Joan O'Sullivan*

Standard Southern British English as referee design in Irish radio advertising

Abstract: The exploitation of external as opposed to local language varieties in advertising can be associated with a history of colonization, the external variety being viewed as superior to the local (Bell 1991: 145). Although "Standard English" in terms of accent was never an exonormative model for speakers in Ireland (Hickey 2012), nevertheless Ireland's history of colonization by Britain, together with the geographical proximity and close socio-political and sociocultural connections of the two countries makes the Irish context an interesting one in which to examine this phenomenon. This study looks at how and to what extent standard British Received Pronunciation (RP), now termed Standard Southern British English (SSBE) (see Hughes et al. 2012) as opposed to Irish English varieties is exploited in radio advertising in Ireland. The study is based on a quantitative and qualitative analysis of a corpus of ads broadcast on an Irish radio station in the years 1977, 1987, 1997 and 2007. The use of SSBE in the ads is examined in terms of *referee design* (Bell 1984) which has been found to be a useful concept in explaining variety choice in the advertising context and in "taking the ideological temperature" of society (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 121). The analysis is based on Sussex's (1989) advertisement components of Action and Comment, which relate to the genre of the discourse.

Keywords: advertising, language variety, referee design, language ideology.

1 Introduction

The use of language variety in the domain of advertising has received considerable attention during the past two decades (for example, Bell 1991; Lee 1992; Koslow et al. 1994; Spitulnik 1998; Cook 2001; Piller 2001; Piller 2003; Bishop et al. 2005; Kelly-Holmes 2005). The importance to the medium of advertising of being in touch with the consciousness of the receivers of the advertisement, both in terms of getting their attention and promoting a positive attitude toward the product advertised has been highlighted (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 121). With regard to the communication of the advertising message, the role of language choice in creating a relationship with the receiver of the ad is key. Therefore, in the context of advertising, the reliance on audience approval may necessitate a style shift on the part of speakers in response to their audiences. Researchers in the area of speech convergences in mass communication have employed accommodation theory in seeking to clarify the basis of and motives for convergent (as well as divergent) behavior (Lipski 1985; Montgomery 1988; Bell 1991). While requiring modification in order to be applicable to mass communication, nevertheless *Speech Accommodation Theory* and its *derivative Communication Accommodation Theory* (*CAT*) and the related theories of *audience design* and *referee design* are useful in explaining variety choice in the advertising context together with its ideological associations

Speech Accommodation theory (Giles 1973) has been cited as helpful in understanding consumers' perception of and reaction to language use in the advertising

---
* **Corresponding author: Joan O'Sullivan**, Department of English Language and Literature, Mary Immaculate College, University of Limerick, South Circular Road, .Limerick, Ireland. E-mail: joan.osullivan@mic.ul.ie

context (Koslow et al 1994: 576). This theory proposes that enhancing social attractiveness and communication efficiency are the main motivational factors for convergence with regard to speech style. With regard to minority language use in advertising, however, accommodation theory suggests that, convergence to the speech patterns of the minority language or dialect will only be successful if the minority subculture consumers have positive affect with regard to their language and culture (Giles et al. 1973).

In addition to accommodation theory, the related theory of audience design (Bell 1984) accounts for style shifts in both face-to-face and media communication. The framework "assumes that persons respond mainly to other persons, that speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk" (Bell 1984: 159). Bell refers to audience design as the *responsive* dimension of style in which language and social situation are linked and points out that this theory is used to explain style variation in media language based on factors such as the audience of the medium (1984: 147; 1991: 126–127). However, in examining the motivation of advertisers with regard to the use of linguistic codes from outside their speech community, Bell (1984: 182) identifies, in addition to the responsive dimension of style, an *initiative* dimension. Initiative style shifts are, in effect, what Bell terms referee design in which language is used to redefine the relationship between speaker and audience. In referee design, speakers diverge away from the style appropriate to their addressee towards that of a *referee*. While such referees are third parties, external to the interaction, nevertheless they carry prestige for the speaker for the purpose of the interaction and therefore influence language choice.

According to Bell (1991: 145), the use of external languages or dialects in advertising can often be attributed to a colonial history and is demonstrated through "linguistic colonialism" where the external referee code is seen as prestigious and the local as inferior. While it has been argued that standard British *Received Pronunciation* (*RP*) is not the exonormative model for Irish speakers of English (Hickey 2012: 100), nevertheless Ireland's history of colonization by Britain together with the geographical proximity and close socio-political and sociocultural connections of the two countries makes the Irish context a particularly interesting one in which to examine this phenomenon.

This paper presents a study based on the examination of a corpus of ads broadcast on an Irish radio station in the years 1977, 1987, 1997 and 2007. The use of the standard British Received Pronunciation (RP), now termed *Standard Southern British English* (*SSBE*) (see Hughes et al. 2012), in the ads is examined in terms of the concept of referee design which has been found as a useful concept in social and cultural research and in "taking the ideological temperature" of society (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 121. We should note that SSBE refers to accent as distinct from dialect and thus to variations in pronunciation rather than grammar and vocabulary (Hughes et al 2012: 3, 13). SSBE is a newer "less evaluative" term for RP and is associated with high social status as regards education, income and profession rather than being associated with a specific region (Hughes et al 2012: 3).

The paper is structured as follows. The concept of referee design is described and the notion of referee design as a gauge of the "ideological temperature" of society (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 121) is discussed. The status of RP or SSBE in the Irish context and the notion of what constitutes a standard for Irish English is considered. Referee design theory is then explored in relation to the context of radio advertising in Ireland. The rationale for the analysis of the ad in terms of Action and Comment components (Sussex 1989) is dealt with and key features for distinguishing Irish English from SSBE phonologically are described. The research methodology is described and the findings of the study are presented and analyzed in terms of the language ideological implications.

2. Referee design and the language ideological climate

As we have seen, in examining the motivation of advertisers with regard to the use of linguistic codes from outside their speech community, Bell (1984: 182) identifies an initiative dimension which he terms referee design, involving a redefinition of the speaker-audience relationship. The referee design framework makes an essential distinction between *ingroup* and *outgroup* referees (Bell 1991: 129). Two types of ingroup referee design are identified. Firstly, the speaker shifts to an extreme version of his or her own ingroup style with an outgroup addressee. In this case, the speaker is taking the initiative in not identifying with the addressee so as to identify with an absent referee. The second type of ingroup referee design involves addressees from the speakers own ingroup. The speaker appeals to his or her solidarity with the addressee based on a common language or dialect which is not shared by the outgroup.

With outgroup referee design, on the other hand, speakers diverge from the speech patterns of their ingroup to the linguistic code and identity with which they wish to identify and which holds prestige for them for a particular purpose. The fact that there is consensus between the interlocutors on the prestige of the outgroup language for the particular purpose renders it powerful.

The concept of this common reference point is illustrated well by Bell's (1982) study (cited in Bell 1984: 172) in which newscasters on New Zealand radio used RP for the higher status radio station. As Bell points out, the newscasters on the higher status station are in fact shifting away from the actual speech of their audience to an external, "ideal" referee, the RP (or SSBE) speaker. However, because the audience of this station sees RP as appropriate for the context of broadcast speech, this divergence is seen by both the radio station and the audience as "linguistic divergence motivated by psychological convergence" (Thakerar et al. 1982, cited in Bell 1984: 171). This echoes Bourdieu's theory of the "institutional circle of collective misrecognition" (Bourdieu 1991: 153) by which speakers may accept and comply with discrimination in relation to their native variety. This divergent behavior, therefore, sheds light on the prevailing ideological climate in relation to particular language varieties.

