

CLANDESTINE RADIO BROADCASTING AS A  
SOCIOLINGUISTIC MICROCOSM

John M. Lipski  
*University of Florida*

The use of radio broadcasting as an instrument of political propaganda is nearly as old as radio broadcasting itself; the airwaves are filled with the signals of both powerful multi-station networks and individual stations of varying power, all of which attempt to present the position of national governments, private organizations and special interest groups. In addition to legitimately licensed government and private instruments of political persuasion, the airwaves are filled with a number of unofficial clandestine stations serving as the outlets for rebel movements, exile groups, internal resistance fronts and occasional political action organizations (Browne 1984; Mickelson 1984; Hale 1975). The observation of the techniques, format, and behavior of these "parallel" broadcasting services provides for fascinating studies of political persuasion through media manipulation, but an equally significant dimension is the sociolinguistic characteristics of clandestine/rebel radio broadcasting. The present note is quite limited in scope, being devoted to an overview of clandestine broadcasting involving three Latin American countries, namely El Salvador, Nicaragua and Cuba.

Clandestine radio broadcasting in Latin America appears to have had its "official" beginning during the U.S.-sponsored overthrow of the Guatemalan government in 1954, when the Central Intelligence Agency set up a rebel station inside Honduras, to warn of a phantom invasion of Guatemala from the former country, and the subsequent devastation of the elected government and its supporters (Immerman 1982: 164; Soley and Nichols 1987: chap. 9). The CIA returned to rebel radio broadcasting prior to the Bay of Pigs invasion of Cuba in 1961, setting up a station on Swan Island in the Caribbean.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear to what extent the CIA or other entities of the United States

government have been involved in the spate of anti-Castro Cuban exile stations which have appeared and disappeared over the past 20 years, but such stations, to be studied below, have been both numerous and tenacious, in addition to the recently opened Voice of America outlet Radio Martí, which however, enjoys official, state-controlled status (Berg 1983; Soley and Nichols 1987: chap. 7; Nichols 1984).

In Nicaragua, a nation traditionally characterized by a high proportion of privately owned radio stations, the Sandinista insurrection against Anastasio Somoza made extensive use of a clandestine outlet.<sup>2</sup> Almost immediately following the overthrow of Somoza, counter revolutionary groups, claiming various affiliations, formed to oust the Sandinistas, and each has operated at least one clandestine radio station.

The current insurrection in El Salvador traces its roots to the peasant uprising of 1932 and the brutal massacre of tens of thousands of unarmed peasants (and their leader, Farabundo Martí) by the Salvadoran government (Anderson 1971; Arnson 1982; Montgomery 1982); the escalation of the current civil war, spearheaded by the Frente Farabundo Martí dates from around 1980. From the beginning of the conflict, the Salvadoran rebels have operated clandestine stations, to be described below, which provide the principal source of information on the tactics, activities and official position of these groups.

We begin with the Cuban clandestine Voz del CID, which enjoys the most extensive facilities. The umbrella organization, Cuba Independiente y Democrática operates openly in the United States, and is headed by Hubert Matos, a former Castro military commander, who was jailed for many years in Cuba and who now lives in Miami. For a number of years, the CID has operated a network of radio stations, at times sharing the facilities of commercial stations in Venezuela and the Dominican Republic. At present a single transmitter is used, of relatively poor modulation but powerful. CID transmissions are characterized by professional quality and a highly organized format. All announcers are Cuban, and most are assumed to be former radio announcers in Cuba. The pro-

gram content is divided between anti-Castro editorial commentary and popular music and talk programs, produced in a style similar to that of commercial Latin American and United States radio stations. The R. Martí broadcasts of the Voice of America are strikingly similar to the CID broadcasts and it is hard to imagine that the latter have not influenced the VOA programming, but the amount of explicit editorial commentary and open criticism of the Castro regime is much higher in the CID broadcasts. The CID radio personnel represent pre-Castro radio broadcasting in Cuba, particularly in the linguistic dimension, where a highly artificial articulation is used, which is severely at odds with the patterns of spoken Cuban Spanish, even among educated individuals (Lipski 1983, 1986a). In keeping with the patterns found in other Latin American nations whose local Spanish dialects are characterized by significant deviations from "spelling" pronunciation, Cuban radio broadcasting adhered to strict standards of diction and elimination of regional expressions and colloquial variants (López 1981); this style, significantly enough, is still maintained to a certain extent by the international service of Radio Habana, the official Cuban broadcast service. Within Cuba, however, domestic radio broadcasting has taken a sharp turn in favor of popular phonetic patterns, even in news broadcasts and official announcements (Knauer 1984). In the linguistic dimension, the CID broadcasts project an image of the past (which can also be heard in the many Spanish-language radio stations in Miami, whose programs are frequently listened to in Cuba), reinforcing the political persuasion of CID, which advocates a return to pre-1959 Cuban lifestyles.

