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**Department of Media, Culture and Language**

**MA AUDIOVISUAL TRANSLATION**

## **Translation in the Basque Language Film Polysystem**

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## **Abstract**

Over and above the historical and economic reasons that lead a country to choose between dubbing and subtitling, in the case of minority language communities the choice lies greatly on factors related to language policy. In the Basque Autonomous Community in Spain, such considerations moved the public television (ETB) to opt for dubbing as the most appropriate way to translate bought-in programmes. When ETB started in the early 1980s, the largest part of its programming was made of foreign productions. However, the amount of films and series addressed to young and adult viewers decreased over the years and, at present, their presence is merely incidental. In this situation, the value that dubbing might have for language normalisation seems doubtful.

The aim of this dissertation is to highlight the importance that translation may have in a small film polysystem and to consider the suitability of subtitling as an AVT alternative to dubbing. In any case, this work does not look to revive the subtitling vs. dubbing 'false controversy', but it starts from the premise that both subtitling and dubbing are equally valid and often complementary. The thesis defended here is that, being cheap, quick to produce and easy to implement, subtitling can help to activate the 'proliferation' of films in Basque language. This seems a necessary step to take by a culture which, on its way towards normalisation, has left cinema aside.

To be able to adopt a stance in a minimally objective fashion, it has been necessary to define and delimit the Basque language film polysystem and examine it in the framework of Basque culture and the stronger surrounding cultural systems, especially the Spanish one. The outcome of all this contextualising work is included in this dissertation which, in its last chapter, presents two ideas to strengthen the polysystem.

## **KEY WORDS**

Film translation, subtitling, dubbing, film polysystem, minority language, Basque language, minority language broadcasting, ETB.





## Declaration

*I promise that in this submission I have not presented or attempted to present anyone else's work as my own except where I have explicitly so indicated. This submission is my own work and in every case where I have drawn on the work of any other author, this is fully and specifically acknowledged in the text of my dissertation and the work is cited in my bibliography. I understand that ignoring to mention these sources would mean that I had committed plagiarism. I know that committing plagiarism will lead automatically to failure in this element of the assessment and I could even be expelled from the University. I understand it is my responsibility to be aware of the University's regulations on plagiarism and their importance.*

*I also declare that the material included in this dissertation has not been submitted wholly or in part for any academic award of qualification other than that for which it is now submitted.*



## Introduction

The idea for the subject matter of this dissertation originates in a question I began asking myself a couple of years ago. As a film buff and Basque language supporter, I wondered why the Basque television channel ETB1<sup>1</sup> broadcast so few films. At that time, when it was virtually impossible to watch films in Basque anywhere else, ETB used to show only one dubbed film per week. Hence my question: assuming that subtitling a film is cheaper than dubbing it—later on, I learned that it is ten times so—why do not they just use subtitles and increase the offer? Recently, already immersed in the research work for this project, I found a direct answer to my question. “On Euskal Telebista, subtitling is not an alternative for translating films into Basque [...] because Euskal Telebista, on its first channel, gives priority to programmes **spoken** in Basque”<sup>2</sup>, wrote Asier Larrinaga (2007: 98; the bold is mine), current Head of the EITB Basque Language Service<sup>3</sup>, in an article on the history of Basque dubbing. It all was about language normalisation, after all. Unfortunately, this answer led to a new question: how could one film per week (28 newly dubbed films in 2011) possibly help normalisation?

It is not the purpose of this dissertation to revive the long-lasting debate which for years revolved around the idea that subtitling and dubbing are conflicting AVT modalities. As Frederic Chaume (2004: 59-60) clearly put it, that debate was the result of “a false controversy” (“una falsa polémica”) and we believe that it is already superseded. In fact, no audiovisual translation choice is, in absolute terms, better than any other. On the contrary, the ideal scenario would be one where both translation forms coexisted to meet different multimedia consumption needs and interests (Díaz Cintas 2001: 51).

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<sup>1</sup> ETB1 is the first channel of Euskal Telebista (ETB), the television branch of the Basque Public Radio and Television Corporation, or EITB (Euskal Irrati-Telebista). The other channel broadcasting fully in Basque is ETB3.

<sup>2</sup> “*Euskal Telebistan azpidazketa ez da filmak euskaratzeko alternatiba bat [...], Euskal Telebistak euskaraz esana den emisioari ematen baitio lehentasuna lehen kanalean*”.

<sup>3</sup> This service ensures that the language used on all EITB media (television, radio and the Internet) complies with quality standards and conforms to the norms issued by the academy of the Basque language.

Nevertheless, away from this ideal situation, it seems clear that the various contexts, characteristics and requirements of a given group of people favour some audiovisual translation practices over others; and, in most cases, a choice has to be made.

Authors have listed the different reasons that make a linguistic community belong to either the 'subtitling' or the 'dubbing' spheres. The criteria for such classification involve subjective, technical or financial aspects, as well as, drawing on Gambier and Suomela-Salmi (quoted in Chaume 2004: 57), "issues of language policy, education and social policy".

In the case of Basque, a minority language, what were the factors that made the public television opt for dubbing? More importantly, are those reasons still valid today?

Obviously, these are questions I could not dare answer in a remotely objective fashion without having a sound knowledge of the Basque audiovisual landscape. However, that was a territory completely uncharted for me, after six years living outside the Basque Country. For this reason, in order to be able to clear up all the doubts aroused from that initial question, the first thing I needed to do was to map the area of research. That work is to a great extent reflected in this dissertation, even though it has been necessary to delimit the subject and therefore part of the things I have learned during my research are not included here.

This 'holistic' approach to film translation draws on certain ideas of the polysystem theory conceived by Israeli scholar Itamar Even-Zohar, a theory often invoked in audiovisual translation research works. The ideas I have borrowed from this theory are, firstly, the analysis of a cultural element or activity (e.g., literature, translation, a specific piece of work) with regard to other elements in the same culture and in other cultures co-existing in the same society; secondly, the position that translation occupies in minority culture's literary and film polysystems; and lastly, the 'Law of Proliferation', which will be briefly dealt with in Chapter 5.

This dissertation consists of five chapters. The following paragraphs summarise the topics analysed.

In Chapter 1, *Basque television and cultural context*, the nature and situation of the Basque language are looked at in the first place. A review of the cultural climate towards the end of the Francoist regime follows. Then, the first steps of the Basque public television are regarded, along with the election of dubbing and the shift from a programming based on foreign production to self-production. To finish the chapter, a summary of the present day situation is given, including current Basque language knowledge data and the creation of the new digital channel ETB3.

Chapter 2, *Subtitling and dubbing*, gives an account of the main audiovisual translation practices used in Europe. Then, the reasons for a minority language to choose between subtitling and dubbing are examined, before ending with a couple of brief examples of minority language broadcasting.

Chapter 3, *The Basque cultural conglomerate*, shows the relationship between Basque culture and the stronger surrounding cultures, especially the Spanish one. Culture is delimited from the linguistic point of view and its greatest exponent, literature, described. The description carries on, going from the audiovisual system to the film polysystem to Basque cinema, in a 'zoom-in' progression towards the central subject of this work: the Basque language film polysystem.

Chapter 4, *Basque language film polysystem*, is the longest and more comprehensive part of the dissertation. It presents the whole film polysystem in Basque language, covering original production and translated production in different media: cinema, television, home video and the Internet. The two most extensive and detailed sections aim attention at filmmaking in Basque language and translation practices on ETB.

Chapter 5 includes a commentary which, based on the information gathered hitherto, starts by recounting the output of the Basque language film polysystem for the first half of 2011. Some remarks are made about original and translated production, before undertaking an analysis of the role that subtitling may have in the whole polysystem, considering the pros and the cons. At the end of the chapter two ideas are brought forward suggesting initiatives to strengthen the polysystem, one involving a planned expansion of the subtitling practice to intensify the presence of foreign productions and the other one dealing with the

convenience of cataloguing and making available all film products, original and translated, in Basque language.

Finally, two appendices have been attached. The first appendix shows a series of charts with the results of a survey on the habits of watching films in Basque. The second appendix contains a catalogue of films and short films originally produced in Basque language and a list of films subtitled on ETB.

## Chapter 1

### Basque television and cultural context

#### 1.1 Situation of the Basque language before the creation of ETB

##### 1.1.1 A minority and 'minorised' language

Basque, or Euskara, is the common natural language of the Basque Country, an area in the western Pyrenees spanning the border between France and Spain<sup>4</sup>. Nowadays, this territory is divided into three different administrations: the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC) and the Chartered Community of Navarre in Spain, and the former French provinces of Labourd, Lower Navarre and Soule, presently part of the Pyrénées Atlantiques *département*.

In spite of having been spoken since prehistoric times, Basque was subjected to prohibition and persecution for centuries. Whereas Latin and Romance were the languages of knowledge, Basque was kept away from the administration, civil or ecclesiastic, excluded from cultural circles and its use punished in education. Ultimately, under Franco's dictatorship in Spain, it was banned from the public domain and repressed for nearly forty years (1937-1975). This situation put the language on the verge of disappearing, confined mainly to a household existence. In France, the situation was equally critical, as a result of the Republic's historical hostile attitude towards the minority languages of its territory (Forčić 2011).

The term 'minority language', as used in English, encompasses two different concepts which for Spanish sociolinguistics are clearly distinct. "Lengua minoritaria" (literally 'minority language') makes reference to a language with a small number of speakers; "lengua minorizada" ('minorised language'<sup>5</sup>), instead, refers to a language whose usage and extension have diminished due to social or

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<sup>4</sup> "Region of the w [Western] Pyrenees in both Spain and France, consisting of the provinces of Alava, Guipúzcoa, and parts of Navarra and Vizcaya in Spain, and Basse-Navarre, Labourd and Soule in France." - "Basque Country" *World Encyclopedia*. Philip's, 2008. *Oxford Reference Online*. Oxford University Press.

<sup>5</sup> The verb 'to minorise' does not appear in any English dictionary. However the term 'minorised language', and its variant 'minoritised language' (or 'minorized'/'minoritized'), is used in some articles on sociolinguistics by non-native writers, many of them Spanish, who have probably adapted the word to English in order to fill the terminological gap.



political coercion (Fundéu BBVA 2011, Infotra 2011). A minority language does not necessarily have to be minorised, although in the case of Basque, both concepts are applicable.

This distinction, according to Santamaría and Gastaldo (2000: 4), originates in the 1975 work *Kafka: Pour une Littérature Mineure* by French philosophers Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari. Both types are included in the category of vernacular languages, the difference being that whereas minority languages “feel that their continuity is guaranteed in their territory, minorised ones are to be included in the group of those spoken by individuals who seek a reterritorialisation of their language”<sup>6</sup>.

Nowadays, Basque society, at least in those areas where Basque is official, is moving from a state of diglossia, where the minority language is only used in informal situations, towards ambilingualism or balanced bilingualism, with the minority language tending to perform the same functions as the dominant language. Thus, in certain contexts it is getting more and more difficult to predict what language will be used.

### 1.1.2 Standard Basque

Historically, Basque was a fragmented language with an extraordinary dialectal variety which most of the times hindered communication between native speakers from different regions. For linguist Koldo Mitxelena (1968: 304), Basque language was not a linguistic system, but a ‘diasystem’<sup>7</sup>. This preoccupation had existed since the first books in Basque were published in the 16<sup>th</sup> century, and authors

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<sup>6</sup> “[...] sienten garantizada la continuidad en su territorio, las minorizadas deben ser incluidas en el conjunto de las que son habladas por individuos que buscan una reterritorialización de su lengua”.

<sup>7</sup> Koldo Mitxelena (1915-1987) was a prestigious Basque linguist and one of the promoters of standard Basque. These are his words in this respect: "It is true that language is a system, and that the parts or components of that system are nothing outside the system. We ought to admit, however, if we want to get to the core, that Basque is not yet a system, but a diasystem, and that we need to get one shape for that diasystem, to afterwards unify the core" / "*Egia da hizkuntza bat sistema dela, eta sistema horren zatiak edo osagarriak ez direla deus sistemaz kanpora. Aitortu beharrean gera, ordea, mamira bagoaz, euskera ez dela oraingoz sistema bat, diasistema bat baizik, eta diasistema horren itxura batera heldu behar dugula, gero mamia batuko baldin badugu*".

tried to write their works in varieties which could be intelligible for as many Basques as possible<sup>8</sup>.

From the early 1960s—when Franco’s regime began to mellow—efforts were made to keep the language alive and accommodate it to the new times. A most important step in this direction was taken in 1968 by the Royal Academy of the Basque Language, Euskaltzaindia, with the creation of *Euskara Batua* (‘Unified Basque’), which aimed to serve as standard literary dialect to be used by writers, in education and, following the most expected end of the dictatorial regime that had all Spanish regional languages outlawed, in the administration and the media. The new dialect aspired to become a full linguistic system.

Basque was recognised as co-official language of the Basque Autonomous Community by the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and the Statute of Autonomy of the Basque Country (1979). The *Amejoramiento* of 1982 made the language co-official in the Basque speaking areas of Navarre.

### **1.1.3 Boost to the Basque language in the 1960s and 1970s**

#### *1.1.3.1 Language learning and literacy*

Towards the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, Spanish literacy levels were high in the four Spanish Basque provinces, especially if compared to the rest of the country (Dávila Balsera 1995b: 29). This was mainly due to the industrialisation process set off in Biscay and Gipuzkoa, and the municipal support to schools and teachers in Alava and Navarre. In the French Basque Country, being a rural area, literacy in French had spread to a lesser degree. In general, Basque language teaching was marginal, and basically linked to religion and aimed to adapt Basque monolingual children to the State’s educational system. However, from the last decades of the century, along with the expansion of Basque nationalism several experiences were carried out which endeavoured to set up a network of schools in Basque. These initiatives gained momentum especially after 1920, but were dramatically terminated by the Spanish Civil War (1936-1939).

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<sup>8</sup> The concern is already present in works by early writers such as Joanes Leizarraga (1506-1601) or Pedro Agerre ‘Axular’ (1556-1644).

The period starting in 1970, following the creation of *Euskara Batua*, is known as 'expansive stage' ("etapa expansiva"; Dávila Balsera 1995: 34, Iztueta Armendariz 1995: 85). This decade was decisive for the growth of Basque knowledge and literacy levels, with an exponential increase of both children's schools (*ikastolak*) and Basque teaching centres for adults (*euskaltegiak*). This was to a great extent a grassroots urban movement, with a considerable lack of professionalisation.

The *ikastolak* started in 1960, officially not recognised but tolerated by the regime, in the Spanish Basque provinces, with just 60 students. In the school year 1977-1978, about 45,000 children studied in these centres. They constituted less than 10% of the total number of children in compulsory education (Euskaltzaindia / Siadeco 1979: 165, 168).

As for Basque teaching to adults, 29,527 people were enrolled in Basque courses during the school year 1977-1978 in the four Spanish provinces. From them, only 2,536 were Basque native speakers learning how to read and write; the rest were Spanish monolinguals learning Basque. Eventually 40% to 45% of all the students dropped out. In the French side, the movement was weaker, with 530 adults studying in 1979-1980 (Iztueta Armendariz 1995: 92).

### 1.1.3.2 Publications

During this decade, Basque publications and publishing houses multiplied. Between 1968 and 1974, 100 books were published annually; from 1975, publishing went up, increasing by 100 titles every other year after 1981 (Eizagirre Sagardia 1995: 149-150). During the period 1968-1978, considered by Euskaltzaindia a probationary for the new standard Basque, 30% of Basque writers wrote in dialect, whereas 61.3% did in *Euskara Batua* (*ibid*: 154).

### 1.1.3.3 Radio

In the 1960s, a few local radio stations began to fill their programming slots with rural adverts and different folkloric and religious contents in Basque. They had to face Spanish prohibitive laws and some of them were shut down. In spite of that, stations struggled to increasingly include more and more varied programmes in Basque. Loiolako Herri Irratia radio station stood out for its work to put Basque and Spanish languages at the same level. All these efforts culminated in the

initiative "24 orduak euskaraz" ('the 24 hours in Basque'), a one-day long programme broadcast by three stations (Euskaltzaindia / Siadeco 1979: 184-186). The first radio station fully in Basque, Euskadi Irratia, was launched by the EITB group on 23<sup>rd</sup> November 1982.

## **1.2 ETB: Basque television**

### **1.2.1 Inception of ETB**

1980 opens the 'institutional stage' ("etapa institucional"; Dávila Balsera 1995: 34, Iztueta Armendariz 1995: 85), a period marked by the new co-official status of the Basque language, the constitution of the BAC and the Chartered Community of Navarre and their linguistic laws (the 1982 *Ley Básica de Normalización del Euskera* and the 1986 *Ley Foral del Vascuence*, respectively), and the creation of the Basque public television in 1982. The recovery and normalisation of the language are from this moment controlled by the different linguistic policies and schemes.

Many would have liked that Basque television were a project shared by all the Basque territories. However, this was not possible due to the disparate political views of the different administrations ruling the region. Thus, the Basque language television could only set off in the part of the territory where Basque nationalism is the predominant ideology and the language has full official status. Seeing that the Spanish public television, TVE, was reluctant to use Basque at all in its programmes for the BAC, Ramón Labaien, Culture Minister of the BAC government, conceived the creation of their own radio and television (Larrinaga 2000b: 1).

The 1981 census gathered for the first time in history quantitative data on the knowledge levels of Euskara (Dávila Balsera 1995a: 13). According to this data, 1,969,038 people aged five and over lived in the BAC. From them, 65.9% were monolingual Spanish speakers, 21.9% bilingual Basque speakers and 12.2% passive bilinguals (Eustat 2009). Adding up bilinguals and passive bilinguals, when ETB started there was a potential audience of over 670,000 viewers only in the BAC.

The mainly Basque speaking channel ETB started broadcasting on 31<sup>st</sup> December 1982 for the BAC, a region about one third of the whole Basque Country, although limited access would be available for viewers of other parts of the territory.

The Academy of the Basque Language (Euskaltzaindia / Siadeco 1979: 196) had pointed out the need for mass media in Basque, stressing the importance of radio and television in linguistic normalisation. Standard Basque would be the variety to be used in media. However, *Euskara Batua* was conceived as a written code, to be used as culture language in a high register. Therefore, pronunciation was one of the areas the academy had regulated the least—in fact, it would not be until 1998 that Euskaltzaindia issued a set of rules for the correct pronunciation of Basque in formal contexts such as the radio and television, conferences, education, etc. (these rules are available in Euskaltzaindia 1998).

For the first time, standard Basque was made audible at a great scale. After all, it was on its initial phase, without any oral tradition, and using it on a daily basis certainly posed an enormous challenge. To the point of having to decide, to a great extent, what the language would sound like.

Almost ten years later, in 1991, Euskal Telebista commissioned a survey in which, among other things, audience's attitude towards standard Basque was assessed. The results showed that all the viewer typologies (including viewers with Basque as L1—literate, illiterate and nativised—and L2) preferred *Euskara Batua* as broadcasting language (Larrinaga 2000a).

### **1.2.2 The choice of dubbing**

The lack of an infrastructure to produce domestic materials made it necessary to import as many products as possible to fill the grid. At this stage, translation had an important role. A wide range of programmes were translated: series, films, cartoons, documentaries, etc. In this way, the public television “played a decisive role in the translating activity, providing the translators themselves and the audience with a vast collection of foreign audiovisual texts”<sup>9</sup> (Barambones 2009:

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<sup>9</sup> “[El primer canal vasco] jugó un papel determinante en la actividad traductora poniendo a disposición de los propios traductores y de la audiencia un amplio conjunto de textos audiovisuales extranjeros”.

21). Suddenly, new worlds open up to the Basque public through their own language, despite the problems it posed to some speakers. This intense translating and dubbing activity began a couple of years before broadcasting itself started and continued for some time thereafter. Prestigious dubbing practitioners were brought from Madrid and Barcelona to train Basque dubbers (Larrinaga 2000b: 1).

According to Asier Larrinaga (2000a: 4), the choice between subtitling and dubbing had been made beforehand. From social, cultural and political circles, a television fully in Basque was claimed. The aim was to promote spoken language and, therefore, “it was important that it went into viewers’ ears”<sup>10</sup>. On the other hand, viewers were accustomed to watching films dubbed and they had a poor knowledge of foreign languages, particularly English. Moreover, an important part of native Basque speakers did not know how to read and write in their language, so using Basque subtitles would have discriminated against them. The context clearly favoured dubbing.

Nevertheless, since the goal was to attract as many viewers as possible to Basque television, Spanish subtitles were used for several years to facilitate accessibility to monolingual Spanish viewers, students of Basque and dialectal Basque speakers.

### **1.2.3 Shift to domestic production**

In 1986, a second channel was created: ETB2. It was a Spanish language channel intended for larger audiences, with emphasis on news programmes and foreign fictional shows. With time, this channel would concentrate most films and TV series. Sports transmissions and programmes for children would be appointed to the first channel, now renamed ETB1. In 1993, Spanish subtitles completely disappeared from ETB1.

In the 1990s, a new phase started in the Basque public television. The time came to strengthen home production, for the detriment of films and dubbing on ETB1 which, from 1994, began to see their presence reduced.

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<sup>10</sup> This quote is from an interview with Asier Larrinaga carried out on 21 June 2011. Unless otherwise specified, mentions to Larrinaga are from that interview.

Two main factors are behind this decision. Firstly, the double cost of buying a film's broadcasting rights and then dubbing it. EITB is a member of FORTA, a Spanish regional radio and television federation. This organisation purchases audiovisual products, including films, to be broadcast on all member televisions. Whereas programmes showed on ETB2 are dubbed with FORTA's funding, ETB has to foot the bill for all dubbing into Basque (Ibarluzea 2010). Secondly, ratings began to be measured, and the results showed that films on ETB1 had a very small audience. In a few words, dubbing was not cost-effective (except for children's shows).

#### **1.2.4 Children's programming**

As a means to support the normalisation of the language, ETB put special stress on programmes for children. One of the objectives set by the law which gave way to the creation of the public television prioritised this type of programming as a backup of the educational system (Barambones 2009: 62-63).

During the first ten years of the Basque channel, children's shows accounted for 36% of the programming. This percentage was reduced over the following years, leaving more room to other types of contents. In the period 2001-2005, children's programmes occupied 20% of ETB1's grid, which was still far below the percentage reached, for example, by the Irish public television, with 50% of the total broadcast (*ibid*: 65).

