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EVOLUTION OF CINEMA IN BASQUE AND ITS TRANSLATION¹

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Abstract

In recent years a boom has been witnessed in film productions in Basque, so it may be a good time to observe its development. This article aims to analyse the terminology and conceptualization behind the names *Basque Cinema* and *Cinema in Basque*. Filmography in Basque and its distribution will also be discussed throughout its history. To this end, a catalogue of feature films that use Basque as their main language has been compiled. From this catalogue it can be deduced that the name *film in Basque* can be somewhat confusing, given the idea of monolingualism that it suggests, as opposed to the multilingualism present in numerous films. Finally, we will focus our attention on the different modalities of translation and the diffusion of films in Basque, both inside and outside the Basque Country.

Resumen

En los últimos años hemos presenciado un auge de las producciones cinematográficas en euskera, por lo que creemos necesario realizar un estudio de su desarrollo. Este artículo pretende en primer lugar analizar la terminología y la conceptualización que se esconden detrás de las denominaciones *cine vasco* y *cine en euskera*, para después observar la producción y su difusión a lo largo de su historia. Se ha completado un catálogo de largometrajes que emplean el euskera como lengua vehicular y al analizarlo se deduce que la denominación de película en euskera puede resultar un tanto confusa, dada la idea de monolingüismo que sugiere, en contraposición al multilingüismo presente en numerosas películas. Por último, centraremos nuestra atención en las

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diferentes modalidades de traducción y la difusión que tienen las películas en euskera tanto dentro como fuera del País Vasco.

Keywords: Basque Cinema. Cinema in Basque language. Audiovisual translation. Multilingualism. Diglossia.

Palabras clave: Cine vasco. Cine en euskera. Traducción audiovisual. Multilingüismo. Diglosia.

1. Introduction

This contribution presents a panoramic view of film production in Basque and the translation thereof. Several studies have been published on Basque Cinema or Cinema in Basque, but very few focus on translation. In fact, the few contributions on audiovisual translation have mainly observed the external production transferred into Basque (see Barambones 2011 and 2012; Barambones, Merino & Uribarri 2012; Larrinaga 2010; Zabalondo 2010, among others). For this reason, the opposite directionality has been examined, focusing on production in Basque and its dubbing and subtitling into other languages.

This article aims to be a starting point for the study of the translation and dissemination of Basque Cinema, a field considered to be very productive. The article will offer preliminary results from the catalogue constructed for it, which will visualize existing linguistic and translation trends.

First, since the terms Basque Cinema and Cinema in Basque are not clear-cut or well-defined notions, it has been necessary to reflect on what they mean to define our object of study and cataloguing, which has been limited to the films in Basque. A fundamental task for this has been the analysis of the original products. The analysed productions are diverse, and multilingualism is present in them. The hypothesis posed by this contribution is that the so-called films in Basque are in reality multilingual productions that use not only the minority language but also other languages or variants, so the monolingual vision suggested by the above denominations is distorted.

The catalogue designed for the article is a useful tool to offer an overview of the production in Basque, its translation and distribution. Nevertheless, its compilation has been more complex than initially planned, as will be shown in the next section.

Later on there will be a discussion on the multilingual character of the original films and the inclusion of dialects in them. The existing typology will be illustrated with several examples. The translation and dissemination of films in Basque both inside and outside the Basque Country will also be one of the main points of this contribution. The last section will offer some final reflections.

2. Object of study

The adjective “Basque” is controversial or at least confusing since it can be understood in different ways. The complex conceptualization of the Basque film production causes ambiguous terminology. The first attempts to create a Basque film industry emerged in the 1970s, and that is when the debate about the representation of Basque Cinema began. The initial debate has subsided over the years, although today there is still no clear definition of what Basque Cinema is, and we even continue to ask ourselves whether there is a Basque Cinema, taking into account the reduced production and its lack of autonomy. One might think that there is no need of a clear definition. But in view of the financing needs of the sector it is inevitable to limit what is to be subsidized, and to establish parameters to assess the need for aids to be granted².

Basque Cinema is not equivalent to Cinema in Basque, although there is an interdependent relationship between them. Cinema in Basque is Basque Cinema, but Basque Cinema is not necessarily in Basque. Basque Cinema can be linked to cultural, territorial, or linguistic aspects, whereas generally the so-called Cinema in Basque is defined by the main language of a film.

Furthermore, Cinema in Basque can perfectly gather films dubbed or subtitled in Basque that were shot in other languages. Although the denomination Cinema in Basque does not seem the most accurate term to refer to the original production in Basque, for practical purposes it is the name used to refer to films shot entirely or partially in Basque.

As production of films in Basque is increasing, we aim to build a catalogue, examine their characteristics, and observe how they have been disseminated in other languages, analysing what modality of audiovisual translation has been used. The study focuses on the production of feature films and leaves out short and medium-length films due to the difficulty of accessing the whole production, since there are no available sources that collect all the existing movies. We have compiled works of fiction, documentaries, and animated films with the intention of offering the widest possible image.

Furthermore, we have adopted a linguistic criterion to define our object of study. The approach and methodology used in this study are based on previous studies on the export of Basque literature (cf. Manterola 2014). Framed within the discipline of Translation Studies, the article analyses the so-called

2. What the bases of the annual calls for subsidies of the Basque Government establish is quite broad, since any person born or residing in the Basque Country can benefit from such grants. If the production is carried out in the Basque language, the applicant will be exempt from fulfilling that condition (cf. BOPV 2016).

Basque films, which make up a discreet system from the linguistic point of view (cf. Mejuto 2011: 51). However, the classification of each source does not coincide 100%. For example, Manias Muñoz (2015) classifies the products shot entirely in Basque within Cinema in Basque and analyzes the production costs and financing plans of 11 films shot between 2005 and 2012. The *Euskal Zine Bilera* (Basque Film Festival) in Lekeitio, which emerged in the 70s to promote audiovisual production in Basque³ and exhibits only films shot in that language, offers a similar perspective. On the other hand, the Ganbara project, which aims to provide a historical overview of film production in Basque and serve as a digital archive⁴, does not clearly define what it classifies as a film in Basque and its catalogue contains monolingual and multilingual films, as well as original and dubbed films. Similarly, Barambones' comparison (2011) of original films in Basque and films dubbed and subtitled in Basque includes monolingual and multilingual films as "original cinema in Basque" (2011: 20). This researcher studies films in Spanish with dialogues in Basque as well as films shot in Basque with dialogues in Spanish (cf. Barambones 2011: 1). On the other hand, in his study on the role that translation plays in the current Basque audiovisual scene in different media and different types of products, Mejuto recognizes that it is common to find films in Spanish with dialogues in Basque and vice versa (cf. Mejuto 2011: 51). Therefore, when cataloguing the original production in Basque, he establishes two minimum criteria: at least 50% of the verbal content must be in Basque and at least 50% of the credits must be in Basque (cf. Mejuto 2011: 52).

This study follows the same approach with the aim of analysing production in Basque. However, it has been difficult to establish a clear linguistic criterion given the increasing presence of multilingualism within audiovisual products. It is worth recalling what Corrius and Zabalbeascoa (2012: 3) mention: "We could view all texts as being potentially multi-lingual even though they may have a main language (L1) just as translations may have one main language (L2)". Despite this, we believe that there are divergent trends, some towards monolingualism and others towards multilingualism. The term film in Basque that is popularly used is somewhat simplistic and can be confusing. On the one hand, there are monolingual films, where Basque is the only language that can be heard. On the other hand, there are films that use Basque as their main language, but other L3s⁵ (Corrius & Zabalbeascoa 2011) are also included.