In striking contrast to the professional CID broadcasts is La Voz de Alpha 66, representing an exile organization over 20 years old. The Alpha 66 station has from time to time been closed down by the U.S. Federal Communications Commission, but for the last few years the transmitter (also located in Florida) has operated on a regular schedule and on a single frequency, which indicates that some sort of working arrangement has been reached to avoid prosecution for violation of broadcasting laws. The broadcasts are a continuation of the earliest

stages of the anti-Castro exile struggle, and are characterized by inflammatory rhetoric (e.g. *la victoria será nuestra, candela por toda la isla*), invective levelled against communists, Russians, and Fidel Castro in particular. These are interspersed with interviews with exile figures, including labor and farm leaders who more recently left Cuba. Editorial comments are delivered in aggressive, shouted format, interspersed with poetic declamations pronounced in traditional oratorical mode, and interviews tend toward intensely negative and derogatory styles. Little popular music is played, in contrast with the other Cuban exile stations, and there is no masking the central purpose of the broadcasts, which is to encourage dissent and discord within Cuban society, by heaping scorn on Fidel Castro and the Soviet Union, by insisting on the economic and social failures of the Cuban Revolution and singing the praises of democracy, capitalism and a free-market society. A constant refrain is *sabotaje y atentados* and another is *ni los rusos van a ayudar al tirano ni los Estados Unidos nos darán la libertad*. In the latter vein, Alpha 66 frequently makes pointed reference to "Yankee imperialism" and the bad faith of the American government, in an attempt to portray the movement as independent of the superpower confrontation in the Caribbean. At the same time, the station personnel and guests admit to living in Florida, and encourage listeners to write to their families *en el exilio*, i.e. in the United States. The background music is reminiscent of Hollywood films of the 1940's and 1950's, as is the overall broadcast style, which could be a direct copy of World War II "freedom" transmissions. A quarter century after the abortive Bay of Pigs invasion, the Alpha 66 broadcasts still include pseudo-cryptic messages of numbers and code letters, and veiled references to underground contacts within Cuba, who "transmit" return messages and otherwise conspire to overthrow Castro from within. The linguistic style of both the station personnel and the interviewees is popular Cuban in the extreme (except for the dramatic declamations), particularly in the phonetic dimension, where no attempt is made to achieve an artificial "radio diction." These transmissions are the only Cuban exile broadcasts which routinely con-

tain a phonological feature highly stigmatized in Cuban Spanish, although common in working-class speech of many regions: neutralization of syllable-final /l/ and /r/ in favor of [l] or a geminated consonant (e.g. *puerta* > *puelta/puetta* 'door'). On the other hand, the frequent interviews with recently arrived Cuban exiles, including purported labor leaders and military personnel, tend to use the formal *usted* instead of the predominant Cuban *tú*, and naturally the revolutionary Cuban *compañero/a*, which in Cuba has totally replaced *señor/a*, never appears (Smiricky 1968). The Alpha 66 broadcasts are aimed exclusively at Cubans within Cuba, and do not appear to be concerned with impressing a potential international audience, including the broadcast monitoring services. The occasional Florida-based exile station Radio Mambí has switched from shortwave to medium wave and now appears legitimately, using the facilities and clear channel of a powerful Miami commercial station, and once a week retransmits an Alpha 66 program.

The most interesting addition to the ranks of Cuban exile broadcasting is Radio Caimán, also assumed to be broadcasting from southern Florida. R. Caimán keeps to a schedule accurate to within seconds, consistently employs a single frequency, suffers no U.S. government intervention and evidently enjoys powerful transmitters and professional facilities. Unlike Alpha 66, R. Caimán is subject to severe jamming, presumably from Cuba, as is R. Martí, which suggests Cuban perception of R. Caimán as a quasi-official U.S. government outlet. To date, no Cuban exile group has officially claimed ownership or operation of this station. About half the programming is devoted to popular Latin American music. In this and in other respects, programming is strikingly similar to that of R. Martí. Interspersed with these lighthearted programs are purported analyses of socialist governments in general and the Cuban government in particular, which while not containing invective are uniformly critical of the shortcomings and foibles of the Fidel Castro regime. Unlike other Cuban exile broadcasts, R. Caimán almost never transmits interviews or other quasi-spontaneous materials, but airs only prepared texts. Another interesting facet of the pro-

grams is the constant and obsessive reference to the attempted political liberalization of Soviet leader Gorbachev, regarded as a positive model which should be followed by Cuba and other nations which (R. Caimán affirms) are *mal llamados socialistas*. The comments verging on open praise of the Soviet leader by the clearly anti-communist R. Caimán and the recurring contrast of Gorbachev and Stalin suggest that more is at stake in these broadcasts than simply venting the views of yet another Cuban exile group.

From the linguistic standpoint, the R. Caimán announcers make no attempt to hide their Cuban origin, and use popular phonetic variants (although couched in an appropriate lexical and grammatical setting) throughout the programs. These include velarization of final /n/ and loss of /s/, although interchange of /l/ and /r/ is nonexistent. At least one announcer, while unmistakably Cuban, has phonetic characteristics which suggest an Arab language background. Another announcer combines popular Cuban phonetic traits with those associated with Chinese speakers, and may be a member of the Cuban-Chinese community, most of which are living in exile in the United States. The general phonetic patterns employed by the announcers are more similar to those of contemporary Cuban stations than to Miami commercial stations, the CID or R. Martí programs; this places R. Caimán in a favorable position for attracting listeners within Cuba.