3. The status of Irish English and standard British English in the Irish context

Before looking at how we can apply the concept of referee design to the Irish context, it is important to examine the status of RP or SSBE in Ireland. As a result of Ireland's colonization by Britain up to the early twentieth century, together with factors such as famine and emigration (Filppula 1999: 9–11), the English language has effectively replaced Irish as the first language of the majority of the population. *Irish English* is the term used here to refer to English as it is spoken in Ireland. While written English in the Irish context equates broadly with standard British English (Harris 1997; Hickey 2012), Irish English is differentiated from standard British English in its spoken form, in terms of lexical, grammatical, and phonological features. Filppula (1999: 12) points out that Irish varieties of English are easily recognizable with regard to phonetics and phonology and that elements which are common to speakers of all regions, as well as different social and educational backgrounds, exist in Irish English. However, vernacular Irish English is distinguished from prestige varieties and the notion of a "standard" for speakers of English in Ireland is widely debated.

As regards early yardsticks for English usage in Ireland, Hogan (1970 [1927]: 53) comments on the English of the sixteenth and seventeenth century planters, stating, "on the

whole their speech approximated to contemporary Standard English". [1] Filppula refers to Thomas Dineely who claims in his book *Tour in Ireland* (1681) that speakers of English in Ireland spoke English "generally better and more London-like than in most places of England" (Filppula 1999: 19). The setting up of National Schools in 1831 is generally viewed as instrumental in establishing Standard English as the "target variety" for Irish learners of English. However, Bliss (1977: 16) observes, "the Irishman learning English had no opportunity of learning it from speakers of "standard English". In his work *Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language* (1969 [1781]), Thomas Sheridan, sets out a number of rules for Irish learners to help in achieving "correct" pronunciation of English words. In addition, Dr Molloy's late nineteenth century work *The Irish Difficulty, Shall and Will* (Molloy 1897), as well as Joyce's commentary on the problems faced by the Irish in relation to these auxiliaries (Joyce 1988 [1910]), demonstrate a prescriptive attitude towards the use of the English language with standard British English as the model. Croghan (1986: 265) observes that from the nineteenth century, the Irish adopted, in addition to the English language itself, "the political culture of language from England which included the myth that Hiberno-English was deviant". The view of native English speakers of the use of English by the Irish at the end of the nineteenth century is referred to by Cronin (2011).

...differences in language and expression became equated not only with the comic but with the inept. If Irish people after the conquest of the country were to become English speakers, then the same standards would be applied to them as to other English speakers. If they expressed themselves in strange or unusual ways or used different modes of intentionality, then they were classed with children and the insane as quaint but dim. (Cronin 2011: 56)

Moving to contemporary evaluations of standard British English in Ireland, Hickey (2005: 33) suggests that we need to question the status of such forms in Ireland. He discusses how, on the one hand, Irish people do not want to be seen as having an "unacceptable" accent but, on the other hand, in his words, "It would not befit any nationalist-minded Irish person to imitate an English accent" which is regarded as "snobbish", "pretentious" and worthy of derision (Hickey 2005: 34). Similarly, according to Mac Mathúna (2004),

RP is not the desired norm in Ireland, either north or south; nor is it taught in Irish schools. In a recently liberated country, such as the Republic of Ireland, the use of RP is still associated with the colonising nation and it is not the standard to which the majority of indigenous educated people aspire. (Mac Mathúna 2004: 117)

In addition, Hughes et al (2012: 3) claim that with regard to accent, RP, or the newer term, or SSBE has the greatest "currency" and prestige in England, but "is evaluated somewhat differently in the other countries of the UK and in Ireland".

While it appears to be accepted that RP is not the target variety for speakers of English in Ireland, nevertheless vernacular Irish English is differentiated from prestige varieties and the notion of a "standard" for Irish English is the subject of debate. Hickey (2012: 100), however, points out that "Standard Irish English" has an endonormative as opposed to exonormative orientation; in other words, it has come about as a result of standardizing Irish English rather than adopting Standard English from outside Ireland.

Hickey (2012: 100) claims that the spoken standard in Ireland is represented by a small subset of Irish English varieties used by the educated middle classes. This subset has gradually lost its more prominent vernacular Irish features. Similarly researchers, (for

---

[1] The plantations, of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries involved the confiscation of land in Ireland and its allocation to English and Scottish settlers or "planters".

example, Kirk and Kallen 2006; White 2006; Kirk 2011; Hughes et al 2012) agree that although the speech or writing of "educated" speakers they refer to as "standard" in the Irish context can contain lexical, grammatical, discourse, and pragmatic features of vernacular Irish English, this tends to be at a muted level in relation to more vernacular forms.

The terms "non-local" and "educated" Dublin English have been used by Hickey (2005: 208) to refer to what he claims has functioned as a "quasi-standard" variety of Irish English in the south of Ireland since the beginning of the twentieth century. Similarly, Filppula, in more recent discussions on standard Irish English (Filppula 2012: 86), while claiming that a "commonly accepted, codified or observed national-level Irish English standard" does not exist, nevertheless points out that the so-called "Dublin 4 English" has been identified as being associated with a "standard" Irish English, Dublin 4 being the area in Dublin city where the national broadcaster RTÉ is based. He claims, "Dublin 4 has a mainly professional and middle-class population, whose usage of English is, in the Irish context, regarded as the most prestigious variety serving as a model for educated Irish English usage in general".

However, while this "non-local Dublin English" can be associated with educated and middle class usage to some extent, Hickey observes that what is more important in determining its use is the rejection of the "narrow, restrictive identification with popular Dublin" (Hickey 2004: 44). Hickey contrasts "non-local" with "local" or "popular" Dublin English, associated with speakers who "show strongest identification with traditional conservative Dublin life of which the popular accent is very much a part". Focusing mainly on phonological features, Hickey further subdivides the former group into a larger "mainstream" section and a more specific, smaller group (which he initially terms *fashionable* or *new* and later *advanced* Dublin English (Hickey 2013) which actively dissociates itself from the "low-prestige" group.

Looking again at so-called "mainstream" Dublin English, as a quasi-national standard, Hickey (2004: 92) uses the term *supraregional southern* Irish English to describe the older, broad-based non-vernacular pronunciation form in the south of Ireland. This variety is derived from middle-class Dublin English of the mid-twentieth century, and while it may have variable features depending on geographical location, nevertheless "a core of common features" can be identified which are characteristic generally of the longer established middle-class speech of the south (as opposed to the newer "fashionable" or "advanced" pronunciation form which is discussed below). These common features include rhotic pronunciation, dental stops for dental fricatives, fricativization of /t,d/, Received Pronunciation (RP) diphthongs /eɪ/ /əʊ/ realized as monophthongs [eː] and [oː] respectively, retention of the distinction between /ʍ/ and /w/, and lack of distinction between phonemically long and short low vowels before voiced consonants, for example, *palm* and *dance* both with [aː] (Hickey 1999: 267). As we have seen, some of these features are also found in vernacular varieties; more detailed differentiation of Irish English varieties is provided by Hickey (2004: 57-59) and Hickey (2013) based on Wells' (1982) lexical sets, and is employed in categorizing varieties in the study.

As outlined, in addition to this longer established "mainstream" Dublin English, Hickey also refers in his earlier work to "new" Dublin English, a further subdivision of non-local Dublin represented in terms of language by a local dissociation, reactive in nature, from the vernacular form of their locality. The resulting form, Hickey now refers to as "advanced" Dublin English. Notable features include those of the "Dublin vowel shift" (Hickey 2004: 47) involving a retraction of diphthongs with a low or back starting point and a raising of low back vowels. In addition, /r/ retroflexion and /l/ velarization are associated with this pronunciation. Hickey (2005: 72) points out that these emergent features of Dublin English had become prevalent throughout southern Ireland by the middle of the first decade of the

21st century. On the basis of more recent research, he confirms earlier speculation that advanced Dublin has now become established as the new mainstream form of Irish English (Hickey 2013). Hickey's latest research shows that, notwithstanding this, advanced Dublin English continues to develop and describes a number of current innovations in this pronunciation.

