

Article

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard In Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach

Craig Neville
University College Cork

In 2007, at the 'I Congreso de Tradución para a dobraxe en Galicia, País Vasco e Cataluña' held at the Universidade de Vigo, Ramón Novo, a language assessor for Televisión de Galicia, presented a paper that sought to outline some of the key areas in which language use in dubbed television programming has failed to subscribe to the linguistic expectations of normative Galician since its first broadcasting in the mid-1980s (Novo 2010). As a result of complex, disjointed workflows, dubbed programming, an important tool for the dissemination and normalisation of Galician since this time, attests linguistic variation with regards to what is considered standard and non-standard. This article seeks to understand how language used in dubbed content in Galicia has evolved diachronically in light of the observations made by Novo. The diachronic analysis is undertaken using CAQDAS software as an alternative to traditional, corpus-based technologies. In addition, the article will also provide a contextualising discussion and analysis of Galicia's mediascape (Hokowhitu & Devadas 2013) from 1985 to 2008 (the period covered by the corpus) and will define the link that exists between language planning, the media and dubbing. This article concludes that language use in dubbed content in Galicia attests a trend of increased standardisation in some contexts and further non-standard usage in others. Furthermore, it also suggests that strategies are used in certain contexts to avoid situations where non-normative language might occur.

Keywords

Dubbing
Corpus-based Approaches
Diachronic
Language Planning
CAQDAS

Palabras clave

Dobraxa
Enfoques de corpus
Estudo diacrónico
Planificación lingüística
CAQDAS

Abstract

*To What Extent Has the Role
of Dubbing Contributed to the
Promotion of the Linguistic
Standard In Galicia: a
Diachronic, Corpus-Based
Approach*
Craig Neville

Resumo

No primeiro ‘Congreso de Tradución para a dobraxe en Galicia, País Vasco e Cataluña’ en 2007 celebrado na Universidade de Vigo, Ramón Novo, asesor lingüístico para a Televisión de Galicia, ofreceu unha intervención que buscou esquematizar algúns exemplos principais nos que o uso da lingua galega na programación televisiva dobrada non logrou cumprir coas expectativas lingüísticas do galego normativo desde a primeira vez que se emitiu a mediados dos anos 80 (Novo 2010). Como resultado de fluxos de traballo complexos e inconexos, os programas televisivos dobrados, unha ferramenta importante para a diseminación e normalización do galego desde entón, amosan exemplos de variación lingüística estándar e non estándar. Este artigo busca comprender como a lingua empregada para traducir e dobrar os programas televisivos evolucionou de xeito diacrónico á vista das observacións de Novo no congreso antes mencionado. Realizarase a análise diacrónica por medio de software CAQDAS como alternativa ás tecnoloxías dos estudos de corpus tradicionais. Ademais, o artigo ofrecerá unha discusión e análise do ‘mediascape’ (Hokowhitu & Devadas 2013) galego desde 1985 até 2008 (o período que cobre o corpus) e definirá o vínculo que existe entre a planificación lingüística, os medios de comunicación e a dobraxe para contextualizar o corpus. A conclusión deste artigo revela que o uso da lingua empregada nos programas dobrados non só demostra unha tendencia a ser máis estandarizada nalgúns contextos ao longo do tempo, senón tamén outros usos non estándar. Ademais, suxírese que nalgúns contextos empregáronse estratexias para evitar unha situación na que se dese linguaxe non estándar.

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard In Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

1

Interestingly, this survey showed that when this figure is analysed from the perspective of age, it is those between the ages of 41-65 that found the most differences (those that were born or educated during the Franco dictatorship) and that younger respondents (between the ages of 16-25 who are being exposed to the norm through education) felt that the language was 'semellante' or 'moi semellante'.



1. Introduction: Media, Language Planning and Translation in Galicia

As Michael Cronin asserts (1995: 86), the relationship that minority languages have with translation is paradoxical. At its heart, minority language communities engage in translation in order to 'retain their viability and relevance as living languages' against the backdrop of other hegemonic languages. Conversely, 'translation may endanger the very specificity of the languages that practice it' (Cronin 1995: 86). The double-edged

sword of translation in minority language communities described by Cronin is symbolic of that of dubbing in Galicia since the earliest broadcasts in the mid-1980s. Here, dubbing's existence as one of the tools of language planning helped propel Galician into new linguistic domains where it was used to voice iconic characters of North American popular culture such as Magnum, JR and Nanny Fran Fine. Indeed, for Montero Domínguez (2008: 80-81), dubbing's *raison d'être* in Galicia is not for its communicative value, as in most cases (although not in all), viewers could and continue to be able to access much of the same media content in the Castilian superstrate due to the unbalanced diglossia that operates not only in traditional sociolinguistic domains across Spain but also that which is also inherent to Galicia's own media. Here, according to Rosario Álvarez Blanco (Neville 2018b), president of the Consello da Cultura Galega (cdCG), dubbing is not only a means through which the Galician norm can be promoted and disseminated, acting as 'un instrumento indispensable para a normalización da lingua galega' but also, in itself, 'a súa propia existencia é un signo de normalidade'.

However, despite the central contribution of dubbing to the normalisation of Galician in the late 1980s, such televisual products, the emerging profession and industry and the role played by Televisión de Galicia (TVG) in the dubbing process have often been criticized for their resultant poor aesthetic and linguistic quality. Politician Santos Oujó Bello, then also a member of the Board of Directors of CRTVG, interviewed by Martínez Hermida (1994: 211) comments that 'al principio era realmente penoso [...] debería especializarse máis para que la calidad del doblaje fuera superior'. Indeed, the Galician norm presented in the media during the 1980s and 1990s was already in a challenged position. The Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia (MSG) (Rei-Doval et al. 1995: 495-99) confirms this in its analysis of Galician speakers' perception of the language. When asked to compare language used in the media with that at home, 40.6% of speakers found it to be 'bastante distinto', perhaps due to the fact that the standard language used on television did not represent the rich tapestry of dialectal variation that existed across Galicia.¹ Furthermore, the Galician varieties used within the home were found to clash markedly with the idiolects concomitant with the characters on screen. As a result, language appeared to viewers to be more parodic than authentic (Veiga Díaz 2012) meaning that many early efforts broadcast on TVG 'dá[n] risa' (Vieiros 2006). Álvarez Blanco also acknowledges that translations undertaken for dubbing 'poden portar consigo pegadas das linguas da partida' (Neville 2018b), thus affecting the presentation of a cohesive norm.

In addition to these challenges, complex, institutional workflows have affected the linguistic cohesiveness of the norm presented on television. These challenges have been well-documented (Montero

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard in Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

2

TVG also employs its own language assessors that have an overall view of language assessment but, as highlighted in the annual public service report of Compañía Radio e Televisión de Galicia (CRTVG 2012), of the eight assessors employed, only one is dedicated to dubbed and subtitled content.

Domínguez 2006, 2008) and centre principally around the coordination of dubbing studios, translators, language experts, recording and editorial staff, actors and directors from a dozen or so different studios that are private, autonomous entities. Evidently, complex workflows inherent to the dubbing process, coupled with the relative autonomy of the studios that (we assume) adopted similar but potentially differing standards of quality will inevitably impact outcomes; the use of language employed in the translation and dubbing of programmes is one clear factor susceptible to variation as a result of the wide variety of agents involved in the process. This impact was highlighted in the recent past by Ramón Novo (2010), a language assessor for tvG, at the 'I Congreso de Tradución para a dobre en Galicia, País Vasco e Cataluña' in 2007 at the Universidade de Vigo. In order to ensure the linguistic cohesiveness and integrity of language use according to the Galician norm, Novo explains how a bulletin called *Retallos de Lingua* was published as a support for those studios involved in the dubbing of 'producción allea'. According to Novo, the purpose of the bulletin was to 'unificar criterios e contrastar solucións que sexan válidas para todas as empresas de dobraxe vinculadas á nosa Televisión' whilst also acknowledging the place of linguistic originality, authenticity, purity and vivacity (Novo 2010: 155).² While we assume that strict adherence to the contents of these bulletins was not obligatory (but perhaps advisable to follow), the grey area that exists between what is original, pure, vivacious and authentic and what is valid is where one might consider dubbed output to exist and thus be susceptible to variation and non-standard usage.

Novo's intention in his offering to the conference in Vigo was to summarize some of those linguistic recommendations made by language assessment in one place to be used by future translators and dubbing experts in attendance, something which had not been achieved hitherto. This contrasts strikingly with the approach adopted by other jurisdictions such as Catalonia, where the linguistic portal and style guide esadir.cat (CCMA 2019) provides recommendations for standard language use in the media in one place. Due to the lack of a transparent and unified approach to language use to be followed by all agents, what will become clear from the data presented in this article is that, when analysed against Novo's guidelines, variation and non-standard use of language in dubbed programming is identifiable. Moreover, the presence of such non-standard usage also varies diachronically, representing not only the natural ebb and flow of language change (that does not necessarily adhere to standard usage) but also the refinement of linguistic correction practices.

Therefore, following the same structure of Novo's guidelines of offering phonological, morphological, lexicosemantic and translation-based analysis, the objective of this article is to analyse a corpus of transcriptions of dubbed programming to assess to what extent his recommendations are reflected (or not) in actual practice. The corpus itself is composed of transcriptions of Anglophone programming dubbed into Galician from 1986 to 2008 that are analysed both synchronically and diachronically.