Currently the clandestine stations on the air in El Salvador are Radio Venceremos, the official voice of the FMLN (claiming to be broadcasting from Morazán province), and Radio Farabundo Martí, voice of the FDR (broadcasting from Chalatenango province). R. Venceremos/R. Farabundo Martí provide a source of news and official FMLN/FDR viewpoints for foreign observers and monitoring services, as evidenced by the wide cross-section of international newspapers and radio broadcasts which cite these clandestine stations as a primary source. Interestingly, U.S. and most other Western news services cite R. Venceremos more frequently, while Cuba and eastern European news services seem to prefer R. Farabundo Martí broadcasts, although the reported activities are usu-

ally the same, as are the speech style and broadcasting format. The stations usually broadcast one immediately after the other, several times per day, in the same frequency range, and yet all available information confirms that separate transmitters in two different locations are being used. Unlike the Cuban stations, R. Venceremos/R. Farabundo Martí contain no apolitical material, and even the musical segments consist of revolutionary songs by rebel songwriters and Latin American musical activists. The majority of the programming consists of "official" FMLN/FDR news bulletins of campaign action, denunciations of Salvadoran and U.S. government policies, and appeals for support from the Salvadoran populace. The announcers shout nearly all transmissions, which adds to the distortion resulting from amateur quality equipment, and the broadcasts are frequently punctuated by taped battle noises and martial music. Periodically, rebel leaders offer statements or denunciations, generally presented in a style which suggests reading from a script; very infrequent are spontaneous on-the-air interviews, perhaps due to the pressures of time resulting from the need to escape detection and jamming (Hauser 1979; Browne 1984: 14; Armstrong 1983; Teschner 1984, Drucker 1984).

Although at least in theory aimed at those segments of the Salvadoran population most likely to sympathize with armed insurrection (landless peasants and workers), the language and diction used by the R. Venceremos/R. Farabundo Martí personnel are surprisingly free of popular tendencies. Normal weakening of consonantal articulation found in the speech of even educated Salvadorans (particularly weakening of word-initial /s/ as in *la semana*) is virtually absent (Canfield 1960, 1981; Lipski 1985, 1986b), and considerable attention is paid to the use of sophisticated political rhetoric and a syntax bespeaking traditional soapbox oratory. Although like the rest of Central America, El Salvador uses the second person familiar pronoun *vos* to the nearly total exclusion of *tú*, the latter pronoun, which characterizes formal poetry, prayers and oratory, is most often used in R. Venceremos and R. Farabundo Martí's exhortations to Salvadorans (Páez 1981; Kiddle 1954; Rona 1967; Canfield 1960; Lipski 1986b).



Occasionally in less charged speech, the Salvadoran listener (particularly the potentially disaffected military conscript) is addressed as *vos* when a sense of comradeship is being stressed or when the common suffering of the rural poor is under discussion. It is evident that most if not all announcers/writers have an intellectual background, but it is curious that the strategy of the FMLN (if indeed any conscious strategy is at work) leans toward a more traditional, educated speech pattern.

Starting at the beginning of 1979, the Sandinista rebels in Nicaragua operated clandestine stations whose broadcasts were very similar to those of R. Vencemos/Farabundo Martí, although more obviously aimed at internal insurgents within Nicaragua than at an international audience of monitoring services and expatriot sympathizers (Hauser 1979; Soley and Nichols 1987: chap. 9). As such the language tended toward direct, pragmatic appeals for support and solidarity, and a natural approximation to local Nicaraguan Spanish was observable, despite the middle-class intellectual background of most of the insurgent leaders. With the Sandinista triumph, the clandestine broadcasters simply shifted to the confiscated Somoza radio stations, with the result that official Nicaraguan radio broadcasting represents a direct continuation of rebel broadcasting. This flavor has been continued to the present time, not only in official government stations but by the private stations as well, especially in view of the required "national network" news broadcasts in which official programs are obligatorily aired over all stations. Not only is broadcast language characterized by a style of diction and syntax typical of regional colloquial Spanish, but the choice of themes and associated vocabulary reflects a revolutionary framework, savoring triumph over tyranny and embarking on an ambitious program of consciousness raising and national reconstruction. With the advent of counterrevolutionary attacks, the revolutionary tone of Nicaraguan radio broadcasting shifted away from reconstruction and political awareness to national defense in the face of foreign/mercenary aggression.

In the past few years, the various Nicaraguan counter-revolutionary movements, which have attempted with

only partial success to form a unified front, have established clandestine shortwave transmitters. All such stations claim to be operating from Nicaraguan territory, but in reality most are located in Honduras, and at least one may be transmitting from El Salvador, Costa Rica, or from a United States naval vessel anchored in the Gulf of Fonseca (Richelson 1985: 129; Soley and Nichols 1987: chap. 9). Currently operating or recently disappeared *contra* stations include: (1) Radio 15 de Septiembre, the flagship of the ex-Somocista rebels operating from Honduras; (2) La Voz de Sandino (apparently an alter ego of the occasional Voz de Nicaragua Libre), an occasional outlet representing Eden Pastora's now defunct ARDE movement, which transmitted from Costa Rica; (3) Radio Monimbó, representing an unidentified Christian-Democratic opposition, of unknown location; (4) Radio Miskut, located in the Mosquito Coast region of Honduras, and representing the Miskito Indian *contras*; this station broadcasts in Spanish and Miskito, with occasional programs in Sumu and Rama. Of these stations, some of which enjoy powerful transmitters, professional facilities and protection from political persecution, only R. Monimbó approximates the programming styles and format of commercial non-clandestine stations. At least half of the programming involves popular Latin American music, from a well-stocked library of favorites. Interspersed between the songs are extensive editorial commentaries, all highly critical and sarcastic of Sandinista government policies, and delivered in a low-key non-hysterical voice which resembles that used by many radio evangelists, when delivering their basic messages. Unlike the other rebel stations, R. Monimbó does not broadcast inflammatory rhetoric clamoring for armed insurrection and sabotage, but rather focuses on the foibles of Sandinista leaders, their misuse of government funds for personal gain and the theme of the betrayal of the insurrection against the Somoza. The tone is one of disappointment, set against the backdrop of expectations of the eventual overthrow of the Sandinista government, which, however, is not openly advocated by R. Monimbó. Consonant with its appeal to middle and professional classes, R. Monimbó's announcers speak slowly and carefully, avoid-