### **1.3 Present day situation**

#### **1.3.1 Status of the Basque language**

Today, the status of the Basque language directly depends on the ideology of the administration ruling in each region of the Basque Country. Being official or not determines the support that institutions provide in terms of subsidies, education, legislation, promotion, recognition of speakers' rights, etc.

The map depicted in Figure 1 shows the different statuses of the language in the whole territory:



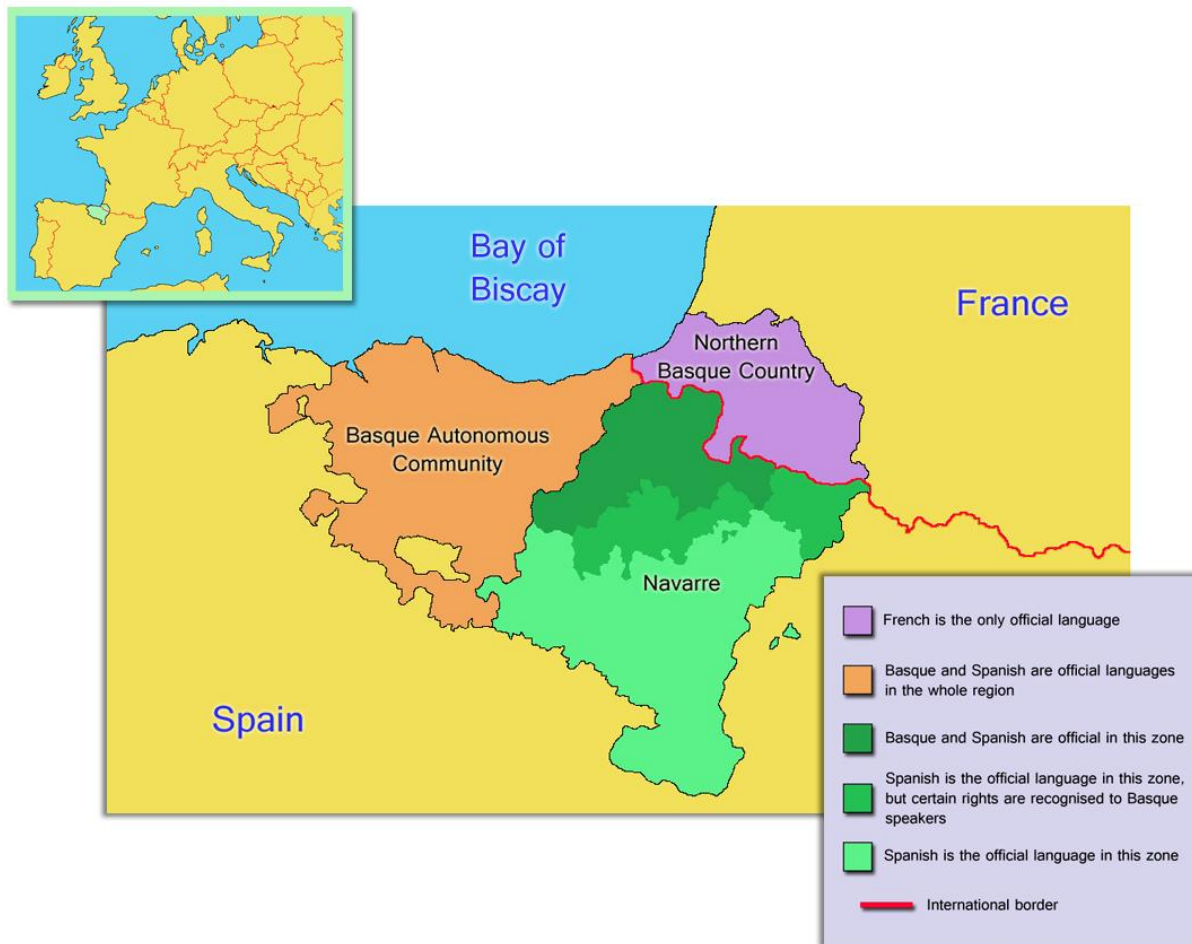


Figure 1: Current legal status of the Basque language in the Basque Country

In the French Basque Country, where the language has no official status whatsoever, the situation is especially adverse. In the constitutional revision of 25 June 1992, the following paragraph was added to the 1958 Constitution of the Fifth Republic: "French is the language of the Republic" ("la langue de la République est le français"). As a consequence, it is the Constitution itself that prevents France from ratifying the European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages. For this reason, in 2008 a motion was presented at the French Senate to include the phrase "regional languages are part of French heritage" ("Langues régionales font partie du patrimoine de la France") in the Article 1 of the Constitution. Before the voting, the French Academy had criticised the amendment, adducing that including a reference to languages other than French would deny the Republic and go against the principle of "all being equal in the



eyes of the Law” (Ciemen 2008). The French upper house finally voted against the motion.

Soon afterwards, Euskaltzaindia issued a statement expressing its difference of opinion with the French Academy (Euskaltzaindia 2009).

### 1.3.2 Knowledge of Basque

The IV Sociolinguistic Map (Eustat 2009), based on the 2006 census of the BAC, shows that from a population of 2,016,257 aged five and over, the percentages of Basque knowledge were as follows:

Bilingual	Passive bilingual	Spanish monolingual
37.5%	17.3%	45.2%

Table 1: Knowledge of Basque - BAC 2006

Thus, 54.8% of the population (almost 1,105,000 people) had some knowledge of Basque.

In addition, the data offered in the section of the census *Evolution of the population aged 2 and over by province and overall level of Basque* (Eustat 2008a) present revealing results regarding linguistic knowledge and literacy:

Basque				Quasi-Basque				Spanish
Total	Literate	Part. literate	Illiterate	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Passive	
774,894	642,512	113,922	18,460	458,939	287,400	82,021	89,518	838,708

Table 2: Literacy in Basque - BAC 2006

According to these figures, in 2006 there were 1,233,833 potential viewers of Basque programmes. From them, 1,043,834 were able to read to different degrees.

Lastly, the IV Sociolinguistic Survey of 2006, based on interviews to 7,185 respondents, gives the following linguistic ability percentages for the whole Basque Country (Eustat 2008b):

	<b>Basque Country</b>	<b>BAC</b>	<b>Navarre</b>	<b>French Basque Country</b>
<b>Sample size (absolute values)</b>	7,185	3,599	1,587	1,999
<b>Basque speaker</b>	26%	30%	11%	22%
<b>Passive bilingual</b>	15%	18%	8%	9%
<b>Spanish/French speaker</b>	59%	52%	81%	69%

*Table 3: Linguistic ability - Basque Country 2006*

This survey, conducted by the BAC government, is the only way to obtain general data on the knowledge of Basque in the French region, where the census does not include any questions about the subject. Taking into account people aged sixteen and over living in the whole territory (a total of 2,589,600 inhabitants), in 2006 there were 137,200 bilinguals more than in 1991. The increase occurred in Navarre and mainly in the BAC. However, in the French Basque Country, where the language is not official, the number of bilinguals decreased, favouring the increment of French monolingual speakers.

In the BAC, 57.5% of the population aged 16 to 24 is bilingual. This percentage doubles the figures from 1991, which clearly reflects the importance of Basque in

education, main pillar of the Basque language recovery (Barambones 2009: 59-61).

In Navarre, despite the irregular and controversial situation of the Basque language (see footnote 12, pages 38-39), a survey showed that among the students starting at the public university (UPNA) in 2008-2009, 25.75% were competent in Basque and other 12.78% had a basic knowledge, which adds up to 38%. In 2000-2001, the total percentage was 25% (Iribarren 2008).

### **1.3.3 ETB today**

Between 1983 and 1992, fiction was the backbone of ETB programming, with foreign films and TV movies representing 10% and series 39% of all fiction (Barambones 2009: 93). Dubbing was the main AVT mode chosen to translate those products. However, as we have seen the number of dubbed films and series declined over the years along with fiction programmes in general, which, between 2001 and 2005, accounted for only 9.96% of the total programming, whereas Spanish speaking ETB2 devoted 40.4% of its time to fiction. The main Spanish televisions approached 30% in the same period (*Ibid.*: 99-101).

Iñaki Zubizarreta, head of Basque Language department of the producing company Irusoin, wrote in a 2007 article (Zubizarreta 2007) that at some point more than 150 films were dubbed every year. According to Larrinaga, about 28 will be dubbed in 2011.

In 2008, most children's programmes were transferred to the newly created ETB3, leaving ETB1 as a channel whose contents are now mainly general.

### *Reception*

BAC and Navarre governments have held talks in the last years regarding the reception of EITB channels in Navarre after the analogue switch-off. Both administrations signed an agreement in 2009 to facilitate the reception of Euskal Telebista in Navarre by means of an additional DTT multiplex, which has been already approved by the Spanish Ministry of Industry. This new multiplex will have an annual cost of one million euros. However, whereas the BAC government agreed to share the expense, Navarre's government stated that they would not

pay anything, since ETB would already have profits from advertising. In summer 2011 the situation continued unresolved.

In the French Basque Country, thanks to an agreement between the *Office Public de la Langue Basque* and the BAC government, it is possible to receive ETB by analogue signal as well as through the cable television operator Numéricable.



## Chapter 2

### Subtitling and dubbing

#### 2.1 Subtitling and dubbing in Europe

In Europe, subtitling is the preferred audiovisual translation mode for bought-in television programmes in fourteen countries, whereas dubbing is still predominant in ten countries, including the traditional dubbing strongholds (France, Germany, Italy and Spain). In four East European countries there is a preference for voice-over (Media Consulting Group 2009: 3)<sup>11</sup>.

In *Overcoming language barriers in television* (Luyken 1991), published by the European Institute for the Media, it is indicated that, historically, an AVT mode was chosen determined to a great extent by the size of a given linguistic region and the amount of foreign products imported. In fact, regions with less than 20 million households could not afford extensive lip-sync dubbing and had to use alternative cheaper methods (p. 181). Thus, dubbing needs large audiences, while “subtitling is adopted by countries with a more restricted market” (Riggio 2010: 33).

The origin of this division dates back to the 1920s, when the introduction of talkies made filmmaking much more expensive (the first feature film with synchronised dialogues was the American *The Jazz Singer* from 1927). As a result, small countries saw their home production reduced and had to import more and more films from other countries. Larger countries could carry on producing their own films, but facing strong competition from the American film industry.

In 1991, Martine Danan (quoted in Ballester 2001: 165) questioned for the first time the financial argument and defended that the choice of dubbing had largely been sustained on nationalistic policies, especially in France. Ballester argues that during the first decades of sound films in Spain, although dubbed films were probably not as profitable as they might seem, the political gain was undeniable:

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<sup>11</sup> The “Map of language transfer practices in cinema and in television in Europe” by Media Consulting Group includes maps of AVT modes distribution for box office releases and television.

underpinning the supremacy of the national language. This way, language was reaffirmed “as the expression of cultural, political and economic power” (Szarkowska 2005). In this respect, it is worth noticing that dubbing is more popular in communities with a monolingual majority (Riggio 2010: 33). In the large dubbing countries, governments took measures to protect their domestic production against the strong American influence, imposing dubbing and supporting national films with subsidies and loans.

From the point of view of the audiences, familiarity is the strongest factor predisposing the viewer to a specific technique of audiovisual translation. In countries such as Spain, audiences have become used to lip-sync dubbing and reading subtitles is tedious as well as annoying for most of them.

Other factors are education and socio-economic standards. For example, according to the study carried out by the European Institute for the Media, younger, better educated, more affluent viewers tended to prefer original versions and subtitles (Luyken 1991: 185-186).

In practically all Europe, both cinemas and televisions show children’s films in dubbed versions (Media Consulting Group 2009: 3). According to Gottlieb (2001: 205), talking about the pro-subtitling Scandinavian market, the reason for producing dubbed versions is that film companies expect a favourable response from certain age groups, i.e. pre-literate children.

## **2.2 Arguments for subtitling or dubbing in minority languages**

Due to the high costs associated with television production, even prestigious broadcasters such as the BBC need to rely on foreign materials in order to meet their schedule (O’Connell 2000b: 170). It is not surprising, therefore, that minority language media also have to fill their programming with bought-in products. With a much more reduced budget, they serve a small audience which is simultaneously catered for by stronger broadcasting companies, so if they aim to contribute with a competitive offer they cannot but acquire the programmes and translate them.

On the other hand, it is argued that an excess of foreign (especially American) production affects negatively the minority language community:

Some argue that this is undermining to the native culture and that it is a far inferior alternative to that of using home production. Certainly, where productions can be made within the home country, this has many advantages and encourages the development of a native production industry and creativity through the medium of the language. It is also true that minorities are in a particularly vulnerable position with regard to the wholesale assimilation of alien cultural references. (Jones 2001: 3).

The “transnational culture” brought into the minority language, however, may compensate for the influence imposed by the state’s predominant culture (*Ibid*: 4).

Although, in general terms, there is no ideal audiovisual translation mode (or rather, the ideal would be to have all the modes at hand), the factors mentioned in the previous section will tip the balance in favour of one or the other depending on the context in which the translation is carried out. In the case of a minority language, the economic factor would seem determinant to consider subtitling as the most suitable AVT choice. As an example, according to Luyken (1991: 188), a minority channel broadcasting in a dubbing country “needs an audience of at least 7-8 million viewers, or an average of 15% rating from a base of 20 million households, to make lip-sync dubbing cost-effective”.

Nevertheless, in addition to the size of the market, the cost, the national idiosyncrasy, familiarity and the specific characteristics of the audience (age, educational level, economic standards), there is another element we need to consider here: the status and situation of the target language in the territory where it is spoken and its relationship to the predominant language. By finding its way to the mass media, the minority language can get a place in the public sphere and take an indispensable step towards normalisation and, therefore, survival.

Szarkowska (2005), speaking about the larger European countries, says that they “stressed the importance of the existence of one standardised national language, often banning the use of dialects in order to strengthen the national unity.” We can see that there are certain similarities with the policies adopted by minority language authorities, although the situations are not at all comparable, starting by the fact that large monolingual countries imposed their languages as a symbol of supremacy, and minority language communities react to those very impositions that have left them on the verge of extinction.



If we understand dubbing, along with Szarkowska (*Ibid*), as “a powerful target culture-oriented tool which makes the source text conform as much as possible to standards held by the target culture”, that is to say, a domesticating approach to translation that favours the target culture and reassures the viewers of the importance of their language, then, the minority language also needs to use dubbing to raise its status at the same level with the stronger language it shares its territory with.

In turn, subtitling can be considered a foreignising approach which minimises the influence of the target culture.

### **2.3 Some minority language broadcast experiences in Western Europe**

#### CATALAN

In Spain, the main three regional co-official languages (Basque, Catalan and Galician) have traditionally dubbed foreign materials since their public broadcasting bodies set off in the first half of the eighties. Catalan, with more than seven million speakers distributed among four countries and a strong social and institutional support, especially in Catalonia, is the language that the rest of minority languages take as example. It is the European minority language with the largest provision of audiovisual media and the first, and probably the only one to have a privately-owned channel, Flaix TV, aimed at young people, which broadcast between 2001 and 2005. All in all, most of the media provision still comes from public institutions, while private operators keep broadcasting almost exclusively in the state language. Catalan is, also in the audiovisual field, at the forefront of the minority language struggle:

The Catalan government has attempted to insist that a certain quota of films distributed in Catalonia should be dubbed in Catalan rather than in Spanish. This has been rather difficult to put fully into practice, however, because of resistance from major Hollywood studios, such as 20th Century Fox who threatened a boycott. This situation has led to a debate in Catalan society between those who support the protectionist stance of the Catalan government and those who favour a totally open market. The major film companies have been seen as a case of an ‘extremely powerful economic, political, cultural and ideological lobby’ whose motivation is not only economic but also political and cultural in that it is keen to prevent a bad

example from spreading elsewhere (Jones 1999). They use their power to seek to ensure that political powers such as individual state or regional governments or indeed the European Union do not act contrary to their interests (Jones 2004: 5-6).

In television, films are normally dubbed and sometimes subtitled in Catalan. Spanish films, however, are shown in the original language. Television series are always dubbed into Catalan (Jones 2004: 3).

## BRETON

Another interesting case is that of Breton language in the French region of Brittany. Breton, along with other languages and linguistic families such as Basque, Catalan, Occitan or the Oïl languages (among which standard French is included), are minority languages in a country “at the official and state level, resolutely monolingual” (Kelly-Holmes 2001: 1).

Due to the lack of funds to promote audiovisual production, translation has been crucial in the development of Breton broadcasting, which has had to take whatever it could get from the French state. Dubbing, despite being the most expensive AVT mode, is preferred because Bretons are used to it and because Breton culture has long been predominantly oral (ar Rouz 2009: 13). In 2000, the first bilingual regional private television channel in Europe was created: TV Breizh. This channel used significant sums of money to finance dubbing into Breton, giving priority to children’s programming, but also including series and films. However, accumulating losses led the channel to initiate, from 2003, “a de-Bretonisation policy” (“une politique de débretonnisation”) and gradually reduce the amount of contents in Breton (*ibid*: 7).

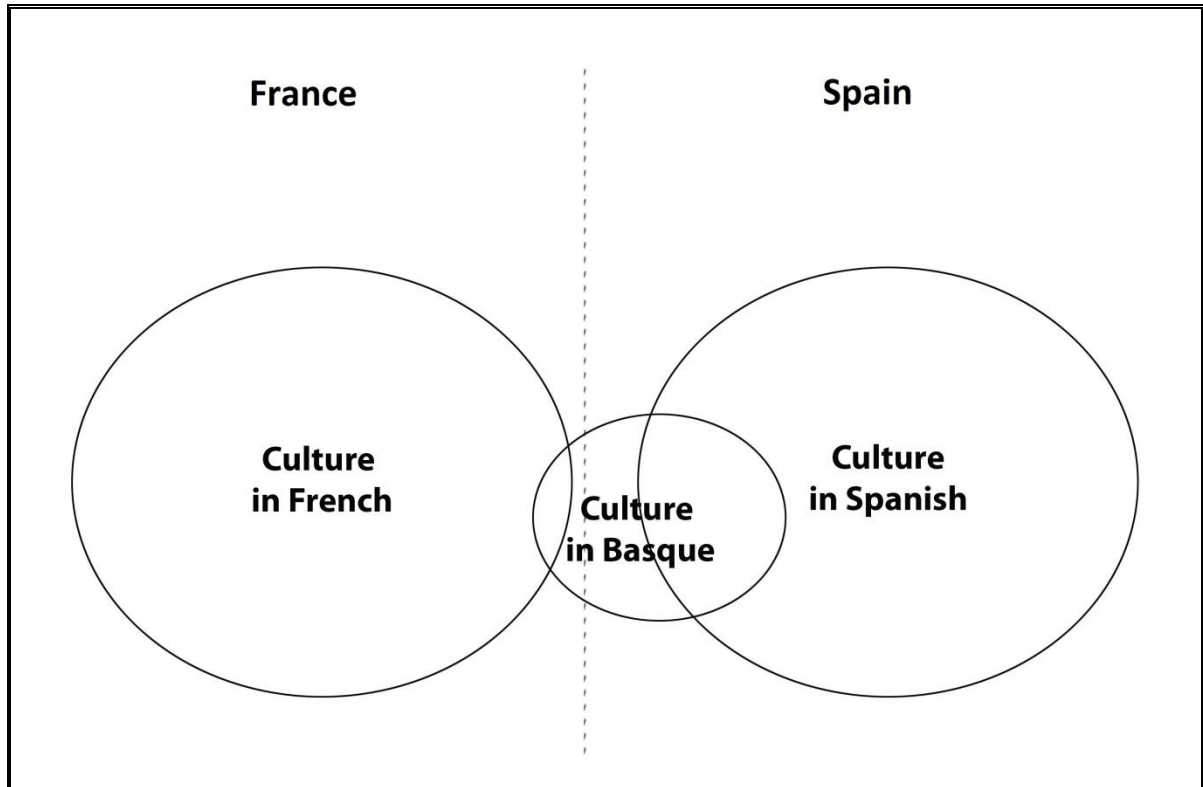
## OTHER MINORITY LANGUAGES

With respect to minority languages spoken in countries where English is the main language, as is the case of Irish, Welsh or Scottish Gaelic, it has to be taken into account that they are competing against “the most powerful and prestigious language of the media in the world today” (O’Connell 2003: 6). Therefore, it would be pointless for the minority language broadcasters to acquire programmes that the viewers can already watch and understand in English. This makes audiovisual products coming from around the world an attractive alternative. For this,

broadcasters have to deal with the prejudice against translated audiovisual programmes. For example, the Welsh channel S4C started by including this type of material in children's programming, hoping that this audience would not be as conditioned against dubbing and subtitling as the adult one (Jones 2001: 1).

## Chapter 3

### The Basque cultural conglomerate



*Diagram 1: Interaction of Basque culture with surrounding cultural systems*

#### 3.1 Introduction

This chapter presents the cultural conglomerate in which the Basque language film polysystem is inserted.

The analysis begins with an introduction to culture in Basque language. The following sections include the literary system (one of the pillars of Basque culture) and the audiovisual system (with sub-sections dealing with the polysystem theory applied to AVT, the Basque film polysystem and Basque cinema). This contextualisation may help prospective readers get a basic grasp of Basque culture as a whole and its position within bilingual speakers' cultural environment.

During the exposition, the correlation with other parallel, stronger systems will arise on no few occasions. Those systems, the Spanish and French cultures,

interact with the Basque system to configure a cultural environment where they compete for a space in the 'cultural input' which each minority language speaker receives. In the present analysis, special emphasis will be put on the interaction with the Spanish system, since the bastion of Basque cultural production, the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), is in Spain and hence the influence of the Spanish culture in the whole Basque cultural system is more significant.

## **3.2 Basque culture**

### **3.2.1 Cultural environment**

We call 'cultural environment' the totality of cultural items present in a given society. The 'cultural input' is made of the various elements that different individuals absorb from the cultural environment, depending on factors such as social status, ideology, age or, in the case of a bilingual community, knowledge of the languages spoken in the region.

In bilingual and multilingual societies, cultural heterogeneity is more evident (Even-Zohar 2005: 3-4). As a result, to understand the nature and function of a culture, we may have to analyse each of its sections, not only in relation with other sections in the same culture, but with regard to sections of cultures co-existing in the same society.

