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The relationship between music and images in French non-fiction TV programs.

From a media-inherited practice to an autonomous one (1949-2015)

Guylaine Gueraud-Pinet
Univ. Grenoble Alpes
guylaine.gueraud-pinet@univ-grenoble-alpes.fr

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SUMMARY

The use of pre-existing music during television news and magazine or reality shows produced in France has increased steadily since the industry began. Although music in TV fiction has been a matter of academic interest since the late 1970s (Tagg, 2000; Frith, 2002; Coates, 2007), non-fiction programs have enjoyed little attention from the academic world. In a context of socio-cultural and socio-economic change in music and television spanning 60 years, this article discusses the following questions: How has the relationship between images and music on TV evolved since 1949? Was it built upon media-inherited techniques or did television media devise their own practices? A statistical analysis has been performed on 140 TV programs broadcast between 1949 and 2015, and a music/image classification has been used to test close to 2000 extracts from pre-existing music tracks. Building on Roger Bowman (1949) and Ron Rodman's (2010) proposals on music in fiction TV programs, this classification allows us to adopt a perspective drawing from socio-economic and semiotic approaches. Three time periods have been identified: 1950-1980: inherited music integration; 1980-2000: editorial music integration; 2000-2015: hyper-contextualized music integration. At first, music was thus used much as it had been in other media (space-time contextualization, leitmotiv, etc.). Then, from the 1980s onwards, it started to reflect channels' editorial policy, especially in the case of French music channel, *M6*. Finally, since the 2000s, even though these aspects are still valid, we have observed the emergence of "hypercontextualization" processes, in which verbatim use of lyrics has become common practice.

Summary

The use of pre-existing music[1] during television news and magazine or reality shows produced in France has increased steadily since the industry began. It is therefore quite commonplace to hear a song by the Rolling Stones playing in the background of a TV newscast, or to hear the original soundtrack of *Pirates of the Caribbean* on a reality cooking show. The socio-economic and socio-technical context within which this music editing practice is set has gone through tremendous changes since the 2000s (Bouquillion & Combès, 2007). Such changes can be accounted for by the use of new production and post-production techniques, but also by the crisis that hit the French music industry in 2003 and the renewal of television programming after streaming platforms came into use. Therefore, music editing plays a key role in analyzing the relationship between music and images.

From a theoretical standpoint, there is a lack of research dealing with the "image-music" arrangement in information and communication sciences. Academic research in the field seems to emphasize images when it comes to television (Lochard & Soulages, 1998; Hanot, 2002; Soulages, 2007). Similarly, it is fairly unusual to come across research associating music with non-fiction TV programs, even in musicology or film studies. One reason for this is that music in fiction TV shows seems to generate more interest than music in reality shows (Coates, 2007). Broadly speaking, research analyzing the relationship between music and images tends to focus on cinema. Studies dealing with television are rather recent and scarce in number (Jost, 2004; Hilmes, 2008; Rodman, 2010; Deaville, 2011). They all agree on the idea that broadly applying the findings of film music analysis to television is impossible for two main reasons: firstly, because television is broadcast in a continuous flow; and secondly, television has been met with increased rationalization since the 1980s, which means its content now has a commercial value. Thus, radio, as well as other musicalized media formats, could be regarded as a key part of the legacy television has inherited, just like cinema.

Our article is at the intersection of these perspectives. It focuses on the integration of pre-existing music tracks in non-fiction TV programs since 1949, adopting an info-communicational approach and a perspective that spans socioeconomics and semiotics. The main goal of this work is first to question how the relationship between images and music on TV has evolved since 1949. Next, it is to ask whether it has been built upon media-inherited techniques or whether televised media devised their own practices. In other words, this research consists of identifying the pre-existing functions of the "image/music" pairing in films or on the radio in order to find out whether they are present in television. Do TV shows use music as a leitmotiv or a spatio-temporal contextualization tool? And finally, are there any particularities in the way music is used on French TV? These questions bring forth a broader issue on how to approach this relationship and on whether or not to question the function of music, since this has already

1 Music edited or produced by record labels unspecialized in "music for the media".

been done for radio and film. Our twofold theoretical approach allows us to document the evolution of the relationship between music and images since the 1980s toward a more autonomous practice, but also how its content has been gradually infused with industrial markers testifying to the growing industrialization of cultural products.

