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Quality of oral language
on broadcasting media

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Introduction

What does it mean, talking about the quality of oral language on broadcasting media? Are we in any condition to demand high levels of quality in the oral use of Catalan in the media, comparable to those of other European languages? What connection should be established between language quality and the implementation of an oral standard for the media that is widely accepted by the community of Catalan-speaking regions and by users? What are the responsibilities of the different institutions in terms of improving the quality of the language used on the different media and in the different broadcasting genres? The different experts, researchers and professionals we have gathered together in this single-themed, 28th edition of the *Quaderns del CAC*, dedicated to language quality in the broadcasting media, hope to provide answers to these and other questions of evident linguistic, communicative and cultural interest.

The first block of articles in this edition offer a critical assessment of the experiences in the early stages of the Catalan language sphere. Oriol Camps focuses his analysis on the advice given and results incorporated during almost twenty-five years of work by the CCRTV ("Concerning the language quality of the media of the Catalan Radio and Television Corporation (CCRTV)"). Toni Mollà highlights the shifting evolution of the language model that has affected Canal 9 of RTVV ["The oral linguistic model: the case of Canal 9 or the unbalanced (linguistic) level"]. Joan Melià presents a summary of the slow incorporation of Catalan in the media of the Balearic Islands, until the arrival of IB3 ("The Catalan language in the broadcasting media of the Balearic Islands"). And Isidor Marí evaluates the few opportunities to implement an oral standard and points out the optimum conditions for this to occur ("The consolidation of an oral standard: limits and conditions").

The second block contains the experiences of professionals, explaining the choices made with regard to the quality of oral language. Mònica Terribas argues for the option of spontaneous oral language in *La nit al dia* ("Reclaiming oral discourse on television"). Lluís Comes examines the reasons behind the dubbing quality on TVC ("Dubbing into Catalan"). Joaquim M. Puyal tells of his career in sports radio broadcasts ("From the street to the airwaves: how football in Catalan conquered the radio"). Margarida Bassols, Albert Rico and Anna M. Torrent, from the Language and Media group (UAB), present a study of the language of radio magazine programmes in Catalan ("Expressive strategies and devices in radio magazine programmes"). And Maria Rosa Buxarrais and Amèlia Tey deal with coarse language on television from a public ethics point of view ("Coarse television language as an ethical indicator of how cultured a society is").

Finally, in the "Observatory" section, we include three articles related to research activities: "Evaluating the diversity of television programming", by Eva Pujadas and Mercè Oliva, from the UNICA group (UPF); "Chronology of international radio in the Catalan language in the 20th century", by Cinto Niqui, and "Elements for studying TV reality in secondary education", by Ramon Breu.

Josep Gifreu
Director

Concerning the language quality of the media of the Catalan Radio and Television Corporation (CCRTV)

Oriol Camps

- *The aim of the Catalan media is to maintain the Catalan communication area. Within a context of interlanguage contact, the quality of the media must maintain the tension between tradition and innovation, the representation of dialects and realism in dialogues; standard Catalan and the requirements of the different genres of mass communication. To help us maintain these tensions, the CCRTV has created a linguistic website at <http://esadir.cat>, containing the experience of our linguistic teams over nearly twenty-five years. In this way we work together with presenters and journalists to achieve good linguistic quality.*

Keywords

Language, media, television, radio, quality, tradition, innovation, representation, realism, standard, registers, genres, free style, style website, linguistic website, Catalan communication area.

When talking about the quality of media language, it is useful to start by asking ourselves about the concept of quality we are applying. If we allow ourselves to be carried away by what is normally used in advertising, related to "exclusivity", "elitism" or "price", then our assessment of the linguistic quality of the media may turn out biased. Do we mean that we must use a "wise", "polished", "cultured" or "exclusivist" language? This would be a concept of quality but surely it would contradict the desire, so typical of the mass media, to secure a large public. This desire for a mass audience, together with the desire to spread the Catalan language, is precisely what defines the key mission of the media of the Generalitat de Catalunya, both in its internal document on the mission of the Catalan Radio and Television Corporation or CCRTV¹, as well as in the wording of the law by the Catalan Broadcasting Media Corporation or CCMA² and, therefore, an assessment of language quality cannot be absent from this.

- 1 "To offer all citizens of Catalonia, in compliance with the mandate of Parliament, a quality broadcasting service committed to ethical and democratic principles and to promoting Catalan culture and language. The production and diffusion of this service shall be managed under criteria of efficiency and striving for maximum acceptance among the public."
- 2 Article 2. Function of public service: The public service broadcasting of the Generalitat consists [...] of placing at the disposal of the citizens of Catalonia a series of broadcasting content and other services as may be determined [...], aimed at meeting citizens' democratic, social and cultural needs, to guarantee universal access to information, culture and education, to spread and promote the Catalan language and to offer quality entertainment.

Oriol Camps

CCRTV linguistic advisor

Creating a communication area

Some people understand "to spread and promote the Catalan language" as if the purpose of the media were to teach language and they expect them to "act like a school". We often hear that, within the process of language standardisation, the media must teach people to speak better. It's true that teaching Catalan forms part of language standardisation but the main purpose of the Catalan mass media is not to educate but to establish a Catalan communication area. Put another way, making a place for Catalan in the world of communication. In other words, fulfilling the functions of the media (traditionally to inform, educate and entertain, and under the act by the CCMA, also information, culture, education and entertainment) but in Catalan. Demonstrating to the world, and primarily to the audience, that it's possible, useful and even completely stimulating to maintain this Catalan communication area. Consequently, getting the audience used to an appropriate use of language in each kind of communication. However, carrying out a specific social function in Catalan also involves new things for the language: new words, new constructions, new genres that entail new ways of organising discourse... This therefore means the implementation of the different linguistic registers of Catalan, adapted to the genre of each programme.

In a situation of language contact

Moreover, we must not forget that this function is carried out within a situation of continual contact between languages, which currently occurs under highly different conditions

from thirty or forty years ago. A few decades ago, cultured people in particular knew classical languages, especially Latin, and this associated a sensation of looking back to linguistic knowledge, of falling back on the classics. After all, the grammar that was studied continued to be anchored in Latin. There were phenomena that could not be tackled because they crossed over these parameters, such as colloquial relative pronouns ("la nena *que li* feia mal el peu" - literally, 'the girl *who to whom* the foot hurt', "la casa *que s'hi* amagava el lladre" - the house *where in which* the thief was hiding', etc.).³ When determining whether a word was correct, attention was primarily paid to its etymological origin, strictly following the rules of word formation. But we are currently faced with the need to use the words we come up against in real life: in business or industry, on the football pitch, in our neighbourhood or even in the media... These come from other languages and are created without taking etymology nor the rules of word formation into account. For example, *televisió* (television), a compound word where the first element is Greek (*tele*) and the second is Latin (*visió*); the contrast between *hardware/software* in English, which has replaced the creation of the pairs *matériel/logiciel* in French and *maquinari/programari* in Catalan, conserving an identical ending for both words and a semantic opposition in the roots. Similarly, the word *preqüela* (prequel), formed as the opposite to *seqüela* (sequel), to describe a film that narrates an episode prior to a story already known by the public but filmed later. A *trivot* in sport, which is a series of three pivots; *mòbing* (from the English *mobbing*) to describe 'moral harassment' and *bullying* for 'school harassment',⁴ etc. A few decades ago, culture was based on books and was

3 Joaquim Viaplana calls these "analytical" because they separate the element of the conjunction (*que*) from the pronominal element, as opposed to "integrated" or cultured use. Taking advantage of the same examples, "la nena *que* (conjunction) *li* (pronoun) feia mal el peu"; "la casa *que* (conjunction) *s'hi* (pronoun) amagava el lladre". The cultured or "integrated" version brings together, in the relative pronoun, both the function of conjunction, linking with the main phrase, as well as that of pronoun: "la nena a qui feia mal el peu"; "la casa on s'amagava el lladre". See VIAPLANA J. *Elements per a una gramàtica generativa del català. Relativització i temes afins*. 1st ed. Barcelona: Ed. 62, 1981 (Llibres a l'abast collection, 159).

4 The verb *assetjar* (harass) and, therefore the noun *assetjament* (harassment) appear in the Fabra dictionary with the main military meaning of "to lay siege" to a city or fortress; the meaning of "insistently importuning someone with our intentions" is marked in the dictionary as a figurative sense. The Diccionari de la Llengua Catalana, or DIEC (1995) maintains the figurative sense in the verb but, for the noun, includes the meaning of *assetjament sexual* (sexual harassment), which was the word chosen when the Catalan parliament had to legislate on what, in Spanish, is called *acoso sexual*. Later, the noun became generalised, thanks to proposals made by Termcat, to include other types of interpersonal harassment. In the DIEC (2007) the verb in the figurative sense has now disappeared. But the forms closest to English still continue in the media, to the detriment of those proposed by Termcat.

spread via writing, also in newspapers, and this influenced people as a whole but over a period of time, controlled from above, coming from the "sources". Currently, without denying the importance of books, information is within reach of everyone, in the media and on the Internet, and it flows directly between people, very quickly and without possible control, neither academic nor social nor, in many cases, legal. This may worry us with regard to content but it particularly and inexorably influences form, the kind of language used. If, before, it was possible to keep the population somewhat isolated with regard to foreign languages (as attempted during Franco's dictatorship by dubbing films, putting even more pressure on Catalan by the use of Castilian), isolation is now impossible. With globalisation, a monolingual future in any country in the world is unthinkable. And we should also note that, in spite of Catalan being taught in schools, society in general continues to be tolerant of orthographical and grammatical errors in Catalan, as if they were not entirely convinced that it's worth maintaining the forms (phonetic, morphological, syntactical or lexical). So it's easy to find a whole host of constructions on the Internet, both those that have always been considered correct as well as others that Catalan tradition had avoided, or those that directly include words from other languages. In the language used by young people in general, this tolerance of barbarisms is very high, either to show that they are up-to-date or to colour the conversation with fashionable words or with a slightly rebellious tone.

Language in evolution

Given this situation, we should note that language evolves along two different lines: on the one hand, that of the different languages of specialisation (from science to sport, in an attempt to have a wide variety), which generally provide new concepts expressed by more or less well-defined terms, borrowed from other languages or adapted from Catalan forms, be they single words or phrases;⁵ and, on the other hand, via spontaneous language,⁶ which brings with it old problems that have not been resolved and also creates new forms, whose aim is to colour conversation and public communication, and which, in our case, often arises from contact between languages. In a bilingual society such as our own, where people have access to Spanish and Catalan not only through reading but also via the oral channel because people take part in conversations where the two languages, and sometimes another language, are mixed, and they form part of broadcasting media audiences in one or another language, there are certain new terms that arise almost at the same time in both languages. For example, in the more colloquial area, the custom of saying "em demano una cervesa" (I'm ordering myself a beer) or "què et demanes tu?" (what are you ordering yourself) when a group goes to a bar.⁷ Another example: in more formal language, we find the relative construction that consists of linking a preposition with an article followed by the

- 5 The work of Termcat is very important in this area as it brings into line the new inclusion of specialised terms. But new terms often arrive in the media before Termcat has time to check them and approve or adapt them, so that when a standardised solution is available, the concept may already be known by the public via a foreign term, more or less adapted. And this is the normal state of affairs: life always precedes coding and not everything can be planned. Due to their need to remain up-to-date, the media are obliged to put borrowed terms and adaptations of these into circulation to describe situations they have to talk about on air.
- 6 *Spontaneous* and not only *colloquial*, because it is not merely a question of informal conversation but also of "spontaneous formal", as in interviews, discussions and live broadcasts.
- 7 In the usual structure of the Catalan verb *demanar* (to order), the dative or indirect object is the person from whom you expect to get what is being ordered. But there are situations in which this person is practically irrelevant because their function is precisely to provide us with what we ask for, as in the case of barmen. A sentence such as "Demana'm una cervesa, que vaig a comprar el diari" (Order me a beer, I'm going to buy the newspaper) is a well-formed phrase, where the dative pronoun ('m in Catalan, me in English) is not the indirect object as such (the person who has to bring the beer) but rather the beneficiary of the request (the person expecting the drink the beer). (See SOLÀ, J. (dir.). *Gramàtica del català contemporani*. Barcelona: Empúries, 2002, S 6.5.5 pp. 1392 and sub.). When a group of people go for a drink, what is relevant, in fact, is the person who is going to consume each product ordered. And hence phrases occur such as "Tu què et demanes? Jo em demano una clara" (You, what are you ordering yourself? I'm ordering myself a shandy), which does not mean that one of the speakers is ordering a shandy from himself but that he is ordering it from whomever (in fact, the person offering it to him, the barman), with the intention of drinking it himself. The function of this dative pronoun is to highlight the recipient/beneficiary of the request. This linguistic use occurs particularly among young people, both in Spanish and in Catalan, and it cannot be claimed to come from either of the two languages.

conjunction 'que' ("aquest és un dels arguments *en els que* no podem estar d'acord" - this is one of the arguments with those which we cannot agree; "les conclusions *a les que* es pot arribar..." - the conclusions to those which we might arrive...). Currently this construction (which, as it is based on Spanish, has exerted a pressure on Catalan at least since the 1930s) characterises a sector of cultured speakers who read in Spanish. It is not used in fictional scripts because the analytical or colloquial relative pronouns are already available,⁸ nor is it used in news programmes, where it is normally corrected and replaced with the preposition followed by *què* or *qui* ('which' or 'who'). But it does come to the fore in talks and statements by politicians. It's a widespread problem and is not at all easy to resolve, because these speakers have acquired and interiorised this construction, relating it to their profession and their social status. Some have even suggested accepting it in fiction, for example to characterise someone with university qualifications (?!). I have mentioned this as an example of the complexity of the problems we are facing, often concerning such "little" issues but so important for the structure of language, such as prepositions and relative pronouns.

It is within this context that we must consider the issue of language quality in the media.

Quality: tradition and innovation

The first thing that occurs to us when we talk about language quality is to relate this to the notions of tradition, authenticity and purity. A language that is coherent with the historical language, which is pronounced respecting the phonic features characteristic of one of the great dialects, the correctly applies the rules of morphology and syntax, that does not include an excessive number of words or expressions from other languages and especially those that

have arrived and continue to arrive via Spanish - that is a quality language. But language quality is also related to innovation. In our case, innovation means being able to say concepts that had not been expressed before in Catalan and also to say them in such a way that makes communication more efficient, without breaking coherence with the historical language. However, we also live in a time when transgression is considered as something positive, especially if renovates the system in which it occurs. So trademarks, names of establishments, of firms, of media programmes and even university research groups are often created that almost always strive for a touch of provocation, whether using a word that already exists or constructing initials or acronyms that, at the same time as referring to the real content, also offer a combination of sounds that coincide with a word in the language or create a new word... And often these brands give rise, by derivation or adaptation, to new words in the common language (*aspirina* - *aspirin*, *niló* - *nylon*, *licra* - *lycra*, *velcro*...). First of all, then, quality lies in the tension between tradition and innovation.

Quality: representation and realism

The language of the media is also required to be representative of the different Catalan modes of expression, both in the sense of giving room to different accents as well as in the sense of using a language that is compatible with all dialects in terms of syntactic constructions and the choice of basic lexis. Presenters are required to speak better than citizens in general, "that's why they're professionals". Representing all modes of expression would distance us from any real manifestation of a single type of speech. However, in terms of fiction, the media are sometimes criticised for not being "realistic" enough in representing colloquial language. For example, we can accept Castafiore in Tintin saying

8 See note 2.

“Déu del cel, les meves joies!” (Heavens above, my jewels!); but in a TV soap such as *El cor de la ciutat* or *Ventdelplà*, situa-ted in the present, we cannot accept characters using a lan-guage that is not credible because it is so pure. And this is the case for both words and the construction of clauses, because it is a question of tackling present-day problems in our society with the language that corresponds to each character, according to their situation in life. However, language is always elaborated to a certain extent, because an excess of realism would lead to incomprehensibility. If the dialogues from TV series were as fragmentary and inexplicit in terms of what speakers take as read as in real life, or if the different utterances “overlapped” as in a real dialogue, we wouldn’t understand anything. If fictional dialogues on the radio did not repeat the name of the speaker from time to time, much more frequently than in real life, we would not know who was speaking or who they were speaking to.⁹ There are conventions that move away from realism in order to favour communicability. There is still the doubt¹⁰ as to what is currently wrong with film dubbing, making them sound like language that is “stiff”, “a bit dead”, “too institutional”. But we are starting to suspect, from the studies we are currently carrying out, that it has a lot to do with how the collective consciousness has interiorised the language of dubbing in Spanish so that, in spite of its artificial nature, this has been naturalised as “the language

of cinema”. This means that the Catalan version seems more artificial, in spite of translators’ efforts to bring the text in line with the style of the original.

Representation and realism are therefore the two poles of another tension in which the language quality of the media is located, in addition to the tension between tradition and innovation we have mentioned earlier.

Quality standards

In our industrial world, quality is related to certain standards, fixed by firms or more extensive corporations or by laws or regulations.¹¹ In linguistics, the term *standard* is used for the most habitual variety of the language, neutral and representing all the different modes of speech, which is usually used in public communication.¹² As in industry, in linguistics we need to talk about the authority that determines what we might call the standards of the standard. In our case, this is the Secció Filològica de l’Institut d’Estudis Catalans (Philological Section of the Institute of Catalan Studies). The IEC grammar (that of Fabra from 1918 which, although recognised and considered as official, is currently insufficient, and the one currently being drawn up is as yet unfinished, although some draft parts have been made public, for example on phonetics and morphology), the *Proposal for an oral standard for the Catalan language, I and II*¹³ as well as

- 9 Repeating the name of the speaker is also often used in radio interviews and discussions but is not so necessary on television, where the viewer can see the people involved and can often also read the name in the subtitles.
- 10 This has even been tackled in the seminars “El català oral de ficció: guionatge i traducció audiovisual” (Oral Catalan of fiction: script-writing and audiovisual translation) organised by the Official College of Doctors and Graduates in Philosophy and Humanities and in Sciences of Catalonia and the Secretariat of Linguistic Policy of the Generalitat de Catalunya, with the collaboration of the Philological Section (IEC, 18 and 19 May 2007).
- 11 DIEC (2007): standard 1 m. [LC] Type, model, norm. *Adopting international standards*.
- 12 See here the definitions provided by the DIEC (2007) and Hyper-encyclopaedia:
DIEC: standard “4 m. [FL] Language variety that, by a spontaneous or directed process, has achieved a high degree of levelling out, of coding, of confluence and of acceptance in which the tendency is to eliminate dialectal differences as much as possible, which is normally used, in the different registers and at different levels, by members of a community. The establishment of the Catalan standard”.
Hyper-encyclopaedia: “Standard language: common variety of a language, legitimised and institutionalised historically as a model of reference and a vehicle for supra-dialectal and international communication and normally used and learned according to explicit regulatory coding.”
- 13 *Proposta per a un estàndard oral de la llengua catalana, I: Fonètica*. Barcelona: IEC, 2005. 4th reprint of the 3rd edition; *II: Morfologia*. Barcelona: IEC. 2005. 4th reprint of the 4th edition.

the Dictionary of the Catalan language of the Institute of Catalan Studies (DIEC), in its 2007 edition, are the indispensable references of the rules regarding language quality in Catalan, but we must also take into account other lexicographic repertoires and grammatical codes that have been formed around it and that go to make up a relatively varied and also cohesive whole.¹⁴

Standard, genre and register

So, can we say that the standard resolves our problems of representation? If we have an official dictionary, do we also have a single reference to measure language quality in the media? I'm afraid not. For two reasons: firstly, because the standard is not a unique sealed unit but a series of public uses of language that have, as their reference, the standards (here in plural) defined by the IEC and by the group of works I have already mentioned.¹⁵ Secondly, but no less importantly, because when we speak of the language quality of the media we do not speak of a single language nor of a single communication situation. We find different languages and different communicative situations even within the same medium and on the same channel, decided according to what is being broadcast and the expectations of the receivers, made up of the different genres of communication. We will now look at the main ones.

In *news programmes*, quality is related to how appropriate the formality is to the situation, to the fact that both the broadcaster and the receiver understand that we are talking about the reality around us, and it is not related to any intention to make jokes but to communicate events that have really happened. Apart from imposing a certain structure of discourse, the news genre also requires a neutral, correct language that primarily makes the message credible. At the same time, on radio and television this language, although it is based on a written text and does not disguise this, must

maintain its oral nature, i.e. be in line with the constructions of spoken language, always maintaining a certain tension between the conversational model from which the oral parameters originate and the genre's need for formality, so that the receiver receives this naturally and can easily access the content without the form representing any obstacle.

Interviews and *discussions* are programmes based on conversation between the interviewer and the interviewee, or between different people capable of giving an opinion on contemporary issues. In this kind of programme, as also in news programmes, when the editor or presenter address the audience on their own behalf, without depending on a written text, a register is created that we might call "spontaneous formal". In other words, there is no text that needs to be read but the participants want to talk seriously about the issues up for debate, and this means they try to maintain a formal tone. However, the fact that what is said is improvised, and that sometimes it is necessary to make some gesture of complicity with the audience or with the speakers, reduces the degree of formality that can be found in a read text and means that expressions of a more conversational nature can be introduced. Discourse meaning is created by the different contributions intersecting, but often the issues are not completely closed but rather the participants' opinions are left open. In the case of a personal interview, the interviewee may try to present a more limited discourse. The interviewer's questions may help or disrupt him in constructing this discourse. In these programmes, the resulting language is highly dependent on the personal preparation of those taking part, in addition to the interviewer's skill in directing the conversation. Unfortunately, we often see professionals from the most diverse branches that are incapable of talking about their speciality without resorting to Spanish or English words to express the most essential concepts.

Reports or *documentaries* are characterised by a dual source of language: that of the voice in off, talking on behalf

¹⁴ See the bibliography cited on the website *ésAdir*. <<http://esadir.cat/bibliografia>>

¹⁵ See the previous note.

of the broadcaster and which, although it is appropriate for the tone suggested by the subject matter (history, nature, science, music, art, customs, etc.), always maintains a basic formality, and that of the voices of witnesses providing their own particular way of expressing themselves, sometimes in other languages, in this case usually dubbed, unless it is in Spanish, as most of the audience understand it. An interviewer might accompany the witnesses. The voice in off might also be discarded and the report edited in such a way that the witnesses are enough to explain the issue. At the other extreme, for example reports on animals, witnesses disappear and the voice in off is responsible for the whole explanation.

Magazine programmes are a different genre. In some way, everything is focused on the main presenter and his or her team, offering us what they want, what they are interested in or concerned about, hoping that, due to the empathy they awaken in us, we will also like it, be interested in or concerned about it. Everything has a more familiar air, more relaxed, requiring a more familiar, personal language with a touch of humour, if necessary... What most determines the tone of the conversation and therefore the language used is the more or less serious subject being dealt with and the more or less familiar relationship the presenters may establish with their guests. The more complicit, the more relaxed and colloquial. Formality is diluted... The more "natural" a programme is meant to be, the more likely we are to hear vulgarisms (*aixins, fandilles...*) and 'castellanismes' (language strongly influenced by Spanish) that are usual in real life (*estúdia, raro, pavo, estupendo...*). Contributions by the public, by telephone or from the studio, provide real unfiltered language.

Another genre that occupies many hours of our media is that of *live broadcasts* of events: sports competitions, concerts, parliamentary sessions, etc. The language varies greatly depending on the kind of broadcast: from coverage of a football match on the radio, where pride of place goes to the voice of the person speaking, who has to narrate the match, grasp and convey the emotions of the fans... or on television, where the viewers can see the game and the

commentator does not need to narrate it but to comment on it, providing the emotion of the moment, and add details that are not seen (such as the names of the players), to the broadcast of a parliamentary session or of a stock market session, where the person broadcasting must ensure that their voice does not get in the way of the event being broadcast. The variations are infinite, as are the differences in the language used. If the language of sport is always more coloured and full of images, that used in the other broadcasts is more neutral and closely follows the language of the corresponding speciality. So we find "italianismes" in classical music, such as *forte, con moto, passacaglia, scherzo...*, as well as *soul, swing, unplugged, tablao, trova* in popular music. We hear *opes, pib*, numbers in the black or red, *input, output*, etc. for the economy and a wide range of terms of parliamentary discourse. In live broadcasts, as in other programmes, the subject selects the language.

To end this review of contemporary genres we must also mention *comedy programmes*, because their references are contemporary news items and they interpret and comment on these in a joking tone. There is much more interference from Spanish because the world of references is very often from Spain. Changes in language are also used, with the misunderstandings this entails, traditional in Catalan humour. The same vulgarisms and "castellanismes" are heard as in the magazine programmes.

Another large group of programmes are those of *fiction*: in-house productions and also dubbed series and films. Both types require the use of a colloquial language that brings them closer to reality. The colloquial language of fiction is an elaborated language, written in a script, with the intention of making each person speak as if they were expressing themselves spontaneously.¹⁶ In the case of dubbed series and films, what determines the tone of the language is the original work and it must always be remembered that, the translation must necessarily seem a touch artificial, if only because people from another country and another culture are speaking in Catalan.

Without claiming that this review of the genres is exhaustive, and without forgetting that, often, some of these con-

¹⁶ This does not mean that there is not, from time to time, some give and take between the script, the studio linguist and the actors, who might not find the language assigned to their character appropriate...

taminate the others (where would we put the programme *No em ratllis!?*), I will lastly refer to *advertising language* because, in many aspects, it is the sum of the others. So the minimum expression of an advert would be an "institutional" voice recommending a product or advising citizens to take on a certain attitude. But this is often not enough and commercials usually have a first part with a fictional scene or dialogue that attempts to catch the attention of the listener or viewer, to make them ready to listen to and/or see the advice. If the fictional part wishes to be realistic, and even provocative, the "institutional" part assumes the characteristics of formal language, albeit with a persuasive tone. In any case, how the world of advertising works is very particular and requires continual negotiation.¹⁷ Above all, the person responsible for adverts, including the language form, is the advertiser.

Applying the standard: the style website

Given this variety of communication situations, an effort is required to apply the parameters of the standard to them. With most media, this function is carried out by the stylebook. In the case of the CCRTV media, the linguistic website *ésAdir*,¹⁸ presented not as a systematic dictionary or grammar but as a complement to these, emphasises those points where doubts may arise as to spelling, pronunciation or use in the different programmes.¹⁹ It maintains a traditional stance in phonetics and morphology, with details of adaptation to current usage, with eastern and western phonetic transcription in words requiring this, and in syntax it particularly focuses on the issue of word order in speaking, a central issue in spoken language, and covers various structures from colloquial language. In the section on lexis, its complementary nature to a dictionary is evident in the fact that it openly declares which words or usages (meanings, figurative uses, extensions of meaning, etc.) are

contained in the second edition of the DIEC (2007) and which are not. Up to 189 words or usages have been featured first on *ésAdir* and have then been incorporated into the DIEC. On the other hand, there are 1,228 words or usages that have been featured on *ésAdir* and have not been incorporated into the DIEC. Some will be featured in future editions, others will remain usages or words that appear in the media but are not officially recognised. Of these, the great majority (572) come from Catalan itself: extensions of meaning, constructions deployed with Catalan words and also compound words and derivatives. With regard to borrowings from other languages, 234 come from English, of which 42 are adapted graphically to Catalan; 142 come from Spanish, with 38 adapted; then come other European languages: French (42), Italian (40), Basque (13), German (10), Russian (9), Portuguese (6), Galician (4) and others... It's interesting to note the volume of words that have had to be attributed to slang from various origins (23), to apocopes or the shortening of words (24), and to brand names from which generic words have been derived (19). Japanese (27), especially via *manga*, is also making our vocabulary grow, as well as Arabic (10) and other Asian, African and American Indian languages... The words contained in the lexis section are accompanied by guidelines for their use that relate them to the different programmes or specify in which sense they are valid.

There is a lot more linguistic information on *ésAdir* that goes beyond the strict boundaries of Catalan. For example, on the pronunciation of foreign names (from classical music, politics, sport...). Many have an associated voice file so that you can hear what they sound like.²⁰ In all, therefore, this is an extensive consultative tool, well documented and adapted to the needs of our media, as it comes from the experience of the daily linguistic advice given over almost a quarter of a century.

17 The CCRTV has a specific linguistic service dedicated to this.

18 <<http://esadir.cat>>

19 See the presentation of the website and the linked pages at: <<http://esadir.cat/presentacio>>.

20 All the linguistic information offered by *ésAdir* is broader still: place names, proper nouns, conventions of language and graphics, the list of films dubbed into Catalan and broadcast by TV3 or out on DVD with a Catalan version.

The quality of language of the media of the CCRTV

The language quality of the CCRTV media must be assessed by taking into account the different aspects explained here. Starting at the end, the CCRTV media have been provided with teams of linguists that have safeguarded and continue to safeguard the appropriateness of the language to the different genres and, obviously, the standard, by correcting and following the broadcasts, and that have put all their experience in advising into the stylebooks²¹ and, finally, into the website *ésAdir*.²² As we have already explained, this website serves to apply the standards of the standard to media activity and also to extend these standards where required, with the flexibility and speed of response permitted by the Internet. In this way, our aim is to maintain appropriate tension between tradition and innovation, representation and realism, formal and oral. The standard adapts itself to the different genres, from the most formal genre of news to the most relaxed magazine style.

This group of genres and registers serves the objectives of spreading and promoting the Catalan language as defined by both the document on the mission of the CCRTV and the act by the CCMA. In other words, the main objective of keeping the Catalan area of communication open, where all generations can be found (perhaps some of them grumbling and others that aren't bothered at all) and all forms of speech, represented by the different accents that can be heard both in news programmes and among characters in a fictional series and by the syntactic constructions and their basic lexical choices.

Does that mean everything's perfect? No, but it does mean we are doing our utmost to ensure that the language used by the CCRTV media is appropriate to the desired objectives. The main aim being to provide Catalan with as

large an audience as possible. But each programme does this in its own way. I must admit that, from time to time, there are errors. But I must also state that this is not the general rule and that we all work hard to avoid them. And I would like us to gradually enter into a culture of prior consultation, something which would be of significant help to us in this respect.

21 TELEVISIÓ DE CATALUNYA. *El català a TV3. Llibre d'estil*. 2nd edition, rev. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1998.

TELEVISIÓ DE CATALUNYA. *Criteris lingüístics sobre traducció i doblatge*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1997.

CATALUNYA RÀDIO. *Orientacions lingüístiques*. Barcelona: Catalunya Ràdio, 2001 (document for internal use).

CCRTV INTERACTIVA. *Llibre d'estil*. Barcelona: CCRTV Interactiva, 2005 (document for internal use). <<http://esadir.cat>>

22 <<http://esadir.cat>>

The oral linguistic model: the case of Canal 9 or the unbalanced (linguistic) level

Toni Mollà

- *"Industrial" orality presents us with unusual problems that writing had never presented us with, such as naturalness, credibility and genuineness. A point of balance has yet to be reached between phonetic correctness, diction and interpretation. It is vital for professionals, authors and directors of dubbing to collaborate in order to perfect linguistic work, the adaptation of voices and interpretative quality, as well as a referential model in line with current legislation and the specific communicative situation (the programme). We professionals have great responsibility in this respect. But, above all, those in charge of managing Valencian public television.*

Keywords

Language structure, modelling principle, referential model, secondary orality, functionality.

1. Preliminary considerations

"Language is made by people, by school, by television, by poets, by novelists, by newspapers and even by linguists". This was written quite a few decades ago by Joan Fuster and he certainly hit the nail on the head. In no other area of linguistic use is Fuster's quote more evident than on television, a medium that requires language register(s) based on the vernacular-colloquial varieties of the medium's area of coverage but at the same time respecting the language's standard and cultured uses. Television is, by definition, a mass medium. And its language use must be primarily in line with this characteristic of maximum reference in quantitative terms.

The (internal) linguistic structure of languages, as usage itself, is *heterogeneous* (diverse) and *dynamic* (variable). The age of the interlocutors, the social milieu in which they live, their occupation, gender, the purpose of the communication are factors that determine the language variety users may employ, just as much as geographical origin. However, language variation and diversity in the mass media must be "under control". The *modelling principle* implicit in the medium requires this. That's why it's so important for the media's language policy (that referring to its status and also the language corpus itself) is designed by applying strategic criteria that take into account the communicative needs of the whole language community, beyond its specific uses. The *raison d'être* of a standard variety is precisely intercommunication between all speakers in a language community, irrespective of their language area (geographical dialect), their age (historical dialect), their social class or occupation (social dialect), etc. In fact, the standard variety can be defined as a variety that supersedes diversity, the variety that can be used by everyone (by everyone that needs it) at

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the appropriate time and place. But the mass media are, by definition, the place where the (most) common variety or standard language is realised.

In order to fulfil its role as a variety that supersedes diversity, the standard not only has to be known (shared) by everyone but also has to be *accepted* (felt as their own). This is highlighted by the definition of standardisation given by Charles Ferguson: "the process of one variety of language becoming widely accepted throughout the speech community as a supradialectal norm".¹ This will logically depend on it fulfilling a functional role in the speech community, being useful for something for everyone. It must therefore be a *utilitarian common language*.² That's why we tend to repeat that television's language model must be "correct, according to the norm and appropriate for each situation".

2. The early days of Canal 9

Since Canal 9 was first broadcast on 9 October 1989, we professionals working there have always taken into account the fact that language model(s) should not hinder either educational policy or the, shall we say, established literary tradition among Valencians. Quite the opposite: it should reinforce it. Hence those responsible for drawing up the stylebook for Radiotelevisió Valenciana (RTVV)³ and for setting up the Linguistic Advisory Unit responsible for safeguarding the language policy of the publicly owned RTVV, produced a/some reference model(s) for both in-house production and news programmes as well as for dubbing external production, with particular attention to use for children and young people, as these segments of the Valencian population were the only ones to have benefited from formal education in the Valencian language. Professional training was also necessary but not only in language terms, since the indigenous broadcasting industry has grown up in

parallel with television from the autonomous community. Valencian media professionals were few in number and, as is natural, were exclusively trained in producing and/or dubbing audiovisual products in Spanish. One advantage held by TV3 when it started, for example, was the large number of Catalan-speaking actors that had regularly dubbed into Spanish. In fact, very often the same person dubbed the Spanish and Catalan for certain actors from North American cinema, for example, something which has helped viewers identify and accept these actors to a large extent. This was not the case of Valencian television where, all things considered, we had to practically start from scratch, in those early days at the end of the eighties last century, such times full of hope, from different perspectives.

The breeding ground of Valencian theatre also helped, albeit to a small extent, given its little consistency in professional terms and the type of theatre, this normally being independent, highly centred on some specific genres and with certain age groups missing. The radio in Valencia, where some voluntary journalists had worked as well as certain actors, could act as a kind of testing ground for the nascent television. For different reasons, the first management team of the public body RTVV, led by the Director General of RTVV, never took these professionals into account. The most scandalous example of this banishment was that of Toni Mestre, doyen of journalism in Valencia for the broadcaster Ràdio Nacional a València, who was never asked to help the general management of RTVV. In any case, at that time the autonomous community of 'País Valencià' had a meagre group of voices in terms of age, intonation and timbre for setting up suitable teams or casts for the highly extensive needs of in-house audiovisual production (reports, fiction, etc.) and for the dubbing required by the new television. The lack of dubbing directors was also notable during those early days, a profession that we have also had to invent ourselves more or less from scratch.

1 FERGUSON, C. (1968) "Language Development". In: FISHMAN, J. A.; FERGUSON, CH. DAS GUPTA, J. *Language problems of developing nations*, New York: Wiley, 1968, 521p.

2 LÓPEZ DEL CASTILLO, LL. *Llengua estàndard i nivells de llenguatge*. Barcelona: Ed. Laia. 1976.

2 I was personally responsible for the first edition of the work *El(s) model(s) lingüístic(s) de RTVV*, which was used as a linguistic reference for setting up RTVV's linguistic policy and for the media depending on this organisation. This work, which only had a multi-copied version, would ultimately be published in a commercial version in MOLLÀ, T. (1992) *La llengua dels mitjans de comunicació*. Alzira: Ed. Bromera.

In such a germinal and uncertain context, the theoretical work of Rodolf Sirera and of a hardworking but minority team of sound and dubbing professionals was more than remarkable. Without their professional commitment and dedication to language standardisation it would not have been possible to begin that formidable adventure that, unfortunately, has only reached halfway. Names such as Vicent Orengo (Estudis Somàgic), Lluís Miquel (Estudis Tabalet), Paco Cano (Estudis TCR-27), Miquel Gil (AC Estudis) and Manuel Miralles (Estudi de Música), among others, dedicate the best of their efforts to an equally huge and inspiring as frustrating task from various points of view. Finally, the lack of translators (and adjustors of scripts on screen) with knowledge of the corresponding languages, in addition to audiovisual registers, meant that we were working in truly difficult conditions. The (re)creation of a referential level of language for television broadcasts and its colloquial specifics according to the sociolinguistic parameters required by television's different formats and genres needed the urgent recycling of many linguistic advisors, also with training that was not very industrial, so to speak. In this context, the work of Heike van Lawik and of Marisa Bolta was decisive, in charge of correcting and adapting hundreds of cinematographic scripts for dubbing films and TV series. As well as the work carried out by Salvador Jàfer, Juli Ortells and Ximo Naval in advising on the locution and studio recording of the first films and in preparing the first in-house programmes produced by Canal 9.

As an anecdote, it is useful to note that the film *Casablanca*, which was first shown on Canal 9 on 9 October 1989, with a translation by Marisa Bolta, was dubbed at the Sonoblok studio in Barcelona, with a cast of Catalan actors and on-site advice provided by Juli Ortells. No-one ever noticed. Amadeu Fabregat, Director General of RTVV, had required us to produce perfect dubbing, linguistically, artistically and technically, for the first broadcasts of regular programmes on the first television channel in Valencian in history. As we have already mentioned, the broadcasting industry was in its early stages in Valencia and the Director General decided we would dub in Barcelona "but without it being noticed". The work and the challenge were twofold: we had to produce a cast of Catalan actors capable of imitating Bogart and company (dubbing is the art of imitation, not the art of acting) as if they were Valencians and Ame-

ricans at the same time. Ovidi Montllor was in charge of giving voice to the emblematic Sam, the black pianist in the legendary film. The dubbing was fantastic from all points of view, as shown by it still being valid eighteen years later. But the Director General of the company pronounced that the only actor in the cast who "seemed Catalan" was precisely the only one who, in administrative terms, wasn't. He felt that the voices, accents and diction of the rest were totally appropriate. The black mark for this dubbing, according to the strange tastes of the Director General, was the voice of Ovidi, goodness knows why. In spite of the bad taste left by this anecdote, we'll always have *Casablanca* as an example that, in the world of dubbing and television, things can be done well without it being noticed, one of the axioms that must be repeated in this environment and medium in which we work and earn our living.

However, as we know, audiovisual language is a global communicative entity made up of language per se but also of music, dramatic effects and, above all, images. Consequently, the dubbing language is not only accepted as a result of the language model chosen but also due to other aspects involved in the overall dubbing process. And fundamentally to those aspects that make the version in our language become natural and convincing (credible and genuine) using a different language source. In other words, they make something "artificial" seem "natural". I'm referring, as mentioned above, to the artistic aspects (acting, synchronisation, casting quality, suitability of the voices, diversity of voices, etc.) and technical aspects (sound, perspective and editing, fundamentally). Therefore, the consideration *sine qua non* of why dubbing into Valencian should be accepted is that it forms part of good dubbing from the already mentioned points of view and not only in linguistic terms.

We soon overcame a large number of these problems and achieved notable language quality (and artistic and technical) in all formats and genres. The locution classes given by professionals from the Linguistic Advisory Unit both to those working on new production (journalists-editors) and in-house production (scriptwriters, presenters, collaborators, etc.) as well as external productions (actors, translators, adjustors, dubbing directors, etc.) played a highly important role in professionals learning to modulate the different characteristics of all the usual forms of communication on

television and their complexity in accordance with communicative situations. Always, of course, within the logical and gradual maturing of the different broadcasting sub-sectors. The production of *General elocution criteria* occupied the first few months of our work. Its publication helped to establish reference models that quickly became the inevitable guideline for RTVV, production, dubbing and sound recording firms. With the errors and hesitations inherent in any beginning, these criteria continue to be a reference that the present-day people in charge of the linguistic policy of RTVV and the broadcasting industry in Valencia ignore at their peril.

3. Some characteristics of Valencian elocution

Articulation (with particular emphasis on the double open vowel system in general Valencian),⁴ intonation (the correct adjustment between rises, progressions and falls in tone in the prosodic units), rhythm, diversity (of broadcasters) and their attitude to the message precede the production of oral television models (formal and informal) with the consequent grading between elocutions that we considered as mandatory, optional or inadmissible. The establishment of formal registers (neutral or non-spontaneous), clearly differentiated from informal registers (colloquial or spontaneous).⁵ In any case, language informality is always also "controlled flexibility" given that we are referring to an imitated orality. W. J. Ong⁶ called this *secondary orality*. The language of dubbing, for example, had to be as neutral and standardised as possible, as it generally reflects realities in terms of plot and context that are foreign to our cultural sphere and, therefore, it would have been totally

inadequate to mark a character or context with references taken from our own reality around us. The inexistence of a standard language that is accepted and recognised as such by the majority of the population was, ultimately, an obstacle that had an effect on the situation. The population's limited language competence imposed certain restrictions or precautions at the time, which we always took very much into account. At that time and in those specific circumstances, we had to avoid ideological, prejudicial and often compensatory uses of language varieties, as has often been done in certain genres.

The so-called "industrial" orality of television presented us with some problems that had been unheard of until then in the use of Valencian, such as those of naturalness, credibility and genuineness that, naturally, written language (and regulations) had never tackled. Two problems added to this situation were orthography-based reading (and/or elocution) and also Spanish-influenced reading often used by some professionals. With regard to the former, there is an obsession to pronounce all the letters we see written down. The consequence is usually that, instead of a natural reading close to the real language, an artificial and "book-type" reading is achieved that is not in line with the tradition and elocution that should be considered correct and appropriate in our language. Above all, the oral system of communication is different from the written, both in structure and in how it is produced. The tenuousness of the oral means that the audience cannot "re-read" it, unlike written language. How orations are organised can't be the same either. The oral also needs a more straightforward syntax but this does not necessarily mean it is simpler: more reduced but not poorer. In the case of Spanish-influenced reading, we reproduce phonetics and reading habits that are not from our

4 The vowels (ɛ) and (ɔ) are extremely open when spoken by most Valencian speakers, especially in the centre and to the south of the region, and that's why they are called "double open" vowels. When pronounced, this must be taken into account since, if they are not pronounced sufficiently open, the listener receives this signal as a contravention of their linguistic system. This feature must not be accompanied by a lengthening, as done by some new speakers who have learned or incorporated this sound into their linguistic system (some dubbing actors, some presenters or journalists), especially those whose mother tongue is Spanish: ferro (f rro), not ('fe:rro), ('porta), not ('po:rta)...

