station in Jamaica. However, on every station certain slots are reserved for governmental broadcasts, which are produced by the JIS. The JIS goes back to the Government Public Relations Office, which was founded in 1956, and was renamed JIS. The JIS is a semi-autonomous organization subject to governmental principles. The JIS follows an educational mandate to "disseminate information that will enhance public awareness and increase knowledge of the policies and programs of the government of Jamaica" (Jamaica Information Service).

As a next step, the analysis was reduced to two genres: newscasts and talk shows. These two genres differ drastically with regard to communicative setting, audience interaction, degree of regularization, segmentation, purpose, content, level of formality, as well as the liveliness of the presentation and most importantly internal linguistic variation and its constraints. Thus, newscasts and talk shows theoretically cover a wide range of linguistic variation on Jamaican radio. Furthermore, the two genres feature in all three selected radio stations and they cover the most airtime besides music programs on Jamaican radio. Although newscasts and talk shows are two important and well-researched genres of mass media in general and Jamaican radio in particular they do not cover language on Jamaican radio in its full complexity and should not be seen as two poles of a continuum. Other genres, such as music shows, advertisements, magazines, or radio role-plays, have very different conventions and make use of linguistic variation in other ways beyond newscasts and talk shows. For the most part these genres were discarded from the analysis because they are unsuitable for the current approach as they are often very heterogeneous and yield relatively little speech data from individual speakers.

A wide range of different newscast and talk show recordings of all three radio stations and the JIS were made via online radio streaming in spring and summer 2011. If the stations offered an online archive additional recordings were downloaded. For every genre a selection was made from this wide range of recorded programs. The recordings were selected with the aim of covering the major linguistic variation in the respective genre. This linguistically informed selection is based on impressionistic judgments of the language use by the newscasters and talk show hosts.

The selection of talk shows was reduced to four different programs and aims to cover distinct ranges of the Jamaican language continuum as well as different degrees and types of style-shifting: from an impressionistic classification, the first host, Densil Williams, consistently uses conversational Standard JE and style-shifts only very infrequently. The language use of the second host, Orville Taylor, is characterized by frequent and drastic shifts away from his Standard JE baseline. The third host, Barbara Gloudon, overall uses more JC features on the levels of accent, morpho-syntax, and lexicon. Her on-air speech is characterized by frequent and fluent style-shifting. The language use of the fourth host, Jerry Small, is most strongly marked for JC out of all four hosts. He consistently blends StE with JC. This selection of talk show hosts is biased toward male hosts (3:1) because there are more male talk show hosts on Jamaican radio and a balanced representation of linguistic variation in talk shows was given priority over gender balance.

Newscasts, both short news bulletins and longer news journals, from seven newscasters were selected. The accents of these seven newscasters are taken to

represent the diversity of StE speech in Jamaica: JE as well as StE with a British and an American influence, i.e. British-influenced English (BIE) and American-influenced English (AIE). Four speakers were classified impressionistically as JE, two as BIE, and one as AIE. This impressionistic classification was checked with fellow researchers, among them native speakers of BE and AE. The selection also aimed to achieve a gender balance among the newscasters and the accent categories. However, only one male newscaster of AIE could be recorded from the three stations and the JIS. Furthermore, a news clip imported from an American radio station was added to the selection. The salient segments of the selected newscasts and talk shows were transcribed orthographically in their entirety. This Jamaican radio corpus aims to be representative for linguistic variation in the genres of newscasts and talk radio.The entire newscast corpus comprises 1 hour 30 minutes and 23 seconds of recordings which sums up to 13,648 words in the transcript. The talk show corpus comprises 27,558 words based on 2 hours 44 mintes and 32 seconds of recordings. A detailed overview of the data is attached in Appendix I.

5.2 Quantitative analysis

Accent variation was analyzed quantitatively for newscasters and talk show hosts. This analysis aims to identify fine-grained accent variation in the newsreading speech of newscasters and the baseline code of talk show hosts. The accent variation in newscasts and talk shows was operationalized by means of eleven variables, which were sub-classified into three sets:

- *Set A*: Consonants (word-initial voiced *TH*-stopping, word-initial voiceless *TH*-stopping, word-initial *H*-deletion, rhoticity, word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters)
- *Set B*: Diphthongs (GOAT, FACE)[3]
- *Set C*: Monophthongs (TRAP, BATH, STRUT, LOT)

These variables were used because they allow a distinction between JC, JE, StAmE, and RP. Furthermore, they occurred with relatively consistent frequency, which allowed a quantitative analysis of the data. Details on the realization of these eleven variables in JE, JC, StAmE, and RP as well as restrictions in the analysis are provided in Chapter 5.4.

The influence of the phonetic environment on variation in pronunciation was not investigated. To reduce the major effects of the linguistic environment on the

3. The classification of vowels, monophthongs, and diphthongs, is based on Wells (1982) standard lexical sets.

realization of the variables, different restrictions for the variables were made as indicated in the detailed discussion of the variables. Furthermore, a high token frequency is taken to level the potential significant effects of the phonetic environment on the quantitative results for the phonetic realization of the variables. Bias due to the phonetic environment remains most pronounced for low frequency variables with a high variability.

Different methods were used for the analysis of the three sets: *Set A* was analyzed auditorily and the phonetic realizations were operationalized as dichotomous distinctions, e.g. either initial *H*-absence or *H*-presence. The phonetic information on tokens from variable *Set A* was coded in the orthographic transcription using IPA symbols. Details on the phonetic codings of each variable are provided in Chapter 5.4. Excerpt (5.1) shows a transcription with the codings of the analysis of variable *Set A* and phonetic details on additional salient features. For the transcriptions a reduced version of the ICE markup for spoken texts (Nelson 2002) was used (Table 5.1).

Table 5.1 Markup symbols for transcriptions

markup symbol	Meaning
<#>	new utterance
<$X>	speaker ID
<[> … </[>	overlapping speech
<,>	Pause
<?> … </?>	uncertain transcription
<unclear> … </unclear>	unclear words
<&> … </&>	Comment
<quote> … </quote>	Quotation

(5.1) News01JEF1#1: Coding example, *Protests in Trinidad*, Newstalk93FM
<$JEF1><#>In regional news in a symbolic gesture[ø] to signify their[ð][ɹ] voice has[h] been silenced[Ctd] in the[ð] Trinidadian parliament[ø][Ctd] supporters[ɹ][ø] of former[ø][ø] Prime Minster[ø] Patrick Manning placed[Ctd] masking[ɪn] tape over[ø] their[ð][ɹ] mouths as they[ð] mounted a silent[Ctd] protest[Ctdø] outside the San Fernando[ɹ] East[Ctd] constituency office yesterday[ø] evening <#>The[ð] gesture[ø] has[h] been used internationally[ø] to bring out political and social change

All tokens were auditorily rechecked and cases of disagreement to the first coding were excluded. For newscasts overall 2741 tokens were analyzed (word-initial voiced *TH*-stopping: 734; word-initial voiceless *TH*-stopping: 55; word-initial *H*-deletion: 254; rhoticity: 1266; word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters: 482). For

talk shows overall 2107 tokens were analyzed (word-initial voiced *TH*-stopping: 722; word-initial voiceless *TH*-stopping: 115; word-initial *H*-deletion: 210; rhoticity: 774; word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters: 286).

To check the reliability of the codings an agreement test was carried out: a sound file with excerpts of about one minute length from each speaker was compiled. In the orthographic transcription the original codings were deleted and each token which was coded in the original transcript was marked and phonetic symbols representing the two realization options of the variables were added. The sound file and the edited transcript were given to a fellow researcher, who selected one of the options given for every token or if she was unsure marked the token as uncertain. Uncertain cases were not included in the further analysis of reliability. For newscasts, the agreement test includes seven excerpts from seven newscasters, which translates to a sound file of six minutes and twenty-eight seconds and a transcript of 1083 words. These seven excerpts include 367 tokens, which corresponds to 13.4% of the overall measured tokens for newscasts. For talk shows the test includes six excerpts from four talk shows hosts, which translates to a sound file of five minutes and ten seconds and a transcript of 982 words. These six excerpts include 245 tokens, which corresponds to 11.6% of the overall measured tokens for talk shows. The reliability of the original coding was assessed via the percentage of agreement:

$$\textit{percentage of agreement} = \frac{\textit{tokens coded identically}}{\textit{total number of tokens}} \times 100$$

In accordance with Irvine's (2004, 2008) analysis of phonetic variation in the Jamaican acrolect, the pronunciation of speakers or groups of speakers is analyzed and compared with regard to the variant frequencies for the variables of *Set A*. Variant frequencies lend themselves to comparisons to previous studies on the Jamaican acrolect (Irvine 2004, 2008; Rosenfelder 2009; Lacoste 2012) and the Jamaican mesolect (Patrick 1999) to identify peculiarities of language use in newscasting and talk shows.

The vowel quality of the diphthongs and monophthongs of variable *Set B* and *C* was analyzed acoustically by measuring the F1 and F2 frequencies in the *Praat* spectrogram (Boersma & Weenink 2015).[4] In order to improve accuracy of the normalization procedure, the vowel qualities of FLEECE and GOOSE, which together with TRAP and LOT indicate the corner points of the speakers' vowel system, were additionally measured. The aim was to measure at least ten tokens of each variable for each speaker, which proved to be difficult for BATH and partly also for GOAT. The identification of tokens as belonging to a lexical set was based

4. The acoustic analysis mainly follows Rosenfelder's (2009) methodology.

on Wells' (1982) classification according to the pronunciations in the standard accents of AE and BE: for each token the pronunciation in RP and StAmE was checked in the *Longman Pronunciation Dictionary* (Wells 2008) and the token was assigned to one lexical set. Tokens which are listed as variably belonging to different lexical sets were not incorporated in the analysis. Similarly, tokens with variable pronunciation, i.e. reduced vs. full vowels, in either RP or StAmE according to Wells (2008) were not used. Following Deterding's (1997) guidelines, only clearly stressed instances of vowels were measured. Tokens with preceding or following /r/, /w/, /j/ and tokens with following /l/, /ŋ/ were avoided. In addition, extreme outliers were excluded manually from the analysis. In order to avoid lexical bias, no more than two tokens of the same lexeme in one lexical set were included if possible. To achieve a higher token frequency for BATH and GOAT more than two tokens of the same lexeme were used and if the F1 and F2 frequencies did not differ saliently from the other BATH and GOAT measurements tokens with preceding /r/ were also included. For the measurements the following standard formant settings were used: number of vowel formants 5; maximum formant frequency 5000Hz for males and 5500 Hz for females. In cases of non-continues chaotic formant trajectories, the number of vowel formants was adjusted manually for individual vowel tokens to achieve a more continuous formant trajectory and thus more accurate F1 and F2 measurements.

Average F1 and F2 values were extracted manually from the steady-point portion of each monophthong. For the diphthongs, F1 and F2 values were extracted manually from the twenty percent (onset) and eighty percent (glide) points of the vowel. In order to analyze the level of diphthongization I calculated the Euclidian distance between the vowel offset and onset as well as $\Delta F1'$ (change in vowel height) and $\Delta F2'$ (change in vowel frontness) for each token by using normalized scaled frequencies ($F1'$ and $F2'$).[5]

For newscasts overall 678 measured tokens were included in the analysis. Variable *Set B* comprises 151 tokens (FACE 78; GOAT 73). Variable *Set C* includes 389 tokens (BATH 54; LOT 104; STRUT 106; TRAP 125). Furthermore, 52 GOOSE and 86 FLEECE tokens were added to the data set to improve normalization procedures.

For talk shows overall 385 tokens were included in the analysis. Variable *Set B* includes 102 tokens (FACE 61; GOAT 41) and *Set C* comprises 217 tokens (BATH 35; TRAP 63; STRUT 61; LOT 58). Additionally 37 FLEECE and 29 GOOSE tokens were added.

As there is salient variation in the size of the vocal tract between individuals, especially between males and females, the absolute values of formant frequencies between individual newscasters and talk show hosts cannot be compared directly

5. The formula for the Euclidian distance, $\Delta F1'$, and $\Delta F2'$ are attached in Appendix III.

but need to be normalized first. Of the different vowel-extrinsic and vowel-intrinsic normalization procedures the Lobanov (1971) normalization procedure was employed for the extracted data.[6] Lobanov was chosen over other normalization techniques because in a comparative study by Adank et al. (2004) it was ranked as the overall best normalization procedure to retain phonemic variation, reduce anatomical variation, and at the same time preserve sociolinguistic variation. For the normalization procedure *The Vowel Normalization and Plotting Suit* (NORM) (Thomas & Kendall 2007) was used. The normalized data was also plotted using the plotting options of NORM. To display the data in a more illustrative way as Hz values the results (expressed as z-scores for Lobanov) were scaled using the NORM scaling options.

To test whether there are significant differences in the distribution of the variants of the variables in *Set A* between the seven newscasters and between the four talk show hosts, chi-square test (e.g. Field 2009: 686–701) was used in 7 x 2 (newscasts with 7 levels; *Set A* with two levels) and 4 x 2 (talk show host with 4 levels; *Set A* with two levels) contingency tables: speaker (newscaster or talk show host) was treated as the predictor variable and variables of *Set A* as the dependent linguistic variables. The effect size of the distribution is reported via Cramér's *V*, which measures the association between two categorical variables. Cramér's *V* varies from 0 (no association between the variables) to 1 (complete association between the variables). Cohen's (1988) interpretation for the magnitude of effect sizes was used (small: Cramér's *V* 0.01; moderate: Cramér's *V* 0.3; large: Cramér's *V* 0.5). To investigate differences in the normalized frequencies and Euclidian distances for the diphthongs of *Set B* between the speakers a multivariate analysis of variance (ANOVA) was employed (e.g. Field 2009: 347–394), with speaker as the independent variable and normalized scaled formant values (F1′ and F2′) and Euclidian distances as dependent variables. The effect size, i.e. a measure of the magnitude of an observed effect, of speakers on the realization of vowels is reported via partial η^2 (η^2_p), which reports the proportion of total variation that a variable explains that is not explained by other variables. Cohen's (1988) interpretation for the magnitude of effect sizes was used (small: η^2_p 0.01; moderate: η^2_p 0.06; large: η^2_p 0.14). Pairwise comparison, i.e. several combined T-Tests between all speakers, with Bonferroni correction[7] was used to investigate individual differences between the speakers.

To investigate how speakers can be grouped together into different accent groups, hierarchical cluster analysis was run for the newscast data only.

6. See Rosenfelder (2009: 135–136) for details on the Lobanov normalization procedure.

7. Bonferroni correction divides the overall Type I error rate (0.05) by the number of comparisons to ensure that the cumulative Type I error stays below 0.05 (e.g. Field 2009: 373).

Hierarchical cluster analysis is a structure discovering method, which groups cases according to shared variance and builds a hierarchy of clusters. The resulting clusters are maximally heterogeneous from each other and maximally homogenous within themselves. Ward's Method (e.g. Baayen 2008: 148–160) was used in this study as it was shown to overall perform the best in a comparative study of different agglomerative clustering methods (Ferreira & Hitchcock 2009). For variable *Set A* the variant frequencies were utilized for clustering the different speakers, for variable *Set B* the Euclidian distances between the onset and offset and the speaker mean values of the normalized scaled formant values of the onset, and for variable *Set C* the speaker mean values of the normalized scaled formant values and the Euclidian distance between TRAP and BATH. The results of the cluster analyses are shown graphically via dendograms. All results are reported as significant at $p < 0.05$. Chi-square tests, ANOVAs, and cluster analyses were run with the statistical software package SPSS 21.0 (2012).

5.3 Qualitative analysis

A qualitative perspective on language use in Jamaican news and talk shows was employed to describe linguistic variation which could not be quantified and to account for the variation between and within certain segments of each genre as well as stylistic variation of talk show hosts. The qualitative approach comprises three aspects: first, linguistic variation is discussed by analyzing the use of individual salient accent, lexical, and morpho-syntactic features. Such a qualitative perspective is important for analyzing stylized talk as found in mass media texts. Bell (1992: 336) highlights this importance of investigating the use of specifically salient individual items for stylizations in his analysis of Referee Design in New Zealand advertisements:

> Referee design is more a matter of individual occurrences of salient variants than of quantitative summings and relative frequencies. It is more important that a marked variant […] occurred once out of ten possible occurrences than that the unmarked variant occurred nine times.

Second, linguistic variation was analyzed qualitatively for different segments within the two genres to account for their internal linguistic heterogeneity. The segments were distinguished and described with regard to their role within the genre and their communicative setting. The role of the segment within the genre was analyzed with regard to its abstract content, the position (e.g. beginning), its purpose (e.g. direct address of audiences), and its length. The analysis of the communicative setting includes a description of the participants, the mode of

communication (e.g. monologue or dialogue; direct address of audience), the use of music or other non-verbal sound material, the location of the mediated talk (e.g. studio or on-the-spot), and the temporal dimension of the communication (e.g. live vs. recorded), the level of spontaneity (scripted vs. free speech) and the level of formality. This description of a segment's role and communicative setting was combined with an analysis of language use.

Third, stylistic variation of talk show hosts was qualitatively described in terms of style-shifting (or more drastic code-switching)[8] between English and Creole or between stronger and lighter marking for JC, JE, or formal StE speech styles for various conversational purposes. Stylistic variation in a Labovian sense (e.g. [1966] 2006), i.e. intraspeaker variation along different levels of formality of the speech situation, is based in a quantitative tradition but analyses grounded in a wider understanding of style have often opted for qualitative approaches to account for the diverse motivations of stylistic variation (e.g. Hinrichs 2006) or the complexity of media stylizations (e.g. Bell 1992).

The qualitative analyses are reported by means of exemplary discussions of linguistic variation in specific recordings or selected stretches of discourse of a longer recording. The qualitative discussions are illustrated by means of exemplary excerpts from the orthographic transcripts, which consistently highlight the realization of the eleven phonetic variables. In cases of repetitions only the first token is marked for phonetic details except when the pronunciation changes during the repetition. Reduced realizations of vowels are not marked. Uncertain cases are labeled as [?]. The phonetic codings are described in detail in Chapter 5.4. Phonetic information on additional salient linguistic features is provided by phonetic transcriptions of entire words or phrases. Distinct JC or Jamaican lexemes, i.e. those listed in Cassidy & LePage (2002) and Allsopp (1996, 2010), are transcribed using the Cassidy & LePage writing system. Passages strongly marked for JC are marked in bold. They are additionally transcribed phonetically in their entirety in an indented second transcription line and glosses are added in italics in an indented third line. Excerpts are numbered consecutively. The sound files to the excerpts can be accessed online at: https://doi.org/10.1075/veaw.g60.audio. Appendix II provides an overview of the excerpts.

The discussion of language use based on these exemplary excerpts includes two levels of analysis and description: the smallest units of the qualitative linguistic description are individual linguistic variants which are associated with specific

8. The distinction between code-switching and style-shifting is very hard to draw for the talk show data. I use the former term for more abrupt and drastic stylistic changes from one extreme to another, while the latter term describes more subtle shifts which develop over longer stretches of discourse.

varieties (JC or StE), accents (JC, JE, StAmE, RP), or linguistic styles (e.g. Speaky-Spoky or Dread Talk) on the basis of reference descriptions of these linguistic abstractions (JC lexicon: Cassidy & LePage 2002; JC morpho-syntax: Patrick 2008; Speaky-Spoky: Patrick 1997; Bohmann 2015; Dread Talk: Pollard 2000; see Chapter 5.4). On a more abstract level linguistic variation is described for utterances or whole stretches of discourse. Based on the density of specific linguistic variants and their salience in utterances and stretches of discourse these higher level fragments of language use are described in terms of the degree to which they are marked for a certain variety or style: they can be more/strongly (with a higher density of features, more salient features) or less/lightly (lower density of features/less salient features) marked for a variety or style.

The qualitative analysis of language use in the two genres of newscasts and talk shows follows this broad approach. Yet, the general approach was adapted to the specific needs of the genres: for newscasts, the accent variation in newsreading between the different Jamaican newscasters was first analyzed quantitatively by means of the eleven accent variables. Additional salient accent features produced by the newscasters were considered qualitatively. The quantitative and qualitative analyses were combined to classify the accents of the newscasters. Second, linguistic variation across the different newscast segments was analyzed. The different segments were identified and described with regard to their communicative setting and their roles in the program. The segments were analyzed qualitatively in terms of language use taking into account pronunciation, morpho-syntax, and lexicon.

Linguistic variation in Jamaican talk shows was analyzed quantitatively and qualitatively for four exemplary talk shows. The quantitative analysis aims to investigate the pronunciation of the baseline style of a talk show host. Bell (2001: 147) describes baseline style as the basis from which a speaker shifts to other speech styles and as the style normally designed for a particular type of addressee, e.g. "[t]he baseline for expressing a businesslike attitude […] is defined by how one normally talks to a business addressee" (Bell 1984: 185). Thus, the baseline style depends on the context. Unlike in Bell's examples a talk show host always addresses the audience and potentially studio guests or callers alike. Hence, the baseline cannot be defined by the addressee alone. In the context of radio talk shows, Selting (1985) describes a talk radio host's baseline as the "normal form, i.e. the one expected to be used by a moderator" (p. 184) and she identifies two contexts when the baseline style is used in her data from a German radio participation program: monologic passages when no face-to-face participant is addressed and non-strategic turns in face-to-face conversations. These criteria serve as the basis for my selection of baseline style passages: I selected free speech in monologues passages with no interaction with studio guests or callers and long turns in interaction where the host comments on or discusses the issue at hand in a monologic

way. Shorter dialogic turns, like short inquiries or direct responses, as well as passages where the host shows emotional involvement, antagonism, or solidarity were excluded. A data driven selection was added to these top down criteria: passages which fit the above mentioned criteria but deviated saliently on a morpho-syntactic or lexical level from the baseline selection were also excluded from the investigation of the baseline style. In addition to the quantitative accent analysis of the baseline style, a qualitative perspective was employed which highlights accent, morpho-syntactic as well as lexical variables. In this open approach baseline style is not rigidly defined but is rather treated as a specific range which dominates a host's on-air repertoire.

As a second step, stylistic variation within the baseline style and deviations from it were analyzed qualitatively for every talk show separately. This qualitative approach proceeds from a description of the individual talk show's format, its content orientation and the broad segmentation and highlights salient background information to the program. As a second step, the talk show host's personality is analyzed with regard to biographical background information and the persona(s) projected across the different segments of the program. Then the individual baseline style of the host and its application in the show is discussed from a quantitative perspective for his or her accent and from a qualitative perspective which takes into account additional accent features as well as morpho-syntax and lexicon. On the basis of these descriptions, stylistic variation is discussed qualitatively in the different segments of the show. The qualitative approach combines an investigation of style on the level of accent, morpho-syntax, and lexicon with observations of the conversational behavior. The main focus in this part is on the host but it also features observations on the language use of caller. The analysis of linguistic variation in talk shows aims to highlight how hosts put linguistic variation to use for different pragmatic and situational purposes and for the projection of their on-air persona(s).

5.4 Variables

This section presents a detailed discussion of all accent variables which are used in the quantitative and qualitative analysis: *Set A* (word-initial voiced *TH*-stopping, word-initial voiceless *TH*-stopping, word-initial *H*-deletion, rhoticity, and word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters), *Set B* (GOAT and FACE), and *Set C* (TRAP, BATH, STRUT, and LOT). Each variable description includes a brief definition and an overview of the different realizations in JC, JE, StAmE, and RP. The descriptions also highlight restrictions in the analysis and the details of the phonetic coding in the transcriptions. Table 5.2 provides an overview of the varying realizations of the

eleven phonetic variables in the four varieties. Finally, additional salient accent features which are taken into account in the qualitative analysis are briefly defined and discussed.

5.4.1 Set A: Consonants

Word-initial voiced TH-stopping and Word-initial voiceless TH-stopping
Alternation between voiced/voiceless interdental fricative and voiced/voiceless alveolar stop (word-initially), e.g. as in *them* or *that*, and, as in *thousand* or *thirty*, respectively. Both StAmE and RP use interdental fricatives, which are not part of the JC consonant system (Cassidy & LePage 2002; Devonish & Harry 2008: 272). Akers (1981: 33) treats voiceless and voiced *TH*-stopping identically: in the basilect and the mesolect the variables are realized as alveolar stops while they are realized as interdental fricative in the acrolect. However, Irvine (2004) found significantly different patterns for the realizations of the voiced and voiceless variables in JE in initial position: she reports that model speakers of JE produce the voiced interdental fricative 48% of the time and the voiced alveolar stop 52% of the time, whereas the voiceless variable is realized in 78% of cases as an interdental fricative and only in 12% of cases as a stop. Hence, Irvine (2008) describes voiced fricatives as non load-bearing for JE, i.e. those variants that are not defining for JE and "speakers show no imperative to either produce or avoid" them, and voiceless interdental fricatives as load-bearing for JE, i.e. "those [variants] necessary for producing JE" (p. 19).

Due to a tendency in rapid connected speech for two separate words to blur into one seamless phonetic unit, tokens which are preceded by words which end with an interdental fricative or an alveolar stop were not coded and excluded from the analysis. Tokens were coded as either dental fricatives, [ð] or [θ], or alveolar stops and, [d] or [t].

Word-initial H-deletion
Alternation between /h/ and ø (word-initially), e.g. as in *heavy*. Initial [h] has phonemic status in the standard accents of American, British, and Jamaican English (Devonish & Harry 2008: 281), for example distinguishing *heart* from *art*, but not in JC (Cassidy & LePage 2002: lxii). Akers (1981: 32) and Patrick (1999: 277) describe initial *H*-deletion as a common feature of JC, which is overtly stigmatized as bad Jamaican speech (Wells 1982: 569). However, Allsopp (1996: xlvii) states that initial *H*-deletion occurs even among educated speakers in Jamaica. Irvine's (2004) informants avoid initial *H*-deletion and the model JE speakers nearly categorically (92%) produce initial [h]. Hence, it is a load-bearing feature of JE.

Wells (1982: 254) states that standard accents regularly lack initial /h/ in the pronouns *he, him, her*, and *his*, the relative particle *who* and the auxiliaries *has, have*, and *had* if they are unstressed or not postpausal. Due to this common tendency these lexemes were excluded. Tokens were coded as either presence [h] or absence [hø].

Hypercorrect initial *H*-insertion is common in JC and is described as a marker of emphasis by Devonish & Harry (2008: 273), while Patrick (1999: 277) defines this hypercorrect use as a feature of Speaky-Spoky, i.e. "a pejorative label for hyper-correct speech in Jamaica" (Bohmann 2015: 129). Hypercorrect *H*-insertion was coded as [H].

Rhoticity

Alternation between postvocalic /r/ and ø, e.g. as in *morning* or *year*. Rhoticity saliently distinguishes AE from BE: whereas StAmE is generally rhotic with variation ranging from fully constricted [ɹ] to *r*-coloring (Kretzschmar 2008), RP is generally non-rhotic (Upton 2008: 247). The omission of postvocalic /r/ in RP affects the vowel quality in preceding vowels leading to centering diphthongs, for example [ʊə] in CURE, where StAmE has monophthongs. However, RP has postvocalic /r/ as linking and intrusive-*r* (Upton 2008: 249). JC is described as categorically non-rhotic in pre-consonantal positions but postvocalic /r/ appears in word-final positions (Harry & Devonish 2008: 278). On the other hand, JE is described as rhotic (Harry & Devonish 2008: 284). However, Rosenfelder's (2009) analysis of rhoticity in educated JE shows that only 21.65% of all tokens are realized as /r/. She attributes this to the simplified understanding of the acrolect as maximally distant from the basilect (Irvine 2004) and cautions of too simplified descriptions of varieties as either rhotic or non-rhotic (2009: 81). She draws on Well's (1982) description of the Jamaican continuum and advances the view of JE as "variably semi-rhotic" (p. 570).

Tokens in a phonetic environment which allows linking-*r*, for example in *there is*, or intrusive-r, for example in l*aw-/r/-and order*, and tokens which are followed by a homorganic sound, for example in *are right*, were not coded and were excluded from the quantification. Tokens were coded as either presence [ɹ] or absence ø. [ɹ] includes both fully constricted [ɹ] and *r*-coloring.

Word-final (-t, -d) consonant clusters

Alternation between word-final (-t, -d) consonant cluster presence and absence, e.g. as in *best* or *government*. Upton (2008) and Kretzschmar (2008) do not report final (-t, -d) consonant cluster absence as a distinctive feature of the standard accents of BE and AE. Although it is not a defining feature for these two accents, consonant cluster absence is common even in the speech of model speakers of RP

and StAmE: Deterding (2006) reports an absence rate of 43% for BBC newscasters. According to Devonish & Harry (2008) word-final (-t, -d) consonant clusters are present in JC, which allows for *-nt* and *-lt* clusters, and JE, which allows for more complex clusters and generally follows other standard varieties of English. However, high (-t, -d) consonant cluster absence rates have been reported for JC and JE: For JC Akers (1981) reports a 99% absence rate for regular past items and 54% absence rate for "other forms". For StE he reports a 53% absence rate for regular past items and 18% absence rate for "other forms" (quoted in Patrick 1999: 136). For mesolectal speakers Patrick (1999) found an overall absence rate of 75%. Lacoste (2012) found a 73% absence rate for rural Jamaican school teachers, who provide the model of JE to their students. For *-nt* consonant clusters which do not serve a morphological function (e.g. *government* in contrast to *don't*), Irvine's results (2008) show a generally low absence rate with an average of 20% for the frontline staff of a governmental agency (model speakers of JE) and an average of 41% for non-frontline staff. Highly educated frontline staff almost categorically produces *-nt* before a vowel (absence rate of 7%). Based on this particular extremely high presence rate Irvine (2008) counts word-final *-nt* consonant clusters as load-bearing for JE. Yet the results of previous studies do not support this classification.

Clusters resulting from contractions, as in *don't*, the word *and*, as well as tokens before alveolar stops, /d/ and /t/, and post-alveolar affricates, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/, were excluded. Tokens were coded as either presence [Ctd] or absence [Ctdø].

5.4.2 Set B: Diphthongs

GOAT and FACE

Alternation between upgliding diphthongs, monophthongs and downgliding diphthongs in GOAT and in FACE. In RP and StAmE GOAT and FACE are realized as the upgliding diphthong [oʊ] or [əʊ] and [eɪ], respectively (Kretzschmar 2008; Upton 2008).The onset in GOAT is tendentially lower and more central in RP than in StAmE. In JE, both GOAT and FACE are realized as the monophthongs [o(ː)] and [e(ː)], while in JC they are realized as the downgliding diphthongs [ʊo] ~ [ʊa] and [ɪɛ] ~ [ɪe] ~ [ɪa] (Devonish & Harry 2008). Irvine (2004, 2008) reports an almost categorical realization of both variables as JE monophthongs among all respondents (e.g. highly educated frontline staff: 94% [oː] and 89% [eː]). She does not report any realizations as upgliding diphthongs. Among the few downgliding diphthongs [ɪe] seems to be more common than [ʊo]. This preference for monophthongs among acrolectal speakers and tendentially higher proportions of [ɪe] than [ʊo] is confirmed by Beckford-Wassink (2001: 153). She also found stylistic variation among her informants with more downgliding diphthongs being

produced in conversational tasks than in word lists. Similar to Irvine (2004, 2008), Beckford-Wassink (2001) does not report any metropolitan realizations as upgliding diphthongs.

In the transcripts for the qualitative analysis the realizations of GOAT and FACE were marked as upgliding diphthongs, [oʊ]/[əʊ] and [eɪ], monophthongs, [e(ː)] and [o(ː)], or downgliding diphthongs, [ʊo] and [ɪe]; [əʊ] was used to highlight a saliently lower and more centralized onset in realizations of GOAT as an upgliding diphthong.

5.4.3 Set C: Monophthongs

STRUT

Alternation between in [o] and [ʌ] in STRUT. STRUT is realized as [ʌ] both in StAmE as well as RP (Kretzschmar 2008; Upton 2008). Devonish & Harry (2008, also Akers 1981: 25) do not list [ʌ] in the JC vowel system but describe the realization of STRUT as [ɵ] ~ [o]. They also exclude [ʌ] from the JE vowel inventory and describe the realization of STRUT as [ɵ] ~ [o] ~ [əː]. In their acoustic analyses both Beckford-Wassink (1999, 2001), who analyzed basilectal and acrolectal speakers, and Rosenfelder (2009), who investigated JE in different text categories of the ICE Jamaica, found [ʌ] as phonemic for Jamaican speakers. However, Beckford-Wassink (2001: 147) notes a partial spectral overlap for [ʌ] with [ɔ] and [oː] for some speakers. Furthermore, Rosenfelder (2009) found mergers between STRUT, THOUGHT, and CLOTH for radio hosts but not for newscasters. In comparison to acoustic measurements of Standard BE and AE, she found a higher realization and a pronounced backness of STRUT to be a stable feature of JE, which does not carry any negative associations. She describes this pronounced back pronunciation of STRUT as "clearly distinct in its phonetic realization from both British and the American standards of pronunciation" (p. 142).

In the transcripts for the qualitative analysis the realization of STRUT was either coded as [ʌ], which represents a more centralized (RP, StAmE) realization, or [o], which represents a more backed and/or heightened realization (JE, JC).

TRAP and BATH

Alternation between [a] and [æ] in TRAP and in BATH. BATH is kept distinct from TRAP because it distinguishes StAmE [æ] from RP [ɑː] ~ [a] (Kretzschmar 2008; Upton 2008; also Deterding 1997), while TRAP is realized as [æ] in both StAmE and traditional RP.[9] However, TRAP is realized more fronted and higher in AE than

9. Upton (2008: 242) describes the shift from traditional RP [æ] to modern RP [a] as one of the most striking changes in RP in recent years.

in BE (Rosenfelder 2009: 168). [æ] is not described as a part of the JC or JE vowel system (Cassidy & LePage 2002; Akers 1981; Devonish & Harry 2008). In both JE and JC, Devonish & Harry (2008) describe the realization of TRAP as varying between [a] and [ɐ]. The JE realization of TRAP is distinct both from BE and, especially, AE in terms of a lower and more backed quality (Rosenfelder 2009: 144, 156, 168). The realization of BATH is described as [aː] for both JC and JE (Devonish & Harry 2008). Rosenfelder (2009: 144) reports that BATH is generally realized further back than TRAP, which is situated around the center of the vowel system (Rosenfelder 2009: 144). Nevertheless, the JE realization of BATH is also distinct from BE, where BATH is realized considerably more backed and slightly higher than in JE (Rosenfelder 2009: 156). She also found differences in the distance between BATH and TRAP, which are realized most distantly in news and most closely by radio hosts (near merger). She proposes either an American or a JC influence for the closing of the distance between TRAP and BATH with decreasing levels of formality, because TRAP and BATH are merged in these two varieties with regard to their spectral properties. As TRAP and BATH are kept most distinct in the news text category she concludes that the influence of BE on JE remains strongest in this formal speech domain.

In addition to the F1 and F2 measurements of TRAP and BATH, for every speaker the distance between the normalized mean positions of the two vowels in the *F*1′/ *F*2′ formant space is investigated via their Euclidian distance.

In the transcripts for the qualitative analysis the realizations of TRAP and BATH were either coded as [a], which represents a more lowered, centralized realization, or [æ], which represents a higher more fronted realization. Backed, raised and rounded realizations, which are associated with Speaky-Spoky, were coded as [ɔ].

LOT

Alternation between [ɑ] and [ɒ] in LOT. The realization of LOT saliently distinguishes StAmE from RP, the former having [ɑ] and the latter having [ɒ] (Kretzschmar 2008; Upton 2008). According to Devonish & Harry (2008: 260) LOT merges with CLOTH, THOUGHT, BROAD, NORTH in both JC and JE. These variables are realized as [a(ː)] in JC and as [ɔ(ː)] in JE. Similarly, Rosenfelder (2009: 147) describes a tendency for LOT to merge with CLOTH and THOUGHT in educated JE across all levels of formality. However, the realization varies significantly for different levels of formality: with a decreasing level of formality the three lexical sets are realized with a decreasing degree of vowel height and an increasing degree of centralization. She concludes that LOT (as well as THOUGHT and CLOTH) shows a high degree of variability in JE. This observation conforms with Irvine's (2004) description of the "alternation between the low central vowel and the low back vowel as in not [nat ~ nɔt]" (p. 52): model speakers of JE realize this variable, which Irvine (2008)

does not define in more detail, as [ɔ] in 69% of cases, with a more centralized production ([ʌ]) in 15% of cases and with the Creole variant [a] in 16% of cases. Non-frontline staff of the governmental agency produces more of the [a] (27%) and [ʌ] (19.5%) variants and less of the [ɔ] variant (53%). Irvine (2004) is uncertain whether [ʌ] is stigmatized as Creole or perceived as part of StE in Jamaica. Rosenfelder (2009: 147) proposes that the increasing production of lower centralized vowels is either due to an American or JC influence on JE.

In the transcripts for the qualitative analysis the realizations of LOT were either coded as [ɑ], which represents a more front, lower and unrounded realization (JC and StAmE), or as [ɒ], which represents a more backed, heightened and rounded realization (JE and RP). The distinction between more backed [ɑ] and more fronted [a] was not systematically coded because an auditory distinction was most often not clear cut enough. Saliently fronted realizations were indicated in the transcript via phonetic transcriptions of the entire word. As with TRAP and BATH, backed raised and rounded Speaky-Spoky realizations were coded as [ɔ].

Table 5.2 Overview of phonetic variables*

Variables	JE	JC	RP	StAmE	coded as
voiced *TH*-stopping	[d]~[ð]	[d]	[ð]	[ð]	[ð] vs. [d]
voiceless *TH*-stopping	[θ]	[t]	[θ]	[θ]	[θ] vs. [t]
H-deletion**	[h]	ø	[h]	[h]	[h] vs. [hø]
rhoticity	[r]~ø	[r]~ø	[ø]	[r]	[ɹ] vs. [ø]
word-final (-t, -d) consonant clusters	[Ct,d]~ø	[Ct,d]~ø	[Ct,d]	[Ct,d]	[Ctd] vs. [Ctdø]
STRUT	[ɵ]~[o]~[ɔː] ~backed [ʌ]	[ɵ]~[o] ~backed [ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ʌ]	[ʌ] vs. [o]
TRAP†	[a]~[ɐ]	[a]~[ɐ]	[æ]	[æ]	[a] vs. [æ]
BATH†	[a]	[a]	[a]~[aː]	[æ]	[a] vs. [æ]
LOT†	[ɔ]~[ɒ]	[a]	[ɒ]~[ɔ]	[ɑ]	[ɑ] vs. [ɒ]
GOAT	[oː]	[ʊo]~[ʊa]	[əʊ]~[oʊ]	[oʊ]	[oʊ]/[əʊ] vs [o(ː)] vs. [ʊo]
FACE	[eː]~[e]	[ɪe]~[ɪɛ] ~[ɪa]	[eɪ]	[eɪ]	[eɪ] vs [e(ː)] vs. [ɪe]

* ~ indicates variability

** hypercorrect *H*-insertion [H]

† Speaky-Spoky [ɔ]

5.4.4 Additional accent features

In addition to these eleven phonetic variables, the accent variation in newscasts and talk shows is described qualitatively by further accent variables: ING, *t*-tapping, *r*-tapping, centering diphthongs, MOUTH, palatalization, metathesis of /sk/, word-final /aun/, and word-final *-tion*. Word-final ING (as in *running*) varies between a formal (standard) realization as a velar nasal [ɪŋ] and an informal (vernacular) realization as an alveolar nasal [ɪn]. Intervocalic /t/ is realized as an alveolar tap [ɾ] in StAmE (Kretzschmar 2008: 48), while it is realized as an alveolar plosive [t] in RP, JE, and JC. Old-fashioned RP is characterized by *r*-tapping, i.e. the realization of /ɹ/ mostly in intervocalic position as an alveolar tap [ɾ] (as in *very*) (Wells 1982: 282); this realization is not found in StAmE, JE, or JC. Furthermore, *r*-tapping is taught as correct in performance (Collins & Mees 2003: 45). Due to its non-rhotic character RP has centering diphthongs [ɪə], [eə], and [ʊə] in vowels preceding /r/ which is not realized (as in *tear, bear*, and *pure*). StAmE, JE, and JC do not have centering diphthongs. MOUTH is variably realized with a raised onset in JC and JE, its realizations being low fronted [aʊ] and more central raised [ɐʊ] (Devonish & Harry 2008: 260, 267); it is realized with a low fronted onset as [aʊ] in RP and StAmE. JE and JC are characterized by an insertion of palatal glides [j] after word-initial /k, g/ and before /a(ː)/ (as in *cat*), i.e. palatalization. Palatalization between word-initial /k, g/ and /a(ː)/ does not occur in RP or StAmE. Palatalization has previously been described as a strictly basilectal JC feature (e.g. Wells 1982: 569); Irvine (2004: 57–59) shows that this feature is also common among educated speakers of JE but more commonly before short [a]. Metathesis of /sk/ in *ask* (i.e. [aːks]) is a common feature of JC (Cassidy & LePage 2002: lxiii) and neither occurs in JE, RP nor StAmE. The JC realization of word-final /aun/ as [oŋ] is "a highly stigmatized but frequently occurring variant in JE" (Devonish & Harry 2008: 284). The RP and StAmE variant is [aun]. Word-final *-tion* (as in *education*) is realized with the central reduced vowel [ə] in StAmE and RP; schwa is not part of the JE and JC vowel system according to Devonish & Harry (2008). Word-final *-tion* is realized with a full vowel in both JE and JC: [ʃan] is the JC realization, while Irvine (2004: 60–61) shows that the realization in JE varies between [ʃan], [ʃʌn], and [ʃɔn]. Shields-Brodber (1989: 46) mentions [ʃɔn] as a feature of JE, whereas Patrick (1997) defines this realization as a feature of Speaky-Spoky. Reference descriptions of any further variables taken into account in the description of linguistic variation in Jamaican radio newscasts and talk shows are provided in the analysis chapters.

CHAPTER 6

Language use in Jamaican radio newscasts

This chapter presents an analysis of the variability in language use in Jamaican radio newscasts. First, I analyze accent variation among seven newscasters in newsreading with a quantitative acoustic analysis, which is based on the accent variables discussed in Chapter 5.4. Second, in order to show the heterogeneity in newscast language beyond newsreading, the chapter then proceeds with a qualitative analysis of language use along different segments of Jamaican radio newscasts: *jingles, greeting*, and *sign-off sequences, newsreading, interviews, reports*, and *imported news clips.*

6.1 Accent variability among Jamaican newscasters

The quantitative analysis of the eleven phonetic variables shows salient accent variation among the seven selected Jamaican newscasters, which reflects the three-way interaction between Jamaican, British, and American norms. However, this accent variation differs significantly for the eleven variables. For each variable set the results of the analysis are first reported descriptively, then checked statistically for significant differences between the seven speakers and finally checked for clusters.

6.1.1 Variable Set A – newscasts: Consonants

The analysis of the variable *Set A* shows salient accent variation among the seven newscasters. In addition, there are significant differences between the realization of the five variables: while there is relative agreement in the variant frequencies among the newscasters for voiceless *TH*-stopping, *H*-deletion, and word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters, there are salient differences in voiced *TH*-stopping and rhoticity. Table 6.1 gives an overview of the results and shows the raw token frequencies and the percentage of use in brackets.

The agreement test shows a good reliability of the codings of the variables: the percentage of agreement between the two transcribers is 91.6%. Clopper (2011: 190) deems an agreement rate of 80% or above as reliable. From the overall

Table 6.1 Results variables *Set A* – newscasts

	voiced *TH*-stopping		voiceless *TH*-stopping		*H*-deletion		rhoticity		(-t,-d) consonant clusters	
speaker*	[ð]	[d]	[θ]	[t]	[h]	ø	[ɹ]	ø	[Ctd]	ø
AIEM	149	2	6	0	45	0	134	91	87	26
	(98.7)	(1.3)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(59.6)	(40.4)	(77.0)	(23.0)
BIEF	143	1	11	0	57	0	53	226	76	10
	(99.3)	(0.7)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(19.0)	(81.0)	(88.4)	(11.6)
BIEM	126	4	8	0	31	0	30	173	69	21
	(96.9)	(3.1)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(14.8)	(85.2)	(76.7)	(23.3)
JEF1	75	13	11	0	34	3	42	101	46	5
	(85.2)	(14.8)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(91.9)	(8.1)	(29.4)	(70.6)	(90.2)	(9.8)
JEF2	48	25	2	1	18	1	26	59	26	4
	(65.8)	(34.2)	(66.7)	(33.3)	(94.7)	(5.3)	(30.6)	(69.4)	(86.7)	(13.3)
JEM1	27	15	3	0	26	0	22	55	35	9
	(64.3)	(35.7)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(28.6)	(71.4)	(79.5)	(20.5)
JEM2	89	17	13	0	39	0	81	173	57	11
	(84.0)	(16.0)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(31.9)	(68.1)	(83.8)	(16.2)

* alphabetical order according to impressionistic auditory classification

367 tokens, the fellow researcher was unsure about eight tokens, 325 tokens were coded identically and thirty tokens were coded differently.[1]

All seven speakers agree in their dispreference for variants associated exclusively with JC, i.e. voiceless *TH*-stopping and *H*-deletion (Figure 6.1).[2] This preference for StE norms of pronunciation is categorical for almost all speakers, except for the two female newscasters with a JE accent. However, the absolute numbers are very low: the JEF2 newscaster realizes one out of only three tokens as an alveolar stop. Hence, JEF2's relatively high frequency of 33.3% of voiceless *TH*-stopping is misleading. The absolute token frequency for *H*-deletion is higher but the absolute number of *H*-absence is similarly low: JEF2 deletes one out of nineteen *H*s and JEF1 deletes three *H*s out of thirty-seven tokens. Furthermore, the JEF1 newscaster corrects herself in one of these three instances (Excerpt 6.1). This correction, which is a very rare practice in the newscast data, suggests that there is a strong awareness among newscasters that the JC stigmatized variants should be avoided. Furthermore, no hypercorrect *H*-insertion was observed.

(6.1) News01JEF101: Self correction *H*-deletion, *Gunshots in the Mountain View area*, Newstalk93FM
<$JEF1><#>According[ø] to reports[ø] Williams is among[o] a group of heavily[hø]<,> heavily[h] armed[ø] gunmen[o] that[ð][a] ambushed[a][Ctd] a police patrol[oː] team responding[ʊ] to gunshots[o] being fired[ø] in the[d] Mountain View area

Variation for voiced *TH*-stopping is more pronounced than for voiceless *TH*-stopping and *H*-deletion (Figure 6.1): similar to voiceless *TH*-stopping, the newscasters classified as AIE and BIE almost categorically avoid the realization of the voiced variable as an alveolar stop. However, in contrast to voiceless *TH*-stopping, the realization of the voiced variable as an alveolar stop is relatively frequent among newscasters classified as JE. This saliently distinguishes the JE newscasters from those with an exonormative-influenced accent. Overall, there are significant differences in the distribution of the variable among the seven newscasters with a moderate association between voiced *TH*-stopping and newscaster ($\chi^2 = 113.36$, $df = 6$, $p < 0.01$, Cramér's $V = 0.39$). Among the JE newscasters the realization varies as well: the JEF2 (34.2%) and JEM1 (35.7%) newscasters realize more instances

1. In cases of disagreement the original coding was retained.

2. Due the low token frequencies for voiceless *TH*-stopping and *H*-dropping too many expected cells frequencies are below 5. This means that the sampling distribution is too deviant from a chi-square distribution in order for a chi-square analysis to be successful (Field 2009: 690). Yates' correction only works for 2 x 2 contingency tables and Fisher's exact test is problematic for larger contingency tables. Thus, no statistical analysis was run for word-initial voiceless *TH*-stopping and word-initial *H*.

as stops than the JEF1 (14.8%) and JEM2 (16.0%) newscasters. Despite these differences, all newscasters agree in their preference for the realization of the variable as an interdental fricative – albeit to different degrees.

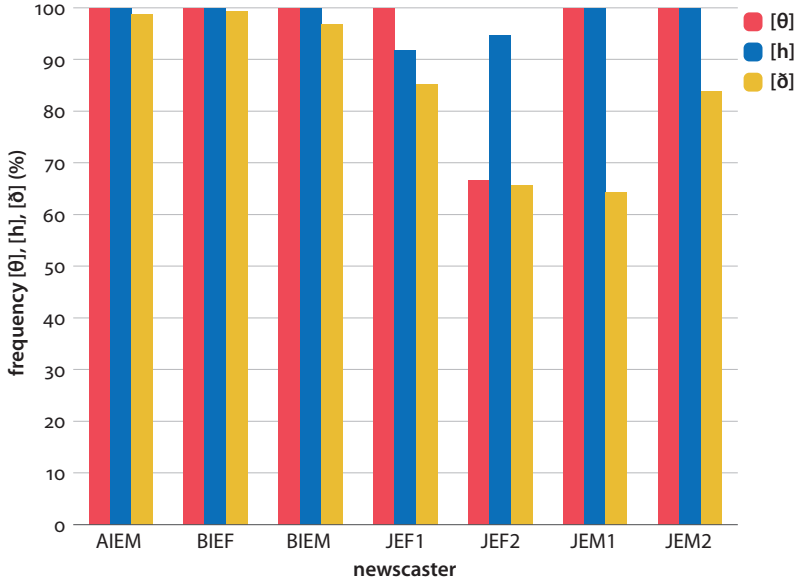

Figure 6.1 Word-initial *TH*-stopping and word-initial *H* – newscasts

Rhoticity in the newscast data reflects the three-way norm competition of StE speech in Jamaica (Figure 6.2): AIEM is the only speaker with a preference for the production of postvocalic /r/ (59.6%), while all others agree in their preference for the omission of postvocalic /r/. BIEF (19.0%) and BIEM (14.8%) have the least rhotic accents. Among the JE newscasters the retention of postvocalic /r/ ranges around 30% – their accent is best described as semi-rhotic. These differences among the seven newscasters reach the level of significance with a moderate association between rhoticity and speaker ($\chi^2 = 130.78$, $df = 6$, $p < 0.01$, Cramér's $V = 0.32$).

No clear pattern of differences between the seven newscasters emerges from the analysis of word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters in relation to the impressionistic accent classification. All newscasters show a high rate of production of word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters: the production rate ranges around 70 to 90%, which is saliently higher than that of BBC newscasters analyzed by Deterding (2006), who only retain 53% of consonant clusters. The subtle differences between the seven speakers does not reach a level of significance ($\chi^2 = 9.17$, $df = 6$, $p < 0.16$, Cramér's $V = 0.14$). In addition to the high retention rate of word-final consonant clusters, newscasters often pronounce word-final consonant clusters very clearly.

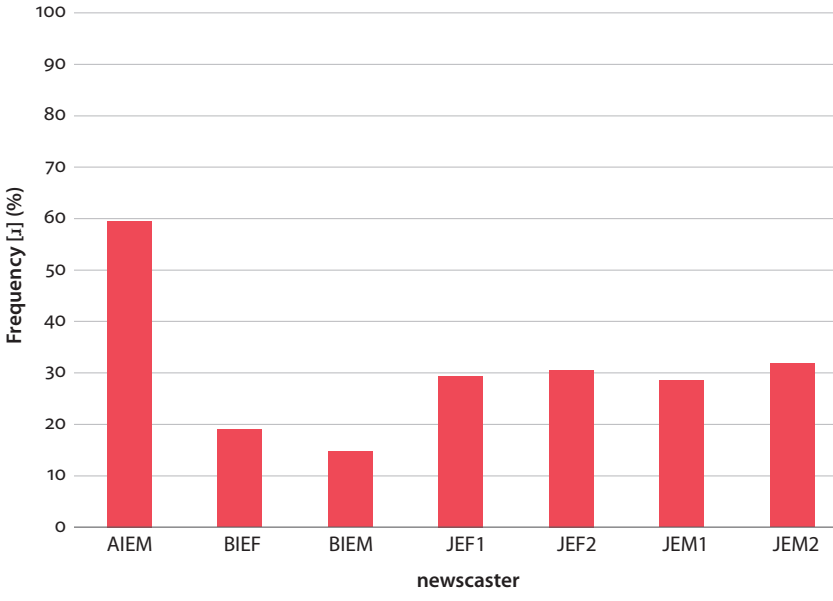

Figure 6.2 Rhotictiy – newscasts

In prepausal position and especially in sentence final position there is even a tendency to overarticulate the clusters.

To identify speaker groupings with regard to the variation in variable *Set A* a cluster analysis was run, which uses Ward's Method, measures the interval via squared Euclidian distances and is based on the frequencies of use of [h], [ð], [ɹ], and consonant cluster presence.[3] Figure 6.3 shows the results of the cluster analysis as a dendogram: the vertical axis represents the different clusters and the horizontal axis indicates the distance/dissimilarity between the clusters. This means that the closer two newscasters are merged on the horizontal axis via a fusion of their horizontal lines the more similar are their accents. This cluster analysis shows three broad clusters: BIE, AIE, and JE. The JE cluster can be subdivided into two clusters: on the one hand, JEF2 and JEM1, and on the other hand JEF1 and JEM2.

These three or four clusters differ saliently with regard to variable *Set A*. BIE is characterized by categorical word-initial *H*-presence, categorical realization of voiced and voiceless word-initial *TH* as a fricative, a high presence rate of word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters and a very low production rate of postvocalic /r/. AIE shares the categorical word-initial *H*-presence, the categorical realization of voiced and voiceless word-initial *TH* as a fricative and the high presence rate of

3. Due to the low absolute token number word-initial voiceless *TH*-stopping was excluded from the cluster analysis.

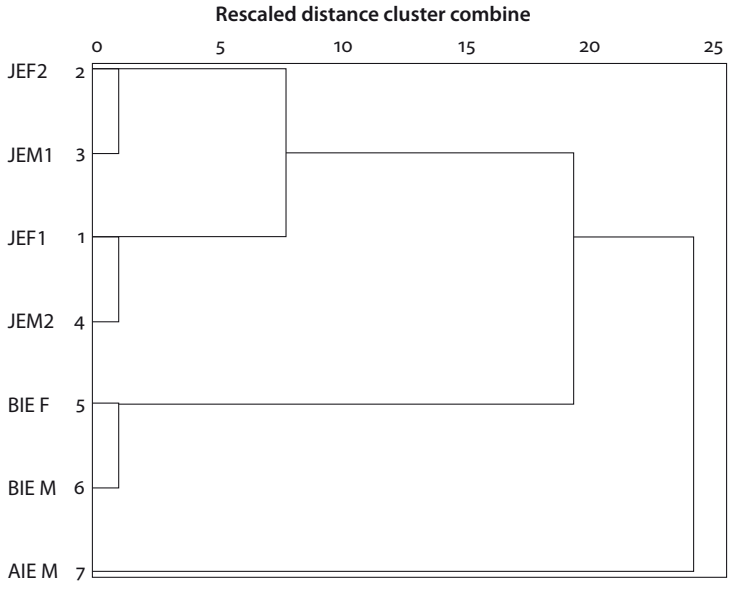

Figure 6.3 Dendrogram of the cluster analysis of variable *Set A* – newscasts

consonant clusters with BIE. Yet, AIE is characterized by a preference for the production of postvocalic /r/, which distinguishes him from all other newscasters. The JE cluster is characterized by an almost categorical avoidance of *H*-deletion and voiceless *TH*-stopping. However, the JE data shows isolated but salient instances of *H*-deletion and voiceless *TH*-stopping. Furthermore, JE is best described as "semi-rhotic" (Wells 1982: 221; Rosenfelder 2009: 176). Like BIE and AIE, JE is also characterized by a high presence rate of consonant clusters but differs from the exonormative-influenced accent varieties in terms of voiced *TH*-stopping: the JE newscasters show a preference for the realization of voiced initial *TH* as a fricative but display a relatively consistent and highly salient realization as a stop. The two JE clusters differ with regard to initial voiced *TH*-stopping: JEF2 and JEM1 produce about twice as many stops as JEF1 and JEM2.

6.1.2 Variable Set B – newscasts: Diphthongs

The analysis of variable *Set B* shows a clear dichotomous distinction into two groups: on the one hand, the JE newscasters who monophthongize FACE and GOAT and, on the other hand, the exonormative-influenced speakers who realize the two variables as upgliding diphthongs. Furthermore, there are salient differences in the realization of the vowel onset. Figure 6.4 shows a formant plot of the mean scores of the normalized and scaled frequencies F1′ and F2′ (including the onset

and glide for FACE and GOAT) for all variables (different shapes) of *Set B* and *C* for every newscaster (different colors).

