Advanced Dublin English as audience and referee design in Irish radio advertising

The "initiative" role of advertising in the construction of identity

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This paper examines change in the sociolinguistic landscape of Irish English based on a diachronic corpus of radio advertisements from 1997 and 2007, with a focus on the relatively new accent variety, Advanced Dublin English (AdvD) (Hickey 2013). The quantitative and qualitative analyses are based on Sussex's (1989) "Action and Comment" framework (which differentiates the advertisement components based on discourse genre) and on Bell's (1984) audience and referee design framework. AdvD is viewed in the 1997 subcorpus as outgroup referee design where it has an "initiative" role in constructing listener identity. In the 2007 subcorpus, the increased frequency of AdvD suggests that it is evolving to an audience designed style. Stylised representations of this accent can be understood as ingroup referee design, a strategy which facilitates the evolution of this form as audience design. These findings illustrate the initiative role of the media in constructing contemporary cultural identities (Piller 2001).

Keywords: Irish English, Advanced Dublin English, audience design, referee design, media language, advertising language, language ideology, stylisation, authenticity

1. Introduction

Recent research has highlighted the changing nature of the sociolinguistic situation of a given country and the importance of taking such change into account when looking into interaction with market discourses (Kelly-Holmes 2005). Lee describes how advertisements are "the meeting place of many different ways of speaking, many discourses", which reflect the discursive practices of the society in which they function (Lee 1992: 171). Additionally, Coupland (2009: 45) suggests that we

must look for connections between the world of "everyday language" and that of mediated communication.

The paper examines change in the sociolinguistic landscape of Irish English on the basis of a diachronic corpus of radio advertising. The choice of radio, as opposed to other media advertisements, allows a focus on phonological features which characterise the putative changes in Irish English. Additionally, in the Irish context, the stratification of radio stations is quite clearly defined, which facilitates the delineation of the audience for a particular radio station. The study is important in that it offers empirical corroboration of claims made in relation to the emergence of new forms of Irish English in Dublin in the early 1990s.

The paper is structured as follows: It begins with a discussion of variation and change in Irish English, including the categorisation and description of "local" and "non-local" accent sub-varieties of Irish English. This is followed by an explanation of the methodology and the analytical tools employed in the study; Sussex's (1989) framework for classifying the components of the ads in terms of "Action" and "Comment", based on the genre of the discourse, and Bell's (1984) frameworks of audience and referee design and how they can be applied to media communication. We then turn to a description of the Irish radio advertising context, and in particular, the radio advertising corpus, and an examination of how sub-varieties of Irish English might be classified in terms of audience or referee design, with particular reference to the ideological construction of the relatively new Irish English sub-variety, Advanced Dublin English (AdvD). The analysis section follows; specific ads from each sub-corpus (1997 and 2007) are analysed in turn to examine AdvD in terms of outgroup referee design and audience design. The final analysis section looks at how AdvD may be classified as ingroup referee design by virtue of its stylised representation and consequent authentication (Coupland 2003) as an ingroup style. Finally, conclusions are drawn in relation to the classification of this form in terms of audience and referee design and the role of advertising in constructing contemporary identities in the Irish context.

2.   Variation and change in Irish English

The term *Irish English* refers generally to English as it is spoken in Ireland and encapsulates both accent and dialectal features. References to Irish English in this study can be understood in terms of southern Irish English (as opposed to the Irish English spoken in Northern Ireland). While there appears to be a consensus (for example, Kirk and Kallen 2006; Kirk 2011; Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt 2012) that "educated" or "standard" Irish English can contain dialectal features of vernacular Irish English, this tends to be at a muted level and does not show as much contrast

with standard British English as does vernacular Irish English; therefore, prestige or standard Irish English is most distinguishable from standard British English with regard to accent rather than dialectal features.

With regard to a standard for Irish English, Hickey (2005: 208) points to what he terms "non-local" or "educated" Dublin English as having functioned as a "quasi-standard" in the south of Ireland since the beginning of the twentieth century (see Table 1). Hickey (2004: 44) claims that the most important delineating factor in "non-local Dublin English" is its rejection of the "narrow, restrictive identification" with "traditional conservative Dublin life of which the popular accent is very much a part". Focusing mainly on phonological features, Hickey initially subdivided the non-local variety into a larger "mainstream" section and a smaller group (originally termed "fashionable" or "new" Dublin English, and also "Dublin 4" or "D4" as discussed below, see also Table 1) which actively dissociated itself from the local "low-prestige" group (Hickey 2004: 44). With regard to so-called mainstream Dublin English, Hickey states that, as in the case of any urban accent, particular popular features can be found in "educated", non-local forms (Hickey 2005: 28), and he terms the locally influenced, but educated variety, a "moderate Dublin" English (ModDE) accent (see Table 1), including features such as fronting of the /au/ diphthong and lengthening of low back vowels.

Table 1. Terminology for Irish English accent sub-varieties

Broad accent category	Accent sub-variety name	Alternative accent sub-variety names
Non-local/standard (Hickey 2004)	Advanced Dublin English (Hickey 2004) (AdvD)	"fashionable" or "new" Dublin English (Hickey 2004) "Dublin 4" or "D4" (Hickey 2004; Filppula 2012: 86) "Dortspeak" (Myers 2000: 65) "educated urbane", "neutral" (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 120)
	Moderate Dublin English (Hickey 2004) (ModDE)	"educated" (Hickey 2005: 208); "educated urbane", "neutral" (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 120)
	Supraregional Southern (Hickey 2004) (SrS)	"educated" (Hickey 2005: 208); "non-local" (Hickey 2013) "educated urbane", "neutral" (Kelly-Holmes 2005: 120)
Local (Hickey 2004)	Local Dublin English (LD)	"Popular Dublin English" (Hickey 2004)
	Regional (Reg)	"Local" (Hickey 2016); "Rural South-West/ West" (Hickey 2004) accents subsumed under "Regional" category

On a supraregional level, however, these metropolitan features are absent. Hickey (2004: 92) employs the term "supraregional southern" Irish English to describe the broad-based non-vernacular pronunciation form in the south of Ireland (see Table 1). Like ModDE, this is derived from mid-twentieth century middle-class Dublin English but is without the Dublin features associated with ModDE. It may have variable features depending on geographical location but nevertheless "a core of common features" (Hickey 2004: 92) can be identified which are characteristic generally of the longer established middle-class speech of the south. These include rhotic pronunciation, dental stops for dental fricatives, fricativisation of /t,d/ in open position, RP[1] diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/ realized as monophthongs [e:] and [o:] 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 [a:]. Some of these features are also found in vernacular varieties; more detailed differentiation of Irish English varieties is provided by Hickey (2013), based on Wells' (1982) lexical sets, and is employed in categorising varieties in the study.