5 See MOLLÀ, TONI (1992).

6 ONG, W. J. (1987): *Oralidad y escritura. Tecnologías de la palabra*. Mexico: Ed. F.C.E.

own language. The typical examples are the systematic closing of open vowels, inexistent in Spanish. In short, the loss of basic differentials with regard to this imposed language. On the other hand, a good oral reading (or a good oral text) should reproduce the particular linguistic phenomena of oral language: open sounds, voicing, elision, assimilation, etc.

4. An induced crisis

Unfortunately, before we had even enjoyed two years of certain "linguistic normality" at RTVV and before a good core of professionals specialised in production and dubbing had been established, the general management of RTVV, still led by Amadeu Fabregat, decided to eliminate dubbing into Valencian and also to impose a register on the rest of the programming that had Spanish-influenced uses grafted onto it, with the old excuse of bringing it "closer to spoken language". The controversy whipped up by this decision (symbolised in a list of over three hundred banned words) obscured the desire to make the broadcasts more "Spanish". As always, the conflicts concerning the form of language or its identity were cultivated to obscure the real conflict. This is the only way we can explain the controversies arising between conservatives and modernisers, or between *heavies* and *lights*, each time language is about to achieve a certain degree of normality. *Patoisation* always reinforces the process of linguistic substitution. In any case, a quality medium requires a functional model and a populist medium imposes one of *folklorisation*. In this respect, giving up a standardised language model implicitly means giving up language standardisation.

The kind of programming on Canal 9 (since that time favouring pretentious and Spanishified pureblood folkloric content) does not endorse the functionality of Catalan but associates it with a comic quality and insignificance. From this point of view, language quality first depends on the rate of use of a language and, of course, on the model of television. We must not deceive ourselves with language-centric

considerations. The kind of programming and the channel's corporate identity predispose the viewer to accept or reject certain language proposals. In the case of a marked anthropological profile of programming, such as some people wanted for our television, language uses are inevitably associated with proposals of a conservative nature, so to speak. For dubbing to be accepted as natural, however, the brand image of the television channel must be modern and up-to-date, contemporary. Which does not mean, naturally, that it cannot be "Valencian". Quite the opposite, it must show that being Valencian is being modern in the autonomous community of the País Valencià. Dubbing represents modernity insofar as it unites the use of Catalan with some issues, contexts and characters that become references at various levels. Logically, in constructing this corporate identity, not only programming and language are influential but also all the other distinctive elements of television: plastic, personal, graphic, musical, advertising, etc. In short, I believe that accepting dubbing into Valencian on RTVV depends on the more generic acceptance of RTVV. And another thing, that Catalan must be accepted (albeit not exclusively) as the language of modernity.

5. The linguistic policy of 'matalafer': 'fer i desfer' (doing and undoing)

On the other hand, the low incidence of Catalan in RTVV programming makes it impossible, as we have already said, to ensure the professionalism of the process and of its scriptwriters, journalists, translators and script adjusters for dubbing, actors, etc. It therefore makes this impossible, depending on the different levels of quality required. Consequently, as we have already written elsewhere,⁷ "it is particularly serious that the mass media should not be up to the standard of the language policy that people attempt to apply in other areas, such as schools".

In effect, the policy of 'matalafer' (doing and undoing) is a falsely eclectic solution that always disfavours the inferior language community. The only real possibility for the future

7 MOLLÀ, TONI (1991): "La llengua dels mitjans de comunicació (1) and (2)". In: *Levante-EMV*, Valencia. Now in MOLLÀ, Toni (2007). *Quina política lingüística?* Alzira, Ed. Bromera.

lies in building a communicative network that reciprocally reinforces all areas involved in standardisation. In this respect, the "construction of a self-sufficient cultural market" and the "consolidation of audiences-market", as stated by Miquel de Moragas, are conditions *sine qua non* to socially legitimise the project of standardisation. Large media are the instrument of social universalisation for a project that will otherwise become sterile. RTVV + CCRTV + IB3 + RTVE + public digital terrestrial channels should build up a terrain of cultural, linguistic and also economic understanding that is mutually reinforced and constructs the apparatus of a "possible and normal" country that lives, laughs, cries and makes love (not war) in Catalan. I am not sure that our respective governments are up to the task, but I believe that this is a pragmatic and possibilist policy, a mechanism of *cultural exceptionality* that is vital in order to blend global communicative flows and strictly business-driven outside interests. The reciprocal nature of broadcasts between television frequencies proposed by the governments of Catalonia and País Valencià, for example, should be merely the first step in a more ambitious strategy. The creation of a "common communication area", already demanded by Josep Gifreu twenty years ago, must not be a chimera but a growth strategy. Technology, for once, plays in our favour.

Clearly, without the television and radio industry (production, dubbing, etc.), the Valencian language has no future. But, be careful: without Valencian, this industry doesn't have much of a future either. On the one hand technological and economic development, and language standardisation on the other, are currently complementary requirements; two sides of the same phenomenon. Another error that we should also rectify is that cultural industry is not synonymous with foreign production. Or, put another way, the cultural industry from here can be as outstanding and original as that from any other place in the world. The rhetoric of the European challenge and competitiveness would also endorse a commitment to indigenous development. At the same time this also represents a realignment of relations, in their broadest sense, between the public sector and private initiative. Public sector administrators must be sufficiently clear-headed to understand that the deployment of an indigenous cultural industry is an unavoidable need, not only to structure a country they claim to represent but also to establish its own

institutional system. For their part, private firms should not be blinded by the short-term gains provided by the Spanish language. This is a temporary situation and is even a poisoned sweet that buys a certain silence. The identity of the Valencian cultural industry, its corporate distinction, depends on work in Valencian, at least in terms of the issue of reducing authority.

In this respect, I am not sure whether the Valencian public mass media, with Canal 9 at their head, have done so much for the development of an indigenous industry, in accordance with the needs of production and consumption of a country that wishes to be modern and European. I rather believe that they have been the instruments for the mass dissemination of messages alien to our social, cultural, linguistic and economic reality, and even the means of recovering the most rank and conservative mentalities and ideologies. Indeed, cultivating the most ridiculous clichés and the most militant anti-intellectualism have been the resources of a harsh popularism that has almost totally saturated our media. This situation becomes particularly pathetic when language itself becomes the object of mockery and, correlatively, illiteracy is presented as a venerable condition. This is also the pinnacle of "identifying with the powerful" and self-hate, as lucidly stated by Rafael-Lluís Ninyoles more than twenty years ago now. The (Spanish) one-act farce would be a historical precedent for this.

Logically, the mass media require mass consumer products. But no-one should set these products against culturalism, which is also required. Quite the opposite: the only media that make sense in public media are those that take into account the different audiences that go to make up Valencian society. And only plural media in Valencian fulfil the social integrating function required by language standardisation. I say this with sadness and desperation, but an observer must realise that we are talking about the most mystifying media we Valencians have ever had. The only explicit objective seems to have been to destroy the particular identity that had been developing since the sixties and to criminalise the cultural enterprise represented by what we call "Catalanism".

6. Production in Valencian. Final considerations

Of course this does not mean that there is no quality production on RTVV from a language point of view. The creation of Punt 2 and Canal Comunitat Valenciana⁸ (1995) improved the demand for products in Valencian and, therefore, increased the quantity and quality of broadcasts. However, the disappearance of the Linguistic Advisory Unit for RTVV, in retaliation to the opposition of most of the linguists⁹ to the list of prohibitions from the general management, meant that the models proposed did not have any kind of coherence but would depend on the will of the professionals involved, the antithesis of professionalism. Without doubt, the key problem is mastery of a language is not a criterion for hiring someone. The "level" of language at RTVV is consequently an "unbalanced level", alien to any kind of quality control, something that leads to stylistic inappropriateness, in addition to certain specific problems:

- *Vocalism*: confusion of vowel timbres. In general Valencian open vowels are double open.
Persistence of vowel harmonies that should be avoided in formal and neutral speech.
No-linking vowels.
- *Consonantism*: improving the distinction between voiced and unvoiced alveolars between voiced and unvoiced palatals.
Perfecting the /ll/.
Achieving velar resonance in the phoneme /ll/.
Linking consonants.

Certainly, a point of balance has not yet been achieved between phonetic correctness, diction and interpretation. In this respect, it is once again vital to collaborate between

language advisors, information professionals, authors and directors of dubbing and/or production in order to perfect language performance, the appropriateness of voices and acting quality. At present, news programmes are the only ones that maintain a certain degree of language coherence on RTVV thanks to the professionalism of most of the current language advisors, as well as the content offered by the different corporate websites for RTVV and the international channel. In this kind of programme, the role of editor and presenter has always been "complemented", so to speak, by that of "language advisor". And also, we must not forget, by an always restrictive policy regarding certain language uses and certain forms on the part of the news management, from the very beginning of broadcasting up to the present day. And this always in line with a strong disparity of criteria, most of which are based on the simple illiteracy of some company directors. The functional criterion ("suitable for each situation"), based on understandable sociolinguistic reasons, has often been interpreted as a blessing for dialecticism and interference.

It is therefore vital to update a reference model (of a non-dogmatic but referential nature) to be employed by all direct users of the language: journalists, actors, translators, scriptwriters, etc., in line with the following parameters: a) current regulations and b) the specific communicative situation (the kind of programme, basically). And we professionals involved have a great responsibility in this, in the process of producing and broadcasting a product. But, more than us, this responsibility falls to those in charge of managing the public television of Valencians and, when all is said and done, the official policy of the government of the País Valencià.

8 Later the name changed to TVVi (Televisió Valenciana Internacional).

9 This persecution reached such limits that befit only a paranoid mind. The linguistic correctors of the News Department of Canal 9 had their computer system modified so that, in each text, the name of the specific person would appear who had allowed a very dangerous *amb* to pass, a vulgar *nosaltres*, a betraying *vegada* or an always suspicious *gaudir*. The linguists Francesc Esteve, Daniel Pérez, Cèsar Aparicio, Àlvar Banyó, Salvador Jàfer, Marisa Bolta, Heike van Lawik and Josep Pérez Blesa were dismissed. I myself, team coordinator, was condemned, for more than four years, to a windowless office for having opposed the language policy of the Director General of RTVV. We were simply an obstacle to a specific language policy, approved no less by the Socialist Party of País Valencià. It was 1991 and the city was Valencia, in Europe.

The Catalan language in the broadcasting media of the Balearic Islands

Joan Melià

- *This article explains how the programmes provided by the broadcasting media in Catalan in the Balearic Islands have been constructed on a not very solid base (relatively inconsistent private initiatives, brief local broadcasts by Catalonia-wide media and the reception of broadcasts from other autonomous communities), and the key institutions on the islands have only just created their own resources. These circumstances are factors that explain the difficulties in increasing audiences for audiovisual products in Catalan and, at the same time, the delay in the appearance of a language model for these media. In such complex sociolinguistic and political situations as in the Balearics, powerful public media are required that help to build up ambitious programming with regard to audience expectations and that intervene decisively and rationally in creating the necessary model (of usage and language) to encourage the process of language standardisation. A model that, according to the author, must overcome the obstacles and prejudices resulting from the substitution and fragmentation of the Catalan sphere.*

Keywords

Media, radio, television, language, Catalan, language policy, Balearic Islands, standard.

In the Balearic Islands, as in other Catalan-speaking regions, the need for media in Catalan has been presented as fundamental among the measures to promote standardisation. Act 3/1986 on language standardisation establishes this and encourages institutions to create it.

In spite of this, until the 2003-2007 legislature, and unlike the other autonomous communities in Spain whose language is Catalan, Basque or Galician, there had not been any real interest shown by any of the successive governments of the Balearics to promote the appearance of institutional media, although this has been demanded by nationalist sectors, both in opposition and as minority members of the government. Furthermore, when these media have now been created, it has become evident that, as far as the government is concerned that has carried this out, contributing to language standardisation was not a priority.

Since the sixties (when it reappeared timidly on the radio) and up to the present day, Catalan has occupied a secondary and not very competitive position with regard to the media in Spanish. This presence is the result of private initiatives that have been highly precarious (in all senses of the word), of fluctuating local broadcasts by public Catalonia-wide media and the fragile reception of broadcasts from other regions.

Under these circumstances, the delay in constructing and applying a language model for audiovisual products on the islands is not surprising. A delay revealed in doubts concerning the characteristics of this model, a lack of solid references for professionals, contradictions in the choices made, the fragility of the process of creating the model due to

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secessionist attacks, a lack of favourable habits in receivers, the advantage taken of this situation by political parties, etc.¹

1. 1959-2005: the slow incorporation of Catalan

The first radio broadcasts in Catalan during the dictatorship were carried out in 1959 with the dramatisation of *Rondaies Mallorquines*, the collection of popular tales assembled by A. M. Alcover. The programme was broadcast on Radio Popular once a week. The philologist F. de B. Moll, in addition to being the driving force behind this project, was also the narrator. It was broadcast for 25 years and, for a long time, was the channel's highest rating programme. Catalan's access to this sphere was therefore, and not by chance, via a literary variety that was colloquial and archaic.

The presence of Catalan on the radio also grew on the same channel. During the seventies it broadcast several programmes, mostly containing contemporary cultural and music items but also some language linguistic content. In these programmes the locution, especially that of the previously written scripts, tended to be formal, based on the Mallorcan educated tradition, sharing the airwaves with colloquial forms in the more improvised language of presenters and interviewees.

At the same time Catalan also started make its mark on television. The reception in the Balearics of broadcasts in Catalan from TVE (the Spanish broadcaster) to Catalonia made this possible. From Catalan plays, once a week, which started to be broadcast in 1964, Catalan programming (which also contained some contributions from the Balearics) could be followed regularly in the islands until the beginning of the nineties, when the connection was interrupted for political reasons.

During this period, programming started from the TVE centre in the Balearics in 1979. At the beginning it was only one daily programme lasting half an hour, broadcast at midday during the week, entitled *Informatiu Balear* (Balearic

News), and local production was subsequently increased and decreased, depending on the period in question, although it has never exceeded three hours a day. *Informatiu Balear* has been a reference point for a long time and the most watched programme in its time slot. After the appearance of IB3 and staff reductions at TVE, the channel now only broadcasts this news programme.

Shortly after Franco died there was an attempt to create *Ràdio Mediterrània*. This was a project for radio in Catalan promoted by people connected with the Obra Cultural Balear (OCB - Balearic Cultural Work) and received ample popular support. In spite of this, however, they did not manage to get a licence to broadcast. Meanwhile, the Spanish station RNE started brief local broadcasts on general issues before the news, offering local news in Catalan. In 1988 this station converted Ràdio 4 a Balears into a Catalan channel that, although it did not provide any in-house programmes, connected with Ràdio 4 de Catalunya. Programmes were even made together with Ràdio 4 del País Valencià. However, these Valencian and Balearic experiments were cancelled as part of a cost-cutting exercise at RTVE in the summer of 1991.

The phenomenon of local radio and television channels appearing from the early eighties and throughout the nineties led to an increase in broadcasts in Catalan with the limitations in terms of finance, schedule, competition and language quality typical of these media. Some of the current private TV channels covering the islands (M7, Canal 4, Televisió d'Eivissa i Formentera and Televisió de Menorca) originated in these local television stations.

In 1985, thanks to a popular movement channelled by the OCB, the Balearics received broadcasts from the Catalan broadcaster TV3, at a time when this was the third conventional TV channel on offer and therefore clearly satisfying the need for alternatives to TVE's programming. However, the legal precariousness of this reception has been constant from the start and, what's more, is still the case after more than twenty years of broadcasting, making it vulnerable to frequent restrictions (the dimming of certain programmes,

¹ On 24 September, the first Monday of the final week for writing this article, the autonomous television and radio channels started programming entirely in Catalan as a result of the change in government after the elections in 2007. Although it would be premature to evaluate the consequences of this, the current situation may improve slightly as a result.

bad reception quality especially in particular areas, forced changes in frequency, threats to interrupt reception, etc.). Afterwards, and under similar conditions, both K3/33 and Canal 9 could be received, as well as radio broadcasts by the CCRTV (Catalan Radio and Television Corporation). Later on, the Balearic government offered the reception of Punt Dos. During these years, the reception of these broadcasters (except Punt Dos) had been managed by Voltor (an associated related to the OCB) with institutional financial support. As from 2004, the Generalitat de Catalunya transferred the management of television channel frequencies to the Balearic government. However, Voltor continues to manage the radio signals, probably due to an institutional oversight.

In 2000 the Balearic government, breaking the inertia of only being involved in subsidising some programmes on private media or on TVE, promoted a radio station in Catalan, Somràdio, that came on air in September of the same year. This was a music radio station, managed by the firm that owned the broadcasting frequencies and subsequently by the government, via a consortium of public institutions. When the new PP (conservative) government came to power after the elections in 2003, and with the argument that it was occupying unauthorised frequencies, the broadcaster was banned (Melià 2004: 73). Protected by the creation of Somràdio, two new radio stations emerged in Catalan: Ona Mallorca, promoted by the Council, and the firm that used to manage Somràdio arrived at an agreement to broadcast Flaix Fm to the islands. Both have been on air since the year 2000.

2. 2005-2007: IB3

After the great involvement of Balearic institutions entailed in creating Somràdio and Ona Mallorca, the Balearic government went a step further when, in 2005, it created IB3 Ràdio and IB3 Televisió. Public media for this autonomous community were created, albeit improvised and in a hurry, two decades after the appearance of those of Catalonia, with a great difference especially in the range of programming available on television between 1983 and 2005, which has condemned IB3 not to have, nor even approach, the initial affect on society that Catalan television had.

The radio station started its programming almost entirely in Catalan. However later on it included programmes in Spanish. The television station, however, offered half its programmes in Catalan (all its in-house production) and half in Spanish (both in-house and external) right from the start. Moreover, it clearly aimed to differentiate itself from the rest of the television stations in its language region, as it decided not to share programmes or dubbing. IB3 justified its broadcasting series and films in Spanish and not in Catalan, taking advantage of dubbings by CCRTV or RTVV (Radio-televisió Valenciana), by the fact the language used in these dubbed versions was not suitable for viewers in the Balearics, not mentioning the fact that, for several years, these dubbings had been reaching the islands with the support of the government, thanks to the reception of Punt Dos, K3/33 and TV3 and the showing of films in commercial premises or in the open air.

IB3's bilingual model, in a context where Spanish television accounts for more than two thirds of the total, has meant that Balearic public television does not help at all to reduce this imbalance and, moreover, has encouraged advertisers to advertise only in Spanish (Bibiloni, 2006: 4-6).

This decision also has a large and negative influence on citizens in representing the roles that would correspond to each of the two official languages in a process of language standardisation. In this respect, Catalan-speaking presenters of programmes have usually changed their language when addressing Spanish-speaking interlocutors and, in conversations where there are people who speak Spanish, the Catalan speakers have simply switched language. In fact, on one occasion a Spanish-speaking presenter on television scolded a Director General of the government for speaking in Catalan.

However, in spite of the fact that, during this initial stage of IB3's history, the negative aspects from a language point of view have stood out, there have also been some positive ones. Firstly, the desire to represent all island accents, with the presence of speakers, presenters and, in the case of fictional series, actors from all the islands. Another positive aspect has been IB3's own programming, which includes professionals from other areas in the Països Catalans (the Catalan-speaking region) who do not disguise their accents, an effective way of consolidating the image of unity of language.

To date, the real significance of IB3 in terms of audience has been low. According to the *Informe econòmic i social de les Illes Balears*, in 2006 this was 8.5% (Riera, 2007: 411). We must wait to see how the fact that it will be in Catalan from now on will affect this figure.

Shortly afterwards, in 2006, TV de Mallorca came on air, promoted by the Council and with the aim of being exclusively in Catalan and of appearing to occupy a position close to the people. The result of the 2007 elections has also led to a change in the politicians responsible for this station and, at present, as with IB3, it is embarking upon a new stage, albeit one that does not affect the use of Catalan.

As a consequence of this whole process, and without any common medium having been generated that is shared by the whole language region, the Catalan language is currently present on television and radio in the Balearics by means of different channels.

- a. On radio and television stations, which report to autonomous community institutions. On the one hand, IB3 Televisió and IB3 Ràdio, connected to the autonomous government, which to date have been bilingual and are currently starting a phase exclusively in Catalan. On the other hand, TV de Mallorca and Ona Mallorca (radio), reporting to the Council of Mallorca and with programming in Catalan.
- b. In the (increasingly brief) daily local broadcasts by publicly owned Spanish television and radio stations (TVE and RNE).
- c. On CCRTV radio and television stations, which can be received in the Balearics (although not throughout the area): TV3, K3/33, Catalunya Ràdio, Catalunya Música, Catalunya Informació and Catalunya Cultura.
- d. On the two public television stations of the País Valencià autonomous community (Canal 9 and Punt Dos).
- e. On some private island-wide television channels, which usually have programming in Catalan (with mostly in-house production) and in Spanish (mostly external production): Canal 4, Canal 37, Televisió d'Eivissa i Formentera and Televisió de Menorca.
- f. On local television and radio stations, which usually have partial schedules and small audiences. Some are exclusively in Catalan and others offer bilingual programming.
- g. On some private radio stations which, except for Flaix FM, usually reduce the presence of Catalan to part of their programming or to regional broadcasts aired locally.

In summary, and only referring to television programming, we can say that there is a number of channels that always broadcast in Catalan (TV de Mallorca, TV3, K3/33, Punt Dos and, as from now, IB3 and Televisió Menorquina), others that offer programming in Spanish and Catalan (TVE-1, M7, Localia, Canal 4, Canal 9 and TV Eivissa-Formentera) and others that always broadcast in Spanish (La 2, La Sexta, Telecinco, Antena 3 TV, Cuatro and Popular TV, etc.). Consequently, television programming in Catalan that can be received in the Balearics can range, depending on the time of day, between 20% and 35% of the overall programming.

Catalan is even more disadvantaged with regard to the current panorama presented by terrestrial digital television (TDT). Currently only one digital channel in Catalan can be received (IB3) while there are twenty-one in Spanish. Although this situation should improve in the near future (IB3 will have two channels and TV de Mallorca two more, and the government has asked for another multiplex to be able to ensure that broadcasts reach the whole island region from TV3, K3/33, Punt Dos and Canal 9; as well as there being some island TV stations that will have TDT channels). It is evident, however, that once analogue television is switched off, the relative amount of programming in Catalan will be less than the current figure, especially if reception is not guaranteed of all the TV stations broadcasting in Catalan.

In addition to the deficit in Catalan TV programming and the fact that a part of the population never synchronises their televisions to receive it because it's in Catalan, we should also note that the audience is limited for other reasons: little competitiveness due to the meagre resources available (local channels), relatively short existence (IB3, TV de Mallorca), not very favourable scheduling (local broadcasts by state public channels) and the perception that production is external (television and radio stations from other autonomous communities).

On radio, the real programming available in Catalan is slightly lower than that on television. If we check the proportion of broadcasters on the dial that provide programmes in Catalan, this figure ranges from 10% and 30% depending on the day and time.

3. The model of language

3.1. The standardising function of the media

Public television on the Balearic Islands would not make much sense if it were seen exclusively as yet another form of entertainment, and would have no justification as an instrument to serve the interests of the governing party. Among its functions are those of any public broadcaster (to provide information on the geographical area and focus the rest of the information accordingly; to reinforce social cohesion; to encourage reflection concerning society's problems; to help disseminate cultural production and that of scientific knowledge; to promote the expansion of the broadcasting industry per se; to disseminate an awareness and consumption of local products; etc) and must also aim to disseminate Catalan as the local language, to increase its vitality, encourage the linguistic integration of those whose language is not Catalan and, consequently, to facilitate social cohesion. The need for language commitment on the part of the public media is even clearer in a sociolinguistic context such as in the Balearics, due to the difficulties suffered by the language as a result of language minorisation and demographic growth over the last few decades.

Apart from being a right, having media in Catalan also entails a range of benefits (Tubella, 1997: 51). Under these circumstances, it is beyond question that Balearic public television must be in Catalan. The high extent of oral comprehension (more than 90%; Villaverde, 2004: 66) among the population makes this easier.

Although seemingly ignored in reality, public television's attitude towards language plurality in Spain is contained in its Constitution (1978):

"The law shall regulate the organisation and parliamentary control of those social media that depend on the State or on any public entity and shall guarantee access to these media on the part of significant social and political groups, respecting the plural nature of society and the different languages of Spain" (art. 20.3).

On the other hand, the Language Standardisation Act (1986) explicitly mentions the political responsibility of the Balearic government in this respect:

"The government of the Autonomous Community must promote knowledge and development of the Catalan language and culture, especially from the point of view of the Balearic Islands, in all social media" (art. 27).

"Catalan must be the usual language in radio and television broadcasts and other social media owned by the autonomous administration or under its management" (art. 28.1).

The public television of the Balearic Islands should be used for citizens to discover the real dimension of their language. It should therefore cover the closest language reality (educated registers, formal and informal, especially with in-house production) and varieties from other areas of the Catalan-speaking region (principally via programming exchanged with other television channels from the language region).

This preoccupation with language (in relation to how it is normally used and to quality) must take shape in measures that make the media coherent reference points. Language quality therefore seems to be a requirement that public (and also private) television and radio channels must take on board.

In these cases, *language quality* does not mean the use only of formal varieties but of those most suited for the situations in which they are used. Television programmes require a range from very formal to highly spontaneous, going from, for example, voiceovers for documentaries and news presentation to vox pops and people who phone in to live debates or competitions.

It is well enough accepted that variation in the degree of formality does not lead to a lack of correct usage, freedom from interference, excessively local pronunciation or vulgar language that may impair the standards befitting a supra-local medium.

The following are examples of features that Balearic Island television cannot give up but that often seem ill-treated: the correct pronunciation, in accordance with Balearic tradition, of /l/ and of /ë/ (*llop, callar, camell...*; and also controlling the difference in pronunciation that occurs in informal language with words such as *vella, fill...*); the distinction between [s]

and [z]; the different pronunciations of x (*taxi, examen, panxa*); the distinction between [b] and [v]; the "geminació" or doubling up of the groups *bl* and *gl* (*poble, segle*); the pronunciation of the repeated letter L (at least in words where this has traditionally been pronounced, such as *col·legi, al·lot, cel·la...*); the alternation between eight tonic vowel sounds or seven, depending on where the speaker comes from (*pas, pens, cent, cel, sord, sort, cinc, punt*); the pronunciation [u] of certain atonic O's (*obert, Josep, ho dic...*) and the [o]/[u] alternation according to the speaker's origins (*molí, tortuga, comprar...*).

Perhaps fictional programmes require special treatment. For in-house productions, the language model must be adapted to the type of programme, to the setting it reflects, etc., always paying attention to correctness and genuineness. The fact that the oral register used in these is falsely spontaneous helps to ensure greater control of the forms than in spontaneous oral language. When foreign production is dubbed, perhaps a different treatment other than falsely colloquial would be advisable, searching for a balance between formal and informal language, so that the language cannot be identified as belonging to a specific language area, with the consequent risk of losing credibility.

Although they may often deny this responsibility, the language of the media clearly influences most of society, especially the young. An example of this is the incorporation of key forms in the everyday language of certain speakers, until now unheard-of in Balearic speech (for example: *cua* for *coa*, *sigut* for *estat*, *sóc* for *som*, *compressis* for *compressis*, *trucar* for *telefonar*, etc.). Although this may not be the case, the examples (perhaps also with some help from school) show us that the media, merely with a more daring approach to reclaiming genuine forms, with the simple decision to prioritise them, could have a certain capacity to influence the recovery of language quality.

3.2. Double insularity and the language model of television

The language that must be used by Balearic Island television cannot be monolithic, not only with regard to the suitable registers for each situation but also to the different ways of pronouncing educated registers, the use of different possibilities offered by a rich lexis in variation and synonyms, etc. The Catalan language is unitary enough to allow

formal registers to reflect all geographical varieties by using the most emblematic traits in accordance with the educated tradition of each location. The geographic singularity of the Balearics, reinforced by the effects of the secular marginalisation of certain usages, is a factor that adds complexity and difficulty in constructing and spreading a language model for common media. The Balearics are islands twice over: with regard to the rest of the Catalan territory and with regard to themselves. A social representation of language division, more or less established, corresponds to the territorial division (into islands and island councils), and this must be taken into account. The danger is that, depending on how the creation of the media model is handled, the other islands may see any public television that aims to be from the Balearics as Mallorcan television, and not only from a language point of view (the construction of a Catalan communication area is not the only one full of uncertainties, but also the "Balearic" area; and the aim of broadcasting policy of the last Balearic government was to convert it into a captive accessory to Spanish). In the case of the Catalan language, it seems inevitable that, for language standardisation to succeed, speakers must see themselves reflected in the language model adopted by the media, and they must be able to consider groundless the belief that promoting a formal model would implement an alien variety. In this respect, recognising and spreading the islands' internal language diversity (with its most traditional and emblematic features) is a guarantee of the evidence of unity with the rest of the Catalan-speaking areas.

3.3. A language model open to collaboration with other areas in the language region

Promoting a language model that tends to select the suitable forms for formal and informal registers is not only based on the aspects we have seen thus far but also on the extent to which most broadcasts by the island television channels, especially public ones, can be exported to the rest of the language region without the need for changing the language used (e.g. dubbing), but without this meaning that the origin must be hidden, in linguistic terms.

It will be difficult and very expensive for the television channels of the Balearic Islands (public or otherwise) to have enough in-house production to cover the whole programming schedule. Consequently, and with the aim of

maintaining programming in Catalan, exchange, co-production and the joint broadcast of programmes must be used with other channels from the Catalan-speaking region (especially with RTVV and CCRTV). For example, it is highly irresponsible, from an economic and also linguistic point of view, not to take advantage of all the foreign production dubbed or subtitled in Catalan by other channels, instead opting for the Spanish version or repeating the subtitling or dubbing (the most frequent have been children's series, both on Canal 9 and IB3, unlike what usually happens with films and adult series, which are usually provided in Catalan). In the Balearics, this absurdity becomes even more flagrant due to the fact that the same series can be seen on TV3, Canal 9 and IB3 in Catalan in three different dubbed versions, which makes no sense unless the aim is to give classes in dialectology.

However, from different points of view it is easy to defend that dubbing and subtitling should be carried out in the Balearic Islands, but this should be done in a complementary way to the other channels from the language region. Regarding dubbing, and as dubbing teams do not improvise and a large payroll of professionals is required, it might be advisable for the Balearics to dedicate itself (at least at the beginning) to dubbing documentaries and other programmes that are simple to produce.

3.4. Proposed language models for Balearic broadcasters

Although, to date, it has never been as important to stress a public language model for broadcasters, there are experiences and examples that may provide a basic reference to construct the model that should be used in the Balearics. We are referring to the language used by great writers from the islands, to the testimonies of traditional educated language, to the language taught in schools, etc., the characteristics of which are collected together in *Proposta de llengua oral* by the Institut d'Estudis Catalans (Institute of Catalan Studies), in a book by F. de B. Moll and in other more recent work (*La llengua catalana a Mallorca, propostes per a l'ús públic* o *Un model de llengua per a l'escola de les Illes Balears*) and in the stylebooks appearing between 2005 and 2006: the *Llibre d'estil per als mitjans de comunicació oral i escrits* produced by the University of the Balearic Islands and first published by the Council of Mallorca (2005) and, in

a second extended edition, by the Island Council of Menorca (2006) and the *Llibre d'estil d'IB3* (2006). Also a solid base, although basically limited to news programmes, is the model gradually built up over the years at TVE's Balearic centre. This language model for *l'Informatiu Balear* has been established in society and has become a reference for news programmes on other island media, although initially it suffered attacks from some sectors, mostly against language standardisation, using the pretext that certain emblematic forms were used from the educated language of the Balearics that do not completely correspond with colloquial forms (use of the literary article instead of the "salat" articles, certain forms of some weak pronouns and not much else). The University of the Balearic Islands has collaborated in building up this model, providing the general guidelines, and it has taken part in selecting the successive language advisors. The significance of *l'Informatiu Balear* in language standardisation has been great, for the time when it appeared (there were only the two Televisión Española channels and the second with an incomplete schedule) and for being, for a long time, the only reference of formal language made via the Balearic media.

All these references, albeit by various authors, coincide to a great degree in the solutions and recommendations they give, although some questions still remain unanswered.

4. The real quality of the IB3 language model

4.1. Varying quality

In this section we will continue to focus principally on IB3, as the most significant medium and surely the one with the most projection from a global point of view, although many of the comments are applicable to other television and radio channels on the islands.

If we analyse the language used by IB3, we can see that it has large variations in quality. G. Bibiloni carried out a detailed analysis of the whole programming from one week, approximately half a year after it started broadcasting (Bibiloni, 2006). In this study it is seen that, in the most controlled uses of oral language (i.e. in oral texts that are read) there is a desire to follow a formal model that we might consider quite acceptable (except in announcements advertising upcoming programmes). In the speech of news programmes

we can find good examples, sometimes executed wrongly, of some presenters' problems with diction. The quality falls in speech by secondary speakers and shows greater incoherence. This trend can also be seen in other island broadcasters (television and radio, although often the resulting quality is lower on IB3), except on one island TV broadcaster that, clearly intentionally, uses some forms in its news programmes that do not correspond with the island tradition of formal language.

In other uses where language can also be highly controlled, such as in the dubbing of cartoons (the only fictional dubbing carried out by IB3), we can see the desire to create a common model although, in this case, this is more contentious due to the degree of dialect. There is no other television channel that dubs this kind of programme itself (they either use those from Catalonia or, in few cases, broadcast the series in Spanish).

In those programmes where the presenters, although working from a fixed script, tend to improvise more (or imitate improvisation), the difference in quality between some presenters and others is very high. In some cases, in addition to the aforementioned problems of diction and variations in the use of the formal model, there are also various incorrect uses (syntactic, morphological, lexical). The impression is that these do not follow any common pattern but the language used is conditioned by each presenter's personal instinct (often not very formed), capacities and knowledge, which sometimes are no better than those of any speaker and, in some cases, often contain clear bias.

The difficulties in diction shown by certain speakers, in all kinds of programmes, are evidently the most difficult to correct immediately. We can find, for example, news presenters that use language that is quite correct and adequate in all aspects but deformed by diction (especially: the Spanish L, over-use of the l, confusion between b and v and opening up vowels, incorrect voiced and unvoiced sounds, etc.). While some other speakers, who use quite inaccurate Catalan with regard to the rules and functional appropriateness, have correct phonetic usage. Evidently, although minority in nature, there are also speakers who use the language quite acceptably.

This situation occurs in almost all the media in the islands that broadcast in Catalan. The reasons for these defects in the language used on television and radio channels in the

Balearics are diverse: the lack of decisive language criteria in selecting professionals, the inexistence or insufficiency of in-house language advice in the media and the limited extension of a suitable language model in this sphere. Without doubt there would be a rapid improvement if we could affect these three aspects effectively.

One fact that must be noted, in negative, from this first stage of IB3 has been the interference of politicians responsible for the channel in the work by advisors, in the sense of prohibiting (literally) the use of forms that, often demonstrating their ignorance, they considered as not very typical of the islands (for example, words were prohibited such as *advocat*, *samarreta*, *gaudir*, *vacances*, *prou...*).

4.2. Controlling language quality

Taking into account the lack of tradition of Catalan programmes, beyond the news, the variation in island communication professionals when using the language is acceptable up to a point, especially with regard to the appropriacy of register to situations of intermediate formality. The fact that IB3 is basically made up of programmes from a diverse conglomerate of private producers makes it even more difficult for language quality to achieve a suitable level for public television.

To improve this situation, professionals would need to be more interested in perfecting their linguistic knowledge and the media would need to provide them with sufficient resources to make this possible. The problem is that neither the former nor the latter is usual. On the one hand, in some media there are speakers that have been making programmes in Catalan for years and continue to use as deplorable a quality as they did at the start. On the other, there is hardly any broadcaster with language advisors except for IB3, TV de Mallorca and TVE (but in insufficient numbers to meet the basic needs).

It is therefore evident that progress must be gradual, but the point of departure must also be set as high as possible and this means that professionals, when starting to work on this, must already have the essential capacity and prior training and must improve on this via constant will and effort, something which can only succeed if the company offers them resources for ongoing training and suitable working conditions. And these requirements must especially be demanded both of those who form part of the stable staff

of public TV channels in the Balearics (who are very few in number) and also from those working in the different production houses that supply them.

5. Conclusions

As we have seen, from the last days of the dictatorship to the present day, the incorporation of Catalan in television and radio programmes in the Balearic Islands has been carried out with difficulty and without any project that would mean providing local media in any normal way, but rather has provided products that, in a normal situation, would be complementary. This abnormality has had negative repercussions, such as the delay in creating and spreading a suitable language model for Balearic broadcasters, which has particularly become evident, on the appearance of institutional radio and television stations, in the significant lack of professionals and in the precarious nature and speed with which these stations have been set up.

Under these circumstances, the public television of the Balearic Islands principally makes sense if, among other benefits for society, it serves to favour the continuation of the Catalan language as its own and, therefore, the integration of new citizens, so that local people have an appropriate standard model as a reference and so that they can perceive of Catalan as befits a standardised society (objective perception of territorial and historical dimensions, unity, the completeness of functions, the appropriateness for all kinds of uses, value in terms of identification and symbolism, etc.). The amount of programmes in Catalan should be increased and the function reinforced which is already carried out by other television programming in this language.

Without common television (or radio) media for the whole language region, and at the same time as working towards achieving this, it is particularly necessary for the public media of each of the three large areas to look for ways and areas to coordinate and cooperate, with the aim of taking maximum advantage of the human and material resources available, but also to improve the common oral language model for the media.

Without clear and certain references, the quality of language used in the media on the islands is far from desirable. The adjustment of the quality to the usual

requirements of this sphere varies considerably depending on different factors (the kind of programme and medium, the territorial scope, the training and awareness of the presenters and actors, etc.) and demonstrates the lack of advisory resources available to professionals.

The different proposals, more or less specific, for a language model for the current media of the Balearic Islands to a high degree coincide with the proposals and recommendations provided for other key aspects, although there are some questions that have as yet to be resolved unanimously, almost always related to uses associated with an average formality. In all cases, in addition the practicality of adopting solutions that converge with those of the rest of the language region, it is advisable for varieties used by Balearic TV to be based principally on the habitual and traditional forms of the Balearics, in educated and colloquial speech, especially regarding in-house production; and the real dimension of the Catalan language should also be reflected, as well as disseminating suitable behaviour to help spread the use of Catalan in society.

On the other hand, the public nature and significance of IB3 also seem to require it to help establish this model, not only in terms of its products but also to take on the role of a benchmark for the rest of the broadcasters in the Balearics. A role that it will find difficult to fulfil if, as to date, it does not have its own language advisory service. In addition to the usefulness of collaborating with the University of the Balearic Islands (UIB), it is urgent for IB3's structure to include a solid language service, made up of a stable team of professionals who are specialised in this field, led by prestigious experts. It is also evident that part of the advisory work can be outsourced, albeit subjected to the criteria of the in-house language service.

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The consolidation of an oral standard: limits and conditions

Isidor Mari

- *This article analyses the reasons why it's difficult to establish an oral standard for Catalan based on three types of factors: the territorial scope of communication spheres, the linguistic options chosen the media and the familiarity of audiences from each territory with the different types of oral standard. Depending on the limitations identified, some ways are noted to advance in this process, provided the linguistic criteria prosper in a close relationship with the expansion of territorial communication spheres and the systematic exchange of programmes produced or broadcast from different points in the territory.*

Keywords

Standardisation, Catalan, oral language, communication area, radio, television, Catalonia, País Valencià, Balearics, communication policy.

In his talk given on 21 June 2007 at the conference “20 years of the Catalan communication area. A still possible objective?”,¹ lecturer Josep Gifreu weighed up, 30 years after democracy had been restored and 23 years after the first Catalan radio and television broadcasts, the deficiencies and achievements along the road to a Catalan communication area, an objective which he himself remembered having proposed 25 years earlier in his doctoral thesis.

In Josep Gifreu's authoritative inventory of the strong and weak points that can be identified in this process, he noted how one of the key weaknesses of the Catalan cultural area was the “lack of a standard of common oral language for the large broadcasting media, accepted and acceptable by all territories, similar, for example, to the rules in Spanish for spelling, which are celebrating their 75th anniversary”.

I admit that, on hearing these words, I had the feeling that such a statement, although basically true, required some nuances to help understand why a more unitary oral standard had not been established and, particularly, what might be done to move towards establishing one.

That's why I decidedly accepted, perhaps with a certain temerity, the invitation I received shortly afterwards to contribute to this type of reflection. This is what I propose to do in this article, where I shall attempt to analyse, in broad brushstrokes, the limitations that have affected the possibility to establish a common oral standard for the whole territory of the Catalan language over the last few years, and to note the conditions that would help to enable this process. And, in these considerations, I believe it is vital to distinguish, right from the start, between a number of dimensions or perspectives that must be evaluated

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separately, although the pace and direction pursued by the establishment of our oral standard may ultimately depend on them converging together at the same time.

First of all, these are well-known aspects, as they have been mentioned and commented, at least in part, in various works and proposals on the oral standard that have been published, but perhaps they have not been integrated, sufficiently explicitly and together, in a proposal that allows us to act in a converging direction from the different spheres and sectors. This is what I propose to look at in this article.

And the dimensions or perspectives I am referring to and which, to a certain extent, are implicit in the very formulation made by Josep Gifreu of the lack of an oral standard, are these three:

1. The territorial dimension of the oral communication areas achieved to date, depending on the existing media and their coverage.
 - What linguistic options can the media take and actually adopt in keeping with their present-day audiences? Is it reasonable to expect a common model of an oral standard to be established before there are established communication spheres that cover a wide audience throughout the language territory and that receive broadcasts from the different Catalan-speaking regions?
2. The formulation and transmission of proposals or language models suitable for different users of the oral standard.
 - What language principles and criteria are proposed by professionals and relevant institutions to gradually build up a common oral standard? Do they sufficiently guide the speakers and media that need to put them into practice?
3. The attitudes of the different groups, and especially of the audiences or receiving publics, towards the linguistic options represented by the proposals for an oral standard.
 - How familiar are the different regional publics with the oral standard of their own zone and with those of the other areas in the language territory? Is this familiarity approximately symmetrical and reciprocal in the different territories? Are there any significant imbalances to take into account?

Basically, these questions already suggest the context in which we need to evaluate the feasibility and current status of the oral standard, and they lead us to a key consideration or thesis, which we now put forward: the achievement of a common oral standard for the whole of Catalan-speaking society does not consist merely of correctly selecting certain linguistic elements. In fact, it particularly depends on the existence of an agreed and continual strategy to construct interregional communication spheres in the road towards a Catalan communication area. Even the relative importance, more or less marked, that is ultimately held by central Catalan in building up this oral standard will depend on the presence of the different territorial broadcasting centres in these areas of a wider audience.

We will now go over each of these considerations in a little more detail.

