

**TRANSLATION, ADVERTISING AND IDENTITY IN GALICIA(N):  
AN ANALYSIS OF THE WEBSITES OF COMPANIES CERTIFIED BY THE  
BRAND GALICIA CALIDADE**

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## **Abstract**

Advertisements vary in format and purpose, but they all share an ultimate goal: to convince a particular target audience. Language plays a crucial role in triggering a cognitive reaction that influences the audience. In the context of diglossic communities, the choice of words is as relevant as the choice of language. Focusing on Galicia, a diglossic community in north-western Spain, the asymmetrical relationship between Galician and Castilian is reflected in the dynamics of advertising and translation. Translators need to bridge the gaps between the cognitive values of audiences from different cultural backgrounds to prompt the same reaction. A bad quality translation will damage the image of the company and the brand Galicia. Galician advertisements contain cultural representations that can be easily decoded by the audience, but also reinforce existing stereotypes. These images play an influential role in the construction of the Galician identity.

This study analyses advertising samples from websites of companies that bear the guarantee of “Galicia Calidade” and revolves around three strands: which language is preferred for advertising and in which context? What linguistic resources are used to advertise Galician products and how are they translated? Does advertising contribute to the construction and projection of the Galician identity?

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## INTRODUCTION

Translation is a fundamental tool for communication across cultures in an increasingly interconnected world. By bridging the gaps between different language communities, translators determine the projection of a particular culture within and beyond its borders. Advertising is a key instrument of this exchange and a powerful form of mass-media communication that influences the behaviour and social interactions of consumers. The power of advertising becomes particularly noticeable in diglossic contexts where it can also play a paramount role in the promotion of the minorised language. This is the case in Galicia, a region located in the northwest of Spain that has two co-official languages: Castilian Spanish, the official language of the State, and Galician, the regional language.

The first advertisements written in Galician appeared before the end of the nineteenth century in the newspaper *O Tío Marcos d'A Portela*. This publication was first issued in 1876 and was the first of its type to be written entirely in Galician. The first advertising message displayed information about the poetry book *Espiñas, follas e flores* (1875) by Valentín Lamas Carvajal, the founding editor of the newspaper, and, later on, the first brand to opt for this language to publicise its products was the American manufacturer of domestic sewing machines Singer (Fernández Salgado, 2014). Local small business started using these publications to advertise their products and services: bookshops, drugstores, barbershops, doctors, tailors, watchmakers, wineries, etc. In those days, advertisements consisted of textual descriptions of the product and its features, often written with simple but popular verses, and due to the technical limitations of the time, they were printed in black and white and contained few images.

Advertising in Galicia has evolved considerably since then. It has been shaped by changes in society and by the industry's new developments and strategies. Over the last decades, the Galician advertising industry has clearly consolidated its position and the quality of the

campaigns has increased, as confirmed by the awards accumulated at national and international level. Despite this progress, it faces two challenges: there are numerous advertising agencies and the investment in advertising is very low. Firstly, there are more than 130 advertising agencies in Galicia, which actually account for around one quarter of the total of agencies in Spain (Pena Rodríguez, 2013: 175). This fragmentation makes it difficult for these small agencies to function economically and to gain visibility in order to be able to compete outside the region. Secondly, Galician companies seem to commit a limited amount of resources towards the advertising of their products and services. This has been even more pronounced since the outbreak of the current financial downturn in 2008. In effect, the average investment in advertising by company is the second lowest in Spain (Pena Rodríguez, 2013: 184).

In today's society, advertisements are a major part of everyday life: they reach audiences through television, radio and post at home; billboards, flyers and posters on the streets; pop-up ads and email marketing on the net; newspapers and magazines in public spaces; etc. Consequently, the amount and frequency of this bombarding can result in consumer immunisation. For this reason, advertisers must constantly develop new forms of publicity to stand out and appeal to the audience.

That being said, advertisements may vary in their format (media, length, use of images, etc.), purpose (selling a product, offering a service, etc.) and function (generally to persuade or to inform, but also of prestige building, which is also referred to as goodwill advertising (Odber de Baubeta, 1995b: 26); yet they all are designed bearing in mind a particular target audience and share an ultimate goal that defines the advertising text: to convince receivers to adopt a particular course of action (Screti, 2013: 304). These two factors will play a key role in every creative process and, in some sense, set the start and the finish line, respectively. Between both lines, publicists need to attain a good level of creativity and originality to attract the attention of the audience and differentiate their advertisement from others. Advertising

language plays a crucial role in setting up a contrast between two similar products that fulfil the same psychological and physical needs (Odber de Baubeta, 1995a: 52). For this to work, copywriters must know their target audience in order to choose the exact combination of words that will trigger a cognitive reaction that will influence the audience. The power and creativity of language becomes patent in this strategy.

Equally important as creating a good advertisement is to create an optimal translation. A successful translation will prompt in the audience of the target language the same reaction caused in the audience of the source language (Nida, 2004: 160). To accomplish this, the focus should not fall on the form of the source text, but on the intent of the original message. The task should be understood as a communicative translation that is centred on the reader and the effect of the message (Newmark, 1991: 11). Thus, the original text will be adapted as necessary to ensure the comprehension and response of the receptors. On top of this, the translation of advertising is a borderline case between translation and marketing (Schäffner, 1995: 6) and as Séguinot (1995: 249) points out “the marketing of goods and services across cultural boundaries involves an understanding of culture and semiotics that goes well beyond both language and design”. Translators face the challenge of communicating across two different linguistic and cultural realities; on account of this, they need to bridge the gaps between the mental spaces and cognitive values of the recipients.

In the particular context of Galicia, the choice of language can be as relevant as the choice of words itself. As mentioned above, Galician holds a shared position as co-official language with Castilian in the region, as established by the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia (1981). However, it is labelled a minority language in Spain, given the fact that it is spoken by a minority of the population of the country, and it is also considered a minorised language, since it stands at a disadvantage in relation to Castilian and its use is restricted. To counteract this situation, the Galician Government has adopted linguistic policies, ratified by the Spanish Government, and has developed an agenda of language planning to promote and defend the use of Galician in all

areas. Language policy in Galicia, however, is directly conditioned by the ideological position of the party in power. The policies introduced by the centre-right Popular Party, the dominant party throughout the history of the Galician Parliament, are often described as largely non-interventionist and accused of being aimed at maintaining the sociolinguistic “status quo”, while promoting the idea of “harmonious” bilingualism to avoid any “language conflict” (O’Rourke and Ramallo, 2015: 152). In addition to the governmental forces, there are non-governmental organisations that work to ensure that the official institutions implement and observe the abovementioned policies, and also coordinate initiatives of their own. However, all policies, language planning and initiatives have proved to be insufficient or inefficient, and the normalisation of Galician is far from being accomplished. These circumstances will have important implications for effective advertising, and, in turn, the choices made by advertisers will reinforce or refute longstanding notions.

Furthermore, over the past decades the brand Galicia has been consolidated and has become a powerful advertising tool. The Galician origin of products is understood as a synonym of quality and increasingly recognised nationally and internationally. However, the image of the brand Galicia is commonly built by drawing on preconceived ideas that form part of a collection of clichés about Galician identity that has been introduced in the world of advertising by insisting on certain features and patrons. In the context of this study, the term cliché is used to denote an overly repeated characterisation that is familiar to all and is no longer updated nor questioned, even if it sometimes verges on unreality. Moreover, this representation might not necessarily correspond to how the people of this particular culture see themselves, but rather to how others see them, and has only later been adopted by Galicians as their own identity. For the purpose of this study, the concept of “identity” is used to refer to the ensemble of distinctive features and elements of a particular community that define it and make it unique. Taking all the above into account, it could be debatable whether

the image projected and exported by advertising of the idiosyncrasy of Galicia is a construction or a reflection of reality.

This research will consider the nature (choices and strategies of the source language), translation (choices and strategies of the target language) and functions (construction and projection of identity) of advertising in the context of a minority language like Galician. At present, there are numerous publications on the construction of Galician identity, some of which will be mentioned later on. Similarly, in the last decades there has been a substantial increase in the amount of academic research and the number of publications on the topics of translation and advertising in the Galician context. This increase has been compelled by the growing importance of both industries in Galicia, and also by the creation of the degrees in Translation and Interpreting in 1991 and Advertising and Public Relations in 1994. Furthermore, Fernando Ramallo and Gabriel Rei Doval published in 1995 and 1997 two fundamental studies entirely dedicated to the subject of advertising in the Galician language. Research on this topic was slow to develop after these two publications, but the status quo appears to be changing. This is proven by initiatives like the seminar “Publicidade en galego” organised in October 2014 by the Consello da Cultura Galega and Fundación Galicia Empresa. Despite the increase in the number of studies and publications on each of these strands, there is a lack of research that connects language, translation, identity and advertising in the Galician context. In this way, this dissertation aims to fill that gap and explore the relationship between advertising and identity construction in Galicia.

This thesis is structured in four main chapters. Each of these chapters includes a literature review and an analysis of actual samples of advertising. This special structure that intertwines theory and practice allows for a clearer and more effective application of the topics that are studied. The literary reviews examine the research done so far in each field. Since there is abundant bibliography on all strands of this research, focus is placed on the most relevant scholarship on the area. Chapter I addresses the topic of choice of language, and investigates

which languages are preferred for advertising Galician products and companies, necessarily taking into consideration both target audience and context. Chapter II discusses the topic of advertising language, and analyses the linguistic techniques most commonly used in advertising targeted at a Galician audience, while asking whether they differ from the ones used in the rest of Spain and internationally. Chapter III studies the translation of advertising language and culture-specific items, and assesses the quality of the available translations. Chapter IV examines the deployment of cultural representations in advertising, and considers the extent to which advertising may contribute to the construction and projection of a Galician identity. The Conclusion assesses the findings and implications of this research and makes recommendations for further action in the translation and advertising industries. These recommendations take the form of a list of issues to be considered by Galician companies, advertisers and the regional Government in Appendix A.

This project seeks evidentially-based answers by analysing samples of advertising taken from websites of the Galician companies that bear the guarantee of Galicia Calidade (Galician quality). Galicia Calidade is a public company supported by the Galician Government. The company carries out audits and trials to ensure that all companies that apply to use its brand name employ high-quality raw materials and enforce high standards during the production process. In exchange, the certified companies are acknowledged with a seal of quality and marketed in advertising campaigns and promotional events, both in Spain and abroad. This initiative helps the companies to increase their prestige and, consequently, their sales; and, on a more general level, it projects the image of the brand Galicia internationally. The name of Galicia Calidade highlights the origin of the products and links it to the ideas of quality and reliability.

In summary, this study revolves around three elements: the language of advertising, the translation of advertising language and the issue of Galician identity. By doing so, it intends to contribute to a better understanding of the complex relationship between advertising

language and national, regional and personal identity in the Galician context, and to identify relevant topics for future research in this field.

