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Advertising in the Basque Public TV (EiTB): linguistic management and measures for the development of Basque language

Abstract

The founding objective of the Basque body for public communication, EITB, was to promote the Basque language and Basque culture. This article analyses, from the linguistic perspective, the historical development and current situation of public television within the highly influential field of advertising. The methodology employed for the task is based on a triangulation of various methods: in-depth interviews, content analysis and documentary analysis. The conclusions point to the absence of a genuine linguistic strategy for advertising and the total subordination of policies to the need to procure financial resources.

Keywords

Advertising, Basque, minority languages, public policies, funding

1. Introduction

The Law that created the Basque public radio-television EITB (Law 5/1982 of 20 May) establishes the promotion of Basque as its founding social objective. The mission of contributing to Basquization and consolidating the prestige of Basque is still in force in this body's latest strategic plan, which covers the period from 2013-2016.

Meanwhile, advertising has been endorsed as one of the strategic sectors for the normalization of Basque. Indeed, the Law governing the Basque language (Law 10/1982 of 24 November) explicitly mentions advertising and, in the General Plan for the Promotion of the Use of Basque (EBPN), designed by the Advisory Council for the Basque language and ratified by the Basque Parliament, this is one of the key areas for driving the functional value of the language and positive perceptions among citizens (Basque Government, 1999).

Beyond the contribution to linguistic normalization, advertising has also been seen as an important source of funding for the Basque public radio-television service. However, the funding model and the function of advertising in the public communications media is a top priority debate in Europe and, to go no further afield, France has been winding down its advertising since 2008, whilst RTVE (the Spanish public radio-television) suppressed it altogether in 2009.

Where the autonomous television services are concerned, their emergence and development has been strongly associated with autonomous regions with a language of their own. So, as can be observed in the overview we offer below, we investigated the situation in communications media advertising in other linguistic communities, with special emphasis on their contribution to the normalization of these languages. This study, though, is the first to set its sights on advertising in the Basque public television service ETB, from the viewpoint of linguistic planning and its role as an active agent in the normalization of Basque.

2. Advertising, minority languages and linguistic normalization

This section, building on studies conducted in other linguistic communities, describes the situation of minority languages in advertising. A generic reference is provided by the work by Josep Gifreu (2014), an author who analysed the evolution of Catalan in the communications media over practically four decades.

In the concrete case of advertising, however, the most direct reference is probably a research carried out by Fernández and Pereira (2006), who analysed advertising from the language perspective in the Galician public television service, TVG. The results paint a scenario of asymmetric bilingualism: the programmatic contents are in Galician but the advertising is, for the most part, in Spanish. To describe the effects that this reality may produce on the Galician language they employ an ecological metaphor: “the concurrence of Spanish in advertising represents an intrusion by the linguistic predator species within the space reserved for the species that is supposed to be protected”. In consequence, the authors question the linguistic policy practiced by TVG, which in their opinion operates whilst “forgetting the public function that justifies its existence” (Fernández & Pereira, 2006: 365).

In the Catalan market, where, in contrast to Galicia, television advertising is mainly broadcast in the differentiated language of the community concerned, the work of Sabaté, author of the book “La publicitat en català” (1999) must not go unmentioned. In an article of his, this university professor analysed the importance and function of advertising agencies in the promotion of the Catalan language. His reflection takes the deficiencies of these enterprises as its point of departure: among their ranks they have no creatives with a mastery of Catalan and the translation of advertising copy is carried out by an external linguistic consultancy. The manner of working that he describes as “archaic” deforms the advertising message and calls into question the standards of advertising agencies. In his opinion, copywriters, and by implication agencies, should be guarantors of message quality, taking linguistic control from the start to the finish, including the soundtrack for spots or commercials. As a corollary of his article, he poses the rhetorical question as to whether the situation described does not condemn Catalan society to being “a translated and corrected society” (Sabaté, 2000: 52).

The situation of the Balearic public television channel IB3 is quite different, as a report drawn up in 2006 showed. This study describes how insistence on the bilingual nature of IB3 determined that advertising on this channel was overwhelmingly broadcast in Spanish. In the period analysed, only 11% of the adverts shown came from advertisers in the Balearic Islands. With regard to advertising inserted by Spanish market advertisers, the study

demonstrates that most adverts were broadcast in Spanish (around 83%), although the vast majority of these adverts were available in a Catalan version, which were shown on other television channels, such as TV3 (Bibiloni, 2006).