2. Theoretical Framework and Approach

For this research project, elements of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) will be employed to help account for the influence of language planning documentation, such as *Retallos de Lingua*, on language use. Based on the

*To What Extent Has the Role
of Dubbing Contributed to the
Promotion of the Linguistic
Standard In Galicia: a
Diachronic, Corpus-Based
Approach*
Craig Neville

comments cited above with regards to the reception of dubbing throughout this period and the complex workflows that exist, we can hypothesize that although language planning documentation and language control processes exist, their impact is likely to have been varied. The purpose of this study is to examine the extent to which this is true. Additionally, this article also offers a brief analysis of the wider media and language planning context in which dubbed output was produced in order to understand the parameters in which it was created.

The use of Critical Discourse Analysis enables us to account for the influence that social practice and its agents have on language use and usage employed in the texts (dubbing target texts). Here, 'texts' refers to 'semantically coherent and syntactically cohesive units of written or spoken language' that constitute 'instances of language use', which when viewed collectively form 'a meaningful entity' (Koller 2009: 9). In this article, these are the transcriptions of dubbed texts. Furthermore, as Halliday's theory of language suggests, texts are created by human agents, who make meaningful, often strategic, choices in relation to the use and usage of language choosing 'between near-synonymous lexical items, between ideologically charged naming practices, between different configurations of transitivity, modality or thematic structure' (Munday and Zhang 2015: 326). Here, 'agents' refers to translators, language assessors, dubbing producers and actors. Such activity undertaken by these agents is evidence of their adherence (or nonadherence) to social practices. In this case, 'social practices' are adherence to the practices and prescriptions outlined in language planning documentation often defined as being normative and non-normative. Therefore, the resulting language use and usage of these agents represent both standard and non-standard practices. Additionally, the transcriptions of the dubbed programmes provide evidence for language use (that is, the communicative meaning of the language) and language usage (that is, the rules and structures followed to create meaningful language).

Furthermore, the interplay between social practice, language use and usage and texts is influenced further by translation. Halliday (1992: 15) defines translation as the 'guided creation of meaning' and places great emphasis on the role that contextual parameters play. In this process, once the translator has abstracted a context from the source text, this is then used as a guide to create a target text directed by the 'systemic' social practice norms of the target context. These 'norms' include those outlined in language planning documentation that promotes the adherence to a particular language use. It is for this reason that an overview of the media context in which these texts were produced is also provided. Thus, since the forensic analysis of language use and usage in texts can provide evidence of social and contextual practice, this project seeks to account for ways in which language planning documentation shapes language use: in this context, the language of dubbed programming.

3. Context: The Role of Media in the Language Planning Process in Galicia

On receipt of the Pedrón de Ouro in 1980, Álvaro Cunqueiro proclaimed in his acceptance speech, broadcast on Spanish state television, that 'se non se continúa a lingua, nós non continuaremos como pobo' (in Fortes 2011: online). Cunqueiro's candid opinion of the importance of Galician for the future survival of the nation not only resonates with language

*To What Extent Has the Role
of Dubbing Contributed to the
Promotion of the Linguistic
Standard In Galicia: a
Diachronic, Corpus-Based
Approach*
Craig Neville

policy and activism in the post-dictatorship period, but also unwittingly demonstrated the important role of the media (in this case, television) in disseminating this message. The eventual role that dubbing would play in the language planning process would be significant in the early stages of Galician-language media. However, forming an understanding of this role is challenging due to the complex interplay that operates between dubbing/translation, language planning and the media not only in Galicia but in other minority language communities, one which is further complicated when viewed diachronically. This is due to not only the involvement of many agents, from dubbing actors, translators, studio executives, language assessors to government representatives and academics/expert language planners, but also to the way in which each sector mutually supports the aims of the other, a relationship that has continued to evolve over time. For instance, the promotion and normalization of the Galician language as one of the principal objectives of CRTVG's mission (CRTVG 2011) has contributed to wider language planning aims whilst also supporting an often precarious profession of translators and dubbing actors who provide content to achieve this goal. As a consequence, a full examination of the relationships operating in this highly complex system, especially when considered diachronically, is beyond the scope of this article. Nonetheless, the application of Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes' framework (2011) that examines the interplay between language, multilingualism and the media can support the development of an understanding that demonstrates how this relationship has evolved in Galicia, at least within the bounds of this article, from 1986-2008. Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes base their theoretical framework on that of Ricento (2006), which specifically deals with the diachronic development of language planning practices. Through the specific inclusion of the media in this endeavour, Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes' framework ultimately seeks to understand the development of a mediascape within a minority language region by examining the interplay between language planning and the media and, more specifically, the latter's role in affording visibility to a language through its expansion, dissemination and maintenance (Cormack 2004). Moreover, I would argue that this approach can also allow us to define the potential role of dubbing within the larger language planning process.

Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes' framework divides the role of the media in language planning into three overlapping periods defined as the eras of 'gifting', 'service' and 'performance'. Each period is defined by a number of characteristics that, when employed holistically and viewed as a cline, illustrate the evolution and interplay between the development of the linguistic landscape and the mediascape as a result of language planning and media policy. Additionally, whilst these eras provided within the framework emphasize the chronological, developmental nature of the mediascape in a minority language community, it is important to stress that they can also exist concurrently. In fact, Pietikäinen views mediatized spaces as being 'heterotopic' in that whilst the features of the performance era may predominate, this does not mean that the features of the gifting and service eras do not form part of the current context either synchronically or diachronically (Kelly-Holmes 2014: 542). As we shall see, this is a particular feature of this framework that is relevant in the Galician case. Also, it is important to define here the term 'mediascape'. For the purposes of this article, it is defined according to its use by Hokowhitu and Devadas (2013) in their examination of Māori media in New Zealand, where they employ the term to describe global cultural flows of electronic and print media across

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard in Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

3

Some of the first programmes included *Xente, O agro, O adro da cultura* and *O mar* (López 2004: 46-47).

4

Although the dubbing of Anglophone content would later become the norm, dubbing from Castilian was more unusual due to the high levels of bilingualism amongst the population. This makes logical sense particularly from a financial standpoint, considering the fact that dubbing is costly to produce. However, from a linguistic perspective, the potential pitfall of translating between two closely related languages by a bilingual translator is the possible language transfer that might occur from the source to the target language. From an ideological standpoint, this act of translation is significant, especially when considered in light of Article 5 of the Galician Estatuto (Galicia 1981), which puts Galician and Castilian on an equal footing. Here, the use of Galician in the media is an example of redressing the power imbalance in this diglossic community between the Galician and Castilian. Nonetheless, despite these early instances, their visibility within the Galician mediascape is dwarfed by the many hours of Castilian content that were broadcast at the time.

global and local boundaries as well as indexing the electronic production and dissemination of media within this context. Here, the use of the term refers to the Galician mediascape principally within Spain and focuses on the production and dissemination of televisual media within the region. It is also understood, in the same way that Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes' framework is developmental and dynamic, that the mediascape in Galicia is also constantly evolving over time as a result of a number of external factors, including language policy.

Our point of departure begins with an analysis of the initial period of Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes' framework described as the 'gifting' era. It is defined by the impetus for language revival within a minority language community as a result of recently established independence fostering the development of a language policy. In this nationwide, modernising project, national television 'plays a key role in exploring central beliefs and versions of official and popular culture' as well as taking advantage of the symbolic importance of the language itself (Lysaght 2009: 46). During this period, airspace is 'gifted' to the peripheral minority language and culture by the state authority affording the former space within the existing mediascape. Ultimately, the agency of the centralised state supersedes that of the minority community. These isolated slots in the schedule tend to portray language in an authoritative and idealistic manner, promoting the variety as the form to emulate. One defining feature of this period in comparison to the subsequent service era (see below) is that a full television service with a complete schedule is yet to be established (Holmes 2014: 539).

In the case of Galicia, the 'gifting' era aligns to the mid-1980s. It is difficult to attribute a specific date to the commencement of this period due to the emergent nature of the rising Galician-language media presence at this time. Nonetheless, it is possible to claim that the transition to the service era began in September 1985 when TVG emerged from its summer test period that had begun in July of that year. Previous to the test period, the presence of Galician language in televisual media within the state's mediascape was decidedly 'partial' and dominated by Spanish programming in Castilian. Confined to a few, scheduled hours 'gifted' to the Galician community, the first regular presence of media related to Galician-focused matters began in 1961 during the period of *aperturismo* with the creation of Radio Televisión Española en Galicia (TVE-G), which began broadcasting programmes in Castilian with a Galician focus. It would not be until 1985 when Galician-language content was broadcast on TVE-G in the form of news bulletins and other cultural programming in a short, afternoon segment on TVE's second channel.³ Despite the presence of dubbing on the Spanish state's first channel, the second broadcast few instances of dubbed material from either English or Castilian (MEC 2006). The earliest examples include the dubbing of the Castilian television serials *Os gozos e as sombras* and *Os pazos de Ulloa* based on the historical novels by Gonzalo Torrente Ballester and Emilia Pardo Bazán respectively, both of which are Galician authors (writing in Castilian) and were set in Galicia. These historical series would contrast markedly with the programming scheduled envisaged post-1986 by TVG. The sole instance of dubbed content from English into Galician by the Spanish state during the gifting era was *Foise co vento* [Gone with the Wind], which was produced in 1986.⁴

The transition to the 'service era' is characterized by the emergence of themes related to language revitalisation, often intertwined with political activism, and the mediascape is viewed as a rich source of status

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard In Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

5

The figure of 45% is made up of series (24.3%), films (16.1%) and children's programming (8.4%) (Corominas and López 1994: 93).

planning, corpus planning and prestige planning activity. The language also seeks to achieve functional completeness; in the context of the media, this is characterised by a full, varied televisual schedule catering for many tastes. Furthermore, the language is presented as a 'valuable instrument' (for instance, one that can be used to access popular culture) and attests to the updating of linguistic materials that might have been 'stigmatised, marginalised or "left-behind" by the nation state' (Kelly-Holmes 2014: 540). In terms of the media, there is an increase in the amount of airtime with attempts to provide a full-service rather than limited gifted slots. Nonetheless, this period is also defined as posing a key challenge to broadcasters: trying to provide a televisual service that satisfies not only the tastes of a wide audience but also, particularly in the case of Galicia, employs language and varieties of language to communicate to audiences that represent all voices of the nation. Whilst the inclusion of other varieties of a language perhaps contradicts the premise of normalisation, the service era also sees the concretisation of the standard variety of language in most public domains to the extent that when other varieties of the language are used on television. For example, viewers will recognise that they are non-normative and, therefore, not view them as examples of standard language production. However, the inclusion of non-standard voices in conjunction with the norm plays an important role in inclusion and societal cohesion.