3. For more information, consult <www.zinebilera.com>.

4. For more information, consult <ganbara.eus>.

5. Corrius & Zabalbeascoa define L3 like this: "L3 notation is to be used to refer to the presence in a text of languages that only account for a small part of the total linguistic

And there are even films in which Basque and Spanish are both main languages or L1⁶. And, of course, there are films where the Basque language has a more marginal presence, where it has an L3 character. Films in Basque usually refer to films that use Basque as one of their main languages. However, after consulting the sources cited above, we believe that the notion of main language or L1 is not always understood in the same way. The main criterion for the inclusion of feature films in our catalogue is that Basque was the only L1 or at least one of the L1s in them.

This first version of the catalogue includes data starting from 1956, the year in which the first film with Basque as L1 was produced, until 2016. 111 films have been collected in total. Each entry contains the following data: original title and translated title, director, screenwriter, producer, year, genre, footage, L1, L3 (in the original), subtitle language(s) and dubbing language(s). It should be noted that it has not been easy to collect reliable data on L1 and L3 or to define the original language in the case of some animated films. All in all, we believe that this catalogue can serve as a starting point for delving into multilingualism and translation in Basque audiovisual products. Annex I offers a brief overview of the catalogue.

3. The development of so-called Cinema in Basque

This section will focus on the development and evolution of film production in Basque and will observe the use of the Basque language on screen. Although the ideal would be to observe all of the Basque Cinema production and see what place Basque films occupy in it⁷, due to space limitations only a brief review of films in Basque will be examined. However, it is impossible to keep a purist point of view, since Basque also appears in films that use other languages as L1.

Although data provided in this article are mainly based on the catalogue, other referential films left out of it either due to footage or due to the reduced presence of Basque on screen will also be taken into account. We considered

output of a text. When two or more languages are so evenly distributed that it becomes difficult to establish a principal language, or even when a secondary language covers considerably long passages, then it might be more appropriate to consider that in fact we are dealing with a text, or a translation, that has more than one L1 (L1a, L1b, L1c, ...) or maybe even L2, respectively. Likewise, there may be more than one L3 in a given ST or TT (L3a, L3b, L3c, ...)” (2011: 121).

6. Here is the definition of L1: “Main (or only) language of the source text. [...] The concept of L1 also includes any other language with a significant amount of words” (Zabalbeascoa & Voellmer 2014: 43).

7. For a deeper understanding on the topic see Roldán Larreta 1996 and 1999, Martínez 2015 or Gutiérrez 1994.

appropriate to include those references in the study in order to offer a more complete vision.

Broadly speaking, the film industry depends on the US market where English is the main language. According to Roldán Larreta, “si el cine realizado en castellano sufre ya serios problemas de rentabilidad, películas habladas en euskera tienen un futuro mucho más oscuro” [if the cinema made in Spanish has serious profitability problems, films shot in Basque have a much darker future] (1996: 164). The reduced number of filmmakers capable of working in Basque and of potential viewers completely conditions the profitability options of Basque films. As Mejuto mentions, the Basque-speaking market is not the most tempting: “Just above one million speakers do not constitute the most appealing market for film producers” (2011: 51).

The first film in which Basque is heard is *Au Pays des Basques* (1930)⁸, a 40-minute documentary directed by Jean Faugeres and Maurice Champeaux that shows the daily life of the Basques. Subsequently, several documentaries as well as other films of a propagandistic nature with clear political interests emerged. In those films the Basque language played a rather marginal role. It was in 1956 when the first film was shot entirely in Basque, directed by the Basque-French general André Madré. It was titled *Gure Sor Lekua* and lasted 90 minutes, a work aimed at Basques in the Diaspora. Paradoxically, the copy recently recovered by Josu Martínez does not contain the soundtrack⁹ (cf. Martínez 2015). Before this discovery, the first works in Basque were believed to be four documentaries by Gotzon Elorza¹⁰.

A new generation of artists and filmmakers continued to create documentaries in the last years of the Franco dictatorship. *Ama Lur* (Nestor Basterretxea and Fernando Larruquert 1968) represents a milestone in the history of Basque Cinema for its ethnographic and artistic value (cf. Manias Muñoz 2015: 183). Although it was not shot in Basque, the Basque language is somehow present in it: “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” (Mejuto 2011: 53). Another interesting work is *Axut* (Jose Mari Zabala 1976), an experimental film without dialogues but with a title and credits in Basque (cf. Mejuto 2011: 53). *Balantzatxoa* (1978),

8. This film, like others mentioned in this section, is not part of the catalogue, since it does not meet the criteria established for its compilation. All of them are listed in Annex II.

9. The copy was discovered in a private house in which General Madré's widow lives. The press of the time and first-hand testimonies confirm that the film was shot in Basque.

10. *Ereagatik Matxitxakora* (1959), *Aberria/Erria* (1961), *Elburua: Gernika* (1962) and *Avignon* (1964).

a children's production by Juanmi Gutiérrez, and the *Ikuska* documentary film series supervised by Antton Ezeiza were produced in the late 1970s.

Once democracy was established in Spain and with the Basque Government at the forefront of Basque cultural production, we could say that Basque Cinema knew its golden age (cf. Ba-rambones 2011: 6). During the 1980s, a subsidy system for fiction productions in Basque was established, thanks to which 43 feature films were produced in the period 1981-1991 (cf. Manias Muñoz 2015: 184), 8 of which are included in our catalogue. At that time, artistic creation was reinforced, and the first steps were taken to establish a Basque film industry and professionalize the sector. Several medium-length films based on literary works of that time are worth mentioning, such as *Ehun metro*, directed by Alfonso Ugría, *Zergatik, panpox?* by Xabier Elorriaga or *Hamaseigarrenean, aidanez* by Anjel Lertxundi, all produced in 1985. Subsequently came *Oraingoz izen gabe* (Jose Julian Bakedano 1986) and *Kareletik* (Anjel Lertxundi 1987), which did not have too positive a reception (cf. Mejuto 2011: 54), not for having been shot in Basque, but rather for their poor quality (cf. Roldán Larreta 1996: 173). There were also bilingual productions in Basque and Spanish, such as *Ander eta Yul* (Ane Díez 1989). The case of *Ke arteko egunak* (Antton Ezeiza 1989) is particularly noteworthy since it was the first film to enter the official competition of the San Sebastian Film Festival¹¹.

It seems that the use of the Basque language is increasingly marginal: the commitment of the production company Irati or of filmmakers like Juanba Berasategi, Bakedano, Lertxundi or Ezeiza, remains a romantic effort, incapable of concealing the real situation in any way (cf. Roldán Larreta 1996: 173-174).

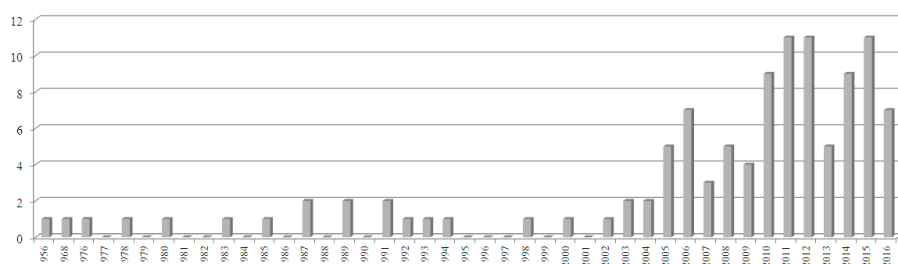
The cost of films increased with the arrival of the 1990s, and the Ministry of Culture changed the model of promoting cinema, forcing films to recover the investment they made. A public institution called *Euskal Media* was created in the Basque Country to manage cinema grants. The new model meant a drastic change, which caused a very low rate – only one film shot entirely in Basque (*Offeko maitasuna*, Koldo Izagirre 1992), in addition to three other animated films and two other bilingual films: *Urte ilunak* (Arantxa Lazcano 1993) and *Maité* (Eneko Olasagasti and Carlos Zabala 1994), where the use of Basque is limited.

