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DISCOURSE ANALYSIS IN THE SPEECH USED IN A PANAMANIAN RADIO STATION

ANÁLISIS DEL DISCURSO EN LA LOCUCIÓN EMPLEADA EN UNA EMISORA DE RADIO PANAMEÑA

Meibis González Vega
Universidad de Panamá, Facultad de Humanidades, Centro Regional Universitario de Azuero, Panamá
meibis.gonzalez@up.ac.pa, https://orcid.org/0000-0001-6721-4845

Richard W. Cisneros
Universidad de Panamá, Facultad de Humanidades, Extensión Universitaria de Soná, Panamá
Universidad Tecnológica de Panamá, Facultad de Ciencias y Tecnología, Centro Regional Universitario de Veraguas
Universidad Especializada de las Américas, Facultad de Educación Especial y Pedagogía, Programa Académico Buenos Aires Ñurúm, Comarca Ngäbe-Buglé, Panamá
richard.cisneros@up.ac.pa, https://orcid.org/0000-0002-9197-5158

Aracelis M. González-Johnson
Universidad de Panamá, Facultad de Humanidades, Extensión Universitaria de Soná, Panamá
aracelis.gonzalezj@up.ac.pa, https://orcid.org/0000-0002-8256-1236

Abstract

This study investigates the speech of a radio host or DJ and his interviewees or guests to determine whether dialectal processes (the linguistic variables /d/, /r/, /s/, and reduction) exist in Panamanian Spanish. The primary objective of this study is to examine the unique characteristics of the DJ's speech in response to his diverse audience, ranging from presidents to international artists, and to determine which model, Accommodation Theory, Audience Design Model, or Speaker Design Model, best explains the observed patterns. A minor objective would be to determine the frequency of use to diagnose what process or processes make the DJ's speech sound standard or non-standard. The results demonstrated the presence of these linguistic characteristics in Panamanian Spanish, albeit to a lesser extent, and the Speaker Design Model explained the patterns found in the speech of all participants.

Keywords: discourse analysis, dialectal processes, sociolinguistics, pragmatics, Panamanian Spanish.

Resumen

Este estudio investiga el discurso del habla de un locutor o DJ de radio y sus entrevistados para determinar si existen procesos dialectales (las variables lingüísticas /d/, /r/, /s/ y reducción) en el español panameño. El objetivo principal de este estudio es examinar las características únicas del discurso del DJ en respuesta a su audiencia diversa, que va desde presidentes hasta artistas internacionales, y determinar qué modelo, Teoría de la Acomodación, Modelo de Diseño de Audiencia o Modelo de Diseño del Hablante, explica mejor los patrones observados. Un objetivo menor era determinar la frecuencia de uso para diagnosticar qué proceso o procesos hacen que el discurso del DJ suene estándar o no estándar. Los resultados demostraron

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la presencia de estas características lingüísticas en el español panameño, aunque en menor medida, y el *Speaker Design Model* [Modelo de Diseño del Hablante] explicó los patrones encontrados en el habla de todos los participantes.

Palabras clave: análisis del discurso, procesos dialectales, sociolingüística, pragmática, español panameño.

Introduction

Spanish has been extensively studied, while Panamanian Spanish has been studied rarely. Although Spain is the motherland of Spanish, the focal variety of Spanish in this study will be the Spanish from Latin America, especially the Spanish from Panama. This small country has plentiful linguistic influences from many countries and languages because it has served as a transit route since the Spanish colonial times (Robe, 1960; Czaykowska-Higgins & Dobrovolsky, 2010; Whitley, 2002). Panama is categorized in the Caribbean zone out of the other dialectal zones that the Spanish world is divided (Hualde, 2005). Earlier, Robe used *Antillean Spanish* to refer to this same Caribbean dialectal zone, with Cuba, Dominic Republic, Puerto Rico, the coast of Venezuela, and Colombia. According to Robe, the larger dialectal region of this zone was, by then, the Spanish of Panama.