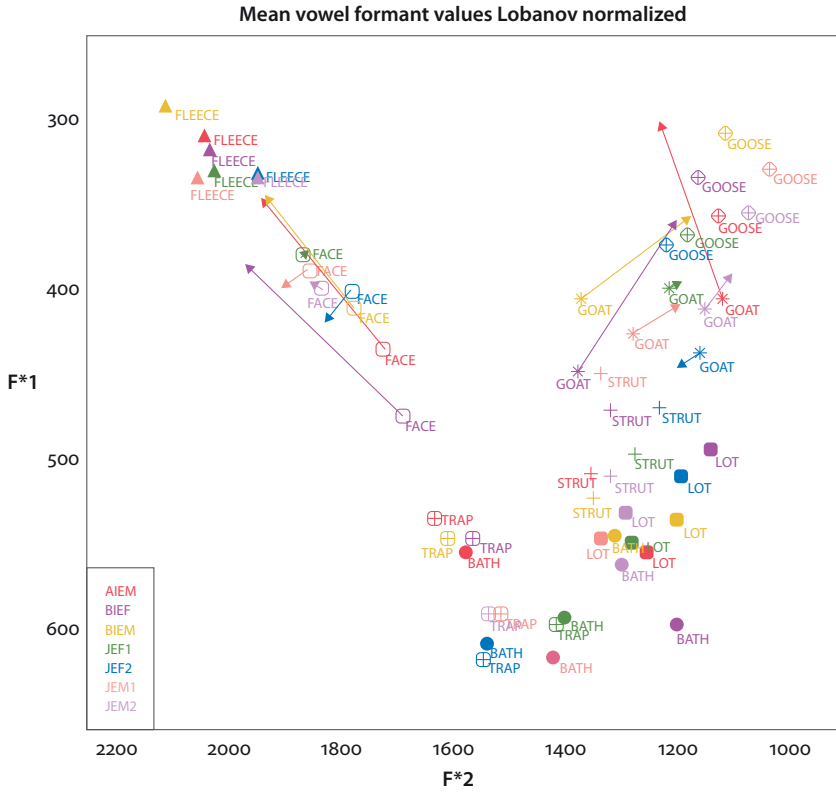

Figure 6.4 Formant plot mean scores all variables – newscasts

FACE is realized as a front-upgliding diphthong by the BIEF, BIEM, and AIEM speakers, while there is very little vowel movement with varying directionality among the JE speakers. For the Euclidian distance (Table 6.2) between vowel onset and glide there are significant differences between the seven newscasters with a markedly large effect size $F(6; 71) = 49.05$, $\eta^2_p = 0.81$. Pairwise comparison of the seven newscasters with a Bonferroni correction shows that BIEF, AIEM and BIEM differ significantly from the four JE newscasters, who do not exhibit significant differences with regard to the Euclidian distance of FACE onset and glide. The analysis of direction shows that all measured diphthongs of the exonormative-influenced newscasters are front- and upgliding ($\Delta F1' < 0$; $\Delta F2' > 0$), whereas each JE newscaster varies in his or her directionality. The $\Delta F1'$ and $\Delta F2'$ mean values (Table 6.2) verify the analysis of the Euclidian distances with regard to the different degrees of diphthongization and they show the uniform front- and upgliding of FACE among

the exonormative-influenced newscasters. There are significant differences for the position of the FACE onset among the seven newscasters with regard to height (F1′) $F(6; 71) = 9.32$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.44$ with a large effect and also frontness (F2′) $F(6; 71) = 6.56$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.36$ with a large effect (Table 6.4). The JE newscasters all have a rather high fronted onset and the newscasters with an exonormative-influenced accent have a lower and more central onset. The BIEM newscaster tends toward the JE group with regard to the FACE onset position.

Table 6.2 Diphthongization FACE – newscasts ($N = 78$)

Speaker	Euclidian distance [Hz]	STH [Hz]	ΔF1′ [Hz/ms]	STH [Hz/ms]	ΔF2′ [Hz/ms]	STH [Hz/ms]
AIEM	252.63	68.80	−1.43	0.30	3.75	1.24
BIEF	319.37	74.55	−1.20	0.71	4.30	1.36
BIEM	188.51	57.58	−0.91	0.40	2.28	1.13
JEF1	51.82	35.87	0.13	0.35	0.33	1.21
JEF2	83.12	37.27	0.25	0.50	0.89	1.27
JEM1	69.47	36.07	0.18	0.32	0.73	0.89
JEM2	59.29	29.28	−0.11	0.52	0.34	0.94

GOAT is realized as a back-upgliding diphthong by the two BIE newscasters ($\Delta F1' < 0$; $\Delta F2' < 0$); it is realized as a front-upgliding diphthong by the AIEM newscaster ($\Delta F1' < 0$; $\Delta F2' > 0$) and variably monophthongized by the JE newscasters (Figure 6.4). For the Euclidian distance (Table 6.3) between vowel onset and glide there are significant differences between the newscasters with a large effect size $F(6; 66) = 13.89$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.56$. Pairwise comparison of the Euclidian distance shows that BIEF, BIEM, and AIEM differ significantly from all four JE newscasters, who show no significant differences between each other. For the JE speakers the analysis of directionality shows a clear divide and different results than the analysis of the Euclidian distance: both male JE speakers show stronger tendencies for diphthongization as back-upgliding diphthongs, while the two female JE speakers monophthongize their GOAT vowels to a stronger degree. An ANOVA with F1′ and F2′ of the GOAT onset as the dependent variables and speaker as the predictor variable shows that there are significant differences in terms of height (F1′) $F(6; 66) = 3.79$, $p = 0.003$, $\eta^2_p = 0.26$ with a large effect and also frontness (F2′) $F(6; 66) = 8.82$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.45$ with a large effect (Table 6.4). In terms of height of the GOAT onset no clear pattern emerges and only the two extremes with the lowest (BIEF) and the highest (JEF2) realization of the GOAT onset differ significantly from each other in a pairwise comparison. In contrast, there is a clear grouping of the speakers in terms of F2′ of the onset: the

BIE newscasters realize the GOAT onset significantly more central than AIEM, who has the most backed GOAT onset, and all JE newscasters except for JEM1, whose realization is closest to the BIE newscasters' realization.

Table 6.3 Diphthongization GOAT – newscasts ($N = 73$)

Speaker	Euclidian distance [Hz]	STH [Hz]	ΔF1′ [Hz/ms]	STH [Hz/ms]	ΔF2′ [Hz/ms]	STH [Hz/ms]
AIEM	218,32	82.26	−1.50	0.53	1.37	2.67
BIEF	216,89	70.62	−1.29	0.74	−3.39	2.30
BIEM	223,02	53.13	−0.60	0.46	−2.76	0.78
JEF1	68,78	41.65	−0.04	0.33	−0.31	1.28
JEF2	86,24	81.59	0.19	0.69	0.50	1.85
JEM1	105,94	73.97	−0.36	0.64	−1.66	1.52
JEM2	80,02	29.18	−0.75	1.39	−1.58	1.61

Table 6.4 Formant values onset of FACE and GOAT – newscasts

	FACE onset ($N = 78$)				GOAT onset ($N = 73$)			
Speaker	F1′ [Hz]	STH [Hz]	F2′ [Hz]	STH [Hz]	F1′ [Hz]	STH [Hz]	F2′ [Hz]	STH [Hz]
AIEM	434.5	25.2	1707.0	85.9	405.0	26.2	1058.8	114.0
BIEF	475.9	74.0	1669.1	64.6	448.0	40.6	1332.9	152.2
BIEM	409.4	23.4	1762.9	116.9	404.3	24.5	1327.9	145.9
JEF1	379.1	20.7	1860.6	77.9	398.3	29.9	1160.7	117.0
JEF2	399.6	31.6	1769.7	104.6	437.1	37.5	1101.7	97.2
JEM1	386.7	16.6	1848.6	113.6	425.8	22.3	1230.1	101.2
JEM2	399.0	32.5	1825.7	71.2	410.8	38.4	1095.0	112.9

Clustering of the newscasters according to the Euclidian distances between vowel onset and glide of FACE and GOAT and the vowel onset positions (F1′ and F2′) of FACE and GOAT separates the seven speakers into two distinct clusters (Figure 6.5): JE and exonormative-influenced newscasters. The JE cluster is characterized by realization of FACE and GOAT as monophthongs while the exonormative-influenced group realizes the two vowels as diphthongs. Within the JE cluster, the JEM1 and JEF2 newscasters tend to diphthongize FACE and GOAT more than the other two JE speakers. Furthermore, their onset in GOAT is lower and for the JEM1 newscaster also more central. The exonormative-influenced English cluster is characterized by a realization of FACE and GOAT as consistently upgliding diphthongs. Yet, the three newscasters differ in their degree of diphthongization and the vowel onset positions. The BIEF speaker's realization of FACE is marked by a lower and more

central onset and a longer distance of the glide. The AIEM newscaster's realization of GOAT is characterized by a markedly backed onset and a front-upgliding realization, in contrast to the BIE speakers' accents which are characterized by a back-upgliding GOAT vowel.

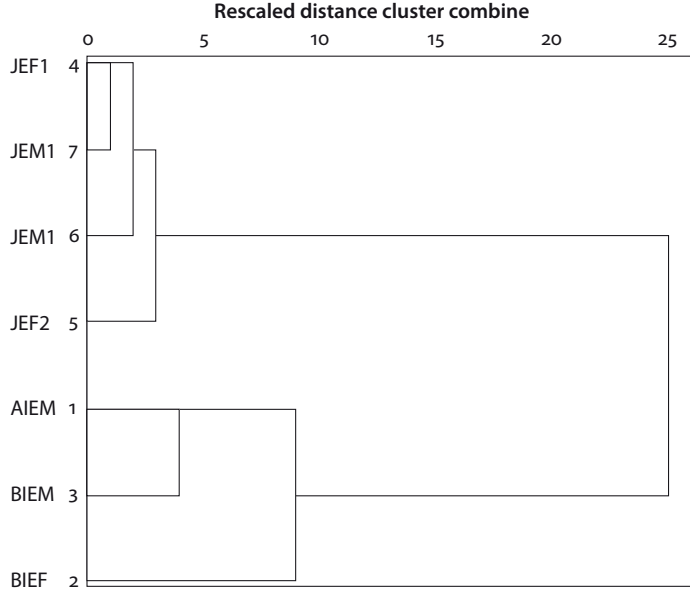

Figure 6.5 Dendrogram of the cluster analysis of variable *Set B* – newscasts

6.1.3 Variable Set C – newscasts: Monophthongs

The realization of TRAP and BATH saliently distinguishes the AIE, BIE, and JE accents (Table 6.5 and Figure 6.4). The realization of TRAP differs significantly between the seven newscasters in terms of height (F1′) $F(6; 118) = 7.65$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.28$ with a large effect and also frontness (F2′) $F(6; 118) = 27.33$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.58$ with a large effect. TRAP is realized distinctly higher and more fronted by the AIE and BIE newscasters than the JE newscasters. With regard TRAP F1′ the exonormative-influenced English speakers differ significantly from the JE speakers, except for JEM1. In terms of frontness there is also a tendency toward a similar distinction into these two groups but it is less clear than for vowel height: the AIEM speaker's realization of TRAP is significantly more fronted than that of all JE speakers and the BIEF speaker. JEF1 stands out because her realization of TRAP is significantly more backed than that of all other speakers.

The realization of BATH encompasses a wide range among the seven newscasters, from fronted high (AIEM) and central low realizations (JEF1, JEF2, JEM1)

to backed low (BIEF) and backed heightened (BIEM, JEM2) realizations. These differences between the seven newscasters are significant in terms of height (F1′) $F(6; 47) = 6.35$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.45$ and frontness (F2′) $F(6; 47) = 57.53$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.88$ both with a notably large effect. AIEM is clearly distinct in his realization of BATH: he realizes BATH significantly more fronted than all speakers, except for JEF2, and close to his TRAP vowel in terms of height. The BIEF speaker also stands out as she realizes BATH significantly more backed than all other speakers. Any grouping is difficult due to many individual differences which reach the level of significance in the pairwise comparison.

Table 6.5 Formant values TRAP and BATH – newscasts

	TRAP ($N = 125$)				BATH ($N = 54$)			
Speaker	**F1′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F2′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F1′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F2′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**
AIEM	536.2	51.0	1610.1	75.9	556.2	17.5	1550.6	66.3
BIEF	548.5	66.0	1536.8	77.8	601.8	50.4	1144.5	47.7
BIEM	548.7	33.7	1585.0	33.4	547.3	21.8	1268.2	49.8
JEF1	600.4	20.0	1377.6	37.2	596.6	21.7	1362.2	62.0
JEF2	621.1	69.5	1515.3	45.1	612.2	41.2	1508.8	36.1
JEM1	594.3	29.8	1485.8	50.2	620.9	30.9	1382.7	27.8
JEM2	593.8	35.9	1505.2	64.8	564.7	40.5	1254.5	63.8

The two lexical sets TRAP and BATH are variably kept distinct among the seven speakers (Table 6.6): both BIE newscasters keep TRAP and BATH clearly distinct as their phonetic realization exhibits the greatest Euclidian distance, whereas the AIEM speaker tends to merge the two vowels. Among the speakers classified as JE there is salient variability as the two female speakers merge TRAP and BATH while the male speakers keep them distinct, particularly the JEM2 speaker, whose realization is similar in terms of distance to the BIE newscasters.

Table 6.6 Euclidian distance TRAP and BATH – newscasts

Speaker	**AIEM**	**BIEF**	**BIEM**	**JEF1**	**JEF2**	**JEM1**	**JEM2**
Euclidian distance [Hz]	62.71	395.92	316.82	15.84	11.09	106.48	252.37

The seven newscasters exhibit salient variability in their realization of LOT in terms of vowel height and frontness. The AIEM speaker and all JE newscasters, except for JEF2, tend to realize LOT lower and more fronted than the BIE newscasters (Figure 6.4 and Table 6.7). Overall, the realization of LOT differs significantly for the seven newscasters for height (F1′) $F(6; 97) = 4.59$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.22$ and

frontness (F2′) $F(6; 97) = 16.63$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.51$ both with a large effect size. The pairwise comparison partly verifies the broad grouping into AIE and JE in contrast to BIE. In terms of height only the lowest realizations of the AIEM and JEF1 speakers differ significantly from the highest realization of the BIEF speaker. The distinction into two groups for F2′ is almost clear cut: the BIE newscasters together with JEF2 differ significantly with their more backed realization from the more fronted realizations of AIEM, JEF1, JEM2, and JEM1. However, the difference between AIEM and BIEM does not reach a level of significance in the pairwise comparison.

JE newscasters tend to realize STRUT more backed and higher than newscasters with exonormative-influenced accents, particularly AIEM and BIEM, whose realization of STRUT is more central. However, no uniform tendency is identifiable for the realization of STRUT in JE: the JE newscasters' realizations are variably backed and heightened from the central vowel position of the AIEM and BIEM newscasters (Figure 6.4 and Table 6.8). The realization of STRUT exhibits significant variation with a large effect size in terms of backness (F2′) $F(6; 99) = 5.63$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.25$ and height (F1′) $F(6; 118) = 11.80$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.42$. The pairwise comparison of speakers' realization of STRUT allows no clear grouping of accents. Only the extreme realizations differ from each other significantly: for vowel height, the newscasters with the highest realizations, JEM1 and JEF2, differ significantly from those with the lowest realizations, AIEM, JEM2 and BIEM. For vowel backness, the most fronted realizations, AIEM and BIEM, differ significantly from the most backed realizations, JEF1 and JEF2.

Table 6.7 Formant values LOT and STRUT – newscasts

	LOT ($N = 104$)				STRUT ($N = 106$)			
Speaker	**F1′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F2′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F1′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F2′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**
AIEM	557.6	27.4	1204.0	89.7	509.7	31.1	1312.5	105.9
BIEF	495.3	60.5	1081.0	54.5	472.0	24.7	1274.0	66.8
BIEM	538.1	44.5	1144.7	62.8	524.3	22.4	1306.6	61.0
JEF1	551.2	19.5	1232.0	33.7	498.2	30.7	1224.7	60.9
JEF2	512.0	49.9	1135.6	66.3	469.6	41.6	1179.3	76.0
JEM1	548.7	22.1	1289.3	51.3	449.7	29.0	1292.2	83.6
JEM2	533.4	45.1	1243.6	47.5	512.0	42.3	1271.3	59.8

Clustering of the seven newscasters based on the mean F1′ and F2′ values of TRAP, BATH, LOT, and STRUT and the mean Euclidian distance between TRAP and BATH mainly corresponds to the clustering of speakers based on variable *Set A*. The

cluster analysis again uses the Ward Method and measures the interval via squared Euclidian distances but uses z-scores to standardize the values so that the variables influence the clustering to equal degrees despite differences in their unstandardized range. The clustering of *Set C* shows two broad clusters: on the one hand, a diverse exonormative-influenced English cluster and, on the other hand, a more homogenous JE cluster (Figure 6.6).

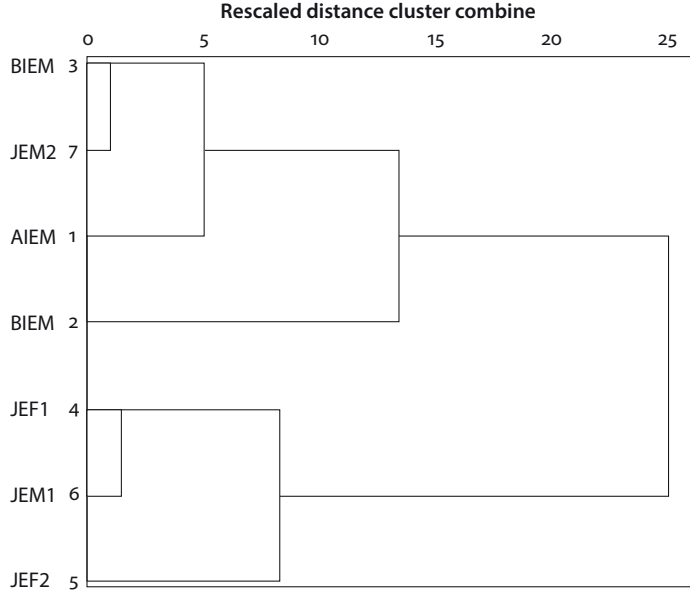

Figure 6.6 Dendrogram of the cluster analysis of variable *Set C* – newscasts

The newscasters of the exonormative-influenced English cluster are characterized by a central realization of STRUT and all, except for JEM2, agree in their fronted and high realization of TRAP. BIEF, BIEM, and JEM2 realize the BATH vowel markedly backed and clearly distinct from TRAP in contrast to the AIEM speaker, who shows a tendency to merge TRAP and BATH in a fronted and high vowel space. However, the BIEM and JEM2 speakers saliently differ from the BIEF in their more central realization of BATH. Furthermore, her markedly backed and high realization of LOT sets the BIEF speaker apart from the other three newscasters, who realize LOT lower and more fronted, particularly AIEM and JEM2.

The newscasters in the JE cluster are characterized by a somewhat higher and more backed realization of STRUT and by their realization of TRAP and BATH in a lower central position. TRAP and BATH are merged for the JEF1 and JEF2 speaker, whereas they are kept more distinct by the JEM1 speaker. JEF1 and JEM1 realize LOT more fronted and lower than the JEF2 speaker, whose LOT vowel is close to the BIEF speaker's high backed realization.

6.1.4 Additional accent features – newscasts

In addition to the quantitative investigation of accent variability of Jamaican newscasters, the newscasters' accents are also analyzed qualitatively by taking into account additional salient phonetic variables. This qualitative perspective aims to highlight, on the one hand, common tendencies among the seven speakers and, on the other hand, salient differences between them which were not captured by the quantitative analysis.

The seven newscasters agree in their realization of ING, yod-dropping, and *schedule*. They all realize ING as [ɪŋ] and only very rarely use [ɪn]. The realization as [ɪŋ] is typical for formal speech situations. This clear preference for the more formal variant is similar to word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters and highlights the newscasters' efforts toward a careful and clear enunciation. With regard to alternation between [juː] and [uː] after alveolars /t, d, n, l, s, z/, i.e. yod-dropping, all newscasters prefer the RP pronunciation, which retains the palatal glide: for example, *news* and *duty* are consistently pronounced [njuːz] and [ˈdjuːtɪ]. The StAmE realization without the palatal glide (Wells 1982: 207), [nuːz] and [ˈduːtɪ], is avoided. Similarly, all newscasters pronounce *schedule* as RP [ˈʃɛdjuːl] and avoid the StAmE pronunciation of [ˈskɛdjuːl].

Although the quantitative analysis has shown that the JE accents share many features with previous general descriptions of JE, e.g. monophthongization of FACE and GOAT, other JE features are avoided entirely: in contrast to Irvine (2004), who describes a common insertion of palatal glides after /k, g/ and before [a], as in *cat* (JE [kjat] vs. RP and StAmE [kæt]) among educated speakers of JE, the JE newscasters as well as the BIE and AIE newscasters avoid this palatalization. Similarly, none of the newscasters realizes the vowel in word-final *-tion* as a full vowel [a ~ ʌ ~ ɔ]; all consistently use a central reduced schwa vowel [ə]. According to Devonish & Harry's (2008) description of JE schwa is not even part of the JE vowel system and Irvine (2004) does not list any realization of *-tion* with schwa among all her informants. Similarly, all newscasters pronounce MOUTH with a low fronted onset as [aʊ] and avoid the Jamaican realization with a more central raised onset as [ɵʊ].

In contrast to the shared avoidance of certain informal and JE features and a common orientation toward RP norms for yod-dropping and *schedule*, the accent of the JE newscasters differs categorically from the accent of the exonormative-influenced newscasters with regard to the pronunciation of *issue*: while the BIE and AIE newscasters all consistently say [ˈɪʃuː], the preferred pronunciation in RP and StAmE (Wells 2008: 426), the JE newscasters always say [ˈɪsjuː], the dispreferred variant in RP and absent in StAmE. Morevoer, the BIE newscasters are distinguished from the other five newscasters by an occasional old-fashioned RP or performative realization of /r/ as an alveolar tap [ɾ], as for example in *further*

[ˈfɛːrðəɾ] or *very* [ˈvɛrɪ]. The BIE newscasters' accents are also set apart by relatively frequent centering diphthongs as a result of the omission of postvocalic /r/, as in *year* [jɪə] or *affairs* [əˈfeəz]. The AIE speaker's accent is characterized by an infrequent StAmE realization of intervocalic /t/ as an alveolar tap [ɾ], as in *city* [ˈsɪɾɪ] or *shooting* [ˈʃuːɾɪŋ].

6.2 Linguistic variation along segments of Jamaican newscasts

The accent variability of newscasters is only one aspect of linguistic variation in Jamaican radio newscasts as language use in newscasts saliently varies along different segments. These segments were identified and separated on the basis of their role in the genre and their communicative setting. The two types of newscasts, longer news journals and shorter news bulletins, share the same type of segments but news journals are longer, more complex, and comprise additional segments. For news journals the following segments were identified: news journals start with an opening jingle, which is followed in varying order by an opening greeting from the newsreader, sometimes an advertisement and a summary of the news by the newsreader. Newsreading, the main segment, frames interviews, reports, imported news clips, and closes with a summary of the news events and a newscaster's sign-off. A concluding jingle closes a news journal. News journals most often also comprise a weather forecast and different sports segments, which are not included in this analysis. News bulletins are mostly about two minutes long and similarly to newscasts start and close with a jingle, comprise a greeting and a sing-off of the newscaster, as well as the actual newsreading. News bulletins mostly lack summaries, advertisements, interviews, reports, imported news, weather forecasts, and sports. In what follows the segments *jingles, greeting*, and *sign-off sequences, newsreading, interviews, reports*, and *imported news clips* are analyzed qualitatively with regard to their role in the newscast (abstract content, position, purpose, relative length), the communicative setting (participants, mode of communication, use of non-verbal sound, location and temporal dimension, level of spontaneity and formality), and language use (accent, morpho-syntax and lexicon).

6.2.1 Jingles

A jingle is a station specific fixed opening signature slogan of a program. It presents the title and a very abstract description of the program to follow, e.g. "This is news from IRIE FM" (News07JEM201). Mostly the jingle also highlights the positive qualities of the news program or the station's newsroom, which include the news' currency, the newsroom's independent status, the reliability and the

accuracy of the news program. Jingles are the first segment of a newscast, introduce the program and establish a bridge to the preceding and following content. Jingles are extremely short: the recorded jingles last from ten to twenty seconds. This short fixed slogan has a high recall value among the listeners, who when hearing the jingle immediately know which program is about to follow.

Jingles typically feature only one announcer who is not identical with the newsreader. The announcer performs the jingle as a monologue and does not address the audience directly. An essential part of every newscast jingle in the data is the combination of the jingle text with a fixed music theme. The accompanying music does not feature any vocals and is mostly fast, almost hectic, highlighting the programs's urgency and currency. For example, the beats of the music used in the RJR headline news jingle (Excerpt 6.2) and the Newstalk93FM jingle (Excerpt 6.3) are reminiscent of ticking and ringing clocks. Music or sound effects are also intertwined with the lines of the jingle. For example, in the Newstalk93FM jingle (Excerpt 6.3) the phrases "real news", "real talk", and "heard everywhere" (News11BIEM01) are separated by a banging noise, which sounds something like a mixture of a shot and a beat of a drum. As jingles are always exactly the same they are not live but pre-recorded in a studio and then edited to the music. They are non-spontaneous and convey a strong performative feeling. This performative character is highlighted by the combination with music, a purposeful use of prosody, and the emphatic, overarticulate speech style of the announcer.

Although the absolute amount of speech data from jingles is very small, several recurring and salient linguistic tendencies can be identified: all newscast jingles are scripted in StE and morpho-syntactic and lexical features of JC are avoided categorically. IRIE establishes a clear linguistic distinction between news jingles in StE (Excerpt 6.4) and general jingles which also feature JC, e.g. JC possessive pronoun *you*, preposition *fi*, and a downgliding GOAT diphthong (Excerpt 6.6). The script of the jingles is marked by very short and extremely simple sentence structures. In this way the jingle slogans are reduced to the bare essential information and the listeners' recognition is facilitated. The speech style is best described as overarticulate and emphatic: for example, all consonant clusters are realized very distinctly, announcers lengthen phonemes in an exaggerated way, e.g. "world" [wɜːɹɬd] (News09BIEF02) or "voice" [vɔɪsː] (News07JEM201), and pitch movement is used highly emphatically, e.g. in "concise [kən↗ˈsaɪs], accurate [↗ˈækjəɹət], and current [↗ˈkʌɹənt]" (News09BIEF02). JC accent features are avoided and no markers of JE, e.g. monophthongization of FACE and GOAT or voiced *TH*-stopping, could be identified. The jingles of RJR (Excerpts 6.2 and 6.5) and Newstalk93FM (6.3) are marked by AIE accent features: rhoticity, variable fronted realization of LOT, *t*-tapping, raised realization of TRAP, and yod-dropping. In conclusion, the use of StE often with an exonormative orientation establishes the seriousness of

the program to follow while the performative style of presentation aims to appeal to the listeners. Excerpts (6.2) to (6.5) show exemplary news jingles of IRIE, RJR, and Newstalk93FM. Excerpt (6.6) shows a general jingle of IRIE.

(6.2) News09BIEF02: Jingle I, *RJR Headline News*
<$Announcer><#>Headline[h] news[nuːz] from[ɑ] the[ð] RJR news[nuːz] center[senɾəɹ] <#>News[nuːz] from[ɑ] across[ɑ] the[ð] nation[eɪ] the[ð] region and the world[wɜːɹld] <#>Concise accurate[æ] and current[Ctd] […] <#>That[ð][æ] was headline[h] news[nuːz] <#>Up[ʌ] to the[ð] minute news[nuːz] from[ɑ] across[ɑ] the[ð] nation[eɪ] the[ð] region and the[ð] world[wɜːɹld]

(6.3) News11BIEM01: Jingle II, *Newstalk93FM*
<$Announcer><#>News[nuːz] talk[ʊ] ninety[naɪnɾi]-three[θ] FM <#>Real news[nuːz]<,> real talk[ʊ]<,> heard[h][ɹ][Ctd] everywhere[ɹ]

(6.4) News07JEM201: Jingle III, *IRIE FM news*
<$Announcer><#>This[ð] is news[njuːz] from[ʊ] IRIE FM<,> Jamaica's[eɪ] nonaligned[Ctd] news[njuːz] voice[vɔɪsː] […] <#>That[ð][æ] was news[njuːz] from[ʊ] IRIE FM<,> Jamaica's[eɪ] nonaligned[Ctd] news[njuːz] voice[vɔɪsː]

(6.5) News14AIEM02: Jingle IV, *RJR News Line Seven*
<$Announcer><#>News[nuːz] line seven <#>A thirty['θɜɾɪ] minute news[nuːz] package[æ] from[ɑ] our[ɹ] RJR news[nuːz] center[senɾəɹ] with news[nuːz] from[ɑ] the[ð] local[oʊ] regional and international[ɹ][æ] scenes the[ð] roving[oʊ] report[ɹ] the financial[æ] report[ɹ] and sports[ɹ] <#>This[ð] is news[nuːz] line seven

(6.6) Jingle V, *IRIE FM general* (Westphal 2010: 215)
<$Announcer><#>**If you want fi know you culture** <#>**If you want fi meet new friend** <#><&>singing</&>**Beg you tune in to IRIE FM**
<#>ɪf ju wan fɪ nʊo ju 'koltʃə <#>ɪf ju wan fɪ miːt nju:'fren <#>beg ju tjuːn ɪn tʊ aɪɹiː ef em
<#>*If you want to get to know your culture* <#>*If you want to meet new friends*
<#>*Please tune in to IRIE FM*

6.2.2 Greeting and sign-off sequences

The personal greeting from the newsreader and the sing-off frame the actual presentation of news. In these two segments the newsreader greets and says goodbye to the listeners. Furthermore, the newsreader gives the name of the program, says his or her name, mostly mentions the station or the locality of news production, i.e. the newsroom of the station, and sometimes the date and time. The sign-off mostly also features a brief program announcement for the upcoming news

programs. Through the personal greeting and sign-off the listeners are addressed directly and these are also the only times when certain framework conditions of the news production are mentioned. The opening and closing sequences are kept very brief, mostly to about ten seconds. See Excerpts (6.7) to (6.9) for exemplary greeting and sign-off sequences.

The newsreader reads out the greeting and closing scripts as a monologue. The direct address of the listeners is emphasized commonly through the use of second person pronouns, which are either stated explicitly (e.g. "And those were your headlines" News03JEF103) or are implied (e.g. "I'd like to welcome those who are listening across Jamaica and those who are listening via the World Wide Web" News11BIEM01), or via imperative sentences (e.g. "Join us at eight forty-five for local and international headlines" News07JEM201). No special music effects are used but sometimes the music of the jingle is still being faded out during the greeting and already being faded in during the sign-off. The greeting and sign-off are read live in the studio. They are not spontaneous but always the same for a specific station and news program type. Furthermore, they are not personalized in contrast to, for example, Edward Murrow's famous signature catchphrases "Good night and good luck" (Edwards 2004). These two sequences are the most personal, somewhat relaxed and thus least formal parts of the newsreader's speech. These two sequences also show a tendency toward contractions, an infrequent feature in newsreading. They are presented in StE, while typical informal Jamaican greetings or farewells, such as *wagwaan* ('what is going on') or *likl muo* ('little more') are not used, and the newsreader uses the same clear voice and enunciation as in newsreading.

In news journals, the greeting and sign-off segments are sometimes combined with advertisements for companies which fund certain parts of a news program. The newscaster reads the advertisement script provided by the company as a monologue live in the studio (Excerpts 6.7 and 6.9). The scripts are all in StE and in contrast to most radio advertisements the presentation is not lively and no sound effects or music are used. Furthermore, the greeting and sign-off segments are also often intertwined with the summary of the news events (Excerpt 6.8), which is discussed in the following section on newsreading. The following four excerpts of greeting and sign-off segments also depict the accent variation of newsreaders between Jamaican (Excerpt 6.7), British (Excerpt 6.8), and American (Excerpt 6.9) norms for StE.

(6.7) News07JEM201: Welcome and sing-off I, *IRIE FM news journal*
<$B><#>Good morning[ø] I'm Hell[h] Shaneberg[eː][ɹ] with the latest[eː] [Ctd] from[ʋ] the[ð] IRIE FM newsroom[nju:zɹʊm] <#>Brought to brought to you by Quest[Ctd] security services[ø] limited <#>We detect[Ctd] we deter[ɹ] we deliver[ø] […]
<#>And that's[æ] news brought to you by Quest security services[ø] limited <#>We detect[Ctd] we deter[ø] we deliver[ø] <#>International[ø][æ] news with the voice from[ʋ] America is at eight[eː] <#>Join us[ʌ] at eight[eː] forty[ø]-five for[ø] the[ð] local[oː] and international[ø][æ] headlines[h] <#>From[ʋ] the[ð] IRIE FM newsroom[nju:zɹʊm] I'm Hell[h] Shaneberg[eː][ɹ]

(6.8) News11BIEM01: Welcome and sing-off II, *Newstalk93FM 12 o'clock News Package*
<$B><#>Good afternoon[a][ø] it's Wednesday[eɪ] May[eː] eighteen[eɪ] I'm Adrian[eɪ] Atkison[æ] with news[nju:z] at this time news[nju:z] here[h][ɹ] on News[nju:z] talk[ʋ] ninety-three[θ] FM <#>I'd like to welcome those[ð][oʊ] who are[ø] listening across[ʋ] Jamaica[eɪ] and those[oʊ] who are[ø] listening via the[ð] World[ø] Wide Web at News[nju:z] talk[ʋ] ninety-three[θ] FM dot[ʋ] com[ʋ] […]
<#>And to end this newscast[a] here's[h][ø] a reminder of the[ð] main[eɪ] points <#>Doctor's[ʋ][ø] upset[ʌ] with the government[ʌ][ø][Ctd] after[a] [ø] being left[Ctd] out of top[ʋ] level wage[eɪ] meetings <#>Opposition[a] raises[eɪ] concern[ɹ] over[əʊ][ø] the[ð] government's[ʌ][ø] decision to impose[əʊ] licensing regime for[ø] the[ð] importation[eɪ][ø] of cement[Ctd] <#>Government[ʌ][ø][Ctd] issues['ɪʃu:z] notice[əʊ] to Caribbean[æ] airlines[ɹ] to complete air[ɹ] Jamaica[eɪ] transaction[a][æ] <#>In regional news[nju:z] Trinidad[æ] Minister says her dismissal[dɪs'mɪʃəl] dismissal[dɪs'mɪsəl] was undemocratic[ʌ][æ] <#>And internationally[ø][æ] Syrian refugees shot[ʋ] in Lebanon <#>That's[ð] your[ø] twelve o'clock[ʋ] news[nju:z] package[æ] good afternoon[a][ø]

(6.9) News14AIEM03: Welcome and sing-off III, *RJR Newsline Seven*
<$AIEM><#>In Newsline['nu:zlaɪn] Seven this[ð] morning[ɹ] […]
<&>summary of news</&> <#>Newsline['nu:zlaɪn] Seven this[ð] morning[ɹ] the[ð] first[ɹ][Ctdø] segment[Ctd] brought to you by Grace[eɪ] instant[Ctd] cup[ʌ] soups and Grace[eɪ] instant[Ctd] cup[ʌ] rice fast[æ][Ctd] and flavorful[eɪ][ɹ] <#>The[ð] second[Ctd] segment[Ctd] by Victoria Metro Group for[ɹ] every financial[æ] move you make[eɪ] <#>A roving[oʊ] report[ɹ][Ctd] by ICWI […] <#>Good morning[ɹ] I'm Derrick Wilks <#>And now the[ð] details

6.2.3 Newsreading

The segment of newsreading forms the main body of a radio newscast. Newsreading is sub-structured into different news items: the news bulletins in the dataset cover between three and five news items, which are on average about eighty words or thirty seconds long. News journals cover around ten news items, which are on average about 160 words or sixty seconds long. The newscaster informs the listeners about the latest national (i.e. Jamaican), regional (i.e. Caribbean), and international events. In addition to the news events themselves, the newsreader also provides background information and frames reports and interviews. In this way the audience is informed about current events and also educated about the context of the news.

In newsreading the newscaster reads out the scripted news items as a monologue live in the studio. Except for the financial news segment in the RJR news journals, which is set to rather silent but somewhat pressing music, no music or sound effects are combined with newsreading. The style of presentation is non-spontaneous and conveys a feeling of scriptedness: there are hardly any features of spoken language, such as repetitions or discourse markers. The newscaster corrects him- or herself only in the very few cases of slips of the tongue. The style of presentation is not lively at all but very serious and aimed at clarity. The speech of the newsreaders shows very few markers of connected speech: vowels are not reduced and there is hardly any phoneme assimilation. The high production rate of consonant clusters highlights that the newscasters avoid elision of phones. Although there are instances of contractions the uncontracted forms of e.g. *to be, not, will*, and *would* are clearly preferred. All newscasters show many instances of linking-*r*. Furthermore, newscasters facilitate the listening comprehension of the audiences by variably inserting short pauses between the utterances and long pauses between the different news items. In addition to this phonetic clarity, the syntax of the script is also aimed to avoid ambiguity and to facilitate comprehension: simple sentences dominate while compound sentences are avoided and complex sentence structures are kept to a minimum.

The writing style of the script is concise and focused on information density, for example, through a preference of the *s*-genitive over *of*-genitive, a low frequency of adverbs, accumulation of adverbial constructions at the end of a sentence (e.g. "Jamaican American singer Sean Kingston remains in critical condition at this hour following a jet ski crash in the US yesterday evening" News10BIEF03), and pseudo titles, i.e. determiner deletion in descriptions of people via two appositional noun phrases, of which the first describes and the second names the person (cf. Bell 2011: 182) (e.g. "Assistant Superintendet of police Frank Joseph" News09BIEF02). The style oriented toward brevity is especially prevalent in the

summary of the news events, where non-finite or verbless clauses are frequent (e.g. "JTA to decide its next move after rejecting government's wage offer;" "Jamaican American singer Shawn Kingston in critical condition after jet ski crash in the US" News10BIEF03).

The news items are also presented in a maximally neutral way: on the one hand, this means that the process of news production, the persons involved or the location of presentation are not mentioned apart from the welcome and sign-off. On the other hand, the newscaster does not show any personal involvement with the news items. This neutrality is achieved through the avoidance of syntactic structures which draw the listeners' attention to personal involvement of any sort in the news production process, such as first person pronouns or adverbials of stance, i.e. adverbials which signal a speaker's comment on the content of the message (Biber et al. 1999: 763). Via the frequent use of indirect speech it is made clear that the newscast only reports news events and presents opinions of others, not those of the news studio. Newscasters also avoid linguistic signs of emotional involvement: extreme pitch movement and a high pitch in general, which expresses attitudinal or emotional involvement (Wells 2006: 11), are avoided by the newscasters. Furthermore, in Jamaica emotional involvement is strongly connected to the use of JC (e.g. Hinrichs 2006: 107), which is avoided by newscasters in their presentation on an accent level and also in the script on a morpho-syntactic and lexical level.

Newsreading is highly predefined with respect to the structure of the presentation of a news item, which follows a clear structure: in news bulletins, each news item is summarized in the first sentence. Then details on the news item are provided in the following sentences. These further details describe the parties involved and highlight their opinions, which are clearly marked as opinions of others through indirect speech. Background information to the current event, often past events, is typically provided in the last sentence of a news item. In news journals, the major news items are summarized in one brief sentence at the beginning and at the end of the news journal. The first sentence of each news item is an extended version of the summarizing sentences and provides more detailed information. Subsequently, further details on the news event are provided. However, opinions of the parties involved are not only reported indirectly but are also explained directly via interview excerpts with people involved. The newscaster frames these interviews by summarizing the interviewee's main arguments indirectly right before the interview excerpt and by giving the name of the interview partner after the excerpt. In this way the interview excerpts divide the news items into different parts. Background information on the event is typically provided in the last part. See Excerpts (6.10) and (6.11) for a news item sequence in a news headline program and a news journal.

(6.10) News01JEF101: News bulletin news item, *Murder of Steven Laurence* , Newtalk93FM
<$JEF1><#>And[Ctd] further[ø][ø] afield two men are[ø] to stand[æ] trial over[oː][ø] the[ð] murder[ɹ][ø] of Steven Laurence <#>Thirty[θ][ø]-five year old[oː][Ctd] Gilroy Dobson and David[eː] Norse[ø] thirty[θ]-four accused[Ctd] of killing the[ð] black[a] teenager[eː][ø] at a bus[o] stop[ʊ] in Alsam southeast London[o] on[ɑ] April[eː] twenty-two nineteen ninety-three[θ] <#>Nobody[oʊ] has[h] been convicted of the[ð] crime but[ʌ] a small team of Scotland[ʊ][Ctdø] Yard[ɹ] detectives has[h] continued to investigate[eː] the eighteen[eː] year old's[oː] death <#>Mister[ø] Dobson stood trial in nineteen ninety-six over[oː][ø] the[ð] murder[ɹ][ø] which he denied and was acquitted

(6.11) News14AIEM03: News journal news item sequence, *Cement dispute with the Dominican Republic* , RJR
<$AIEM><&>opening summary</&><#>Industry[ʌ] Minister[ø] snubs[ʌ] request[Ctd] from Dominican Republic[ʌ] group for[ɹ] meeting to discuss Cement[Ctd] dispute […]
<&>news item</&><#>The[ð] Industry[ʌ] Ministry is maintaining[eɪ][eɪ] a hardline[h][ɹ] approach[oʊ] to the[ð] trade[eɪ] dispute with the Dominican Republic[o] despite overtures[ɹ] from a private sector[ø] group to settle the[ð] row over[oʊ] a shipment[Ctd] of Jamaican[eɪ] cement[Ctd] <#>A team representing Cement[Ctdø] producers[ø] in the[ð] Dominican Republic[o] has[h] reportedly[ø] offered[ɑ][ø] to travel[æ] to Jamaica[eɪ] to hold[h][oʊ] talks with Industry[ʌ] Minister[ø] Carl[ɹ] Semuda to iron[ɹ] out the issues['ɪʃuːz] which led to the[ð] dispute <#>But Mister[ø] Samuda says he has[h] no[oʊ] interest[Ctd] in meeting with the group <#>Speaking with RJR last[æ][Ctd] night the Minister[ø] disclosed[oʊ][Ctd] that[æ] based[eɪ] on[ɑ] the[ð] nature[eɪ] of the[ð] dispute he's willing to meet only[oʊ] with his counterpart[ɹ][ɹ][Ctd] in the[ð] Dominican Republic[ʌ]
<$Carl Semuda><&>interview</&><#>The[d] association[oː][eː][ʃan] of Cement[Ctd] producers[ø] in the[ð] Dominican Republic[o] wishes to come[o] and have[h] a meeting with me <#>Well I will not[ɑ] be available[eː] for[ø] such[o] a meeting <#>Uh they[eː] may[eː] be uh able[eː] to meet with bureau[oː] standards[a][ø] and the our[ø] technical people <#>But[ʌ] in the[ð] matter[a] of this[ð] nature[eː][ø] uhm I would be available[eː] to meet with my counterpart[ø][ø] from[ʊ] the[ð] Dominican Republic[ʌ]
<$AIEM><#>Industry[ʌ] Minister[ɹ]f Carl[ɹ] Semuda <#>Yesterday[ø][eɪ] RJR news reported[ø] that[æ] executives of the[ð] Company[ɑ] in the[ð] Dominican Republic[o] which spearheaded[ɹ] the importation[ɹ][eɪ] of the[ð] Jamaican[eɪ] cement[Ctd] said the reluctance to release the[ð] supplies was due to the[ð] far[ɹ] lower[oʊ][ɹ] price being offered[ɑ][ø] <#>Jamaican[eɪ] cement[Ctd] is being offered[ɑ][ø] for[ø] fifty dollars[ʊ] below[oʊ] the[ð] price of cement[Ctdø] manufactured[æ][ø] in the[ð] Dominican Republic[ʌ][…]
<&>closing summary</&><#>Industry Minister[ø] snubs[ʌ] request[Ctdø] for[ø] Dominican Republic[ʌ] group for[ø] meeting to discuss[ʌ] cement[Ctd] dispute

Newsreading is highly standardized in terms of the language used for the presentation: the script is entirely in StE and any JC syntax, morphology, or vocabulary is avoided. The script features some Jamaicanisms identified in previous corpus linguistic analyses (Sand 1999; Mair 2002): for example, in the newsreading scripts there is a high frequency of *persons* in comparison to *people* (persons: 45.8% people: 54.2%; $N = 24$). And *Ganja*, a Jamaican word with a Hindu origin for Cannabis Sativa (Cassidy & LePage 2002: 194), is used interchangeably with metropolitan English *marijuana*. The register of the script is very formal, marked by an absence of colloquialisms. The only colloquialism which occurs in the data is the word "browning", which describes a light skinned person in Jamaica. The term is used in a quote from a newspaper article and is introduced as follows: "all those commonly referred to as brownings" (News07JEM201). Thus, the term is marked and ascribed to common usage rather than part of the unmarked formal newsreading language. Standardness also characterizes the accents used by the newscasters in presenting news items: all newscasters avoid JC pronunciations, e.g. *H*-absence or voiced *TH*-stopping. Furthermore, all newscasters avoid typical informal 'non-standard' pronunciations, for example consonant cluster absence or the realization of ING as [ɪn]. However, as shown in Chapter 6.1 there is salient accent variability which reflects the three-way interaction between Jamaican, British, and American norms for StE in Jamaica. For descriptional purposes the accents of the newscasters are divided into JE, BIE, and AIE accents. JE in this case does not mean that the accent of the newscasters labelled as JE is identical to previous descriptions of the acrolect or JE (Devonish & Harry 2008; Irvine 2004, 2008; Rosenfelder 2009) used in other contexts. On the one hand, the JE of the newscasters shares many features with the JE of previous descriptions but, on the other hand, it is also distinct, for example in terms of a high production rate of voiced dental fricatives. Very broadly one could say it is less marked for JE than the JE accents described in previous analyses. In terms of relative frequency JE dominates all segments performed by newscasters. With regard to the exonormative-influenced accents there are more newscasters with a BIE than an AIE accent. This is reflected in the overall corpus of recorded Jamaican newscasts as well as in the selection of newscasts from the seven newscasters for the more detailed analysis.

6.2.4 Interviews

Interviews provide detailed information on a news event from the viewpoint of involved groups, affected individuals or experts. Interviews only feature in news journals and are framed by newsreading: before an excerpt from an interview is played the newsreader introduces the interview partner and summarizes the main points of the interview briefly. After the interview excerpt the newsreader again

states the name of the interview partner. Very often the time when the interview was conducted is also mentioned. This frame helps the listener to categorize and understand the viewpoint of the interview partner but also functions as a distancing device which emphasizes that the news program only reports an opinion and does not endorse or oppose it. Hence, a certain distance is retained while the context of the interview or the involvement of the newsroom with the interview, for example the selection of the interviewee, is not discussed. In this way a subjective opinion on a news item is embedded in the neutral presentation of news. Interview excerpts are kept brief and last on average about thirty seconds. Sometimes, different short excerpts from the same interview, which cover different aspects of the news item, are used.

Interviews feature a single interviewee. In the newscast data, the interviewee is always a public figure, mostly a politician, or a spokesperson for a public institution or a specific group. These interview partners are always introduced through pseudo titles: for example, "Shadow Minister of Commerce Senator Mark Golding", "President of the Jamaica Medical Doctor Association Doctor Shane Alexis" (News11BIEM01), or "Deborah Martin member of Kern Spencer's legal team" (News10BIEF03). In contrast to these interviews with public figures, interviews with regular citizens are not broadcast. If the newsroom relies on information from an average citizen as a witness of an event that person is not quoted directly but this information is paraphrased (Excerpt 6.12). All interviews in the data are not live but pre-recorded. Most interviews were conducted before the show via telephone and this background information is often added to the description of the person. As the interviewer's questions are cut out of the recording the opinions of the interviewees are actually presented as monologues.

(6.12) News10BIEF03: Paraphrasing regular citizens, *Shootings in St. Catharine North Police Division*, RJR
<$BIEF><#>Sections of the[ð] Saint[Ctd] Catherine[æ] North[ø] Police Division are[ø] said to be tense following[ʋ][oʊ] a spade[eɪ] of shootings over[oʊ][ø] the[ð] weekend[Ctd] <#>They[ð][eɪ] include Backland[æ][æ] [Ctd] Shelter[ø] Rock[ʋ] Jones[oʊ] Avenue[æ] and New Nursery[ɹ] <#>A resident[Ctd] of one of the[ð] affected communities told[oʊ][Ctd] our[ø] news center[ɹ] despite the[ð] police imposing[oʊ] curfews[ɹ] gunshots[ʌ][ʋ] continued to ring out <#>According[ø] to the[ð] resident[Ctd] the area first[ɹ] [Ctdø] became[eɪ] tense earlier[ø] this[ð] month[ʌ] when a man[æ] was shot[ʋ] dead near[ø] the[ð] Spanish[æ] Town bridge by a group of men allegedly aligned to the[ð] clansman[æ][æ] gang[æ]

The style of presentation in interviews conveys a feeling of semi-scriptedness or semi-liveliness. On the one hand, the interviews do not seem really spontaneous but rather planned or even scripted. Opinions are presented concisely and in a

pointed way. Interviews seem highly structured, for example via the use of conjunctions. Many of them give the impression of official prepared statements from political parties. This style of presentation does not necessarily mean that the answers to questions in interviews are really scripted but is also due to the fact that all interviewees are trained public speakers, e.g. politicians or spokespersons for interest groups. On the other hand, the interview excerpts are more lively and spontaneous than newsreading. The speech of the interviewees is variably marked by features of spoken discourse: for example, repetitions, hesitators like *uhm*, and different discourse markers such as *like, well*, or *you know*. The interviewees mainly use these discourse markers to fill pauses but also for emphatic purposes (e.g. "But that is a sign of apartheid we have passed that long ago right" News07JEM201). Excerpt (6.13) shows an interview sequence: introduction, summary, and closing by the newsreader and two interview excerpts. The excerpt also illustrates the style of interviews at the intersection of liveliness and plannedness because the interview is both marked by features of spoken discourse and structuring conjunctions, which convey a feeling of scriptedness:

(6.13) News11BIEM01: Interview I, *Cement dispute with the Dominican Republic*, Newtalk93FM
<$BIEM><#>However[h][ø] PN*p* < &>People's_National_Party</&> Shadow[æ][oʊ] Minister[ø] for[ø] Commerce[ɑ][ø] Senator[ø] Mark[ø] Golding[oʊ] has[h] taken[eɪ] issue['ɪʃuː] with this[ð] saying[eɪ] the[ð] move was has has[h] raised[eɪ][Ctd] some[ʌ] concern[ɹ]
<$MarkGolding><#>Now taken[eː] could just[o][Ctdø] impose[oː] a licensing regime for all[ɑ] Cement[Ctd] import[ɹ][Ctd] <#>For[ø] me is some[o] concerns[ɹ] in my mind[Ctdø] uhm first[ø] of all[ɑ] the[d] question[ʃən] of how[h] long this[ð] licensing regime will remain[eː] in state[eː] is unclear[o][ø] <#>Is it until[ʌ] this[d] impasse[a] with the Dom[ɑ] Rep is resolved[ɑ][Ctdø] or[ø] or[ø] is it indefinite <#>Uhm all this[d] involved[ɑ][Ctdø] you know[oː] and you'd lay[eː] a regulation[eː] on[ɑ] on[ɑ] commercial[ɑ] a activity[a] at[a] a time when the[d] government[o][ø][Ctd] is supposed[oː][Ctdø] to be making[eː] it easier[ø] for[ø] people to do business
<$BIEM><#>The[ð] opposition[ɑ] Senator[ø] points out that[æ] this could also[oʊ] affect[Ctd] other[ʌ][ø] countries[ʌ] that[ð][æ] are[ɹ] not[ʊ] preventing Jamaica[eɪ] from[ʊ] selling Cement[Ctd] in their[ð][ø] jurisdiction
<$MarkGolding><#>It doesn't target[ø] the Dom[ɑ] Rep specifically and therefore[ø][ɹ] has[h] the[d] effect[Ctd] of restricting imports[oː][ø] from[ʊ] other[o][ø] countries[o] with which we have[h] no[oː] dispute <#>Uhm and it gives significant[Ctd] power[ø] to the[d] Minister[ø] as a issue['ɪʃuː] of of licenses uhm in a de in in a deregulated[eː] economy[ɑ] uhm you know[oʊ] one that[ð][a] is something[o] which is to be discouraged[o][Ctd] <#>So for[ø] those[ð][oː] reasons I have[h] some[ʌ] concern[ɑ][ɹ]

<$BIEM><#>Opposition[ʊ] Spokesman[oʊ] on[ʊ] Commerce[ə][ø] and Industry[ʌ] Mark[ø] Golding[oʊ]

In general, the language use in all interviews is formal, which means all interviewees use StE and avoid morpho-syntactic, lexical, and marked phonetic features of JC. The only instance of a clear code-switch from StE to JC is when an interviewed politician cites a Jamaican proverb (Excerpt 6.14). This switch is clearly marked as the interviewee introduces the proverb by "Jamaican people se" (News10BIEF03), using the JC quotative *se*.

(6.14) News10BIEF03: Interview II, *Jamaican proverb*, RJR
<PeterBunting><#>Well I'm not[ə] going[oː] to challenge[a] the[d] assertion[ø] [ʃən] that[d][a] some[o] media owners[oː][ø] they[d][eː] have[h] their[d] own[oː] agenda <#>However[h] I find[Ctdø] it curious that[ð][a] in the[d] past[a][Ctd] when those[d][oː] agendas have[h] supported[oː][ɪ] Mister[ø] Golding[ʊo] he hasn't[h][a] had[h] a problem[ə] with it <#>**Jamaican people se**
<#>**Same knife stick sheep stick goat**
<#>dʒəˈmeːkən ˈpiːpl se <#>sɪem naɪf stɪk ʃiːp stɪk gʊot
<#>*Jamaican people say* <#>*Remember that any method you use to accomplish someone else's demise can be used to accomplish yours*[4]

In contrast to the accent variation in newsreading all interviewees use JE. However, the JE accent of the interviewees is distinct from the newscasters' JE. Overall, it is more marked for JE: the tendency toward voiced *TH*-stopping, monophthongization of FACE and GOAT, lowered centralized realization of TRAP, more fronted realization of LOT, and raised backed STRUT is more pronounced. Furthermore, the JE accent used by the interviewees is marked by a frequent raised centralized realization of the onset in MOUTH and the realization of word-final *-tion* with a full vowel, which varies between [a ~ ʌ ~ ɔ]. However, no insertion of a palatal glide between /k, g/ and [a] or [aː] could be identified. In addition, the interviewees' accents also show a more variable realization of ING and word-final consonant clusters than the newscasters' accents. In conclusion, the language use of the interviewees seems to correspond more accurately to previous descriptions of JE. These public figures correspond to Irvine's (2004, 2008) description of model speakers of JE, who set the future standard for English in Jamaica for the wider population.

6.2.5 Reports

In report segments the news narrative is handed over from the newsreader to a reporter who presents detailed information on a news item. Reporters either belong

4. Translation provided by Joseph T. Farquharson.

to the newsroom of the same station or are associated with other stations or agencies. Some reporters are experts for specific topics and present reports on this topic for different radio stations. For example, the RJR news center employs a business editor who regularly provides reports for other radio stations as well. The reports contained in the newscast corpus fall into two types, pre-recorded and live reports, which differ in terms of the communicative setting and language use. Both types serve to bring the listener closer to an event but do so in different ways.

In pre-recorded interviews one reporter presents one news item in detail as a monologue. These reports are on average longer than the presentation of a news item in newsreading. The pre-recorded reports do not convey an on-the-spot feeling because they are scripted, read, pre-recorded in a studio, and no additional sound material is used. These reports are introduced by the newsreader via a summary of the news item and closed via a personal sign-off of the reporter (see Excerpt 6.15). The style of presentation and language use is identical to newsreading: pre-recorded reports are very formal, not spontaneous or lively, and convey a feeling of scriptedness. Information is presented in a neutral, concise, and clear way, which does not indicate any personal or emotional involvement on the part of the reporter. As different viewpoints are presented in reports, there is also a strong tendency toward indirect speech. In the report script morpho-syntactic and lexical JC features as well as colloquialisms are avoided. The reporters also avoid JC accent features and non-standard pronunciations. As most of the reporters also work as newsreaders the same accent variability described for newsreading also holds for pre-recorded reports. The reporter in Excerpt (6.15) has a marked JE accent: he frequently realizes initial *TH* as a stop, realizes TRAP and BATH saliently low and centralized, backs and raises the STRUT vowel, and also shows one instance of *H*-absence in *high*. In conclusion, pre-recorded reports bring the listener closer to the news event by providing focused, often expert, information and by including detailed background information and opinions from different parties involved. Yet, these reports retain the highly formal and standardized style of presentation of newsreading.