If we take a look at other European languages, the investigations undertaken in a minority language with its own state are worthy of mention, and this is the Republic of Ireland. In her book "Advertising as a Multilingual Communication", the Irish author Kelly-Holmes (2005) devotes a complete chapter to the situation of Irish Gaelic. Basing her analysis on adverts distributed via different mediums, she reaches the following conclusion: the use of Gaelic is merely symbolic, a gesture to this linguistic community. The communicative and referential value, in contrast, is to be found in English, that is to say, in the dominant language. By way of example, she explains that advertisers on the Irish television channel TG4 don't adapt messages into Irish because of their high cost and the length of the process. In her opinion, a possible solution would be for the TV channel itself to offer the translations. Similarly, another study that the same author prepared with Atkinson (Kelly-Holmes & Atkinson, 2007) analysed the advertising in two dailies in Irish, placing the emphasis on the type of advertiser and product. When the advertisers had been classified, they concluded that adverts in this language were limited to certain traditional products, which the authors feel reinforces and bolsters the minority situation of Irish Gaelic, due to the symbolic use mentioned above.

Focussing on the Basque case, no research to date has analysed ETB channel advertising from the language perspective. The only references found were made by Asier Larrinaga, interviewed in this study. In a historical overview of dubbing on EITB, he includes a brief section devoted to advertising, in which he mentions some measures that have been adopted, such as including the promotion of Basque in negotiations (Larrinaga, 2008). Likewise, in the monograph *Cultural Transfers: Literature, Cinema and Translation* he develops a chapter in which he tells of the difficulties encountered and the solutions suggested in some translations of advertising copy produced by EITB.

Along with Larrinaga's works, in this area we must also point to an incipient research line in the study of Basque in advertising. Publicist Fernandez Ostolaza (2008) published an article from the internal perspective of the agency, highlighting the problematic arising from internal functioning, based on translations into Basque and the mediocrity of the results. Later on, this reflection provides the point of departure for a scientific approach to the matter, showing up the deficiencies in this way of working (Garai-Artetxe & Nerekan-Umaran, 2013). A PhD defended at the end of 2014 analysed the process of advertising in Basque in its entirety: the formulation of the messages, graphic advertising pieces and reception by the Basque-speaking public. Given the fact that advertising messages are created in Spanish and translated later into Basque, the study object of this work is bilingual advertising in Basque and Spanish, using a comparative approach. The conclusions show the poor quality of the messages in Basque that emerge from the diglossic creation process. This circumstance has a direct reflection in the consumers' reception for, when faced with messages in Basque that are lacking in force or not completely correct, they are continually obliged to decipher what the original is in Spanish (Garai-Artetxe, 2014).

3. Objectives and methodology

The aim of this study is to analyse the evolution and current situation of advertising in Basque on Basque autonomous television channels in the light of some of the parameters defined by various researches. Specifically, promotion measures for the introduction of Basque within television advertising and their impact were studied. The way that the different interests underlying advertising investment complement or interfere with each other were also subjected to scrutiny: funding and linguistic normalization.

To develop the research a methodological triangulation strategy was employed, combining and complementing qualitative and quantitative approaches. Firstly, in-depth interviews were conducted both with those in charge of the area of advertising and of EITB's Basque department. In both cases these are people with wide experience in the Basque communication entity, given that they have worked there practically since its founding. Idoia Moragues is responsible for managing the Advertising Department and has worked in the organization since 1991. Asier Larrinaga, meanwhile, has been in charge of the Basque Language Department since 1998, but has also formed part of the organization since it began. These complementary experiences made it possible to acquire first-hand testimony regarding the modes of procedure and most relevant changes registered in advertising management, as well as information and data that are not available in written form.