This discussion makes it clear that "quasi-standard" forms of Irish English exist and that, as Hickey (2012) points out, Ireland does not look to standard British English as an exonormative model, as it has its own prestige forms. This makes the use of SSBE in radio advertising in Ireland all the more interesting and warrants an examination of how this form or features associated with it, can be categorized in terms of referee design in the Irish context together with its ideological implications.

4. Referee design and the Irish context

In referee design, "[t]he baseline from which initiative shifts operate is the style normally designed for a particular kind of addressee" (Bell 1991: 127). In order to identify what this baseline is in the context of the radio-advertising corpus, we need to consider the radio station on which the ads in the corpus were aired. While up to 1979, *RTÉ* (*Raidió Teilifís Éireann*) *Radio 1* was the national broadcaster's only English language radio channel available in the Irish republic, *RTÉ Radio 2*, with a focus on popular music and chat, was launched in that year; this established RTÉ Radio 1 as the more serious channel, covering news, current affairs, music, drama and variety features, agriculture, education, religion, and sport. As all the ads from the corpus were aired on this station, its more serious nature suggests a more conservative and mature audience than that of Radio 2. Broadly speaking this audience could be associated with the supraregional southern variety of Irish English referred to above. Similarly, the subgroup of people who work on these ads as presenters or actors could be said to belong to an "educated" and professional class associated with this variety. This is, of course, somewhat of a generalization but, as the supraregional southern variety is the more traditional conservative mainstream variety, we can, in general terms, take this style as broadly indicative of an audience designed style, while deviations from it can be regarded as referee design.

As regards ingroup referee design in the Irish context, a shift to an extreme form of vernacular Irish English can be interpreted as ingroup referee design, such a shift functioning to create solidarity with the audience through its differentiation from the outgroup style. Outgroup referee design, on the other hand, is based on an external variety and, in the Irish context, is most likely to take the form of another variety of English, such as North American or SSBE. Initial examination of the corpus reveals that this latter form is the predominant external variety. This prestige pronunciation form is associated with radio and television in the British context and is used in particular by BBC newsreaders and presenters (Hughes et al 2012: 3-4). As we have seen, Bell (1991: 146) highlights the prestige value of British dialects through the use of such dialects by advertisers in his study on New Zealand TV to associate with particular products (Bell 1986, cited in Bell 1991: 137).

It is important, however, at this point to add a *caveat* in relation to the status of RP or SSBE in New Zealand (see Bayard et al. 2001) and its status in Ireland. As Hickey (2012) comments, "Standard English" in terms of accent was never adopted as an exonormative model for speakers in Ireland. Indeed, the so-called "Dublin 4" or "advanced Dublin English" has a retroflex /r/ with a realization that is further away from RP than that of more conservative supraregional speakers. However, like the New Zealand situation, RP or SSBE can be interpreted as an "outgroup" variety. It may be helpful to invoke Bourdieu's notion of *habitus* here (Bourdieu 1991: 12). The habitus refers to a set of dispositions that generate

specific actions and reactions, and lead to "regular" practices, views, and attitudes about what is or is not appropriate in a particular situation. Although it may not be the "desired norm" for the Irish (Mac Mathúna 2004: 117), nonetheless RP or SSBE can be seen as carrying prestige for them for a particular purpose, in this case for the context of broadcast speech. It is plausible, given the close proximity, both geographically and culturally, of the British public-service broadcaster, the BBC (British Broadcasting Corporation), to conceive of the pronunciation form associated with this institution as having an influence on its nearest neighbor.

5. Structure of the ad: Action and Comment

In order to understand how outgroup referee design functions in the corpus, it is helpful to look at how radio ads are typically structured and to examine the ad in terms of the function of its components. Lee (1992) refers to Sussex's (1989) distinction between the *Action* and *Comment* components of an ad, based on the genre of the discourse. The Action component is comprised generally of dialogic interaction in specific contexts. The Comment component (which names and provides general information on the product), on the other hand, can be equated to the voice-over of the ad as described by Cook (2001) and what Piller (2001) terms "voice of authority" and tends to be monologic and decontextualized. In the case of his study of a corpus of 108 ads (broadcast in a Swiss-German channel in 1989), Lee observes that the Comment voice "articulates with general discourses of power and authority, within which [High German] constitutes the normal or 'unmarked' choice in diglossic societies" (Lee 1992: 172). This component, Lee tells us, functions as a "purveyor of privileged information" which is a major function of the discourse of power (Lee 1992: 172–173). The Action component, on the other hand, is dominated by non-standard Swiss varieties and "articulates with discourses of everyday informal interaction". A study of Australian television ads by Sussex revealed that the Comment was dominated by "educated" rather than "broad" Australian voices (Sussex 1989: 165). Lee (1992: 183) sees parallels between the tendency to use High German in the Swiss context and that of post-colonial societies to use standard British English. In both situations, the standard variety has prestige but is not "the language of the heart and the emotions".

     The concepts of "overt prestige" (associated with status) and "covert prestige" (associated with solidarity) are useful in understanding the contrasting values that are related to the aims of the ads (Lee 1992: 179). The notion of overt prestige, proposed by Trudgill (1972), accounts for changes in speech that are above the level of consciousness and usually in the direction of prestigious linguistic forms, which are said to have overt prestige. Trudgill distinguishes this from Labov's (1966a) notion of covert prestige which refers to his observation that while speakers who use stigmatized linguistic forms are aware of their inferiority, we must suppose that they have a favorable disposition, if only covertly, towards them in order to maintain the approval of their peer group and to indicate group identity. These forms can be said to carry covert prestige. The aims of the ad, Lee points out, are firstly to create an acceptance of the product through consumer identification with the actors who "represent" the product, partly achieved through the use of local varieties and secondly to sanction the action of purchase through the use of the "high" or standard form and its associations with authority and expertise. Therefore, while acknowledging Lee's *caveat* with regard to seeing these components as homogenous entities as discussed above, the location of a particular variety or sub-variety in the Action or Comment component can be an indication of its function within the ad.

     With regard to the present study, the use of SSBE as outgroup referee design in a particular ad component as opposed to an audience designed style (supraregional southern) is

a useful gauge of the "ideological temperature" (Vestergaard and Schroder 1985: 121). As in mass communication, speakers can only accommodate to a stereotype of the speech of their audience, both audience and referee design are necessarily based on stereotypical models of the audience and the referee. The use of and constructions of such stereotypes are informed by and thus reflect the prevailing language ideological climate.