An intriguing feature of the Spanish of Panama is that it has some particular dialectal processes that are not predictable because they are allophones that occur in free variation (Alvarado de Ricord, 1971; Hualde, 2005; Hualde *et al.,* 2001). However, paradoxically, this study emphasizes four dialectal processes that are not described as characteristic of the Spanish from Panama—since there are almost non-published articles related to the Spanish of Panama—but from Murcia and Andalucía (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernandez-Campoy, 2007; Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernandez-Campoy & Schilling-Estes, 2010; Hualde *et al.,* 2001; Lado, 1957). They are: (1) the deletion of the intervocalic /d/ in past participle verbs and some nouns, (2) the deletion of the post-vocalic /r/ in infinitive verbs; (3) the aspiration of /s/ in coda position of the syllable, and (4) consonant and/or syllable reduction.

The results of these four phonological processes are interpreted within the framework of the Speech Accommodation Theory (Giles, 1973; Giles & Smith, 1979; Beebe and Giles, 1984 *apud* Mesthrie *et al.,* 2009), Audience Design Model (Bell, 1984 *apud* Mesthrie *et al.,* 2009), and most recently

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Speaker Design Model (Coupland, 1985, 2001a; Traugott & Romaine, 1985; Schilling-Estes, 1999, 2002, *apud* Cutillas-Espinosa *et al.,* 2010).

Literature Review

Alvarado de Ricord, (1971) maintained that the implosive /s/ in Panama is aspirated, but is not totally deleted in formal or informal speech. Additionally, Hualde, (2005) commented that, within the Caribbean dialectal zone, the deletion and aspiration of /s/ occur in colloquial or regional contexts and are subject to sociolinguistic studies. Finally, he concluded that the more correctly a person pronounced his/her [s], the greater the formality of speech perceived.

On the other hand, Hualde *et al.,* (2001) mentioned that the deletion of /l, r, d/ word-finally, the deletion of the intervocalic /d/, and the aspiration of the /s/ are typical dialectal features from Andalucía, a dialect in Spain. This observation corresponds to several sociolinguistic studies of Andalucian and Murcian dialects. For instance, Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy, (2007) designed a study within the framework of *Audience Design Model* and *Speaker Design Model*. The Audience Design Model proposed by Allan Bell in 1984 (*apud* Mesthrie *et al.,* 2009) argues that a person's speech fluctuates according to other people's speech. Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernandez-Campoy (2007) add that this theory is within the field of variationist tradition because style is seen as a variable, and with Audience Design Model, the speaker is paying attention to his/her speech and other people's speech, too. As a result, the speaker adapts his or her speech to the immediate audience.

On the other hand, the Speaker Design Model does not consider audience members' demographic or non-demographic characteristics, so it is implied that these features do not influence how a person speaks (*apud* Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy, 2007). Instead, this model proposes that *"the speaker's linguistic behavior should be understood as an active process of identity-building"* (Cutillas-Espinosa, *et al.,* 2010, p. 32), or a way to project one's persona.

Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy, (2007) studied the talk of a Murcian radio presenter and 20 participants of his audience through some recordings carried out in a week. The variables were:

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(1) the deletion of /r/ in syllabic coda position, the deletion of [s] in syllabic coda position, consonant reduction and, sometimes, consonant loss. The results of the radio presenter showed the remarkably high use of standard forms in his speech. However, his audience speaks with a significantly increased use of vernacular or non-standard forms.

Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy, (2007) said that both theories had limitations in answering the questions made in their study. With Audience Design Model, the authors implied that the radio presenter did not adopt the participants' non-standard features to feel accepted by them. In other words, this radio presenter did not adapt his speech to the sociolinguistic characterization of his audience. In the case of the Speaker Design Model, the radio presenter was not building an identity. In an interview with the authors, the radio presenter said he spoke in a standard way because his boss told him to talk in a standard way, not because he wanted to. He identified himself with the accent spoken in Murcian. This result partially agrees that the radio presenter builds a persona, but he does not particularly like the accent he uses at work. In conclusion, none of the two models can explain the results of the study in a general and concrete way.