When examining a given section of a culture, it has to be taken into account that interaction occurs at two different levels: (a) a larger (poly)system belonging to the same community and culture, made of different systems that are in constant correlation; and (b) a (poly)system, or its sub-systems, pertaining to other cultures (Even-Zohar 2005: 9).

Accordingly, bilingual Basque speakers' cultural input feeds on Basque culture and another larger culture— Spanish (if they live in Spain) or French (if they live in France)—in proportions which vary from one person to another.

In fact, a common characteristic of minority cultures is that they are entangled in stronger cultural systems which have a dramatic impact on them.

This troublesome interaction between different cultural systems also occurs in monolingual societies. Even powerful cultures such as the French or the German

ones, for example, are under the influence of an even more powerful global culture which expresses itself in English. In the case of a minority culture like the Basque, there is a first layer of Spanish or French influence which at the same time acts as a filter for that global culture, on a second layer.

This cultural interference can be illustrated with an AVT example. A regular practice on ETB is to dub foreign films into Basque from their Spanish versions rather than from the original in English (or whatever language). In some cases, the titles are also translated from Spanish without taking into account the original ones. As a result, when the Spanish titles are free adaptations, the Basque translations, which follow the Spanish versions literally, happen to be also different from the original text. In Table 4, there are some original English film titles, followed by their Spanish and Basque versions. The back translations in the right column match verbatim the Spanish and Basque versions alike but, as we can see, they are different from the original titles in the left column.

Original English title	Spanish title	Basque title	Back-translation
<i>Thunderball</i> (1965)	<i>Operación Trueno</i>	<i>Trumoi Operazioa</i>	Thunder operation
<i>The Dirty Dozen</i> (1967)	<i>Los doce del patíbulo</i>	<i>Urkamendiko hamabiak</i>	The twelve of the gallows
<i>Raiders of the Lost Ark</i> (1981)	<i>En busca del arca perdida</i>	<i>Arka galduaren bila</i>	In search of the lost ark
<i>Die Hard</i> (1988)	<i>La jungla de cristal</i>	<i>Kristalezko oihana</i>	The glass jungle
<i>Teenage Mutant Ninja Turtles</i> (1990)	<i>Las tortugas ninja</i>	<i>Ninja dortokak</i>	The ninja turtles
<i>Dances with Wolves</i> (1990)	<i>Bailando con lobos</i>	<i>Otsoekin dantzatzan</i>	Dancing with wolves
<i>Striking Distance</i> (1993)	<i>Persecución mortal</i>	<i>Jazarpen hilgarria</i>	Deadly pursuit
<i>City of industry</i> (1997)	<i>Ajuste de cuentas</i>	<i>Kontu garbitzea</i>	Settling of scores

Table 4: Translation of film titles into Spanish and Basque

The main production centre of the Basque cultural system is in the Spanish Basque Country, more precisely in those regions where Basque language usage and transmission are guaranteed by law. This makes the bond between Basque and Spanish cultures stronger and Basque culture, as a whole, more dependent on the latter. Cultural production in the French Basque Country, where the language has no official recognition, is scarce and more dependent on French culture, even though, at the same time, bilingual French Basques share common Basque culture, which makes them susceptible to Spanish influence.

### **3.2.2 What is Basque culture?**

The weak position of Basque culture with regard to the other two cultural systems it co-exists with gives rise to a most controversial issue, namely, resolving what Basque culture is. We could define this culture from three different, sometimes antagonistic standpoints: the linguistic one, the geographical one and the legal one.

From a linguistic and cultural point of view, common amongst Basque speakers, any activities carried out in Euskara are considered as Basque. It is very illustrative the fact that *Euskaldun*, the word for 'Basque (person)', literally means 'Basque speaker'.

The geographical point of view is mainly shared by Basque nationalists. According to this idea, any cultural item made anywhere in the Basque Country (*Euskal Herria*) is Basque, regardless of the language used. Here we can include works with a Basque theme or set in the Basque Country, and even those produced outside by Basque citizens.

The third position maintains that under Spanish law Basque are exclusively those from the Basque Autonomous Community (BAC), and therefore only things produced in that region can be Basque. This is the predominant view of the ruling powers in Navarre<sup>12</sup>.

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<sup>12</sup> The government of Navarre has assumed that promoting Euskara discriminates against Spanish monolingual people. Therefore, there is no real interest from the institutions to guarantee Basque speakers' linguistic rights. This perspective is "legally incorrect as indicated in article 7.2 in the European Charter of Regional or Minority languages: The

Our approach to Basque culture is defined by linguistic parameters and therefore we endorse the first standpoint mentioned.

### 3.2.3 *Kulturgintza*

All different types of cultural production in Basque language take shelter under the all-embracing umbrella term *Kulturgintza*, literally ‘culture-making’. Organisations and companies working in various sectors for the normalisation and promotion of the Basque language and culture are involved in *Kulturgintza*, with the objective of setting up an effective repertoire which covers as many spheres of knowledge and cultural practices as possible<sup>13</sup>. Their standpoint is that bilingual speakers should have a linguistically balanced cultural offer to choose from. In other words, the aim is to strengthen the Basque cultural system.

Business activities dealing with Basque language and culture, being as they are part of a small reality, are often based on cooperative and at times voluntary work, not that dependent on the economic factor. This is so even in the regions where institutional support is assured. Naroa Olalde Artetxe, after examining the characteristics of a number of organisations and private companies working in the ambit of *Kulturgintza*, reaches the conclusion that they are all based on a ‘social economy’, which she defines as “an economy in the service of people, where social interest is put before private interest. [...] wealth produced for the society is given more importance than monetary profit. But, in any case, profitability is not forgotten”<sup>14</sup> (Olalde Artetxe 2001: 7).

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adoption of special measures in favour of regional or minority languages aimed at promoting equality between the users of these languages and the rest of the population or which take due account of their specific conditions is not considered to be an act of discrimination against the users of more widely-used languages” (p.217). Irujo, Xabier and Iñigo Urrutia (2008). “Basque in the Foral Community of Navarre (CFN)”. *The Legal Status of the Basque Language today: One Language, Three Administrations Seven Different Geographies and a Diaspora*. San Sebastian: Eusko Ikaskuntza, 197-220.

<sup>13</sup> An instance of this is Topagunea, the Federation of Basque Language Associations, which comes from the social movements grown strong in the eighties.

<sup>14</sup> “Pertsonen zerbitzura dagoen ekonomia dela, eta interes partikularren aurretik interes sozialak jartzen dituela. [...] irabazi ekonomikoei baino garrantzi handiagoa eskaintzen diela inguruko gizartearentzako sortutako aberastasunei. Baina beti ere errentagarritasuna ahaztu gabe”.



### 3.3 Literary system

Literature is probably the strongest manifestation of Basque culture, with a relevant position for oral literature in the form of *Bertsolaritza*, or rhymed poetic extemporisation, an activity enormously popular in the region. Written literature, even though occupying a small slot in the literary market accessible to bilingual speakers, also enjoys a generally healthy situation, especially if we compare it to other cultural activities such as filmmaking. As writer and filmmaker Joxean Muñoz (2004: 44) admits, “Basque filmmaking has a lot to learn from Basque literature (and from literary translation)”<sup>15</sup>.

Written literature in Basque language is clearly differentiated from written literature in Spanish or French, although it may share with them a publishing house and even a same volume (for instance, most publications issued by the BAC government are bilingual). In this sense, the definition issue mentioned above is less patent with this cultural category. All the same, there have been cases where Basque authors in Spanish language have considered that their work was being disregarded, as is the case of writer Raúl Guerra Garrido, who in 1978 complained about the marginalisation of Basque literature in Spanish language:

The last redoubt of a literature's identity is in the language and, logically, when we speak of Basque literature we shall only include those who express themselves in Basque. But going more in-depth into this broader concept called culture, we do have to be present, because, even in Spanish, we are producing Basque culture. If we as persons are part of the Basque Country, it is also very logical that we claim a place in the cultural context<sup>16</sup> (Guerra Garrido 1978).

#### 3.3.1 Brief history of Basque literature

Compared to literature in neighbouring languages, Basque written literature had a late start. The first book, *Linguae Vasconum Primitiae*, was published in 1545. Its

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<sup>15</sup> “*Asko dauka ikasteko euskal zinemak euskal literaturatik (eta itzulpengintzatik)*”.

<sup>16</sup> “*El último reducto de la identidad de una literatura está en el idioma y, lógicamente, cuando hablamos de la literatura vasca sólo incluiremos a quienes se expresan en euskera. Pero adentrándonos en este concepto más amplio llamado cultura, sí debemos estar presentes porque, aun en castellano, estamos haciendo cultura vasca. Si formamos parte como personas del País Vasco, es también muy lógico que reivindicemos un lugar en el contexto cultural*”.

author, Bernat Etxepare, was born in the now French province of Lower Navarre, which at the time was the last remnant of the Kingdom of Navarre, remaining a free state until it was merged to the Kingdom of France in 1620. During the 1600s, most of the books published in Basque were by writers from the French Basque Country, but gradually Spanish Basques took over. Until 1879, only 101 original works were published, with a significant presence of religious prose. From them, according to linguist Ibon Sarasola (quoted in Olaziregi 2003: 204), only four have literary value.

From the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, literary production began to gain strength and increased over the following decades, until the Spanish Civil War, when it came to an abrupt stop. As we have seen, with the revival of Basque culture started at the end of the 1960s and the creation of the standard dialect, literature flourished as it had never done before.

In 1982, the Basque Writers' Association was founded and, in 1984, the Basque Language Publishers' Association. Both associations aim to group together all writers and publishing houses producing books in Basque.

### **3.3.2 Present day situation**

Probably because publishing a book is cheaper than making a film, the literary market in Basque language is fairly bigger than the film industry, and less dependent on a stronger linguistic system.

Sociologist Joan Mari Torrealdei makes every year an inventory of books published in Basque language. In 2009, he counted 2,342 titles with ISBN, 71% of them first-time publications. The bulk of this production, 32%, was made of educational books. As for literature proper, 22% (508 titles) were literature for children and young people, and 16% (380 titles) were adult literature<sup>17</sup> (Torrealdei 2011).

From these data, we can draw some conclusions. Firstly, from a purely quantitative point of view, in spite of being a small production compared to that in

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<sup>17</sup> Not to be confused with 'erotic literature'.

a state language, 2,342 titles for a market of about 800,000 speakers is not a bad proportion (precisely, 0.0029275 titles per speaker<sup>18</sup>).

Secondly, the data show the relevance of children's and young people's literature.

As for adult literature—which we consider the written equivalent of the study object of this dissertation (films and television series)—, it experienced a recovery with respect to previous years, dispelling any signs of an alleged crisis (*Ibid*: 53). 380 may seem a ridiculous figure, but it is still a lot of reading for one person in a year.

### **3.3.3 Literary translation**

According to Even-Zohar (quoted in Munday 208: 109), translated literature may occupy a primary or secondary position within a literary system. In established cultures, it normally holds a secondary position and does not have much influence on the core of the system, made up of original work. However, when the whole literature system is weak or peripheral, as in the case of a smaller nation under the dominion of a larger culture, it is “unable to function by confining itself to its home repertoire only” (Even-Zohar 1990: 81). Its literature is indeed translated to a great extent, and so translation has a predominant role.

This is the case of Basque culture, where translated literature has historically played a central role. It has contributed fundamental repertoires and renewed obsolete models. According to data provided by Jose Manuel López Gaseni, from the University of the Basque Country, about 35% of all literary production in Basque language is translated; a common percentage in minority language literatures (López Gaseni 2008).

Translated literature constituted 50% of the whole production between the 16<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, when most translated works had religious, moral or didactic topics. In the first decades of the 1900s, about 10% of books were translated, whereas from 1968, after the Francoist drought, translation reached 25%. In the 70s and 80s there was an exponential growth, when the new situation required

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<sup>18</sup> In the UK, for example, the ratio was 0.0022204 titles per inhabitant (from an estimate population of 60 million). Source: Nielsen Book (2010). *Even More Books Published in 2009*. (Press release) The Nielsen Company (26 January).

abundance of materials for children at schools and adult language learners. Given the shortage of Basque original materials, translation gained a central position within the system. In 1987, the Association of Translators, Correctors and Interpreters of Basque Language (EIZIE) was created.

Other minority language literatures such as the Catalan had universal literature's classic works systematically translated in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. In the case of Basque, such initiative will not start until the end of the century, with the *Literatura Unibertsala* (Universal Literature) and *Pentsamenduaren Klasikoak* (Classics of Thought) collections. *Literatura Unibertsala* publishes classic literary works, and from 1990 has brought out 152 titles. *Pentsamenduaren Klasikoak* published, between 1992 and 2009, 130 works of universal thought that have had a significant influence on western civilisation.

Some literary genres, perhaps more dependent on market forces, have not received much attention from the Basque translation industry: sci-fi, romantic and erotic literature, comic-books for adults or best-sellers.

According to Torrealdei, 28% of all 2009 new publications were translations (about 465 titles; in 2008 there were 716 translated titles). From the 380 adult fiction titles published, 59 were translated works (15.5%).

### **3.4 Audiovisual system**

Television is at the core of the Basque audiovisual system. Its greatest exponents are the Basque public television, with two channels broadcasting in Basque (ETB1 and ETB3), and a number of local and online initiatives, amongst which Hamaika Telebista stands out. This private project aims to spread television and other mass media in Euskara to all Basque areas, forming a network of local televisions in Basque.

The presence of Basque language in commercial cinemas and home video is minimal, and is basically taken up by children's products.

As with cultural production as a whole, we believe that the specificity of the Basque audiovisual system lies in the language. Most of the audiovisual production in Basque language is made in the BAC and, consequently, in terms of

material and personal resources, it is part of the Basque Spanish audiovisual industry. However, if other factors such as the language and the target audience are taken into consideration, those products constitute a distinct system, which also includes programmes and films produced in the French Basque Country (or anywhere in the world, as long as they are made in Basque, for that matter).

### **3.4.1 Polysystem theory in AVT**

Polysystem theory, initially centred on the literary field, gives way to the academic study of activities and genres that had been disregarded to date. This has led several researchers on audiovisual translation to adopt it in their work.

Authors who have incorporated this theory into their research work include Karamitroglou (2000), Díaz Cintas (2004), Romero Fresco (2009), Barambones (2009), to mention but a few examples.

For Jorge Díaz Cintas (2004: 24), *Descriptive Translation Studies*, within which he places polysystem theory, allows the researcher to “transcend the purely linguistic dimension” and approach the object of study “from a plural and interdisciplinary perspective”. According to Frederic Chaume (2009: 19), “the polysystemic approach is the only one that has so far proved to be systematic enough to yield the necessary tools for rigorous research in this field”.

Josu Barambones, in his PhD thesis on the translation of children’s and young people’s programmes on ETB1, supports the inclusion of film production “within the literary system, understanding it in its broadest sense: a conglomerate of systems where all the semiotic phenomena of a given society are accommodated”<sup>19</sup> (2009: 18). For Romero-Fresco (2009: 10), who draws on Delabastita and Zabalbeascoa, what makes the audiovisual text different from other types of texts such as the literary one, is “the simultaneous and combined presence of two sets of signs (verbal and non-verbal) transmitted through two channels of communication (acoustic and visual)”.

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<sup>19</sup> “[...] dentro del sistema literario, entendido éste en su más amplia acepción: un conglomerado de sistemas donde tienen cabida todos los fenómenos semióticos de una sociedad determinada”.

### **3.4.2 Basque film polysystem**

Two things need to be clarified before speaking of the Basque film polysystem.

Firstly, even though the term 'film system' is probably clear and precise enough, we have decided to use 'film polysystem' for the sake of consistency with the work by those authors who have combined their research on audiovisual translation with the polysystem theory. Nevertheless, any system in a bigger polysystem is at the same time a polysystem of smaller subsystems.

Secondly, 'Basque film' and 'Basque cinema' are used here to refer to any film products made in the Basque Country or by Basque filmmakers, regardless the language used, as long as the authors agree to have their work labelled that way.

A very much commented issue regarding our field of study concerns the election of an appropriate terminology, starting by the denomination of the practice itself. Today, the term 'audiovisual translation' (AVT) is becoming well established, at least in Europe, but there seem to be still problems to define some basic words such as 'film'. For Fotios Karamitroglou (2000: 2), it applies to all types of "recorded audiovisual material". When he refers exclusively to full-length feature films, in turn, he makes use of the term 'movie'. Jorge Díaz Cintas (2004: 25), for his part, expresses his concerns about the limited scope the term 'film polysystem' has generally been given in the field, since it is almost exclusively used referred to movies, excluding other audiovisual products such as commercials to corporate videos.

In this project, we will use the terms 'film' and 'movie' interchangeably for feature length films, and 'film polysystem' to encompass those recorded audiovisual products with an entertaining function, including different types of narrative (factual, fiction), media (cinema, television, home video, Internet), formats (feature length film, short film, series) and target audience (general, families, young people, children), both original and translated.

All the same, the focus will be on fiction films for young and adult viewers and, in second instance, on television series. However, other formats and audiences will be also taken into account (e.g. short documentary films).

The Basque film polysystem includes productions in Spanish and Basque languages (and conceivably also in French or any other language).

### 3.4.3 Basque Cinema

For decades, the difficulty of deciding what the term 'Basque cinema' exactly means has been the cause of endless debates. In the 1980s, when a number of films were produced and achieved relative success, it seemed possible to speak for a few years of a Basque brand of filmmaking, but the incipient industry did not settle, especially because of the lack of a continuous support from Basque institutions. Nowadays, the issue seems to have been resolved by generally accepting that a Basque film is any film made in the Basque Country by anyone, or any film made anywhere by Basque people. However, for some the term 'Basque cinema' still makes reference to a phenomenon that may not even exist (Macías 2010: 46).

Enduring lack of freedom of speech, and without a proper filmic tradition and an economic bourgeoisie to support local production, Basque filmmakers had to leave the region in order to get their projects off the ground. From the late 1960s, a concern emerged as to define and set the guidelines of what Basque cinema would have to be. As Franco's regime was coming to an end, in the early seventies, there were countless discussions and debates in this respect, which revolved around issues such as political activism, visual style, public vs. private funding, or language.

On the 24<sup>th</sup> April 1980, the first Basque government in more than forty years was formed in the Basque Autonomous Community. During this decade, two important developments in the Basque audiovisual landscape took place, both linked to the devolution of executive powers to the Spanish Basque region: the creation of the Basque public television, Euskal Telebista, and the start of a film industry.

Over the following years, a few successful films were made<sup>20</sup> which paved the way for the consolidation of a film industry. This new cinema, which enjoyed the support from public institutions, expressed itself mostly in Spanish, incorporating

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<sup>20</sup> Such as Imanol Uribe's *La fuga de Segovia* (1981), first film subsidised by the BAC government, and *La muerte de Mikel* (1983), or *Tasio* (1984) by Montxo Armendáriz.



Basque only in a token role. The pragmatic approach had prevailed (Roldán Larreta 1996: 167).

Still, the issue of the language would re-emerge recurrently, as would do the persistent opinion that without Basque language, a cinema could not be called 'Basque'. For instance, director Ernesto Tellería distanced his work, in Spanish, from what he understood as Basque cinema by stating that "the only difference that may really exist, apart from the landscape, [...] is the language. In other words, we are making Spanish cinema"<sup>21</sup> (quoted in Roldán Larreta 1999: 67).

After a declining second half in the eighties, Spanish speaking Basque cinema experienced a strong revival in the early 1990s thanks to a bunch of young filmmakers who in most of the cases did not receive any support from the Basque institutions. This cinema found its natural and most profitable market in Spain, where some of the main box-office hits of the decade were made by Basque directors<sup>22</sup>. This situation led many Basque filmmakers to renounce the 'Basque cinema' label (Roldán Larreta 1999: 75-76).

As for the geographical extension of the activity, present-day film industry in the Basque Country has been limited to the Spanish side of the territory, since the French Basque Country has not taken part significantly in its development. Roldán Larreta (quoted in Macías 2010: 41) explains that, in Navarre, the involvement of public institutions has been minor, which have led many filmmakers from this province to search for funds in the neighbouring BAC:

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<sup>21</sup> "La única diferencia que puede existir realmente, aparte del paisaje, [...] es el idioma. Que vamos, que hacemos cine español".

<sup>22</sup> *El día de la bestia* (Álex de la Iglesia) and *Airbag* (Juanma Bajo Ulloa) had the most viewers in Spanish cinemas in 1995 and 1997 respectively.

In the ranking of best ten Spanish movies of the 1990s made by the public television show *Versión Española*, there were two productions by Basque filmmakers: *Los amantes del círculo polar* by Julio Medem (#4) and *El día de la bestia* (#9).

Other successful Basque films of the time are: *Todo por la pasta* (1991) by Enrique Urbizu, *El sol del membrillo* (1992) by Víctor Erice, *Vacas* (1992), *La ardilla roja* (1993) and *Tierra* (1995) by Julio Medem, *Alas de mariposa* (1991) and *La madre muerta* (1993) by Juanma Bajo Ulloa, *Acción Mutante* (1992) and *Perdita Durango* (1997) by Álex de la Iglesia, *Días contados* (1994) by Imanol Uribe, *Salto al vacío* (1994) by Daniel Calparsoro, *Historias del Kronen* (1995) y *Secretos del corazón* (1997) by Montxo Armendáriz. Most of these films did not receive any aids from the BAC government.



In the case of Navarre, the process leading to autonomy will be different, as will be the scheme of subsidies to the audiovisual sector emanated from the new institutions. The reality is that, owing to a lack of resources and also of political will, those [subsidies] will be limited to aids to the creation of short films. So much so that the Chartered Government, for instance, will not take part in any of the works by directors from Navarre such as Montxo Armendáriz, Ana Díez or Helena Taberna. In 2001, after Armendáriz's international success with 'Secretos del corazón' (1997), it will contribute exceptionally to the funding of 'Silencio roto'<sup>23</sup>.

As far as human partaking is concerned, however, "it is not possible to establish big differences among the four [Spanish] Basque provinces, in view of the impact and prominence acquired by the movement in the whole territory"<sup>24</sup> (Roldán Larreta (1999: 7).