## METHODOLOGY AND CORPUS

The evolution of the advertising industry is marked at present by the rapid and continuous expansion of the digital era. The Internet is a powerful mass media that being “characterised by attributes such as timeliness, multimodality, hypertext and boundary-transcending capability has redefined the way in which information is produced, distributed and consumed” (Lee, 2009: 1). The same redefinition applies to advertising and the way it is produced, distributed and consumed. As a matter of fact, the rise of social networks and the proliferation of electronic devices have greatly increased the number of advertising platforms and creative discourses, and propelled the geographic dispersion of the target audience (Pena Rodríguez, 2013: 174). In short, the Internet and all new digital formats are changing the way advertisers interact with their audience, reaching customers and distributors simultaneously and in very different parts of the globe, and have consequently added a new dimension in the study of advertising translation. To account for these changes, it was decided that the analysed samples of advertising would be taken from the websites of the aforementioned Galician companies.

The companies that hold the guarantee are listed on the website of Galicia Calidade ([www.galiciacalidad.es](http://www.galiciacalidad.es)). This website offers information targeted both at companies interested in applying for the seal of quality and at consumers. When visiting the website from a computer with a Galician IP, the page is first shown in Castilian, but it is also available in Galician and English. The list of companies that hold the seal of quality can be found in the section of “Associate companies”. This list is organised alphabetically and each name links to another section with information on the company, its products and services, and its contact details, including the web address.

During the course of this research, the number of companies under the seal of quality of Galicia Calidade fluctuated, as some companies withdrew and several more joined the quality brand. To address this issue, the corpus was limited to the fifty companies listed in the section

of “Associate companies” as of November 2014. The companies were grouped first by sector and then by the type of product or service they commercialised, in the following categories:

- Drinks: wine, milk, water and beer.
- Foods: fish and sea food, poultry and eggs, fruits and vegetables, bread, cold meats and snails.
- Handicrafts: jewellery.
- Industrial: bedding products, containers, sunblinds and tagging.
- Leisure: rural tourism and spa tourism.

Out of this classification, focus was placed on the websites of companies that belonged to a product category with two or more cases. The aim of this strategy was to find clearer convergence between the advertising and linguistic strategies employed. Notwithstanding, those companies that were the only example in their category were included in the study too, since they could provide for relevant examples. All in all, the samples of advertising studied were taken from the websites of the list of companies included in Appendix B.

In addition, the initial idea of this research was to employ the Galician versions of the Galician websites to analyse the advertising language, and to use the Castilian and English versions to compare the linguistic resources of each language and to ultimately study the translation techniques. However, after checking the dot.com or dot.es of the websites to study which language is preferred in Galician advertising and in what contexts, the results showed that all websites were originally written in Castilian, and then translated into Galician, English and other languages. For this reason, the methodology was modified: the Castilian versions were used to analyse the advertising language, and the Galician and English translated versions were used for comparative purposes, to study the translation techniques. Likewise, all websites were factored in to consider the topic of identity and advertising. This included those sites that were only available in Castilian, because even if they did not use Galician, they included images and representations of Galician identity that generated valuable case studies. A full list of the

companies and the languages included in their websites as of October 2015 is provided in Appendix C.

During the early stages of this study, the diverse designs and characteristics of all the websites made it complicated to single out a homogeneous selection of advertising samples for analysis. The websites offered information of a descriptive or commercial nature, to a greater or lesser extent, depending on the profile and marketing strategy of each company. On top of this, each website presented a wide range of sections that differed from one company to the next. For these reasons, it was resolved to base the study on the analysis of the home page of these websites, since this page is the first page that the visitors see and the business card of the companies.

While conducting this research, Galicia Calidade and some of the companies under the seal of quality updated the information displayed on their websites, added new advertisements and deleted old ones. This was partly expected, given the dynamic nature of the Internet and of advertising itself. For the purpose of this study, the advertising samples analysed were collected from October 2013 until September 2015 and saved through screenshots and transcripts.

Finally, Chapter II includes a comparative analysis of the advertising discourse used in other cultural contexts. This comparative study was centred on the advertising discourse employed in the wine industry, because this was the product category with more examples within the cluster of companies of Galicia Calidade. The cultural contexts chosen were England and La Rioja, another region from Spain famed for its wines. In the English case, the advertising materials analysed belonged to the English wineries listed in the page of the association of English Wine Producers (EWP) that owned a website: a total of twenty-six wine companies as of November 2015. As for La Rioja, for the purpose of expediency and consistency, the advertising samples analysed belonged to the twenty-six wineries from the region of La Rioja

and with a website that were listed first in the page of the Rioja Qualified Designation of Origin as of November 2015. A complete list of the English and Rioja companies analysed is included in Appendix D.

## 1. LANGUAGE USED TO ADVERTISE GALICIAN PRODUCTS AND COMPANIES

### 1.1. LANGUAGE PLANNING IN GALICIA

The Galician language is indivisible from the culture of the region and immensely important to regional and personal identity in Galicia. It holds the position of co-official language with Castilian, as established by the Spanish Constitution of 1978 and by the Statute of Autonomy of Galicia published in 1981. It is spoken by a significant percentage of the population in Galicia, in some border areas, and by the large emigrant communities in South America and Europe. However, in Galicia, the percentage of people who speak Galician habitually dropped from 42.98 % in 2003 to 30.84 % in 2013, whereas the percentage of people who speak Castilian habitually went up from 19.56 % to 25.95 %, for the same years (IGE). This decline is yet another consequence of the history and the sociolinguistic dynamics that surround the language.

The Galician language is a valued vehicle of communication and cultural transmission, but it coexists with Castilian in a situation of diglossia, in which Galician is at a disadvantage. The population has different attitudes towards the two languages and preconceived ideas on their uses. This situation originated from historical processes that damaged the prestige of the Galician language. After a time of splendour during the Middle Ages, Galician entered a period of decadence known as the *Séculos Escuros* (dark centuries). The Galician nobility was replaced by a foreign governing class empowered by the *Reyes Católicos* (Catholic Monarchs) who aimed at centralising the Spanish State around the crown of Castile “by means of monarchical absolutism, Catholicism and the imposition of an official Castilian culture and the Castilian language” (Beswick, 2002: 258). Thus, the new nobility used Castilian as the official language and disregarded the original culture and identity of Galicia. This socio-political context caused the Galician language to be absent from all formal uses, not used in writing and kept in the private field. After a process of recovery and strengthening that started in the nineteenth

century with the *Rexurdimento* (Resurgence or Revival) and was consolidated during the first third of the twentieth century with the emergence of *galeguismo* (Galician nationalist movement), Galician had to face a new setback with the establishment of Franco's dictatorship. This was a period of repression and cultural censorship, during which Galician was absent from all official and public spheres. The use of the language became an act of defiance to the regime or, even worse, caused a feeling of self-hate that harmed the linguistic awareness of the speakers. These two moments in history did not only cause the "castilianisation" of society, but also lead to the emergence of deep-seated convictions, frequently opposing, in regard to the functions and domains of both languages (Beswick, 2002: 257). These convictions lasted through time up to the present day, transmitted from one generation to the next, unlike the language itself. The linguistic competence of the younger generations is in some cases limited to the education system and to passive exposure in the community or at home, where parents and grandparents might speak Galician amongst themselves, but use Castilian when addressing their children. Despite the fact that older prejudices associated with the language such as rurality and backwardness are disappearing, Castilian continues to be seen as the language of social prestige and mobility and the adoption of the non-prestigious language by new speakers, especially in urban spaces, is seen as deviant or even interpreted as a nationalist statement (O'Rouker and Ramallo, 2013: 299). The influence of all the above factors continues to affect the status of the language.

As a consequence, Galician has been forced to resort to language planning and linguistic policies to defend its status and promote its use. The concept of language planning refers to a process of adaptation of the structure and use of the language to its social context by modifying the social practices that affect the linguistic practices (Lamuela and Monteagudo, 1996: 236). This approach is based on the notion that the prestige of a language does not derive from the language itself, but rather from the interaction between language and society. The approach implemented by the Galician Government includes two processes:

“normativización” (standardisation), the planned intervention on the forms of the language, and “normalización” (normalisation), the planned intervention on the acquisition and uses of the language.

The process of standardisation aims at the difficult task of fixing a standard variety of the language that is accepted by all speakers and can be used in all contexts. Moreover, in the particular case of Galician, it has the objective of recovering Galician words and structures replaced by Castilian substitutes through the years; removing assimilated “castelanisms” from the language; and generating new terms to name modern concepts. As part of the process, the standard variety of the language has been codified in dictionaries, grammar books, vocabularies and orthographies, and in the *Normas ortográficas e morfolóxicas do idioma galego* (Orthographic and morphological norms of the Galician language), drafted by the Real Academia Galega and the Instituto da Lingua Galega in 1982, and revised in 1995 and 2003. Moreover, it is taught in the education system and it has been adopted by the Government and the public media. Nevertheless, on the topic of standardisation, Lamuela and Monteagudo (1996: 238) hold that the intervention on the form, such as the creation of grammar standards or new terms, should be understood as an auxiliary activity subordinated to the intervention on the uses of the language. In reality, the standardisation of the language has become in itself an additional barrier. Firstly, many advocate for an alternative norm that would emphasise the existing links between Galician and Portuguese, which derived from the same original language. This is the case of *Reintegracionismo* (Reintegrationism), a linguistic and cultural movement that defends an assimilationist process based on the Galician-Portuguese linguistic unity. Within this alternative sector, different groups uphold varying degrees of assimilation that give rise to distinct tendencies, but none of them have the support of the Government. Secondly, many native speakers do not identify themselves with the variety used by television presenters and politicians. Thus, the adoption of the standard variety by schools, Government and media has led to the emergence of a further form of diglossia: in this case, however,

between varieties of the same language. Owing to the belief that the standard is the only correct form, many native speakers refrain from using their mother tongue in public, and if asked why they do not speak Galician, they answer: “Because I do not speak it well”. This rationale is also observed among young people in Galicia, but, interestingly, not among the young who are learning Galician abroad: for instance, the children of Galician emigrants who study it as mother tongue, or the University students who learn it as a foreign language at the Centres for Galician Studies located around the world.

As for the normalisation of the language, the Xunta de Galicia (Galician Government) took a first step in 1983 when it promulgated the *Lei de Normalización Lingüística* (Law of Linguistic Normalisation). By means of this law, the Galician Government undertakes to protect, develop and encourage the use Galician in all areas (Millán Varela, 1996: 1). To this end, the law makes provision for the use of Galician at an official level, within the education system, the media and the public administration, and abroad. With regard to the media, one of the most influential arenas of modern life, the law establishes Galician as the customary language to be used in television, radio and other means of public communication accountable to the Government, and promises economic and material support to encourage the use of Galician in other media (Articles 18 and 19). In addition, it states that regional and local governments are responsible for promoting the normal use of Galician in the commercial and advertising sectors (Article 25). Two decades later, in 2004, the Government approved the *Plan Xeral de Normalización Lingüística* (General Plan for Linguistic Normalisation). This plan analyses the situation of the language and includes a list of measures to help to put into practice the provisions made by the Law of 1983. Its objective is to expand the uses of Galician and, in keeping with this commitment, it places particular emphasis on the ambit of new technologies.