11. The film had a controversial reception due to the topic it addressed. For more information, consult *El cine del País Vasco; de Ama Lur* (1968) a *Airbag* (1997) (1999), by Roldán Larreta.

After some years, in 1996 the Basque Government decided to resume the system of subsidies initiated in the 1980s. Additionally, several agreements were signed with the Basque Radio Television for the promotion of Basque Cinema. Furthermore, in recent years the investment made by the Basque Television (ETB) has grown substantially. After 12 years without premieres, in 2005 came *Aupa Etxebeste!*, directed by Asier Altuna and Telmo Esnal, the highest-grossing film in Basque until *Handia* (2018). Since then, several films have been released annually with Basque as the main language (or at least as one of the main languages). It is not an abundant production, but it does seem to have some continuity; though continuity has been affected by the economic crisis of recent years and the reduction of public subsidies¹².

The following graph shows the evolution of annual production¹³. As can be observed, few feature films were released until the new millennium. Production has increased since 2002, although not continuously, and there is a considerable rise from 2010 on.

Figure 1. Chronology of the film production in Basque between 1956 and 2016

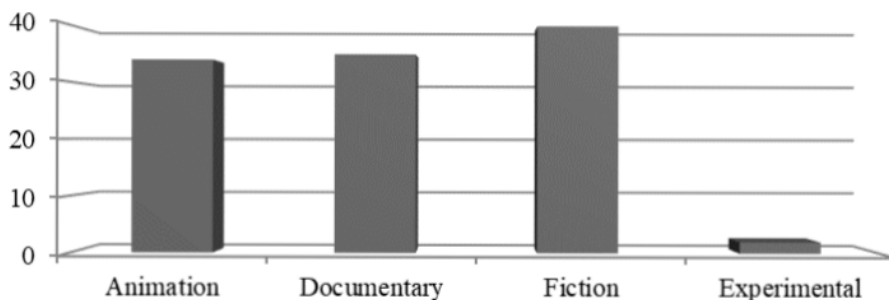


Regarding genres, there are a total of 34 animated films, 35 documentaries, 2 experimental feature films and 40 fiction films, among which there are 27 dramatic films, 6 comedies, 3 adventure films for children and young people, 3 thrillers and 1 musical.

12. According to Manias Muñoz, between 2010 and 2013 the budget was reduced by 61% (2013: 95).

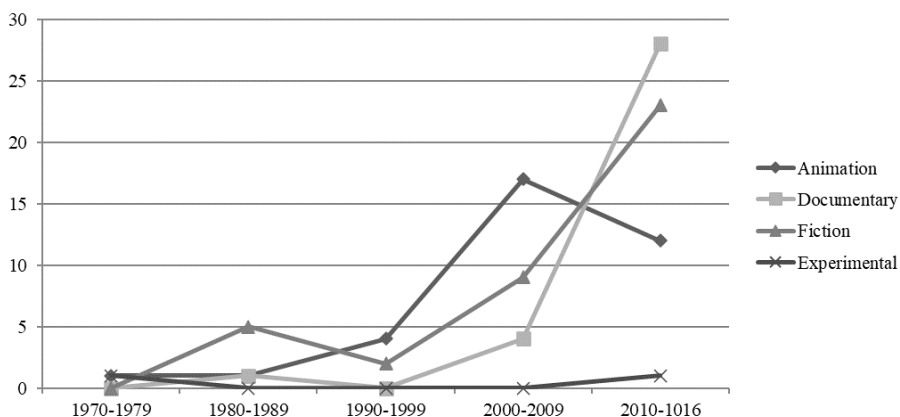
13. All titles are gathered in Annex I, entitled "Catalogue".

Figure 2. Feature films in Basque by genre



The following graph serves to illustrate genres chronologically. The production has been examined by genres and decades, from 1970 to the present day.

Figure 3. Chronological distribution of genres



In the 1980s fiction had a first productive stage, even more so if we take into account the medium-length fiction films that have been left out of the catalogue. Later, in the 1990s the production dropped. Undoubtedly, from the new millennium onwards, there is a remarkable continuous rise. In the case of documentaries, the graph shows that until the 2000s, production was almost nil, but since then it has grown exponentially, especially in recent years. On the other hand, it should be noted that since the 1980s the animation sector has been developing little by little and had a considerable rise in the 2000s, although in recent years it seems that it has barely increased. It should be

noted that the last period in the graph is shorter than the others, so we cannot actually speak of a decline.

Beyond the quantitative data, it could be said that films are increasingly diverse in terms of style, gender or linguistic register, and their quality is more than acceptable. In contrast, the dependence on public subsidies evidences the fragility of the industry, as happens elsewhere, so such an economic crisis as has been suffered since 2008 has direct consequences and conditions it completely. Moreover, the response from the public is not what might have been hoped for (cf. Manias Muñoz 2013: 87). People do not go to cinemas, and films are released within a short time after production.

4. Multilingualism and the presence of different variants in the original versions

It is worth analysing the original version of the films in our catalogue before looking at their corresponding translated versions. We will first look at their linguistic nature (monolingual or multilingual) and then analyse the type of language used therein to see if the variants applied need any specific treatment for their reception. The use of dialects or the standard can heighten or diminish the credibility of a film and can bring the story closer to its nearest context, although it is difficult to make generalizations since the strategies used in each film and the result obtained will vary.

The multilingual character of audiovisual products starts even before the film reaches the screen. Some film directors who are not Basque-speaking or do not have a similar command of both languages (Basque and Spanish) have shot films in Basque. In these cases, the two languages intermingle in the script writing, filming or production processes. In the case of *Bi anai* (Imanol Rayo 2011), for example, several drafts of the script were written in Spanish before the definitive version in Basque was used in the filming. The script is based on the novel of the same title by Bernardo Atxaga, which indicates that the text has somehow been translated first from Basque to Spanish and from Spanish to Basque for the filming. In the case of *Lasa eta Zabala* (2014), on the other hand, its director Pablo Malo is not a Basque speaker, but he was in charge of a bilingual project. According to the screenwriter and creator of the project Joanes Urkixo, selecting the filming language was one of the main decisions he had to make:

La primera decisión de urgencia fue que la película fuera bilingüe. Parecía lo más sensato que los personajes hablaran en su forma natural: refugiados vascos, familiares y población local en euskera, en castellano los guardias civiles así como todo el sumario y el juicio (Urkixo 2014).

[The first urgent decision was that the film was going to be bilingual. It seemed the most sensible thing for the characters to speak in their natural way: Basque refugees, relatives and local people in Basque, and in Spanish among the civil guards as well as the whole summary and the trial.]

However, the initial decision had to be readjusted due to other types of requirements equally necessary to carry out the project:

Para optar a las ayudas a la producción en euskera (algo mayores que en el caso del castellano) al menos un 50% de los diálogos tendrían que ser en dicha lengua. Sin duda esto limitaba un tanto las opciones narrativas y me cargaba con el trabajo añadido de las traducciones, pues Pablo Malo no habla euskera (Urkixo 2014).

[To qualify for production grants in Basque (somewhat more substantial than in the case of Spanish), at least 50% of the dialogues must be in that language. Without a doubt, this limited the narrative options and I had to assume the extra work of the translations, since Pablo Malo does not speak Basque.]

As can be seen, financing is key when deciding which language to use.