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<sup>23</sup> "En el caso de Navarra, el proceso autonómico será distinto y también el de las subvenciones al sector audiovisual emanado de las nuevas instituciones. La realidad es que, por falta de medios y también de voluntad política, éstas se van a limitar a la ayuda a la creación de cortometrajes. Tanto es así que el Gobierno Foral, por ejemplo, no participará en ninguno de los trabajos de directores navarros como Montxo Armendariz, Ana Díez o Helena Taberna. En 2001, tras el éxito internacional de Armendariz con 'Secretos del corazón' (1997), contribuirá excepcionalmente a la financiación de 'Silencio roto'".

<sup>24</sup> "No pueden establecerse grandes diferencias entre las cuatro provincias vascas dado el impacto y el protagonismo que adquiere el fenómeno en todo el territorio".

## Chapter 4

### Basque language film polysystem

#### 4.1 Introduction

In this chapter, the Basque language film polysystem will be defined and broken down into its elements. The analysis is limited to films and television series addressed to young and adult audiences. In the section devoted to short films, documentaries are also taken into account due to their early predominance in this type of filmmaking.

According to Díaz Cintas (2004: 23), the polysystemic approach “helps to broaden the research horizon since it underlines the need to incorporate the translated works in the study of the cinematography of any country”. Thus, the film polysystem is made up of national and translated products and, for Díaz Cintas, both production types function at the same sociocultural level. As a consequence, dubbed and subtitled films gain significance as objects of study, and can occupy different positions within the system, the choice between one and the other depending on sociocultural and economic factors. In any case, the author defends the complementarity between them, which constitute “a group of film texts structured and functioning as a system” (*ibid*: 24). This polysystemic relationship makes the two subsystems liable to influence each other (Romero Fresco 2009: 90).

Table 5 summarises the contents of both the chapter and the polysystem. Original production and translated production are arranged in parallel and divided into different types of media: cinema, television, home video and the Internet. Under each type of media, the various ‘providers’ that make film products available to the public are listed (commercial cinema, festivals, ETB, fans, etc.). In the Translated production column, the text in square brackets indicates the main AVT mode used.

Original production	Translated production
<p><b><u>Cinema</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Commercial Films</li> <li>Festivals Films and short films</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>Cinema</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Commercial Foreign films [dubbing] Basque-language films<sup>1</sup> [subtitling]</li> <li>Festivals [subtitling] Films (San Sebastian festival, etc.)</li> </ul>
<p><b><u>Television</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ETB TV movies Series Short films</li> <li>Hamaika Telebista Short films</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>Television</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>ETB Films<sup>2</sup> [dubbing &amp; subtitling] Series [dubbing]</li> <li>Hamaika Telebista Films [subtitling]</li> </ul>
<p><b><u>Home video</u></b></p> <p>Films Series [?]</p>	<p><b><u>Home video</u></b></p> <p>Films [dubbing] Series [dubbing]</p>
<p><b><u>Internet</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>EITB Films Series Short films</li> <li>Hamaika Telebista Short films</li> <li>Fans' initiatives Films Series</li> </ul>	<p><b><u>Internet</u></b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>EITB [dubbing] Films<sup>2</sup> Series</li> <li>Fans' initiatives [subtitling &amp; dubbing] Films Series</li> </ul>

Table 5: Basque language film polysystem

<sup>1</sup> Films originally in Basque language are often shown in cinemas with Spanish subtitles, serving both Spanish monolingual and Basque bilingual viewers at the same time.

<sup>2</sup> Including dubbed Spanish-language Basque films.

## 4.2 Original production

Traditionally, Basque has had a very restricted access to the movie market, the main reason being the limited extension and decreasing usage of the language, especially until the last decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Still today, many directors from the region, including some of the most renowned ones<sup>25</sup>, do not speak Euskara. Moreover, just above one million speakers do not constitute the most appealing market for film producers. Following Roldán Larreta (1996: 164), “If cinema produced in Spanish already has cost-effectiveness problems, films spoken in Basque have a much darker future”<sup>26</sup>.

The other factor that had a dramatic impact on the expansion of the Basque language in film was the nearly forty year-long dictatorship in Spain (from 1937 to 1975) and the ban, stronger during the first half of the regime, on Spanish regional languages to be used in the public sphere.

### 4.2.1 Films

Cinema in Basque language is but a small portion of all the Basque film production and, as such, it is part of the Spanish film polysystem. However, from the linguistic point of view, it constitutes a discrete system which can include non-Spanish productions such as the short films *Bertzea* (2001) and *Lepokoa* (2003) by French-Basque director Safy Nebbou, or *Xora* by Peio Cachena (2011), first Basque language feature film from the French Basque Country.

It should be noted that, in a bilingual society such as the Basque Country, publications by government institutions and different organisations often include versions in the different official languages, and it is not always obvious which language is the original. Certainly, Basque cinema is not bilingual in a balanced proportion, but it is not rare to find films in Spanish with some dialogues in Basque and vice versa. Taking this into account, when it comes to decide whether a film

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<sup>25</sup> As is the case of directors such as Álex de la Iglesia, Juanma Bajo Ulloa, Montxo Armendáriz or Imanol Uribe.

<sup>26</sup> “*Si el cine realizado en castellano sufre ya serios problemas de rentabilidad, películas habladas en euskera tienen un futuro mucho más oscuro*”.

can be included in the Basque language film polysystem, the following criteria has been laid down:

1. At least, 50% of the verbal content has to be in Basque.
2. At least, 50% of the credits have to be in Basque.

In the case of silent films, meeting the second criterion should be sufficient.

These criteria are flexible and other factors can also be considered, for instance, the language used by the narrator, the music or the stance taken by the filmmaker and producers. The language of the title does not seem relevant.

#### 4.2.1.1 First appearances of the Basque language in films

During the first decades after the invention of the cinematograph, Basque language initially appeared in the form of personal names included in the titles of Spanish and French films with a Basque theme.

Some examples are the short films **Josechu** (Isaac Díaz, 1917), **Ramuntcho** (Jacques de Baroncelli, 1918), **Martinchu Perugorria en día de romería** (Alejandro Olabarria, 1925); and the feature-length films **Edurne, modista bilbaína** (first Basque feature film by Telesforo Gil del Espinar, 1924) and **El mayorazgo de Basterretxe** (Azcona brothers, 1928).

In 1926, Basque language made a conspicuous though for a majority probably unnoticed appearance in a film by Man Ray, a surrealist 19 minutes short entitled *Emak Bakia*, meaning 'leave me alone'<sup>27</sup>.

The advent of sound cinema brought the first film with presence of verbal Basque, the 40 minute French documentary *Au Pays des Basques* (Jean Faugeres and Maurice Champreux, 1930).

Any possible further advancement of a Basque-language film industry was stopped by the victory of the National faction in the Spanish Civil War<sup>28</sup>. In the

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<sup>27</sup> The film can be watched online at [http://www.ubu.com/film/ray\\_emak.html](http://www.ubu.com/film/ray_emak.html).

<sup>28</sup> The last Basque resistance stronghold, the city of Bilbao, was captured on 19 June 1937.

aftermath of the war, regional languages of Spain were forbidden and Spanish was imposed as the only language in film dialogues. Interestingly, this situation is in the origin of the Spanish preference for dubbing (See Ballester 2001: 168, 178).

#### 4.2.1.2 New cinema

In 1968, Néstor Basterretxea and Fernando Larruquert filmed the feature-length documentary *Ama Lur*. In spite of having Spanish as narrative language, *Ama Lur* (“mother land”) is probably the first long film produced in Spain which includes bilingual credits, and speech and songs in Basque. In addition, its filmic language was based on the structure of ‘bertsolaritza’, a very popular type of improvised oral poetry in Basque language. This film was also an attempt to create a Basque visual style. For all these reasons, some scenes were censored by the Francoist government and it was demanded that the word “España” be mentioned three times throughout the footage. This film is considered the precursor of modern Basque cinema.

The 1970s were a period marked by the end of the dictatorship and intense social and political struggle, and cultural activism. In the film sector, heated debates took place on what were supposed to be the defining characteristics of the still unborn Basque cinema. A strong, idealistic current of opinion advocated a cinema made in Basque language<sup>29</sup>.

Interestingly, the first feature-length film to be included in the Basque language polysystem is the silent *Axut* (José María Zabala, 1976), an experimental movie without dialogues, but with Basque title and credits.

In 1980, *Sabino Arana*, by Pedro Sota and José Julián Bakedano, was presented at the San Sebastian International Film Festival. This fiction feature film introduced Basque in the dialogues between actors. Unfortunately, its poor reception was a great blow to the expectations created (Roldán Larreta 1999: 87).

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<sup>29</sup> As stated, for example, in the conclusions of the First Basque Cinema Conference organised by the Cine Club Universitario de Bilbao in 1976: “we want to make cinema in Basque which we will subtitle in Spanish in order to present it to a Basque-speaking public” / “*queremos hacer cine en euskera que subtitularemos en castellano cara a presentarlo ante un público vasco-parlante*” (Roldán Larreta 1999: 24).

During this decade, attempts were made to ensure the presence of the language in new productions. In 1985, the BAC government sponsored three medium-length films based on novels by Basque writers: *Hamaseigarrenean aidanez* (Anjel Lertxundi), *Ehun metro* (Alfonso Ungría) and *Zergatik, panpox* (Xabier Elorriaga). According to Roldán Larreta (1999: 237), this interesting and valuable initiative was wasted, again, by the short format of the films and the inadequate promotion and marketing of the product.

Likewise, the medium-length *Oraingo izen gabe* (José Julián Bakedano, 1986) and the feature *Kareletik*, (Anjel Lertxundi, 1987) did not receive a very positive reception. In 1988, Ana Díez presented *Ander eta Yul*, filmed in Basque and Spanish, winning the Spanish Goya Award for Best New Director.

In 1989, a feature completely made in Basque, *Ke arteko egunak* (Antonio Eceiza), entered for the first time the official competition at the San Sebastian Film Festival, winning the ‘San Sebastian Award’, which made it the first Basque real image feature film in any language to win an international festival award (Izagirre 1996: *Zinez* section). The film aroused a fierce controversy for a depiction of the violent conflict in the Basque Country which the Spanish media did not like at all. After this film, Eceiza, who in spite of not speaking Basque always advocated a Basque cinema in Basque language—a stance whose results are the *Ikuska* short documentary series (see Section 4.2.1.3) and this film—, abandoned his cause and made his next production in Spanish. *Ke arteko egunak* stayed a solitary milestone in Basque cinema in Euskara for more than 15 years.

In the nineties, Basque language was almost completely ignored. After the unsuccessful *Offeko maitasuna* (Koldo Izagirre, 1992), Euskara could still be heard in the well-considered bilingual production *Urte ilunak* (Arantxa Lazkano, 1993) and in some dialogues of the commercially successful Spanish-Cuban comedy *Maité* (Eneko Olasagasti and Carlos Zabala, 1994).

It would not be until 2005 that a new film in Basque language hit the cinemas. As a result of new agreements between film producers and the BAC institutions, with the direct involvement of EITB, a new era opened for Basque cinema. In this new scenario, up to three films in Basque language have been produced every year. *Aupa Etxebeste!* (Asier Altuna and Peio Esnal, 2005) achieved a relative success

at the box office and good reviews from the critics. The film *Ander* (Roberto Castón, 2009) had very positive reviews and received several awards at international film festivals, but it remains unreleased in Spain allegedly due to its homosexual topic and the fact that it was made in Basque. Another remarkable film is *80 egunean* (José Mari Goenaga and Jon Garaño, 2010), which has achieved very good results.

Only a few countries with a solid production infrastructure have been able to make films on a regular basis (Sanderson 2007: 9). If a film industry in Basque language finally manages to become established, it will probably be thanks to the system generated around Basque cinema in Spanish language. Roldán Larreta (1996: 170) already pointed out that the prestige gained by Basque Spanish filmmakers in the eighties and nineties would pave the way for the consolidation of a film industry in the region and make possible the gradual creation of films in Basque.

#### 4.2.1.3 Short film

The short format has been the main means of expression for Basque language in film. Whereas feature films are subjected to producers' interests and the rules of the market, short films require a smaller budget and are not dependant on commercial circuits. This has facilitated the production of shorts in Basque. In addition, short films have received the support of the BAC government from the beginning, but without the close control exercised on feature films, due to their scarce commercial value. Thus, short film directors have enjoyed more freedom to carry out their projects. For filmmaker Koldo Almandoz (2004: 66), short films are short term cinema, a format that can take new challenges and open fresh ground. In his words, "one of the sole territories of free filmmaking"<sup>30</sup>. Interestingly, as we will see below, the Basque cinema that sells best abroad comes in short format (*ibid*: 67).

Until the 1990s, most short films made in Basque language were documentaries; for this reason, this genre is also considered in this section. The first films that can be included in the Basque language film polysystem constitute the series of short

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<sup>30</sup> "Zinema librearen eremu bakarrenetakoa".



documentaries *Eusko Ikusgayak*, started in 1923 by Manuel Inchausti. Basque had a prominent position in the titles and intertitles.

Basque language will not show up again in film until well into Franco's dictatorship, when Gotzon Elorza made from his exile in Paris a documentary series fully produced in Basque<sup>31</sup>.

In the 1970s the bulk of film production in the Basque Country was basically made of short films. A number of them, generally documentaries, had a presence of Basque to varying degrees, either in the soundtrack (narration, interviews, songs, etc.), the title or various types of on-screen text. Among them, it is worth mentioning the awarded 1975 film *Arrantzale* by Antton Merikaetxebarria, the first one entirely shot in Euskara since Gotzon Elorza's work in the sixties. In 1979, Antonio Eceiza and Luis Iriondo started the *Ikuska* series (1979-1984), formed by 20 short documentaries in Basque. The series set off with two main goals: laying the foundations for the future national Basque cinema and creating a school for young filmmakers. However, according to Roldán Larreta (1996: 166-167), the *Ikuska* did not achieve the expected results because, in spite of their good quality, the short format of the films greatly hindered their distribution.

### *The new sprouts*

In 1998, the BAC government set up the *Kimuak* ('sprouts') programme. *Kimuak* aims to boost the production and improve the distribution of quality short films. Every year, the selected short films (eight until 2008 and nine thereafter) are initially screened at the San Sebastian Festival in September and afterwards sent to other film festivals. For Txema Muñoz, coordinator of the programme, "the festival is the natural ecosystem of the short film, a format which does not receive great attention from televisions or cinema programmers"<sup>32</sup> (Muñoz 2006). This way, the old issue of poor distribution seems to have been tackled to a great extent. So far, the programme has been very successful, with a positive reception

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<sup>31</sup> Three of them, *Ereagatik Matxitxakora* (1960), *Aberria* (1961) and *Elburua: Gernika* (1962), were restored in 2011 and screened at the San Sebastian Film Festival.

<sup>32</sup> "El festival es el ecosistema natural del cortometraje, un formato que no recibe grandes atenciones por parte de televisiones o programadores cinematográficos".

all over the world and innumerable awards received (Deia 2010). Up to 2011, over twenty of them have been made in Basque.

On a less positive note, the programme has caused controversy because of some selection criteria which have left out notable Basque films, while giving the go ahead to non-Basque works backed by a local film company (Sojo 2005). Another concern is the little impact that short films have in society due to their limited access to commercial circuits (Villar 2011).

In any case, *Kimuak* constitutes an excellent asset for Basque filmmaking, especially as an arena for the preparation of feature film professionals, and presents an encouraging future for cinema in Basque language.

For example, Asier Altuna and Telmo Esnal, some of whose shorts are in *Kimuak*, have made long format films such as *Aupa Etxebeste!* (Altuna and Esnal, 2005), *Urte berri on, amona!* (Esnal, 2011) and the documentary *Bertsolari* (Altuna, 2011). The authors of *80 egunean* (2010), José Mari Goenaga and Jon Garaño, have also taken part in the programme.

Euskal Telebista has a page on its website where *Kimuak* short films purchased by ETB are watchable. In addition, twice a year they buy short films directly from producers and filmmakers. All the films selected are available on the EITB website and broadcast three times on television during a three year period. The fees for short films made in Basque are slightly higher.

#### 4.2.1.4 Festivals

The San Sebastian International Film Festival, founded in 1953, stands out as the only A category festival in Spain. The section *Zinemira - Basque Film Showcase* provides an important stepping stone for Basque productions. Other significant festivals are:

- Zinebi, International Festival of Documentary and Short Film of Bilbao, created in 1959.
- Horror and Fantasy Film Festival, in San Sebastian.
- Festival de Biarritz, in the French Basque Country

In addition, there is a network of short film festivals and competitions with events including Caostica, Animabasauri, Nontzefilmak, Huhezinema, Gaurik laburrena, Basartena or Korterraza. The Euskal Zine eta Bideo Bilera festival (started in 1978), the Laburbira short film circuit (started in 2004) and the Kameratoia Rallya short film competition are specific for works in Basque.

## **4.2.2 Television**

### *4.2.2.1 ETB and Basque cinema: a chronology*

The relationship between the Basque public television and film producers and filmmakers has been erratic. After a short collaborative period in the mid-1980s, ETB's involvement in Basque cinema was minimal for over a decade. This situation greatly hindered the development of a film industry in the Basque Country, and consequently frustrated the production of film materials in Basque language. In the last years, the situation has improved.

If today's cinema in Europe needs the back-up of at least one major television in order to get a film project off the ground, as argued by filmmaker Eneko Olasagasti (2004: 51), how much more in the case of a minority language.

In 1985, ETB took part in the production of three medium-length films in Basque. Also that year, the Association of Basque Producers (AIPV) and Euskal Telebista reached a basic agreement regarding the acquisition by the public corporation of the broadcasting rights for the feature films produced by AIPV member companies. By subsidising 25% of a project's total budget<sup>33</sup>, ETB would have a proportional share in the profits of the commercial exploitation of a film as well as unlimited broadcasting rights two years after its release in cinemas (Roldán Larreta 1999: 101-102).

In 1988, a new agreement was signed. ETB produced the commercial feature *Ander eta Yul* and there were plans to make similar films every year (Roldán Larreta 1999: 124). However, the agreement was not completely fulfilled; from 1990 investments were cut off (Azpillaga 2004: 90).

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<sup>33</sup> That year, full funding was achieved, with 25% contributed by the BAC government, 25% by ETB and the remaining 50% by the Spanish Ministry of Culture.

In 1996, relations between the film sector and the Basque administration resumed. Soon, the fragmented production companies reunited in a new association called IBAIA, and communication channels with ETB were re-established. A new agreement was signed for the 2000-2001 period according to which the television would purchase IBAIA films broadcasting rights. This time though at a very low cost (Azpillaga 2004: 98).

At the 2002 Basque Summer University (UEU) courses in Pamplona, several filmmakers concerned with the situation of the audiovisual sector, prompted the administration and ETB to take "A step for Basque cinema"<sup>34</sup> and to set up a special budget from which €1,200,000 would be assigned to the creation of two films in Basque language every year. They complained that the corporation did not meet by far the amount demanded by the Strasbourg Parliament for subsidising European cinema<sup>35</sup>. Euskal Telebista argued there was no money to keep up with the law (Olasagasti 2004: 53).

In 2003, the BAC government presented the "Libro Blanco del Audiovisual" (White Book of the Audiovisual) to give the sector a boost. This document highlighted that ETB was indispensable in the promotion of Basque audiovisual products, concluding that it should (a) support the production of four to six feature films and three or four TV movies per year; (b) shoot two feature films or two TV movies every year; and (c) shoot and release one feature film in Basque original version every one or two years (Bearing Point 2003: 145).

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<sup>34</sup> The "Urrats bat euskal zinemaren alde" manifesto was presented at the courses organised by the UEU, a non-profit cultural association which pleads "the creation of a grassroots-based educational institution geared to Basque speakers' needs that covers the whole Basque Country and has Basque as its primary language". This information is available at <http://www.ueu.org/who-are-we>.

<sup>35</sup> The European Directive 97/36/CE was adapted to Spanish legislation by means of Law 22/1999, which aims to promote the Spanish and European audiovisual industry by "establishing the obligation for television operators to allocate 5% of their income for financing European feature films and TV movies of the same origin" / "*establecer la obligación de que los operadores de televisión destinen un 5 por 100 de sus ingresos a la financiación de largometrajes cinematográficos europeos y películas para televisión de igual procedencia*" (p. 21766). Government of Spain (1999). "Ley 22/1999". *BOE* 136 (8 June): 21765-21774.

60% of that sum has to be used to fund productions made in any of the Spanish official languages (Spanish, Catalan, Basque and Galician).

The “Plan Vasco de la Cultura” (Basque Scheme of the Culture), issued in 2004, also stressed the great responsibility of ETB in the promotion of Basque culture. “Production in Basque is significant in books and music edition; it is quite smaller in audiovisual and multimedia, and non-existent in films” (Eusko Jaurlaritza 2004: 44). In other words, the audiovisual sector in Basque language was (and is) way behind its sociolinguistic usage. For this reason, the scheme deems necessary to ensure a constant provision of film materials in Basque, both in cinema and television, by means of original production and dubbing.

Following the 2005 agreement with IBAIA and the Association of Basque Producers (EPE-APV), ETB agreed to get involved in the production of 21 feature films during the period 2005-2007 (eventually, it collaborated on 40 films), including the release of one film in Basque each year.

In 2008, a “pact for production” was signed for the following four years and ETB, with a scheduled investment of 20.8 million euros, committed itself to partake in the production of 44 fictional feature film projects, among which eight would be filmed in Basque and released in cinemas. In addition, ETB would acquire the broadcasting rights of all quality professional short films made in the Basque Country and participate every year in at least seven documentary projects for television (Andrés 2008).

According to IBAIA, in 2009 the Basque public television allocated 7.30 million euros to European films and TV movies. The 5% of their previous year income would be 5.15 million, so the amount required by law was surpassed by 41.7% (IBAIA 2011). They do not give information about the specific sum for productions in Basque language.

#### 4.2.2.2 TV production

Over the years, ETB has broadcast a number of original series in Basque language on its first channel, such as the comedies *Bi eta bat*, *Jaun eta jabe* and *Brinkola*, the musical *Goa!zen!*, the drama *Mugaldekoak* or the long-running soap opera *Goenkale*, with more than 3,000 episodes to date.

In 2005, the Spanish public television (TVE) produced a TV movie fully in Basque for the first time. *Zeru horiek* (by Aitzpea Goenaga) was based on Basque writer

Bernardo Atxaga's novel of the same name. The project included two more films from Basque literary works, but apparently they were never made<sup>36</sup>.

