The Role of Original Version Cinema into the European Digital Space

El rol del cine en versión original en el espacio digital europeo

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Abstract

This paper reports the results derived from the research project, entitled "eDCINEMA: Towards the European Digital Space. The role of small cinemas in original version" (CSO2012-35784), which focused on the analysis of the role of movies in OV/OVS in achieving diversity of languages and cultures (as viewed from the European Digital Agenda) as well as Community policies on the promotion of small cinemas in the European digital space. The current study is based on a methodological triangulation, a transnational exchange of information between 62 European experts and a multistage organization, which included: a critical review of the scarce essay writing and profuse Community rules, in-depth interviews with international experts and a design and implementation of a prospective Delphi questionnaire. One of the most remarkable research results is summarized as an indicator of the conflict between the clearly demonstrated OV influences to make progress towards achieving the ideal of a real language diversity, and Community-wide application of packages of random measures, which often leads to lack of expected results. Consequently, the study suggests a strategic reorientation of the European Audiovisual Model toward further exploitation of its 24 languages, on the role of vernacular and not just as vehicular languages, and eventually as guarantors in the process of reliable access to cultural and scientific repertoires.

Resumen

El presente trabajo pormenoriza los resultados de la investigación «eDCinema: Hacia el espacio digital europeo, el papel de las cinematografías pequeñas en versión original» (CSO2012-35784), orientada al análisis del rol que el cine en VO/VOS desempeña en la consecución de la diversidad lingüística y cultural contemplada en la Agenda Digital Europea, así como del encaje normativo de las cinematografías de pequeñas dimensiones en el espacio digital europeo. La triangulación múltiple del proyecto pivota sobre un plantea-

miento pluridisciplinar, basado en un intercambio transnacional de conocimientos dimanantes de un panel de 62 expertos europeos, así como en un pautado polietápico que incluye: revisión crítica de la escasa literatura ensayística y de la profusa normativa comunitaria, realización de entrevistas en profundidad a expertos, diseño y aplicación de un cuestionario prospectivo Delphi. Entre los resultados del estudio destaca el hecho paradójico de que, frente a la contrastada relevancia del acceso a contenidos en VO como complemento indispensable de la cohesión cultural europea y de la consecución del ideal de diversidad lingüística, la Unión Europea continúa implementando paquetes de medidas de carácter aleatorio, fragmentario y contingente que, en general, abocan a una sistémica ausencia de resultados. Consecuentemente, se recomienda una reorientación estratégica del modelo audiovisual europeo a la explotación de sus 24 lenguas, en su condición vernácula y no sólo vehicular, como garantes del acceso fidedigno a vastos repertorios culturales o científicos.

Keywords / Palabras clave

1. Introduction and state of the question

There have been numerous commitments by the UE and its member states to preserving and promoting cultural and linguistic diversity in Europe, in which cinema plays a key role as a paradigm of convergence between technological innovation, the economy and "cultural capital" formulated by Bordieu (2005). The "European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages" (ECRML) approved by the European Council on 25 June 1992 and adopted by UNESCO in 1996 committed its signatories in article 12b "to give priority to the variety of access media in other languages to works produced in regional or minority languages, thus enabling and developing the activities of translation, dubbing and post-synchronization and subtitling" (EC, 1992).

This was the context for the research project "eDCINEMA: Towards the European Digital Space. The role of small movie theatres in original version cinema" (CSO2012-35784), undertaken between 2013-2015 by the Grupo de Estudos Audiovisuais at the University of Santiago de Compostela, financed through the Ministry of Economy and Competiveness' National R+D+i Plan.

Most of the research developed around neuroscience enables us to isolate empirical evidence of the extent of the diffusion of cinematographic content in original version (OV) within linguistic and cultural education. Vez, Muñoz and Llinares (2011: 2-3), in their report "Promotion of the Original Version in the diffusion of audiovisual content. Contributions from research on linguistic education", state that linguistic diversity should not be circumscribed by the regulated educational system because of the latter's obvious limitations in terms of the appropriation of foreign languages in contexts of effective interculturality. This appropriation is, a priori, supportive in nature and can only later become expressive.