As previously mentioned, the service era in Galicia is heralded by the creation of Televisión de Galicia (TVG) in 1985. Here, the gifting slots provided by TVE-G are supplemented by a concurrent full-service offered by TVG, exemplifying the heterotopic nature of the mediascape in minority language communities. In Galicia, TVG also became a source of vital employment for many technical and creative sectors, including the dubbing sector. During the initial test period over the summer of 1985, 37 programmes (dubbed and non-dubbed programming) were broadcast, which then increased to 122 in the autumn alone. In total, due to enforced, low operating costs at TVG, around 45% of these programmes were dubbed.⁵ Consequently,

[...] a tvG se le debe la industria del doblaje en Galicia, hoy está facturando miles de millones de pesetas, es la segunda del Estado español. Nosotros establecimos un cupo por empresa, que es un cupo fijo de horas, que siempre se superan, porque hay más horas [...] tenemos dos mil horas al año de doblaje, contando reposiciones, en realidad son mil trescientas horas de doblaje [...] eso lo repartimos en cupos de setenta y cinco horas por empresa, que son nueve. (Martínez Hermida 1994: 315)

However, the positive economic and employment benefits for those in the creative industries that dubbing brought to the region were tainted by both issues of quality and language. In the first instance, as highlighted at the outset of this article, the quality of dubbed content was often suspect due to a lack of specialisation and a lack of understanding with regards to the idea that dubbing should not only benefit the product but also the audience (Martínez Hermida 1994). Furthermore, the workflow of dubbed products for TVG from translation to production required many individual stages that were not wholly controlled by one, single body. Alonso Seisdedos, one of the first professional translators from the 1980s, alludes to this complex workflow:

*To What Extent Has the Role
of Dubbing Contributed to the
Promotion of the Linguistic
Standard In Galicia: a
Diachronic, Corpus-Based
Approach*
Craig Neville

O proceso iníciase cando a TVG merca o material ás distribuidoras internacionais para envialo desde o departamento de Produción Allea aos diferentes estudos de dobraxe. Estes, á súa vez, repárteno entre os tradutores, que poden estar contratados ou ser independentes [...] Por último, o material regresa á Televisión, que o emite. (Alonso Seisdedos 2010: 145)

Furthermore, and more pertinently, the issue of the variety of language used in Galician dubbing was particularly contentious: ‘os controladores da mesma na televisión pública [que] utiliza as dobraxes con moitos erros que impiden a súa frescura e cercanía [sic] social co espectador’ (González in Neville 2018). The writer Xosé Luís Méndez Ferrín has adopted a more critical stance describing the language as ‘castrapo’ (a variety of Spanish spoken with Galician vocabulary and syntax) and ‘un foco desgalleizador importante, conscientemente instrumentalizado por unos responsables políticos tartamudo-bilingües’ (in Martínez Hermida 1994: 34). As mentioned previously, the perception of television audiences was that the language used in the media (which we take to include dubbed programming) was perceived to be different (see above Rei-Doval et al. 1996).

It is clear that such emerging divisions in relation to language use on television did not necessarily contribute to the total enhancement of its prestige nor to the complete normalisation of its *de facto* usage in this domain. Nevertheless, when viewed diachronically, a cursory comparison between the gifting and service eras in Galicia suggests that, in spite of arguments against the linguistic variety used on television, being able to view a full schedule of programming in the language represents a positive sign of change. Indeed, those involved in dubbing should be acknowledged as agents of change in this case, as is echoed in the words of the dubbing actor Andrés Bellas: ‘Son actor pero tamén son un axente da lingua galega’, creating audiovisual products that are ‘máis nosos’ (Neville 2018a). Additionally, in spite of these issues and the liberalisation of the Spanish television market in the 1990s, TVG maintained a sizeable audience share of between 15.1% and 19.9% between 1990 and 2002 (López García 2004: 81).

The third stage of the language planning process is one of linguistic empowerment and maintenance where ‘restoration to a previous status has been attempted’ (Nahir 1998: 339). Within the mediascape, the ‘performance era’ very much reflects this dual objective of maintaining the use of the standard variety in all domains whilst also empowering it to occupy new ones. One of the main challenges in this realm is that posed by technological change, which alters the way in which media is received internally within a state but also between states across the globe. A feature of this change is the increased autonomy afforded to viewers, enabling them to choose to personalise their own viewing experience. This is fuelled further by the changing identities of viewers; no longer seen as a homogenous group, they are increasingly multicultural and multilingual and the choices they make with regards to their access to different medias reflect this shift. As a result, minority language media must respond in the same way to that of state and international media. This change is also represented by less ‘top-down’ interference and increased individual, fragmented, transient involvement in media production. Consequently, the linguistic integrity of the standard is no longer the principal aim of language planning, as the language is viewed as an instrument that

*To What Extent Has the Role
of Dubbing Contributed to the
Promotion of the Linguistic
Standard in Galicia: a
Diachronic, Corpus-Based
Approach*
Craig Neville

anyone can use creatively; for Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes (2011: 61), 'instrumentality is a key index of modernity in the service logic'.

In the case of Galicia, 1998 is a key moment characterized by broadcasting practices aligned with the performance era as represented by the move by TVG towards 24 hour broadcasting (Maneiro 2013: 317). The presence of Galician media over the length of an entire day —and, as a consequence, Galician language in the mediascape— undoubtedly contributes to the process of linguistic and cultural normalisation, contrasting distinctly with the gifting slots of the previous decade. When these two instances are compared diachronically, Galician language and media and its associated culture can no longer be perceived as a specialist entity appearing solely in specific slots carved out of the schedule. Furthermore, Galician media shared many of the emerging technological characteristics of mainstream, Spanish state media, such as the use of new camera and lighting technologies as well as access to satellite capabilities. By being empowered to employ many of the newer aesthetic and technological qualities usually afforded to Spanish state media, Galician viewers were able to see parity between the two offerings.

A further feature of the performance era is the emergence of homegrown, original content that ultimately would come to replace dubbed, imported content. To a certain degree, this phenomenon can be observed on TVG where, in the early 2000s, dubbing into Galician only accounted for 11% of output, which contrasts sharply with the 45% from the previous decade (López García 2002: 81). However, the mid-2000s see major developments in the visibility of Galician media as a result of the acquisition and implementation of new digital technologies, including the establishment of a new television channel (TVG2), which also attest a resurgence in dubbing output. This was presented on the new channel in the form of redubbed versions of programmes that were originally produced in the 1980s and 1990s, the most notable of which was the American television series *Bonanza*. The decision to redub them was based on a policy by TVG to update the linguistic quality of the programmes as the 20th anniversary of the network approached. Also, from a financial perspective, filling the schedule with programming to which TVG already had the rights would be a cost-effective way of ensuring that the now larger schedule could be filled with content. Although this article is principally focused on the period from the mid-1980s to 2008 the performance era was by no means complete by the end of the first decade of the 21st century. Indeed, even today, with the proliferation of new channels such as the news channel G24Noticias, its sister channel TVG2, two international channels in Europe and on the American continent and new online content at crtvg.es, the Galician mediascape is still very much in the shadow of a plethora of digital and online televisual content in Castilian. This is further compounded by the fact that Galicia, unlike other comparable nations, is stateless and continues to be bound by the legal and constitutional frameworks of Spain; in particular, those which pertain to the legal position of Spanish. As a result, despite the efforts to normalise Galician within its own mediascape, the presence of Castilian is almost inescapable.

Therefore, whilst the performance era would theoretically attest the move away from dubbed content, it would appear that for financial and strategic reasons, the rebroadcasting of such content was an inescapable necessity, indicating how the model offered by Kelly-Holmes and Pietikäinen is not unidirectional. As the continued presence of language that exists in a diglossic relationship with a superstrate might be challenged by external

*To What Extent Has the Role
of Dubbing Contributed to the
Promotion of the Linguistic
Standard In Galicia: a
Diachronic, Corpus-Based
Approach*
Craig Neville

6

See Appendix 1 for a full list of
series titles and episodes.

forces such as attitudinal changes, so will the media and the educational infrastructure that is there to support it. For this reason, we might understand better the comment made by Rosario Álvarez Blanco in the introduction to this article concerning the importance of the media as an integral tool for Galician normalisation.

Having outlined the evolving role of dubbing from 1985 until the mid-2000s, this context provides a backdrop through which dubbing practices and their outcomes during this period can be better understood. Characterized by a gradual acquisition of more scheduled time within the Spanish mediascape, the production of Galician-language media and, in particular, dubbed content during the period 1985–2008 was subject to many different influences including the complexities of the production process and its language assessment, the changing position of dubbed content in terms of its importance, and the varied opinions regarding the reception of Galician language on television during this period. The remainder of this article will aim to ascertain whether linguistic and translational features of the target texts contained within the corpus are representative of the dynamic role and position of Galician-language media within the Spanish mediascape.

