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Top-down Initiated Medial Linguistic Politics: A Normative Inquiry into the Application of Andalusian Varieties Conducted by the Radio Channel *Canal Fiesta Radio*

This contribution deals with the phonetic heterogeneity of spoken Spanish in Andalusia in the sector of public auditory media, specifically in the program *¡Anda Levanta!* of *Canal Fiesta Radio*. First, we take into consideration Article 10 of the Statute of the Autonomy of Andalusia, which enhances the protection, promotion, study, and prestige of the Andalusian modalities and its respective variety (cf. Parlamento de Andalucía 2007: 13). Second, we refer to the *Libro de Estilo*, a mandatory guide for presenters of public audiovisual media in Andalusia since 2014. The results of the qualitative analysis indicate divergences between the presenters and their audience with regard to their use of phonetic characteristics typical of the Andalusian varieties: where the presenters tend to avoid the salient aspects of the varieties, the audience employs a range of phonetic characteristics typical for Andalusian varieties, including some of the characteristics that are considered less prestigious.

Keywords: *Andalusian varieties; linguistic politics; European Spanish; sociophonetics; language in media;*

1 Aspects of top-down¹ initiated linguistic politics in Andalusia

To this day, studies on the Andalusian varieties of the Spanish language have generated the most insightful results within the Hispanic modalities, which is true with regard to the field of phonetic-phonology (cf. Harjus, J. 2018a: 16) – the very field in which this contribution is interested in. In an attempt to enhance the complex linguistic actuality in the south of Spain, we suggest to consider the Andalusian dialect as heterogeneous (cf. Mondéjar 2006).

Regardless of the multiplicity of linguistic variants within the Andalusian dialect, some of its phonetic-phonological features are considered less

¹ With this term we refer to political-linguistic actions indicated by the state, in the sense of top-down (cf. Marten 2016: 41), and not by non-governmental actors, such as grass-root movements (cf. Schiffman 2002).

prestigious than others from a sociolinguistic perspective. Thus, various linguists emphasize several linguistic features of little prestige, those which have been rejected in higher classes and relegated to vulgar or very colloquial realms (e.g. Carbonero 2003: 49). As for instance in the case of the *ceceo*,² considered more rustic and vulgar in social spheres (cf. id.).

The linguistic features of the western Andalusian varieties considered prestigious according to Villena (2008) and other linguists are the following: the *seseo*,³ the aspiration of the velar fricative voiceless /x/,⁴ the elision of the intervocalic /d/,⁵ the aspiration of the implosive /s/,⁶ and the frequent disappearance of the final consonant sounds⁷ in pronunciation. New tendencies in research on the permanent discussion on the division of the continuum of Andalusian varieties in a western part – determined by a supposed *norma*⁸ *sevillana*,⁹ serving as a regional standard,¹⁰ (cf. *ibid.*: 144) – and an oriental part – determined by a lack of a metropolitan center – based on phonetic-phonological aspects contradict the existence of a supposed Sevillian norm that enjoys a high prestige (e.g. García-Amaya 2008).

As a result, the aforementioned is a prescriptive linguistic issue, which is of political linguistic importance: apart from this new data regarding the use of supposed stigmatized variants, we also have significant data from recent studies in the context of educational institutions, which demonstrates the practical

² «Tanto en el hablante seseante como en el ceceante se produce una defonologización: en ambos casos, independientemente del resultado final, la oposición fonológica entre los fonemas /z/ y /s/ pierde sus rasgos distintivos, dando lugar a un monofonema realizado articulatoriamente como [s] o [z]» (Jiménez 1999: 22-23), as for example *zapato* pronounced as [sa'pato] or *cosa* realized phonetically as ['koθa].

³ The dephonologization of the phonemes /θ/ and /s/ to a single one made phonetically as [s]. The description of this linguistic phenomenon is quite simplified and ignores the linguistic history of Andalusian Spanish (cf. Narbona/Roperio 1997).

⁴ E.g. *jefe* ['hefe].

⁵ E.g. *hablado* [a'βlao].

⁶ This linguistic phenomenon consists in the aspiration or loss of the consonant /s/ when it occupies an implosive position (cf. Jiménez 1999: 34-43), e.g. *los hombres* [lo 'ombre].