There is another interesting case regarding linguistic choice. In 1989 Antton Ezeiza premiered his first feature film in Basque at the San Sebastian Film Festival, entitled *Ke arteko egunak*. The filming was carried out almost entirely in Basque, but, as the protagonist, Mexican actor Pedro Armendáriz Jr., did not speak any Basque, he had to be dubbed for the original version (cf. Goñi 2014). Although a final product might be displayed on screen in whole or in part in Basque, the process is not actually monolingual and the need for translation may arise at different stages. In other words, there is an intratextual translation before the film reaches the screen.

Regarding animations, more than one version is projected even at the creation phase, either in Basque and Spanish or other languages such as Catalan or English. In addition, co-productions have grown in recent years, first co-productions between Basque and Spanish companies, and later international co-productions¹⁴, in which there is a version in Basque, a version in Spanish, another in English and possibly in more languages. When there is international collaboration at the production level, the script must be necessarily in English and then be translated into the other languages¹⁵.

14. To delve into this topic, see Maitane Junguitu's article entitled "El camino de la coproducción en el largometraje de animación vasco" (2016).

15. In the case of *Pixi Post and the Christmas Genius* (Gorka Sesma 2016), its producer Juanjo Elordi says that the story was first written in Basque and then translated into English to search partners for international co-production (cf. Aramendi 2014). It is not his first co-production, as his previous film *Yoko* (Juanjo Elordi 2015) was co-produced between

Next, we will focus on the main language(s) used in Basque films and we will show several examples of films that use more than one language on screen.

As noted above, films classified as Cinema in Basque include films in one single language, such as *Amama* (Asier Altuna 2015), or *Loreak* (Jon Garaño and Jose Mari Goenaga 2014). It is true that in these films isolated expressions or signs are included in Spanish, which suggests the coexistence of both languages in the Basque Country. They are phrases or words already coined in Basque that do not pose comprehension problems. We could say that there is almost no L3 in them.

In many other films whose main language is Basque there are characters that speak in another language, therefore L3 has a broader presence in those films. Spanish is the most common second language in films in Basque, although there are also cases in which other languages are included, such as Galician or Italian in *Kareletik* or German and English in *Amaren eskuak* (Mireia Gabilondo 2013). The tendency of using multiple L3s seems to be recurring.

It is rather common to include different L3s in documentaries. *Nömadak TX* (Raúl de la Fuente, Harkaitz Martínez de San Vicente, Igor Otxoa and Pablo Iraburu 2006) is about the musical instrument *txalaparta*. It was shot in different locations (Mongolia, Lapland, India, etc.) and collects testimonies from people from each of them. The documentary *Amerikanuak* (Gorka Bilbao and Nacho Reig 2010) deals with Basque emigration to the United States, which is why Basque and English are used as main languages in the film. *Jai Alai Blues* (Gorka Bilbao 2015) focuses on the game of jai alai or *cesta punta* and its presence in the Americas (United States, Cuba, Mexico), and collects many testimonies in Basque, Spanish and English. These are just a few examples of a broader number of documentaries that collect testimonies in more than one language. These films incorporate subtitles in Basque for the L3 in their original copies.

Additionally, there are films with two main languages, as *Arriya* (Alberto Gorritiberea 2011) or *Lasa eta Zabala*. Both cases could be analyzed in detail to identify the function attributed to each language and the reason for using them. In fact, we have already mentioned previously that the most sensible thing for the screenwriter of *Lasa eta Zabala* was to make characters speak in their natural way (cf. Urkixo 2014). However, other fiction films and fictional audiovisual products prioritize the use of Basque as the only L1. In such cases characters who would speak Spanish in a real situation (police or foreign

companies from Russia, Catalonia, the Basque Country and America (cf. Aramendi 2014).

people, for example) speak Basque in a fluent way. These two opposing trends coexist in current Basque film production and do not seek to produce the same effect through their films: some seek to fictionalize the Basque sociolinguistic reality in order to create films in Basque and promote cultural creation in that language, despite being aware that the actual use of Basque is considerably lower than what is seen on the screen, whilst other filmmakers intend to simulate a diglossic reality on screen in which the use of both languages tries to reflect direct and realistic dialogues that occur on a day-to-day basis, even though the use of both languages on screen does not correspond 100% to reality.

Furthermore, other films whose main story occurs in Spanish or in any other language use Basque in an occasional way¹⁶. For example, in a scene in the movie *Obaba* (Montxo Armendáriz 2005), several characters sing a Christmas carol in Basque. It would be interesting to analyse the director's intention in introducing the Christmas carol: whether he wanted to mark the geography and culture in which the story is located or suggest that the characters really are originally Basque speakers. Regarding the inclusion of Basque as L3, a stereotyped use of the language can also be made, as would be the case of *Ocho apellidos vascos* (Emilio Martínez-Lázaro 2014). Both the marked accent of various characters when speaking in Spanish and the introduction of expressions in Basque help to further exaggerate the totally stereotyped identity traits of these characters.

Moreover, it is interesting to observe the treatment of the different Basque dialects. Although Basque television and film production in general have prioritized the use of standard Basque¹⁷, dialects are included in some productions. Dramatization in a Basque language that resembles reality (through its representation in a dialect) can contribute to the credibility of a work. In the film *Oraingo izen gabe*¹⁸ the two main characters speak in Biscayan dialect, so the audiovisual text is coherent and gains credibility (cf. Barambones 2011: 10).

16. The cases in which Basque does not represent one of the L1s have been left out of our cataloguing, as they are not part of the so-called Cinema in Basque, but it was thought pertinent to mention them here to provide a more complete perspective.

17. Due to an extremely conservative and protectionist policy, there is an excessive respect for the standard that prevents other more colloquial registers from being heard in the media and especially on Basque public television ETB1 (cf. Barambones 2011: 4). It should be noted that Barambones analyses not only original production but also dubbing towards Basque, where the standard has prevailed.

18. The first version of the script was written by Bernardo Atxaga in standard Basque and later adapted to the Biscayan dialect (cf. Barambones 2011: 10).

An audiovisual product will come close to the viewer, or otherwise, depending on the selected dialect. The comedy *Aupa Etxebeste!*, for example, mainly uses the Gipuzkoan dialect, the closest dialect to the standard that is also the dialect of a large number of viewers of audiovisual products in Basque. Furthermore, this dialect prevails on Basque television and is very familiar to speakers of other dialects, so its use in audiovisual texts is not problematic in relation to issues of understanding and closeness. As the film is a comedy, the use of the dialect responds to the desire of creating humour in a way that is natural to the viewer, as some believe that the standard does not represent orality in the same way or is not so credible for creating humour¹⁹.

Apart from that, *Xora* (Peio Cachena 2012) is the first and so far the only film shot entirely in the dialect of Soule, a province in the French Basque Country. This dialect is far from the standard and has a limited diffusion, and as a result it is difficult to understand for the majority of the audience in the Spanish Basque Country. Therefore, subtitles in standard Basque were added in order to guarantee the understanding of the plot and to have a major distribution of the film among the general public.

Finally, a dialect can constitute an L3 and have a limited use within an audiovisual product. In the documentary *Xalbador, izena eta izana* (Eneko Dorronsoro 2014), which deals with the life of the *bertsolari*²⁰ Fernando Aire, for example, several people who speak in the dialect of Labour and Soule are interviewed, and they are not easy to understand. The technical team had to decide whether to subtitle certain parts. According to the film editor, there is no protocol that sets guidelines for professionals to decide when to subtitle these kinds of fragments. In addition, it is necessary to decide whether dialects are subtitled in dialect or standard: if subtitles are included in standard, it will be strange and sometimes annoying to hear people speak in dialect but read something different; in contrast, since dialects do not have a standardized written form, it will be difficult for the viewer to read the subtitles in a written system to which he or she is not accustomed. Today, the technical professionals are the ones who make these decisions, and they can show varying degrees of

19. The debate on the use of the standard or dialects in audiovisual production is still open today, both in relation to cinema and television. The model promoted by ETB prioritizes the standard so as to facilitate understanding by all Basque speakers, but at the same time, the Basque channel offers humour programs that use dialect as an attraction for viewers.