1. The territorial dimension of the oral communication areas

To a large extent, and abiding by the same assessment as Josep Gifreu in the aforementioned conference, it is true that there are strong points in the current structure of the media from our language area. Basically:

- There are autonomous political powers that allow our own communicative policies to be undertaken;
- There are public radio and television corporations that allow media products to be exchanged;
- The Catalan Radio and Television Corporation (CCRTV) plays a key role in Catalonia and, as stated by Gifreu, it has the “core responsibility of constructing a Catalan audiovisual area”;
- There is a significant dynamic of local and county-level communication established in a large part of the territory;
- There is a significant and internationally perceived presence of the Catalan area on the Internet, which can provide interesting opportunities in the new emerging forms of communication.

However, the weak points are also highly significant:

- Spanish policy in the field of the media is characterised by constant obstacles to constructing a joint communi-

cative area for Catalan-speaking territories, which it systematically treats in a fragmentary way, and due to the privileged position always reserved for state-wide media, helping to further the Spanish language and culture.

- In this context, political institutions related to the Catalan language do not question Spain's lack of respect for linguistic and cultural plurality in its communication policy in an open, firm or continual way, nor do they specify, quite explicitly, what might be an alternative and satisfactory way to organise communication areas.
- Neither is there any interregional coordination that is sufficiently consistent among communication professionals from the Catalan language area, nor from the production sectors or those responsible for spreading communication and culture that act in this area.
- As also stated by Gifreu, the private communication and culture groups that have arisen in our language area are not "decisively and continually committed to strengthening this cultural area", but are aimed at the Spanish market.

It would be redundant to repeat the seven black points finally identified by Gifreu in his assessment. For the purposes of our argument, suffice to summarise them, stressing that, in thirty years, there have been no consistent or relevant agreements between the communication policies of the institutions from the Catalan language area nor between the respective public broadcasting corporations (in this field, not even of a bilateral nature). And, as we have already mentioned, neither are there any private groups that have opted to act primarily in this area. Consequently, there is no radio or television station that addresses itself quite so explicitly and consciously to the whole of the Catalan language area. Even less a radio or television channel conceived as a place where the products and symbolic universe of the different regions in this language and cultural area can converge proportionally.

We cannot ignore nor fail to appreciate the efforts that have been made, especially in certain periods, on the one hand by the institutions of Catalonia and the Catalan Radio and Television Corporation and, on the other, by the most representative cultural associations from other Catalan-speaking areas, to ensure they can receive public media from Catalonia in their respective areas. But the insuffi-

ciency, the fragility, the indecisiveness and uncertainty of these achievements are quite evident. At best, a certain coverage has been achieved in a large part of the territory by media conceived and broadcast from Catalonia and perceived as such in the rest of the territory (i.e. relatively "local" but ultimately external).

There have been moments, such as the setting up of Valencia television, the start of the second channel of Catalonia, the Progress Pact period in the Balearic government, the start of autonomous television in the Balearics and the current return of progressive autonomous government in the islands, when it has seemed possible to start up cooperation on a large scale (or still seems so, in the last case). We will not deny the obvious difficulties that have occurred in many of these moments but, really, an ambitious, solid and generous Catalan proposal has always been lacking, one that highlights the advantages of sharing a communication project on a large scale. Even if, ultimately, such a project is not approved, its mere official presentation in public with wide coverage would have been, and still could be, a highly important factor in legitimising the situation and in mobilising society.

So, let's now remember the questions we asked at the beginning concerning this first point, focusing on the possibilities of the communication areas that are actually available:

- What linguistic options can the media take and actually adopt in keeping with their present-day audiences? Is it reasonable to expect a common model of an oral standard to be established before there are established communication spheres that cover a wide audience throughout the language territory and that receive broadcasts from the different Catalan-speaking regions?

The linguistic options of the public television of Catalonia have often been branded as too "central" or "Barcelona-focused" and not very representative of the regional variation of the Catalan oral standard, and even of the internal variation of Catalonia in a strict sense. However, it should be acknowledged that, for the time being and in spite of insufficiencies, the diversity of the types of oral standard used by the speakers on CCRTV and present in the programming of its broadcasters is clearly greater than that found on their Valencian or Balearic counterparts.

As observed by some of the work analysing the linguistic options, in general local and regional radio and television have shown a very clear tendency to exclusively use the regional options of the oral standard, often combined with the sporadic appearance, without justification, of people or programmes that conform to the oral standard of central Catalan² or that, at the other extreme, make a totally spontaneous use of the most uncontrolled local speech.

Sincerely, we believe that much more could not be expected, if we take into account the regional compartmentalisation of most of the real communication areas, the particularist or openly secessionist ideology of some autonomous governments on the islands or especially in Valencia, the desire (real or pretended) to help immediate audiences identify as much as possible with the language model adopted and, as we have already mentioned, the absence of any (proposal for) joint programming or the habitual exchange of production between the media of the different regional communication areas.

To some extent, and with regard to the degree of approximation achieved between the different regional types of the oral standard used, I would dare to say that the media's language options have gone even further than that propitiated by the territorial scope of the real communication areas and the difficulty in exchanging their respective products. And I would say that this progress is not precisely due to the politicians in charge of the respective media but particularly to the sense of responsibility of communication professionals, of media language advisors and university and academic centres that have been able to take part in defining appropriate language criteria.

2. The formulation and transmission of proposals or language models suitable for different users of the oral standard

In effect, a highly notable linguistic work has been carried out over the years, and from different fronts, in order to define the ideal characteristics of an oral standard for the media. This is shown by the growing number of works

appearing in this field, from proposals for an oral standard by the Institute of Catalan Studies, which gathers together work initiated previously by university linguists with other work associated with the media themselves, including criteria aimed at a specific territory and even the specific style manuals for a certain broadcaster. At least quantitatively, we cannot say that the oral standard's deficiencies are attributable to a lack of linguistic guidelines.

However, let us look at this more closely and remember the questions we asked previously on this point:

- Do they sufficiently guide people? Do they really respond to a growing intention to come together on the part of territorial models?

Qualitatively, it must be noted that the formulation of some of these criteria does not make it at all clear whether their main function is to legitimise the valid features of each of the oral standard's territorial options or to particularly help these regional types of the oral standard to come closer together. In reality, early proposals for the oral standard had to satisfy both aims at the same time and this could not always be achieved with the clarity required, given the very complexity of the situations of use. We shall attempt to explain.

The first issue tackled was: do we need to present a model with internal variations or different territorial models? The first working meetings, prior to the IEC's proposals, thought that it was preferable to propose a single model of the oral standard with internal variations, for several reasons:

- (1) to reinforce the idea of unity,
- (2) to overcome the hierarchical nature between a supposed central standard and those which some people called regional *parastandards*, and
- (3) to avoid the abusive territorialisation of certain options, which did not coincide either with the limits of the geographical varieties of Catalan or with administrative demarcations (as is the case of verb endings, or specifically the 1st person of the present indicative, which is usual in the north of the País Valencià, or the possessive pronouns *meua*, *teua* and *seua*, which are not exclusively Valencian).

2 Except, in this point, Valencian autonomous television, which has scrupulously avoided the appearance of any broadcast in non-Valencian versions of the oral standard.

At the same time, the presentation of an integrated proposal had to serve to legitimise all variants throughout the territory, giving, on the one hand, local users the necessary confidence in their own variants, which they might otherwise have doubted as they do coincide with the most widespread variants and, on the other hand, to raise awareness in the rest of the territory that these were valid forms in standard use and not simple dialectal variants.

With the perspective of the years that have passed since then, we may state that we have made progress in this direction but that the appearance of territorial models or specific style manuals for a medium (also territorial) have tended to reinforce a regional compartmentalisation of the oral standard, so that minority options in some administrative demarcations have tended to fall into disuse, although they are the most widespread in the whole of the language territory. The two examples we have given before demonstrate this. The ending *-e* is used in the País Valencià and, in the rest of the territory, the possessive pronouns *meua*, *teua* and *seua* disappear from the standard. In practice, therefore, the application of a common oral standard with internal variations has been superseded by the dynamic of regional particularities and parcelling, as a consequence of the very structure of the media and audiovisual communication areas. Speakers, advisors and professionals in the media are not very aware of options from other territories nor of the most general options, but primarily the most usual ones in their own territorial communication area.

The expectation that proposals of a *general area* would gain ground over those of a *restricted area*, insofar as there are communication areas that are also general, has not been fulfilled precisely because, as we have already mentioned, there are practically no general communication areas³. If these general areas existed, this would probably help to reduce the merely formal variation, which does not provide any significant nor stylistic accuracy (as is the case, in general, of verbal morphology), but would allow local

lexical variants and expressions to be generally adopted that would enrich the common standard's significant and stylistic functionality. Their absence, however, has emphasised the emblematic and demarcational nature of local variants without any gain in functional terms.

In this respect, we must certainly specify one of the criteria insisted on by the initial proposals for the oral standard: the need for speakers in each location to ensure they make a coherent selection of the oral standard's variants and avoid using both general and local forms in the same text. Although this principle seems generally valid because texts are not unjustifiably hybrid, it must be admitted that the process towards a more unitary oral standard must surely involve the acceptance of a certain degree of inter-territorial interference (the presence, in the same text, of pronunciation, morphological features or words that do not strictly belong to the local type of the oral standard). Criticising speakers who do not keep their original accent with total authenticity may be counterproductive to ensuring more general solutions come together.

In any case, the coming together of regional types of the oral standard must move forward with audiences identifying with the new linguistic options because, in short, the standardisation process is primarily a social process, and this is the third aspect we wish to focus on.

3. The attitudes of the different groups, and especially of the audiences or receiving publics, towards the linguistic options represented by the proposals for an oral standard

As I have stated previously, the justification (or pretext) often given by those in charge of the media, when they have been accused of adopting linguistic options that are too local or colloquial, has been the need to get their audiences to identify with their own credible language. This criterion is reasonable but must be evaluated in terms of the territorial

³ We note that the more general options in the oral standard were identified, although this selection could be improved upon. The fact that interregional confluence has not gone further is not at all due to a lack of linguistic proposals. However, it is undeniable that, in some communication genres, considerable progress has been made towards very much an officially approved style throughout the language territory as a whole, as would be the case of the news and broadcasts of football matches.

scope of each medium, of the character of each of the areas and how programming has evolved over time.

In more informal or spontaneous programmes it's natural for local media to opt for an oral standard that is markedly close to local speech. But the programming grid is usually quite varied because, right from the start, there have been programmes such as the news, where the audience has repeated contact with the more formal style of the local standard and, over time, there should be no difficulty in there being broadcasts that gradually familiarise the local audience with the more general oral standard and with standard types from other territories.

And if this requirement is valid for local media, it is much more so for those with wider geographical coverage, regional or super-regional. In this last case, it would be better to ensure that more local or colloquial examples are not only those immediately related to the point of broadcast (whether this be Barcelona, Valencia or Palma) but are sufficiently representative of the main speech types of the medium's area of coverage. The audience's perception that the speech type that belongs most to the broadcasting centre is overrepresented surely explains the complaints received by the most far-reaching media concerning their "centralism". We should also add here that it's not easy to represent different accents proportionally, and we should not imagine that this can be resolved by the broadcasting centre hiring a staff of speakers from different dialectal origins (even if this were possible, they would end up adapting their accent to that of their immediate work environment), but rather via programming that follows a systematic policy of both general and local broadcasts on the same channel, with audience participation and collaborators and exchanging products with other broadcasters.

In any case, it's true that the media's starting point must be their audience's initial familiarity with some particular standard options they can identify with, although it is even truer that familiarity with the different types of the standard, from the most local and elementary to the most general and elaborate, is built up gradually precisely by dint of including different examples of these in the programming.

However, after all these years, let us once again look at the questions I had asked at the beginning and weigh up the evolution:

- How familiar are the different regional publics with the oral standard of their own zone and with those of the other areas in the language territory? Is this familiarity approximately symmetrical and reciprocal in the different territories? Are there any significant imbalances to take into account?

Firstly, it is quite evident that the media's language options, communication flows and scope have led to a relatively general familiarity with the central type of the standard, albeit less so in the Balearics and the País Valencià.

Secondly, as radio and television broadcasters in the País Valencià and the Balearics have achieved audiences in the Catalan language, their respective publics have started to become quite familiar with their own territorial standard, although this familiarity is still very limited.

But, thirdly, it must be admitted that the audience in Catalonia, the most used to broadcasts in Catalan in terms of timescale, certainly continues to be quite unfamiliar with the types of oral standard from other territories, as they have very few opportunities to hear them, at least much fewer opportunities than the Balearics or País Valencià have to hear the central type. And this also becomes an erroneous perception (at least in my impression, which needs to be confirmed) of the other types of the oral standard as dialectal, inadequate or even incorrect.

And we must not forget that, to a large extent, this is due to the fact that Catalan programmes from radio and television stations in the Balearics or the País Valencià are not broadcast in Catalonia, reciprocating the reception of CCRTV media in these territories, one of the darkest and most inexplicable points in the Catalan communication area.⁴

It is therefore obvious that an approximately symmetrical and reciprocal familiarity has not been achieved of all

4 Too often, the argument that has been used to avoid this reciprocity of broadcasts, such as the small quantity or low quality of broadcasts in Catalan, have frankly sounded like excuses, leading to the malevolent supposition that the real aim was to avoid sharing advertising revenue.

audiences with all territorial variants of the oral standard but that, on the contrary, there are highly significant and negative imbalances.

Once more, overcoming these imbalances is not a question of building up a certain language model nor of each broadcaster hiring teams of speakers where the representation of each accent is proportional to their demographic base. As already mentioned, the solution is that each broadcaster (and especially those with wider audiences) should consciously carry out programming that follows a systematic policy of both general and local broadcasts, of audience participation and collaborators, and should exchange products with other broadcasters throughout the territory.

If those in charge of programming and those in charge of language seriously take this upon themselves and work together in this direction, I think we might find an extensive range of possibilities of this type, both in live broadcasts and also in jointly produced programmes or by broadcasting dramatic productions, documentaries or dubbing from other zones in the territory.

And above all, we should stress one point: namely, that it's the media with the widest audiences that must forge this path. And these media, at the present time, are those of CCRTV. Because it is undeniable that they are the benchmark and because it is via these media, and from Catalonia, where we can most effectively destroy the prejudices of the other media and of their respective audiences, if we know how to act generously and audaciously.

For example, there would be no more effective argument to deactivate Valencian reticence to exchanging broadcasts or products than a powerful, unilateral and explicitly publicised initiative by the Catalan media to hire and broadcast an extensive sample of quality Valencian audiovisual production.

Would it be so difficult for some radio or television stations from the different Catalan-speaking areas to launch some programmes (entertainment, children's, sports, with audience participation, etc.) produced and broadcast jointly, in which participants take part from the whole territory?

Some suggestions by way of conclusion

In short, it's true that the oral standardisation of the Catalan language has deficiencies and limitations, but overcoming

these does not depend on strictly linguistic proposals that are more appropriate and more unitary. The basic condition for oral standardisation to advance is when linguistic criteria can come together in a close relationship with the expansion of the territorial communication areas and the systematic exchange of programmes produced or broadcast by different points in the territory.

As mentioned at the beginning, the main problem is that there is no radio or television station that addresses itself quite so explicitly and consciously to the whole of the Catalan language area. Even less a radio or television channel conceived as a place where the products and symbolic universe of the different regions in this language and cultural area can converge proportionally.

More than the lack of a common oral standard, then, what limits the project for a Catalan communication area is a lack of a communication policy that helps to construct, inter-connecting the present-day communication areas, shared areas in which the confluence of the oral standard's territorial variants would advance towards more unitary forms.

An initiative from Catalonia, on the part of those in charge of policy or by media managers, should open up the way towards constructing these areas of shared programming in which the oral standard could grow at the same time as constructing the Catalan communication area.

Should this initiative not arise from the conventional media or from institutions, perhaps the new online communication modes might be a good place to test out the oral standardisation of Catalan.

Reclaiming oral discourse on television

Mònica Terribas

- *Our broadcasting media progressively relinquish oral language in their search to control messages and to express information accurately. They do so via highly effective technological tools such as the teleprompter, but the price that must be paid in order to achieve this has been the dehumanisation of communication and a certain deception of the public. We pretend that we are perfectly informed machines because we are capable of saying the texts we read without making mistakes, but the use of technology that allows us to read what we are saying by means of a screen or paper has blurred our capacity to communicate spontaneously and has made us give up a part of the empathy we are able to establish when we simply explain what is happening to people, as we would do to those around us. This article considers the price of reclaiming orality in audiovisual language.*

Keywords

Audiovisual discourse, television quality, incidence of technology, spontaneity, teleprompter.

These are personal reflections on an experience that has allowed me to reclaim, in a news programme called *La nit al dia*, a way of telling the news that technological facilities have gradually been altering. Renouncing the use of any technological "prop", such as the teleprompter, has allowed me to reclaim the oral language that, today, on radio and television, is generally assisted or conditioned by the printed word, previously drafted in order to be spoken but inevitably read. This will therefore not be a theoretical article but a practical extension of the reflections I was able to make at the time in these very *Quaderns del CAC* regarding the concept of quality applied by media directors that also affect news messages (Terribas, 2002) and in the *Informe de la comunicació a Catalunya 2003-2004* on the details of how television information is produced in the present-day context and how judgement and spontaneity have been constricted (Terribas, 2005).

When technology makes us lose humanity

The loss of orality in audiovisual discourse can be explained in technological terms. The case presented in this article shows how technology allows greater ease and control of what we say via oral media but also how this control and ease have, in some cases, become a kind of communicative barrier more typical of the era before radio existed, i.e. the distance created by a language designed to be read but not to be spoken.

One of the great values of the so-called Marconi era, with the appearance of radio, was the recovery of orality and the democratisation of universal access to communication. With radio and, later on, with television, those people who felt alien to the dynamics of the printed word regained a communication tool that allowed them to take part in the

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world. They didn't need to read or write: they listened. The value of listening and understanding, of quickly decoding oral language, everyday language, information, news, comments, helped them to take part in a reality that had, until then, been confined to newspapers or books, with access that was not entirely free of charge and, above all, with implications of culturisation and literacy that could inevitably lead to resistance or discomfort. This democratising feature of radio and television led to the great boom in the broadcasting media and to these media achieving huge audiences right up to the present day, while the press has enjoyed much less coverage. The direct language of radio and television means that the effort required to decode messages is less than that involved in reading a newspaper. For this reason, it is paradoxical that, when technology has allowed improvements to be introduced, it has created new distances between oral discourse and audiences.

This would be the case of the teleprompter, the machine embedded in the camera that means you can read a previously written text on a glass pane, without moving your eyes away from the viewers' gaze. This tool, translated quite simply on the radio to some sheets of paper in front of the speaker, means that the speaker no longer trusts the guide-lines given by the brain. We live in a world where we constantly try to cushion our slip-ups. Technology allows us to do this and it's justifiable to make use of it, and even necessary, to be precise, to say what we mean, not to make a mistake. But we must admit that this quest for perfection, for accuracy, often makes us lose the naturalness with which the brain and emotions connect to explain things to those around us and, consequently, also makes us lose the humanity of error, as well as constructing a false image of perfection that does not correspond with reality. For those of us who share the profession of bringing news to society, technology helps us pretend that we master absolutely everything, a background that does not correspond with the

training we have, as well as a kind of imposed safety net. Technology manages to blur personality, with all its strengths and weaknesses. In some way, it homogenises the person and makes them aseptic, supported by the printed pane of glass, passing on to society a discourse designed with the certainty that it will be read. Without underrating the many advantages of teleprompters, I believe that, on the other side of the scales, are two fundamental factors: the sender's loss of empathy with the receiver and the sender's loss of orality in transmitting the message.

The sender's loss of empathy with the receiver can be overcome by using non-verbal language, often artificial and studied, with gestures and facial expressions. But the key is in how we say the news, in how we tackle the discourse at any given time, depending on the latest piece of information or image we have seen. Empathy also comes from the speaker's gaze attempting to find the "eye" of the camera, where inevitably we find a text with written lines that are read from left to right and from top to bottom, that hinder this search from one side of the camera to the other. We will return to this point.

The loss of orality in sending the message is evident. The exercise is simple. It's a question of suppressing the teleprompter when broadcasting a news item and seeing how differently the journalistic discourse would be structured when it is spoken, explained, without the protection of the printed word. There are oral resources that foment understanding, emphasis, that are very difficult to predict in written language. However, it is also true that, in oral discourse without a safety net, the brain fabricates spaces for thought that are often uncomfortable for those listening, as they are no longer accustomed to this.¹

These two losses are the main reasons that have led me to renounce one of the softest cushions in modern television, where the work of prior writing allows you to concentrate on how you present and captivate, without the brain

1 Recently, a viewer of *La nit al dia* sent an irate and indignant email to the programme because the presenter had unwittingly used "ah... ah...", hesitating before starting some sentences. This unattractive resource (which allows the brain some time to find the right words) is not very frequent in the formal oral language of the media because it has been lost, basically because the media are now based on reading off a screen. When we speak, we all use props to think, "oasis" words that allow us to structure the discourse, but in an environment where discourse is read, this characteristic of orality disappears and, when it does exist, it surprises and even bothers some people.

having to worry so much about what is being said, because this has already been written. And below I recount one of the many possible stories about the experience of wishing to reclaim oral language to provide the greatest opportunity for empathy between the sender and the maximum connection between the brain and emotions at the time of speaking about and interpreting reality.

Reclaiming spontaneous control of discourse

When the director of TVC (Televisió Catalunya) at that time, Joan Oliver, suggested I should do a news programme on channel 33, I expressed my desire to renounce teleprompters, a decision which he immediately shared because he had also done the same during his time as director and anchorman for the morning magazine programme *Bon dia, Catalunya*. It was, however, awkward working without teleprompters in a news programme. Dynamics of time control had led to teleprompters being systematically used, but I was lucky to have, right from the start, the belief, agreement and complicity of the person who had previously directed *La nit al dia* and is now head of news, Rosa Marqueta. This is no banal detail: the everyday dynamics of the news has led to a dependency on this instrument that allows, on the one hand, the collective control of the news discourse, previously written and revised and, on the other hand, the certainty that, when broadcasting the information, anchors would not depend exclusively on their discursive skills and their background concerning the news items. That's why renouncing an instrument that allows this dual security of content control and accuracy in the broadcast was risky and, at least, uncomfortable, because it meant breaking a habit that had been acquired and unquestioned to date. Moreover, since teleprompters were first introduced, the great majority of television programmes have used them, whether or not they are news programmes. I have had previous experiences on television of the usefulness of teleprompters when the accuracy of the discourse has led to excellent results (the case of Miquel Calçada, Mikimoto, in *Persones humanes*, has always seemed to me the most effective example and has become a model for later formats). The teleprompter is also an extraordinarily useful tool for timing with delicate staging. For example, Joaquim M.

Puyal, in *Un tomb per la vida*, only used it to cut to advertising and to synchronise the discourse with the music. And it is naturally valuable in the news, where timing is fundamental with regard to the breakdown and a news item cannot be introduced that might last between 20 seconds and 1 minute depending on how inspired the presenter is. So it should be clear that giving up teleprompters is not to deny their usefulness but is a desire to reclaim the oral nature of language in a programme where timing is not essential, and the degree of communication between sender and receiver, i.e. the degree of empathy, in my opinion, is fundamental in a night-time complementary news programme that does not have to provide a machine-like or automated attitude in any way.

So, although renouncing this tool was nothing extraordinary, it was at least surprising for some people on the editing team, who also use the teleprompter as a tool to be able to guarantee consensus in the criteria used to explain the news. At the same time, giving up teleprompters also partly entailed losing control of the content and losing guaranteed perfection, accuracy and security in what was said, a risk that we were prepared to take in order to achieve something that, I believe, is always more valuable: communication with the receiver without barriers. What we know is expressed; what we have doubts about, flourishes; when we make a mistake, we acknowledge it. Orality without the glass pane passes on real knowledge, with the weaknesses inherent in the speech of each and every person and this, for me, was a value and it still is today.

The decision to give up the teleprompter was therefore simply a desire to regain spontaneous control of how information was communicated and of oral language in the way it comes out of the brain. It also represented a personal challenge because it forces you to take on the information with more context and more data in order to be able to improvise, if necessary, at each point in the discourse and as the news item demands and, therefore, in the long run, it nurtures the brain, nourishes it, exercises the muscle - and that, so doctors say, is healthy.

The necessary consensus of discourse

Teleprompters have made the work of professionals easier in several ways, but the main factor among all these advan-

tages is that they allow agreement concerning discourse. They have given communicative work as a whole a coherence that has allowed agreement as to the way in which we explain each news item to the audience. So as not to give up this advantage, the breakdown for *La nit al dia* (the instrument that contains the order and content of the information with the duration, text and production instructions) includes the script previously written by the person responsible for presenting the whole or part of the programme, i.e. what we believe we must say about the news item. This content is available to the whole editing team to ensure that everyone is aware of and can specify the content and, if necessary but while the programme is live, these are the reference notes that are, however, not reproduced exactly. When the camera light comes on, the news item comes out of the brain, more or less faithfully reproducing the text but, above all, with spontaneous language, non-verbal language (gestures, position, facial expressions) that would be usual if we were explaining it to someone in front of us. This absence of the interposed glass pane with writing allows us to carry out this spontaneous exercise practically from scratch to convey the information to those watching us, having to reflect and agree on the content previously (data, names, positions, order, absence of qualifications, etc.) in order to maintain the thoroughness and the distance required for a news programme. It therefore allows us to regain spontaneity in how the information is said but, however, maintaining the required consensus with the rest of our colleagues (who delegate to us the responsibility of explaining the news at certain points) in order to agree common criteria that make us all co-responsible.

The safety net is represented by the fact that the anchor, in this case, has been able to discuss the basic concepts, the information that will be given to viewers, with the specialists from each section (society and territory, international, politics, economics, culture, meteorology, sports), so they have been able to pass on their judgement and opinions, ceding responsibility once the minimum required content has been agreed, so that everyone feels comfortable with it, irrespective of the way in which it is finally conveyed to viewers. Improvisation must be in how this is said, expressed, in how the discourse is accentuated, not in the essential concepts of the news item and even less so in classifying the news, the work of journalists specialising in

editorials or conversation-based programmes. Consequently, we shall now look at the particularities caused by the absence of a teleprompter and reclaimed orality.

Gestures

Reading is not the same as explaining. The brain reads lineally, from left to right and from top to bottom, and explaining narrates, looking into the eyes of the other or the eye of the camera. These are different actions, although very often the act of reading directly what is written on the camera screen is imperceptible for those watching, but not for the person doing it, and this is the key point. Whoever is reading, reads, and whoever is explaining or narrating, explains or narrates. And this person is completely aware of the difference because the person who knows he or she is reading forgets about their body or, if they don't forget, they apply movements with the hands and arms, even with the facial muscles, that become systematic props, non-spontaneous, because the action of reading does not require gestures if it is not a dramatised reading. How different is an actor when acting out a text than when simply declaiming or reading from the stage. He or she cannot take their eyes off the page, no matter how well they enact the text, and their head is dependent on reading, which acts as a brake to acting or tempers it. Something similar happens, albeit on a different scale, with professionals reading from a teleprompter when presenting the news, or even when doing a programme that is not the news but that makes use of this tool, as mentioned previously.

With teleprompters we have also lost the art of gestures, naturalness and the capacity to communicate body language, which also communicates and helps to build ties (or to destroy them). The news may make us tense, may relax us, may generate more or less intensity in us that is often expressed through the hands, the body position. Our body is an essential communication tool on television. Interposing a table, we cut our expressive capacity in half. When we subject it to reading, any gesture accompanying the voice forms part of a facial choreography that is all too often rehearsed and controlled, because it cannot be spontaneous, given that the brain is focusing on another activity.²

Without being aware of it, the act of reading has made us lose the force associated with oral language, which is also non-verbal language. Giving up reading also means helping the body to construct the discourse, to change the body's posture depending on the news item, not systematically but spontaneously, letting the brain coordinate the content with the gestures in order to make them more sincere.

In general, if we observe the stances of presenters with regard to the news, we will notice that smiles correspond to information on culture, sports and the weather (providing bad weather has not led to a tragedy). On the other hand, a serious or aseptic face is maintained when the information is international, political, economic or social. Smiles are used for news items that are supposedly less significant. It's the part of the programme for relaxing, even when the sports perhaps involve a social or economic swindle or when culture talks about a theatrical representation of a dictator's atrocities. They are automatic gestures that we apply without realising that the very essence of orality lies precisely in when the brain and the body synchronise all by themselves in order to find the suitable nuance for the tone or content of the news item. If we read, this exercise in spontaneity in gestural language, is not sufficiently sincere.

Spontaneity

Reclaiming oral discourse that comes from previously digested or produced information allows us to incorporate perceptions, recent data or sensations at the time of saying the news item. One example that often happens to us in a format such as *La nit al dia* is where the news item coincides with the presence of guests to the programme and we therefore automatically get the impact on their presence and, consequently, their reaction. So it often alters the result or way in which we go on. An example: during the preparation, we think about how the guest will be presented, we structure a presentation in line with the content of the preceding news item, which is logical and also makes the guest feel integrated (or alert, depending on

the case). But it often happens that the person, being already prepared for their appearance, speaks, explains, contributes ideas. One advantage of trusting improvisation in discourse is that it often allows us to include these spontaneous comments or ideas that have also come from our guests, which enrich the discourse. It is a question of trusting the other person and, above all, of trusting the intuition of that moment in order to communicate more frankly what is happening inside, while viewers cannot see us. Making them a part of the process increases empathy and turns the studio into an extension of their homes where, at that time of night, it is vital to construct a sense of complicity to keep everyone awake. Surely this kind of attitude would actually be more difficult to handle, and even impossible, on a prime time news programme, given that the time of day and pace are different.

Information sources

Reclaiming orality by giving up reading off the screen forces us to work language from another dimension. Here we turn to the services of the Department of Linguists of *Televisió de Catalunya*, which provide us with their opinion concerning how to combat the bad habits of written language. But the origin of these bad habits transferred to orality is clearly caused by the way in which the information is handled and passed on via the media. In this point we also find a loss of orality in the quest for information.

We journalists have stopped talking while we work. We find everything we need in front of a screen. When we prepare information, we are dependent on already written sources; written news items from agencies, press releases from institutions, information contained in dossiers or in online or printed newspapers. These are our primary sources of information. The Internet and direct access to data have also allowed us to give up a fundamental source: discourse expressed via telephone or in face-to-face conversations. We are increasingly less used to looking for confirmation via the voice. We wait for written messages,

- 2 The scientific and informative studies of lecturer Sebastià Serrano on non-verbal language applied to this consideration are pertinent, as well as the thoughts of Joan Bellés (1999) on how to give information.

the confirmation that does not create work, that comes to us. And we don't use telephones. We live off writing and we reproduce writing. We should also reflect on this dependence that distances us even a little more from oral language. We journalists have stopped talking to the people involved in the news: due to laziness, lack of resources, the ease of press offices that already send us what we need, due to precarious working conditions that do not provide us with the time to inform ourselves... We journalists talk little and, because we have stopped talking, we have lost communicative skills, a richness of language, a vital tool of our profession, as vital as a non-stick pan for a cook.

The consequence of this dependence is also an excessive use of often complex, technical language that comes directly from documents provided by press offices and which we reproduce word for word, without considering how intelligible it is. So we help even more to distance the simplicity of oral language and we give up translating information into understandable language.

The consequence of all this is that progress and the pressures of time, efficiency and technological innovation lead us, perhaps unconsciously, to fundamentally give up the essence of the audiovisual media: the use of oral discourse. We have subjected our professional practices to the automatic restrictions of the written word, sometimes to the complexity of a literary text, and this reduces, especially in the area of information, our empathy and credibility. Automatism distances us from the viewer and turns us into aseptic readers of data coming from texts written on a screen. Technology provides us with a security that deadens our brain and, what might be worse, makes us lose the essence of the medium: the capacity to make someone feel that we are explaining whatever the item is directly to them and in their own language. However, the brain's accuracy and precision is not necessarily incompatible with emotions and human communication skills.

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Dubbing into Catalan

Lluís Comes

- *Dubbing into Catalan started with Televisió de Catalunya and with the distinctive feature of introducing a recruitment process for some of the professionals involved in dubbing. Since its creation, this chain has gradually developed tools to help with translation. The article reviews each of the tasks associated with the dubbing process and focuses on the subordination of translated scripts to the original language. In the case of Catalan, it is also necessary to overcome subordination to Spanish dubbing, both in linguistic and cultural terms.*

Keywords

Translation for dubbing, dubbing process, subordinate translation, linguistic subordination, cultural subordination.

1. The process of dubbing into Catalan

When discussing dubbing, we must refer to the whole chain of professionals involved in the dubbing process and, as with any other group activity, the closer the relationship between these professionals, the better the outcome. This assertion can be applied to dubbing into any language in the world but, in the case of Catalan, we must also mention the model of the dubbing process chosen by Televisió de Catalunya.

The new aspect was the direct recruitment of a large number of the people involved in dubbing and supervising the translations offered to the public. Over the years, in-house tools have been created of great help to all professionals involved in dubbing, tools that are now also available to the general public as they are now freely available on the Internet.¹ This whole structure of Televisió de Catalunya has also been transferred to dubbing for the big screen. It is therefore sometimes surprising to see a difference between the dubbing for TV3 and that for feature films, when both have been carried out from start to finish by the same professionals.

The results have shown the success of choosing an innovative dubbing process for the reasons we shall present below. Let us therefore start by explaining the role of the translator in the dubbing translation process.

To be able to translate, audiovisual translators inevitably need the script and the image of the product to be translated. Several years ago translators worked with videotapes (first Betamax and then VHS) but they now receive the images on digital video files, sent by the studio or downloaded by the translator from an FTP site. The studio used to pro-

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¹ These can be consulted on the website <<http://esadir.cat>>.

vide printed scripts but now it's no longer necessary to work on paper and Word or PDF files are much more convenient and efficient. Consequently, we translators save time in travelling but are increasingly more isolated from the studios and the rest of the professionals involved.

Another novelty are the functions of the translators. Although translators used to just translate the text and didn't adapt it,² people now realise that getting the same person to do both tasks improves the final product and it seems that the profession in Catalan is tending towards this approach.³ The reason why the final quality of the dubbing is increased is evident: while the translator-adaptor knows the original language and the translated language, the training for adaptors does not ensure knowledge of either the final language or specific knowledge of translation.⁴

Once the translator has translated the original text or has translated and adapted it, it is sent on to the dubbing studio where it is formatted and sent to the linguist.

Formatting is when the dialogues are divided into takes, i.e. into units of a certain number of lines (no more than ten). Takes are used to call together the dubbing actors and are the segments used to organise the studio dubbing. Films or series are not dubbed correlatively: takes are grouped to facilitate the work of the actors. In other words, if an actor appears at the beginning and end of a film, their takes are grouped together so that they only have to come to the studio once. This means that the actors involved in the dubbing, and particularly supporting actors, don't usually know the plot of the film they're dubbing and the director is responsible for explaining the role they have to act and their character's features.

Introducing a linguist⁵ into this process is really the great novelty established by dubbing into Catalan. The linguist doesn't only act as a corrector of the text but also unifies general criteria for Catalan dubbing, makes sure the style and

tone of the translation are the most appropriate for the product being dubbed and, finally, advises and supervises the actors throughout the dubbing process. Their role is particularly important in series as, given their duration and broadcast dates, they require more than one translator. It is evident that linguists thereby improve dubbing quality, as they are responsible for making sure there are no incoherencies in the formal and informal modes of address ("tu" and "vostè" in Catalan) among the different characters, in the names of characters, locations where the action takes place, cultural elements that may be referred to in the series, etc. For example, in a cartoon series, if a group of children often need to repeat a certain joke, such as doing a "wedgie" (translated into Catalan as a "tibada de calçotets") to their friends, the linguist will be responsible for making sure no-one says "tibada" in one episode and "estirada" in another.

Once corrected, the script is sent to the director, who is in charge of sorting out the cast of actors for the dubbing. He or she is responsible for finding not only good actors for the roles they have to take on but also actors with a good level of Catalan. Televisió de Catalunya does not do voice tests but many are carried out by feature film production companies. In this case, the director proposes four or five actors for the role and the producers choose the most appropriate actors. It should be noted, however, that as the representatives from the production company do not speak Catalan, this choice is based on artistic criteria rather than language skills, making the director's role even more important.

In the Catalan dubbing world, we can find professionals who carry out more than one function: translators who are also adaptors, adaptors who are also linguists and directors who are also adaptors. There are even translators who, in addition to adaptors, are linguists. In any case, TV3 recommends that at least two people should be involved in

2 Adapting is the process of lip-synching or altering the translated text so that it coincides as far as possible with the lip movement of the original actors, always taking pace, duration and gesture into account.

3 This is also the system adopted by the Balearic channel IB3 for the series it dubs into Catalan.

4 I even think that, at some point, TV3 has considered carrying out tests on adaptors' skills, as already carried out for translators.

5 The linguist's task is not limited to a linguistic correction of the text and is very similar to that of studio supervisor, a job we shall define later on.

translating a text; i.e. if a translator is also an adaptor and linguist, he or she can only take on two of these jobs and the third will have to be given to another professional. Normally, if someone has translated and adapted the original text, another linguist revises it.

The actors' language skill is another factor than can affect the final text. For example, if, in a film such as *Shrek*, an actor does not know how to pronounce correctly the translation of the Kingdom of Far Far Away as "Lluny Lluny Enllà" in Catalan, instead of changing an actor who has already been approved by the production company, the translation might have to be changed. Of course, it goes without saying that this was not the case here.

Finally, especially in big budget feature films, supervisors from the production company and sound studio supervisors can also be involved. The former, if they don't know Catalan, which is more than likely, might require a back translation, literal and annotated, from the Catalan version into the original language, to make sure the translation of the script matches the original version.⁶

In short, the ultimate responsibility of a non-adaptor translator concerning a text that is heard once the film has been edited is very small, and he or she is merely the first link in a long chain. In fact, from a legal point of view, the translator earns about one third of the broadcasting rights for an audiovisual product, while the adaptor earns two thirds.

2. Subordination in dubbing

Dubbing is translation characterised by being subordinate to the image. The translation must be coherent with what is seen on the screen or what the characters are doing, and there may be series or episodes that cannot be translated, because what is seen is too far removed from the target for the translation. For example, if we have an English children's series where children are told how to resolve pro-

blems of arithmetic and elementary mathematics, using a point for decimals instead of a comma (as is the case in Catalan), this series would not be of much educational use for Catalan children.

Below, we would also like to mention the subordination of Catalan dubbing to linguistic and cultural elements of the original language (English in most cases) and of Spanish.

2.1. Subordination to the original language

Original scripts contain various kinds of formality. Not all characters are the same age, nor do they live in the same towns or cities or in the same neighbourhoods, nor are they all from the present day. Let's look at a few examples.

In *The Lord of the Rings*, Tolkien makes each group of characters speak in a different way. While the Elves are refined, the Hobbits have a more folksy language and the Dwarves are a little rougher. A good translation must therefore distinguish linguistically between these groups.

Similarly, in *Shrek III* there are words reminiscent of Shakespeare's English. So although it is a children's film, we have to look for words with a similar meaning for our viewers.

In a children's product such as *Rugrats* (*Quatre grapes*, in the Catalan TV series),⁷ the children's language in the programme was totally standard to ensure that young viewers would have no problems in understanding. It's evident that, if they had been real children, there would have been grammatical and phonetic errors. A good translation must therefore respect the standard of the original.

In general, the original characters do not speak like ordinary people, nor like the models they represent. A seven-year-old does not speak like a seven-year-old and even less so in cartoons, where they often have adult conversations using adult vocabulary, to such a degree that a dubbing actor aged seven does not understand the sentences he or she has to perform because they do not come from his or her age group.

⁶ For example, if we have put "això és bufar i fer ampolles" for the Catalan translation, in the back translation we would say "this is to blow and make bottles", explaining, in English, that the translation uses a Catalan expression that means something is very easy.

⁷ I would just like to say here that translators never decide the title of a film for the big screen. The decision is always taken by the production company and is based on commercial criteria rather than linguistic. With regard to programmes commissioned by TV3, it is the channel that decides the titles, which normally coincide with the titles in the Spanish version.

In other series, even children can use educated registers. An example can be seen in the children's series *Jacob Two-Two*, where two children aged between seven and ten talk about their school and everything going on there. One comments that the school is improving and the other agrees but insists that strange things are going on there. Then the first says:

"I hope they stay strange then, because I'm really enjoying the cottony soft bathroom tissue. Those old phone book pages were too abrasive and that can lead to redness, swelling and walking funny. I think the medical term is baboon bottom."

It's obvious that no Catalan child would talk like that if we translate it literally, but neither would an English child. Concessions must be made in the dubbing. In addition to reproducing the language level of the original, the audience's expectations must also be respected.

There are also films that we might originally feel are aimed at children but which we then realise are not as child-oriented as we thought. I'm referring to feature films, such as those from the Disney factory, where the studio is not only interested in satisfying children but also tries to catch the attention of the parents who are, ultimately, the ones who take their children to the cinema. To this end they include certain idioms, expressions and puns that only adults can understand.

Without forgetting cartoons, the TV series *Hoobs* created its own language, similar to the expressions invented in the *Smurfs* comic (*Schtroumpfs* in the original French and *Barrufets* in Catalan). A few years ago, the Catalan translator of the *Smurfs* decided to make the name sound more Catalan and created the corresponding verb. In other words, if in French the *Schtroumpfs* usually "*schtroumpfen*", in Catalan the *Barrufets* "*barrufen*". A few years later, the translation of the *Hoobs* went only half the way. The name of this group of characters was kept in English and the verb

caught on, although it was conjugated in Catalan as a regular verb. In short, the *Hoobs* "*hubiegen*" in Catalan.

This example, which has linguistic consequences, is the result of a financial imposition. The merchandising associated with feature films in the Anglo-Saxon world conditions the subsequent translations into various languages. Selling all kinds of children's products and dolls is as important as ensuring the cartoons are seen the world over.

This is not a unique example. The character of Mumble Happy Feet from *Happy Feet*, the characters in *Robots*, etc. have all kept their English names in the dubbed versions, although these had a very specific meaning in the original scripts, a meaning that was sometimes even used for word play in the films.

At one point in the film *Robots*, the main character, Rodney Copperbottom (Copperbottom can be translated into Catalan as 'Cul d'aram') is introduced to Aunt Fanny, a woman with an enormous bottom. Surprised by what he sees, when she asks him his name, Rodney replies: "*I'm Rodney Bigbottom. No, I'm n-- I'm Rodney Copperbottom. Copperbottom*". In other words, if in Catalan we have to keep the name Rodney Copperbottom and cannot use *Culdaram*, it's clear that the joke is lost.

In the past, characters' names in children's stories and literature used to be translated into other languages. Hence Cinderella became "Ventafocs", Sleeping Beauty became "Bella Dorment", Little Red Riding Hood "Caputxeta Vermella", etc. However, now the situation is quite different and we accept characters names from such stories and literature in the original language, especially English, as our own.