6 Salient phonological markers differentiating Irish English and SSBE

Before we turn to the study itself, it is useful to look more specifically at how Irish English differentiates itself from SSBE. A number of features have been identified as key in distinguishing Irish English speakers from those of SSBE (see Kallen 1994: 175–177; Kallen 2013: 47–50). Kallen (2013: 47–48) refers to rhoticity or syllable-final /r/ retention as one of the most commonly cited features used to classify types of English and points out that Irish English is "firmly rhotic" (see also Ó Baoill 1990: 155). Hickey (2004:41) also refers to this feature as a key phonological feature of Irish English (with the exception of "lower class" Dublin English which is non-rhotic or only weakly rhotic (Hickey 2005: 28). He further suggests that the non-existence of particular features can negatively define Irish English, giving the example of "r-lessness" as signaling "that a speaker is not Irish". Amador-Moreno (2010), in her practical introduction to Irish English, outlines some of its general phonological features and echoes Hickey's observation that the rhoticity of Irish English is one of its most distinguishing features. Hickey (2013) discusses the distinction between *markers* and *indicators* (in the tradition of Labov), pointing out that markers are features in a variety which are sensitive to social factors, for example, alveolar stops in THIS and THINK lexical sets (Wells 1982). Because they mark social subgroups, these features tend to disappear in more formal styles. Indicators, on the other hand, are features in a variety that do not vary according to social grouping or style. Irish English rhotic pronunciation occurs across classes and thus can be considered as an indicator rather than a marker. Kallen (2013: 48) also points to the retention of the distinction between /ʍ/ and /w/ as a feature of Irish English. Similarly Hickey (2005: 33) highlights how speakers from the Irish Republic use this feature to distinguish themselves from speakers of RP in what he gives us to understand as a conscious dissociation from the RP form. Similarly the fricativization of /t,d/ and diphthongs /eɪ/ /əʊ/ realized as monophthongs [eː] and [oː] respectively are common Irish English features (Hickey 1999: 267). An additional feature, deletion of yod after /n/ as in /njuː/ realized as [nuː] is also noted but is considered to be associated with very low speaker awareness (Hickey 2005: 81) (see also Kallen 2013: 48-49). While these features present in vernacular varieties of Irish English, they have also been identified as part of "a core of common features" which are characteristic generally of the middle-class speech of southern Irish English (Hickey 1999: 267). On the other hand, Hickey (2013) refers to some features of vernacular Irish English as being regarded by Irish people as "strongly vernacular" and claims that Irish people can be sensitive to such realizations. One such feature is the realization in many areas of Ireland of the phonemes /θ/ and /ð/ with alveolar stops as [t]and [d] respectively. Indeed Kallen (2013: 50) observes that the purely interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are rare in Irish English (with the exception of Ulster English) resulting in the neutralization of a phonemic contrast between /θ/ and /t/ and /ð/ and /d/. O'Baoill (1990: 159) points out that the fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are replaced by dental stops in southern Irish English, and the contrast between the words *then* and *den* are maintained by having a dental stop in *then* and an alveolar stop in *den*; however, he observes that in some lects, both are pronounced with alveolar stops, this being apparent in word sets such as *tin/thin* and *den/then*. More detailed differentiation of Irish English varieties is provided by Hickey (2004: 57-59 and Hickey (2013) based on Wells' (1982) lexical sets.

7 The study

7.1 Methodology

The study poses the question as to what extent and how SSBE is exploited as outgroup referee design in radio advertising in Ireland.

A corpus of 160 radio advertisements from RTÉ radio 1, the primary radio channel of Irish public-service broadcaster Raidió Teilifís Éireann, was compiled. As discussed, up to 1979, RTÉ radio 1 was RTÉ's only English language radio channel available in the Republic. RTÉ Radio 2, a popular music and chat channel, was launched in 1979, thereby establishing radio 1 as the more serious channel.

The main corpus comprises four subcorpora, each made up of 40 ads from the years 1977, 1987, 1997, and 2007. The majority of the ads in the 1977 and 1987 subcorpora, which is the focus of this analysis, were broadcast during the "Gay Byrne Show" which featured forums and discussion, often around what were, at the time, taboo subjects in Irish society. Its main audience was comprised of "housewives" (Oram 1986: 551). The majority of the ads are for Irish products and services and, in several cases, feature well-known Irish broadcasters.

The ads were analyzed, both on a quantitative and qualitative basis, predominantly at the levels of phonology. Following Lee (1992), the ads in the corpus were categorized according to Sussex's (1989) components of Action and Comment. In the context of the present study, SSBE contrasts with the Irish English accent, and therefore is identified predominantly by syllable–final /r/ deletion as this is the main feature differentiating it from Irish English; other identifying phonetic features of the SSBE accent are not examined in the quantitative analysis, although such features, for example, the use of interdental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/, are referred to where relevant in the qualitative analysis Therefore attempts at the emulation of SSBE through syllable–final /r/ deletion by speakers of Irish English are classified as SSBE. Successful referee design, according to Bell, employs the strategy of the repetition of a small number, or even just one variant. In the context of the present study, the occurrence of non-rhotic /r/ could therefore be indicative of outgroup referee design, even if other RP or SSBE - associated features are not displayed (Bell 1991: 143).

While the term SSBE refers to accent rather than dialect (in terms of grammar and vocabulary), in the context of this particular study, in all cases where SSBE accents (or simulations of such accents) were employed in the corpus, these accents combined with "Standard English" features in relation to grammar and vocabulary; therefore, for the purposes of the study, SSBE implies standard dialectal (grammatical and lexical) features, as well as pronunciation.

With regard to the quantitative analysis, therefore, the number of ads displaying non-rhotic pronunciation in the particular component, as described above, were counted rather than the number of occurrences of this feature within the ad component and is expressed as a percentage of the total number of that component displaying Irish English or SSBE. The ads are referred to according to their component parts of Action and Comment as identified by Sussex (1989) and described above. The ads can be categorized thus as *Comment only*, *Action only* or *Action and Comment*. The numbers of each type vary according to the subcorpus.

In the advert transcriptions, *MCV* and *FCV* refer to the male voice of the Comment component and the female voice of the Comment respectively. *M1*, *M2*, *F1*, *F2* and so on, refer to *first male speaker*, *second male speaker*, *first female speaker, second female speaker* respectively. Significant features are highlighted in bold and transcribed phonetically. The advert transcriptions are based on Charles Antaki's (2002) *Introduction to Conversation Analysis.*

7.2 Findings

As described, the Comment component of the ad generally relates to decontextualized monologic discourse in order to sanction the act of purchase and is associated with discourses of power; the Action component, on the other hand, tends to present scenarios designed to create solidarity with the listener through identification with the characters or situations depicted in these scenarios, and is associated with informal interaction (Lee 1992). As illustrated in Figure 1 below, in all four subcorpora, non-rhotic pronunciation occurs more often in the Comment components than it does in those of the Action, while rhotic pronunciation is more prevalent as a feature of the Action rather than the Comment components of the ads. However, the presence of non-rhotic pronunciation declines steadily through the decades, not only in the Action but also in the Comment component of the ads, being replaced by rhotic pronunciation. Also of note is the greater presence of non-rhotic as against rhotic accents in the Action components of the 1977 subcorpus. This subcorpus, however, is the only one in which non-rhotic accents exceed rhotic accents in this component and it is notable that in the Action components of the most recent subcorpus, that of 2007, non-rhotic accents have disappeared. In addition, they have a far lower presence in the Comment, being replaced by Irish English rhotic accents.
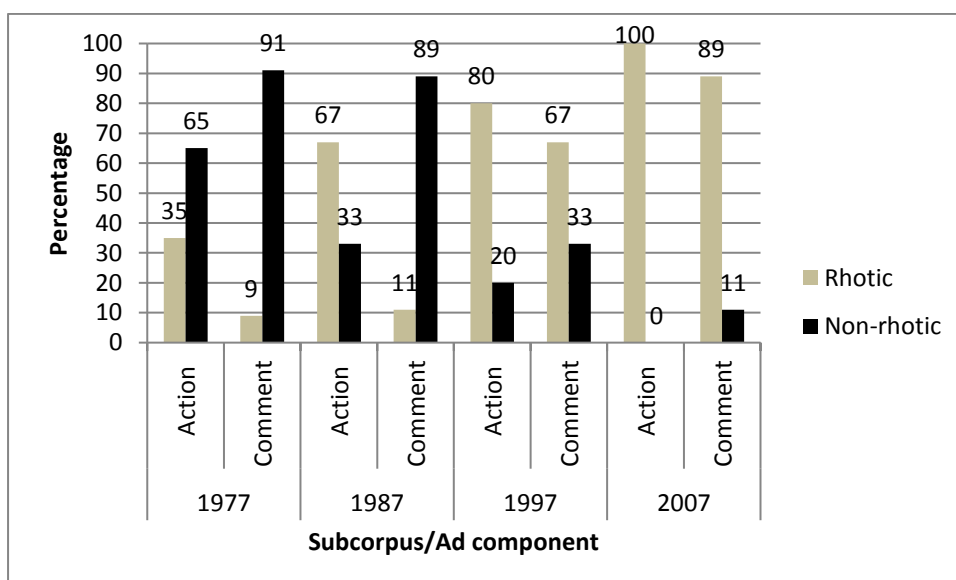

Figure 1: Percentage of ad components displaying rhotic (Irish English) and non-rhotic (SSBE) accent[a]

[a]Figures represent percentage of total numbers of the particular component that displays Irish English or SSBE features in the subcorpus.