ing the extreme phonetic reductions characteristic of popular Nicaraguan Spanish, but making no attempt at avoiding the intonation and more subtle phonetic traits which are unmistakably Nicaraguan.

R. Miskut's announcers are probably all members of the Miskito nation, and all speak Spanish with the light accent typical of fluent Miskito bilinguals (many Miskitos speak little or no Spanish). Although music is occasionally played, the bulk of R. Miskut's broadcasting consists of revolutionary appeals to the Miskito nation, dispersed throughout the Honduras-Nicaragua border region. The format is the shouted, impassioned delivery found in R. Venceremos/Farabundo Martí and Alpha 66 broadcasts, and the insurrectionary message is clear. Of all the Nicaraguan *contra* stations, R. Miskut is the least concerned with reaching an international audience or expatriot sympathizers outside of the general region. The Spanish used by R. Miskut's announcers is popular in the extreme, with phonetic reductions, choice of vocabulary and syntax stemming from and aimed at listeners in the Mosquitia region with a low level of education, as evidenced by the fact that one broadcast claimed that vaccines distributed by Sandinista health volunteers would turn people into atheist communists and another warned that communists (i.e. Cuban medical personnel) ate babies.

La Voz de Sandino has not been monitored for some time, and its format and program content suggested that it may have eventually served as a second outlet for the powerful R. 15 de Septiembre, after the expulsion of Eden Pastora by ARDE and the consolidation of Pastora's followers with the openly pro-Somoza *contras* based in Honduras. The latter station has been the principal source for official *contra* rhetoric, and is extensively listened to by *contras* established in urban areas of Central America and the United States, as well as by sympathizers within Nicaragua. The format of R. 15 de Septiembre's broadcasts is similar to those of R. Venceremos/Farabundo Martí and R. Miskut, consisting of shouted announcements of rebel victories, calls for armed resistance to the Sandinista government, and impassioned denunciations of that government's policies. The phonological characteristics of the

broadcast language are considerably more conservative than those of (domestic) Nicaraguan official and private broadcasts, perhaps attempting to influence an international audience. Nevertheless, the Nicaraguan origin of the announcers is apparent at all times, and those appeals aimed directly at the Nicaraguan populace enhance these features, at times even making use of the familiar pronoun *vos* instead of the formal *usted* or the non-Central American *tú*. In general, however, R. 15 de Septiembre's transmissions appear to be directed at middle/professional class audience, which while employing popular and even vulgar forms and diction in colloquial speech, has a linguistic self-image which rejects such forms as improper under public scrutiny and which attempts to achieve a more "universal" pan-Hispanic form of speech. In these broadcasts, there is no comprehensive and consistent linguistic modification to fit the ideological and political designs of the *contra* groups, but the juxtaposition of R. 15 de Septiembre and the domestic and international broadcasts of the Voz de Nicaragua provides striking contrast.

Table 1 depicts the sociopolitical configuration of the various clandestine stations, and their official counterparts. Table 2 contains a breakdown of linguistic characteristics in the various groups.

Table 1: Characteristics of rebel vs. official stations

STATION	program content	domestic audience	int'l audience	speech style	target group
R. Habana (int'l)	general +prop.	none	exclusively	formal	int'l elite
Cuban (domestic)	general	exclusive	none	popular	general pop.
Voz de CID	prop. + general	mostly	some	formal	middle class
R. Caimán	music + prop.	mostly	some	popular	youth
Alpha 66	polemic	mostly	slight	informal	workers

STATION	program content	domestic audience	int'l audience	speech style	target group
<i>El Salvador (domestic)</i>	general	mostly	slight	usually formal	general pop.
<i>R. Venceremos</i>	prop.	yes	yes	rather formal	popular masses
<i>R.F. Martí</i>	prop.	yes	yes	rather formal	popular masses
-----					
<i>V. Nicaragua (int'l)</i>	general + prop.	slight	mostly	formal	int'l elite
<i>V. Nicaragua (domestic)</i>	general	mostly	slight	popular	general pop.
<i>15 de Sept.</i>	prop.	yes	yes	rather formal	middle class + int'l
<i>V. Nic. Libre</i>	prop.	yes	yes	rather formal	middle class + int'l
<i>R. Miskut</i>	prop.	mostly	slight	popular	indig. masses
<i>R. Monimbó</i>	prop. + general	mostly	some	formal	middle class + exiles
<i>Voz de UNO</i>	prop.	some	mostly	informal	middle class + int'l

Abbreviations: prop. = propaganda and political rhetoric; pop. = population; int'l international; indig. = indigenous.