20. *Bertsolaris* are popular verse improvisers. They improvise their songs attending to a specific melody, following rules of rhyme and metre. This activity is still very present in Basque culture.

sensitivity to linguistic questions. So, the linguistic quality of the final product may vary from one film to another depending on the linguistic sensitivity of filmmakers and technicians.

5. Translation and diffusion of cinema in Basque

The level of knowledge and use of Basque is not homogeneous in the Basque Country, due to its administrative division in three different territories and the linguistic policies that are in force in each of them. More than half of the population is monolingual in French or Spanish and have no knowledge of Basque (only 26.6% are Basque-speaking).

The sociolinguistic reality directly influences the production and consumption of audiovisual products. Animations are usually released in Basque, whereas fiction films are released in commercial cinemas in original version with Spanish subtitles in *Hegoalde*²¹ and French in *Iparralde*²², due to the high percentage of non-Basque speakers. This policy of including interlingual subtitles on the one hand favours greater accessibility in commercial cinemas for non-Basque speakers, but, on the other hand, may be inconvenient for those who are actually Basque speakers: “no debe olvidarse el hecho de que los vascos hablantes también saben castellano, por lo que los subtítulos en castellano más que ayudarles a seguir los programas²³, lo único que consiguen es distanciarles y llevarles a hacer comparaciones entre lo que escuchan y leen” [we cannot forget that Basque-speakers also know Spanish, so subtitles in Spanish only distance them and make them compare what they hear with what they read, rather than helping them to follow the programs] (Barambones 2011: 13). Apart from the subtitled version, sometimes the dubbed copy is also distributed. The movie *Amama* is a recent example, which was simultaneously broadcast in its subtitled original and dubbed versions. This double offer can be beneficial for viewers, who may choose the one that suits them best. But they may not always be aware of the existence of two different copies, so viewers can go to the cinema thinking they are going to see the movie in the original

21. Basque denomination for the Spanish Basque Country, which encompasses the provinces of Biscay, Araba, Gipuzkoa and Navarre.

22. Basque denomination for the French Basque Country, which encompasses the provinces of Labour, Basse-Navarre and Soule.

23. Although Barambones refers to programs dubbed into Basque that incorporated subtitles in Spanish at the beginning of Basque television (ETB), which is an unusual form of broadcast, his words also serve to refer to what is happening in commercial cinemas today.

version and end up in a dubbed session²⁴. Documentary films are released in commercial cinemas or in smaller or alternative circuits depending on the investment intended for production and distribution. Linguistic criteria are similar to those of fiction films, although there may be cases in smaller circuits of strongly Basque-speaking areas in which a monolingual copy is distributed in Basque without the need for subtitles. Documentaries are generally distributed in the subtitled copy and are rarely dubbed.

In conclusion, animations are the only films distributed without translation in the Basque Country, since both fiction and documentary films usually incorporate the translated version either into French or Spanish through subtitles or dubbing. It is important to point out that when going to see the original subtitled version of a film in Basque, viewers rarely have access to the original copy in the cinema, a copy that a priori is created for the Basque-speaking public; instead, what they see is the film along with its translation, either through subtitles or dubbing. Making films understandable for the majority of the public makes Basque speakers lack the opportunity to see in commercial cinemas the production that was originally produced to be enjoyed without its corresponding translation. The only way to access the copy without translation will be through digital platforms, DVD or television, that is, it will be limited to a private context.

With regard to the broadcasting of feature films on television, in the vast majority of cases, the so-called films in Basque, both the movies entirely or partially in Basque, are broadcast on the first channel of the Basque television (ETB), which offers all programming in the Basque language. However, there are exceptions, such as *Barrura begiratzeko leihoak* (2012), a documentary that talks about the life in jail of 5 prisoners. Its premiere was highly controversial because of the theme it deals with (ETA prisoners). Although it was expected to be shown at the San Sebastian Film Festival, in the end it was not accepted within the *Zinemira* cycle, dedicated to Basque Cinema²⁵. Its television premiere (October 2015) took place on the second Basque television channel (ETB2),

24. Viewers' preferences for viewing the dubbed or the subtitled copy may be different depending on their linguistic domain or due to the habit of viewing one or the other modality. At the beginning of 2017, the Spanish public television broadcast the film *Loreak* in its dubbed version into Spanish within the program *Versión española*. Subsequently, on social networks and in different media, it was debated whether it should have been better to offer the subtitled version.

25. The documentary was marked by political controversy. The delegate of the Government of Spain in the Basque Autonomous Community sent the Office of the Public Prosecutor of the National Court a letter in which he asked to study whether there was a crime in the screening of the documentary at the Victoria Eugenia Theater in San Sebastian.

a channel that broadcasts all its content in Spanish. The Spanish version was premiered, against the general habit of the brand of broadcasting films in Basque on the first channel (ETB1). The political expectations that were created around this film influenced this decision.

Furthermore, when examining the distribution of films in Basque, it is necessary to reflect on the reason why the original copy already incorporates a translation (be it interlingual or intralingual). In order to reach the widest possible audience, subtitled copies in a majority language are normally prioritized. Therefore, the original copy with subtitles in Basque will have limited circulation and will not coincide with the usual practice of releasing the film together with its interlingual translation. In the case of two films mentioned in the previous section, *Xora* and *Xalbador, izena eta izana*, both with intralinguistic subtitles, their distribution in commercial cinemas or other smaller circuits can cause certain difficulties. A decision must be made on whether guaranteeing comprehension in standard Basque or trying to reach a wider audience, making Basque speakers read the subtitles in the hegemonic language.

Sometimes the inclusion of more than one language causes difficulties both when designing the original copy and when translating it into other languages. In the case of the previously mentioned documentary *Barrura begiratzeko leihoak*, the narrator's main language is Basque, and most conversations also take place in Basque. Spanish is also used in certain fragments and there are also parts in French – both appear subtitled in Basque. The documentary also contains various graphics in Basque, i.e., text written on the screen that needs to be understood to follow the plot line. Parallel to the original copy, the subtitled versions in Spanish, French and English were created to promote its dissemination elsewhere. The problem arises with the need to translate the graphics in writing, since this type of information is usually provided through subtitles. As the graphics can appear together with the voice-over, the subtitles cannot collect both types of information. It would be appropriate to have thought about the translation before filming, when preparing the copy of the script, instead of afterwards editing the original copy, otherwise the editing would be extremely complicated. Any filmmaker who works with multilingual productions, and especially those who work in bilingual or diglossic environments, should be aware of the translation needs of their films, so they could reconsider the linguistic treatment of their works from the phase of the script writing.

To finish with the context in the Basque Country, we will briefly mention the difficulties encountered by the films produced in *Hegoalde* in their distribution in the French Basque Country. Cultural production in Basque is very

scarce in the French Basque Country due to the lack of officiality of Basque in that area, so consumption of films in Basque is reduced almost exclusively to films produced in the Spanish Basque Country. The French state applies a quota to foreign cinema with the aim of defending its national film industry, and as North American films are widely enjoyed, there is no room for others (cf. Martínez et al 2015: 727).