As mentioned above, Hickey also refers in his earlier work to new Dublin English, a further subdivision of non-local Dublin English which actively dissociates itself from the low-prestige group (see Table 1). This is also referred to as Dublin 4 or D4 (Moore 2011, Filppula 2012). Indeed, Filppula observes that "Dublin 4 English" is associated with a standard Irish English, Dublin 4 being the area in Dublin city where the national broadcaster RTÉ is based (see Table 1). He claims that "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" (Filppula 2012: 86).

Hickey (2005: 46) views Dublin as a classic setting for language change due to an expansion in its population, brought about by internal growth and in-migration as a result of the economic boom ("Celtic Tiger"), which began in the 1990s. He proposes that the associated increase in prosperity and elevated international position sparked a desire among young people for an "urban sophistication" (Hickey 2004: 45), represented in terms of language by a reactive local dissociation from the vernacular form of their locality. The resulting form, which Hickey originally termed new Dublin English, he now refers to as advanced Dublin English (see Table 1). Notable features include those of the so-called Dublin vowel shift (Hickey 2004: 47) involving a retraction of diphthongs with a low or back starting point

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1. Received Pronunciation (RP) is the accent associated with standard British English; it is associated with high social status as regards education, income and profession rather than with a specific region (Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt 2012: 3).

and a raising of low back vowels. In addition, /r/ retroflexion and /l/ velarisation are features associated with this pronunciation. While AdvD has been argued not to have been influenced by British English or US English (Hickey 2005), there are nevertheless observable parallels between AdvD and both these varieties, so media influence cannot be ruled out.

Hickey (2005: 72) points out that these emergent AdvD features had, by the middle of the first decade of the 21st century, become prevalent throughout southern Ireland; on the basis of more recent research, he claims that it is the new mainstream form of Irish English (Hickey 2013). However, it is important to note, in relation to these claims, the dearth of quantitative corpus-based data. As Kallen (2013: 230) points out, "[d]etailed accounts of ongoing changes in Irish English which rely on quantitative evidence to document the spread of change […] are […] few in number". Kallen makes reference to a number of quantitative studies such as McCarthy (1996) and O'Brien (2006, cited in Kallen 2013: 232) which analyse variation and change in Irish English with respect to particular realisations and how they relate to social variables such as class, age, gender etc. While these studies are indicative rather than definitive, Kallen suggests that they demonstrate the value of quantitative sociolinguistic analysis based on social variables. The current study seeks to add a further dimension to such quantitative empirical evidence for change in progress through the mirror of media representation of Irish English for the time period during which these putative changes were occurring.

Notwithstanding the lack of quantitative data, Hickey's categorisation of Irish-English sub-varieties remains extremely useful for classifying these varieties. Whilst acknowledging that these classifications are of course generalisations, the study differentiates between two very broad categories of southern Irish English. The term "non-local" is used here as an umbrella term for the accent sub-categories outlined above of moderate Dublin (ModDE), supraregional southern (SrS) and AdvD (also known as "Dublin 4" or "D4"), which are viewed broadly by Hickey (2005) as standard Irish English and align generally with what Kelly-Holmes (2005: 120) refers to as the "educated, urbane" voices which dominate Irish media. The term "local" Irish English, on the other hand, refers to the category comprised of easily distinguishable local accents, including both local Dublin (LD) (also referred to as "popular" by Hickey 2004: 57) and other regional (Reg) – rural and provincial – accents (see Table 1). This study concerns itself mainly with the non-local categories of supraregional southern English and AdvD.

3.   Methodology

The frameworks for analysis employed in the study are Sussex's (1989) advertisement components "Action and Comment", and Bell's (1984) audience and referee design, as are examined below.

3.1   Structure of the ad: Action and Comment

Sussex's (1989) advertisement components of Action and Comment relate to the genre of the discourse. The Action component is comprised generally of context-based scenarios, often involving dialogic interaction while the Comment component (which names and provides general information on the product), can be equated to the voice-over or "voice of authority" (Piller 2001) and tends to be monologic and decontextualised. In his study of a corpus of 108 advertisements (broadcast on a Swiss-German television channel in 1989), Lee observes that the Comment (High German) voice "articulates with general discourses of power and authority". This component functions as a "purveyor of privileged information", 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" (Lee 1992: 172–173). Similarly, Sussex's study of Australian television advertisements revealed that the Comment was dominated by "educated" rather than "broad" Australian voices (Sussex 1989: 165). The aims of the ad are firstly to create an acceptance of the product through consumer identification with the actors who represent the product, and secondly, to sanction the action of purchase through the authoritative Comment voice, thus appealing to the "contrasting values" associated with status and solidarity (Lee 1992: 179–180). Therefore, the appearance of a particular accent sub-variety in the Comment component associates this sub-variety with prestige and authority while, the use of a particular accent sub-variety in the Action associates it with everyday discourse.

3.2   Audience and referee design

The theory of audience design (Bell 1984) accounts for style shifts of speakers in both face-to-face and media communication. The framework assumes "that speakers take most account of hearers in designing their talk" (Bell 1984: 159). Audience design is seen as the "responsive" dimension of style and is used to explain style variation based on media audience (Bell 1984: 147, 1991: 126–127). Bell cites his 1982 study of how newsreaders on New Zealand radio shifted style according to

two different stations, one aimed at a so-called "higher status" and the second at a so-called "lower-status" audience (Bell 1984: 171–172).

Bell (1984: 182) also identifies an "initiative" dimension of style, "referee design". In referee design, speakers diverge away from the style appropriate to their addressee towards that of a "referee" who, while external to the interaction, nevertheless carries prestige for the speaker for the purpose of the interaction and therefore influences language choice.