Additionally, to capture a picture of TV advertising as it is today, a content analysis was made of prime time advertising on the first television channel (ETB1) to bring to light the linguistic behaviours and deficiencies that characterize adverts on this channel. The sample studied takes in two time spaces from 2014 and 2015: the first, from 17 to 21 October 2014 (5 days from Friday to Tuesday); the second from 26 to 31 March 2015 (6 days from Thursday to Tuesday). So both include the weekend and the eventuality of different configurations of ETB1 prime time: from the daily programme *Gu eta Gutarrak*, a reality show which structures daily prime time during the working week, to transmissions of pelota matches on Friday nights and a broadcast of a basketball match featuring the team from Bilbao in the Endesa League. Prime-time TV was analysed every day, which takes in the end of the evening news bulletin (21:00, prior to its Spanish equivalent, which concludes an hour later) until midnight. The total number of spots analysed runs to 457.

Lastly, a documentary analysis of ETB budgeting was conducted, and the relative weight of advertising investment in its funding was examined. This linkage of different methodological paradigms produced a practically virgin research field, enabling a more complete analysis of the phenomenon in question.

4. Results

4.1. Historical evolution and current situation of advertising on ETB1

The first *Euskal Telebista* channel began regular broadcasting in 1983, after a period of training and technical gestation that started roughly a year earlier. The vertebral axis of Basque public television was linguistic normalization and, in consequence, the broadcasts were, from the beginning, mainly in Basque and subtitled in Spanish, except for the midday news programme. In this phase of initiation, advertising scarcely had any presence on television, and when it did this was mainly in Spanish.

In 1986, to broaden its social influence, *Euskal Telebista* created a second channel in Spanish, ETB2, opening the door to advertising on Basque television. The adverts broadcast were framed completely in Spanish, even on the first Basque-speaking channel Basque (Larrinaga, 2015), which to a degree began to be seen as a questioning of the function of linguistic normalization assigned to this channel.

A few years later, the Federation of Autonomous Radio and Television Organizations was set up, known under its acronym FORTA, grouping together the autonomous radio and television stations that existed at the time in order to exchange contents and make joint arrangements. Likewise, in 1988 Law governing Private Television was passed and, during the following years, the channels Antena 3, Telecinco and Canal Plus came into being. In this new context of inter-channel competition and within a strategy of audience maximization, in 1990, FORTA acquired joint broadcasting rights to the professional football league along

with Canal Plus, meaning that the autonomous television services started to broadcast a first division game every Saturday.

Euskal Telebista decided that these broadcasts should go out on the Basque-speaking channel, ETB1, which, for the first time, attracted an important advertising package. These adverts principally came from state-wide advertisers that were managed by means of an exclusive advertising company located in Madrid. Although the channel's broadcasts were in Basque, the language employed in the advertising was mainly Spanish (Moragues, 2015; Larrinaga, 2015), which led to a deepening of criticism directed at ETB and its failure to meet its linguistic purpose.

In the light of these circumstances, the EITB group adopted the first measure to normalize Basque in advertising. So, in 1991, they decided to start broadcasting adverts dubbed into Basque, meeting the costs of the dubbing (Moragues, 2015) and providing the advertisers with a linguistic consultation service through the recently created Department for the Basque Language (1991). This body, accordingly, began to take charge of supervising all texts that were broadcast on television, including advertising copy (Larrinaga, 2015).

As Asier Larrinaga, the Head of the Department for the Basque Language, put it, this decision had a very positive impact: "It had the effect that people became used to seeing advertising in Basque as a totally normal occurrence and that was a great step forward. From the viewpoint of the channel itself it was important too, because ETB1 projects the image of a standardized channel that has a place for everything, including advertising" (Larrinaga, 2015).

Indeed, at that time the EITB group dubbed around 90% of the advertising broadcast on the channel in Basque and that percentage was kept up quite constantly in the ensuing years (Moragues, 2015; Larrinaga, 2015). The dubbing work was distributed between different studios in the Basque audio-visual sector for a number of years, while ETB took direct control over the quality of the offer, and the advertiser completely neglected the process and the outcome. The dubbing fee established with the dubbing enterprises was relatively low, which also affected product quality, in terms of the diversity and variation of the voices, for instance, given that the dubbing firm mainly used the in-house human resources available to them (Larrinaga, 2015).