It is difficult to set up limits between what is the inner and the outer market in the case of translations into Spanish, since, as we have observed, Spanish has a strong presence in the culture of the original films. As for the different translation modalities, the Spanish subtitled and dubbed versions are used for distribution both in the Basque Country and in the rest of Spain and Latin American countries. As indicated before, fiction films have a dubbed copy apart from the subtitled one, since the Spanish public is more accustomed to dubbed films than to subtitled ones.

Translations into other languages are mainly subtitled: copies with subtitles in French are distributed mainly in the French Basque Country, but also in the rest of France, while the English copy is usually the international version that reaches different countries. It is difficult to provide detailed information on their dissemination, but it could be said that in general they have a very modest reception, although it is worth mentioning the exception of *Loreak*, which competed to be nominated for the Oscars, and so had a notable presence in the international arena.

As indicated before, dubbed copies are generally distributed in the case of animated films, which is common practice with productions for children. There are some dubbed films in other languages, such as English, especially if they were international projects²⁶.

The desire to reach a wider audience is linked not only to the desire for greater recognition but also to the economic aspect. According to Telmo Esnal and Asier Altuna, one of the challenges of films in Basque is the need to cross borders, since the Basque Country is too small and it is difficult to make profits if films are only distributed within the Basque Country (cf. Aramendi 2014).

26. In fact, in the case of internationally co-produced animations, it is not easy to clearly define which is the original copy. All indicates that the original version of the *Pixi Post and the Christmas Genius* film (Gorka Sesma 2016) is the version in Basque, according to the IMBD (http://www.imdb.com/title/tt6287174/?ref_=ttfc_fc_tt) or the producer's own page (<http://www.pixipost.net/index.php/eu/>). However, the version of the script on which the lip animation was based was English and the relationship between the producers was also developed in English. Paradoxically, the film has been released before in Basque and Spanish.

Therefore, the external distribution is closely linked to the profitability of the films.

We could conclude that it is impossible to compete with bigger commercial productions for a reduced and marginal cinema within the national and international market, which is why films in Basque are released in modest circuits.

6. Final reflections

This contribution on the topic of Cinema in Basque has shown that multilingualism and its translation constitute a wide field of study that has not been analysed in depth to date.

From a systemic point of view, the concepts of Basque Cinema and Cinema in Basque do not clearly show identity origins, and the terms can be sometimes mistaken. It is not known to what extent it is necessary to have tight definitions and to mark differences. Nevertheless, being a system that depends on a large percentage of public funding, the responsible institutions must define: what is and what is not financeable; what is and what is not Basque Cinema; and what is and what is not Cinema in Basque, depending on the parameters used to grant the aid.

Regarding terminological and conceptual issues, we consider that what is popularly called Cinema in Basque is not entirely correct for a cinema that is not limited to a production entirely in Basque. It seems that in some way this denomination hides its diglossic character. Taking into account the examples mentioned throughout the article, what is meant by Cinema in Basque is not clear: films shot in Basque? Multilingual films in which Basque is one of the main languages? Does the word Basque refer to what is heard on screen or does it also refer to the language used in the direction, the script, or the filming? A film requires many and diverse professionals in its development, and it is difficult to find so many professionals who speak Basque. But the denomination of Cinema in Basque suggests a rather distorted idea of what happens in a film production.

Data collected in this article show that film production in Basque has been very limited and discontinuous, although it is currently increasing. As Manias Muñoz points out, the number of professionals is increasing, but there is no sufficient stability yet (cf. Manias Muñoz 2015: 447). The increase in production responds to the measures and agreements adopted by the Basque Government and the Basque television to support Cinema in Basque (cf. Manias Muñoz 2015: 447).

What may be called Cinema in Basque offers a broad catalogue to analyse the representation of bilingualism in Basque society, as well as the use of other

languages in our society. The representation of the different languages and dialects used in each case (in the form of L1 or L3) can provide us with information on how identity and multilingualism are configured in Basque culture. On the one hand, it would be interesting to study the meaning that the different L3s adopt in Basque films, both when it comes to a natural language or a dialect. It would also be interesting to examine the opposite trend, that is, what contribution the inclusion of Basque as L3 makes in films in Spanish. On the other hand, there are conflicting tendencies in the use of the main language(s): some films use Basque as the only L1 while others try to reflect the bilingualism of Basque society by introducing more than one main language. The trends adopted by future productions should be closely followed. It would also be interesting to study the use of different dialects, observing the role attributed to particular dialects and what they represent.

Additionally, a detailed analysis of the subtitling or dubbing of different feature films would be necessary to know how the different identities existing in the original works are transmitted and to see if multilingualism is represented in the same way as in the original films.

As we have observed, the diffusion of Cinema in Basque can vary depending on the genre of each film and the geographical area in which it is distributed. We have seen that animated films tend to be dubbed, documentaries to be subtitled and fiction films to be both dubbed and subtitled in the case of Spanish, and only subtitled in the case of other languages. Apart from that, the geographical space must be taken into account when observing distribution. Diglossia is more than visible in the Basque Country, a diglossia that exists both in the industry and in the distribution of films. The original versions without translation are seldom shown in commercial cinemas, and viewers have access to them only when they are broadcast in digital platforms, DVDs or television. That is, their consumption is limited to the domestic sphere, since potential viewers of the original version are obliged to see the subtitled or dubbed version in commercial cinemas. In addition, commercial cinemas do not always provide the necessary information on which copy they release, or the viewer is unaware that there are two different copies, so they may go to the cinema thinking that they are going to see the film in its original version and end up in a dubbed session performance.

As regards foreign distribution, it is impossible for a small and marginal cinema to compete with bigger commercial productions within the national and international market, so films in Basque are released in more modest circuits. It would be interesting to carry out a detailed study of reception and analyse the data by genres.

Among the current and future challenges, it is worth mentioning the efforts to increase the audience, improve the quality of the films and expand the corpus, for which an adequate financing system would be essential. It would also be convenient to examine what type of productions are released in Basque and compare them with productions available in other languages. Furthermore, sociolinguistic implications should also be observed: viewers' language command can be a determining factor in attracting or distancing them from cinemas. Lastly, lack of promotion can also be a problem, since, in the absence of a sufficient budget, very little investment is allocated to distribution.

To finish, it would be advisable to reflect on an adequate linguistic treatment, both in the original versions and in the translated versions, although each genre, and more particularly each film, will need to work on their own linguistic criteria. Filmmakers should be aware from the outset that their films will have different versions and that final copies in different languages should adjust to the needs of different viewers. This would contribute to raising awareness of their multilingual works and to a better response to the language needs of the public.

This contribution is only the first stage of a study that needs to be further investigated. The productive period that Cinema in Basque currently enjoys can be an appropriate time to observe what has been done so far and reflect on future production.