Together with the above regulations on language planning, the Xunta de Galicia and other institutions, both governmental and non-governmental, carry out initiatives to promote the use of Galician in the business and advertising sectors. With respect to the business sector, A

Mesa pola Normalización Lingüística (Board for Linguistic Normalisation) has launched campaigns such as “O galego, marca de distinción” (Galician, mark of distinction)<sup>1</sup> and “En galego, a pedir de boca” (In Galician, for the asking), to promote the use of Galician in product tags and restaurant menus, respectively. A Mesa is an independent multi-stakeholder platform that works for the promotion and defence of the use of the language in all domains. In addition to the campaigns listed above, it currently coordinates the initiative “Abertos ao Galego” (Open to Galician) that grants certificates to those companies and business engaged in the normalisation of the language. Similarly, Foro Peinador (Forum Peinador) and Fundación Galicia Empresa (Fund Galicia Empresa) work to reinforce the presence of the Galician language and cultural identity in the commercial sector. The slogan of Foro Peinador is “Galeguizar Galicia” (Making Galicia Galician) and although it was founded to foster the use of Galician in the public administration, it has now broadened its scope of action. For instance, it has organised yearly campaigns to promote the use of Galician in the wine industry: from the tagging of bottles and advertising materials to signage and internal communications between the companies and their employees. Fundación Galicia Empresa, instead, is specifically devoted to the promotion of the Galician business sector with close linkages to the socioeconomic and cultural realities of Galicia. It includes the normalisation of the language as one of its main objectives, but, as specified in its Articles of Association, it also considers polyglossia as an essential factor in business activity. Despite the differences between the two, both organisations base their action on the premise that the use of Galician adds value to the companies.

In the advertising sector, the development of mass consumer advertising occurred during the monolingualist regime of Franco and thus caused the imposition of certain assumptions about the roles of the minoritised regional languages and appropriate textual practices (Atkinson and

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<sup>1</sup> Own translation. All translations of advertising material are by the author of this thesis unless otherwise stated.

Kelly-Holmes, 2006: 256). These assumptions are now being challenged in Galicia by the work of copywriters, by the popularity gained by certain advertisements in Galician, or by initiatives such as the awards ceremony “Premios de Publicidade en Galego”. This ceremony is organised annually by the advisory boards of the state-owned Spanish and Galician radio and television services, Radiotelevisión Española en Galicia (RTVE-G) and Compañía de Radiotelevisión Galega (CRTVG) to choose the best advertisements in Galician. Moreover, the Consello da Cultura Galega and Fundación Galicia Empresa organised in October 2014 the aforementioned seminar “Publicidade en galego”. The seminar sought to review the current state of the language in the advertising context and it was concluded that the present trends are positive and an increasing number of companies consider Galician an effective tool to sell.

Also, increased access to new communication technologies has played a substantial role in the revitalisation of regional languages, as they allow more opportunities for the creation of multilingual media. This is the case of the Internet, which, even if primarily seen as a globalising force, is also a powerful tool that allows and prompts language diversity (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 108). New advertising practices follow a more interactive and individualised strategy that operates via commercial websites with localised contents. The Internet provides the infrastructure to easily incorporate regional languages into the marketplace, and is cheaper than more traditional media. Furthermore, the involvement of Galician with new technologies challenges the sense of backwardness often associated with the language and the notion that minority languages are not suited to deal with the complexity of modern life (Cronin, 1995: 96). In short, the involvement of a minority language with new technologies is closely linked with its development and improvement of status.

Despite all the progress that has been made, Castilian still dominates the discourse practices of advertising in Galicia due to the high number of Spanish media forms that are distributed nationally (television and radio channels, press, websites, etc.), and also the proportion of local media and companies that have decided to use Castilian as their vehicular language. As a

matter of fact, the advertisements shown on the Galician public television channel are in Castilian or Galician, as decided by each company. This might respond to liberal economic principles, but contradicts the monolingual linguistic policy applied to the rest of the public broadcasting that aims at creating a protected audiovisual space for the Galician language (Fernández Salgado and Pereira Meire, 2006: 365). The use of Galician on television and radio plays a prominent role in the normalisation of the language, contributes to overcoming social prejudices and enhances the prestige of the language. However, this effect is undermined when some companies choose Castilian to market their products, and it is particularly detrimental when they employ Castilian to advertise a more exclusive range of products, as discussed in the following section.

## 1.2. CHOICE OF LANGUAGE IN ADVERTISING

The existing situation of linguistic conflict and imbalance has important implications for planning and decision making in advertising. In effect, the factors mentioned in the previous section have a negative impact on the choice and the uses of the language in advertising.

With regard to the choice of language, a large number of the Galician companies that opt for Castilian offer economic reasons to support their decision. They hold, for instance, that this option is more cost-effective since they can reach customers both in Galicia and in the rest of Spain with the same advertisement. In this line of thought, some companies use Castilian because they prefer uniformity in their business activity and advertising across the Peninsula. Moreover, other companies operate by force of habit and follow long-established advertising methods that are no longer questioned. These practices were shared by many of the companies interviewed by Ramallo and Rei Doval (1997). A significant number of the companies interviewed argued that they did not switch into Galician or operate in both languages because they could only predict a considerable economic impact on the company, but not the profitability of changing or translating into Galician (e. g., pp. 197, 215 and 259). Nevertheless, these companies added that they would reconsider this approach if market research demonstrated that using Galician would yield benefits (e. g., pp. 243 and 261). Finally, some companies might refrain from using Galician because they see it as a negative factor in advertising, with connotations of the rural, nostalgia for the past, etc. and inadequate for modern life. This ideology would be a direct result of the prejudices that still surround the language and tag Castilian as a more prestigious and powerful language. However, the companies would not articulate this reasoning in public, as they are aware that it could harm the image of the company. In a recent case, the banking company Abanca was publicly accused of being influenced by this rationale. Abanca belongs to the Venezuelan banking group Banesto, but originated out of the fusion of two traditional Galician savings banks. As part of its marketing strategy, the company advertises Abanca as a Galician bank devoted to its

Galician clients and uses the slogan “Sentir común” (Shared feeling). In 2015, the political party Compromiso por Galicia (CxG) denounced in the media that the banking company was progressively adopting Castilian as its vehicular language and as the language of advertising in its campaigns. In response, Abanca declared via Twitter that nothing had changed and that Galician was still the priority language of the company and the language of reference in its communications (Abanca, 2015).

The brand Galicia Calidade uses difference as a strategy to promote Galician products as stated on its website: “Our target is to distinguish Galician products by their different quality and by their Galician origin” (galiciacalidade.es). However, it makes no reference to the Galician language, despite its role as a distinguishing characteristic of the region. The same remark applies to the certified companies. The fact that the dot.com or dot.es of their websites is in Castilian and the analysis of certain language traits of the Galician versions, which will be fully discussed in Chapter III, indicate that the websites were originally written in Castilian and then translated into Galician, English and other languages. Moreover, out of the fifty companies, as many as twenty-eight do not provide a Galician version of their websites (as of October 2015). In a more specific example, half of the twelve wine companies of this study use only Castilian, or Castilian and English. There are no cases of websites with a Castilian and a Galician version. If they decide to translate the original page and make it available in Galician, they also include other languages, such as English, in most cases, but also German and French, in some cases. Despite the fact that no wineries advertise directly in Galician, they all make constant reference to the Galician origin of their products. Their goal is to emphasise the quality of their wines and differentiate them from those produced in other wine-making regions of the country. This is done by indicating the regularised Designation of Origin, by displaying the seal of quality of Galicia Calidade, or by including allusions that underline the direct relation between the place of origin or *terroir* and the characteristics of the wine, as in the slogans “El

vino se hace en la tierra” (Wine is produced in the land) of Vilarvín, or “Desde las entrañas de O Rosal” (From the bowels of O Rosal) of Adegas Tollodouro.

With respect to the uses of the language, some copywriters will employ Galician only in certain parts of the advertisement, or to advertise a specific range of products and services. In the first case, advertisers make use of the language solely for its symbolic value rather than for its referential function. This strategy is what Kelly-Holmes (2005: 113) describes as a linguistic fetish or display in relation to the use of minority languages in advertising. The language infuses the message with a Galician flavour, being part of the image rather than the text of the advertisement. Thus the language is used solely for tokenistic purposes and as a marketing tool, instead of a perfectly valid language to communicate information. Consequently, this approach “reinforces notions about the status and functions of the non-majority language” (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 113). By way of example, most of the wine companies of this study, including those that do not use Galician on their websites, opt for the Galician term for winery “Adega” instead of the expected Castilian term “Bodega” (lit. winery). This tokenistic use of the language can also be found among the jewellery companies of the corpus. Their websites are only available in Castilian, but they use Galician to name some of their collections. Ardentia chooses the words “Carballo” (Oak tree) and “Fíos” (Threads), and Orfega employs Galician proper nouns as “Uxía”, “Antía” and “Roi”. Ardentia also adds the trilingual construction “XoiaJewelJoya” (“jewel” in Galician, English and Castilian) as a tagline to its commercial name. Lastly, the website of the potato grower Patatas Conde is in Castilian, but the advertiser employs the Galician term “cachelos”. This word is commonly used in Galicia to name the boiled potatoes that come as a side to traditional foods such as octopus and sardines. The term has been included in the Castilian dictionary of the Real Academia Española. This dictionary defines “cachelos” as chopped boiled potatoes and it specifies that the word originates from Galicia. The company Patatas Conde, however, distorts its meaning to make reference to a variety of potatoes that can be boiled, fried or stewed. Nevertheless, the most

remarkable aspect about this choice of term is that the word “cachelos” is the only element in the advertising discourse that marks the origin of the company. The company makes no direct mention of Galicia, with the exception of the seals of Galicia Calidade and the Protected Geographical Indication for the Galician Potato that are included at the bottom of the page.

As for the second case of the uses of the language, in a context of diglossia, the minority language is often confined to the advertising of a particular type of products and services, in particular those related with culture and tradition (Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes, 2006: 255). The website of the wine company Adegas A Coroa, for instance, is only available in two languages: Castilian and English. However, the company explains in the body copy that the poetry recital that is going to be celebrated at the facilities of the winery “gira en torno a la figura de ‘A Muller’” (revolves around the figure of “The Woman”). In fact, the only information available in Galician on the page is the title of the poetry recital and the name of the music group that will be playing.