⁷ E.g. *verdad* [ber'ða].

⁸ In this paper, we define linguistic norms as social aspects of linguistic communication (cf. Gloy 1980).

⁹ For further explanation on *norma sevillana* cf. Villena (2012).

¹⁰ We define *standard language* as a prestigious variety of a historical language that is usually institutionalized and normative (cf. Ammon 2005: 314).

attempts of Andalusian educational institutions to neutralize prescriptively the linguistic heterogeneity of the Andalusian Spanish (cf. Méndez 2013; Harjus 2018b)¹¹ in favor of the national standard Spanish or even, of a supposed *norma sevillana*. Consequently, an immense discrepancy and contradiction can be noted between the linguistic treatment of the heterogeneity of the Andalusian modalities in state institutions, and the politico-linguistic efforts that are addressed in Article 10 of the Statute of Autonomy of Andalusia: «La defensa, promoción, estudio y prestigio de la modalidad lingüística andaluza en todas sus variedades» (Parlamento de Andalucía 2007: 13).

Against this backdrop, this contribution approaches the conclusions of recent studies and focuses on phonic heterogeneity of spoken Spanish in the sector of public auditory media in Andalusia, especially in the program *¡Anda Levanta!* of *Canal Fiesta Radio*, which serves as an example for language management within top-down initiated medial linguistic politics. The main questions addressed here are: How is Article 10 of the constitution of the Autonomous Community of Andalusia put into motion in Andalusian public auditory media, specifically in the program *¡Anda Levanta!* of *Canal Fiesta Radio*? Can we highlight convergences and/or divergences between the Spanish spoken by the presenters of *¡Anda Levanta!* and by the callers during the program? To this end, the second part of this article provides some fundamental aspects of the *Canal Fiesta Radio* channel and its prescriptive treatment of the heterogeneity of Andalusian modalities. The subsequent section continues with the methodological portion. Finally, the recordings of the program are analyzed with particular emphasis on the phonetic-phonological elements. The results are then demonstrated by virtue of a comparative method that examines the language of the presenters in contrast to the listeners.

¹¹ In both studies, an evaluative, prescriptive treatment of the Andalusian linguistic features that ignores the internal heterogeneity within the Andalusian modalities is noteworthy in the lack of objectively treating certain features of the Andalusian varieties.

2 RTVA: Canal Fiesta Radio

This contribution places focus on *La Radio y Televisión de Andalucía* (RTVA), a public medium of the *Junta de Andalucía*. It was founded at the end of 1988. The broadcasts of *Canal Sur Radio* were introduced simultaneously and on February 28th, 1989 it aired on *Canal Sur Televisión*.¹² As a consequence of processes of modernization and diversification since 1996, the agency included the services of web, television, and radio *à la carte*. As a result, several brands of the company emerged, such as *Andalucía TV* or *Radio Andalucía Información*, and, in 1998, *Canal Fiesta Radio* (cf. Carrascosa 1997).

For TV or radio hosts of public media in Andalusia, the normative authority is *El Libro de Estilo*, whose compliance has been mandatory since 2004. This is of high relevance from a politico-linguistic perspective, as it serves the following purpose: «[...] eliminar errores y unificar criterios para lograr que nuestras noticias tengan sello propio [y que] sean lingüísticamente correctas [...]» (RTVA 2004: 9). The book contains prescriptive restrictions regarding the use of certain phonic features as, for instance, *ceceo* and the fricativization of the Spanish affricate (ibid.: 225). For this reason, it stands in total opposition to the efforts put forward by the autonomous constitution (cf. chapter 2):

Un fenómeno muy común y popular en algunas zonas de Andalucía consiste en relajar y arrastrar el sonido de este dígrafo: [...] ‘mucho’ [músho]. En exceso, esta relajación articulatoria suele resultar vulgar y no se considera parte del español estándar. Conviene evitarla. [...] [E]l *ceceo* no se considere propio del español estándar [...] (ibid.: 222-225).

As mentioned above, in this contribution we qualitatively analyze the divergences and convergences within the use of Andalusian phonic features among the listeners and the presenters of *Canal Fiesta Radio*.