Table 2: Linguistic profile of rebel vs. official stations

STATION	reduction of /s#V/	reduction of /s##/	pro. for audience	vulgar phon.	popular lexicon
<i>R. Habana (int'l)</i>	sporadic	rare	usted	none	rare
<i>Cuban (domestic)</i>	general	general	tú (usted)	at times	frequent
<i>Voz de CID</i>	at times	at times	usted	none	at times
<i>R. Caimán</i>	at times	rare	usted	none	rare
<i>Alpha 66</i>	general	frequent	usted (tú)	frequent	frequent
-----					
<i>El Salvador (domestic)</i>	rare	none	usted (tú)	none	none
<i>R. Venceremos</i>	frequent	at times	vos (usted)	at times	at times
<i>R.F. Martí</i>	frequent	at times	vos (usted)	at times	at times
-----					
<i>V. Nicaragua (int'l)</i>	rare	none	usted	none	none
<i>V. Nicaragua (domestic)</i>	general	general	vos (usted)	frequent	frequent
<i>15 de Sept.</i>	general	frequent	usted (vos)	at times	at times
<i>V. Nic. Libre</i>	general	frequent	usted (vos)	at times	at times
<i>R. Miskut</i>	general	general	vos	frequent	frequent
<i>R. Monimbó</i>	at times	rare	usted	none	rare
<i>Voz de UNO</i>	at times	at times	usted (tú)	rare	rare

Abbreviations: /s#V/ = word-final prevocalic (los amigos); /s##/ = phrase-final (vamos); pro. = pronoun used to address listening audience; vulgar phon. = use of popular/vulgar phonetic traits; forms in parenthesis are occasional.

These qualitative observations indicate a significant correlation among (1) existence of an international audience; (2) a primary target of middle- and professional-class listeners, and (3) a rather formal, artificial speech style. These considerations obtain both for official and for clandestine/rebel broadcasting, despite wide divergence in other parameters. For example, the relative proportion of propaganda or general interest material is essentially irrelevant to variation in linguistic style, although the first parameter is correlated with the social/cultural class of the audience, as is speech style. Giving a quantitative demonstration of the sociolinguistic differentiation found among clandestine/rebel broadcasts and their official antagonists is rendered much more difficult, given the lack of widely accepted quantitative measures of formal vs. popular Spanish usage, and the similar lack of comparative studies on broadcast language techniques and styles among Spanish-speaking nations. The problem is compounded by the generally poor reception conditions, caused by amateur quality portable equipment as well as jamming, which renders detailed studies precarious at best. The most promising dimension for quantitative studies is variation in pronunciation of key elements, which can be used to measure the degree of approximation of broadcast language to normal speech patterns of various sociocultural groups in the countries under study. In the case of Cuba, El Salvador and Nicaragua, the best phonological indicator is the realization of phoneme /s/, in syllable- and word-final contexts (Lipski 1983, 1984, 1985, 1986a; Terrell 1977, 1979).

Cuba and Nicaragua clearly belong to the most "radical" group of dialects with regard to weakening of syllable- and word-final /s/, while El Salvador straddles the last two categories, since while many peasants and poor urban residents reduce /s/ nearly to the levels found in Nicaragua, middle- and upper-class Salvadorans retain /s/ as a sibilant [s] in a greater number of cases. Within each dialect zone, the general tendencies are toward increased reduction of /s/ as one descends the sociocultural scale, and also in contexts of increased informality, urgency or colloquiality, although with noteworthy idiosyncratic exceptions. In particular, the most significant differentiator of registers

within a given sociocultural stratum, as well as across strata, is the realization of word-final /s/ before unstressed vowels (*los amigos*), where aspiration to [h] or elision is common in the popular speech of the regions under consideration, but where carefully monitored speech (particularly broadcast language) exhibits much lower rates of reduction of /s/. Previous research has shown this to be one of the most useful stylistic and sociolinguistic variables characterizing Spanish dialects and discourse modes, for while behavior of syllable-final /s/ in other environments may differ only slightly from formal speech to radio broadcasting and other public appearances, the transformation from aspiration [h] to retention of a sibilant [s] in word-final prevocalic positions is a nearly exceptionless mark of the transition away from normal speech. Table 3 gives comparative quantitative data for the three dialects under consideration, representing the speech of middle-class speakers (the presumed direct recipients of most clandestine broadcasts), in comparison with the various broadcast sources under discussion, using as a sample editorial comments or announcements which appeared to represent improvised rather than prepared (and read) scripts.<sup>3</sup> Figure 1 gives a graphic comparison of these data.