4. Methodology

4.1. Corpus Design

In order to construct the corpus for this article, the principles outlined by Sinclair (1991) were adopted in order to achieve a certain level of representativeness and balance across the sample. Firstly, the texts were chosen according to the communicative function that they have in the community: that is, they are all transcripts of dubbed series from English that were produced in Galicia and broadcast on TVG.⁶ This also satisfies the criterion of homogeneity. Considerations of homogeneity with regards to genre were more difficult to fulfil due to a dearth of potential material but, given that ‘genre’ is not necessarily a focus of the analysis, it was felt that this would not necessarily have a negative impact on the conclusions drawn.

Secondly, a corpus should strive to be as representative as possible; however, this corpus was constrained by the availability of texts and the labour-intensive activity to produce transcripts (approximately 60,000 words). Consequently, the corpus could be interpreted as a specialist, sample corpus that includes transcripts of key programmes from the mid-1980s to the late 2000s. To a certain extent, it shares the same features as a monitor corpus in that it represents samples of language use from different periods. The earliest text is taken from 1985 and the latest from 2008. With these dates in mind and in light of the previous discussion, the earliest texts in the corpus align with the transition from gifting to service eras (1985–1989), the middle tranche of texts focus principally on the service era (1990–1998) and the final selection of texts align with the transition to performance era (2005–2008). One potential issue associated with the corpus is the shortage of texts from the early 2000s. This deficiency is due to a lack of availability of sources rather than a conscious decision and would be a focus of future research in order to enhance the coverage of the corpus.

Thirdly, this corpus has both a parallel-comparative (ST-TT) and monolingual element (TT-only) orientation. These structures permit not only

the study of TT-orientated phenomena such as prosody, morphology and syntax but also ST-TT influences induced by contact with English through translation. Additionally, not only is the corpus orientated so that it can be used in parallel, comparatively and monolingually but it is also structured using the aforementioned year ranges to facilitate diachronic comparison between periods.

Finally, the texts are transcriptions of complete episodes rather than samples and two examples of each programme were chosen (21 in total), at random, from the first series of each in order to maintain consistency. In all cases, the first episode of each series was avoided as recommended by Ranzato (2013) due to the fact that these episodes were often dubbed as 'pilots' and, as she suggests, greater attention was paid to their production, meaning that language use within them was not representative in the context of the wider series.

4.2. CAQDAS & Corpus Analysis Tools

The epistemological plurality of research in audiovisual translation (henceforth, AVT) requires researchers to assume not only what can be known but also to judge how best to investigate it (Pérez-González 2014: 142). Biesta (in Arthur 2012: 147) supports this by urging researchers to adopt a 'pragmatic approach' wherein 'decisions about design and methods should be driven by the aims, objectives and research questions' rather than by traditional methodological principles, which risk jeopardising the validity, reliability and representativeness of research findings.

Here, the analysis of transcriptions of dubbed content over a defined period can reveal information about the development of language shaped by normative rules (in this case, those of language controls summarized by Novo). Clearly, the best way to investigate such a phenomenon is to employ the techniques of Corpus Linguistics research combined with other qualitative analyses, thus providing not only a context for the data retrieved but also to allow the user to interpret the same data in a variety of ways to generate a more complex picture of its features. Such a mixed-methods approach can generate significant quantities of analysis from one dataset. In order to manage such data, this research adopts the use of CAQDAS or Computer Assisted Qualitative Data Analysis (Lee and Fielding 1991: 1) software to achieve this end. For this article, Nvivo, due to the ease with which data can be managed, coded and retrieved from a variety of sources as well as triangulate findings with other multimodal data (Silver 2018). Here, 'manage' refers to the storage of raw data so that it can be analysed or queried easily. 'Code' refers to the process of highlighting elements of the text that are representative of a particular phenomenon and then providing a name for the code. This 'code' can then be applied to another similar context where the same phenomenon is observable. Data can also be coded in a hierarchical fashion allowing for increasingly finer analysis. The coding diagram for this corpus is provided in Figure 1. Codes can then be analysed quantitatively and according to their relationship to each other in order to understand language use within the discourse.

A major advantage of this methodological approach for Translation Studies researchers is that Nvivo permits the researcher to undertake multiple text analysis tasks (often associated with Corpus Linguistics) with ease and without the need for advanced knowledge of statistical analysis

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard in Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

packages such as R.⁷ In fact, despite its ease of use, it is surprising that studies employing such software in Translation Studies are relatively few in number (Jensen and Zethsen 2012; Alves and Couto Vale 2009). A further advantage of the software is that it supports the viewing of multimodal texts (i.e. aligned video, sound and script, .srt subtitle file or audio description) in a very user-friendly environment and, therefore, it is well suited to AVT research. Once the texts are prepared and uploaded to the software, coding of the content can begin, a process which allows qualitative data to be analysed in context but is easily quantifiable.

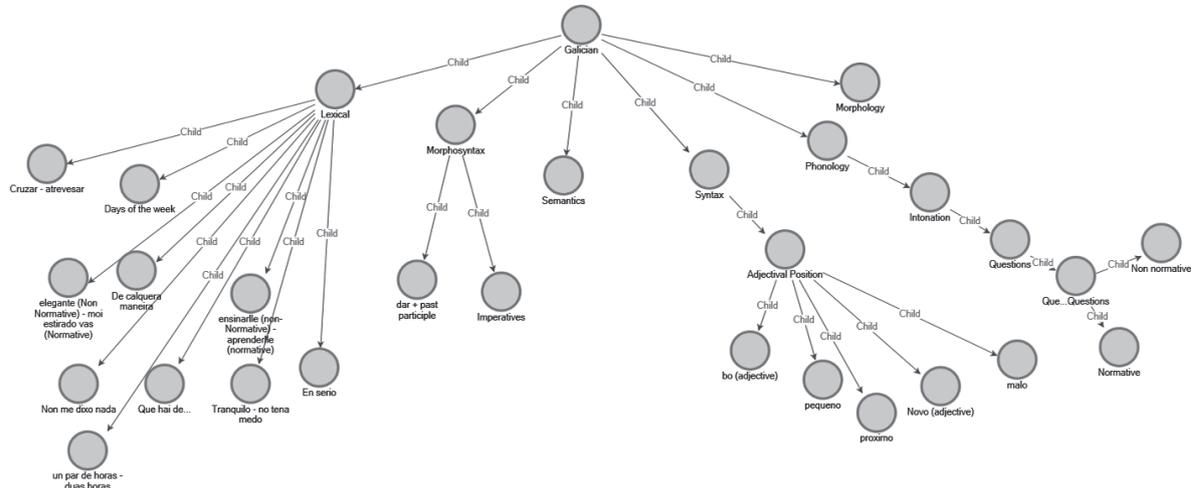


Figure 1. Coding diagram produced by Nvivo to demonstrate the granularity of analysis.

5. Results

5.1. Target Text Phonological Phenomena: Intonational Patterns

7

Nvivo includes functions such as word frequency lists, word cloud display, export to Excel and SPSS software, cluster analysis, word distribution and patterns, KWIC, and sentiment analysis as well as many ways to visualize the data.

8

An example that Novo gives to exemplify this is taken from ‘Un Ladrón con estilo’: ‘A que hora?’ should be realized phonetically as /'ake'ora/ and not /a'ke'ora/. Interestingly, his example does not contain a principal verb; nonetheless we might assume that his intention is to indicate that the stress falls on the first constituent of the interrogative.

9

These graphs to analyze intonational patterns were created using software called Praat (Boersma and Weenink 2018).

The first area of analysis that Novo recommends that those involved in dubbing should consider carefully is the accentual load in information-seeking questions beginning with the interrogative pronoun ‘Que’. Novo recommends that the typical prosodic pattern of WH-questions beginning with ‘que’ in Galician should place the principal stress on the first verb rather than on the interrogative pronoun.⁸ However, he claims that Galician dubbing attests an intonational pattern that is more typical of Castilian where the main stress falls on the interrogative pronoun. Two examples are given below of a normative (Figure 2) and non-normative (Figure 3) intonational pitch pattern.⁹

The number of interrogative structures beginning with a WH-question word is significant (n=146); however, their spread across each text within the corpus was not balanced. Nonetheless, within the 10 texts with the highest number of instances there was a range of examples from the different eras under analysis. Of the questions that were tagged (n=74), 56 produced viable recordings. Graph 1 displays the results of the analysis showing that, whilst in the 1980s and 1990s dubbing output in Galicia attests very little difference when comparing normative and non-normative intonational patterns in WH-questions beginning with ‘que’, in the 2000s there is a marked difference. Normative patterns are more commonplace. Novo presented his article in 2007, which post-dates this corpus. Nonetheless, we can posit that, as a result of increasing experience and awareness on the part of actors and dubbing producers in the features

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard In Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

of standard and normative language use, there was greater attention paid to extratextual features (i.e. intonation, vowel quality, etc.) during this period.