In order to offer a first typology of the way pre-existing musical extracts are used in French TV programs, we have chosen to use the results of a content analysis to compare the different functions that can be assigned to music in films or on television. First of all, we built a categorical system using works addressing the function of illustrative music in musicology and film studies. We will discuss and comment on the way this system was built in the second part of this article. This categorical system was then put to the test with TV content by performing a statistical analysis of 140 TV programs broadcast between 1949 and 2015, focusing on three corpora of programs broadcast in 2003, 2009 and 2015 (97 programs in total). In order to carry out this analysis, we compiled musical extracts drawn from TV programs in a systematic way, whether they were pre-existing tracks or not, and noted the length of the extracts. Then, each pre-existing track was labeled with its title, performer and the year it was released. To finish, close to 2000 extracts from pre-existing music tracks were assigned a function in the relationship between images and music with the help of our categorical system. Nine interviews with TV editors or sound designers were then conducted in order to check whether the results obtained matched the professionals' reality.

This article is organized in three parts. We will start with a review of the theoretical stakes of the analysis of the relationship between music and images on TV, questioning the relevance of adapting findings from film studies to television. Next, we will discuss the traditional functions of music in films as well as TV. This will lead us to explain how our typology of existing music editing practices on television was constructed. Finally, we will try and highlight three time periods representative of the evolution of pre-existing tracks and music editing on television from 1949 up to today. We will also present one of the most remarkable changes of the last few years: "hypercontextualization".

Analysis of the relationship between music and images on television: towards a global adaptation of the findings of film studies?

The analysis of illustrative music draws a great deal from the results of musicology and film studies and, in order to study music and television together, research has had to rely heavily upon film music. However, the format, commercial characteristics and narrative approach of TV programs is somewhat different from films. In that regard, the legacy from film music studies can be questioned. As a consequence, we have based our analysis on the work of Rodman (2010, pp. 107–112) and the results of our corpus analysis in order to highlight the actual differences between TV programs and films. We will deal with what brings them together later in this article.

Differences between two types of audiovisual productions: the TV show and the film

The differences between TV shows and films lie within four main elements, which all have an impact on music editing practices:

- Production length
- Directing techniques
- Differentiated commercial goals
- Music sourcing

a) Production length

The difference between the length of TV programs and films is quite noticeable; TV programs usually being shorter. When comparable to the length of a film, TV programs are often interrupted by commercial breaks or announcements from the network, which is similar to the way programming works in the radio sector (Hilmes, 2008). In addition, the sequencing of TV programs is often built upon an accumulation of reports, thus reducing the overall length of the program. As a result, attention-grabbing devices are always a priority for production companies during the creation phase and it is therefore quite customary to refer to conventions or elements that will be familiar to viewers. Music, especially pre-existing music, seems to be one of them.

b) Directing techniques

Rodman explains that directing techniques differ from one medium to another. TV production is much faster than other media thanks to the use of lighter material. As a consequence, cuts are more visible, and the succession of sequences is faster. This leads us to notice three elements resulting in redundancies:

- the repetition of common images
- the inclusion of a written commentary or dialog describing the image
- the use of a musical extract as a commentary for on-screen action

Chion's l'*Audio-vision* was the inspiration for the work by Rodman, who adapted Chion's comparative analysis of films and music video clips to television. (Chion, 2013, pp. 142–143[2]). The fast pace and frequent cuts characteristic of television were also observed by Prendergast (1992, p. 276), who explained that the use of music is a form of adaptation to these features. In our corpus analyses, we have observed the increased sequencing of music extracts and their shortening (Figure 1).

2 Similar elements can be found in non-fiction TV programs (split screen, the use of a voiceover and the use of music to comment on an image). However, we prefer to focus on the idea that in music video clips, the image is commenting on the music and not the other way around. Therefore R. Rodman's proposal can be seen as a bit of a shortcut.

	AVERAGE DURATION OF MUSIC IN GENERAL	AVERAGE DURATION OF PREEXISTING MUSIC	MEDIAN DURATION OF MUSIC IN GENERAL	MEDIAN DURATION OF PREEXISTING MUSIC
2003#	00:00:32	**00:00:33**	00:00:27	**00:00:30**
2009	00:00:27	**00:00:28**	00:00:22	00:00:24
2015	00:00:30	**00:00:26**	00:00:23	**00:00:24**

Figure 1. Average and median length in seconds of the musical extracts in our corpus in 2003, 2009 and 2015.