The referee design framework is useful in examining the motivation of advertisers with regard to the use of linguistic codes from outside their speech community (Bell 1991: 128–129). The framework distinguishes between ingroup and outgroup referees. With ingroup referee design, the speaker may shift to an extreme version of his or her own ingroup style with an ingroup or outgroup addressee. With outgroup referee design, 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 existence of consensus between the interlocutors on the prestige of the outgroup language for the particular purpose strengthens its strategic value.

Bell (1991: 137) describes his study of a sample of 150 advertisements from New Zealand TV (collected in 1986), which illustrates both audience and referee design. He found that while lexical items were used to show ingroup identity, the most common strategy was the maximisation of the use of phonological features. Successful referee design, Bell claims, employs the strategy of the repetition of a small number, or even just one important variant and furthermore, is not dependent on accuracy of reproduction (Bell 1991: 144). In reviewing the relationship between audience and referee design, however, Bell (2001: 147) proposes that the initiative and response dimensions of style are "complementary and coexistent"; while we design our talk for our audience, we are simultaneously designing it in relation to other referee groups, including that of our own ingroup. While audience design is more amenable to quantitative analysis due to its more long-term nature, referee design may occur in just one salient feature, and therefore qualitative analysis may be more appropriate (Bell 2001: 167).

It is important, therefore, to apply both audience and referee design frameworks to analyses; regular patterns are more likely to be interpreted as audience design while divergences may be interpreted as referee design (Bell 2001: 166). Bell observes the recognition of the pervasiveness of both initiative and responsive dimensions of language use in the work of other researchers (Blom and Gumperz 1972; Bakhtin 1981; Myers-Scotton 1993; Rampton 1995; Coupland 2001b). With regard to Bakhtin's (1981) concept of "Style and Stylization", the former corresponds to the responsive dimension and the latter to the initiative dimension.

Referee and audience design can also be seen in some ways as having a symbiotic relationship in media contexts. Piller (2001: 155) claims that advertising discourse is crucial in the construction of contemporary cultural identities. She examines the characteristics of the implied (German – English bilingual) reader in her corpus of German bilingual advertisements (2001: 163). She observes that despite the fact that receivers of such ads do not have uniform identities, they tend to be perceived in the realm of advertising with at least some, if not all, of these attributes (2001: 173). Relating this to audience and referee design, we could say that the language of such German advertising has an initiative dimension in that it is instrumental in the construction of identity. By addressing the target mass audience as if they have the particular attributes outlined above, such advertising discourse plays a vital role in constructing the identities of successful middle-class Germans. It can also have a responsive dimension in that, having helped in constructing this identity for its audience, it responds to the characteristics which are part of this identity.

In the next section, we will look briefly at how AdvD is constructed ideologically in the Irish context, and how this may impact on its categorisation as audience or referee design.

3.3   The Irish radio advertising context: Sub-varieties of Irish English – audience or referee design?

In this study, the strategies of audience and referee design are exploited in examining language change as represented in radio advertising in Ireland, with a focus on the relatively new sub-variety of Irish English, that of "advanced Dublin English" (AdvD) (Hickey 2013). The study examines a corpus of ads broadcast on an Irish radio station in the years 1997 and 2007 in terms of whether the use of this variety can be said to be an audience or (ingroup or outgroup) referee designed strategy and whether the designation changes over the ten years in which the advertisements were broadcast.

A substantial proportion of the advertisements in Bell's 1986 study exploit an audience designed style, classed as "mainstream New Zealand media speech" as against "Upper New Zealand", the style used by newsreaders on national TV and radio (Bell 1991: 138). In the context of the present study, while acknowledging Bell's (2001: 165) more recent view of audience and referee design as "complementary and coexistent", it is important to examine what variety can be classed as audience design as opposed to referee design. Bell (2001: 167) points out that regular patterns of linguistic behaviour are more likely to be associated with audience design and deviations from these patterns as referee design.

When considering AdvD in terms of referee design in particular, the ideologies associated with this form are relevant. Given that style shifting can be understood as a type of audience or referee design, Coupland's (2007) comments on style shifting in Western Anglophone countries are particularly pertinent. Coupland observes that while style shifting away from vernaculars in order to escape the stigma of their indexical associations may be seen as positive, nevertheless the ideological climate makes style-shifting "a highly charged and risky business, subject to social monitoring and threatening further sanctions when it 'goes wrong'" (2007: 89).

This social monitoring is apparent in the way in which AdvD has been the object of media comment in recent years. Moore writes of the "moral panic" that he says has taken hold in Ireland with regard to AdvD or D4 as he refers to it (Moore 2011: 57). Resonating with remarks from Coupland on the notion of "posh" as "inauthentic", Moore (2011: 42) observes how the D4 accent is "explicitly denaturalized" as an ideological construct in the Irish sociolinguistic context and has

> no connection to a shared Irish past – it was only invented recently, during the economic boom years of the "Celtic Tiger" economy. […] all seem to agree […] – that it is, in fact, "imitation" as opposed to "real" or authentic. It is no one's "native" accent – it is always "put-on" […].   (Moore 2011: 49)

Moore cites numerous examples of contemporary media discussion of the new pronunciation form which, he says, has become "the target of anxiety" (Moore 2011: 57) for Irish people. Its construction as an "imitation" (Moore 2011: 49) without links to "a shared Irish past" (Moore 2011: 42) begs the question as to whether it should be designated as outgroup as opposed to ingroup referee design.

The following section describes the radio ad corpus and the radio station on which its constituent ads were broadcast, in order to suggest what might constitute audience or referee design in this context.

3.4   Audience and referee design in the radio ad corpus

The corpus material collected for the study is comprised of 80 radio advertisements from RTÉ Radio 1, the principal radio channel of Irish public-service broadcaster, Raidió Teilifís Éireann. The corpus was divided into two sub-corpora from the years 1997 and 2007 (40 ads each). All the ads were aurally examined for the presence of features which differentiate variety in the corpus (e.g. retroflex /r/ to denote AdvD). Significant phonological features were noted as they applied to particular ads. Following Lee (1992), ads were categorised according to Sussex's (1989) components of Action and Comment. Both the 1997 and 2007 subcorpora include a variety of ad types, including ads for household products, food products,

supermarkets, department stores, cars, travel and entertainment, TV and phone services, financial services, blood and organ donation, charities and health and safety advice from government and voluntary organisations. An initial analysis showed no significant relationship between ad type and variety choice.