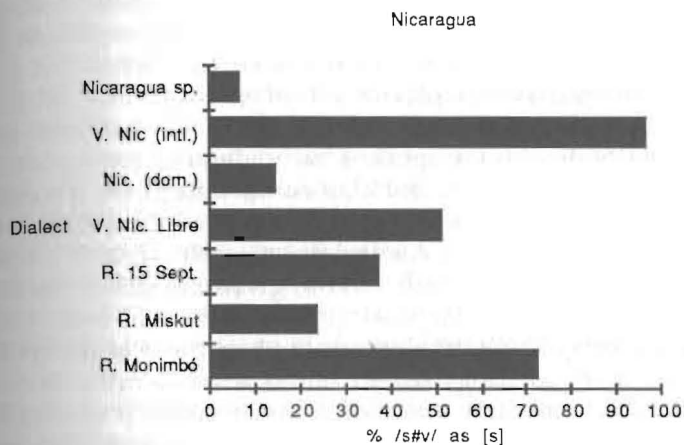
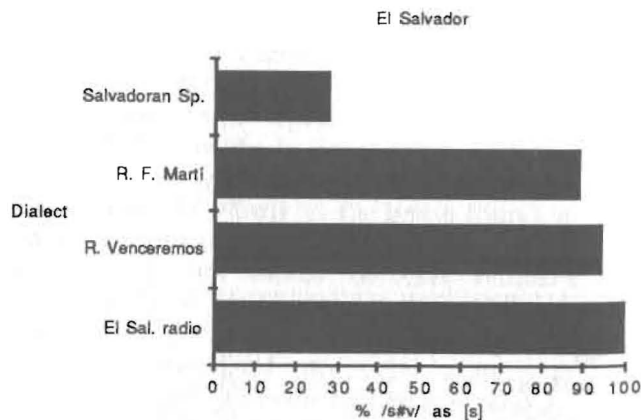
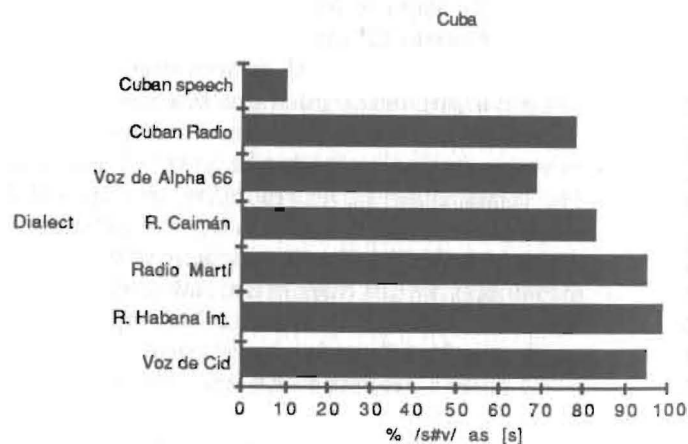
Table 3: Rate (%) of retention of /s#v/ as [s]

Dialect	% /s#v/ as [s]
R. Havana int.	99
Cuban domestic	78
Voz del CID	95
R. Caimán	83
R. Martí	95
Voz de Alpha 66	69
Cuban speech	10
<hr/>	
El Salvador domest.	100
R. Venceremos	95
R. Farabundo Martí	89
El Salvador speech	28



V. Nicaragua int'l	97
Nicaragua domestic	15
R. 15 de septiembre	38
V. Nicaragua Libre	52
R. Miskut	24
R. Monimbó	73
Nicaragua speech	7

Figure 1



International broadcasts from Cuba and Nicaragua have adopted more formal patterns of pronunciation, as noted earlier, which includes retention of /s/ as a sibilant [s] to a far greater extent than is found in daily speech, and in keeping with broadcasting language of Spain and other prominent Latin American nations. El Salvador offers no international broadcasting service (although Radio Nacional occasionally broadcasts on shortwave bands), and hence cannot be included in these comparisons. Finally, broadcasts from the clandestine/rebel stations described earlier add to the complex sociolinguistic mosaic characterizing behavior of /s/ in Latin American radio broadcasting, since the styles range from the highly artificial styles of the Voz de CID (retaining sibilant [s] in nearly all cases) to the highly popular format of R. Miskut and La Voz de Alpha 66, passing through the moderately formal patterns of R. Venceremos, R. Farabundo Martí, R. Monimbó, R. Caimán and R. 15 de Septiembre.

Normally, a person's ability to modify pronunciation has only a slight range of variation, involving a single regional dialect and possibly approximations to other well-known dialects. At the same time, pronunciation is more

frequently associated with social status and regional origin than with political values, although in the case of "elitist" and "grassroots" politicians, the deliberate choice of certain speech styles has obvious political motivation. In the clandestine radio broadcasts described above, the political values associated with certain phonetic variants are aligned both with the speakers' attitudes and conception of the listening audience, but also on the latter's real processing strategies, awareness of and concern for subtle language modifications. Awareness of such patterns in received speech is less well known, given the lack of studies of perception and linguistic interpretation of such variables (Lipski 1986b, b). Perhaps the best point of departure is the study of linguistic attitudes toward varieties and dialects of Spanish, since in a given country or region, these attitudes are well defined. In the case of Salvadoran and Nicaraguan Spanish, the severe social and economic inequalities of the two nations have naturally contributed to the differentiation of popular/rural and educated varieties of Spanish, as reflected both in pronunciation and in vocabulary/syntax. At the same time, the lack of a widespread norm for educated professional speech has created less differentiation between upper and working class speech than in nations such as Mexico, Colombia, Argentina, Chile and Spain. A similar situation obtained in Cuba prior to the 1959 revolution, when social barriers were widely and rigidly enforced; in the post-revolutionary generations, more widespread educational opportunities coupled with less social segregation in schools and community activities, and the use of popular speech in the mass media has partially obliterated the strict sociolinguistic stratification. Within the three nations, there is considerable popular stereotyping of the distinct sociolinguistic levels, frequently associated with racial/ethnic typing or at the least with outward physical appearance. The variables most often identified with sociolinguistic stereotyping are phonological, and are the same elements which appear in local-color literature, jokes and dramatic presentations. Although popular impressions often coincide with objective linguistic characteristics, social stereotyping normally exceeds the