¹² Cf. http://www.canalsur.es/rtva/Quienes_Somos?/210924.html (last visited: 03.02.2019).

3 Methodology

For the analysis of this contribution we have conducted qualitative research (cf. Kuckartz 2016; Mayring 2015), whereby some portions of the morning program *¡Anda Levanta!* have been recorded with the iPhone 7 within five business days in June 2017, e.g. Monday, June 26th through Friday, June 30th. It is important to note that both the recorded portions and the days of recording were selected randomly. We chose the radio, as we are convinced that it is a central medium in terms of its national and international range (cf. Carrascosa 1997: 431), which likely has an impact on language, on perception of linguistic varieties in general, and on the construction of linguistic identities (cf. Kleinsteuber 2012: 269-294).

Canal Fiesta Radio from RTVA is not thematically limited, which is one factor that encouraged us to examine this channel. It focuses on different genres of music. Accordingly, it does not only offer multifaceted presenters, but it also appeals to a versatile audience, including a wide range of social groups as well as speakers from different social classes. The program *¡Anda Levanta!* seems to be particularly valuable as well as suitable for an investigative contribution like this, because the program runs from seven to eleven o'clock in the morning on a daily basis, whereby its central focus is placed on the music and the interaction between the presenters and the listeners. There are only two presenters who host the program: the first one, or the main presenter (presenter 1), and the second, or the collaborator (presenter 2), occasionally interacting with the main presenter. Therefore, the communicative situation between them varies because within this time listeners, for example, parents who bring their children to school, students, workers, and those unemployed, have the possibility of calling during the morning. With this in mind, the fragmented corpus we have chosen for this inquiry is characterized by the variety of the manners of communication, such as dialogue and solitary conversation, and the variety regarding the use of Andalusian phonic features – manifested by both the presenters and the audience of *Canal Fiesta Radio*.

It is noteworthy to mention that the majority of the audience who has called in during the period of recording is from western Andalusia,¹³ which is why we focus on the most salient¹⁴ linguistic aspects of the Andalusian modalities of this part of the Autonomy used by listeners, which are predominantly in this corpus the following:¹⁵ the *ceceo* and the fricativization of the Spanish affricate (cf. Llorente 1997). In doing so, we simultaneously focus on the features that are discussed prescriptively in the *Libro de Estilo* (RTVA 2004: 220-229).

With respect to sociolinguistic variables such as age, sex, and social class, it is important to note that among the callers there are females, males, children, and adults, including students, unemployed citizens, and seniors. However, it is not possible or realistic to construct a complete image of a social network (cf. Milroy 1987: 178) of the audience of *¡Anda Levanta!*. For this reason, these sociolinguistic variables are not considered in this analysis.

The transcribed subcorpus consists of one hour of total recordings during the given period. We have 45 minutes of recordings corresponding to the two presenters of *¡Anda Levanta!* and 15 minutes corresponding to 30 listeners, which last between 15 and 30 seconds, depending on the individual duration of each listener's phone call. Next, approximate phonetic ear transcriptions were made, according to *International Phonetic Alphabet* (IPA), which we have analyzed qualitatively. First, we looked at the presenters' utterances regarding the use of phonetic-phonological features. Second, we analyzed the language employed by the audience based on phonetic-phonological categories that we derived from their utterances. Finally, we summarized the results of the analysis regarding the language used by the presenters and the listeners by contrasting them in terms of divergences and/or convergences in the use of phonic features attributed to the Andalusian modalities. For the purposes of this

¹³ We deduct this information from the listeners' oral contributions, in which this personal data is most evident.

¹⁴ For more information with regard to the term *salient* cf. Lenz (2003: 104).

¹⁵ Among other phonetic-phonological phenomena typical of the western Andalusian dialects is the lenition or weakening of consonants at the end of a syllable, which results from a relaxed pronunciation of the final consonant sounds (cf. Narbona/Cano/Morillo 2011: 202-221). This linguistic phenomenon stands out in the spoken language of all recorded listeners of the program *¡Anda Levanta!*, therefore we do not particularly analyze it.

analysis, we have cut the recordings into segments chosen with the Praat program, which is commonly used for phonetic analysis.¹⁶

4 The language employed by the presenters and the audience of the Andalusian radio program *¡Anda Levanta!*

4.1 The Spanish spoken by the presenters of the program *¡Anda Levanta!*

In this section we analyze two exemplary recorded fragments of the language of presenters 1 and 2 of the corpus. In the first example, only presenter 1 speaks, without interacting with a radio partner nor with a listener. The second fragment is an example of a situation of dialogical communication between the two mentioned presenters.