More recently, Cutillas-Espinosa, *et al.,* (2010) developed another study using almost the same variables described above in their 2007 study, but with the speech of a former female president of Murcia and some other politician informants. They analyzed her speech in different contexts. The results show that this Murcian president was the one who used more vernacular forms in non-informal speech. This was surprising because the authors expected from a female president, an upper-class speaker with a high social status, to speak in a standard way; however, she did all the opposite. Concluded that she was *"attempting [sic] to project downward social mobility and a working-class image for some specific purposes"* (p. 49); therefore, this supports the Speaker Design Model.

Of the three models, *Speech Accomodation Theory*, designed by Giles (*apud* Mesthrie *et al.,* 2009) was the first one, and it originated the idea that a speaker molds the way he/she talks according to the person they are talking to. The two terms that this theory introduced, as describe, were

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convergence, when a speaker adopts similar styles of speaking, and divergence, when a person speaks differently from the other to place distance between them. To converge is seen as something positive, while to diverge is seen as something negative.

Aims

All in all, the speech of a radio host or DJ and his audience members are studied to see whether these dialectal processes exist in the Spanish from Panama. The main objective of this study is to examine the peculiarities of the DJ's speech in response to the diverse audience he has, from a president to international artists; then to check which model, *Accommodation Theory, Audience Design Model,* or *Speaker Design Model*, can account for the patterns observed. A minor objective would be to determine the frequency of use of these processes and diagnose what process or processes make the DJ's speech to sound standard or non-standard.

Methodology

This research has a non-experimental design with a mixed approach. The type of study is exploratory and descriptive. The sample comes from a small corpus that will be quantified through basic descriptive statistics, and those numbers will be interpreted through qualitative models.

Data gathering

The linguistic corpus was obtained by analyzing five video recordings of the interactions between the DJ and some audience members in a program broadcasted live by *97.1 La Caliente* local radio station. The program's name is *El Reventon de la Mañana* and is broadcasted from Monday through Friday in Panama City. The audience of this program participates very actively, by phoning to join in a discussion topic, talking to the DJ or personally visiting the radio station. The job of the DJ and his staff is to animate the audience or public by making jokes among themselves, making fun of the show-business people, talking about politics or other exciting topics, and criticizing the

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politicians. People also call to ask for a song to be played or participate in any discussion or debate of any matter.

This is a very famous radio station in Panama, so it has a high rating for the audience. Numerous artists and musicians, both domestic and foreign, visit that radio station to promote their records. This program is generally about humor, relaxing time, or an occasion to laugh. My main objective is the DJ's speech and the audience's speech who participated in the videos. The five videos were taken from their Radio station website (Caliente PTY, 2011). This is a discourse analysis and, at the same time, a perception task. These videos were transcribed, marked for the target variables, analyzed and rated by the three authors.

Corpus and participants

Five videos of different lengths were transcribed, marked, and analyzed. In video # 1 appears a former president of Panama and the DJ of the radio station. They have an informal conversation about what the president does in his daily life besides politics. Video # 2 shows a Puerto Rican salsa group that visits the radio station to promote their album. In this same video, it appears their Panamanian manager and the DJ. Videoo # 3 shows the participation of two ex-Miss Panama and now TV presenters, and the DJ. They are discussing the performance of a Miss Panama in a beauty contest. In video # 4 appears a TV news presenter, the director of the Panamanian national police, and the DJ. They advise Panamanian citizens about self-control for drinking and driving before the most popular parties of the year, *Carnivals*. The last video discusses Panama City's transportation– a serious problem–between a Minister of Economics and the DJ.

Linguistics Variables

The four target variables were analyzed individually and for each participant. As mentioned above, some authors say that these variables are typical of Murcia and Andalucia, which are dialects from Spain. Now this research study will check if these variables also exist in the Spanish of Panama.

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The following transcriptions are very similar to some linguistic variables described in the studies of Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernandez-Campoy, (2007). They are:

The variable (d) - in intervocalic position that usually has sequences in *-ado/ada* and *-ido/ida.* These are forms of verbs in past participle. They mostly take place word finally and in unstressed syllables that get deleted.

Table 1 The linguistic variable /d/

		Realization	Examples
(d)	Variant 1 (standard)	[d]	*Frustrado* "frustrated", *amargado* "embittered"
	Variant 2 (non-standard)	Ø	*Frustra'o* "frustrated", *amarga'o* "embittered"

Note. Table elaborated by the authors.