Music extracts used in TV programs are much shorter than those used in films. It is rather unusual to hear pre-existing musical extracts lasting no longer than a few seconds in full-length features. In a nutshell, the frequent commercial breaks, the sequencing of the programs and their short format, as well as the faster pace and easy manipulation which characterize televised images all account for the differences in music editing practices between TV and cinema (Rodman, 2010, p. 171).

c) Differentiated commercial goals

The third distinction criterion is inspired by the work of Prendergast (1992, p. 274). The composer and film music theorist draws a line between television and cinema thanks to their industry goals. According to him, television is meant to sell products and to bring in profits. As a consequence, it might be suffering from the dichotomy between striving for artistic value and commercial success. These two values come into conflict despite being closely linked. According to the author, the hierarchical distinction between "good TV" and "commercial TV" can serve the latter in the way they interact. According to Prendergast, cinema is not as commercially driven as television. The difference lies in the way marketing strategies are implemented and the impact they have on content creation. TV programs require sponsors, while the success of a film depends on how it has been marketed to the public. In other words, the author explains that TV tends to resort to internal strategies that have an impact on the content of the program – the use of music for example – while the success of a film depends on external marketing strategies that have little to do with directing. Even though it is not our goal to regard TV as a mere commercial product devoid of artistic value, we agree with the author that the highly commercial dimension of TV programs and the impact this can have on their production should be considered. In the third part of this article we will show that this is one of the most characteristic aspects of the relationship between images and music on television. One example of this is product placement in films, which became a professional sector as early as the 1980s (Bressoud & Lehu, 2008). Similarly, the use of pre-existing music tracks, which is increasingly prevalent, is at times the result of a direct order from some record companies (Smith, 1998, p. 33).

d) Music sourcing

Rodman talks about one last element which can help differentiate cinema from television. According to him, music on television comes from three main sources. Musical extracts may be taken from previous episodes of the same show, from music libraries or from other films. In our corpus, we have noticed that the music tracks used existed before the creation of the programs featuring them and that they could be put into four categories: musical extracts drawn from music libraries, commercial music tracks not intended for audiovisual sonorization, film music and, finally, video game music. Yet, even in films, music is not always composed specially for the film and many tracks are borrowed from different sources (Chion, 1995).

In order to progress to our analysis, we will mainly focus on two aspects:

1. The key role played by television sequencing and therefore music sequencing
2. The impact of television marketization on content

We would like to reassert the idea that the repetitive aspects of TV programs as a whole are designed to keep the viewer's attention and to set channels apart from their competitors. Rodman (2010, p. 109) insists on repetitiveness as one of the most meaningful devices used in music editing. The music chosen has to tie the program together with musical conventions that are meaningful to the viewer. Later on, we will show that pre-existing music tracks used in TV programs seem to echo the author's words, especially in our corpus of non-fiction programs. According to our findings, this repetitive dimension seems to be one of the most representative features of music editing for television since the 2010s.

Similarities between two types of audiovisual productions: the film and the TV show

Rodman (2010, pp. 100–112) talks quite briefly about the similarities between film and television with regard to the use of film studies as a tool for the analysis of television music. First, Rodman explains that both are built upon multisensory principles, combining visual images, sounds, words (written or spoken) and music. In addition, he tells the reader that the construction of narrative for television programs emulates that of films. Thus, in order to tell stories, television has made the old narrative structures its own. Rodman also concludes by implying that the use of the leitmotiv is undeniably the most significant feature television has borrowed from cinema. In the third part, we will see how the leitmotiv is used on television and how it was adapted for the medium. However, before moving on, it is important to stress the idea that, generally speaking, television and film display common "functions" of music beside the leitmotiv. Even though the difference in format sets the two media apart in many ways, the use of music "functions" in our analysis feeds our hypothesis on television's musical heritage. After reviewing different theoretical works on music and images, we have decided to focus on a set of helpful pointers to identify some of

the forms the relationship can take, in order to build a first typology of music tracks used in non-fiction TV programs.