(6.15) News14AIEM03: Pre-recorded report, *Oil prices in Jamaica*, RJR
<$AIEM><#>It appears[ɹ] that[ð] Jamaica[eɪ] will escape[eɪ] a direct[Ctd] hit[h] from the[ð] effects of the[ð] unrest[o][Ctd] in the[ð] Middle East[Ctd] and North[ɹ] Africa[a] which has[h] among[ʊ] other[ʌ][ø] things[θ] caused[Ctd] a spike in the[ð] price of oil <#>The[ð] bank[æ] of Jamaica[eɪ] has[h] assessed[Ctd] how[h] Jamaica[eɪ] will fare[ɹ] and provided a report[ɹ] [Ctd] <#>Dashan Hendricks[h] has[h] it
<$DashanHendricks><#>Civil unrest[o][Ctd] in the[d] middle East[Ctd] and in North[ø] Africa[a] pushed[ʌ][Ctd] oil prices up[o] by ten and a half[h] [a] per[ø] cent[Ctdø] between January[a] and March[ø] and stoked[oː][Ctd]

> fears[ø] in Jamaica[eː] of heightened[h][Ctd] inflation[eː][ʃan] <#>But[o] since the[d] start[ø] of the[d] year[ɹ] prices went[Ctd] up[o] by only[oː] an average[a] one per[ø] cent[Ctd] <#>And the Bank[a] of Jamaica[eː] says high[h] oil prices are[ɹ] likely to only[oː] increase inflation[eː][ʃʊn] this[d] year[ɹ] by zero point[Ctd] one per[ø] cent[Ctd] […] <#>And in the[ð] broader[ø] economy[ʊ] the[ð] bank[a] said growth[ʊo] will decline by only[oː] a mere[ɹ] zero point[Ctd] two per[ø] cent[Ctd] because of high[hø] oil prices as the[ð] oil price shock[ʊ] is expected to be temporary and world[ø][Ctdø] growth[oː] will not[ʊ] be significantly affected <#>Dashan Hendricks[h] for[ø] RJR news[njuːz]

The only live-reports in the newscast data are traffic reports by RJR, called *Roving Report* (Excerpt 6.16). Here traffic news is presented live by a reporter in a more dialogic format: the newsreader welcomes the reporter personally, who returns this personal welcome and directly greets the listeners. The newsreader again closes the report by personally thanking the reporter for the traffic coverage. The reporter directly addresses the listeners, for example when urging them to take care on the roads, either by referring to them in general as "motoring public" or using second person pronouns. Similar to pre-recorded reports, there are no sound effects or background noises, which could potentially signal an on-the-spot feeling. However, the traffic reports are presented live in a more spontaneous speech style: the reporter uses non-finite and verbless clauses to describe the traffic situation and her speech is marked by features of spoken discourse, e.g. hesitations, discourse markers, and contractions. However, there are indicators that the presentation is not done entirely freely as there are certain prepared passages, for example the wordplay "as the hours roll over then the motorists will be rolling out" (News14AIEM03). Additionally, language use in live-reports is less formal as reporters tend toward a more informal register by including colloquial expressions such as the intensifier *pretty* or the contracted *going to* future form *gonna* without copula. Via the personal welcoming sequence, the use of personal pronouns, the direct address of the listeners, and a concerned caution of the motoring public, the reporter presents the traffic news in a personal, emotionally involved way. Similarly to pre-recorded reports, JC is avoided and accents vary between Jamaican, British, and American norms. The accent of the reporter in Excerpt (6.16) shows a salient American influence: she consistently produces postvocalic /r/ and tapped /t/, uses the American pronunciation of [ʃedjuːld], diphthongizes FACE and GOAT, realizes both TRAP and BATH vowels fronted and raised and has a rather central STRUT vowel and a tendentially fronted LOT vowel. In conclusion, the shift in the news narrative toward a more dialogic, less formal and more spontaneous, lively, and personal presentation in live reports brings the listeners closer to the news event and conveys a more involved on-the-spot feeling.

(6.16) News14AIEM03: Live report, *Roving Report*, RJR
<$AIEM><#>Good morning[ɹ] Norma[ɹ] Brown
<$NormaBrown><#>Good morning[ɹ] to you Derrick a very good morning[ɹ] to you and to the[d] motoring[ˈmoʊɾəɪɪŋ] public[ʌ] as well <#>Not[ɑ] too many out just[ʌ][Ctd] as yet but[ʌ] you know[oʊ] as the[ð] hours roll[oʊ] over[oʊ] [ɹ] then[ð] the[ð] motorists[ˈmoʊɾəɪɪsts] will be rolling[oʊ] out <#>Now just[ʌ] to mention the[ð] crossroads[ɑ][oʊ] area's still very tricky <#>Plenty[plenɾɪ] of work[ɹ] taking[eɪ] place[eɪ] in that[ð][æ] area <#>We gonna be uh going[oʊ] into a little bit more[oʊ][ɹ] detail during the[ð] course[ɹ] of the[ð] upcoming[ʌ] [ʌ] reports[ɹ] we have scheduled[ʃedjuːld] for[ɹ] you this[ð] morning[ɹ] <#>But[ʌ] please motorists[ˈmoʊɾəɪɪs] and pedestrians alike you've got[ɑ] to be extra careful[ɹ] as you move in and around[Ctdø] the[ð] Crossroad[ɒ][oʊ] area Halfway[h][a][eɪ] Tree Old[oː] Hope[h][oʊ] Road[oː] coming[ʌ] up[ʌ] and then making[eɪ] down on[ɑ] Slipe Road[oː] in front[ɑ][Ctd] of the[ð] post[oʊ][Ctd] office[ɑ] <#>Pretty[ˈprɪɾi] chaotic[eɪ][ɑ] in those[ð][oʊ] areas <#>Uh joining us this[ð] morning[ɹ] Margaret Grown over[oʊ][ɹ] there[ð] in Portland[ɹ][Ctd] and John Tavares
<$AIEM><#>Thank[θ][æ] you so much Norma[ɹ] Brown for our[ɹ] first[ø] [Ctd] Roving[oʊ] Report[ɹ][Ctd]

6.2.6 Imported news segments

In contrast to early post-independence Jamaican broadcasting media, which imported much radio material and strongly relied on non-Jamaican staff (MockYen 2003), Jamaican radio today is strongly localized: radio stations have their own newsrooms and employ almost exclusively Jamaican staff. Although local productions and announcers dominate the airwaves, all three radio stations analyzed in this study also broadcast imported news clips. In all recorded newscasts, news clips are exclusively imported from British and American radio stations, mainly the BBC and the Voice of America (VOA), while no news segments from other anglophone Caribbean islands or other English-speaking countries are imported. Imported news clips exclusively report on international news outside the Caribbean and often deal with business news. The broadcasting of entire British or American newscasts is an integral part of the daily schedule of all three Jamaican radio stations: for example, IRIE FM airs Voice of America News, RJR broadcasts BBC World News and Newstalk93FM features BBC Business News. In addition, Jamaican newscasts often feature segments from American or British radio stations, such as pre-recorded reports or longer newscast sequences which include newsreading, reports, and interviews. The news production reflects the pluricentricity found for the accent variability of Jamaican newscasters: local news

productions dominate Jamaican news but American and British productions are firmly embedded in Jamaican radio news broadcasting.

Through the imported news segments Jamaican listeners are mainly exposed to StAmE and RP. For example, Excerpt (6.17) shows a report from the BBC on the Syrian civil war, which is framed by the Jamaican newscaster. The newscaster's accent corresponds closely to descriptions of (modern) RP (Upton 2008: 235–251) and is clearly distinct from JE or StAmE: for example, his speech is consistently non-rhotic with no instance of even linking-*r*. He uses centering diphthongs, for example in *their*. The onset in GOAT diphthongs is saliently lowered to [əʊ] (e.g. *homes, no, go*) and the onset in PRICE diphthongs is more central approximating [ʌɪ] (e.g. *violence*) – two features of modern RP (Upton 2008: 241).

(6.17) News11BIEM01: Imported news report, *Syrian civil war*, Newstalk93FM
<$BIEM><#>In international[æ][ø] news[nju:z] Syrian refugees in Lebanon told[oʊ][Ctd] the[ð] BBC that[ð][æ] they[eɪ] fled scenes of great[eɪ] violence […] <#>The[ð] refugees say[eɪ] the[ð] Syrian army[ø] had[h] come[ʌ] with tanks[æ] as well as armed[ø][Ctd] civilians and fired[ø] on their[ð][ø] homes[h] [oʊ] <#>More in this[ð] report[ø] from[ʊ] the[ð] BBC
<$BBCreporter><#>The[ð] refugees say[eɪ] they[ð][eɪ] fled scenes of great[eɪ] violence['vʌɪələns] <#>They[ð][eɪ] say[eɪ] the[ð] Syrian army[ø] came[eɪ] with tanks[æ] and armed[ø][Ctd] civilians and started[ø] firing on[ʊ] their[ðeə] homes[h][əʊ] <#>One[ʌ] woman described[Ctd] how[h] her[ø] relative was shot[ʊ] dead when she was fleeing having[h][a] started[ø] her[ø] escape[eɪ] she turned[ø] back[æ] because[ʊ] she decided she wanted[ʊ] to bring her[ø] cow with her[ø] <#>She was shot[ʊ] in the[ð] head[h] <#>The[ð] Syrian authorities have[h] said in the[ð] official[ʊ] news[nju:z] agency[eɪ] that[ð][æ] the violence['vʌɪələns] is being carried[æ] out by armed[ø][Ctd] gangs[æ] who crossed[ʊ][Ctd] into Syria from Lebanon but the refugees tell a different[Ctd] story <#>They[ð][eɪ] blame[eɪ] the[ð] Syrian army[ø] and they[eɪ] say[eɪ] they[ð][eɪ] have[h] no[əʊ] idea[ʌɪ'dɪə] when they[ð][eɪ] will be able[eɪ] to get back[æ] to their[ðeə] homes[h][əʊ]
<$BIEM><#>That[ð][æ] report[ø] from the[ð] BBC

Jamaican listeners are not only exposed to RP and StAmE in imported newsclips but also to other accents and varieties of English via interviews. For example, a Voice of America news recording features an interview with a Hong Kong speaker of English, who has a salient Hong Kong English accent (News21VOA), one recording of Newstalk93FM headline news features a news sequence from US National Public Radio (NPR), which includes newsreading and a report in StAmE but also an interview with a local Sheriff from Vicksburg, Mississippi, who speaks with a Southern US American accent. Excerpt (6.18) shows this news sequence which is introduced by the Jamaican newscaster. The accents of newscaster and

reporter closely resemble the description of StAmE and are clearly distinct from the JE newscasters' accent. The sheriff's accent is characterized by several features of a Southern US accent (Thomas 2008: 87–114): PIN/PEN merger (e.g. *in*), monophthongization of PRICE (e.g. *like*), a lower onset and a higher glide in FACE (e.g. *Tornado*) and an upglide in the realization of the TRAP vowel (e.g. *flash*).

(6.18) News03JEF103: Imported news sequence, *National Public Radio international headlines*, Newtalk93FM
<$JEF1><#>And we now join the[ð] NPR for international[ø][a] headlines[h]
<$CraigWindham><#>For[ɹ] NPR[ɹ] news['nuːz] in Washington[a] I'm Craig[eɪ] Windham <#>Barges[ɹ] are again back[æ] on[a] a key stretch of the[ð] Mississippi river[ɹ] north[ɹ] of New['nuː] Orleans that[ð][æ] had[h] been closed[oʊ][Ctd] to commercial[ɹ] traffic[æ] <#>NPR's[ɹ] Carrie Kahn reports[ɹ] the[ð] barges[ɹ] are only[oʊ] being allowed to move slowly[oʊ] though[ð] and the coastguard[oʊ][ɹ] could shut[ʌ] down operations[a][eɪ] again if water['wɑɾə] levels get too high[h]
<$CarrieKahn><#>The[ð] coastguard[ɹ] had[h] closed[oʊ][Ctd] a fifteen mile section of the[ð] river[ɹ] near[ɹ] Natchez[æ] Mississippi fearing that[ð][æ] barge[ɹ] traffic[æ] was putting too much[ʌ] pressure on[a] strained[eɪ][Ctd] levees <#>Officials[a] now say[eɪ] the[ð] levees are[ɹ] fine <#>To the[ð] north[ɹ] in Vicksburg[ɹ] residents farmers[ɹ][ɹ] and business owners[oʊ][ɹ] are anxiously waiting for[ɹ] the[ð] water['wɑɾə] to crest tomorrow[a][oʊ] <#>Hundreds[h] [ʌ] of homes[h][oʊ] and thousands[θ] of acres[eɪ] of farmland[ɹ][æ][Ctdø] remain[eɪ] under[ʌ][ɹ] water['wɑɾə] <#>Sheriff Martin Pace[eɪ] says this[ð] natural[æ] disaster[æ][ɹ] is like no[oʊ] other[ʌ][ɹ] waiting[eɪ] for it to end has[h] been agonizing[æ]
<$MartinPace><#>In a flash flood or Tornado would be like a heart attack uh <#>This is like a cancer <#>It's just slowly progressing and there's nothing you can do to stop it
<#>en ə 'flæɛʃ 'flɜd ɔːɹ tɔːɹ'nɛiˌdoʊ 'wʊd biə 'laːk ə 'haːɹt ə'tæk 'ə <#>ðɪs ɪz 'laːk ə 'kæensəɹ <#>ɪts dʒəst 'sloʊli prə'gɹesɪŋ ənd 'ðeɹz 'nʌθɪn ju kən də tə 'staːp 'ɪt
<$CarrieKahn><#>Even after[æ][ɹ] the[ð] river[ɹ] crest it could be weeks before[ɹ] farm[ɹ] fields dry out and even longer[ɹ] for[ɹ] homes[h][oʊ] to be gutted['gʌɾəd] and cleaned[Ctd] <#>Carrie Kahn NPR news Vicksburg[ɹ] Mississippi
<$Craig Windham> […] <#>I'm Craig[eɪ] Windham NPR[ɹ] news['nuːz] in Washington[a]

6.3 Summary: Language use in Jamaican newscasts

Jamaican radio newscasts are a stronghold of Standard English: JC accent and morpho-syntax features are avoided in newsreading and all other newscast segments. The quotation of a Jamaican proverb in an interview by a politician is the only exception in the newscast data. However this does not mean that language use in newscasts is homogenous. The quantitative acoustic analysis has shown that StE in Jamaican radio newsreading varies between local (i.e. JE), British, and American norms. This is also evident in the qualitative analysis of other newscast segments than newsreading. In broad terms JE dominates Jamaican newscasting, followed by BIE and then AIE. To a lesser degree Jamaican radio newscasts also display British and American English standard accents, RP and StAmE, in imported newsclips, whereas other varieties of English are marginal. While JE is used by a wide range of speakers in newscasts, including reporters, newscasters, and interview partners, BIE and AIE are confined to newscasters who have received speech training. JE, which dominates Jamaican radio newscasts, is not monolithic but encompasses a range from formal JE spoken by trained newscasters to more informal JE of interviewees. In contrast to the formal newscaster JE, this informal JE is characterized by a high frequency of the realization of ING as [ɪn] and consonant cluster absence as well as shared features of JE and JC, such as the realization of voiced initial *TH* as a stop, MOUTH with a raised onset approximating [ɵʊ], and word-final *-tion* with a full vowel. Both JE styles are characterized by FACE and GOAT monophthongs, a lower central realization of TRAP and BATH approximating [a~ɐ], a tendency toward a heightened backed realization of STRUT approximating [ɔ], and a variable realization of LOT in between [ɑ] and [ɒ]. Morevoer, the qualitative analysis has shown varying degrees of a tendency toward conversationalization, i.e. the increasing use of informal and conversational styles (Fairclough 1995b), in different newscast segments. Newsreading in Jamaican radio is highly formal with very few colloquialism, whereas live-reports and interviews are more informal and conversational. In sum, although newscasts do not allow variation beyond StE, language use in this genre is very heterogeneous.

CHAPTER 7

Language use in Jamaican radio talk shows

This chapter describes the variability in language use in Jamaican talk shows by highlighting differences between four talk show hosts in their baseline style, their stylistic variation, and their individual use of linguistic resources to perform a particular host persona. The analysis of linguistic variation in the four baseline styles combines a quantitative acoustic accent analysis with a qualitative discussion of morpho-syntactic and lexical variation among the four hosts. The qualitative analyses of stylistic variation and the construction of different host personas take into account accent, morpho-syntactic, and lexical language resources.

7.1 The four talk shows and their hosts

The analysis focusses on four talk shows and their hosts: Densil Williams (labelled DW), host of Jamaica Speaks, Orville Taylor (labelled OT) and Barbara Gloudon (labelled BG), who moderate RJR's Hotline on different days of the week, and Jerry Small (labelled JS), host of Straight Up. All four hosts are educated Jamaicans of high repute and social status, who are heard nationwide via their shows. According to Shields (1989: 47), such persons are model speakers of JE whose variety of English constitutes the de facto target for the wider population. The four hosts have different biographies and on-air personas. Furthermore, the format of the four talk shows and the topics in the recordings also differ from each other. The parameters influence the variability in language use on the air with regard to the hosts' baseline styles and their individual stylistic variation. All four talk shows are separated into three broad segments: introduction by the host(s), monologues by the host(s), and dialogues with callers or studio guests.

Jamaica Speaks is the most formal talk show out of the selection. It is a political talk show where the hosts discuss sociopolitical questions with invited guests. At the time of data collection in 2011, Newstalk93FM aired the show daily Monday to Friday from 6AM to 9AM. The show was broadcast from the Mona Visitors Lodge and Conference Centre on the UWI campus in Mona, Kingston. The talk show has a changing team of hosts who are all persons of high social and educational status, mostly academics and politicians. Most of the guests are Jamaican politicians,

journalists, and academics but occasionally international guests are also invited. The guests are not in the studio but are connected to the hosts via a telephone conference. Jamaica Speaks is foremost an expert discussion round where Jamaicans of high social standing, i.e. model speakers of JE, discuss serious issues of wider importance for Jamaican society. Mostly, current events serve as a basis for wider discussions of issues of political and social importance in Jamaica. For example, in the recording from the 19 May 2011, the main topic is the cement dispute between Jamaica and the Dominican Republic: in April 2011, the Dominican Republic prevented a shipment of Jamaican cement from being unloaded due to claims of breaches of certain trade regulations. This led then Jamaican Minister of Industry and Commerce Karl Semuda to issue a forty-eight hour ultimatum against the Dominican Republic to release the shipment. Furthermore, the Jamaican government announced a licensing regime for all cement imports to Jamaica. The cement dispute serves as a basis for the following wider discussion about trade regulations in free market economies with three Jamaican business and trade experts, a university lecturer and two politicians. The two broadcasts selected for analysis are hosted by Delano Seiveright, politician and journalist, and Dr Densil Williams (DW), professor at the Mona School of Business and Management. The discussion focusses on the language use of DW, whose on-air persona is as an academically-trained expert on socio-political and economic issues, who functions as a neutral moderator in the on-air expert discussion rounds.

Hotline is a daily call-in talk show broadcast on RJR from 10AM to 2PM. It is presented by three different hosts: Clive Mullings on Mondays and Tuesdays, Dr. Orville Taylor (OT) on Wednesdays, and Dr. Barbara Gloudon (BG) on Thursdays and Fridays. The language use of the latter two hosts is analyzed in this chapter. Hotline has been broadcast by RJR since the 1970s and is the longest running talk show on Jamaican radio. It has enjoyed tremendous success among the Jamaican listeners with its open talk format: regular Jamaicans from all walks of life can call into the show live to discuss any issue they want on the air with the host. The callers remain relatively anonymous if they choose not to tell their name. Instead of calling live into the show listeners can also send in emails and facebook messages which the host reads out live. The topics discussed on the air vary from personal issues (e.g. several callers complain about bad radio reception to RJR) to problems of a specific community (e.g. bad road conditions) and comments on wider political or social issues (e.g. a caller complains about the moral decay in modern Jamaican society). Some persons also just call to have a chat with the host and to show their appreciation for the program. Sometimes, the hosts introduce and discuss topics in introduction monologues and callers comment on these issues. For example, BG comments on the rape allegations against the then head of the IMF Dominique-Strauss-Kahn in New York in May 2011 and several people call

in to comment on the issue. The hosts not only discuss problems with their callers but also try to help with solutions. For example, the host forwards the complaints about bad radio reception to RJR's technical support unit. These open format talk shows provide a venue for all Jamaicans to express their problems and concerns, whether private or political, freely in a public forum. In this way call-in shows have become an integral part of public sociopolitical discussion in Jamaica.

The communicative setting of these discussions is spontaneous and not predefined but is also marked by certain inequalities. The callers enjoy freedom of expression as they can choose their topics freely and are given enough room to elaborate on their thoughts. In Hotline, individual calls on average last between four and five minutes but there are individual calls in the data which last between nine and ten minutes. Some callers even switch topics and address several issues within one call. Despite these freedoms communication is uneven as the hosts are in a position of authority: they are all well-educated public media personalities of high repute, trained media announcers, and seasoned public speakers. Callers always take the first turn, during which the hosts are given enough time to prepare their turn. Finally, hosts also control the technical aspects of the conversation and are able to disconnect a caller at any time. On the other hand, hosts do not misuse their power: although they often respond antagonistically this is rarely done in an impolite way. They also seek to stimulate a constructive conversation with the callers. In addition to these issues of power imbalance, talk show communication is multidimensional: hosts address the callers but at the same time they also speak to the listeners. Thus, a host's performance is targeted at the caller and the audience alike. In short, this open public discussion format provides a "goldmine for […] language styles" (Shields-Brodber 1992: 487) and how they are put to use in media performances in diverse ways.

OT is a Jamaican sociologist and journalist who hosts the Wednesday issue of Hotline. His media byname is Man in Black and RJR online describes him as a "passionate advocate of Blackness and Black History"(RJR). He also uses this alias as a self-reference but somewhat tongue-in-cheek: for example, a female caller greets him teasingly with "Good morning Doctor Black Taylor" (Talk08JE=JC02) and the two share a laugh. As the host he shows solidarity with the diverse concerns of his callers and tries to provide helpful advice. Furthermore, he often expresses his concerns and anger about social inequalities in Jamaica, political failings, and tragic events. The Man in Black OT projects a multilayered appreciative, educated, and humorous persona: he is an academic with a strong local Afro-Caribbean orientation, shows an interest in the concerns of his callers, and at the same time does not take himself too seriously.

Barbara Gloudon (BG) is the figurehead for Hotline, which she hosts on Thursdays and Fridays. These issues follow the identical open format to Hotline

with OT and share the same communicative setting. Yet, BG has a distinct style of presentation, uses linguistic variation differently and projects a different radio persona than the other hosts on Hotline. BG started her media career in the 1970s as a newspaper editor. She moved on to radio in the mid-1980s, where she became the host of Hotline and remains the longest-serving talk show host in Jamaican radio. Today she is a senior journalist, still active in both print and radio journalism. In her other career as a playwright she has scripted numerous dramas for stage and radio. For her contributions to the arts and journalism she received several national awards, including an honorary doctoral degree from UWI. Through her talk show, newspaper columns, and plays she injects herself into public debates and has become a well-respected and well-known figure of Jamaican public life. As her alias Miss G, she is outspoken and direct. In the talk show she presents her views bluntly and does not shy away from controversies and antagonistic stances. For example, in Talk15JE>JC01 she discusses the rape case against the former head of the IMF, Dominique Strauss-Kahn. She tries to highlight the perspective of the victim and takes a strong stance against any downplaying of rape. She also accuses Jamaican society of retaining a rape culture, which holds a victim jointly responsible in a rape case. As the host Miss G, she is also receptive to the diverse concerns of her callers. She is open for discussions and she tries to find solutions for the problems of her callers. For example, a caller who complains about the road conditions in his community calls her "a lady that always gets things done" (Talk17JE>JC03). Thus, callers respect and trust her. As Miss G, BG has shaped the Jamaican media landscape substantially, especially talk radio. She is also a linguistic pioneer who has helped to push JC into the radio domain against severe opposition.

Straight Up is a daily open format call-in show broadcast weekdays from 9AM to 12noon on Newstalk93FM and is hosted by Jerry Small (JS). Like Hotline, Straight Up follows the same open discussion format, where callers can choose to talk about any topic they want, are granted linguistic freedom, and are allocated enough time to elaborate their concerns and discuss them live on the air with the host. Most callers make use of these freedoms but as JS most often opens the show with an elaborate monologue where he discusses one or several current issues in detail, many callers respond to this opening monologue or other callers. In contrast to Hotline, the help aspect, i.e. the Hotline team actively taking action, is less pronounced for Straight Up which mainly focusses on providing help or guidance to the callers and listeners through educating them about sociopolitical, cultural, or even scientific issues. Despite this focus on education the show is also geared toward entertaining of the listeners through lively discussions about diverse topics. Thus, Straight Up can be classified as an edutainment program.

The host JS has lectured at UWI, is a dub poetry artist, and identifies with Rastafari. His alias Bongo Jerry reflects this strong connection to local

Afro-Jamaican culture. Furthermore, JS has done journalistic work as an editor for newspapers and magazines and is an experienced talk show host who worked for RootsFM, KLAS, and Hot102 before joining the team at Newstalk93FM. In Straight Up, JS combines these different aspects of his biography in his projection of the host Bongo Jerry: he is an academic expert on black history and culture, an educator, and a rebel who assumes the voice of the people.

7.2 Variability among the talk show hosts' baseline styles

The quantitative acoustic analysis shows salient variation for the four talk show hosts' baseline styles between JE and JC pronunciation patterns. For all eleven accent variables results are first reported descriptively and then checked for statistical differences between the four hosts. The variables are also discussed with regard to variability within the talk show hosts' individual baselines. This quantitative investigation is complemented with a qualitative analysis of the baseline styles which takes into account further additional accent features, morpho-syntactic, and lexical variation. In analogy to the accent variation the four hosts' baseline styles vary between StE and JC and differ saliently in their creoleness with regard to morpho-syntax and lexicon.

7.2.1 Variable Set A – talk shows: Consonants

The analysis of *Set A* shows that the talk show hosts' baseline accents differ significantly with regard to consonantal pronunciation patterns typical of JC: the baseline accents of DW and OT are marked by the least use of JC variants, followed by BG, whose baseline accent is characterized by more frequent use of JC pronunciations, and JS employs the most JC variants. While there are salient differences between the four hosts' accents with regard to voiced and voiceless *TH*-stopping as well as *H*-dropping, no clear differences emerged for rhoticity and word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters. The investigation of variable *Set A* also shows that all four baseline styles exhibit substantial internal variability. Except for word-initial *H* in general and word-initial voiceless *TH* for OT, there are no near categorical realization patterns. Apart from these two exceptions the realization frequencies all lie between thirty and seventy percent. This means that baseline style in this investigation needs to be understood as a specific range rather than one fixed style. See Table 7.1 for an overview of the results. Shown are the raw token frequenciesand the percentage of use in brackets.

The agreement test demonstrates a good reliability of the codings: from the overall 245 tokens, a fellow researcher marked eleven tokens as unsure, 207 were

Table 7.1 Results variables *Set A* – talk shows

	voiced *TH*-stopping		voiceless *TH*-stopping		*H*-deletion		Rhoticity		(-t,-d) consonant clusters	
speaker	[ð]	[d]	[θ]	[t]	[h]	ø	[ɹ]	ø	[Ctd]	ø
Densil Williams (DW)	103	76	13	6	61	0	89	131	50	23
	(57.5)	(42.5)	(68.4)	(31.6)	(100.0)	(0.0)	(40.5)	(59.5)	(68.5)	(31.5)
Orville Tayler (OT)	125	65	18	2	54	1	68	121	32	20
	(65.8)	(34.2)	(90.0)	(10.0)	(98.2)	(1.8)	(36.0)	(64.0)	(61.5)	(38.5)
Barbara Gloudon (BG)	77	68	20	15	48	6	67	98	31	28
	(53.1)	(46.9)	(57.1)	(42.9)	(88.9)	(11.1)	(40.6)	(59.4)	(52.5)	(47.5)
Jerry Small (JS)	61	147	19	22	30	10	80	120	52	50
	(29.3)	(70.7)	(46.3)	(53.7)	(75.0)	(25.0)	(40.0)	(60.0)	(51.0)	(49.0)

coded identically and twenty-seven tokens were coded differently. This translates to an 88.4% agreement rate.

The analysis of word-initial *TH* clearly demonstrates the range of linguistic variation between JE and JC covered by the baseline styles of the four talk show hosts (Figure 7.1). The four speakers represent a gradation: OT uses the most metropolitan realizations as [ð] followed by DW and BG, while JS tends most toward JC realizations as [d]. For the former three hosts there is a slight preference for fricatives, whereas JS is the only host who shows a preference for stops. These differences in the distribution of the voiced variable reach the level of significance with a moderate association between voiced *TH*-stopping and talk show host ($\chi^2 = 59.01$, $df = 3$, $p < 0.001$, Cramér's $V = 0.29$).

The variation among the four hosts for voiceless initial-*TH* is more clearly graded (Figure 7.1): OT's baseline accent is marked by a distinct preference for interdental fricatives, DW realizes almost 70% of cases as interdental fricatives and BG shows a slight preference for fricatives. In contrast to the other three hosts, JS's accent is marked by a slight preference for alveolar stops. These differences in the realization of the voiceless variable are significant with a moderate effect of the talk show host on the distribution ($\chi^2 = 11.42$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.01$, Cramér's $V = 0.32$).

For word-initial *H* all four talk show hosts show a preference for the realization of initial *H* in their baseline accents (Figure 7.1). However, *H*-dropping is a recurring feature in the talk show data and, similar to voiceless initial *TH*, there is a clear gradation among the four hosts. DW and OT realize initial *H* categorically and almost categorically, respectively. BG also shows a clear preference for JE and metropolitan norms in her baseline accent but occasionally drops her *H*s. JS's accent also shows a preference for initial *H* but he still drops one quarter of his initial *H*s. None of the talk show hosts corrects him or herself in instances of *H*-dropping. Hypercorrect word-initial *H*-insertion was only observed for JS's baseline accent but is a rare feature.[1]

In terms of rhoticity the four baseline accents are fairly similar and no clear gradation between the four hosts can be observed. All four speakers realize about 40% of postvocalic /r/s. The chi-square test shows that there are no significant differences between the four talk show hosts' accents with regard to rhoticity ($\chi^2 = 1.16$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.764$). In general, the baseline accents are best described as semi-rhotic. Similar to voiced *TH*-stopping, rhoticity is shown to be a highly variable feature in the baseline accent data of all four speakers.

The analysis of word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters shows that differences between the baseline accents of the four hosts are somewhat more pronounced than

1. Similar to the newscast data, no chi-square analysis was run for word-initial *H* because the sampling distribution is too deviant from a chi-square distribution.

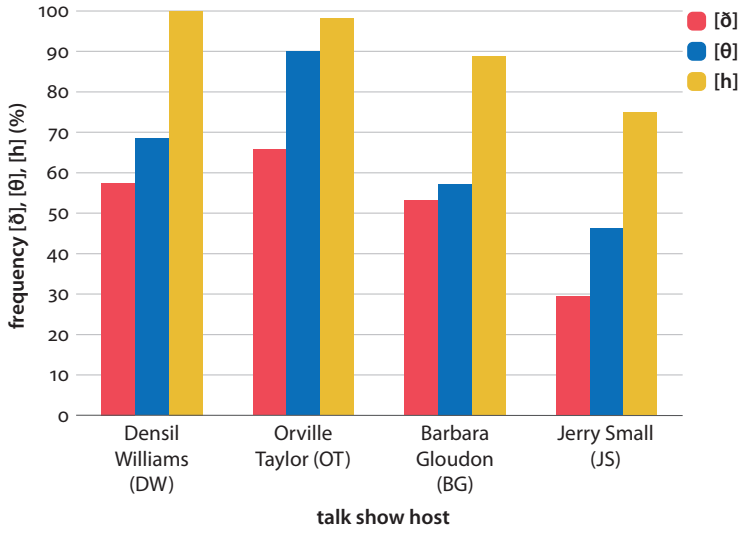

Figure 7.1 Word-initial *TH*-stopping and word-initial *H* – talk shows

for rhoticity. The variation in the realization of consonant clusters encompasses a range of 17.5 percentage points shows a slight slope in the baseline data among the four hosts: DW shows the highest production rate of consonant clusters followed by OT, then BG, and JS shows the lowest rate. However, these differences do not reach the level of significance using chi-square test ($\chi^2 = 6.33$, $df = 3$, $p = 0.097$). In general, all talk show hosts retain a relatively high proportion of their word-final consonant clusters despite their shared spontaneous and lively style of speaking. However, the production rates in between 68.5% and 51% show that (-t-d) clusters are a highly variable feature in the individual baseline accents.

7.2.2 Variable Set B – talk shows: Diphthongs

The analysis of FACE and GOAT shows that the baseline styles mainly vary between monophthongal JE realizations and downgliding JC realizations. The baseline styles of JS and DW are most distinct from each other with the former tending most to JC and the latter most to JE pronunciation patterns. The baseline accents of OT and BG fall in between these extremes. The former tends more distinctly toward JE monophthongs, while the latter incorporates more pronounced downgliding diphthongs into her baseline style. Despite these significant differences between the four hosts no sharp boundaries in their pronunciation patterns emerge from the investigation of FACE and GOAT. Similarly to *Set A*, all hosts show substantial variation between JE and JC patterns in their pronunciation for *Set B*. Figure 7.2 shows the mean scores of the normalized and scaled frequencies F1′

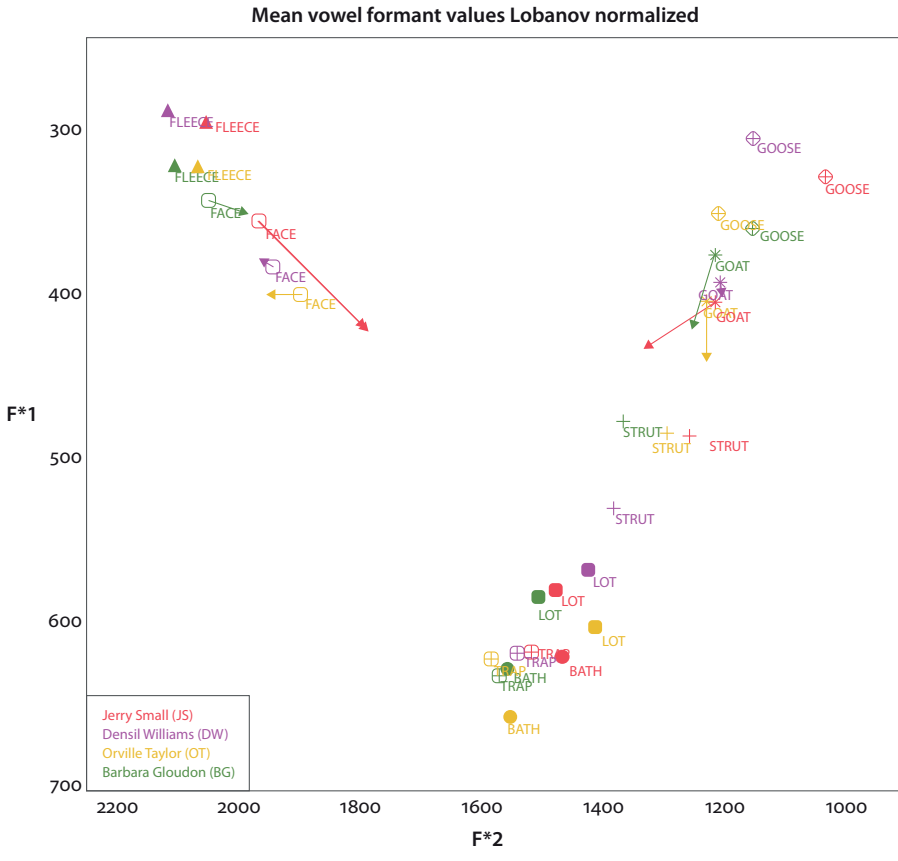

Figure 7.2 Formant plot mean scores for all variables – talk shows

and F2′ (including the onset and glide for FACE and GOAT) for all variables (different shapes) of *Set B* and *C* for all four talk show hosts (different colors).

FACE is realized as a downgliding diphthong by JS, while the other three hosts' realizations are monophthongal (i.e. small values for Euclidean distance, ΔF1′ and ΔF2)′. The analysis of the Euclidian distances between FACE onset and glide verifies this grouping (Table 7.2): overall, there are significant differences between the four speakers with a large effect size $F(3; 61) = 16.62, p < 0.001, \eta^2_p = 0.47$. Pairwise comparison with Bonferroni correction shows that only JS differs significantly from all other three hosts with regard to Euclidian distance. The mean scores for ΔF1′ and ΔF2′ (Table 7.2) of DW, OT, and BG are very low in comparison to JS. The direction mean scores also highlight a general tendency for marginal front-upgliding diphthongs for DW and OT, slight back-downgliding diphthongs for BG and pronounced back-downgliding diphthongs for JS. However, the distinctly high standard deviations emphasize the variability in the direction and degree of diphthongization. The analysis of individual tokens with regard to direction

and Euclidian distance illustrates this variability: most FACE tokens of DW are monophthongal but he also uses some RP/StAmE front-upgliding diphthongs. Similarly, most tokens of OT and BG are monophthongal but they also use RP/StAmE upgliding and JC downgliding realizations. All FACE tokens of JS are saliently back-downgliding. The analysis of the FACE onset position illustrates significant differences among the four hosts with regard to height (F1′) $F(3; 61) = 9.47$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.33$ and also frontness (F2′) $F(3; 61) = 7.02$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.27$ both with a large effect size (Table 7.4). BG and JS have a higher and more fronted onset position, which promotes back-downgliding diphthongs, than the other two hosts. Pairwise comparison of the FACE onset mostly verifies this grouping: BG differs significantly with regard to height and frontness from DW and OT. JS patterns more with BG but the difference in frontness of FACE to DW and OT does not reach a level of significance.

Table 7.2 Diphthongization FACE – talk shows ($N = 61$)

Speaker	Euclidian distance [Hz]	STH [Hz]	ΔF1′ [Hz/ms]	STH [Hz/ms]	ΔF2′ [Hz/ms]	STH [Hz/ms]
DW	65.43	42.47	−0.14	0.73	0.61	2.03
OT	75.30	44.63	−0.05	0.45	0.82	1.06
BG	98.63	58.92	0.16	0.52	−1.10	1.51
JS	223.96	114.17	1.11	0.52	−3.37	2.74

Downgliding JC realizations are more prevalent for GOAT than for FACE in the talk show data. Except for DW, who mainly realizes GOAT as a monophthong, all hosts show a strong tendency for JC front-downgliding realizations. This tendency is most pronounced for JS. The analysis of the Euclidian distance (Table 7.3) between GOAT onset and glide illustrates significant differences between the four hosts $F(3; 41) = 4.97$, $p = 0.005$, $\eta^2_p = 0.29$. Yet, pairwise comparison between the four hosts shows that only the two extremes, DW with the most monophthongal and JS with the most diphthongal realization, differ from each other significantly. The mean scores for ΔF1′ and ΔF2′ (Table 7.3) verify the dichotomous grouping. A closer analysis of the individual values of ΔF1′, ΔF2′, and Euclidian distance shows variability in the four baselines. The realization of GOAT as a monophthong is relatively homogenous for DW. All other three hosts' realizations are fairly homogenous with regard to the downgliding direction but there is salient variation in terms of the degree of diphthongization. In contrast to the direction and degree of diphthongization, the GOAT onset position (Table 7.4) is homogenous for the four talk show hosts. ANOVA does not show any significant differences either with regard to vowel height (F1′) $F(3; 41) = 2.84$, $p = 0.051$ or frontness (F2′) $F(3; 41) = 0.13$, $p = 0.94$.

Table 7.3 Diphthongization GOAT – talk shows ($N = 41$)

Speaker	Euclidian distance [Hz]	STH [Hz]	ΔF1′ [Hz/ms]	STH [Hz/ms]	ΔF2′ [Hz/ms]	STH [Hz/ms]
DW	45.81	18.74	0.06	0.24	–0.08	1.02
OT	124.08	64.16	0.69	0.63	0.36	1.95
BG	104.16	91.08	0.79	0.65	0.76	2.20
JS	158.35	64.87	0.66	0.72	2.96	2.12

Table 7.4 Formant values onset of FACE and GOAT – talk shows

	FACE onset ($N = 61$)				GOAT onset ($N = 41$)			
Speaker	F1′ [Hz]	STH [Hz]	F2′ [Hz]	STH [Hz]	F1′ [Hz]	STH [Hz]	F2′ [Hz]	STH [Hz]
DW	367.51	36.16	1949.71	105.80	375.17	23.27	1113.59	76.90
OT	383.78	25.73	1904.56	90.49	386.39	20.24	1142.11	104.54
BG	324.08	30.91	2072.61	99.52	358.47	30.74	1125.37	111.90
JS	337.03	37.77	1975.98	99.89	387.49	26.56	1120.71	97.17

7.2.3 Variable Set C – talk shows: Monophthongs

The analysis of variable *Set C* for the talk show data shows less distinct differences between the four hosts, partly because the realization of monophthongs is rather similar in JC and JE. Besides the fairly consistent distinctiveness of DW and the marked tendency of JS toward JC pronunciations, it is again rather difficult to draw clear cut boundaries between the four baseline styles. Nevertheless, the investigation shows that the four baseline styles vary between JC and JE pronunciation patterns: there are salient differences between the four hosts' baseline accents and there is internal variability in the four baseline accents.

The acoustic investigation of TRAP and BATH shows that these two variables are rather homogenous in the talk show data. All hosts realize them in a lower mid vowel space, which corresponds to a JC and JE pronunciation (Figure 7.2 and Table 7.5). JS somewhat sticks out because he has the most backed realization for both variables, which is farthest away from metropolitan pronunciation standards. ANOVA shows no significant differences between the four talk show hosts with regard to vowel height (F1′) for both TRAP $F(3; 63) = 0.28$, $p = 0.84$ and BATH $F(3; 35) = 0.93$, $p = 0.44$. Yet, there are significant differences for vowel frontness (F2′) for TRAP $F(3; 63) = 3.06$, $p = 0.035$, $\eta^2_p = 0.14$ with a small effect size and BATH $F(3; 35) = 6.64$, $p = 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.39$ with a large effect size. Pairwise comparison with Bonferroni correction shows that only the two extremes, OT and JS,

differ from each other. For BATH JS again has the most backed realization and differs significantly from BG, whose realization of BATH is the most fronted. TRAP and BATH are near mergers for all four hosts (Figure 7.2 and Table 7.6). However, TRAP is relatively more fronted and higher than BATH, except for BG. The Euclidian distance between the mean scores of TRAP and BATH is somewhat larger for OT and JS. However, these two hosts, as well as BG, show substantial variability in their realization of BATH and TRAP with regard to height and frontness. DW shows the least variability in his realization of TRAP and BATH.

Table 7.5 Formant values TRAP and BATH – talk shows

	TRAP ($N = 63$)				BATH ($N = 35$)			
Speaker	**F1′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F2′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F1′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F2′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**
DW	614.06	24.74	1488.44	40.28	629.09	30.41	1475.23	35.35
OT	620.21	71.81	1541.12	58.43	653.37	67.94	1508.53	55.99
BG	625.91	53.09	1514.90	56.48	621.56	57.24	1516.00	66.57
JS	612.31	40.29	1469.21	100.32	615.28	19.61	1408.61	65.92

Table 7.6 Euclidian distance TRAP and BATH – talk shows

Speaker	**DW**	**OT**	**BG**	**JS**
Euclidian distance [Hz]	20.01	46.49	4.49	60.67

The variability in the realization of LOT in the baseline accents reflects variation between backed JE and fronted JC realizations (Figure 7.2 and Table 7.7). LOT is generally realized in a low mid vowel space slightly above and back of TRAP and BATH by the four hosts. ANOVA shows no significant differences between the four hosts with regard to height (F1′) $F(3; 58) = 2.15$, $p = 0.10$ but in terms of frontness (F2′) $F(3; 58) = 9.34$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.34$ with a large effect size. Pairwise comparison of vowel frontness shows a split into two groups: BG and JS realize LOT significantly more fronted than DW and OT.[2] OT exhibits the most pronounced variability in terms of LOT frontness: individual tokens are located in a front vowel space, which reflects a JC pronunciation, while most tokens are in a backed position typical for JE.

The analysis of STRUT shows that the baseline accents vary between a central and a more heightened backed realization (Figure 7.2 and Table 7.7). The four hosts

2. For the pairwise comparison of JS with DW $p = 0.06$. As Bonferroni correction tends to be very conservative (Field 2009: 374) this p value slightly above the 0.05 level was taken to represent a significant difference.

can be grouped broadly into two groups: OT, BG, and JS pronounce STRUT in a heightened and variably backed position, with the last-named host realizing STRUT most backed. DW realizes STRUT significantly lower and more front. ANOVA shows significant differences in terms of height (F1′) $F(3; 61) = 6.92$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.27$ with a moderate effect and in terms of frontness (F2′) $F(3; 61) = 11.97$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.39$ with a large effect. Pairwise comparison shows that the realization of STRUT by DW is significantly lower than that of the other hosts. JS's realization is also significantly more backed than that of DW and BG; OT's realization is in between with no clear differences to either group.

Table 7.7 Formant values LOT and STRUT – talk shows

	LOT ($N = 58$)				STRUT ($N = 61$)			
Speaker	**F1′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F2′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F1′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**	**F2′ [Hz]**	**STH [Hz]**
DW	560.41	33.40	1359.38	47.40	519.59	39.58	1311.43	47.98
OT	597.39	40.26	1346.23	89.82	474.96	33.86	1243.90	66.58
BG	575.45	43.20	1453.69	71.28	466.05	40.94	1291.10	78.72
JS	574.73	35.31	1417.93	41.86	475.70	23.57	1170.20	49.31

7.2.4 Additional accent features – talk shows

The analysis of additional accent features verifies the quantitative accent analysis and shows that hosts mainly vary between JE and JC norms of pronunciation, while the hosts' baseline accents also influences from RP/StAmE patterns of pronunciation. DW, OT, and BG only occasionally use additional pronunciation patterns which have been described for acrolectal speakers such as the realization of word final *-tion* with a full vowel or insertion of palatal glides in between velar stops and /a/. Similarly, for these three hosts the onset realization of MOUTH varies between metropolitan front low position [a] and occasional instances of a Jamaican central position [ɐ]. In contrast, JS almost consistently realizes MOUTH as [ɐʊ], inserts a palatal glides in between velar stops and /a/, and pronounces word final *-tion* with a full vowel. In addition, he frequently realizes reduced vowels as full vowels but mostly in word-final position. JS is also the only host who consistently uses exclusive JC features, such as the realization of THOUGHT and CLOTH in a more fronted position similar to LOT approximating [a~ɑ]. Similar to the quantitative results on voiceless word-initial *TH* and word initial *H*, the other three hosts infrequently use these stigmatized JC features in their baseline styles – BG more often than DW and OT. The only exception is ASK: Just like JS, DW almost consistently uses the JC realization [aks], which is also frequent in BG's baseline but almost absent from

OT's baseline. Similar to word-final (-t-d) consonant clusters, variation for ING is highly variable in the baselines of all hosts. Nevertheless, there is a slight preference for the informal variant [ɪn] by all four speakers.

This brief analysis of additional salient features has shown that in terms of creoleness JS's baseline accent is marked by the most frequent use of JC accent features. DW and OT's JE baseline accents are only slightly marked for JC as additional shared features of JE and JC are relatively infrequent and JC exclusive features are rare. The JC influence is somewhat more pronounced for BG's baseline accent. Furthermore, all baseline accents show a high degree of variability for the selection of additional features discussed here.

7.2.5 Morpho-syntactic and lexical variation in the baseline styles

Similar to the accent analysis which has shown variability in the baselines mainly between JE and JC pronunciation patterns, the morpho-syntactic and lexical analysis demonstrates that the baseline styles vary between StE and JC as well as between a formal elaborate and an informal colloquial register. The final analysis of the four baseline styles also takes into account other speech sounds of the hosts as well as pragmatic variation and shows that all four baseline styles are marked by an abundance of conversational features. The four baseline styles differ saliently from each other and also internally with regard to these different levels of variation.

On a morpho-syntactic level DW's baseline is almost entirely in StE with only few instances of JC features. The host uses no explicit features of JC which carry a high indexical loading, such as JC plural marker *dem*, but only JC features with a low salience. The most frequent JC feature is zero copula, mostly in progressive forms (e.g. "we coming to you live" Talk03JE03) and before *gonna* (e.g. "Senator hold one second we gonna take a quick break" Talk02JE02). Deuber (2009a) calls these cases "the least marked contexts for zero copula" (p. 15). There is also one instance of zero copula before an adjective: "Yes you were making the point that you not sure of the regulations that are available" (Talk03JE03). These JC morpho-syntactic features are rare and no distinct JC lexical items were found in the baseline. However, DW uses certain lexical items found to be typical for JE (e.g. Mair 2002), such as *persons* rather than *people*. Furthermore, the baseline style is characterized by an elaborate lexical register as the host frequently employs specialized terminology from politics and economics (e.g. *CIT corporate income tax, non-tariff barriers*). On the other hand, DW also uses many colloquial expressions, such as *gonna* and *wanna*, and the baseline is marked by a high frequency of conversational features, mainly repetitions, hesitations, and contractions.

Similarly, OT's baseline is mostly in StE grammar and also strongly marked by conversational features, such as hesitators, fillers, pauses, corrections, and

discourse markers, such as stereotypical Jamaican *ya man*, which signals support or agreement. The lexical register is twofold: on the one hand, OT uses formal and elaborate vocabulary (e.g. *expenditure*, "in regard to the disparity in phone bills" Talk10JE=JC04), but, on the other hand, he also frequently uses colloquialisms (e.g. *one-upmanship, get* passives "the lies of course gets terminated" Talk07JE=JC01) and explains complex sociopolitical issues in everyday terminology, very often using personal anecdotes. Occasionally, he also uses JC syntactic features with a low indexicality, such as copula deletion in progressive forms ("But you know people having ideas of what is appropriate eh" Talk07JE=JC01), unmarked past tense (e.g. "the JLP forget" Talk07JE=JC01), deletion of articles (e.g. "because we are poor country" Talk07JE=JC01), or lacking SV concord ("It remind me of a little boy" Talk14JE=JC08), in his baseline style. Mostly, JC lexical features and overt JC syntactic constructions are not part of his baseline.

BG's baseline is very dynamic and encompasses a wider range in between JE/StE and JC than those of DW and OT. Morpho-syntactic features of JC, such as copula absence with progressive forms or reductions of the StE inflectional system on verbs and nouns, are recurrent in the baseline style data but StE grammar dominates. For example, BG categorically uses StE personal pronouns in her baseline style. Yet, there are also instances of JC modal verbs, such as *haffi* and *coulda*, or the adverb of place *deh* in the baseline style but these highly salient JC features are very infrequent. She occasionally uses Jamaican lexemes (e.g. *vex* or *to thief*, i.e. 'angry' and 'to steal') and phrases (e.g. *ya man* or *yes man*). Furthermore, BG's baseline style is strongly marked by colloquial features on a morpho-syntactic (e.g. frequent use of *get* passives) and a lexical level (e.g. frequent use of quotative *go* or colloquial invariant tag *eh*). Miss G also mixes colloquial informal vocabulary with a formal lexical register, which is marked by professional political terminology. For example, she compares Jamaica to the USA with regard to the political climate of citizen's political interference. She uses elaborate terminology to explain the US petition system but describes the slowly changing Jamaican politics colloquially with "the same old same old" (Talk17JE>JC03). Furthermore, BG is sometimes quite frank and blunt, for example she calls Dominique Strauss-Kahn a *crook* and says he has a reputation of *ugliness*, but she can also be very polite and formal, for example she always uses the proper titles when she refers to Jamaican politicians. Moreover, her baseline style is strongly marked by conversational features (e.g. contractions, repetitions, discourse markers) and she occasionally uses verbal sounds to emphasize her opinions or to illustrate certain issues. For example, she uses the everyday Caribbean oral gesture 'kiss-teeth'[3] (Figueroa & Patrick 2002) to

3. Kiss-teeth is an oral gesture which is mainly used to signal annoyance or disapproval in Jamaica. The hissing sound is created by sucking air through the teeth.

emphasize certain stances. She also frequently laughs or in one instance imitates a vomiting sound to signal her disgust with victim blaming in rape cases. These conversational features and oral sounds mark the informal character of her variable baseline style.

JS's baseline style can be described as a consistent blend of StE and JC features on all levels of linguistic variation, and hence his baseline style can only be captured as a wide range similar to BG's baseline style. In all recordings and across all contexts the host combines StE and JC grammar. For example, in Excerpt (7.1) JS uses the StE negators *not*, its contracted form *n't, neither* and the negative adjective *no* in combination with the JC negator *na* and negative concord. The excerpt also shows that he varies between a StE and JC pronoun system: although StE second person plural pronoun *you* dominates, he also uses JC *unu*. This coexistence of StE and JC is apparent for other variables too: for example, he varies in his realization of copula as he uses zero copula, JC copula *a* or *deh* as well as StE copula *be*. He also varies in his realization of SV concord or plural marking and uses JC prepositions *fi, ina, a*, or *pon* alongside their StE equivalents *to, for, in*, and *on*. Despite this distinct coexistence of both grammars, StE predominates. On a lexical level any clear cut distinction between StE and JC is hard to make as both varieties share most of their lexicon. JS's lexicon is very diverse: on the one hand, he uses an elaborate lexical register, especially if he talks about complex topics, such as history or culture. On the other hand, he recurringly uses informal vocabulary, such as *take somebody out* ('murder') or *gang up on somebody* ('to put an individual under pressure as a group'), distinct JC lexemes like *backfoot* ('bottom') or *Jack Mandora* (the first part of the formula to end an Anancy story, Cassidy & LePage 2002: 239) and JC idioms like *check youself* ('reflect your own actions critically'). JS uses such lexical Jamaicanisms most frequently out of all hosts but, nevertheless, StE vocabulary (formal and informal) dominates in his baseline style as well.

(7.1) Talk28JC>JE06: Voice of the people, *State officials and power*, Newstalk93FM
<$JS><#>That[ð][a] kind[Ctdø] of attitude[a] is when you think[t] you are[ɹ] the[d] state[eː] and important[ø][Ctd] people are[ɹ] the[d] state[eː] <#>Important[ø][Ctd] people are[ɹ] not[a] the[d] state[ɪe] <#>They[ð][eː] are[ɹ] the[ð] servants[ɹ] and<,> officers[a][ø] of the[d] state[ɪe] they[ð][eː] don't[dõn] have no[oː] power[ø] <#>They[d][eː] have authority
<#>**You get authority you na get no power** <#>**You na get no power the power lies ina the people** <#>**And that we want you fi know that we gonna make the whole unu get fi know**
<#>ju ˈget aːˈtaɹəti ju na ˈget no ˈpʊa <#>ju na ˈget no ˈpʊa də ˈpʊa laɪz ɪna də ˈpiːplˌ <#>an dat wi wan ju ˈfɪ nʊo dat wi ˈgana ˈmek də ʊol ʊnʊ ˈget ˈfɪ nʊo

<#>You are granted authority you are not granted power <#>You are not granted power the power lies with the people <#>And we want you to know that we will make sure that all of you know
<#>'Cos[ɑ] I know[oː] it and I have not[ɑ] no[ʊo] state[ɪe] or[ɹ] I have no[ʊo] big thing[t] neither[ø] <#>I know[oː] that[d][ɑ] <#>And you not[ɑ] no[ʊo] big thing[t] neither[ø] you could be governor[o][ø] general or[ɹ] you could be Prime Minister[ø] <#>You are a citizen of Jamaica[ɪe] and a officer[ɑ][ø] of the[ð] state[ɪe] and a servant[ɹ][Ctd] of the[d] people or[ɹ] servant[ɹ][Ctd] of the[ð] Queen dependent[Ctd] on[ɑ] whether[ø] you is government[o][ø][Ctdø] or[ɹ] Prime Minister[ø] <#>And so[ʊo] on[ɑ] and so[ʊo] forth[ø]

7.3 Stylistic variation

A qualitative analysis of the on-air performances of the four talk show hosts demonstrates that they differ saliently in their stylistic variation in monologues and dialogues. DW's stylistic variation remains within the boundaries of his JE baseline style. In contrast, OT very frequently code-switches to more JC marked speech for a variety of different purposes. In analogy to her diverse baseline style BG's overall performance is very dynamic: it is marked by subtle style shifts as well as more drastic code-switches back and forth from her baseline to more JC marked speech. As JS consistently blends StE/JE and JC stylistic variation is not marked by drastic code-switches but by continuous style-shifting within in his baseline style. The following discussion illustrates these different patterns of stylistic variation as well as the factors and the hosts' motivations which influence or cause stylistic variation.