Fernández Salgado and Pereira Meire (2006) analysed the language choices of the advertisements shown in Televisión de Galicia, the main public television channel of the region. The authors drew the following conclusions: that Castilian predominated during prime time viewing; that Castilian was the preferred language for advertisements addressed to an audience of a higher economic status, such as beauty products and cars; and that the use of Galician was more common among the companies and products of Galician origin, whereas the national or multinational companies opted mostly for Castilian or, in the best case scenario, dubbed the original advertisements into Galician. By not regulating this deliberate combination of languages, the Government is contributing to the subliminal message that the two are intended for different uses and impairing the process of normalisation of Galician in the advertising domain. Referring back to the case of Abanca, the Galician bank includes in its YouTube channel promotional videos in both Castilian and Galician. Nevertheless, the number of videos in Castilian is higher and there are no original videos in Galician, only dubbed

versions of videos available in both languages. In addition to this, the corporate video includes the well-known Galician word “morriña” (homesickness) for tokenistic purposes, as explained above, and makes reference to the rain, which is part of a long-established set of cultural representations of Galicia that will be fully discussed in Chapter IV.

With regard to the samples in this study, there is an appreciable tendency among the companies that advertise jewels, hotels and products from the industrial sector to choose Castilian as the language of their websites. Among the jewellery companies, only one out of five offers also a Galician version, but the translation for this language is not complete: the contents remain in Castilian and only the names of the sections have been translated. Similarly, only one out of four companies of the industrial sector offers a Galician version of its website. With regard to the other three, two are only available in Castilian, and one, Customdrinks S.L., includes a Castilian and an English version. In the particular case of Customdrinks S.L., the name of the company, its tagline “container+beverage solutions”, and the concept “Made to order” are presented in English in both versions. This could be another example of what has been observed by Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes (2006: 254): “it is also permissible for English, a language with no official status anywhere in Spain, to make an appearance as a kind of ‘globalising umbrella’ variety” while at the same time “the autochthonous language (...) is excluded from the space concerned in favour of not one but two arguably allochthonous language varieties (Castilian and English)”. As a matter of fact, while Galician might be linked with the stereotype of backwardness, advertisers include English words when advertising in Castilian or Galician for its symbolic capital and leading position in the current globalised world (Páez Rodríguez, 2013: 65), supporting the preconception that what is produced abroad is of better quality than what is produced locally.

Lastly, certain choices also reinforce the rooted diglossia that identifies Galician as an oral language and Castilian as a written language. For instance, the website of the poultry company Coren (Cooperativas Orensanas S.C.G.) is only available in Castilian, but includes a television

spot that is in Galician; similarly, the radio spots of Regina Viarum and the video of A Rosaleira are only in Galician, whereas their websites were originally written in Castilian.

In a different approach, many specialists defend the implementation of a local type of advertising that would adapt the campaigns accounting for differences between countries (Kanso, 1992: 13). These campaigns would use the local language and cultural icons of the society addressed to reinforce their message and bring attention and memorability to both the product and the brand. In Portugal, for instance, Portuguese advertisers often make use of the leitmotifs of navigation and conquest, which play a crucial role in Portuguese imperial history and national identity, and that the customers readily associate with notions of achievement and prestige (Odber de Baubeta, 1996: 162). The effectiveness of this strategy is corroborated in the case of Galicia, where advertising in the Galician language may generate “added value” for the advertiser.

The use of Galician as an advertising language can become a powerful tool to stand out from the competition and increase the sales. Some consumers will choose to buy influenced by the symbolic function of the language and the values and connotations of identity pinned to this linguistic form (Lamuela and Monteagudo, 1996: 240). In this sense, the use of Galician can generate emotional links that make the buyers feel identified with the product and driven by a sense of community that connects them with other members in the same group. The socially constructed image that they hold in their minds will coincide with what Anderson (2006: 6) coined as an “imagined community” and defined as “imagined because the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them, yet in the minds of each lives the image of their communion”. This profitable side of the language was acknowledged in 1995 and 1997 with the publication of the aforementioned studies by Ramallo and Rei Doval “Publicidade en Lingua Galega” and “Vender en Galego”, that concluded that Galician society was in favour of the use of Galician in the business sector and that old prejudices about the language had already disappeared. This viewpoint was ratified

during the seminar “A publicidade en Galego” celebrated in 2014, and substantiated in a practical way with the success of advertising campaigns such as the one designed by the marketing company BAP&Conde for the supermarket chain GADIS under the slogan “Vivamos como galegos!” (Let’s live like Galicians!), which will be discussed later.

Along this line of thought, some brands will choose to translate their campaigns into a minority language as a token of goodwill that will show their interest in the language and their willingness to fit in the domestic landscape (Kelly-Holmes, 2005: 138). In Galicia this is the case of native companies such as R, Adegas Martín Codax, Pescanova, Megasa, Galiven and Pharma, but also renowned national and global companies such as Telefónica, El Corte Inglés, Microsoft, Eroski, Alcampo and Lidl (Pena Rodríguez, 2013: 176). These companies follow what Kelly-Holmes (2005: 140) calls a language-ideology-based marketing approach that gives prominence to the language, either because it is a core part of the product or as a matter of ideology. Those in charge of such companies might be committed to the defence and promotion of the language, and thereby make a public statement about where they stand on certain issues; or they might consider it to be profitable and effective, since they are trying to appeal to a certain group of consumers that have these convictions.

Similarly, the globalisation of the world in commercial, political and communication terms has faced massive resistance with the rise of nationalisms (Bassnett, 1998: 133). People are turning to cultural differentiation in an attempt to define and defend their collective identity. Being aware of these changes in the world system, advertisers aim to create links with nationality to stand out in the market and to emphasise the qualities of their products (Cannon, 2000: 18). Language is one of the tools used to convey the message of nationality. In the Galician context, many advertising professionals value the potential of the idiosyncrasy of Galicia as a differentiating factor and for this reason employ features of Galician culture and identity as the core of their marketing strategy. This is then reflected on the growing use of the language and even of pseudo-nationalist discourses that aim to build an emotional link with the audience

(Pena Rodríguez, 2013: 176). The above mentioned advertising campaign of the supermarkets GADIS and its well-known slogan “Vivamos como galegos” (Let’s live like Galicians!) is a good example of this. Popular television and radio advertisements depart from a humorous analysis of Galician society that then leads into an emotional narrative of cohesion and shared identities. In fact, the campaign and slogan exhort the audience to feel proud of being Galician. However, in her analysis of the BAP&Conde marketing campaign González Fernández (2015) points out that beyond the idealised and optimistic representation of Galicia, the advertisements actually portray a conformist and conservative vision of the region that ignores all current social, economic and identity conflicts. Notwithstanding, the advertising campaign has gained ample recognition in the industry — it has been awarded on several occasions at both regional and national level — and popularity among consumers — proven by the unprecedented number, for a Galician campaign, of views on YouTube and times shared on social networks. The campaign has proved to be a success because consumers identify with the image of Galicians portrayed in the advertisements. This, however, raises once again the question whether advertising portrays reality or contributes to the construction of a Galician identity. This question will be discussed in Chapter IV.

### 1.3. IMPLICATIONS OF THE CHOICE OF LANGUAGE

A substantial number of the companies that hold the seal of quality of Galicia Calidade do not use of Galician as the language of advertising on their websites, and decide to advertise the “Galicianness” of their products through the medium of Castilian. Consequently, they do not optimise the value of Galician as a differentiating and identifying factor.

The linguistic choices made in advertising can influence the impressions of consumers regarding the value of the language and help either to contest or to perpetuate certain beliefs and associations. On the one hand, certain practices affect the status of Galician and reinforce preconceived ideas about the functions of the language. The use of the language as a linguistic fetish for its symbolic value, together with the overuse of a series of textual and visual cultural markers, reinforces a strongly stereotyped image of the region. Moreover, there is a sustained tendency among advertisers to use the minoritised language for products regionally based or within the “traditional” domain (folkloric, local, official...) and choose the national language to advertise goods associated with “universal” characteristics or with “modernity” (Atkinson and Kelly-Holmes, 2006: 250). As a result, the language is associated with the advertising of a very restricted range of products, companies and sectors. By means of repetition, these strategies consolidate certain patterns in advertising that are followed by copywriters, either by force of habit or wilfully, on the grounds that the audience expects to find them in the advertisement.

On the other hand, the decision to choose Galician as the language of advertising has the added benefit of contributing to the process of normalisation. By being included, Galician reinforces its continued utility in all areas of communication, proves its validity as a vehicular language in all strands of life and, by extension, contributes to its consideration as an integral part of Galician identity. Moreover, a significant number of brands hire advertising companies from outside the region to design or adapt their campaigns. The revalorisation of Galician as a

language of advertising could increase the number of brands that would resort to Galician professionals in the fields of advertising and translation in order to fulfil these tasks.

All in all, the choice and diverse uses of the Galician language in advertising have important implications and can contribute to consolidate or alter certain habits in advertising and consumption.

## 2. ADVERTISING LANGUAGE USED TO SELL GALICIAN PRODUCTS AND COMPANIES

### 2.1. CHARACTERISTICS OF ADVERTISING LANGUAGE

Trying to describe the characteristics of advertising language clearly and concisely can prove to be a challenging task. The advertising industry is heterogeneous and ever-changing and advertisements circulate in multiple formats and media. As a direct consequence of this, the study of advertising language has developed from the analysis in isolation of language functions, text types and vocabulary to the incorporation of factors such as the evolution of consumer behaviour, the influence of the Internet and social media, and the decisive role of the cultural context.

Firstly, the discourse of a single advertisement can comprise several language functions. The uses of language are determined by the factors involved in the communication process: addresser, message, addressee, context, contact and code (Jakobson, 1960: 353). On this basis, Jakobson extends Bühler's model of language and identifies six functions of verbal communication — emotive, poetic, phatic, referential, conative and metalingual. Nevertheless, these functions are not isolated compartments that work independently, and actual advertisements will combine features of more than one. Furthermore, as Trosborg (1997: 14) states

an advertisement may be predominantly referential in nature, consisting of informative (and expressive) statements, but still, as is well known, the aim is that of persuading the consumer to buy. (...) The expressed intent of the author may not be the real intent. In many cases in these overlaps, one of the aims is dominant and the other is a means. Information included in an advertisement is there to further the persuasion, so that persuasion is the primary aim.

In connection with the expressed and the real intent of the copywriter, the act of persuading can be done either directly or indirectly. By way of example, a public service may create a campaign to directly exhort the population to change its behaviour (e.g. antiracism campaign) or do something useful (e.g. vaccination campaign), whereas a chain of department stores may distribute an advertisement to indirectly influence the audience to be well disposed towards

the company and more likely to choose its products or services later on. In addition to this, the advertising discourse can be highly elaborated and subtly transform a command into an urgent need. According to Reis (1978: 452), the level of elaboration of an advertising text is determined by the target audience, which the author distributes in three main groups according to their socioeconomic background. Accordingly, the advertising text will range from direct and imposing to more subtle and elaborate, corresponding to more limited or greater purchasing power. In a similar vein, Ho (2004: 225) claims that, as a result of social and economic changes, marketing has changed from launching aggressive campaigns to persuading consumers to buy based on their perception of being in control of the decision. These different degrees will be attained by means of a purposeful selection of the linguistic characteristics of the text. These include, for instance, the choice of deictics and imperative forms to address the customer, or the use of technical vocabulary and foreign terms.