#### 4.2.2.3 Hamaika Telebista

In 2009, the Hamaika Telebista show *Kuletxov Efektua* offered some Basque shorts films from the *Kimuak* project. On 5 May 2010, they showed the short documentary *Aberria* by Gotzon Elorza.

### 4.3 Translated production

According to Barambones (2009: 20), “in a bilingual society such as the Basque one, the translation of films or fictional series occupies a peripheral or secondary position within the ‘film polysystem’ (Díaz Cintas 2001: 95), both because of its numbers and the reception given by viewers to this type of products”<sup>37</sup>.

It is difficult to understand how film translation can occupy a peripheral position in a film polysystem that is basically made of foreign production. It would seem that Barambones sets Basque AVT against all film production in Spanish and Basque. In the Basque language film polysystem, translation occupies a central and predominant position.

In the Spanish polysystem, as Díaz Cintas (2004: 25) reminds us, a majority of films are translated American ones and, consequently, they occupy a primary position, whereas national films are in a secondary position. If a much stronger film polysystem like the Spanish mostly relies on translated products, then the Basque polysystem, with such a shortage in home production, cannot do otherwise.

The bulk of film translation in Basque language is commissioned by ETB. Most of the translated products are addressed to children (cartoons), followed by films and

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<sup>36</sup> Instead, newer screen versions of modern Basque novels have been made in Spanish: *Menos que cero*, 1996 (*110. Street-eko geltokia*, 1988), *Obaba*, 2005 (*Obabakoak* 1988), *Un poco de chocolate*, 2008 (*SPrako tranbia*, 2001).

<sup>37</sup> “[...] en una sociedad bilingüe como la vasca, la traducción de películas o de series al euskera ocupa una posición periférica o secundaria dentro del ‘polisistema filmico’ (Díaz Cintas, 2001: 95), tanto por su número como por la recepción que los espectadores dispensan a este tipo de productos”.

series (comedies, dramas, etc.). A majority of foreign products are of American origin. In children's programming, dubbed Japanese animation also occupies an important position.

On a much smaller scale, films are translated for the big screen. Again, they are mostly for children. Ultimately, these products are released for home video, but they are virtually invisible in the market.

#### 4.3.1 Cinema

The BAC government started in 2009 the *Zinea Euskaraz* programme, re-launched as *Zinema Euskaraz* on Christmas 2010. The aim of the programme was to release a number of films dubbed in Basque on three different mediums: cinema, home video and the Internet. Each film would open in a cinema in each one of the three provincial capitals (Bilbao, San Sebastian and Vitoria) concurrently with the Spanish language version, and after being there for a week, they would be sent to smaller cities and towns.

Many of the films are addressed to children. A few of them, however, can be included in our catalogue. These six films are not Hollywood blockbusters, but rather independent films awarded at festivals around the world (See Section B.3.1 of the Appendices).

The only private initiative aimed at providing dubbed films for commercial release comes from the association *Zineskola* and its programme *Irudi Biziak*. They dubbed their first feature film in 1987 and, since then, have translated a number of films normally linked to the school environment.

##### 4.3.1.1 Translation of Basque-language films

In 1987, the BAC government offered subsidies also for the Spanish dubbing of films made in Basque (Roldán Larreta 1999: 119). Thus, for example, *Ander eta Yul* opened in Madrid with its Basque dialogues dubbed into Spanish. In 1989, two versions of Eceiza's *Ke arteko egunak* were released in cinemas, the original one with Spanish subtitles and another one with Spanish dubbing, which performed slightly better than the subtitled version (Izagirre 1996: *Zinez* section).



This dubbing activity has continued with the films released from 2005, although according to Asier Altuna, producers may have started to change their strategy; *80 egunean* (2010), for example, has been shown only in original version with subtitles (Garcia Idiakez 2011: 203).

#### 4.3.1.2 Subtitling in cinemas

Basque subtitles have been used in commercial cinemas, although very sporadically, and at occasional film screenings organised by institutions and other associations. Probably, the best platform for Basque subtitling is provided by festivals such as the San Sebastian Film Festival or the Horror and Fantasy Film Festival, where every year there is a choice of films in original version with Basque subtitles. Unfortunately, these versions are not distributed commercially afterwards (Barambones 2009: 127).

### 4.3.2 AVT on television

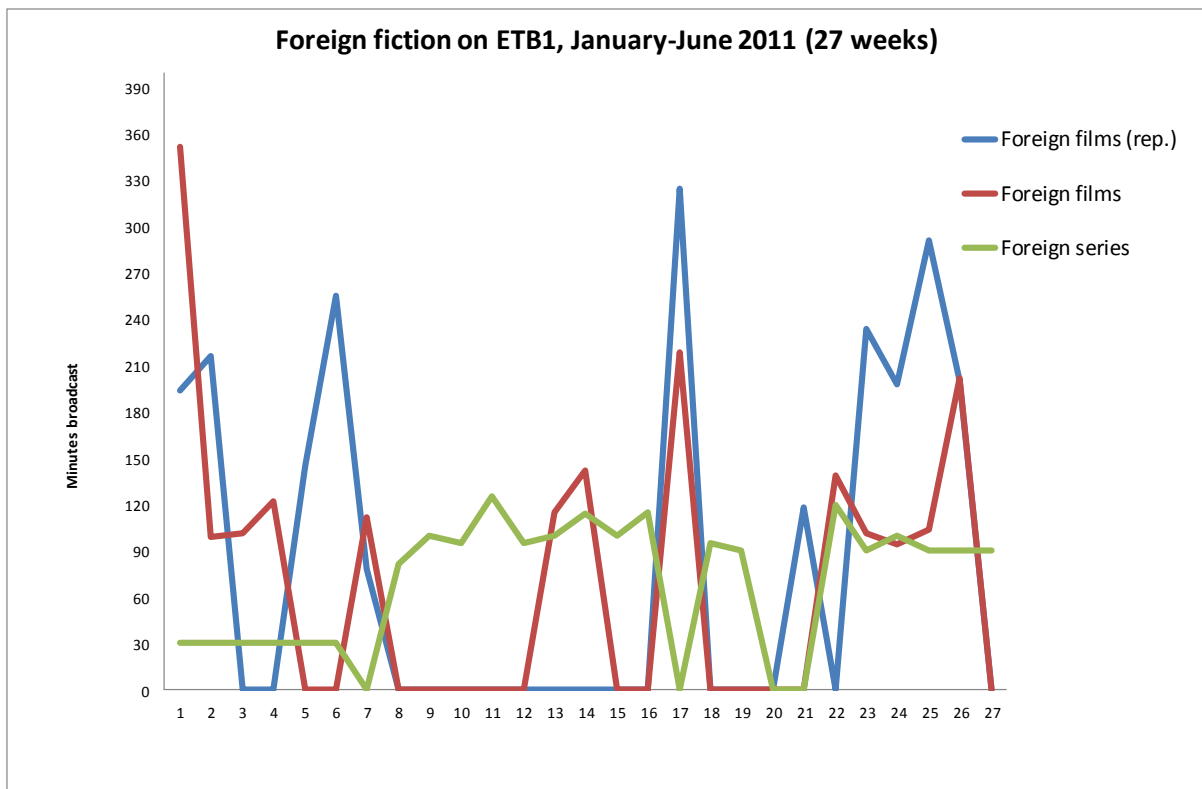
#### 4.3.2.1 Dubbing on ETB

As we have seen in Chapter 1, while domestic production increased, the presence of fiction and dubbed programmes, especially those addressed to young and adult viewers, weakened considerably.

During the first half of 2011, a total of 6,026 minutes (about 100 hours) of dubbed films and series were broadcast on the first channel, against 3,280 minutes of Basque original fiction programmes (two weekly hours of the soap opera *Goenkale* and a 100 minutes film, *80 egunean*).

From those 100 hours of dubbed material, 32 hours were newly dubbed films, 37 hours were repeated dubbed films and 31 hours were series (*Little Britain* and *Fringe*).





Line graph 1: Foreign fiction on ETB1, January-June 2011

### Response to products dubbed into Basque

For years, the notion that the language used on EITB is artificial, even unintelligible, has been widespread among Basque speakers, and curiously enough also among many non-Basque speakers. The reason for these opinions, leaving aside prejudiced attitudes, is the fact that the standard is after all a language 'constructed' only forty years ago, and its usage on radio and television, having to conform to linguistic norms, is characterised by a high register, which leaves the language far from everyday speaking and, evidently, from the colloquial tone often used in films<sup>38</sup>.

Following Asier Larrinaga, when ETB started there was no dubbing tradition in Basque, whereas the nearest reference, Spanish dubbing, was very strong and

<sup>38</sup> This explains the success of *Goenkale*, a soap opera which started in 1994 and still continues on air. The type of Basque used there, while sticking to the norm, is casual and uncomplicated, closer to the spoken dialects; this makes it appealing even to older people who are not literate.

well considered. This initial situation has marked Basque dubbing for many years. With time, dubbing quality has improved and today the assumption among professionals is that it has reached a good level. Newer generations of viewers are more tolerant to Basque dubbing, especially those who grew up watching cartoons. Nevertheless, the opinion remains that older people have never been able to get used to dubbed products. Josu Barambones (2009: 141) argues that this is due to the lack of a consistent offer of dubbed products other than those addressed to children. For Larrinaga, it also depends on the personal effort adults have made to get used to audiovisual Basque. Certainly, regular exposure helps making habits.

Another recurrent complaint is that dubbing actors are always the same. Thus, you may find the same voice repeated in films, cartoons and documentaries, a voice that may turn out to belong to an actor from *Goenkale*. However, this seems to be a drawback difficult to avoid in such a small community.

The lack of success of dubbing on ETB is not exclusively due to linguistic issues. Larrinaga thinks that there has been a change in the audiovisual language and habits. Feature films are not very televisual nowadays. Shorter formats are generally preferred and even television series see the duration of their episodes shrunk to 40 minutes.

It is precisely with series that ETB has made a special effort, as stated by Larrinaga, in order to offer foreign fictional products to young people and adults. Apart from cartoons, science fiction programmes have sometimes achieved certain success. However, series such as *Heroes* or *Fringe*, shown in the last few years, have not been as successful as expected.

#### *Dubbing of Spanish language Basque cinema*

As pointed out in footnote 29 (page 54), one of the ideals expressed in the 1976 Basque cinema conference in Bilbao was the production of films in Basque language with Spanish subtitles to make them available to everyone. However, we have seen that the Basque cinema industry eventually set off with Spanish as the main language. The BAC government decided then to promote Basque through translation. According to a 1984 film agreement, in order to be entitled to

a subsidy, a production company had to make a Basque dubbed version. These copies would include credits in Basque language or no credits at all, so they could be added later (Roldán Larreta 1999: 102), and they would be used outside the commercial circuits when the Department of Culture “deemed it appropriate” (*Ibid.*: 43-44, 99).

This initiative received criticism from Basque writers and filmmakers alike, both for the bad quality of the dubbing and for supplanting real production in Basque language. For instance, writer and scriptwriter Arantxa Urretabizkaia argued that the dubbed versions were as strange to the Basque viewer as the soap opera *Dallas*, showed at the time on ETB (*Ibid.*: 46). According to Antonio Eceiza, that was not Basque cinema, but just “cheating” (“trampa”, *Ibid.*: 46, footnote 67). For his part, José Julián Bakedano defended original versions in Basque with Spanish dubbing (*Ibid.*: 65). On the other hand, director Julio Medem complained that the only subvention he could get from the BAC government for his successful 1992 film *Vacas* was to finance its Basque dubbed version (*Ibid.*: 322, footnote 266).

Perhaps, a positive note of this initiative is that showing these films on ETB has made Basque cinema available to Basques from the other side of the border. As a result, Basque language potentially functions as *lingua franca* to approach French Basques to Basque films in Spanish.

#### *Dubbing of original Basque language series into Spanish*

There have been attempts to offer Basque language programmes to Spanish monolingual viewers by means of dubbing. This was the case of several episodes of the series *Bi eta bat* and *Goenkale*. However, the reception was poor and they were discontinued.

#### *4.3.2.2 The subtitling experience on ETB*

Minority language programmes have often been subtitled in the majority language to make television contents accessible to all viewers. In this way, broadcasters promote the learning of the minority language, especially among those who already have some knowledge of it, and can expect to increase their audiences with monolingual viewers too. Many native speakers, however, find subtitles intrusive, which leads to controversy (Jones 2001: 2; Gaynor 2008: 23). Solutions

include offering the subtitles 'closed' through teletext or digital television—as S4C in Wales used to do with most of its programmes (at least at the time of Jones' 2001 article)—, using subtitles only on products addressed to learners (O'Connell 2003: 8), or simply getting rid of them.

During its first years, ETB1 dubbed a substantial amount of foreign products into Basque and subtitled them in Spanish. When Spanish speaking ETB2 started broadcasting in 1986, subtitles on the first channel began to be seen as unnecessary and were removed from children's and young people's programmes. In 1991, a survey found that the positions for and against subtitling among viewers were level and in 1993, after a period of reflection, it was decided to completely suppress them, assuming it as a point of no return. This was supposed to help normalising Basque dubbing by removing the text interference from the screen, putting the language at the same level with other languages, and encouraging the improvement of dubbing in all its aspects (Larrinaga 2000a: 2-3). Still, intralingual subtitles have continued to be used in certain contexts. For instance, dialogues, interviews and songs in different languages or dialects. Larrinaga concludes by affirming that probably not many televisions have Euskal Telebista's subtitling experience, acquired from the use of a variety of languages, the aim to attract larger audiences and the support to viewers who are not fully competent in Basque (*ibid.*: 5).

ETB has used interlingual subtitles systematically on very few occasions. According to Larrinaga (quoted in Barambones 2009: 126), during the first ten years of the television, subtitles were used in 30 Buster Keaton films (1983-1986) and in the 48 episode series *Lobster Comedies* (1988-1986).

Between September 2000 and June 2001, the programme *Klasikoak euskaraz* presented a subtitled film in original version every Saturday evening for 34 weeks. The programme was conceived for movie lovers and included many old classics. Probably, this type of product was not the most suitable to attract younger viewers to films with subtitles. In addition, the showing time was after midnight (on Saturdays, children's programmes had priority). As stated by Larrinaga, "the result

was fully satisfactory to the target audience”<sup>39</sup> (2007: 99). However, the programme had no continuation.

### *Zinemateka*

At the end of 2009, the BAC parliament urged EITB to introduce in its televisual programming, within a period of six months, films in English with Basque or Spanish subtitles. This would be an experimental initiative, and EITB would decide upon its “adaptation to the objective of Basque language promotion” and, based on ratings results, the convenience of its continuity (Europa Press 2009).

On 17 July 2010, *Zinemateka* set off on ETB3. Every Thursday evening, the programme presented a film in original version, not always English, with Basque subtitles. Following the screening, a round table was organised to discuss the film and, afterwards, different film materials were showed: short films, series or a second feature film.

*Zinemateka* lasted 26 weeks and was divided in two periods. In the first period open interlingual subtitles were used. The second period started in January 2011. This time, subtitles were closed, featuring SDH traits such as colours and sound effects. From the fifth week, the new section *Bihar eta berandu* presented a second film after the debate.

From May 2011, two films in original version were showed every Thursday, still under the *Zinemateka* and *Bihar eta berandu* names, but without the debate section. The films were older and there were several repetitions. After seven weeks, it was discontinued.

Compared to *Klasikoak euskaraz*, the main advantages of *Zinemateka* were its interesting choice of films including recent titles (see complete list in Appendix B.2.1.2) and the fact that the films were showed at more suitable times (around 10.30pm).

Lastly, between February 2011 and June 2011, ETB3 broadcast 19 subtitled horror movies on Sunday evenings.

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<sup>39</sup> “*Emitza xede-ikusleen guttiz gogokoa izan zen*”.

ETB1 showed an average of 1.71 dubbed films per week in the first half of 2011 (from them, only 0.78 were newly dubbed). ETB3 offered three subtitled films weekly between March and June. This is the largest amount of films broadcast on Basque television in years. When asked about the planning behind this, Larrinaga answered that *Zinimateka* “was an opportunistic programme” (“izan da programa oportunistata bat”). Sometimes, there is an opportunity to acquire films in packs, at a much lower cost. This was the case of *Klasikoak euskaraz*, *Zinimateka* and *Gora goreia*. There was no planning at all. With *Zinimateka*, it was decided to ‘embellish’ (“jantzi”) the film with a talk, but it all was half-improvised, “it didn’t fit the bill” (“ez du mailarik eduki”). In such situation, they found themselves having to subtitle three films per week, all in a hurry, and the result was chaos: films broadcast in original version without subtitles, missing lines, translation mistakes, subtitles overlapping on-screen text, questionable use of SDH conventions... To top it all, closed subtitles were not active by default; this probably had many potential viewers confused and driven away, since the first thing they could see was a film in a foreign language without any translation.

By the end of June 2011, ETB3 had stopped broadcasting subtitled films.

#### 4.3.2.3 Subtitling on Hamaika Telebista

Between October and December 2009, the television channel Hamaika Telebista broadcast on its programme *Kuletxov Efektua* some classic films in original version with Basque subtitles. There were more films scheduled for March 2010, but I have not been able to find out if they were finally broadcast.

#### 4.3.3 Home video

DVD provision in Basque is also very scarce. It is made of films dubbed by EITB and the few ones released under the *Zinema Euskaraz* programme.

#### 4.3.4 Internet

The *Zinema Euskaraz* programme has also made 30 films freely available online through streaming video. Not counting children’s films, there are five Basque original and eleven dubbed fiction features. Curiously, all the dubbed films are originally in Spanish language.

### *Fans' initiatives*

A praiseworthy initiative is *Euskal Encodings*, an online community started in 2006 where films, series and cartoons in Basque, original and translated, are listed and, when possible, made available through P2P. Nowadays, this is the only way to acquire most of these products.

Fansubbers can upload their subtitles on the sites *azpituduak.com* and *Azpidatziak Euskaraz*, where, typical to this kind of practice, subtitles for the latest films and some television series can be found.

Lastly, more Basque dubbed films are available on streaming on *Ikusezazu.com*, although most of these materials are cartoons. The website *Marrazkiak euskaraz* offers a great deal of cartoons too.

## Chapter 5

### Commentary

Considering the Basque language film polysystem in its entirety allows us to realise about its small size and short reach, especially in comparison to the two larger systems co-existing with it. However, this is not in principle an adverse circumstance, since minority linguistic communities normally have modest cultural systems. The problem is that the audiovisual field, seen in the context of the Basque cultural production in general, holds a minor position, which in a civilisation completely dominated by the audiovisual media is a serious disadvantage.

#### 5.1 Original production

At the 2002 Basque Summer University courses in Pamplona (see Section 4.2.2.1), filmmakers expressed their surprise because of the little attention that from cultural spheres had been paid to cinema. In words by writer and film director Eneko Olasagasti (Rodríguez 2004: 11), “it is clear that filmmaking is a field that Basque culture has not conquered yet”<sup>40</sup>. Things seem to have changed a bit since then and, today, we could say that domestic production in Basque language is a promising area within the polysystem. In the last few years, two and even three films have been produced annually, an unprecedented situation in Basque culture. ETB continues producing its television series every year, and a number of short films are shot and distributed through the *Kimuak* and *Laburbira* programmes. Along with the Basque film industry in general, it seems that filmmaking in Basque language is getting consolidated, an infrastructure is being created and professionals trained. All this could be the seeds of an encouraging future. For this to happen, the support of the BAC government and the Basque public television is indispensable.

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<sup>40</sup> “*Garbi dago zinema dela euskal kulturak oraindik irabazi ez duen gunea*”.



As Olasagasti said, “we need a cinema in Basque language, proportionate to our small size, but we need it”<sup>41</sup> (*Ibid*: 17).

## 5.2 Translated production

The situation of translated production, almost entirely concentrated on the two public channels ETB1 and ETB3, is far from ideal. The count for the first half of 2011 shows the following figures:

- ETB1 has broadcast 14 newly dubbed films and 18 repeated dubbed films. In addition, 6 episodes of the comedy *Little Britain* (30 minutes each) and 31 episodes of *Fringe* (about 50 minutes each) were shown.
- ETB3 has broadcast 67 films in original version with Basque subtitles, 5 of which were repetitions. In addition, 9 episodes of *Doctor Who* (45 minutes each, on average), have been shown<sup>42</sup>. The channel also broadcasts one hour of *Mr Bean* almost every single morning, which accounts for a real lot of hours. However, this comedy has been repeated so many times and it is shown so early (around 6.30am) that maybe it should not be considered.

The *Zinema Euskaraz* project released, not including children’s productions, seven films in cinemas and one on DVD, and made available eleven films dubbed from Spanish.

These figures show the limited extent of film translation in Basque. It is true that a considerable amount of subtitled films have been broadcast on ETB3. This would be very positive if we did not know that it was due to unplanned, ‘opportunistic’ circumstances, and that its continuity is not assured. On the other hand, the figures also show how easily subtitled films can surpass dubbed ones.

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<sup>41</sup> “*Zinema euskalduna beharrezkoa dugu, gure neurrian, txikian, baina behar dugu*”.

<sup>42</sup> On 27 June 2011, ETB3 began to broadcast episodes of the following series: (new brand) *Britannia High*, *The Vampire Diaries* and *Chuck*; (repeated) *Doctor Who* and *Sheena*. They are all dubbed and the three brand new series are provided with closed SDH. This study covers the first six months of the year and, for this reason, these series have not been considered.

### **5.2.1 Proliferation**

Another idea put forward by Even-Zohar in his polysystem theory is the so-called 'Law of Proliferation'. This law starts working as soon as a culture sets off, and requires an expansive cultural inventory. A culture cannot operate for a community with a small repertoire, and the only way to expand it is through transfers between systems (Even-Zohar 2005: 10). Applied to the Basque language film polysystem, since original production will always probably be small, we should try to ensure that there is a sufficient provision of film materials from other polysystems.

Subtitling probably gives us the only realistic chance (e.g. because it is cheaper and easy to implement) to start responding to a Basque speakers' long-time demand for linguistic equality: having enough cultural products available in their language.

### **5.2.2 Is subtitling a viable option?**

For Jorge Díaz Cintas (2005: 19), among all AVT modes, subtitling is "the quickest, the most economical, and can be used to translate all types of audiovisual programmes".