The determination of the implied audience for the ads can be corroborated to some extent by the quantitative analysis of the sub-varieties in order to ascertain the most regular patterns of language use (Bell 2001: 166). In relation to the audience, it is useful to look first of all at the radio station on which the ads were aired, RTÉ radio 1. While up to 1979, RTÉ radio 1 was the national broadcaster's only English language radio channel, 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, education, religion and so on, and suggests a more conservative and mature audience than that of Radio 2. Broadly speaking, this audience could be associated with the supraregional southern speaker of Irish English. 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. Although this is, of course, a generalisation, nevertheless the supraregional southern variety is the more traditional conservative mainstream variety and can be seen as broadly indicative of an audience designed style with regard to the radio station, while divergences can be regarded as referee design. Therefore, this would suggest that AdvD can be categorised as referee design as opposed to audience design in this context.

The following sections will examine the two subcorpora to determine the frequency of occurrence of the particular accent sub-varieties of Irish English and thus categorise it as audience or referee design. In addition, particular advertisements will be analysed qualitatively to shed more light on this classification.

4.   Analysis

4.1   1997 subcorpus: Quantitative data

Figure 1 provides a detailed picture of the Irish English sub-varieties displayed in the Action and Comment components, based on the local/non-local categories outlined in Section 2. In the 1997 sub-corpus, almost all the accents in the Comment components fall into non-local subcategories; the locally influenced moderate Dublin (ModDE) accent, the supraregional southern accent (SrS) or the more recently established AdvD. It is noteworthy that a study of two sub-corpora of ads broadcast on the same radio station in 1977 and 1987 revealed no signs of

the AdvD variety (O'Sullivan 2017). Notably, in the 1997 subcorpus, AdvD is in evidence but shows the lowest usage of the non-local sub-varieties in the Comment components. Interestingly, the Action components, while displaying more local accents than their corresponding Comment components, are also dominated by non-local accents, with supraregional southern as the main non-local variety, followed by AdvD. The fact that it first appears in the 1997 sub-corpus, and that it is less frequent than SrS, suggests that it is referee design rather than audience design, and that there is a movement away from the regular pattern. The more frequent occurrence of AdvD in the Comment than in the Action afford it status and prestige, referencing an expert or authoritative voice.
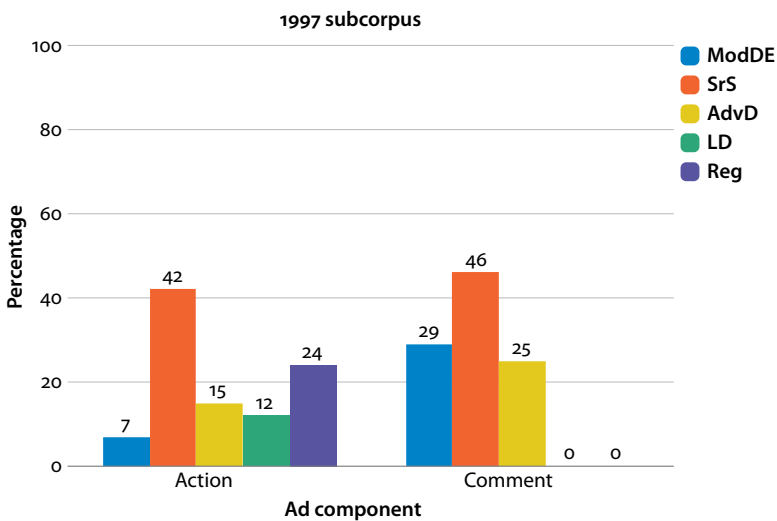
Figure 1. Percentage of ad components displaying Irish English accent sub-variety 1997*
*Figures represent percentage of total numbers of the particular ad component which displays Irish English accent variety.

These findings indicate that the predominant variety in the 1997 subcorpus is SrS, thus supporting its classification as audience design.

4.2   1997 subcorpus: Advanced Dublin English as outgroup referee design

Based on the discussion in the previous section, AdvD can be categorised generally as referee design in the 1997 subcorpus, where it is far less frequent than SrS in both ad components. Due to its dissociative nature, we might expect it to come under the category of outgroup, as opposed to ingroup, referee design; this will be

explored below with reference to specific ads from the 1997 subcorpus which show how AdvD is used in the Comment components and to a lesser extent by particular characters in the Action as outgroup referee design in order to call up associations with a more cosmopolitan outgroup identity.

An advertisement for *Cablelink,* a cable antenna television system operator, from the 1997 subcorpus (Example 1 below) displays the pattern of local pronunciation in the Action and non-local in the Comment. The setting is Christmas Day in an Irish kitchen, where a middle-aged couple are preparing their Christmas dinner. Their accents are those which, in folk-linguistic terms, might be described as "flat, undistinguished" (Hickey 2005: 105) and obviously provincial. The pronunciation of several words (for example, *go* as [goː] in Lines 005 and 006) are notably rural (Hickey 2013). Similarly, the dental plosive realisation of /ð/ in *the* as [d] and [d̪] (Lines 005 and 006) is distinctively Irish English, speaker F1 displaying a realisation associated with rural sub-varieties (Hickey 2013). Although this analysis is based predominantly on accent, the religious expletives (see O'Keeffe and Adolphs 2008), *Lord* (Line 004) and *God* (Line 008) operate in conjunction with phonological features to position the speakers as older, more traditionally Irish characters. In addition, the Irish English usage of the preposition *on* (Line 008) to express a physical state (Filppula 1999: 220), "[…] you've a great appetite on you" and the vocative *mammy* (Line 022) (from the Irish word *mamaí*) (Dolan 2004: 148) have a similar effect. In this case, the nostalgia evoked by the word functions to highlight the dynamism of modern living, as against the dull domestic situation. The Comment voice is moderate Dublin but also displays features of AdvD such as retroflex /r/ in the realization of *sports* (Line 019*)* (Hickey 2005: 72). Successful referee design involves repetition of even just one variant, which is often enough to suggest the reference group. The use of AdvD, given its dissociative nature (Hickey 2004, 2005) diverges from the more conservative supraregional southern to function as outgroup referee deign. Additionally, the local or regional accents of the Action can be seen as ingroup referee design where the speaker appeals to his or her solidarity with the ingroup addressee (Bell 1991). The associations of this AdvD variant with the capital city and with contemporary youth subculture (Hickey 2005: 73), combined with its positioning alongside the rural voices of the Action, function to position it as fashionable and cosmopolitan. The pace of the speech in the Comment is also much faster than that of the Action, thereby associating the product (and the accent) with excitement, dynamism and energy. Therefore, the non-local voice of the Comment, interspersed with AdvD features (outgroup referee design), is differentiated from the provincial Action voices (ingroup referee design) and is afforded prestige in its association with dynamic and modern living.