Access to audiovisual content in OV thus becomes an indispensable part of the configuration of "an open space for civic culture in which a profile develops of a citizenry that is more socially cohesive and which shares a concept of communication that can better attend to the empathetic, diversifying and socio-cultural aspects that must form part (…) of the metacommunicative conscience of those who aspire to be competent plural European citizens" (Vez, Muñoz, & Llinares, 2011: 3). This reflection is based on two principles:
- The narrative structure adapts ideally to the cognitive activation processes.
- The audiovisual incident in its original conception, that is, made in the language in which it was conceived, unequivocally recreates models of situations that mobilize in the receiver the three constituent cognitive processes of empathetic learning: to activate, construct and integrate.

The viewer becomes a subject who experiences situations of mediated linguistic immersion in which he/she intuitively and autonomously appropriates cultural and linguistic meanings through these three processes. Numerous key authors −Kuppens (2010), Sundqvist & Sylvén (2014), Collins & Muñoz (2016), etc.− state that, at the level of understanding, audiovisual content shows greater effectivity and dynamism than the proverbial academic resources of linguistic teaching-learning.

In terms of the broad regulatory framework available, the "eDCINEMA" investigation has primarily focused on the European Digital Agenda (EDA) and the Creative Europe 2014-2020 plan, both as a main documentary source and as a partial study approach. The material documents a short-term integral development model with an economic-industrial focus that will eventually determine the European socio-cultural model to be adopted. We have designed some of the core objectives of our research around the following plan:

- The analysis of the situation, based on EC policy, of small cinemas in terms of their volume of production, the scale of the local market and the vehicular languages (Hjort & Petrie, 2007).
- The taxonomy of incentives authorized for European cinema produced in non-hegemonic languages and their showing in OV/SOV, within the cultural diversity considered in the EDA.
- The identification of actions aimed at fostering visibility and accessibility to productions from small cinematographic frameworks in the European digital audiovisual space.
- The relevance of showing films in OV/SOV to achieve the cultural and linguistic diversity as envisaged by the EDA.

The approach to these objectives requires placing the EDA in its context (EC, 2014) in relation to the antecedents of this new digital project directed at the "cultural citizen" (León, 2009). In 2007, the European Commission, in its commitment to stimulate media literacy, proposed an "Agenda" as a guideline to the Community approach towards culture, based on a proposal in which technological innovation should be in the service of knowledge of the European audiovisual heritage and cultural identities. At the same time, media literacy in the educational setting would enhance the connection to creative digital content (EC, 2009: 10).

Continuous learning constituted the necessary counterpart in this symbiotic approach of culture and digital innovation: this was seconded by the two other institutional standard bearers of the European Union, the European Parliament and the European Council, when defining as key competences "those which all people need for their personal development in order to be active citizens, for social inclusion and employment" (EP, 2006: 13), as well as emphasising communication in one's mother tongue and in foreign languages, digital competence and cultural and awareness and expression.

These EU proposals led to initiatives in Spain by the Institute of Cinematography and Audiovisual Arts (ICAA) and the Ministry of Education's Office of the Secretary of State for Education and Vocational Training, which set up a Committee of Experts in July 2011. One of the main conclusions of the committee was the need to promote access to audiovisual works in original version as a key objective of all cultural and political education, to bring the audience into contact with diversity, neutralizing the false appropriation of a homogenous reality that consists of characters, referential universes and undifferentiated social profiles, and at the same time modifying the social habit of majority access to dubbed audiovisual content (Committee of Experts, 2011:3). A difficult objective to achieve if one considers that, in the six years prior to the establishment of the committee, the average number of SOV films was around 30% of all the movies shown in cinemas, yet the average number of viewers of SOV films barely reached 3% of all cinema goers, as the following table shows:

Table 1. Figures for cinemas showing films in SOV (source: ICAA)						
Number of cinemas	4,401	4,299	4,296	4,140	4,082	4,080
Cinemas showing OV films	87	86	94	115	112	108

with Spanish subtitles: 200 days/year					
Cinemas showing OV films with Spanish subtitles: 150 days/year	111	107	112	127	128	125
% cinemas showing OV films on a regular basis (150 days)	2.52%	2.49%	2.61%	3.07%	3.14%	3.06%
Number of films shown (Titles)	1,730	1,748	1,776	1,652	1,481	1,555
Films in OV with Spanish subtitles	531	583	441	499	462	439
% SOV films	30.69%	33.35%	24.83%	30.21%	31.20%	28.23%
Total number of viewers	127,651,225	121,654,481	116,930,692	107,813,259	109,986,858	101,589,517
Total number of SOV viewers	3,219,740	3,055,219	2,058,076	4,150,441	5,361,536	3,370,860
% of SOV viewers	2.52%	2.51%	1.76%	3.85%	4.87%	3.31%

Based on the ICAA data, the Committee of Experts proposed stimulating demand for, and increasing the number of, films shown in OV, and it urged Spain's Senate to incorporate all the country's official languages in subtitling, which the Senate duly approved on 12 July 2011, recommending that the government take steps to give effect to the policy.

The committee also recommended greater coordination between all competent authorities in formulating public funding systems to digitalize movie theatres to better accommodate works in OV, and to halt the trend for cinemas in rural areas to disappear (Committee of Experts, 2011: 9).

The reflections and arguments presented by this committee are praiseworthy for their clarity, accuracy and feasibility compared to the work of certain European institutions: the committee warns of a clear structural threat in the deterioration of the cultural fabric of society resulting from the erosion of cinematographic and linguistic pathways.

2. Material and methods

The complexity of the contemporary socio-cultural environment in general, and the intricacy of certain study subjects in particular, lead research groups to undertake broad and inclusive transdisciplinary approaches, often based on multiple triangulations –data-based, investigative, theoretical and methodological− that are stratified in nature. This is the case of our project: a multidisciplinary proposal based on an exchange of knowledge arising from the critical revision of the literature and regulations, broadened and contrasted by qualitative and quantitative contributions from an "initial population" −later constituted as a "Panel"− of 62 European experts resident in minority language areas of the EU –Catalonia (6.45%), the Basque Country (14.52%), Galicia (24.19%), Valencia (3.22%), Scotland (1.61%), Wales (3.22%), Finland (4.83%), France (3.22,%), Holland (6.45%), Italy (1.61%) and Portugal (1.61%)−, segmented in four profiles of competence −«Academic" (37.10%), "Institutional" (24.19%), "Cultural Manager" (22.58%) and "Creator" (16.13%)− and which envisages in-depth interviews of elites and prospective Delphi questionnaires.