The prevalence of the SSBE feature in the 1977 and 1987 subcorpora, in particular in the Comment components of the ads, is in marked contrast to its use in the later subcorpora in which the rhotic pronunciation dominates. Interestingly, the rhotic forms found in the 1997 and 2007 subcorpora include the advanced Dublin English form (O'Sullivan 2013) with its distinctive retroflex /r/. Hickey (2004) suggests that the spread of this feature stems from dissociation both from the traditional realization of /r/ as a velarized alveolar continuant in southern Irish English and also from the low rhoticity of "local" or "popular" Dublin English. It is interesting that the feature, which is considered a distinguishing marker of Irish English varieties in general, is intensified in this new variety in order to dissociate from more conservative and traditional forms.

10

Returning to our consideration of the findings of the earlier subcorpora, the choice of SSBE over standard or prestige Irish English varieties represents outgroup referee design as opposed to an audience-designed style. The 1977 and 1987 subcorpora therefore warrant investigation and so the focus of this paper's analysis is on these earlier subcorpora.

7.2.1 SSBE in the Comment components

As discussed above, the more frequent occurrence of non-rhotic pronunciation in the two earlier subcorpora, and particularly its favoring of the Comment components of both these subcorpora, associates this pronunciation form, which is external to the speech community associated with the audience of the ads, with discourses of "power and authority" (Lee 1992: 172–173). However, it is noteworthy that on closer examination, a number of ads, although they employ non-rhotic pronunciation, do not consistently use SSBE phonological features and actually display "telltale" Irish English features alongside the feature of /r/ lessness. Indeed, in the majority of the ads that display non-rhotic pronunciation in the 1977 and 1987 subcorpora, Irish English features are displayed in conjunction with this non-rhotic accent. We will examine three examples of ads from the 1977 subcorpus that illustrate this finding.

Example (1) for *Global Travel*, a Comment only ad, is categorized as non-rhotic but, interestingly, the use of the non-rhotic form is not consistent and in some instances, the speaker "lapses" into the rhotic form (Lines 003 and 004). This substantiates the premise that his "ingroup" speech pattern is in fact Irish English and that he may be rather consciously diverging from this speech pattern to an emulation of the non-rhotic SSBE, the variety which holds prestige for him and with which he wishes to identify (Bell 1991: 129-20). Similarly, the speaker uses the interdental fricative /θ/, unusual in Irish English (Ó Baoill 1990: 155; Kallen 2013: 48), in the pronunciation of thirty [θɜːti] (Line 003). The more vernacular Irish English pronunciation of /θ/ and /ð/ with the alveolar stop [t] and [d] (Kallen 2013: 50) is considered as a marker rather than an indicator and is one to which speakers of Irish English are considered to be "sensitive" (Hickey 2013). Although the pronunciation of /θ/ and /ð/ with dental stops as [t̪] and as [d̪] are associated with the "non-local" supraregional form (Hickey 2013) and would not be marked to the same extent as the more vernacular forms, the use of the interdental fricative /θ/ here demonstrates a conscious dissociation from the vernacular Irish English form to the SSBE one. It is useful to mention at this point that in the remainder of the ads examined in this paper, the supraregional southern pronunciation of /ð/ as [d̪] and /θ/ as [t̪] were the most common forms found. As anecdotal evidence suggests that the word *thirty* is one that is often used by people who are not Irish, in commenting on the distinctiveness of Irish English pronunciation, this may have influenced this divergence from the Irish English form in this particular word. In addition, the *Philips* microwave oven ad, Example (2), although displaying non-rhotic pronunciation has evidence of a slit fricative [t̞], a feature associated with Irish English, in the pronunciation of *heat* (Line 003). Hickey refers to this feature as an indicator, in that it transcends social class and style changes. Its use is therefore not stigmatized, as with more vernacular features; notwithstanding this, it is indicative of Irish English and thus serves to highlight the conscious nature of the use of non-rhotic pronunciation alongside Irish English phonological features. Similarly, the pronunciation of /ð/ with a dental stop as [d̪] in the word *their* (Line 001) is one associated with supraregional southern Irish English, and as discussed in relation to the previous ad, is less marked than the alveolar [d]. It is notable however, that in this word, the speaker uses a non-rhotic /r/ even though the word is followed by a vowel (*energy*) (Line 001) which in SSBE or RP would mean the retention of syllable-final /r/. Other noteworthy pronunciation features in the *Philips* microwave oven ad include the introduction of yod in the word minutes [mɪnɪts] pronounced as [mɪnjɪtz] (Line 004). Similarly, in an ad for the *Switzer's*

department store, Example (3) below, which promotes the launching of the store's Christmas season by the Irish family singing group and talent show winners, the Duanes, *Wednesday* [wenzdeɪ] is pronounced as [wedənzdeɪ] (Line 004). These features can be understood as a form of hypercorrection (Labov 1966b), that is, the tendency by the speaker to "overshoot the mark" in more formal speaking speech styles (Romaine 2000: 75) in the attempt to adopt the linguistic norms of a higher social group. Here it appears that the speakers adopt what they perceive to be the standard forms of the words in each case. This stylistic feature is more common in women's than in men's speech, so it is interesting that in both of the ads, the speakers are female. The pronunciation of the Irish name, *Orla*, [orlə] as [oˈlə] (Line 002) in the *Switzer's* ad could also be interpreted as a form of hypercorrection in that a non-rhotic realization is evident, whereas the standard Irish pronunciation is rhotic. These hypercorrected features combine with non-rhotic pronunciation in what would seem to be an attempt to adopt a standard or prestige speech style, external to the speech community. This illustrates the concept of overt prestige (Trudgill 1972) which accounts for changes in speech which are above the level of consciousness and usually in the direction of prestige forms which have linguistic "value" (Bourdieu 1991). This conscious or deliberate attempt at an emulation of the standard pronunciation form as the authoritative voice of the ad is reflective of the operation of standard language ideology that places SSBE as "correct" and Irish English rhotic pronunciation as a "deviant" form.

(1) Global Travel

    1977: Comment only
001	MCV:	Global gives you more [mɔːˈ] (.) the best holiday value
002		the lowest booking deposits only ten pounds
003		and now if you book before March [mɑːrtʃ] thirty [θɜːti] first [fɜːst] next (.)
004		no currency surcharge (.) [sɚ.tʃaːrdʒ]
005		see your travel agent or global

(2) Philips microwave ovens

    1977: Comment only
001	FCV:	Philips make their [d̪ eˈ]energy saving microwave ovens
002		to make life easier [iːziəˈ] for [fɔːˈ] you (.)
003		Philips microwave ovens can defrost (.) heat [hiː t̪]
004		or cook a wide variety of food in minutes [mɪnjətz]
005		allowing you more time to be a good host (.) hostess (.) husband or [ɔːˈ] wife(.)
006		Philips microwave ovens

(3) Switzer's

    1977: Comment only
001	FCV:	Eileen Colgan here [hɪəˈ] with Christmas news from Switzer's [swɪtsəˈz] (.)
002		meet Orla [ɔːˈlə] Duane (.) Opportunity Knocks winner [wɪnəˈ] as Cinderella
003		arriving by open car [kɑːˈ] down Grafton Street to open Christmas at Switzer's
004		with the rest of the Duanes on Wednesday [wedənzdeɪ] at four pm (.)
005		come along to meet the Duanes <u>and Santa</u> at Switzer's

As discussed, non-rhotic pronunciation as associated with SSBE is not confined to the Comment components and occurs in some instances in the Action components. Section 7.2.2 examines a number of ads that illustrate this phenomenon.