(1) Advert 1 *Cablelink*

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1997: Action and Comment
001   M1: [(this) (          )] –
002   F1: [Daddy (.) are nine] sprouts enough for you [jə]? the –
003   F1: [is it nine?]
004   M1: [ah Lord   ] no that's –
005   F1: will you go [go:] the [də] twelve?
006   M1:   I'd go [go:] the [ɡ̊ə] twelve (.)
007       [you know me (.) (the stuffing)                    ] –
008   F1: [oh God you've great you've a great appetite on you (.) we'll
          sleep]
009       the whole afternoon (.) [now Daddy]
010   M1:                         [yea    ]
011       will I take the the turkey out there?
012   F1: do but just [mind my handbag mind my handbag (.) don't      ] –
013   M1:             [((ooooh/sound of strain of lifting heavy object))]
014   M1: don't worry
015   M1/F1:   [((conversation continues in background))              ]
016   MCV:     [Christmas is great (.) >especially if you avail of ]
017     Cablelink's special offer and get three months
018     free movie channels when you order a decoder
019     for Sky sports [spɔːɹts] before December fifteenth (.) call
          Cablelink on<
020   M1: <one eight fifty>
021   MCV:>eighteen fifty two two two nine nine nine (.) not some day<
022   F1: now (.) pass mammy's handbag
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The Comment component of Advert 2 (Example 2) for *Glad Alufoil* aluminium foil also illustrates AdvD as outgroup referee design. The Action component features the genre of situation comedy in the form of a conversation in North American accents between a male and female turkey "couple"; however, it is the Comment component which is of particular interest here. In Line 017, the diphthong /ɔɪ/ is raised to [oɪ]), illustrating how the vowel shift of AdvD "is moving beyond height values which are found in southern British English for corresponding vowels" (Hickey 2005: 58) and is "closer to RP, without being RP" (Amador-Moreno 2010: 81). This feature could thus be seen in terms of a hyperconvergence or an overshooting of the mark with respect to this vowel. Additionally, /l/-velarisation, a feature of AdvD which appears in the same word [foɪɫ] (Line 008) "has a clear parallel in southern British English" (Hickey 2013) and is also a feature of North American English. However, the advanced form does not converge with respect to other salient markers of RP, more recently referred to as Standard Southern British English (SSBE) (Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt 2012), for example, it has a retroflex /r/ which is a feature of North American English, rather than an SSBE non-rhotic /r/. Hickey (2005, 2013) sees the similarities between AdvD and British and American English as coincidental parallels and as not systematic. However, in so far as with referee design, the strategy is to repeat a small number of variants, AdvD could be said to be based

on the outgroups of both British and North American English. This is particularly interesting in that, in the parallel study of two earlier subcorpora from the same corpus (1977 and 1987) by the author (O'Sullivan fc.), the SSBE accent variety was found to be exploited as an outgroup referee design strategy.

(2) Advert 2 *Glad Alufoil*

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1997: Action and Comment
001 M1:  at home [hoʊm] with the turkeys for Christmas (.)
002 M2:  happy Christmas honey
003      ((canned laughter))
004 F1:  darling [dɑːrlɪŋ] (.) a coat [koʊɾ] (.) you shouldn't have (.)
005      and silver is my colour
006 M2:  go ahead (.) try it on
007 F1:  it's so warm [wɔːrm] (.) and what is that material?
008 M2:  it's Alufoil [fɔɾɫ] darling (.) aluminium foil
009      with a special thicker embossed surface
010      that makes it stronger [strɑːŋer] to last longer
011      it's Alufoil from Glad a special designer foil
012 F1:  it's gorgeous [gɔːrdʒəs] (.)
013      goodness (.) did you turn the heating up darling?
014 M2:  no why?
015 F1:  because I'm roasting [roʊstɪŋ] in this thing
016      ((canned laughter)).
017 FCV: Alufoil [fɔɾɫ] from Glad (.) caring [keːrɪŋ] for food
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Adverts 1 and 2 are similar in that the use of AdvD is confined to the Comment component and associated with the serious and authoritative voice. As this variety is more frequent in the Comment, we could conclude that its prestige is corroborated by its location in the Comment. However, as the quantitative figures demonstrate, AdvD is also exploited, albeit to a lesser extent, in the Action. This is illustrated in Advert 3 for the money transfer company, *Western Union*, where we see further evidence of AdvD as based on the North American outgroup referee, but this time in the everyday discourse of the Action scenario: a young Irish man phones his mother from the United States with a request for cash to attend a so-called bachelor party (Example 3). The son's realisation of *party* (Line 004) and *star* (Line 008*)* exhibits the retroflex /r/, characteristic of both AdvD and North American English. Additionally, the word *party* (Line 004) shows T-flapping, another variable shared by AdvD and North American English. Hickey suggests that AdvD delineates the boundary between the sub-cultures of contemporary youth and contemporary parents (Hickey 2005: 73). The mother's pronunciation appears somewhat anachronistic against the son's contemporary Americanised AdvD, as in her exaggerated realisation of *today* in Line 007, as the monophthong [eː] rather than the diphthong [eɪ]. Contrast is also achieved through lexical items such as the mother's use of *stag night* (Line 005) in response to the son's North American term *bachelor party* (Line 004). This intensifies the associations of the son's accent with the outgroup

referee of North American English speakers, which is imbued with a sense of the cosmopolitan, mobility, sophistication and "urban modernity" (Hickey 2005: 72).