On the other hand, the fact that films are dubbed into increasingly more languages⁸ has led to North American studios controlling the dubbing translation even more strictly.⁹ This interventionism has become yet another pitfall for translators.

In an extreme case, a translator might even be asked to change the translation because the word in the target language sounds offensive in the original language, as in the

8 It's true that there are countries where subtitles are used a lot, but not as often as people suggest. Films such as *Shrek* have been dubbed into more than thirty different languages, among these Finnish, Swedish, Danish, Icelandic, Slovene, Greek, Portuguese, etc. and these countries are dubbing more and more, especially for children's productions.

9 And the other dubbing processes as well, such as mixing, voice tests, etc.

following case. In a children's production, it was suggested the word "secs" (dry), referring to some trees, should be changed due to its resemblance to the English word "sex". In another production, the translator was asked about the meaning of "foc" (fire) because it sounded too much like the English word "fuck",¹⁰ or the film *Meet the Robinsons*, when the translators were forced to keep the 's' on the surname of the protagonists in the title, although surnames have no plural form in Catalan or Spanish.¹¹

Songs don't escape such interventionism either. As they generate royalties, sometimes they are translated in the original country. This was the case of the film *Madagascar* and the song "Happy Birthday". Although in Catalan the best-known version is "Moltes felicitats" and also "Per molts anys, per molts anys", the approved version, sent directly from the United States, said "Aniversari feliç", a direct translation of the best-known version in Spanish. Heaven and earth had to be moved to change it.

2.2. Subordination to Spanish

This type of subordination is inevitably experienced by all languages that share territory with another dominant language. We shall see some examples of this that reflect a situation not so very different to the subordination suffered by Catalan with regard to Anglo-Saxon productions.

Let's analyse what Spanish dubbing is like:

1. It's a flat language, everyone speaks the same and a kind of "dubbing Spanish" has been created, which contains expressions that are not used in any other context, for example insults such as "majadero", "hijo de perra", or even some products such as "zarzaparrilla", which would be very difficult to find in a Spanish market.
2. An intonation has been created that is not repeated in

any other context. The very same dubbing actors speak differently when they act in the theatre.

This language in Spanish is not only fictitious but often also implausible. A selection of expressions that can be heard in Spanish dubbing but would be highly unlikely in real life would include phrases such as "tengo que ausentarme tres horas" (literally "I have to be absent for three hours") on the lips of a construction worker.¹²

These examples show us that our reference cannot be Spanish but must be the original language. This, which seems evident, is often not so clear when there are still a quite a few people who tend to compare the Catalan and Spanish versions and to consider Spanish as a quasi-original language.¹³ We can still find an audience that is loyal to Spanish dubbing, that has assimilated these linguistic transgressions and considers them normal and that even believes that this kind of language is less artificial than what can be heard in Catalan dubbing.

It is nonetheless dangerous for Catalan dubbing to listen to these voices and to include these features.

This linguistic subordination to the majority language has resulted in complaints, for example the refined way in which the Elves speak in Catalan in *The Lord of the Rings* compared with the Spanish version (some people have said that "the Elves are easier to understand in Spanish"), although the Catalan version was more faithful to the original English. There have also been complaints because dubbing includes expressions that are not heard everyday on the streets of Barcelona, although these phrases are perfectly current in other parts of the Catalan-speaking region (the use of "xic" instead of "una mica"), as well as complaints because linguistic reductionism has not been carried out in children's

¹⁰ These first two cases are extreme and could be considered anecdotal, but they do show what levels intervention can reach on the part of the studio supervisor.

¹¹ Notwithstanding this, in no way do I wish to criticise the role of supervisors in the dubbing process. In ninety percent of the cases, they are highly trained, expert professionals who clearly improve the final result.

¹² For more examples, consult <<http://www.network54.com/Forum/184486/message/1182872710/Argot+i+renecs>>.

¹³ It's curious to note that, in series or feature films that have been dubbed into Catalan before they were dubbed into Spanish, the opposite happens and the audience usually believes that the Catalan version is better than the Spanish. Good examples of this are *Shin Chan* and *Doraemon*.

productions, although the original includes standard language (translating “a guy who gives evil a bad name” with “un malo muy malo” (a very, very bad man), instead of “un home que era un descàrdit per als dolents”), and complaints because a word closer to the Spanish has been considered as preferable and more easily understandable when a choice can be made between two synonyms, which perhaps are not actually quite so synonymous: *parlar/enraonar*, *pensar/rumiar*, *mirar/badar*, *perseguir/empaitar*, *tapar/acotxar*, *guardar/ desar*, etc.

There is also cultural subordination with regard to Spanish. Present-day dubbing tends to choose *star talents*¹⁴ as dubbing actors. Lately we have seen famous people dub fictional characters, especially in cartoon films, and not just comedians such as Cruz y Raya in *Shrek* or Carlos Latre in *Garfield* who, although not dubbing actors, do have some connection with the world of theatre, but also celebrities who have no such connection at all, such as Fernando Alonso (a racing driver) in *Cars* or Ferran Adrià (a chef) in *Ratatouille*. In these cases, the studio believes that these celebrities can become an added value, an added value that, in principle, is not applied in the Catalan versions.¹⁵ I must add, however, that there are also discordant voices that question this practice in dubbing.

3. Conclusions

Catalan dubbing started out with the desire to create its own style but is conditioned by the supposed expectations of an audience used to Spanish dubbing. Within this context, the work of dubbing professionals must please both the viewers and the studios that have generated the originals.

We need to call for an independent path for Catalan dubbing, as audiences will get increasingly used to these products the more these products can reach them (I particularly mean the number of cinemas we can get to show films in Catalan).

For some time now, the supervisors sent by film studios from the United States say that Catalan dubbing is of a very high quality, often better than the Spanish. Now we only need to believe this and be brave enough to continue with an approach that has allowed us to achieve very good dubbing. If the different people that are responsible for protecting and encouraging this dubbing, and also those who are responsible for making dubbing in Catalan more dignified and popular among audiences in Catalonia, know how to carry out such an undertaking and are firmly committed to doing so, then this might help us in our task.

¹⁴ Star talents are characters who appear everyday on the media and who the studio believes can add a commercial edge to the dubbing.

¹⁵ There are "honourable exceptions" to this and, recently, Ferran Adrià also dubbed the Catalan version of *Ratatouille*.

From the street to the airwaves: how football in Catalan conquered the radio

Joaquim M. Puyal

- *A first-person account of the context and conditions in which the first transmission of football in Catalan took place after Franco's dictatorship. The accompanying reflections bring us closer to various considerations, both from the point of view of the transmitter of messages as well as to that of the receiver. Are there reasons to justify the biased involvement of the narrator? We shall also find some observations on country, journalism, the characteristics of radio broadcasts and the evolution of football, sharpened with a critical counterpoint that is inevitable for the author. Basically, people, language and our communicative fabric.*

Keywords

Socio-cultural recovery, language of specialisation, identification, subjectivity, communicative muscle, rhetoric, football narrative, rights of the receiver, radiophonic discourse, football business, Catalan language.

In 1968 I broadcast, on Radio Barcelona, the first football match of my life. I was given this opportunity by director Manuel Tarín Iglesias.¹ I broadcast in Spanish, at that time the only language with access to the media platform in Catalonia. Everyone knows that, at that time, we had to speak Spanish on the radio but we should also remember that, in spite of the obstinate action of Francoism, the Catalan language was still alive and kicking in our country. It could often be heard among pupils in school playgrounds (but not in class), it was the usual language in many of the neighbourhoods in our towns and cities and was used by housewives and farmers at market stalls. Spanish was clearly a minority language among those born in Barcelona but it was the language of the immigrants that had arrived in Catalonia at various times during the 20th century (from Aragon, Galicia and Andalusia, among others, in massive migratory waves). Many of these gradually learned Catalan. Without laws, without rules... nor schools (those that existed had been created for Spanish!). They learned it with the logical naturalness of people who wish to settle down in a place that has its own language that is different from theirs. In general, being in contact with Catalans (for many people here, the concepts of *Catalan* and *Catalan-speaking* were perceived almost identically) and observing how they spoke in their everyday activities were sufficient for many of those who wished to learn Catalan to dare to start speaking it. They did so because it was useful for them, as an opportunity, as a tool for social interrelations, to promote themselves personally, professionally or commercially and especially, of cour-

Joaquim M. Puyal

Communicator and football commentator

1 Manuel Tarín Iglesias (Barcelona, 1919-2007), director of Radio Barcelona from 1963 to 1973. He tried to maintain the personality of a "doyen broadcaster" given the gradual generalisation of "assembly line" programmes. He is also the founder of the Onda awards.

se, as a way of integrating themselves. Speaking Catalan was a way of stopping being a new arrival. As well as giving their children Catalan names.

At the end of the dictatorship, eight years after my first broadcast and when a new collective horizon could be glimpsed, I decided to make a professional change. The establishment of the Catalan language in the different layers of Catalonia's social fabric, which I have already mentioned, made me believe (without anyone's instructions nor political strategies nor technical dictums) that including this language in the production of mass messages would surely be a good way to earn a living, apart from a modest contribution to the country's socio-cultural recovery. In order to achieve this goal, it was obviously necessary to assess my own skills accurately and to ensure my initial steps were firm. Given its popularity, football was a powerful attraction and the Barça team, as we shall see shortly, brought together social interests from across the spectrum. Right from the start I thought of creating a "winning" production: it has to be consolidated not through the sentimental/championing aspect of the language being used for the message but through our capacity to lead the market. (I have applied this principle both to radio and television and it has always provided me with good results). People listen to you, or watch you, if you're good at what you do and if they like what you do. Based on this principle, I didn't even think of asking for any subvention or of looking for any other protection than that typical of a professional activity. Luckily Radio Barcelona's management was committed to the enterprise and my colleagues helped me (most particularly Jordi Mir in the linguistic department). But the decisive factor was the sponsorship of "la Caixa", because, of course, we could not propose a project to the broadcaster

that would end up making a loss. We therefore had to find a sponsor to finance the production costs. This sponsor had to be prepared to become involved in an unusual initiative (many thought it was an adventure) that had no comparable precedents (the broadcasts by Joaquim Ventalló² before the war were not comparable by a long shot) nor did it offer the usual guarantees. We were working at SER, a private broadcaster located in Madrid, with established work in Spanish and leader in the Spanish market as a whole. The reader will understand that, without the backing of "la Caixa" (it was more patronage than actual advertising) our project would not have even reached the first post. That's why I have always been grateful to them.

Futbol Club Barcelona is an extremely powerful instrument for bringing people together in a group: "It doesn't matter if we come from the south or the north, now we all agree, a banner makes us brothers" (1974).³ Adapting the title of the book by Paco Candel *Els altres catalans* (1964)⁴ referring to the new "Catalan adoptees", we might say that many of the new arrivals from that time became fans of Barça and became "the other Barcelonans". So, for the first time in history, and massively, people not born in Catalonia became part of the collective social fabric of the football club that Narcís de Carreras had defined as "more than a club" (1968)⁵ due to its sociological dimension and perception as a champion of Catalanism.

A vastly important change had therefore occurred in the club in terms of its type of associates and fans. Our broadcast has always and still takes this fact into account. I myself, as a producer of the discourse, often use references and pointers, the ones I like, that make the commentary more scintillating in a natural way, aimed at a wide range of listeners, obviously including those who are not Catalan

2 Joaquim Ventalló i Vergés (Terrassa, 1899 - Barcelona, 1996), journalist, writer, publicist and politician during the Republic. He is considered to be the author of the first broadcast of a football match in Catalan on Ràdio Associació de Catalunya. He was director of *L'Opinió* and *La Rambla*.

3 Words from the "Cant del Barça", by Josep Maria Espinàs and Jaume Picas. It was first heard on 27 November 1974, during the celebrations for the Club's 75th anniversary. The music was composed by Manuel Valls Gorina.

4 CANDEL, F. *Els altres catalans*. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1st edition, 1964, 366 pages.

5 Narcís de Carreras (La Bisbal d'Empordà, 1905 - Barcelona, 1991), president of FC Barcelona, pronounced this phrase in his speech to the press when he took over his position on 17 January 1968.

speakers. I also want them to feel involved. (A short time ago, during the programme, we received an email from the Maresme area from an Amazic émigré). We can talk about what is common to us or what interests us all without avoiding mentioning singularities or respecting all differences. The fact that the media where we work have a *lingua franca* (whatever it is) should not make this objective unviable. It should be beneficial for everyone. (Apart from all this, if we didn't work like this, we would surely lose ratings and ranking in the market). In the case of Barça, it's as true as it is paradoxical that the club, at the same time as it was integrating fans who had come from outside Catalonia, was also strengthening its image as a Catalan institution and offered itself as an instrument for nationalist demands in view of the decline of the late Francoism period. The management of Agustí Montal i Costa (son of the former president Agustí Montal i Galobart),⁶ very close to the personage of Jordi Pujol and a supporter of his political leanings, excelled more in this objective thanks to the outstanding activity of the executives Jaume Rosell and Joan Granados (who, by the way, also helped me by granting me access to FC Barcelona's archives) than in its sporting results which, in general, were discretely satisfactory for the time. They brought about actions and popular movements in the stadium championing Catalanism, which were difficult to imagine anywhere else in Catalonia. That said, they did try not to cause any disturbances like those often caused by the students of Barcelona University at the time. I studied Spanish Philology in the old building of this university and, for two years, at the start of the seventies, I worked there as a lecturer in the Humanities Faculty. For administrative and academic reasons, I had to present a thesis which I dedicated to football terminology in Spanish.⁷ (This work,

although very discrete, was useful to me as a reference to produce a preliminary approximation, with the collaboration of lecturer Alfred Badia,⁸ to our language of specialisation in Catalan).⁹ I had also been working for several years by that time, on renewable contracts, for Radio Barcelona where, letting myself be carried away by my passion for language and mass communication, and given the impossibility of working in general as a journalist with a clean conscience, and as a result of the threat of censorship, I specialised in sports broadcasts. There was more autonomy in this field, although certain intellectual elites of the time theorised about a supposed complicit relationship between the dictatorship and football, seen as a kind of "opium of the people". The articles by Manuel Vázquez Montalbán provide the most opportune counterpoint to this.

From emotional involvement to narrative distance

At the start of the seventies I was working in a lot of sports areas for the SER channel, "naturally" in Spanish. I like the Spanish language and have always tried to speak it as well as I can. At that time, when I took part as a correspondent in programmes that, directed and produced in Madrid, required of me the view we might take in Barcelona of a particular fact or news item, I did not restrain myself from explaining the singularities or from pointing out the differences seen from "our" frame of reference and from our symbolic universe. Sheltered by our socio-cultural tradition, I admit that I feel I am responsible for championing this perspective, something that forced me, and also allowed me, to highlight a genuine sensitivity typical of Catalonia. I did so as much for my Catalan listeners, to see themselves reflected in the view of the discourse and recognise it

6 Agustí Montal i Galobart (Barcelona, 1904-1964), president of FC Barcelona, promoted the entity to the extent of notably consolidating it throughout his six years in the position. Under his presidency the team was formed that is known popularly as the "Barça of the Five Cups".

7 PUYAL ORTIGA, J. M. "Terminología futbolística", thesis. Unpublished manuscript. Universitat de Barcelona, 1972.

8 Alfred Badia Gabarró (Barcelona, 1912-1994), translator, essayist, poet and lecturer of the Catalan language.

9 PUYAL ORTIGA, J. M.; BADIA I GABARRÓ, A. "Vocabulari del futbol". [Barcelona]: Unpublished manuscript, 1976.

collectively as their own view, as to pass on this view to the rest of the audience, in general steeped in a homogenising Spanishness. It should be noted that I could do this, and very easily, because we were "only" talking about football. When, on *Hora 25*¹⁰ José M. García said to me "*today your Barça has lost again, doctor Puyal*", the association he was making between the club and myself didn't bother me (although what did bother me was the fact that they had lost!), but not so much because I am a died-in-the-wool Barça fan but because of everything positive the identification entailed. (The trend of the time was the opposite. As if those of us who talked about football, in order to do the job well, could not be in favour of any team, apart from the Spanish squad. If that were the case, how could we have become fans?) At that time I learned that, in communication, identifying yourself with something has clear advantages and is surely good. Yes, I'm a Barça fan. This declaration allows me a biased viewpoint (seeing things from the point of view of a Barça fan). But it does not stop me from respecting the principle of honest subjectivity (describing things as they appear before my eyes). If a Barça player gives away a penalty, my status as a fan allows me to get annoyed, to get sad, to lower the intensity of the broadcast, to imagine the rage of the listeners (most are Barça fans like myself and those who aren't, as they know which team I identify with, are already aware of the sensitivity of our communicative territory) and to interpret the fans' distress in first person, if I want to. I call this emotional involvement. But it does not give me the right to lie. Not even to dissimulate. None of this takes away my obligation to explain the play as it was (as I saw it). I have to be able to see the reality separately from the colour of the shirt and, if there's a penalty, I have to say so clearly, with all the details. Although it may hurt them, I cannot allow the listeners to be in any doubt. It's a penalty! I call this narrative distance. Being partisan in a professional is not like smoke that clouds the vision. This seems clear to me. And it also

has another advantage. The receiver can only know which perspective the communication is coming from if the broadcaster declares his or her leanings. When someone presents themselves formally as independent or say they are free (!), they encrypt their (inevitable) views and deny the receiver the basic keys to understanding the message correctly and to interpret it legitimately. It's clear that, as an intermediary of communication, trained in the profession of seeing and explaining things and sharing emotions with receivers, I could simulate the involvement required for each circumstance, according to whom I am responsible for describing the reality. It's evident that, if necessary, I could "get excited on air" at a goal by Madrid. And it would be permissible. I don't say it isn't. Ultimately, if it's done well, that's what the profession is about. And this is an unbeatable argument if we're talking about professionalism. Or is it perhaps the case that all those who worked as journalists on the radio, in the press or on television during Franco's dictatorship, were absolute devotees of Franco? The most important football commentator of Argentina is from Uruguay.¹¹ What must he feel inside when an Argentina-Uruguay match is broadcast? That's a mystery. However, does what he feels inside matter to his listeners if he's capable of carrying out a faithful, high quality broadcast that stirs and satisfies them? Whatever the answer, nothing invalidates what we have said. The reason is simple: if you don't want to, you don't identify yourself. And that's that. No one is forcing you. Nor do you have to "confess" more identities than you want to publicly reveal. However, from the position of the receiver, understood as people (the only ones who ultimately matter), I believe that when we consume communication, and even more so when more important things are being explained to us than football, it would be useful to know more about what the producers identify with (and to be able to identify the production models more clearly) in these discourses. This would allow us to get closer to the "barcode of the messages" and to

10 General information programme on the SER channel. The sports journalist José M. García achieved great popularity thanks to the ratings success of his section which, since 1972, made sports news popular at midnight on Spanish radio.

11 Víctor Hugo Morales (Cardona, Uruguay, 1947), Uruguayan radio presenter who worked on Radio Oriental in Montevideo until 1981, when he moved to Argentina. His commentary on Maradona's goal against England has become popular, in the Mexico World Cup in 1986.

know them better. As we do with the information provided with medicines or with labels when we buy packaged food.

Commitment to football on the radio

I have already said that the idea of broadcasting matches in Catalan did not have a political origin nor did it follow any business strategy. Right from the start, the head of Sport, Francisco Peris¹² (a vocational journalist closely connected to Gandia), and head of programming, Joan Castelló Rovira¹³ (an extraordinary radio professional from Lleida, a real expert, wasted by Catalonia for reasons that are not relevant here), they were committed to a project that made headway with a series of claims that could be surmised but that, most of all, ran the risks inherent in forging a path. Moreover, there was, of course, the unenthusiastic indifference (and even ridiculing mockery) of those who believed Catalan to be an instrument incapable of articulating mass messages (perhaps we should remember that, in August 1976, days before our first broadcast, the president of the Spanish government declared in the magazine *Paris Match*¹⁴ that classes in nuclear chemistry could not be given in Catalan). When the director of Radio Barcelona telephoned the top management of the SER channel in Madrid to get their approval to broadcast football in Catalan, their response was: “*Will they understand it yet?*”. The lack of knowledge of our reality among Spaniards as a whole was huge. (In this respect, three decades after the end of the dictatorship, we are still stuck over the same point). Well, in this context, when all the broadcasts of Barça in Catalonia were carried out in Spanish, we decided to stand up for

football in Catalan. In our favour was all the potential of the Catalan language: all the resources and validity, vitality and functionality of the whole referential, symbolic and metaphorical world that a language is capable of constructing in a collective universe. Against us were my limitations and a lack of confidence that impaired me. I hadn't studied Catalan (that's why Mir was so important). For me it was the language of my family and relations with friends but I had never had the remotest possibility, or need, to use it as a media instrument. So I just got down to it, without anyone asking me to and driven in particular by my intuition. Perhaps from a contemporary point of view those concerns may seem a little ridiculous. Perhaps. But they were there. Was I wrong when I thought that the Catalan language's access to mass communication, which I saw as normal, was or had to be normal even when it was in no way usual? (Seeing something as normal when it's not usual has often happened to me in my life). As everyone knows, at that time (September 1976) there was no radio broadcaster (Ràdio 4 started to broadcast in December) nor television broadcaster (TV3 was born in 1983) that habitually used Catalan. Moreover, no-one in the circle of real power saw the need or acknowledged the lack of a “Catalan communication area”¹⁵ (as the dear lecturer Josep Gifreu proposed when this concept was labelled). This can clearly come as no surprise to anyone if we remember that the president of the Generalitat was still in exile at that time...¹⁶

Luckily, the director of Radio Barcelona (the doyen radio station that formed part of the SER chain), Manuel G. Terán, was a man of clear democratic convictions, believed access to Catalan on the station should be supported and had progressive ideas. In addition to all this, he was also an

¹² Francisco Peris Vidal (Castelló de la Plana, 1931 - Barcelona, 2000), was head of Sports for Radio Barcelona from 1974 to 1979, a position from which he trained many professionals.

¹³ Joan Castelló Rovira (Castelló de la Plana, 1939 - Arenys de Munt, 2002), a brilliant radio presenter and creator of successful formats such as *Noche de ronda*, *Directo*, *En punta*, *Hora 13* and *Hora 25*. This last programme was adapted by Manuel Martín Ferrand when *Hora 25* was born in 1972 on the SER channel.

¹⁴ The interview appeared on 28 August 1976, in number 1422.

¹⁵ GIREU, J.; COROMINAS, M. (ed.) *Construir l'espai català de comunicació*. Barcelona: CIC, 1991.

¹⁶ President Josep Tarradellas did not return to Catalonia until 23 October 1977.

accredited radio professional and had been promoting innovative and audacious programming for some time, using his position of authority. With the help of his team, he gathered around him, in addition to the best professionals of the time, renowned as figures from the world of radio, a group of young men and women (some just starting out in the business) that probably went to make up the best team of young radio professionals ever in history: Marga Blanch, Constantino Romero, Eduard Boet, Armand Balsebre, Jordi Costa, Xavier Ubach, Josep Cuní, Àngel Casas, Fermín Bocos, Rosa Codina, Rafael Manzano, Àlex J. Botines, Maruja Torres, Jaume Figueras, Isabel Bosch, Núria Ribó, Manuel Borrell, Antonio Moñux, Alfons Quintà, Albert Viladot, Rafael Turia, Andrés Astruells, Adelina Castillejo, Pitu Abril, Àlex Martínez Roig, Manolo Bernardos, Antoni Bassas, Josep Ll. Merlos, Pere Ferreres, Lluís Canut, Santi Carreras, Isabel Gemio, Inés Ballester, Jordi Beltran, Pepe Gutiérrez, Petra M. Secanella, Manolo Oliveros, Pere Palacios, Mercè Remolí, Jordi González, Marisol Castillo, Pepe Navarro, Rosa Badia, Jordi Hurtado, Ramon Pellicer, Josep M. Balcells, Xarli Diego...¹⁷ I apologise for tiring the reader with this long list like a stream of consciousness, and I ask those colleagues that I have unjustly forgotten to forgive me, because I have surely left someone out, but I think it's a spectacular list. We can't talk about the radio or television of the last twenty or thirty years without mentioning these names! Could so much communicative muscle not be capable of developing the sum of skills held by those people, so young for our profession? While I write this, remembering these names moves me. And I am doubly affected by the memory because, throughout my subsequent life, I have often missed, in the professional and production environments, often connected with the public firms I have worked with, some of the principles, the attitudes and work methods that could be observed in that broadcaster's building in Carrer Casp in Barcelona, during the so-called period of transition. I'm also reminded of a recurring question: if Catalonia is the origin of so many professionals (we can add names to the previous list that are so well-known and present in the minds of all of us who

have worked and currently work in our media; obviously, and we could even add all those other colleagues who, trained in Catalonia, have joined production teams for Spanish programmes), if our country has had, therefore, this magnificent breeding ground, how is it that we've not been able to take more and better advantage of this talent in favour of the Catalan communicative fabric, which is so weak nowadays? Surely this question, which, if I am honest, I ask with a feeling of disappointment and impotence, with a sideways glance at the political and business classes, we could also ask about other activities and at other times in our history. The answer that occurs to me also pains me doubly: because of Catalonia's incapacity to capitalise on its resources, knowledge and heritage for its own benefit (as I see it, one of the causes, albeit not the only one, for the current decadence) but also because of the amount of talent we have launched, placing it at the service of trained people who have taken Spanish TV programming to where it is today. The added problem, for us, is that this trend also affects our production, which is affected by the distortion caused by this programming in a market that includes both.

From narrator to communicator

Let's go back to where we were. From a discourse analysis point of view, I must clearly state that my first attempts at commentary in Catalan followed the model that had become accredited in Catalonia in Spanish. I didn't want to run any more risks than the unavoidable ones and I opted (without thinking because, on the other hand, neither did I have the technical capacity nor experience at that time to formulate an alternative proposal) to do a broadcast in Catalan following the established rhetorical guidelines for the classic narration that was being performed in Barcelona. Moreover, it was a pattern I already knew from the broadcasts I used to carry out in Spanish. Some of its characteristics must still be remembered by the listeners tuning in. Although there was only one commentator, the narration had little individual involvement. For example, I always used to use the first

¹⁷ FRANQUET, R. *Ràdio Barcelona: setanta anys d'història (1924-1994)*. Barcelona: College of Journalists of Catalonia, 1994 (Col·lecció Vaixells de Paper).

person plural instead of using, when it might have seemed more appropriate, the first person singular, as I often do and have done for some time. I interpret this as resorting to the radio customs from the time of Franco. Although alone at the station, presenters used to start by saying "we greet you from the football ground [...]", "we believe it's an indirect free kick", "we wish the brave centre forward a rapid recovery [...]" It was not a royal "we" but an institutional one that represented more the voice of the established order than the poor bloke who was going to scream himself hoarse for ninety minutes, talking all alone non-stop. To broadcast for two hours, often in the open air, quite loudly and setting a good narrative pace you have to have a certain amount of technique and be in tolerably good physical condition. (By the way, at Radio Nacional de España in Barcelona, a benchmark station for sports broadcasts at that time, they had tried, in the fifties, to have two commentators: one for the first half and another for the second. I remember having heard, in this function, Joan Viñas Bona¹⁸ in tandem with other colleagues). With this "we", it was more the Broadcaster (**B**) speaking than the broadcaster (**b**). The commentator's free speech was limited to canons that restricted narrative ambition: instead of being a communicator capable of creating a discourse, it was rather a narrator aware of the limits (which he had perhaps learned not entirely consciously, or by intuition or deduction). Perhaps no-one had ever actually said to him "do this and that, and don't do this or that, or don't say this". There was no need. The radio orator had been disciplined in the discipline. A sports commentator too. That Barcelona-based and Barcelona-biased broadcast, as far as it was permitted, was formally strict. Narrative distance ruled the day, at the service of a neat aesthetic: diction, vocalisation, intonation, prosody, well-constructed phrases, good manners, formal elegance, a rather gentle pace... It was highly sober and, when the predictable rhetoric was in danger of becoming boring, as there was no other way of knowing how your team was

doing (matches with Barça, Espanyol and Sabadell were broadcast indistinctly, when they were in the first division), you still listened in. When I was young, I used to listen enraptured with my ear stuck to the radio. It wasn't very creative, of course, and therefore not very risky. The artistic indicator was, at best, tepid. It was crammed with common ground, internal codes that had been totally fixed, repeated clichés and untouchable rules, such as the shout for a goal. This consisted of saying the word "goal" three times and then repeating it but lengthening the "o": "*gol, gol, gol, goooooooool del Barcelona*". Now, honestly, I don't remember ever having heard anyone at that time doing it any other way here. The commentary was vaguely descriptive, discrete (with room for improvement) in its assessment in sporting terms and not entirely accurate in translating what was happening on the field into sound. Suffice to say that the positions for commentators have never been good enough (not then or now) and invention was used to cover the gaps in adverse circumstances and also, obviously, in the commentator's limitations. An explicable fact. Unlike now, traditionally the person watching the game could not hear it at the same time on the radio. This meant that the commentator could enjoy some licence and, without the risk of being found out, used the profitable support of his imagination. If there was no other way, then free rein. The description of Zarra's goal in England (1950),¹⁹ narrated in the Spanish style of the mid-20th century, has found its place in history and in the Spanish imaginary of the time without anyone ever having thought of checking its accuracy. There's no need. And it's the same with the commentators from here. Taking into account the circumstances, I think it's understandable. In professional circles people talk of the case of one commentator who, forced by a physiological need halfway through a match, arrived back at the broadcast position when the players were going to kick off again after a goal scored by the visiting team just at the start of the second half. That man thought that the kick-off was

¹⁸ Joan Viñas Bona (Girona, 1918 – Barcelona, 2002), commentator and former head of programmes at Radio Nacional de España in Barcelona, became very popular as head of the *Campaña Benéfica*, together with his colleague Emili Fàbregas, who took the role of Mr. Dalmau.

¹⁹ The forward for Athletic de Bilbao, Telmo Zarraonaindía, scored a goal at the Maracanã stadium that meant the Spanish team got to the semi-finals of the World Cup in Brazil in 1950. Matías Prats Cañete commented this game.

for the start of the second half and broadcast the rest of the match completely unaware of the goal. True or not, a fact like this would have been perfectly possible up to the seventies. I would not dare accuse that professional of bad practice. In my early radio days (free rein, still), I experienced the weakness of a commentator, alone, in a cabin, broadcasting without any playback (we had started working with microphone lines with two wires), without being able to compare anything with anyone, without having any confirmation that the commentary was reaching the aerial correctly, without being able to clarify any doubt and, due to trade union rules, I could not tell the listeners that I did not know what had happened or that I wasn't sure who had scored or, simply, that I hadn't seen anything because the whole crowd had stood up in front of me and had blocked my view of the play. At that time, I can assure you that the support of the imagination is as opportune as having removed any physiological needs before starting the job.

Leaving to one side the political impositions that limited them in general, my predecessors were very good commentators when broadcasting matches. In my opinion, technically, they had greater mastery of the voice than those of today. For them the voice was an instrument that needed to be tuned. They had worked on it and knew how to make the most of it. It had a good timbre and they had got rid of any local phonetic particularities in their speech, a condition imposed by the rules of the time. Many of them were professional dubbing actors. Nowadays, I don't know of any commentator who is and it shows. For some time now in Madrid football commentary the trend has been to shout (a lot) from the first minute, not to modulate very much and to talk almost non-stop. This is the jump, so to speak, made by the SER from the style of Pepe Bermejo (along the lines of Matías Prats Cañete and Juan Martín Navas, with variants) towards the style of Héctor del Mar. This is surely a consequence of the desire to bring the narrative tension of the Brazilians, Argentineans, Chileans, Uruguayans, etc. who, in their own way, are very good. This trend started in the last quarter of the last century and has gradually taken over the broadcasting model I associate with the voices of Miguel

Ángel Valdivieso, Enrique Fernández, José Félix Pons, Juan Antonio Fernández Abajo, Joan Lluch, Agustín Rodríguez and Pedro Ruiz, among others, listening to whom I learned the first rules of this business. I regret the oblivion into which these names have fallen. You can interpret this sincere reminiscence as my modest acknowledgement. I liked how they worked and, as I have already mentioned, I based myself on their approach in order to start to evolve broadcasts in Catalan.

Towards the “great jump”

More than thirty years have passed. It's difficult for the young people listening today to any broadcast to realise what it was like when we started. Football has changed (and the clubs), the fans have changed (and the listeners) and radio has changed (and the formats). At the beginning, football was an activity of sportsmen. Later, it became entertainment for associated groups (at the very start of the 20th century, Barça used to play wherever it could, the managers, players and supporters working hard to remove stones, get rid of shrubs, level the ground and mark out the lines on the plots of land where they ended up, whether it was where Domènech i Muntaner ended up building the Hospital de la Santa Creu or whether it was on that remote plot of land on the Horta road, where Futbol Club Barcelona played until they moved into the city of Barcelona). By the middle of the last century, football had become a significant social phenomenon. When the large stadiums arrived, capable of holding masses of fans, football was already a show. Television accentuated this dimension and turned the ball into one of the most important sources of business of the present day: image copyright, broadcasting fees, fees to be present in the stadium, fees to hold interviews, fees for a specific language, for a territory, etc. Where will it all end?²⁰ (I think we should consider whether the rules that have gradually been imposed by clubs and federations should restrict access to content and areas of informative interest, which are purely treated as commercial goods. Apart from

20 ORTA, J. M. “Dictadura televisiva de la Champions”. In: *La Vanguardia*, 28 June 2007, *Vivir*, pg. 11.

interfering with the work of journalists and the quality of information, they might also bring into doubt essential rights in the communication systems of our democracies). With so many fees and royalties, I miss (as I have already said) the rights of the receiver. A kind of civil right which no-one talks about. Receivers are the viewers, the members, people. Now large clubs want to have a lot of members. But what if, in order to be entitled to enter the stadium, they had to pay separately? They agree to play the match at variable times, decided by the TV channels, and if the associate feels that the time established is unsuitable, he or she frees up the seat and pays again to watch the match on television. The middle-men for all these royalties and fees, the audiovisual producers, television channels, owners of clubs that are limited companies, federations, professional associations, the clubs, the players and their representatives, the sponsors... Everyone has to make their own business.

But who owns football? The members? In the large clubs, the revenue from membership fees only accounts for twenty or thirty percent of the entire budget: who owns football? Players have to be signed who, apart from quality, are also media-friendly. Clubs also need fans in America and the Far East. In other words, they have to break into new markets. Nowadays, a fan is a client. The large clubs know that they'll be leaving a door open for their rivals if they don't become a benchmark for globalism. But who is the opponent? For Barça seventy years ago it was Espanyol, and afterwards it was Madrid. Soon it might be Manchester United. It could even end up being an NBA team, a multinational sportswear firm, an investment group or a multimedia holding. Taking advantage of new technologies, the growth in football has burst out of its classic structures. During the first half of the 20th century, the identification of members and fans with their respective clubs came about through geographical closeness. At first, people from Santander supported Racing, those from Bilbao, Athletic, and those from Gràcia, Europa. This relationship gradually changed and, coinciding with the start of matches being broadcast on television (also highly responsible for the boom in African footballers) and the organisation of competitions between European sides, the "giant leap" came about: the emergence of clubs we call large. Then a new kind of supporter came about. Many fans opted to identify with a club at a distance (in many cases also supporting their local

club) so that they could also belong to a large club. This phenomenon is the seed that, with the fertiliser of emigration and physical distance, has flourished in the appearance of fan clubs in places increasingly further away. Now even this stage has been superseded from the audacious view required by exciting strategic objectives. Now the club's profile has to be consolidated as a global sports-economic-media icon. The future is now.

Now everything's different. Actually, everything. Now it's a matter of course that all Barça broadcasts for Catalonia are carried out in Catalan.

Expressive strategies and devices in radio magazine programmes

Margarida Bassols, Albert Rico and Anna M. Torrent

- *This article is the result of the analysis of four radio magazine programmes, (El matí de Catalunya Ràdio, On vols anar a parar?, Un altre món and Serendípià) and, specifically, the oral language used. In fact, the first aim of the study is to highlight the linguistic strategies of the presenters in winning the empathy of the receiver towards the programme, in order to connect with its target. The text tries to answer the questions: How the presenters do to attract the audience? Which linguistic skills are more effective in order to attract listener's attention? Which differences exist between them?*

Keywords

Radio language, orality, colloquial language, fixed expressions.

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1. Introduction

The aim of this article is to analyse the strategies and devices used by presenters of radio magazine programmes that have a notable audience and are broadcast in Catalan by radio stations located in Catalonia. We will especially take into account all those linguistic elements whose function is to increase empathy with the receiver and that therefore help to configure entertainment-driven radio language. We refer to elements such as idioms, fixed expressions, colloquialisms and certain rhetorical devices such as metaphor and comparison. The fact that the magazine programmes are all broadcast by radio stations in Catalonia and in Catalan means that all the examples given are in this language.

2. Radio magazine programmes

One of the formats with a long radio tradition that that made the leap to American television as from the eighties in the last century is the magazine programme.

Magazines are programmes that translate into the audio-visual format the devices, structure and objectives of magazines on paper. They aim to entertain and to amuse but are based on information that is more or less lightweight in nature. They typically offer a series of sections where there are debates, interviews, chats, competitions, etc. They are therefore highly polymorphous and heterogeneous. Precisely because they have this segmented structure they grant a fundamental role to their presenter who continuously links the different themes. He or she is the anchor and the guarantee of unity. This person acquires such importance that we might say most of the presenters on magazine programmes are great communicators, known voices, professionals with an interesting track record.

Specifically, radio magazine programmes, as they are only broadcast via the auditory channel without the inestimable help of images,¹ have their own features. The voice, sounds, music and silence are the tools that make them original and strongly communicative. Hence they are very interesting when carrying out language or discourse analysis. The whole illocutionary force of their utterances relies on the selection of words, the intonation curve, the play between the voices, the images suggested... The language plays with spontaneity and planning: consequently, the language skills and mental agility of those involved is tested day after day.

Although the general aim of magazine programmes is to entertain, this is achieved in different ways. They might adopt a humorous tone, such as in *On vols anar a parar* or in *Un altre món*, or a serious, methodical tone may predominate, such as in *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio* or *El suplement*, which, in spite of everything, do not exclude humour. And humour is achieved by dealing with a wide range of themes, such as the weather, music, books, news, celebrities, etc. Many authors believe that, in order to entertain, their scriptwriters are forced to dumb down content and, therefore, to make the discourse more colloquial. The language model they construct is as close as possible to that of face-to-face conversation, because empathy with the listener is one of the fundamental requirements.

The format of magazine programmes is characterised by having a polyphonic transmitter, as many voices are heard. In addition to the "anchors", there is a more or less stable team of collaborators and guest voices, normally chosen due to their newsworthiness or curiosity. These programmes focus more on "the man in the street"; the man in the street is heard and they talk about the man in the street. They are also characterised by having heterogeneous receivers, as they are aimed at the general public (from a taxi driver to a housewife, from a student to a shopkeeper, etc.), and a segmented structure, made up of fixed and recognisable micro-spaces framed within an identifiable harmonisation and presentation. On the radio, these programmes also tend to be very long, many lasting around three hours.

The messages conveyed by this kind of programme have a clear social function. It is evident that they influence how listeners think, they change their beliefs and opinions, and they connect them in a pleasurable way. They convey conceptions of social structure, family organisation, occupying leisure time, roles assigned to specific social groups, such as young people, women, the elderly... Consequently, following Bassols (1997, pp. 50-53), they articulate the consensus concerning the nature of reality and ideologies, they convey the sense of being a member of a certain culture and involve their members in a shared value system, as well as explaining the appropriacy or inappropriacy resulting from a possible change. In short, they have a socialising role.

3. The oral nature of the audiovisual media

Oral language has governed human relations for centuries and centuries and there are still societies today where oral language remains as the only means of expression. Primary orality, that which has no kind of influence or association with writing, has helped humanity evolve since its origins and has developed a number of its own devices and strategies. It is the language used in face-to-face conversation and that makes the most of all the advantages of physical and temporal proximity between speakers. Technological advances at the end of the 19th century and especially the 20th century have extensively broadened its areas of application. The appearance of the telephone made it possible to have a spontaneous conversation without the need for shared space and the appearance of the tape recorder meant that conversations could be stored and played back.

However, the biggest revolution in the history of oral language has been caused by the possibility to considerably increase the number of receivers, i.e. its use in the so-called mass media. From a face-to-face conversation or a chat with a group of acquaintances or neighbours, we have gone to a frequently choral transmitter, an editing team, that sends a message to a considerable number of receivers (we only need think of the million-fold people watching some television programmes).

1 There are increasingly more programmes that can also be seen at the same time on television or on the internet.

The first medium that attempted to reach a wide audience was obviously radio and, decades later, television was added, with the advantage of including the visual channel. The orality that occurs on these media already has a very close relationship with written language because, in order to ensure maximum comprehension, efforts are made to plan the discourse and to achieve clear, short and effective utterances. We are no longer in the world of primary orality but in what is called secondary orality.

Secondary orality has a written gestation and an oral production, i.e. it is based on texts written to be said aloud. Almost everyone realises that news presenters do not improvise their speech at all, although they might wish to seem to, but read it off a teleprompter; that actors in a TV series have learned their role and that the anchors in a radio magazine programme follow a previously planned and written script.

This secondary orality does not work from scratch, ignoring everything belonging to primary orality. Quite the contrary: it takes this very much into account but also makes the most of the devices provided by it being written, such as the ordering of ideas, the lack of unnecessary repetition, an increase in information density, the elimination of secondary digressions, a regulated structure and sentence length, a careful selection of words, using punctuation to help elocution and standard correctness (nonetheless paying attention to register). As it can be planned, it can be more ordered and clearer and, therefore, more understandable and accessible for everyone.

While first orality almost always occurs in a colloquial register, typical of after-dinner conversation, as it mostly has quite a low formality and general themes (the weather, family, health, etc.), secondary orality can receive a more formal treatment, such as that found on news programmes, or a less formal treatment, such as that in TV series, game shows and magazine programmes. In the latter, it is precisely this reduction in level that leads to great empathy being achieved with receivers, because the public recognise themselves in and identify with them much more. Moreover, they can tackle any subject, ranging from the sex of the angels to the retirement of Lluís Llach.

4. The corpus analysed

In order to produce this study, four magazine programmes in Catalan were selected that, due to their criteria of audience and general themes (not specialised), were interesting to analyse, attempting to cover the two large radio stations in Catalan: Catalunya Ràdio and COMRàdio, the morning and evening slots both during the week and at the weekend and taking into account only the voices of the professionals.

We therefore analysed an edition of *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio* and of *On vols anar a parar?* on Catalunya Ràdio, and one of *Un altre món* and of *Serendípià* on COMRàdio, broadcast during the week of the Mercè festival in 2007. With Antoni Bassas, Lluçia Ferrer, Xavier Duran and Clara Sánchez-Castro heading the teams.