4.1.1 The Spanish spoken by the main presenter

We have selected the recording that was made on Wednesday, June 28th of the program *¡Anda Levanta!*, in which the main presenter neither interacts directly with his fellow presenter 2, nor receives a phone call from the audience. It is a communicative situation akin to a monologue, yet however, addressed to an audience: he provides the audience with information on the weather in several cities of Andalusia, and he motivates people to call or send messages. Although it is important to take into account the communicative situation at hand, the content is less relevant, for our main focus is placed on the phonetic-phonological analysis of the most distinct linguistic characteristics.

In this part of the recording it is noticeable that presenter 1 barely employs any distinctive features of the Andalusian phonetic-phonological modalities. Although the *prohibition* of pronouncing the /x/ phoneme in an aspirated way

¹⁶ Because of acoustic interference, the Praat program was not used to make an analysis here.

is not denoted in the RTVA style book (cf. RTVA 2004: 223), presenter 1 does not exploit the /x/*castellana*, as in *meteorología* [meteorolo'xia], but instead performs it phonetically according to the Spanish national standard. The examples *acompañado* [akompa'naðo] and *Granada* [gra'naða] show that he does not omit the intervocalic /d/ in his pronunciation, at least not during the program. With respect to this linguistic feature, Chapter 12.1.4. of the *Libro de Estilo* notes the following prescriptive and evaluative instruction, which entirely contradicts the efforts addressed in Article 10 of the Statute of Autonomy of Andalusia: «Debemos evitar la supresión del sonido [d] en los [sic!] palabras acabadas en *-ado* [...]. La supresión de la *d* intervocálica [...] se considera vulgar y debe evitarse» (2004: 222).

Neither do we notice the fricativization of the Spanish affricate /tʃ/, as for example in the numeral *ocho* ['otʃo], or in the pronunciation of the noun *racha* ['ratʃa]. Taking into account the high prestige enjoyed by the *seseo* in the western zone as argued by Villena (2008), it seems interesting that presenter 1 distinguishes between the phonemes /s/ (*seis* ['seis]) and /θ/ (*diciendo* [di'θjendo], *cero* ['θero]), therefore not pronouncing the phoneme /s/ as [θ]. Recalling the *Libro de Estilo*, whose application is mandatory for the presenter, the reason for this atypical linguistic behaviour within this dialectal area is clarified: standard Spanish is «[...] un concepto ideal de lengua que debemos perseguir en todo momento sea cual sea nuestro acento y sea cual sea nuestra procedencia.» (ibid.: 218)

However, it is striking that presenter 1 does omit the final consonant sounds of a syllable in some cases, but not in others. This phenomenon can be well demonstrated in the following example, in which the presenter adjusts the number of adjectives to the number of names in a flexible manner: *vientos fuertes acompañado de rachas muy fuertes* ['bjentos 'fwertes akompa'naðo ðe 'ratʃa mwi 'fwertes]. This observation corresponds with the results of the study conducted by Méndez (2008), underlining that there are Andalusian speakers who in professional contexts – formal communicative situations and situations of communicative distance – tend to be guided in their language by the northern peninsular standard model (ibid.: 260-261). This tendency can be explained by a prevailing derogatory image of Andalusian modalities in the media (ibid.: 259-261).

4.1.2 The Spanish spoken by the main presenter and the co-presenter

In an attempt to advance an expressive example of a communicative situation in a dialogical – and thus interactive – way, we have chosen the recording that was taken on Tuesday, June 27th of the program *¡Anda Levanta!*. The characteristic of this communicative situation is the verbal interaction between the main presenter and the co-presenter of the program, e.g. presenter 2. Even though the hosts do not discuss personal matters, and instead focus on professional topics, this might rather be a situation of *communicative immediacy*: the two know each other, that is, the conversation resembles a familiar environment for its listeners, even though it takes place in a work context (cf. Koch/Oesterreicher 1985).