(3) Advert 3 *Western Union*

```
1997: Action and Comment
001     ((telephone ringing))
002 M1:  yeah Ma
003 F1:  hi son how are the States?
004 M1:  fine ah I've got a bachelor party [pɑːɹɾi] to go to
005 F1:  you mean a sta(h)g [staːɡ] night [naɪt̪]
006 M1:  yeah so I need some cash
007 F1:  I'll send it right over with Western Union (.) it'll be with
         you today [təde:]
008 M1:  ah ma you're a star [stɑːɹ] (.)
009 F1:  so son (.) who's getting married? (heh)
010 M1:  I am
011 F1:  SON
012 MCV: with four hundred Western Union agents in Ireland
013      including most main post offices
014      you can send [sɛːnd] money around the world in minutes (.)
015      Western Union money transfer (.) the fastest way to send
         money worldwide (.)
016      call one eight hundred three nine five three nine five for
         your nearest location
```

With the use of AdvD in the Action scenarios, however, prestige does not come automatically as it does with the authority vested in the Comment, but must derive from the status of the character depicted in the Action scenario.

We will now turn to the 2007 subcorpus to determine any changes in the 10-year period in terms of frequency of occurrence of accent sub-variety and classification as audience or referee design.

4.3   2007 subcorpus: Quantitative data

Figure 2 shows the Irish English sub-varieties displayed in the Action and Comment components of the 2007 subcorpus. As with the 1997 subcorpus, the majority of the accents in both the Action and the Comment components of the 2007 sub-corpus are non-local. Although overall, the supraregional southern variety is also the most frequently-occurring, nonetheless the 2007 subcorpus shows a marked increase in the use of AdvD in both components (although more frequent in the Comment, again associating it with prestige), and indeed AdvD is the dominant sub-variety overall in the Comment component. The increase in the use of AdvD in the 2007 sub-corpus suggests that this form may be replacing SrS as the audience-designed style in that it is becoming a more regular pattern. This is discussed in the next section, with reference to specific ads from the 2007 sub-corpus.
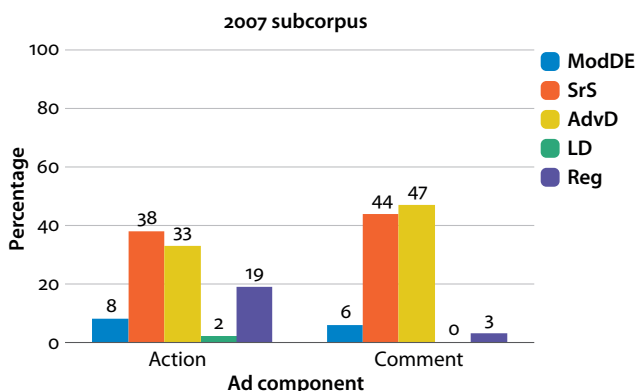
Figure 2. Percentage of ad components displaying Irish English accent sub-variety 2007*
*Figures represent percentage of total numbers of the particular ad component which displays Irish English accent variety.

4.4   2007 subcorpus: Advanced Dublin English evolving as audience design

Advert 4 is a Comment only ad with safety advice from the Irish *Electricity Supply Board* (ESB) and the *Age Action Ireland* charity organisation (which promotes better policies and services for older people). The ad is delivered by a well-known, middle-aged Irish current affairs broadcaster, whose ability, as the mother of a large family, to combine career and motherhood is often the subject of media comment. Her vowel sounds have AdvD features, for example, the realisation of *home* (Line 003) and *clothes* (Line 006) as diphthongs and the raised realisation of *avoid* (Line 007). Indeed, Amador-Moreno (2010: 81) alludes to this well-known personality, associating her with the "prototypical female speaker" of AdvD, which she points out is often the object of mockery. However, there is no hint of mockery in this ad; the advanced Dublin features rather operate as features of a serious and authoritative voice, conveying valuable advice for an older cohort of listeners.

(4) Advert 4 *ESB and Age Action*

```
2007: Comment only
001 FCV: with electricity so much a part of our daily lives
002      Age Action and ESB customer supply
003      has some advice on its safe use in the home [həʊm] (.)
004      if you're using a portable [poːrtəblˌ] electric heater
005      make sure it's positioned safely
006      keep it away from curtains [kɘrtənz] and don't use it to dry
         clothes [klɘʊz] (.)
007      in the kitchen avoid [əvɔɪd] overloading sockets and using
         extension leads (.)
008      this safety advice is brought to you by ESB customer supply
009      in association [əsɘʊsieɪʃən] with Age Action
```

Outgroup referee design based on AdvD is also evident in the Action scenario of an ad for *Eircom* homephone and broadband (Example 5). It features a mother keeping in touch with her family even though they have "gone global". Interestingly, the accent of the mother has distinct advanced features including retroflex /r/ as in *New York* [joːɻk] (Line 001) and the extreme diphthongisation of *global* [ɡləʊbəl] (Line 002), which is closer to the RP or SSBE form, rather than the Irish English monophthong [gloː.bəl] (Hickey 2005: 75). The Comment voice also has elements of AdvD as in the velarisation of /l/ in the word *rental* in Line 009.

(5) Advert 5 *Eircom Talktime*

```
2007:  Action and Comment
001 F1:  New York [joːɻk] Sydney and Donegal (.)
002      my family really has gone global [ɡləʊbəl]
003      but with great rates from Eircom Talktime international
004      we have lots of proper chats so it feels like they're local
         again (.)
005 MCV: let Eircom Talktime International bring loved ones closer
         this
         Christmas
006      with one hundred minutes to over forty countries worldwide
007      and unlimited evening and weekend national calls
008      all for a fixed monthly fee of thirty five ninety nine
009      including line rental [rentəɫ]
010      freefone one eight hundred three six nine three six nine
011      for a great value Eircom Talktime package that's you (.)
012      terms and conditions apply.
```

As discussed, Hickey associates AdvD with youth norms which are, "recognizably different from that of contemporary parents" (2005: 73). However, in the *ESB and Age Action* and the *Eircom* advertisement, it is employed by a "parent" character. In this way, it moves away from the more conservative audience designed style of supraregional southern, associated with speakers of this age group and radio channel, and is exploited as outgroup referee design; it can be seen as an attempt to reference, not just a cosmopolitan image associated with British and US speakers, but also to identify with a contemporary, youthful image which dissociates itself, not only from the traditional local accent, but also from the more conservative supraregional form. This identification takes place, not just within a youth subculture but for all those who wish to be associated with a new more modern and "socially ambitious" (Hickey 2005: 6–7) Irish identity. As Thakerar, Giles, and Cheshire (1982: 216) put it, it can be seen as "linguistic divergence" by the older speakers "motivated by psychological convergence" to a more fashionable image.