The figure below shows the stratification of our research in four successive and complementary phases:
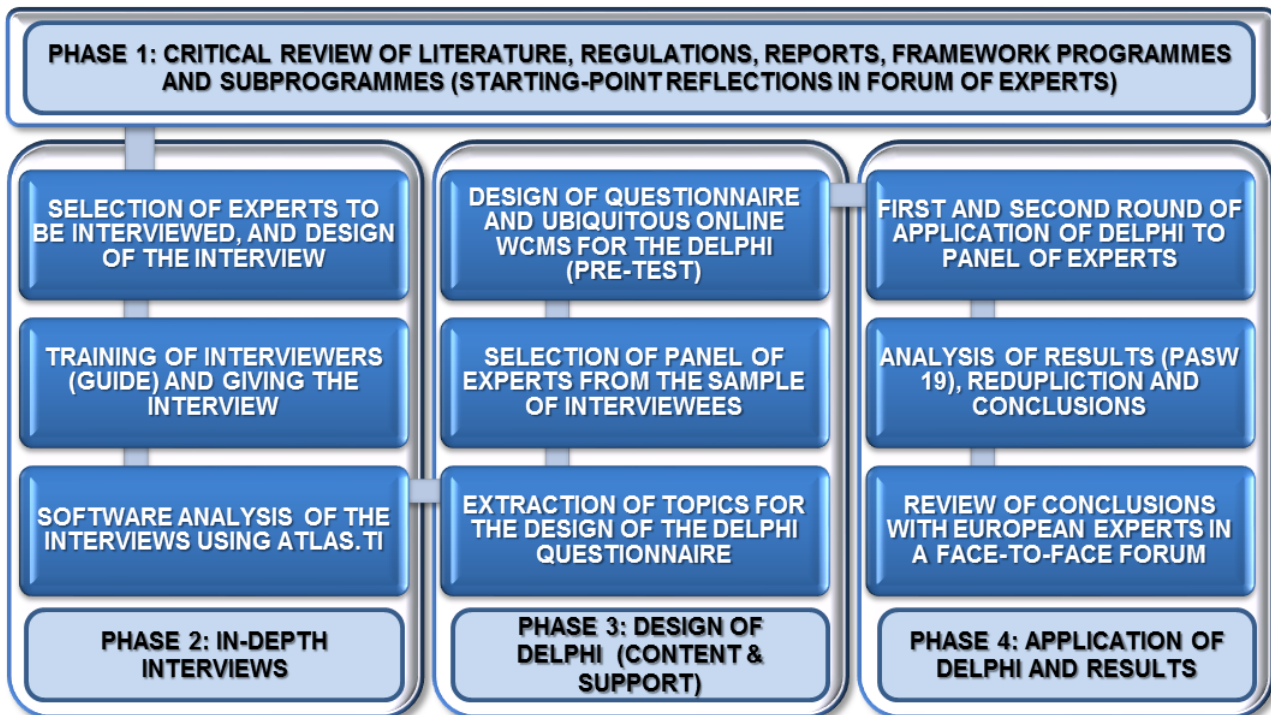
PHASE 1: CRITICAL REVIEW OF LITERATURE, REGULATIONS, REPORTS, FRAMEWORK PROGRAMMES AND SUBPROGRAMMES (STARTING-POINT REFLECTIONS IN FORUM OF EXPERTS)

SELECTION OF EXPERTS TO BE INTERVIEWED, AND DESIGN OF THE INTERVIEW

TRAINING OF INTERVIEWERS (GUIDE) AND GIVING THE INTERVIEW

SOFTWARE ANALYSIS OF THE INTERVIEWS USING ATLAS.TI

PHASE 2: IN-DEPTH INTERVIEWS

DESIGN OF QUESTIONNAIRE AND UBIQUITOUS ONLINE WCMS FOR THE DELPHI (PRE-TEST)

SELECTION OF PANEL OF EXPERTS FROM THE SAMPLE OF INTERVIEWEES

EXTRACTION OF TOPICS FOR THE DESIGN OF THE DELPHI QUESTIONNAIRE

PHASE 3: DESIGN OF DELPHI (CONTENT & SUPPORT)

FIRST AND SECOND ROUND OF APPLICATION OF DELPHI TO PANEL OF EXPERTS

ANALYSIS OF RESULTS (PASW 19), REDUPLICTION AND CONCLUSIONS

REVIEW OF CONCLUSIONS WITH EUROPEAN EXPERTS IN A FACE-TO-FACE FORUM

PHASE 4: APPLICATION OF DELPHI AND RESULTS

Figure 1. Summary of the project's flow in stages.

As the figure shows, only after a critical and exhaustive review of the literature, regulations and reports, as well as conducting the Forum of Experts to provide meeting points and spaces for reflection for the main agents involved, was it feasible to select the population of experts for the interviews and design the interview which, in line with the methodology of the so-called "interviews of elites", was subject to modification by the interviewees themselves in their role as experts on the theme of this research. Given that this type of interview can generate an amount of potentially irrelevant information greater than in other types of interview, Ruiz-Olabuénaga (2007) recommends using "interview guides".