Secondly, Reiss (1981: 124) leaves out the functions proposed by Jakobson and refers back to Bühler's model to define three text types: informative, which communicates content; expressive, which communicates artistically organised content; and operational, which communicates content with a persuasive character. These text types will be consciously combined in real advertisements. Copywriters will often resort, for instance, to the use of the present tense to convey true information, adjectives to confer expressivity and catchy hooks to gain in persuasive force. These resources are ultimately targeted at convincing the audience. Moreover, Reiss also propounds a "multi-medial text type", that is, a "hyper-type" for those "verbal texts, which are only part of a larger whole and are phrased with a view to, and in consideration of, the 'additional information' supplied by a sign system other than language" (1981: 125). The Internet and social media have increased the number and complexity of multimedia advertisements. Semiotics provides a framework within which to analyse the interaction between different codes and the meanings created by multimodal and multimedial texts (Adab and Valdés, 2004: 166). This is the case for most of the advertising samples

considered in this study, since they are part of websites with mixed contents and are surrounded not only by other texts, but also pictures, music, typologies, colours and page designs. All these features add information to the advertising message and therefore must be taken into consideration.

Thirdly, the vocabulary used in advertisements can belong to very different disciplines. It will vary depending not only on the type of product or service, but also on the strategy and theme chosen by the advertisers. By way of illustration, the language used for commercialising a product or service might differ from that of “advocacy advertising”, which often uses marketing and public relations material to make the audience favourably disposed to a company (Séguinot, 1995: 250). However, both texts are conceived with the pragmatic aim of convincing. Therefore, a semantic interpretation will not be enough to fully comprehend the meaning of an advertisement: a pragmatic approach will be crucial to understand the choices made by copywriters. An adequate transmission of meaning will depend on factors such as the context, the cognitive environment shared by the advertiser and the audience, or the informative intention of the communicator. The copywriter will be responsible for communicating efficiently by complying with the cooperative principle and conversational maxims established by Grice (1975: 45). Visitors who access commercial pages have an interest in taking part in such communication process, but they also expect the discourse to follow a particular purpose and direction and to include an adequate amount of relevant and clear information. Along the same line of thought, De Mooiji (2004: 180) adds a cultural dimension by stating that advertising has developed its own systems of meaning, which vary from country to country, and that the advertising message must fit the consumers’ culturally defined “schemata” or structures of knowledge in order to be placed in memory. The audience will use the code and contextual information at hand to process the explicit content and implicatures of each utterance (Sperber and Wilson, 1995: 149). In this regard, the inherent intertextuality of the discursive practices on commercial websites will play a crucial role.

In sum, advertising language cannot be characterised by a prevalent language function, a specific text type or a particular terminology and the creation of new terms, but rather by the recurrent use of certain linguistic elements that respond to the specific purpose of convincing. These linguistic elements will be analysed in detail in the following section.

## 2.2. ANALYSIS OF ADVERTISING DISCOURSE

The home pages of the websites of this study present diverse designs. This diversity is patent not only when comparing companies that sell different products or services, but also when examining websites that belong to the same category. The characteristics of each page respond to the marketing strategy of the company, and depend on factors such as the addressee of the advertising campaign or the available budget. However, a series of elements appear to be consistent across the different samples of advertising discourse and hence can be analysed in further detail.

### 2.2.1. Body copy

With the evolution of advertising there has been a move away from text towards the use of more visual material, with snappy and catchy slogans. Nonetheless, some copywriters still include one or more paragraphs of text and rely on the interest of the audience to take the time to read it. These two different strategies are exemplified in the corpus of this study. The cheese company Queixería Casleiras, for instance, includes a text of three short paragraphs with information on the company and the production process. As a matter of interest, the body copy does not make direct reference to the cheese or any raw materials, and only uses the word “product”. The text could refer to very different goods if taken out of context. Moreover, its content might seem informative and technical rather than persuasive, but the final aim of the copywriter remains unchanged: the goal is to convince the consumer of the high quality standards of both the process and the final product.

Quite the opposite, the company Luis Escurís Batalla, which produces canned fish and seafood, does not include any copy body and opts instead for showing a series of five images in the centre of its home page. These images are photos of the company’s products being taken out of the tin. The only text that appears on this page is the name and tagline of the brand, and the

tabs of the sections of the website. The copywriter opts for a direct strategy and sends out a clear message: these are our products. This clarity encourages trust in the products and makes for an original design, given the fact that most websites include more content.

### 2.2.2. Hook

Some websites include one or several hooks to attract the attention of the visitor and make the company and its products memorable. The milk company Feiraco Lácteos links its brand name to the tagline “Alimentando un Xeito de Ser” (translated on the website as “Nurturing a way of life”). This sentence conveys that the consumer of this brand is part of a group, and the use of the gerund denotes a long tradition that continues nowadays. These two ideas are reinforced with the slogan in Galician “Sempre leite galego” (Always Galician milk) that is written on the packaging of the milk. The same company displays on its home page a drawing of a family and the slogan “Cocina con Feiraco” (Cook with Feiraco) and includes a section called “Niños” (Children) with stories and activities for the children. In doing so, the brand is selling the milk as a product for the whole family. With regard to cooking, several companies include a section with recipes as part of their selling strategy. The aim of this strategy is to implement a more interactive approach to advertising, but also to increase the imposed need to buy the advertised product. The potato grower Patatas Conde names this section “Comer en familia” (Eating with the family). Proximity to the consumer is also pursued by the poultry company Grupo Sada both with the slogan “Más cerca del consumidor” (Closer to the consumer), that is written on a picture of a boy listening to the belly of a pregnant woman, and with the name of the section “Amigos de SADA” (translated on the website as “SADA’s friends”), which includes recipes and health tips.

Furthermore, advertisers will often resort to popular sayings and proverbs “for reasons of familiarity but also as reliable sources of shared and unquestioned knowledge” (Água-Mel,

2004: 107). In this way, the green pepper company A Pementeira makes use of the popular saying “Os pementos de Padrón, uns pican e outros non” (Padrón peppers, some are hot, some are not). This sentence is written on top of the page to draw the interest of visitors and encourage them to continue reading.

### 2.2.3. Deictics

Copywriters use diverse structures to refer to the company and to the consumers. As in general speech in both Castilian and Galician, personal pronouns are not included in the advertising discourse of the websites, and the identification of the subject is done through nouns, verb forms and certain deictics. The company Gallego Pereira, which sells octopus, makes use of three different structures in the body copy of the home page. The subject of the first sentence is the brand name: “Gallego Pereira comienza...” (Gallego Pereira starts). This structure introduces the company as one entity. The subject of the second sentence is constructed with a possessive adjective in the first person plural: “Nuestra experiencia...” (Our expertise). The first person plural is employed to personalise the company in the eyes of the visitor (Odeber the Baubeta, 1995b: 26). Lastly, the subject of the third sentence has the structure “Dirección y empleados de Gallego Pereira” (The managers and employees of Gallego Pereira). This structure helps to underline the concept of corporate identity. In contrast, the poultry company Avícola de Galicia deploys the impersonal “se” to build up the sentences of the body copy. This structure is used as a passive verb form in Castilian and Galician. By not stating who is involved in the production process, the methodology is presented as efficient and tested, with no room for human error.

Companies often address consumers to get them involved and make them feel identified with the company. For instance, Queixería Casleiras writes “Bienvenidos” (Welcome to all) on the introductory page and on top of the body copy on the home page. It wants visitors to feel

comfortable and inclined to spend time searching through the website. With regard to the verb forms, most companies of this corpus employ the second person singular to address the audience with the intention of showing proximity and familiarity. Only some wine companies opt for the formal form “Usted”, which is conjugated with the third person singular, in order to add sophistication to the type of product and consumers. With regard to gender specification, copywriters often address the audience by using verbs, which are not gender specific in either Castilian or Galician. However, when including nouns and adjectives, which have grammatical gender, they opt for the masculine form. For example, the seafood company Mariscos Linamar asks “¿Quieres ser distribuidor?” (Do you want to be a distributor?), and the beer company Estrella Galicia writes “Sé el primero en...” (Be the first one to). This is due to the use of the generic masculine to refer to gender mixed groups in general speech in Galician and Castilian. A Pementeira is the only company that includes both genders in its advertising discourse. The welcoming sentence of the website reads: “Bienvenido/a a nuestra web” (Welcome to our web).

In connection with the foregoing, the advertising industry might have evolved and be constantly aiming at keeping in step with social changes, but the images of people that can be found in the corpus portray traditional and outdated gender representations. By way of example, three out of the five jewellery companies use young female models to wear their creations; Hotel Louxo shows three different young female models enjoying the facilities of the hotel; and the poultry company Coren chooses female characters for the customer services section and for the hands that hold a shopping list. These roles place women in an objectified, passive and serving position. On the contrary, male characters are assigned leading, strong and active roles. For instance, the same company Coren shows the photograph of the male winner of a cooking competition and an image of three men from the same family that have been working for the company for three generations. Similarly, the company Aguas de Cabreiroá includes three videos titled “El skater”, “Las niñas” and “El runner”. In “Las niñas”, two girls are

playing at home following the instructions of an adult male; in the two other videos, all skaters and runners are men practicing sport outdoors. The vegetable company A Rosaleira, the cheese company Queixería Casleiras and the pepper company A Pementeira choose drawings of women wearing traditional garments as their logo. In the case of Queixería Casleiras, an old woman is kneeling down and offering a cheese to a young kid; similarly, the logo of A Pementeira is a woman who is in the same position picking peppers from the field. Both images reinforce the traditional representation of Galician women not only as mothers and housewives, but also as farmers and key to the household economy. This last role was especially indisputable during mass male migration from Galicia in the nineteenth and twentieth century. As Castro and Reimóndez (2013: 73) explain, in those times women became heads of household and together with their traditional chores they had to stand in for men in the field and the industry. Furthermore, Galicia itself is often represented as the “Terra Nai” (Mother land). This is a central metaphor to Galician cultural history and nationalism based on

a symbol of a femininely connoted hearth, home and landscape, which stood historically in opposition to the masculine spaces of migration, high-sea fishing and forced displacement from the land of one’s birth (Miguélez Carballeira, 2013: 32).

In spite of the pivotal role of Galician women, Galician society still exhibits a patriarchal structure characterised by deeply rooted gender roles and forms of discrimination against women (Castro and Reimóndez, 2013: 20). The representations in advertising mentioned above have a considerable social impact in this respect and perpetuate assigned gender roles.