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Annex I. Catalogue

This annex contains the catalogue of feature films in Basque, from 1956 to 2016. The films are chronologically ordered by year of distribution:

Title in Basque	Title in Spanish	Director	Year	Genre
<i>Gure Sor Lekua</i>	--	André Madré	1956	Documentary
<i>Ama Lur</i>	<i>Tierra madre</i>	Nestor Basterretxea & Fernando Larraquert	1968	Documentary
<i>Axut</i>	--	Jose Mari Zabala	1976	Experimental
<i>Balantzatxo</i>	--	Juan Miguel Gutiérrez Márquez	1978	Fiction for children
<i>Sabino Arana</i>	--	Pedro de la Sota & Jose Julian Bakedano	1980	Documentary
<i>Erreporteroak</i>	<i>Los reporteros</i>	Iñaki Aizpuru	1984	Fiction

<i>Kalabaza tripontzia</i>	<i>La calabaza mágica</i>	Juan Bautista Berasategi	1985	Animation
<i>Kareletik</i>	<i>Por la borda</i>	Anjel Lertxundi	1987	Fiction
<i>Lau haizetara</i>	<i>A los cuatro vientos</i>	Jose Antonio Zorrilla	1987	Fiction
<i>Ander eta Yul</i>	<i>Ander y Yul</i>	Ane Díez	1989	Fiction
<i>Ke arteko egunak</i>	<i>Días de humo</i>	Antxon Ezeiza	1989	Fiction
<i>Ipar haizearen erronka</i>	<i>La leyenda del viento norte</i>	Juan Bautista Berasategi	1991	Animation
<i>Balearenak</i>	<i>Balleneros</i>	Juan Bautista Berasategi	1991	Animation
<i>Offeko maitasuna</i>	<i>Amor en off</i>	Koldo Izagirre	1992	Fiction
<i>Urte ilunak</i>	<i>Los años oscuros</i>	Arantxa Lazcano	1993	Fiction
<i>Ipar haizearen itzulera</i>	<i>El regreso del viento norte</i>	Maite Ruiz de Austri	1994	Animation
<i>Ahmed. Alhambrako printzea</i>	<i>Ahmed, Príncipe de la Alhambra</i>	Juan Bautista Berasategi	1998	Animation
<i>Karramarro uhartea</i>	<i>La isla del cangrejo</i>	Joxean Muñoz & Txabi Basterretxea	2000	Animation
<i>Olentzero, Gabonetako ipuina</i>	<i>Olentzero. Un cuento de Navidad</i>	Juanjo Elordi	2002	Animation
<i>Betizu izar artean</i>	<i>Betizu entre las estrellas</i>	Egoitz Rodriguez	2003	Animation
<i>Glup</i>	--	Aitor Arregi & Iñigo Berasategi	2003	Animation
<i>Supertramps</i>	--	Jose Maria Goenaga & Iñigo Berasategi	2004	Animation
<i>Unibertsolariak, munduaren ertzaren bila</i>	<i>Los Balunis en la aventura del fin del mundo</i>	Juanjo Elordi	2004	Animation
<i>Aupa Etxebeste!</i>	--	Telmo Esnal & Asier Altuna	2005	Fiction
<i>BT, Ispiluen Jauregian</i>	--	Alberto J. Gorritiberea	2005	Musical
<i>Olentzero eta subilaren lapurreta</i>	<i>Olentzero y el Tronco Mágico</i>	Juanjo Elordi	2005	Animation

<i>Txirri, Mirri eta Txiribiton pelikula. Pailazokeriak</i>		Imanol Zinkunegi	2005	Animation
<i>Zeru horiek</i>	<i>[Esos cielos]</i>	Aizpea Goenaga	2005	Fiction
<i>Agian</i>	--	Arkaitz Basterra	2006	Documentary
<i>Kutxidazu bidea, Ixabel</i>	<i>Enséñame el camino, Isabel</i>	Fernando Bernués & Mireia Gabilondo	2006	Fiction
<i>Nömadak TX</i>	--	Harkaitz Martínez de San Vicente & Igor Otxoa & Pablo Iraburu & Raúl de la Fuente	2006	Documentary
<i>... txoriak galduta egozanean</i>	<i>... cuando los pájaros estaban perdidos</i>	Jose Maria González Sánchez	2006	Documentary
<i>Kubo magikoa</i>	<i>El cubo mágico</i>	Angel Izquierdo	2006	Animation
<i>Betizu eta Xangaduko misterioa</i>	<i>Betizu y el misterio de Xangadú</i>	Egoitz Rodriguez	2006	Animation
<i>Cristobal Molon</i>	--	Iñigo Berasategi & Aitor Arregi	2006	Animation
<i>Betizu eta urrezko zintzarria</i>	--	Egoitz Rodriguez	2007	Animation
<i>Eutsi!</i>	--	Alberto J. Gorritiberea	2007	Fiction
<i>Olentzero eta Amilaren sekretua</i>	<i>El secreto de Amila</i>	Gorka Vázquez	2007	Animation
<i>Ander</i>	--	Roberto Castón	2009	Fiction
<i>Go!azen</i>	--	Jabi Elortegi & Aitor Aranguren	2008	Musical
<i>Bidaia intimoak</i>	--	Jon Maia	2009	Documentary
<i>Zorion perfektua</i>	<i>Felicidad perfecta</i>	Jabier Elortegi	2009	Fiction
<i>Munduaren bira, doan!</i>	<i>La vuelta al mundo, ¡gratis!</i>	Juanjo Elordi & Asisko Urmeneta	2008	Animation

<i>Animal Channel</i>	--	Maite Ruiz de Austri	2008	Animation
<i>Barriola, San Adriango azeria</i>	<i>El zorro ladrón</i>	Juan Bautista Berasategi	2008	Animation
<i>Olentzero eta oparien ordua</i>	<i>Olentzero y la hora de los regalos</i>	Gorka Sesma	2008	Animation
<i>Sukalde kontuak</i>	<i>Secretos de cocina</i>	Aizpea Goenaga	2009	Fiction
<i>80 egunean</i>	<i>En 80 días</i>	Jon Garaño & Jose Mari Goenaga	2010	Fiction
<i>Aita</i>	--	Jose Maria de Orbe	2010	Fiction
<i>Amerikanuak</i>	--	Ignacio Reig & Gorka Bilbao	2010	Documentary
<i>Izarren argia</i>	<i>Estrellas que alcanzar</i>	Mikel Rueda	2010	Fiction
<i>Perurena</i>	--	Jon Garaño	2010	Documentary
<i>Sagarren denbora</i>	<i>El tiempo de las manzanas</i>	Josu Martínez & Txaber Larreategi	2010	Documentary
<i>Ttaup, ttaup!</i>	--	Eneko Dorronsoro	2010	Documentary
<i>Zigortzaileak</i>	<i>Los castigadores</i>	Arantza Ibarra & Alfonso Arandia	2010	Fiction
<i>Mystical</i>	--	Angel Alonso	2010	Animation
<i>Midas erregearen altxorra</i>	<i>El tesoro del rey Midas</i>	Maite Ruiz de Austri	2010	Animation
<i>Arriya</i>		Alberto J. Gorritiberea	2011	Fiction
<i>Azken bidaia</i>	<i>El último viaje</i>	Enara Goikoetxea & Iurre Telleria	2011	Documentary
<i>Bertsolari</i>	--	Asier Altuna	2011	Documentary
<i>Bi anai</i>	<i>Dos hermanos</i>	Imanol Rayo	2011	Fiction
<i>Gartxot</i>	--	Asisko Urmeneta & Juanjo Elordi	2011	Animation
<i>Gazta zati bat</i>	<i>Un trozo de queso</i>	Jon Maia	2011	Documentary

<i>Mugaldekoak</i>	<i>Mugaldekoak. Operación Comète</i>	Fernando Bernués & Mireia Gabilondo	2011	Fiction
<i>Urte berri on, amona</i>	--	Telmo Esnal	2011	Fiction
<i>Olentzero eta Iratxo en Jauntxo</i>	--	Gorka Vázquez	2011	Animation
<i>Aita, zombia naiz</i>	<i>Papá, soy un zombi</i>	Ricardo Ramón & Joan Espinach	2011	Animation
<i>The Wish Fish</i>	--	Gorka Vázquez & Iván Oñeña	2011	Animation
<i>Barrura begiratzeko leihoak</i>	<i>Ventanas al interior</i>	Eneko Olasagasti & Josu Martínez & Mireia Gabilondo & Txaber Larreategi & Enara Goikoetxea	2012	Documentary
<i>Baztan</i>	--	Iñaki Elizalde	2012	
<i>Bypass</i>	--	Patxo Telleria & Aitor Mazo	2012	Fiction
<i>Dragoi ehizaria</i>	<i>El cazador de dragones</i>	Patxi Barko	2012	Fiction
<i>Emak Bakia Baita</i>	--	Oskar Alegria	2012	Documentary
<i>Galerna, ekaitz ezezaguna</i>	<i>Galerna. La tormenta desconocida</i>	Jabier Elortegi	2012	Documentary
<i>Haritzaren bihotza</i>	<i>El corazón del roble</i>	Angel Izquierdo & Ricardo Ramón González	2012	Animation
<i>Mur-mur</i>	<i>Murmullos</i>	Juanmi Gutiérrez	2012	Documentary
<i>Tormesko itsumutila</i>	<i>El lazarillo de Tormes</i>	Juanba Berasategi	2012	Animation
<i>Xora</i>	--	Peio Cachena	2012	Fiction
<i>Zuloak</i>	--	Fermin Muguruza	2012	Documentary