When the interviews were finished, the considerable content they had yielded was analysed using the ATLAS.ti qualitative data analysis software for the isolation and taxonomy of a series of fundamental topics that could be used in a second phase for the prospective Delphi questionnaire. For the design of this survey we consulted earlier studies (Pazos & Ruiz 2008; Mohedano, 2013; San-Eugenio, Fernández, & Jiménez, 2013).

The questionnaire was applied in successive rounds to a "Panel of Experts" selected from the specialists interviewed, based on their particular competence and the proactivity shown during the development of the in-depth interview phase. In order to make best use of the limited space available, we will not present an overview of the interview questionnaires and Delphi here as these will be examined in depth later under "Analysis and Results" and "Discussion and Conclusions".

We used two types of specialist software for data extraction and management depending on the qualitative or quantitative nature of the analysis:

Software	Usage	Characteristics	Advantages
Table 2. Type, usage, features and advantages of the software packages for data extraction and management			
IBM SPSS (PASW) Statistics	For predictive analysis and quantitative	Proven potential for data management, systematic analysis, generation of reports, manage-	Outstanding ergonomics for data searching and management thanks to automatic adaptation to PASW syntax

| 19 | data management | ment of algorithms, detection and correction of errors or lost values. | of open source program languages like R and Python. |
| ATLAS.ti 7.5.11 Qualitative Data Analysis | For qualitative analysis of sets of text, video and graphics | Broad multilinguistic support, intuitive generation of analyses based on primitive epistemological relations and recovery of data with Boolean, semantic and proximate operators. | The latest versions optimize the hierarchization of the analysis material, "conceptual map" construction and interaction with other languages such as SPSS, HTML, XML, CSV, Oracle, MySQL… |

An overview of the regulations studied in this investigation is important for understanding the role of cinema in achieving linguistic diversity and the extracurricular acquisition or consolidation of key competences in minority languages. We are referring to EDA / Europa 2020, a nodal, prospective European Community project that has generated several other documents that have also been analysed here. In addition, the intensive documental analysis methodology derived from the application of controlled hermeneutics by inference –in the style of López (2002), Bardin (2013: 15-29), Krippendorf (2013) and Chevrier (2009: 53-87)−, provided a more accurate valuation of the incidence of the audiovisual narrative in the very diversity of language and culture (Ledo & Castelló, 2013).

In the EDA framework, we can see how the role apportioned to "Language Technologies" in the Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) programme (EC, 204:14) is significant, with a clear socio-economic objective: the consolidation of a single European digital market accessible to all citizens. In this context, connectivity via fast cheap broadband for European citizenry is increasingly in demand, as documented in the report by the Committee on Industry, Research and Energy (CIRE, 2010) which emphasises:

- The vindication of a Digital Society that is inclusive, based on accessibility to technology by competent users.
- The taking into account of the vital role of the Creative and Cultural Industries (CCI) in the configuration of a single market for creative content, with the CCI involved in the cultural and linguistic specificities.
- The promotion of "the virtuous 2015.eu spiral" which, under the auspices of Zen Business, aims to replace the traditional linearity of the value chain with a synergic effect in the creation of value shared among its actors (Coll, 2015).
- The consideration of "digital literacy" as essential for social integration, in line with Aguaded (2011: 8),
- The reinforcing of school learning via ICT innovations, especially related to early exposure to foreign languages, both being effective operatives in the service of cohesion.

3. Analysis and results

The role of cinema in the European digital project is set out in a recent EDA report that the Committee of Culture and Education (CCE) presented to the European Parliament (CCE, 2015). The report cites the European film industry, with 1,500 films released in 2014, as one of the most productive worldwide, although it acknowledges that its financing model makes the structure of this output extremely irregular (CCE, 2015: 5), which undermines its performance as an "industry" and as "European". The report also notes the paradox that, despite the undoubted quality, originality and diversity of productions, European cinema attracts only small audiences and is not widely distributed inside or outside the EU, and is incapable of providing a real alternative to strong international competition (CCE, 2015: 5).