5. Embellished language

The observation of the language model used in the programmes analysed will not evaluate the linguistic quality, i.e. the correctness or faults in speech and the application of the morphology, syntax and lexis. It will attempt to detect the devices used to achieve maximum empathy with listeners, to get as close as possible to them and catch their attention. The target is therefore the so-called "embellished language", that which tints messages with expressiveness and is based on diverse phraseology and stereotypes.

Specifically, a study will be made of its patrimonial and new forms and of the most frequently used expressive procedures, such as phraseology, colloquialisms and rhetorical devices.

5.1. *Patrimonial forms* are those forms of speech that constitute the most idiosyncratic accumulation of language and that have been passed down from generation to generation. Many refer to the rural world and are focused on phenomena such as the passing of time ("a bona hora", "no cantar-ne ni gall ni gallina"), wealth or poverty ("no tenir set pams de terra"), the hardness of work ("donar llenya a algú") or other perceptions principally related to the physical world ("alt com un campanar") or with people's character or behaviour ("tenir l'esquena dreta", "ser del puny estret"). These forms, which have

endured in certain discourses, contrast with other more modern forms, the new forms, which in spite of having the same goal of expressiveness and often focusing on the same concepts, abandon certain references and do not hesitate to include slang or foreign terms, such as “vendre la moto a algú”, “anar a la seva bola”, “ser un crac” or “feliuejar”.² In the case of magazine programmes, the use of one form or another is a primary point of interest.

5.2. With regard to the most frequently used *expressive procedures*, we have obtained the following list:

- a) Phraseology. It is understandable that this is very present: it livens up expression, helps the speaker to emphasise (and very often exaggerate) the features he or she wishes to highlight and the purpose of his or her discourse, and also helps the presenter to connect with the speaker or listener, because the shared phraseology brings them closer. In short, it is an inestimable communicative tool.

The phraseology of magazine programmes usually employs concepts that refer to reality or contemporary issues, or to the attitudes or character of the professionals taking part in them.

Within the section of phraseology we will also take incorrect phraseology into account, a consequence of the speaker's incompetence. Generally, it appears due to interference, when Spanish imposes itself on the Catalan, directly or indirectly (“de peu”, “en un obrir i tancar d'ulls”). There are also cases where, without any interference, the Catalan fixed expression becomes deformed (“no es pot estar a missa i repicant”).

- b) The aliases of people and places. Naming someone or somewhere via an alias, instead of using its real name, underlines the fact that the speaker and audience belong to the same social group and that they share knowledge of the group's references. Aliases are usually inspired by the most relevant characteristic of the person or place but, in certain magazine programmes, there is also a large num-

ber of ironic aliases created about an anecdote, joke or casual event that becomes sufficiently important to turn into the nickname for the person behind it or affected by it. So one collaborator on *On vols anar a parar?* is known by the aliases of Brokeback Serra and El Cowboy (with a clear reference to the stars of the film *Brokeback Mountain*), giving the discourse a humorous and hyperbolic tone, with different inferences enlivened by the programme's presenter.

- c) Exclamatory utterances. Exclamations, which we use to express our intense emotions and feelings, are quite frequent in magazine programmes. The language is therefore spontaneous and frank, as in groups of friends when conversing. Far from the characteristic containment of public discourse, that of magazine programmes does not hide the most primary and intimate reactions to express an opinion or feelings about any subject. However, the selection of exclamatory expressions can vary quite a lot, from a moderate “Va ser fantàstic!” or “Mare meva”, to the most outspoken “Amb aquesta pinta que té!”.
- d) Colloquialisms. Magazine programmes are also a fertile field for colloquialisms, both whether genuine or borrowed. With the use of words and expressions such as “dinyar-la”, “xato”, “carinyo”, “bon rotllo”, “tenir un pollastre muntat”, “maca perquè sí”, the speaker places him or herself at the language level of the audience, using a homey register. He or she thereby becomes a very close and accessible person: remember that most magazine programmes have sections where listeners are directly involved.
- e) Vulgarisms. These can only be found in some magazine programmes: those offering a more rebellious and uninhibited language and content. The references are sexual (“posar a parir”, “collonut”, “cony de bèstia”, “palla mental”), sometimes scatological (“tenir un merder”), but never religious.
- f) Rhetorical devices (metaphor, comparison...).

2 “Feliuejar”, due to the singer Núria Feliu.

Quite a frequent use can be observed of devices that allude to the world of entertainment and the media. They may be comparisons, which in some magazine programmes do not avoid insolence (“com si fos una *drag queen*”, “irritada como la natja de la Montserrat Caballé”); metonymy (“tenir un Josep M. Bach a dins”, “menjar calent [the editors of a newspaper]”); metaphor (“vendre il·lusions”, “activar la brúixola interna”). In those magazine programmes with a more demanding language, other devices may appear, such as inversion (“les paraules el busquen a ell o ell busca a les paraules”) or paradox (“l’alegria sempre em fa plorar”). We will look at syllepsis in a special section, i.e. those expressions that have a double meaning, which means they can create misunderstanding and play with sexual and scatological content.

- g) Usage specific to the group of professionals on the programme. The programme's presenter and his or her collaborators set out a style for the programme's language that becomes established over time and differentiates itself from the style of other magazine programmes, irrespective of whether they are from the same station. Apart from the programme's general tone, the selection made of expressive devices is a decisive factor and it seems that the presenter infects his or her collaborators, or the reverse. So “grups caspa”, “moment *freaky*” or the murmur of “oh la la, Julià em fas vibrar” remind us of a particular magazine programme.
- h) Expressions from a different language. We're referring to foreign expressions used expressively not to involuntary interference. In fact, the inclusion of a discrete number of Spanish or English words or phrases, such as “pinganillo”, “pechuga”, “pillar”, “*freaky*”, “*show business*”, “*modelo vintage*” is typical of colloquial language and adds a certain touch to the language that varies between humour and a perception of modernity.

6. The programmes analysed

6.1. *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio* or the established leader (26 September 2007)

From Monday to Friday 7 am to 11.45 am. During the first 5 years run by Josep Cuní. Since the 1995-1996 season it has been directed by Antoni Bassas and in the 2006-2007 sea-son it was the leader in its time slot, with more than 400,000 listeners.

Presentation³

Until ten, news, the latest or in-depth interviews with the key movers in the news, analysis by speakers and the listener's ombudsman. The programme combines contemporary issues with entertainment and humour. We take our mobile units out onto the street, to provide specific information on incidents and news at any time.

Comment

So, among Catalan magazine programmes, *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio* is a “classic” programme and this manifests itself in how the anchor presents himself. Antoni Bassas is courteous in tone but always maintains an enthusiastic and optimistic air; he does not monopolise the time by taking part in the different sections but, when he does intervene, he does so precisely and, if necessary, gets involved.

Empathy with the receiver

El matí de Catalunya Ràdio has a consolidated audience and is the most listened-to programme in Catalonia in its time band. We can therefore say that the empathy works: the presenter and his listeners know and understand each other. Below we will analyse in which aspects this empathy makes itself felt.

Structure

Like other magazine programmes, *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio* is a polyphonic programme. The presenter has a stable group of collaborators, people who discuss issues and impersonators, and attends to contributions from the audience

³ We will base this on the presentations given by the teams themselves for the programmes, provided on their websites.

by telephone, email or ordinary post. Every day the opinion of the listeners is requested on one or more contemporary issues and they respond to this demand. The listener's sensation is of listening to a choral programme where everyone can give their point of view, at least where all opinions are heard. What differentiates *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio* from other magazine programmes, however, is the role of the presenter in this polyphony that can sometimes become chaotic.

Antoni Bassas directs the course of the programme with firm but delicate hand. He takes part in all the sections but rarely is the absolute protagonist. With confidence, he distributes the speaking turns in the conversation, summarises or recapitulates the aspects that have been covered, when required, announces what will come next, lists the summaries, etc. Linguistically, he fixes the space and time of the programme, with regular interventions giving the time, with recapitulations on what has been said in previous sections and announcing the content that will be covered next, on the latest interview, etc.

And this distance with which Bassas runs the programme adds value to his involvement, when this occurs. Involvement which he himself makes sure gets particularly noticed (see below).

Voice

He has a baritone voice, velvety and harmonious, and clear, model diction. He modulates his voice, with emphatic intonation, to indicate his attitude towards the subjects he's commenting on. He tends to underline his agreement with what the speakers are saying with slight but perceptible vocalisations.⁴ He always has a positive, energetic attitude; he conveys enthusiasm but his mood is always contained, never wild. He rejects vulgar humour and offensiveness and uses subtle irony and touches of humour whenever the subject allows.

Subjects

In general, contemporary issues are dealt with. Some are more significant than others, such as the burning of the photos of the king of Spain, government budgets or subsidies

promised by Zapatero's government, which are covered in the "tertulia" or chat. The interviews also tackle contemporary issues: the world language day or the murder of Litvinenko. In the middle, micro-spaces with news or issues of a more timeless nature: what we call our parents ("papa-mama, papà-mamà, pare-mare"), and the section "Veritat o mentida" (Truth or Lies), when listeners are asked their opinion about a statement by a thinker (in the programme analysed the statement was by Ortega y Gasset: "falling in love is a kind of temporary imbecility"). The section "L'enigmàrius" is another indicator of the programme's linguistic sensitivity (the first, as we have mentioned, is the correct language used by Antoni Bassas). In all sections where this is possible, the listeners can take part, by telephone or by email.

The way in which the presenter and the collaborators on the programme represent the subjects using linguistic elements in their utterances, technically called modalisation or modality, is an important factor in the complicity established between those on the radio and their audience. In this case, the linguistic devices reveal the degree of distance or involvement with the issues covered.

In *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio*, for example, they talk about the issue of the burning of photographs of the king, which Antoni Bassas introduces with the utterance "l'última tendència en materia de protesta independentista...", somewhat distant, very far from the warlike excitement of the other broadcasters. And the opinions of selected speakers on this issue, naturally, maintain a proper tone.

However, it is not true that passion or positioning are unusual in this magazine programme. In the interview with the widow of Litvinenko, Bassas modulates his questions to underline the importance of the event, he gets involved in it, is extremely delicate with the interviewee; at the beginning, he says to her: "Ante todo, déjeme que subraye el coraje que debe significar para usted... porque en todas las entrevistas debe recordar momentos muy dolorosos"; and ends the interview with two resounding sentences and an imprecation: "[...] sólo le puedo desear que algún día, en efecto, sepamos la verdad, que los culpables sean castigados y que la vergüenza caiga sobre ellos!". Bassas himself does

4 The French linguist Catherine Kerbrat-Orecchioni calls them *grondisèmes*, from *grondir*, 'to growl'.

not hesitate in stating his opinion when the controversial issue appears, in the micro-space with Judit Mascó, of the Nolita advertisement: the photo of the anorexic girl. At odds with the doubts of the female presenter, Bassas is categorical: "Jo ho tinc claríssim. És un ús indecent, amb finalitats comercials, d'una malaltia".

In the programme analysed, the presenter believes he must justify what is said in the declarations by the manager of Barça, Laporta, ("paso a la política", etc.), with an energetic declaration: "Tanco aquesta qüestió... fent una nota a peu de pàgina [...] Que ningú no es pensi que si Catalunya Ràdio a las 9 del dematí està parlant d'això és perquè tingui ni cap indicació de ningú ni cap intuïció. És, senzillament, fruit de l'observació. El senyor Laporta va fer unes manifestacions, el dia 11 de setembre [...] que ningú no vegi ni segones ni dolentes intencions de cap mena".

When Bassas feels particularly at ease, he shows it via a festive intonation, with humour. This happens in the interview with the linguist David Crystal, whom he encourages ("Endavant, sisplau") to recite the numbers 1 to 10 when the latter tells him he has learned them in Basque. Some minutes later he asks him what the sentence "I'm very happy to be here" would sound like when said by the queen or by Beckham.

Expressive devices

Regarding the most frequently used expressive forms in *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio*, we highlight the rhetorical devices such as irony, antithesis, comparison or rhetorical questions with which the presenter peppers his speech; the use of exclamations, "measured" colloquialisms, stereotypes (sometimes perhaps with an ironic touch) and the most traditional patrimonial forms. On the other hand, aliases, vulgarisms, inferred forms and foreign words or phrases are avoided.

6.2. *On vols anar a parar?* or Pace and "good crack". (26 September 2007)

On Catalunya Ràdio, from Monday to Friday from 4 to 7 pm. With Lluçia Ferrer and with a large team of co-presenters and habitual collaborators. First broadcast: 2006-2007 season. Audience 2006-2007: 66,000 listeners.

Presentation

On vols anar a parar? returns to continue to wake you up in the afternoon. Lluçia Ferrer and her creatures will be in charge of setting the pace for the afternoons on Catalunya Ràdio, with the aim to entertain but also to inform you about what you're interested in. Because *On vols anar a parar?* tends towards the young but is going to be the ideal programme for entertaining the whole family... This year there will also be a new competition, interviews and constant references to contemporary issues.

Comment

On vols anar a parar? is now in its second season. This programme has its eye firmly set on young people but this doesn't stop it from getting voices in off from creatures to appeal to tenderness and from "granny" or *iaia Antònia*, who is incredibly full of life and funny. Because of this, it is a programme with a lot of nerve, full of varied intonation and laughter. The sexual play and domestic discussions between the male and female presenters and the new words they give to the introductory songs achieve a maximum degree of complicity between those at the microphone and those listening to them.

Empathy with the receiver

The programme's team aims to convey a feeling that the listener is with them and achieves great empathy with them. In fact, their register is close to colloquial, as much as permitted by the medium, simulating a spontaneous and relaxed conversation among colleagues and using an interesting range of devices, particularly syllepsis, especially with inferences of a sexual nature, exclamations, vulgarisms and interferences, foreign words and phrases and colloquialisms. The fact that Lluçia Ferrer is surrounded by what he calls his "bichos" (creatures or bugs), therefore, and that he uses funny nicknames to refer to them reinforces the humorous play. Audience participation also plays an important role in the programme via contestants, emails, interviews sometimes of a "vox pop" type and telephone calls. Distance between the presenters and listeners is minimal.

Structure

The format of the magazine programme is filled with a notable variety of sections: "L'entrevista" (the interview), "L'esta-

dística del dia" (statistic of the day), "La notícia del dia" (the news item of the day), the parody of Armand Mauri and Núria Feliu, "El càsting de la Simon" (Simon's casting), "La repassada" (the review), "La iaia Antònia" (granny Antonia), "El concurs" (the competition), "Crònica des de Hollywood" (chronicle from Hollywood), "Els viatges" (travel), "Show business", "Trucades d'ultratomba" (calls from what lies beyond the grave), "Les brometes del Tuñon" (Tuñon's jokes), "Trencamites" (myth busters), "El club Zampa Zampa" (the Zampa Zampa club), "Teledubtes" (Tele-doubts), etc., sections that occur one after the other very quickly and that make the broadcast fast-paced. This segmentation into small sections, micro-spaces, has two advantages: it captures the attention without requiring constant effort to keep paying attention and fans recognise the different spaces, allowing them to look for and consume those they like best.

Voice

Many young adult voices are heard in the programme that talk and laugh together. And the predominant tone is not radio-style, with imposed or emphatic voices, but very natural. The two presenters, Lluçia and Susi, direct the programme every effectively.

Subjects

Although it might seem that the "good crack" makes the programme somewhat inconsequential, it deals with contemporary issues with a certain attention, such as the universal day of languages or the appearance of a new newspaper, in this edition

Expressive devices

In *On vols anar a parar?* many of the most traditional patrimonial forms are used but neither do they reject the more innovative ones: they use aliases both for people and places, as these are a constant source of humour; they also use a lot of exclamations, colloquialisms and vulgarisms. On the other hand, foreign words and phrase play a very important role (generally from Spanish or English), almost always for humorous purposes, and the particular recreation of stereotypical formulas, with the same intent.

As far as rhetorical devices are concerned, comparison and metaphor predominate, sometimes very outspoken and tasteless.

6.3. *Un altre món* or optimising resources.

(26 September 2007)

On COMRàdio, from Monday to Friday from 4 to 7 pm. With Jordi Duran and a small team of professionals. In italics, Albert Vico (the programme's assistant director), who wasn't in the studio on this particular day. First broadcast: 2006-2007 season.

Presentation

We reverse things. We look at life from a different angle. We entertain with information, we inform with entertainment, we infotain and enterform and end up doing whatever we want because the afternoons on COMRàdio are the afternoons of Un altre món. Congratulations on the programme!

Comment

This programme takes a humorous look at what is happening in the world and also targets young listeners but without forgetting adults. It is based quite a lot on interviews with those involved in the most familiar events and on stable collaborators. It uses some sound effects and a lot of music for young adults. It deals with subjects related to contemporary issues and is fundamentally based on the presenter's communicative skills.

Empathy with the receiver

It might be said that all the work carried out to achieve empathy with the receiver falls to the programme's presenter. However, direct appeals to the receiver are missing, as well as more humorous devices. It seems as if everyone in the studio is involved. The number of collaborators, quite small, means that the sections are sometimes lengthened to three quarters of an hour, making the programme less agile. However, the presenter knows how to imprint an uninhibited air on the programme, distancing it from the more informative magazine programmes, and he skilfully attends to the abundant telephone interviews with the listeners.

Structure

The format is full of different interviews with people related to the world of leisure and entertainment and with a political chat or "tertulia". It has sections by specific people, such as "La cuina de la Mireia Carbó" (Mireia Carbó's cooking) and "Les propostes de la Minguell" (Minguell's recommen-

dations). And it also includes segments dedicated to modern music and automobiles.

Voice

The presenter's voice is pleasant and frank and he modulates it according to his emotive reactions in order to convey direct involvement with the subjects in question.

Subjects

These range from contemporary issues, such as the day of language and the appearance of a shocking advertisement to the latest record by a young singer, including an interview with a professional whistler and a cooking section. The duration of the sections means that the subjects can be dealt with in full. So, for example, a couple of advertising people analyse the pros and cons of the billboard by the firm Nolita, showing an anorexic girl.

Music plays an important part in *Un altre món*. A certain sensitivity is perceived towards today's music world. And we don't just mean signature music for the programme, as in *On vols anar a parar?*, but music commented on and selected.

Expressive devices

Colloquialism predominate in *Un altre món* and there is a moderate use of vulgarisms; foreign words and phrases are freely used, which form part of today's young slang, and sometimes incorrect phraseology is used, a result of interference.

6.4. *Serendípia*. A woman's look and voice.

(23 September 2007)

COMRàdio, Saturday and Sunday from 9 am to 12 pm. With Clara Sánchez-Castro and a team of collaborators. In italics, Santi, from Castellón. First broadcast: 2005-2006 season.

Presentation

Discovered by chance. A very intimate atmosphere. And things, many things... good things, of course. Just let yourself get carried away by the rhythm of the waves and enjoy what you feel at each moment, with no reservations. Welcome to Serendípia!

Comment

Run by a female presenter from Girona, this magazine programme is now in its third season and actually replaced *Dies de ràdio* (2000-2005) by Elisenda Roca. It's a very poetical programme that uses rhetorical devices, appeals to the listener and intonation to achieve complicity with and proximity to its audience. This programme makes room for music with *swing*, the philosophy of life and books, with a very natural and correct tone, aimed directly at feelings.

Empathy with the receiver

Clara produces the programme based on a particular look at everyday things, about what concerns and interests us in everyday life. And she does so in a way that the listener is convinced that she is also concerned and interested in the same things. She reacts emotionally to the comments of her collaborators and shows this with exclamatory expressions and many rhetorical devices. She combines intelligence with emotions using a steady, relaxing pace, very appropriate for the listeners at this time in the morning on Saturdays and Sundays. The very selection of subjects leads to great empathy with the receiver.

Listener participation is also encouraged via the section "Melodies domèstiques" (domestic melodies), where your favourite song can be requested with an *ad hoc* letter.

Structure

The format of *Serendípia* includes a review of the newspapers of the day and the most interesting news of the week. It contains the sections "Economia poètica" (poetic economy), "La brúixola interior" (the inner compass) and "La cuina dels famosos" (celebrity cooking). It also dedicates some time to science, books and bookshops, as well as television.

Voice

The presenter's voice is evocative, clear and expressive, full of nuances. It goes straight to the heart but also plays with intelligence.

Subjects

The subjects dealt with by *Serendípia* are those of life more than the media. In this edition, for example, time is spent analysing the repercussions of the end of the holidays and

the return to work and daily routine on our mental state and biorhythms. If we had to find a common denominator for the programme's sections, it would be culture. Books, cinema, theatre, poetry, science, music, philosophy... are also present.

Expressive devices

*Serendípi*a uses self-restrained, correct language with a significant use of traditional phraseology, exclamations and different formulas to appeal to the receiver. There is also a significant use of rhetorical devices such as comparison, metaphor, antithesis and hyperbole. However, it rejects barbarisms and stereotypes.

7. Comparative study

Having reviewed the linguistic devices used by these four radio programmes, it might be interesting to highlight some differences.

The first concerns the objective of each programme. While *On vols anar a parar?* and *Un altre món* define themselves as magazine programmes with a certain amount of humour (and therefore with an entertainment function), *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio* has a more serious and informative nature, although it also resorts to humour in some of its sections, and *Serendípi*a wants to make people think about life and to comment on aspects of cultural activity.

This, together with the time each programme is on air, means that they have a different audience. While the morning magazine programme is aimed at adults who are at home or in the car and wish to be informed of the latest news in depth and of the latest political opinions, the two in the afternoon are designed for younger listeners, who wish to amuse themselves for a while. Finally, the weekend magazine programme is different in that it is on air when people don't normally work, young people are usually sleeping and some adults are awake, and it does not cover the five working days, as do the other three.

Neither do they resemble each other in terms of how well their listeners know their content and presenters. *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio* has a very well-established audience who already enjoy a long-held complicity with the programme and with the more or less implicit ideology it brings with it,

an objective position tinged with nationalism. *On vols anar a parar?*, for its part, right from the start was able to take advantage of the fact that its presenter had already been successful on other media and is an emerging figure, and had already tested similar formulas to those used in this programme. So the young target could easily recognise this and could identify the programme with quite a clear positioning of "good crack". *Un altre món* requires its presenter to win market share in competition with Lluçia Ferrer and therefore to strengthen its differentials. With much fewer resources it has embarked upon an unfair battle; but it has done quite well. *Serendípi*a focuses on a more limited audience, although the presenter's personality adds a touch of originality, which makes it different and interesting.

To end, and specifically with regard to the empathic linguistic devices already mentioned, we can make some observations by way of summary. *El matí de Catalunya Ràdio* does not have many new forms nor does it contain appeals to the receiver, it avoids vulgarisms and uses very polished language. *On vols anar a parar?* creates new forms of expression, using nicknames with success and is full of colloquialisms, vulgarisms, foreign words and phrases or interference and syllepsis, bringing it much closer to its natural audience, young people, and making it very persuasive. *Un altre món* is along the same lines but with less linguistic vitality and more foreign words and phrases or interference. And, finally, *Serendípi*a bases its great strength on rhetorical devices, appeals to the receiver and exclamations.

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Coarse television language as an ethical indicator of how cultured a society is

Maria Rosa Buxarrais and Amèlia Tey

■ *Television is one of the discoveries of the 20th century that has had the greatest repercussions on social interactions everywhere, as it has changed habits, has facilitated transactions, has provided education, has created and destroyed celebrities, has universalised and globalised. In fact, we could say that it has become a common symbolic environment of interaction with the majority of the things we think and do. This article attempts to show the relationship established between language, television and culture of today and become an indicator of the ethical values of a society, the relationship between what is seen on television, what is said, the values conveyed and the possible influence on the behaviour and values of people.*

Keywords

Television, coarse language, values, ethics, models, behaviour, education, pedagogy.

Introduction

Nowadays, no-one doubts that television is one of the discoveries of the 20th century that has had most repercussions on social interactions everywhere. It has changed customs and habits, has facilitated transactions, has provided education, has created and destroyed celebrities, has universalised and globalised. Nonetheless, and without wishing to be apocalyptic, we are aware of the great power it has and we make it socially responsible for creating many of today's ills: generating violence, causing a loss of identity and the intellectual atrophy of future generations, among others. But we have to look back at the origins of television to see that its main purpose, at the beginning, was not to generate messages but to transmit them. Television was therefore used to transmit any kind of content, irrespective of the language it used.

We believe it is important to remember that, in spite of television having a limited use at the beginning, as there were few people who could see it, over time this use has spread and the number of homes with television has increased exponentially. This led to the start of the great transformation and it gradually took on more functions in addition to the initial one (transmitting information). We are referring to educational, recreational, critical and cultural functions, among others. This overloading of responsibilities has led to television being attributed many of today's social dysfunctions. In our opinion, the causes are highly varied, as in a society such as our own, so changeable and complex, it is difficult to attribute the origin of anything to only one element, so we believe it is very brazen to lay the "blame" or the "responsibility" exclusively at the door of television. If we were to analyse these social dysfunctions in depth, something which is not our lot and for which there are specialists today, in almost all cases we would have to refer to a multi-factor origin.

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On the other hand, the qualitative increase in cultural ignorance, the reduction in the number of books read by people every year, the growth in the levels of violence, manifestations of misunderstood patriotism, even the "bad speech" of people or the incorrect use of language have become effects that need to be analysed.

Although we doubt the training purpose of television (because, as we have mentioned above, it was not designed for this task), we do believe that the language it employs should be taken into account, as both the form and content are perceived as models by some viewers. In other words, the ways of speaking used on television are imitated by many viewers in their everyday lives and are therefore models of the values transmitted.

In our society, all sectors interrelate with each other and the actions of one have repercussions on the others. If we compare society with a living organism, the wellbeing of whose organs largely influences its functioning, we can extrapolate that, when anything goes wrong and affects it negatively, the whole suffers just like the parts. Therefore, and continuing with this simile, we may deduce that the use of coarse language in the street may be a consequence (or not) of coarse language on television which, lately, has been proliferating at great speed.

Along the same lines, we must also be aware that each country's television system is a reflection of its historical, political, economic and cultural context (Gerbner, 1958, quoted by Bryant and Zillman, 1996). Hawkins and Pingree (1982) talk of the "acculturation of value systems" when referring to the fact that, since childhood, we learn from television, thanks to repeated "lessons", values, ideologies and perspectives. In this way, television has become a common symbolic environment of interaction for the majority of things we think and do. An exploration of its dynamics can help us to develop and understand the forces of social cohesion, of cultural dependence and resistance to change, as well as the need to develop alternatives and the essential degrees of independence for behaviour and self-control in the television era (Bryant and Zillman, 1996, pg. 60).

We are eminently social beings and it's true that we do not relate merely through oral and/or written language but the language of gesture is equally or more important in order to grasp the meaning of our interlocutor's message. In spite of this, language (spoken or written) arrives to us very directly

and either encourages the desire to continue to communicate with our interlocutor or hinders this relationship.

In order to complete our analytical perspective when dealing with this theme, we would like to point out, moreover, that throughout the history of philosophy theoretical connections have been established between language and the ethical dimension of man. Words, exclusively of human beings, transcend the level of communication of natural needs and achieve their specific peculiarity when they enable and name moral and ethical estimations. We would agree with the perspective on "the ethics of language", i.e. a proposal that aims to underline that the pragmatic use of language (in our case television language) involves an ethical dimension that cannot be ignored.

Within the ethics of language, there are two highly interesting proposals that can offer us insight for our analysis. Although in this text we will not develop them, we would like to mention them here and present some of their ideas. These are Habermas' theories of communicative action and the ethical theory of Levinas. "Talking to someone, using a language pragmatically to establish an intersubjective relationship, presupposes a dual layer of communication: the level of what is said and the fact of saying it to someone" (Rojas, 2000). For both authors, language, before it can be conceived as a mirror of reality, must be understood from the interpersonal dimension it necessarily opens up and embodies. Hence television language acquires this ethical dimension that these authors talk about, as it is very clear about who its recipients are and how they can incorporate it both into their way of interpreting the world and also into how they communicate with others.

Definition of coarse language

In the article, we are interested in showing the relationship established between three of the concepts we have referred to in the introduction; i.e. the relationship established between language, television and present-day culture as an indicator of a society's ethical values. That is why we will start our discourse by clarifying what we mean by "coarse" language.

We know that language is a cultural product, one of the results of the historical interaction between people, even a

tool for survival. It is therefore changing and dynamic over time. Semiotics distinguishes three instances: language, tongue and speech, which can help us in our analysis. Language is the abstract instance, where the things found by people over centuries of verbal interaction are crystallised and from where they are defended. It is the synchronic instance where the rules of grammar and syntax are assigned that become a "must". At a secondary level, tongue is each of the peculiarities acquired by language according to the physical and cultural area where it is generated, flourishes and is established; it's the territory of different languages. And, lastly, speech is the appropriation and practical specification a person makes of this language acquired through education and living together with other people; it is the pragmatic instance, diachronic, it is use and abuse and, above all, it is the appropriation of a tongue.

Although experts state that language is confined to the sphere of education and speech to that of the media, it's very difficult to separate the permanent symbiosis they have. For this reason, television is not a place where this "must" is taught or introduced but it becomes a laboratory where the variety of games and transformations suffered by language during speaking can be observed and recorded. We should investigate to what degree the language of television reflects, as some would claim, what happens in society or to what degree it generates it. However, language is not totally separate from education or ethics because its impoverishment on television concerns us not only as educators but also as citizens of a country.

When we review, as is our intent in a moment, the language being employed in a sample of programmes, we will surely be able to establish what is happening with the language and tongue of our country, we will verify whether this kind of language has been incorporated into everyday speech and also to what extent coarse language is present.

It is quite complex to define what coarse language is. As also happens with many of the concepts related to social and human sciences, when we try, we come across difficulties resulting from the concept's ambiguity. This ambiguity comes from the diverse approaches to reality, i.e. it depends who is making the definition and how it is used in its context. However, a coarse word in a group of people aged 20-30 is not valued in the same way as in another group aged 12-20 or by children aged 4 to 12. Evidently,

neither is it the same for those aged over 30. Possibly, if we carried out a survey among people of different ages, asking them to rate whether terms were coarse or not, in many cases we would find ratings from 0 to 10. In other words, some would not consider the words as coarse language whereas others would shudder on hearing them.

The second difficulty we are referring to is directly related to the ideologies, beliefs and convictions of people due to which we can observe great variability within the same group of the population, for example among adults. In fact, some have even established a relationship between this and people's level of education, and this means we run the risk of labelling or being labelled quickly. So better educated people would talk better than badly educated people. But it is very risky to refer to someone in these terms because who establishes when someone is well or badly educated? And, what does it mean, to be well or badly educated? Are there absolute criteria for this theme? Or is it quite the opposite and, consequently, is this issue totally relative? We shall leave it there because we are referring to a debate that is too weighty to clarify in just a couple of lines, although our position may be perceived throughout the article, which we state here, namely that we believe there are some minimum criteria and values that allow us to coherently structure the diversity of educational models.

We can add a further element, the factor of time, which reveals itself in the acceptance of the variability of the definition. There is a dynamic in the rating of words, which seem to be "living" concepts because they are in "interaction" with the society of the time. So it seems that we can also establish a relationship between the characteristics of a society and the type of language employed.

A swear word or, more precisely, an ugly word, is a common term used to describe the words of coarse language. But which items we can place in the sack of coarse language or not is a cultural convention and, therefore, we cannot ignore the characteristics of the society at any specific time.

So-called swear words are often merely awkward expressiveness, anaemia, the incapacity to express oneself orally so that use is made of the language of monosyllables, gestures and shouts. Many television channels do not even have a minimum code of ethics, although apparently there are regulations that are hardly complied with, supremely manifested in coarse words and offensive gestures.

Menéndez Pidal, a writer from the '98 generation, spoke of three kinds of languages: educated language, popular language and vulgar language. But we should also add another at a lower level: coarse language, which reveals the intellectual paucity of many participants in the life of today's television, in addition to their lack of responsibility and ethics. In the same respect, we can also add the phrase by Alfonso Reyes, a Mexican poet from the beginning of the 20th century, who stated that "when tongues are spoiled, peoples are spoiled".

Coarse language is therefore related to vulgarity, as the word 'coarse' means 'wanting in fineness, delicacy'. And it is logically the opposite of what is fine, polished and classic.

Coarse is any behaviour, manifestation or word that does not correspond to delicacy, to what is refined, to courtesy or good manners. But, we ask ourselves again... what is vulgar? Or, put another way: who dares to say that something is coarse or not? It is difficult to set ourselves up as judges of anything like that when we know of examples from history that make us doubt such categorical statements. Vincent van Gogh, as the rest of the impressionist painters, was one of the coarsest painters, as impressionism replaced soft, delicate and fine brushes with others that were thick, dense and strong. Consequently, what we consider as coarse depends on various factors, as mentioned above.

We must be aware that the media have been an essential factor in the evolution of taste and in the aesthetic education of the masses, both due to their own creations and products and also due to the implicit or explicit judgements that form the basis of their messages. The simple fact of presenting a dress design as worthy of attention, or a way of talking, a way of behaving, means disseminating a certain taste or preference. There are coarse words that stop being coarse over time because they become part of the cultural heritage of a society; i.e. they stop being considered negative and are given, in their meaning, the character of a democratic expression. Vulgar, from the Latin *vulgare*, means the act of making something public and, therefore, the words we include in the category of coarse language can stop belonging to this category if they are assimilated by popular culture and their negative character disappears.

Edgar Morin (1966, pp. 69-70, quoted in Sánchez Noriega, 1997) points out four processes in vulgarisation: 1) the simplification of the original work which is not due to a

technical need to change format or genre but to mass consumption; 2) Manichaeism, when a dramatic conflict appears with emphasised profiles where good and bad fight it out; 3) updating introduces contemporary sensibilities into classic works and personalities and dramatisations are designed according to present-day tastes, and 4) modernisation transfers the actions of the past to the present day.

The culture of bad taste or *kitsch* (Eco, 1977, pp. 79-151) is one of the main results of dissemination that attempts to put the discoveries of timeless culture within reach of everyone. What is *kitsch* does not only depend on the message but also on the attitude of the consumer, which can turn a true work of art into fetish in the process of reception.

In an article published in *La Vanguardia* (04/09/07), Joan Jiménez, referring to this point, commented that "vulgarity has been taken over by television. The harshness, ordinariness, bad taste, coarse foul language has its place in the general nature of the programmes that television injects us with on a daily basis, both public and private".

Coarse television language therefore encodes particular positions, beliefs and prejudices, verbal conduct aimed at rebellion, the absence of authority, ease, money and sex. Often the verbal transgression suggests an ideology that is trying to convey a revolt against authority, that which is established, that which is measured. For example, Bart Simpson, from the popular series *The Simpsons*, uses simple coarse language, anti-language, characterised by short exchanges with a lack of information. They are basic dialogues in which a lot of misunderstanding, superposition and overlap occur, a constant search for one to impose himself on the other. The new television anti-hero follows his own rules and, in his own way, makes fun of the system.

Television language and vicarious learning

Given all we have talked about above, we would like to ask a question: can we therefore manage to identify any characteristic of the definition of coarse words that we can share, leaving to one side the different approaches to reality, different ideologies, beliefs and variation due to time?

From our point of view, there are elements that can identify the definition and that remain constant. To start with, let us

ask the reader the following question: what bothers us about coarse language? Possibly, the different answers imply, one way or another, a consideration of values. We are referring to respect, to oneself or to another, or more precisely a lack of respect that we attribute to the coarse word. That is what stops us from considering it as part of our cultural heritage and, on the other hand, that makes us perceive it as a threat.

Once again we repeat the idea that the media play a very important role in the socialisation of norms and expectations regarding conduct. From this point of view, social sciences show that individual psychological varieties are never the sole basis of opinions and that the behaviour of individuals depends on social norms, role systems, social controls and hierarchies of social position. In other words, on consensual validation exercised by the reference group on these norms, attitudes and opinions. Specifically, the media have two basic effects on behaviour related to norms, attitudes, opinions, sentiments, feelings and emotions (DeFleur/Ball-Rokeach, 1982, pp. 332-334, quoted in Bryant and Zillman, 1996): the activation or setting up of a behaviour as a consequence of mass messages, and the deactivation of carrying out a certain behaviour, also as a consequence of this kind of message.

Bandura's cognitive social theory (1994) also explains the kind of influence acquired by television models on people's verbal and non-verbal behaviour. The models' actions assume the power to activate and guide behaviour when, in the eyes of the viewers, they are good predictors that they will obtain positive results if they act in a similar way. The fashion industry and that of "good" taste are based on the model's power to induce society.

In any case, the models' influences act in different ways: as tutors, inhibitors, releasers, social prompters and inciters of emotion, enhancing values and conceptions of reality that can function separately but that are often done together. So the modelling of coarse language is based on the showing of television models that use and promote the use of this language and even its social dissemination.

Coarse language: an ethical indicator of society

The media's influence on the school population is without doubt. We could give many examples taken from everyday

life. Neither do we need to remind people that the task faced nowadays by teachers to educate children according to a scale of values that is increasingly more difficult to justify is very arduous, because often the positive values, the desirable ones, such as justice, dignity, responsibility, freedom, fairness and respect, among others, are not easy to transmit or achieve. It even seems that have an instinctive tendency towards negative values, not only because these involve less effort or no effort at all but also because today's society encourages them, such as egoism, effortlessness, violence, consumerism, etc., with the help of the media.

We have consented to the media invasion into our customs and values for so long that it is now taken as read that expecting to be treated with respect by others, expecting good taste in a conversation and a little honesty, are antiquated and out of place.

The problem is that this is not only a question of swear or coarse words but rather it all goes much deeper. Uncontrolled exposure to television programmes where there is an exaggerated extravagance of this kind of words can lead to a significant vicarious effect, especially at school age. This is no longer a question of fashion or fleeting custom: we are faced with a whole philosophy of life, a culture promoted not only by television shows but also by the press and advertising, and this means there is an excessive tendency to accept as normal what actually seems to be exceptional.

In any case, boys and girls are not the only ones subjected to the deforming pressure of the media. Their mothers, fathers and teachers also watch television. Although they are older, this does not mean they are any less impressionable, even though it may only be due to exhaustion given the infinite repetition of concepts or the intellectual saturation induced on always receiving the same stereotypes, the same opinions, the same vulgar and coarse language. Often the media are not questioned and neither are their messages. They have convinced us that what they are doing is the only thing possible and, what they are showing, the only thing that exists.

But what values does television transmit? To answer this question, we should introduce the following consideration: first of all, television does not attempt to transmit positive values and its effect will depend not so much on the content of the television programmes but on the mental

predisposition to watch television, i.e. on the personal and social conditions of how television is watched, of being susceptible to the kind of content shown on it. But if we are to relate coarse television language with the values of a democratic and pluralist society where different ways of approaching life co-exist, the first thing we ask ourselves is how to characterise their interaction, how we can establish this relationship, what values we put into play. Directly, we see the value of respect is connected, as taking into account the needs and feelings of the other is a backdrop to the use of this kind of language although, as we have said before, it can be a question of moment, of the time we live in. But this does not mean we should close our eyes to this situation, as the future of citizenry is at stake.

Educating a citizenry that is critical of the media

We must not forget that television is, at the very least, an accomplice in the society we have. Fortunately, television is not homogeneous and neither is society. There are different ways of relating us to it, different kinds of content or ideological relationships. We can therefore strengthen the critical capacity of our citizenry through television.

If we think about television, we realise that, although the images are very important, they are always accompanied by language. In the case of films and series, which is our pre-sent object of study, language is reflected in the dialogues carried out by the protagonists. When we perceive that what they are saying is attacking us, that we don't like it, that it offends our sensibilities, this is because, for us, they are using coarse language. And, directly, we associate it to the bad quality of the production or the medium.

In February 2005, the *Diari de Barcelona* already noted that the quality of television programmes is one of the main concerns of the audience in Catalonia, where 7 out of 10 people felt that trash TV had increased considerably over the previous year, and that it was therefore necessary to regulate programmes promoting this kind of television. This was revealed by the latest public opinion poll carried out by the Audiovisual Council of Catalonia (CAC), reflecting the concerns of society regarding the role of the media and based on a survey carried out on 1,600 people of legal age.

The report points out that 74% of the population has the impression that the broadcasting of programmes such as *Gran Hermano* (Big Brother), *Crónicas Marcianas* or *Tómbola* has increased over the last year. What bothers Catalans about most of the trash TV programmes is that celebrities are created without any kind of professional or artistic merit, as well as the fact that they use coarse language. We therefore associate trash TV with coarse language (among other factors).

What can we do, then, with a situation like this? One of the possible answers is provided by the different actions or recommendations carried out by the CAC, in looking for ways to regulate the appearance of coarse language in certain programmes and, principally, in specific time bands. However, in addition to the need for bodies like the CAC to intervene in protected time bands, we must also consider that the target for this time slot is watching increasingly more television at other times, when the plan is not to regulate coarse language. Therefore, we must think of something else that allows us to have a clear conscience; that, as a community or as an educating society, we are doing what we can to ensure minimum levels for children and young people. In fact, this is perceived as even more urgent when we realise that these children and young people are precisely the citizens of tomorrow. Hence the urgent need to ensure they do not incorporate into their cultural heritage certain coarse words or expressions that show a lack of respect towards themselves or others. When we hear conversations by young people who are friends, and we hear them insult each other as a form of address, without using their name and only to call attention to themselves, we notice an increased relativism in formal language and the feelings we attribute to it.

A society moved by relative values runs the risk of not finding a way to create a bridge between different ways of life and, although it's true that young people and adults have different views of what it means to live in society, it is also true that it's our job to take on the responsibility of creating the conditions that allow their set of values, their model of life to be constructed, making it compatible with that of others. Respect and responsibility are values that go, or should go, hand in hand with any democratic society that wishes to achieve better community spirit and for which, if necessary, the necessary instruments will be found to

transform it. It is at this point where something needs to be said and we have to say it, all of us who feel we are involved in education.

We like Nicolás Lorite's expression when defending the active pedagogy of television language which, although he describes this for university students, we believe conveys the basis of what represents, for us, a personal involvement in education for children that is responsible and that respects children and ensures they are also respectful and responsible.

It's true that active pedagogy is based on practice, experience, context and dialogue and, being based on this, it extracts something more conceptual or abstract; i.e. it manages to achieve assimilation via reflection, motivated by personal interest and based on the significance of what is presented.

As coarse language is present on television, our mission will consist of ensuring that it is not perceived as something natural in relations between people.

We are facing a process of transmitting values, uses and customs with which we are constantly bombarded, be we rich or poor, rural or urban, young or old. The informal education this provides us with is as or more relevant than the moral training or creation of good habits in new generations that we hope to carry out in the home and at school. It is therefore a question of a truly hidden curriculum, led by the interests, often financial, of a few.

Our objective is lofty because it aims for an education in values based on a critical approach to television programmes, to their quality and the relation this has with the common theme, the cultural density, the humour it presents and the kinds of language used. So it is not so much a question of banning certain programmes but of educating those who watch them. Coercive measures do not make sense in a society where information is within reach of everyone very quickly, because this would entail, for young people, an added value of "the risk of doing what cannot be done". From our point of view, coarse language will no longer be used on television when it is no longer something that identifies a sector of the population, perceived as a group symbol. Those who watch certain programmes already share something and this feeling of belonging means that they generalise it and also employ it in everyday contexts.