Figure 2. Normative Intonational pattern of WH-Question (Que)

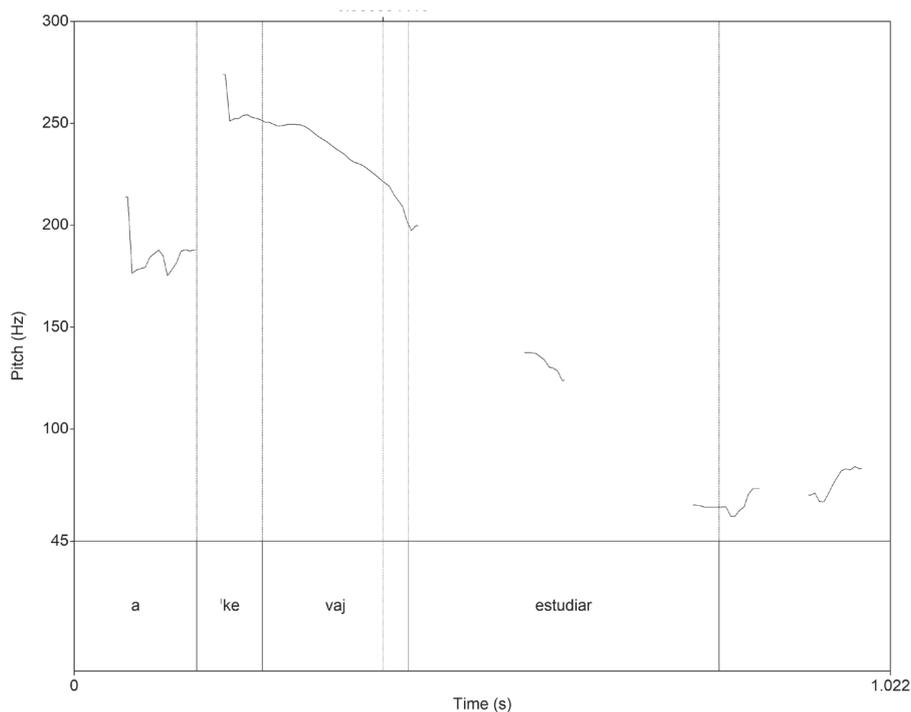
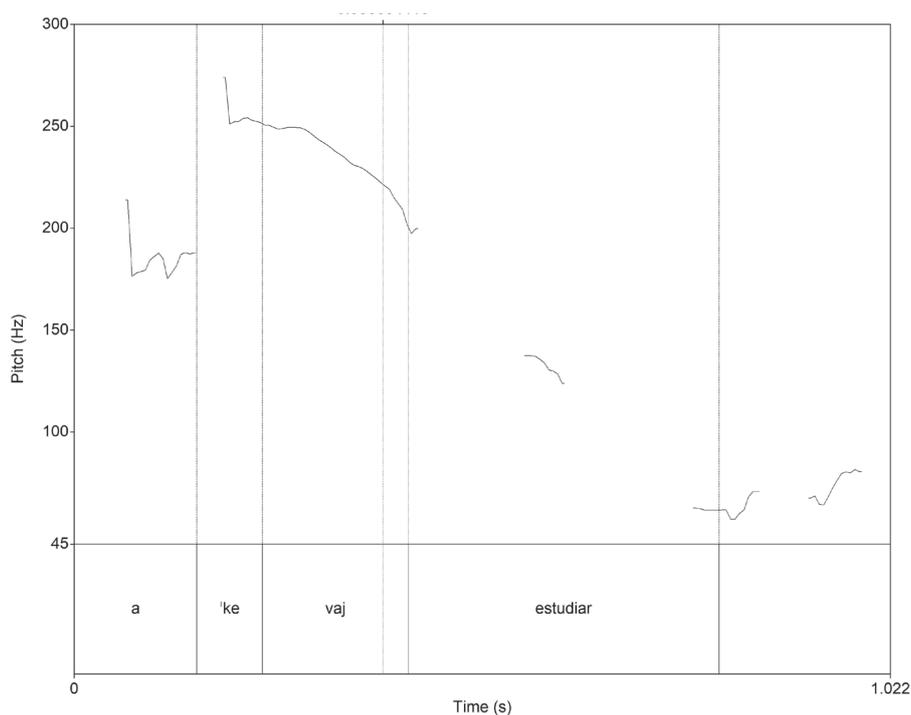


Figure 3. Non-normative Intonational pattern of WH-Question (Que)



5.2. Target Text Morphosyntactic Phenomena: Non dar + past participle

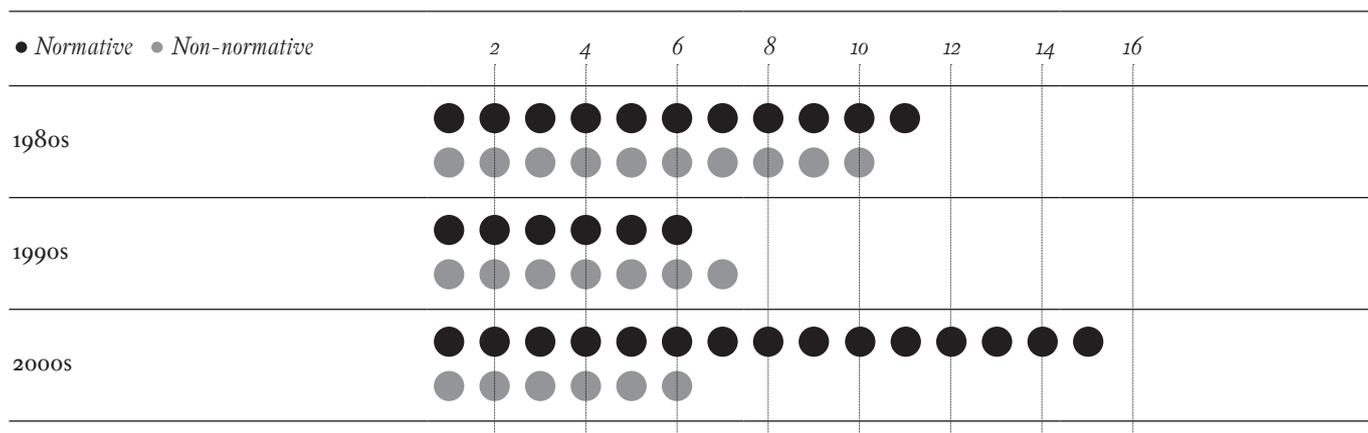
Novo (2010: 163) cites the periphrastic verbal construction ‘non dar + past participle’ as a preferable option to employ when expressing the inability to bring something into being (e.g. Non podía durmir > Non daba durmido) as is common in spoken language. He claims that there is a tendency to use other constructions such as *non conseguir/lograr/ser capaz de + infinitive*, which are more common to written communication rather than spoken and

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard in Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

are used in oral language as a result of the diglossic influence of Castilian. He also cites the use of *non poder* conjugated in the past (in either the imperfect or preterite indicative) as a construction to avoid in favour of *non dar* + past participle in certain circumstances.

Across the corpus (see Graph 2), the instances of *non dar* + past participle (n=20) were just under double those of the other periphrases combined (n=11). There were also no instances of *non lograr*. In those texts from the early 1980s and 1990s, the usage of all phrases was balanced in that there is equal usage attested of both the preferred, normative periphrasis

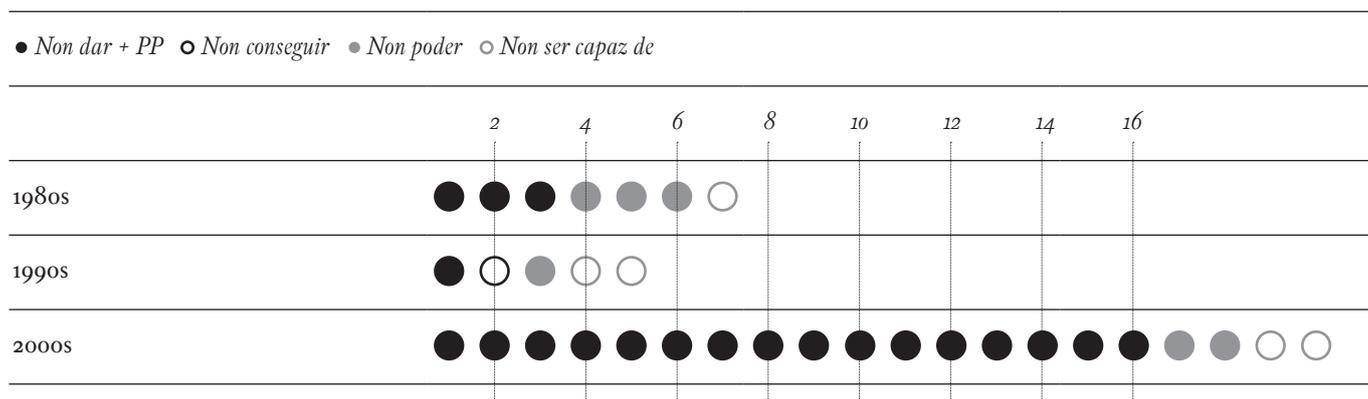
Graph 1. Comparison of Normative and Non-Normative Intonational Patterns of WH-Questions beginning with 'Que' in the GalCat Corpus



10
Namely, 'Diagnóstico asasinato' (2006), 'Invasión' (2008) and 'Chuck' (2007).

and the other verbal constructions. However, in the 2000s, there is marked increase in the use of *non dar* + past participle. This occurs across 6 different texts from 3 different series.¹⁰ Although a far larger corpus might yield more conclusive results, it would appear that there is a rising awareness of constructions more typical of Galician oral production, as attested in the previous phonological analysis.