As part of this approach, some Basque advertisers also began to send their advertising directly in the Basque language, particularly advertising of an institutional nature (Moragues, 2015). This did not, however, open up the gates of advertising creativity toward the language. On the contrary, the original versions were always in Spanish and the versions in Basque were still the product of dubbing. The advertising agencies carried on operating in Spanish and adapting their adverts afterwards into Basque. As a result, one way or another the TV advertising process in Basque has always been linked to dubbing, with many similarities with the "archaic" manner of tackling advertising that Sabaté (2000) denounced in the case of Catalan.

It might seem an anecdotal point, but it could be observed at the time that some Catalan enterprises started to dub adverts on their own account, sending them pre-prepared for broadcasting (Moragues, 2015; Larrinaga, 2015). This reveals that a sensibility toward minority languages is, in a way, key if they are to be used or not in advertising, as is the interest shown by the actual audience (Larrinaga, 2015).

In these initial moments the difference in advertising volume broadcast on channels in Basque and Spanish was not very great (Moragues, 2015), owing to an ETB1 scheduling strategy based on children's programming and sports, as demonstrated by the statistics drawn from a study that analysed the channel's scheduling in 1999. In that year, children's programming represented 24.4%, and sport 18.1% (Arana et al., 1999), these being two areas that faced scant competition from channels in Spanish and enabled the channel in Basque to offer interesting audience shares. What is more, ETB1 was an ideal channel for adverts

aimed at small children, and investment increased considerably at special times of year such as Christmas (Larrinaga, 2015).

In 1998, ETB₁ also made a commitment to Teletienda, an advertising format that was already known through other channels. The Head of the Department for the Basque Language we interviewed considers it was “a missed opportunity” for the development of advertising language in Basque, especially in terms of its potential immediacy and communicative capacity. The translations were carried out by one of the recording studios that collaborated with EITB and the quality of the texts was not appropriate. In Larrinaga’s view they were “anti-communicative and anti-idiomatic texts” and the battle between his department and the persona in charge of the matter in the audio-visual company was relentless. This is why he made the metaphorical assertion that “*the hand* has had a great influence on advertising in Basque”, in allusion to the person entrusted to give shape to the contents. And that is how the decision was made to abandon this format (Larrinaga, 2015).

With the arrival of the new century, it was boom time for advertising investment but, at the same time, the first channel’s inability to maintain first-class events such as the top division football league saw a widening gap between the advertising volume on ETB₂ and on ETB₁. So it was decided to encourage advertisers on the channel in Spanish to produce part of their advertising in Basque. This decision was reflected in the advertising negotiations and proposals in which, in exchange for dubbing being provided without charge, the advertisers made at least some of the investment in ETB₁, the specific figure being 15% of overall investment. It must be stressed that these packages were mainly offered to Spanish firms outside the Basque Country and that, as the person in charge of advertising tells it: “their attitude has always been reticent, there has been constant tension, because we want to promote Basque, but that’s a very complicated issue for advertisers in Madrid” (Moragues, 2015).

Initially, this measure worked and gave a little boost to activity in the Basque language. Nevertheless, from about 2006 onwards, the attitude of these advertisers changed, as measurement of advertising effectiveness became much more quantitative and the objectives became completely ratings-oriented. The commercial department, in consequence, had to adopt a more flexible negotiating position (Moragues, 2015).

At this stage, EITB also entered a period where its advertising distribution channel was reshaped. In the BAC (Basque Autonomous Community) there were no exclusive advertisers and in Madrid and Barcelona there were fewer and fewer. So internal consultation took place to prepare the best possible scenario. Three options were considered: commercial management could be taken on in its entirety by the internal EITB team; or by an exclusive company that EITB owned shares in; or the service would be totally externalized. The second option won out, and in 2007 the firm *Expressive Media Projects* was founded, controlled in the main by private capital, but EITB held a 24.6% share. In this new enterprise the team was principally made up of people who were already working for EITB (Moragues, 2015).

Henceforth, *Expressive Media Projects* was to be responsible for the exclusive marketing of the network’s advertising slots. A priori, a change from working with an exclusive operator to operating with a Basque firm might be thought likely to have a positive impact on advertising language management. But “in the *Expressive* team not many people spoke Basque and they had not developed the strategic perspective required” (Moragues, 2015). Since the exclusive firm’s commercial team was created it meets up on a weekly basis with the Commercial Director and head of advertising management, and she is the person interviewed in this study. In these meetings, “we attempt to get *Expressive* to embrace the group’s strategic action lines, which include the language” (Moragues, 2015). Either way, this matter has been neither easy nor an automatic process, and if some improvements have

been achieved (proposals and assessments are now also sent in Basque), there is still much room for improvement.