bounds of observable speech, especially as regards the absolute and inviolable nature of phonetic traits. The other side of the coin involves "proper" speech, which in the popular imagination, fostered by the prominence of Spanish-born nuns, priests and teachers in Latin American schools and churches, includes pronouncing all word-final consonants as they are written (such as /s/, /r/ and /l/), and even distinguishing the letters *s* and *z*, giving an interdental pronunciation [θ] (as in English *thick*) to the latter element; such speech traits are not naturally found in any variety of Latin American Spanish. The old style of Cuban radio broadcasting, typified by the CID and R. Martí broadcasts, carries these ideas to their logical extreme, and interviews with Cubans of all social classes give evidence that phonetic precision is a highly prized concomitant of "proper" speech. The use of this artificial style of Spanish diction in U.S.-based Cuban radio broadcasting is less a conscious effort to project an image of conservatism and respectability than a simple carryover of radio styles of the past; the latter fact itself is indicative of the nostalgia for a society and a lifestyle which effectively ceased to exist more than 25 years ago.

Salvadoran Spanish is less stratified sociolinguistically in the phonological dimension, although as demonstrated in previous sections, precise diction is a constant of educated, formal speech. Although the gap between Salvadoran popular speech and radio broadcast language is wider than in some neighboring countries, interviews with Salvadorans do not suggest a high degree of consciousness regarding phonological levels of style or social class. Only the extreme cases of popular speech, typified by widespread loss of /s/ and other phonological distortions, are consistently identified by middle and professional class Salvadorans as pertaining to "vulgar" and "uneducated" speech, although colloquial speech of the latter groups makes use of the same patterns. When specifically questioned about the language used by rebel broadcasts, Salvadorans comment first on the impassioned vocabulary and the shouted delivery, rather than concentrating on the pronunciation of individual sounds.

Nicaraguans of various political persuasion are nearly unanimous in noting the artificial nature of the official Voice of Nicaragua broadcast language, and those who have heard (usually only by listening to recordings supplied by the present investigator) the R. Miskut broadcasts note the highly popular/rustic language and the association with indigeneous subjects who speak Spanish less than perfectly. Upon hearing the R. Monimbó broadcasts, Nicaraguans similarly note the artificial, melifluous speech, which is oddly incongruent with the subliminal counterrevolutionary message directed at armed insurgents and saboteurs. Finally, the R. 15 de Septiembre transmissions, mixing impassioned calls to arms and popular appeals with a somewhat artificial overall format, are regarded as ironically similar to the clandestine Sandinista broadcasts heard throughout Nicaragua shortly before the overthrow of the Somoza government. Although Nicaraguan speech and radio broadcast language is not stiffly stratified along phonetic lines as other Spanish dialects, Nicaraguans do demonstrate an awareness of subtle variations in pronunciation, and respond to the various rebel and official broadcasts in a fashion correlated with stylistic variations in the latter.

Summing up, the behavior reflected in the present research does not suggest conscious, consistently planned modification of a single linguistic parameter by the directors and announcers of the official, nonofficial and clandestine broadcasts being discussed. Rather, the linguistic profile adopted by the individuals involved stems directly and naturally from the ideological concerns of the groups they represent. That the speech of radio personnel differs significantly from local colloquial patterns comes as no surprise, nor does the concept of a station being sensitive to the impact of certain linguistic configurations on listeners. In the war of words and ideas between official outlets and rebel stations in Latin America, the situation becomes more complex, due to the simultaneous consideration of domestic and international audiences of differing ideological, sociocultural and dialectological profiles. The linguistic behavior of announcers and occasional radio personalities reflects the interaction of conscious and un-

conscious, voluntary and involuntary facets of language variation, as well as the multitude of external forces and influences which affect the organization and practices of the stations. The continued study of the language of clandestine broadcasting *vis-à-vis* official and quasi-official stations promises to be fruitful source of data on the use of subtle language variation as a tool of social manipulation.

### Notes

<sup>1</sup> Berg (1983); Soley and Nichols (1987: chap. 7); Browne (1984: 150). For the history of Radio Swan later known as Radio America, cf. Wyden (1979: 23, 118, 208-9, 292); Wise (1964: chap. 24); Richelson (1985). An on-the-scene report was offered by Kneital (1961).

<sup>2</sup> Most of my information on radio broadcasting in Nicaragua comes from extensive personal monitoring, and fieldwork carried out in Nicaragua in the time period 1982-1984, during which it was possible to visit several radio stations and speak with government officials and private individuals about past and current broadcasting (Lipski a, c). Cf. also Alisky (1955); G. Wood (1983); Hauser (1979); R. Wood (1975). After the materials had been collected for this study, an excellent update on clandestine broadcasts by Dexter (1987) appeared. Cf. also Dexter (1984); Soley Nichols (1987: chap. 9); Soley (1981).

<sup>3</sup> These results are compared to a wider range of nations and broadcast formats in Lipski (1983, 1986a). Specific data on clandestine and non-official broadcasting to and in El Salvador and Nicaragua are found in Lipski (1986b, a, b). For more general comments on linguistic correlates of radio speech, see Goffman (1981); Fracastoro Martini (1951); Ferguson (1983); Gutiérrez (1976).