Hickey (2013) views RTÉ presenters as instrumental in spreading AdvD in southern Ireland. The increase in the use of AdvD in both Action and Comment components in the 2007 sub-corpus and its overall dominance in the Comment components of this sub-corpus suggest that what was initially a style based on

referee design is now becoming an audience designed style and the regular rather than the exceptional pattern. Its appearance in the speech of older "parent" characters, who can be associated with the more mature audience of the radio station, also points to its evolution as an audience-designed style. The AdvD accents of these characters contrasts with the regional accents of the parent characters in Advert 1 (*Cablelink*) and Advert 3 (*Western Union*). Furthermore, the use of AdvD by more mature speakers suggests that it is developing associations with a wider age-range and is no longer such a key aspect in the delineation of younger and older speakers.

Bell (1991: 128–129) claims that referee design may impact the speaker's repertoire; however, these findings suggest that it may impact the repertoire of both speaker and listener in media contexts. Piller (2001: 4) cites research which claims that the existing social order is represented in genres such as advertising, but is also in turn influenced by and recreated by such discourses. Advertising in Ireland could be said, therefore, to have had an initiative role in the construction of the identity of the receivers of the ad as modern, sophisticated and cosmopolitan, through the employment of this accent, as seen in the 1997 subcorpus. Having helped to construct such identities, it responds to them using this same accent, but as an audience designed rather than a referee designed style, evidenced in the 2007 subcorpus. However, the fact that, in many of the ads, relatively few variants associated with the new form are present indicates that this process was still in the transitional phase at the time of broadcast. Successful referee design, Bell claims, employs the strategy of the repetition of even just one salient variant and furthermore, is not dependent on accuracy of reproduction (Bell 1991: 144).

4.5   Advanced Dublin English as ingroup referee design through stylisation

In the analysis up to this point, we have interpreted AdvD initially as outgroup referee design and have considered its development as an audience designed style. It is however, interesting to investigate whether this form, given its dissociative nature, can be seen in terms of ingroup referee design, in which the speaker shifts to an extreme version of his or her own ingroup style, based on a common variety, not shared by the outgroup.

Bell (2001: 166) observes how the responsive and the initiative dimensions of language use are manifest in various approaches to style, such as Bakhtin's (1981) concepts of Style (responsive) and Stylization (initiative) as well as Bell's (1984, 2001) own audience design (responsive) and referee design (initiative). Given that both referee design and stylisation are interpreted as initiative dimensions of style, Coupland's notion of "strategic inauthenticity", which is achieved through stylisation, is useful in exploring the notion of AdvD as ingroup referee design.

Coupland (2001a: 372) claims that the stylisation of dialect can be interpreted as a type of "strategic self-deauthentication" through the employment of features of ingroup speech (in effect, ingroup referee design) while indicating "less than full ownership" of this speech style. The fact that ingroup referee design is based on an extreme version of the ingroup style renders it inauthentic. Therefore, ingroup referee design is inextricably bound up with the notion of authenticity. We have seen how Moore (2011: 49) observes media commentary in relation to the D4 or AdvD accent which represent the accent as an "imitation" and not "real" or "authentic". Amador-Moreno (2010: 81) also observes how this accent is derided due to its "pretentious" image. The representation of this accent in the *Spar* advertisement (Example 6) is a hyperbolised and artificial representation of the accent, which, even in its natural form is seen as artificial and contrived.

Rudolph (M1) speaks with a hyperbolised form of the regional accent associated with County Cork; this is mainly achieved through the accent's vast intonational range (Hickey 2004: 33) as in Lines 003 and 011, but also through such pronunciations as the dental plosive realisation of *the* as [də] and *then* as [dən] (Line 008) and think as [tɪnk] (Line 011). Santa's (M2) accent, on the other hand, is an extreme form of AdvD, exploiting features such as T-flapping (Line 002) and GOAT-diphthongisation (Lines 005 and 006). The word sparkly [spʊɻkli] (Line 007) in particular is hyperbolised, the advanced form being closer to [spaːɻkli] as in the realisation of *Spar* in the Comment (Line 010). Hickey (2004: 49) observes that the combination of retroflex /r/ and vowel raising was a feature which was the subject of comment around the time of his publication (2004), and the extreme form plays on and exploits this feature. This form is associated particularly with a more extreme form of contemporary AdvD, satirically referred to as *Dartspeak*, DART being an acronym for Dublin Area Rapid Transport, a suburban railway serving commuters in the southern part of Dublin city. The pronunciation of the term *dart* was salient as a feature of AdvD as speakers used the word frequently to refer to the public transport system in the capital. This term was later changed to *Dortspeak* [dʊɻtspiːk] in order to satirise the retracted and rounded vowel pronunciation (see Table 1, Section 2).

(6) Advert 6 *Spar*

```
2007: Action and Comment
001 M1: ((Panting)) – Right. What've we got to eat?
002 M2: Got [gɒɾ] a carrot at the last house Rudolph. Looks nice.
003 M1: Nice? Nice? How do I know it isn't a genetically modified
        ↑carrot?
004 We've no idea where it's been. Is it Fairtrade?
005 M2: Ammm OK [əʊkeɪ]. Well Spar now has reindeer food for just
        two euro [jʊərəʊ]
006     and all proceeds [prəʊsiːdz] go [gəʊ] to the Irish Hospice
        Foundation.
```

```
007      And it's all a bit sparkly [spɒɹkli] and magical too.
008 M1: Oh right. Well let's hope the [də]. next family has some then
         [dən].
009 MCV: Always there /ðeɹ/ for you with reindeer food at Christmas.
010      Under the tree at Spar [spɑːɹ].
011 M1: Santy, I think [tɪnk] we should get a hybrid ↑ sleigh :↑
```

Coupland (2001a: 372) argues that the stylisation of dialect can be understood as a way of using normative community speech forms "at one remove" so as not to explicitly advocate the norms of tradition and cultural stability while at the same time respecting their value. While the AdvD, in contrast to the local Cork accent, may not be readily associated with conventional interpretations of tradition or of cultural value, nevertheless Coupland's criteria for stylisation (2007: 154) can be applied to the representation of both these accents in the ad. This representation projects personae external to the speech event; it is metaphorical; it is reflexive and knowing; it requires an audience from within the speech community to interpret it; it activates processes of social comparison and reassessment in and with receivers of the ad; it allows for another level of social context to be brought into the situation and thus facilitates re-evaluation of existing norms; it is creative and performed and involves a hyperbolic realisation of the styles targeted.