As a result of all the above, we would like to note some

ideas we feel might be taken up again in order to plan the active pedagogy of television language:

- Use the context and talk, truly giving them a voice, in order to know what interests them in certain programmes. Coarse language might be a significant element but not the main one.
- Analyse together the plot of different series and their characters.
- Question the formal discourse of opposed characters to extract from this the characteristics attributed to them.
- Look for a model of positive characteristics for young people that does not employ coarse language.
- Present programmes that are different to those they normally watch and analyse them together to establish connections with their reality.

But the work of educators is not enough. We need to reinforce these good intentions with state policy, i.e. with the full will of organised society, promoting a plan that tackles all fronts - family, school and community - and that imposes game rules instead of subjecting them to the designs of a certain sector. In short, to achieve the true expression of an educating society.

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Evaluating the diversity of television programming

Eva Pujadas and Mercè Oliva

- *This article positions the diversity of television programming as one of the defining elements of the specificity of public broadcasting services. Diversity is a value endorsed by politicians, programmers and viewers but which becomes disperse in terms of what it actually means. This article systematises the dimensions of diversity and the indices used to measure it, and constructs an analytical protocol. In a second phase, this is applied to Spain, where the evaluation of diversity, and specifically of the contribution each channel makes to the overall diversity of the system, is a task that has been pending since television began.*

Keywords

Television quality, diversity, television programming, public service, media market.

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1. Presentation

This article is a summary of the key contributions made via research carried out by the CAC, entitled *Construcció d'un protocol d'anàlisi de la diversitat de la programació televisiva* (Constructing an analytical protocol of the diversity of television programming). The complete text for this research, the dimensions of diversity and its indices of measurement, as well as the findings from applying this to an evaluation of diversity in Spain, can be found, in Catalan, on the following website:

<http://www.cac.cat/pfw_files/cma/recerca/estudis_recerca/Analisi_diversitat_programacio_tv-_Eva_Pujadas_abril_07.pdf>

2. Introduction: why diversity?

Given the discussion of the latest broadcasting values, the value of diversity has traditionally been one of the most often mentioned in the various regulations structuring public TV, especially in Europe, although not exclusively (debates about diversity have also been traditional in the United States, Canada, Japan, Australia and, recently, in Asian countries such as Korea and Hong Kong, although most of the debates and references focus on the European context).

In the Spanish case, and given a lack of definition and the ambiguities with which the notion of public service was established in television regulations, diversity became, as did many other concepts, something that was *taken as read*, a kind of ragbag used by the different operators to programme practically whatever gives them greater profits and/or notoriety, taking cover under the claim that they are covering the diversity of tastes, opinions, etc. of the audience. But diversity is a much more complex value than the interpretation

given by programmers and directors of the channels in defending certain kinds of programming and programme production.

Specifically, diversity as a value has been present in parliamentary and governmental discussions in historical contexts in which, for various reasons, the entrance of new operators in television markets has been discussed and approved, be this in neo-liberal contexts of opening up the markets or in those cases where the aim is to ensure that the territorial, linguistic, national, ethnic or group diversity (among others) of modern societies is being covered, something which has given rise to the existence of television channels for autonomous regions and local areas.

One of the documents that most clearly summarises the desire of legislators to increase diversity (broadening the number of channels) using the argument of improving programming quality and, therefore, the quality of the service offered to TV viewers, is the report drawn up under the government of M. Thatcher (*Competition, Choice and Quality*). In a neo-liberal context impregnating the television market, this report presented a structural argument based on the "natural" consequence of increasing the number of channels; so the entrance of new operators into the market would be translated into an increase in the diversity of programming offered to viewers, something which, in turn, would increase freedom of choice and would have a practical effect, "naturally", on the increase in television quality.

In spite of being based on the principles of this theory, the diversity-quality distinction has turned out to be not only clearly too simple and insufficient to explain how the media market works but has also been an argument often contradicted by the very way television markets operate.

In the case of Spain, it goes without saying that fifty years after television arrived and was implemented, TV's structure and market have changed to an extraordinary extent. It is also evident that, from the choice of a single TV channel in the times of Franco's dictatorship to the present day, there has been a notable increase in the diversity of programming, in any of this concept's dimensions. However, one of the questions we must clarify is the impact of each channel on the diversity offered by the system as a whole.

This research coincided with the introduction of two new television channels for the whole of Spain: Cuatro and La Sexta. As the television system in our country has only just

started to change but new television channels have gradually been introduced, it has become particularly important and urgent to investigate the mechanisms used to evaluate the impact of new channels on programming as a whole and their contribution to the system's overall diversity.

For this reason, advantage was taken of the initial objective to evaluate diversity in television programming in order to test the specific contribution of each channel and to measure whether the system's overall diversity was increasing or not once the programming offered by the new channels had been implemented and consolidated, without it being possible to identify a cause-effect relationship, as will be seen below.

Consequently, the objective of this research was to identify and systemise a measure or series of measures to evaluate the diversity of television programming, both as a whole and also each channel's contribution to overall programming. The evaluation of diversity had to be agile enough to be able to assess both the individual contribution of the channels and also the contributions grouped according to different research objectives. For example, comparing the contribution of public and private channels, or Spanish and autonomous region channels, distinguishing between public television's first and second channel, etc.

3. Programming diversity in Spain: preliminary questions

Most of the studies carried out place diversity as a variable that depends on three kinds of conditions:

- **Structural conditions** of the reference context. These conditions include issues regarding legislation, the establishment of programming quotas, the number of operators, etc.
- **Strategic decisions concerning penetration** in a specific market adopted by a channel's directors, as well as decisions regarding production and programming policy.
- **More or less conscious decisions made by viewers** when consuming certain television programmes rather than others.

A second constant in studies on programming diversity is that of placing it within a specific market where it is evalua-

ted; i.e. the media market. In other words, diversity in television programming does not fluctuate in the same way as diversity in the shoe market, electricity market or mobile telephony market.

The report drawn up describes and justifies the characteristics of the media market and the impact each of these characteristics has on overall programming diversity. Briefly, these characteristics are as follows:

- The media market is **essentially an oligopoly** (Levin, 1971, Van Cuilenburg, 2000), principally due to two reasons. First because the media market is not a market of perfect competition (implying the absence of differentiation between products) and, secondly, because of the specific cost structure of media products (high creation costs and/or purchase costs for the first copy but very low duplication and distribution costs). This means that company size is essential in the market insofar as large companies can produce or buy various products and finance failures with profitable products.
- **Hotelling's law.** This law describes how, in competitive markets, the most rational action for producers of goods (programmes), the most profitable, is to make their products as similar as possible. This law, applied to the media market, predicts that competitive markets tend towards homogeneity more than monopolistic markets or those governed by the public service model (Van Cuilenburg, 2000).
- **Competitive strategies** in the media market. The so-called **Porter model** identifies three generic strategies in the media market: the cost leadership strategy, the differentiation strategy and the focus strategy. Depending on the degree of market saturation, the different channels opt for one strategy or the other with the consequent impact on what is offered and consumed in terms of diversity.
- Finally, mentioned is made of the **theory of programme choice** on the part of consumers as an element that characterises the media market. These theories refer to the fact that viewers have some strong preferences for programmes specifically designed for them and more diffuse preferences for more homogeneous programmes. According to the logic of these models, when there are few channels more audience is achieved when generalist programmes are shown. On the other hand,

when the number of channels increases, the average audience per channel is increasingly smaller and, therefore, it's easier for a programmer to maximise audience by offering minority programming.

This characterisation allows us to propose a model of how the media market operates in terms of programming diversity in which, under certain conditions of competition between channels and due to the number of channels in operation in the market as well as the specific preferences of consumers, etc., an increase in programming hours, resulting from an increase in the number of privately-owned channels, translates into a reduction in the overall diversity of the system.

This is due to the fact that the public channels' contribution to overall diversity is greater than that of private channels and, therefore, a proportional reduction in their airtime compared with private channels (when new operators enter the market) translates into a reduction in overall diversity.

Having characterised the media market, the third step in the research consisted of identifying the key dimensions or interpretations of diversity and the corresponding indices to measure this. The report suitably covers the different ways the notion of diversity is accepted in the media and groups and reformulates some proposals that receive different names but correspond to similar principles.

Briefly, five broad classifications are distinguished when analysing diversity:

- a. **Diversity as reflection, diversity as access and diversity depending on the number of channels** (McQuail, 1986; Hoffman-Riem, 1987). Diversity as reflection refers to the extent that the media system reflects social structure; diversity as access refers to the permeability of the media to different voices, groups and social interests; and, finally, diversity in the number of channels refers to the correspondence between these channels and offering a diversity of opinions, cultural models and ways of life.
- b. **Diversity of sources, content and consumption** (Napoli, 1997; Aslama, 2005). Studies of the diversity of sources evaluate the diversity of content ownership, programme ownership or workforce; the diversity of content covers the diversity of formats, of points of view, subjects, styles or resources; and the diversity of con-

sumption (*exposure diversity*) refers to the diversity the audience really consumes, which goes far beyond than the diversity offered.

- c. A third dimension of diversity distinguishes between the **diversity reflected and diversity offered**. The first refers to the extent to which content reflects the ideas or subjects in the same proportion that media users prefer. On the other hand, diversity offered evaluates whether, and to what extent, the media express all reasonable ideas or possible subjects in the same proportion, irrespective of public support. The political implications of each of these dimensions are covered and debated in the report (pg. 33).
- d. **Vertical diversity** (or internal diversity) and **horizontal diversity** (or external diversity). The first evaluates the diversity offered by a channel (or a group of channels) throughout its programming; horizontal diversity, on the other hand, refers to the number of programmes or types of programme available for a viewer at a specific time.
- e. Finally, the debate concerning diversity is currently based on the **content diversity/access diversity** distinction. This debate reveals the fundamental paradox that, in spite of legislators emphasising diversity, the audience does not want diversity per se and we should therefore focus our interest on the diversity of access to media content.

4. Evaluating programme diversity in Spain

Having established the objective of evaluating TV programme diversity in Spain and the contribution of each channel to the system's overall diversity, we need to construct an analytical protocol for diversity; i.e. to decide what kind of diversity we wish to evaluate and, consequently, to deploy the corresponding indicators and indices to measure it.

Consequently, we need to take three decisions: the first concerns the dimensions of the diversity to be evaluated

(*diversity of what?*); the second, the context of the measurement indices (*how is this diversity measured?*), and the third concerns the units of reference (*what is counted in order to measure diversity?*).

Briefly, and due to data availability, it was decided to choose vertical and horizontal diversity. Consequently, a sample was selected of one week's programming before the two new channels (Cuatro and La Sexta) started up, and one week a year afterwards, once these channels had consolidated their programming.¹ There were two objectives: on the one hand, to detect any variations in the overall diversity offered and, on the other, to evaluate the contribution (positive or negative) of each channel to this overall diversity.

The indices of measurement were relative entropy, which is a measure of the degree of spread for the time dedicated to each genre; the HHI (Herfindahl-Hirschmann Index), which measures the degree of concentration of time between genres; dissimilarity, which compares the programming of the two channels, and the index of choice options, which evaluates the viewers' degree of real choice at specific times of the day.

With regard to the classification of genres, it was decided to construct our own stable generic classification so that it could be used in comparative analyses, beyond the sample studied in this research. This classification has 16 categories of genre based on the format (fictional series, cinema, game shows, late shows, news, documentaries, reality shows and magazine programmes), on the content (culture, celebrity gossip, education, religious, and humour) and on the kind of audience it's aimed at (children/youngsters and programmes for minorities).

5. The first time these indices have been applied to the Spanish context

This analytical protocol contains four fundamental innovations within the context of Spanish research on programming diversity.

¹ The weeks analysed are from 19 to 25 September 2005 and from 18 to 24 September 2006, from 7 am to 2 am the following morning.

A. Analysis of vertical diversity

Firstly, the kind of analysis carried out within this research means we can analyse the diversity and concentration of programming throughout the TV system (all channels), as well as measuring the presence and distribution of air time among different genres. Secondly, we can also analyse the diversity, concentration and distribution of genres on each channel.

At the same time, this research also introduces the study of genre distribution in terms of strong demand and inflexible demand, both in the television system as a whole and also on the different channels. Strong demand genres are capable of attracting audience attention in the same proportion as their presence increases on the programming grid (e.g. fictional series, game shows, cinema or celebrity gossip programmes). On the other hand, inflexible demand genres are those that have less capacity to attract audience (news, documentaries, cultural programmes, educational programmes or those for minorities); these genres are traditionally programmed on public channels.

It is also possible to draw comparisons between public and private channels, as well as between the first and second public channels, highly relevant distinctions given that these channels have their own differentiated profiles that are reflected not only in the configuration of the programming grids but also in the contribution each channel makes to the system's diversity.

Lastly, a comparison is also made between the total data for the day and prime time, as well as the data for weekdays and weekends.

B. Each channels contribution to overall diversity

The second novelty of the analysis designed is that we can analyse the contribution of each channel to the system's diversity as a whole. In this respect, it is relevant to compare the contributions to overall diversity of public and private channels, as will be seen in the findings once the protocol has been applied.

C. Analysing dissimilarity

We can measure how different the programming is on two channels by means of dissimilarity, in relation to the genres present on the grids and the time allocated to each genre. These data allow us to broaden the study of the pro-

gramming profiles of each channel, as well as their contribution to overall diversity.

D. Index of choice options (ICO)

The ICO means we can analyse the real options for choice of viewers for a system at a particular time; i.e. how many different genres they can choose from at a specific moment. This index, which is applied in the study of prime time to 15-minute time bands, means we can broaden the study of the system's diversity, given that it translates this diversity into the audience's possible options for choice.

These four analytical possibilities allow us to examine television programming diversity from different angles via objective indicators with closed and internationally agreed scales of evaluation, something which provides us with a view both of the overall diversity and also the contribution of each television channel.

6. Conclusions

Firstly, the main finding of this research is the construction and testing of an analytical protocol that, on the one hand, provides objective indicators to analyse television programming diversity of a specific television system and, on the other, to carry out comparative analyses both between different periods of time (analysing trends in diversity) and also between different systems (analysing programming diversity in different territories, autonomous communities or countries).

With regard to applying the protocol developed in this research in relation to the analysis of programming in Spain (analysing national and Catalan channels in 2005 and 2006), the following conclusions have been reached:

- **The diversity in the system is very high and its concentration is average.** In other words, there is a large number of genres on the Spanish and Catalan channels as a whole but airtime is shared unequally. So the genres with more presence on channels as a whole are the news, fictional series children's/youngsters' programmes, followed by celebrity gossip programmes, sports, cinema and game shows.

- **Overall diversity tends to fall during prime time, as predicted by Hotelling's law**, according to which, in competitive markets (and prime time is an extraordinarily competitive market), it is more profitable for the different operators to risk as little as possible and bring their products close to the standard. In this way, in this time band we find less diversity and greater concentration (few genres share most of the air time).

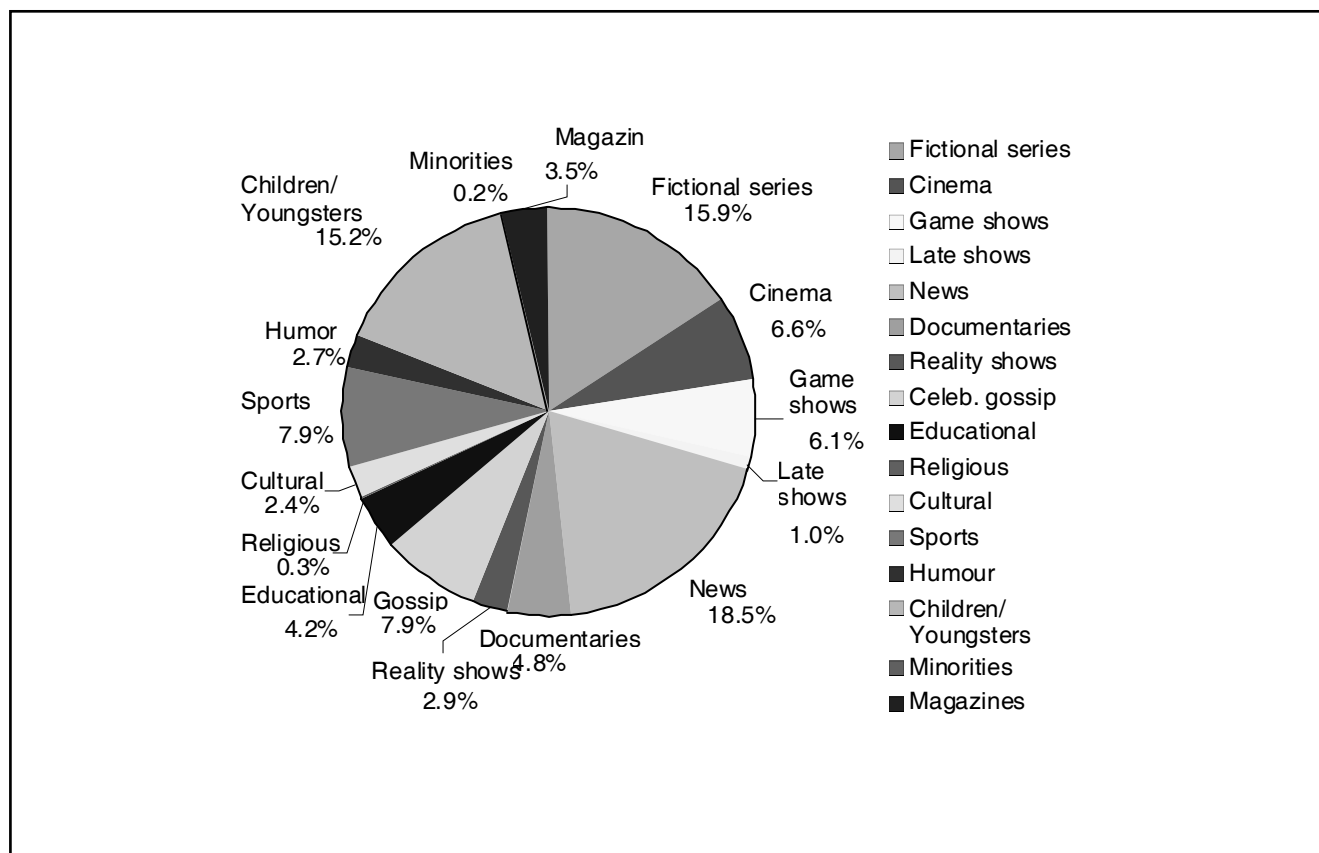
So prime time is dominated by the news and fictional series, which considerably increase their presence compared with the day as a whole and which, together, account for almost 50% of the airtime in this band, as well as sports.

In spite of the system's high diversity, **the programming for each channel is based on only 3 or 4 genres**, the total of which account for more than 50% of the total

broadcasting time. This little diversity and high concentration become even more evident if we differentiate between workdays and weekends. Diversity is less and concentration higher in practically all cases. This is due to the fact that the genres broadcast during the week and those broadcast at the weekend are different, so that, evaluated together, they complement each other and the overall diversity of the channel increases.

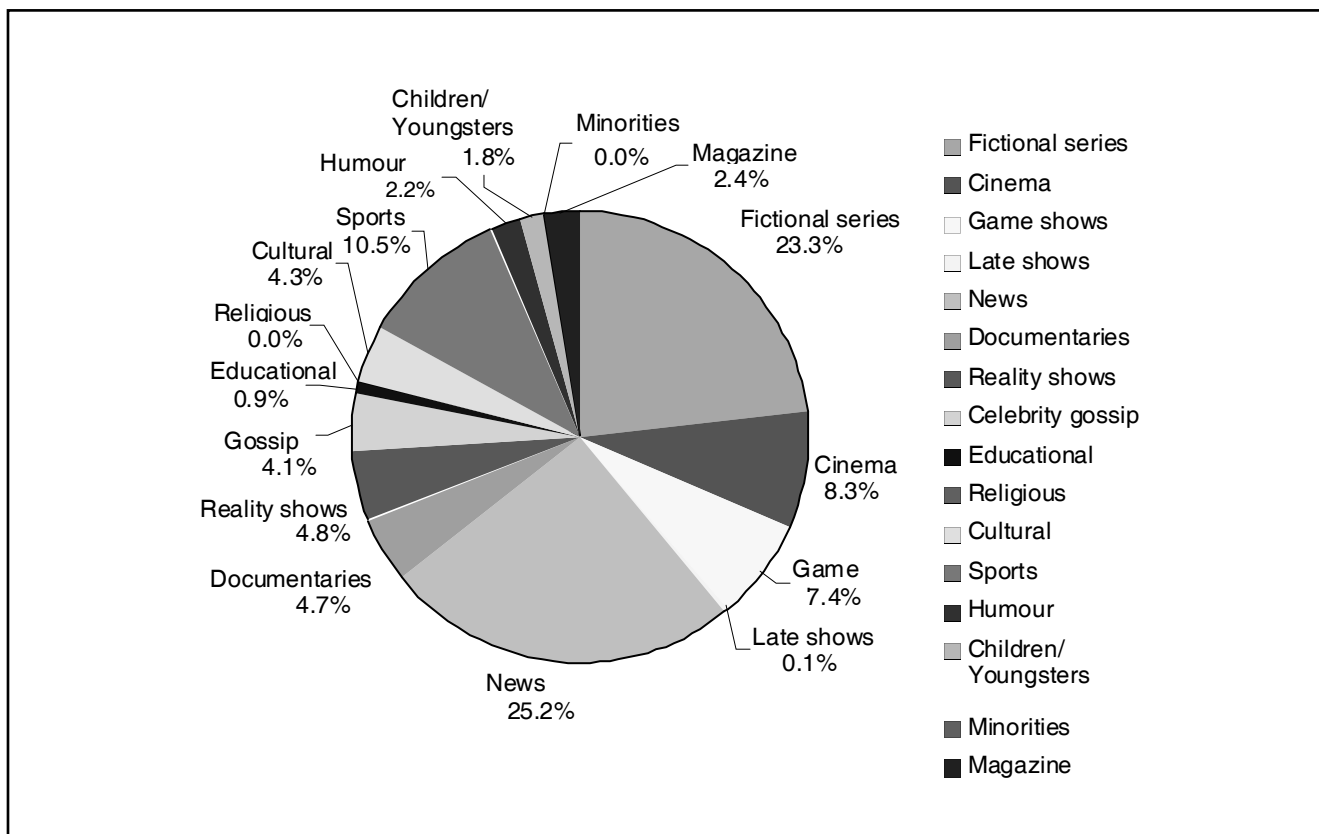
- **The first and second channels of public television stations offer different but complementary genres.**
 - **The first and second public channels are characterised and differentiated by the presence and distribution of genres on their grids but not by vertical diversity.** In other words, that which characterises (and differentiates) the first public channel from the second (i.e. TVE-1 and TV3 from

Diagram 1. Distribution of genres (total programming). 2006



Source: in-house.

Diagram 2. Distribution of genres (prime time). 2006



Source: in-house.

La 2 and K3/33, respectively) is not that they are more or less diverse or concentrated but in the genres included in the programming and how the time is allocated to these.

So the first public channels are based on strong demand genres (especially fictional series, cinema and, in the case of TVE-1, celebrity gossip programmes) and news (the only inflexible demand genre with significant presence on these channels), genres that, in both cases, account for 40% of air time.

In fact, this programming is quite similar to that of private channels (as will be seen in the analysis of dissimilarity), where there is a majority of strong demand genres (especially fictional series, celebrity gossip, game shows and cinema), accounting

for 60% of the air time, as well as news (also the only inflexible demand genre present in the programming), accounting for 25% of the time.

The second public channels, however, are semi-specialised in programmes for children/youngsters and sports, accounting for almost 50% of the broadcasting time. After these, there are inflexible demand genres such as documentaries, educational, cultural and religious programmes and programmes for minorities, genres that are not present on any other channel and that, as a whole, account for 40% of air time (while strong demand genres only account for 10%).

So a certain degree of complementation can be observed in the programming of the first and second public channels.

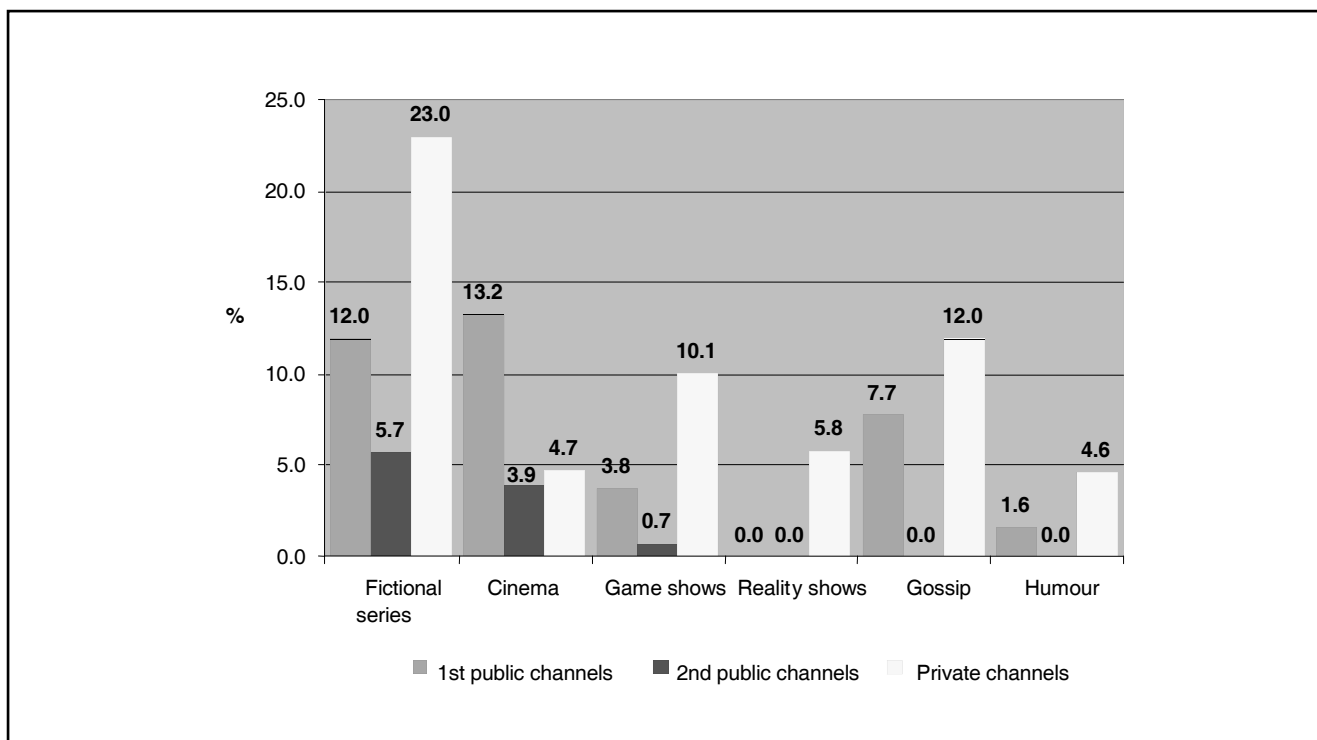
- **The dissimilarity between the first and second public channels is higher than the dissimilarity between the first public channels and private channels.**

An analysis of the dissimilarity, i.e. how different is the programming of the two channels regarding the presence and distribution of genres, provides greater insight into the differences in the programming profiles of first and second channels compared with private channels, which we have referred to earlier. So the dissimilarity between the first and second channels on public television is very high, while that established between the public television companies (between TVE-1 and TV3, on the one hand, and between La 2 and K3/33, on the other) is less. This confirms the difference and complementary nature established between these two types of channel.

The dissimilarity between second public channels and private channels is also much higher than that observed between the first public channels and private channels. All this refers to the fact that the first channels on public television opt for a programming strategy that brings them closer to what is offered by the private channels (with whom they compete for leadership in audience ratings), with a strong presence of news and strong demand genres, such as fictional series and, in the case of TVE-1, celebrity gossip programmes.

The second channels, however, have a concentration of genres with little presence on the rest of the channels: sports, programmes for children/youngsters and inflexible demand genres such as documentaries, educational and religious programmes, etc.; genres that do not achieve big audiences and can limit the competitiveness of the first channels.

Diagram 3. Distribution of strong demand genres on the first and second public channels and on private channels (total programming). 2006



Source: in-house.

These observations on dissimilarity enrich the study of the contribution made by the different channels to the system's diversity, which we will deal with in the next section. Precisely, the second public channels contribute more to the system's diversity as a consequence not of internal diversity but because they have a differentiated profile from the rest of the channels (in other words, very high dissimilarity compared with the rest of the channels). On the other hand, the resemblance between the programming on the first public channels and the private channels means that their contribution to diversity is practically null.

With regard to La Sexta and Cuatro, these two new private channels have significantly high dissimilarity compared with other private channels, due to their strategies for entering the television market which differentiate them from the private

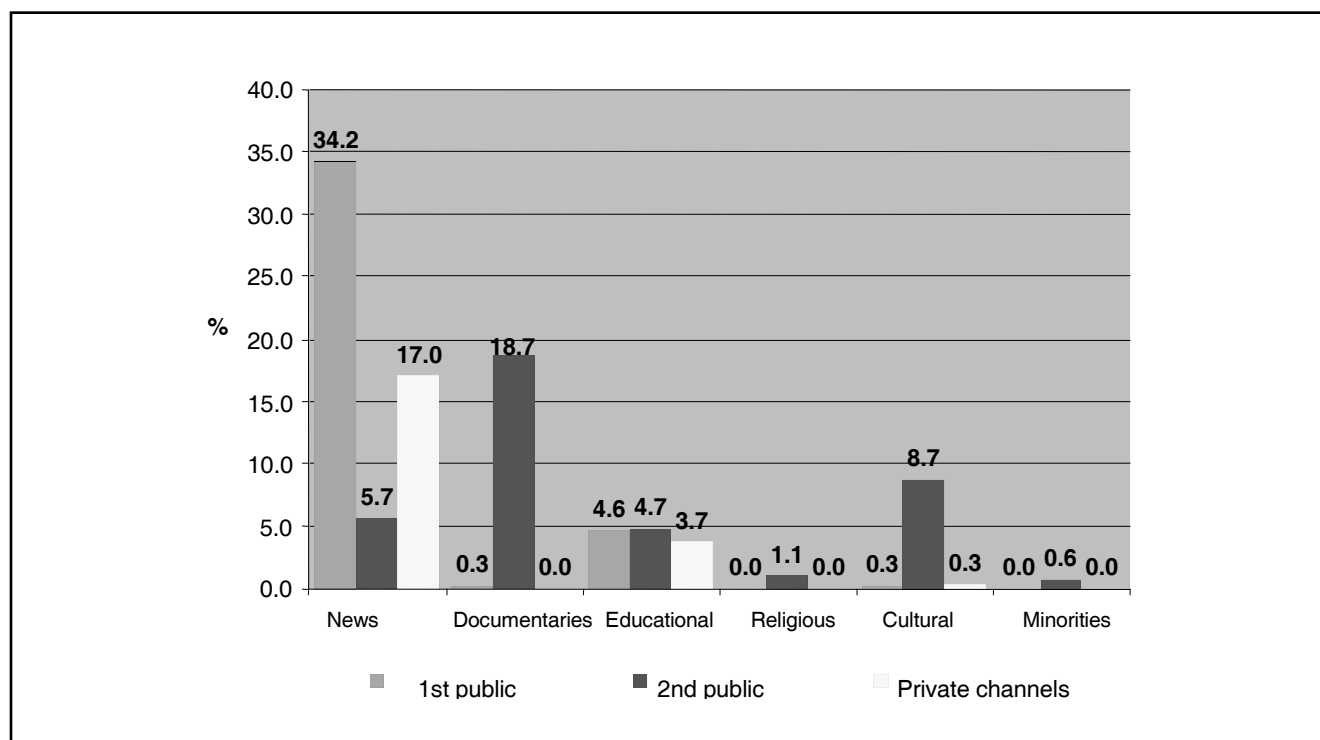
channels and from the first public channels and bring them closer to the second channels (especially thanks to the presence of programmes for children/youngsters, sports and educational programmes).

- **The contribution of public channels as a whole to overall diversity is higher than that of private channels as a whole.** However, this is only the case if we take into account public channels as a whole, given the complementary nature between their first and second channels (both together cover practically all genres), something which does not happen with private channels.

However, here it is interesting to differentiate between the first and second public channels:

- **Second public channels contribute more to the system's diversity than first channels,** as we

Diagram 4. Distribution of flexible demand genres on the first and second public channels and on private channels (total programming). 2006



Source: in-house.

Table 1. Analysis of dissimilarity. 2006

Channel	TVE	La2	TV3	C33	T5	Antena3	Cuatro	La Sexta
TVE		1.195 High	0.561 Medium	1.605 Very high	0.694 Medium	0.698 Medium	1.133 High	1.162 High
La2			1.222 Very high	0.743 Medium	1.446 Very high	1.382 Very high	1.158 High	1.118 High
TV3				1.585 Very high	0.905 High	0.863 High	1.135 High	1.083 High
C33					1.707 Very high	1.685 Very high	1.140 High	1.367 Very high
T5						0.624 Medium	0.840 High	0.887 High
Antena 3							0.672 Medium	0.743 Medium
Cuatro								0.739 Medium
La Sexta								

Value	Deviation
1.20-2.00	Very high
0.80-1.19	High
0.50-0.79	Medium
0.20-0.49	Low
0.00-0.19	Very low

Source: in-house.

have seen in the dissimilarity analysis, not because they are highly diverse channels but because their programming is based on genres that are not present on the other channels or only to a very small extent (especially inflexible demand genres: documentaries, educational, minority, religious, cultural, etc.).

- **The contribution of first public channels to the system's diversity is practically inexistent, and lower than that of the private channels as a whole**, as their programming contains the same genres as private channels (fictional series, news or cinema). So, if first public channels did not exist, the system would not suffer, as it would be compensated by the programming of private channels.
- **The contribution of each individual channel to the system's diversity is practically imperceptible**, something that shows that no channel has a clearly differentiated proposal from the rest and

any gaps on one channel are offset by the genres present in the programming of others.

Second public channels are also the highest contributors to diversity when calculating the individual contribution to the system (especially K3/33). On the other hand, first channels contribute to a similar degree as private channels: TV3 contributes practically nothing, while TVE-1 has a negative contribution, i.e. system diversity would increase without this channel.

- **The increase in hours of programming as a result of the two new private channels (La Sexta and Cuatro) has been translated into an increase in system diversity**, although this is practically imperceptible and is therefore not proportional to the increase in broadcasting hours.

Programming diversity increased slightly in 2006 in spite of the fact that all the channels are tending towards less diversity and more concentration. This might be due, on the one hand, to the strategies adopted by the two new

channels upon entering the market, choosing different genres, as well as slight reactions from the rest of the channels which, although losing diversity, increase the differences compared to the rest.

So, in this case, a reduction in the relative importance of public channels (because of the introduction of two new private channels) does not lead to a reduction in overall diversity.

- **The increase in programming hours has not seen a proportional increase in viewers' election options in prime time, where all channels offer the same genres** (Hotelling's law).
- **The increase in programming hours has led to an increase in the concentration of strong demand genres**, although this is only a slight increase. So the percentage of fictional series, game shows and humorous programmes has increased, while the presence of inflexible demand genres has decreased, especially the news.

This is due, on the one hand, to the programming strategies of the two new private channels, where the strong demand genres, especially fictional series, game shows and humorous programmes, have a significant weight, while much less time is dedicated to news. On the other hand, this is also due to the changes in programming on the part of the rest of the channels, where in all cases (both private and public channels) a reduction can be observed in the percentage of total time dedicated to inflexible demand genres and an increase in those of strong demand.

So the fall in inflexible demand genres is not only due to a reduction in the relative weight of public channels but also to the programming strategies of the public channels themselves.

brings together and clarifies the research carried out around the world on programming diversity, describes its dimensions and key indicators and proposes some indices to evaluate accurately the overall diversity of programming and, specifically and most appropriately, the contribution of each channel, sometimes positive and other times negative, to overall diversity. The regular tracking of programming diversity must allow us to identify trends in the overall diversity on offer and to carry out comparative studies between autonomous communities and/or other countries.

Finally, we should also note that research on programming diversity must also deal with an analysis of the diversity of programmes, i.e. content. Genre classifications are useful because we can construct large groups of programmes but they are not enough to describe the diversity of the specific universes of reference of television programming. In this respect, in the case of fictional series, it is not the same to programme *House* as *Los Serrano*. This displacement of focus represents a radical change in methodology. In the first case we analyse and measure the programming policies of the channels and, in the latter, the content of the programmes themselves.

7. Outlook for the future

Given that this is a pioneering piece of work in Spain and that our country is still going to see a significant increase in TV channels and operators in multiple formats, the research carried out has great diagnostic and predictive value as it

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Chronology of international radio in the Catalan language in the 20th century

Cinto Niqui

- *Since the transition to democracy, in Catalonia radio has been one of the media that has considerably contributed to the linguistic standardisation of our language. During the first decades of Franco's dictatorship, international radio programmes in Catalan, transmitted on shortwave, were almost the only ones that could be heard. Given their importance, I present an overall chronology of all the international broadcasts carried out in the Catalan language throughout the 20th century, something never before studied in its entirety.*

Keywords

Catalan language, international broadcasting, shortwave.

This article provides a chronology of the international broadcasts carried out in the Catalan language throughout the 20th century. Most of these transmissions were on shortwave and from outside Catalonia, but some were also broadcast on medium wave.

The few foreign broadcasters that transmitted programmes in the Catalan language, carried out by Catalans exiled in Europe or America, were the "other radio stations" listened to clandestinely in Catalonia to get information that was different from that provided by Franco's regime. The effort made by those exiled Catalans meant that the presence of our language could be kept alive on the radio waves, given that it was banned on Catalan radio. Most were testimonial broadcasts and they didn't last long, except for those carried out by Radio Moscow, Radio España Independiente and the BBC.

Shortwave broadcasts from Spain

The edition of the newspaper *La Veu de Catalunya* on 20 November 1929 stated that the Radio Communication Technical Board and Inspectorate had approved two broadcasters, one shortwave (E.A.R.157) by the Associació Nacional de Radiodifusió, based in Carrer Fontanella de Barcelona. That year, the broadcaster started to transmit, on 45 metres, from 9.30 to 10.30 in the evening on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays. It was the first experience in the field of shortwave broadcasting in Spain. (Ezcurra 1974, pg. 212). Because of the political situation, the programmes were only in Spanish.

While, in Catalonia, the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera placed all kinds of obstacles to real Catalan radio in terms of language and content, in Argentina, on 4 November 1928, a group of Catalans associated with the

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Centre Català de Buenos Aires started broadcasting a Sunday programme in the Catalan language, *L'hora catalana*, transmitted on medium wave by Ràdio Prieto, owned by the Catalan Teodor Prieto. This was the first programme in Catalan made outside Catalonia. (Garcia-Ripoll 2007, pg. 10).

In Spain, the dictatorship of General Primo de Rivera fell in January 1930. In Catalonia, on 14 April 1931, the Catalan Republic was proclaimed and the next day the Catalan President, Francesc Macià, signed a decree that authorised Ràdio Associació de Catalunya (RAC) to broadcast freely.

The first significant action in the field of radio by the government of the Spanish Republic, led by Azaña, was the Order of 12 February 1932, which authorised the company Transradio to set up a shortwave radio station for transmissions aimed at Latin America and the Canary Islands. Transradio inaugurated the radio station EAQ Radiodifusión Iberoamericana on 14 April 1932, the first anniversary of the Republic. (Balsebre 2001, pg. 324). EAQ, Radiodifusión Iberoamericana broadcast in different languages. As from Monday 7 August 1933, requested by the Generalitat de Catalunya and via the production of the broadcaster Ràdio Associació de Catalunya, EAQ de Aranjuez transmitted daily news bulletins on Catalan news at 11 pm and a weekly broadcast with reports and concerts: *L'hora catalana*. In the first programme, the president of Ràdio Associació de Catalunya, Jaume Rosquelles, greeted the listeners; the President of the Generalitat, Francesc Macià, gave an inaugural speech; and the Catalan choir, the Orfeó de Sants, gave a recital that started with the Catalan anthem, *El cant de la senyera*. (Montes 1997, pg. 225)

The summer of 1933 therefore saw the first international broadcasts on shortwave made from Spain in the Catalan language. These broadcasts didn't last long given that they ended in the Spanish Civil War and we would have to wait half a century to hear programmes in Catalan again, broadcast on shortwave from Spain.

During the Civil War, in addition to medium wave broadcasts, nearly fifty broadcasters from Spain also broadcast, albeit irregularly, their local programmes on shortwave, mostly in the 40 metre bandwidth, and very few in the 20 metres bandwidth. From Catalonia, Ràdio Barcelona EAJ 1 was transmitted on 7,030 kHz (42.6 metres). The owner of the shortwave equipment was Josep Garriga Albert and the

broadcast was under the control of the Generalitat during the Civil War. (Franquet 1986, pg. 125).

Revolutionary radio stations appeared on the Catalan Hertz frequencies that were outside the government's control. In Barcelona on 28 August 1936, the shortwave station ECN-1 appeared at 7,190 kHz, by CNT-FAI. The programming, with political and trade union propaganda, used to last around five hours in its early days. On 21 September 1936, the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya created a second politic station on shortwave in Barcelona: Ràdio PSU número 1, that transmitted on 42 metres, at 7,142 kHz. It started and ended its sessions with the *International* and broadcast bulletins in Catalan and other languages, aimed principally at members of the International Brigades. On 22 September Ràdio POUM ECP-2 started broadcasting, also on 42 metres. Its programming was very similar to that of the previous station, also in Catalan and in other languages, such as Esperanto.

In Catalonia, a shortwave station was in operation at the Abbey of Montserrat from the end of the forties to the middle of the sixties. Its function was the same as the current FM broadcaster at the monastery: to transmit religious ceremonies. The monastery megaphone was connected to the shortwave transmitter, like the ones radio hams had at that time, and transmitted the ceremonies. The monk who promoted these shortwave broadcasts was Father Reinald Bozzo, also in charge of the monastery's Astronomical Observatory at Montserrat. Abbot Escarré, on a trip to Madrid, had bought some radio electrical material for Father Bozzo to make the shortwave transmitter more powerful. In order to adjust the transmitter and to wait for the religious ceremony to start, to tune it they used to play the tune of the popular song *Ton pare no té nas*. This broadcaster did not have any assigned frequency and transmitted outside the radio broadcasting bandwidths. In the sixties it could be heard on 48 metres. On several occasions, the monastery received warnings that the transmitter was interfering with frequencies assigned to utilitarian services. Because of this series of administrative warnings, in the middle of the sixties the transmitter stopped broadcasting forever.