## References

- Alisky, Marvin. 1955. Central American radio. *Quarterly of Film, Radio and Television* 10 (Fall-Winter).51-63.
- Anderson, Thomas. 1971. Matanza. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.
- Armstrong, Robert. 1983. Señal de libertad: Radio venceremos turns two. *NACLA Report to the Americas* May-June.39-42.
- Arnson, Cynthia. 1982. El Salvador: A revolution confronts the United States. Washington: Institute for Policy Studies.
- Berg, Jerry. 1983. A primer on Latin American DXing. *World Radio and TV Handbook* 37.597-603.
- Browne, Donald. 1984. *International Radio Broadcasting*. New York: Praeger.
- Canfield, D. Lincoln. 1960. Observaciones sobre el español salvadoreño. *Filología* 6.29-76.
- . 1981. Spanish pronunciation in the Americas. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Dexter, Gerry. 1984. Clandestine confidential. *Columbus: Universal Electronics*.
- . 1987. Broadcasting from the shadows. *World Radio and TV Handbook* 41.565-71.
- Drucker, Linda. 1984. Radio venceremos: Static over a guerilla source. *Columbia Journalism Review* 22.44-7.
- Ferguson, Charles. 1983. Sports announcer talk: Syntactic aspects of register variation. *Language in Society* 12.153-72.
- Fracastoro, Martini. 1951. *La lingua e la radio*. Florence: Sansoni.
- Goffman, E. 1981. Radio talk: A study of the ways of our errors. *Forms of talk*, ed. by E. Goffman, 197-327. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania.
- Gutiérrez, Félix Frank. 1976. Spanish language radio and Chicano internal colonialism. Stanford University dissertation.
- Hale, Julian. 1975. *Radio Power: Propaganda and international broadcasting*. Philadelphia: Temple University.
- Hauser, Glenn. 1979. Revolution by radio. *Popular electronics* 16(Nov).104-7.
- Immerman, Richard. 1982. *The CIA in Guatemala: The foreign policy of intervention*. Austin: University of Texas.
- Kiddle, Lawrence. 1954. Some social implications of the Spanish voseo. *Modern Language Forum* 37.50-4.
- Knauer, Gabrielle. 1984. El análisis de textos políticos cubanos desde puntos de vista sociolingüísticos y de la lingüística de textos. *Islas* 77.111-27.
- Kneitel, Tom. 1961. Radio swan: The thorn in Castro's side. *Popular Electronics* 14 (March).52-3, 55.
- Lipski, John. 1983. La norma culta y la norma radiofónica: /s/ y /n/ en español. *Language Problems and Language planning* 7.239-62.
- . 1984. Weakening of /s/ in Latin American Spanish. *Zeitschrift für Dialektologie und Linguistik* 51.31-43.
- . 1985. /s/ in Central American Spanish. *Hispania* 68.143-9.



- . 1986a. Spanish in U.S. broadcasting. Spanish language use and public life in the U.S., ed. by Lucía Elías-Olivares, Elizabeth Leone, René Cisneros, John Gutiérrez, 217-33. The Hague: Mouton.
- . 1986b. Central American Spanish in the United States: The case of El Salvador. *Aztlán* 17.91-123.
- . a. The pronunciation of /s/ in the Spanish of Nicaragua. Forthcoming in *Orbis*.
- . b. Linguistic correlates of the Sandinista revolution. Unpublished ms.
- López, Oscar Luis. 1981. *La radio en Cuba*. La Habana: Editorial Letras Cubanas.
- Mickelson, Sig. 1984. *America's other voice: The story of radio free Europe and radio liberty*. New York: Praeger.
- Montgomery, Tommie Sue. 1982. *Revolution in El Salvador: Origins and evolution*. Boulder: Westview Press.
- Nichols, John. 1984. A communication perspective on radio Martí. *Cuban Studies/Estudios Cubanos* 14(2).35-46.
- Páez, Iraset. 1981. *Historia y geografía hispanoamericana del voseo*. Caracas: Casa de Bello.
- Richelson, Jeffrey. 1985. *The U.S. intelligence community*. Cambridge: Ballinger.
- Rona, José Pedro. 1967. *Geografía y morfología del voseo*. Porto Alegre: Pontífica Universidade Católica do Rio Grande do Sul.
- Smiricky, Lubomir. 1968. La voz "compañero" en el español cubano. *Philologica Pragensia* 9.158-62.

- Soley, Lawrence. 1983. The political context of clandestine radio broadcasting in 1981. *Journal of Broadcasting* 27.233-50.
- , and John Nichols. 1987. *Clandestine radio broadcasting: A study of revolutionary and counterrevolutionary electronic communication*. New York: Praeger.
- Terrell, Tracy. 1977. Constraints on the aspiration and deletion of final /s/ in Cuban and Puerto Rican Spanish. *Bilingual Review* 4.35-51.
- . 1979. Final /s/ in Cuban Spanish. *Hispania* 62.599-612.
- Teschner, Marc. 1984. *Aquí Radio Venceremos and other voices: Clandestine broadcasting and guerrilla warfare in Latin America*. University of Texas M.A. thesis.
- Wise, Daniel. 1964. *The invisible government*. New York: Random House.
- Wood, George. 1983. Rock revolution—radio in Nicaragua. *World Radio and TV Handbook* 37.604-5.
- Wood, Richard. 1975. Shortwave broadcasts span the hemisphere. *Americas* 27.2-9.
- Wyden, Peter. 1979. *The Bay of Pigs: The untold story*. New York: Simon & Schuster.