7.3.1 Jamaica Speaks with Densil Williams

Like his baseline style, DW's overall on-air performance is very consistent: in all segments he and his co-host use relaxed StE with a strongly marked JE accent and occasional JC accent and morpho-syntactic features. Jamaica Speaks is subdivided into two main segments, frame and discussion, which are both controlled by the two hosts but differ in their role for the program and the communicative setting. The frame segments enclose the discussion segments, open and close the program and are directed toward the listeners, who are directly addressed through second person pronouns. These opening and closing segments are located at the start and at the end of each broadcast, after and before breaks. During these opening and closing segments the theme song for Jamaica Speaks, a somewhat urging instrumental which combines drum and clock sounds, fades in and out. In the opening segment, the hosts introduce themselves, the program, the discussants, and the

topic. This information is presented concisely as a monologue by the hosts. The frame segments often consist of routine parts, which are spoken at a fast pace and do not contain conversational features, and more spontaneous parts, which are marked by many conversational features (e.g. hesitations, corrections, pauses). Except for these features there is no salient stylistic variation.

The discussion segments form the main body of Jamaica Speaks. Here, guests and hosts discuss serious sociopolitical topics via a telephone conference. This dialogue is mainly between the hosts and the individual guests but occasionally the guests directly address each other. In these segments the audience is not addressed directly. The discussions are spontaneous and lively. Certain questions by the hosts are prepared but not scripted. The hosts moderate the discussions and fulfill different functions: they welcome the different guests and introduce the topic of the discussion. The main task of the hosts is to ask their guests questions, thus allocating turns to the participants. The hosts try to allocate turns fairly and in this way they integrate all participants into the discussion. They also backchannel during lengthy answer passages to signal support. However, they also intervene for different purposes: they introduce counterarguments to propel the discussion and then often hand over the turn to another speaker. If a guest goes off track too far they try to focus the scope of the discussion again, for example, by posing a new and more precise question. Occasionally, the hosts summarize certain points and then lead over to the next question. They close the discussion or interrupt it for breaks and then finally say good bye to their guests. Although the hosts organize the discussion, their turns are very short and the main body of talk is produced by the guests. In between different discussion segments, the hosts sometimes discuss issues among themselves and leave their role as moderators. In general, the hosts coordinate the discussion but they construct the conversation together with their guests in a non-hierarchical way. The hosts present themselves as professional and well-informed but also as neutral, balancing, and unemotional as their opinions are not in the foreground.

Excerpt (7.2) shows the neutral moderator role of DW: he welcomes the three guests back to the discussion about regularizations in a free market economy after a break. DW briefly summarizes a point made earlier and allocates the turn to Darren Thomas. After this guest has stated his opinion DW again steps in to summarize and moves the discussion further to the next participant, Delroy Beckford. The excerpt also shows the friendly and constructive atmosphere of the discussion as DW is on first name terms with two of the guests and tries to bring together their different opinions. During the long turns of the guests (not shown) DW shows support through backchanneling and no other participant interrupts.

(7.2) Talk05JE05: Moderator, *Sensitizing consumers*, Newstalk93FM
<$DW><#>Gentleman[a] welcome back[a] <#>And thanks[θ][a] for[ø] being back[a]
<$Thomas><#>Thank[θ][a] you
<$DW><#>We have everybody[ʊ]
<$Paulwell><#>Yes
<$Beckford><#>Yes I'm here[h][ɹ]
<$DW><#>OK great[eː] <#>We wanted[ʊ] Darren[a] and and and uhm Delroy to to comment[a][Ctd] on[a] the[ð] issue that[ð][a] Mister[ɹ] Paulwell raised[eː][Ctdø] issues of sensitizing <[>the[ð]<[> consumers[ø]<,> yes
<$Thomas><#><[>Uhm<[>
<$Thomas><#>Let me let me come[o] in here[h][ɹ] […]
<$DW>><#>Well let me let me bring in Delroy here[h][ɹ] because that[ð][a] that's an interesting point[Ctd] while while while we accept[a][Ctd] that[a] people will actually[a] uh respond[ʊ] to incentives etc. the[ð] the the point[Ctd] is the[d] question is how[h] can we as because you're[ɹ] correct[Ctd] with all most[Ctdø] of the[d] the claims[eː] that[ð][a] you've made[eː] uhm Darren[a] <#>But[o] how[h] can[æ] we as consumers[ø] decide that[a] <#>OK I as an individual I'm gonna find[Ctd] it difficult to go[oː] to the[d] JPS<&>Jamaica_Public_Service_Company</&> <#>But[o] how[h] can[æ] we come[o] together as as and lobby uh Delroy as a as a consumer[ø] group and say[eː] <#>Let that[ð][a] one person[ɹ] represent[Ctd] our interest[Ctdø] there[ð][ɹ] <#>Because if we gonna get the company[ʊ] to be punished[o] then this[ð] is how[h] we possibly[ʊ] have to go[oː] forward[ø] <#>Delroy

Although DW never saliently deviates from his baseline style this does not mean that his speech is mono-stylistic as there is micro-stylistic variation within the baseline style range. Both hosts almost categorically produce word-final consonant clusters and postvocalic /r/ in instances when they aim for clarity of expression or emphasis, which is accompanied by a slower pace and longer pauses. For example, in Excerpt (7.3) DW's third utterance is the main question he poses to the guests. This utterance is distinct from the preceding and following ones with regard to speech rate and segmental features: the first two utterances and the last one are spoken at a fast rate. The speaker decelerates in the third utterance and leaves pauses for clarity of expression. Rhotic pronunciation (*market*), distinct realization of final consonant clusters (*extent*), realization of word-final *-tion* with a full vowel (*regulation*), and exaggerated lengthening of vowels (*impose, regulation, open*) co-occur with this deceleration. These features mark an emphatic style in DW's speech relatively consistently, which, however, can be incorporated in the baseline style range. This tendency toward clarity of expression through high production rates of consonant clusters and postvocalic /r/ does not apply to *TH-*

stopping where no correlation was found between realizations as fricatives and emphatic clear speech.

(7.3) Talk03JE03: Micro-stylistic variation, *Regulating an open market economy*, Newstalk93FM
<$DW><#>Good so[oː] the[d] first[ø][Ctdø] question I pose[oː] I'm I'm gonna ask[aks] all three[θ] of you to actually[a] respond[Ctd] <#>So we start[ø] with uhm Opposition[ɒ] Spokesman[oː][a] Paulwell <#>And that[a] is<,> to what extent[Ctd] should we really impose[oːː] regulation[ˌɹɛgʊˈleːːʃən]<,> in a open[oːː] market[ɹ] economy[ɒ] <#>Uh Mister[ø] Paulwell then[ð] we'll take the[ð] others[o][ø]

Although the guests also dominantly use conversational StE with a strongly marked JE accent and an elaborate lexical register, they use JC features more frequently. There are also several instances of pronounced shifts to JC marked speech. For example, in Excerpt (7.4) the guest Scott is again strongly emotionally involved in the topic of failures in Jamaican politics and uses JC marked speech to show his anger and to emphasize his opinion: there is an instance of lacking SV concord: "every pikni in Jamaica know", he uses JC *pikni* for StE *child* and the term *garrison* in a Jamaican sense, i.e. an urban community controlled by organized gangs which functions as a stronghold for a political party. He not only uses JC features for emphasis but also heightened pitch, louder amplitude, and the discourse marker *right* in a punctuational way.

(7.4) Talk06JE06: JC marked speech guests, *Garrison politics*, Newstalk93FM
<$Scott><#>We know[oː] we have garrisons[a] <#>Everybody[a] every **pikni** in Jamaica[eː] know[oː] there[d] 're[ɹ] garrisons[a]<,> right <#>And garrisons are[ɹ] where[ɹ] politicians[ɒ] have links with gangsters['gjaŋstəz] they[d][eː] help[h] them[d] try win elections <#>That's[ð][a] the[ð] bottom[ɒ] line <#>And nobody[oː][ɒ] wanting[ɒ] to talk about it <#>No[oː] <#>Nobody[oː] don't[oː] [Ctdø] even talk[ɒ] about the thing[t]

All participants in the discussion perform expert personas in a serious but also somewhat relaxed and constructive discussion. This expert persona is projected through conversational Standard JE: all participants use an elaborate lexical register and their accents are strongly marked for JE. Their speech contains many conversational features, except for the routine part in the introduction, and they occasionally use colloquialisms and lightly marked JC features. The program's structure and communicative setting establish a context for serious constructive but also polite talk. At times, the hosts as well as the guests shift to a more emphatic style. However, there are slight differences between hosts, who use less JC and colloquialisms, and guests, who sometimes shift to marked JC speech when they are emotionally involved and want to emphasize their opinion. The hosts

consistently stick to their neutral unemotional role as neutral expert moderators, which they project through conversational Standard JE.

7.3.2 Hotline with Orville Taylor

In contrast to DW, OT's on-air performance is characterized by frequent deviations from his baseline style, mostly toward stronger JC marking but also emphatic formal styles. This stylistic variation depends on the segment (introduction, monologue, dialogue) as well as the interlocutor, and OT also deviates from his baseline for metaphorical purposes. In the introduction (Excerpt 7.5) OT uses a formal emphatic speech style. In this segment he welcomes his audience and introduces the program. He also explains the contact details of the show to the listeners. The host performs the introduction live as a monologue but directly addresses the listeners via second person pronouns. The introduction mainly contains routine utterances for the host: he names the station, the show, the show's slogan ("Hotline where the truth comes to live and the lies come to die") and reads out the contact telephone numbers. Nevertheless, OT still has a lively style of presentation as he often creatively alters the routine parts. For example, in Excerpt (7.5) he changes the slogan by inserting *always* and using colloquial *get* passive and non-standard SV concord: "lies gets terminated". OT deviates from his baseline style toward an emphatic formal style: He relatively consistently realizes – even overarticluates – postvocalic /r/ (e.g. *here, or, morning, four*), consonant clusters (e.g. *instant, word, and*), and ING as [ɪŋ] (e.g. *using, morning*). He mostly realizes initial *TH* as a fricative (e.g. *the, three, that*), TRAP tendentially in raised fronted position (e.g. *blackline, at*), and FACE rather upgliding diphthongal (e.g. *eight, facebook, radio*). Especially when reading out the numbers, he leaves marked pauses and decelerates in his speech rate. This emphatic formal style is also less marked by conversational features than his baseline. Variation between the two styles is fluid.

(7.5) Talk07JE=JC01: Introduction, *Hotline with Orville Taylor*, RJR
<$OT><#>Uh we're[ɹ] talking[ɪŋ] real substance[o] here[h][ɹ] on[ʊ] RJR ninety-four[ɹ] FM <#>So[oː] Hotline[h][ʊ] where[ø] the[ð] truth always[eɪ] comes[ʌ] to live and[Ctd] the[ð] lies of course[ɹ] gets terminated[ɹ][eː] <#>Hotline[h][ʊ] <#>Nine two six two one seven eight[eɪ]<,> nine two six eight[eɪ] six three[θ] one<,> nine two six seven six one five<,> and[Ctd] one eight[eɪ] eight[eɪ] eight[eɪ] nine nine one two zero[oː] eight[eɪ] zero[oː] <#>And[Ctd] of course[ɹ] you know[oʊ] you can do the[ð] electronic hook[h] up now by sending[ɪŋ] me an email[eɪ] or[ɹ]<,> facebook[eɪ] message or[ɹ]<,> instant[Ctd] message by using[ɪŋ] Taylor[eɪ][ɹ] on[ʊ] blackline[æ] <#>That's[ð] [æ] my name[eɪ] on[ʊ] blackline[æ] but[ʌ] one word[ɹ][Ctd] at[æ] Hotmail[h] [ʊ][eɪ] dot[ʊ] com[ʊ] <#>All right

Monologues in Hotline are a heterogeneous segment: They include passages were the host reads out letters and emails of listeners. All letters read out in the corpus are written in StE and the host reads them out in his emphatic formal style. Monologues are also spontaneous comments in response to a call, a letter or an email, or an initiative comment on current political events. In these the host either illustrates his own perspective on an issue or extends and deepens an issue by means of anecdotes. He neither addresses the listeners nor a caller directly but the listeners function as the implied addressees: these types of monologues could be described as public inner monologues geared toward an absent audience. They are spontaneous, lively, and are dominantly performed in the host's baseline style. However, the host frequently deviates from his baseline mainly toward JC marked styles to create a more vivid performance but also to show his emotions and for emphasis. For example, in Excerpt (7.6) OT comments on a fraud which was uncovered at the Jamaica Urban Transit Company (JUTC) with regard to Smart Cards, i.e. electronic prepaid tickets, and an unsettled affair of extremely high phone bills of a public service department. The host makes it clear that these are his opinions by frequently using first person singular pronouns but at the same time he also integrates the listeners into his comment by means of first person plural pronouns. The passage is strongly marked by emphatic discourse markers (e.g. *you know, right, OK*). He also emphasizes his indignation by switching from his baseline style to JC marked speech (e.g. preposition *inna*, aspect marker *a*, copula deletion, negation marker *no*). This shift to JC is also triggered by his direct antagonistic address of a specific politician and then politicians in general.

(7.6) Talk10JE=JC04: Style shifting monologue, *Fraud and politicians*, RJR
<$OT><#>**How so much tifing a go on ina the country man <#>Jesampiiz**
<#>ˈhoʊ ˈsoː ˈmotʃ ˈtiːvɪn a goː ɑn ɪna də ˈkontɹi man <#>ˈdʒiːzampiːz
<#>*It is unbelievable why so much thievery is taking place in the country*
<#>*Jesus Christ*
<#>And now we understand[Ctdø][ø][a] that[ð][a] there is a major[eː][ø] fraud<,> uh uncovered[o][ø] at the[ð] JUTC involving[o] smarter[ø][ø] cards[ɹ]
<#>My gosh[ʊ] I'm I'm embarrassed[a][Ctd]<,> right <#>And by the[ð] way[eː]
<#>**Doctor Wheatley you politician and me know you a say thing<,> right**
<#>ˈdaktə ˈwiːtli ja ˌpalɪˈtɪʃan ən mə noː ju ə ˈseː ˈtɪŋ ɹaɪt
<#>*Doctor Wheatley you are a politician and I know you are saying many things right*
<#>You are[ø] the[d] spokesman[oː][a] on[ʊ] ICT and Digital Society Development[Ctd] <#>But[o] let us[ʌ] say[eː] something[o] now let us wait[eɪ] for[ø] the[ð] explanation[eː] you know[oː] <#>No[oː] <#>You know[oː] why
<#>**You politician <#>Politician do politics and we no want know what you a do**
<#>ju ˌpalɪˈtɪʃaŋ ˌ<#>palɪˈtɪʃan dʊ ˈpalɪtɪks ən wi no wɑn nʊo ˈwa ju *a* duː

<#>*You are a politician* <#>*Politicians do politics and we don't want to know what you are doing besides that*
<#>But[ʌ] uhm<,> in regard[ø] to that[ð][a] disparity[a] the[d] disparity[a] in the[d] phone[oː] bills and stuff[o] of of course[ø] the[d] numbers[ʌ] are[ɹ] high[h]<,> right <#>Uhm and let me make[eɪ] it clear[ɹ] I'm not[ʊ] saying[eɪ] and I never[ø] did say[eː] that[ð][æ] there[ð] is anything<,> unlawful[ʌ] or immoral or corrupt[ʌ] about it all I'm saying[eː] it is high[h] and uh because it's high[h] while you've others[o][ø] which are[ɹ] low[oː] then[ð] uh since it is public[o] purse[ø] that[ð][æ] is being spend[Ctd]<,> out of then[d] we need that[d][a] explanation[eː]<,> OK

Dialogues form the main body of Hotline. Here callers take the initiative and state their concerns, discuss sociopolitical issues with the host, seek advice, or just want to have an informal chat. Dialogues are one-on-one conversations between caller and host, while the audience functions as an absent pseudo-addressee. OT backchannels regularly to signal his attentiveness and interrupts only infrequently. His interactional patterns are always polite: he does not threaten his callers' face, he never misuses his power position, he always tries to instill a constructive conversation, and in cases of opposing opinions he avoids an open heated clash. For example, when a caller complains about a female civil servant's hair style and deplores a lack of decency in current Jamaica OT avoids a direct confrontation but keeps the call rather short and adopts a balancing position in a comment after the call: "You know this's a democracy and you know we appreciate different opinions but you know people having different ideas of what is cooperate and what is appropriate eh" (Talk07JE=JC01).

The callers determine the general direction of the conversation, for example the level of formality of a dialogue, and the host then adapts to the specific situation. This means that the host mainly greets all callers equally in a polite and formal manner in his baseline style: "Good morning Hotline how are you" (e.g. Talk13JE=JC07). From this opening turn onwards the callers take the initiative and act very differently on the air: most callers have a serious concern and try to keep a formal conversational style which is not marked strongly for JC. However, other callers directly deviate from this default style and adopt a more colloquial style which is often strongly marked for JC. Most often the host converges to this relaxed style. Through the host's linguistic flexibility he manages to establish an equally comfortable conversational situation for all callers. In addition to converging to the callers' language to show solidarity with their concerns, OT also frequently shifts to more JC marked speech for humorous or entertainment purposes. For example, the caller in Excerpt (7.7) wants to have an informal chat. She suspects that the host grew up in Portland, a northeastern parish of Jamaica, as he frequently refers to this region. She challenges the host in a teasing way why he

has not visited her yet in Portland. Her humorous request is strongly marked for JC (e.g. adverb of place *ya*, first person singular pronoun subjective and objective case: *me*; future marker: *a go*). First, the host is caught off guard but then adapts to this informal situation and finally responds in JC marked speech (e.g. locative copula: *de*). After this brief and teasing verbal exchange in JC OT goes on to clarify his family history in a serious tone and switches back to his baseline style.

(7.7) Talk08JE=JC02: Convergence, *Portland*, RJR
<$Fcaller><#>**I hear you naming out some places and district in Portland like you come from ya**
<#>ˈaɪ hɪɹ ju ˈneːmɪn ɵʊt som ˈpleːsɪz ənd ˈdɪstrɪk ɪn ˈpɔːtlan ˈlaɪk ju kom fram jaː
<#>I've heard you referring to places and districts in Portland like you are from here
<$OT><#>Uhu
<$Fcaller><#>**You see <#>And me know you come from Portland and you come right a Blue Hole that is a stone throw from me and you never call down for me <#>And me a go vex and complain**
<#>ju ˈsiː ɐn miː nʊo ju kom fɹam ˈpɔːtlan ɐn ju kom raɪt ɑ bluː ʊol dat ɪs ə stʊon ˈtroː fɹam miː <#>ju ˈnevɑ kaːl doŋ fə miː <#>ɐn miː ə go veks ən kəmˈpleːn
<#>You see <#>And I know that you come from Portland and you come right from around Blue Hole which is around the corner from where I live <#>You have never visited me <#>So I am going to be angry and complain
<$OT><#>All right oh shi <#>Ðey[ð][eɪ] were[ø] **yu mos tel me yu mos tel me we yu de**
ju mos tel mə ju mos tel mə wə ju de
you have to tell me where you are from

Although the host seeks to have constructive and positive discussions with his callers he also takes on opposing positions. This antagonistic stance is often accompanied by a linguistic divergence from a caller to his emphatic formal style. For example, in Excerpt (7.8) a caller laments about crime, corruption, and political passivity in Jamaica. He wants to highlight the benefits of a more authoritarian governmental style and names the first Singaporean Prime Minister Lee Kwan Yew as a positive example. The caller closes his remarks by challenging the host's liberal views, who reacts antagonistically, interrupts the callers, defends himself by showing his detailed knowledge about Lee Kwan Yee and diverges from the caller's informal JC marked language to an emphatic formal StE style. OT then tries to calm the situation by highlighting positive aspects of Lee Kwan Yee's political style and shifting to more JC marked speech (e.g. third person singular possessive pronoun: *him*; reduplication: *close close*; modal *coulda*).

(7.8) Talk13JE=JC07: Divergence, *Lee Kwan Yee*, RJR
<$Mcaller><#>I know[oː] you have a issue with persons[ɹ] like Lee <[>Kuan Yew</[>
<$OT><#><[>No[oʊ] I'm not[ʋ] saying[eɪ][ɪŋ]</[> I'm having[h][æ][ɪŋ] an issue with Lee Kuan Yew <#>No no no no[oʊ] <#>Cos[ʋ] one thing[θ] with Lee Kuan <[1>Yew</[1> is that[ð][æ] <#>Uhm yes they[d][eɪ] say[eɪ] that[d][æ] he took some[o] of the[d] models[ʋ] from Jamaica[eː] and all[ʋ] <[2>that[ð][a]</[2> but[o] he was zero[oː] tolerant[Ctd] when it came[eɪ] to corruption[ʌ][ʃan]
<$Mcaller><#><[1>Yes</[1> <#><[2>Yeah</[2> <#>Absolutely[a]
<$OT><#>Yes
<$Mcaller><#>Esp uh and it never[ø] <[1>matter[a][ø]<[1> whether it was <[2>his <unclear>word</unclear></[2>
<$OT><#><[1>Right</[1> <#><**[2>No man</[2> <#>Whether it kuda be him <[1>brother</[1> <#>Yeah all him right him brother or him pikni or<,> close close colleague**
<#>noː man ˈweda ɪt kʊda biː ɪm ˈbrodə <#>jeə aːl ɪm ɹaɪt ɪm ˈbrodə aːɹ ɪm pɪknɪ aːɹ kloːz kloːz ˈkalɪːg
<#>*Definitely not* <#>*I did not matter whether it could have been his brother*
<#>*Yes all of his brothers or children or very close colleagues*
<#><[2>And</[2> you have to get to that[ð][a] level of uh absoluteness[a]
<$Mcaller><#><[1>Exactly[a]</[1> <#><[2>Uh</[2>

All these monologic and dialogic examples show the linguistic versatility of the host: he is able to adapt to different situations very quickly and is able to shift seamlessly between emphatic formal, baseline, and more JC marked styles. The callers are less linguistically versatile and are not trained in speaking publically in StE: in general, their speech styles are more marked for JC and they rarely shift saliently during their calls. Yet, there are significant differences between the individual callers with regard to the creoleness of their speech. On the one hand, this reflects general sociolinguistic variation within Jamaican society but, on the other hand, this variation could also show different levels of adherence to norms of public speaking, where English is the expected choice and reservations against JC persist (e.g. Beckford-Wassink 1999).

The host is able to adapt to the varying language use and concerns of his callers. This linguistic and rhetorical versatility allows him to create a comfortable conversation atmosphere for all callers and to handle disagreements in a balancing way. Through the extremely flexible and spontaneous stylistic variation he also projects a multifaceted persona: the host shows himself as the man of the people, a humorous person to have an informal chat with, a good storyteller, a trustworthy and obliging person, a critical thinker, an expert, and an academic but also someone who does not take himself too seriously.

7.3.3 Hotline with Barbara Gloudon

BG's style of presentation is best described in terms of heteroglossia, originally introduced by Bakhtin (1981) as "the co-existence of socio-ideological contradictions" (p. 291) and defined by Bailey (2007) as "(a) the simultaneous use of different kinds of forms or signs, and (b) the tension and conflicts among those signs" (p. 257): BG's language use is characterized by coexistence, blending, and juxtaposition of different styles or varieties of the Jamaican speech spectrum. She frequently deviates from her baseline style to more JC marked speech but also occasionally to more formal and emphatic StE styles. These shifts are often smooth and it is hard to distinguish distinct styles. Yet, there are also drastic and clearly marked switches to strongly marked JC speech or very formal emphatic StE. Her overall presentation is vivid, spontaneous, and often emotional. She frequently uses figurative language (e.g. similes, or proverbs) to illustrate her opinions. For example, she compares her disgust for rape and society's inability to properly address the issue with an orange seed stuck in a back tooth and dogs who rub their wounded ears on the ground (Excerpt 7.9). These figurative passages are also often marked for JC (e.g. down [doŋ]; aspect marker *a* plus infinitive; verbs unmarked for past tense: *eat, see*; invariant personal pronouns: *we, him*; proposition *pon*). However, her analyses of political issues or concerns of her callers are often sharp and objective.

(7.9) Talk15JE>JE01: Figurative language, *Orange seed and wounded dogs*, RJR
<$BG><#>You know[oː] it's is the[d] petty things[θ] yes but[o] sometime[ʌ] they[ð][eː] get under[ʌ][ø] your[ø] skin like
<#>**You ever eat an orange and one of the seed get <?>lost u*p* < /?> a their back teeth and you have you tongue and a go unk unk** <#>**And everybody say to you**
<#>**You ever see we dog get him ears hurt** <#>**Him sit down and rub him ears pon the grass eh**
<#>ju ˈevɐ iːt ɑn ˈɑɹəndʒ ən won əv də siːd ˈget lɑdʒ op ɑ deə ˈbak tiːt ɐn ju əv jə toŋ ən ɑ goː ʊŋk ʊŋk <#>ɑn ˈevɹɪˌbɑdi ˈseː tʊ ju <#>ju ˈevɐ ˈsiː wi dɑg ˈget ɪm ɪəz hɜːt <#>ɪm sɪt doŋ ɑn ɹob ɪm ɪəz ˈpon də gɹɑːs eː
<#>*Have you ever eaten an orange and one of the seeds got stuck in your molars and you used your tongue to loosen it* <#>*And everybody tells you*
<#>*Have you ever seen our dogs when their their ears are hurt and they sit down and rub their ears on the grass*
<#>Look these[ð] these similes are[ɹ] not[ʊ] good enough[o] for us[ʌ] this[ð] morning[ɹ] <#>But[o] you know[oː] what[ʊ] is how[h] I feel about this[ð] share[eː][ɹ] with me <#>Share[eː][ɹ] with other[o][ø] things[θ]

The segmentation of Hotline with BG is identical to Hotline with OT: introduction, monologue, and dialogue. However, monologues have a more central role

for BG than for OT. She extensively comments on current political events or on callers' concerns. At the beginning of a show BG very often discusses several topics in one lengthy introduction monologue. For example, in the opening monologue of Talk15JE>JC01, which lasts for seven minutes, she comments on the case New York City vs. Strauss-Kahn, rape culture in general, and the trial against the famous Jamaican Don (i.e. crime lord) Dudus Coke. Mostly, monologues are directly addressed to the listening audience. BG frequently uses second person plural pronouns and first person plural pronouns to invoke a common Jamaican community between herself and her listeners. She uses both strategies in Excerpt (7.9) and also invokes a common Jamaicanness through the use of JC marked speech and the shared knowledge about the behavior of Jamaican dogs. Through the frequent use of first person singular pronouns or self-referencing as Miss G the monologues are explicitly personal. BG also displays her emotions openly: she laughs, kisses her teeth disapprovingly, cries out in despair, accuses public figures, feels with victims, and assertively calls out for social justice. These instances of emotional involvement very often trigger a switch from the baseline style to strongly marked JC speech. In Excerpt (7.10) BG gets more and more emotionally involved as she talks about the personal history of the rape victim, Nafissatou Diallo, to reinforce her belief in the truth of the accusations. She then goes on to highlight common opinions in Jamaica in defense of Strauss-Kahn and concludes in her outcry against victim blaming in rape cases. The more emotionally involved she becomes, the more her speech is marked for JC. This culminates in her highly emotionally charged double-voicing (i.e. an ironic imitating of another voice – "another's speech in another's language", Bakhtin 1981: 324) of Jamaicans who defend Strauss-Kahn and make victims co-responsible for sexual abuse (e.g. down [doŋ]; copula absence, *breast* unmarked for plural, adverb of place *de*).

(7.10) Talk15JE>JC01: Smooth and abrupt style-shifting, *Victim blaming*, RJR <$BG><#>But[ʌ] this woman is a is a is a migrant[Ctd] she she get to the[d] American country[o] as fleeing from one of the[ð] the[ð] the[d] countries[o] where[ɹ] things[t] are[ø] bad <#>She **coulda** been well raped[eː][Ctd] in in some[o] some[o] one of the[d] nasty[a] outburst[ø] that[a] go[oː] on[ɒ] over[oː] [ø] there[d][ø] <#>And she has been given refuge in the[d] asylum in that[d] [a] country[o] <#>Three[t] years[ɹ] she work[ɹ] as a as a hotel[h][oː] maid[eː] as the[d] same[eː] maid[eː] <#>Why would she after[a][ø] that[ð][a] kind[Ctd] of history[h] turn[ɹ] on[ɑ] this[d] man[a] now what[ɒ] to blackmail[a][eː] him how[h] <#>The[d] only[ʊo] thing[t] black[a] is her[ɹ] skin how[hø] she go[ʊo] and blackmail[a] somebody[ɑ] like a that[d][a] <#>What[ɒ] what[ɒ] resources[ø] she've to do it <#>And when you when you listen and you read some[o] of the[ð] thing[θ] and they[eː] starting[ø] now and they[eː] begin to think[t] and they[eː] going[oː] how[h] he was a nice man[a] and he help[h]

> Jamaica[eː] to come[o] out of this[d] troubles <#>But[ʌ] he was a creep <#>Like a lot[ʊ] of people who[h] do that[d][æ] kind[Ctdø] of thing[t] <#>And and we have this[d] thing[t] in here[h][ɹ] where[ø] women women story is always[eː] laughed[Ctd] at <#>When the[d] woman say[eː] this[d] was done[o] to her[ɹ] is **because her frock de too short the bottom part too tight her breast cut down too low and she ask for it**
> bɪkaːz aɹ frɑk de tuː ʃaːt də ˈbatam paːt tuː taɪ aɹ bres kot doŋ tuː loː an ʃi ɑːs fər ɪt
> *because her dress was too short and fit too tight around her hips her cleavage was too deep and she asked for it*
> <#>It you you don't[oː][Ctdø] know[oː] how[h] it upset[ʌ][Ctd] me you know[oː] it upset[ʌ][Ctd] me

Apart from her emotional involvement this passage also illustrates the heteroglossia of BG's monologues and how she shifts between voices: the voice as Miss G who explains the situation of the victim, the voices in defense of Strauss-Kahn, victim blaming voices of Jamaicans and again her own voice with assertive or upset metacomments. This heteroglossia is marked by smooth transitions from the baseline to denser JC marking and abrupt switches to strongly marked JC passages in the second instance of double-voicing. The excerpt also shows the spontaneous style of her presentation which is reminiscent of a stream of consciousness. She constantly shifts voices, topics, addressees, and emotions in a smooth or abrupt way. Moreover, the monologues are also strongly marked by conversational features (e.g. hesitations, repetitions, emphatic discourse markers, questions to herself and the listeners). The metacomments frequently disrupt her train of thought and she returns to a more neutral role as a radio host. These interjectional metacomments are sometimes combined with a shift to formal StE which is less marked by colloquial, conversational, and Jamaican (JE and JC) features. For example, she ends the introduction monologue in Talk15JE>JC01 with a distancing metacomment in formal StE, which is marked by upgliding goat diphthongs, over-articulation of (-t,-d) consonant clusters, central strut vowels, a raised trap vowel and a slow speech rate: "Oh sometimes I just get so cynical why does it happen" [əʊ ˈsʌmtaɪmz ˈaɪ dʒʌst ˈget ˈsəʊ ˈsɪnɪkl̩ waɪ dəz ɪt ˈhæpən].

In dialogues BG's style of presentation is less heteroglossic: BG is primarily the attentive host who listens to the callers' concerns, provides help or guidance but also critically scrutinizes these concerns and at times also lectures callers. The callers trust BG in her role as the addressee and respect her authority as the critical advisor as they genuinely seek help from her for all kinds of issues. In this role as addressee and critical advisor she mostly retains a serious formal tone and starts the dialogues in her baseline style but then frequently shifts to more JC marked speech in the course of the conversations to show solidarity for the concerns of the callers, for humorous purposes, or to display her emotions. Showing solidarity

through the increased use of JC features could also be interpreted as a convergence to the callers' language, which is usually marked by a higher density of JC features than the host's speech.

BG frequently shows solidarity on a wider level, protesting against social injustice in Jamaica and assuming the role of an advocate of the average Jamaican. Due to this prominent aspect of her host personality many callers use the show to speak out against injustices. Thus, the host and the show itself function as a voice for the average Jamaican. Yet, BG does not uncritically join in these protest calls but mostly critically reflects the callers' concerns and refines the sociopolitical criticism. In this refinement she brings together two aspects of her host personality on a linguistic level: on the one hand, she shows her expertise and knowledge of sociopolitical issues through the use of a formal style of English, which is characterized by StE grammar, an almost categorical realization of consonant clusters, postvocalic /r/, and of ING as [ɪŋ], an elaborate lexicon incorporating specialized terminology, a somewhat lowered pitch and speech rate, few discourse markers, more uncontracted forms than in the baseline style, and a tendency toward overarticulation. On the other hand, through the incorporation of JC features into these passages where she assumes the role of the advocate of the people, she tries to bring complex sociopolitical issues closer to the average Jamaican and also shows her emotional involvement in the topic.

In addition, she also performs a teacher persona who educates the callers and the listeners. Her advice to callers is often geared toward capacity building and illustrating general solutions. For example, she tells one caller who complains about the bad road conditions in his community to contact his Member of Parliament in a lecturing manner: as in a teacher student conversation, she asks the callers questions such as "Who is your MP" (Talk17JE>JC03) so that he himself arrives at the solution to his problem. Her teacher persona is frequently characterized by this Socratic pedagogical method (i.e. maieutics) together with a formal English style.

BG is very versatile in her interaction with callers and is able to combine different personas through rapid style-shifting. In Excerpt (7.11) an underage boy calls Hotline to complain about the rising electricity bills and the drastic reactions of the power supply company. BG immediately realizes that the caller is underage, opposes him in strongly marked JC speech (e.g. *H*-dropping: *how*; progressive aspect marker *a*) and continuously interrupts him asking for his age. In the course of the call the density of JC features somewhat decreases and after he has admitted that he is only fifteen she shifts to a formal English style (e.g. StE grammar; overarticulation, decelerated speech rate; categorical realization of postvocalic /r/ and *TH* as fricatives: *your, observation, the*) and asks him in a teacher like manner about his observations of the effects of electricity bills on the family. The young caller is very insecure and only slowly responds but then BG again shifts to using

more JC features (e.g. downgliding diphthongs: *pay*; copula absence; third person plural subjective pronoun *them*; completive *done*) to show solidarity with the family's problems and to explain to the young caller why the electricity might have been turned off despite the family's payment.

(7.11) Talk20JE>JC06: Style shifting dialogues, *Light bill*, RJR
<$BG><#>Hotline[h][ʊ] good <[>morning[ø]</[>
<$Mcaller><#><[>Hello[h] good</[> morning[ɹ] Miss Gloudon
<$BG><#>Yes man[a]
<$Mcaller><#><&>coughs</&>I am just[o][Ctdø] calling[ɑ] about the[d] light bill
<$BG><#>You pay[ɪe] light bill or is your[ɹ] grandmother[a][o][ø]
<$Mcaller><#>Uhm <[><,>no[oː]</[>
<$BG><#><[>You pay[ɪe]</[> you pay[ɪe] light bill
<$Mcaller><#>No[oː] no Mam[a] but[o]
<$BG><#>**Then how you a talk** <#>**How old a you man**
<#>den ɵʊ ju a ˈtaːk <#>ɵʊ ʊol a ju man
<#>*Then why are you calling* <#>*How old are you*
<$Mcaller><#>But[o] mam[a] <[>there[d][ɹ] there</[>
<$BG><#><[>No[eː] how[h] how old[Ctd] are[ɹ]</[> you man[a] <#>May[eː] having[h][a] a nice conversation[ø][eː]
<$Mcaller><#>Yes <[>so</[>
<$BG><#><[>How[h] how how</[> old[oː][Ctd] are[ɹ] you
<$Mcaller><#>Uhm I am just[o][Ctd] fifteen years[ø] old[oː][Ctd]
<$BG><#>All right <#>Well tell me your[ɹ] observation[ʊ][ɹ][eː] of the[ð] effects of the[ð] light bill on[ʊ] the[ð] life of the[ð] family[a]
<$Mcaller><#>So Miss uhm I wonder[o][ø] if if I my aunty pay[ɪe] it just[o] [Ctdø] the same[ɪe] day[eː] and as the[d] same[ɪe] day[eː] they[d][eː] come[o] and they[eː] cut[o] and they[eː] gone[ʊ] <[><#>I don't[oː][Ctdø] know[oː]</[><&>crowing_rooster</&>
<$BG><#><[>That[ð][a] is not[ʊ]<[> right
<$Mcaller><#>And <[>it</[>
<$BG><#><[>That[ð][a] is not[ʊ] right</[>
<$Mcaller><#>It is not[ɑ] right because you pay[ɪe] it the[d] same[ɪe] day[eː] so why should they[eː] collecting money[o] and then after[a] all they[d][eː] just[o] [Ctdø] cut[o] off your[ø] light
<$BG><#>**Well maybe the person who they say that the person who cut off the light is not same person who collect the payment <#>And that if you if you if you bill due up to a certain time they they look on the list and it not pay the day done and you pay and it coming to them after dem shut off certain things**

then they don't know that you done[4] pay it<&>bleating_goat_and_crowing_rooster</&>
<#>wel ˈmɪebiː də ˈpɜːɹsn̩ huː ˈdeː ˈseː dat də ˈpɜːɹsn̩ huː kot ɑf də laɪt ɪs nɐt seːm ˈpɜːɹsn̩ huː kaˈlek də ˈpɪemənt <#>an ðat ɪf jʊ ɪf jʊ ɪf jʊ bɪl djuː op tʊ ə ˈsɜːɹtn̩ ˈtaɪm ˈdeː ˈdeː lʊk ɑn də lɪs an ɪt nɑt pɪe də dɪe don an jʊ pɪe an ɪt ˈkomɪn tə dəm ˈɑːftə dəm ʃot ɑf ˈsɜːɹtn̩ ˈtɪŋz <#>den ˈdeː dʊon noː dat jʊ don pɪe ɪt
<#>*Well maybe the person who cut off the light is not the same person who collected the payment <#>And if your bill is due up to a certain time then they look on the list and if it has not been paid up to that day and you have paid and it is coming to them after they have shut off certain things then they don't know that you have already paid it*

All exemplary discussions of the monologic and dialogic excerpts illustrate the linguistic and rhetoric versatility of BG. Her performance as the host of Hotline is heteroglossic and is marked by frequent initiative and responsive style-shifting. Her linguistic repertoire as Miss G encompasses a wide range of styles which the trained and seasoned talk show host puts to use in very flexible and creative ways. This heteroglossia makes the monologues and dialogues extremely vivid, spontaneous, and multifaceted. The analysis shows several broad tendencies in the use of her linguistic repertoire: the baseline style dominates monologues and most dialogues. Shifting to a style marked by a high density of JC features is mostly a convergence to the callers' language and signals solidarity. JC marked passages also commonly mark the emotional involvement in a topic. However, this emotional involvement can be both antagonistic and supportive toward a caller, a public figure or certain Jamaican policies. A shift to a formal English style frequently signals an educational stance which sometimes is antagonistic. Despite these general tendencies, the pragmatic meaning of the range of her stylistic repertoire is not fixed but bound to and negotiated in the immediate context. Although style-shifting is omnipresent in BG's performance, it is very difficult to describe precisely because the baseline itself needs to be understood as a range and deviations from the baseline are multifaceted: some shifts are very smooth and develop over longer stretches of discourse, while other shifts are drastic and abrupt. This means that the heteroglossia of Hotline with BG is strongly context-sensitive and highly diverse: different styles complement each other, blend together, or are clearly demarcated.

4. Completive *done*: signals completion of an action expressed by the verb (Cassidy & LePage 2002: 156).

7.3.4 Straight Up with Jerry Small

JS on-air persona Bongo Jerry combines three personas: (1) he is an academic specialized in the areas of black history, culture, and politics. (2) He is a teacher: as his academic expertise is well known among his listenership, many people call into the program to ask him for information on certain sociopolitical or historical topics. (3) He is a rebel: he frequently speaks out against social injustice in Jamaica and beyond, against racism, or the far-reaching effects of colonialism. His social criticism is more prevalent and radical than that of BG or OT. This means he calls for more drastic (though peaceful) resistance to power inequalities and often addresses his criticism directly to certain politicians or interest groups. By highlighting power inequalities he tries to educate the listeners, sensitize them to these issues, and bring them to reflect on power structures critically. This persona projection of an expert, teacher, and rebel who enjoys the trust of his listeners is closely linked to his consistent blend of JC and StE: JS does not switch back and forth between the two abstract varieties depending on the addressee, the topic, or the segment of the program but blends JC and StE features across all contexts. Although JS' speech is most strongly marked for JC for accent, then for morphosyntax, and least for lexicon this linguistic blend is nevertheless best characterized as an egalitarian one as it allocates equal status to JC and StE. In a personal twenty-five minute interview conducted on the 28 February 2012, JS stated that the linguistic aim of his program is a bilingual presentation which does not separate the two varieties with different audiences in mind but blends them to cater to a bilingual Jamaican audience. This integrative linguistic approach to broadcasting is also made explicit in the online description of Straight Up as an "open forum that facilitates the open expression of the Jamaican family" (Newstalk93FM). JS also sees an educational and empowering aspect in linguistic choice: he stated that his combination of StE and JC can help each individual listener to become more comfortable using both varieties. He also described this blend as a natural choice close to his regular everyday language use.

Monologues by JS are best described as monologic on-air reasonings. Reasoning is a Rastafarian cultural practice, a discussion round with several Rastafarian participants. The reasoning examples by Pollard (2000) show these discussions to be very spontaneous and lively talk, best described as a stream of consciousness. Reasoning mostly involves elaborate philosophical questions and also contains aspects of meditation. The monologues in Straight Up fit this broad description but are monologic and not meditative. JS discusses wider issues and philosophical questions in his monologues but typically starts by discussing a current event and builds his further reasoning on these issues as a starting point. For example, in the opening monologue from the recording of the 18 May 2011 he

starts by highlighting the significance of the upcoming birthday of Malcolm X, and then shifts to a brief linguistic discussion about the difference between *importance* and *significance*, which leads him on further to a discussion about African American civil rights activists and their Caribbean heritage. This fluent shift of topics based on associations is typical for his stream of conscious style of monologic reasoning. These lengthy monologues always open each program and last at least ten minutes. In shorter monologues topics highlighted by callers or in text messages often function as the starting point for such monologic reasoning.

Although JS's reasoning is monologic he nevertheless conducts a quasi-dialogue with his listeners. He frequently addresses the listeners directly by using second person plural pronouns, quasi imperatives as advice such as *check yourself*, and discourse markers, like *you know*. These monologues are also very personal as he frequently uses first person singular pronouns and creates a common Jamaican identity through first person plural pronouns, e.g. "We the people of Jamaica" (Talk23JCJE01). *We* signifies the average Jamaican people, while the host also projects as an opposite *they*, i.e. people who abuse power, through his protest against social injustice. Sometimes he also directly addresses this opposite *they* as in Excerpt (7.1): "You na get no power the power lies inna the people and that we want you fi know that we gonna make the whole unu get fi know" (Talk28JCJE06). In addition, this monologic radio reasoning has a very distinct rhythm: he de- and accelerates in his speech rate, leaves many pauses, and recurringly structures his reasoning flow via discourse markers, mostly *you know*, and connecting utterances, such as "so on and so forth". Through this rhythm and the associative shift of topics the monologues feel very spontaneous and vivid.

Language use in the monologues mostly corresponds to JS's baseline style as an egalitarian blend of JC and StE but this blend smoothly shifts back and forth between strongly and lightly JC marked passages: on the one hand, JS uses a high density of JC features on all levels of linguistic variation to emphasize the seriousness of an issue or his emotional involvement. For example, in Excerpt (7.1) he accuses state officials of overestimating their power and role in a Jamaican democracy. In this short passage of a larger protest monologue he increasingly uses a higher density of JC features and this culminates in the direct address of the other *they*, i.e. officers of the state, which is strongly marked for JC (e.g. *H*-dropping: *whole*; downgliding GOAT diphthongs: *know, whole*; prepositions *fi, inna*; second person plural objective pronoun *unu*; negator *na*; negative concord). Yet, even this strongly marked JC passage is not categorically in JC as, for example, StE pronouns dominate.

On the other hand, JS frequently uses a lesser density of JC features for detailed explanations or background information. These passages are dominated by StE grammar and a formal English lexicon. Furthermore, the accent is less marked

for JC as he uses a higher frequency of dental fricatives and produces consonant clusters more consistently. Apart from explanations JS also uses this formal emphatic style in reading passages and the introduction, i.e. environments with a clearly distinct communicative situation.

In Excerpt (7.12) JS provides the background information to a current event, which is the starting point for his reasoning about the exaggerated self-image of state officials: the then Government Senator of the JLP Aundre Franklin had become witness to a crime in 2007 and had to testify in court but did not behave appropriately. In the beginning of the excerpt, the explanation of the backstory, which led up to the unusual questioning of the witness, is only lightly marked for JC on an accent level (e.g. consistent use of dental fricatives: *the, there, thousand*; consistent realization of consonant clusters: *government, thousand, incident*; but downgliding diphthongs: *came, name*; backed heightened STRUT: *up, young*) and is dominated by StE grammar (e.g. consistent use of StE personal pronouns, consistent inflectional past marking of verbs). As JS gets more and more lost in details toward the end of the excerpt he increasingly uses JC features (e.g. *TH*-stopping: *the, there, think*; adverb of place *deh*; third person singular pronoun subjective case *him*). This excerpt shows that the variability mainly takes place on the level of grammar, lexicon, and with regard to consonants. The heightened backed realization of STRUT, the mid central position of TRAP, BATH and LOT as well as the downgliding realizations of FACE and GOAT are fairly consistent. Although there are these different layers of variation, the excerpt again shows how JS seamlessly blends JC and StE in his monologic performances.

(7.12) Talk28JC>JE06: Monologic style-shifting, *Aundre Franklin*, Newstalk93FM
<$JS><#>I remember[ø] shortly after[a] and you'll remember[ø] too <#>The[ð] new government[ø][Ctd] the[ð] JLP government[o][ø][Ctd] was elected in September[ø] two thousand[θ][Ctd] and seven <#>There[ð][ɹ] was the[ð] incident[Ctd] of an alleged[Ctd] police execution up[o] in the[ð] Grands[a] Pen Area <#>And shortly after[a] or[ɹ] during<,> the[ð] incident[Ctd]<,> a young[o] uh member of the[d] JLP a young[o] active[a] member of the[d] JLP Franklin Aundre Franklin<,> came[ɪe] on[ɑ] the[d] scene of the[d] <#>The[d] name[ɪe] sake[ɪe] of is another[o] Aundre<,> who[h] was killed[Ctd] by the[d] police <#>Came[ɪe] on[ɑ] the[d] scene <#>And uhm somebody[o] <?>let him knew</?>
<#>Him used to teach in the area <#>I think is at the what the school de name around the corner de again <#>Right at the corner de him used to teach there <#>Him know the area
<#>ɪm ˈjuːs tʊ tiːtʃ ɪn di ˈeɹɪə <#>ˈaɪ ˈtɪŋk ɪs at də ˈwɑ də skuːl deː ˈnɪem ɑˈɹaʊn də ˈkaːnə deː ɑˈgen <#>ɹaɪt at də ˈkaːnə deː ɪm ˈjuːs tʊ tiːtʃ deɹ <#>ɪm nʊo di ˈeɹɪə

<#>He used to teach in the area <#>I think it was at the what is the school's name around the corner there again <#>Right at the corner he used to teach there <#>He knows the area

The dialogues with callers form the main body of Straight Up. In these segments JS discusses issues raised by the callers as well as topics introduced by the host in the monologues. Although the callers choose the topics the host actively shapes the course of the conversation: he propels certain aspects of a topic, asks critical questions and often draws the discussion to a more general level. His role in the dialogues varies strongly: some discussions are rather egalitarian and his conversational behavior is very informal, relaxed and also often humorous but in other discussions he can be quite frank, dominant, antagonistic, and even face threatening. JS's conversational behavior in these dialogues is more interactive than that of the other talk show hosts: he extensively uses discourse markers to structure the conversation, invite backchanneling, draw the caller back into the conversation but also for emphasis or in a confirmative way when he seeks feedback from a caller. He backchannels during his callers' turns and frequently interrupts to ask questions for clarification, to help the callers in their argumentation or to correct them. Some callers themselves also backchannel extensively or show assertiveness by interrupting the host. Although dialogues in Straight Up are constructed mutually, the host retains more power in a conversation which becomes evident when he lectures callers or abruptly dismisses them.

Dialogue segments in Straight Up also exhibit certain characteristics of on-air reasoning due to their very interactive character as well as their open spontaneous format and at times extreme length. Most calls range between eight and ten minutes but individual calls are very lengthy: one dialogue lasts seventeen minutes. This call is marked by continuing shifts in topics which are introduced and propelled by both participants, and by dialogic cooperation through backchanneling and discourse markers. Some parts of the dialogue resemble a very informal chat, while the call also features serious sophisticated discussion parts. JS frequently tries to set specific issues raised by the callers into a larger context. Yet, the host also frequently jokes with his callers and sometimes teases them. These humorous and reasoning aspects illustrate how JS combines entertainment and education to edutaining talk. This combination is also supported on a linguistic level: by using his blend of JC and StE for serious educational parts and informal chat passages alike he does not establish any hierarchy between the two varieties. In this way he also rejects established media connotations of Creole and English in Jamaica – JC is traditionally associated with comic relief and StE with serious broadcasting.

The unconventional fusion of JC and StE for serious educational matters and relaxed talk alike is also a form of solidarity and convergence to the listeners and

callers. His strategy of helping the callers reflects this academic-teacher-rebel persona: instead of providing direct help, he most often tries to empower his callers and by extension his listeners through educational content. For example, many callers express their fears of the world's predicted end on the 21 May 2011. The host tries to help the callers in an unconventional way by providing a scientific explanation for the scenario of a supernova, i.e. the explosion of a sun (Excerpt 7.13). The empowerment of his audience is also achieved at a linguistic level as even these scientific explanations show a high density of JC features (e.g. lacking SV concord; copula deletion; modals *coulda, woulda*; adverb of place *de*). Furthermore, JS tries to explain astrophysics in a way which is accessible to the listeners. For example, instead of referring to thermonuclear fusion as the source for the sun's energy he explains that the sun is on fire and produces its own power like an autonomous generator. The excerpt also shows the interactive conversational behavior of JS who frequently invites the caller to backchannel via *you know* or *you understand*.

(7.13) Talk25JC>JE03: Education, *The sun is on fire*, Newstalk93FM
<$JS><#>OK so[oː] now the[d] sun[o] is on[ɑ] fire[ø] and all[ɑ] a those[d][ʊo] lights that[d][a] you see up[o] inna the[d] sky at night is different[Ctd] stars[ɹ]
<#>And why you see them[d] is because[ɑ] they[d][eː] are on[ɑ] fire[ɹ] you understand[o][a][Ctdø]
<$Fcaller><#>OK<&>in_surprise</&>
<$JS><#>And they[d][eː] going[oː] to burn[ɹ] out one day[ɪe] you appreciate that[d][a]
<$Fcaller><#>Oh<&>in_surprise</&>
<$JS><#>Do you appreciate that[d][a] they[d][eː] are[ɹ] going[oː] to burn[ɹ]
<#>There[d] is not[ɑ] electric light up[o] deh you know[ʊo]<[1><,></[1>
<#>**If it was electric light you coulda say them woulda just a go on as long as generator de de**
<#>ɪf ɪt waz ɪˈlektrɪk laɪt ju kʊdə ˈse dəm wʊdə dʒos ɑ gʊo ɑn əz ˈlaŋ əz ˈdʒenəreːtɑ deː deː
<#>*If it was an electric light you could see them just as long as a generator was there*
<#>But[o] they[d][eː] themselves[d] is the[d] generator[ɪe] of the[d] light
<#>And they[ɪe] going[ʊo] burn[ø] out one day[ɪe] <#>So[ʊo] one day[ɪe] the[d] sun[o] going[ʊo] burn[ø] out you know[ʊo] <#>When the[d] sun[o] burn[ɹ] out you know[ʊo] earth going[ʊo] get cold[Ctdø] even before[ɹ] that[d][a]<[2><,></[2> <#>So[oː] you know[ʊo] no[oː] life not[ɑ] going[ʊo] here[h] exist[Ctdø] <#>So[oː] one day[ɪe] this[d] form of life that[d][a] we experiencing now<,> going[ʊo] change[ɪe] you know[ʊo] <#>Cos[ɑ] all[ɑ] a these[d] lights going[ʊo] burn[ɹ] out <#>Maybe[ɪe] life going[ʊo] to reach on[ɑ] earth some[o] other[o][ø] place[ɪe]<[3><,></[3> <#>I don't[oː][Ctdø] think it's a maybe[ɪe] about that[d][a] <#>So[oː] therefore[d][ø][ɹ] those[d][ʊo] things[t]

was going[ʊo] happen[h][a] from any anyway[ɪe] <#>And they[d][eː] been happening[h][a] many times or many stars[ɹ] have burn[ɹ] out before[ø]
<#>**Most a the star we you see up de bigger than the sun you know**
<#>mʊos *ɑ* də staː weː ju ˈsiː op deː ˈbɪg*ɑ* den də son ju no
<#>*Most of the stars that you see up there are bigger than the sun*
<$Fcaller><#><[1>Ah</[1> <#><[2>Oh</[2> <#><[3>OK</[3>

In conclusion, the notion of a blend applies to Straight Up with JS on several levels. First, the host consistently blends JC and StE features in his baseline style across most contexts. Unlike in Hotline, strongly marked JC passages are not bound to specific settings and topics but JS's baseline style shows a high density of JC items in monologues and dialogues as well as for informal chats and elaborated discussions alike. Nevertheless, the host is also linguistically versatile as there is micro-stylistic variation within his baseline style and he sometimes shifts to a more formal emphatic style. However, the segmentation of Straight Up is also blurred as the host often blends monologues or dialogues. The distinction between these two main segments is also less pronounced as both show aspects of on-air reasoning. Moreover, JS also merges his different on-air identity traits, such as academic, teacher, rebel, and entertainer to a multidimensional persona. This blend constitutes a highly integrative approach to broadcasting which potentially addresses a wide cross section of Jamaican society and empowers them linguistically.

7.4 Summary of language use in Jamaican radio talk shows

For all levels of linguistic variation, the analysis has shown differences between the four baseline styles as well as baseline-internal variability for each host. Accent variation is mainly between JE and JC pronunciation patterns; for DW and OT individual RP/StAmE realizations have been shown. The degree of JC influence differs between the four hosts. The baseline accents of DW and OT are least marked by JC. This slight influence is mainly restricted to shared features of JC and JE, such as voiced *TH* stopping, while stigmatized JC features are less frequent, such as word-initial voiceless *TH* stopping or [aks], or very rare, such as initial *H*-absence, in their baseline styles. BG's baseline accent is marked by a higher frequency of shared features of JE and JC as well as JC exclusive features. JS uses JC accent features most frequently from all four hosts. The baseline-internal variability is most salient for BG followed by OT and JS. DW's JE baseline accent is most consistent.

The morpho-syntactic analysis verifies this hierarchy of creoleness among the four hosts. DW and OT's baseline styles are in StE with only a slight JC influence: they infrequently use JC morpho-syntactic features with a low indexical loading and avoid overt JC morpho-syntactic and lexical features. BG integrates JC

morpho-syntax and lexicon more strongly in her baseline but still overt morpho-syntactic and lexical JC features are rare. JS's baseline is most strongly marked for JC: he consistently blends JC and StE grammar. The marking for JC is more pronounced on an accent level than and a morpho-syntactic and lexical level. The analysis has also shown that all baseline styles are marked by an abundance of conversational features, all hosts use typical lexical Jamaicanisms, and they combine formal with informal colloquial vocabulary in their baseline styles – although to different degrees: DW's register is most formal; JS uses the most colloquial vocabulary. Due to their internal variability the baseline styles need to be understood as ranges rather than fixed monolithic styles. In general, BG and JS's baseline styles cover a wider range than that of OT and especially DW.