The juxtaposition of the hyperbolised forms of these accents, both of which are culturally familiar to Irish English speakers, could be said to signify the "moral panic" in relation to the AdvD accent (Moore 2011: 57). The notion of authenticity is of course ideologically constructed. In the Irish sociolinguistic environment, the Cork accent is perceived as having vernacular authenticity (Coupland 2007: 180–181); like the local Dublin accent, it is associated with traditional conservative values. The AdvD, however, is seen as inauthentic in these terms, "not authentically linked to any particular place" (Moore 2011: 42, 49). This ideological situation is effectively replicated in the ad, through its highlighting of the contrast in these varieties and the authenticities (or inauthenticities) associated with them. Indeed, Hickey (2005: 106) refers to the "phonetic gulf" between new (or advanced) Dublin English and conservative Cork English. The stylised representation however, allow the overall voice of the ad to distance itself from full ownership of both these voices. In Coupland's words: "The transparent knowingness of the representation […] gives the audience license to enjoying the parading of themselves, and even to find it confirmatory, credentializing, and solidary – as well as humorous" (Coupland 2001a: 371). The patent artificiality of both stylised accents situates the advertisement as "play", as "laughing with" rather than "laughing at" the speakers of both local and non-local varieties, and indeed at what has become a mild hysteria around their putative contradictory values. In effect, this "inauthenticity", and the "moral panic" surrounding it, is "reflected back" to the Irish speech community, allowing the receivers of the ad to reconcile this "moral panic" as part of a new Irish identity

through a "cultural reassessment" (2001a: 371). The ad effectively acknowledges that the AdvD accent is seen as contrived, but the hyperbolised Cork accent is also contrived and that neither variety and both encapsulate Irish identity. The strategy of employing distinguishing features from the accents of the two, often seen as rival, counties functions to support the effect of self-reflexivity and that of "laughing with" Irish English speakers as a speech community rather than "laughing at" the speakers of particular varieties and therefore establishing both accents as part of an ingroup style. This hyperbolised representation of advanced Dublin English is unique in this corpus but anecdotal evidence suggests that it has been a feature of Irish advertising in recent years.

As we have seen, stylisation can be seen in terms of the initiative dimension of language use and therefore as referee design (Bell 2001). At one level, the use of the AdvD accent, in that it dissociates from local accents could be interpreted as outgroup referee design; on the other hand, however, through its stylisation, deauthentication and subsequent reauthentication alongside the Cork accent, the AdvD is given status as an ingroup style in a similar way to the Cork accent, both accents encapsulating the "multiple identities" (Koslow, Shamdasani, and Touchstone 1994) of the Irish. The stylisation of the contrasting accents, in this context, represents a newer conception of ingroup referee design in the Irish context.

5.   Conclusions

Based on both the quantitative and qualitative analyses, therefore, it is reasonable to consider SrS, initially at least, as audience design and AdvD as referee design in the ad corpus. With regard to audience design, SrS is the most common variety overall and, given that it is the more traditional conservative mainstream variety, it is a style associated with the radio station on which these ads are aired. As regards referee design, if we see both the speakers in the radio ads and their audience in very general terms as belonging to that group of more conservative, supraregional southern Irish English speakers, the movement away from this form to AdvD can be interpreted as outgroup referee design. Given that SrS was mainstream at this time, the use of the AdvD form could be said to involve a shift in style for the speaker which diverges from the mainstream style.

However, the nature of this referee design is rather complex. At one level, the parallels in terms of particular accent features between this form and features of British and American English suggest referee design based on the outgroup of British and American speakers. Indeed we could speculate that the inception of this form is in itself a type of referee design, a sort of compromise between the status of RP or SSBE and the solidarity of Irish English. In addition, with the progress of this form, its use could be said to refer to the sophisticated, urbane D4 set which is

said to have popularised it. At yet another level, its association not only with "urban sophistication" but also with "youth culture" means that for older, more conservative speakers, wanting to be associated with a more youthful and contemporary image, it can be interpreted as outgroup referee design.

The complex nature of the way in which AdvD is exploited in the ad corpus is also manifest in the hyperbolic representation of this form. In one ad, an extreme form of this accent is used alongside a similarly hyperbolised regional Irish English (Cork) accent. While this Cork accent could be said to have vernacular authenticity in the traditional sense, the playful stylisation of both these forms affords them a "strategic inauthenticity", while effectively reauthenticating them through the "knowingness" of the stylisation (Coupland 2001a: 371), creating solidarity with the receiver of the ad. The stylisation of the AdvD in this ad, through its acknowledgement of this facet of a less traditional Irish identity as part of a more multi-faceted identity (cf. Koslow, Shamdasani, and Touchstone 1994), can be seen in terms of ingroup referee design. As ingroup referee design, the advanced form becomes an accepted part of Irish identity and the "moral panic" is somewhat assuaged, making it possible to exploit it more creatively.

However, as AdvD becomes established as the new supraregional form, it is possible to re-interpret it as an audience designed style. The ads, in employing the advanced form, have an "initiative" role in the construction of the identity of their receivers as modern, sophisticated and urbane. Having helped construct such identities, the ads respond by using this same accent, but as an evolving audience designed rather than a referee designed style. Bell (1991: 128–129) claims that referee design may impact the speaker's repertoire; however, these findings suggest that it may impact the repertoire of both speaker and listener in media contexts. This is further supported by the increasing use of this form by "parent" characters. It is conceivable that the evolution of this form as an audience designed style is aided by the strategy of stylisation leading to strategic inauthenticity. However, the fact that there are relatively few variants of the advanced form indicates the transitional nature of this process even as late as 2007.

To conclude, however, we must not lose sight of the "complementary and co-existent" nature of the initiative and response dimensions of style as emphasised by Bell (2001: 147) in his re-conception of the relationship between referee and audience design. While we design our talk for our audience, we are at the same time designing it in relation to other referee groups, both ingroup and outgroup. Therefore, the choice of referee will always be influenced by the audience and is integral to the concept of audience design. While we must acknowledge the interrelatedness of these concepts, the examination of audience and referee design as distinct concepts is a valuable model in analysing the power of the media in the construction of the identity of its receivers.

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