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

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 CCRTV[1], as well as in the wording of the law by the Catalan Broadcasting Media Corporation or CCMA[2] 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.

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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

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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 in 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

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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.

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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

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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 doubt[10] 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 represen-ting 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 (Philo-logical Section of the Institute of Catalan Studies). The IEC grammar (that of Fabra from 1918 which, although recog-nised 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

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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 refe-rence 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.

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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 repertories 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

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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*: inhouse 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-

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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 liste-ner 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 style-book. 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 (mea-

nings, 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 derivates. 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.

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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 stylebooks[21] 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.

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21 Televisió De Catalunya. *El català a TV3. Llibre d'estil*. 2nd edition, rev. Barcelona: Edicions 62, 1998.
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