It must be noted, in any event, the strategic guidelines of the EITB group on language and advertising have still not been specified in written form in a plan that sets out the standards to be followed. The promotion of Basque has been a constant in the organization's general strategic plans, but in the commercial plan that is prepared on an annual basis the way of proceeding in the language field is not spelled out: "The absolute starting priority was to attract money to the network, because there was none. We have some commercial objectives and, when things have been going badly, although bolstering up ETB₁ was in our minds, it wasn't the priority" (Moragues, 2015).

That statement, in addition to alluding to coordination with *Expressive*, refers to the economic crisis that, in her opinion, could already be discerned since 2007. Over the years that followed, advertising investment plummeted in the group. According to Moragues, today such investment runs at three times less than in the years prior to the crisis. Many sectors stopped their television campaigns due to production costs and the adverts have become increasingly concentrated within private channels such as Telecinco and Antena 3. In the light of this scenario, EITB gradually left aside their insistence on language requirements, as the following declarations reveal: "They do not need a platform like ETB because the audience ratings of the private channels are very high" (Moragues, 2015).

To this must be added the proliferation of channels and audience fragmentation produced by Digital Terrestrial Television (DTT). As stated above, ETB₁ held a position with contents strongly oriented toward a very young audience, and theme channels targeting children multiplied, as occurred with *Clan* (created in 2006 and belonging to TVE) or *Disney Channel* (which became open and free of charge in 2008). Faced with this new competition, the group decided to create a thematic channel, ETB₃, which was set up in 2008. In advertising terms, this change meant the advertising package aimed at this target had to be shifted from one channel to another.

In 2010, TVE terminated funding from advertising. The autonomous television services tried to attract part of this advertising via FORTA, "but the greatest beneficiaries were the private television channels" (Moragues, 2015).

4.2. Current commercial management

The current commercial management runs in line with the scenario as it stood from 2007 onwards. There is no defined strategy for attracting investment to ETB₁, although there is concern about this in the organization's management. The head of the advertising team tells it like this: "even though we continue to offer and emphasize the value of ETB₁ advertising in Basque for the Basque audience, the advertisers don't want to know, and we've no other option than to accept it, the aim is to bring advertising in; it's a very difficult period" (Moragues, 2015). The negligible investment figures condemn the advertising management team to a daily struggle to meet the results set in the planning schedule. The audiences of ETB channels in general, and of ETB₁ in particular, are very low and have problems in attaining GRPs¹, which is why the team members are promoting channels such as ETB₁. When the rating obtained falls well below the figure established in the strategic plan, they enter into dialogue with the advertiser and suggest that part of the contracted advertising be broadcast on ETB₁. Then they dub the advert and manage to divert some adverts to ETB₁, although this was not previously stipulated in the negotiations. They have also had to adopt other measures, such as reducing the advertising blocks that most GRPs report, which

¹ The GRP (Gross Rating Point) is an advertising measurement unit utilized in the planning of media which calculates the impacts that will be attained upon a target in a concrete time period.

occurs, for instance, with the news bulletins (Moragues, 2015). All told, the present scenario is totally governed by commercial and funding interests, and the language issue is shunted to one side.

Lastly, with regard to possible measures that might be adopted to reverse this tendency, the two interviewees' opinions are not particularly encouraging: "our position is very weak, the advertisers don't need us and we're in no place to demand anything. They don't need a platform like ETB because the private channels have a very high audience share" (Moragues, 2015); "if there were any binding obligation where the language is concerned they would lose all the statewide advertisers (Larrinaga, 2015). In any event, the manager of the advertising team recognizes that "it would make sense to create an expert panel to bring in new ideas, not only regarding the language issue, but in general term" (Moragues, 2015).