#### 2.2.4. Verb tenses

A substantial number of websites employ short clauses with no verb to build their advertising discourse. When including verbs, most copywriters choose the present tense and the imperative form. The present tense is normally used in longer sentences that convey facts and up-to-date information. The imperative structures usually appear in shorter sentences and

slogans that compel the visitors, firstly, to get to know the company better, as with the structures “Conócenos” (Get to know us) from Queixería Casleiras, “Descubre la nueva campaña” (Discover the new campaign) from the drinking water company Aguas de Cabreiroá, or “Sumérgete en la historia del agua” (Dive into the history of water) from the drinking water company Aguas de Mondariz; secondly, to change their opinion about some product, as in the slogan “Cambia tu idea de tradición” (Change your idea of tradition) from the bread company Kentes; or, thirdly, to interact with the company, like Estrella Galicia, that encourages the consumers to participate in raffles and become part of its official Club. As mentioned before, the recipe sections are another example of interaction with the consumer, and especially in the case of the company Mariscos Linamar, that even asks the visitors to send their own recipes with the imperative structure “Recetas. ¡Envíanos las tuyas!” (Recipes. Send us your own!).

Some copywriters make use of past tenses to explain the history of the company. The fishing company Puerto de Celeiro, for instance, uses the present perfect in the structure “ha sido pionero en la aplicación de criterios empresariales” (has pioneered the application of business criteria). By using this particular past tense, they talk about a past action, while also conveying a sense of continuity.

Lastly, the company A Rosaleira, which markets tinned vegetables, uses a future tense to sell its leading product: turnip tops. With the slogan “Tú también serás de grelos” (You will choose turnip tops too) the advertiser wants to persuade the buyers to try the product with the promise that they will like it to such an extent that they will prefer it to any other vegetable. The use of the adverb “también” (too) in the slogan conveys the fact that the new buyer will be joining an existing group of consumers that have already discovered the benefits of this buying choice.

### 2.2.5. Adjectives

Adjectives are frequently employed in the advertising discourse to establish the characteristics of the product and differentiate it from other brands. Additionally, adjectives can add expressivity to the body copy, as is commonly the case for tourism websites. The rural tourism company Casa de Cacheiro builds up its advertising discourse with structures such as “un momento inolvidable” (an unforgettable moment), “pequeños placeres de la vida” (little pleasures in life), “pequeños detalles” (fine details), “un ambiente muy agradable” (a pleasant atmosphere) or “preciosos jardines” (beautiful gardens). Furthermore, in some other cases, adjectives do not only add meaning to the text, but become the centre of the advertising message. This is the case for the slogans of Estrella Galicia, “Exageradamente Buena” (Exaggeratedly good); Aguas de Cabreiroá, “La vida es dura. Tu agua no puede ser tan débil” (Life is hard. Your water cannot be that weak); or Aguas de Mondariz, “Tu lado positivo” (Your positive side). In a very similar way, the wording of one of the advertisements of Mariscos Linamar is based solely on this word category. The image shows four mussels and beside them there are four words written in black: “sano”, “limpio”, “fácil” and “vivo” (healthy, clean, easy and alive). The last word could be off-putting for certain addressees, but it signifies the freshness of the foods. The four adjectives together emphasise the quality of the goods.

### 2.2.6. Vocabulary

The vocabulary used in the advertising samples varies according to sectors and products. However some terms are constant across the corpus. One of the most repeated words is the noun “quality”. The company Kiwi Atlántico chooses the word quality for its slogan “Calidad de origen” (Quality of origin). Queixería Casleiras includes the word “calidad” in each paragraph of its body copy and adds a considerable number of words to underline the quality of both product and process. For example, the nouns “técnica”, “parámetros”, “control”, “trabajo”,

“etapa de elaboración”, “instalaciones”, “gestión”, or “minimización de residuos” (technique, parameters, control, work, manufacturing stage, facilities, management, waste minimisation); the adjectives “actuales”, “exigente”, “alta”, “modernas”, or “riguroso” (current, demanding, high, modern, rigorous); and the verbs “demandan”, “respeta” and “asegura” (demand, respect, ensure). This idea is reinforced by the seals of quality and institutional logos added at the end of the page. In spite of the formal register of the text, the company adds the sentence “entendemos nuestro trabajo como un modo de vida” (We understand our job as a way of life). This sentence, even if more poetical, brings the same sense of professionalism. Similarly, the bread company Chousa uses technical terms to provide the consumer with a detailed description of the breads. In this way, it offers data on the ingredients, mineral nutrients, hydration, size and weight of the products, and makes mention of its R&D department. By doing this, the company adopts a selling strategy that pursues the same goal: to prove the quality and reliability of its products. Conversely, Bodegas Tollodouro uses technical terms to address a more exclusive target audience: consumers that are connoisseurs and knowledgeable about wines, or those interested in increasing their knowledge. Thus, while other wineries focus on the description of their vineyards or their long tradition, Bodegas Tollodouro delves into the complexities of the production process with structures such as “Estrujado, despalillado y macerado en frío” (Pressed, destemmed and cold macerated), “Fermentación a temperatura controlada” (Fermentation at a controlled temperature) and “Crianza sobre lías finas” (Aging on fine lees). In line with this approach, although in a more direct fashion, Casa de Cacheiro states explicitly that “Este establecimiento es el elegido por los más exquisitos a la hora de buscar un lugar de calidad en una zona muy demandada” (This establishment is the preferred choice for the most demanding customers when looking for a place of quality in an area very much in demand).

Moreover, some of the companies that sell traditional products, often foods and drinks, employ specific terms to advertise their products as modern and up-to-date. Chousa, for

example, uses the words “reinventar” (reinvent) and “nuevo” (new), and the sentence “te sorprenderán por su sabor” (their flavour will surprise you).

#### 2.2.7. Foreign words

Some websites use foreign terms in their advertising copy. Most cases can be found on those websites that are addressed to a younger audience, such as Aguas de Cabreiroá and Estrella Galicia. As mentioned before, Aguas de Cabreiroá uses as advertising material two videos of young people with the titles “El skater” and “El runner”. An older profile of consumer might not understand these terms nor feel identified with the stories of the videos. Estrella Galicia includes on its home page the structure “para entrar en nuestro site” (to enter our site) and the concepts Club Estrella Galicia, Abono Vip and Beer Master Sessions. This strategy creates a link between the consumer and the product. Young buyers are more likely to understand the meaning of these words and thus feel part of a particular social group. Moreover, the intended modern and trendy flair of the page is reinforced with bright and strong colours, images that change every few seconds, and links to the company’s social networks. Linked to the idea of modernity, the bread companies Kentes and Chousa use the term “burguer” instead of the Castilian and Galician equivalent “hamburguesa”, and Chousa reinforces this message with the sentence “nos apuntamos a las nuevas tendencias” (we are up for the new tendencies). Patatas Conde uses the word “chips” instead of its Castilian equivalents “patatas fritas” or “patatas de bolsa”. This term is employed together with a picture of crisps (UK) or chips (USA). The choice of the variant “chips” instead of “crisps”, despite the proximity of Galicia to the UK market, can respond to the fact that more people in Spain would be familiar with the word “chips” due to the influence of the USA market. After all, this page is only available in Castilian, so it is not aimed at any foreign market, but limited to a Spanish audience.

In a different example, the same company Chousa employs the French originated terms “gourmet” and “chef” to connect their products to connotations of good cuisine and sophistication. In a similar way, the cold meat company Torre de Núñez makes special mention of the foreign prize “Great Taste 2014” awarded to the brand in order to prove the quality of its ham. This strategy is based on the thinking that the product must be good if it is exported and highly considered in foreign countries.

#### 2.2.8. Comparative advertising

Advertisers do not make direct comparisons with other brands, but use comparative and superlative structures that imply them. Aguas de Cabreiroá employs the abovementioned slogan “La vida es dura. Tu agua no puede ser tan débil” (Life is hard. Your water cannot be that weak). By using the structure “tan débil” (that weak), the company is comparing its water to the waters sold by other companies. The second element of the comparison might not be explicitly stated, but it is easily inferred by the audience. In a similar way, Chousa states that they have been “pioneros en el mercado” (pioneers in the market) and Kentes promises “los bocadillos más crujientes” (the crispiest sandwiches). Kiwi Atlántico goes a step further and writes “Cuando pruebas Kiwi Atlántico conoces lo mejor de producir en nuestra tierra” (Once you taste Kiwi Atlántico you discover the best part of producing in our land). The company is not only comparing its product to those from other companies, but also stating the superiority of products from Galicia. This same reference is present in the slogan of Patatas Conde “De la mejor tierra, el mejor fruto” (From the best land, the best fruit). Additionally, the company emphasises the superiority of its product with the superlative structures “trabajamos con las mejores variedades” (we work with the best varieties), “delicia de los mejores platos” (delicacy of the best dishes) and “una patata de sabor excelente” (a potato of excellent flavour).

### 2.2.9. Negative sentences

There are few cases of negative sentences among the advertising samples of this study, since most advertisers aim at associating their products with positive connotations. Nevertheless, there are also cases where negative sentences are employed as part of an effective strategy: by negating a characteristic, the advertisement implies the positive opposite. The already mentioned slogan from Aguas de Cabreiroá “La vida es dura. Tu agua no puede ser tan débil” (Life is hard. Your water cannot be that weak) is a good example of the use of a negative sentence in advertising. Similarly, Kentes states in its body copy that producing quality and flavoursome products “no tiene otro secreto que...” (has no other secret than). This structure underlines at the same time the expertise of the company and the transparency of its production process. Later on, the brand adds that the consumer should “negarte en rotundo a tener en tu despensa conservantes o colorantes artificiales” (flatly refuse to have preservatives or artificial colourings in your food cupboard). This implies that the company does not use them in the production process.

### 2.2.10. Questions

Copywriters pose questions to attract the attention of the addressees and get them involved. The company Colterxy, which markets bedding products, asks the visitors of the page “¿Sabes sobre qué duermes?” (Do you know what you are sleeping on?). This sentence is written over the image of a flower on a mattress. The aim of the question is to make visitors reconsider whether they have the right mattress or need a better one and, then, get them interested in the benefits of the products of the company. Mariscos Linamar employs two questions on the home page of its website. The first question is “¿Conoces los productos Linamar?” (Do you know the products of Linamar?). This direct address engages the visitor in a more active reading of the advertising copy. If the answer is “No”, the question will arouse the curiosity of

the consumer. If the answer is “Yes”, the question will reinforce the familiarity and trust on the brand. The second question is the aforementioned “¿Quieres ser distribuidor?” (Do you want to become a distributor?) that links to a page with further information. This sentence also serves as an example of the fact that some of these websites are addressed to both consumers and distributors.