On the one hand, we are confronted here with a more frequent use of the salient phonetic-phonological features of the western Andalusian varieties. This generates circumstances that epitomize a familiar environment and a communicative situation that are not governed by a controlling force – for it is not pre-written anywhere – but governed by spontaneity. Presenter 1, for instance, does not only omit the use of the final consonant sounds at the end of a syllable *cuatro horas* ['kwatro 'ora], but also makes an aspirated realization of the *f-inicial latina* in the noun *bartura*: *Qué qué barturas* ['ke 'ke har'turas]. When considering the prescriptive and stigmatized subchapter in the *Libro de Estilo* regarding this linguistic feature still employed by the west of Andalusia, its use by the presenter is noteworthy: «La letra *b* no se pronuncia en español. Son vulgares y deben evitarse las realizaciones como [j] o como [h]» (RTVA 2004: 223). It is obvious that the use of this feature during the conversation between the main presenter and his colleague helps to create a familiar and spontaneous communicative situation, in which it becomes clear that he possesses a broad knowledge of communicative competences, which is why he deals with the features of Andalusian modalities in a virtuoso manner.

On the other hand, however, it can also be derived that the presenters aim to comply with the prescriptive linguistic norms of the *Libro de Estilo*, whereby they exclude the Andalusian modalities in communicative situations of distance and formality (cf. Méndez 2008). Both presenters 1 and 2 do not employ the /x/- *castellana*, as in *tú te imaginas* ['tu te ima'xinas ↗], but they do it phonetically

according to the Spanish national standard – as prescribed also by the *Libro de Estilo* (cf. RTVA 2004: 223). Furthermore, they do not omit the intervocalic /d/ in their pronunciation *que me he quedado* [ke me 'e ke'ðaðo] (cf. RTVA 2004: 222) and consistently distinguish between the phonemes /s/ (*qué pasa* ['ke 'pasaʎ]) and /θ/ (*canciones* [kaŋ̃'θjones]). Neither presenter 1, nor presenter 2 pronounce the phonemes /s/ and /θ/ in favour of [s], although according to Villena (2008) it is preferred in the western area of Andalusia, and whose use according to the *Libro de Estilo* (cf. RTVA 2004: 221) is considered to be proper Spanish. These results coincide with the conclusions presented by Carrascosa (1997) in his empirical study on the language employed in the channel *Canal Sur Satélite*, which suggests a tendency and/or dominance of the use of northern Spanish over that of the Andalusian by people who are linked to *Canal Sur* on a professional scale (cf. 429-430).

4.1.3 The effect of various communicative situations

As mentioned above, in the first example we are confronted with a situation of *communicative immediacy* because the main presenter addresses his audience and encourages them to call him, intending direct participation and interaction between the two parties. Therefore, a closer, more casual and authentic manner of speaking, perhaps with colloquial elements, would have been expected. Nonetheless, we have to take into consideration that the main presenter has to meet the responsibilities associated with the profession, such as reading out the information about the weather in Andalusia or the radio hotline from a sheet already prepared for the program. Based on Koch/Oesterreicher's (1985) concept of medial-conceptual distinction, this would be an example of a written concept realized through a medial orality. Having this and the prescriptive norms of the RTVA style sheet in mind, and recalling Méndez' (2008) and Carrascos' (1997) results, it is not surprising that the language employed by the presenter echoes the national standard of European Spanish – considered the ideal concept of the language (RTVA 2004: 218) – and drained from all linguistic features of the western Andalusian modalities.

Accordingly, the results of the analysis of the second example illustrate that there might be linguistic variation regarding the use of features attributed to the western Andalusian originally spoken by the two presenters. While certain linguistic characteristics are omitted, others are partially used. This may have been evoked by the spontaneous communicative situation in which they carry out the broadcast of the program, e.g. very familiar and less controlled, even though it is still embedded in a professional communicative situation.

4.2 Phonetic-phonological features in the language of the listeners of the program

Next, we analyze two of the most salient phonetic-phonological features highlighted in the recordings of 30 audience members of *¡Anda Levanta!*, namely the so-called *ceceo* and the fricativization of the Spanish affricate /tʃ/.