7.2.2 SSBE in the Action components

As we have seen (Figure 1 above), the 1977 subcorpus has the highest occurrence, within the corpus as a whole, of ads with non-rhotic pronunciation in their Action components. In this subcorpus, as regards the Action and Comment ads, the prevailing pattern is that of non-rhotic pronunciation in both the Action and Comment components.

      The 1977 *Glorney's Home and Garden* store ad, Example (4) below, illustrates an interesting finding with regard to the 1977 subcorpus. The mix of standard phonological (i.e. non-rhotic /r/) and Irish English features is also evident in this ad in the form of yod deletion in the pronunciation of [njuː] as [nuː]. The first enunciation of the word by Speaker F1 is the standard one (Line 002), but in further enunciations, the speaker uses the Irish English pronunciation (Line 003) as does the MCV (Lines 009, 011). As with slit fricative [t̪], discussed above in relation to Example (2), Hickey (2005: 81) refers to this yod-deletion as a feature of very low salience, not significant as a social marker and having low awareness with speakers (as in Errington's concept of "pragmatic salience") (see Woolard 1998: 13). This mix of features again underpins the deliberate or conscious nature of the non-rhotic feature, which can be said to be a more concrete or noticeable feature distinguishing between SSBE and Irish English than the slit fricative [t̪]or yod deletion and thus a stronger indicator of prestige. In this ad, both Action and Comment exhibit this emulation of non-rhotic pronunciation. This is combined with a very careful pronunciation (as in the noticeable enunciation of final /d/ sound in the words *Islandbridge* and *and* (Line 008) to illustrate what Milroy (2000) cites as a criterion in discussions of standardization, that of carefulness, which Milroy sees as a consequence of standard ideology. The Action component also displays non-rhotic /r/ and has no evidence of Irish English dialectal features. The context is notably middle-class, depicting the couple shopping for fittings for a new house from the "international selection".

(4) Glorney's Home and Garden Store

    1977: Action and Comment
    001 F1:   I always <u>swore</u> I'd never [nevəˈʳ] do it again (.)
    002   once was enough but well: : here we go again (.) a new [n**juː**] house
    003   and that means a new [**nuː**] bathroom [bɑːθrʊm] suite (.)
    004   new [**nuː**] kitchen (.) new [n**juː**] fireplaces [faɪəpleɪsɪz] (.)
    005   windows (.) doors [dɔːˈʳz] and all the building material (.)
    006   that's why John's off to Glorney's [glɔːˈʳniːz](.)
    007   <u>their</u> international [ɪntəˈʳnæʃənəl] selection means one stop does the lot
    008 MCV**:**   Glorney's [glɔːˈʳniːz] (.) Islan**d**bridge an**d**
    009   now new [**nuː**] spacious showrooms in Townsend Street (.)
    010   Glorney's [glɔːˈʳniːz] (.) where houses become homes
    011   now new [**nuː**] spacious showrooms in Townsend Street (.)
    012   Glorney's [glɔːˈʳniːz] (.) where houses become homes

Example (5) below, an ad for *Hedex* painkillers from 1977 illustrates a similar pattern where the Action and Comment components display non-rhotic pronunciation. However, the ad is remarkable in that within the Action component, which involves two characters, one of the characters uses non-rhotic pronunciation while the other employs rhotic pronunciation alongside other distinguishable Irish English features. The context of the ad is a conversation between two housewives with children shouting in the background. One of the housewives, Joan, complains of a headache whereupon the second recommends the product. The second part of the ad is set on the following day and features Joan's friend telephoning her to ask

how she is feeling. Joan replies that she is feeling "grand" (Line 010). This use of the word *grand* is a recognized Irish English malapropism: that is, its meaning is not the same as it is in Standard English (Bliss 1984). It is notable that Joan's pronunciation, while not identifiable with a particular region or county and could be described as supraregional southern (the non-vernacular Irish English form, as discussed above), is however, rhotic while that of her friend is non-rhotic. The Comment component, which follows the Action, also employs non-rhotic pronunciation (Line 013). The image of both women is that of middle-class suburban housewives and indeed Joan's use of these Irish English features could not be said to situate her character as any less middle-class. This has parallels with Lee's study in that the Action components, in which the localized varieties of Swiss German predominated, were mainly associated with "middle-class" settings (Lee 1992: 175). However, it is interesting to note that Joan's friend and "advisor", who first names and goes on to provide the information about the product, speaks with a non-rhotic accent and does not use any distinguishing Irish English lexical features. Her function here could be construed as being similar to that of the Comment voice in naming and providing information on the product (Lee 1992: 170). She is, in effect, "a purveyor of privileged information" (Lee 1992: 172). In this case, therefore, the non-rhotic Comment voice reinforces the voice of Joan's friend in endorsing the product. This strategy is also in evidence within the Action component in other ads in the 1987 subcorpus (for example, an ad for *Siúcra* Irish sugar (Example (6) below), in that one character (F1) employs a supraregional southern accent (Lines 002, 004) and appears to be used for the purpose of consumer identification, while a second character (F2) displays SSBE non-rhotic pronunciation (Lines 005, 007) and is used to consolidate the sanctioning voice or voice of authority, which, interestingly, is also non-rhotic (Lines 010, 012). This, ironically, is in relation to an Irish product that exploits the Irish word for sugar, *siúcra*. Again, notwithstanding the exploitation of this distinctive Irish marker in the product name, the choice of the SSBE-associated feature for the "expert" voice can be said to be ideologically founded.

(5) Hedex

　　1977: Action and Comment
　　001　　　　　((children shouting))
　　002　F1:　　oh why can't they keep quiet (.) don't they know I've got a splitting headache?
　　003　F2:　　why don't you take something for it Joan?
　　004　F1:　　I <u>would</u> but most pain killers [kɪlɚz] seem to upset my stomach
　　005　F2:　　Hedex won't (.) here [hɪə^r] take these
　　006　　　　　I'll get some more on the way home (.) they're easy to swallow
　　007　　　　　((phone ringing))
　　008　F1:　　 hello (.)
　　009　F2:　　 are you feeling any better [betə^r] this morning [mɔːnɪŋ] Joan?
　　010　F1:　　 oh I'm feeling **grand** (.) Hedex worked marvellously [mɑːrvələsli]
　　011　　　　　from now on I won't take anything else (.)
　　012　　　　　listen I'll see you at three and we can go –
　　013　MCV:　Hedex (.) powerful [paʊəfəl] against headaches (.) gentle on your [jə^r] stomach

(6) Siúcra

　　1987: Action and Comment
　　001　　　　　((background supermarket sounds))

14

002 F1:   hiya Helen. (.) did you see the special offer on fruit [fruː**t**] ?
003   I've bought all I need for my Christmas baking (.)
004   I think I'll get the sugar [ʃʊgɚ] too while I'm at it
005 F2   But don't just say sugar [ʃʊgə ʳ] say Siúcra
006 F1   Hmm?
007 F2   Siúcra (.) <u>Irish</u> sugar [ʃʊgə ʳ]
008 F1   Oh yes of course (.) I'll be sure to –
009 MCV   Siúcra (.) is ready to meet all your Christmas needs (.)
010   with Siúcra brown sugars [ʃʊgə ʳz] (.) Siúcra caster [kɑːstəʳ] (.) Siúcra icing sugar [ʃʊgə ʳ]
011   and the handy instant Royal Icing
012   Siúcra (.) nature's [neɪ.tʃəʳz] way of making good things (.) eve(h)n better [betəʳ]

Section 7.3 examines these findings in terms of outgroup referee design.