Graph 2. A comparison of verbal periphrasis to describe the inability to realize an action



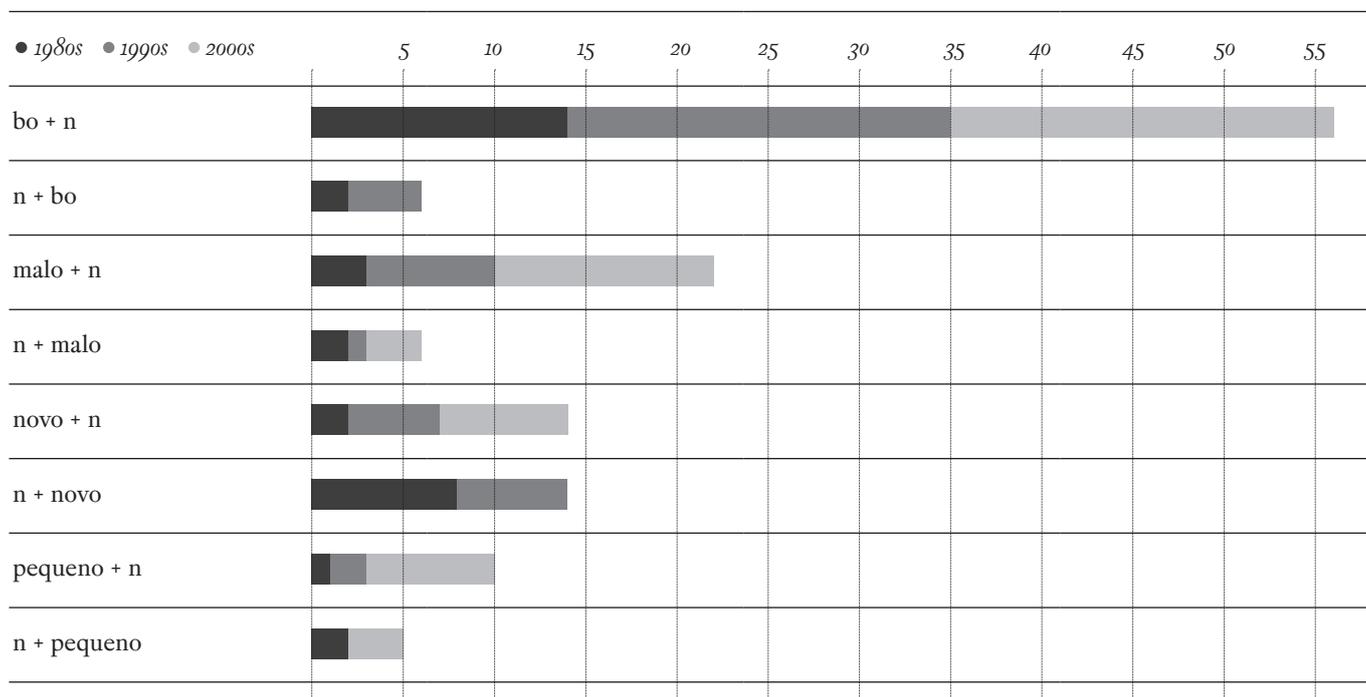
5.3. Syntactical Target Text Phenomena: Pre-noun Adjectival Positioning in Noun Phrases

Novo (2010: 163) points out that the typical position of adjectives in Galician is in post-noun position. However, an attested phenomenon in televisual language has been the *systematic* positioning of particular adjectives prior to the noun, which he attributes to the contact with

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard In Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

Spanish. Novo's reasoning for such a phenomenon should probably be brought under scrutiny because attributive adjectives such as *novo*, *pequeno*, *bo* and *malo* can appear in pre- and post-noun position yet their meaning is altered obtaining a more figurative sense (Álvarez & Xove 2002: 413-414). Additionally, Novo's assessment may also be discredited by the practice of positioning certain words such as adjectives in a pre-noun position for aesthetic reasons brought about by other considerations related to the dubbing process such as lip-synchrony. For example, the alveolar nasal [n] sound at the beginning of *novo* correlates well with *new* in the source visual channel. However, this rule does not always apply, particularly in the case of *bo* (the noun most likely to appear in pre-noun position, see below) which begins with the bilabial plosive [b] sound and in the source would begin with the velar stop [g]. Furthermore, there is also a possibility that they have been calqued from a more typical Anglophone word order. However, one of the reasons why calques are potentially not a sound explanation is due to the lack of correspondence between the sounds [g] from 'good' and [b] from 'bo'. A dubbing translator is unlikely to use calques in such a way if the initial sounds of the words contrast widely between the source and target languages. Here, the former is a velar plosive articulated at the back of the throat with open lips and the latter is a bilabial plosive characterized by the very definite coming together of the lips. Both articulations are contrasting and, as previously mentioned, one of the aims of the dubbing translator is to find and use words that adopt similar mouth movements.

Graph 3. Comparison of adjectival positioning in the noun phrase



The adjectives and their syntactical contexts were queried in Nvivo using the text search facility and coded according to whether they were *pre-noun* or *post-noun*. Of the number of instances of these adjectives (n=129), in 75 percent of cases (n=97), you are more likely to find one of these adjectives in pre-noun position rather than a post-noun position. In terms of the spread of this usage across the time period under analysis, it is not possible to see many distinct trends in Graph 3. For example, the use of *bo*, markedly preferred in a pre-noun position, is consistent across each of

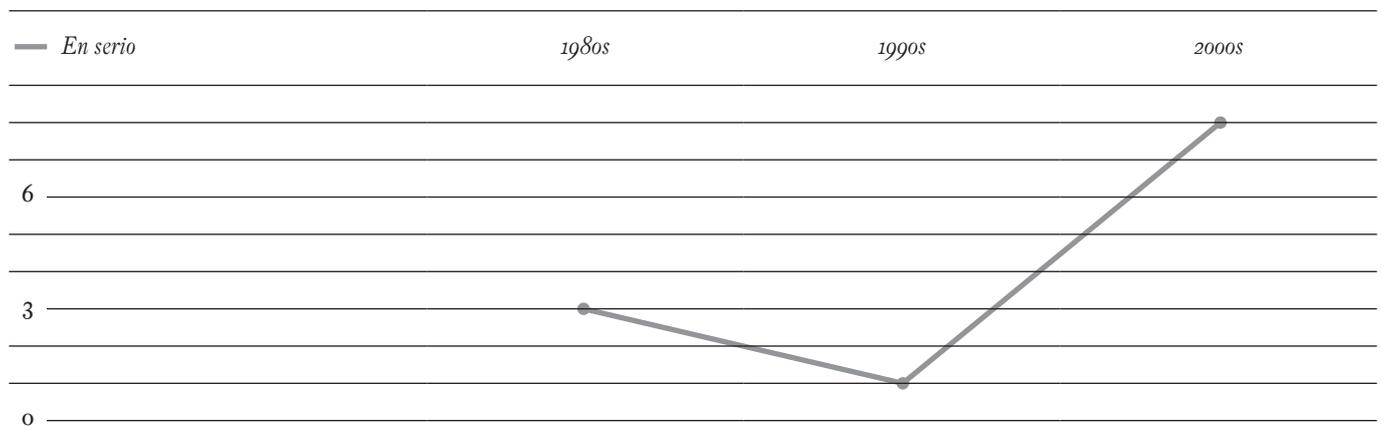
To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard In Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

the periods in question. Also, there is a slight increase in usage of *malo*, *novo* and *pequeno* in pre-noun position in the 2000s. As revealed previously, it is not possible to always attribute the use of adjectives in pre-noun position as a means to create ST and TT synchrony between the visual image and the sound. This may be attributed to increased contact with Spanish, which has allowed for this modification to the noun phrase to become the norm. As a result, its increased usage in dubbed content is a sign that it is perceived to be more acceptable.

5.4. Target Text Lexical Considerations

In the final section of the contribution made by Novo (2010: 167-71), he makes a number of lexical observations regarding normative usage of lexical items that are commonly misused in media language. These items were collated and coded using the text search function and then analysed in context to ensure a better understanding of their usage. A few examples of interest include the use of *en serio* as a question tag to confirm affirmativeness or, equally, disbelief. Although not providing any explanation for his inclusion of the term, it is a structure which is reasonably prevalent in this corpus (n=14). Furthermore, as Graph 4 attests, it is a structure that has become more prevalent in recent years. Whilst the increased usage of this structure is visible in the corpus, it is far outweighed by the presence of similar equivalents that are recommended by Novo including *de verdade* (n=29).

Graph 4. Use of ‘en serio’



Another interesting lexical item is the inclusion of the word *tranquilo* when it is employed as an interjection equivalent to *non teña medo* [≈ ‘don’t worry’]. There is a selection of examples (n=4) of this in the corpus outlined in Table 1. All four examples are taken from dubbed texts that were produced from 2006-2008, running contrary to the recommendations made by Novo (2010: 167-71). Evidently, the examples are drawn from only four episodes, which suggests that more data would be required in order to ascertain whether it is being used more systematically in Galician media language. In spite of this, an interesting observation that can be made in this case is the use of other structures to perform the same function including *non te preocupes*, which appears in 5 different episodes of programmes dubbed in the late 1980s as opposed to the use of *tranquilo*, suggesting a marked change in the translation of ‘worry’ as an interjection between those texts from the 1980s and those from the 2000s.