Having gone through the period of political transition and with democracy once again in Spain, on 4 February 1985 programmes in Catalan were broadcast again on shortwave from the Spanish mainland. This is when Ràdio Exterior

d'Espanya (REE) started its broadcasts of news in Catalan, carried out by Ràdio Nacional d'Espanya a Catalunya. The first voice was that of the presenter from Olot, Joan Grau. The brief news items in Catalan on REE are still broadcast today. Aware of the fact that there are three co-official languages in Spain in addition to Spanish, REE maintains minimal news services every day, lasting about ten minutes, in Basque, Galician and Catalan, which can be heard on shortwave, via satellite and online.

In 1989, *Quaderns Tècnics*, the first magazine in Catalan on electronics, computing, video, audio, radio and DX radio, started a campaign for the Generalitat de Catalunya to create its own international public broadcaster on short-wave. The Catalan politicians took up the proposal and, on 8 November 1990, the parliament of Catalonia unanimously passed the bill, presented by the party Esquerra Republicana de Catalunya, to create an exterior radio station for Catalonia during that legislature. Finally, the Generalitat's international radio station didn't come about. What was achieved, however, was on September 1995, TV3, Catalunya Ràdio and Catalunya Informació broadcast for the first time via satellite, as a step prior to their daily broadcasts in the future. This was how the media of Corporació Catalana de Ràdio and Televisió started to have international coverage. With the distribution of the programming of Catalunya Ràdio on the Internet, as from 26 April 1996, there has been a second way to ensure information, in their language and instantaneously, reaches those Catalans living abroad.

Broadcasts in Catalan carried out from abroad during Franco's regime

On 26 January 1939, with the occupation of Ràdio Associació de Catalunya by Franco's troops, broadcasting in Catalan came to an end in the country. Most of the initiatives to make programmes in Catalan from abroad, during the forty years of Franco's regime, were carried out on a personal level, as a large number of the promoters had political commitments. Wherever a Catalan was doing programmes in Spanish, attempts were immediately made to do one in Catalan.

With regard to their content and objectives, the most sig-

nificant international programmes in the Catalan language carried out from 1939 to 1976 can be classified into five groups.

- *L'hora catalana*: the radio programme made by some members associated with the Centre Català de Buenos Aires, broadcast every Sunday from 4 November 1928 to 30 September 1984. *Les altres hores catalanes* de ràdio was produced in Uruguay, Chile, Cuba, Mexico and Venezuela. The promoters rented air time from local medium wave broadcasters to transmit their programmes.
- The second group was made up of five programmes whose aim was the political struggle and social agitation against Franco's dictatorship, mostly members of the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya exiled in European communist countries. The two most significant programmes, in terms of duration and audience, were Radio Moscow, from 1939 to 1977, and Radio España Independiente, from the forties to 1976. The following people broadcast programmes in Catalan via Radio Moscow: Rafael Vidiella, Hortènsia Vallejo, Lluís Ardiaca, Josep Vilella and Conxita Brufau. And for Radio España Independiente there were Emili Vilaseca, Victòria Pujolar, Jordi Solé Tura, Marcel Plans, Esther Berenguer, Leonor Bornao, Lourdes Jiménez, Rafael Vidiella, Josep Maria Cendrós, Ricard Lobo and Jaume Fabre. The three programmes that didn't last so long were those of Radio Belgrade, made in 1948 by Teresa Pàmies; those of Radio Prague, presented by Joan Blàzquez and Teresa Pàmies, between 1949 and 1952; and those of Radio Budapest, by Rafael Vidiella and Lourdes Jiménez, for two years, at the beginning of the fifties.
- The third group is made up of propaganda broadcasts by some members of the government of the Generalitat de Catalunya in exile, via the microphones of Radio Paris, between 1947 and 1948, thanks to agreements between the French government and that of the Spanish Republic, in exile, coinciding with the period of international blockade against Franco's regime, decreed by the United Nations.
- A fourth group contains the cultural programmes broadcast during Franco's regime, which always avoided any political subject in their content. The fortnightly pro-

grammes by Josep Manyé on the BBC in London, between 1947 and 1957; those produced by Radio Paris between 1958 and 1964 and presented by Ramon Xuri-guera, Narcís Bonet, Carme Bonet and Francisco Puig; those broadcast daily on shortwave and medium wave from Andorra by Ràdio de les Valls (later Sud Ràdio) between 1959 and 1968, directed by Josep Font Bernat. In this section we could also include the programmes broadcast by Radio Peking between 1959 and 1961, which offered quite a lot of Catalan music.

- Finally, we have religious radio. The evangelists, in 1958, made programmes in Catalan on Radio Tangiers, on medium wave. And from 1968 to 1975, on shortwave, by Monaco Transworld Radio. The promoters were Agustí Rodés, Àngel Cortès, Bernat Vinyes and Benjamí Planas. These programmes were recorded in small studio in the district of Sant Martí in Barcelona.

In March 1937, Ràdio Veritat started broadcasting on medium wave and apparently from Rome, sponsored by Francesc Cambó, leader of the Lliga Catalana, the second party in the parliament of Catalonia in the 1932 elections. All the collaborators and writers were Catalan at Ràdio Veritat. The director was Eduard Segarra, the presenter, Manel Ribé, and there was also Delfí Escolà, Joaquim Pellicena, Costa Deu, Solervicens, etc. The tone of the broadcasts was designed to convince Catalans that they didn't need to be frightened of Francoism because it would respect their tradition, their companies and their culture. Ràdio Veritat was broadcast in Catalan until the occupation of Barcelona, in January 1939. (Ventin 1986). Francesc Cambó, the patron of Ràdio Veritat, finally realised the mistake they had made in supporting Franco with a radio station in Catalan and went into exile to Argentina.

Between 1938 and 1940, in addition to its medium wave broadcast in Santiago de Chile, *L'hora catalana* was also broadcast on shortwave. Many Catalans living in Central America and South America were able to listen to that weekly programme.

With regard to European international broadcasts in the Catalan language, the first reaction against Franco's regime occurred at the end of 1939, when some members of the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya, exiled in Russia, pro-

duced some weekly programmes of an hour's duration on Radio Moscow (Miralles 1947). Because of confrontation between the leaders of the Partit Comunista d'Espanya and the PSUC, those early programmes in Catalan suffered from some interruptions.

Radio España Independiente-Estación Pirenaica was first aired on 22 July 1940. The first broadcasts by the Pirenaica in Catalan were carried out from Moscow at the beginning of the forties by Emili Vilaseca, under the pseudonym of Jordi Català.

During the Second World War something curious happened. In the United States, the leaders of the Centre Català in New York made some programmes in Catalan of American propaganda for the Office of War Information. These programmes were broadcast on shortwave towards Latin America, via the North American commercial broadcasters, such as CBS and NBC. Some of the Catalans taking part were Josep Carner-Ribalta and Josep Fontanals. Carner-Ribalta was the delegate in the United States for the National Council of Catalonia, which was officially recognised by the North American State Department.

In the May 1943 edition of the publication by the Partit Socialista Unificat de Catalunya in Chile, *Retorn*, there was talk of the appearance of a clandestine broadcaster called Per Catalunya, that broadcast once a week, on Thursdays, at 9.10 pm. These clandestine broadcasts in Catalan were possibly carried out by Radio Pyrenées, the broadcaster for the French communist guerrillas of the Francs Tireurs et Partisans Français (FTP).

Between 1944 and 1947, with breaks, *L'hora catalana*, produced by Catalans resident in Cuba, was broadcast on medium wave and shortwave by various stations in Havana. Thanks to the broadcast on shortwave, the weekly programmes reached a large part of America.

After having made some Christmas programmes with Catalan songs, in 1942, Josep Manyé, under the pseudonym of Jorge Marín, was able to make the first bilingual Spanish-Catalan programme of the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC) on 23 April 1944, to celebrate St. George's Day, the patron saint of England and Catalonia (as Saint Jordi). (Arasa 1990)

In Europe, in May 1944, one year before the Second World War ended, the southwest of France was liberated. There were a large number of Spanish republican refugees

living there who had been fighting in the ranks of the French resistance. Toulouse became the capital of republican Spain in exile. On Sunday 22 October 1944, the newspaper *Reconquista de España* published two radio adverts. One on Radio España Independiente, which at that time broadcast from the Soviet Union, and another on the daily programmes in Catalan and Spanish on Radio Toulouse number 1. The programme in Spanish by the Unión Nacional was broadcast at 11.05 pm and the Catalan programme ten minutes later, at 11.15 pm, with the backing of the Aliança Catalana. The watchwords for the programme by Aliança Catalana were "Long live independent Spain! Long live autonomous Catalonia!" Both programmes were broadcast on medium wave by Radio Toulouse number 1, on 325 and 365 metres. These programmes in Catalan lasted just a few weeks. (Sánchez Agustí 2001, pg. 160)

In October 1944, the other Toulouse broadcaster, Radio Pyrenées, also made some programmes in Catalan and Spanish to stir up people, lasting a few weeks. It broadcast on medium wave on 233 and 260 metres. Radio Pyrenées was the broadcaster for the French communist guerrillas of the Francs Tireurs et Partisans Français (FTPF). This broadcaster had to suspend its activities supporting the Spanish guerrillas or "maquis" when General Charles De Gaulle in person negotiated with the National Front of Toulouse to end the programmes, on the insistence of the allies, who feared an international incident.

On 8 May 1945, the Second World War ended and, in the month of June, the cellist Pau Casals arrived in England, after having been in exile since 1938, to perform the first concerts once the war had finished. Pau Casals was able to address a few brief words in Catalan via the microphones of the BBC. (Rodrigo 1977, pg. 136)

As from the end of the Second World War, the United Nations was thinking of replacing Franco's regime and requested the withdrawal of diplomats from Spain.

France went further and closed its border for all purposes, including for post, telephone and telegrams, between February 1946 and February 1948. It was at that time, in February 1946, when the republican government in exile managed to get political status in France. By virtue of this status it gained permission to use French radio as a propaganda tool.

In April 1946, the Front Nacional de Catalunya started up,

for a few days and from Perpignan, a clandestine shortwave broadcaster, which transmitted on 38 and 45 metres, coinciding with the celebration of the 1st Conference of the Front Nacional de Catalunya in Dosrius.

On 9 November 1946, doctor Josep Trueta spoke in Catalan from London via the microphones of the BBC. He did not speak of any political issue but explained the causes of hypertension. (Trueta 1978, pg. 296) As from the 7 April 1947 is when Josep Manyé, Jorge Marín, started his historic fortnightly broadcasts in Catalan from the BBC, which lasted ten years. The journalist Josep Manyé i Vendrell was awarded the Sant Jordi cross by the Generalitat de Catalunya and was made an honorary member of the British Empire.

In Paris, during the months of June and July 1947, the president of the Generalitat, Josep Irla, and various representatives from the parties of the Executive Council of the Generalitat in exile, several speeches were given in Catalan on Radio Paris, on shortwave. They were asking for a boycott of the Francoist referendum on the 8 July in order to pass the Succession Act.

One year after the Second World War had ended, broadcasts in Spanish were inaugurated on Radio Belgrade on shortwave. In 1948, this station broadcast some weekly comments in Catalan made by the writer Teresa Pàmies. The June edition of the communist publication, published in Cuba, *Per Catalunya* published this advertisement: "Do you want to know how immortal Catalonia is fighting? Listen to Radio Belgrade in its broadcasts in Catalan every Wednesday and Sunday at half past eleven in the evening on shortwave on 49.18 metres".

On the occasion of the National Homage to Pompeu Fabra, carried out in February 1948 in Prada, in northern Catalonia, the BBC and Radio Paris made a special programme in the Catalan language. Among many other Catalans in exile, the following people attended this homage: the musician Pau Casals, the president of the Generalitat in exile, Josep Irla and the writer Josep Carner.

From 1949, the writer Teresa Pàmies and Joan Blàzquez Arroyo, under the pseudonym of Joan Verdaguer when broadcasting, started some weekly programmes in Catalan on Radio Prague on shortwave. The programmes ended when Blàzquez went to Vienna in 1952, to join the World Peace Council (Sánchez Agustí 2001, pg. 126), Teresa Pàmies left Prague to go to Paris six years later, in 1958.

It was also in 1949 when Ràdio Andorra broadcast for a time in French and Catalan. The presence of Catalan was minimal and it soon disappeared because the broadcaster was under the control of the Spanish limited company, Sociedad de Explotación Radiofónica Radio Andorra, with its headquarters in Madrid (Montes 2004).

Around 1950, programmes on shortwave in Catalan started on Radio Budapest, with Rafael Vidiella and Maria Bartra, the pseudonym of Lourdes Jiménez, (Roig 1976) and those on Radio Moscow started up again. The broadcaster of the Soviet Union, with breaks, kept its Catalan programmes until 1977.

From October 1957, Ràdio Perpinyà transmitted on medium wave, on alternate Tuesdays, the programme *Aires del Canigó*, presented by Rita Casals de Gual. The programme lasted ten years.

On Sunday 9 March 1958, at 10 pm, the regular broadcasts started of Radio Paris in Catalan, every fortnight, on shortwave on 41 and 50 metres. The title of the broadcasts was "Paris, hotbed of Catalan culture". At the beginning the programmes were directed and produced by the writer Ramon Xuriguera. Later on, they were carried out by the musician Narcís Bonet and his wife, Carme Bonet. The programmes in Catalan on Radio Paris ended in 1964.

In the Principality of Andorra, but on an initiative by France, AndorRadio started broadcasting in 1958, one year later becoming Ràdio de les Valls and, from 1964, Sud Ràdio. Unlike Ràdio Andorra, right from the start this Andorran broadcaster, although under French influence, broadcast in Catalan. The programmes could be heard, both on medium wave and shortwave, from 2 to 4 pm and from 10 pm to midnight. The programmes in Catalan were by Josep Fontbernat and continued, with a lot of reductions, until 1972. The shortwave broadcasts ended in 1968.

In 1958 there were also the first international evangelical programmes in Catalan, broadcast by Radio Tangiers in Morocco on medium wave. These programmes were made in Barcelona by seven young people, among them Agustí Rodés, promoter of the Barcelona FM radio station called Ràdio Bona Nova. Franco's regime interfered with the broadcasts and a few months after starting the programmes the authorities found the group of young people and recommended they stop making the programmes. The group followed this "advice" and ended their broadcasts.

From several oral accounts we know that Radio Peking made some broadcasts in Catalan. It seems that the Chinese broadcaster transmitted in our language between 1959 and 1961. The programmes were weekly and offered a lot of "sardanes" (the Catalan folk dance) and Catalan music. The clandestine Maoist press or *Peking Informs* at that time used to announce the times of Radio Peking in Spanish, but never said anything about Catalan. We know that there were some Spaniards involved in the first editions in Spanish who, due to conflicts with the Spanish communist party, had left their work at Radio Moscow or at La Pirenaica and were working for Radio Peking. This is the case of Irene Falcón and her sister.

In Spain, in 1958 there was a certain modernisation of Franco's regime, with economic, social and political changes of a moderate nature. The changes in Francoism meant that some things could be carried out in Catalan in Catalonia. During the next decade the Òmnium Cultural, *Serra d'Or*, the *Gran Enciclopèdia Catalana* and Edicions 62 all started up. These circumstances also allowed Televisión Española (TVE) and Radio Barcelona to broadcast their first plays in Catalan. On 25 October 1964, TVE's Miramar centre started a monthly programme in Catalan called *Teatro Catalán*.

In 1968 the second phase of international evangelical programmes in Catalan started. This time, they were broadcast on shortwave by Monaco Transworld Radio until 9 July 1975. A weekly programme was broadcast lasting quarter of an hour but they ended due to a lack of funds. The programmes were recorded in a small studio in the district of Sant Martí in Barcelona and were sent to Monaco.

General Franco died on 20 November 1975. The dictatorship having ended, Juan Carlos I was crowned king of Spain. In June 1976, Adolfo Suárez was appointed president of the Spanish government and started the political reform that allowed political parties and trade unions to be legalised and to hold a referendum, in December, for political reform.

In April 1977, the Spanish communist party was legalised. In June, Adolfo Suárez, leader of the Unión del Centro Democrático, won the elections. And on 14 July the Spanish parliament was constituted in Madrid. This event was broadcast by Radio España Independiente in its last transmission in Spanish. (Mendezona 1995) That year, Radio Moscow stopped broadcasting in Catalan, although eleven years later the programmes started up again.

Shortwave broadcasts from abroad as from 1978

International programming in Catalan transmitted as from 1978 had very different objectives to that produced during Franco's regime: to provide information on what was happening in Catalonia for Catalans living outside the country, Ràdio Exterior d'Espanya; to cover cultural issues, Ràdio Andorra; to inform about new audiovisual technologies, BRT and Radio Budapest; to provide information on the political changes occurring in Russia, Radio Moscow; and to reflect on religious issues in our language, Monaco Transworld Radio.

In 1978, only Ràdio Andorra offered daily night-time musical programmes, presented in Catalan by Josep Casamajor. They were broadcast on medium wave but, in 1979, they could be heard for a few months on shortwave. Ràdio Andorra closed down in 1981.

From September 1983, the religious station Monaco Transworld Radio started up its international programming in Catalan again. This third phase ended on 25 December 1989. The programmes were broadcast on Mondays, at two in the afternoon, under the name of *Aquell camí oblidat* and lasted a quarter of an hour.

On Sunday 27 September 1987, Belgische Radio ea Televisie (BRT) broadcast the monthly programme *Més DX* for the first time, produced by the magazine *Món DX*, by the Associació de Radioescotes de Barcelona (ADXB). The presenters were Anna Hernández Cortès and Cinto Niqui. From October, it also broadcast *Retalls DX*, a monthly programme produced by the magazine *Quaderns Tècnics* and presented by Xavier Cacho. Both programmes lasted ten minutes and ceased at the end of 1989.

On 15 November 1988, the last phase started for programmes in Catalan on Radio Moscow, ending in 1991. Initially, the programme was broadcast on the 15 and 30 of every month and lasted half an hour. Viktor Súkhov and Enric Fernàndez were responsible for the programmes.

Finally, Radio Budapest broadcast, for six months in 1989, the brief monthly technological news programme in Catalan, *Retalls DX*, produced by the magazine *Quaderns Tècnics* and presented by Xavier Cacho. In this version, the programme lasted around five minutes. It was broadcast on the fourth Saturday of every month and was repeated on the following Sunday.

Of the broadcasters mentioned, Ràdio Andorra and Radio Moscow produced the programmes in their own studios. BRT, Monaco Transworld Radio and Radio Budapest transmitted programmes recorded in Barcelona.

The end of 1988 and the start of 1989 saw Catalan having the most presence in international broadcasting on shortwave, with programmes coinciding made by five broadcasters: Radio Moscow, Ràdio Exterior d'Espanya, Monaco Transworld Radio, BRT from Belgium and Radio Budapest. This situation did not last very long at all.

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Elements for studying TV reality in secondary education

Ramon Breu

- *This is a contribution to the critical analysis of the media carried out in compulsory education, gathering together everyday experience in the classroom. The aim is to offer an example of didactic proposals, aimed at secondary education, to educate in communication and, specifically, to work on TV reality in the classroom, a practice where attempts have been made to make this motivating, interdisciplinary and with a clearly ethical content. I think that the ideal, most appealing and profitable formula, in educational terms, is to work on two film texts (a documentary and the film The Truman Show, from 1998) and a journalistic article. Using these, the aim is to gradually develop thoughts on TV reality from the point of view of ethics and communication.*

Keywords

CAC School Awards, education in communication, critical analysis, TV reality, dominant media, reflection and ethics.

The aim of this article is to summarise the work of the same title presented for the last "El CAC a l'escola" (CAC School Awards), based on concerns arising as a result of how the educational world in general, albeit with honourable exceptions, has ignored too much the dominant media, their products, their influence on children, especially young children and, particularly, has ignored education in communication, an area of knowledge which various countries in our sphere and Unesco itself have spent years looking for ways to implement.

The media are the main contemporary resource for expression and communication in cultural terms. Those that claim that the media have currently replaced the family, church and school as the main source of socialising influence in contemporary society are probably right. The media are positioned in the centre of experience, in the heart of our capacity or incapacity to make sense of the world we live in.

The work we refer to has three parts. Firstly, a brief review of how the genre of TV reality has evolved; afterwards, brief fieldwork on young people's perception of this TV format; and, finally, a number of didactic proposals on this issue. And we are going to present a summary of this third block below.

In the day-to-day work of schools and institutes, we have been able to observe, over the last few years, how the heroes of many children (probably more so girls) have emerged from these sordid universes of reality shows. This is a first step for other larger projects to develop the issues noted here.

In general terms, education has still not begun to ask itself what implications the media have in young people's perception of the world. On average, OECD countries spend approximately 0.25% of their educational budgets on research and development. Consequently, we hardly know anything about the effects of the media on our citizens.

Ramon Breu

Secondary school teacher and member of AulaMèdia

Definition

It is significant that, in the digital era, the pleasure of watching, reading and knowing about other people's private lives has shifted from the famous to ordinary people, who are prepared to expose their miseries and joys to millions of strangers. This phenomenon has been given the name of TV reality or reality shows.

Their success and development can be explained by the fact that reality shows are low-cost programmes, capable of generating a lot of advertising revenue and of feeding other programmes. On the other hand, the dominant channels, at the end of the nineties, reached a certain saturation point for some already traditional products and decided there was a need to change and renew the old fictional genres. Finally, they decided to create a non-fiction narrative genre.

The characteristics of reality shows are as follows:

- They have a broad audience that follows the everyday lives of the participants.
- They recount-observe the lives of men and women.
- The contestants-protagonists are ordinary people.
- This kind of programme is supposed to be a mixture of traditional formats or genres: the genres of entertainment, gossip (blame is suggested, events are selected that kindle morbid curiosity, stories don't have a happy ending), soap operas (the stories and plots ignore contemporary issues and are non-spatial).
- The supposed spontaneity does not occur, as the situations are manipulated in the television studio.

The audience is vital. They are invited not to suggest themes but to judge contestants. In this context, reality shows openly ask for participation and channel the desire to intervene, to show solidarity, to have a common cause. TV viewers vote to get rid of participants, as in a Roman circus. In some cases the audience for these shows of emotion, of psychological striptease, of misery, identify with the contestants, they are happy for them, it feeds their curiosity.

When, on a certain occasion, I asked my 4th year secondary pupils for their opinions about the programme *Big Brother*, one of them, Pau, I remember perfectly what he said, namely that it was a kind of programme that brought out the worst in each of us. I am borrowing the expression from my good pupil because I feel he hit the nail on the head and

that it provides a good definition of this kind of TV format.

A figure such as George Orwell, who firmly denounced the remotely programmed manipulation and alienation of power in the difficult times he lived in, would probably now react angrily against the use precisely of one of his concepts, that of the powerful *Big Brother*, i.e. the thousand eyes of authoritarian societies whose citizens are under a supervised freedom, for a TV format that treats low passions and a lack of civic values as normal and that alienate and sully the public.

Didactic proposals to work on reality shows in the secondary classroom

Proposal A

Title: *Estás nominado: cuando la realidad supera la ficción* (documentary)

Production: Canal + España. 2005

Direction: Fernando Martín and Eva Catalán

Duration: 52 minutes

Synopsis: With a very agile style, Canal + presents a report on the television phenomenon of reality shows, with different people in charge of this TV format in Spain and North America. It provides an overview of this new genre that is very well put together and structured, showing a minimal history of reality shows, as well as their dynamics, their commercial basis and future perspectives. A work of critique, reflection, useful to prepare and educate TV viewers.

Activities

1. Draw up a brief historical chart of reality shows.
2. At the start of the report they say that casting is fundamental for this kind of programme. The casting director for *Big Brother* says that it's logical to be vain and an exhibitionist if you are on this programme. How do you value these extremes if you think about the desire of reality shows to proclaim themselves as windows onto real life? Will the contestants of these programmes be representative of society?
3. What does it mean when we say that the first *Big Brother* in Spain made by Telecinco achieved a 50% share? What is share?

4. The presenter on *Big Brother*, Mercedes Milà, says that this programme's appeal is that it reflects reality and is unpredictable. A few minutes later, however, we hear a scriptwriter for this kind of product explain that, if they see that "nothing happens for a few days", the programme's directors intervene to make it more dynamic. They also say that the scriptwriters for these programmes play with emotions, that they are interested in playing with elements from classic narrative: love, humour, hate, the baddie, the princess, the funny one... Give your opinion about these two positions.
5. Mercedes Milà also says that these programmes are successful "because people get very bored". Do you think it's true? Why? Could other television products be found to combat boredom?
6. Josep Maria Mainat, from the production company Gestmusic, creators of *Operación Triunfo* (*Fame Academy* in Spain) says that one of the outstanding elements of these programmes is audience involvement, that they decide who continues and who gets thrown out, like in a Roman circus. In your opinion, is this a positive or a negative aspect?
7. On two occasions during the report, Andy Denhart appears, a lecturer from the United States who gives classes on reality shows. Would you attend these classes? Do you think they are important? Should media education be taught in schools and institutes in our country?
8. What kind of values or counter values can you see in the approach of programmes such as *The Bachelor*, *The Apprentice* or *The Swan*?
9. Why is this kind of programme so profitable for a TV channel?
10. The report ends by talking about the programme *Big Brother Forever*, where a town appears with three houses: one for rich people, one middle class and one poor, inhabited by different people. The audience, from home, can vote to change the contestants from house to house and social class. Could we make any kind of moral objection to this approach? Should there be any limits to being able to do this kind of television format?

Proposal B

Original title: *The Truman Show*

Production: Scott Rudin, Andrew Niccol. USA, 1998

Director: Peter Weir

Script: Andrew Niccol

Photography: Peter Biziou

Music: Burkhard Dallwitz and Philip Glass

Editing: William M. Anderson and Lee Smith

Actors: Jim Carrey (Truman Burbank), Laura Linney (Meryl), Ed Harris (Christoff), Natascha McElhone (Lauren/Silvia), Noah Emmerich (Marlon).

Duration: 102 minutes

Distribution: Universal Pictures International

Synopsis-comments

This film tells the story of Truman, a man of around thirty who has and still lives, since he was born and without realising it, within a television show. Truman was born in a television studio and his life is broadcast via satellite to the whole planet. Everyone around him, family, friends, neighbours, work colleagues, are actors. Truman has become a genuine "guinea pig" in the laboratory of television.

But a point comes when he falls in love unexpectedly with an actress who regrets the whole macro-spectacle and who helps him discover the great lie Truman is living. Little by little he starts to notice the manipulation around him and wants to flee from this enormous bubble he's trapped in.

The programme is broadcast twenty-four hours a day, seven days a week. The audience experience the series as if it were their own family universe. In spite of continuity, there is a constant repetition of brief and almost identical scenes, such as the greeting of the neighbours in the morning, the newspaper stand, the twins, etc., there is even a Truman Catalogue and a tape of the highlights, with the most important moments in Truman's life: his first day at school, his first kiss, etc. But the audience's interest is maintained because they can always expect *new and exciting events*, as said by the enigmatic producer of the programme.

The character who has created the show is called Christoff (a brilliant Ed Harris, as always). He has created a huge studio with 5,000 cameras, an enormous structure that, according to the publicity, can be seen from space (together with the Great Wall of China). Christoff plays at being God. He

himself, at the end of the film, defines himself as the creator of the programme that fills millions of people with hope and happiness. He says that "we accept the reality of the world as it's presented to us". Peter Weir uses reflections on this idea to launch a far-reaching attack on television in this film. A film that attempts to reveal the emotive mechanisms used by television to fascinate viewers, as well as how it simplifies events.

The little old ladies who hug the cushion with Truman's face on it, the waitresses, the Japanese family, etc. are prototypes of the viewer of our time who, alienated, amuses him or herself, laughs, worries and cries with the show, which he or she experiences intensely but which doesn't actually exist.

The great point in the film is at the end. Once the programme ends, the car park attendants we've been watching throughout and who've been following everything happening to Truman, say "What's on now?", referring to the next programme they can watch.

Activities

1. In numerous scenes in the film we observe how the series *The Truman Show* is particularly interested in doing indirect or hidden advertising: characters talking about specific products and showing them to camera, secondary actors placing Truman next to an advertising poster so that the camera can show the image and viewers can see it clearly. Is there any indirect advertising in the series on our TV channels? And in films? Make a list and given your opinion on whether this is right or not.
2. In the film we hear sentences such as *Have you never thought your life is being steered in a certain direction? The world revolves around me*. Have you ever had this sensation? What do you think it's due to?
3. The scene when Truman meets his father again, which ends up with highly emotional tears on the part of the protagonists and the audience, is celebrated euphorically by the show's production team. Someone says *That's pure television*. What do you think about this statement? What kind of television does it refer to? Is it the only possible kind of television?
4. Evaluate the behaviour and path taken by the following characters: Truman, Meryl (the wife), Marlon (the friend), Silvia (the girl who defends Truman), the mother and Christoff.
5. The film is full of symbols. What do *True* and *Man* mean in English? And Seahaven (the artificial town where the action takes place)? The boat that Truman takes to escape is called the *Santa Maria*. What does this name mean?
6. The film explains that Truman was an unwanted child who was adopted by a corporation and, from then on, was used to star, every day, in the show. How do you rate this?
7. What's the meaning of Christoff's statement *We accept the reality of the world as it's presented to us*?
8. Why kind of TV programmes are there, existing today, with a similar theme to the plot of *The Truman Show*? What do you think of them?

New TV advertising market

In *The Truman Show* we can see how viewers have been reduced to mere clients. They are not citizens, they're consumers. The show, Christoff tells us, places on sale all the objects that appear on the screen, carries out hidden advertising (not so hidden, in fact) and publishes a large catalogue with all kinds of products. We sometimes think that films are an exaggeration, where ideas or facts are explained to us that are a bit crazy. Well, let's have a look at this news item published in newspaper *La Vanguardia*:

"With the slogan Product seen, product sold, a company in San Francisco allows TV viewers to buy products from their favourite programmes, a concept that could revolutionise the future of advertising. From crocodile skin handbags for around 10,000 dollars that the sophisticated Kate shows off in the series Will and Grace, to a simple pin for 12 dollars with the initials of General Hospital, the objects that appear on TV series and even films are within reach of viewers. Via the website of the programme in question, the platform Delivery Agent provides access to the clothes, furniture, cosmetics and even automobiles appearing in the most popular series and even films. However, this concept has raised a few hackles, as many believe this kind of advertising to be subliminal and dishonest, and they think there should be limits."

Efe (2005, 16 May). "Nuevo mercado publicitario televisivo". *La Vanguardia*. Barcelona section (page 49).

Activities

1. Has the advertising approach of *The Truman Show* become a reality? Debate whether this kind of advertising initiative might be successful among our audiences. Do you think that objects appearing in series on TV3, Telecinco, Antena 3 TV or TVE could be sold, via the Internet, for example? What ethical consequences would this have?
2. Investigate what subliminal advertising is. What kind of limits should be placed on advertising?
3. Some people say that television has become a technological mechanism to place viewers at the service of advertisers. What do you think?

The power of people meters

As explained in the film, the series created by Christoff, *The Truman Show*, has a large audience and dominates the ratings over half the world. What are people meters and how do they work, these devices that condition TV programming so much? Let us see:

"Every morning, the managers of the TV channels wake up with an implacable verdict: audience data, minute by minute, for their programmes. The people meter, the device that pinpoints viewers' behaviour, is the thermometer that determines life or death for a series, a celebrity gossip programme or game show. It acts as a barometer when establishing advertising rates, depending on the number of viewers in a specific time band. In Spain, audience is controlled by TNS Sofres, a multinational of French origin present in around twenty countries, including China. This is a source accepted by the whole sector, from the channels to the advertisers, including the media buying companies.

Every day Sofres records the avalanche of data from a panel made up of 3,305 homes recording the preferences of almost 9000 individuals. The company makes sure that its audience surveys are "accurate, thorough, transparent and innovative" and insists on the system's "reliability".

Audience data are a "kind of god" says Jesús Sánchez Tena, deputy Director General of the Audiovisual Communication Studies Office (GECA). "The people meter isn't reality but a representation. A map to orient ourselves. It reflects the streets but not the trees or traffic

lights". It's also a "highly precise" tool in quantitative research. "We know what the public is watching every minute. Fanaticism with data has become a tyrannical criterion when creating content" he adds.

Perhaps because of this, the Director General of RTVE, Carmen Caffarel, prefers to be guided by the qualitative evaluations carried out regularly by Ente to measure the acceptance of its programmes. In spite of everything, Sánchez Tena admits that there is no system that is "better or more reliable".

Panel. *The sample is representative of Spanish society. Andalusia and Catalonia (with 440 people meters each one) are the communities with the largest number of terminals. The panel is made up of main residences (not second homes) located on the Spanish mainland, Balearics and Canary Islands. It covers viewers from four years of age upwards. Its composition is one of the best-kept secrets to avoid any agents in the sector from influencing the select group of households that determine successes and failures.*

People meters. *Devices similar to a domestic video are installed in all receivers in the home. They control the television, video, analogue and digital decoders and cable synchronisers. They record whether the television is on or off (not if attention is being paid to the screen) and the channel being watched and they also detect whether a programme is being recorded or a videotape is being watched.*

Remote control. *This is one of the key pieces to determining the most watched programmes. Each person has been assigned a key on the remote that he or she must push every time they turn on or off the television, sit in front of the small screen or leave it. Other buttons are for guests.*

Sending data. *The activity recorded during 24 hours a day is sent in the early hours of the morning to Sofres' central computer, which tabulates the data and presents them clearly for its subscribers. The people meter allows questions to be asked concerning peoples' opinions on programmes in specific situations.*

Controls. *Sofres' work is supervised by two organisations: the User Committee and the Control Council, representing television operators, advertisers and advertising agencies, among others. The Association for Research*

and the Media (AIMC) also carries out permanent monitoring.”

Gómez, R. (2005, 27 March). “El poder de los audímetros”. *El País*. (page 76).

Activities

1. How can a commercial firm know how much it should pay per advertisement for its products broadcast, for example, at 9 pm on TV3?
2. The report says that audience data are “a kind of god”. What does this mean?
3. What advantages and disadvantages can you see in this system for measuring audiences?
4. The fact that viewers watch a programme does not mean they are fully satisfied. What other kind of mechanism would you propose for analysing audiences?

Big Brother Forever

In March 2005, the German channels RTL II and Premiere (the latter a subscriber channel) started the sixth German season of *Big Brother* (*Big Brother Forever*), with one difference: there was no planned end and it could last forever. So the life in this TV microcosm that is Big Brother appears taken from a science fiction novel or a giant laboratory for psychosocial experiments. Premiere subscribers can buy daily tickets (five euros) or monthly tickets (fifteen euros) to watch the programme.

The refuge covering 25,000 square metres (4,925 square metres of residence), where 16 contestants and various animals live, is located on the outskirts of Cologne. Here they started a new life, which is observed by millions of viewers, until broadcasting *Big Brother Forever* is no longer profitable. Every year a million euros will be at stake and the contestant who wishes to continue to be watched 24 hours a day by 100 cameras can do so.

The latest edition of this programme also has the novelty that the contestants are divided into social classes: a poor class, a *normal* class and a rich class, as stated by RTL II itself. “It’s like real life. With the class struggle, jealousy, opportunities to go up and down the social ladder” says the German channel in the programme’s publicity.

The buildings are made of wood and combine different architectural styles. The poor contestants live in a workshop. They wash in cold water and have five euros to

eat. They do odd jobs for the rich contestants to help them survive. The *normal* contestants receive 15 euros a day. Norman, 25 years old and a member of the middle class, said when he started on the programme “If anyone asks me to carry shit for money, I’ll do it.”

The middle class contestants work as assistants for the rich contestants, the bosses. They are all between 20 and 30 years of age and most don’t know what to do with their lives, although many have a profession. Dissatisfaction leads them to put up with tasks such as having their legs tied together for days, drinking litres and litres of alcohol or remaining separated from the group for days.

It didn’t take long for the first criticisms to appear. The Federal Association for the Protection of Animals has complained that the town “is a prison for animals disguised with straw” and has claimed that the two cows, two goats, two pigs and two chickens suffer from pain and stress in the farm area. According to them “the grazing area hides the fact that it’s a prison for animals”. A spokesman for the programme replied that the animals are monitored by specialists.

Drafted by the author from various sources of information

Activities

1. Why do you think this kind of programme is profitable?
2. Before criticising the situation of the animals in the programme *Big Brother*, would you make any other criticism?
3. How do you value the division of the contestants into social classes? Do you see in it the transmission of any counter value?
4. Would you take part in this kind of programme? Why? And in any other? Which?

Proposal C

Mainat and Cruz: the magicians of audience

Josep Maria Mainat and Toni Cruz are two former members of the band La Trinca. Alchemists of success, their production company, Gestmusic-Endemol, has been behind a social phenomenon like *Operación Triunfo* (*Fame Academy*), which smashed all audience ratings. Its list of programmes is spectacular. In addition to *Operación Triunfo*

and *Crónicas marcianas* there is also *No te rías que es peor*, *Lluvia de estrellas* and *El bus*.

Is Operación Triunfo (OT) based on any already existing model or did you create it from scratch?

J.M.M. It's based on formulas that have always existed. On the one hand, we wanted to do a TV musical and, on the other, it's based on reality shows or whatever you want to call them, which consist of watching an event minute by minute with interaction by the public who take part in how it evolves.

Could the format of OT be applied to other areas of human activity?

T.C. We have a format called People's Club, which is about to come out, and it's like an academy but applied to a modest football team, where the public can also take decisions about the line-up, for example.

Does 'trash television' exist?

J.M.M. Trash television exists if a programme is racist, for example.

Critics have never been favourable to the work you have done. When you used to sing, they accused you of being frivolous, and when you have made television programmes, of being sensationalist. Do you take it all with resignation, rage or indifference?

J.M.M. We have very thick skins. The most curious thing is that critics always talk about very successful programmes, which shows that critics and the public don't always agree.

The only way to evaluate television seems to be the audience, a quantitative criterion. Is it enough?

J.M.M. There is another parameter. People can watch television proudly or without admitting to it. There are programmes with big audiences that, in public, no-one ever admits to having seen.

T.C. Television is the most democratic thing in the world. If you don't like it, there's a black thing called the remote control, you press it and the television goes off. Instead of getting indignant or writing letters to the newspapers, you turn it off and go to bed.

J.M.M. The fact that a programme has a big audience simply means that people like it.

T.C. And if they like it, the channel has advertising revenue, it earns money and the programme continues. In

other words, it's a business.

J.M.M. And that means the industry can continue. Let's not forget that the aim of television is precisely that: to entertain and not to leave any trace behind.

Pàmies, S (2002, 24 February). "Mainat y Cruz: los magos de la audiencia". *El País*. Supplement (pages 16-19). Adapted by the author.

Activities

1. Investigate the characteristics of the programme *Popstars*. Does it predate OT? Why is it that the interviewees didn't mention it when the interviewer asked them whether OT was based on an already existing model?
2. In your opinion, should audience ratings be the only criterion for making television programmes?
3. Why are there some people who don't admit in public that they have seen a certain programme?
4. From your perspective as TV viewers, do you agree that television is the most democratic thing in the world? What would truly democratic television be like?
5. Do you agree with the statement that the aim of television is to entertain and not leave any trace behind? Is it any old domestic appliance, like a dishwasher? Do you think that television has other objectives and possibilities?
6. Evaluate the interview in general and arrive at some conclusions regarding the approaches of the creators of OT.

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Critical Books Review

The Barometer: the statistical basis of communication policies in Catalonia

GENERALITAT DE CATALUNYA. *El Baròmetre i les necessitats estadístiques del sector de la comunicació*. 1st ed. Barcelona: Generalitat de Catalunya, Departament de la Presidència, Col·lecció Lexikon, 2007. ISBN 978-84-393-7510-4

By Martí Petit, head of the International Relations Unit of the Audiovisual Council of Catalonia

This valuable study has been created with a desire to increase our insight into the communication sector in our country, in order to design and apply policies to promote this economic activity. The book starts with an introduction by Albert Sáez, Media secretary of the government until January 2008: "Catalan-speaking territories go to make up a very rich communicative and cultural market with an extensive, diverse supply rooted in the territory and in constant growth. However, in spite of this fertility and complexity, our market has never had an instrument to measure and analyse its audiences and to know in depth the consumption practices and habits of the different publics that go to make it up. For decades, the media sector and the cultural industry in Catalonia have had to make do with instruments such as the EGM (General Media Study) or the OJD (Dissemination Justification Office) that, by observing the market for the whole of Spain, disregard more localised but not necessarily less powerful markets."

The lack of reliable and regular data, however, is a widespread evil in this economic activity and not just in Catalonia. Referring to a broader sector, the cultural sector, Lluís Bonet explains the difficulties in finding statistically reliable data:

"The statistical information available on the cultural sector is scarce, with limited temporal series, little homoge-

neity country to country and with a very low capacity for adjusting to the new information-related needs of the contemporary world. Generating statistics is expensive, requires rigour and continuity over time. Governments and their institutions with responsibility or funds to carry this out (statistical institutes, central banks, ministries) tend to concentrate on large-scale economic and social data or on those indicators required by intergovernmental institutions. In general, culture does not form part of this." (Bonet 2004)

On the other hand, Bonet warns that it's not easy to get information that has a certain confidential content (turnover, market position, etc.). If this information does exist, he notes, it is jealously guarded by those in charge of the businesses, guilds or unions that commissioned it. It is only made public, and then partially, when it is used for advertising or to pressurise public opinion and governing bodies. And, if this weren't enough, the degree of interdependence, of internationalisation and of complexity of cultural markets, as well as the number of agents and disperse interests, make it almost impossible to discover the structure and dynamics of each of the cultural sectors in a region or country.

Whatever the case, the lack of statistical data for Catalonia conditions the viability of many media in our communicative area: the surveys currently carried out at a state level provide an insufficient (and perhaps distorted) view of the Catalan and local sphere. And this partiality affects, and to a great extent, the advertising spend of the media in the Catalan language.

In order to fill this gap, the Presidency Department of the Generalitat de Catalunya has published this methodological-style book. The publication comprises two parts. The first, entitled "Barometer of media consumption in Catalan-speaking territories", has been produced by sociologist Sal-

vador Cardús, together with Isaac González, Bernat Albaigés and David Moreno. The second ("The statistical needs of the communication sector in Catalonia") is the result of a commission for the Institute of Communication (InCom-UAB), written by Carles Llorens i Maluquer.

The objective is for the Catalan cultural area (which is also a communicative market) to overcome the traditional connection between instruments for analysing the market and state administrative structures. First, however, it is necessary to put the strategy into context and define the concepts: "What is communication? What are cultural industries? What is audiovisual? Does advertising form part of the media? Books? The Internet? Video games? Mobile phones, text messages, MMS?", wonders Llorens at the start of the document.