The variable (r) occurs in word final position of syllable or coda in infinitive verbs. For instance *gustar* "to like" has two realizations: (1) the retention of /r/, or (2) the deletion of /r/; this can occur word medially or word finally.

Table 2 The linguistic variable /r/

		Realization	Examples
(r)	Variant 1 (standard)	[r]	*relajarse* "to relax", *pasar* "to pass"
	Variant 2 (non-standard)	Ø	*relaja'se* "to relax", *pasa'* "to pass"

Note. Table elaborated by the authors.

The variable (s) - in coda position that can occur word medially or word finally. The /s/ mostly takes place in plural forms of nouns, adjectives, and forms of verbs. It has two realizations: (1) the retention or the correct pronunciation of [s], or (2) aspiration [h] in the same environments.

Table 3 The linguistic variable /s/

		Realization	Examples
(s)	Variant 1 (standard)	[s]	*Los días* "the days", *vamos* "let's go"
	Variant 2 (non-standard)	[h]	*Loh diah* "the days", *vamoh* "let's go"

Note. Table elaborated by the authors.

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Reduction of consonants and syllables—it could be also consonant loss. They are usually after stressed syllables. This is like simplification in fast speech; however, it occurs in normal speech, too.

Table 4 The linguistic variable "reduction"

		Example
Reduction	Variant 1 (standard)	*Para nada* "not at all", *entonces* "then"
	Variant 2 (non-standard)	*Pa' na'* "not at all" , *'tonceh* "then"

Note. Table elaborated by the authors.

Results

The results and frequency numbers of use of each target variable are presented by each subject who participated in the videos. Tables 5, 6, 7, 8, and 9 show the statistics of the total number of occurrences of the target variables, and the frequencies when they pronounced correctly and incorrectly.

Table 5 Video # 1: The president and the DJ

Variable	Variants	Informants			
		President	DJ	Total (%)	
				Presid.	DJ
(d)	[d]	2/11	0/2	18.2	0
	[Ø]	9/11	2/2	81.8	100
(r)	[r]	5/9	3/11	55.6	27.3
	[Ø]	4/9	8/11	44.4	72.7
(s)	[s]	80/92	53/60	87	88.3
	[h]	12/92	7/60	13	11.7
Reduction	No	5/25	4/19	20	21
	Yes	20/25	15/19	80	79
Total #	Standard	92/137	60/92	67.2	65.2
	Non-standard	45/137	32/92	32.8	34.8

Note. Table elaborated by the authors based on the statistical results.

The results of video # 1 show how the president had an informal speech. However, if we see the total percentage of standard and non-standard, we would say that both of them had a standard speech. The high number of occurrences and the total number of correct pronunciations of [s] are

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skewing the results. The same happens with the variable [r]. If we go to the individual results, we can see how the variable (reduction) plays an important role in deciding the standard of the speech. The president had 11 environments where he had to pronounce correctly the intervocalic [d], and he omitted it 9 times while the DJ never pronounced it correctly. With the last variable, the president and the DJ had almost the same percentages which displayed they mostly omitted consonants and syllables at the end of words. Both the president and DJ communicate in a very informal manner.

Video # 2 shows how the DJ keeps his non-standard linguistic features despite being in front of an international group. He keeps and projects the same image to foreign people. It seems that the DJ's non-standard speech comes from the variable (reduction) because, in this video, most of the time, he pronounced correctly his [s], a 100% his [r] and he did have any environment where he had to delete the intervocalic [d].

Table 6. Video #2: The Salsa group, the record manager and the DJ

Variable	**Variants**	**Informants**					
		Salsa Group	The record manager	DJ	Total (%)		
					H. C.	Logo	DJ
(d)	[d]	0/0	0/0	0/0	0	0	0
	[Ø]	0/0	0/0	0/0	0	0	0
(r)	[r]	1/0	0/0	3/3	0	0	100
	[Ø]	0/0	0/0	0/3	0	0	0
(s)	[s]	7/16	7/7	10/16	43.7	100	62.5
	[h]	9/16	0/7	6/16	56.3	0	37.5
(Reduction)	No	0/3	1/1	0/3	0	100	0
	Yes	3/3	0/1	3/3	100	0	100
Total	Standard	7/19	8/8	13/22	36.8	100	59
	Non-standard	12/19	0/8	9/22	63.2	0	41

Note. Table elaborated by the authors based on the statistical results.