4.2.1 Ceceo

One of the linguistic phenomena that is frequently highlighted regarding the audience's language of *¡Anda Levanta!* is the use of *ceceo*, in other words the phonetic realization of the phoneme /s/ as [θ], which, for instance, can be detected in *besito* [be'θito] (O 3; 5; 14; 19; 27), *semanita* [θema'nita] (O 14; 19; 27), *se* [θe] (O 7; 8; 16;), *si* [θi] (O 3; 7; 11; 14), *caso* ['kaθo] (O 5). Nonetheless, the recordings of the audience reveal their own tendency to adjust to the supposed proper use of language as employed by the presenters, who frequently avoid the use of any dialectical characteristics attributed to the Andalusian varieties, especially those that are stigmatized. Almost throughout the entire conversation the audience tends to a *ceceo* realization, but during the conversations with the presenters, however, some phonic variations can be detected in the manner the audience members speak, who in some moments pronounce the /θ/ as [s], e.g. *calorcito* [kalo'r'sito] (O 3; 5; 11; 27). Consequently, this demonstrates that the radio presenters' attempt to speak in accordance with

the national standard of European Spanish, rather than use Andalusian modalities, has an impact on the linguistic variations employed by their audience, who, towards the end of the conversations, begin to adopt the *ceceo*-based, *ceceo* and *seseo* mixed, manner of speaking. These supposed linguistic *insecurities* (Labov 1966) and the attempts of linguistic adjustment on the part of the *ceceante* can be traced to its stigmatization in society – either by contributions provided by linguistic researchers, which define the *ceceo* as a «confusion» (Llorente 1997: 104), or by the language employed in the media, in which the Andalusian speaker is usually presented as an ignorant and uneducated yokel (Méndez 2008: 259).

4.2.2 Fricativization of the Spanish affricate /tʃ/

Again, linguistic features evident in the analysis of the transcriptions of the audience's recordings of *¡Anda Levanta!* are less appreciated and hold very little prestige both in social and academic fields. It can be verified that the results regarding the use of the Spanish affricate by the program's audience stand in opposition to those of the presenters, both of whom preserve it.

Therefore, some recorded listeners phonetically fricativize the Spanish affricate instead of conserving it, which is discernible in the following examples: *chaqueta* [ʃa'keta] (O 4; 7; 19), *mucho* ['muʃo] (O 7; 8; 26), *Chiclana* [ʃi'klana] (10). These examples show the rather moderate relevance of the RTVA style book and, hence, of the linguistic policy enforced from above in the medium of radio regarding the language used by the audience of *Canal Fiesta Radio*.

However, once again, it is striking that presenter 1, while talking to Andalusian speakers, does not adopt to the communicative situation and thus does not change his way of speaking standard Spanish, as for example with *chiquillo* [tʃi'kiʝo]. What is interesting here, is the presenters' reaction to the audience's manner of speaking, which is consistently expressed in situations in which the listeners pronounce supposed stigmatized linguistic features, and presenter 1 laughs in response without elaborating on a metalinguistic level. It may be concluded that this laughter is linked to the thematic context of the conversation in general, but this phenomenon can be observed several times in

the corpus as a whole. Presenter 1 tends to laugh at a person who, for instance, uses the *ceceo*, does the fricativization of the Spanish affricate /tʃ/, etc. Therefore, it can be concluded that the manifestation of certain linguistic features of Andalusian varieties are considered to be funny or even vulgar by the radio presenters, which corresponds with the image of speakers of Andalusian varieties as funny as highlighted by Méndez (2008). From the point of view of language politics, it is interesting that this laughter occurs in a public medium that has a high range regarding its broadcast. In this context, Spolsky points out that even the most impoverished groups have access to such radio devices due to their affordability (2009: 81). Thus, the use of the supposedly stigmatized linguistic features of the Andalusian varieties might be perceived by the listeners as vulgar, inferior, etc., which is reflected in the presenters' laughter.