4.3. Linguistic content analysis of adverts broadcast on ETB1

During the periods analysed, altogether 196 spots were broadcast in the week chosen in 2014, and 261 in the corresponding week in 2015, which registers similar prime-time broadcasting averages (39 a day in 2014; slightly higher, 42, in 2015). However, the daily broadcasting patterns were quite diverse depending on the day of the week and the presence or absence of an event (pelota or basketball games), with observable variations, from the 10 spots on Sunday 19 October 2014, to 65 on Monday 20, or 30 on 29 March 2015 to 58 on 31 March.

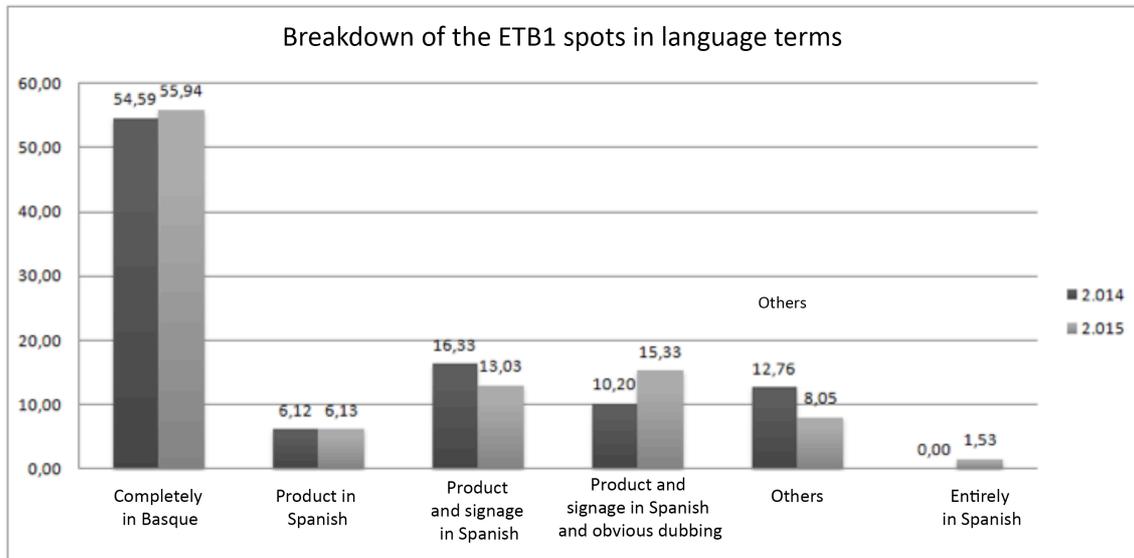
The same may be said about the length of the advertising blocks: there is no defined pattern and the durations vary greatly.

To codify the sample in relation with the presence of Basque the following categories were used, based on the criteria that are briefly explained below:

- Entirely in Basque, including product image and signage; it must be noted that some spots were speechless, but the graphic aspect was expressly taken into account
- In Basque but with the product image in Spanish or another kind of linguistic original (in this category we did not consider those that use an original audio in French, Italian or English, as is the case with some perfume commercials; the spots in this category are generally for products on sale in the whole state, and which don't have a specific product image for the Basque Country, as occurs with Danacol)
- In Basque but with the product image and signage in Spanish or another language, which would point to a spot produced for the Spanish market, with the audio dubbed into Basque, but no intervention in the image
- In Basque with the product image and signage in Spanish and the audio noticeably dubbed over the interpretation of actors who ostensibly speak another language (in these cases there is normally an intervention from a famous Spanish-speaking personality)
- Entirely in Spanish, with no adaptation into Basque
- Others, where perfume adverts, in particular, are included; their linguistic origin is varied and they usually appear with no adaptation into Basque or, if there is linguistic adaptation, it is into Spanish, as happens with the Valentino adverts that were broadcast on ETB1 with subtitles in Spanish

After the sample was analysed in line with these categories, the following graph was shaped with the results:

Graph 1. Breakdown of the ETB1 spots in language terms



Source: own elaboration

As can be observed in Graph 1, between 25-30% of the spots appear with the manifest presence of Spanish, showing signage or texts in this language or with evident dubbing. Similarly, advertising is still clearly broadcast totally in Spanish; to be specific, in the sample analysed, there were 4 spots that used this language alone.