The four hosts also differ saliently with regard to stylistic variation and thus use language resources of the Jamaican language spectrum very differently to perform particular on-air personas. DW's performance of a neutral moderator in expert discussion rounds remains within his baseline style. In contrast, OT frequently code-switches to JC marked speech to perform his multilayered educated, appreciative, and humorous on-air persona. In her heteroglossic performance BG displays her linguistic versatility and multidimensional persona by combining subtle style-shifts with drastic code-switches. The academic-teacher-rebel JS consistently blends StE and JC across all contexts in his show. All hosts are educated Jamaicans of high social standing and command a formal emphatic speech style. BG and OT use more JC marked speech for imitations and humorous purposes as well as to show their emotions and solidarity – when converging to callers or assuming the voice of the people. JS's egalitarian linguistic blend breaks away from established functions of JC and StE and thus opens up new interpretive frames.

CHAPTER 8

Data and methods II

Language attitudes

This part of the study investigates the listeners' perceptions of linguistic variation in Jamaican radio newscasts and talk shows through a language attitude study. This contextualized attitude study uses a mixed methodology combining a quantitative survey study with qualitative folk-linguistic interviews. The survey contains a two-fold variety rating study in the context of newscasts and talk shows as well as direct questions about language preference and overt evaluation of linguistic variation on Jamaican radio. This chapter introduces these three methods, i.e. the variety rating study, direct questioning, and the folk-linguistic approach, by briefly discussing each approach theoretically and then presenting the application in detail.

8.1 Variety rating study

The variety rating study used in this investigation is a distinct variant of the speaker evaluation paradigm, where, in general, informants listen to voice recordings of speakers who differ in their (accent) varieties and rate them on a number of given personality traits (e.g. level of education) by means of rating scales. This technique originates in Lambert et al.'s (1960) matched guise test (MGT), where one speaker reads out the same factually neutral text several times performing different accent guises. Recordings of these guises are played to respondents, who are told that they are listening to different speakers and are asked to rate their personalities. Accent remains the only varying feature and causes the differences in the speech evaluations. By asking about the evaluation of the speaker personalities and thus only indirectly about the perception of accents this design elicits the informants' covert attitudes. The various individual personality ratings (i.e. the observable attitude expressions) are commonly analyzed by using a factor analysis. This method checks for correlations among the observable variables and detects groups with a high inter-correlation. In this way the various rating categories are reduced to different bundles, so-called factors, which represent the more meaningful attitude dimensions governing the respondents' speech evaluations. The language attitudes of the respondents toward the different recordings are then compared along these

dimensions. Indirect attitude research (e.g. Garrett et al. 2003; McKenzie 2010) has repeatedly shown that the evaluations mainly fall into the two main dimensions of competence and social attractiveness. Thus, most research designs use rating categories reflecting these two dimensions.

This sophisticated indirect research design is easily reproducible, lends itself well to statistical analyses, allowing generalizations of results, and has sparked a great number of similar studies. Besides these benefits, the MGT has been mainly criticized with regard to the authenticity of the guises: having one speaker perform different accents eliminates phonetic characteristics which covary with accent varieties (e.g. intonation) and reduces accent-authenticity. Mimicking many different accents authentically is also taken to be unlikely. As reading passages represent only one formal speech style, the style authenticity of this stimulus type has been questioned, too. The notion of a factually neutral text is also questionable (Garrett 2010: 59). In response to these criticisms variant forms of the MGT have been employed. The most widely used alternative is the verbal-guise test (VGT), which involves respondents listening to recordings of different speakers (e.g. Bayard et al. 2001; McKenzie 2010). The VGT ensures the (accent and the mimicking) authenticity of the voice samples, and allows for including a greater variety of accents. However, having different speakers results in paralinguistic variation (e.g. reading speed, voice qualities), which makes it more difficult to be confident that the accent variation causes the different ratings. Both research designs are acontextual as no information is given to the respondents about the context of the voice recordings. This strategy of presenting the stimuli in a social vacuum was designed to increase the generalizability of the results (cf. Bradac et al. 2001: 140). However, context can be a decisive factor and Garrett et al. (2003) urge future speaker evaluation studies at the interface of sociolinguistics to use "ecologically valid source material rather than the mimicked vocal renditions of linguistic varieties in decontextualized environments" (p. 61).

The current research design deviates from the conventional speaker evaluation paradigm as it uses authentic recordings and places them in the context of newscasts and talk shows: informants listened to and rated seven newscast and four talk show excerpts which represent linguistic variation in these two genres. All excerpts are thirty to forty seconds long. The seven newscast samples are excerpts from the newscast recordings of the seven speakers analyzed in Chapter 6.1: AIEM, BIEF, BIEM, JEF1, JEF2, JEM1, and JEM2. These excerpts represent accent variation of StE in Jamaica between American, British, and Jamaican pronunciation norms. The four talk show samples are excerpts of monologic passages by the four talk show hosts analyzed in Chapter 7: Densil Williams (DW), Orville Taylor (OT), Barbara Gloudon (BG), and Jerry Small (JS). These four samples represent variation between JE and JC on an accent, morpho-syntactic, and lexical level.

The excerpt of Jamaica Speaks with Orville Taylor represents JE (labelled JE), the excerpt of Hotline with Orville Taylor represents code-switching between JE and JC (labelled JE=JC), the excerpt of Hotline with Barbara Gloudon represents a mix of JE with some JC (labelled JE>JC), and the excerpt of Straight Up with Jerry Small represents a blend of more JC with JE (labelled JC>JE). Using authentic stimuli also means that the strict indirectness of the original MGT is lost: in addition to accent, morpho-syntactic, and lexical variation, there is also variation between the recordings with regard to paralinguistic variation and content. The informants were also explicitly told that they were listening to newscasts and talk shows. Moreover, as the informants were asked to rate the speakers' language use, personality, and voice, their attention was drawn to linguistic variation in the research design. Kristiansen (2009a: 176) argues that only rigid indirect matched guise designs which strictly use personality traits as evaluative items are capable of eliciting covert attitudes. However, Grondelaers & vanHout (2010) demonstrate that the attitudes observed in a speaker evaluation test which contained speaker *and* speech traits are both covert. They maintain that the main difference in attitude measurement techniques lies in providing informants with conceptual labels in contrast to (unlabeled) vocal variety renditions and conclude that speech samples can tap deeper into underlying attitude dimensions than variety labels. While the strict indirectness is lost in the current design, it can nevertheless be taken to elicit the more covert attitudes toward authentic variation in specific contexts.

In addition to the recordings, the rating categories are also contextualized. In order to find meaningful rating categories for the perception of linguistic variation in the two radio contexts seven Jamaican informants listened to the total of eleven recordings and were asked to evaluate them freely. The informants were asked how they felt about the speakers, their personalities, and their language use and how they would characterize their way of speaking. These open answers were analyzed to identify evaluative clusters, i.e. recurring descriptions, characterizations, and feelings. In addition to these pilot study results, I added categories from previous attitude studies (e.g. Deuber & Leung 2013) to ensure comparability. The final survey contains twelve partly overlapping rating categories for newscasts and talk shows. For newscasts the informants were asked to rate the seven excerpts on twelve rating categories on six point scales: the newscaster's language (correct, natural, standard, proper, authentic, refined, clear), whether the newscaster was twanging,[1] the impression the newscaster gave (professional, modest), and the newscaster's voice (pleasant, suitable for broadcasting). These twelve rating categories cover the potential attitude dimensions of standardness (correct, proper,

1. Jamaican for putting on an inauthentic foreign accent (Allsopp 1996: 572). *Twanging* carries negative connotations.

standard), competence (refined, suitable for broadcasting, clear, professional), social attractiveness (modest, pleasant), and authenticity (authentic, natural, twanging). For talk shows, the informants were also asked to rate the four excerpts on twelve rating categories on six point scales: the talk show host's language (correct, entertaining, proper, authentic, emotional, natural, humorous, formal, expressive, feisty)[2] and the host's voice (pleasant, suitable for broadcasting). These twelve rating categories cover the potential dimensions of standardness (correct, proper), competence (formal, suitable for broadcasting), social attractiveness (pleasant), entertainment (entertaining, humorous), expressiveness (emotional, expressive, feisty), and authenticity (authentic, natural). All six scale options for each category were labeled (e.g. not at all correct, not correct, rather not correct, rather correct, correct, very correct) to ensure equal interpretation of the options among the informants. Six point scales were chosen to force the informants to either make negative (options one to three – for positive adjectives) or positive (option four to six – for positive adjectives) judgments. The newscast and talk show rating schemes in the questionnaire are attached in Appendix IV. To check or balance the data for possible order effects I compiled the seven newscast recordings and the four talk show excerpts in two different orders. In both orders a JE excerpt was put in the first place as JE is the dominating accent of newscasting.

Order 1:	Newscasts:	JEF1, JEM1, BIEM, AIEM, JEF2, BIEF, JEM2
	Talk shows:	JE, JE>JC, JC>JE, JC=JE
Order 2:	Newscasts:	JEM2, AIEM, BIEF, JEF1, JEM1, BIEM, JEF2
	Talk shows:	JE>JC, JC=JE, JE, JC>JE

The results of the two-part variety rating study were analyzed individually for each context. The ratings were first analyzed descriptively. Then a two-way repeated measurement ANOVA was used to analyze overall differences in the ratings between the twelve categories and the seven newscasters or the four talk show hosts, respectively. Speaker and category are categorical independent variables and the six-point scale ratings are dependent metric variables. As a next step, a factor analysis was carried out to identify how the different rating categories bundle together into meaningful attitude dimensions. Principal component analysis was used as the extraction method and varimax rotation was employed to process the extracted factor model. Based on the results of the factor analyses new variables which represent latent attitude dimensions were calculated for every informant as mean scores from the ratings of the categories which form one factor. To identify overall differences

2. Jamaican for impudent and rude but also bold (Cassidy & LePage 2002: 172). *Feisty* carries mixed but rather negative connotations.

in the attitudes along these dimensions in relation to the different speakers and for newscasts with regard to the three different accent varieties (JE, BIE, and AIE) a repeated measurement ANOVA was carried out for each dimension individually. Speaker and accent variety are categorical independent variables and the values of the attitude dimensions are metric dependent variables. Pairwise comparison with Bonferroni correction was used to investigate individual differences between the speakers and accent varieties, respectively. The effects of the order of the recordings and the gender of informants on the speech evaluations were investigated via repeated measurement ANOVA and subsequent MANOVA with speaker, order, and gender as categorical independent variables and the dimension values as independent metric variables. Furthermore, the evaluations were analyzed qualitatively with regard to content of the recording and speech rate. All results are reported as significant at $p < 0.05$. The effect sizes for the ANOVAs are reported via $\eta^2_{p.}$ All statistical procedures were run with the software package SPSS 21.0. (2012).

8.2 Direct questioning

Direct approaches to studying language attitudes involve direct questioning of informants about their knowledge, beliefs, and feelings toward languages, language varieties, and their speakers. This approach documents the respondents' overt language attitudes. Eliciting privately held attitudes by means of direct questions can be problematic as the informants' answers to direct questions are filtered through their understanding of what might be socially appropriate or 'correct' (cf. Beckford-Wassink 1999: 82). Following Grondelaers & vanHout (2010) using conceptual stimuli and having informants evaluate these variety labels also elicits overt attitudes. Although using conceptual stimuli allows eliciting attitudes toward different varieties in a fast and easy way, it is important to keep in mind that conceptual stimuli are highly abstract and are potentially understood very differently by the informants (Coupland & Bishop 2007: 84).

The direct questions included in the attitude survey aim to elicit the overt attitudes of informants to linguistic variation on Jamaican radio. These direct questions use a closed format, which works with fixed answer options, and abstract conceptual labels, such as Jamaican English or Patwa, but they are all set in the specific context of Jamaican radio. The survey includes three direct question groups. The first group aims to show the context-sensitivity of attitudes in the context of Jamaican radio and investigates the language preference of the informants in eight different radio programs: newscast, talk show on politics, talk show on personal matters, morning show, advertisement for a bank, advertisement for a soft drink, evening DJ show, comedy show. For each type of radio program, the

informants could select one or more preferred varieties from six different options: American English, British English, Jamaican English, Mix of English and Patwa, Mix of Patwa and English, and Patwa.

The second direct question aims to identify open support for JC and asks informants whether they would like it if there were more Patwa on the radio. In case they were in favor of more JC on the radio, they were asked to indicate in which type of program (talk show, newscast, advertisement, DJ show, comedy show, or other) they would like more JC.

The third direct question concerns the overt perception of BIE and AIE accents. The informants were asked to indicate how they felt about Jamaicans using a British or American accent on the radio. They could indicate that they liked it in general or only when performed authentically, that they did not like it, and that they did not mind. They were also asked to evaluate this linguistic practice by selecting one or more positive (educated, proper, articulate) or negative (fake, speaky-spoky, twanging) options. The latter two negative adjectives indicated a specific type of fakeness: twanging is associated with an imitation of a foreign, mainly American, accent, whereas speaky-spoky denotes hypercorrect speech in Jamaica (e.g. Patrick 1997; Bohmann 2015). All direct questions of the questionnaire are attached in Appendix IV.

Besides the seven rating schemes for the newscast excerpts, the four rating schemes for the talk show excerpts and the three direct question blocks, the questionnaire also contains questions on the informants' biographies (see Appendix IV). The informants were asked to indicate their sex (male, female), their age group (18–25, 26–35, 36–45, 46+), their occupation, their subject of studies if they were students, their country of birth or since when they had lived in Jamaica, whether they had ever lived abroad, and if so how long and where. Non-Jamaican informants and those who had lived abroad for more than five years were discarded from the sample. To focus the sample on students, non-students were excluded from the data set. Information on the students' subject was reduced to the dichotomous distinction between humanities and non-humanities students because students from the former group would most likely have attended anti-prescriptive sociolinguistics classes which might had an effect on their language attitudes.

8.3 Folk-linguistic approach

A folk-linguistic approach aims to "discover and analyze beliefs about and attitudes towards language by collecting and examining overt comment about it by non-linguists" (Niedzielski & Preston 2009: 356). While conventional language attitude questioning techniques (direct and indirect) are highly focused and hence

provide a limited and often decontextualized view of people's perception of linguistic variation, folk-linguistic methods leave more room for the informants to express their conscious knowledge, beliefs, and feelings toward language. Through this more open design, folk-linguistic approaches are capable of providing a valuable contextualized assessment of language attitudes.

This investigation uses semi-structured interviews about language varieties and makes use of sound samples as stimuli. These interviews were preferentially conducted with groups of three to five informants in order to gain additional insights into the complexity of the informants' language attitudes via contrasting opinions within the groups and possibly ensuing discussions. Such interviews potentially cover aspects not anticipated in the survey design and thus provide an additional qualitative perspective to the rigid quantitative direct questioning and the variety rating studies. Interviews also allow studying the language attitudes of informants who are not used to filling out complex questionnaires.

The interviews always contained questions about JC on the radio, language use in talk shows and newscasts, and the informants' notion of a standard for broadcasting, especially in newscasts. The vocal stimuli used in the variety rating study were played to the informants in order to investigate the language attitudes toward the actual linguistic variation in Jamaican radio newscasts and talk shows. The interviews followed no rigid schedule and were conducted in a semi-spontaneous way to leave enough room for informants to elaborate their thoughts freely, to add additional aspects, and to discuss these attitudinal dispositions with the other informants in the group. Interviews always started with general questions about the informants' favorite radio stations, programs and announcers, as well as whether the language use was important for their listening preferences. The next section of the interviews dealt with JC on the airwaves and was conventionally opened by asking about the informants' opinion on the language use in two talk shows dominated by JC, Raggashanti or Mutabaruka's Cutting Edge. Both shows are well-known in Jamaica and have caused public controversies. Informants were then questioned in general whether they would like to hear more JC on the radio, in which type of programs and how they evaluated the use of JC in different radio genres. To close the section, the talk show excerpts were played to the informants who were asked to evaluate the language use freely. If they had problems describing their perception, I asked the informants more directly whether they perceived the language use as appropriate for talk shows, proper, natural, humorous, entertaining, or effective for communication. The second part was introduced by asking the informants whether they could imagine a newscast in JC. Subsequently, I asked the informants about their language preference for newscasts, about their opinions on AE and BE in this genre, and about their notion of a standard for newscasts. As a final task the newscast excerpts were played to the informants

who were again asked to evaluate the language use. If informants were hesitant, I asked them whether they perceived the language use as natural, proper, suitable for newscasting, whether they thought the newscaster was twanging or whether he or she sounded British or American to them.

In order to investigate the (language ideological) norms of radio production, I conducted semi-structured interviews with media insiders, such as production managers, announcers, and speech trainers. The interviews contained questions about the linguistic profiles of the individual stations, how the stations take into account the linguistic diversity in Jamaica, potential guidelines with regard to use of JC in different genres, the economic potential of JC, specific production norms for talk shows and newscasts, the target variety of StE for broadcasting, speech training of announcers, and the use of (pronunciation) style guides. Speech trainers and announcers were asked about specific preferred and dispreferred pronunciations where JC, JE, RP, and StAmE differ. The interviews were adjusted to the different stations, for example, by asking about the linguistic dimension of a station's mandate or discussing language use in specific programs produced by the individual stations.

8.4 Fieldwork and informants

The fieldwork in Jamaica was conducted for a two month period in 2012. University students were selected as the target demographic for the survey study. These, young, mostly middle-class, and well-educated informants are an important segment of the Jamaican society because they are the future StE speakers who play an important role in the shaping of the emerging standard (Sand 2011: 164). However, university students are not representative of the wider Jamaican society as there is substantial language attitudinal variation for age, gender, and occupational status in Jamaica (Beckford-Wassink 1999; JLU 2005).

The survey was mainly conducted with small groups of three to six students who were relaxing in between classes on the campus of UWI and the University of Technology (UTech) in Mona, Kingston. I also distributed the surveys in linguistic and non-linguistic classes at UWI and UTech but this approach was highly problematic: the return rate was extremely low with less than half of the questionnaires being handed back. Furthermore, about half of the questionnaires filled out in classes were incomplete. In contrast, fieldwork with small groups proved to be very efficient. Small groups allowed for more detailed explanations of tasks in the survey and immediate clarifications of any misunderstandings. Thus, I had better control over the progress of the different tasks in the survey, which proved difficult to some informants, as they were not used to filling out complex questionnaires.

Personal contact was very important for motivating the informants to take part in the survey. I could show my genuine interest in the informants' opinions and this also gave them confidence and trust that their contribution was valuable. The completion of the questionnaire including the variety rating test, direct questioning, and biographical information lasted about twenty-five minutes. All introductory activities (i.e. introducing myself and my research, distributing questionnaires, explaining the tasks and answering any queries) lasted up to fifteen minutes. In addition, many informants wanted to know more about my project after the completion of the questionnaire or wanted to discuss certain topics (e.g. the status of JC in Jamaica). This means that a successful procedure took quite some time. Small groups approached in their leisure time were willing to spare this time but students in class had other issues on their minds and felt more under time pressure and thus the latter procedure was mostly unsuccessful on more than one level.

Interviews with students were also conducted on campus with small groups waiting for their upcoming classes. Most interviews were conducted with groups of two students as it was very difficult to coordinate larger groups in this informal spontaneous setting between classes. As many discussions ensued from the general questions, it proved impossible to play all talk show and newscast excerpts to the groups. To avoid interview fatigue, only a selection of excerpts was played to each group. I changed this selection from group to group depending on the direction of the interview. For example, if informants were unsure how to evaluate newscast speakers with a JE accent I played two or three JE excerpts. Or if other groups discussed the influence of BE on Jamaican radio more controversially I played both BIE newscast samples to them. In order to get the perspective of demographics different from university students, I conducted metalinguistic interviews with older, 'less-educated', working-class informants. I interviewed shop owners, market traders, and shoppers at Papine market on Sundays. Papine is a lower income residential area in Kingston close to UWI and UTech. On this day of the week business is rather slow and the traders and shoppers have enough time and ease for an interview. In addition to this urban location, I interviewed Jamaicans in rural locations in the parish of Portland. Finding motivated interview partners there proved more difficult because I did not have any contact persons and less knowledge of the area. Most interviews were conducted in bars because there people have enough time and motivation to be interviewed. However, it was very difficult to interview female Jamaicans in these locations, as bars and other public spaces were dominated by males. In Papine and Portland, most interviews had to be conducted with individuals because it was difficult to find groups of willing informants. All informants, whether they took part in an interview or completed a questionnaire, were given a thank-you card with contact details.

In both situations, when supervising the completion of the questionnaires and when conducting interviews, my outsider status as a European researcher influenced my fieldwork. On the one hand, this outsider status was problematic because I needed more time and effort to gain the informants' trust. On the other hand, it was very beneficial: many informants were curious why an outsider would be interested in their speech community and their personal opinions. Most informants were very welcoming and about every second group of students I approached was spontaneously willing to spare their time to participate in the study. In the interview situations many informants felt that they needed to explain certain linguistic issues in an unadorned and clear way to me: for example, they often did not shy away from expressing linguistically discriminating views about the grammatical inferiority of JC in contrast to English. Conversely, they also displayed strong pride in the expressivity of JC. Thus, the social bias of direct questioning was partly reduced but variety loyalty seemed to be enhanced through my outsider status. In addition to raising awareness to issues of cultural differences between researcher and informants, I want to stress that spending enough time with the informants, answering all their questions, and explaining the tasks in detail is of major importance for language attitude research: motivated informants who trust the researcher and are content with their participation provide the most valid data.

From the 250 distributed questionnaires 217 were returned. Due to flawed completion, missing information, non-Jamaican nationality, and non-student occupational status thirty-two questionnaires were excluded. Thus, the analysis is based on 185 valid questionnaires. 117 evaluations of the recordings are based on order one of the seven newscast and four talk show excerpts and sixty-eight evaluations are based on order two. With 137 (74.1%) female and 48 (25.9%) male students the sample is biased toward female informants. The vast majority of students, i.e. 166 (89.7%), are between eighteen and twenty-five. Eleven students (5.9%) are between twenty-six and thirty-five, three students are between thirty-six and forty-five (1.6%), two students (1.1%) are between forty-six and sixty, and three students (1.6%) did not state their age. Only a minority of sixty informants (33.5%) are humanities students, whereas 123 (66.5%) are from other faculties whose study programs do not include compulsory linguistics seminars. This age, gender, and faculty affiliation distribution reflects the total student body of UWI Mona well: according to the UWI (2010) statistical review from the academic year 2009/2010 71.2% of students are female, 62.2% are twenty-four years old and younger, and 21.8% are enrolled at the Humanities faculty.

In total, thirty-two interviews were conducted with different groups and individuals. I carried out twelve interviews with altogether twenty-three students at UWI and UTech. Eleven students (47.8%) were female; twelve (52.2%) were male. Seventeen interviewees (73.9%) were between eighteen and twenty-five, five

students (21.7%) were between twenty-six and thirty-five, and only one informant (4.3%) was between thirty-six and forty-five. I conducted twenty interviews with non-student informants. I interviewed nine informants in six interviews on Papine market. Eighteen informants were interviewed in the fourteen interviews conducted in Portland. This non-student sample is biased toward male informants and has a more even age distribution: a majority of twenty-two informants (81.5%) were male, whereas I interviewed only five females (18.5%). Five informants (18.5%) were between eighteen and twenty-five, eight informants (29.6%) were between twenty-six and thirty-five, five informants (18.5%) were between thirty-six and forty-five, and nine informants (33.3%) were forty-six and older. These very limited student and non-student samples do not allow a rigid quantitative analysis and subsequent generalizations but point toward different existing attitudes not covered by the quantitative survey design.

In addition to the interviews with potential listeners, six interviews with media insiders were conducted about the language ideological norms of radio production. The interviews were between thirty and forty minutes long. I interviewed one representative from each radio station taken into account in the analysis, i.e. RJR, IRIE FM, Newstalk93FM, and JIS. These station representatives were involved in the production of radio programs and two of them also worked as radio announcers. Furthermore, I conducted two interviews with speech trainers who had also worked as radio announcers for a long time.

8.5 Vocal stimuli

The seven newscast and four talk show samples represent linguistic variation in the two genres. They were used as vocal stimuli in the variety rating study and in the qualitative interviews. The speakers in these eleven excerpts were identical to those seven newscasters and four talk show hosts analyzed in Chapters 6.1 and 7. The excerpts were selected to represent the general language use of these speakers. The newscast excerpts represented one or two short, complete news items which dealt with local, i.e. Jamaican or Caribbean, issues. News items on Jamaican party politics were excluded to avoid biased reactions due to informants' political affiliation or sympathies. The newscast excerpts were between thirty-four and forty-two seconds long.

Based on accent variation along the eleven phonetic variables (i.e. word-initial voiced and voiceless *TH*-stopping, word-initial *H*-deletion, rhoticity, word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters, GOAT, FACE, TRAP, BATH, STRUT, and LOT) used in the quantitative analysis in Chapters 6.1 and 7.1 as well as ING and other additional salient accent features, the seven newscast excerpts can be separated

into three accent groups: JE (JEF1, JEF2, JEM1, JEM2) (Excerpts 8.1 to 8.4), BIE (BIEF, BIEM) (Excerpts 8.5 and 8.6), and AIE (AIEM) (Excerpt 8.7). There are no differences between the seven excerpts with regard to *H*-deletion and voiceless *TH*-stopping: in those case these variables appear in the excerpts, all newscasters avoid the JC realizations (i.e. the realization of voiceless initial *TH* as a stop and *H*-absence) categorically.

The four JE excerpts differ from the three foreign-influenced excerpts with regard to voiced *TH*-stopping, rhoticity, GOAT, FACE, TRAP, and STRUT: the JE excerpts are marked by variable realization of voiced initial *TH* as a stop, whereas the BIE and AIE newscasters almost consistently use voiced fricatives. The JE newscasts are semi-rhotic and marked by consistent FACE and GOAT monophthongs in contrast to upgliding diphthongs in the other three excerpts. Furthermore, the four JE speakers all realize TRAP in a lower backed position as [a] and have a tendency to realize STRUT in a somewhat heightened and backed position approximating [o] in contrast to the foreign-influenced excerpts, where TRAP is consistently realized as [æ] and STRUT in a central position as [ʌ].

These realizations mark the accents of the JE speakers saliently for JE but there are internal differences between the four speakers with regard to the degree of Jamaicanness. In the excerpt the JEF2 newscaster shows a preference for the realization of initial *TH* as stop, whereas the ratio is balanced for JEM2 newscaster and the other two speakers realize more tokens as fricatives. The JEF2 and JEM1 speakers consistently realize STRUT as [o], while the JEF1 and JEM2 speakers vary between [ʌ] and [o]. The JEF1 and JEM1 speaker consistently realize LOT in a backed position as [ɒ] in contrast to the other two speakers who vary between fronted [a] and backed [ɒ]. With regard to ING and word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters, the JEF1 newscaster uses the informal variants most (i.e. [ɪn] and cluster absence), followed by JEF2, whereas the two male JE speakers almost consistently use the formal variants ([ɪŋ] and cluster presence). In addition, the JEM1 speaker realizes all clusters in the excerpts very emphatically. The JEM2 excerpt is also marked by the Jamaican realization of "down" as [daŋ] and of word-final *-tion* as [ʃan]. Thus, the four JE excerpts represent variation within the emerging Jamaican national standard. Yet, it is difficult to establish a clear hierarchy of the Jamaicanness of these excerpts apart from the JEF2 excerpt which sticks out as most strongly marked for JE and the most informal. The JEM1 speaker also sticks out due to his very emphatic speech style.

The BIE Excerpts (8.2) and (8.3) share many features with traditional RP: the two speakers realize GOAT and FACE as upgliding diphthong, TRAP in a front high position as [æ], STRUT in a central position as a [ʌ], and BIEF pronounces BATH as [a]. They almost categorically realize voiced initial *TH* as a fricative – the BIEM speaker realizes one token as a stop. The two BIE speakers almost consistently

realize ING as [ɪŋ] and retain word-final consonant clusters: BIEF realizes one ING token as [ɪn] and for both speakers there is just one token with an absence of consonant clusters. Both BIE speakers realize LOT in a backed position corresponding to [ɒ]. The BIEF speaker's realization is even somewhat more backed and heightened tending toward [ɔ]. The two BIE excerpts are the least rhotic out of all seven newscast excerpts: while the BIEF excerpt is entirely non-rhotic, there are isolated cases of fully constricted-*r* and *r*-coloring in the largely non-rhotic BIEM excerpt. Furthermore, the BIEF speaker's accent is also marked by centering diphthongs and a realization of two /r/ tokens as an alveolar tap [ɾ]. Thus, the BIEF accent is more strongly marked for traditional RP than the BIEM excerpt.

The AIEM excerpt is marked by several features typical of StAmE, though this is not categorical. The AIEM newscaster consistently realizes word-initial *TH* as a fricative and his accent is the most rhotic of the seven excerpts, varying mainly between fully constricted /r/ and *r*-coloring. Yet, there are also three non-rhotic realizations. In the excerpt there is only one case where a word-final (-t,-d) consonant cluster merges with the following word-initial plosive; all other clusters are realized very clearly. STRUT is realized in a central position. Both TRAP and BATH are realized in a high front position as [æ]. He pronounces LOT as more central unrounded [a]. Both GOAT and FACE are realized as upgliding diphthongs – the former with a somewhat backed onset in contrast to the BIE speakers. Furthermore,

Table 8.1 Accent variation in the newscast excerpts*

variables	JEF1	JEF2	JEM1	JEM2**	BIEF†	BIEM	AIEM
voiced *TH*-stopping	[ð]>[d]	[d]>[ð]	[ð]>[d]	[ð]~[d]	[ð]	[ð]>d	[ð]
voiceless *TH*-stopping	–	–	[θ]	–	[θ]	–	–
H-deletion	–	[h]	[h]	[h]	[h]	[h]	–
rhoticity	[r]~ø	[r]~ø	[r]~ø	[r]~ø	ø	ø>[r]	[r]>ø
word-final(-t,-d) consonant clusters	[Ctd]>ø	ø>[Ctd]	[Ctd]	[Ctd]>ø	[Ctd]>ø	[Ctd]>ø	[Ctd]>ø
ING	[ɪŋ]>[ɪn]	[ɪn]>[ɪŋ]	–	[ɪŋ]	[ɪŋ]>[ɪn]	[ɪŋ]	[ɪŋ]
STRUT	[ʌ]~[o]	[o]	[o]	[ʌ]~[o]	[ʌ]	–	[ʌ]
TRAP	[a]	[a]	[a]	[a]	[æ]	[æ]	[æ]
BATH	–	–	[a]	–	[a]	–	[æ]
LOT	[ɑ]~[ɒ]	[ɒ]	[ɑ]~[ɒ]	[ɒ]	[ɒ]~[ɔ]	[ɒ]	[ɑ]
GOAT	[oː]	[oː]	[oː]	[oː]	[əʊ]	[əʊ]	[oʊ]
FACE	[eː]	[eː]	[eː]	[eː]	[eɪ]	[eɪ]	[eɪ]

* ~ indicates balanced variability; > indicates a preference for the first variant; – indicates token absence

** word-final -*tion* as [ʃan], down as [daŋ]

† centering diphthongs, *r*-tapping

the AIEM speaker categorically realizes ING as [ɪŋ]. See Table 8.1 for an overview of the accent variation in the seven newscast excerpts.

In addition to these segmental differences, the newscast excerpts were analyzed with regard to the ratio of pauses (i.e. periods of silence of 0.15s and longer) and the newscasters' speech rate. The speech rate is expressed as phonemes[3] and syllables per second, excluding pauses (Table 8.2). The newscasters are fairly homogenous with regard to speech rate. In comparison to Fuchs' (2013: 137) BE data on reading (15.0 phonemes per second; 5.5 syllables per second), the Jamaican newscasters all speak somewhat more slowly. The excerpts differ more saliently with regard to the ratio of pauses. The BIEF speaker sticks out with a saliently higher speech rate and she also leaves the most and longest pauses. The JEF1, AIEM, and JEM1 speakers leave relatively few and short pauses and, in addition, the latter two speak at a relatively fast pace. In contrast, the BIEM, JEF2, and JEM2 newscasters leave longer and more pauses.

Table 8.2 Speech rate and pauses – newscasts

excerpt	phonemes per second	syllables per second	pauses ratio [%]
AIE	14.16	5.63	5.23
BIEF	14.97	5.99	12.81
BIEM	13.13	5.31	9.20
JEF1	13.76	5.35	6.41
JEF2	13.80	5.30	10.94
JEM1	14.43	5.38	7.12
JEM2	13.49	4.96	10.30

(8.1) News01JEF101: Jamaican English female one stimulus, *Support for Patrick Manning*, Newstalk93FM
<$JEF1><#>In regional news in a symbolic gesture to signify their voice has been silenced in the Trinidadian parliament supporters of former Prime Minster Patrick Manning placed masking tape over their mouths as they mounted a silent protest outside the San Fernando East constituency office yesterday evening <#>The gesture has been used internationally to bring out political and social change <#>Yesterday in a show of solidarity mainly female supporters of the People's National Movement PNM dressed in red T-shirts used placards to carry the message of discontent with Monday's suspension of the man who has led them for forty years <#>Manning is in Cuba undergoing medical treatment and is due to return to the country on Friday

3. Diphthongs were counted as one phoneme.

ɪn ˈɹɪdʒənᵊl njuz ɪn ə sɪmˈbɑlɪk ˈᵊdʒɛstjʊ tə ˈsɪgnɪfaɪ ðɜˤ vɛɪs hɛz bin ˈsaɪlənst in ðə ˌtɹɪnɪˈdeːdɪən paləment<,> səˈpʊotəs əv ˈfɔːmə pɹaɪˈmɪnɪstə ˈpatɹɪk ˈmanɪn pleːsd ˈmaskɪn teːp oːvə ðɛ maʊs<,> ɐz ˈdeɪ ˈmaʊntɨd ə ˈsaɪlənt pɹoːˈtes ˌaʊtˈsaɪdə san fəˈnando iːst konˈstɪtjʊənsi ˈvfɪs ˈjestədeː ˈiːvnɪŋ<,> ðə ˈdʒestʃəz bin ˈjuːzd ɪntənaʃnəli tə bɹɪŋ ɵʊt paˈlɪtɪkl ænd soːʃəl tʃeːndʒ<,> ˈjestədeː ɪnə ʃoːᵊv ˌsalɪˈdaɹɪti ˈmeːnlɪ ˈfiːmeːl səˈpʊotəzᵊvðə ˈpiːplz naʃənəl ˈmuːvmənt ˈpiənəm<,> dɹɛsd ɪn ɹed ˈtiː ʃɜːʳts ˈjuːzd ˈplakəːɹdz<,> tə ˈkæɹɨ ðə ˈmesɪdʒ av ˌdɪskənˈtent wɪð ˈmʌndeːz səˈspenʃn əv ðə man huːəz ledəm<,> fo fɔːtɪ jɪəɹz<,> ˈmanɪŋ ɪz ɪn kjʊbə ˌʌndəˈgoɪn medɪkəl tɹiːtmənt ən ɪz dju tʊ ɹɨˈtɛʳn tə də ˈkontɹɪ ʊnˈfɹaɪdeː

(8.2) News04JEF201: Jamaican English female two stimulus, *Corruption*, IRIE FM
<$JEF2><#>Minister of Justice Delroy Chuck says he knows there are currently many corrupt practices being employed which seek to pervert the course of justice in Jamaica <#>Therefore eradicating corruption in the justice system and Jamaica is at the top of his agenda and that of his administration <#>Speaking to members of state of the Commission for the Prevention of Corruption recently the Justice Minister says he wants Jamaica to be in the top twenty of the worldwide corruption perceptions ranking of countries <#>The Minister addressed a number of issues including corruption in the justice system shady contractual dealings involving public officials and how the special prosecutor legislation will address some of these issues.
ˈmɪnɪstə ɔv ˈdʒɔstɪs ˈdelɹɔɪ tʃʌks sæs hɪ noːz dəɹ aː ˈkoɹəntlɪ mænɪ kəˈɹopt ˈpɹaktəsɪz ˈbiːɪn ɛmˈplɔɪd<,> wʰɪtʃ siːk tə pəˈvət də kɔːs ɔv ˈdʒʌstɪs ɪn dʒəˈmeːkə<,>ˈðɛfɔːɹ əˈɹadɪkeːtɪn kəˈɹopʃən ɪn də ˈdʒɔstɪs ˈsistəm æn dʒəˈmeːkə<,> ɪs æt də tʊp ɒv hɪz əˈdʒɛndə<,> æn ðæt ɔv hɪs ədˌmɪnɪˈstɹeːʃən<,> ˈspiːkin tə ˈmembəs ɒv steːt ɒv də kəˈmɪʃn̩ fə də pɹɨˈvɛnʃən ɔv kəˈɹopʃən ˈɹisənlɪ<,> ðɨ ˈdʒɔstɪs ˈmɪnɪstə sæz hɪ wʊnts dʒəˈmeːkə tʊ bi ɪn də tʊp ˈtwɛntiː<,> ɒv də wəld waɪd kəɹˈopʃən pəˈsɛpʃəns ˈɹankɪn ɒv ˈkontɹɨz<,> ðə ˈmɪnɪstə aˈdɹɛsd ə ˈnombə əv ˈɪsjʊz ɪnˈkluːdɪŋ<,> kəˈɹopʃən ɪn də ˈdʒɔstɪs ˈsɪstɨm<,> ˈʃeːdɪ kɔnˈtɹætəl ˈdiːlɪŋs ɪnˈvolvən ˈpoblɪk ˈɔfɪʃəls<,> æn haʊ ðiː speʃl ˈpɹɒsəkjʊtə lɛdʒɪsˈleːʃən wɪl əˈdɹɛs som ɒv ðiːz ˈɪsjʊz

(8.3) News05JEM101: Jamaican English male one stimulus, *Colebeck irrigation system*, JIS
<$JEM1><#>The Colebeck irrigation system in St. Catherine has been officially commissioned into service <#>The system which is on a two hundred and fifty acre property will support five irrigation projects across one thousand farm lots on one thousand seven hundred hectares of land <#>Agriculture Minister Doctor Christopher Tufton says this is a significant step forward as the system will encourage best agricultural practices among farmers which will result in improved crop production <#>The Minister used the opportunity to highlight successes of the agriculture ministry over the past two years as a result of best practices of farmers across Jamaica

ðə kolbek ˌɪɹɪˈgeːʃən sɪstəm ɪn ʃeːnt ˈkaðɹɪn haz bɪn ʊˈfɪʃəli kʊˈmɪʃənd ˈɪntə ˈsɛɹvɪs<,> də ˈsɪstɨm wɪtʃ ɪz ʊn ə ˈtuː ˈhondɹəd ən ˈfɪftɪ ˈeːkəɹ ˈpɹɑːpətɨ<,> wɪl səˈpʊot faiv ˌɪɹɪˈgeːʃən pɹɑːˈdʒəks əˈkɪɑs wʌn ˈθɵusənd faɹm lats<,> ʊn wʌn ˈθɵusənd ˈsevən ˈhekteɹz ɑv land<,> ˈagɹɪˌkoltʃə ˈmɪnɪstə ˈdoktə ˈkɹistəfə ˈtʌftən ˈsɛz dɪz ɪzə sɪgˈnɪfɪkənt step ˈfɔːɻwəd az də ˈsɪstɨm wɪl ənˈkoɹədʒ best ˌagɹɪˈkoltoɹəl ˈpɹaktisəz<,> əmoŋ ˈfaɹməz<,> wɪtʃ wɪl ɹəˈzolt<,> ɪn ɪmˈpɹuːvd kɹʊp pɹoˈdokʃən<,> də ˈmɪnɪstə ˈjuːzd dɪ ˌɑpəˈtjʊnɪti tə haɪlaɪt səkˈsəsɪz əv ðɪ ˌagɹɪˈkoltʃə ˈmɪnɪstɹi ˈoːvə ðə paːst tʊ ˈjiəɹs<,> az ə ˈɹɨsolt əv best ˈpɹaktəsɪz əv ˈfaɹməz ˈəkɹʊs dʒəˈmeːkə

(8.4) News07JEM201: Jamaican English male two stimulus, *Job discrimination*, IRIE FM

<$JEM2><#>Labour Minister Pearnel Charles has issued a strong warning to employers who are said to be discriminating against job seekers of dark complexion <#>Minister Charles says he has read a newspaper report on such discrimination but his ministry has no prove that it is actually taking place <#>The Labor Minister says his government would take strong measures against any employer found to be engaged in such practice <#>Minister Charles told IRIE FM news that he is not sure what specific legal sanction can be taken against employers who turn down persons of dark complexion.

ˈlebə ˈmɪnɪstə ˈpəɹnəl ˈtʃaːlz hæz ɪʃʊd ə ˈstɹʊŋ ˈwoɹnɪŋ tə emˌplɔɪəz<,> ˈhʊəɹ sed tə bi dɪˈskɹɪməˌneːtɪŋ əˈgeːnst dʒʊb ˈsiːkəz əv daɹk kəmˈplekʃɐn<,>ˈmɪnɪstə ˈtʃaːlz ˈsɛz hi hæz ɹed ə ˈnjuːspepɚ ɹəpoɹt ən sotʃ dɪˌskɹɪmɪˈneːʃᵊn<,> bətɪz ˈmɪnɪstɹɪ hæz no pɹuːv<,> ˈdætɪtɪz ˈaktʃəlɨ ˈteːkɪŋ pleːs<,> ðə ˈleːbə ˈmɪnɪstə sæz hɪz ˈgovᵊmənt<,> wʊd teːk stɹɑŋ ˈmeʒəz əˈgeːnst ˈeni ɛmˈplɔɪə faʊnd tə bɨ ɛnˈgeːdʒd ɪn sʌtʃ ˈpɹaktis<,> ˈmɪnɪstə ˈtʃaːlz tol aɪɹɨ ˌᵃfem njuːz<,> ðæt hiznʊt ʃʊɹ ˈwʊt spəˈsɪfɪk ˈliːgᵊl ˈsaŋkʃn kən bɨ teːkᵊn əˈgeːnst ɛmˈplɔɪəz<,> hʊ tɛɹn daŋ ˈpɜːɹsnz əv daɹk kəmˈplekʃɐn

(8.5) News10BIEF03: British-influenced English female file, *Revocation of US visa*, RJR

<$BIEF><#>Meetings have got under way between Jamaican and American officials regarding the revocation of the US visa of former Minister of Energy and Mining James Robertson <#>Minister of foreign affairs Doctor Ken Baugh told RJR news last night he has held talks with US ambassador to Jamaica Pamela Bridgewater <#>He disclosed that a meeting took place on Thursday and he'll be reporting back to Prime Minster Bruce Golding. Doctor Baugh said in the interim he will not make any public statements on the issue <#>The Prime Minster had instructed Doctor Baugh to meet with the US ambassador to seek further information through diplomatic channels on the revocation of the former Minster's visa.

ˈmiːtɪŋz hæv gʊt ˈʌndə weɪ bɪˈtwiːn dʒaˈmeɪkən ən əˈmɛɹɨkən əˈfɪʃəls<,> ɹɨgaːdɪn ðə ɹɛvəˈkeɪʃn əv ðə juːˈɛs ˈviːzə ʊv ˈfɔːmə ˈmɪnɪstə əv ˈɛnədʒɪ æn ˈmaɪnɪŋ<,> dʒeɪmz ɹʊbəˈtsən<,> ˈmɪnɪstə əv ˈfʊɹɨn əˈfeəz ˈdʊktə ken bʊᵊ təʊld aːˈdʒeɪaː nju:z

lɑːs naɪt<,> hiː hæz hɛld tɔːks wɪð ðɪ juːˈɛs əmˈbæsədə tə dʒəˈmeɪkə<,> ˈpamələ ˈbɹɪdʒˌwɔːtə<,> hiː dɪsˈkləʊzd ðæt ə ˈmiːtɪŋ tʊk pleɪs ʊn ˈθɛːrzdeɪ<,> æn hɪl bɨ ɹɨˈpɔːtɪŋ bæk tʊ pɹaɪˈmɪnɪstə bɹʊːs ˈgəʊldɪŋ<,> ˈdʊktə bʊˢ sɛd ɪn ði ˈɪntəɹɪm<,> hiː wɬl nʊt meɪk æni ˈpʌblɪk ˈsteɪtmənts ʊn ði ˈɪʃuː<,> ðə pɹaɪˈmɪnɪstə hæd ɪnˈstɪʌktəd ˈdʊktə bʊˢ tə miːt wɪð ðə juː ˈɛs əmˈbæsədə<,> tə siːk ˈfɛːɾðəɾ ˌɪnfəˈmeɪʃˢn θɹuː dɪpləˈmætɪk ˈtʃænəls<,> ʊn ðə ˌɹɛvəˈkeɪʃn əv ðə ˈfɔːmə ˈmɪnɪstəz ˈviːzə

(8.6) News11BIEM01: British-influenced English male stimulus, *Protest in North Trelawny*, Newstalk93FM

<$BIEM><#>The executive of the Peoples National Party PNP has established an investigative team to probe the recent protest by persons in North Trelawny even as it pursues further consultations on the party's final selection of a candidate for the constituency <#>Attorney at law Patrick Atkinson is the candidate chosen by the party executive <#>Party Chairmen Robert Pickersgill says this investigation is as a result of the burning of images with the likeness of party leader Portia Simpson Miller <#>He adds that if these acts were carried out by party members the appropriate actions will be taken <#>However if it was not members who did it they could not be subjected to party discipline

ði ɪgˈzekjʊtɪv əv ðə ˈpiːplˌz ˈnæʃnəl ˈpaːti ˈpiənpi həz ɨˈstæblɪʃt ən ɪnˈvestɪgətɪv tiːm tə pɹəʊb ðə ˈɹiːsənt pɹəʊˈtest baɪ ˈpɜːɹsnz ɪn nɔːθ tɹəlɐnɪ<,> ˈiːvn æz ɪt pəˈsjuːz ˈfɜːðə ˌkʊnslˈteɪʃnz<,> ən ðə ˈpaːtɪz ˈfaɪnəl sɨˈlekʃn əv ə ˈkændɪdeɪt fə ðə kənˈstɪtjʊənsɨ<,> əˈtɜːnɪ ət lɔː ˈpætɹɪk ˈætkɪnsən ɪz ðə ˈkændɪdet ˈtʃəʊzn baɪ ðə ˈpaːtɪ ɨgˈzegjətɪv<,> ˈpaːti ˈtʃeəmən ˈɹʊbət ˈpɪkəsgɪl sæz ðɪs ɪnˌvəstɨˈgeɪʃəŋ<,> ɪz æz ə ɹɪˈzəlt əv ðə ˈbɜːrnɪŋ əv ˈɪmɪdʒɨz wɪdɪ ˈlaɪknəs ʊvˢ ˈpaːtɪ liːdˢ ˈpɔːʃə ˈsɪmpsən ˈmɪleə<,> hi ædz ðæt ɪf ðiːz æks wə ˈkæɹɪd aʊt baɪ ˈpaːtɪ ˈmɛmbəz<,> ðɨ əˈpɹəʊpɹɪət ˈækʃənz wɪl bə ˈteɪkˢn<,> haʊˈevə ɪf ɪt wʊz nʊt ˈmɛmbəz hʊ dɪdɪt ðeɪ kʊd nʊt bə səbˈdʒɛktɪd tə ˈpaːtɪ ˈdɪsəplɨn

(8.7) News13AIEM02: American-influenced English male stimulus, *CARICOM and Trinidad*, RJR

<$AIEM><#>CARICOM leaders are to meet in Guyana this weekend to discuss a number of issues including a possible successor to Sir Edwin Carington as Caricom secretary general <#>The two day retreat starts tomorrow <#>The leaders will also be discussing other issues such as intraregional trade movement of skills and movement of financial resources <#>And Trinidadian Prime Minister Kamla Persad-Bissessar says she has no problem with a plan of the opposition to write to the integrity commission to ask that she be investigated <#>The opposition says Mrs. Persad-Bissessar's decision to stay at a private residence before and after the May twenty ten general election could amount to a breach of the integrity in public life act

ˈkæɹɪkˢm ˈliːdəs aɹ tə miːt in ˈgaɪjænə ðɪs ˌwiːkˈend tə dɪˈskʌs ə ˈnʌmbəɹ əv ˈɪʃuːs ɪnˈkluːdɪŋ ə ˈpasˢbəl səkˈsɛsə tə sɛːɹ ˈədwɪn ˈkæɹɪŋtən æz ˈkæɹɪkəm ˈsɛkɹətɨ ˈdʒɛnˢɹəl<,> ðə tʊ deɪ ˈɹɪtɹɪt staɹts təˈmaɹəˢ<,> ðə ˈliːdəz wɨl ˈaɬsə bɨ dɪˈskʌsɪŋ ˈʌðəɹ ˈɪʃʊs sʌtʃ æz ˈɪntɹəˌɹɪdʒənˢl tɹeɪd ˈmuvmənt əv skɨlz ænd ˈmuvmənt əv fɪˈnænʃəɬ

ɹəˈsɔːɹsəz<,> æn ˌtɪɪnɪˈdeɪdɪən pɹaɪˈmɪnɪstə kamlə pəɹˈsaːd bɪˈsɛsə sæz ʃi hæz noʊ ˈpɹabləm wɪð ə plæn ɔv ðɨ ˌapəˈzɪʃən tʊ ɹaɪt tʊ ðɪ ɪnˈtɛgɹətɪ kəˈmɪʃən<,> tə æsk ðæt ʃi bi ɪnˌvɛstɪˈgeɪtɪd<,> ðɪ ˌapəˈzɪʃən sæz ˈmɪsɪs pəɹˈsaːd bɪˈsɛsəz dɪˈsɪʒən tə steɪ æt ə ˈpɹaɪvɨt ˈɹɛzədəns<,> bɨˈfɔˀɹ ænd æftə ðə meɪ ˈtwɛntɪ tɛn ˈdʒɛnəɹəɬ ɪˈlɛkʃən kʊd əˈmaʊnt tʊ ə bɹiːtʃ əʌ ðɨ ɪnˈtɛgɹətɪ ɪn ˈpʌblɪk laɪf ækt

The talk show Excerpts (8.8) to (8.11) aim to represent the saliently different language use between JE and JC of the four hosts analyzed in Chapter 7. The excerpts are all spontaneous monologues which represent a host's opinion on one specific topic. They are between thirty-five and forty-nine seconds long. In addition to the analysis of accent variation, the discussion of the talk show excerpts also takes into account morpho-syntactic variation between StE and JC as well as the content and the liveliness of the presentation. The talk show excerpt from Jamaican Speaks with Densil Williams (DW) is labeled JE (Excerpt 8.8); the excerpt from Hotline with Barbara Gloudon (BG) is labelled JE>JC (Excerpt 8.9); the excerpt from Hotline with Orville Taylor (OT) is labeled JE=JC (Excerpt 8.10), and the excerpt from Straight Up with Jerry Small (JS) is labelled JC>JE (Excerpt 8.11).

With regard to the content and the liveliness of the presentation the excerpts differ saliently with regard to formality. In the JE excerpt the host DW discusses the elaborate topic of regulations of market economies. On the one hand, this is a serious issue, the host functions as a neutral expert moderator, and uses register specific vocabulary (e.g. *economic rent*) but, on the other hand, he illustrates the dynamics of market economies vividly by comparing the capitalist economy to a game (*playing field, players, play*) and the excerpt contains various conversational features, such as repetitions, the hesitator *uhm*, and contractions. Thus, DW presents the serious topic in an overall lively, spontaneous, and somewhat informal way. In the JE<JC excerpt BG discusses the issue of bad road conditions, which is a constant nuisance to most Jamaicans, in a personal and emotionally involved manner. The excerpt is very lively: it contains emphatic repetitions and the discourse marker *right*. Furthermore, BG addresses the listeners directly via rhetorical questions and second person pronouns. She also establishes a bond to them via first person plural pronouns. Similarly, JS presents his personal opinion on the serious topic of police brutality and the misbehavior of a politician in court in the JC>JE excerpt. However, he does so in a lively, emotional, personal, and thus informal way: there are several conversational features, such as hesitator *uhm*, repetitions, and corrections, and the repeated use of the discourse marker *you know*, which addresses the listeners but also functions emphatically. The vocabulary can overall be described as informal English: for example, JS uses "take him out", i.e. colloquial for 'kill'. The JE=JC excerpt is the most informal of all four. OT relates a personal anecdote about the bad road conditions on the way from Kingston to the north

coast through the Blue Mountains. He relates this anecdote in a very lively and entertaining way: the excerpt is marked by an abundance of conversational features, such as repetitions, hesitator *uhm*, and the punctuational discourse marker *eh*. He uses the figurative simile "low like a snake belly" to describe his lowered chassis and switches drastically from JE to JC to pep up his report.

The accent analysis of the four talk show excerpt shows variation between JE and JC: The JE excerpt is least marked for JC, followed by the JE=JC excerpt. The JE>JC excerpt shows some JC features and the JC>JE excerpt is most strongly marked for JC on an accent level. All hosts use shared features of JE and JC: the realization of STRUT in a heightened backed position approximating [o] and of TRAP and BATH in a lowered central position in between [a] and [ɑ]. Furthermore, all four excerpts are semi-rhotic, MOUTH tokens are realized with a raised onset as [ɵʊ], *ask* as [aks], and word-final *-tion* with a full vowel as [ʃan]. In contrast to the newscasts, all hosts frequently pronounce voiced initial *TH* as a stop. There are no voiceless initial *TH* tokens for DW and OT, whereas DW and JS also use the stigmatized JC stopped variant in the excerpts. While the other three hosts vary with regard to *TH*-stopping, JS categorically pronounces initial *TH* as a stop. He is also the only host who uses the stigmatized JC feature of initial *H*-absence; the other three retain all initial *H*s. Furthermore, he frequently realizes GOAT and FACE as downgliding diphthongs. In the JE>JC excerpt BG varies between this JC realization and JE FACE and GOAT monophthongs. DW consistently uses FACE and GOAT monophthongs in the JE excerpt; OT's accent is marked by variation between mostly JE monophthongs and occasional upgliding realizations in the JE=JC excerpt. The four talk show excerpts also differ with regard to word-final (-t,-d) consonant clusters and ING: DW mostly retains word-final (-t,-d) in the JE excerpt; the other three hosts show a preference for consonant cluster absence. All hosts except for OT categorically pronounce ING as [ɪn], whereas OT realizes all ING tokens as [ɪŋ] in the JE=JC excerpt. In conclusion, DW's accent is consistently marked for JE with very little JC influence (e.g. *ask* as [aks]) in the JE excerpt. BW's accent shows a more pronounced JC influence in the JE>JC excerpt. The JC>JE excerpt is most strongly marked by JC accent features. The accent of OT in the JE=JC excerpt is the most variable: while there is consistent marking for JE with a slight JC influence OT also uses some formal features shared with metropolitan standard accents, such as [ɪŋ], upgliding FACE and GOAT diphthongs, and the pronunciation of TRAP as [æ]. This accent variation is tied to morpho-syntactic variation: these formal features only occur in StE passages. Table 8.3 shows an overview of the accent variation in the four talk show excerpts.

The analysis of the morpho-syntax of the four talk show excerpts shows salient variation between StE and JC. The JE excerpt features two instances of copula deletion ("we op on a break" and "we gonna") but no overt JC grammar forms.