7.3 Analysis: SSBE as outgroup referee design

In terms of audience and referee design theory and its application to these ads, Bell (2001: 167) points out that regular patterns of linguistic behavior are more likely to be associated with audience design, while referee design is associated with deviations from these patterns. The combination of Irish English phonological elements, interspersed with aberrational SSBE features visible in the ads, as described above, corroborates Bell's observation and indicates that the speakers in these ads are shifting style from Irish English (that of their ingroup) to what is regarded as the more prestigious style associated with the speakers of SSBE (the outgroup referee). As discussed, Bell (1991: 143) observes the repetition of a small number or even one variant as a successful referee design strategy, claiming that it is more important that a marked linguistic variant is displayed once out of a potential ten occurrences than that an unmarked variant occur nine times. As we have seen, this is visible in a number of ads in the corpus, for instance, in Example (1) for *Global* which employs non-rhotic pronunciation whilst occasionally "lapsing" back to rhotic. Therefore, in the context of these ads, even a single variant associated with SSBE is sufficient to provide associations with this form and for this strategy to be effective in suggesting status and prestige. Interestingly, in Bell's study, the consonants as opposed to the vowels, were found to do "much more than [their] share of work" (Bell 1991: 140) in the case of outgroup referee design. In terms of the SSBE accent, in this study also, the consonants, or at least that of the non-rhotic /r/ is to the fore in characterizing the SSBE accent. In designing their talk to emulate this prestige outgroup style, the speakers in the ads illustrate effectively the initiative dimension of referee design.

As we have seen, hypercorrection is visible in the 1977 subcorpus as illustrated by Example (2) and Example (3). Bell (1991: 145), in his study of a sample of advertisements from New Zealand TV in 1986, also finds evidence of hypercorrection and speculates that it may be a deliberate attempt to exaggerate notable differences between varieties as part of a strategy of outgroup referee design, in which speakers diverge from their ingroup speech patterns to a form and identity which for them holds more prestige for a particular function.

With regard to the use of SSBE in the Action components, the use of non-rhotic accent in this component could be seen as somewhat surprising in light of Lee's finding that the Action tended to be associated with discourses of "everyday informal interaction" (Lee 1992: 172–173) and designed to create audience solidarity; however, it is important to look at how this accent is employed. In Example (6) for *Glorney's Home and Garden*, for example, the speaker in the Action is a "housewife" talking about fitting out a new house. At this time in Ireland, married women were only beginning to move back into the workforce (Ferriter 2004). In the decades of the earlier sub-corpora, in particular, "housewives" made up a large proportion of the listenership of the "accompanying discourse" (Cook 2001) in the form of

15

the radio shows around which the ads are broadcast (Oram 1986: 551). It is conceivable that ads with this pattern are aimed at women who aspired to upward social mobility and therefore that the notions of overt prestige and outgroup referee design (based on a speaker of SSBE) dominate in these instances. Trudgill (1972) speculates that the orientation of women towards overt prestige is a result of their relatively powerless position in society and they consequently develop linguistic strategies for upward mobility. In addition, the employment of the strategy within the Action component of using a housewife with a non-rhotic accent (the outgroup referee) as the more authoritative figure alongside a less "expert" rhotic speaker (audience design), for example, in the *Hedex* ad (Example (5), can be seen as corroborating the Comment voice.

8 Conclusions

As discussed, in looking at the cultural implications of referee design, the existence of a history of colonization is often used to explain the use of external languages or dialects in advertising (Bell 1991: 145), with the external referee code seen as superior to the local. Bell observes how "it has taken New Zealand broadcasting many years to realize that 'this isn't the BBC'", citing the example of how announcers spoke with an accent close to RP in prestige New Zealand radio and TV broadcasts in the 1980s (see Bell 1982). While it must be acknowledged that RP or SSBE is not considered as a standard for speakers of English in Ireland, nevertheless it is an external variety and one which carries prestige in the Irish context, not as a general pronunciation model but yet appropriate in specific contexts such as in broadcasting.

While Irish English rhotic accents predominate in both components of the more recent 1997 and 2007 subcorpora, in those of 1977 and 1987, non-thotic accents, as associated with SSBE, prevail in the Comment components; in many instances, the authoritative voice of the Comment is typified by a very careful (in terms of attention to articulation) and rather consciously enunciated non-rhotic accent, interspersed with "telltale" markers of Irish English pronunciation. This indicates the deliberate nature of the employment of this anomalous non-rhotic pronunciation. Hypercorrection is also in evidence in the Comment components of these subcorpora, a strategy that as discussed (Bell 1991: 145), is associated with outgroup referee design. This conscious adoption of the SSBE feature in the Comment components can be related to overt prestige (Trudgill 1972) associated with status values (Lee 1992) and provides evidence for the existence of ideologies which link the authoritative voice with an outgroup referee, in this case a speaker of SSBE. In the 1977 subcorpus, outgroup referee design based on non-rhotic pronunciation dominates both components, its use in the Action often being associated with the character who communicates "privileged information" (Lee 1992:172) and expertise, serving to consolidate the Comment voice and linked to the notion of upward social mobility. In both the 1977 and 1987 subcorpora, the outgroup referee design is based mainly on the repetition of the non-rhotic variant, rather than on a full range of SSBE-related features.

The availability of the quasi standard supraregional southern variety of Irish English (audience-designed style) which does not carry the stigma of more "strongly vernacular" forms (Hickey 2013) as an alternative option for use as the authoritative voice, reinforces evidence for the prevalence of standard language ideology; this is illustrated in the choice of referee based on SSBE as opposed to this quasi standard Irish English form. As discussed, accommodation theory presumes that, with regard to advertising, accommodation to the speech patterns of the minority language will be successful if the minority subculture does not view its language and culture as inferior (Giles et al 1973). The employment of an accent showing SSBE features, as opposed to a supraregional southern Irish English accent, suggest

that such inferiority complexes were prevalent and that standard language ideologies and the adoption by Ireland of the "political culture of language from England", as Croghan (1986: 265) puts it, has influenced this apparently conscious divergence from Irish English associated rhotic pronunciation and the construction of the outgroup referee as an SSBE speaker. As the SSBE form may be viewed by the audience as the most appropriate form for the "serious" and "authoritative" message of the ad, this divergence may be seen (by both the radio station and the audience) in terms of positive accommodation as discussed (Thakerar et al 1982). This is further reinforced by the use of non-rhotic pronunciation in the Action components to represent the upwardly socially mobile or "expert" or "advisor" voice and is juxtaposed against a speaker of supraregional southern Irish English, the "advisee". The prevalence of this strategy suggests that there exists a consensus between advertiser and advertisee on the appropriateness of the standard variety for the particular context (Bell 1991) and protects against the alienation of the receivers of the ad (Haarman 1986, cited in Bell 1991: 135- 136). The existence of such consensus further evokes the notions of "common sense" attitudes in relation to correct and incorrect forms. It is also a potent measure of the prevailing language ideological climate.

References

Amador-Moreno, Carolina P. 2010. *An introduction to Irish English.* London: Equinox.

Antaki, Charles. 2002. An introduction to conversation analysis. http://homepages.lboro.ac.uk/~ssca1/sitemenu.htm (accessed 21 September 2010).

Bayard, Donn, Ann Weatherall, Cynthia Gallois & Jeffrey Pittam. 2001. Pax Americana? Accent attitudinal evaluations in New Zealand, Australia, and America. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 5(1). 22–49.

Bell, Alan. 1982. "This isn't the BBC": Colonialism in New Zealand English. *Applied Linguistics* 3(3). 246–258.

Bell, Alan. 1984. Language style as audience design. *Language in Society* 13(2). 145–204.

Bell, Alan. 1991. *The language of news media.* Oxford: Basil Blackwell.