The first of the two reports in the book result from a commission by the ESCACC Foundation to establish the specific characteristics of the Barometer of communication and culture. The Barometer, an instrument for observing and analysing the Catalan cultural market, will use a survey methodology in Catalan-speaking territories. This is a reference market with 13 million consumers, in which the audience and cultural consumption will be analysed of a total of 1,500 media (newspapers, supplements, magazines, radio, television, outdoor media). The number of personal interviews per year will increase up to 39,154 and reliable data will be able to be extracted up to the level of "comarca" (approximately county). The Barometer will have three devices: a central survey (annual in frequency, divided into three four-monthly waves), a secondary survey and a children's questionnaire. The frequency of these last two devices is not clear, as in some places it is stated that the secondary survey will be biannual (pg. 48) and, in others, biennial (pg. 51). The same thing occurs with the children's questionnaire, which is said to be triennial on pages 47 and 51, but triannual on page 75. Whatever the case, the Barometer is expected to provide regular data as from 2008.

In the words of Salvador Cardús and his team, "language is to culture and communication what money is to the market: the instrument for ordering *sine qua non*." In this way, one of the most significant contributions of the Barometer will be the sociolinguistic profile of the interviewee. In a territory where two languages co-exist (we would add the

adjective *majority*), language becomes an absolutely core element in understanding the dynamics of consumption. "In language practices there is a mix of habits, traditions, market alternatives, resistances and language aversions... In short, a number of logics of a different order that end up biasing the more or less solid presence of some language customs."

But in order to achieve the objectives established, the economic viability of the Barometer must be assured and it is therefore good news that 380 media already take part in the project, among these the Flaix Group, CCMA (formerly CCRTV), the Catalan County Press Association (ACPC), the Catalan Free Press Association (ACPG) and the Association of Periodical Publications in Catalan (APPEC). In this way, significant deficits can be overcome in the independence and methodological neutrality of currently existing surveys. In the words of the report, these gaps are due "largely to the methodological control exercised by the large media and advertising agencies and planners on these [statistical] instruments, incorporating changes in rules and methodological changes in order to positively influence the figures (for example, control of collective subscriptions in the case of the press)."

For this reason, and with the intention of the Barometer being as transparent as possible, we miss the publication of the different questionnaires and the budget for the project, removed from the original text by the editor. The reason given for this cut is because of their "technical character and ephemeral nature". We disagree with this opinion, given the eminently technical nature of the book analysed here.

In the second report in the book, Carles Llorens aims to discern the statistical needs of the communication sector in Catalonia. After diving into the data available on Catalonia, Spain, the European Union and other countries of interest, such as the United States and Finland, it provides a detailed list of official and private sources.

With regard to Europe, one might think that political and economic integration should involve the unification and modernisation of statistical models among all states in the region. But this is not the case. The only pan-European source for statistics, Eurostat, does not gather data and depends on information provided by the member states. The majority of these countries do not have a sufficient system to control the cultural and communication sector and

do not gather exhaustive data. Moreover, they use different statistical systems, which leads to a lack of harmonisation of data in this field.¹ On the other hand, the statistical models employed are not adapted to the cultural and communication sector. There are important sub-sectors shared out between different categories, or lost in categories that are too general for their significance to be analysed. Consequently, Europe knows the quantity of resources invested in science and innovation, but is incapable of calculating the economic value of culture and communication. (KEA 2007).

But added to the problems of statistical harmonisation are those of updating. The UNSD (United Nations Statistics Division) is the body that looks after the so-called international family of economic and social classifications, which serves as an international reference. This is a series of statistical classifications that have been approved according to the unified system established by the United Nations. With regard to data on products (goods and services), the UNSD has, among other reference classifications, the Central Product Classification (CPC). The so-called Provisional CPC (approved in 1989) has the added value of being the one used by the WTO to define and quantify the international trade of audiovisual goods and services (GATS, point 2, section D). It has numerous problems and is clearly obsolete (among other things, it does not include digital convergence) but at least it has the advantage of having been accepted by the United Nations and incorporated into the agreements of the WTO. For this reason, the function of the Provisional CPC is not only descriptive but also prescriptive.

Nonetheless, in 1999 the UNSD set up a special plan to revise and update these classifications. After the communication sector went through technological and commercial convergence (and even, in some cases, regulatory convergence), it was decided that statistical convergence was urgently required. Digitalisation meant that, on the one hand, the multimedia distribution of all kinds of digital content was possible and, on the other, the creation of new transmission systems. For example, radio and television programmes or feature films can be distributed by Internet, and this kind of dissemination is multiplied by the spread of broadband

networks. With interactive services, it is no longer possible to make a clear distinction between the kind of distribution channel (radio, TV or cinema). Therefore, there are increasingly more audiovisual services that must be classified in the category of "Other", a circumstance that makes the statistical information collected of less use. (Messerlin, Siwel and Cocq 2003)

At the same time, the World Trade Organisation has also decided it is necessary to introduce changes in sector classification (Torrent and Gómez Bustos 2006). The proposal with more political weight is undoubtedly the one formally proposed by the United States to the secretary of the WTO in December 2000 (WTO 2000). We will not go into this issue here but what is interesting is the comment made by the European Broadcasting Union (EBU, UER in its French initials) concerning this document presented by the United States. Basically, it stated the questions raised by digitalisation: in a multimedia context, how do we define concepts which, to date, had been obvious and closed, such as *television*, *radio* or *cinema*? What distinguishes audiovisual services from other electronic services offered by the Internet? (EBU 2001). As can be seen, these are the same questions as those asked by Carles Llorens at the start of the report.

Consequently, the review and updating of statistical classifications at a world level has stumbled against several fronts: a lack of tradition and strategic interest of a majority of developing countries, as well as a clash between different statistical models or the coordination required from all those involved. We should also add the problem of applying the new classification within contexts such as those of the WTO, in which the signatories have committed themselves to a degree of liberalisation based on a classification that would be annulled.

In short, and as recognised by Llorens himself, "grouping the media is difficult. Therefore, rather than defining the sector, which has too many derivatives, what is needed is to list what must not be lacking in statistical work". And this taxonomy is made up of the following elements:

- Press (free, paid and electronic)
- Radio (production, broadcast and audience)

¹ The main job of Eurostat is precisely to make the data provided by member states comparable.

- Television (production, broadcast and audience)
- Advertising (spend)
- Internet (publication)
- Cinema (production, distribution and exhibition)
- Video games (production and sales)
- Music or phonographic publication (production and sales)
- Books (production and sales)
- Video-DVD (production and sales)

Each of these items should be tackled from different perspectives: audience, consumption, message, technology and economic aspects (including advertising). This is the proposal, sensible and useful, presented by Llorens concerning the statistical needs of the communication sector in Catalonia. The point of departure is solid and must allow a technical and economically viable method and definitions to be laid down. To achieve this, however, both the involvement of the private and public sector is required. Both the main communication groups of the country as well as official bodies that are responsible for statistics or the media must also take part in the project. Only then will we achieve what Cardús and his team call "scientific, political and functional legitimisation".

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The public broadcasting service in Europe

NIKOLTCHEV, SUSANNE. *Iris Spécial: La culture de service public de radiodiffusion*. Strasbourg: Observatoire Européen de l'Audiovisuel, 2007. ISBN 978-92-871-6187-1
By Davinia Ligerio Tormo, specialist from the Unit of Research, Studies and Publications of the CAC

La culture de service public de radiodiffusion is a publication by the European Audiovisual Observatory (EAO) produced in collaboration with the Institut du Droit Européen des Médias in Saarbrücken and the Institut du Droit de l'Information in Amsterdam. The Observatory, set up in 1992, aims to ensure transparency in the broadcasting sector in Europe and to respond to the information needs of sector professionals. With this focus, this publication provides an institutional view of the situation in which European public broadcasting media currently find themselves and how they have got there.

The EAO systemises its studies on the broadcasting sector into four working areas: cinema, television, video/DVD and the new media, all of them from two different perspectives: on the one hand, an economic and market-based approach with questions regarding funding and business management, and on the other a juridical and legal focus. In the case of this report, published in March 2007 and from a legal point of view, the juridical system and regulatory framework is studied of fourteen European countries¹ and it also examines the contribution made by the public media to the cultural diversity of each country.

The introduction to this publication is in two parts: firstly, a brief review of European legislation concerning public service television and radio. Secondly, a look at various theoretical perspectives that attempt to explain the origin, development and role played by media systems in different kinds of society. Susanne Nikoltchev is responsible for the first part, head of the department of juridical information of the EAO and editor/coordinator of this publication, reviewing the key resolutions, recommendations and statements regarding some of the features that the

European Council considers should characterise public broadcasting. By means of the Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly (two Council of Europe institutions), attempts have been made to determine the cultural dimension of European broadcasting, its mission and obligations as a public service. At the same time, specific goals have also been set, such as the obligation to provide pluralist, innovative and varied programming, founded on ethical standards and of high quality that contributes to cultural diversity. Moreover, the importance is noted of consolidating its political, educational and cultural role in society and its contribution to diversity, given the danger of uniformity supposed by broadcasting technology in general.

On the other hand, both the Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly have promoted transparency and editorial independence of public media from any kind of political or economic influence; this need for independence and absence of political meddling refers equally to the authorities regulating the sector that may exist in each country, as noted in the Prague Resolution of 1996 and in the 1506 Recommendation of 2001, to give some examples. The Committee of Ministers, by means of Recommendation no. R (96) 10 with reference to the guarantee of independence of public broadcasting and adopted in September 1996, gives directives aimed specifically at state legislators and regulating bodies, underlining the importance of its role when guaranteeing the independence and institutional autonomy of public broadcasting.

In addition to the recommendations and resolutions of the Council of Europe, the European Union also points out the importance of public broadcasting regarding the democratic, social and cultural needs of each country and does so via the protocol on the public broadcasting system of the member states published in the Treaty of Amsterdam, signed in 1997, modifying the Treaty of the European Union, the constitutive treaties of the European communities and certain related documents.

Before looking at the particular cases of each country, Karol Jakubowicz, doctor and former director of the Depart-

¹ Germany, Bulgaria, Denmark, Spain, Finland, France, Hungary, Italy, Lithuania, Netherlands, Poland, United Kingdom, Romania and Switzerland.

ment of Strategy and Analysis of the Polish National Broadcasting Council, reviews some of the perspectives from which different researchers have tackled communication systems, proposing the existence of "systemic parallelism", a situation in which the media systems reflect the systemic functions of the society in which they develop. Within this context, the media are not key social actors but rather instruments of other social forces. So, in the foundational process of public broadcasting, Jakubowicz identifies three models: in paternalistic and democratic-liberal models, the public media naturally result from the ideological evolution of society, with the consolidation of democracy and the development of political culture. The systemic model, on the other hand, reflects a larger political change, such as in the case of the Spanish transition to democracy after the dictatorship. This model involves a radical alteration in the institutional legal order that also affects the development of public broadcasting.

Having carried out this process of contextualisation, they look further into the particular case of the public broadcasting media in each country. Various authors analyse the juridical-collegial norms of this (mission, structure, procedures and financing) and the contribution made to the cultural diversity of the territory. Given the heterogeneous origin of the authors, as the reports are drawn up by lecturers, lawyers, workers from the different societies of state broadcasting, etc., there are contributions that emphasise the legal situation of public broadcasting and others that dedicate more time to explaining and evaluating the cultural dimension. Nonetheless, following the same analytical approach helps to identify the common elements and differences between countries.

With regard to the legal framework, it can be observed that each country has chosen different legal statuses to guarantee public service. In the United Kingdom, for example, the public function is commissioned directly to the BBC and has been regulated since this corporation started by means of a royal grant, while in France or Switzerland the respective constitutions give the tasks of public service to the broadcasting system as a whole, although there is also publicly owned radio and television.

In most cases, the mission of public broadcasting is regulated by specific laws that have undergone substantial amendment and changes in order to tackle the great trans-

formations affecting society and the sector that, in some cases, have been renovated over the last few years. In this situation are Denmark, Finland, Italy and Spain, which between 2004 and 2006 have put forward new specific laws. With regard to Spain, Alberto Pérez Gómez, assistant director at Red.es, explains the new elements in Act 17/2006, of 5 June, for state-owned radio and television, which are, among others, the definition of the dimensions this public service must have and its obligations. Moreover, the programme contract is established as a planning instrument for its work and states the objectives that must be achieved and the consequences should this not be the case.

The Act also points out issues regarding financing. Although a mixed system is continued (advertising and state financing), the obligation is specified of the Radio Televisión Española group to use the state-provided budget exclusively for public service activities, in addition to including accounting that clearly separates which part is invested in this service and which in commercial programming.

Financing is and has been the Achilles heel of state-owned media: all have public money as their main source of revenue, albeit with some particularities. The most usual situation is that a part of the general budget is allocated to public radio and television. In many cases, there is also financing via a fee charged for people using the service. Spain, Lithuania and Hungary are the only countries studied that have not established a duty for the public broadcasting service. The United Kingdom, on the other hand, stands out as the only country where public broadcasting funding is exclusively via a licence fee.

So, with exceptions such as the United Kingdom and Finland, which only admit public funding, the most frequent model in the fourteen states analysed is the mixed system. With regard to advertising, each country exercises more or less control on the minutes dedicated to it, such as Bulgaria, which limits this to four minutes per hour, or Hungary, which sets the limit at six. In the Spanish case, as pointed out in the report, RTVE has no specific obligation if we do not include compliance with the television without frontiers Directive, common to all channels irrespective of ownership.

Analysing the Spanish case, it should be noted that the only mention made of national public broadcasters is when talking about their debt and the demands imposed by

certain autonomous governments with regard to compliance with broadcasting quotas in the co-official language. Along these lines, in general all authors talk only about the state, only mentioning national television and radio channels with the idea of listing them. Germany is a case apart, which talks specifically of this, given its federal conception of public service since World War II; in addition to ZDF, which covers the whole territory, it also has nine broadcasters from the different *Länder* brought together in a management group called ARD.

The establishment of the rules of play that guarantee the public media's independence with regard to the state, their cultural contribution to encouraging pluralism, language diversity and the social projection of social values befitting democratic societies that serve to reinforce the role of citizenship, as well as the creation of regulatory broadcasting authorities are other points in common in all the television systems studied. Reading this report brings us to the conclusion that continuity in the public sector in general, as well as specific issues regarding their funding or public service function, far from being resolved, continue to be the object of political and social debate in the heart of each country.

Public television in Europe: different perspectives to face the challenge

MORENO, E.; GIMÉNEZ, E.; ETAYO, C.; GUTIÉRREZ, R.; SÁNCHEZ, C.; GUERRERO, J. E. (ed.). *Los desafíos de la televisión pública en Europa*. Pamplona: Ediciones Universidad de Navarra (EUNSA), 2007. ISBN 978-84-313-2458-2

By Tatiana Medina Maldonado, specialist in the Unit of Research, Studies and Publications of the CAC

Within the framework of the 10th International Congress of Communication (Navarre University, 10 and 11 November 2005), European public television was analysed from different interdisciplinary perspectives by professionals and academics from the sector. In more than 800 pages, the book being reviewed, *Los desafíos de la televisión pública en Europa*, recounts the talks and communications of the congress. In spite of its length, it is clearly divided into themed blocks: regulation and the legal framework, the market and business management, quality in programme production and attention to social minorities, social pluralism and citizen involvement, and promoting digital technology.

"Public television in Europe is at a time of crisis. Perhaps the biggest in its history" (page 13). The book starts with this categorical statement, which appears at an opportune, interesting and decisive time for the public broadcasting sector, with factors of change and doubts regarding the future: the passing of the Act on the Catalan Corporation of Broadcasting Media (CCMA), the restructuring of the RTVE Corporation (CRTVE), the transition to digital terrestrial television (TDT), the need for a state broadcasting council, etc. in terms of our closest context. And, within the context of Europe, the review and updating of the European Directive for television without frontiers (TWF), the possible privatisation of RAI and the budget cuts for the BBC are all examples of this.

In spite of the different perspectives from which public television is tackled in Europe in this book, as well as a certain imbalance regarding the extension and development of themes, we find common elements that, in some cases more than others, are repeated throughout the pages: competition between public and private television reopens debate concerning identity, objectives, funding and the quality of

the public sector in a dual market. So, many of the talks and communications suggest that the traditional principles of public television (general interest, political independence/pluralism, free access to content, encouraging democratic values, cultural diversity, etc.) have come up against the more ferocious laws of the commercial market and the fight for audience.

"Culture of regulated co-existence"

Enrique Bustamante (page 21), professor of audiovisual communication and advertising at the University Complutense de Madrid, gave the inaugural speech, providing a general context. In his contribution, he analyses the strong and weak points of the European models of public television, as well as the importance acquired by the definition and development of public service in the digital era. According to the author, who considers university to be the only neutral place for analysis, the new audiovisual panorama that has been gradually making its way since the nineties involves three key elements that help to harmonise the function of public service:

1. The recognition of the need for an influential public service that covers the social, cultural and political demands of democratic societies on the part of the Council of Europe, of the Parliament and of the Commission of the European Union (EU).
 2. The consensus that private broadcasting must also be guided by principles of general interest, given the influence it exercises on all the orders of social life.
 3. The creation of audiovisual authorities independent from the political power, in organisational and financial terms, granted powers of regulation and sanction, completed almost unanimously throughout the EU.
- (pages 22 and 23)

In this respect, Bustamante introduces the concept of a "culture of regulated co-existence" (page 33) and points out the moment of transition experienced in Spain towards a new regulatory framework. He sees the future state audiovisual council as the perfect area to construct this regulated co-existence, based on international or more local experiences, such as the Audiovisual Council of Catalonia (CAC).

Finally, the author concludes that European public television must take on a "threefold challenge" (page 34): political control, financing and public service content.

Financing, programming, pluralism

The rest of the talks are of a highly diverse nature. They range from the theoretical approach of the lecturer at Navarre University, Mercedes Medina (page 41), analysing the funding problems of European public channels, using numerous examples and proposing some solutions, in an ordered didactic way and illustrated with tables; to the conciseness of Vicent Porter (page 35) who, from the *Voice of the Listener & Viewer*¹ explains the modernisation process of public television in the United Kingdom, and especially Christian Blankenburg (page 65), who sets out the seven keys to success in the public sector, taking the German ARD as an example, as sub-director of the Department of International Relations for the channel.

With regard to programming, the talk by Bienvenido León (page 75) (Navarre University) is interesting, who considers this a differential between public and private television and legitimisation for public broadcasting's position in the market. The author's key concept is "adaptation" (page 75), explained using an analogy with the survival of living beings, reminiscent of Darwinian theory: given the rise in ferocious competition, public television must adapt to the new environment so as not to die out, as happened with the dinosaurs. León warns that the growing commercialisation of programmes, financial difficulties and changes produced by digitalisation could end up relegating public television to a marginal role, so that it is vital to maintain a strong public sector. Pablo Carrasco García (page 71) is much more practical, directly establishing parameters to define quality in programming terms, which can be summed up as:

1. technical level,
2. capacity to catch the public's attention,
3. quality of enriching and/or provide the audience with positive elements, and
4. how far reality is reflected.

¹ Independent organisation that represents the interests of consumers of British broadcasting and works for quality and diversity, especially in the public sector.

In spite of this, all the examples used to illustrate the talk by Carrasco García, head of programming and content at TVE, are from TVE itself.

Finally, grouped into the area of pluralism, political independence or citizenship, and in spite of different perspectives, there are talks by Teresa Sádaba (page 89), Christina Holtz-Bacha (page 101), Mario García de Castro (page 111) and François Heinderyckx (page 83). Sádaba focuses on pluralism in news on European public television and shows the need for it to be distanced from the battle for audience and proposes other indicators to measure pluralism, such as the representation of social or political groups, the nature of the intervention or the characteristics of the image. Holtz-Bacha studies the particular relationship between politicians and the public audiovisual system, where concepts come into play such as power, mutual interests and influences (the political system needs the media and vice versa) and where the author uses a concept from the field of biology, "symbiosis" (page 102), to describe this relationship. García de Castro speaks about independence, paying particular attention to the reform process of RTVE, while Heinderyckx relates ICTs, politics and citizenship.

The cultural identity on public television

Apart from the speakers, as there were almost 50 communications presented at the congress and these go to make up a large part of the book (pages 123-828), it's impossible to comment on all of them. From the block dedicated to cultural identity, representation and citizen involvement, the contributions by Enric Castelló and Luisa Martínez García stand out due to their closeness in geographical and thematic terms.

The text by Castelló, "Fictional television series and national identity: a decade of the public Catalan channel" (page 505), presents the results from his doctoral thesis, whose objective is to see how cultural identity is constructed on TVC by analysing 26 Catalan fictional series, broadcast from 1994 to 2003, from *Poblenou* to *Temps de silenci*,

including *Estació d'enllaç*, *Nissaga de poder*, *El cor de la ciutat* and *La memòria dels cargols*, among others. During this period, the author states that TVC applied a policy of in-house production, attempting to promote Catalan culture and language. *La construcció de la identitat nacional en la ficció televisiva* (The construction of national identity in television fiction) is a process present not only in those channels that depend on nations or regions without a state but also in large public and even private corporations.

In the case of TVC, Castelló detects four mechanisms to produce cultural identity in fiction:

1. the territory, where a certain Barcelona centralism is detected,
2. language as an instrument both of normalisation and standardisation,
3. social issues and
4. other historical and political representations.

To end, the author concludes that identity is constructed by contrasting the view we have of our culture with that of others, with the Spanish culture and also with immigration (page 519).

In this respect, the lecturer from the UAB, Luisa Martínez García, also talks about "us" and "them" but her approach is aimed more at presenting "autonomous television as a cultural mediator" (page 493), taking TVC as a reference. In this complete and documented communication, Martínez García reviews how autonomous television channels arose in Spain, argues the need to sanction the idea of public service based on studies already carried out and to look further into the concept of cultural mediation applied to autonomous television.

Public television and the shift to TDT

At a time when expectations are centred on digitalisation and the analogical switch-off or switch-over, TDT is tackled across the board in almost all the blocks but there is one dedicated to it particularly, including eight communications that revolve around the same core issue: terrestrial digital

television in the public broadcasting system (page 727-828).

The approaches of the communications that go to make up the bloc studying public television and the promotion of TDT are quite diverse, even opposed in some cases. For example, there is the hopeful view of Roberto Suárez Candel (page 755), from the Pompeu Fabra University and the pessimism and uncertainty of Francisco Javier Davara (Francisco de Vitoria University) and Juan Fernández Tamames (Business Institute) (page 743). Suárez Candel identifies the transformations involved in digitalisation for television and highlights the implications created by the migration to TDT for public service. He extensively and thoroughly reviews the panorama at the level of Spain and Catalonia and concludes that "the situation of terrestrial digital television in Catalonia is encouraging" (page 770). In addition to the autonomous administration being involved, public television is also developing content and applications that will give citizens reasons to make the switch to TDT.

On the other hand, Davara and Fernández Tamames outline a confusing situation that is approaching catastrophe. The authors, who declare themselves to be misled by "the lack of a clear and coherent policy that orders the television market" (page 743), believe that, due to the importance public television will continue to have, and without a veritable review of the current model, the orientations of the *Expert Committee*² (especially those regarding financing and the obligations of public service) are not coherent with the need to redefine the television system demanded by many of those involved, and auger a disorganised future, as the opportunity to develop a good TDT model "is slipping away". Given the financial problems of RTVE, they propose "the creation of a consortium with a plurality of actors under equal conditions of participation" (page 753), taking the British platform SwitchCo as an example.

The digital conversion of autonomous television channels is studied by Isabel Sarabia (page 773), from the San Antonio de Murcia Catholic University, warning that, if public autonomous TDT does not develop innovative content and additional services, it will be unlikely to catch the attention of users. The contributions by Tatiana Millán

2 *Informe para la reforma de los medios de comunicación de titularidad del Estado*, Madrid, 2005.

and Soledad Ruano (page 791) are also interesting as, being from the University of Extremadura, they focus on the influence of TDT on public television programming. They see TDT as a challenge to improve pluralism and the quality content of public broadcasting. And, finally, the communications by Marina Ramos Serrano (page 801), from Seville University and by Raquel Urquiza García (page 815), from CES Villanueva (Complutense de Madrid University) close this block, the former investigating the aspect of interactivity and the latter studying the role of TDT as a public service within the European market, noting the trends of the main countries.

Children and young audiences: concerns about trash television

Another block of the book deals with the "children and young television audiences: regulating content and protecting the audience" (page 625-725). Of note is the fact that, of the eight communications that go to make up the block, there are four that revolve around the same core issue: trash television. With this premise, the lecturer from Vigo University, Alberto Dafonte (page 637) looks at the concept of trash television, relating it with audiences and with the use of television by children. Along the same lines but with a more methodological stance (based on a process of bibliographical documentation and empirical verification with reality shows), Sergi Cortiñas Rovira (page 651), from the Pompeu Fabra University, provides an overall review of trash television in Spain and notes some new elements with regard to the relevant regulations. But what is most innovative in Cortiñas's text is that he investigates the harmful effects of trash television on children (page 654).

On the other hand, Carmen Marta Lazo (San Jorge University, Zaragoza) (page 663) confronts trash television and quality television, explaining that, given this way of producing television and the small amount of children's programming, public television (and also private) must be committed to a very important sector in society that is not always taken into account, namely children. And in order to stress what public television should be (separated from the battles for audience and governed by its founding principles), María Teresa Mercado Sáez (Cardenal Herrera Uni-

versity) (page 677) explains (and criticises) how Valencian public television kept a celebrity gossip programme on its screens for seven years, *Tómbola*, which it exported to other public autonomous channels, with a format more be-fitting private channels.

Of challenges and expectations

When we read the title of this book, we think about the future. "Challenge" sounds like looking ahead, seeing what will need to be taken into account in order to face up to changes and transformations. And it perfectly fits the situation we are experiencing in the audiovisual sector. This idea of future is covered in most talks and communications but, nonetheless, not in all. For example, although this does not make it any less interesting, in a book whose title talks about challenges, perhaps themes such as fiction during TVE's monopoly do not have a place or, to give another example, the historical series of the eighties, or news coverage of the NATO referendum.

On the other hand, in a book that brings together everything dealt with at the congress, the origins of the speakers/communicators (both in professional and geographical terms, alternating texts in Spanish and in English) are diverse, and the result is therefore also different. This should not present any problem and, moreover, it enriches, providing visions from many perspectives. But in this book the variety of origins leads to a certain imbalance in the extension of the texts already noted and especially in the styles and explanations of different subjects, leading to notable differences between directors of public bodies and academics, between pragmatism and theory, between specificity and generality.

In spite of this, *Los desafíos de la televisión pública en Europa* is, without doubt, an essential book for the libraries of academics and professionals from the sector, a frame of reference for public television in Europe (focused particularly on the situation in Spain) that, like all good studies, resolves some questions and raises others.

Books Review

DÍAZ NOSTY, B. *Tendencias 2006. Medios de comunicación. El año de la televisión*

Madrid: Telefónica Foundation

ISBN: 84-89884-68-4

On the 50th anniversary of the start of television in Spain, the Telefónica Foundation has dedicated its annual to analysing this medium. As opined by the director of the report, Bernardo Díaz Nosty, quantitative analyses, based on data from commercial media measurement, describe a growing trend in the Spanish communication and media market. The figures offered on the turnover, advertising spend and consumption seem to place Spain at the level of its European peers.

In any case, continues Díaz Nosty, television in Spain (as the core of the audiovisual sector) suffers from an anomalous situation: within a context of liberalisation and multiplication in terms of supply, communication does not have any arbitrating body to regulate the sector, a circumstance that affects the democratic quality of society. So this collective work has been published with the aim of offering a global, contextualised view of the sector, beyond the specific data.

JÄCKEL, A. *European Film Industries*

London: British Film Institute (2003)

ISBN: 0-85170-948-6

Anne Jäckel, lecturer at the University of the West of England (Bristol), evaluates the film industry in Europe, its operational systems and business model within a global context. Trends in production, distribution and exhibition are analysed, both at the level of the different national markets and also pan-European, as well as the public and private financing, co-productions, public policies, the relationship between the film and television industry and the threats to creative cinema.

The book is divided into six chapters, very clearly delimited, and conclusions. Jäckel starts with a historical description of the film industries in Europe, continues with the production and co-production systems, both within states and pan-European, and ends with a description of the distribution and exhibition of films on the continent.

HALL, C.; SCOTT, C.; HOOD, C. *Telecommunications Regulation. Culture, Chaos and Interdependence Inside the Regulatory Process*

London: Routledge (2000)

ISBN: 0-415-19949-2

This book is a result of a commission in 1994 by the Director General of the time of Telecommunications for the British government, Don Cruickshand, to a team of researchers. They had to carry out internal independent research into Oftel, telecommunication's regulatory authority. Oftel, which in 2003 was wound up to become part of the new convergent regulator Ofcom, opened its doors to this team and showed all its work processes and protocols. Based on fieldwork, three levels of decision-making in Oftel were described. Each level was defined by a dichotomy of opposing concepts, indicating the positive and negative aspects it might involve:

- 1) The Cartesian-bureaucratic level, employed to set telephone rates and to assign numbers;
- 2) the ad hoc-chaotic level, for regulating anti-competitive behaviour and market abuse; and
- 3) the bargaining-diplomatic level to resolve issues related to public complaints or the compliance of specific obligations for operators.

LANGE, A.; NEWMAN-BAUDAIS, S. *Les entreprises de distribution cinématographique en Europe*
Strasbourg: European Audiovisual Observatory (2007)
ISBN: 92-871-6019-8

The latest monographic edition of the European Audiovisual Observatory is the first that systematically and comparatively deals with film distribution in the 28 countries of the Council of Europe. Notwithstanding this, it starts with previous studies, especially the one entitled *The Fragmented Universe of Film Distribution Companies in Europe*, presented within the context of the ministerial conference carried out in Venice in August 2003, under the Italian presidency of the European Union.

This study is a response to a series of fundamental questions in order to understand the sector and possible public intervention: key distribution firms country by country, market share, firms specialised in importing European films, strategies they use, the most successful non-national European films, etc.

MATEU DE ROS, R.; LÓPEZ-MONÍS GALLEGÓ, M. (coord.). *Derecho de Internet*
Cizur Menor (Navarre): Aranzadi (2003)
ISBN: 84-9767-107-4

This book is a critical and complete study of State Act 34/2002, of 11 July, on the services of the information society and e-commerce. In addition to commenting on the act in its entirety, the book also offers an overview of the right to Internet in all its aspects: service providers in the information society, electronic contracts, preventative juridical security or e-government, among other issues.

This manual also includes all EU regulations on the area, for example the European directives on protecting consumers, and their transposition into Spanish law, such as Directive 2002/58/EC on the privacy of electronic communications.

Journals Review

Comunicación y sociedad

Pamplona: Navarre University

Vol. XX, no. 1, June 2007

ISSN: 0214-0039

In this edition of the journal from Navarre University, of particular note are the articles by Mercedes Medina, "Explotación económica de las series familiares de televisión" (Economic exploitation of family television series) and by Alejandro Salgado Losada, "La credibilidad del presentador de programas informativos en televisión. Definición y cualidades constitutivas" (The credibility of news programme presenters on television. Definition and constitutive qualities). The contribution by lecturer Medina focuses on the possibilities for commercial exploitation of the Spanish produced series of *Médico de familia*, *Cuéntame cómo pasó* and *Los Serrano*. With regard to the article by Salgado Losada, the concept of presenter credibility is analysed, a quality on which the communicative effectiveness of the whole news programmes depends. Consequently, in addition to a bibliographical review of the area, the author also looks at lesser qualities, including the concept and adds an evaluation of twelve presenters on Spanish television.

European Journal of Communication

London: SAGE Publications

Vol. 22, no. 2, June 2007

ISSN: 0267-3231

Two articles in this edition, from diverse perspectives and methodologies, analyse how news programmes are received in the United Kingdom and Germany, respectively. Marcel MacHill, Sebastian Köhler and Markus Waldhauser have written the article "The Use of Narrative Structures in Television News. An Experiment in Innovative Forms of Journalistic Presentation", based on a reception study of 215 participants. On the other hand, Rodrigo Uribe and Barrie Gunter are responsible for "Are 'Sensational' News Stories More Likely to Trigger Viewers' Emotions than Non-Sensational News Stories? A Content Analysis of British TV News". In this second case, it is concluded that sensationalist news (apart from that related to crime) does not necessarily awaken stronger emotions than conventional news (such as political analysis).

Human Communication Research

Malden, MA, US: Blackwell

Vol. 33, no. 3, July 2007

ISSN 0360-3989

This journal by the International Communication Association (ICA) publishes an article by Narine Yeghyan and Maria Elisabeth Grabe, with the findings from empirical research on advertising and political information in the United States. Three types of political messages are analysed: electoral propaganda ads, news-like political ads (produced by political and social forces where votes are not requested explicitly and with the appearance of news) and political news per se. It should be noted that the second type is a format banned in Europe, where regulations on political advertising are much stricter and where free time is given to political forces that are represented. The conclusion of the research is that, one week after showing the pieces, the participants correctly remembered the type of format where the information had been taken from, except news-like political ads, which were attributed to news items.

Journal of Communication

Malden, MA, US: Blackwell
Vol. 57, no. 2, June 2007
ISSN 0021-9916

The ICA's second largest publication offers a miscellaneous selection of articles, of note being the contribution by Israeli Amir Hetsroni ("Three Decades of Sexual Content on Prime-Time Network Programming. A Longitudinal Meta-Analytic Review"). In this paper, Hetsroni reviews 25 studies on the frequency of sexual content on the prime time programming of the main networks in the United States from 1975 to 2004. His analysis shows that the frequency per hour of this kind of reference falls considerably throughout this period, particularly with regard to heterosexual sex, illegal relations and messages about the risk involved in sex. The exception to this trend is homosexuality, the appearances of which have increased over the last two decades.

Media, Culture & Society

London: SAGE Publications
Vol. 29, no. 1, March 2007
ISSN: 0163-4437

A relevant piece of information from this edition of *Media, Culture & Society* is that all the articles published are written by researchers from universities in Europe, the United States and Oceania. The only exception is Peter Lunt, co-author of the article "Citizens and Consumers: Discursive Debates During and After the Communications Act 2003", written together with Sonia Livingstone and Laura Miller. This article analyses the creation of the Office of Communications (Ofcom), the regulatory body and authority responsible for competition in the communications sector (audiovisual and telecommunications) in the United Kingdom. One of the conceptual innovations in this new period has been the creation of the term citizen-consumer, a carrier of ideological loads and ambivalent (and sometimes contradictory) values.

Sociologia della comunicazione

Milan: Franco Angeli
Year XX, no. 38, 2nd semester of 2005
ISSN: 1121-1733

This edition of *Sociologia della comunicazione*, printed in May 2007, dedicates a single-themed edition to the technological experience of the world. It reviews the new technologies for transmitting information and values, particularly reticular technologies: virtual communities, new forms of democracy, online learning, music, etc. Specifically, the technological experience of music is the object of study of Rosario Ponziano, from the Università della Calabria. In the article by Ponziano, the new forms of creating, playing, recording, producing and consuming music are analysed from a sociological perspective. Thanks to the new digital applications, there is a more direct relationship between the composer and the listener, without the intermediation of the large industrial groups for production and distribution.

Webs Review

Catalan and language

Observatori de la llengua catalana (Observatory of the Catalan language)

<<http://www.observatoridelallengua.cat/>>

The Observatory of the Catalan Language is an initiative arising from civic and cultural entities that wished to create an independent body with broad consensus in Catalan society and with the greatest solvency and academic rigour possible. Its aim is to monitor and evaluate the Catalan language, both with regard to its use in society and also the legal context in which it develops. Among the entities promoting the Observatory are Òmnium Cultural, the Centre UNESCO de Catalunya and Obra Cultural Balear.

Observatori de Neologia (Neology Observatory) (IULA, UPF)

<<http://www.iula.upf.edu/04mon009.htm>>

The Neology Observatory, directed by Dr. M. Teresa Cabré, was set up as a research group in 1988 at Barcelona University and, since 1994, has been included as a project with the University Institute of Applied Linguistics of Pompeu Fabra University. The Observatory analyses the phenomenon of the appearance of new words or neologisms, both in Catalan and Spanish. It currently has a database of more than 82,000 occurrences for Catalan and more than 60,000 occurrences for Spanish from written and oral texts from the media. Among the source corpus, of note are the newspapers *Avui* (tracked since 1989), *El Periódico* (1998), the weekly *El Temps* (1994) and *El Diari de Mallorca* (2003), as well as news programmes and the programme *Debat jove*, on Catalunya Ràdio.

Consell de les Llengües Oficials (Council of Official Languages)

<<http://www.boe.es/boe/dias/2007/07/19/pdfs/A31373-31375.pdf>>

On 6 July 2007, the Spanish government passed Royal Decree 905/2007, creating the Council of Official Languages as part of the General Administration of the State, as well as the Office for Official Languages. The function of the Council, which reports to the Secretary of State for Territorial Cooperation of the Ministry of Public Administration, is to ensure the right to use the different official languages within the scope of the central administration. However, its main responsibilities are to analyse the actions of ministerial departments "concerning the use of the official languages of the autonomous communities to guarantee the right to use on the part of citizens", to promote directives that help to coordinate the bodies of the general state administration "in the area of the use of official languages", and "to promote the dissemination of the values of multilingualism in Spanish society".

WICCAC

<<http://wiccac.org/webscat.html>>

WICCAC (Webmasters Independents en Català, de Cultura i d'Àmbits Cívics) is a group of administrators for independent websites, without ties to official bodies or commercial or professional entities or political groups, with cultural or civic proposals and working in Catalan. The aim of the WICCAC is to put independent webmasters in touch with each other, as well as to help standardise the use of Catalan on the Internet. WICCAC is not a directory of websites and webmasters in Catalan but a group to encourage the participation of its members.

UNESCO chair in Language and Education (IEC)

<<http://www2.iecat.net/gc/ViewPage.action?siteNodeId=357&languageId=1&contentId=1710>>

The UNESCO chair in Language and Education is an entity of the Institute of Catalan Studies (IEC) whose main function is to collaborate in the processes of encoding, standardising and revitalising language, as well as the transfer of knowledge to other institutions and communities immersed in recovering a language.

Enlloc.com

<<http://www.enlloc.com/enlloc/index.html>>

Catalan language portal that has a wide range of linguistic services such as dictionaries and glossaries, stylebooks, consultancy services, courses and seminars, correctors and translators, language certificates, legislation, programmes, sociolinguistics, organisms and entities, journals and media, etc.

Consortori per a la Normalització Lingüística (Consortium for Language Standardisation)

<<http://www.cpnl.cat/index.html>>

The Consortium for Language Standardisation is a body created as a result of the shared desire of the Generalitat and numerous town, county and provincial councils to help raise awareness, increase the use of and spread the language of Catalonia in all spheres. The Consortium aims to attend to the needs for training, advice and management in language terms. Its areas of action are companies and organisations, adult training and also advice in general.

Plataforma per la Llengua (Platform for Language)

<<http://www.plataforma-llengua.cat/campanyes/index.php?campanya=33>>

The Platform for Language is an entity that aims to ensure the presence of Catalan in all spheres and throughout the territory. One of its most outstanding campaigns was called "Cinema in Catalan". The aim of this campaign is for large film multinationals, Catalan producers, distributors and exhibitors to substantially increase the presence of Catalan in the cinema. Since the campaign was started, it has had an effect on the dubbing of some films by Disney, Warner and Fox.

ÉsAdir

<<http://esadir.cat/>>

Language portal of Televisió de Catalunya and Catalunya Ràdio where you can consult, revised and updated, the Catalan used on TV3, its stylebook, the language criteria applied for translation and dubbing, also on TV3; the language guidelines for Catalunya Ràdio and the stylebook of CCRTV Interactiva.

ÉsAdir is the result of the daily linguistic consultancy work and is not a systematic grammar or conventional dictionary. It therefore only records those aspects that may be relevant for the production of news, magazine and fiction programmes, as well as for dubbing films and websites. The content is constantly extended and updated according to the daily needs, given the social function of TVC and Catalunya Ràdio.

SubCAT

<<http://subcat.rescat.net/pres.htm>>

SubCAT is a non-profit initiative that attempts to unite forces to create a good collection of Catalan subtitles. According to the people behind this project, Catalonia needs to abandon its commitment to dubbing, an option that is quite a lot more expensive and "a luxury that is difficult to comprehend for a culture of quite a small geographic, social and demographic nature". SubCAT defends the use of subtitles, a system that is "much more economic and cosmopolitan" and that is widespread in countries from our cultural environment, such as Portugal and Sweden, with the consequence that the original versions are respected in the cinema and on television and home DVDs.

MERCATOR

<<http://www.mercator-central.org/>>

Mercator is a network of three European research centres on the minority languages of the EU spoken by more than 40 million people. Each of the three centres develops its own theme: Mercator-Education (located in the Fryske Akademy, Freesia, Netherlands), Mercator-Media (University of Wales) and Mercator-Legislation (CIEMEN, Catalonia). This last centre analyses language rights and their use in public administration. The main aim of this network is to provide academics, opinion leaders and decision makers with information on the problems involved with these languages.

Centre Universitari de Sociolingüística i Comunicació (University Centre of Sociolinguistics and Communication), University of Barcelona

<<http://www.ub.es/cusc/>>

The CUSC proposes three broad areas of action: research, teaching and services. With regard to research, its aim is to promote the theorising and knowledge of the factors and dynamics of language use, as well as to investigate the overall sociolinguistic and socio-communicative situation with regard to multiculturalism. In teaching, it disseminates theoretical and empirical knowledge, trains interdisciplinary researchers in different methodologies and contributes to the training of staff in order to effectively develop language policies and to act on communication. And with regard to services, it analyses the knowledge, use and representation of language, advises people, institutions and the media on multilingualism and draws up studies on adjusting communicative resources to users' needs.

Observatori de la Llengua (Language Observatory)

<<http://www.ua.es/spv/observatori/objectiu.html>>

The Language Observatory, under the auspices of the University of Alicante, aims to improve knowledge of the sociolinguistic situation of Catalan in this city and its surrounding area in all spheres, both public and private. It also aims to encourage contributions or changes in the language policy of public and private institutions that affect the public use of the language.

Casa de les Llengües. Linguamón (House of Languages. Linguamón)

<<http://www.linguamon.cat>>

Casa de les Llengües. Linguamón is an organism that aims to promote the languages of the world as a vehicle of communication, civilisation and dialogue, as a source of personal development, of human creativity, heritage of humanity and as a right of people and language communities. Linguamón is a consortium initially formed by the Generalitat de Catalunya, UNESCO Centre of Catalonia and the Universal Forum of Cultures Foundation.

Grup d'Estudi de Llengües Amenaçades (Study Group of Endangered Languages) (UB)

<<http://www.ub.es/ling/inventari/llengues.html>>

The Study Group of Endangered Languages (GELA) is made up of the Department of General Linguistics of the Faculty of Philology (University of Barcelona) and its aim is to account and document the languages spoken in Catalonia: currently around 200. A wide range of languages has been accounted for, ranging from Aymara (from the Andes) to Zapotec (Mexico), Kannada (the original language of India), Ch'ol (also Mexican) and Senegalese sign language.

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