Nevertheless, it is interesting how the speech of the salsa group is less correct than the DJ's. It seems that none of them respond to the speech of each other; everybody keeps talking as the way they normally talk, no matter who is in front. On the other hand, the group manager had a 100% in all the variables, which means he spoke standard.

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Table 7. Video #3: TV presenters (Former Miss Panama) and the DJ

Variable	Variants	Informants					
		Girl 1	Girl 2	DJ	Total (%)		
					G1	G2	DJ
(d)	[d]	0/0	0/0	0/0	0	0	0
	[Ø]	0/0	0/0	0/0	0	0	0
(r)	[r]	5/5	2/2	3/3	100	100	100
	[Ø]	0/5	0/2	0/3	0	0	0
(s)	[s]	5/8	12/12	8/11	62.5	100	72.7
	[h]	3/8	0/12	3/11	37.5	0	27.3
Reduction	No	3/4	1/1	0/2	75	100	0
	Yes	1/4	0/1	2/2	25	0	100
Total	Standard	13/17	15/15	11/16	76.5	100	68.7
	Non-standard	4/17	0/15	5/16	23.5	0	31.3

Note. Table elaborated by the authors based on the statistical results.

The video # 3 is interesting because there is a sample of convergence, not from the DJ but one of the TV presenters. The first minute of this video, there was only the Girl 1 with the DJ; after that, the other girl -Girl 2 -came into play. The instances where Girl 1 had linguistic features as non-standard was when she was alone with the DJ, and Girl 2 was not present. When Girl 2 was present, Girl 1 had a 100% in all the variables for the rest of the conversation in the video. Girl 2 pronounced correctly all her utterances during the conversation. To converge with the DJ, Girl 1 aspirated 3 times her [s] out of 8 and reduced one of her words out of 4. In general, both girls have a clear and standard speech, but the DJ keeps his non-standard speech. He aspirated his [s] a 27% and reduced his speech a 100%.

Table 8 shows how the DJ is not influenced by his audience. The TV presenter and the Police director speak so correctly and clearly by trying to pronounce in a correct way each single phoneme. However, the DJ keeps talking in the same way. Six times out of seven, he reduced his speech, and he omitted the only instance where he had to pronounce the intervocalic [d]. Nevertheless, it is contradictory how he got a 100% of good pronunciation of his [r] and an 81.3% of good articulation of the [s]. Besides the sociolinguistics' point of view, this also has phonological implications.

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Table 8 Video #4: A TV news presenter, the police director, and the DJ

Variable	Variants	Informants							
		Other DJ	TV presenter	Sheriff	DJ	Total (%)			
						O.DJ	TV	Sh.	DJ
(d)	[d]	0/1	1/1	0/1	0/1	0	100	0	0
	[Ø]	1/1	0/1	1/1	1/1	100	0	100	100
(r)	[r]	0/2	3/3	8/8	2/2	0	100	100	100
	[Ø]	2/2	0/3	0/8	0/2	100	0	0	0
(s)	[s]	13/15	9/10	34/35	26/32	86.7	90	97	81.3
	[h]	2/15	1/10	1/35	6/32	13.3	10	3	18.7
Reduction	No	0/1	2/3	0/1	1/7	0	66.7	0	14.3
	Yes	1/1	1/3	1/1	6/7	100	33.7	100	85.7
Total	Standard	13/19	15/17	42/45	29/42	68.4	88	93	69
	Non-standard	6/19	2/17	3/45	13/42	31.6	12	7	31

Note. Table elaborated by the authors based on the statistical results.

Table 9 Video #5: The Minister of Economics and the DJ

Variable	Variants	Informants			
		Vallarino	DJ	Total (%)	
				Vallarino	DJ
(d)	[d]	2/3	0/1	66.7	0
	[Ø]	1/3	1/1	33.3	100
(r)	[r]	10/10	5/6	100	83
	[Ø]	0/10	1/6	0	17
(s)	[s]	36/36	18/24	100	75
	[h]	0/36	6/24	0	25
Reduction	No	0/0	1/5	0	20
	Yes	0/0	4/5	0	80
Total #	Standard	48/49	24/36	98	66.7
	Non-standard	1/49	12/36	2	33.3

Note. Table elaborated by the authors based on the statistical results.