The focus of ETB's policy with regard to the Basque language has been on promoting language normalisation. Could subtitling fit the bill?

Subtitling brings about a shift from a domesticating translation approach to a foreignising translation approach. The source language takes over the auditory channel and the target language is not received any longer through the hearing, but through the eyesight. In a few words, our language is now in the service of the foreign language. This may sound a bit scary to a language planner, but is there any evidence that it affects normalisation in a negative way?

Moreover, the current situation, with just a few films dubbed per year, does not tell much about the advantages that dubbing contributes to language normalisation. The main contribution of subtitling would be that of facilitating proliferation.

### **5.2.3 How would the audience respond to subtitling?**

Asier Larrinaga states that *Zinemateka* has had very small audience ratings. In fact, most translated programmes on ETB, dubbed and subtitled, have small ratings. This is something we need to bear in mind and accept.

Two factors that tipped the balance in favour of dubbing in the early eighties were literacy and familiarity with subtitling. However, the situation seems to have changed in these 30 years.

#### *5.2.3.1 Literacy*

Luyken (1991: 187) already concluded 20 years ago that the continuous improvement of educational standards in Europe pointed to an increasing preference for subtitled versions. This circumstance also applies to the Basque community, which nowadays is at its highest literacy levels ever. Only in the BAC, according to the data showed in Section 1.3.2, there are 1,043,834 people (84% of all Basque speakers in the region) who could be considered as potential consumers of subtitles.

Even though we have not data at hand, we believe that the knowledge of English—the audiovisual language par excellence—among Basque speakers is much better than it was 1982. Not to mention the advantages for language learning that subtitled versions offer.

#### *5.2.3.2 Familiarity*

As far as familiarity with subtitles is concerned, things have changed a lot in the last few years. Text messages, emails, videos on the Internet, video games, etc. have made on-screen reading an everyday habit.

Subtitling has broken into realms where it was unwelcomed until not too long ago. The invention and propagation of the DVD has boosted subtitling activity even in countries such as Spain. The advent of digital television has facilitated the diffusion of subtitled works on the small screen.

This confirms the trend pointed out by Luyken (1991: 188), who saw that audiences were already receptive to “a more flexible, innovative and cost-effective

approach towards foreign language programming". However, in his opinion such approach had to be maintained over a time period of at least five years in order to take root among viewers.

#### *5.2.3.3 What do Basque speakers say?*

The data showed in Appendix A come from a survey responded to by Basque speakers in summer 2011. 191 people responded to a series of questions about their film watching habits. Over 90% of the respondents are fully competent in Basque. Most of them (75%) only watch films in Basque language occasionally. 51% think that Basque dubbing is neither good nor bad and only 20% consider it good. A very significant finding is that 52% of the respondents chose subtitling as preferred audiovisual translation mode; for 29% dubbing is the preferred mode and 18% like dubbing and subtitling to the same degree. In the case of those between 15 and 39 years old, subtitling is preferred by 59%, whereas 21% like both types of AVT and only 19% of the respondents opt for dubbing.

Far from assuming these data as representative or unbiased, they are presented here just as an interesting piece of information which can provide some clues about Basque speakers' opinions.

#### **5.2.4 An inevitable turn**

The choice of subtitling seems unavoidable. Pressure from the deaf and the heard-of-hearing communities and new legislation across Europe on accessibility to the mass media are leading to a generalisation of SDH on television and DVDs. The Basque language channels are also increasing the amount of programmes with closed subtitles, including News reports, series, documentaries and even cartoons. Undoubtedly, the goal is to achieve full provision. In such scenario, taking advantage of subtitling to broadcast more programmes in original version seems a natural development.

Digital television makes it possible to provide several audio and subtitles tracks. For example, the Spanish government wants to take advantage of this to promote original versions, including products for children. In this respect, some measures are due to be implemented in autumn 2011. As they put it, the dual system will

prevent the dubbing industry from losing ground (Europa Press 2011 and OTR Press 2011).

On Basque television, dubbing has not much ground to lose, but if dubbed films eventually disappeared, all the dubbing experience gained over 30 years would still be in the service of productions for children, so this practice would not decline substantially.

### **5.3 Two initiatives to strengthen the film polysystem**

Assuming the idea that, in the audiovisual field, the best thing we can do for the sake of linguistic normalisation is to strengthen the Basque language film polysystem and that this needs to be initiated by the public institutions and Euskal Telebista, in this section two ideas are put forward presenting two initiatives towards that end: a draft for a scheme aimed at increasing on television the presence of films translated through subtitling and a proposal to catalogue and make available all the contents of the Basque language film polysystem.

#### **5.3.1 Increase of subtitled films on Basque television**

These would be three stages corresponding to the short, medium and long terms of the process, which would be headed by EITB:

##### *First stage*

An increase in foreign fictional programmes on Basque speaking EITB channels, ensuring a comprehensive provision of Basque subtitles.

The path recently opened with *Zinematika* and *Gora goreia* could be continued with two or three regular subtitled films to add up to the weekly dubbed film. This stage would follow up reception assessment and would help consolidating the exposure to original versions with Basque subtitles. The films showed could be, for instance, classified in the following way:

- (a) New well-known films (commercial). They are more expensive, so they could be shown on the Spanish speaking channel some time afterwards.
- (b) All-time quality films. For film lovers.
- (c) Film seasons featuring different directors, actors, genres, etc.

The subtitles could be closed interlingual ones with some SDH traits, ensuring that they are displayed by default. Otherwise, open subtitles should be used.

### *Second stage*

Spread of Basque AVT to all EITB TV channels. On Spanish speaking EITB channels, access to original soundtracks would be available, as well as to the different subtitles options, including Basque.

### *Third stage*

With time, the goal would be to create a network, sharing Basque subtitles (and ideally, broadcasting rights) with other TV stations (e.g. Hamaika Telebista and local televisions, including those that broadcast in Spanish).

In order to start this process, it is important that EITB draws up a roadmap with some clearly-defined objectives. It has to be taken into account that the ideological position of the parties in office affects budgets earmarked for language normalisation. For example, this year the new non-Basque nationalistic BAC government has assigned fewer funds to non-public radio and television in Basque language (Lizarralde 2011)<sup>43</sup>. Since this scheme would imply further investment without economic profits, it mainly relies on the idea pointed out by George Jones (2004: 9) that equal access to the mass media in one's own language can be regarded as a human right. This principle does not lose its validity regardless of the political ideologies in power.

### **5.3.2 Cataloguing existing materials and making them available**

Currently, 30 Basque films and several series are available on the EITB website. Could the same thing be done with all the existing original products in Basque language? How about foreign productions?

The catalogue in Appendix B.1 is a first step to compile an inventory which, according to the criteria formulated in Section 4.2.1, aims to include all the original materials of the Basque language film polysystem, starting by *Eusko Ikusgayak*

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<sup>43</sup> For its part, the mass media sector in Basque language claims that the subsidies from the BAC government be increased by 25%. Redacción EITB (2011). "Medios de comunicación en euskera piden un incremento de las ayudas". *EITB* (17 May).

(1923-1928). Many of these films are not in the market any longer and it is difficult to find them even in libraries.

Putting together all the films and series dubbed since 1982 (and remember that there was a time when over 150 films were dubbed every year), we would find that there is a vast repertoire that is lost in some video library and could be of great value to strengthen the polysystem. A catalogue could be made (if it does not exist already) and divulged.

Ideally, all the listed materials, original and translated, would be available to the public. This may sound unrealistic, but it is already being done at a small scale by the people from Euskal Encodings, although in a not very systematic way and with very limited resources. All the materials could be put into circulation across a network formed by television and the Internet, and maybe be released on DVD. The project would need to be supported by different administrations, institutions, organisations, companies, etc. The concept of *Kulturgintza* (see Section 3.2.3) acquires special relevance for such an ambitious venture which, after all, would probably not be very profitable, although cost-effectiveness should be sought. The importance of an initiative like this lies in making it up to Basque culture for the indifference it is looked at with by the film industry.

#### 5.4 Visibility

One of the greatest problems of audiovisual products in Basque language is that they are invisible in the market. Initiatives like the BAC government's *Zinema Euskaraz* programme go unnoticed. DVDs with films in Basque cannot be found in stores or libraries, not even online. Many people have no idea about the different film seasons running on ETB. There is certainly a deficiency in promotion. Any scheme aiming to boost the film polysystem should pay special attention to this aspect, planning marketing initiatives carefully, using all the means at hand, reaching agreements with the private sector, etc. Asier Larrinaga believes that all this is feasible: "I don't know whether it costs very much or not, but it should be done"<sup>44</sup>.

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<sup>44</sup> "Ez dakit asko kostatzen den, baina egin beharko litzateke".

## Conclusion

The **first conclusion** that can be drawn from the present piece of research work is that strengthening the presence of fiction films and television series in Basque language would possibly be the best contribution from the audiovisual sector to the language normalisation process in the Basque Country. This boost should be given to both original and translated production.

Due to the small size of the Basque community and the high cost of audiovisual production, it is not surprising that films and television series originally made in Basque are so scarce. However, we have seen that the commitment of public institutions can facilitate the proliferation of film products. This commitment is crucial in the case of a minority language. Despite the increment seen in the last years, filmmaking in Basque still needs to consolidate as an industrial activity, so that the public can get used to a regular provision of films.

With respect to translated products, the choice of translated programmes for young and adult viewers is insufficient and, out of ETB, virtually non-existent. We agree with Josu Barambones (2009: 141, 531) that it is necessary to translate more films and series in order to level the imbalance between products addressed to children and those addressed to young and adult audiences.

There is a deeply-rooted assumption that dubbing is basically the only possible AVT choice for foreign products. However, when it comes down to it, there are but few dubbed programmes on the public television and hardly any dubbed movies in cinemas. Outside of public institutions, almost no one is interested or has the means to dub films.

The importance of fiction contents on television is not something EITB programmers are not aware of, as we can deduce from the Spanish channel (ETB2) programme grid. Perhaps, it is precisely the preponderance of dubbing, its high cost, which keeps fiction away from the Basque channels. In that case, subtitling, due to its lower cost, could serve to the purpose of bringing back fiction to the Basque language.



Therefore, the **second conclusion** of this paper is that subtitling should gradually take over the translation of foreign programmes on television.

The main problem with subtitled films is that we do not really know how audiences will respond to them in the long term, but it could be convenient to consider the following points:

- Any initiative aimed at establishing the habit of watching subtitled films in a small culture such as the Basque one should be devised keeping in mind that minority language programmes normally have a small audience (O'Connell 200b: 170) and that, once an AVT mode is introduced, certain time is required before viewers can get used to it—at least five years, according to Luyken (1991: 188). All in all, it seems convenient to take into account the importance of aspects such as planning, institutional support, promotion, correct technical implementation and follow-up.
- At this point of history it would seem that the reception of subtitled products could be better than ever before. This idea is suggested by facts such as the highest levels of literacy in Basque ever, the apparently unstoppable opening of dubbing markets to subtitling, the strong presence of on-screen text in daily life, the generalisation of SDH, or the very opinions that Basque speakers have on translated films.

For these reasons, we believe that subtitling is worth having a chance. It would be a shame to wait for other ten years to see again a programme like *Zinemateka* on Basque television.

#### *Follow-up work*

The work initiated with this dissertation can be further developed and improved in several aspects. One immediate step would be to correct and complete the catalogue presented in Appendix B. There are many titles not included because it has not been possible to find any information about them. This could be done with more time and improving the network of contacts. All this information will be made available online.

A second task would be to carry out a deeper analysis of the quantitative data from the survey, some of which are presented in Appendix A. In addition, there are also qualitative data which could be used to better interpret the attitude of Basque viewers towards film translation. At some point, a second survey addressed to a larger number of people could be conducted with more resources.

In Chapter 2, a very general and succinct account on minority language broadcasting in Europe has been provided, focusing only on very representative cases. Perhaps it would be also beneficial for Basque audiovisual translation to look at the experiences of minorised languages spoken in countries where dubbing is not predominant and English is not the main language (e.g. Frisian, Karelian or the Sami languages in Northern Europe). On another note, an interesting initiative to be undertaken is the creation of a 'Map of minorised language transfer practices on television in Europe', similar to that issued by Media Consulting Group for the main European languages. This map would reflect, for example, which linguistic communities have television channels in their language, if State television provides any contents in the minorised language and what the subtitling and dubbing percentages are.

The idea presented in section 5.3.1, the scheduled increase of subtitled films and series, is limited to television, but ideally subtitling would spread to the DVD market too. It should be feasible to negotiate with film companies the use of one of the 32 tracks available on a DVD for the insertion of Basque subtitles. In a near future, it might be possible to include subtitles in all the official languages of Spain on all the DVDs marketed in the country. Perhaps one day the same thing could be done in France with French minority languages. This dissertation would like to be a small step towards that end.



## Glossary

**AIPV:** (Asociación Independiente de Productores Vascos) Independent Association of Basque Producers. This association was created in 1983 with the intention of helping its members to find solutions to problems related with film production. In 2000, it merged with other associations into IBAIA.

**BAC:** (Euskal Autonomia Erkidegoa, Euskadi) Basque Autonomous Community. A region in Northern Spain formed by the provinces of Alava, Biscay and Gipuzkoa. The capital is Vitoria-Gasteiz.

**Basque Country:** (Euskal Herria) An area situated in the Western Pyrenees inhabited by the Basque people. It comprises the Autonomous Communities of the Basque Country and Navarre in Spain and the Northern Basque Country in France.

**EITB:** (Euskal Irrati Telebista) Basque Radio-Television. The public broadcast service of the Basque Autonomous Community created in 1982 by the BAC Government. It also broadcasts in Navarre and other nearby territories in Spain as well as the Pyrénées-Atlantiques in France, where the Northern Basque Country is situated.

**EIZIE:** (Euskal Itzultzaile, Zuzentzaile eta Interpreteen Elkartea) Association of Translators, Correctors and Interpreters of Basque Language. This Association founded in 1987 brings together professionals engaged in translation or interpreting from and into Basque.

**EPE-APV:** (Euskal Ekoizleen Elkartea - Asociación de Productores Vascos) Association of Basque Producers. Created in 2002, its main duty is to support and promote Basque audiovisual production, especially film production.

**ETB:** (Euskal Telebista) Basque Television. This is the main EITB brand, comprising all television channels. There are two channels broadcasting fully in Basque: ETB1 and ETB2.

**ETB1:** The first ETB channel created in 1982. Its contents are fully in Basque language. Although its programming was at a time strongly based on sports and children's shows, nowadays it is mainly general.

**ETB2:** Created in 1986, it uses only Spanish, addressing greater audiences. It doesn't broadcast sports and children's programmes.

**ETB3:** This digital channel was created in 2008. It offers programmes for children and young people in Basque language.

**Euskaldun:** Basque speaker; sometimes applied to Basques in general.

**euskaltegi:** (plural *euskaltegiak*) a centre for adults to learn Basque.

**Euskaltzaindia:** The Royal Academy of the Basque Language. This official academic language regulatory institution was founded in 1919. Its tasks include doing research on the language and establishing standards of use. Euskaltzaindia developed the standardised version of the Basque language, Euskara Batua.

**Euskara Batua:** Standard Basque. It was developed by Euskaltzaindia in the late 1960s. Nowadays, it is the most widely and commonly used dialect throughout the Basque Country.

**Euskara:** Basque language.

**FORTA:** (Federación de Organismos de Radio y Televisión Autonómicos) Federation of Regional Organizations of Radio and Television. This association created in 1989 comprises the public broadcasting networks from 12 autonomous communities of Spain, including EITB.

**French Basque Country:** (Ipar Euskal Herria) Continental Basque Country, Northern Basque Country, or *Pays Basque*. This region is formed by the provinces of Lower Navarre, Labourd and Soule in the Pyrénées Atlantiques *département* in France.

**Hamaika Telebista:** This broadcasting company was created by six communication groups in 2006. Its goal is to promote television in Basque language at the local level.

**IBAIA:** (Asociación de Productoras Audiovisuales Independientes del País Vasco) Association of Independent Audiovisual Production Companies of the Basque Country. Founded in 1997, it now has 41 member companies working in different areas of the audiovisual sector.

**ikastola:** (plural *ikastolak*) a type of primary and secondary school where children are taught in the Basque language. *Ikastolak* are present in the whole Basque territory.

**Navarre:** (Comunidad Foral de Navarra) Chartered Community of Navarre. An autonomous community in Northern Spain. The capital city is Pamplona.

**Spanish Basque Country:** (Hego Euskal Herria) Southern Basque Country. The BAC and Navarre considered as a whole.

**TVE:** (Televisión Española). The national state-owned public-service television broadcaster in Spain. It started broadcasting in 1956.

**UEU:** (Udako Euskal Unibertsitatea) a non-profit cultural association which pleads the creation of a grassroots-based educational institution geared to Basque speakers' needs. It covers the whole Basque Country and has Basque as its primary language.



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## Appendices

### Appendix A: Survey

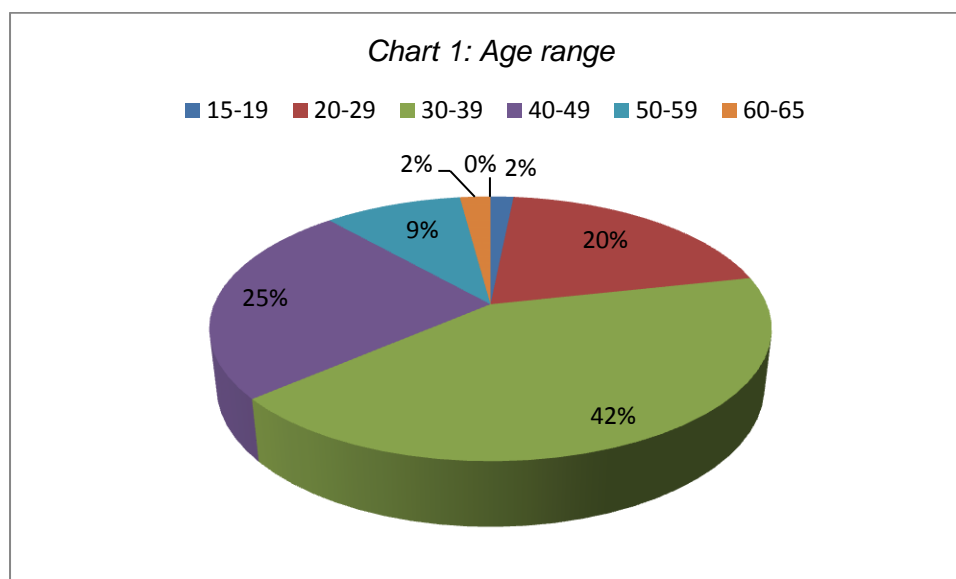
#### Films translated into Basque. Watching habits

This survey was conducted online, between June and July 2011, by means of a *Google Forms* questionnaire. The survey has two parts: one of them deals with quantitative data and the other one asks personal opinions on film translation in Basque language. For this appendix, only quantitative data has been compiled.

A total of 191 people responded. Certainly, this is not representative of the whole Basque speaking community, but it can possibly help us to get an idea of bilingual speakers' preferences with regard to audiovisual translation.

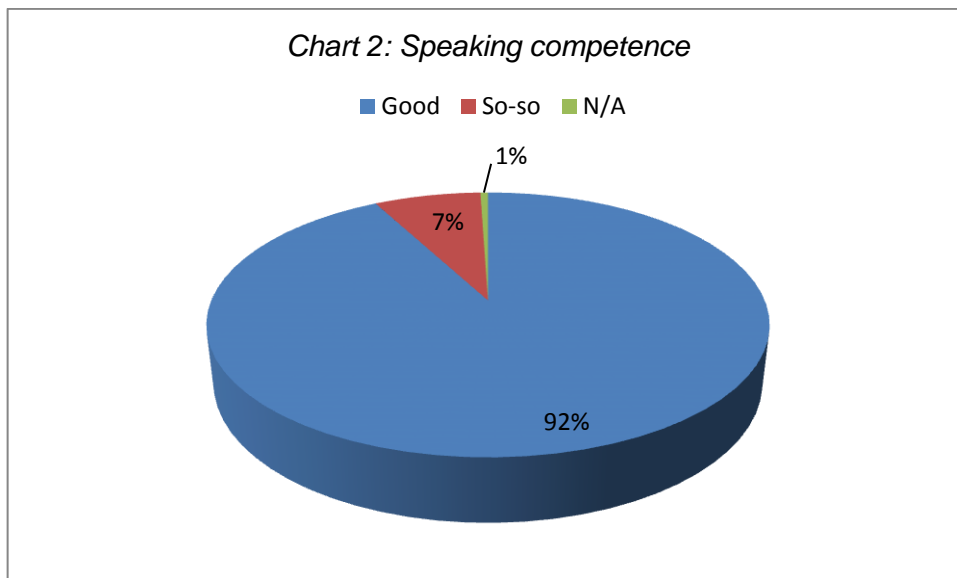
In the following pie charts we will observe the percentages of age range, linguistic competence, the frequency with which the respondents watch films in Basque, their opinions on Basque dubbing and their preferred modes of audiovisual translation.