Music "functions": from cinema to television

Film music: from function-building to function-homogenizing

As in the case of television, it was some time before the study of film music became systematized. A few early works were published in the 1930s and 1940s, but it was not until the 1980s that researchers started to take an interest in the subject more widely. In the past, film studies theorists focused on images alone (Stilwell & Powrie, 2006) and addressed the issue of music from an aesthetic perspective, which did not further an understanding of how it worked.
In France, Maurice Jaubert (1936) is considered a pioneer of film music theory. He proposes that music can "serve" a film, either by filling gaps or as on-screen action commentary; as a result being merely decorative, with no expressive function. Jaubert was a composer himself, who set out to rid music of the characteristics inherited from melodrama and to make it "realistic". In other words, music was supposed to grow apart from the image and to exist autonomously. The music used in films at the time was mainly pre-existing. Jaubert's writings tended to support this idea and to defend music's self-affirmation. The historian and film theorist Jean Mitry used these elements again thirty years later:

> Music is not useless, but it has a very different role. Its goal is not to comment on the image or to paraphrase visual information, or to match its rhythm – except in a few exceptional cases. Nor does it have to have a value or an intrinsic meaning...Film music does not explain or accompany; it is a meaningful element and nothing more. (Mitry, 1965, p. 118)

Mitry's opinion on film music betrays the superiority of images. Music has to serve the film in an aesthetic manner, and any composition must take the film's images into account. To support this idea, it is worth mentioning that composition takes place after the film is made, and so the search for a function based upon stereotypes or conventions would only alter the nature of music and turn it into a mere tool. Christian Metz, drawing inspiration from both the authors quoted above, argues that "bad film music" illustrates content using a sort of "musical and cinematic language" based upon a "system of pleonastic equivalences" that mimic on-screen emotions (Metz, 1981, p. 55).
The first studies to use empirical data in musicology appeared just a few years later. In France, Julien created the first categorization of film music in films from the 1980s. In an article entitled "Methodology elements for a typology of film music", he came up with "discovery procedures" meant to classify the main redundancies between the use of music in cinema and on television. He gathered them by theme, arguing that:

> It is high-time to study the description of music interventions with a scientific approach in order to be able to serialize, analyze and compare the different functions of film music and the power it has in a specific role, that of facilitator of narrative credibility. (Julien, 1980, p. 198)

His opinions come into conflict with the three authors quoted earlier in the sense that he does not try to say what film music should be but suggests that it is composed in subservience to the image. His first proposal is twofold: mechanical music – the source of which is visible on-screen (a radio or a performer) – and background music. The latter can be divided into five categories: illustration of a journey (a trip), psychological state (emotions or feelings); accidents (death, murder, fires, etc.), hobbies or fun activities (indoors and outdoors – grab a coffee, mow the lawn), the illustration of looks and music for the closing credits.

> **- Decorative function:** music represents the sonic landscape of the image, either directly – a harpist is playing on screen and the viewer can hear harp music – or indirectly, for historically or geographically set sequences;
> **- Symbolic function:** a character is given a "musical identity". Julien does not use the word leitmotiv but rather talks about a Wagnerian use of music;
> **- Conjunctive function:** music ties together the different sequences of a film.

According to the author, these functions rather invalidate the theories defended by Jaubert, Mitry and Metz. Indeed, thanks to his analysis, he is able to show that film music is not just a raw and stereotypical adaptation of the visual content. The author's conclusion leads us to regard music as a "meaning system that is metaphorical, analogical and coded", tailored to "the emotional needs of international cinema" (Julien, 1987).
In between these two articles, Chion (1985), in France, and Gorbman (1987), in the US, started building their reputations and are now considered the founding fathers of the discipline. Later on, further studies were produced in the field of musicology as well as in film studies and researchers came up with a common definition of the functions of film music:

> Whether inspired by structuralist or pragmatist semiology, Freudian or Lacanian psychoanalysis, Gestalt psychology or cognitive sciences, film music studies always come up with a similar set of expressive, narrative and aesthetic functions – it does not matter whether the researcher is in musicology or film studies, deaf or blind, they will generally give film music a set of eight functions. (Cardinal, 2012, p. 38)

In the provocatively entitled article "Where are we (now) with (the study of) film music (in cinema)?", Cardinal remarks that researchers have been studying the question since the mid-1980s, irrespective of the research field or discipline, and have regularly come up with the same set of eight functions:

a)	Music situates the story or the narrative in a specific space-time setting
b)	Music "colors" the action or the narrative with a specific mood, and sets it in an atmosphere that is shared with the viewers
c)	Music draws the viewers' attention to a set of elements visible on screen, lets them know about their presence off-screen and highlights the dramatic elements of a scene or a sequence's narrative progress
d)	Music reinforces some of the narrative developments, it plays upon the intensity of the scene and leads the action
e)	Music reveals the characters' inner thinking, their secret motives, or their hidden sentimental state
f)	Music generates emotions
g)	Music binds sequences together, it connects movements, visual and sonic fragments, it sets a rhythm
h)	Music is one of the reasons viewers get absorbed in a film