One interesting feature we can take from video # 5 is that there is only one instance where the minister of economics pronounced incorrectly. To cut distances with the DJ, it seems that he omitted one intervocalic [d] out of three occurrences. The rest of the conversation, he got a 100% in the other variables while the DJ had high numbers in deleting the intervocalic [d] and in the variable reduction. The variable [s] does not play a role to sound standard or not. This conversation touched a serious topic, transportation, and the DJ did not care and kept his way of talking despite

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the minister's perfect pronunciation.

Discussion

Presence of the Linguistic Variables in the Spanish of Panama

Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy (2007), Cutillas-Espinosa *et al.,* (2010) & Hualde *et al.,* (2001) commented in their studies that these linguistic variables are typical of the region of Andalucia and Murcia in Spain. The results confirmed that these variables also exist in the Spanish of Panama but at a lower degree of frequency. In the five videos where nine people plus the DJ participated, some of the variables did not occur at all in some interactions.

Linguistic variables that make a speech to sound standard or non-standard

As the DJ is the target of my study, table # 6 shows the five videos' total score of each linguistic variable. Hualde, (2005) & Hualde *et al.,* (2001) described that in the Spanish of Latin America, the aspiration of the [s] occurs very often. However, the DJ, whose speech and accent mostly sound non-standard, pronounced 80% of his [s] correctly, and only 20% got aspirated. Hualde, (2005) said that the more correctly a person pronounces his/her [s], the greater the formality perceived, but that does not account for the pattern observed. Almost the same happened with the linguistic variable (r) where the DJ retained it a 64% and deleted a 36%. These two linguistic variables seem to not play a determinant role for a speaker to sound standard or not (See Figure 1 below).

To our perception, the DJ's non-standard speech comes from the deletion of the intervocalic [d]– to a low degree–and the reduction of consonants and syllables in his speech. From the four occurrences where he had to pronounce the intervocalic [d] correctly, he retained none. In the case of the variable reduction, the DJ reduced 83% of his consonants and syllables while only a 17% he pronounced them correctly. A good example of this reduction and deletion is in the following expression: *To'o loh diah 'toy cheveron y relaja'o. ¡To' 'ta bien! ¿'tonces? pa' que preocupa'se - voy pa'qui, pa'ca, pa'lla y más na'* that is the non-standard way of "*Todos los días estoy cheveron y relajado. ¡Todo está bien! ¿Entonces? Para que preocuparse –voy para aquí, para acá, para allá y mas nada" [*Every day, I am cheveron (super ok) and relaxed. Everything is ok! So? Why to get worried – I am going to over here, to there, to over there and nothing else.]