#### 2.2.11. Rhetorical devices

Copywriters often resort to metaphors, idioms, rhetorical questions, etc. This happens to such an extent that the use of rhetorical devices and figurative language has become a characteristic feature of the advertising genre. Smith (2006: 162) defines rhetorical figures as those that “deviate from the ordinary pattern or arrangement of words (...) or which deviate from the ordinary and principal significance of a word”. Roberts and Kreuz (1994: 159) propose a taxonomy that includes eight forms of figurative language used in all discourses to accomplish specific communicative goals: hyperbole, idiom, indirect request, irony, understatement, metaphor, rhetorical question, and simile. In the case of advertising, these figures are not merely used to adorn the advertising message, but become a fundamental part of the persuasive process (Crompton and McAlea, 2000: 35). Rhetoric is deployed to make the products more attractive and make advertisement more memorable, and the rhetorical devices are often combined with images and sounds to maximise their potential. Among the samples in this study, there are, for instance, several cases of hyperboles: the leitmotiv of Regina Viarum “Viticultura heróica” (heroic viticulture) describes the manufacturing of wine as heroic; the tagline of Coren claims that they have “6000 familias cuidando de la tuya” (6000 families looking after you family); and the aforementioned slogan from Estrella Galicia “Exageradamente buena” goes as far as describing its beer as excessively good. As well as hyperboles, there are examples of other rhetorical figures: Kentes uses the idiom “Tu fondo de

nevera ideal" (which is literally interpreted as "Your ideal back of the fridge", but actually means "The perfect fridge essentials") and describes the production process with the understatement "no tiene otro secreto que" (has no other secret than) mentioned above; and Orfega employs the indirect request "Te escuchamos" (We are here to listen) to encourage visitors to contact the company. Notwithstanding, although used as a reference, the existing rhetorical devices are not limited to those enumerated by Roberts and Kreuz. As matter of fact, this corpus presents several examples of two other categories: personifications and repetitions. Among the personifications, Bodegas Pazo de Villarei states in its body copy: "Las vides de las bodegas donde nace el albariño de Pazo de Villarei son las herederas de una tradición de 20 siglos..." (The grapevines of the wineries where the albariño wine of Adegas Pazo de Villarei is born are heir to a tradition of twenty centuries...). In this text, this figure of speech attributes human qualities to both the grapevines and the wine. In a similar manner, Chousa states that its selection of mini pastries "Entra pisando fuerte" (Makes a strong entrance) and Kentes announces that its bakery products "te esperan bajo 0, para conquistarte" (are waiting for you below freezing to win you over). As for the repetitions, Torre de Núñez uses the tagline "Por saber y por sabor" (Because of knowledge and flavour), which includes a parallelism of structures and a paronomasia between two similar sounding words. Patatas Conde includes another parallelism in the tagline, the abovementioned "De la mejor tierra, el mejor fruto" (From the best land, the best fruit). Additionally, it deploys a background image of a field under a wide blue sky, which could also be interpreted as a graphic antithesis.

#### 2.2.12. Ambiguity and word play

Language is often employed to attract the audience's attention and involve their mental processes in resolving any pun or association (Nilsen and Nilsen, 1978: 49). Aguas de Mondariz deploys the word play "Sumérgete en la historia del agua" (Dive into the history of water), and

the poultry company Grupo Sada shows the slogan “Calidad desde el origen” (Quality from the beginning) together with the image of two chicks. This strategy distracts the consumer from the persuasive process and makes the advertisement more memorable. This is usually attained by adding a touch of humour. By way of example, the word play in the slogan “La vida es dura. Tu agua no puede ser tan débil” (Life is hard. Your water cannot be that weak) from Aguas de Cabreiroá is reinforced by several videos that show people tripping over while practising sports or playing.

Several companies play with popular sayings to attract the attention of the audience. Chousa uses “Lo bueno, si breve...” to advertise its small pastries. The original saying is “Lo bueno, si breve, dos veces bueno” (Good things, when short, are twice as good) and comes as an equivalent to the English expression “Less is more”. In this particular case, the advertiser leaves the sentence unfinished for the audience to complete it using their shared background knowledge. The poultry company Coren presents a graphic advertisement and a video that deploy playful ambiguity. On the one hand, the graphic advertisement shows an image of a sausage on a barbeque and the hook “Al buen tiempo ¡Barbacoa!”. This sentence stems from the traditional saying “Al mal tiempo, buena cara” (In bad weather, a brave face) that recommends not to give up when times are difficult. Coren uses this adaptation of the original saying to sell meats for summer barbecues. On the other hand, the video shows a crowded football pitch. The spectators are cheering for the team to come out. A deep voice-over then says “Só os mellores saen ao campo...” (Only the best ones hit the field). In the end, a chicken comes onto the pitch. The company uses this video to advertise its free range chickens, and employs humour to make it remarkable and easy to remember.

### 2.2.13. Intertextuality

Despite the wide variety of linguistic elements employed by copywriters, all advertisements hold a relationship of intertextuality, “in terms both of conformity to genre conventions and in relation to references to pre-existing texts or events” (Adab and Valdés, 2004: 170).

With respect to the conformity to genre conventions, Culler (1976: 1382) holds that no texts are moments of origin and all belong to a common discursive space and depend on existing codes and conventions. This relation with other texts enables the audience to understand new advertising discourses. Culler (1976: 1388) argues that

intertextuality involves many things: explicit conventions of a genre, specific presuppositions about what is already known and unknown, more general expectations and interpretative operations, and broad assumptions about the preoccupation and goals of a type of discourse.

This notion can help to explain the existence of certain coincidences in the corpus of this study. These coincidences involve, on the one hand, the layout and, on the other hand, the discursive practices of the websites from companies that belong to the same sector. The wine companies, for instance, contain examples of both. With regard to the layout, they use similar templates for their home page. A considerable number include a banner on top of the main page, with the name of the winery and an image of the vineyards, and underneath it the body copy with information. This aspect facilitates navigation through the web page for users, since it builds a sense of familiarity, even when contents vary from one site to the other. As for the discursive practices, the advertising discourse used on the websites is typified by the repetition of topics and vocabulary related to the characteristics of the wines and the manufacturing process, and also to the geographic location, long tradition and awards, touristic offer, etc. That being said, the level of specialisation of the vocabulary can vary from company to company according to the profile of the target audience, as discussed in the subsection on vocabulary with the example from Bodegas Tollodouro.

Concerning the references to pre-existing texts or events, López Mora (2007: 48) defines “intertextuality” in advertising as the dialogue between any text with other texts or text genres, and explains that by cross-referencing other texts the copywriter sends out a message that the receptors have to infer based on their prior knowledge and experiences. The allusions, more or less obvious, will engage the audience, while also blurring the pragmatic intention of the advertisement. The aforementioned cross-referencing can be done explicitly or implicitly. As an example of the former, the poultry company Pazo de Vilane includes on its home page a quote from the artist Pepe Barro that describes the location of Vilane in a poetical voice; and the company Patatas Conde includes an article from the Association 5 a Day with advice to follow a healthy diet.

With regard to implicit intertextualities, several companies use well-known fictional characters or real people in their advertising campaigns. The video of the campaign under the earlier mentioned slogan “Ti tamén serás de grelos” (You will also choose turnip tops) from A Rosaleira shows two men having a conversation inside a boat. The main character is confessing to the other that he has always eaten turnip tops, and not spinach like everybody else thinks. The audience has only a side view of the face of the main character, but they can discern that he looks like a sailor, with strong muscles, and a pipe in his mouth. The background music is light-hearted. All these factors lead the audience to think of the cartoon character Popeye. In a similar manner, the cold meat company Torre de Núñez includes on its home page a video titled “La cena” (The supper). The video shows a family about to have take-away food for dinner. Suddenly, a mysterious visitor makes his appearance and “saves” them from having to eat take-away by bringing a silver tray filled with nicely displayed cold meats. The character is wearing a cape and a wide-brimmed hat and seems to be from the Spanish Golden Age. This characterisation, together with the setting in half darkness and the action background music, reminds the audience of the Spanish fictional character and swordsman Captain Alatriste created by Spanish author Arturo Pérez-Reverte. At the end of the advertisement, a voice-over

utters the slogan “Torre de Núñez, haciendo honor a la tradición” (Torre de Núñez, honouring tradition).

Some companies employ celebrity endorsement and rely on renowned real people to star in their advertising campaigns with the aim of increasing the impact of the advertisement and the reliability of their products. For instance, Torre de Núñez adds a recipe section signed by the chef Pepe Solla. Similarly, the actor Clive Arrindel stars in one of the advertisements of Estrella Galicia. This actor became famous in Spain after starring in the television advertisements of the Christmas lottery for eight consecutive years. In the advertisement of Estrella Galicia, the actor appears towards the end and shows a beer with a gesture that reminds the viewers of how he used to blow the lottery numbers out of the palm of his hand. However, this time the voice-over states “Porque no todo es cuestión de suerte” (Because not everything is a matter of luck).

In spite of the diversity of page designs and marketing strategies, a series of elements appear to be consistent across the studied samples. Advertisements display a careful selection of deictics, verbs and vocabulary that determine the formality and specialisation of the text. Advertisers employ hooks, questions, ambiguity and word play to draw consumer interest. Adjectives and rhetorical devices make products more attractive and advertisements easier to remember. The intertextuality that advertisements hold with prior existing texts helps users to navigate through the web page. All these characteristics respond to the specific purpose of convincing visitors of the quality of the production process and the final products. At this point, however, it might be worth exploring whether all the above linguistic resources are only used in Galicia or are also used on the commercial websites from other cultural contexts. This is the subject matter of the following section.

### 2.3. ADVERTISING DISCOURSE OF WINE COMPANIES FROM ENGLAND AND LA RIOJA

The advertising discourse used on Galician websites to sell Galician products differs from the advertising discourse used in other cultural contexts to sell similar products. The difference lies on the cultural markers deployed in advertising, which will be discussed in greater detail in the next chapters, and also on certain features of the advertising discourse. These features can be exemplified with the analysis of websites of Galician wine companies and websites of wine companies from other countries. As Água-Mel explains, “Different social trends and drinking habits will necessarily demand a different marketing approach” (2004: 215). This is confirmed, for instance, when comparing Galicia, where the wine production has a strong cultural weight, and the United Kingdom, one of the world’s biggest importers of wine, where beer, cider and spirits seem to be more popular.

The association of English Wine Producers (EWP) was formed to market and promote English and Welsh wines and wineries. According to the association, the members of EWP represent over three quarters of the total wine production in England. On its official website, the EWP mentions its purpose of promoting all products under one same banner, underlines the support offered by the official United Kingdom Vineyards Association (UKVA), and offers information on twenty-five English wineries. Thus, the EWP employs a very similar discourse to the one employed by Galicia Calidade on its own website. However, they differ on the references to the sound reputation of their products, due to the different history of wine production in England. Although production keeps increasing, the United Kingdom is one of the biggest wine importers in the world and the trade value of wine imports significantly exceeds that of wine exports (UN Comtrade). Consequently, the EWP includes sentences such as “increasing interest in what England was producing, as new wine makers, winning styles and commercial quantities were introduced to and noticed by the wine trade” or “showing that England too can compete on quality, price and availability”. The EWP is addressing the issue

directly in a clear attempt to increase the trust of consumers and modify their habits so that they drink more English wine.