The JC marking in the JC>JE excerpt is more pronounced on an accent than on a morpho-syntactic level but nevertheless BW does not use the StE copula to form the progressive aspect ("What it is that we still not seeing not understanding") and one question lacks *do*-support ("but anybody have an answer to that"). The JC>JE excerpt contains the most JC morpho-syntactic features of all four excerpts. JS consistently blends JC and StE: he uses JC prepositions *ina* and *a* but also StE prepositions *on* and *of*. He categorically uses the JC subjective third person singular pronoun *him*. JC subjective third person plural pronoun *dem* dominates but he uses StE *they* in the fourth utterance. He also varies in his realization of the

Table 8.3 Accent and morpho-syntactic variation in the talk show excerpts*

	DW: JE**	BG: JE>JC	OT: JE=JC†	JS: JC>JE
voiced *TH*-stopping	[d]>[ð]	[d]>[ð]	[ð]~[d]	[d]
voiceless *TH*-stopping	–	[t]>[θ]	–	[t]
H-deletion	[h]	[h]	[h]	[h]~ø
rhoticity	[r]~ø	ø>[r]	ø>[r]	[r]~ø
word-final (-t, -d) consonant clusters	[Ctd]>ø	ø>[Ctd]	ø>[Ctd]	ø>[Ctd]
word-final *-tion*	[ʃan]	[ʃn]	–	[ʃan]
ING	[ɪn]	[ɪn]	[ɪŋ]	[ɪn]
STRUT	[o]	[o]	[o]	[o]
TRAP	[a]~[ɑ]	[a]~[ɑ]	[a]~[æ]	[a]~[ɑ]
BATH	[a]~[ɑ]	[a]~[ɑ]	[a]~[ɑ]	[a]~[ɑ]
LOT	[ɒ]	[ɑ]~[ɒ]	[ɒ]	[a]~[ɑ]
GOAT	[oː]	[oː]~[ʊo]	[oː]>[oʊ]	[oː]~[ʊo]
FACE	[eː]	[eː]~[ɪe]	[eː]	[eː]~[ɪe]
MOUTH	[ɵʊ]	[aʊ]	[ɵʊ]	[ɵʊ]
JC morpho-syntactic features	copula absence	copula absence lacking do support	copula absence 1SG PN *me* future marker *a go* adverb of place *de* unmarked plural modal *hafi* preposition *a*	prepositions *ina, a* 3SG PN *him* 3PL PN *dem* *a* + infinitive *gwan* + infinitive unmarked past

* ~ indicates balanced variability; > indicates a preference for the first variant; – indicates token absence

** *ask* as [aks]

† *ask* as [aks], *can't* as [kjɑːn]

progressive aspect: in utterance two and four he uses JC copula *a* plus infinitive ("a kill", "a threaten") but in the latter utterance he also uses StE copula *be* plus infinitive ("I'm feel"). JS also uses JC *gwan* plus infinitive to express a state of continuing action ("gwan correct", "gwan feel") (Patrick 2008: 623). He varies in his past marking: *alleged* and *killed* are marked by inflections, *behave* is unmarked for the past in the final utterance. The JE=JC excerpt illustrates code-switching between a StE baseline and JC: the utterances one, two, four, five, six, ten, eleven, and twelve are in StE and do not contain any JC features. However, the third utterance is marked by JC copula absence and the figurative simile, "low like a snake belly". Utterances seven, eight, and nine are strongly marked for JC through JC first person pronoun *me*, lacking inflectional plural marking, future marker *go*, modal *hafi*, preposition *a*, demonstrative pronoun *dem*, and the JC adverb of place *de*. In sum, the morpho-syntactic analysis shows a clear order of creoleness: the JE excerpt is least marked for JC, followed by JE>JC. OT code-switches between both varieties in the JE=JC excerpt and JS blends blends both varieties seamlessly in the JC>JE excerpt, which is most strongly marked for JC. In addition to accent variation, Table 8.3 also shows an overview of JC morpho-syntactic features used in the four talk show excerpts.

(8.8) Talk03JE03: Jamaican English talk show stimulus, *Market regulations*, Newstalk93FM

<$DW><#>You need to protect consumers that's good <#>And and and and you also need to regulate so that they can have a level playing field create the the right enabling environment so that players can play <#>But the real question is uhm do you uhm when you protect how do you ensure how do you ensure that the players extract the most economic rent to use an economic jargon that they can actually get from the market <#>Do you do you protect and restrict their economic rent or do you protect and still enable them to get uhm the most economic rent <#>Uhm we up on a break we gonna have to ask you to actually respond to that question right after the break

ju niːd tə pɹʊˈtek kʊnˈsjuːməz ðats gʊd<,> and ən ən ən ju ˈɔːlsoː niːd tə ˈɹegjʊleːt ˈso dat ˈdeː kjən hav ə ˈlevl ˈpleːɪn fiːl kɹɪːˈeːt də<,> də ɹaɪt eˈneːblɪn ɪnˈvaɪəɹənmənt ˈso dat ˈpleːəz kjən pleː<,> bot də ɹel ˈkwestʃən ɪz aːaː<,> dʊ ju aː wen ju pɹʊˈtekt ˈhəʊ də ju ɪnˈʃʊːɹ<,> ˈhəʊ dʊ ju ɪnˈʃʊːɹ ðat<,> ðə ˈpleːəz ekˈstɹak də moːst ˌ<,> iːkəˈnʊmɪk ɹent tə ˈjuːz ən ˌiːkəˈnʊmɪk ˈdʒaːʳgən dat ˈdeː kən ˈaktʃuəlɪ ˈget fɹɔm də ˈmaːkət<,> dʊ ju dʊ ju pɹʊˈtekt ən ɹɪˈstɹɪkt də ˌiːkəˈnʊmɪk ɹent ɔː dʊ ju pɹʊˈtek<,> an stɪl eˈneːbl̩ ðəm tə ˈget<,> aːm də moːs ˌiːkəˈnʊmɪk ɹent<,> aː wi op ʊn ə bɹeːk wi ˈgʊnə hav tu aːks ju tu ˈaktʃuəlɪ ɹɪˈspʊnd tə dat ˈkwestʃən ɹaɪt ˈaːftə də bɹeːk

(8.9) Talk17JEJC03: Jamaican English > Jamaican Creole talk show stimulus, *Jamaican roads*, RJR

<$BG><#1>If if you were to ask what's the number one problem in Jamaica apart from jobs and and money and so on <#2>What do you think it would

be right <#3>It has to be roads roads island wide <#4>And nobody would be foolish enough to say that it is only under this administration that the roads are bad <#5>We've always battled with bad roads for years and years and years <#6>Will there ever come a a solution to this <#7>Why is it that other countries which have rain have heavy traffic same way their roads stand up far longer than ours <#8>What it is that we still not seeing not understanding <#9>Maybe three people doing one road might be part of the thing I don't know <#10>But but anybody have an answer to that one day
ɪf ɪf ju wə tə ɑːs wʊts də ˈnombə wʊn<,> ˈpɹʊbləm ɪn dʒəˈmeːkə əˈpɑːt fɹəm<,> dʒabz ən<,> ən ˈmoni ən ˈso ɑn ˈwʊt dʊ jʊ ˈθɪŋk ɪt wʊd bɪ ɹaɪ ɪt həz tə bɪ ɹʊodz<,> ɹ ɹʊodz ˈaɪlən waɪd ən<,> ˈnʊbodɪ wʊd bi ˈfuːlɪʃ ɪˈnof tə ˈse dət<,> ɪt ɪs ˈoːnlɪ ˈondə dɪs əd¸mɪnɪˈstɹeːʃn dət də ɹoːdz ə bad wiv ˈɔːlwez ˈbatld wɪd<,> bad ɹʊodz fə ˈjiəz ən ˈjiəz ən ˈjiəz<,> wɪl də ˈevɐ kom ə ə səˈluːʃɐn tə dɪs<,> waɪ ɪz ɪt dat ˈoðə ˈkontɪɪz wɪtʃ<,> hav ɹɪen hav ˈhevɪ<,> ˈtɹafɪk seːm ˈweː ðeʳ ɹʊodz stan op faːʳ<,> ˈlaŋgə dən ˈaʊəz wʊt ɪt ɪs dat wi stɪl<,> nɑt ˈsiːɪn nɑt ¸ondəˈstandɪn<,> ˈmɪebɪ<,> tɹiː ˈpiːpl ˈduːɪn wan ɹʊod maɪt bə paːt əv də ˈθɪŋ ˈaɪ doːnt no<,> bot bot ˈenibʊdə hav ən ˈaːnsə tə dat wʊn deː

(8.10) Talk09JE=JC03: Jamaican English = Jamaican Creole talk show stimulus, *Papine to Buff Bay*, RJR
<$OT><#1>Uhm you know a lot of people don't know <#2>And I've never driven the road myself <#3>Because I my car car low low like a snake belly <#4>So I can't drive <#5>But that you can actually drive from Papine and end up all the way into Buff Bay <#6>And I been looking forward to driving that route uhm <#7>But I go hafi get one a dem vehicle de uhm <#8>Me hafi get one a dem trails bike like trail bike like <?>over de Saint James I</?> ride one time after the hurricane <#9>But me can't really ride bike <#10>But I would really really want to do that to see that <#11>Don't know how how much work that's gonna take <#12>I should ask Stephen Shaw about that and see if that is anyway on their agenda eh
ɑːm<,> ju noː<,> ə lʊɾə ˈpiːpl̩ doʊnt noʊ<,> ən aɪv ˈnevə ˈdɹɪvn də ɹoːd maɪˈself ˈbɪkəz<,> ˈaɪ maɪ ˈkaːʳ kɑːʳ loː loː ˈlaɪk ə sneːk ˈbeli<,> so ˈaɪ kjaːn dɹaɪv bot<,> ðat ju kən ˈæktʃuəli dɹaɪv<,> fɹʊm paˈpiːn<,> an end op ɔːl ðə ˈweː ˈɪntə bof beː<,> ən ˈaɪ biːn ˈlʊkɪŋ ˈfɔːwəd tə ˈdɹaɪvɪŋ ðat ɹuːt ɑː<,> bot ˈai gʷʊ ɑfi get wʊn a dem<,> ˈviːɪkl də<,> ɑː mə ɑfi get wʊn a dem tɹeːls baɪk laɪk tɹeːl baɪk laɪk ovə də sen jeːms aɪ ɹaɪd wʊn ˈtaɪm ˈaːftə də ˈhoɹɪkeː n<,> bət miː kjaːn ˈɹɪlə ɹaɪd baɪk<,> bot ˈaɪ wʊd ˈɹɪələ ˈɹɪələ wʊntə də dat tə ˈsiː ðat<,> dono ˈhəʊ ˈhəʊ ˈmotʃ ˈwɜːk dats ˈgʊnə tek<,>ˈaɪ ʃʊd ɑːks ˈstiːvn shɔ əˈbəʊt ðæt<,> ən ˈsiː ɪf ðat ɪs ˈeniweʳ ʊn ðeə əˈdʒendə ɜː

<#7>But I will have to get one of those vehicles <#8>I have to get one of those trail bikes [Endure motorbikes] like the one I rode one time in Saint James [Jamaican parish] after the hurricane <#9>But I can't really ride motorbikes properly

(8.11) Talk28JCJE06: Jamaican Creole > Jamaican English talk show stimulus, *Police brutality*, Newstalk93FM

<$JS><#1>It was kind of uhm astonishing for your the police who would have known that him was a young member of the new government <#2>And threaten him se dem a take him out you know <#3>And there was a lot of attention on it because of that attention on the whole case <#4>Now how I'm feel you know especially if you police a threaten fi kill you ina situation after which it is alleged that they have just killed somebody legally <#5>And worse now you are the member of a new government who say we gwan correct all all these kind a thing being going on before <#6>So you feel like it's your time now to correct things and straighten out things <#7>And then them more threaten your life you gwan feel that way very agitated and wrathful <#8>At the same time now Franklin must check himself and consider whether if him was not a government senator and the general secretary of the labor party if him wuda behave ina the court room like when it is alleged him behave yesterday

ɪt wəz kaɪn əv aːm<,> aˈstanɪʃɪn fə jə də ˈpoliːs huː wʊd hav noːn dat ɪm waz ə joŋ ˈmembɑv də njuː ˈgovəmənt<,> an ˈtɹetn ɪm sə dem a tek ɪm ɵʊt ju nɵ<,> an də waz ə lat əv ɐˈtenʃɐn an ɪt bɪˈkaz ɐv dat ɐˈtenʃɐn an də hʊol kɪes<,> nɵʊ ˈhɵʊ aɪm ˈfiːl jʊ nɵ ɪˈspeʃəlɪ ɪf jʊ<,> ˈpoliːs<,> a ˈtɹetn ˈfɪ kɪl jʊ<,> ˈiːna ˌsɪtʃʊˈeːʃɐn ˈaːftə wɪtʃ ɪt ɪs ɐˈledʒd dɐt ˈdeː hɐv dʒos kɪld ˈsombadɪ ˈliːgəlɪ<,> an wɜːɹs nɵʊ ju aɹ də ˈmembɐ əv ə njuː ˈgovəmənt huː ˈseː jʊ gwɐn koˈɹek aːl aːl diːz kaɪn ɐ ˈtɪŋ ˈbiːɪn ˈgoːɪn an bɪˈfɔːɹ<,>ˈso jʊ fiːl ˈlaɪk ɪs jə ˈtaɪm nɵʊ tə kəˈɹek ˈtɪŋz an ˈstɹeːtn ɵʊt ˈtɪŋz an den dem mɔːɹ ˈtɹetn jə laɪf jʊ gwɐn fiːl dɐwɪe<,> ˈveɹi ˈadʒɪteːtɪd ɐn ˈɹatfʊl<,> at də sɪem ˈtaɪm nɵʊ<,> ˈfɹaŋklɪn mos tʃek ɪmˈself<,> an kanˈsɪdɐ<,> ˈweda<,> ɪf ɪm wɵz nɑt ə ˈgovəmənt ˈsenəta<,> an de ˈdʒenɹɐl ˈsekɹətəɹɪ ɐv də ˈlɪebɐ ˈpaːti<,> ɪf ɪm wʊda bɪˈhɪev ˈinɐ də kɔːɹt ɹuːmˈlaɪk wen ɪt ɪs aˈledʒd ɪm bɪˈhɪev ˈjestədə

<#1>It was kind of astonishing for the police who would have known that he was a young member of the new government <#2>And they threatened him by saying that they are killing him <#3>And there was a lot of attention on it because of that attention on the whole case <#4>Now how I would be feeling especially if the police are threatening to kill you in a situation after it has been alleged that they had just killed somebody legally <#5>And even worse you are a member of the new government which says that we are correcting all these things which have been going on before <#6>So you feel like it's your time to correct these things now and straighten out these things <#7>And then furthermore when they are threatening your life you are feeling this way very agitated and furious <#8>At the same time now Franklin must reevaluate his actions and consider whether if he was not a government senator and the general secretary of the labor party if he would have behaved in the court room the way it was alleged he behaved yesterday

CHAPTER 9

Attitudes toward linguistic variation on Jamaican radio

This chapter presents the attitudinal results of three different language attitude research instruments to illustrate the listeners' perceptions of linguistic variation on Jamaican radio. First, the results of direct questioning of informants on their language preferences, their perception of JC, and their attitudes toward exonormative influences are reported. Second, the chapter presents the findings of the two variety rating studies on linguistic variation in newscasts and talk shows. Third, the results of the folk-linguistic interviews on JC and StE in different radio contexts are presented. Finally, a brief analysis of interviews with radio insiders is added to illustrate the linguistic norms of radio production in Jamaica.

9.1 Results of direct questioning

The results of the direct questioning of the informants about their language preference in different types of radio programs show that their overt attitudes toward linguistic variation on Jamaican radio are strongly context-bound. Table 9.1 and Figure 9.1 show the students' answers to the multiple response question "Which type of language do you personally prefer in different radio programs?" with British English, American English, Jamaican English, mix of English and a little Patwa, mix of Patwa and a little English, and Patwa as fixed response options. The students clearly preferred JE over AE, BE, Patwa, and any mixes in newscasts, advertisements for a bank, talk shows on politics, and in morning shows. All options including Patwa were clearly dispreferred for newscasts and bank advertisements, while the English dominant mix was the second most preferred type of language for political talk shows and morning shows. The mixes of English and Patwa were the preferred options for personal talk shows, soft drink advertisements, and DJ shows. For a comedy program Patwa and the Patwa dominant mix were the preferred choices.

Individual comparisons of programs highlight the different constraints at work in the students' linguistic preferences: newscasts mainly inform listeners and are the most formal type of program, while comedy shows mainly serve entertainment

Table 9.1 Language preference*

	American English	British English	Jamaican English	Mix English > Patwa	Mix Patwa > English	Patwa	Total
Newscast	31 (16.7)	44 (23.7)	139 (74.7)	27 (14.5)	5 (2.7)	4 (2.2)	250
Advertisement Bank	39 (21.3)	33 (18.0)	109 (59.6)	31 (16.9)	9 (4.9)	5 (2.7)	226
Talk Show Politics	13 (7.0)	21 (11.4)	104 (56.2)	84 (45.4)	13 (7.0)	9 (4.9)	244
Morning Show	21 (11.5)	9 (4.9)	93 (51.1)	87 (47.8)	20 (11.0)	8 (4.4)	238
Talk Show Personal	16 (6.4)	7 (3.8)	49 (26.5)	110 (59.5)	43 (23.2)	26 (14.1)	251
Advertisement Soft Drink	14 (7.6)	5 (2.7)	32 (17.3)	71 (38.4)	80 (43.2)	49 (26.5)	251
DJ Show	4 (2.2)	3 (1.6)	25 (13.7)	49 (26.8)	90 (49.2)	73 (39.9)	244
Comedy Show	15 (8.1)	9 (4.9)	29 (15.7)	44 (23.8)	87 (47.0)	95 (51.4)	279
Total	153	131	580	503	347	269	1983

* numbers in brackets show the percent of cases

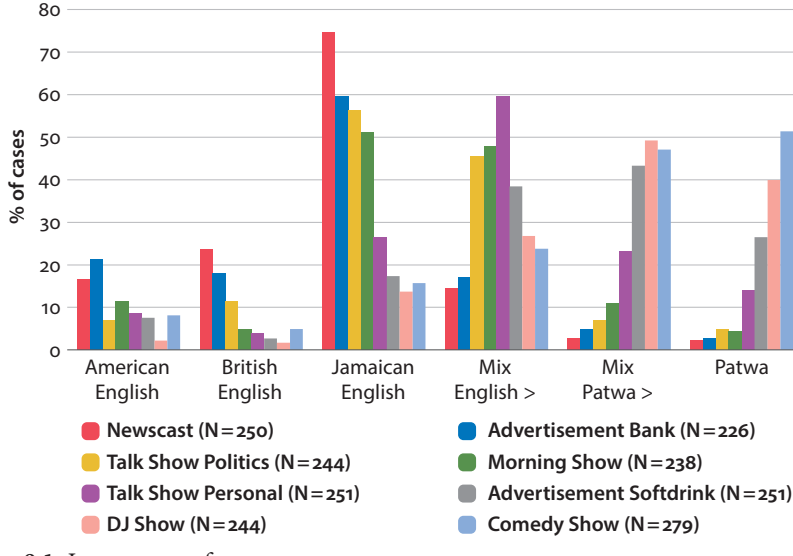

Figure 9.1 Language preference

purposes and are the most informal program type. For newscasts, American, British, and Jamaican English taken together as StE options clearly dominated the students' preference over all Patwa options taken together (StE:JC 214:36); this pattern is reversed for comedy shows (StE:JC 53:226). The students also held opposing language preferences for the two advertisement types in relation to the socioeconomic indexicality of the product being advertised: the informants clearly preferred the StE options for an advertisement for a bank (StE:JC 181:45), i.e. a more 'middle-class product', whereas they strongly opted for the Patwa options in an advertisement for a soft drink (StE:JC 51:200), i.e. a product consumed by all Jamaican demographics. Similarly, the topic of a talk show influenced the students' preferences: for a talk show on politics (StE:JC 138:106) the students preferred StE, while this is reversed for a talk show on personal matters (StE:JC 72:179).

Besides this context-sensitivity of the students' overt language attitudes, the results also show a pronounced loyalty for local varieties: JE, Patwa, and both mixes, were clearly preferred over BE and AE. With regard to the StE options, the students plainly preferred JE over exonormative varieties. In general, BE and AE are niche phenomena bound to newscasts or advertisements for banks but even in these two program types JE is clearly preferred. In contrast, JE and the English dominant mix were accepted in a wide range of programs and generally dominated the students' language preferences. Despite this strong loyalty to local varieties, Patwa is also a niche phenomenon with regard to language preferences: it was almost exclusively bound to informal programs, i.e. DJ and comedy shows.

Although the direct questioning on the students' language preferences shows overall clear tendencies there is also substantial variation with regard to the language attitudes of individual informants. There are students who strictly selected StE options and individual students selected mainly BE, rejecting all Patwa options. There are others who only selected Patwa options. One of these Patwa supporters added in the open comments box that "advertisements for banks in Jamaica should be done in JC as a lot of Jamaicans do not understand or fully comprehend terms used in English such as fixed deposit and interest rate". Most students were more open to linguistic variation and selected several different options. One commented that "for Jamaicans there should always be a little mixture". The analysis of the open comments also shows the students' context-sensitivity when it comes to language. One student added that "Patwa may be used in instances where it is more expressive", while others stated "that when appealing to the populace commercially or similarly professional a standard [English] should be set" and that "the more formal programmes require a stricter language". Another student highlighted that StE is "always good to use in proper communication".

Similar to the extreme positions highlighted by the comments in the language preference part, the students showed mixed support for more JC on Jamaican

radio. When asked whether they would like it if more Patwa were used on the radio, somewhat more than half of the students approved of this idea, whereas the other half rejected it: ninety-eight (53.8%) answered yes and eighty-four (46.2%) chose no. Individual JC supporting students added comments and referred to JC as part of Jamaica's local culture which should be embraced more by the general population, e.g. "I don't think our language is expressed enough; We need to accept patwa as part of our culture; Jamaicans should embrace the language".

Individual JC antagonists explained their rejection in the comment section: one student stated that "[t]oo much Patwa would just not be good" and another added that such a change would not be necessary because "most of the programs on the radio are often Patwa oriented". Others explained that JC only serves specific functions, mainly comic relief, and that there is no need to use more in general, e.g. "I think patwa should be more for comedic purpose". When asked to indicate in which types of programs the students wanted to hear more JC, the Patwa supporters also indicated that their support was strongly bound to specific contexts: only sixteen students indicated that they would like more JC in newscasts. All other options, advertisements, talk shows, DJ shows, and comedy shows, were selected in more than fifty percent of cases (Figure 9.2). However, individual students showed strong support for JC in general by selecting all options and one student added that "Patwa should be used in all spheres".

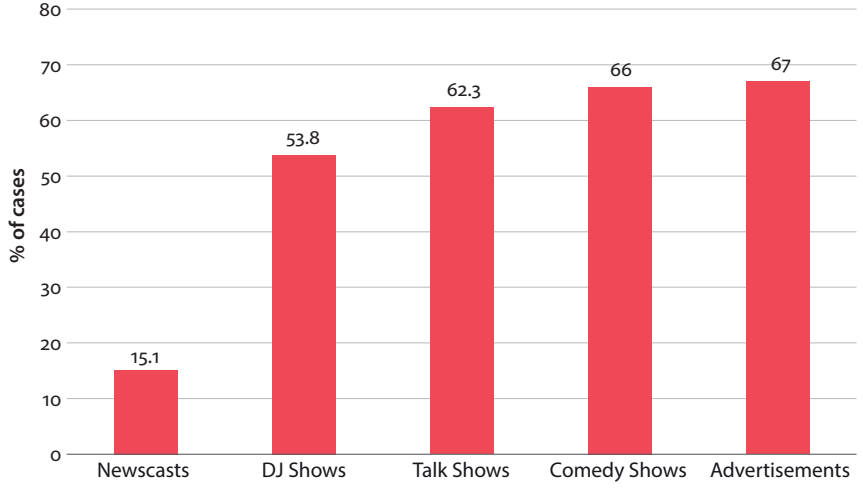

Figure 9.2 More JC on the radio

With regard to British- and American-influenced accents of Jamaican radio announcers, the students held predominantly negative views. When asked how they felt about Jamaicans using a British or American accent on the radio (Figure 9.3), the majority stated that they did not like it. There is only a small minority who

chose the option "I generally like it". However, fairly many students accepted this linguistic practice under the condition that the performance be authentic, while others were rather indifferent toward exonormative-influenced accents selecting the "I don't mind" option. The largely negative views are also reflected in the students' (multi response) evaluations of British- and American-influenced accents when asked to label British-and American-influenced accents with the adjectives articulate, educated, and proper, speaky-spoky, fake, and twanging (Figure 9.4). Both exonormative accent orientations were more associated with the latter three negative adjectives. Many students explained their negative ratings in the open comments by referring to the inauthenticity or unnaturalness of such linguistic performances, e.g. "Not authentic to our culture Not authentic to Jamaica" "It's not natural" "fake – it doesn't come natural". In addition, students again expressed their open loyalty to local linguistic practices: e.g. "Jamaicans should speak Jamaican English not British". Yet, other students stated that they accept these performances if it's an accent the announcers master 'naturally' (e.g. "if it's an accent they have fine but if they puting it on I don't know like, it's fake to me") or if it is used in blatant high performances (Coupland 2007: 146–149), mostly for comic relief (e.g. "I don't mind if it clear that the person is just joking around").

AIE tended to be viewed more negatively. More students chose the "I don't like it option" for AIE, more students accepted an authentic BE performance and were indifferent toward it. Despite the predominantly negative associations of BIE with regard to the adjective labelling task, saliently more students associated the negatively-viewed practice of twanging with an American-influenced accent.

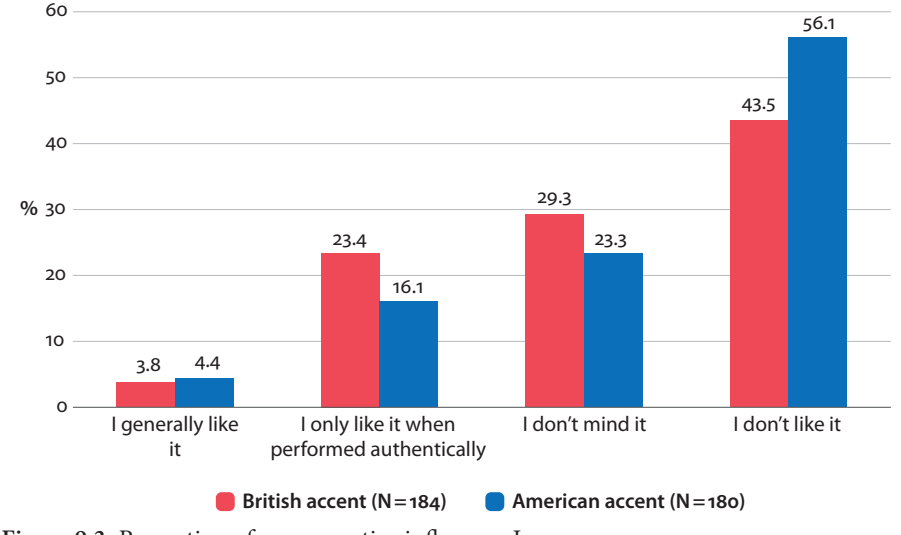

Figure 9.3 Perception of exonormative influences I

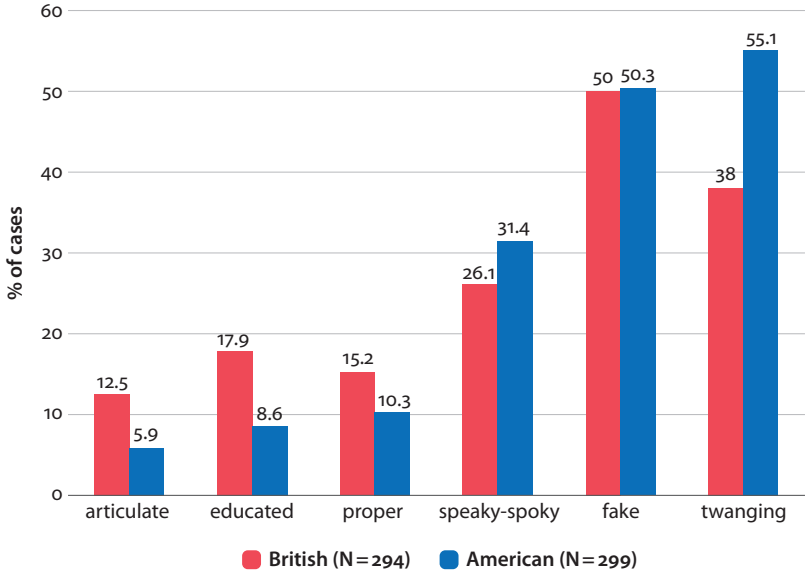

Figure 9.4 Perception of exonormative influences II

All three direct questioning tasks which use variety labels share the same problem: informants understood these variety labels and the different survey options differently. For example, while filling out the language preference task, many students were rather unsure what JE is and individual students asked whether such a variety exists in Jamaica. I always answered that all tasks are about their understanding of these different labels. However, in almost all cases another informant from the group explained the concept of JE as the Jamaican version of StE and the group agreed to this definition. The varying understanding of variety labels was most pronounced for the third direct questioning task on American- and British-influenced accents. Many written and spontaneous oral comments confirmed that the term 'accent' is negatively connoted and associated with non-standard speech among the students. This means that many students associated an exonormative-influenced linguistic performance with American and British vernaculars and not StE. For example, one student commented that "They [i.e. Jamaican radio announcers] should use Standard English".

9.2 Results of variety rating study I – newscasts

The evaluative results of the newscast variety rating study are not categorical but they are marked by subtle yet significant differences with regard to the ratings of the seven newscasters and the three accent varieties, AIE, BIE, and JE. Table 9.2

and Figure 9.5 show the overall results of the newscast variety rating study as mean evaluations and standard deviations for the seven speakers on the twelve rating categories. Mean scores below 3.5 represent negative ratings (e.g. 1: not at all correct, 2: not correct, 3: rather not correct) and those above 3.5 positive ratings (e.g. 4: rather correct, 5: correct, 6: very correct). The results for the negative category "twanging" were recoded to the positive category "not twanging". The categories in Figure 9.5 are sorted according to the preconceived dimensions of standardness (correct, standard, proper), competence (refined, clear, professional, suitable for broadcasting), authenticity (natural, authentic, not twanging), and social attractiveness (modest, pleasant).

Table 9.2 Overview newscast variety rating results

	AIEM	BIEF	BIEM	JEF1	JEF2	JEM1	JEM2
correct	4.87	5.31	4.69	4.51	4.11	4.93	4.39
	(0.84)	(0.81)	(0.87)	(1.02)	(1.07)	(0.87)	(1.01)
natural	4.69	5.05	4.19	4.49	3.72	4.79	4.03
	(0.95)	(1.11)	(1.16)	(1.11)	(1.24)	(0.88)	(1.29)
standard	4.92	5.25	4.64	4.45	4.02	4.88	4.39
	(0.78)	(0.84)	(0.88)	(1.04)	(1.07)	(0.82)	(1.01)
proper	4.85	5.38	4.62	4.47	3.94	4.92	4.33
	(0.86)	(0.72)	(0.89)	(1.07)	(1.04)	(0.84)	(1.05)
authentic	4.70	5.04	4.20	4.30	3.67	4.76	3.97
	(1.05)	(1.12)	(1.13)	(1.28)	(1.23)	(0.96)	(1.25)
refined	4.72	5.37	4.47	4.02	3.52	4.59	3.93
	(1.00)	(0.82)	(0.98)	(1.21)	(1.07)	(1.00)	(1.12)
clear	5.01	5.59	4.83	4.72	3.91	5.22	4.30
	(1.03)	(0.62)	(0.97)	(1.23)	(1.29)	(0.78)	(1.33)
not twanging	5.29	5.38	5.09	5.35	5.15	5.46	5.19
	(0.82)	(0.79)	(0.83)	(0.81)	(0.82)	(0.76)	(0.83)
professional	5.08	5.54	4.76	4.53	3.88	5.04	4.40
	(0.82)	(0.64)	(0.90)	(1.21)	(1.02)	(0.87)	(1.10)
modest	4.81	5.32	4.55	4.29	3.97	4.88	4.16
	(0.91)	(0.83)	(0.98)	(1.19)	(1.01)	(0.87)	(1.15)
pleasant	4.90	5.41	4.48	4.14	3.64	4.83	3.94
	(0.93)	(0.78)	(1.01)	(1.37)	(1.12)	(0.97)	(1.19)
suitable for broadcasting	5.24	5.63	4.72	4.51	3.62	5.13	4.19
	(0.88)	(0.68)	(1.01)	(1.34)	(1.31)	(0.93)	(1.28)

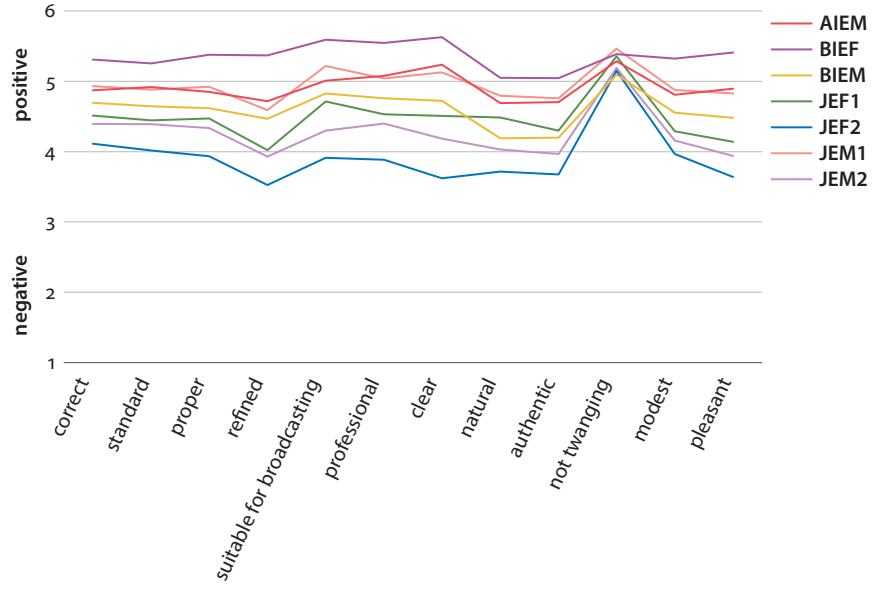

Figure 9.5 Mean evaluations – newscasts

All mean ratings on all twelve categories for all seven speakers are in the positive area. Thus, the language of all newscasters was perceived as proper, standard, refined, and clear and also as natural and authentic. None of them was perceived as twanging, i.e. putting on a foreign and inauthentic accent. Moreover, they all made a professional and modest impression. Their voices were also perceived as pleasant and suitable for broadcasting. Despite these generally positive ratings there were subtle differences in the ratings for the seven speakers on the twelve categories which reach the level of significance.

A two-way repeated measurement ANOVA[1] with speaker (seven levels) and category (twelve levels) shows that the newscast excerpt (i.e. speaker) played to the informants influenced the ratings significantly with a large effect $F(4.7; 333.4) = 38.6$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.35$. The ratings also differ significantly for the twelve rating categories with a large effect $F(6.6; 471.3) = 29.5$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.29$. Furthermore, the analysis of variance shows a significant interaction between speaker and rating category with a small effect $F(24.5; 1737.0) = 5.5$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.07$, i.e., the evaluations along the twelve categories differ significantly for the seven speakers.

1. Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used as Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated for speaker ($\chi^2(20) = 51.6$, $p < 0.001$, $\varepsilon = 0.78$), category ($\chi^2(65) = 273.4$, $p < 0.001$, $\varepsilon = 0.60$) and the interaction between speaker and category ($\chi^2(2210) = 3822.7$, $p < 0.001$, $\varepsilon = 0.37$).

Among the seven newscasters the ratings for the BIEF and JEF2 speakers stand out: except for "not twanging" the former newscaster consistently received the most positive ratings, while the latter was consistently evaluated least positively. These opposing attitudes are also reflected in the open comments: the BIF newscaster received the most positive comments (e.g. "clearest presenter of all", "awesome"), whereas all comments for the JEF2 speaker were negative (e.g. "she sounds nervous & short of breath"). The JEM1 speaker sticks out as the most positively evaluated JE speaker: all other JE speakers were almost consistently rated less positively than the three newscasters with exonormative-influenced accents. These differences between the seven newscasters vary with regard to the different rating categories. For example, in terms of "not twanging" there are the least differences in the evaluations (range: 0.37): all speakers were evaluated very positively, i.e. all mean scores lie between five and six.

Nevertheless, there are significant differences between the seven speakers, though with a very small effect $F(5.4; 871.1) = 6.1$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.04$.[2] Pairwise comparison shows that the most positively evaluated speaker for "not twanging", JEM1, differs significantly from the JEM2, JEF2, and BIEM speakers. Moreover, the second most positively evaluated speaker, BIEF, differs significantly from the least positively evaluated speaker, BIEM. Although all mean scores for "not twanging" are in the very positive area, individual students judged the three exonormative-influenced newscasters, mostly the BIEM speaker, maximally negatively for "twanging" and added in the comments section that the BIEM's language use is not natural (e.g. "the presenter had an accent"). In contrast to the homogenous results for "not twanging" the category "refined" shows the most salient differences in the ratings between the seven speakers (range: 1.85) with a large effect size $F(5.1; 798.8) = 71.6$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.31$.[3] Pairwise comparison shows four groups: BIEF was rated significantly more positively and the JEF2 speaker significantly less positively than all other speakers. The second best evaluated group (AIEM, JEM1, and BIEM) was also rated significantly more positively than the JEF1 and JEM2 newscasters.

The factor analysis demonstrates a homogenous structure of the newscast data as only one factor was extracted. All categories except for "not twanging" load onto this single factor which has an eigenvalue of 7.3 and explains 60.9% of the variance, with a loading above 0.5. Table 9.3 shows the loadings of the categories sorted by size – the higher the loading, the more central the category is to the factor.

2. Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used as Mauchly's Test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated ($\chi^2(20) = 61.6$, $p < 0.001$, $\varepsilon = 0.90$).

3. Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used as Mauchly's Test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated ($\chi^2(20) = 81.7$, $p < 0.001$, $\varepsilon = 0.85$).

The single factor combines categories of standardness (correct, proper, standard), competence (refined, suitable for broadcasting, clear, professional), social attractiveness (modest, pleasant), and authenticity (authentic, natural). As the loading of "twanging" is below 0.5 and also shows very little variability, this category is excluded from the factor. Categories of standardness and competence are more central to the factor than categories of social attractiveness and authenticity. This superior factor is labelled 'reliability', as this trait comprises all eleven categories. Reliability is a key characteristic of a newscaster, who functions as the authentic and competent voice of authority on current events for the audiences (McKay 2011: 405–406): to be perceived as reliable by the audiences, a newscaster needs to sound standard and competent, as well as socially attractive and authentic. In order to identify evaluative differences between the seven speakers and subsequently between the three accent varieties AIE, BIE, and JE on the reliability dimension, the new variable reliability was calculated for every informant as a mean score from the ratings of the eleven categories.

Table 9.3 Factor analysis newscasts – component matrix

Items	Loadings for factor 1
proper	0.860
professional	0.847
suitable for broadcasting	0.836
standard	0.828
refined	0.804
correct	0.802
pleasant	0.802
modest	0.793
clear	0.787
authentic	0.759
natural	0.756
not twanging	0.368

With regard to the general dimension of reliability all newscasters were evaluated positively: the reliability mean values range from 3.82 to 5.35. Hence, the students perceived all newscasters as projecting a reliable newscaster personality through their language use. A repeated measurement ANOVA with reliability as the dependent variable and speaker (seven levels) as the predictor variable shows that the subtle differences in the ratings reach the level of significance with a large effect

$F(4.7; 860.3) = 113.5$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.38$.[4] Pairwise comparison of the seven newscasters shows a complex picture with fine-grained but significant differences in the reliability ratings. Table 9.4 shows the mean values and standard deviations for the reliability ratings. Dotted lines between the newscasters indicate that the differences in the ratings are significant according to pairwise comparison. The BIEF newscaster was rated significantly more positively and the JEF2 newscaster significantly less positively than all other newscasters. The JEF1 and JEM2 newscasters form the second least positively evaluated group. From the JE group the JEM1 speaker sticks out because he and the AIEM speaker they are the second most positively evaluated group. The BIEM newscaster was rated significantly less positively than the AIEM and JEM1 speaker but significantly more positively than the three other JE newscasters.

Table 9.4 Reliability ratings – speaker

Newscaster	Reliability
BIEF	5.35
	(0.64)
JEM1	4.91
	(0.66)
AIEM	4.88
	(0.67)
BIEM	4.57
	(0.74)
JEF1	4.41
	(0.92)
JEM2	4.19
	(0.89)
JEF2	3.82
	(0.87)

In order to identify more general differences in the reliability ratings with regard to accent variety (independent of the individual speakers), a reduced model which groups the seven newscasters into the three accent varieties, AIE (AIEM), BIE (BIEF, BIEM), and JE (JEF1, JEF2, JEM1, JEM2) was analyzed. Table 9.5 shows the mean reliability ratings for the three accent varieties: they are all in the positive area. Thus, all three accent varieties conveyed a reliability newscaster personality to the audiences. ANOVA with reliability as dependent variable and accent variety

4. Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used as Mauchly's Test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated ($\chi^2(20) = 133.7$, $p < 0.001$, $\varepsilon = 0.78$).

as predictor variable (three levels) shows that there are significant differences in the ratings with regard to accent variety with a moderate effect $F(2, 545.3) = 82.9$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.11$.[5] Pairwise comparison of the three accent varieties with Games-Howell correction[6] shows that the BIE and AIE groups were rated significantly more positively than the JE group, while there are no significant differences between the two exonormative-influenced accents.

Table 9.5 Reliability ratings – accent variety

Accent variety	Reliability	N
BIE	4.97	374
	(0.80)	
AIE	4.89	187
	(0.67)	
JE	4.34	744
	(0.93)	

Accent variety significantly affects the evaluative ratings but the complex evaluative distribution of the seven newscasters cannot be fully understood by grouping the seven speakers into three accent groups. On the one hand, there is also salient interaction between accent (defined on a segmental level) and several other parameters and, on the other hand, the accent variety groups are not homogenous. With regard to the BIE group, the female speaker's accent is more strongly marked by RP features than the accent of the male speaker: in the excerpt her accent is more consistently non-rhotic, she uses an alveolar tap [ɾ] for two /r/ tokens and has a saliently more backed and raised LOT vowel. The JE accent group is even more heterogeneous: the four JE newscasters vary with regard to the marking by JE features partly shared with JC. The newscaster with the most strongly marked JE accent, JEF2, was rated significantly less positively than all other speakers, which are more variable in their JE marking. Yet, JEM1 was evaluated most positively for reliability although his accent is more strongly marked for JE with regard to voiced *TH*-stopping than the JEF1 and JEM2 speakers' accents. Thus, JE marking is only one factor which explains the variation in the ratings between the four JE speakers. The JEM1 excerpt sticks out from all seven excerpts due to the agricultural topic and its presentation. The content of this news story is less complex and easier to process by the listeners.

5. As Levene's test showed that the homogeneity of variance assumption had been violated ($F(2, 1302) = 18.0$, $p < 0.001$) Welch's F was used.

6. Games-Howell correction was used due to unequal sample sizes (Field 2009: 374).

In addition to content and segmental variation, there is salient suprasegmental variation: the newscasters differ with regard to their speech rate and more saliently with regard to the ratio of pauses. The more fluently speaking newscasters, BIEF, JEM1, and AIEM, were evaluated somewhat more positively than the slower reading newscasters. For the ratio of pauses, no clear pattern with regard to reliability is observable: for example, the most and least positively evaluated newscasters, BIEF and JEF2, have the highest ratios of pauses. Apart from speech rate, no other suprasegmental features were analyzed for the seven newscast excerpts but judging from the open comments, the (perceived) voice quality of the newscasters affected the reliability ratings. All open comments for the JEF2 speaker were negative: informants described her voice as "murky" or "too heavy", noted that she sounds nervous, and remarked that her breathing was too pronounced. Apart from the JEM1 newscaster, who one student described to a have a "distinct, lucid tone", most comments for the JE newscasters were negative: informants stated that the JEF1 newscaster sounds insecure, untrained or not ready for broadcasting due to her "poor voice". The JEM2 speaker's voice was described as "coarse" and one student noted that "the newscaster sounds mumbling". In contrast, the BIEF and AIEM newscasters' voices and tones were described as very clear.

Apart from these segmental and surpasegmental accent features the order in which the recordings were played to the informants had a significant effect on the reliability ratings. MANOVA shows a significant effect of order on reliability ratings with a large effect size $F(7, 177) = 16.8$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.40$, Pillai's Trace = 0.40.[7] When the effect of order on the seven newscast excerpts was considered separately, three differences in the reliability ratings between order one and two reached the level of significance: AIE: $F(1, 183) = 8.7$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.05$; JEF1: $F(1, 183) = 48.5$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.21$; JEM2: $F(1, 183) = 30.0$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.141$. Additionally, the differences in the ratings for the JEM1 speaker almost reach the level of significance: JEM1 $F(7, 183) = 2.5$, $p = 0.11$, $\eta^2_p = 0.01$.

Whenever any of these four excerpts were played to the informants in the two initial positions, the informants rated them saliently more positively (Table 9.6). These initial recordings establish the basis of comparison for the following excerpts. However, for the initial excerpts themselves, the basis of comparison is not set by the experiment. Hence, the students had to draw on their own understanding of StE as they were told that they would listen to newscasters. Irvine (2004: 69) reports that many of her own students define StE or "good English" negatively in contrast to JC. Therefore, it seems that the students in this experiment perceived the first two excerpts first of all as non-Creole and hence evaluated them

7. Pillai's Trace was used due to unequal group sizes (Field 2009: 604–605).

positively with regard to categories of standardness and competence regardless of the accent of StE.

Table 9.6 Reliability ratings – order

Newscaster	Order	Position	Mean reliability (STH)	N
AIE	1	4	4.77 (0.69)	117
	2	2	5.07 (0.61)	68
JEF1	1	1	4.73 (0.68)	117
	2	4	3.86 (1.02)	68
JEM1	1	2	4.97 (0.58)	117
	2	5	4.81 (0.78)	68
JEM2	1	7	3.93 (0.89)	117
	2	1	4.63 (0.72)	68

Gender of the newscaster does not have a systematic effect on the reliability ratings. However, gender of the informants overall has a significant effect on the ratings. MANOVA shows that female students generally rated the recordings significantly more positively (0.20 rating points) than males with a moderate effect size $F(7, 177) = 3.9$, $p = 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.13$, Pillai's Trace = 0.13.[8] The mean reliability rating for all newscasters by male informants ($N = 48$) is 4.44 (STD 0.07) and by female informants ($N = 137$) 4.62 (STD 0.04). The effect of informant gender on the seven newscast excerpts was checked separately to identify whether there are specific gender effects such as 'gender loyalty', i.e. informants rate newscasters of the same gender significantly higher. From all newscasts three differences in the reliability ratings reached the level of significance but no clear pattern emerged which would help to explain the variation in the reliability ratings.

Due to the design of the experiment the seven newscast excerpts differ with regard to more aspects than just their accent variety. The analysis shows that accent variety has a significant effect on the reliability ratings but the variability in the reliability ratings for the seven newscast speakers can only be understood as an interaction of accent variety with suprasegmental variation, content, order, and other possible factors not taken into account in this analysis.

8. Pillai's Trace was used due to unequal group sizes (Field 2009: 604–605).

9.3 Results of variety rating study II – talk shows

The results of the talk show variety rating study show that the Jamaican students hold multifaceted attitudes toward linguistic variation between JE and JC as reflected by the four stimuli. Table 9.7 and Figure 9.6 demonstrate the overall results of evaluative ratings as mean evaluations and standard deviations for the four speakers on the twelve rating categories. Mean scores below 3.5 represent negative ratings (e.g. 1: not at all correct, 2: not correct, 3: rather not correct) and those above 3.5 positive ratings (e.g. 4: rather correct, 5: correct, 6: very correct). The ratings of the more negatively associated category "feisty" were recoded to "not feisty". The categories in Figure 9.6 are sorted according to the preconceived dimensions of standardness (correct, proper), competence (formal, suitable for broadcasting), authenticity (natural, authentic), social attractiveness (pleasant), entertainment (entertaining, humorous), and expressiveness (emotional, expressive, not feisty).

Table 9.7 Overview talk show variety rating results

	JE	JE=JC	JE>JC	JC>JE
correct	3.89	3.73	4.22	2.79
	(1.12)	(1.39)	(1.14)	(1.38)
entertaining	2.78	4.02	3.15	3.51
	(1.24)	(1.29)	(1.36)	(1.76)
proper	3.78	3.62	4.04	2.52
	(1.14)	(1.26)	(1.09)	(1.21)
authentic	4.10	4.30	4.50	4.07
	(1.14)	(1.27)	(1.06)	(1.47)
emotional	3.29	3.64	3.94	3.78
	(1.40)	(1.44)	(1.41)	(1.70)
natural	4.29	4.58	4.75	4.48
	(1.11)	(1.23)	(0.98)	(1.46)
humorous	2.29	3.85	2.61	3.73
	(1.20)	(1.54)	(1.40)	(1.74)
formal	3.45	3.14	3.77	2.00
	(1.34)	(1.29)	(1.32)	(1.08)
expressive	3.93	4.48	4.41	4.69
	(1.37)	(1.23)	(1.29)	(1.45)
not feisty	5.08	4.96	5.02	5.03
	(0.84)	(0.85)	(0.83)	(0.86)
pleasant	3.49	4.15	3.86	2.42
	(1.15)	(1.23)	(1.26)	(1.23)
suitable for broadcasting	3.84	4.24	4.28	2.73
	(1.14)	(1.29)	(1.15)	(1.42)

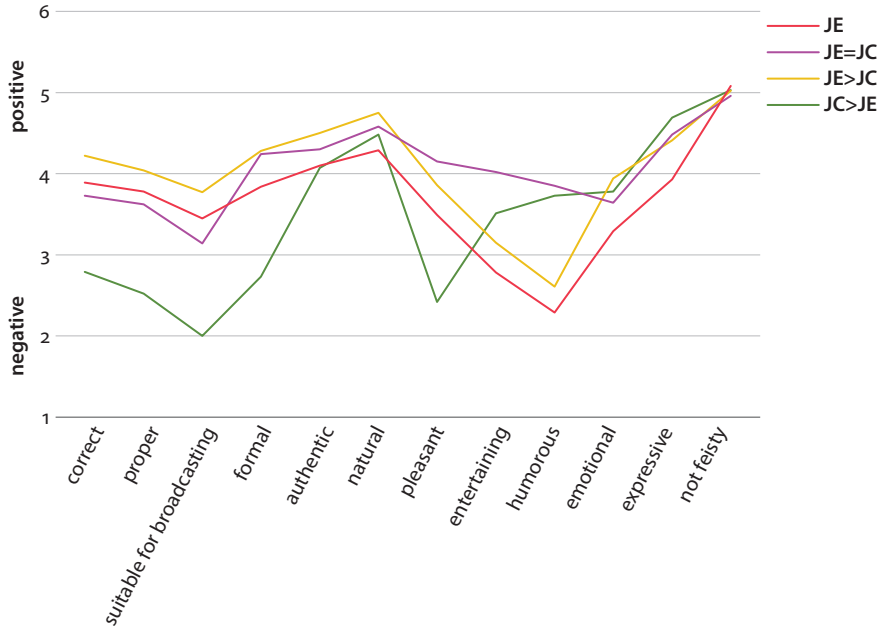

Figure 9.6 Mean evaluations – talk shows

The evaluative results are very diverse and vary saliently between negative and positive ratings with regard to the four hosts and the twelve rating categories. A two-way repeated measurement ANOVA with speaker (four levels) and category (twelve levels) shows that ratings differ significantly for the four talk show excerpts (i.e. speaker) with a moderate effect $F(2.7; 298.3) = 17.7$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.14$.[9] The differences in the ratings between the twelve rating categories reach the level of significance with a large effect $F(6.2; 676.8) = 90.615$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.45$. The ANOVA also shows a significant interaction between speaker and rating category with a moderate effect $F(18.3; 1990.6) = 34.4.5$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.24$, i.e., the evaluations along the twelve categories differ significantly for the four speakers.

The evaluative profiles of the four talk show hosts diverge saliently. The JE=JC host has the most positive and the most even evaluative profile: the overall mean score for all categories is 4.06 (STD 0.82) and the ratings encompass a range of 1.82 rating points (formal 3.14; not feisty 4.96). Most evaluations across all preconceived dimensions are in the (rather) positive area between 3.50 and 4.50. Thus, the host's language use and personality is perceived as standard, authentic,

9. Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used as Mauchly's test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated for speaker ($\chi^2(5) = 17.7$, $p = 0.003$, $\varepsilon = 0.91$), category ($\chi^2(65) = 375.6$, $p < 0.001$, $\varepsilon = 0.56$) and the interaction between speaker and category ($\chi^2(560) = 1159.4$, $p < 0.001$, $\varepsilon = 0.55$).

socially attractive, entertaining, and expressive. The students rated him as the most pleasant, entertaining, and humorous host. The JC>JE host has the overall most negative (overall mean 3.49; STD 0.84) and heterogeneous evaluative profile (range 3.03; formal 2.00; not feisty: 5.03). The students rated him most negatively of all four hosts on categories of standardness and for "pleasant". However, the evaluations are positive for categories of authenticity, entertainment, and expressiveness. His language use was even perceived as the most expressive. The JE>JC and JE hosts have fairly similar evaluative profiles. Yet, the JE>JC host was generally rated more positively (overall mean 4.04; STD 0.72) than the JE host (overall mean 3.68; STD 0.67). Both evaluative profiles vary substantially along the twelve categories: the rating range of the JE host encompasses 2.79 points (humorous 2.29; not feisty 5.08) and that of the JE>JC host 2.41 points (humorous 2.61; not feisty 5.02). Both hosts were evaluated positively on categories of standardness, authenticity, and social attractiveness. The JE>JC host was rated most positively of all four hosts on categories of these three dimensions. However, both hosts were downrated on categories of entertainment and for "humorous". The JE host was evaluated most negatively for "entertaining", "humorous", and "emotional" as well as least positively for "expressive". In contrast, the JE>JC host was evaluated positively for all categories of expressiveness – her language use was even perceived as the most emotional.

The evaluative ratings also vary significantly with regard to the different rating categories. The category "not feisty" shows the least differences in the ratings with a range of 0.12 rating points. A repeated measurement ANOVA for "feisty" shows that there are no significant differences in the ratings for the four speakers $F(3; 522) = 0.8$, $p = 0.512$.[10] Although "feisty" was used to describe the personalities of the talk show hosts in the qualitative pre-test this category turned out to be not applicable well to the variety rating study using monologic talk show passages. Feistiness as an aggressive or rude type of assertive conversational behavior is better observable in longer dialogic stretches of discourse. One informant recognized the JE>JC host and stated that she can be feisty in certain arguments but not in this monologue. In contrast, the differences in the ratings for the four speakers with regard to the categories "formal" (range 1.77, $F(2.7; 469.8) = 91.3$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.35$), "suitable for broadcasting" (range 1.55, $F(3; 486) = 75.3$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.32$), "pleasant" (range 1.73, $F(3; 507) = 77.2$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.31$), and "humorous" (range 1.56, $F(2.7; 431.5) = 67.5$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.29$) all show a wide distribution of evaluations which reach the level of significance with a large effect

10. Mauchly's Test indicates that the assumption of sphericity has been verified ($\chi^2(5) = 6.1$, $p = 0.30$).

size.[11] Furthermore, the mean ratings of speakers along the categories "authentic", "natural", and "expressive" are all in the positive area, while the ratings of speakers along the categories "formal", "entertaining", and "humorous" are less positive/more negative.

The category "not feisty" was excluded from the factor analysis as this category does not apply well to monologic talk show excerpts. The factor analysis demonstrates that the remaining eleven categories bundle together to two factors. Table 9.8 shows the loadings of the categories onto the two factors sorted by size. Loadings below 0.3 were excluded from the table. The first factor is more dominant as it has a larger eigenvalue (4.5) than the second factor and explains a larger percentage of the variance (41.0%). It combines categories of standardness (proper, correct), competence (suitable for broadcasting, formal), and social attractiveness (pleasant). The categories of standardness are somewhat more important than the other categories loading onto the factor. The categories of authenticity, "authentic" and "natural", also load onto the factor. Yet, these two categories were excluded from the first factor because their loadings are below 0.5, whereas they load more strongly onto the second factor. This first factor is labelled 'on-air prestige' – in the sense of contextualized prestige which radio hosts portray and thus convey to their audiences. The language use of radio hosts who represent on-air prestige is characterized by (contextualized talk show) standardness (proper, correct), competence (suitable for broadcasting, formal), and social attractiveness (pleasant). The second factor has an eigenvalue of 2.3 and explains 21.1% of variance. It comprises categories of expressiveness (expressive, emotional), entertainment (humorous, entertaining), and authenticity (natural, authentic) with categories from the former two areas being more central to the factor. Based on this bundling of categories the second factor is labelled 'liveliness', which is a main characteristic of talk shows. Talk show hosts who are perceived as lively use language in an entertaining, expressive, and authentic way. To identify differences in the students' evaluations between the four talk show excerpts with regard to on-air prestige and liveliness two new variables were calculated for every informant as mean scores from the ratings of the categories which load onto the respective factor.

The results show that there is a clear gradation of the four talk shows with regard to on-air prestige (Table 9.9). The JE>JC host was rated positively, while the JC>JE host was rated negatively with regard to on-air prestige. The ratings for the JE=JC and JE hosts are in a rather positive area. A repeated measurement ANOVA

11. Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used as Mauchly's Test inidicated that the assumption of sphercitiy had been violated for "formal" ($\chi^2(5) = 30.4$, p>0.001, $\varepsilon = 0.91$) and "humorous" ($\chi^2(5) = 26.4$, $p < 0.001$, $\varepsilon = 0.92$). Sphericity was assumed for "suitable for broadcasting" ($\chi^2(5) = 5.5$, $p = 0.36$) and "pleasant" ($\chi^2(5) = 3.2$, $p = 0.66$).