Figure 2. The eight functions of film music by Cardinal (2012)

Though he criticizes them, Cardinal admits that these functions help us to understand part of the viewers' narrative experience with regard to the relationship between music and images, or at least, from our point of view, they help explain the influence production companies have on the editing process. Yet, we strongly agree with him that these functions do not account for the viewers' true experiences. On the contrary, they appear to signal that music is not much more than a tool which serves image and narration. It is reduced to a choice made by directors or composers and later modeled by theorists.

As a consequence, working with a set of pre-established musical functions seems to suggest that "the choice of music is a conscious choice made in full awareness of what it entails or obeying a set of 'natural' laws" (Chion, 1995, p. 188). We tend to agree with Chion that some uses result from a conscious choice and can be easily identified through a product analysis, even more so when they are acknowledged by the people in charge of selecting or composing the music. Yet, the author disagrees with the idea that music "accompanies" the film, because music is part and parcel of the product. It is not always a commentary for the image alone, sometimes it is used for a dialog, a gesture or an editing feature. The question that needs to be asked, he argues, is not "what is the use of that music in the film?", to which the answer is "nothing", but rather "in what way does the music serve the film?". "Bring together or take apart, put a limit or blur boundaries, move forward or hold back, set the mood, hide disgraceful sound or image-editing features, music does them all." (Chion, 1995, p. 191). This rejection of "musical functionalism" in films, as he calls it, is a recurring idea in Chion's work. It does not stop him from offering a wider set of musical functions in film, though he does not always call them as such, using terms such as emotional support, character or action identification with a leitmotiv, "mickeymousing" or "time and space processing machine". They all, however, relate to the set of eight functions set forth by Cardinal.

Though they endow music with a specific role, these different functions act as a heuristic way of shedding light on the way music is used in TV programs, in order to describe and to better understand the comparison. We need to bear in mind, however, the criticism ex-

pressed earlier and the difficulty of bringing together television and cinema in a meaningful way. Once again, we come back to the idea that our goal is to better understand how the relationship between music and images is built on television. First, we will focus on the message transmitted by the program maker. To do so, we will compare our hypotheses with the results from our interviews with sound editors later in this article. It should also be noted that a set of studies on television music has been conducted previously and that the typology of musical integration in non-fiction television programs we have created is based on their descriptions and was born out of a discussion of their findings.

Musical functions on television

In 1949, Roger Bowman, an American TV critic, came up with a list of eleven musical functions observed in TV programs in the journal entitled Film Music Notes. The list (Figure 3) was based upon the first fictional TV programs:

1	The theme: identifying the program as a whole.
2	The Wagnerian leitmotifs, or "character themes", heralding or accentuating the approach or presence of a character by the use of a theme identified with him.
3	Recalling past events by suggestive themes.
4	Predicting future events by suggestive themes.
5	Imitating sounds, actions, or characteristics in musical caricature.
6	Building action, or indicating time, place, or unseen action.
7	Providing a transition from scene, place to place, thought to thought, period to period.
8	Suggesting a blackout or a slow fade-out.
9	Showing subjectively the inner thoughts, feelings, and meanings of a character or a scene.
10	Achieving montage effects with two or more themes or types of music played contrapuntally for special effects or distortions, as in Prokofieff's Lieutenant Kije music.
11	Use of music to annotate dialogue. Parallel annotation may weaken dialogue unless skillfully used as stylized sound effect.

Figure 3. Bowman's (1949) eleven musical functions on television in Rodman (2010, p. 112)

Thanks to a comparison with the functions of film music established years later, we were able to notice a few similarities. Music is thus used as a time and place marker, it is able to set a specific mood, to express the intimacy of a character, to arouse emotions, to connect different sequences and finally to grab the attention of the viewer during a narrative sequence. The eighth function in Cardinal's list, seducing the viewer, is the only one not found here. We propose that function could be regarded as a direct result of the other seven functions combined.

Bowman's additional functions could be considered specific to television. According to Rodman, who led us to the 1949 categorization, the list was an anticipation of future studies on television music.