Thus, it is of immediate importance to emphasise the cinematographic diversity and cultural and linguistic plurality of Europe as one of its main strengths, by guaranteeing its funding through institutional actions such as the MEDIA sub-programme, which provides financial support for the de-

velopment of film production and distribution, with over half the general budget of the Creative Europe Program, some 1.5 million euros for 2014-2020 (CCE, 2015: 15).

In terms of the specific effect which the European development model praised by the EDA has had on political action undertaken by EU Member States in general, and on the Spanish multicultural, multilinguistic context in particular, the Council of Ministers approved the "Digital Agenda for Spain" on 15 February 2013. The strategy for political action on ICT, Electronic Government and the Information Society for 2013-2015 was shaped by the notion that the "Information Society" concept, as opposed to the term "Digital Society" coined by the European Community for its socio-cultural project, was outdated (Medialab, 2016).

The government, under the aegis of the Ministries of Industry, Energy and Tourism, Taxation and Public Administration, articulated the question of Spain's linguistic diversity in its "Plan for the Promotion of Language Technologies". It emphasised the development of linguistic infrastructures in Spanish and other official languages geared to the achievement of linguistic processors and resources considered indispensable for the development of the national industry for the Processing of Natural Language (PNL) and Automatic Translation (AT), with direct repercussions on film subtitling.

The Office of the Secretary of State for Telecommunications and the Information Society (SETSI in Spanish), which is responsible for coordinating and implementing the Digital Agenda for Spain, helps "Language Technologies" gather momentum: the PLN and AT act as processors that transcend text analysis and subsequent exploitation in computer applications (Language Technology Promotion Plan – PITL in Spanish, 2015: 11) in order to monitor reputations on social networks, create alerts, assist in the online learning of foreign languages and automate translation and text correction processes, mainly in the field of "grey literature" (SETSI, 2015: 6-7).

SETSI gives less prominence to AT restricting its business model to the commercialization of the services provided by the autonomous public administrations, mainly in via SaaS, "Software as a service", paid for by users-clients on demand (SETSI, 2015: 112).

After studying the European Community regulations, we now turn to the vast array of documentation consulted with our panel of European experts. The system used consisted of synthesising the topics extracted from a critical review of the literature and in-depth interviews with experts into a prospective online Delphi questionnaire which, following an exhaustive pre-test phase, was applied to a Panel of Experts.

The data from the Delphi methodology were converted into a battery of retrospective, contemporary and prospective consensuses and disagreements around the topics put to the Panel, accompanied by the degree of concurrence reached among the panellists. With adjustments for appropriate clarifications, the table below sets out the contributions from the panellists and their greatest degree of concurrence, with a highly homogenous degree of distribution.

Table 3. Themes and topics with the greatest degree of concurrence and with a highly homogenous distribution		
Theme	**Topics formulated by the Panellists**	**Concurrence**
Specific policies	It is essential to recognize and protect identity in cinema as European intangible cultural heritage.	86.21%
	The Community principle of linguistic plurality is not clearly defined in strategies aimed at achieving this goal.	81.48%
	Barriers to access to cinematographic diversity in cinemas reveal the vulnerability of the European cultural identity.	83.33%
	The generalization of films in OV/SOV in cinemas would contribute to linguistic diversity in Europe.	90.00%
Diffusion	European public broadcasters must consolidate and increase the number of European films shown in OV/SOV.	96.67%
	Although public television stations are one of the main broadcasters of films in vernacular languages…	79.31%
	…they have not achieved the objective of distributing the films made in the lan-	74.08%

	guage of their own autonomous community to other countries.	
	The EDA must promote the creation of digital platforms to offer the public this type of cinema.	93.34%
	Cooperation between cinemas, festivals, universities and film libraries would improve their broadcasting potential and their reception by the public.	90.00%
Dubbing and sub-titling	The prevalence of dubbing is the first obstacle to the acceptance of vernacular language films.	90.00%
	The generalization of OV will lead to greater linguistic diversity in Europe.	93.10%
	An intensive education in linguistic diversity would further infants' familiarization with films in OV.	90.00%
	One of the obstacles to the generalization of subtitling is the competition be-tween TV channels for greater audience share.	85.71%
European digital space	Cinema websites play a decisive role in capturing new audiences for identity-based films.	86.67%
	UER/FORTA will generate an online platform for European cinema à la carte, managing the Internet distribution rights.	83.20%
	The proliferation of digital film distribution networks has contributed significantly to the increased visibility of identity in cinema.	73.08%