Table 9.8 Factor analysis talk shows – rotated component matrix

	Loadings factor 1	Loadings factor 2
proper	0.872	
correct	0.823	
suitable for broadcasting	0.808	
formal	0.793	
pleasant	0.730	
expressive		0.768
humorous		0.765
emotional		0.739
entertaining		0.734
natural	0.343	0.649
authentic	0.499	0.558

with on-air prestige as the dependent variable and speaker (four levels) as the predictor variable shows that these differences reach the level of significance with a large effect size $F(2.8; 524.1) = 148.4$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.45$.[12] Pairwise comparison of the on-air prestige ratings for the four speakers shows that the JE>JC host was rated significantly more positively than all other three hosts and the JC>JE host significantly more negatively. The JE=JC and JE host form one distinct mid-group.

The analysis of the liveliness ratings shows a very different ordering of the four talk show excerpts (Table 9.9). The students rated both the JE=JC and the JC>JE host positively, the JE>JC host neutrally, and the JE host negatively. Repeated measurement ANOVA with liveliness ratings as the dependent variable and speaker (four levels) as the predictor variable shows that there are significant differences in the student's liveliness ratings between the four hosts $F(2.8; 461.2) = 40.8$, $p < 0.001$, $\eta^2_p = 0.18$.[13] Pairwise comparison with Bonferroni correction shows that the JE=JC host was rated significantly more positively than all other three hosts for liveliness. The host evaluated second best was rated significantly less positively than the JE=JC host but significantly more positively than the JE>JC and JE hosts, who form a distinct third group.

In contrast to newscasts the results show that the students operate with distinct evaluative dimensions to judge the four talk shows. Furthermore, they

12. Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used as Mauchly's Test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated ($\chi^2(5) = 15.5$, $p = 0.008$, $\varepsilon = 0.95$).

13. Greenhouse-Geisser correction was used as Mauchly's Test indicated that the assumption of sphericity had been violated ($\chi^2(5) = 17.8$, $p = 0.003$, $\varepsilon = 0.94$).

Table 9.9 On-air prestige and liveliness ratings

Talk show host	On-air prestige	Talk show host	Liveliness
JE>JC	4.03 (0.94)	JE=JC	4.00 (1.12)
JE=JC	3.77 (1.02)	JC>JE	3.92 (1.30)
JE	3.69 (0.94)	JE>JC	3.52 (1.03)
JC>JE	2.49 (0.93)	JE	3.06 (0.90)

perceive the talk shows very differently along these two dimensions: a talk show host who projects liveliness such as the JC>JE host is not necessarily perceived positively with regard to on-air prestige and vice versa, such as the JE host. These two-dimensional evaluations are also reflected in the open comments, most notably for the JC>JE host: while many students added that they perceived the excerpt as entertaining and funny (e.g. "makes very entertaining radio", "real funny", "lol"), equally as many students commented negatively with regard to prestige (e.g. "rude", "unclear", "don't understand"). The differing level of creoleness in the four excerpts is a salient explanatory factor for the ratings along the two divergent dimensions: too much marking for JC in a host's language was not perceived as prestigious but students accepted and even valued a certain degree of JC marking on the level of on-air prestige. However, JC marking is necessary to project a lively host personality according to the evaluative ratings. In general, linguistic versatility, i.e. competence in both StE and JC, is valued by the informants. The JE=JC host, who switches most drastically between StE and JC, is rated positively on both dimensions. Although the level of creoleness and linguistic versatility are important factors for the ratings, content and voice quality also differ for the four excerpts and may have influenced the ratings. The JE excerpt has the most formal context, i.e. market regulations, of the four excerpts and thus the host's performance was perceived as less lively. One student commented that she thought the topic was interesting and thus the presentation of it was entertaining to her but she felt that most other students would not feel the same way. Many students commented on the deep voice of the JC>JE host and noted that such a voice was not clear or suitable for broadcasting, even sounding rude, but many students also felt the voice sounds very entertaining and expressive. From the comments it becomes clear that the students very consciously rated these excerpts in the specific context of Jamaican talk shows: many students commented that the language of a specific host was suitable for a talk show setting but not a different genre or outside

of Jamaica. Furthermore, it seems that the students evaluated the four talk show hosts with differing reference varieties in mind. Based on the negative comments on incorrect English use by the JE host, whose language use is actually closest to formal StE, (e.g. "boring presenter who need to refine his English"), it seems that the students rated the language of the JE host in comparison to StE. As no student commented on incorrect language use of the JC>JE host, whose language use is very distinct from StE, the informants seemed to use a different linguistic reference for this host. Hence, the evaluative results for the talk show variety rating study show on more than one level that the students' attitudes toward linguistic variation between English and JC are multifaceted.

9.4 Results of folk-linguistic interviews

The analysis of the metalinguistic interviews shows that the informants hold definite language attitudes toward the roles of JC and English on the radio but more complex ones toward different accents of and norms for StE. The informants have a strong awareness of when the use of JC and English is appropriate on the radio or not. This means that the language attitudes of the informants toward linguistic variation on Jamaican radio are strongly context bound.

Although almost all informants supported the idea of more JC on the radio, they added that the appropriateness of JC on the radio depends on the type of program. The follow-up question whether the informants could imagine a newscast in Patwa triggered the most emotionally loaded reactions of all issues discussed in the interviews. The majority of informants perceived the use of JC in newscasts by a newsreader as highly inappropriate. They stated that it is impossible to explain complex news events and background information in JC with sufficient precision. They explained that newsreading has to be done in StE because it is a serious, formal, and official context which requires the use of English, often referring to the official status of English in Jamaica. Furthermore, the informants stated that many listeners, Jamaicans and non-Jamaicans, would not be able to understand news in JC. The interviewees showed a strong outward orientation with regard to the language of news as they frequently referred to the many visitors to Jamaica, non-Jamaicans living on the island, and an international audience when discussing the issue of intelligibility of newsreading. One informant explained that using StE in Jamaican newscasts and other genres potentially reaches a global audience and thus connects Jamaica to other countries and people, while JC does not have this international potential. Excerpts (9.1) to (9.4) illustrate the most common negative reactions to the proposition of a newscast in JC.

(9.1) <$F1><#>No no that that that that that that don't sound right no <#>No that sound no <&>laughter</&> <#>No that would just sound wrong it would just sound wrong
<$M1><#>No no that's terrible that's terrible […]
<$F1><#>No people can understand the news in English <#>News like everybody hear worldwide it is broadcast all over the world <#>Basically it's not possible to reach an international audience when you have the mixture

(9.2) <$M11_1><#>Whether you can relate a newscast in Patwa
<$M11_2><#>It it probably minus from it though as in Patwa kind of […] semi-formal but the newscast you know is serious business it you know you want to know about news you know <#>The Patwa kind of with a minus from certain things like how you a say it <#>It probably not as def definite you know like like you you can't get across certain things using the Patwa when formal it it kind of universal

(9.3) <$M7><#>Because for the news you want it to be standard so everybody can understand it <#>If you put it in Patwa you have some people that you have to listen listening really carefully to hear what they what the announcer is saying if you put it in Standard English now everybody kind of understanding easily and get what the news is saying

(9.4) <$M29><#>No no no <#>News haffi speak inna English <#>Properly English properly English <#>Jamaica is a English-speaking country <#>It na sound good <#>It na sound good

Then again, many student and non-student informants also supported the idea of newscasts in JC with the aim to enhance the intelligibility of newscasts for monolingual basilectal speakers of JC and hence the information flow to this Jamaican demographic. Many students who spontaneously took an antagonistic stance toward news in JC then agreed in the ensuing discussion that rural Jamaicans with a lower socioeconomic status could profit from a bilingual approach to newscasting. Individual non-student informants admitted that they would understand a newscast in JC more easily but mostly referred to Jamaicans in general. Some informants also stated that they would enjoy "Patwa-news" (Excerpt (9.5)).

(9.5) <$M23><#>Ah that [news in JC] would be great that would be great even for one day <#>I think the majority of Jamaica would understand that news much better […] <#>He he's [the newscaster] talking a language and uhm uhm you know a word that has fifteen letters a little Jamaican man they can't understand what the hell is this word so if you break it down into Patwa you know like come here or weh you a go they would understand much easier you know

Two individual informants, one male student and one older female from Portland, showed especially strong open support for JC being used in formal contexts. Both

stressed the usefulness of Jamaican radio broadcasting in StE and did not wish for a replacement of English by JC but advocated a bilingual approach to newscasts, for example broadcasting a JC version after an English newscast. They criticized that JC is kept in its place by being barred from serious and official contexts and stated that a bilingual approach to broadcasting could help to deconstruct the negative socioeconomic connotations which JC still carries. The female informant explained that bilingual newscasts could help the listeners understand the news better and consequently learn StE more efficiently through radio. They both saw bilingual broadcasting as a way to help to unite different linguistic demographics of Jamaican society. Excerpt (9.6) demonstrates this JC supportive stance:

(9.6) <$M13><#>I would would love if Patwa was the first language on the radio in Jamaica because one it helps really break down certain stereotypes that exist of the language outside of Jamaica […] <#>Now I think if we want to change certain connotations about Jamaican language you know and how people view Patwa in certain arenas and certain socioeconomic echelons of society we need fi speak more Patwa <#>Patwa fi even deh pon the news prime time you know <#>We can use we English the Standard version of English you know but Patwa should be put in exactly the same manner that the Standard English is use

In less serious and official or more dialogic and informal contexts the informants generally appreciated the use of JC. Only very few informants stated that they wished for less JC on the radio in general as they perceived it as rude or inappropriate for the public domain of mass media. The vast majority of informants, students and non-students, valued the use of JC with regard to its solidarity quality. The informants expressed support for more JC on the radio as its use establishes a stronger emotional connection between announcers and listeners. The informants often used the term "our language" to talk about JC. They explained that JC is a unique cultural aspect of Jamaica and also an important part of their Jamaican identity. In Excerpt (9.7) one informant highlights the high solidarity and Jamaican identity value of JC in her explanation why IRIE FM is her favorite radio station.

(9.7) <$F18><#>IRIE FM speaks more to the culture of Jamaica than most radio stations […] <#>It really reaches a wide range of people in the island and internationally […] <#>I think the people are more comfortable with IRIE FM because again it speaks to them who they are with their culture <#>If you're at home and and you listen to a radio station and you hear people speaking in Patwa it makes you comfortable you like that because it's a big part of your culture in a country where we were formerly ruled by the British <#>It's always like you're supposed to speak proper English and that makes you someone like who's educated <#>So for someone who likes to speak in Patwa like myself to listen to a radio station and hear the announcers speaking in Patwa is really it's

it's a good thing […] <#>Patwa is a way to give us identity <#>It identifies us in a way that English does not

Most informants also appreciated JC on the radio for its entertainment value. Many students also felt that JC is deliberately used by the radio stations to appeal to the audience – especially Jamaicans of lower socioeconomic and educational status, who the students perceived as having low levels of competence in English (Excerpt 9.8). Furthermore, students explained that JC is also used to achieve more effective communication with this demographic. Many felt that an effective communication with all listeners was crucial for programs where important issues of interest for all Jamaicans, such as local politics, are discussed. Some non-student informants verified this perspective stating that they enjoy the use of JC on the radio and also have an easier time understanding complex issues discussed in JC (Excerpt 9.9).

(9.8) <$M13><#>It's like a strategy you know what me a say <#>The Patwa is is used in the context of appealing to a a socio mass listen me a se a certain kind of lower class that's what the Patwa is used to appeal to the lower class

(9.9) <$F27><#>I'd rather to hear the Patwa mostly because I'm used to the Patwa <#>Because most of the time they use some big language which we don't understand <#>Some a the time when them use the Patwa we get a better understanding

Informants from both groups in general valued linguistic versatility in radio presenters. Many informants named moderators who frequently switch between English and JC as their favorite hosts, such as Barbara Gloudon. They explained that linguistically skilled and thus successful radio hosts need to be able to "talk to the people in their language" and thus convey solidarity to the Jamaican listeners as well as use proper English or "talk intelligent" in order to show competence on the air. From the informants' perspective hosts also need to know when the use of JC or English is appropriate or not. Thus, the informants value JC on the radio but this appreciation is bound to certain contexts. Experts (9.10) and (9.11) illustrate these mixed and context-sensitive attitudes toward JC on the radio:

(9.10) <$F8><#>I think it's OK [to use JC on the radio] <#>It's just you should know when to code-switch yeah <#>And you shouldn't overuse it <#>But it's it's in our culture so I don't see anything wrong with it

(9.11) <$M7><#>Nothing is wrong with Patwa is just where you use it and how you use it

Apart from individual divergent stances there is relatively clear agreement among the informants with regard to the roles of English and JC on the radio. In contrast,

the informants' attitudes toward what counts as the standard for radio are more multifaceted. The discussion of standards was set in the context of newscasts as this genre is an epitome for a standard language context. The majority of informants agreed that English is the most appropriate variety for Jamaican radio newscasts and then often added that by English they meant StE. When I asked the informants for a definition of what StE meant to them they often defined it negatively in contrast to JC. The answers to the subsequent question whether they had a specific variety in mind for StE can be grouped into three response patterns (Excerpts 9.12 to 9.14): many informants answered that any StE is fine as long as it is "correct" or "proper". They often named BE or AE as reference varieties. A second group of informants answered that for them StE in Jamaica still means BE or the Queen's English. They explained the importance of BE in Jamaica by referring to the island's colonial past, the long lasting effects of British culture on Jamaica, and currently still remaining cultural and political ties. Thirdly, only students named JE as the reference variety for StE in Jamaica and some also specifically used the term "Standard Jamaican English". Although some informants named AE as a possible reference variety among others in general the informants viewed the influence of AE on Jamaican radio negatively (Excerpt 9.15). Many informants stated due the close proximity, US media availability, and US economic power, that they felt a strong cultural and also linguistic influence of the USA on Jamaica. They tended to perceive this US influence as a threat to Jamaican linguistic and cultural autonomy.

(9.12) <$M16><#>British English or American English <#>I don't think it really matters I just want it to be Standard <#>I just want it to be English some Standard English Standard American or Standard British

(9.13) <$F8–1><#>The Queen's English <&>interviewee is unsure and pauses</&> <$F8–2><#>Yes I think so the Queen's English because it's a tradition it's a tradition and because I think because Jamaica was a is a former British colony <#>So we adopt everything that the monarch do <#>So I I believe it's a it's a tradition
<M8><#>It's a part of our culture

(9.14) <$F15><#>I think that the news presenters should use the the formal language that's because the news is supposed to be something that everybody can can be a part of so if you are a visitor here or whatever the news is supposed to be in the formal language of the country which is Standard Jamaican English

(9.15) <$F17><#>I wouldn't go for an American English because it is said that American people don't speak proper English <#>I don't know I'm just saying <#>And the British accent the British English most of our literature here are British language British English <#>So it's easier to relate to <#>The way we say a sentence in in the British English would not necessarily be the same way than

an American person would say it <#>So we would stick to what we know or what we consider to be the right one

The discussion of language use in the newscast and talk show excerpts with the informants shows that their first and dominant level of evaluation of linguistic variation on Jamaican radio is a dichotomous distinction between English, or StE, and JC. All informants perceived language use in all newscast samples foremost as proper correct StE but also as natural and fitting for this context. Non-student informants had severe difficulties in identifying differences in the accents of the newscasters but the student informants were able to describe the differences more explicitly when asked for a more detailed description beyond StE. Students who used the term "Standard Jamaican English" to describe their preferred notion of standard speech in Jamaica also identified the JE newscast excerpts as examples of this variety. Overall, students were less sure on how to classify the BIE and AIE newscast excerpts. Some students felt that there was a British or American influence in the accents of the newscasters but still considered the accents to be typical for Jamaican newscasts. All informants described the language in these exonormative-influenced excerpts as very educated and proper (e.g. "she talk very intelligent") but some students also felt that the BIEF announcers sounded a bit old-fashioned. Students and non-student informants did not feel that the newscasters are twanging or putting on a fake British and American accent but explained that newscasters are trained to speak this specific way. All informants were used to this accent diversity of StE in Jamaican newscasts. Excerpt (9.16) to (9.18) show different reactions to the BIE and AIE excerpts:

(9.16) <$M13><#>She sound English bredren <#>Foreign affairs <&>imitating British accent</&> […] <#>She have a Jamaican sound in a sense when she speaking that language <#>You know se she's not from England <#>But at the same time it does not say that that language she a speak is Jamaican which is Patwa <#>She speaking English Standard English

(9.17) <$M2><#>Cos you have people who a go UWI a learn learn how to speak and that is a part of of of study you know to speak properly

(9.18) <M15><#>So there's a hint of I guess British English <[>in how she speaks but just a hint</[>
<F15><[><#>I I don't</[> I don't even think it's even British English because the thing about Jamaica is that we are so diverse that you can speak like this by just growing up in Kingston and not having any associations outside of Kingston or you know <#>Not saying that persons outside of Kingston can't speak like this but <#>This is just to me typical Kingstonians who have gone to CARIMAC and how they would speak <#>And persons of a particular age who grow up in a particular era well probably she went to a all-girl school when a lot of the

> students in her class would have been white if she had been privileged to go to one of those schools so that hence the way she speaks

The open evaluation of language use in the talk show samples shows that the informants judged the four excerpts with different linguistic concepts in mind. When asked to evaluate and describe the JE talk show excerpt, the informants described the language as English, some as a typical example of JE, and made comments about the correctness, properness, and standardness of the English used. However, the informants evaluated the other JC-influenced/dominated excerpts as JC or mixes of English and JC. They did not comment on issues of correctness but rather discussed the roles and appropriateness of JC in talk shows, described the entertainment and solidarity value of JC, and highlighted the communicative effectiveness of JC and code-switching. This qualitative interview data thus supports the analysis of the open questionnaire comments on the four talk show samples. In addition, the informants were able to describe the different uses of JC in the four talk shows in more detail than the accent variation in newscasts. Similar to their acceptance of accent variation in newscasts, the informants also showed great openness toward linguistic variation between English and JC in talk shows. All informants were receptive to the diverse linguistic variation they experience when listening to Jamaican radio but shared a strong awareness when the use of JC and English is appropriate and when it is not.

This analysis of the folk-linguistic interviews has shown tendencies of differences in the perception of linguistic variation on Jamaican radio between the student and non-student informants. However, the open and semi-spontaneous design of the interviews, the small and unequal sample sizes, and the non-random selection of informants does not allow for a rigid comparison between the two informant groups. In general, there was strong agreement among the majority of informants with regard to the recognition of what is appropriate language use in specific contexts. The few informants who strongly diverged in their language attitudes, overtly and consciously supported the use of JC across different contexts, and questioned the unequal power distribution of English and JC were mostly students. The biggest difference between the two groups is the abstract knowledge of linguistic variation in Jamaica and the ability to express the complexity of their perception of language use in detail. Since the establishment of the Caribbean Examinations Council in 1972 (Christie 1989: 254–259; Deuber 2013: 122–123) education has been localized on a content level and so current university students are likely to have been taught about the local sociolinguistic situation. Furthermore, students are used to discussing and expressing complex academic and abstract issues and in the interviews also had a better understanding of the purpose of my project. Due to the shared student status and similar age,

the cultural difference between me as the researcher and them as the informants was smaller than between me and the non-student informants. In addition to my outsider status (i.e. I was mostly perceived as a StE speaking European tourist), there were differences in age and occupational status. Non-student informants often felt like they were in a test situation during the interviews and thus the social desirability bias (i.e. giving socially appropriate answers) and acquiescence bias (i.e. agreeing to the researcher regardless of the content of a question) were more pronounced than in the interviews with students. However, these differences are more a matter of reflecting on and expressing language attitudes rather than the attitudes themselves. Both groups mostly share the same ideological patterns from which some individual informants diverged.

9.5 Linguistic norms of production

The analysis of the interviews with radio insiders shows that the stations and speech training acknowledge the linguistic diversity in Jamaica and reject any discriminatory views of JC. Both StE and JC are seen as integral parts of broadcasting but despite this openness to diversity there is a strict ideological distinction between when the use of JC is appropriate and when it is not. Furthermore, there is unclarity about the specific model for StE in broadcasting. BE is the theoretical norm but a local 'tone' to StE is seen as desirable.

Radio stations take into account the linguistic diversity in Jamaica and use both English and JC in their productions. All interviewees recognized JC as a language in its own right and emphasized the cultural value of JC for a Jamaican identity. At the same time they also stressed the central position of English as Jamaica's official language for radio productions. Thus, the interviewees described their general linguistic broadcasting profile as bilingual. In the same vein, the radio stations are aware of the linguistic diversity of their listenership and aim to cater to the different Jamaican demographics, ranging from mainly StE to almost monolingual JC speakers. For the governmental JIS and the university radio station Newstalk93FM broadcasting to a diverse Jamaican society is a political or educational mandate, whereas it is more a matter of competition for market shares for the two commercial radio stations, IRIE FM and RJR. Due to the highly competitive market no major radio station can afford to ignore entire parts of the Jamaican society through linguistically limited broadcasting. Despite this commercial aspect of linguistically diverse broadcasting the representatives of the commercial stations also described their main purpose as radio stations as communication with the entire Jamaican society. Quotes (9.19) and (9.20) illustrate the motivations for linguistically diverse broadcasting.

(9.19) <$M34><#>The conversational Patwa that we use gets you the broader base of the of the listenership <#>So you get the masses quote unquote the masses <#>But the more formal English allows you to appeal to another demographic because at the end of the day the station has such a wide listenership

(9.20) <$F35><#>I think it's part of our mission because the Jamaican language is an integral part of our culture <#>So in preserving our culture it's good that we actually interchange Standard English and Jamaican Creole and it's our mission to reach the general public to reach everybody

The media insiders also stressed that the use of JC in radio productions is a relatively new phenomenon, which was largely initiated by IRIE FM in the 1990s. IRIE FM was highly successful with their new and distinct local approach to radio broadcasting, which includes local reggae music, Rastafarian culture and the extensive use of JC. This successful linguistic novelty forced RJR to alter their linguistic profile in order to be competitive again, which also caused severe antagonism by the more middle-class listenership who expected a more "high caliber of language a more stately language" by the traditional radio station RJR. By referring to this historical dimension the radio insiders highlighted how the linguistic profiles of the radio stations are guided by the (changing) expectations and attitudes of the listeners. This historical backdrop also shows how JC has become a commodity and a tool for effective communication for the radio stations: in order to attract and interact with a wide listenership, radio productions need to make use of both StE and JC. However, there is still a linguistic complaint tradition in Jamaican society with regard to language on the radio as described by one interviewee in Excerpt (9.21).

(9.21) <M$38><#>Radio and television they expect a certain sanitized image […] <#>The they want something uhm uhm more almost middle-class uhm more more uhm I think the word that comes to mind is colonial <#>Let's not beat around the bush <#>Radio developed out of the colonial era going back sixty-two years

Despite this general openness to linguistic diversity, production norms are dominated by strong ideological positions on the genres where the use of JC is appropriate and where it is not. Radio stations grant linguistic freedoms to the hosts of informal and more dialogic genres, such as talk shows or music programs, where frequent use of JC has become the norm. One interviewee described this linguistic freedom as necessary for the presenters to find their very own style of presentation which is authentic for their on-air persona. In contrast to this linguistic freedom all media insiders agreed that news has to be presented in StE only. They explained that StE adds a certain legitimacy and seriousness to news (Excerpt 9.22), StE is more effective in conveying complex news issues, StE has the potential to convey

information to a wider international audience and that the audience expects the presentation of news in StE (Excerpt 9.23). The radio stations are aware of the heated debates in the Jamaican public about the introduction of JC as a medium of education in schools. Thus, presenting news in JC could potentially put off many listeners. A production manager at IRIE FM explained that their trial broadcasts of Patwa-news in the 1990s were too costly and time-consuming and did not attract enough listeners to make economic sense. The representative of the JIS explained that such a far-reaching linguistic innovation would need a policy directive from the Ministry of culture.

(9.22) <$M35><#>StE gives news a sort of a a seriousness and a legitimacy <#>Not that Patwa is illegitimate but the Standard English news presentation means that you're serious and it's legitimate and therefore more trustworthy

(9.23) <$F35><#>It's not everything that we would write or present in the dialect <#>For example news <#>News is never presented in the dialect because of how it's viewed <#>It's viewed as more formal

While there is the general consensus that news need to be scripted and presented in StE, there is unclarity what StE actually means in the Jamaican context among the media insiders. On the one hand, the theoretical target of StE for newscasts has remained Standard BE, whereas AE was viewed largely negatively by the radio insiders (Excerpt 9.24). They explained this exonormative orientation to Britain with Jamaica's colonial past, the global importance of BE as a reference variety, and the colonial tradition of radio in Jamaica, which includes the long-term use of BBC world service style guides by RJR. On the other hand, there seems to be an awareness of a local standard variety of English, which was defined largely in contrast to JC but was also seen as distinct from BE or AE (Excerpt 9.25). Radio stations want their announcers to retain a certain Jamaicanness in their presentation to index localness and authenticity. However, the interviewees could not pinpoint which specific linguistic features mark this local style.

(9.24) <$M34><#>Well there's only one English and that's what the British do <#>American is American but an entirely different thing <#>They don't speak English they speak American <#>They don't really speak English it's close but they do their version <#>Here it's more English cos we have a an English colonial history

(9.25) <$M38><#>There is such a thing as Jamaican English which is neither British nor American but it's not the vernacular it's not Patwa it's almost void of accent

This unclarity about the precise character of StE for Jamaican broadcasting is also apparent for the aims of speech training. The two main institutions which offer speech training for broadcasters in Jamaica are the Caribbean Institute of Media

and Communication (CARIMAC) at UWI and the Media Technology Institute (MTI).[14] In their online descriptions of speech training courses the target variety is not specified but the goals are defined very generally. For example, the goals of the course *The Art of Public Speaking* at CARIMAC are "the choice and use of appropriate language" and "the proper use of the voice (including elocution, pronunciation, and voice projection)". The interviewed speech trainers described the aims of speech training as to foster the intelligibility of oral presentation, to improve clarity of enunciation (which the speech trainers defined as the realization of ING as [ɪŋ] and the clear articulation of word-final consonant clusters), to teach appropriate pace, pitch, and rhythm of oral presentations as well as the use of 'correct pronunciation'. However, they did not define properly what they meant with 'correct pronunciation'. Radio announcers who had received speech training at the MTI stated in the interviews that the linguistic target at this institution is Standard BE, i.e. RP. The same target seems to be implicit for CARIMAC but it was not explicitly defined by the speech trainers (Excerpt 9.26).

(9.26) <$F33><#>I say to them [media students] <#>The purpose of this class is not to change your accent but to make you more intelligible <#>So they're on the same uhm playing field with the same pronunciation which is Received Pronunciation that we're speaking of but not to change accents <#>However if accents are very thick so that you can't understand <#>I might say to them hey that's kind of uhm that's not coming out clearly at all it's like Cockney <#>So that's not good for communication if people are expected to understand

There is an awareness of a local standard and Jamaican speech trainers want their students to keep a local tone but at the same time they correct accent features which are "too thick". These accent features include stigmatized JC features such as *H*-dropping, downgliding diphthongs, or voiceless *TH*-stopping as well as voiced *TH*-stopping (a feature of JE shared with JC). JE and JC realizations of TRAP, STRUT, and LOT were not addressed in detail by the speech trainers. When I discussed different pronunciation options for variables where BE and AE differ, such as *schedule* or *neither*, the speech trainers preferred the RP variants but they also stated that the StAmE realizations would also be correct. Similarly, both rhotic and non-rhotic pronunciations were accepted by the speech trainers. CARIMAC follows a non-discriminatory stance toward JC by recognizing it as a distinct linguistic entity. They also foster the idea of a distinct Jamaican style of StE but there is no official recognition of JE as the target of speech training and RP as the oral model seems to be implied. This unclarity about the exact character of StE in Jamaica could also be

14. Information on CARIMAC and the MTI are available online at <http://mona.uwi.carimac.com/> and <http://mti.edu.jm/>.

interpreted as an openness toward different models of StE, which surfaced again and again in the interviews. Despite this openness (or unclarity) about StE and the appreciation of linguistic diversity in Jamaica, radio production is dominated by a firm ideology which prevents JC from being used in formal contexts.

9.6 Summary of attitudes toward linguistic variation on Jamaican radio

All attitudinal research instruments illustrate the multifaceted language attitudes of the Jamaican informants toward JC on the radio. Attitudes toward JC are strongly context-bound: direct questioning of the informants about their language preferences shows that JC is valued in informal entertainment contexts but rejected for formal serious broadcasting. The folk-linguistic interviews verify this pattern: on the one hand, the informants value the use of JC mainly due to its solidarity and entertainment qualities but, on the other hand, deem JC as inappropriate for newscasts and other serious programs because of JC's perceived inferiority to English, its alleged unintelligibility to non-Jamaicans as well as some Jamaicans, and its lack of an official status. However, individual informants highlight the benefits of a bilingual approach to broadcasting. All informants value linguistic versatility of radio presenters: the situational-appropriate combination of StE and JC reaches a wide audience and unites positive ideological aspects of both varieties. This positive evaluative profile of a balanced linguistic mix is corroborated in the talk show variety rating study: the linguistically most versatile host, who code-switches between JE and JC, is overall rated the most positively. Excerpts with a strong marking for JC are rated positively with regard to liveliness but too strong JC marking leads to a downrating for on-air prestige, which is projected through JE. The linguistic norms of production follow similar ambiguous ideological guidelines: on the one hand, radio stations recognize the potential of JC together with StE as this combination reaches a wider listenership and thus secures market shares. Thus, hosts of informal unscripted programs are granted linguistic freedom. On the other hand, radio stations as well as speech trainers reject the use of JC in newscasts or other formal programs: they see StE as the only legitimate variety for newscasts.

The attitudes toward accent diversity in StE are similarly complex as the perception of JC on the air. The results of direct questioning of informants show overt accent loyalty toward JE and rejection of foreign influences: JE is preferred over BE and AE for newscasts and other formal programs. Furthermore, BIE and AIE are mainly evaluated negatively when informants were asked directly. Although all seven newscast excerpts were rated positively in the accent rating study, this research instrument shows covert linguistic deference toward exonormative

standards as the BIE and AIE excerpts were rated significantly more positively than the JE excerpts. Furthermore, none of the newscasters was perceived as twanging in the accent rating study. The findings of the folk-linguistic interviews show a general openness toward accent diversity in StE – StE is mostly defined negatively in contrast to JC. Some student informants explicitly referred to JE as the national standard but at the same time BE remains an ideological pillar of StE in the perception of most informants. In contrast, a perceived American influence on language in Jamaica is generally viewed negatively. However, in the interviews the informants evaluated the BIE and AIE excerpts as natural and authentic for Jamaican newscasts: in this specific mass media context foreign influences have been integrated into the local diversity of StE. A similar complex understanding of StE in Jamaican radio has been found for the linguistic norms of production. In theory, BE remains the ideological linguistic target of StE in news, while in practice there is more linguistic openness and an acceptance of a Jamaican StE: presenters are encouraged to sound local in their StE performance but there is a lack of clarity about the precise character of this local standard for broadcasting. In sum, the listeners' attitudes toward linguistic variation in Jamaican radio are multidimensional and strongly context-bound.

CHAPTER 10

Discussion and conclusion

This final chapter brings together the results on language use and attitudes in the context of Jamaican radio newscasts and talk shows and discusses them with regard to previous research on Jamaican sociolinguistics, varieties of English, language attitudes, and language use in the mass media. First, I discuss linguistic variation in Jamaican newscasts and talk shows by illustrating which varieties are used and how they interact, highlighting the constraints of linguistic variation, and analyzing the roles, functions, and social meanings of the varieties at interplay. The results of the different approaches to studying language attitudes are brought together and discussed with regard to the multidimensionality of language attitudes. The results from both empirical parts are discussed with regard to the notion of StE, sociolinguistic changes, and endonormativity in Jamaica. In conclusion, I discuss the findings with regard to language use and ideological changes in the standard and between standard and non-standard language and then close with a reflection on the integrated approach to studying language in the media.

10.1 Language use in Jamaican radio newscasts

10.1.1 Standard Englishes in newscasts

Jamaican newscasts are an exclusive StE domain where JC is avoided categorically. Yet, language use in Jamaican newscasts is not monolithic: tendencies of conversationalization, i.e. the increasing use of informal and conversational styles (Fairclough 1995b), are observable to different degrees in different segments and StE shows accent diversity between JE, British, and American norms. This interaction of norms corresponds to Deuber & Leung's (2013) findings on accent diversity in Trinidadian newscasts and confirms Mair's (2006: 158) claims about the three-way norm competition of StE in postcolonial speech communities.

JE is the de facto standard of Jamaican newscasting with regard to language use. It dominates over all other accent varieties in all news segments. This local dominance of standard speech conforms to Deuber & Leung's (2013) findings on Trinidadian newscasts. The formal JE of newsreading shares most features with previous descriptions of JE but also deviates by a tendency to avoid shared features

of JE and JC and with regard to its emphatic and formal character (Table 10.1). Newscaster JE is marked by a near categorical avoidance of stigmatized JC features, i.e. voiceless *TH*-stopping and *H*-deletion. JE newscasters use voiced *TH*-stopping, a shared feature of JE and JC, saliently less frequently than the model speakers of JE analyzed by Irvine (2004, 2008). Newscaster JE is more emphatic and formal than previous descriptions of JE, i.e. marked by a very high frequency of consonant cluster production and a near categorical realization of ING as [ɪŋ]. Identical to Rosenfelder's (2009) analysis, newscaster JE is semi-rhotic. In general, newscaster JE is characterized by FACE and GOAT monophthongs but there are individual up- and downgliding tokens. Similar to Rosenfelder's analysis (2009) and Devonish & Harry's (2008) description of JE, newscaster JE is characterized by a lowered more central realization of TRAP and BATH, varying between [a] and [ɐ], and a somewhat raised and backed realization of STRUT, varying between [ʌ] and [ɒ]. Similar to Irvine's (2004) description, JE newscasters vary in their realization of LOT between more fronted [ɑ] and backed [ɒ ~ ɔ] realizations. In addition, JE newscasters avoid further shared features of JC and JE, such as raised onset in MOUTH, palatalization, and the realization of word-final *-tion* with a full vowel. Despite these general tendencies, there is salient variation among the JE newscasters, which shows that formal JE encompasses a certain range. The JE used by interviewees is more strongly marked by shared features of JE and JC it is characterized by colloquial and conversational features, and allows for isolated shifts to JC marked speech mainly for emphasis.

Table 10.1 Variables *Set A* of JE newscasters in perspective

Variable	Variant	JE newscasters [%]	JE reference descriptions [%]	
voiced *TH*-stopping	[ð]	77.3	48.3	(Irvine 2004, 2008)
voiceless *TH*-stopping	[θ]	96.7	88.2	(Irvine 2004, 2008)
H-deletion	[h]	96.7	92.0	(Irvine 2004, 2008)
rhoticity	[ɹ]	23.1	21.7	(Rosenfelder 2009)
(-t,-d) consonant clusters	[Ctd]	85.0	27	(Lacoste 2012)
			78.1	(Irvine 2008)

BIE is more frequent than AIE in Jamaican newscasts and shares most features with reference descriptions of traditional RP (Upton 2008). It is characterized by a near categorical avoidance of JE and JC features, i.e. *TH*-stopping, *H*-absence, FACE and GOAT monophthongs, a lowered TRAP vowel, and raised backed STRUT. BIE is near non-rhotic and characterized by a high production rate of clusters as well as the realization of ING as [ɪŋ]. BIE has upgliding FACE and GOAT, central STRUT, and a saliently backed realization of LOT, approximating [ɒ ~ ɔ]. TRAP and

BATH are distinct, being realized in a mid front and a lower back vowel space, respectively. Moreover, BIE is characterized by centering diphthongs and occasional *r*-tapping.

AIE is the least frequent variety used by Jamaican newscasters. It shares many features with reference descriptions of StAmE (Kretzschmar 2008) and also avoids most JE and JC features. AIE is the most rhotic of the three accents but rhoticity is not categorical. Like formal JE and BIE, AIE is characterized by a high production rate of clusters and the pronunciation of ING as [ɪŋ]. AIE has upgliding FACE and GOAT and a central STRUT vowel. LOT tends to be realized in a more fronted position as [ɑ] but there are also more backed pronunciations as [ɒ]. TRAP and BATH nearly merge in a mid front vowel space but also vary with regard to height. Furthermore, AIE is characterized by rare *t*-tapping. AIE is oriented toward StAmE but this exonormative influence is less consistent than for BIE: for example, the AIE newscaster does not use the StAmE pronunciation of *schedule*, his accent does not have yod-dropping, and he shows variability in his realizations of TRAP, BATH, and LOT, varying between JE, British, and American norms. In addition to the exonormative influences in accents of Jamaican newscasters, AE and BE appear in imported newsclips. These segments are dominated by StAmE and RP used by the American and British newscasters, respectively. Occasionally, the imported newsclips also feature other native and non-native accents of English in interviews.

10.1.2 Sociolinguistic constraints on language use in newscasts

The fixed segmentation of newscasts, which rigidly defines the communicative situation and leaves few linguistic freedoms to the speakers, constrains the variation within a StE range. Newsreading is the most rigidly structured and formal segment: language use is scripted, monologic, aimed at precision, news events follow a clear structure, issues are presented as objectively as possible, JC and colloquialisms are strictly avoided, and linguistic variation only allows for variation within formal StE. Greetings and sign-off sequences are more personal but do not allow for colloquial, conversational, or JC features. Jingles have a strong performative character, are aimed at brevity, exonormative influences are strongly pronounced, and also avoid colloquialisms and JC. Language use in live-reports, which are more spontaneous, dialogic, and personal, allows for more conversational and colloquial features and somewhat less formal StE which nevertheless excludes JC. The communicative setting in interviews, where Jamaicans of high social standing are interviewed, is drastically different from the other segments, where trained announcers speak. Language use in interviews can be described as less formal JE,

which is marked by a higher density of JE features, frequent conversational and colloquial features, as well as rare shifts to JC marked speech.

This summary of language use in the different segments allows extracting several constraints on the variation in StE of newscasts: exclusively monologic segments require formal StE; the more (quasi) dialogic communicative situations allow for less formal language use. The role of the speaker and his or her social standing also influence the variation: newsreaders project the most neutral, reliable personas and use the most formal StE, whereas interviewees of regular newscasts represent a more involved subjective standing or the opinion of a group, such as a political party, and use more informal StE. Exonormative-influenced Englishes are confined to trained radio announcers, such as speakers in jingles or newsreaders. Furthermore, the degree to which the communicative setting in a segment is predefined influences variation: scripted newsreading features only formal StE, while more spontaneous segments such as interviews or live-reports allow for deviations from this very formal variety.

10.1.3 Roles, functions, and social meanings of Standard Englishes and Jamaican Creole in newscasts

StE and JC have very distinct roles, functions, and social meanings in newscasts; these distinctions are more subtle for the different accents of StE. All newsreaders, reporters, and interviewees use StE in their presentation of serious news content: StE is the unmarked code of news, i.e. the expected and dominant variety.[1] Through StE all these speakers project a high social and educational status, competence, expertise, and thus reliability. JE has a wide range of applications, dominates Jamaican newscasts and is used by all speakers in all segments. JE also carries the most local connotations as most Jamaican announcers and all interviewees of regular newscasts use it. Formal JE distinguishes trained neutral announcers from more personally involved interviewees, who use informal JE, and these different styles carry subtly different connotations and characterize the different roles of the speakers in newscasts. BIE and AIE are more limited in their use in newscasts, being confined to trained speakers. Yet, they are not necessarily niche phenomena as they are an integral part of Jamaican newscasts. In contrast, American, British, and other non-Caribbean varieties of English are niche phenomena in Jamaican newscasts as they are exclusive to imported newsclips. They are confined to non-Caribbean announcers and non-local content and thus they are clearly marked as foreign. JC is almost entirely absent from newscasts: morpho-syntactic, lexical,

1. Marked code and unmarked code are concepts developed by Myers-Scotton (1993) in her Markedness Model for the social factors in code-switching.

and accent features of JC are avoided in regular newscasts and shifts to JC marked speech in interviews are clearly marked. Hence, JC is excluded from the presentation of serious reliable news content.

10.2 Language use in Jamaican radio talk shows

10.2.1 Inter- and intraspeaker variation between English and Creole in talk shows

Talk radio covers a wide range of the Jamaican speech continuum from formal emphatic JE to strongly marked JC speech. The four hosts employ linguistic variation very differently: they differ saliently in their baseline styles as well as in the frequency and extent of style-shifting. The analysis has shown that variation between JE and JC is highly complex: on the one hand, hosts blend JE and JC seamlessly and, on the other hand, hosts also keep them clearly apart switching drastically from one to the other. Language use in Jamaican talk radio is generally best described as an interplay of different styles of the Jamaican language continuum.

The four baseline styles differ substantially with regard to the degree of creoleness. Densil Williams (DW) and Orville Tayler's (OT) baseline styles are best described as informal JE with slightly different degrees of JC marking. Both baseline styles are strongly marked by JE accent features shared with JC: frequent voiced *TH*-stopping, lowered central TRAP and BATH vowels, raised and backed STRUT vowel, and a slightly raised onset in MOUTH. Stigmatized JC features are also incorporated into the baseline style but are variably infrequent: for example, voiceless *TH*-stopping and palatalization are used more often than *H*-dropping or downgliding diphthongs. However, the informal JE baseline accents show variability between mostly JE, JC, and metropolitan norms of pronunciation: for example, most FACE and GOAT tokens are monophthongal but both hosts also employ up- and downgliding realizations. With regard to morpho-syntax and lexicon the influence of JC is less pronounced: StE dominates and mostly JC features with a low salience, such as copula absence with progressive forms or uninflected past tense forms, are incorporated into the baseline styles. Overt JC grammar and highly salient JC lexical features are almost completely absent. In contrast to this variable JC influence, both baseline styles are consistently marked by conversational and colloquial features. The JC influence is most pronounced on an accent level and the two baseline accents resemble Devonish & Harry's (2008) and Irvine's (2004, 2008) description of the Jamaican acrolect more closely than the formal JE accent of newscasters. On a morpho-syntactic level DW and OT's baseline styles are similar to informal JE (except for code-switches into JC) used by educated

speakers in conversations as analyzed by Deuber (2009a, 2014): overt JC forms are almost absent, while reductions of StE structure are more common. In contrast to the other two hosts DW and OT's baseline styles are most narrowly definable but still encompass a certain acrolectal range.

The influence of JC on Barbara Gloudon's (BG) baseline style is more pronounced: her baseline style could be classified either as an acrolectal to upper mesolectal range or as informal JE with salient JC marking. Shared accent features of JC and JE (e.g. voiced *TH*-stopping, lowered central TRAP and BATH, raised backed STRUT, raised MOUTH onset) are highly frequent and BG also incorporates stigmatized JC features (e.g. voiceless *TH*-stopping, *H*-dropping, palatalization, metathesis in *ask*) recurringly into her baseline style. Moreover, BG varies in her realization of FACE, GOAT, and LOT between JE and JC pronunciations. Similarly, StE grammar and lexicon dominate but low salience JC features (e.g. copula absence or reductions of the StE verb and noun inflectional system) are recurrent and BG also uses overt morpho-syntactic and lexical JC features occasionally. Furthermore, her baseline style is consistently marked by conversational and colloquial features and an informal vocabulary predominates. On the whole, BG's baseline style can be classified as informal JE with a consistent JC influence, most pronounced on an accent level. Recurring JC features and the tensions between JE and JC norms are an integral part of BG's baseline style, which I define as a range rather than a fixed linguistic entity.

Jerry Small's (JS) baseline style is most strongly marked for JC and is best described as a blend of JC and English. On an accent level, JS frequently uses shared features of JE and JC and exclusive JC features: for example, he realizes initial voiced *TH* as a stop in 70.7 and the voiceless variable in 42.9% of cases. He drops initial *H* in 25.0% of cases. He consistently realizes FACE and GOAT as downgliding diphthongs, TRAP and BATH in a lower central vowel space, STRUT with a raised and backed vowel, and LOT in a low central position. Although JS uses JC realizations most consistently of all hosts, his accent is not categorically JC but rather in between JE and JC pronunciation norms. Similarly, JS blends StE and JC grammar and lexicon: overt JC forms (e.g. JC pronouns or prepositions) are frequent and JS uses some JC lexical items but overall StE morpho-syntax and vocabulary dominate. Through the frequent use of JC accent and morpho-syntactic features JS's baseline style has a salient JC character but the syntactic and lexical basis remains StE. His baseline style as a blend of English and Creole calls a clear distinction between the two varieties into question.

In addition to the variation between their baseline styles, the four talk show hosts use linguistic variation of the Jamaican speech continuum quite differently with regard to style-shifting. DW remains within his baseline style range but uses an emphatic formal style for clarity of expression. This style is not clearly

demarcated from his baseline but characterized by StE grammar and lexicon, a higher production rate of consonant clusters and postvocalic /r/s, as well as a tendency to lengthen vowels and to leave more pauses. JC morpho-syntactic and lexical features as well as stigmatized JC accent features are not part of this emphatic style but DW nevertheless employs shared accent features of JE and JC, such as voiced *TH*-stopping. The three other hosts also employ such an emphatic formal style for emphasis, when diverging from the callers, to show expertise and in routine monologue parts. In contrast to DW, OT switches frequently from his informal JE baseline style to strongly marked JC speech in monologue and dialogue segments. He does not blend these styles but keeps JC marked speech distinct from his baseline style very consistently. BG puts on an equally linguistically versatile performance as OT but she combines subtle style-shifting to more JC marked speech and drastic code-switches to strongly marked JC speech. Hence, BG combines, blends, switches between, and juxtaposes different styles creating a heteroglossic performance in both monologues and dialogues. She covers a wide range of the Jamaican language continuum but it is impossible to separate clear-cut individual styles due to the complexity of her style-shifting. JS's performance is similarly wide-ranging as he constantly blends English with JC shifting back and forth between more and less JC marked speech. His on-air performance covers a wide span of linguistic resources from the Jamaican speech continuum. Although he identifies with Rastafari and his monologues resemble spiritual (on-air) reasoning, morpho-syntactic or lexical features of Dread Talk (Pollard 2000) are not part of his on-air repertoire. It is difficult to define distinct styles for JS's integrative language use and thus style-shifting is treated as variation within his baseline style.

In general, language use in Jamaican talk radio is a multifaceted mixture of English and JC as described impressionistically by Shields-Brodber (1995, 1997). This mixture includes the coexistence of distinct styles, such as OT's code-switching, in which he mostly separates StE and JC marked speech, or DW's exclusive acrolectal language use, but also blends of different styles, such as JS's baseline style as a consistent blend of StE or JE and JC or BG's seamless style-shifting between lightly and strongly marked JC speech styles. On the one hand, this is in contrast to previous studies on informal written language use in emails (Hinrichs 2006) or Sand's (1999) analysis of language use in newspapers and formal radio programs where in all cases the switches between StE and JC are always clearly demarcated. On the other hand, language use in Jamaican talk radio, where talk show hosts like DW and OT keep StE and JC apart, is also distinct from face-to-face conversations where Jamaicans smoothly blend JE and JC. For example, Patrick (1999) shows non-discrete variation along the Jamaican language continuum for mesolectal speakers and Deuber (2009a) illustrates that linguistic variation

in educated Jamaican speech is characterized by "very finely graded transitions […] from more English to more Creole ways of language use" (pp. 46–47).

Jamaican talk radio as a genre is distinct from spontaneous private conversations, public scripted language use in formal mass media genres, and private informal highly planned email writings. Talk radio blends public and private discourse, formality and informality as well as planned and spontaneous language use. On the one hand, all hosts speak to a listening public, retain a certain level of formality, and plan their performance. Hosts present themselves as public figures of a high social standing, are proficient users of StE, control an elaborate lexical register, and can also shift to a formal emphatic style. Their performance is consistently aimed at clarity, for example the production rate of consonant clusters is high (between 51.0 and 68.5%). Except for JS, all other three hosts mainly avoid strongly stigmatized JC features, which are typical of informal or anti-formal language use (Allsopp 1996), in their baseline styles. Furthermore, Jamaican talk radio is also planned as it involves dialectal performances (e.g. Coupland 2007), for example JC marked speech is clearly put on display for humorous comments and hosts use language deliberately as a semiotic resource for the styling of their public radio persona. Yet, language use in talk shows is also modelled after everyday speech. It is strongly marked by conversational and colloquial features. Hosts also chat quasi-spontaneously with their callers and guests. The hosts' baseline styles incorporate JC features, albeit to different degrees, and except for DW they style-shift or code-switch if the situation demands it. Hence, they strongly diverge from a traditional only formal and purely StE performance in Jamaican public discourse. Shields-Brodber describes this variability in talk show hosts' performances as a reflection of everyday Jamaican speech, characterized by variation between JE and JC (cf. 1997: 27).

Talk show hosts are able to navigate through contrasting aspects of the multifaceted talk show discourse as they are linguistically highly versatile: they are able to employ a wide range of linguistic resources of the Jamaican speech community. Talk show hosts are trained public speakers and proficient users of both StE and JC. In contrast to callers, who are often linguistically insecure and whose speech is often marked by features of Speaky-Spokey (i.e. hypercorrect speech), no such features were found in the hosts' performances. Furthermore, if the situation requires it they employ a formal emphatic speech style. Hosts are also able to use strongly JC marked speech for a wide range of different purposes. This means that they possess highly context-sensitive "sociolinguistic competence" (Bourdieu 1991: 37): they are able to produce grammatically correct (JC and StE) utterances and are able to use the 'socially correct' (i.e. socially required or accepted) variety or blend of varieties for every situation.

10.2.2 Sociolinguistic constraints on language use in talk shows

The inter- and intraspeaker variation between English and JC in radio talk shows is constrained by several interacting factors. The general structure of talk shows is more open and less predefined than in newscasts. This means that there is no clear segmentation which strictly defines the communicative situation and thus the specific language use: Jamaican talk radio as a genre leaves sufficient freedoms to the hosts to use language metaphorically to their demands. The saliently different appropriation of linguistic resources by the four talk show hosts can be explained as different Acts of Identity (LePage & Tabouret-Keller 1985) through which the four hosts project their on-air personas. DW projects a neutral expert persona through the consistent use of informal JE with occasional shifts to a formal emphatic style: he moderates serious discussions, which are led on friendly terms, about elaborate topics. OT's on-air personality is more multilayered: as the Man in Black he is an educated academic, an expert on Afro-Caribbean and Afro-American topics, but at the same time he does not take himself too seriously and also projects a humorous persona. Furthermore, as the host he shows serious interest and empathy for the concerns of his callers. OT projects this multifaceted persona through frequent code-switches between his informal JE baseline style and varyingly strongly marked JC speech. BG also projects a multifaceted on-air persona: she is an academic, a well-known person of high social repute, a seasoned public speaker but she is also a compassionate host who helps her callers and enjoys their trust; she gets easily involved emotionally, speaks out on social injustice and speaks her mind freely. BG projects this persona through her heteroglossic performance, i.e. the coexistence, blending, and juxtaposition of different styles of the Jamaican speech continuum. As Bongo Jerry, JS's on-air personality, the host combines aspects of an expert who educates his callers and also a rebel who questions power structures and gives a voice to the people. He combines these aspects of his on-air personality on a linguistic level through his egalitarian blend of English and JC.

The hosts also use the linguistic freedom of talk show discourse for metaphorical style-shifting.[2] Hosts shift to formal emphatic JE to emphasize a certain argument and to show their expertise in a certain topic. The three hosts of Hotline and Straight Up (OT, BG, and JS) tend to employ a higher density of JC features for humorous purposes, when quoting a Jamaican saying or proverb, and when they imitate the perspective of another person in a mocking way. Furthermore,

2. In this discussion the distinction between situational and metaphorical style-shifting (and factors influencing linguistic variation) broadly mirrors Blom & Gumperz' (1972: 424–425) distinction between situational code-switches, which result from changes in the setting of conversations (e.g. a change in the interlocutor), and metaphorical code-switches, where there are no changes in the conversational situation.

the emotional involvement of hosts often triggers style-shifts or code-switches to more JC marked speech. However, whether hosts can afford to be emotionally involved or not is constrained by the type of program: DW has to keep the role of the neutral presenter, whereas the other hosts have more freedom to show their emotions. Moreover, when speaking out against social injustice OT, BG, and JS shift to more densely marked JC speech. This means that they assume the voice of the people and model their speech after an imagined absent JC speaking referee (group) (e.g. Bell 1999): the Jamaican man in the street.

However, talk show hosts are not entirely free in their Acts of Identity and metaphorical style-shifting as salient situational factors, which change the communicative setting, influence linguistic variation. The interlocutors involved influence linguistic variation in talk shows: Jamaica Speaks is a discussion round of political experts, who are all Jamaicans of high social standing and dominantly use JE. The hosts of Hotline and Straight Up interact with Jamaicans from all walks of life via telephone and these two talk shows feature saliently more JC marked speech. In these talk shows which feature audience interaction, style-shifting is influenced by the relationship between host and callers. Hosts frequently style-shift to more JC marked speech when interacting with callers whose language is more strongly marked for JC to establish a more even conversation, to show solidarity, or to support the listeners in their arguments. On the other hand, hosts also shift away from the callers' language toward more formal JE when taking an antagonistic stance. This stylistic behavior corresponds to Communication Accommodation Theory (e.g. Giles & Powesland 1975): hosts converge to callers to reduce social distance and diverge to emphasize antagonism. However, hosts are not entirely free with regard to this metaphorical divergence from interlocutors. Hosts very rarely take on clearly antagonistic stances because they are responsible for a good atmosphere which allows for constructive discussions and misusing their power position would stain their image as trustworthy talk show hosts.

Furthermore, the analysis has shown that linguistic variation in talk shows correlates with the degree of formality of topics (which are partly predefined by the type of talk show): the more formal the topics, the more standard or less marked for JC is the language use and vice versa. Only very formal and serious topics, such as politics and economics, are discussed in Jamaica Speaks, which is dominated by informal JE. Hotline and Straight Up feature more JC marked speech and cover a wide range of topics: for example, events of public interest, such as the rape case surrounding Dominique Strauss-Kahn, problems in communities such as bad road conditions, personal issues such as problems with the payment of the electricity bill, as well as casual chats between callers and hosts. The formality of topics also influences stylistic variation among the hosts of Hotline and Straight Up: conversations about informal topics tend to be marked more strongly by JC, while

formal topics are discussed with a lower density of JC features. Yet, OT and BG frequently incorporate style-shifts or code-switches to JC marked speech in discussions of formal serious topics and JS consistently uses his blend of StE and JC.

This discussion shows that there are several interacting constraints at work with regard to inter- and intraspeaker variation in Jamaican talk radio: although the talk show hosts enjoy linguistic freedom they are not entirely free in their performance. Situational factors, such as the setting of a talk show or the interlocutors involved, interact with or restrict metaphorical language use. The conversational situation in Jamaica Speaks is most strictly predefined, which inhibits wider linguistic variation. Furthermore, the constraints discussed in this chapter are broad tendencies and not all talk show hosts conform to them at all times in their performance: for example, JS talks about very serious and complex topics, such as the solar system, using strongly marked JC speech. Similar to the interaction of constraints, different theoretical frameworks help to explain the diversity of language use in talk shows. The Jamaican informants I interviewed tended to explain linguistic variation in talk shows solely with regard to different target audiences: they saw talk shows which make strong use of JC, like Straight Up with Jerry Small, mainly geared toward listeners from lower socioeconomic demographics, while they saw political talk shows dominated by StE as directed more toward educated middle class Jamaicans. Their argument is reminiscent of Bell's (1984, 2001) Audience Design framework, where announcers accommodate their speech to different audiences. Interviews with production managers and radio insiders did not verify this widespread popular opinion: JC on the airwaves has become a commodity for the radio stations, as linguistic diversity which reflects everyday language use attracts many listeners across wide sections of Jamaican society.