Bishop, Hywel, Nikolas Coupland & Peter Garrett. 2005. Globalisation, advertising and language choice: Shifting values for Welsh and Welshness in *Y Drych*, 1851–2001. *Multilingua* 24(4). 343–378.

Bliss, Alan J. 1977. The emergence of modern English dialects in Ireland. In Diarmaid Ó'Muirithe (ed.), *The English language in Ireland*, 7–19. Dublin: The Mercier Press.

Bliss, Alan J. 1984. English in the south of Ireland. In Peter Trudgill (ed.), *Language in the British Isles,* 135–151. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bourdieu, Pierre. 1991. *Language and symbolic power.* Oxford: Polity Press.

Cook, Guy. 2001. *The discourse of advertising.* London: Routledge.

Croghan, M. 1986. The Brogue: Language as political culture. In John Harris, David Little & David Singleton (eds.), *Perspectives on the English language in Ireland: Proceedings of the first symposium on Hiberno-English,* Dublin 1985, 259–269. Dublin: Centre for Language and Communication Studies.

Cronin, Michael. 2011. Ireland in translation, *English Today* 27(2). 53–57.

Ferriter, Diarmaid. 2004. *The transformation of Ireland, 1900–2000.* Dublin: Profile.

Filppula, Markku. 1999. *The grammar of Irish English: Language in Hibernian style*. London: Routledge.

Filppula, Markku. 2012. Exploring grammatical differences between Irish and British English. In Bettina Migge & Máire Ní Chiosáin, (eds.), *New perspectives on Irish English*, 85–99. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Giles, Howard. 1973. Accent mobility: A model and some data. *Anthropological Linguistics* 15(2). 87–105.

Giles, Howard, Donald. M. Taylor & Richard.Y. Bourhis. 1973. Towards a theory of interpersonal accommodation: Some Canadian data. *Language in Society* 2(2).177–192.

Haarman, Harald. 1986. *Language in ethnicity: A view of basic ecological relations*. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Harris, John. 1997. Ireland. In Jeffrey Kallen (ed.), *Varieties of English around the world: Focus on Ireland*, 189–205. Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hickey, Raymond. 1999. Dublin English: Current changes and their motivation. In Paul Foulkes & Gerry Docherty (eds.), *Urban voices: Variation and change in British accents,* 265–281. London: Arnold

Hickey, Raymond. 2004. *A sound atlas of Irish English.* Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Hickey, Raymond. 2005. *Dublin English: Evolution and change.* Amsterdam & Philadelphia: John Benjamins.

Hickey, Raymond. 2012. Standard Irish English. In Raymond Hickey (ed.), *Standards of English: Codified Varieties around the World*, 96–116. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hickey, Raymond. 2013. Variation and change in Dublin English. https://www.uni-due.de/VCDE/ (accessed 3 Jan 2013).

Hogan, J. J. 1970 [1927]. *The English language in Ireland*. College Park, MD: McGrath Publishing Company.

Hughes, Arthur, Peter Trudgill & Dominic Watt. 2012. *English accents and dialects*, 5th edn. New York: Routledge.

Joyce, Patrick W. 1988 [1910]. *English as we speak it in Ireland*, 3rd edn. Dublin: Wolfhound Press

Kallen, Jeffrey 1994. English in Ireland. In Robert Burchfield (ed.), *The Cambridge history of the English language, vol. V: English in Britain and overseas: Origins and development,* 148–196. Cambridge*:* Cambridge University Press.

Kallen, Jeffrey. 2013. *Irish English,* vol**.** 2*: The Republic of Ireland* (Dialects of English 9). Berlin & Boston: De Gruyter.

Kelly-Holmes, Helen. 2005. *Advertising as multilingual communication.* London: Palgrave Macmillan.

Kirk, John M. 2011. What is Irish Standard English? *English Today* 27(2).32–38.

Kirk, John M. & Jeffrey L. Kallen. 2006. Irish Standard English: How standardised? How celticised? In Hildegard L.C. Tristram (ed.), *The Celtic Englishes 4*, 88–113. Potsdam: Potsdam University Press.

Koslow, Scott, Prem N. Shamdasani & Ellen E. Touchstone. 1994. Exploring language effects in ethnic advertising: A sociolinguistic perspective. *Journal of Consumer Research* 20(4). 575–585.

Labov, William. 1966a. *The social stratification of English in New York City.* Washington D.C.: Centre for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, William. 1966b. *Sociolinguistic patterns.* Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Lee, David. 1992. *Competing discourses: Perspective and ideology in language.* London: Longman.

Lipski, John. M. 1985. Spanish in United States broadcasting. In Lucia Elias-Olivares, Elizabeth A. Leone, Rene Cisneros & John R. Gutierrez (eds.), *Spanish language use and public life in the United States*, 217–233. Berlin & New York: Mouton de Gruyter.

Mac Mathúna, Séamus. 2004. Remarks on standardization in Irish English, Irish and Welsh. In Hildegard L. C. Tristram (ed.), *The Celtic Englishes 4*, 114–129. Potsdam: Potsdam University Press.

Milroy, James. 2000. Historical description and the ideology of the standard language. In Laura Wright (ed.), *The development of Standard English 1300–1800: Theories, descriptions, conflicts*, 11–28. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Molloy, Gerald. 1897. *The Irish difficulty, shall and will.* London: Blackie & Son.

Montgomery, Martin. 1988. D-J talk. In Nikolas Coupland (ed.), *Styles of discourse*, 85–104. London: Croom Helm.

Ó Baoill, Dónall. 1990. Language contact in Ireland: The Irish phonological substratum in Irish English. In Jerold A. Edmondson, Crawford Feagin & Peter Mühlhäusler, (eds.), *Development and diversity: Language variation across time and* space (A Festschrift for Charles-James N. Bailey), 147–172. Dallas, TX: Summer Institute of Linguistics,

Oram, Hugh. 1986. *The advertising book: The history of advertising in Ireland.* Dublin: MO Books.

O'Sullivan, Joan. 2013. Advanced Dublin English in Irish radio advertising. *World Englishes* 32(3). 358–376.

Piller, Ingrid. 2001. Identity constructions in multilingual advertising. *Language in Society* 30(2). 153–186.

Piller, Ingrid. 2003. Advertising as a site of language contact. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics* 23. 170–183.

Romaine, Suzanne. 2000. *Language in society: An introduction to sociolinguistics*, 2nd edn. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sheridan, Thomas. 1969 [1781]. *Rhetorical grammar of the English language.* Menston: Scholar's Facsimile Press.

Spitulnik, Debra. 1998. Mediating unity and diversity: The production of language ideologies in Zambian broadcasting. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard & Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory,* 163–188. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Sussex, Roland. 1989. The Americanisation of Australian English: Prestige models in the media. In Peter Collins & David Blair (eds.), *Australian English: The language of a new society*, 158–170. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Thakerar, Jitcndra N., Howard Giles & Jenny Cheshire. 1982. Psychological and linguistic parameters of speech accommodation theory. In Colin Fraser & Klaus R. Scherer (eds.), *Advances in the social psychology of language,* 205–255. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trudgill, Peter. 1972. Sex, covert prestige and linguistic change in the urban British English of Norwich. *Language in Society* 1(2).175–195.

Vestergaard, Torben & Kim Schroder. 1985. *The language of advertising.* Oxford: Blackwell.

Wells, John. C. 1982. *Accents of English,* 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

White, Goodith. 2006. Standard Irish English as a marker of Irish identity. In Tope Omoniyi & Goodith White (eds.), *The sociolinguistics of identity*, 217–232. London: Continuum.

Woolard, Kathryn A. 1998. Language ideology as a field of enquiry. In Bambi B. Schieffelin, Kathryn A. Woolard & Paul V. Kroskrity (eds.), *Language ideologies: Practice and theory*, 3–47. Oxford: Oxford University Press.