Again, when we look at adverts broadcast entirely in Basque they represent just over half of the total (54.59% in 2014 and 55.94% in 2015), a figure significantly higher than was initially expected. It must be borne in mind, however, that a considerable number of these adverts correspond to self-promotion by EITB, that is, to advertising by the actual communication group and its programmes. These figures are collected in the following table:

Table 1. Percentage of self-promotions in adverts entirely in Basque

Adverts entirely in Basque for the two periods covering 2014 and 2015	Self-promotions among them	Percentage of self-promotions within the total, in Basque
253	118	46.64%

Source: own elaboration

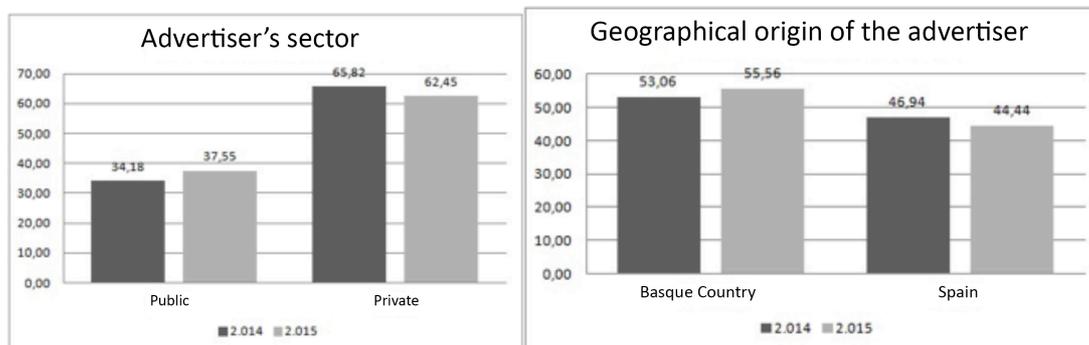
Self-promotion has a great weight as part of all the advertising broadcast on ETB1 during the period analysed (118 adverts out of a total of 457, 25.82%). And, as only Basque is used in all of them, this weight is considerably greater in spots classified in this category, since 46.64% of them are self-promotions, as shown in Table 1. If such internal advertising were extracted from the sample, the adverts broadcast entirely in Basque would fall to 39.82% (135 out of a total of 339).

4.4. Types of advertising behaviours

To determine the advertiser type, we took two variables into account. On one hand, their geographical origin, whereby we codified them as Basque or statewide advertisers. On the

other, the sector they are from: public administrations or private enterprises. This is the graphic representation of the breakdown:

Graphs 2 & 3. Advertiser's sector; geographical origin of the advertiser



Source: own elaboration

Graph 2 shows that the main weight is from private advertising, with 65.82% of broadcasts in 2014 and 62.45% in 2015. The same can be said of the advertising originating from Basque advertisers, as reflected in Graph 3: its relative weight stood at 53.06% in 2014, and 55.56% in 2015.

In this regard it must also be noted that the advertising comes from a relatively small number of institutions and commercial brands: the Basque Government, Regional County Council of Gipuzkoa and Donostia City Council in the first case; and the Basque brands that advertise on ETB are Eroski, Kaiku/Benecol, Euskaltel, Fortaleza, Keler; Forum Sport and Laboral Kutxa. Almost all of them do so using spots produced exclusively in Basque, except for Kaiku, whose image and brand are in Spanish (Kaiku Sin Lactosa) and Fortaleza, which uses a spot for Euskadi that was made for the Spanish market, admittedly dubbed (though clumsily) into Basque.

Fifteen Spanish or international brands were advertised in 2014 and in 2015. At an institutional level, the Government of Spain and AENA each included a spot. These brands do this by minimally adapting the spot they provide for the Spanish context, normally involving the use of dubbing and, in some cases, subtitling, as is the case of Balay in 2015. They scarcely ever adapt the signage or visual identity. In this aspect we should note that Vueling produces a spot totally adapted into Basque.