10.2.3 Roles, functions, and social meanings of English and Creole in talk shows

The analysis shows that both English and JC (or specific ranges which correspond to these two abstractions) fulfill a wide range of functions in Jamaican talk radio. On the one hand, their functions and the connected social meanings are quite distinct. Informal JE with different degrees of JC marking (or an acrolectal to upper mesolectal range on the Jamaican language continuum) is the baseline style for all hosts, which dominates their on-air performance, except for JS. This baseline style is essential for the projection of one central aspect of all the talk show hosts' on-air personas: the professional, competent, and educated public figure of high social standing with academic expertise. Thus, JE generally carries overt prestige. Shifts or switches away from the baseline style to more strongly JC marked speech often signal solidarity: for example, hosts use JC marked speech when converging to

callers, when supporting a caller's argument, or when speaking out as the voice of the people against social injustice. The use of JC marked speech is often informal or even anti-formal, i.e. "deliberately rejecting Formalness" (Allsopp 1996: lvii). Hosts use JC marked speech for jokes, anecdotes, rants, to speak their mind freely, or when they are strongly emotionally involved. Thus, JC carries covert prestige as the symbol of solidarity, truth, outspokenness, humor, and emotions. These broad tendencies in the talk show data largely conform to traditional diglossic roles of StE as the High language carrying overt prestige, and JC as the Low language carrying covert prestige.

On the other hand, the linguistic and functional distinction between English and JC is blurred. The baseline styles of all hosts incorporate JC features, albeit to different degrees. Except for DW, using strongly JC marked speech is an integral part of the on-air-performances of the talk show hosts. Furthermore, effective communication with callers and the audience is achieved by a combination of StE and JC: for example, hosts use JC for explanations of complex issues by breaking them down to their essential points which they express in JC marked speech or they sometimes use a Jamaican proverb. And at times hosts also use StE with an elaborate lexical register which is quite distinct from JC when discussing sophisticated issues. Hosts are trained and linguistically versatile public speakers who combine English and JC as the communicative situation requires it. In addition, the on-air performance of JS challenges the diglossic functional distinction of StE and JC most drastically: he consistently uses a blend of StE and JC across all situations and for all topics. Through this divergent linguistic approach he also projects a competent and educated public persona. Furthermore he defies traditional roles and functions of English and Creole, calls them into question, and establishes new meanings such as the blend of both varieties for most effective communication.

In contrast to newscasts where StE clearly dominates and JC is the marked code, no such clear-cut distinction applies for talk shows. The linguistic and functional distinction between StE and JC is partly blurred for talk shows. The analysis shows that JC is incorporated into all baseline styles to different degrees. Style-shifting and code-switching toward strongly marked JC speech is highly frequent in the talk show data, except for Jamaica Speaks. And most drastically JS constantly blends the two varieties in his performance. Thus, the combination of the two varieties, whether by incorporating JC into a JE baseline style, code-switching, style-shifting, or blending, is the unmarked code for Jamaican talk radio in the 21st century. Yet, the analysis has also shown that unequal social meanings of the two varieties persist and are generally reflected in language use in talk shows.

10.3 Attitudes toward linguistic variation on Jamaican radio

10.3.1 Attitudes toward linguistic variation in Jamaican radio newscasts

The analysis has shown that the informants' attitudes to linguistic variation in newscasts are multifaceted. The mixed method illustrates different aspects of the informants' perception, which taken together demonstrate the complexity of Jamaicans' ideological orientation toward JC and different accents of StE in newscasts. The results of the direct questioning part largely resemble the findings on language use in newscasts. The informants clearly prefer JE over AE and BE, whereas they reject JC or any mixes of English and JC in the context of newscasts. However, there are individual JC-supporting students, who prefer JC or mixes with English in the context of newscasting and indicate that they would like more JC in newscasts. The use of exonormative-influenced English accents by Jamaican announcers is viewed negatively by the informants when presented with accent labels. AE tends to be judged more negatively and is most strongly associated with twanging. With regard to the overt attitudes elicited through direct questioning, the informants demonstrate strong accent loyalty for the local standard variety of English, JE, similar to Bernaisch's (2012) and Kioko & Muthwii's (2003) attitude studies using direct questions in Sri Lanka and Kenya, respectively.

The accent rating study has demonstrated subtle evaluative differences between JE, AIE, and BIE. While the study design has shown significant differences in the ratings between these three accent categories, the evaluation of the seven newscast excerpts has shown an interaction of accent variety, its specific realization by the newscasters, paralinguistic variation, content and order of excerpts. Despite this interaction four general findings can be summarized: first, all accents are evaluated positively, which means that the students perceive the language use and the personality of all seven newscasters as standard, competent, socially attractive, and authentic, or – in general – as fitting to project a reliable newscaster personality. None of the three newscasters with exonormative-influenced accents is perceived as twanging. This evaluation indicates that the students did not rate the Jamaican newscasters with AIE and BIE accents as putting on an inauthentic American or British accent, a linguistic practice evaluated mainly negatively in direct questioning. Second, factor analysis has shown that the informants' attitudes toward linguistic variation in Jamaican newscasts are governed by one main dimension, reliability, which encompasses the preconceived dimensions of standardness, competence, social attractiveness and authenticity. This means that different attitude dimensions, such as the common distinction between competence and social attractiveness (e.g. Garrett et al. 2003; McKenzie 2010), collapse into one for this data set. In the rigidly structured genre of newsreading an accent of StE

which projects competence also projects a socially attractive newscaster personality. Third, the analysis of the more covert language attitudes using accent samples has shown a tendency of linguistic deference toward foreign-influenced accents, similar to previous studies on postcolonial speech communities (e.g. Bayard et al. 2001; Luk 1998; Zhang 2009). Fourth, the order effect (i.e. when excerpts are set in the initial two positions they are evaluated more positively) suggests that students mainly evaluate the newscasters' language use positively as StE in contrast to JC.

From the folk-linguistic assessment five attitudinal patterns can be identified. The informants mainly discriminate against JC in the context of newscasts. They express stereotypical views of JC as structurally inferior to English, less intelligible, not fit to express complex thoughts, and inappropriate for a formal context. The interviewees' strong exonormative orientation also disqualifies JC from being used in newscasts: JC is confined to Jamaica, does not reach an international audience and is not understood by the many non-Jamaicans living on the island. However, there are also individuals who support the idea of news in JC (with the aim of increasing the information flow to JC speakers) or would enjoy it. Second, the informants showed openness to different exo- and endonormative models for English as long as the language of newscasters is StE and not JC. Third, among the students there is an awareness of a national standard variety of English and open support for it. Fourth, BE emerged as the dominant exonormative force. It functions as a 'conservative standard' as it is held in high regard, associated with a high educational level, tradition and a colonial past, and it is also judged as somewhat old-fashioned. There is also the feeling of a looming American influence, which is seen predominantly negatively and as a threat to the Jamaican linguistic autonomy. The third and fourth observations corroborate Deuber's (2013) results on beliefs about standards in Jamaica: there is an awareness of a national endonormative standard, while BE as an exonormative standard still holds prestige and predominates over AE. Fifth, the exonormative-influenced accents are seen as natural and authentic parts of the linguistic diversity of newscasts. Despite the British or American influence some informants perceived when listening to the BIE and AIE excerpts, the association with Jamaican newscasts was stronger and they stated that these types of accents have always been part of the everyday linguistic reality of the Jamaican broadcasting media. In contrast to the phonetic classification, the accents in these excerpts are perceived as not primarily exonormative-influenced but first of all Jamaican.

10.3.2 Attitudes toward linguistic variation in Jamaican talk radio

The analysis of language attitudes in the context of radio talk shows has demonstrated that the informants are more open toward linguistic variation between StE

and JC in this more dialogic and less formal genre. The informants value linguistic versatility as well as the ability to use English and Creole in appropriate contexts. Furthermore, they evaluate the diverse language use in talk shows with different ideological concepts. Direct questioning has shown that the informants have a strong overt local orientation and are open toward linguistic variation between JE and JC, whereas the exclusive use of JC and exonormative varieties are rejected. For a talk show on politics JE and an English dominant mix with JC are the two preferred options; all other varieties are clearly dispreferred. For a talk show on personal matters the students prefer mixes of English and JC over all other options. Furthermore, more than half of the JC-supporting students wished for more JC to be used in talk shows. Thus, the students are more appreciative of a stronger JC influence in the setting of talk shows than in newscasts. Yet, the language preference task shows salient variation in their acceptance of JC with regard to a talk show's topic. This finding conforms to the topic constraint found in the analysis of language use.

The variety rating study shows that the students value linguistic versatility in the context of talk shows and that the students' attitudes toward linguistic variation between JE and JC are multifaceted. The results of the talk show variety rating study can be summarized to four general findings: first, the informants value linguistic versatility as the JE=JC host, who switches between informal JE and strongly marked JC and thus shows linguistic competence in both varieties, overall is evaluated most positively and has the most even evaluative profile. The evaluations of the other three hosts, who switch less or blend JE and JC more smoothly, vary more saliently along the twelve different rating categories. Second, factor analysis shows that the students' ratings are mainly governed by two attitudinal dimensions: on the one hand, on-air prestige, which is characterized by standardness, competence, and social attractiveness, and on the other hand, liveliness, which comprises categories of expressiveness, entertainment, and authenticity. Third, the students value the use of JE combined with a certain degree of JC marking on the level of on-air prestige, whereas too strongly JC marked speech is not perceived as prestigious. The JE=JC, JE>JC, and JE hosts were rated positively to neutrally for on-air prestige, while the JC>JE host was evaluated negatively. Fourth, linguistic versatility and the use of JC marked speech is necessary to project a lively talk show host personality. Both hosts who use more JC, JE=JC and JC>JE, were evaluated positively for liveliness. The JE>JC and JE hosts received significantly lower ratings, being rated neutrally and negatively, respectively. Despite these general evaluative tendencies which correlate with JC marking, variation between JE and JC as a predictor variable for the evaluations interacts with other factors, such as paralinguistic variation, voice quality and content. Language use in talk shows is less predefined than in newsreading so the talk show excerpts differ more

strongly from each other with regard to additional variables not operationalized in this investigation.

From the folk-linguistic interviews, four attitudinal patterns can be identified. The informants appreciate the use of JC in dialogic and less formal genres such as talk shows. They value JC for its solidarity and entertainment quality and because it marks a Jamaican identity. Furthermore, they appreciate linguistically versatile hosts and view the combination of StE with JC as the best way to achieve most effective communication with wide sections of Jamaican society. Yet, hosts also have to be able to use StE and JC in the appropriate contexts. Thus, the informants have a strong functional awareness of when which variety is appropriate and when it is not. Finally, the informants' first evaluative classification of linguistic variation in talk shows is a dichotomous one between English and Patwa. Students are more sensitive toward fine-grained variation than non-students but the main difference in the language attitudes between those groups is the students' knowledge and ability to describe linguistic variation not the ideological disposition toward it.[3]

10.3.3 Multidimensionality of language attitudes

The language attitude study shows that the informants' attitudes toward linguistic variation on Jamaican radio are multidimensional on three levels. First, all parts of the analysis repeatedly show that the Jamaican informants' language attitudes are strongly context-sensitive. Similar to general language attitude studies in Jamaica (e.g. Beckford-Wassink 1999; JLU 2005) or Trinidad (e.g. Mühleisen 2001) which show a persisting strong awareness of a functional distribution of English and creole, the informants share a strong awareness in which specific radio context the use of StE or JC is appropriate and when it is not. For example, the informants view the exclusive use of JC as most appropriate for humorous and entertainment programs, while they see serious formal genres as reserved for StE. The specific topic within a genre also influences the informants' attitudes: for example, the informants prefer StE varieties in a talk show on politics and an advertisement for a bank, while they favor mixes of English and Patwa in a talk show on personal matters and an advertisement for a soft drink. Similar to Jaffe's (2007) findings on code-mixing in Corsican radio, the Jamaican informants appreciate linguistic diversity in dialogic talk shows, whereas they view any style-shifting or code-switching away from StE to JC in newscasts as highly inappropriate. Furthermore, they expect the announcers to use JC only in appropriate situations. One informant

3. This observation mirrors Bourdieu's (1991: 62) description of sociolinguistic stratification: there is a uniform recognition of the legitimate language but unequal knowledge of it.

summarizes this common ideological disposition toward JC as follows: "Nothing is wrong with Patwa is just where you use it and how you use it".

Second, multidimensionality means that the informants evaluate linguistic variation along different dimensions. The informants rate linguistic variation in talk shows along two dimensions, on-air prestige and liveliness, while they only work with one attitudinal dimension in their evaluation of linguistic variation in newscasts. Together the two variety rating studies do not simply verify the commonly assumed dichotomous attitudinal distinction into competence and social attractiveness (e.g. McKenzie 2010) but show a more complex picture: the attitudinal dimensions of competence and social attractiveness collapse into one in the context of newscasts; these two dimensions are reflected in the evaluations of talk show excerpts as on-air prestige and liveliness, which, however, have additional and more context-specific connotations. Thus, the specific composition of evaluative dispositions depends on the context and other dimensions might be at work in even other settings. The talk show variety rating study partly conforms to a classical evaluative pattern, in which standard varieties are valued for competence and vernaculars for social attractiveness, which has been observed for Caribbean (e.g. Rickford 1985) as well as other speech communities (e.g. Hiraga 2005). Strongly JC marked speech is downrated for on-air prestige and is evaluated positively for liveliness, whereas very lightly marked JC speech receives low ratings for liveliness and more positive ratings for on-air prestige. However, talk shows are a specific context where listeners are open to linguistic variation and value linguistic versatility. For newscasts, in which exo- and endonormative StE accent varieties meet, no similar classical evaluative pattern, i.e. local accents are valued for social attractiveness and British or American accents for competence (e.g. Bayard et al. 2001; McKenzie 2010), could be observed. This is due to the fact that the informants evaluated accent variation only along one dimensions, reliability, and perceived all accents as local, albeit with differing connotations.

Third, the mixed approach which uses three different methods to studying language attitudes allows showing salient differences with regard to overt and covert language attitudes. When asked directly, the informants show strong loyalty to local varieties and devalue exonormative-influenced varieties used by Jamaican announcers. Yet, again this support for endonormative varieties varies with context: in the genre of newscasts they strongly prefer JE, while for more informal programs their support for local varieties tends toward JC or mixes of English and JC. Giles (1970) or Coupland & Bishop (2007) have shown a similar accent loyalty when using conceptual stimuli for British informants who consistently gave very high ratings to the label "accent identical to own". In contrast to this overt local loyalty, the accent rating study in newscasts shows linguistic deference toward exonormative influences. Furthermore, the folk-linguistic interviews reveal a

linguistic insecurity about what exactly is StE in Jamaica, apart from being distinct from JC. There is an awareness of a local standard variety and varying support for it but an exonormative orientation mainly toward Britain lingers on.

This multidimensional disposition of the Jamaican informants toward linguistic variation on the radio is best understood as an interaction of different attitudinal layers. Some layers are more overt, like variety loyalty, others are more covert, such as linguistic deference or linguistic insecurity. These layers are varyingly activated in specific contexts. Some layers at first seem paradoxical but Jamaicans live in a multifaceted sociolinguistic world, which is even more diverse in mass media where local and global varieties interact on a daily basis and which leads to a multidimensional attitudinal orientation.

10.4 The notion of Standard English on Jamaican radio

The analysis of language use shows that StE on Jamaican radio is marked by an interplay of different exonormative and endonormative varieties: JE, BE, and AE as well as to a certain degree JC norms influence StE on the radio to different degrees, depending on the context. Thus, StE on the radio reflects the global pluricentricity of the English language (Mair 2013: 261), i.e. the coexistence of different standard varieties of English. StE on Jamaican radio is best understood as a cluster which incorporates different norms rather than one fixed entity. Furthermore, this conception of StE in Jamaican mass media is wider than previous definitions of StE in Jamaica by Sand (1999) and Irvine (2004, 2008), which have mainly highlighted the integration of JC features into StE. The analysis of language attitudes shows that a specific type of standard language ideology exists in the context of Jamaican radio. This ideological orientation is characterized by varying genre-specific discrimination against JC and openness toward different norms of StE. However, there are also many individuals who deviate from this general disposition. Both perspectives, language use and attitudes, show that the notion of StE on the radio is wider than a common conception of the standard variety being characterized by an ideal of uniformity and invariance (e.g. Milroy 2001: 531). The mixed approach combining an analysis of language use and attitudes shows that there is a use-based and an ideological level of the concept of StE and that the different interplaying norms of StE on Jamaican radio have different values with regard to these two levels.

The analysis of language use in newscasts and especially newsreading demonstrates that there is an interaction of JE, British, and American norms for StE, while the influence of JC in this context is marginal: JC morpho-syntax and lexicon is excluded from the news script, shared accent features of JE and JC are infrequent

and stigmatized JC accent features are categorically avoided by the newsreaders. JE is the most important accent for Jamaican newsreaders; BIE and AIE accents are less frequent. This conforms to the evaluative findings: the informants discriminate against JC in the context of news, show overt accent loyalty toward JE, and there is a growing awareness of a local standard among the student informants, which supports Devonish & Thomas' (2012) hypothesis of a waning exonormative orientation. Yet, at the same time there is more covert linguistic insecurity, lingering linguistic deference mainly toward BE, and there is no official recognition of a local standard by the radio stations, where an exonormative orientation toward BE remains strong. These findings support Youssef's (2004) and Devonish's (2003) earlier conclusions concerning a strong linguistic insecurity about local standards in the Caribbean. However, the findings on StE in newscasts go beyond these opposing standpoints and show that the listeners do not necessarily make this strict distinction between Jamaican, British, or American StE. From an ideological perspective the distinction between endo- and exonormativity is blurred. They perceive the different norms as natural components of the diversity of standard speech which they experience daily in mass media. Thus, a standard language ideology which discriminates against JC is well in place in the context of newscasts but there is openness in terms of what counts as the standard.

JE is the de facto standard of newscasting with regard to language use but its recognition is lagging behind, conforming to findings for Trinidad StE in mass media (Deuber & Leung 2013) and education (Deuber 2009b: 101). BE is the main exonormative force, which corrborrates previous studies on StE in the Caribbean (e.g. Sand 2011; Deuber 2013), but it has a special status as a conservative standard, which is most relevant on an ideological level. The radio stations see newscasts as the last stronghold of BE and among the informants the association of StE with the Queen's English or BE remains widespread. Furthermore, the informants perceived the BIE excerpts as "very proper" and associated them with trained, mainly older broadcast announcers and a very good education. The status of BE in Jamaica is inverse to JE: it is recognized widely as important for StE but its influence at the level of actual use is declining. The status of BE is the prime example for two different levels, i.e. use and ideology, which together constitute the notion of StE: the relevance of BE on Jamaican radio is foremost ideological and has restricted application in language use. This conclusion is reminiscent of Wilson's (2014) discussion of the ambivalent role of Standard BE in classical choral singing in Trinidad: choral singers and conductors claim to target a Standard BE accent for singing but Wilson shows that their style of singing is only a perception of BE which corresponds to the emerging standard variety, Trinidadian English. Thus, in both contexts, choral singing and newscasts, the colonial legacy of BE is primarily felt on an ideological level. In contrast to BE the role of US English for

StE on Jamaican radio is marginal – both in use and ideologically. This conclusion contradicts the general proposition by Bayard et al. (2001) that AE is on the way to replacing BE as the prestige standard due to its global mass media presence and hypotheses of a growing American influence on language use in the Caribbean (e.g. Christie 2003: 20–23; Mair 2002). In contrast to the high prestige of BE, many informants overtly reject AE, conforming to the folk-linguistic studies by Garrett et al. (2005) and Garrett (2009) which show strongly negative overt views of US English. The Jamaican informants are aware of the pluricentricity of the English language but have mixed feelings toward exonormative influences, combining acceptance, appropriation, deference, and rejection.

A comparison of these results on StE in newsreading to the language use by other standard speakers on the radio, such as politicians in interviews or talk show hosts (Shields 1989: 47), demonstrates that the character of StE on Jamaican radio depends on the context. The language of newsreaders is a prime example of standard speech (e.g. Bell 1983: 29) but politicians and talk show hosts in less strictly predefined communicative settings provide a more spontaneous and informal model of StE to the listeners. The language of these Jamaicans of high educational and social status is best described as informal JE and exonormative influences on their accents are marginal, whereas the influence of JC is more pronounced than for newsreaders: shared accent features of JE and JC are common and even stigmatized JC features are used. However, among this group of model speakers there is variation with regard to the integration of JC into their standard speech: morpho-syntactic and lexical JC features are generally avoided in newscast interviews but the talk show baseline styles of DW and OT, which qualify as informal JE, are marked by recurring low salience JC features. Previous research on JE has also shown that the degree of JC influence strongly depends on the specific context, whether for morpho-syntax and lexicon (Deuber 2009a; Jantos 2009) or on the level of accent (Rosenfelder 2009). With regard to an ideological perspective, the listeners also show a greater acceptance of JC influences in these genres than in newscasts and value linguistic versatility. There is also no linguistic prescriptivism as the radio stations grant linguistic freedom to their talk show hosts. Thus, for these more spontaneous and informal domains, a standard language ideology is more locally oriented and also saliently weakened – the informants show strong local variety pride and accept a wider range of linguistic variation as legitimate. These findings on talk shows and also interviews indicate that the clear-cut distinction between standard and non-standard language (i.e. JE and JC in these contexts), is blurred with regard to language use as well as the perception by the listeners.

A comparison of the results from the different genres shows that the use-based and ideological character of StE is not uniform across these contexts: StE in

newscasts reflects the global pluricentricity of English and categorically excludes JC influences, while StE in talk shows and interviews includes JC influences and does not show any exonormative orientation. In order to deal with this context-sensitive diversity of StE on Jamaican radio, Kristiansen's (2001) concept of different layers or domains of standardness is helpful: different varieties have subjective values in different contexts (cf. Garrett et al. 2005: 214). For example, for Denmark Kristiansen (2001) shows that his informants operate with two standards, which carry different connotations of "excellence", – one for the mass media and one for the school. In general, this means that the standard is not one uniform variety but incorporates different styles which differ in their acceptance as the standard in different domains: the standard needs to be understood as a more open concept incorporating different layers. The Jamaican radio data supports such a view: formal JE is the prevalent standard of newscasts, whereas BE functions as a niche conservative standard and informal JE with a low density of JC marking is the standard of more dialogic radio genres. Other layers of standardness might be at work in even other domains in Jamaica such as political speeches or the school system. Hence, a more open notion of the standard seems promising for the understanding of what StE is in diverse sociolinguistic situations such as Jamaica. However, this also means that more contextualized research on StE is needed in Jamaica or other linguistically diverse speech communities where the use of StE is bound to specific domains, in order to understand the layered character of the standard.

10.5 Sociolinguistic changes and endonormativity on Jamaican radio

This section discusses the results of the synchronic analysis of linguistic variation on Jamaican radio in the context of larger sociolinguistic changes in Jamaica. Sociolinguistic change as defined by Coupland (2009a) is less concerned with discovering structural changes in language systems but addresses "language-ideological change in the context of social change, and refer[s] to changes in linguistic usage within that broader matrix" (p. 43). The current analysis does not verify previous hypotheses of a simple replacement of English with JC and a linear development from exo- to endonormativity. The current situation on Jamaican radio rather resembles a dynamic coexistence of different varieties and styles, which interact in distinct ways in different genres. Moreover, the results indicate that the notion of endonormativity on the radio is not monolithic but encompasses different varieties which differ in their values of localness.

The proposed sociolinguistic changes of a functional blurring of English and Creole which ultimately leads to a dethronement of English in its prestige position, which Shields-Brodber (1995, 1997) describes as an erosion of the diglossia of the

past and Schneider (2007: 234-238) as an endonormative stabilization process, are only confirmed partly. On the one hand, JC is an important part of the public domain of radio which was formerly reserved for StE. JC marked speech is frequently used in talk shows by hosts and callers alike. The combination of StE and JC is the unmarked code for most talk show programs and listeners value this linguistic diversity. The informants also show strong overt pride for JC as an integral part of a Jamaican identity and appreciate JC with regard to its value for solidarity, expressivity, and liveliness. Furthermore, individuals support the use of JC on the air strongly even in highly formal domains and advocate a bilingual approach to broadcasting. Radio stations do not restrict the use of JC in informal dialogic radio programs and JC has even become a commodity for them: a more informal approach to radio production which includes JC is necessary to compete for market shares. On the other hand, diglossic tendencies have been retained on Jamaican radio as there are persisting functional differences between StE and JC. Newscasts are a stronghold of StE as the influence of JC is almost non-existent. With regard to formal radio contexts, a standard language ideology which discriminates against JC persists among most of the listeners and also on the level of radio production. Linguistic variation in most talk shows also demonstrates that JC is mainly used for showing solidarity, emotions, humor, or liveliness – traditional functions of a Low variety in the diglossia framework. From the listeners' perspective, on-air prestige is projected through the use of JE with only light marking for JC. JS is the only host who consistently uses JC marked speech and challenges a diglossic distribution of functions. The findings on language use show that Jamaican radio, on the one hand, conforms to a diglossic distribution of StE and JC but, on the other hand, also challenges a traditional functional distinction. This double sidedness is also apparent on an ideological level with regard to the attitudes of the listeners as well as the norms of production: listeners value the use of JC in certain contexts; they discriminate against it in others. Similarly, norms of production are prescriptive with regard to the language use in newscasts, while they leave linguistic freedoms to the hosts in more informal genres. These two-sided conclusions on the production, projection, and perception of linguistic variation on the air highlight the heterogeneity of language in the media: mass media appropriate linguistic resources in diverse ways and audiences encounter the mediated linguistic variation with different ideological dispositions.

JC has pushed into the radio domain but it has not dethroned StE in its prestige position and it is indeed premature to propose a requiem for English in Jamaica (Shields-Brodber 1997) not only with regard to evidence from written use (Mair 2002: 39) but also based on spoken language use on the radio. Both StE and JC are integral parts of Jamaican radio. In order to become a successful radio personality (except for newsreading) the announcers need to have context-sensitive

"sociolinguistic competence" (Bourdieu 1991: 37). This includes not only the competence to produce grammatically correct utterances in both varieties but also the ability to combine them as the situation demands and the knowledge when which variety or mix is appropriate. Both varieties fulfill important functions on the radio and the functional distinction between them is only partly blurred. The degree of blurring (with regard to language use and ideologies of listeners and radio production) depends on the specific context. Using the concept of language ecology (e.g. Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson 2007) the situation on Jamaican radio is best described as a coexistence of English and JC rather than a rivalry because both varieties mostly complement each other rather than compete. Yet, this coexistence is not on an equal footing: a colonially inherited unequal functional distinction between StE and JC lingers on as JC is barred from formal contexts through a standard language ideology, which persists among the audience and the production and is reproduced by English-only newscasts. Furthermore, the coexistence is not entirely conflict-free as linguistic functions and norms are constantly being renegotiated: for example, individual announcers like JS challenge the functional distinction of StE and JC, individual listeners criticize the niche role of JC in serious radio broadcasting, and radio stations increasingly realize the economic and communicative potential of JC on the air.

With regard to endonormativity the analysis shows that both English (as its local variety JE) and JC are endonormative to Jamaican radio. Both are essential to the Jamaican radio landscape and informants hold accent loyalty toward them, albeit to different degrees in different contexts. Both JE and JC index a local Jamaican identity on the air but the varieties carry different additional connotations (e.g. prestige vs. liveliness). The distinction made by Christie (2003: 63) between JC as a symbol and JE as a mere marker of a Jamaican identity plays down the role of JE on Jamaican radio and beyond, even if the two varieties may very well carry different values of localness in different contexts and also with regard to different Jamaican demographics. Any discussion of endonormative stabilization in Jamaica needs to take into account both local varieties, unlike Schneider's analysis of Jamaica (2007: 227–238), which focusses primarily on JC. Schneider's discussion of endonormative stabilization processes in Singapore (2007: 153–161) which includes both Standard Singaporean English and the local vernacular Singlish, is a good case in point. Such a more open view of endonormativity which takes into account the local linguistic diversity seems also promising for Jamaica and other highly diverse postcolonial speech communities.

The analysis has not verified the hypothesis of a dethronement of StE by JC but the investigation of language use and attitudes in both radio newscasts and talk shows conforms to Mair's (2002) observation that the notion of what StE in Jamaica means has changed substantially. JE is the dominant norm for StE of

Jamaican radio broadcasting despite lingering linguistic insecurity and lacking official recognition on the level of radio production. This is in line with Schneider's (2007: 48–52) general formulation of endonormative stabilization where local postcolonial standard varieties replace former colonial standards. BE, the colonially-inherited standard, has been largely replaced and its role has shifted toward a conservative standard mainly bound to newscasts. In this way a colonial linguistic legacy of BE lingers on but as a niche phenomenon and foremost as an ideological concept. The analysis shows that a US influence is also at work on Jamaican radio but its impact is marginal. However, from the listeners' perspective this clear-cut distinction between endo- and exonormative varieties of StE is blurred. The informants do not perceive newscasters with BIE and AIE accents as "twanging", they have an open notion of a standard, and the diversity of StE in newscasts has become a daily linguistic reality to them. These perceptual findings point toward a different view of norm competition for standard speech in Jamaica: exonormative influences are integrated into local StE rather than eroded. Thus, endonormative stabilization is not a linear process toward one uniform variety but rather toward a coexistence of different varieties and styles which have different values of localness in different contexts. Thus, the open notion of endonormativity proposed via this investigation corresponds to the layered notion of StE in Jamaica.

With regard to a future prognosis it seems unlikely that American and British influences on Jamaica and similar norm-developing speech communities will vanish in the near future. US English continues to have a strong mass media presence and both Englishes remain important reference varieties which hold global prestige. However, this lingering exonormative orientation and resulting integration of British and American influences might be more relevant for smaller speech communities such as Jamaica or New Zealand in contrast to Australia, for example, where linguistic deference is waning (Bayard et al. 2001). Bell's analyses of language use in New Zealand mass media (e.g. 1982, 2011) have repeatedly shown an exonormative influence, which to him "reflects […] a small nation's focus on the prestige of other culturally powerful nations such as the United States and Britain" (Bell 1990: 189). For even smaller speech communities, such as the many anglophone small island states of the Caribbean or Asia-Pacific region, a complete linguistic emancipation from Britain or the US or other transnational epicenters such as Australian (Mair 2013: 261) or New Zealand English (Biewer 2015: 261–305), which provide external norms for emerging standards in small speech communities, seems highly unlikely.

10.6 Destandardization and demotization on Jamaican radio

The results of this study should not be seen as confined to linguistic issues in the Caribbean or other postcolonial speech communities but have wider relevance for sociolinguistic research on attitudes and the mass media as well as for current theories of destandardization. Similar to the approach taken in this study, researchers from the SLICE (Standard Language Ideology in Contemporary Europe) project combine language attitude research with investigations of language in the media. They aim to show ongoing sociolinguistic changes with regard to "the nature and role of standardization and standard languages in late modernity (Kristiansen)"[4] in contemporary Europe. Their diverse findings from speech communities all across Europe point toward far-reaching changes with regard to the notion of the standard on an ideological as well as a use level. Drawing on Mattheier (1997), Kristiansen (2009b) proposes two theoretical concepts to describe these changes: destandardization describes a value levelling between standard and non-standard varieties, which allows a wide range of varieties more access to the public sphere. As people no longer believe in the standard as the best variety, there is a radical weakening of the standard language ideology. In contrast, demotization describes a process where the belief in one variety as the best variety stays intact but the notion of what this best variety is changes.[5]

Both models of sociolinguistic change are reflected by the current findings. The results on Jamaican radio indicate an ongoing demotization process: JE has largely replaced BE as the standard although there is lingering linguistic deference alongside variety loyalty on an ideological level. The notion of what is the standard is shifting toward a local model and at the same time has also opened up toward the pluricentricity of English. For newscasts, a standard language ideology which discriminates against JC but is open to different StEs is well in place among the listeners and on the level of production. Thus, Jamaican radio newscasts have opened to linguistic plurality but this plurality is restricted to accent variation in StE and excludes JC. In addition to this demotization process, the results on talk shows indicate a destandardization process: in the context of talk shows a standard ideology has given way to an appreciation of linguistic diversity which combines English and JC. The findings on language use, attitudes, and production norms together indicate that there is a partial functional and language ideological value

4. More information on SLICE available online at: <http://lanchart.hum.ku.dk/research/slice/>

5. The concept of vernacularization as "an ideological drive towards plurality" (Coupland 2014: 86) encompasses demotization and destandardization but is not used in this discussion because as an all-encompassing concept it cannot capture the fine-grained changes in the standard itself and between standard and vernacular varieties in detail.

levelling of standard and non-standard varieties. However, this process of destandardization is confined to informal radio genres such as talk shows: the distinction between standard and non-standard varieties is maintained in newscasts. Both concepts apply to the current sociolinguistic situation on Jamaican radio but they are intertwined: demotization and destandardization processes take place at the same time on Jamaican radio but affect genres to different degrees. Radio or broadcasting media in general are a highly heterogeneous domain which combines formal genres, such as newscasts, where a standard language ideology is reproduced and informal genres, such as talk shows, where a wide range of standard and non-standard varieties interact.

Although so far mainly applied to European speech communities, the concepts of demotization and destandardization seem also valuable for postcolonial speech communities which are linguistically diverse and are also on their way to establishing their own standards in a linguistic emancipation process away from colonially inherited standards. However, as discussed for StE in Jamaica, a demotization process does not necessarily result in one new uniform standard variety but incorporates different global and local norms level of language use and language ideologies. And similarly, tendencies of destandardization do not inevitably result in a complete breakdown of a standard language ideology but the belief in a standard, which allows for a certain range of variation, and the reproduction of this belief via a strict distinction between standard and non-standard varieties is likely to be preserved in specific contexts.

The different studies in the SLICE project all focus on sociolinguistic changes on a national level: for example, Coupland (2009a, 2014) discusses sociolinguistic changes in several genres of British broadcast media but only addresses the altered functional and ideological status of different British varieties in the 21st century. He highlights that accent variation among BBC newscasters has broadened, including not only the former default RP standard but increasingly Welsh and Scottish accents. Moreover, he contrasts the maintenance of a clear distinction between standard and non-standard varieties in British broadcast media with the ridiculing presentation of RP speakers as posh as well as the unconventional admixtures of different varieties which challenge the traditional British sociolinguistic order. Combined with this analysis Coupland (2014: 87–92) formulates a research agenda for studying sociolinguistic change in mass media and urges future studies to pay close attention to genre and how linguistic resources are appropriated in specific contexts as well as to combine stylistic analyses of language use with attitudinal data. With the integrated approach to investigating linguistic variation on Jamaican radio I have followed this research agenda but my findings show that the range of varieties taken into account should not be limited to local varieties, JE and JC, but should also incorporate BE and AE as exonormative

varieties which are partly integrated into the local linguistic diversity on the radio. Coupland (2009a, 2014) does not address the roles and functions of non-British varieties in British broadcast media although it might be very important to take into account the presence of US English in British TV – and by extension today's globalized mass media sphere in general: Bayard et al. (2001: 41–43) propose the global US media dominance as a major factor for the increasing ideological prestige of US English.

Mass media are a research site par excellence to study the local appropriation of the global diversity of English. The current investigation of Jamaican radio illustrates how different local, JE and JC, and global norms, BE and AE, interact in Jamaican mass media. This interplay of local and global varieties is not unique to Jamaican radio and has been observed for other mass media contexts as well: for example, Bell (2011) identifies a diversification of English in New Zealand broadcast news including local, US and British norms, Hinrichs (2011) shows the complex interaction of Canadian English and JC in a reggae radio program from Toronto, and Blommaert (2005: 224–232) analyzes how a South African radio DJ combines StE, African-American English, South African Township English, and Dread Talk. Coupland's (2014: 87–92) research agenda for investigating sociolinguistic change in mass media via a context-sensitive approach with a mixed methodology is highly valuable to account for the dynamics of English which transcend the national level but the scope of varieties and styles taken into account needs to be widened. Although the theories of destandardization and demotization were designed to account for sociolinguistic changes along national lines, these two concepts can be applied to even more complex settings in which norms from outside interact with local ones as shown in the discussion of the results on Jamaican radio.

10.7 The integrated approach to mass media revisited

This analysis of linguistic variation on Jamaican radio has utilized an integrated approach to mass media: with a mixed methodology I have analyzed the variation in language use, the attitudes of the audience toward linguistic variation, and the ideological norms of production. This mixed methodology shows how different components of language in the media (the texts, the audience perception, and the norms of production) are intertwined: for example, the standard language ideology reflected through the hierarchical distribution of English and JC in many contexts of Jamaican radio is upheld by the linguistic norms of the radio stations as well as the ideological dispositions of the audience. Combining the different perspectives helps to evaluate and make better sense of the results of each individual approach. With regard to the notion of StE, this mix of methods is also capable of showing

a use-based and an ideological dimension of standard speech. The analysis has shown that these two dimensions might diverge substantially from each other: JE dominates the use of StE on Jamaican radio but its ideological recognition is lagging behind. Conversely, the significance of BE for standard language use is fairly limited but it has a strong ideological relevance. This analysis has largely focused on language use and the perception of the audience but has only analyzed the very general guidelines of radio production. A deeper analysis of this latter component seems beneficial but requires an ethnographic approach in order to investigate the application of these very general guidelines in the actual production process of radio programs.

The integrated approach to language in the media taken in this study cannot account for the actual effects of mass media consumption on the audience. However, the analysis has shown that radio is one domain where listeners experience a wide range of linguistic varieties and styles, which might be very remote from their own language use, on a daily basis. For example, outside the context of mass media, most Jamaicans have no contact to BE in their daily lives. In this way radio as part of the audiences' media-scape (Appadurai 1996) provides access to BE or other linguistic varieties which are beyond the immediate interpersonal reach. Jamaican radio puts diverse varieties and styles on display and listeners meet this linguistic diversity with multifaceted ideological dispositions. Jamaican listeners are distinctly aware of the rich array of different varieties and style presented to them daily on the radio and this mediated linguistic diversity is part of their language ideological worlds.

The methodological mix of the analysis of language use has combined quantitative and qualitative methods which complement each other by showing different aspects of linguistic variation. The quantitative analysis of accent variation among newscasters and talk show hosts' baseline styles has shown a very detailed picture of the interaction of different norms in the two genres. The qualitative discourse analytical perspective on linguistic variation puts this fine-grained variation in a larger context of linguistic variation on the radio. The qualitative analysis has shown genre-internal variation along different segments in newscasts and for talk shows how the four hosts differ in their appropriation of linguistic resources in their on-air-performances. Such a mixed approach allows studying very subtle differences and understanding them in a wider framework: the context of this very subtle variation, the co-occurrence of these subtly distinct realizations with other features, and the way in which speakers put his variation to use.

A major benefit of this investigation is the context-sensitive approach because all components of the integrated approach to linguistic variation on Jamaican radio show substantial genre variation. The analysis of language use illustrates how linguistic resources are appropriated very differently by speakers in newscasts and

talk shows: JC is avoided categorically by newscasters but used for a wide range of functions by talk show hosts. The language attitude study shows that listeners perceive linguistic variation very differently in the two genres: listeners discriminate against JC in newscasts but value linguistic diversity in talk shows. Production norms also restrict the use of JC in newscasts and have a strong ideological exonormative orientation but there is no linguistic prescriptivism in language use in talk shows. Thus, linguistic resources are contextualized very differently in newscasts and talk shows. Coupland (2007: 111–145) describes the contextualization of language varieties and styles in particular situations in terms of "framing". The social meaning of linguistic features or styles in specific contexts depends on three types of discursive frames: the sociolinguistic structure of the speech community (sociocultural frame), the genre of the linguistic interaction (genre frame) and the interpersonal relationship of the participants (interpersonal frame). This analysis of Jamaican radio shows that genre provides a powerful frame for linguistic variation: the genre restricts the range of linguistic variation allowed in the production process, used by the speakers in their performance and accepted as legitimate by the audience. The genre also constrains the roles, functions, and social meanings of varieties and styles on the level of use as well as on the level of perception. However, genres are not internally homogenous: the detailed analysis of different newscast segments shows salient genre-internal variation. Furthermore, the four talk show case studies (Jamaica Speaks, Hotline with Orville Taylor, Hotline with Barbara Gloudon, and Straight Up) are classified as belonging to the same genre but these programs provide very different individual frames for linguistic variation. In contrast to newscasts, the genre of talk shows is less pre-defined, and thus allows space for a wide range of different sub-genres of talk shows, such as expert discussion rounds, on-air reasoning sessions, and debates with callers. As mass media are highly heterogeneous with regard to various genres, different types of the same hyper-genre, and different segments in one genre, sociolinguistic research on language in the media needs to pay close attention to the immediate context to understand the constraints and social meaning of linguistic variation in a specific situation.

Sensitivity to context is also important for language attitude research. Individuals' language attitudes are multidimensional and comprise different layers. The immediate disposition toward language strongly depends on the context. The analysis has shown how the attitudes toward JC vary substantially from newscasts, where JC is largely discriminated against, to talk shows, where it is generally valued for its solidarity quality. Furthermore, using authentic source material in the variety rating studies illustrates the listeners' attitudes toward 'real-life' linguistic variation, which they experience on a daily basis and is thus meaningful to them. Acontextual language attitude research with general British, American,

and Jamaican speech samples could not have shown how the informants have integrated the foreign influences into their notion of StE in the context of newscasts. Context is especially important in highly diverse speech communities, such as Jamaica, where different languages or language varieties are bound to specific domains – and so are the users' language attitudes. However, findings from one context cannot be transferred one to one to another context where very different norms may exist – contextualized research produces contextualized results. Studying language attitudes in several specific contexts allows drawing a more detailed picture of users' layered attitudes to language.

In order to account for the complexity of users' attitudes, language attitude research also needs to take into account the different overt and covert attitudinal components by combining different methods. The combination of direct questioning, the variety rating studies and folk-linguistic interviews has shown quite different attitudes, ranging from overt variety loyalty to more covert linguistic deference. Using a mix of methods might produce a diversity of results which may at first glance seem contradictory. However, it is exactly this challenging task of evaluating and combining different results which offers a deeper insight into the layering of language attitudes. In this study the qualitative findings from the interviews help to understand the seemingly contradictory results of the quantitative survey study. Although quantitative research designs have dominated the field and are essential to illustrate covert attitudes and fine-grained variation, qualitative approaches offer unique opportunities to language attitude research: apart from offering the possibility to uncover attitudinal aspects not anticipated in the research design and an additional perspective on quantitative findings they also leave more room for the users to express their views, beliefs and opinions freely. I believe that this user perspective has a lot to offer for language attitude research and sociolinguistics in general as the users' view might be very different than the results of descriptive analyses of language use and can prove essential to understanding the dynamics of linguistic variation.

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APPENDIX I

Language use data overview

Newscast data

Label	Date	Station	Length	Words	News type (and name)
News01JEF101	18 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	2m19s	405	bulletin (Headlines News)
News02JEF102	19 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	1m21s	255	bulletin (Headlines News)
News03JEF103	18 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	5m3s	786	bulletin (Headlines News)
Total JEF1			8m43s	1446	
News04JEF201	19 Sep 2011	IRIE FM	4m57s	637	bulletin
News05JEM101	16 May 2013	JIS	4m26s	683	journal (Calling Farmers)
News06JEM102	25 May 2011	JIS	5m2s	736	journal (Calling Farmers)
Total JEM1			9m28s	1419	
News07JEM201	13.09.2011	IRIE FM	12m37s	1786	journal
Label	**Date**	**Station**	**Length**	**Words**	**News type (and name)**
News08BIEF01	4 Jun 2011	RJR	1m51s	330	bulletin (Headlines)
News09BIEF02	10 Jan 2011	RJR	2m27s	404	bulletin (Headlines)
News10BIEF03	30 May 2011	RJR	13m33s	2342	journal (Newsline)
Total BIEF			17m51s	3076	
News11BIEM01	18 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	12m12s	1477	journal (Major News)
News12AIEM01	20 May 2011	RJR	2m4s	357	bulletin (Headline News)
News13AIEM02	19 May 2011	RJR	2m23s	386	bulletin (Headline News)
News14AIEM03	20 May 2011	RJR	14m30s	2181	journal (Newsline Seven)
Total AIEM			18m57s	2924	
News21AE01	25 Aug 2011	IRIE FM	5m38s	883	journal (VOA News)

Talk show data

Label	Date	Station	Length	Words	Program
Talk01JE01	19 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	3m3s	278	**Jamaica Speaks:** Examples were selected from two entire 3 hour long recordings of Jamaican Speaks from 19 and 26 May 2011.
Talk02JE02	19 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	15m25s	2195	
Talk03JE03	19 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	13m58s	2131	
Talk04JE04	19 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	3m33s	572	
Talk05JE05	19 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	4m47s	1238	

(*continued*)

Label	Date	Station	Length	Words	Program
Talk06JE06	26 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	9m56s	1294	
Total JE			50m42s	7708	
Label	**Date**	**Station**	**Length**	**Words**	**Program**
Talk07JE=JC01	18 May 2011	RJR	4m42s	778	**Hotline with Orville Taylor:** Examples were selected from two full 4 hour long recordings of Hotline with Orville Taylor from 18 May 2011 and 29 October 2014.
Talk08JE=JC02	18 May 2011	RJR	2m19s	421	
Talk09JE=JC03	18 May 2011	RJR	2m3s	392	
Talk10JE=JC04	29 Oct 2014	RJR	4m32s	625	
Talk11JE=JC05	29 Oct 2014	RJR	3m10s	649	
Talk12JE=JC06	29 Oct 2014	RJR	1m49s	301	
Talk13JE=JC07	29 Oct 2014	RJR	7m48s	1272	
Talk14JE=JC08	29 Oct 2014	RJR	2m23s	358	
Total JE=JC			28m46s	4796	
Talk15JE>JC01	19 May 2011	RJR	9m7s	1659	**Hotline with Barbara Gloudon:** Examples were selected from two full 4 hour long recordings of Hotline with Barbara Gloudon from 19 and 20 May 2011.
Talk16JE>JC02	19 May 2011	RJR	2m8s	502	
Talk17JE>JC03	19 May 2011	RJR	6m23s	1117	
Talk18JE>JC04	20 May 2011	RJR	6m6s	1033	
Talk19JE>JC05	20 May 2011	RJR	2m23s	117	
Talk20JE>JC06	20 May 2011	RJR	1m54s	370	
Talk21JE>JC07	20 May 2011	RJR	3m38s	694	
Talk22JE>JC08	20 May 2011	RJR	9m1s	1602	
Total JE>JC			40m40s	7094	
Talk23JC>JE01	18 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	7m41s	1320	**Straight Up with Jerry Small:** Examples were selected from two full 3 hour long recordings of Straight Up with Jerry Small from 18 and 19 May 2011.
Talk24JC>JE02	18 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	3m57s	721	
Talk25JC>JE03	18 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	3m28s	694	
Talk26JC>JE04	18 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	3m24s	670	
Talk27JC>JE05	18 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	4m50s	761	
Talk28JC>JE06	19 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	5m59s	1033	
Talk29JC>JE07	19 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	5m19s	877	
Talk30JC>JE08	19 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	3m47s	752	
Talk31JC>JE09	19 May 2011	Newstalk93FM	5m59s	1132	
Total JC>JE			44m24s	7960	

APPENDIX II

Excerpts overview

Sound files to the excerpts are available on an accompanying website at: https://doi.org/10.1075/veaw.g60.audio

RJR, Newstalk93FM, and IRIE FM have granted permission for the use of these recordings in this publication.

Excerpt	Title	Program	Station	date
5.1	Coding example, *Protests in Trinidad*	Headline News	Newstalk93FM	18 May 2011
6.1	Self correction H-deletion, *Gunshots in the Mountain View area*	Headline News	Newstalk93FM	18 May 2011
6.2	Jingle I, *RJR Headline News*	Headline News	RJR	10 Jan 2011
6.3	Jingle II, *Newstalk93FM*	Major News	Newstalk93FM	18 May 2011
6.4	Jingle II, *IRIE FM news*	-	IRIE FM	13 Sep 2011
6.5	Jingle IV, *RJR News Line Seven*	Newsline Seven	RJR	19 May 2011
6.6	Jingle V, *IRIE FM general*	-	IRIE FM	2007
6.7	Welcome and sing-off I, *IRIE FM news journal*	IRIE FM News	IRIE FM	13 Sep 2011
6.8	Welcome and sing-off II, *Newstalk93FM 12 o'clock NewsPackage*	Major News	Newstalk93FM	18 May 2011
6.9	Welcome and sing-off III, *RJR Newsline Seven*	Newsline Seven	RJR	19 May 2011
6.10	News bulletin news item, *Murder of Steven Laurence*	Headline News	Newstalk93FM	18 May 2011
6.11	News journal news item sequence, *Cement dispute with the Dominican Republic*	Newsline Seven	RJR	30 May 2011
6.12	Paraphrasing regular citizens, *Shootings in St. Catharine North Police Division*	Newsline Seven	RJR	19 May 2011

(*continued*)

Excerpt	Title	Program	Station	date
6.13	Interview I, *Cement dispute with the Dominican Republic*	Major News	Newstalk93FM	18 May 2011
6.14	Interview II, *Jamaican proverb*	Newsline Seven	RJR	30 May 2011
6.15	Pre-recorded report, *Oil prices in Jamaica*	Newsline Seven	RJR	19 May 2011
6.16	Live report, *Roving Report*	Newsline Seven	RJR	19 May 2011
6.17	Imported news report, *Syrian civil war*	Major News	Newstalk93FM	18 May 2011
6.18	Imported news sequence, *National Public Radio international headline*	Headline News	Newstalk93FM	18 May 2011
7.1	Voice of the people, *State officials and power*	Straight Up	Newstalk93FM	19 May 2011
7.2	Moderator, *Sensitizing consumers*	Jamaica Speaks	Newstalk93FM	19 May 2011
7.3	Micro-stylistic variation, *Regulating an open market economy*	Jamaica Speaks	Newstalk93FM	19 May 2011
7.4	JC marked speech guests, *Garrison politics*	Jamaican Speaks	Newstalk93FM	26 May 2011
7.5	Introduction, *Hotline with Orville Taylor*	Hotline with Orville Taylor	RJR	18 May 2011
7.6	Style shifting monologue, *Fraud and politicians*	Hotline with Orville Taylor	RJR	29 Oct 2014
7.7	Convergence, *Portland*	Hotline with Orville Taylor	RJR	18 May 2011
7.8	Divergence, *Lee Kwan Yee*	Hotline with Orville Taylor	RJR	29 Oct 2014
7.9	Figurative language, *Orange seed and wounded dogs*	Hotline with Barbara Gloudon	RJR	19 May 2011
7.10	Smooth and abrupt style-shifting, *Victim blaming*	Hotline with Barbara Gloudon	RJR	19 May 2011
7.11	Style shifting dialogues, *Light bill*	Hotline with Barbara Gloudon	RJR	20 May 2011
7.12	Monologic style-shifting, *Aundre Franklin*	Straight Up	Newstalk93FM	19 May 2011
7.13	Education, *The sun is on fire*	Straight Up	Newstalk93FM	19 May 2011
8.1	Jamaican English female one stimulus, *Support for Patrick Manning*	Headline News	Newstalk93FM	18 May 2011
8.2	Jamaican English female two stimulus, *Corruption*	IRIE FM News	IRIE FM	6 Sep 2011

(*continued*)

Excerpt	Title	Program	Station	date
8.4	Jamaican English male two stimulus, *Job discrimination*	IRIE FM News	IRIE FM	13 Sep 2011
8.5	British-influenced English female file, *Revocation of US visa*	Newsline Seven	RJR	30 May 2011
8.6	British-influenced English male stimulus, *Protest in North Trelawny*	Major News	Newstalk93FM	18 May 2011
8.7	American-influenced English male stimulus, *CARICOM and Trinidad*	Headline News	RJR	19 May 2011
8.8	Jamaican English talk show stimulus, *Market regulations*	Jamaican Speaks	Newstalk93FM	19 May 2011
8.9	Jamaican English > Jamaican Creole talk show stimulus, *Jamaican roads*	Hotline with Barbara Gloudon	RJR	19 May 2011
8.10	Jamaican English = Jamaican Creole talk show stimulus, *Papine to Buff Bay*	Hotline with Orville Taylor	RJR	18 May 2011
8.11	Jamaican Creole > Jamaican English talk show stimulus, *Police brutality*	Straight Up	Newstalk93FM	19 May 2011

APPENDIX III

Formulae

Euclidian distance: $d = \sqrt{(F1'_{glide} - F1'_{onset})^2 + (F2'_{glide} - F2'_{onset})^2}$

change in vowel height: $\Delta F1' = \frac{F1'_{glide} - F1'_{onset}}{duration}$

change in vowel backness: $\Delta F2' = \frac{F2'_{glide} - F2'_{onset}}{duration}$

APPENDIX IV

Jamaican Radio Survey – rating schemes and direct questions

Part 1. Newscasts*

Newscast 1	**not at all**	**not**	**rather not**	**rather (yes)**	**(yes)**	**very**
The newscaster's pronunciation was	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
correct	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
natural	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
standard	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
proper	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
authentic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
refined	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
clear	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The newscaster was	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
twanging	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The newscaster gave the impression of being	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
professional	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
modest	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The newscaster's voice was	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
pleasant	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
suitable for broadcasting	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Further comments:						

* seven identical rating schemes for the seven newscast stimuli files

Part 2. Talk Shows*

Talk Show 1	**not at all**	**not**	**rather not**	**rather (yes)**	**(yes)**	**very**
The host's language was	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
correct	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
entertaining	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
proper	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Talk Show 1	not at all	not	rather not	rather (yes)	(yes)	very
The host's language was	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
authentic	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
emotional	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
natural	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
humorous	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
formal	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
expressive	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
feisty	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
The host's voice was	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**
pleasant	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
suitable for broadcasting	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Further comments:						

* four identical rating schemes for the four talk show stimuli files

Part 3. Language preference and appropriatenessWhich type of language do you **personally prefer** in these different types of radio programs? (You can tick more than one.)

	American English	British English	Jamaican English	Mix of English with a little Patwa	Mix of Patwa with a little English	Patwa
News broadcast	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Talk Show on politics	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Talk Show on personal matters	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Morning Show	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Advertisement for a Bank	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Advertisement for Soft Drink	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Evening DJ Show	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Comedy Show	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
Further comments:						

Would you like it if there was more Patwa used on the radio?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes in which types of program? (You can tick more than one.)

☐ Talk Shows ☐ Newscasts ☐ Advertisements ☐ DJ Shows ☐ Comedy Show ☐ other:

Further comments:

How do you feel about Jamaicans using a **British** accent on the Radio? Do you like it?

I generally like it	I only like it when performed authentically	I don't mind it	I don't like it
☐	☐	☐	☐

How does it sound to you? (You can tick more than one.)

educated	speaky-spoky	fake	twanging	proper	articulate
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Further comments:

How do you feel about Jamaicans using an **American** accent on the Radio? Do you like it?

I generally like it	I only like it when performed authentically	I don't mind it	I don't like it
☐	☐	☐	☐

How does it sound to you? (You can tick more than one.)

educated	speaky-spoky	fake	twanging	proper	articulate
☐	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Further comments:

Part 4. Personal information

To process your questionnaire properly, I need to know a few things about you:

Sex: ☐ male ☐ female	Age: ☐ 18–25 ☐ 26–35 ☐ 36–45 ☐ 46+
Occupation:	If student, which subject:
Country of birth:	In Jamaica since when:
Have you ever lived abroad? ☐ Yes ☐ No	If yes, where and how long?

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This volume presents an in-depth analysis of language variation in Jamaican radio newscasts and talk shows. It explores the interaction of global and local varieties of English with regard to newscasters' and talk show hosts' language use and listeners' attitudes. The book illustrates the benefits of an integrated approach to mass media: the analysis takes into account radio talk and the perception of the audience, it is context-sensitive, paying close attention to variation within and between genres, and it combines quantitative and qualitative approaches to demonstrate the complexity of language in the media. The book contributes to our understanding of the dynamics of World Englishes in the 21st century and endonormative stabilization processes in linguistically heterogeneous postcolonial speech communities, and shows how mass media both challenge and reproduce sociolinguistic stratification. This volume will be relevant for researchers interested in the fields of sociolinguistics, language attitudes, and language in the media.

"As someone who grew up listening to Jamaican radio in the post-Independence period (1960s-70s), I find Michael Westphal's book vivid, instructive, and very sound on this most protean form of mass media. It charts the decolonization of different varieties of Jamaica Talk across the dial, giving close structural detail and highlighting the social role of everyday speakers, elite commentators, and pioneering broadcasters of Patwa. *Language Variation on Jamaican Radio* is in the charts with a bullet!"

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"In this trailblazing study, Westphal investigates talk on Jamaican radio, not only as a rich source of data on linguistic variation, but also as the object of evaluations rooted in varying language ideologies. The study is remarkable for its methodological breadth and its analytical rigour which combine to expose the multidimensional and layered nature of language attitudes in this domain."

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