<i>Alaba zintzoa</i>		Javier Rebollo & Alvar Gordejuela	2013	Fiction
<i>Amaren eskuak</i>	<i>Las manos de mi madre</i>	Mireia Gabilondo	2013	Fiction
<i>Asier eta biok</i>	<i>Asier y yo</i>	Aitor Merino & Amaia Merino	2013	Documentary
<i>Lucius Dumben berebiziko bidaia</i>	<i>El extraordinario viaje de Lucius Dumb</i>	Maite Ruiz de Austri	2013	Animation
<i>Umezurtzak</i>	<i>Los huérfanos</i>	Ernesto del Río	2013	Fiction
<i>Behobia-Donostia: 20 kilometro, mila istorio</i>	<i>Behobia-Donostia. 20 kilómetros, mil historias</i>	Xuban Intxausti	2014	Documentary
<i>Bingen</i>		Ander Odriozola	2014	Fiction
<i>Dixie eta matxinada zombia</i>	<i>Dixie y la revolución zombi</i>	Ricardo Ramón & Beñat Beitia	2014	Animation
<i>Euskara munduan</i>	--	Iñigo Asensio	2014	Documentary
<i>Goazen gudari danok</i>	--	Iban González	2014	Documentary
<i>Ikastola: mende oso bat euskarari</i>	--	Kike Amonarriz & Lander Garro & Xabier Zapirain	2016	Documentary
<i>Lasa eta Zabala</i>	<i>Lasa y Zabala</i>	Pablo Malo	2014	Fiction
<i>Loreak</i>	<i>Flores</i>	Jon Garaño & Jose Mari Goenaga	2014	Fiction
<i>Xalbador, izena eta izana</i>	--	Eneko Dorronsoro	2014	Documentary
<i>Zohardia</i>	--	Lander Iruin & Markel Andia	2014	Documentary
<i>Amama</i>	--	Asier Altuna	2015	Fiction
<i>Gaur irekiko ditu atekak</i>	<i>Hoy abrirá sus puertas</i>	Eriz Zapirain	2015	Documentary
<i>Gernika batailoia</i>	<i>Batallón Gernika</i>	Iban Gonzalez	2015	Documentary
<i>Gure Sor Lekuren bila</i>	<i>En busca de Gure Sor Lekua</i>	Josu Martinez	2015	Documentary
<i>Pikadero</i>	--	Ben Sharrock	2015	Fiction

<i>Txarriboda</i>	<i>La matanza</i>	Javier Rebollo & Alvar Gordejuela	2015	Fiction
<i>Yoko eta lagunak</i>	<i>Yoko y sus amigos</i>	Juanjo Elordi	2015	Animation
<i>Jai Alai Blues</i>	--	Gorka Bilbao	2015	Documentary
<i>Oroimena bizigune</i>	<i>Habitar la memoria</i>	Alaitz Arenzana	2015	Documentary
<i>Sabino Aranaren begiak</i>	--	Joseba Gorordo	2015	Documentary
<i>Sagardoa bidegile</i>	<i>Historias de sidra</i>	Bego Zubia	2015	Documentary
<i>Gutik zura</i>	--	Jon Maia & Mari Jose Barriola	2016	Documentary
<i>Igelak</i>	<i>Ranas</i>	Patxo Telleria	2016	Fiction
<i>Igorre, 40 urte ziklokrossean</i>	<i>Igorre, 40 años en el ciclocross</i>	Xabier Zabala	2016	Documentary
<i>Kalebegiak</i>	--	Collective work: Koldo Almandoz & Asier Altuna & Luiso Berdejo & Daniel Calparsoro & Iñaki Camacho & Borja Cobeaga & Maria Elorza & Telmo Esnal & Maider Fernandez Iriarte & Isabel Herguera & Ekain Irigoien & Julio Medem & Izibene Oñederra & Gracia Querejeta & Imanol Uribe	2016	Fiction
<i>Neskatoak</i>	<i>Criadas</i>	Jon Abril	2016	Documentary
<i>Pixi Post eta opari emailak</i>	<i>Pixi Post y los genios de Navidad</i>	Gorka Sesma	2016	Animation
<i>Sipo Phantasma</i>	--	Koldo Almandoz	2016	Experimental

Annex II. Films cited in the article not included in the catalogue

This annex contains the references to the films mentioned in sections 2 and 3 that have been left out of the catalogue. These are films that do not meet the established criteria. They are presented in chronological order:

Title in Basque	Title in Spanish	Director	Year	Genre
<i>Au Pays des Basques</i>		Jean Faugeres & Maurice Champreux	1930	Documentary
<i>Ereagatik Matxitxakora</i>		Gotzon Elorza	1959	Documentary
<i>Aberria/Erria</i>		Gotzon Elorza	1961	Documentary
<i>Elburua: Gernika</i>		Gotzon Elorza	1962	Documentary
<i>Avignon</i>		Gotzon Elorza	1964	Documentary
<i>Ikuska</i>		Antton Ezeiza	1979-1984	Documentary series
<i>Euskara eta kirola</i>	--	Antton Ezeiza & Koldo Izagirre	1980	Documentary series
<i>Ehun metro</i>	<i>Cien metros</i>	Alfonso Ungria	1985	Fiction
<i>Hamaseigarrenean, aidanez</i>	<i>Ocurrió a la decimosexta</i>	Anjel Lertxundi	1985	Fiction
<i>Zergatik panpox?</i>	<i>¿Por qué Panpox?</i>	Xabier Elorriaga	1985	Fiction
<i>Oraingoz izen gabe</i>		Jose Luis Bakedano	1986	Fiction
<i>27 ordu</i>	<i>27 horas</i>	Montxo Armendáriz	1986	Fiction
<i>Maité</i>	<i>Maité</i>	Eneko Olasagasti & Carlos Zabala	1994	Fiction
<i>Obaba</i>	<i>Obaba</i>	Montxo Armendáriz	2005	Fiction
<i>Zortzi euskal abizen</i>	<i>Ocho apellidos vascos</i>	Emilio Martínez-Lázaro	2014	Fiction

Au Pays des Basques is out of the catalogue because it was shot in French and Basque does not constitute the L1 of the film. The same happens in the case

of *Maité*, *Obaba*, *27 horas* and *Ocho apellidos vascos*, in which the presence of Basque is limited.

On the other hand, Gotzon Elorza's documentaries and the 4 fiction films produced in the 80s have not been included in the catalogue because they are medium-length films and do not reach the established minimum length. The *Ikuska* documentary series comprises 20 episodes of about 9-14 minutes in length – that is why they have not been included in the catalogue either. The documentary series *Euskara eta kirola*, on the other hand, is made up of three short films about sport and Basque language that deal with rowing, football, and mountaineering.