5 The top-down initiated linguistic politics in the audio media of *Canal Fiesta Radio*

The results of this work show a clear discrepancy between Article 10 of the Statute of Autonomy of Andalusia – which originally highlights the protection, promotion, study, and prestige of the Andalusian linguistic modality in all its varieties (cf. Parlamento de Andalucía 2007: 13) – and the prescriptive norms by public media. On the one hand, the constitution advocates political purposes by enhancing linguistic heterogeneity, while on the other hand enabling the oppression of certain linguistic characteristics that, for various reasons, are of considerably low social prestige. Therefore, this politically paradoxical behavior leads to a hypocritical linguistic policy, which presents linguistic heterogeneity as a constitutionally established right for its people that hardly corresponds to the reality of politico-linguistic practices.

The analysis of the language employed by both of the presenters as delineated in this corpus shows a tendency towards an insistence on omitting linguistic features of Andalusian varieties. Therefore, their manner of speaking corresponds with the linguistic variety that is considered to be the 'correct language' (cf. RTVA 2004: 218), that being the national standard European

Spanish. The motivation behind these efforts is implicitly documented in the *Libro de Estilo*, which is part of the linguistic political issue:

[P]ero tampoco debemos caer en el error de contarle las noticias a nuestra audiencia con la misma pronunciación con la que se las contaríamos a un amigo en la barra de un bar. [...] Bien es cierto que en ocasiones es recomendable hacer algún acercamiento cómplice a la audiencia [...] (2004: 218).

This paragraph justifies the prescriptive norms established in the book when considering the use of Andalusian varieties as informal and of colloquial variety, which should only be used in a private but not in a professional context, or when they serve to create a closer relationship with the audience (cf. Méndez 2008: 264).

The effect of such politically induced linguistic instructions *from above* can be observed in other studies as well, since they too enhance the restrictions associated with the use of Andalusian varieties within contexts of communicative immediacy. This – as demonstrated in this contribution – becomes explicit when taking into account once again that the majority of individuals linked to the channel *Canal Sur* in one way or another avoid the Andalusian varieties in favor of the septentrional Spanish (cf. Carrascosa 1997: 430).

However, the analysis also draws attention to the fact that presenters sometimes tend to employ some linguistic features associated with the Andalusian modalities that are considered vulgar or less prestigious, e.g. the aspiration of the *f-inicial latina*. This deviation usually occurs in more spontaneous, authentic, and dialogical communicative situations. For instance, when communicating with a colleague or with the audience. Nonetheless, we can notice that the different linguistic variants of Andalusian Spanish exist in the radio program due to the audience, who during the phone calls do not make an effort to overcome or hide their dialect by altering their way of speaking in general, nor do they tend toward a supposed Sevillian norm, as highlighted by Villena (2008) regarding the western part of Andalusia. What must however be emphasized is that the language employed by the presenters in accordance with the national Spanish standard may cause irritation and irregularities in the manner of speaking of the audience members that engage in verbal exchanges with them. Nevertheless, the relevance, as well as the impact of linguistic

identity formation brought about by the use of the characteristics typical of the Andalusian varieties need to be highlighted, not only with respect to the presenters, but also with respect to the audience. For both the Andalusian radio and Andalusian television broadcast a standardized version that can be received – audibly and visually – at any time (Méndez 2008: 263). On the one hand the Andalusian linguistic actuality is falsified, and on the other, the stigmatization of Andalusian modalities regarding situations of communicative distance, a perspective that is still existent, is further enforced.

We can conclude that there is a great discrepancy in the phonetic-phonological realizations between the language of the presenters and the audience of the program *¡Anda Levanta!*. The audience is under no obligation to comply with the linguistic norms of the style book and they tend to make several dialectal linguistic features phonetically, which renders their language authentic, whereas the presenters, who verbally interact with the audience by telephone, strive to meet the prescriptive norms of the book. To obtain even more significant data regarding the top-down initiated linguistic policy in Andalusia and its consequences on the linguistic identity of its speakers, it seems sensible to complement this study with the aspect of the listeners' perception of the program itself: How do they perceive the linguistic policy put into practice in radio? What influence does the language used by the radio hosts have on the linguistic identity of the audience, that is, on their own perception of Andalusian varieties in general, and of their spoken dialect in particular? Apart from this, it would be interesting to advance a diachronic study, which analyses and compares the manner in which the presenters of *Canal Fiesta Radio* deal with the variational heterogeneity of Andalusian language and that of its audience before the *Libro de Estilo* was implemented in 2004.

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