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard In Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

Table 1. Uses of ‘tranquilo’

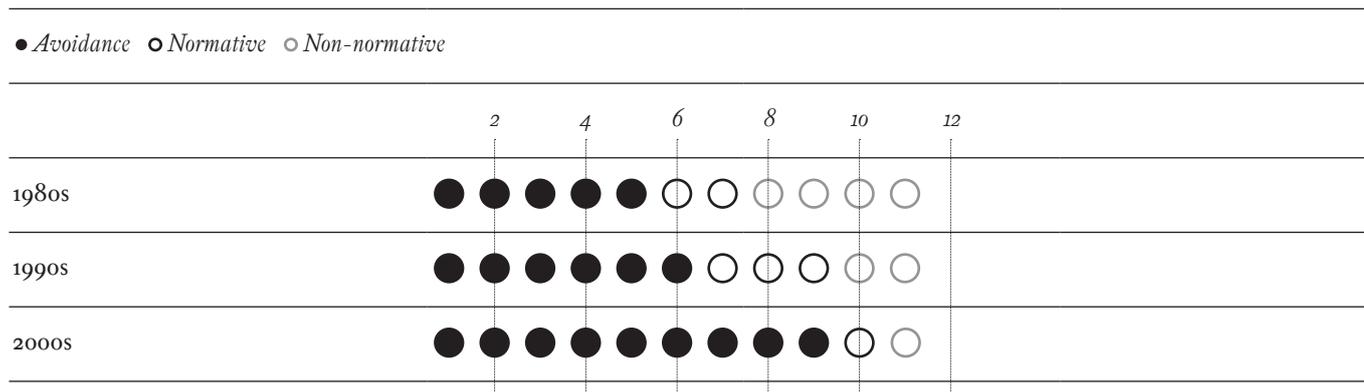
Target Text	Programme
‘Tranquilo, Norman. Iso é habitual.’	<i>Diagnóstico Asasinato, series 2 episode 3 (2006)</i>
‘Tranquilo, non che vai pasar nada.’	<i>Chuck, series 1 episode 3 (2008)</i>
‘Tranquilo. Vai saír ben’	<i>Chuck, series 1 episode 3 (2008)</i>
‘Tranquilo. Vai ser rápido’	<i>Chuck, series 1 episode 3 (2008)</i>
‘TC e eu témolo todo estudiado. Tranquilo’	<i>Magnum PI, series 1 episode 3 (1985)</i>

5.5 ST-TT Translation Induced Phenomena: Imperatives

The translation of imperatives and, in particular, the English construction *let’s...* is an area of translation induced source text influence that Novo (2010: 165) cites as an example of something that creates non-normative language in Galician dubbed target texts. More specifically, he is critical of the use of the first-person plural of the subjunctive to translate this construction as it is atypical in oral Galician. He suggests that Galician has its own equivalent structures that can be used in this context, such as the first person plural periphrasis *vamos + infinitive* (e.g. *Vamos chamar a policía < Let’s phone the police*) or, on occasions when it is not necessary to indicate that more than one person is completing the action, then the imperative proper can be employed in the second person singular or plural (e.g. *chama a policía OR chamade a policía*). Furthermore, he cites a number of other verbal periphrases emphasising obligation that can be employed (e.g. *deber, haber que, ser mellor*).

In order to explore this translation induced phenomenon, the text search function was employed in Nvivo; however, rather than only using TTs on this occasion, the aligned texts were employed to search instances of *let’s* in the ST as well as the grammatical suffixes *-emos* and *-amos*. There were a number of uses of *let’s* in the source texts (n=33), and in the vast majority of cases there was a tendency to avoid the translation of the first-person plural in favour of a number of more natural sounding structures. In 6 of

Graph 5. Translations of *let’s* into Galician and whether they are normative, non-normative or avoided



the examples, *veña* + imperative in the second person singular (e.g. *veña, come*) was employed as a strategy to include others in the action whilst not explicitly using the first-person plural. Also, there is a trend, albeit slight, for the drop in non-normative constructions across the decades, which appears to manifest itself in texts from 2006-2008 in the further avoidance rather than correct usage of the imperatives as advocated by Novo (see Graph 5).

6. Discussion

This article, through the forensic analysis of language, has sought to understand how recommendations for the normative use of Galician, as outlined in language planning documentation (in this case, the observations of Novo), is reflected in actual usage. Here 'actual usage' refers to the language of dubbed programming. Generally, when the corpus is explored diachronically, it is clear that there are three trends discernible from the data.

In the first case, certain aspects of language use in the corpus demonstrate that there is a tendency to move from non-normative language use to normative language use according to that outlined by Novo. This tendency also coincides with the transition between the 'gifting' and 'service' eras where we might posit that the challenge of producing enough dubbed content to be broadcast on television whilst also establishing new, complex, disconnected workflows will have an impact on the language assessment process and thus the output. Here, phonological data demonstrates that the intonational patterns observable in questions beginning with 'que' become more normative in the latter part of the corpus. Lexical analysis shows that the interjection 'tranquilo', an atypical Galician use, becomes less commonplace in latter texts in the corpus in favour of other more Galician synonyms such as *non te preocupes*. Also, the use of the construction *non dar* + past participle, a typically 'oral' Galician strategy to express the inability to complete an action, has increased over time but not necessarily to the expense of other more literary synonyms such as *non conseguir*, *non poder* and *non lograr*. In each case, we see here how certain linguistic tendencies as highlighted in a language planning document have led to increased normative usage.

In the second case, the corpus also attests, in certain aspects, a move away from the normative usage outlined by Novo. Across the corpus, common adjectives attest an increasing tendency to appear in pre-noun position to the extent where certain adjectives (e.g. *bo*, *malo*) are systematically used in this way in every instance. Also, from a lexical perspective, the increased use of 'en serio' over time demonstrates how this interjection, considered to be non-normative by Novo, has become more acceptable, possibly due to the inevitable language contact with Castilian in this diglossic scenario. This behaviour is consistent with the features of the 'performance era' with regards to the greater visibility and, ultimately, acceptance of multilingual repertoires that represent a mixture of allochthonous and autochthonous features. Whilst the latter is acknowledged by this framework as a marker of homegrown content, it is not unjust to surmise that dubbed language as well as other forms of media language might attest this shift. Nonetheless, as indicated earlier with regards to the heterotopic nature of the era-framework, it is important

*To What Extent Has the Role
of Dubbing Contributed to the
Promotion of the Linguistic
Standard In Galicia: a
Diachronic, Corpus-Based
Approach*
Craig Neville

to clarify that one single phenomenon does not signal that Galicia is fully engaged in the performance era.

In the final case, the corpus attests phenomena that can be defined as occasions where grammatical equivalents are avoided in favour of different grammatical constructions. This is particularly prevalent in the translation of imperatives. Whilst imperative usage, on the whole, follows the expectations outlined by Novo and non-normative usage is very infrequent, it is interesting to observe how equivalent imperative constructions are often avoided for other constructions. This was the case for the translation of 'let's' from English, which was often rendered as *veña* + imperative in the second person plural.

7. Conclusions

Although this study is limited, there are a number of observations that can be made as a result of its completion. Firstly, the application of corpus-based approaches to dubbed language are clearly fruitful and are enhanced by the ability to divide texts according to the periods when they were produced so that they can be viewed from a diachronic perspective. Such analysis is useful not only for those involved in the complex workflows of the Galician dubbing industry to understand how their practice has evolved and continues to do so from the linguistic perspective, but it also provides a quantifiable way in which the impact of language planning processes and policies can be assessed. Secondly, it demonstrates that the challenges of producing a corpus from dubbed language are not insurmountable when CAQDAS software is employed. Thirdly, such linguistic analysis does indeed provide evidence for language change and language contact. Although dubbed language lacks the spontaneity of traditional, oral data, it can still provide evidence for the effects of language contact, for example, where we might see an increased acceptance of atypical structures by authorities (such as language assessors) because of their increased, accepted usage in current, spoken language.

Through further development, this small-scale study could yield even greater research potential. As with any specialized corpus-based research, the addition of more texts is an easily citable enhancement; however, as mentioned previously, creating an AVT corpus is arduous. As a result, the addition of further texts from each existing series in the corpus rather than new series could help build on the linguistic analysis contained here. Equally, the phonological analysis contained within this research only provides a superficial exploration of an infinite number of possibilities including the realisation of formants and other intonational patterns such as those attributed to different types of interrogatives and exclamatives. This corpus would be further enhanced through the analysis of the TRS contained within the corpus in comparison with the original texts provided by the translators and/or the first studio takes of the programmes in the dubbing studio to understand more systematically not only how the translation process is shaped by the complex workflows unique to Galicia but also how the language itself is shaped by this process and the interventions made by language assessment.

Finally, this article also highlights an area of further urgent research (or, at least, awareness raising) that becomes increasingly salient through the application of Pietikäinen and Kelly-Holmes' framework: that is the

*To What Extent Has the Role
of Dubbing Contributed to the
Promotion of the Linguistic
Standard In Galicia: a
Diachronic, Corpus-Based
Approach*
Craig Neville

potential regression of the Galician mediascape from the performance to service eras with the increase in dubbed content. Due to the fact that Galicia is a stateless nation within Spain bound by the legalities of Castilian as the state's official language, the complete transition of the Galician mediascape to the full features of the performance era is theoretically and practically impossible, demonstrating one of the inescapable realities of Galicia's normalisation project.



To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard in Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

Works Cited

ALONSO SEISDEDOS, María, 2010. 'Especificidades da tradución para a dobraxe ao galego', in Montero Domínguez 2010: 145-154.

ÁLVAREZ, Rosario & Xosé XOVE, 2002. *Gramática da Lingua Galega* (Vigo: Editorial Galaxia).

ALVES, Fabio & Daniel COUTO VALE, 2009. 'Probing the Unit of Translation in Time: Aspects of the Design and Development of a Web Application for Storing, Annotating, and Querying Translation Process Data', *Across Languages and Cultures* 10: 251-73.

ANDOUTSOPoulos, Jannis, ed., 2014. *Mediatization and Sociolinguistic Change* (Berlin: de Gruyter).

ARTHUR, James, 2012. *Research Methods and Methodologies in Education* (London: Sage).

BOERSMA, Paul & David WEENINK, 2018. 'Praat': doing phonetics by computer [Computer program].

CORMACK, Mike, 2004. 'Developing Minority Language Media Studies', *Mercator Media Forum* 7: 3-12.

COROMINAS, Maria, & Bernat LÓPEZ, 1994. 'Espanya: Las contradicciones del 'model autonòmic'', *Anàlisi* 17: 71-102.

COSTA, António Pedro et al., 2018. *Computer Supported Qualitative Research. ISQR 2017. Advances in Intelligent Systems and Computing* (New York: Springer Publishing Company).

CRONIN, Michael, 1995. 'Altered states: Translation and minority languages', *TTR: traduction, terminologie, rédaction* 8: 85-103.