Perfume spots (Carolina Herrera, Paco Rabanne, Valentino, etc.) constitute a specific case: where Basque is concerned they pursue the same criteria as they do with other languages or markets, in that they utilize the same standardized campaign underlining the symbolic connotations associated with international languages such as French or English. Sometimes, as with Valentino, the adaptation into Spanish is used, employing subtitles. The presence of brands fits in with campaigns whose length may vary. Only one brand obstinately appears in the two periods studied, Danacol, which follows a broadcasting pattern bordering on saturation. The rest of the statewide brands do not reappear from 2014 to 2015. This is not the case of the Basque brands (Eroski, Forum Sport...), which keep up an almost permanent presence, although at a lower intensity.

5. Discussion and conclusions

Throughout the article an attempt has been made to show how Basque public television's use and management of Basque in advertising have developed from the beginnings to the present day. From the initial indifference whereby advertising contents were not regarded

to be on the same level as audio-visual contents and the broadcasting of spots in Spanish was accepted without any questioning, the move was then made –especially after the opening of the second channel in Spanish, the development of autonomous television services in other Communities or Regions in the State and the increase in competition for audience share with the opening of private channels –toward a new appreciation of advertising in its dual communicative-cultural and economy dimension. Combining both dynamics would not, however, prove easy.

Scheduling strategies were soon linked with an audience development policy that brought with it an important increase in advertising broadcasts. This strong presence meant that advertising could no longer be considered as a residual feature in broadcasting from a language perspective. A management model was then chosen using massive dubbing of spots under the responsibility of the channel itself, which in the short term partially resolved the problem, but over a longer term perspective was demonstrated to have scarce viability, particularly in the new environment where crisis and exacerbated television competition went hand in hand.

The fact of the matter is that this model has not served to involve enterprises in shouldering the cost of linguistic diversity in advertising and, above all, has contributed very little to the development of autonomous advertising creation in Basque: the enterprises themselves and even Basque institutions followed this same system of translation-dubbing advertising via agencies over for years. This also led, in the long run, to the kind of advertising quality that has been broadcast and, in general, to the way the whole Basque advertising system has developed, from the linguistic point of view, at least, in a similar way to what Sabaté pointed out in the Catalan case, when he remarked that it ran the risk of becoming a permanently “translated and corrected” system.

In this context, the progressive deregulation of the television market and, especially, the audience fragmentation and huge increase in competition stemming from the digitalization of television blocked the possibility of correcting the structural deficits of this system. And this accentuated with the economic crisis that broke out around the end of the last decade. On the one hand, the gradual loss of attraction exercised by the first channel in Basque from the audience perspective led to the new strategies of advertising marketing that prioritize the binding of advertising broadcasting in Basque to obligations derived from scheduling investment in Spanish, without qualifying the value of the presence of brands in Basque. On the other, by pursuing the same approach lacking in a real linguistic strategy for advertising and involving the total subordination of commercial policies to the need to acquire commercial resources that compensate or curb, where possible, the drop in income, advertising in Basque remains at the whim of short-term measures driven by enterprises needing to justify their advertising investments by accumulating GRPs.

So the qualitative and quantitative analyses show the need for an overall reconsideration of the advertising question by Basque public television. The failure to differentiate advertising income in language terms stands in the way of reaching more definitive conclusions, but a number of questions can certainly be framed:

1) On one hand, funding policies for adapting spots recorded in Basque have, in general, proved effective in the achieving of the Basquization of broadcasts that, despite brand reluctance, have not disappeared over time. Indeed, the process has accentuated during the crisis. Nevertheless, Spanish still markedly makes its appearance in the shape of things such as signage, product image or the actual (low) quality of the adaptation, when this does not occur in a direct way. The predatory intrusion that Fernández and Pereira remarked on in the Galician case still reveals its presence.

2) On the other hand, given how few brands invest in advertising on the channel in Basque in the present context, strategies targeting the securing of GRPs run the risk of saturating the audience.

3) Finally, bearing in mind the extremely low levels of ETB advertising investment in the present circumstances, the validity of the advertising broadcasting model for the channels in Basque should be examined. Self-promotions aside, most advertising broadcasts continue to be dubbed, in some cases quite crassly so, despite the organization's efforts, with little linguistic sensitivity and with scarcely no qualitative brand value contribution. Perhaps the time has arrived to come up with a new long-term strategy for advertising in Basque, designed from a far more qualitative perspective that emphasizes and reinforces differentiating brand value, and holds as its number one objective the need to give impetus to the Basque language and achieve its normalization.

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