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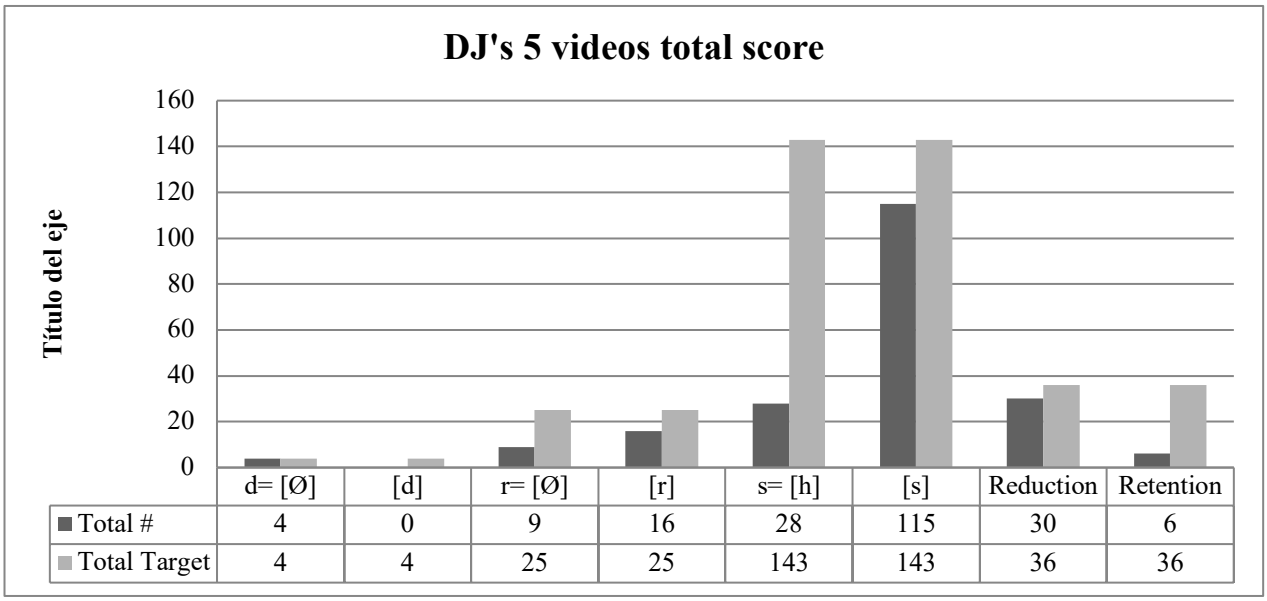

	d= [Ø]	[d]	r= [Ø]	[r]	s= [h]	[s]	Reduction	Retention
Total #	4	0	9	16	28	115	30	6
Total Target	4	4	25	25	143	143	36	36

Figure 1 Overall Percentage of Usage of All the Variables

Note. Figure elaborated by the authors based on the statistical results.

Models

As noted above in the video scores, the DJ was the one who used more vernacular forms in his speech. The people he was talking to did not influence his speech. He kept deleting his [d] in intervocalic positions and reducing his consonants and syllables in his speech. If we go to the *Speech Accommodation Theory*, we have examples of convergence, not from the DJ but from some members of his audience. In video # 1, we saw how the president inclined for an informal speech in response to the DJ's speech; in other words, he converged. Another example was seen in video # 3, where Girl 1 converged to the DJ speech when the other girl, Girl 2, was not there. At the moment Girl 2 entered to the radio station where they were, Girl 1 diverged from the DJ, and converged to Girl 2, who had a standard speech.

Speech Accommodation Theory says that a speaker's speech will change according to the immediate person he/she is talking to (*apud* Mesthrie *et al.,* 2009). This theory does not account for the patterns observed in the videos where the DJ participated. In front of him was the president,

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three TV presenters, the Police Director, a manager group, and a minister who had a high score for the standard speech. Next, the Audience Design Model has the same restrictions. The DJ does not mold his speech in response to his audience (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy, 2007). The people in front of him have a high status in the society and a high level of education, but the DJ did not design his speech as a product to be sold to his audience to feel accepted by them.

It seems that the notions of Speech Accommodation Theory and Audience design model do not explain the DJ's behavior. These results are very similar to the studies carried out by Cutillas-Espinosa *et al.,* (2010) & Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy (2007) with the speech of the radio presenter and the former Murcian president where their speech never responded to their audience, but to project a persona. The notions of Speaker Design Model fit very well with the tendencies observed in the DJ's speech behavior. It can imply the same with the other participants; in spite of listening the DJ's non-standard speech, these participants never converged to the DJ's speech. The DJ wants to project the image of that vernacular speech used by the majority population of the Republic of Panamá; this is the middle-low and low-class people.

Conclusions

The Speaker Design Model accounted for the patterns observed in all participants' speech. The results showed these linguistic variables in the Spanish of Panama but a lower level than in the Spanish of Murcia and Andalucía. Deleting the intervocalic [d] and the speech reduction highly marks the non-standard speech among the participants.

Finally, the background of the three raters, who are native Spanish speakers, may skew some interpretations of the findings. In addition, it is suggested that the corpus analysis be expanded in order to draw broader conclusions. In Panamanian sociolinguistics, pragmatics, phonetics, and phonology, however, the results reveal intriguing linguistic characteristics that could be the subject of future research.

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