CRTVG, 2012. *Informe sobre a xestión de servizo público da CRTVG e as súas sociedades dependentes*, 20th July 2013. (Santiago de Compostela). <http://www.crtvg.es/files/INFORMESERVIZOPUBLICO2012.pdf> [Accessed 9/10/2019]

_____, 2019. 'Descrición da entidade' [corporate website]. <http://www.crtvg.es/crtvg/portal-de-transparencia/informacion-institucional/descricion-da-entidade> [Accessed 09/10/2019]

FORTES, Xabier, 2011. *40 años de TVE en Galicia*, online video recording, RTVE a la carta, 25th July 2011. Accessed 16/06/2019. <http://www.rtve.es/alacarta/videos/telexornal-galicia/40-anos-tve-galicia-25-07-11/1161365/> [Accessed 09/10/2019]

GALICIA, *Estatuto de Autonomía para Galicia*, Ley Orgánica 1/1981

HALLIDAY, Michael, 1978. *Language as Social Semiotic* (London: Arnold).

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard in Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

_____, 1992. 'Language as System and Language as Instance: The Corpus as a Theoretical Construct', *Directions in Corpus Linguistics: Proceedings of Nobel Symposium*, 61-78.

HOKOWHITU, Brendan & Vijay DEVADAS, 2011. *The Fourth Eye: Māori Media in Aotearoa New Zealand* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press).

KELLY-HOLMES, Helen, 2014. 'Commentary: Mediatized Spaces for Minoritized Languages: Challenges and Opportunities', in Andoutsopoulos 2014: 539-543.

JENSEN, Matilde Nisbeth & Karen Korning ZETHSEN, 2012. 'Translation of Patient Information Leaflets: Trained Translators and Pharmacists-cum-translators-A Comparison', *Linguistica Antverpiensia, New Series-Themes in Translation Studies* 11: 31-49.

KOLLER, Veronika, 2009. 'Analysing Collective Identity in Discourse: Social Actors and Contexts', *Semen* 27. <https://journals.openedition.org/semen/8877> [Accessed: 09/10/2019]

LEE, Nigel & Raymond FIELDING (eds.), 1991. *Using Computers in Qualitative Research* (London: Sage).

LÓPEZ GARCÍA, Xosé, ed., 2002. *A comunicación en Galicia 2002* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, Sección de Comunicación).

LÓPEZ GARCÍA, Xosé, 2004. *Tres décadas de televisión en Galicia. Cronoloxía e posicións perante o desafío dun novo modelo audiovisual* (Santiago de Compostela: Consello da Cultura Galega, Sección de Comunicación). http://consellodacultura.gal/mediateca/extras/tres_decadas_de_television.pdf [Accessed: 13/06/2019]

LYSAGHT, Ruth, 2009. 'Language Image in National Minority Language Television Idents: TG4 (Teilifís na Gaeilge, Ireland) and Whakaata Māori (Māori Television, New Zealand)', *Estudios Irlandeses* 4: 45-57.

MANEIRO, Arturo, 2013. *25 anos de Televisión en Galicia* (A Coruña: Editorial Compostela).

MARTÍNEZ HERMIDA, Marcelo, 1994. 'Televisión y vídeo en Galicia: La intervención de la institución autonómica en el sector audiovisual'. Unpublished PhD Thesis (Universidad Complutense de Madrid).

MEC, 2006. '50 años de televisión en España'. http://tv_mav.cnice.mec.es/siglo/50/loadad_movies/guias/02_purple/04_2_la_programacion_en_television.pdf. [Accessed: 4/12/2018]

MONTERO DOMÍNGUEZ, Xoán, 2006. 'Achegas para a tradución de produtos destinados á dobraxe cara ao galego', *Revista Galega de Tradución* 12: 111-20.

To What Extent Has the Role of Dubbing Contributed to the Promotion of the Linguistic Standard in Galicia: a Diachronic, Corpus-Based Approach
Craig Neville

_____, ed., 2010. *Tradución para a dobraxe en Galicia, País Vasco e Cataluña: experiencias investigadoras e profesionais* (Vigo: Servizo de Publicacións da Universidade de Vigo).

_____, 2010. 'O proceso de tradución para a dobraxe das longametraxes de ficción galegas' in Montero Domínguez 2006: e despois os números de páxina 59-82.

MUNDAY, Jeremy & Meifang ZHANG, 2015. 'Introduction to Discourse Analysis in Translation Studies', *Target* 27: 325-34.

NEVILLE, Craig, 2018a. 'Escoitade con coidado. Isto só o direi unha vez'. An Exploration of the Role Played by Dubbing in Galicia since the 1980-90s Galicia to Promote Sociolinguistic Identity', paper presented to Interdisciplinary Galician Studies Conference, University of Edinburgh, April 2018. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/326010476_Escoitade_con_coidado_Isto_so_o_direi_unha_vez_An_exploration_of_the_role_played_by_dubbing_in_Galicia_since_the1980-90s_Galicia_to_promote_sociolinguistic_identity

_____, 2018b. Interview with Rosario Álvarez Blanco, the head of the Consello da Cultura Galega and specialist in Galician normalisation: the role of dubbing in language normalisation in Galicia. https://www.researchgate.net/publication/330041733_Interview_with_Rosario_Alvarez_Blanco_Head_of_the_Consello_de_Cultura_Galega_in_Galicia_about_the_role_of_dubbing_in_the_normalisation_of_the_language

NOVO, Ramón, 2010. 'Control Lingüístico das traducións para a dobraxe na TVG', in Montero Domínguez 2006: e despois os números de páxina 155-172.

PÉREZ-GONZÁLEZ, Luis, 2014. *Audiovisual Translation: Theories, Methods and Issues* (Abingdon: Routledge).

PIETIKÄINEN, Sari & Helen KELLY-HOLMES, 2011. 'Gifting, Service, and Performance: Three Eras in Minority-Language Media Policy and Practice', *International Journal of Applied Linguistics* 21: 51-70.

RANZATO, Irene, 2013. 'The Translation of Cultural References in the Italian Dubbing of Television Series'. Unpublished doctoral dissertation. Available at <https://spiral.imperial.ac.uk:8443/bitstream/10044/1/14622/1/Ranzato-I-2013-PhD-Thesis.pdf> (London: Imperial College London).

REI-DOVAL, Gabriel, Mauro FERNÁNDEZ RODRÍGUEZ, Lucía DOMÍNGUEZ SECO, Manuel FERNÁNDEZ FERREIRO, Fernando FERNÁNDEZ RAMALLO, Montserrat RECALDE, Modesto RODRÍGUEZ NEIRA, 1996. *Actitudes lingüísticas en Galicia: compendio do III volume do Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* (Real Academia Galega: Seminario de Sociolingüística).

_____, 1995. *Usos lingüísticos en Galicia: compendio do II volume do Mapa Sociolingüístico de Galicia* (Real Academia Galega: Seminario de Sociolingüística).

*To What Extent Has the Role
of Dubbing Contributed to the
Promotion of the Linguistic
Standard In Galicia: a
Diachronic, Corpus-Based
Approach*
Craig Neville

RICENTO, Tom. 2006. *An Introduction to Language Policy: Theory and Method* (Malden, MA: Blackwell).

SILVER, Christina, 2018. 'CAQDAS at a Crossroads: Choices, Controversies and Challenges', in Costa et al. 2018: 1-13.

SILVER, Christina & Jennifer PATASHNICK, 2011. 'Finding Fidelity: Advancing Audiovisual Analysis Using Software', *Forum: Qualitative Social Research* 12. <http://www.qualitative-research.net/index.php/fqs/article/view/1629/3148> [Accessed 9/10/2019]

SINCLAIR, John, 1991. *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press)

VEIGA DÍAZ, María Teresa, 2012. 'La percepción social del doblaje al gallego de productos audiovisuales televisivos', in *TRAlinea Special Issue (The Translation of Dialects in Multimedia II)* 2. http://www.intraline.org/specials/article/percepcion_social_del_doblaje_productos_audiovisuales_televisivos [Accessed 09/10/2019]

VIEIROS, 2006. 'A "Víbora negra" non sairá en galego malia a TVG ceder a dobraxe'. Accessed 3/3/2006. <http://www.vieiros.com/nova/48320/a-vibora-negra-non-saira-en-galego-malia-a-tvg-ceder-a-dobraxe>

*To What Extent Has the Role
of Dubbing Contributed to the
Promotion of the Linguistic
Standard In Galicia: a
Diachronic, Corpus-Based
Approach*
Craig Neville

Titles of series and episodes contained within the corpus as transcriptions.

Galician Title	Source Language Title	Country of Origin	Year of Dubbing	Episodes
Dallas	Dallas	USA	1985	Series 2 Episode 4
Magnum PI	Magnum PI	USA	1985	Series 1 Episode 3
			1985	Series 1 Episode 4
Buck Rogers no século XXV	Buck Rogers in the 25 th Century	USA	1987	Series 1 Episode 1 & 2 (Combined)
Os Roper	George & Mildred	UK	1988	Series 1 Episode 2
Os Novos	The Young Ones	UK	1989	Series 1 Episode 3
			1989	Series 2 Episode 6
Arriba e abaixo	Upstairs, Downstairs	UK	1991	Series 1 Episode 1
			1991	Series 1 Episode 7
A Nanny	The Nanny	USA	1995	Series 1 Episode 3
			1995	Series 1 Episode 4
Allo Allo	Allo Allo	UK	1998	Series 1 Episode 3
			1998	Series 1 Episode 6
Diagnóstico Asasinato	Diagnosis Murder	USA	2006	Series 2 Episode 2
			2006	Series 2 Episode 4
Heroes	Heroes	USA	2007	Series 1 Episode 2
			2007	Series 1 Episode 6
Chuck	Chuck	USA	2008	Series 1 Episode 2
			2008	Series 1 Episode 3
Invasión	Invasion	USA	2008	Series 1 Episode 3
			2008	Series 1 Episode 8