Rodman suggests creating three "generic areas" with Bowman's functions. According to him, the first, eighth and tenth functions would help navigate the flow of television (intro-

duction, transition, closing). They contribute to the creation of extradiegetic space in the medium. The other eight functions (2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 9, 11), which can be found in cinema as well, use music as an agent that influences the narration. As a result, they belong to the intradiegetic space.

These different "areas" are built upon common distinctions in the field of music and image analysis.[3] Rodman's spaces (Figure 4) were based upon Genette's definition of diegesis. Diegesis is defined as "a universe rather than a sequence of actions (story): diegesis is not the story, but the universe it is set in" (Genette, 1984, p. 13). If we draw a parallel with film music, diegetic music would pertain to the universe in which the story is set, and non-diegetic music would not. In other words, resorting to these notions allows us to show that music takes on the role of narrator in TV programs (non-diegetic).

Diegetic music is directly inserted into the story told by the program; it is "music that both the characters and the audience can hear" (Rodman, 2010, p. 58). For television, it can be music played on set or heard by the characters on the radio or at a party.

According to Rodman, non-diegetic music is divided into two parts: extradiegetic and intradiegetic.

Figure 4. The Three Discursive Spaces of Television (Rodman, 2010, p. 54)

The objective of extradiegetic music is to establish a link between the viewer and the channel or program. According to the author, extradiegetic music can be the musical motif of a channel or production studio, or even bumpers. Music can thus bridge two spaces: the extradiegetic and the intradiegetic. Rodman explains that this double function is quite characteristic of television music, in which it is much more prominent than in film music. We will come back to this idea a little later.

Finally, intradiegetic music often plays the part of musical narrator for a particular story. Its role is to highlight or to invent the program's background following the narrative weave, although not exclusively. It can also act as the lead narrator of the story by mimicking its narrative path. When used as a transition tool, it can be put into two categories. It will bind the narration together but also play an extradiegetic role: "Like bumpers, they [transitions]

3 "Screen music" / "pit music" for Chion; "mechanical music" / "side music" for Julien.

are amalgams of extradiegetic and intradiegetic music that function in a traditional way to move from the narrative to a commercial break and vice versa" (Rodman, 2010, p. 57). Yet, when the transition is cast as a bridge between two sequences, it remains purely diegetic. We would now like to focus on a few elements drawn from the previous discussion, and especially the idea that film music and television musical functions are somewhat repetitious. Bowman's, and later on Rodman's, contributions center on television's specific take on musical integration. It is fairly unusual to see pieces of music used both in the intradiegetic and extradiegetic spaces in cinema. As a result, we have chosen to study this aspect in more depth without exclusively focusing on transitions and bumpers. Rodman leaves his categorization open to other suggestions. He explains that the "power" of television lies solely in music's ability to play upon a variety of spaces. We prefer to use the term "power" over "specificity", as it allows for the musical functions we have identified to change over time, just as new codes can be re-negotiated between viewers and producers (Rodman, 2010, p. 58).

First typology of musical integrations on television and temporal evolution (1949-2015)

Description of the typology of musical integrations

The typology of musical integrations on television we have developed features nine categories. It was based on observations from our corpus analyses and from our interviews with sound editors, as well as the theoretical perspectives mentioned earlier. The chart below summarizes them:

1	Locate information or television narrative in a particular place and time period
2	Characterize individuals on the screen, using the leitmotiv
3	Contextualize the subject of a story (additional information)
4	Annotate, comment or highlight images, comments and individuals present on an ad hoc basis
5	Bring or accentuate emotions
6	Continue the diegetic story in the intra-diegetic space
7	Unify or articulate the rhythm of the sequences of a report or a program both with regard to the narrative and the program
8	Promote the music of a performer while contextualizing the sequence
9	Musically color the program as a whole

Figure 5. First typology on the use of pre-existing music on French television

The levels of gray in figure 5 correspond to the different areas of televisual space, whether they belong to the diegesis or not, as according to Rodman. Let's concentrate on the idea that these categories are not always exclusive. A music extract can simultaneously belong to the first and to the fourth category. In order to illustrate this idea, we can look at the example of the song "New York Avec Toi" (1984, Virgin) performed by the band Téléphone in a TV re-

port about the French dancer and choreographer Kamel Ouali's trip to New York (Tellement People, 2009). The contextualization of the place is achieved by the reference to the title of the song and the lyrics, but it is only played once the name of the city has been uttered. This extract can therefore be classified in the fourth category. Similarly, some extracts used to contextualize a sequence can also fulfill the last function or contribute to the time setting of the program.