To conclude this section, methodological rigor obliges us to review those topics which, although widely cited in the reference texts and in the in-depth interviews –and if not, might not have been included in the Delphi questionnaire−, triggered major discrepancies among the panellists. The question whether "screen quotas should be imposed for the daily showing of 50% of European films in OV" caused most controversy, for although the most selected option was "Disagree" (27.59%), the sum of the various options –overlapping in the Likert scale or the "evaluation meth-ods summary"− that refute the statement and those that subscribe to it show similar scores (37.93%).

4. Discussion and conclusions

In our reflection on the European Community, we sense a clear aspiration to worldwide cultural leadership (Mattelart, 2006), with the potential for cultural penetration and positioning of the me-dium of cinema. While this aspiration is undoubtedly legitimate, it is currently unreachable since European filmmakers spend barely 1% of a film's production budget on promoting and commercial-izing the product, whereas in the USA they tend to spend as much on promotion as on production. Hence the uncomfortable fact that European films are shown almost exclusively in their countries of origin and not beyond (CCE, 2015: 14).

What is more, support for the subtitled film genre by MEDIA inexplicably trails off when compared to the dubbed version, which appears to be a clear brake on the evolution of the treatment of cul-tural diversity in the European digital space, as well as the acquisition and consolidation of key competences in minority languages through cinema in original version. We can see how one of the potential strengths of European cinema becomes, once again due to faulty political strategy, one of its main weaknesses:

- Potential strength: in a European context of generalized digitalization, one would expect the European Community to fully support the promotion of subtitled multilingual cinema, em-phasising those technologically and creatively innovative experiences which, always in the pursuit of quality subtitling and of its integration in cinematographic works, enable the viewer to benefit from the contributions to partial subtitling by O'Sullivan (2008), to creative subtitling by McClarty (2012), or even the universal design applied to media accessibility by Udo and Fels (2009).
- Real weakness: instead, the EU has opted for a participatory financial model to fund subti-tling, namely, crowdsourcing, and there is a preparatory action underway (CCE, 2015: 7) that could possibly exclude MEDIA from all or part of the subsidy for European film subti-

tling. The aim would be to set up an online platform to attract funding for the translation of audiovisual subtitles (CCE, 2015: 17), which would lead the European Council to neglect its public duty by leaving to chance, in the form of voluntary contributions by individuals, compliance with the commitments set out the ECRML.

In Spain, the government aims to lead the multilingual experience of its four official languages (SETSI, 2015: 8) by reducing the distance that separates their linguistic infrastructures with regard to English, in terms of quantity, quality and availability of resources (PITL, 2015: 20). However, as in the case of Europe, it is only the idiosyncrasy of Spanish industry that could come up with the principle for such leadership: the high costs of production of the linguistic resources for each application domain means they are unaffordable for the small- and medium-sized companies that are the real operational and dynamic agents of the sector.

In addition, the reports by Gartner (2015) alert to the general lack of awareness of this type of application, and such is the shortage of demand that Spanish companies in the sector find manacled to almost pre-industrial ways of working: small-scale, between 1 and 10 workers, a lack of awareness in the sector or of partnership structures, etc.

We have seen that this apparent sense of drift in pursuit of language technologies clearly highlights the strategic fault at the heart of the proposal of the Digital Agenda for Spain: if film businesses find unacceptable the conditions that encumber non-hegemonic linguistic raw material, it is precisely the cultural perspective that must be confronted first instead of being passed over by, or even deleted from, the institutional discourse.