#### A.1. Age range

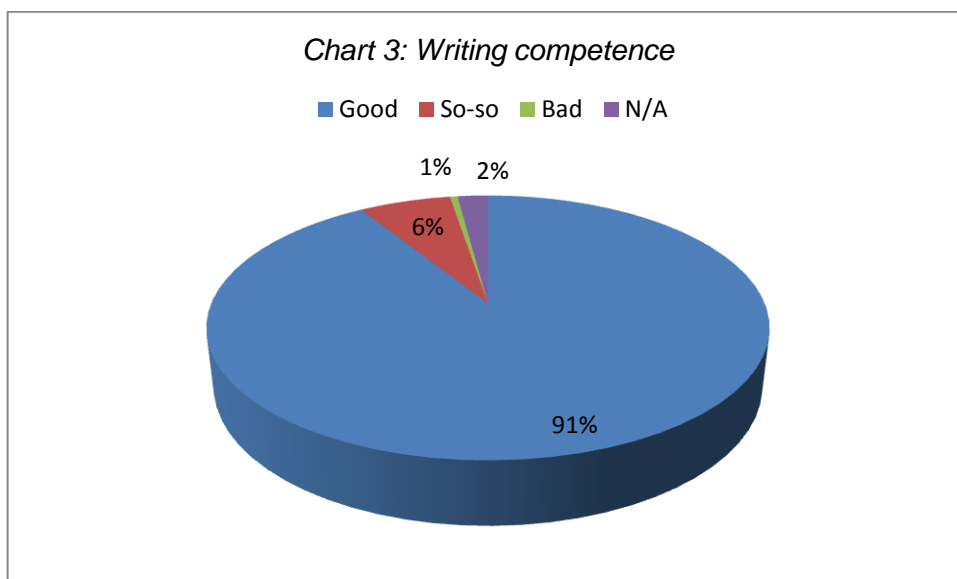


## A.2. Linguistic competence

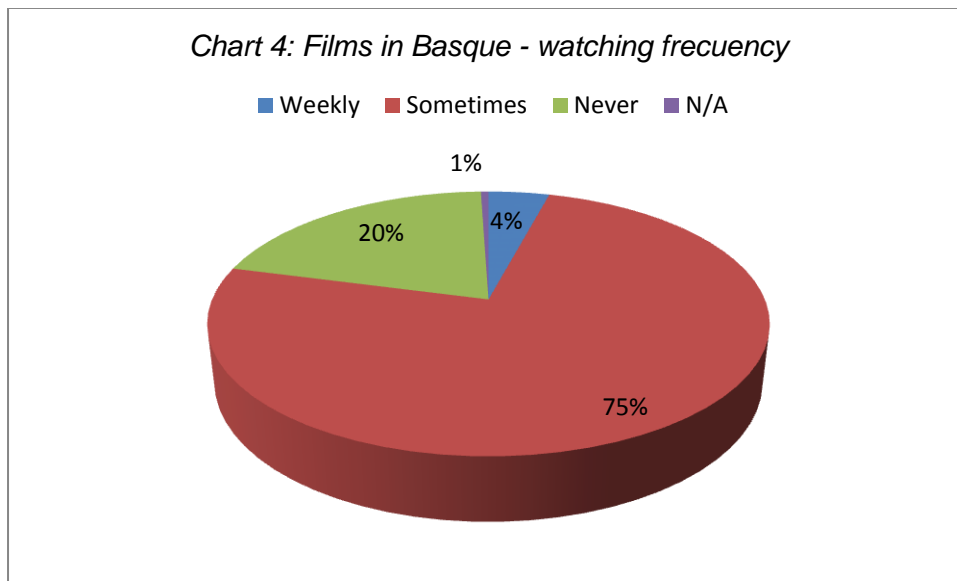
### A.2.1. Speaking competence



### A.2.2. Writing competence

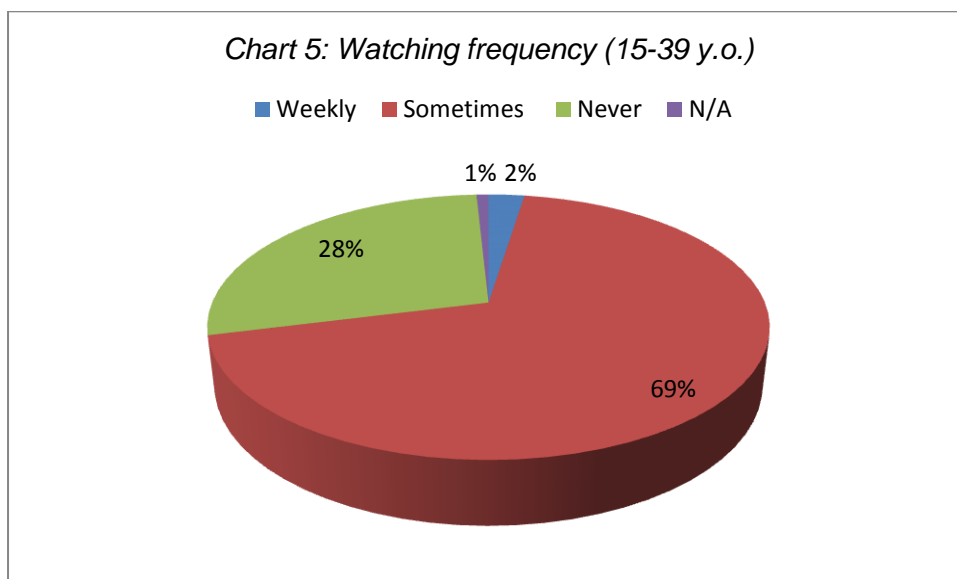


### A.3. How often respondents watch films in Basque

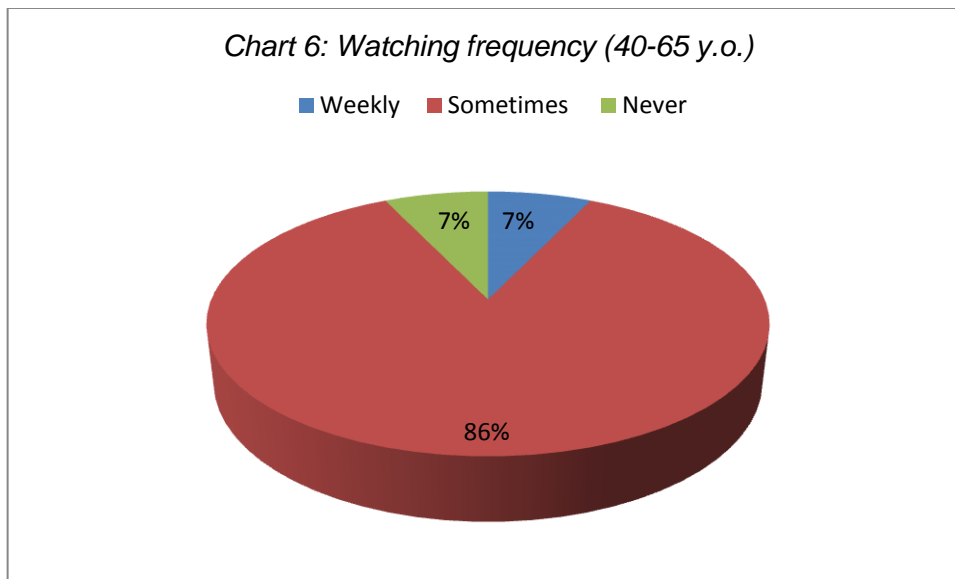


The age ranges have been separated into two groups: 15 to 39 and 40 to 65. The first group roughly represents the generation of Basque speakers who have grown up watching cartoons in Basque.

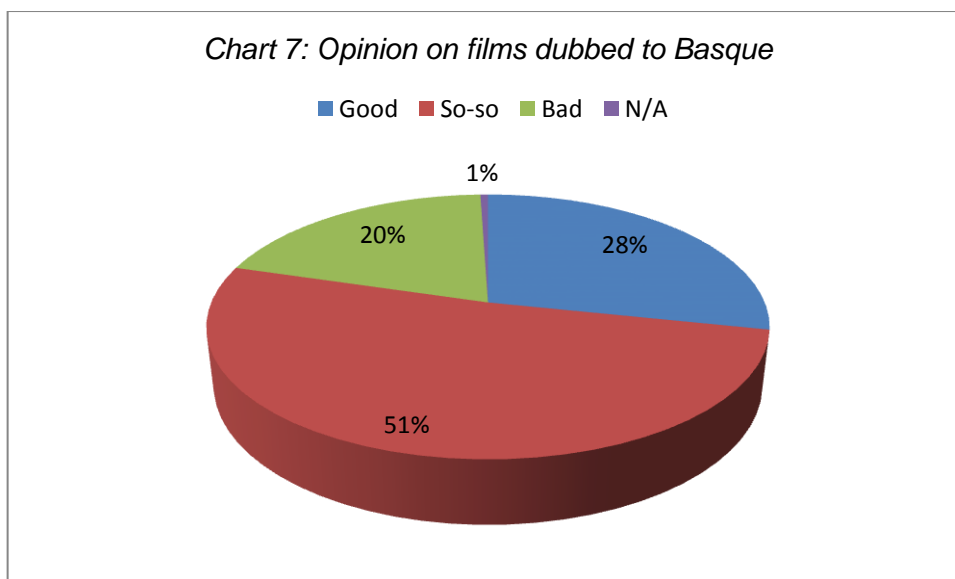
#### A.3.1. 15 to 39 year olds



### A.3.2. 40 to 65 year olds

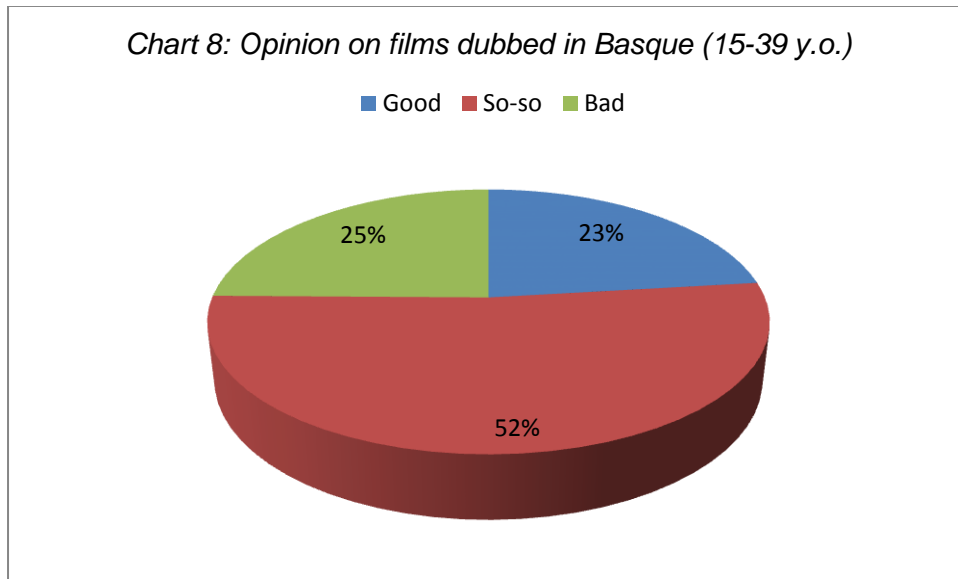


### A.4. Respondents' opinion of films dubbed into Basque

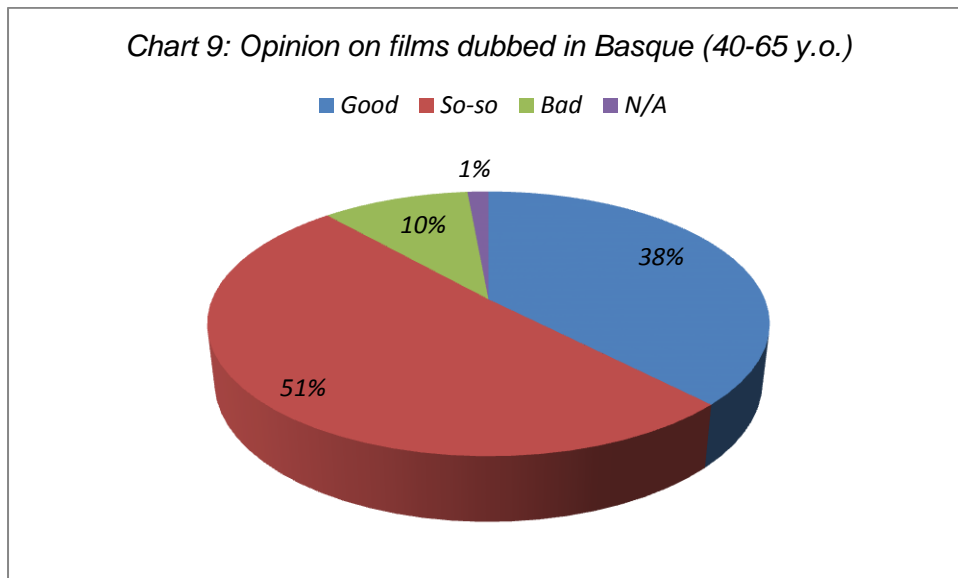


32.45% of all the respondents who watch films weekly or occasionally consider that Basque dubbing is good, whereas 55.62% of them give it a 'so-so'. Among respondents who never watch films in Basque, 53.84% have a negative opinion of Basque dubbing, and only 12.82% think it is good. Do they dislike dubbing because they do not watch films in Basque, or they do not watch films because they dislike Basque dubbing?

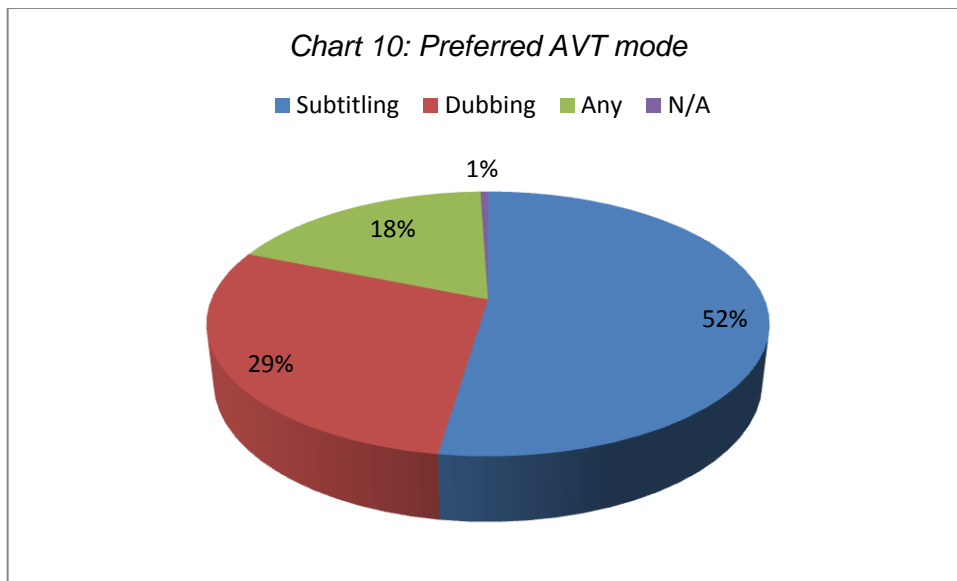
### A.4.1. 15 to 39 year olds



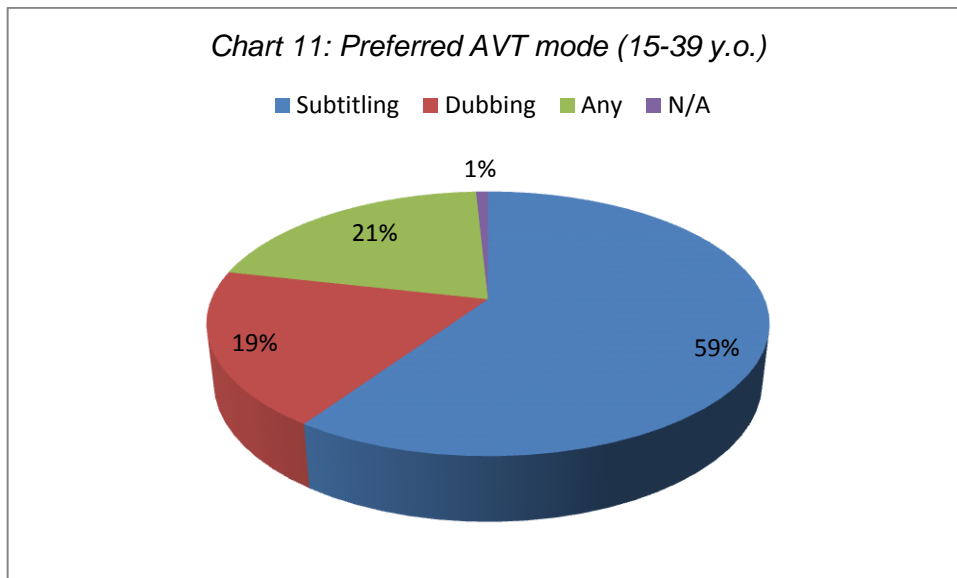
### A.4.2. 40 to 65 year olds



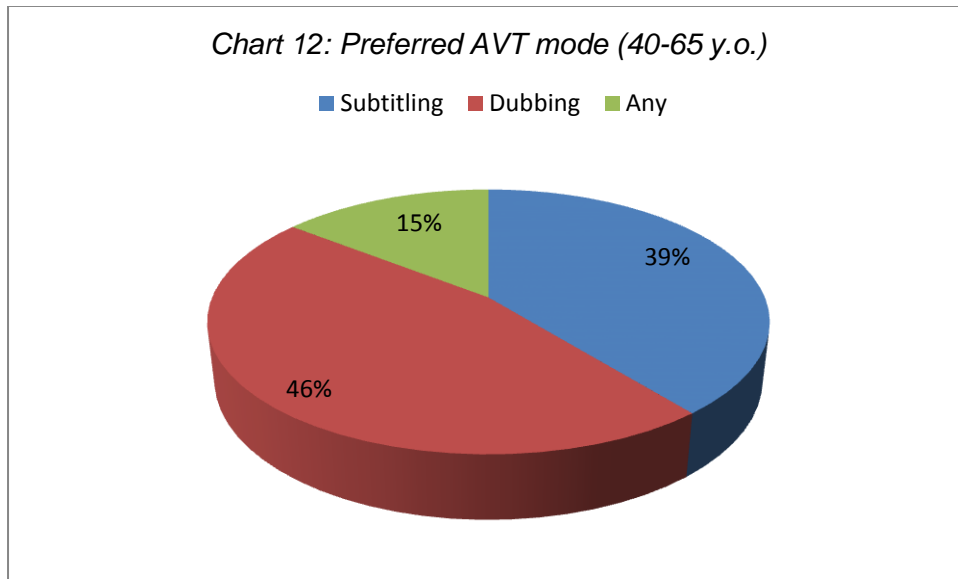
### A.5. Preferred AVT mode



#### A.5.1. 15 to 39 year olds



**A.5.2. 40 to 65 year olds**







## Appendix B: Catalogue

### B.1. Original films in Basque

#### ***B.1.1. Long and medium feature films***

*Ama Lur* (1968). Néstor Basterretxea and Fernando Larruquert. 103 minutes

*Axut* (1977). José Mari Zabala. 88 minutes

*Sabino Arana* (1980). Pedro de la Sota and José Julián Bakedano. 75 minutes

*Hamaseigarrenean aidanez* (1985) Anjel Lertxundi. 58 minutes

*Ehun metro* (1985).Alfonso Ungría. 55 minutes

*Zergatik panpox* (1985). Xabier Elorriaga. 55 minutes

*Oraingoz izen gabe* (1986). José Julián Bakedano. 45/56 minutes

*Kareletik* (1987) Anjel Lertxundi. 89 minutes

*Ander eta Yul / Ander y Yul* (1989) Ana Díez. 90 minutes

*Ke arteko egunak* (1989) Antonio Eceiza. 110 minutes

*Offeko maitasuna* (1992). Koldo Izagirre. 81/87 minutes

*Urte ilunak / Los años oscuros* (1993) Arantxa Lazkano. 92 minutes

*Zeru horiek* [TV movie] (2005) Aitzpea Goenaga. 87 minutes

*Aupa Etxebeste!* (2005). Asier Altuna and Telmo Esnal. 97 minutes

*Kutsidazu bidea Ixabel* (2006). Fernando Bernues and Mireia Gabilondo. 90 minutes

*Eutsi!* (2007). Alberto Gorritiberea. 90 minutes

*Ander* (2009). Roberto Castón. 128 minutes

*Zorion perfektua* (2009). Jabi Elortegi. 90 minutes

*Sukalde kontuak* (2009). Aitzpea Goenaga. 90 minutes

*Dragoi ehiztaria* (2010). Patxi Barko. [Unreleased]

*Izarren argia* (2010). Mikel Rueda. 90 minutes

*80 egunean* (2010). José Mari Goenaga and Jon Garaño. 104 minutes

*Urte berri on, amona!* (2011). Telmo Esnal.

*Bi anai* (2011). Imanol Rayo.

*Xora* (2012). Peio Cachenaute.

### **B.1.2. Short films (including documentary short films)**

**1923-1928** - *Eusko Ikusgayak* (Manuel Inchausti) (?) [8 films preserved]

**196?** - *Bermeotik Gernikara* (Gotzon Elorza) (?)

**1960** - *Ereagatik Matxitxakora* (Gotzon Elorza) (23')

**1961** - *Aberria* (Gotzon Elorza) (15')

**1962** - *Elburua: Gernika* (Gotzon Elorza) (26')

**1964-65** - *Avignon* (Gotzon Elorza) (?)

**1973** - *Rumores de furia / Oldarren Zurrumurruak* (Antton Merikaetxebarria) (15')

**1975** - *Arrantzale* (Antton Merikaetxebarria) (20')

**1976** - *Azal doinuak* (José Ángel Rebolledo) (15'), *Euskal Santutegi Sakona / Santuario profundo* (Antton Merikaetxebarria) (15'), *Itxaso ahantzia* (Koldo Izagirre) (?)