a) Intradiegetic music

Pre-existing music tracks played during television programs contribute to the time and place setting of the narrative of the program (1). They contribute to the identification of the characters of a program and to their self-affirmation by conforming to stereotypes on a regular basis; stereotypes that bind together musical and socio-cultural elements through the use of leitmotivs or the combination of a set of similar music extracts (2). Music is used to contextualize the subject, not exclusively with regards to its space-time setting, but because it relates to the subject of the program. It can focus on an activity or a special topic – a story about a village lottery, a story about the Titanic; or on one or several people: the life of Beyoncé and Jay-Z, "green celebrities". In that case, while music can simply illustrate the topic, it can also give additional information (3). Music annotates, comments and highlights images, dialogs or comments (and often all three at once). This type of use is not systematic and usually lasts no more than ten seconds (4). Finally, music can enhance emotions, as it does in films. (5). We will not address this function in the article because we have performed content analyses which do not allow us to talk about it in a relevant way, and it was never our intention to talk about music analysis in this article.

b) Building a bridge between diegetic and intradiegetic music

The sixth category (6) corresponds to the intradiegetic use of pre-existing music within the program's diegetic space. We have identified two types of situations:

- Whenever a character is singing or humming a pre-existing song on screen, the track is used by the sound editor. In the program *Tous Ensemble* for example, comedian Willy Rovelli, who is a guest on the show, sings the theme song of the TV series *Charlie's Angels* (Elliott & Ferguson, 1976);
- Whenever diegetic music is played on a broadcasting device (radio, television), the song is also used by the sound editor. For example, during a wedding celebration taking place in *4 Mariages Pour une Lune de Miel*, the DJ plays the song "Summer Jam" (The Underdog Project, 2000) and it is later re-used by the sound editor.

c) Extradiegetic music

Through the use of transitions, a program's musical setting builds a bridge between the narrative realm and the television realm (7), as suggested by Rodman (2010). Pre-existing mu-

sic used as an illustration can be considered a direct or additional way of promoting a performer releasing a new album, for example (8). However, there is a difference between this category and cases in which the program focuses on a person from the music industry. In both cases, songs by performers shown on screen can be used. Yet in the "promotion" category, selected musical extracts are featured on the album the program focuses on. Finally, music can "color" a program, a TV genre or even a television channel as a whole in a specific way (9). This is the case for the French channel *M6*, whose editorial line has centered on music since it was created in 1987. We will come back to this idea a little later.

According to our first typology and the process of its creation, we can say that the music used in non-fiction TV shows is a combination of an inherited practice and an autonomous one. Indeed, intradiegetic music stems from the legacy of film music, but also from the legacy of radio with regards to the sequencing of programming and shows. This move towards greater autonomy is characteristic of the extradiegetic functions of music. By definition, they go beyond the narrative frame of the content to epitomize the editorial logic of the channels or programs. This becomes all the more obvious if we extend the time period of our analysis (1949-2015). Before concluding this article, we would like to present three time periods of musical integration on French TV.

Three time periods for musical integration on French TV: towards greater hypercontextualization

Thanks to the content analysis of 140 TV shows broadcast between 1949 and 2015, we have been able to identify three time periods:

- 1950 to 1980 corresponds to an inherited musical integration practice;
- 1980 to 2000 corresponds to an editorial musical integration practice;
- 2000 to 2015 corresponds to a hyper-contextualized musical integration practice.

Between 1950 and 1980, it was customary to hear music mainly during the news or magazine shows. Pre-existing music was used sparingly and similarly to the way it was used in other media such as radio and cinema. If, for example, a television report took place in Ireland, then an Irish song would be played.

During the 1980s, French television was privatized. Channels were now in competition with each other and new channels with specific programming appeared. This was the case of *M6*, which started out as a music channel and used a lot of pre-existing music in its magazine programs, even those related to other topics such as sport. At that time, music was used as a reflection of the editorial line of the channel.