Put another way, if it is their very condition as non-hegemonic languages that relegates their respective technological PNL and AT markets to almost mute expression, only by the extent to which such languages can benefit from their vernacular, and not just vehicular, condition as a guarantee of real access to vast cultural and scientific repertoires will they be able to position themselves in the transnational market of automatic translation and independent language text processing, the economic forecast for which is set to rise in their sector of the business, from the current 12 billion € to 30 billion € in 2020 (PITL, 2015: 12).

This is, therefore, a strategic sector for the EU and its 24 official languages some of which are in "critical danger" of digital extinction. Hence the management of multilingualism in the Single European Digital Market is a priority objective for the "Connecting Europe Facility" (CEF) whose array of digital public services includes tools for accessing linguistic resources in various European languages (SETSI, 2015: 9). Likewise, reformulating political action in Spain with regard to language technologies must be done without delay, in line with increasing European concern about the Gordian knot which, for the Single European Digital Market, is linguistic diversity (SETSI, 2015: 19), even if not clearly stated in EU texts aimed at its citizens.

However, there is hope at hand in that the Spanish government' proverbial quietism on the subject will be somewhat ameliorated by the actions of regional autonomous institutions that will gain strength by joining their respective cultural heritages to linguistic reality, transcending merely instrumental considerations. In this regard, SETSI (2015: 56) draws attention to three reference centres:

- The Centre for Terminology in the Catalan Language (TERMCAT: www.termcat.cat): created in 1985 by the Generalitat (autonomous Catalan government) and the Institut d'Estudis Catalans, its mission is to integrate Catalan terminology via numerous tools and linguistic resources, both in specialist sectors and among society at large.
- The Basque Centre of Terminology and Lexicography (UZEI: www.uzei.eus/es): in operation for over 35 years, it has become a compulsory point of reference in the field of research and development of language technologies thanks to the development of PNL tools through its euLEZ project.
- The Galician Language Institute (ILG: http://ilg.usc.es/es/recursos): attached to the University of Santiago de Compostela in collaboration with the Real Galician Academy, the ILG develops specialist scholarly resources in the field of the Galician language with a solid base in language technologies.

As a corollary of the contributions and reflections aired so far, we present the most important conclusions of our study:

- Access to OV content is an indispensable complement to European social cohesion and the achievement of the ideal of linguistic diversity, as it transcends the logical limitations of the regulated educational system in its proposition of intercultural contexts that are effective for the appropriation of foreign languages.
- That said, and although some actions to preserve the European Intangible Cultural Heritage are praiseworthy in their attempt to promote the subtitling of audiovisual content, the clear formal commitment of the Conventions (ECRML) usually ends up as batteries of random, fragmentary and contingent measures whose outcome is a systematic lack of results.
- Together with the proposals sent to the European Parliament by the Committee for Culture and Education (CCE, 2015), we draw attention to the urgent need to redirect European strategies for commercialization towards disruptive models that contemplate audiences' cultural specificities by boosting subtitling as a guarantee of transnational circulation and of the projection of the linguistic and cultural diversity of Europe (Marzal, 2003).
- Likewise, in line with the calls from our experts, we cite the need for coordinated action among European institutions and policies to protect identity in cinema as European intangible cultural heritage by promoting its dissemination in cinemas, on television, digital platforms, at festivals, universities and film libraries.
- Priority should be given to funding the production and distribution of audiovisual works in their respective vernacular languages, not to dubbing, in order to familiarize the general public, especially children, with films in OV/SOV as a guarantee of mutual understanding at European level.
- The European audiovisual model must redirect its exploitation strategies regarding the EU's 24 languages by focusing on the vernacular, not just the vehicular, as a guarantee of authentic access to huge cultural and scientific repertoires, taking the Danish example as best practice (López, Castelló & Arias, 2015).

As a corollary of this work, we acknowledge that the main limitation of this study in terms of the universalization of the results is the number of interviewees, those surveyed, and the countries involved. This does not? Prevent us from considering our research as a point of reference in its field in terms of methodology, content and results, with the hope that future investigations will deepen and broaden the exploration of our study subject.

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