

The Catalan language in the broadcasting media of the Balearic Islands

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- *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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