**1977** - *Oinaze zaharrera* (Koldo Izagirre) (?), *Zergaitik bai* (Koldo Izagirre) (?)

**1978** - *Udazkena Busturialdean?* (Juan Bernardo Heinink and Aurelio Garrote) (25')

**1979** - *Barandiaran* (Team work - *Ikuska* 7) (10'), *Bilbo* (Antton Merikaetxebarria - *Ikuska* 3) (10'), *Elebitasuna* (Koldo Izagirre - *Ikuska* 5) (10'), *Erreferenduma* (Antonio Eceiza - *Ikuska* 0) (11'), *Euskal Telebista* (Xabier Elorriaga - *Ikuska* 4) (10'), *Euskara galdutako Nafarroa* (Juanba Berasategi - *Ikuska* 6) (10'), *Gauzetan* (Koldo Izagirre) (?), *Gernika* (Pedro Olea - *Ikuska* 2) (14'), *Ikastolak* (José Luis Egea - *Ikuska* 1) (10')

**1980** - *Araba* (Koldo Larrañaga - *Ikuska* 8) (10'), *Artistak* (José Julián Bakedano - *Ikuska* 9) (10'), *Euskara eta arrauna* (Antonio Eceiza and Koldo Izagirre - *Euskara eta Kirola* series) (11'), *Euskara eta futbola* (Antonio Eceiza and Koldo Izagirre - *Euskara eta Kirola* series) (10'), *Euskara eta mendia* (Antonio Eceiza and Koldo Izagirre - *Euskara eta Kirola* series) (11')

**1981** - *Emakumeak* (Mirentxu Loyarte - *Ikuska* 12) (10'), *Herribehera* (Montxo Armendáriz - *Ikuska* 11) (11'), *Kontrasteak* (Iñaki Eizmendi - *Ikuska* 10) (11')

**1982** - *Abeslariak* (Imanol Uribe - *Ikuska* 13) (11'), *Artzainak* (Antonio Eceiza - *Ikuska* 14) (10'), *Criss Cross & Deskarga Batzuk* (Juan Bernardo Heinink) (?), *Euskaldunberriak* (Juan Miguel Gutiérrez - *Ikuska* 15) (10')

**1983** - *Donibane Lohitzun* (Antonio Eceiza - *Ikuska* 16) (10'), *Kaiola* (Ernesto Telleria) (9'), *Matxitxako itsasguda* (Pedro de la Sota - *Ikuska* 17) (9'), *Mundura jaio* (Koldo Izagirre) (12')

- 1984** - *Barrenen* (Iñaki Aizpuru) (10'), *Bertsolariak* (Antonio Eceiza - *Ikuska* 18) (11'), *Eta Kepak ihes egin zuen* (Ernesto Telleria) (10'), *Euskara* (Pedro de la Sota - *Ikuska* 19) (12'), *Ikuska 20* (Antonio Eceiza) (12'), *Gerla eta maitasun gertakaria* (Juan Bernardo Heinink) (11').
- 1986** - *Hautsi zure marka* (Koldo Izagirre) (11'56'')
- 1993** - *Geroztik ere* (Begoña Vicario) (2').
- 1994** - *Hara-Hona* (Begoña Vicario) (?).
- 1996** - *Errezak eta erretzen laga* (Iñaki Zabala and Amaia Ormaetxea) (?), *Zureganako grina* (Begoña Vicario) (4').
- 1997** - *Mon petit, mon amour* (Koldo Almandoz) (2'13').
- 1998** - *Habana 3* (Koldo Almandoz) (30'), *Razielen itzulera* (Koldo Almandoz) (9'), *Txotx* (Asier Altuna and Telmo Esnal) (15').
- 1999** - *40 ezetz* (Asier Altuna and Telmo Esnal) (14'), *Haragia* (Begoña Vicario) (12'), *Hego haizea, ero haizea* (Guillem Salva and Gorka Egia) (12'), *Sarabe* (Beatriz de la Vega) (15').
- 2000** - *A dar ba kar* (Koldo Almandoz) (12'), *Hauspo soinua* (Inaz Fernández) (14'), *Kaiolaren arima* (Jon Garaño) (12'), *Nola esan* (Iñigo Kintana) (5'30''), *Nora hoa, Bixente?* (Aitor Arregi) (13'44'').
- 2001** - *Bertzea* (Safy Nebbou) (22').
- 2002** - *Basurdea* (Ane Muñoz Mitxelena) (14'20''), *Belarra* (Koldo Almandoz) (10'), *Dortoka Uhartea* (Maru Soroles) (15'), *Terminal* (Aitzol Aramaio) (9'50''), *Topeka* (Asier Altuna) (3'30').
- 2003** - *Lepokoa* (Safy Nebbou) (23'), *Osaba Jaxinto* (Iñaki Beraetxe) (16'50'').
- 2004** - *13 hilabete eskas* (Iñigo Kintana) (5'), *Aitona Martin eta biok* (Pello Varela) (19'), *Amnesiak* (Ángel Aldarondo) (5'), *Amuak* (Koldo Almandoz) (9'), *Beamonen jauzia / El salto de Beamon* (Ane Muñoz Mitxelena) (15'), *Hara!* (Emilio de la Rosa) (4'), *Ostertz* (Iñaki Beraetxe and Iñigo Kintana) (15'), *Ze Krixto!* (Iñigo Kintana) (15').
- 2005** - *Antejonudoak* (Kalageli Taldea) (3'), *Berbaoc* (Team work) (5'), *Bilintx* (Jon Andueza) (?), *Xoxoak beleari ipurbeltz* (Oskar Galán) (?).
- 2006** - *Desio Ehiztaria* (Koldo Almandoz) (9'), *Jostuna* (Aitor Oñederra) (2'55''), *Midori* (Koldo Almandoz) (8'), *Sarean* (Asier Altuna) (4'), *Zeruari* (Gaizko Fanarraga eta Ibon Antuñano) (3').
- 2007** - *All About Eves* (Gentzane Agirre Onaindia) (3'15''), *Azken trena*, (Mikel Alvarez) (7'30''), *Berde* (Jose Luis Barredo Goikoetxea) (8'40''), *Bestaldean* (Trastaka Ekoizleak) (3'), *Columba Palumbus* (Koldo Almandoz) (4'), *Hezurbeltzak* (Izibene Oñederra) (5'10'), *Itzalak* (Iñigo Kintana) (13'30'), *Kabia* (Team work) (8'), *Momorro* (Asier Mendoza) (6'35''), *Musika* (Asier Urbieta) (4'), *Olarro* (Eneko Dorronsoro) (9'), *Tex Norton* (Jon Garaño) (4'35''), *Unrest* (Gentzane Agirre Onaindia) (6'20'').
- 2008** - *Ardauaren negarra* (Logela Multimedia) (3'15''), *Asāmara* (Jon Garaño and Raúl López) (9'), *Aurrecue* (Koldo Almandoz) (1'), *Bankuaren lapurreta* (Team work) (3'15''), *Egiatik gezurrezko bizitzara*

(Ander Odriozola, German Rubio and Iñaki Andondegí) (3'57''), *Karea* (Koldo Almandoz) (10'), *La espinita* (Tania Arriaga Azkarate) (8'), *Larunbata* (Koldo Almandoz) (8'), *Lo bakarrik* (Iban del Campo) (14'), *Lotegia* (Gu Laurok) (2'50''), *Odisea etxaldean* (Urko Mauduit and Joseba Salaberri) (4'), *P.D. Ondo ibili* (puntutapArte) (2'45''), *Pim pam pum* (Andoni de Carlos Yarza and Asier Urbieto) (3'), *Poema baten irakurketa Euskal Herrian* (Xabier Iñarraeraegi and Karlos Eriz) (12'), *Zorion hutsa* (Team work) (13'),

**2009** - *2X1* (ARTalde) (9'15''), *Ahate pasa* (Koldo Almandoz) (12'), *Amaigabea* (Aitor Oñederra) (3'29'), *Amona putz!* (Telmo Esnal) (9'), *Artalde* (Asier Altuna) (8'), *Bizitzako kopa* (Enara Goikoetxea) (15'), *Blank Postcards* (Aitor Artola, Irune Gurtubai eta Ibai Vigil-Escalera) (11'), *Clark & Boris* (Iñigo Garcia) (11'30''), *Esaioak* (Arkaitz Basterra) (7'), *Joselontxo* (Lelokeri Films) (3'10''), *Kantatzen ez duen herria herri hila da* (Iban Gorriti) (14'), *Neguko hitzak* (Epaltzaren Alargunak) (3'15''), *Nireak dira!* (Blakandeker Films) (2'), *Nora zoaz* (Iñigo Sanz) (4').

**2010** - *Aide Maria!* (Team work) (7'), *Barrura begira* (Trastaka Taldea) (7'25''), *Bazen behin, euskara izeneko mutila* (Jon Koldo Etxebarria, Aitzol Bilbao and Josu Pedruzo) (3'), *Biak bat* (Zapatilla Films) (8'47''), *Ermugarra* (PuntutapArte) (5'10''), *Eskerrik asko, Roberto* (Iñaki Reyna, Lander Otaola and Ylenia Baglietto) (3'), *Esku-titi* (Saioa Aizpurua Arribas "Txintxetilla") (4'50''), *Eta amama?* (Team work) (?), *Etxeko bandan* (Juan Bidegain) (18'), *Hemen nago* (Maialen Sarasua) (13'), *Maritxu* (Kepa Errazti) (17'30''), *Nire bista favorittoa* (Kontraplano Taldea) (6'40''), *Ondar Ahoak* (Angel Aldarondo) (4'30'').

**2011** - *III* (Epaltzaren Alargunak) (6'35''), *Apokalipsis nau* (JR Producciones) (7'39''), *Barkatu* (Nicolás Ocio) (9'), *Lagun mina* (José Mari Goenaga) (?), *Otsoaren Hutsa* (Juan Angel Lakanda) (?), *S@rtaldea* (Jon Artola Artano) (11'), *Zeinek gehiago irauin* (Gregorio Muro) (?).

## B.2. Translated films

### B.2.1. Subtitled films

#### B.2.1.1. ETB1

##### *Klasikoak euskaraz (November 2000 - June 2001)*

1. 04-11-2000 23.35 - *Casablanca* (1942). Michael Curtiz. 102 minutes
2. 11-11-2000 00.30 - *Dersu Uzala* (1975). Akira Kurosawa. 141 minutes
3. 18-11-2000 00.45 - *Amarcord* (1973). Federico Fellini. 127 minutes
4. 25-11-2000 00.45 - *New York, New York* (1977). Martin Scorsese. 155/136/163 minutes
5. 02-12-2000 00.30 - *Ryan's Daughter* (1970). David Lean. 195 minutes
6. 09-12-2000 01.20 - *Patton* (1970). Franklin J. Schaffner. 170 minutes
7. 16-12-2000 00.15 - *Doctor Strangelove* (1964). Stanley Kubrick. 94 minutes
8. 23-12-2000 01.00 - *The Man Who Shot Liberty Valance* (1962). John Ford. 123 minutes
9. 30-12-2000 00.35 - *West Side Story* (1961). Jerome Robbins. 152 minutes
10. 06-01-2001 00.30 - *Lawrence of Arabia* (1962). David Lean. 216 minutes
11. 13-01-2001 00.40 - *The Asphalt Jungle* (1950). John Huston. 112 minutes
12. 20/01/2001 00.30 - *Last Tango in Paris* (1972). Bernardo Bertolucci. 129/250 minutes
13. 27/01/2001 23.30 - *Lolita* (1962). Stanley Kubrick. 152 minutes
14. 03/02/2001 00.30 - *Manhattan* (1979). Woody Allen. 96 minutes
15. 10/02/2001 00.40 - *The Treasure of the Sierra Madre* (1948). John Huston. 126 minutes
16. 17/02/2001 00.30 - *Suddenly, Last Summer* (1959). Joseph L. Mankiewicz. 114 minutes
17. 24/02/2001 00.20 - *The Last Emperor* (1987). Bernardo Bertolucci. 160 minutes
18. 03/03/2001 00.45 - *Irma la Douce* (1963). Billy Wilder. 147 minutes
19. 10/03/2001 00.35 - *Planet of the Apes* (1968). Franklin J. Schaffner. 112 minutes
20. 17/03/2001 00.30 - *Paths of Glory* (1957). Stanley Kubrick. 86 minutes
21. 24/03/2001 00.45 - *Bonnie and Clyde* (1967). Arthur Penn. 111 minutes
22. 31/03/2001 00.35 - *Seven Brides for Seven Brothers* (1954). Stanley Donen. 102 minutes
23. 07/04/2001 00.30 - *The Wild Bunch* (1969). Sam Peckinpah. 143 minutes

- |     |            |   |
|-----|------------|---|
| 24. | 14/04/2001 | 00.30 - <i>Exodus</i> (1960). Otto Preminger. 208 minutes                             |
| 25. | 21/04/2001 | 00.55 - <i>Yanks</i> (1979). John Schlesinger. 141 minutes                            |
| 26. | 28/04/2001 | 01.10 - <i>The Prince and the Showgirl</i> (1957). Laurence Olivier. 115 minutes      |
| 27. | 05/05/2001 | 00.50 - <i>Dangerous Liaisons</i> (1988). Stephen Frears. 119 minutes                 |
| 28. | 12/05/2001 | 01.05 - <i>The Mission</i> (1986). Roland Joffé. 126 minutes                          |
| 29. | 19/05/2001 | 00.45 - <i>Little Women</i> (1949). Mervin Leroy. 121 minutes                         |
| 30. | 26-05-2001 | 01.00 - <i>The Master of Ballantrae</i> (1953). William Keighley. 90 minutes          |
| 31. | 02/06/2001 | 02.00 - <i>The Dirty Dozen</i> (1967). Robert Aldrich. 150 minutes                    |
| 32. | 09/06/2001 | 00.35 - <i>Four Horsemen of the Apocalypse</i> (1962). Vincente Minnelli. 153 minutes |
| 33. | 16/06/2001 | 01.00 - <i>The Prisoner of Zenda</i> (1952). Richard Thorpe. 96 minutes               |
| 34. | 23-06-2001 | 01.00 - <i>Doctor Zhivago</i> (1965) David Lean. 197/193/200/192 minutes              |

### B.2.1.2. ETB3

#### Zinemateka (October 2010 - June 2011)

\* Repeated films

##### a) First period

- |     |            |  |
|-----|------------|--|
| 1.  | 07/10/2010 | 22.30 - <i>Faster, Pussycat, Kill, Kill!</i> (1965). Russ Meyer. 83 minutes                |
| 2.  | 14/10/2010 | 22.30 - <i>Things You Can Tell Just by Looking at Her</i> (2000). Rodrigo García. 109 min. |
| 3.  | 21/10/2010 | 22.40 - <i>Henry: Portrait of a Serial Killer</i> (1986). John McNaughton. 83 minutes      |
| 4.  | 28/10/2010 | 22.30 - <i>Casa de los Babys</i> (2003). John Sayles. 95 minutes                           |
| 5.  | 04/11/2010 | 22.30 - <i>Klass</i> (2007). Ilmar Raag. 99 minutes  |
| 6.  | 11/11/2010 | 22.30 - <i>Lou Reed's Berlin</i> (2007). Julian Schnabel. 115 minutes                      |
| 7.  | 18/11/2010 | 22.30 - <i>Code 46</i> (2003). Michael Winterbottom. 92 minutes                            |
| 8.  | 25/11/2010 | 22.30 - <i>Hurlyburly</i> (1998). Anthony Drazan. 122 minutes                              |
| 9.  | 02/12/2010 | 22.30 - <i>Dead Man</i> (1995). Jim Jarmusch. 121 minutes                                  |
| 10. | 09/12/2010 | 22.30 - <i>Mauvais sang</i> (1986). Leos Carax. 100 minutes                                |
| 11. | 16/12/2010 | 22.30 - <i>The Dangerous Lives of Alter Boys</i> (2002). Peter Care. 104 minutes           |

12. 23/12/2010 22.30 - *Mona Lisa* (1986). Neil Jordan. 104 minutes  
 13. 30/12/2010 22.30 - *Donnie Darko* (2001). Richard Kelly. 113 minutes

### b) Second period

14. 27/01/2011 22.30 - *Into the Wild* (2007). Sean Penn. 148 minutes  
 15. 03/02/2011 22.30 - *Brokeback Mountain* (2005). Ang Lee. 134 minutes  
 16. 10/02/2011 22.35 - *Lost In Translation* (2003). Sofia Coppola. 102 minutes  
 17. 17/02/2011 22.30 - *The Proposition* (2005). John Hillcoat. 104 minutes  
 18. 24/02/2011 22.40 - *Gilda* (1946). Charles Vidor. 110 minutes  
 19. 03/03/2011 22.40 - *Le Dîner de Cons* (1998). Francis Veber. 87 minutes  
 20. 00.35 - *Elizabethtown* (2005). Cameron Crowe. 123 minutes  
 21. 10/03/2011 22.40 - *Ondskan (Evil)* (2003). Mikael Håfström. 113 minutes  
 \* 01.10 - *The Proposition* (2006). John Hillcoat. 104 minutes  
 22. 17/03/2011 22.35 - *Tenderness* (2009). John Polson. 101 minutes  
 23. 00.55 - *In the Mix* (2005). Ron Underwood. 95 minutes  
 24. 24/03/2011 23.15 - *Gangster No. 1* (2000). Paul McGuigan. 103 minutes  
 25. 01.00 - *Love Story* (1971). Arthur Hiller. 99 minutes  
 26. 31/03/2011 22.35 - *Bullitt* (1968). Peter Yates. 113 minutes  
 27. 01.10 - *Murphy's Law* (1986). J. Lee Thompson. 100 minutes  
 28. 07/04/2011 23.10 - *Little Children* (2006). Todd Field. 130 minutes  
 29. 02:00 - *Nicholas and Alexandra* (1971). Franklin J. Schaffner. 189 minutes  
 30. 14/04/2011 23.10 - *United 93* (2006). Paul Greengrass. 111 minutes  
 \* 01.35 - *The Eye* (2008). David Moreau and Xavier Palud. 98 minutes  
 31. 21/04/2011 22.40 - *Vertigo* (1958). Alfred Hitchcock. 128 minutes  
 \* 01.25 - *Psycho* (1998). Gus Van Sant. 109 minutes

### c) Third period

32. 05/05/2001 22:35 - *Rear Window* (1953). Alfred Hitchcock. 112 minutes  
 33. 00.55 - *The Spirit* (2008). Frank Miller. 103 minutes



35. 12/05/2011 22.35 - *Blade Runner: The Final Cut* (1982/2007). Ridley Scott. 117 minutes
36. 01.00 - *The Mirror Crack'd* (1980). Guy Hamilton. 105 minutes
37. 19/05/2011, 22.40 - *The Godfather* (1972). Francis Ford Coppola. 175 minutes
38. 01.55 - *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963). Don Chaffey. 104 minutes
39. 26/05/2011, 22.35 - *The Godfather Part II* (1974). Francis Ford Coppola. 200 minutes
40. 02.25 - *Back to God's Country* (1953). Joseph Pevney. 78 minutes
41. 02/06/2011, 22.35 - *The Godfather Part III* (1990). Francis Ford Coppola. 170 minutes
- \* 01.50 - *Nicholas and Alexandra* (1971). Franklin J. Schaffner. 189 minutes
42. 09/06/2011, 22.35 - *East of Eden* (1955). Elia Kazan. 115 minutes
- \* 01.00 - *Jason and the Argonauts* (1963). Don Chaffey. 104 minutes
43. 17/06/2011, 22:35 - *Harper* (1966). Jack Smight. 121 minutes
- \* 01:05 - *The Mirror Crack'd* (1980). Guy Hamilton. 105 minutes

### *Gora gorea (February 2011 - June 2011)*

1. 13/02/2011 22:35 - *The Skulls II* (2002). Joe Chappelle. 99 minutes
2. 20/02/2011 22:30 - *Shaun of the Dead* (2004). Edgar Wright. 99 minutes
3. 27/02/2011 22:25 - *When a Stranger Calls* (2006). Simon West. 87 minutes
4. 06/03/2011 22:25 - *They* (2002). Robert Harmon. 89 minutes
5. 13/03/2011 22:40 - *The Eye* (2008). David Mareau and Xavier Palud. 98 minutes
6. 20/03/2011 22:25 - *Psycho* (1998). Gus Van Sant. 109 minutes
7. 27/03/2011 22:20 - *The Marsh* (2007). Jordan Barker. 92 minutes
8. 03/04/2011 22:40 - *Slither* (2006). James Gunn. 96 minutes
9. 10/04/2011 23:05 - *The Covenant* (2006). Renny Harlin. 97 minutes
10. 17/04/2011 23:05 - *Dawn of the Dead* (2004). Zack Snyder. 100 minutes
11. 24/04/2011 22:20 - *The Texas Chainsaw Massacre* (2003). Marcus Nispel. 98 minutes
12. 01/05/2011 22:30 - *Halloween* (2007). Rob Zombie. 109 minutes
13. 08/05/2011 22:40 - *The Wax House* (2005). Jaume Collet-Serra. 105 minutes

14. 15/05/2011 22:45 - *1408* (2007). Mikael Håfström. 106 minutes
15. 22/05/2011 23:05 - *The Fog* (2005). Rupert Wainwright. 100 minutes
16. 29/05/2011 22:55 - *Hostel* (2005). Eli Roth. 94 minutes
17. 05/06/2011 22:30 - *Hostel: Part II* (2007). Eli Roth. 94 minutes
18. 12/06/2011 23:15 - *I Know What You Did Last Summer* (2006). Sylvain White. 104 minutes
19. 19/06/2011 22:25 - *Seed of Chucky* (2004). Don Mancini. 87 minutes

## B.2.2. Dubbed films: *Zinema Euskaraz* programme

### B.2.2.1. Cinema

#### a) Phase 1

22/12/2010-29/12/2011	<i>Eguberrirako etxean (Hjem til jul, 2010)</i> . Bent Hamer. 90 minutes
03/01/2011-09/01/2011	<i>The Substitute (Vikarien, 2007)</i> . Ole Bornedal. 93 minutes

#### b) Phase 2

14/01/2011-21/01/2011	<i>Jainkoez eta gizakiez (Des hommes et des dieux, 2010)</i> . Xavier Beauvois. 122 min.
18/01/2011-03/02/2011	<i>Eztia (Bal, 2010)</i> . Semih Kaplanoğlu. 103 minutes
11/02/2011-17/02/2011	<i>Lurralde debekatuan (Crossing Over, 2009)</i> . Wayne Kramer. 113 minutes
01/04/2011-07/04/2011	<i>Mundu hobe batean (Hævnen, 2010)</i> . Susanne Bier. 113 minutes
24/06/2011- ?	<i>Azken gaua (Last Night, 2010)</i> . Massy Tadjedin. 90 minutes
?	<i>Neds (2010)</i> . Peter Mullan. 124 minutes

#### c) In collaboration with *Zineskola (Irudi Biziak programme)*

<i>Pieces of April (2003)</i> . Peter Hedges. 80 minutes
<i>This is England (2006)</i> . Shane Meadows. 101 minutes
<i>Amreeka (2009)</i> . Cerien Dabis. 96 minutes
<i>An Education (2009)</i> Lone Scherfig. 95 minutes
<i>Precious (2009)</i> . Lee Daniels. 110 minutes
<i>Bon Appétit (2010)</i> . David Pinillos. 90 minutes

### B.2.2.2. DVD

- June 2011	<i>A taldea (The A-Team, 2010)</i> . Joe Carnahan. 117 minutes
- July 2011	<i>Gaua eta eguna (Knight &amp; Day, 2010)</i> . James Mangold. 109 minutes