Finally, since 2000, music has infused many TV programs, particularly reality shows. Music has become an essential component of the programs' background. Everything mentioned before – contextualization, editorialization, and so on – still exists, but we now see

music being used in a way we can call "hyper-contextualized". "Hyper-contextualized" musical integration means that music is often used to accentuate a word, a scene, or the presence of a character on screen - a practice we used to call "word for word" (Gueraud-Pinet, 2018). In other words, if people talk about the paparazzi on a magazine show, Lady Gaga's "Paparazzi" (2008) will play in the background. When voice-over comments can be heard such as "A money-making image has to be looked after", with reference to Adriana Karembeu and her husband's image (*Tellement People*, 2009) or hinting at "three million dollars" or two-hundred-seventy-euro nights for a deluxe hotel suite in Dubai (*Tellement Vrai*, 2009), the song "Money" (1973) by Pink Floyd will play. Finally, to illustrate Leonardo DiCaprio's presence in the report, a short extract will play from the *Titanic* (Cameron, 1997) soundtrack by Céline Dion entitled "My Heart Will Go On" (1997). These types of hyper-contextualized musical integrations usually last from two to ten seconds. They take on the role of musical pauses that strengthen the image or commentary of the program.
This sound editing practice originated in early animated cartoons and is often known as "mickeymousing". As one of the sound editors explained in one of our interviews, this "sonorization" practice is commonly used on television, mainly for sound effects:

> Adrien G.: [...] *Take Les Reines du Shopping* for example, you have "fixated effects" like "clang" or "boing" which go along well with jokes, or the sound of a slap or a whiplash, that's what you call "*mickeymousing*".

The term "mickeymousing" or "underscoring" consists of "punctuating or accompanying actions and gestures taking place in the film with figures and extremely well-synchronized musical actions, which can take place at the same time as the sound effect and get turned into musical notes" (Chion, 1985). Chion adds that the sound of a slap or a whiplash is thus created by a sound-effect engineer or a sound illustrator or can be replaced by a few notes of music. The term is a reference to the Disney cartoon *Mickey Mouse* but can be observed in films such as *The Informer* by John Ford (1935), the soundtrack for which was composed by Max Steiner (Chion, 1985, p. 106). This "mickeymousing" process is reminiscent of the way pre-existing music is sometimes used to highlight the image or commentary. Indeed, one common feature shared by John Ford's movie, or the animated cartoon *Mickey Mouse*, and our television programs is that they are almost exclusively musical. Besides, if the objective is to punctuate a gesture or an image, the role that sounds play can be linked to that of music.
Finally, "hypercontextualization" is also representative of the 2000s as it relates to commercial concerns. Indeed, musical integration as background music is a direct way of promoting an artist. As a result, the song is not used to punctuate the presence of the artist on screen so much as to play music from the album that is being promoted in the program. In 2015, the program *50 Minutes Inside* (TF1) featured a report entitled "Into Johnny Hallyday's

Secret Life" set in the singer's Los Angeles home and broadcast only a few months after his album *Rester Vivant* was released. The program talks about the celebrity's life in the US but mainly focuses on the promotion of his latest album. The musical illustration of the program is thus made up of several songs from the album which are played as they are being mentioned, such as the single "Seul", which is played five times.

Conclusion

Thanks to the typology of television music that we have built and used, we have been able to observe the evolution of musical integration practices on French television. From the late 1940s until now, music has been serving images or commentaries by strengthening the space-time context, the rhythm of the programs or the identity of the characters. As a consequence, we can say that this practice was inherited from pre-existing media but that it has been autonomous since the 1980s. Music is used to strengthen the editorial line of a channel or to help a program stand out. If these aspects remain relevant over time, they take on a new meaning for music-image analysis purposes. Music escapes the intradiegetic frame of the program, it gets shortened and becomes hyper-contextualizing, i.e. redundant with the image or with the commentary of the program. These specifics are part of a general context marked by the industrialization of the media. Indeed, even within TV content, traces of industrialization or technical developments are found, such as the use of music promotion or the editorial use of music.

Nevertheless, this work has several limitations. The quantitative analysis does not allow us to work on symbolic forms of music or audiovisual editing. However, these issues can be avoided by a thematic analysis of the images linked to the musical extracts. In order to find emotions or references within the image, we would like to question the notion of "musicalized images" (Gueraud-Pinet, 2018) and their circulation in other audiovisual productions.

In spite of these difficulties, this research offers insights into how the seldom analyzed topic of musical integration on television can be approached from an info-communicational perspective as well as from a social science and humanities perspective.

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