Likewise, the websites of the wineries themselves show particular differences in their advertising discourse when compared to the wine companies that hold the seal of Galicia Calidade. In a similar manner to the Galician companies, some English wineries choose to include a body copy of one or more paragraphs on their home page, and make reference to the location and origin of the wines, the long tradition of the companies and the awards that they have won, as a selling strategy. With regard to the location, however, the companies also tend to specify the exact size of the vineyard, in acres, and the distance to other locations, in miles. Moreover, the English companies offer more information on other available services, including tours and wine tastings, events and exhibitions, wedding receptions, restaurant and accommodation, etc. and their opening times. The company Biddenden Vineyards points out that the coffee shop is open daily. This might be interpreted as a cultural marker that shows the predominance of tea and coffee over wine in England. In effect, most of these companies do not only produce still wine. Many are specialised in sparkling wines and some sell as well ciders, liqueurs and juices.

The English companies seem to employ few hooks and, when they do, they often emphasise the English origin of the products. Digby chooses the tagline “Fine English”, Stopham Vineyard sells “English wine made with precision and passion in Sussex”, and Jenkyn Place Vineyard uses the slogan “Distinctly English in character”. Bluebell Vineyard Estates includes a further example of national pride in the body copy: “With a focus on quality and provenance we have developed a uniquely unapologetic English style”.

As for the deictics, English copywriters use either “we” and the first person plural of verbs to talk about the company, or the name of the company and the third person singular, as was the case for the Galician companies. They opt however for a more direct address to the visitor. In

fact, a considerable number start their advertising discourse by welcoming the visitors, but, just as in general speech in English, deictics mark no difference between female and male or between the degrees of formality used to address the audience. The formality will be conveyed by the tone of the discourse and the vocabulary. By way of illustration, both Bolney Wine Estate and Biddenden Vineyards start their body copy stating their dedication to the production of wine and the range of activities organised at their facilities. Bolney Wine Estate employs a formal tone and sophisticated vocabulary:

Here at Bolney Wine Estate we are keen to share our enthusiasm and knowledge. We offer gift experiences where attendees can walk amongst the vines, experience our state of the art winery and sample the finished product in a tutored tasting.

The winery Biddenden Vineyards, instead, opts for a less formal tone and a direct mention to the visitor to convey the same message:

We're proud to own Kent's original commercial vineyard, producing award-winning wines, ciders and juices. We run free guided tours, group tours, as well as having marked routes for you to explore.

As a further result of the generalised direct address to the consumer, the choice of verb tenses is characterised by a more frequent use of the imperative. Copywriters urge visitors to buy the products, visit the vineyards and the wine shop, or discover the history of the company. Hambledon Vineyard, for instance, names the web sections as "See our notebook", "Get in Contact", "Find out about us", "See our heritage", and directs the consumers to the shop with the sentence "See our wine shop for details". Moreover, there are a larger number of passive structures, as in general speech in English. One of the most commonly used is "made" with all its variants: made from, made with, made in, etc. For example, Jenkyn Place Vineyard explains that its "Sparkling Rosé is made in the traditional method from the classic Champagne grape varieties".

The English web pages enrich their advertising discourse with positive adjectives too. Words such as "lovely", "exuberant" and "beautiful" become crucial in the persuasive process. For

instance, Gusbourne presents itself as “home of the most exciting new sparkling wines”. Moreover, the adjective “free” is often highlighted on English pages in contrast to Galician pages, as in free admission, tours or wine tastings. By way of example, Hush Heath Estate offers “September Savings” of a 25 % off when purchasing two or more cider cases and free delivery on orders over £250. This is another reflection of the trends of the English society, since it is much more habitual to find offers and discounts in English supermarkets than in Galician ones. In a different example, Jenkyn Place Vineyard uses the rather negative adjective “complex” to describe its sparkling rose. The copywriter is trying to attract the interest of the consumer by presenting something different and challenging. Notwithstanding, the negative adjective is swiftly balanced in the second part of the slogan: “Complex, yet accessible”.

With regard to the use of foreign terms, the English wine companies build their discourse with a significant number of French wine terms: from the type of wines and grapes (*chardonnay*, *pinot noir*, *seyval blanc*, *rosé*, *champagne*, etc.) to the techniques and characteristics of the production process (*cuvée*, *saignée*, *méthode traditionnelle*, *terroir*, *provenance*, etc.). As a matter of fact, they hold French winemaking as a reference of quality and for this reason they often compare their products with their French counterparts as a selling strategy. The winery Coates & Seely states under the title “An expression of place” that the “sparkling wines are, above all, an expression of the uniqueness of their English chalk *terroir*”, but then shows a certain degree of inconsistency by finishing the sentence with “crafted to the highest standards of French winemaking”. Similarly, Simpsons Wine State announces on the home page “The very best of southern France, arriving soon in Southern England”, and Exton Park Vineyard underlines that it counts on a “talented French winemaker” to produce the best wines.

Lastly, with regard to the design of the English pages, it is more common to find photographs of people, together with the usual images of wine bottles and green vineyards. The photographs of people depict both winemakers and consumers. On the one hand, the use of

these images can help the companies to look more approachable. On the other hand, however, a certain selection of images can alienate potential consumers, when it comes, for instance, to the age range or the socio-economic status of those depicted on the web page. Moreover, these pages show a balance between the representations of male and female characters. There are images of both female and male owners, grape pickers and consumers. However, all of them are white British, so the target audience is still a non-all-inclusive one. Furthermore, Bluebell Vineyard Estates deploys a photograph of a newly married couple, which reminds the visitor about the possibility of hiring the venue for wedding receptions, and a photograph of two puppies playing in the yards, which could reflect the popularity of pets in the English society. Wiston Estate Vineyard employs several pictures of renowned people tasting its wines. The strategy of using famous people as a selling tool was not observed among the websites of Galician wineries.

The differences between the advertising discourses of two cultural contexts do not only become patent when comparing Galicia with other countries, but also when contrasted with other Spanish regions. This is the case, for instance, when analysing the advertising discourse employed by Rioja wineries on their websites.

The wine region of La Rioja is a major exporter in Spain and the best known internationally. This wine region is located in northern Spain, and expands across three different provinces: La Rioja, Álava and Navarra. The quality and origin of the wines have been regulated by the Rioja Designation of Origin since 1926, the first to be established in Spain. Moreover, a Ministerial Order granted La Rioja the status of Qualified Designation of Origin in 1991. As a result, La Rioja became once again the first to attain this range in Spain. The website of the Rioja Qualified Designation of Origin offers information on the wine, the Regulatory Board and related news, and includes a list of close to six hundred wineries.

The first divergence between the two cultural contexts is elicited in the international orientation of the websites of both the Qualified Designation of Origin and the wineries of La Rioja. This is exemplified by the contents of the pages, which include more news on international fairs, marketing campaigns abroad, and foreign prizes and recognitions. There are also direct references in the body copies. By way of illustration, Bodegas Altona states that “Desde su conquista internacional, el vino de Rioja es sinónimo de vino de calidad, no solo en España sino en todo el mundo” (translated on the website as “Since its international conquest, wine from La Rioja is synonymous with high quality wine not only in Spain, but worldwide”); further down it adds that “Los vinos de Rioja se han convertido en todo un símbolo a nivel mundial” (translated as “The wines from La Rioja have become an international symbol”); and gives as well a thorough explanation of the location of the region within Spain. Moreover, almost all pages include at least an English version, and some include more languages. These other versions are usually translations of the contents of the original page in Castilian. The website of the Rioja Qualified Designation of Origin, however, provides the visitor with the option of choosing from a list of countries – Spain, United States, UK, Mexico, Germany, Switzerland, Sweden and China/Hong Kong – with links to different pages with localised contents. Lastly, the winery Castillo de Mendoza goes as far as making its website only available in English.

Rioja wine producers use a substantial number of hooks on their websites and these often express a sense of loyalty and belonging to the wine and the region. The company Bodegas Betolaza shows the dedication and value given to the wine region in the tagline “Un modo de vida” (translated as “A way of life”). The winery Bodegas Altanza conveys a similar idea in the slogan “Es tiempo de Lealtanza: Un vino leal a la Rioja”. The slogan is translated word-for-word in the English version as “It is time for Lealtanza: A wine loyal to La Rioja”. In Castilian, the slogan makes a playful connection between the word loyal in Castilian, “Leal”, and the name of one of the wine brands of the company, but the word play is lost in the English version. In a

different example, Bodegas Altona uses the slogan “La Rioja es vino. La Rioja es orgullo. ¡La Rioja es vida!” (translated as “La Rioja is wine. La Rioja is pride. La Rioja is life!”), and then elaborates further on this topic in the body copy by interestingly making direct reference to the concepts of symbol and cliché: “En este lugar, la viticultura y la elaboración del vino son mucho más que un símbolo o un cliché. Es una forma de entender la vida, es el alma y tradición de todo un pueblo” (translated as “In this locality, viticulture and wine-making are much more than a symbol or a cliché. They are a way of understanding life; they are the soul and tradition of an entire people”). Here, the copywriter is alluding to the prevalent use of a fixed pool of symbols and clichés to represent a particular culture or product, a common practice in advertising that will be discussed later on in further detail.

The main themes used in the advertising of Rioja wines are the same as the ones used in Galicia: tradition, association between land and wine, awards, etc. The long tradition is conveyed by the vocabulary chosen to name the companies, as it is the case with Antigua Usanza (Old way) and Burgo Viejo (Old borough), and also by the content of hooks and body copies. For instance, Bodegas Berceo displays on top of the page a banner that reads “Since 1872” and explains in the body copy that “el respeto a la tradición heredada y el profundo amor al vino siguen siendo sus señas de identidad reconocidas” (translated on the website as “the respect for inherited tradition and a deep love for wine are still recognised as the main features of their identity”). In a similar fashion, Bodegas Alegre Valgañón offers “Hoy puedes llevarte un trozo de historia del Rioja” (translated as “Today you can take a piece of history of Rioja”).

Another term related to the long tradition and that can be found in several occasions on the websites of Rioja wines is “sabiduría” or wisdom. Bodegas Ayagar states that it has produced the wines “con sabiduría”. This structure has been translated into English as “Know-how”, a perhaps more competitive term in the actual market. Likewise, the winery Ayala Lete e Hijos employs the structure “La sabiduría de la tradición” (The wisdom of tradition) in its body copy.

The concept of knowledge is not only employed to state the expertise of the producers, but also to refer to the consumers as connoisseurs. Consumers prove their knowledge and good taste when they choose the wine of a particular company. For instance, Bodegas Ayagar starts the body copy by addressing the visitor with the sentence “A ti que sabes que la belleza de un gran vino está en el paladar” (To you who know that the beauty of a great wine is in the palate); and Bodegas Afersa claims that its goal is “satisfacer los exigentes paladares de nuestros clientes” (to satisfy the demanding palates of our customers).

A considerable number of Rioja companies employ the topic of “family” to underline the reputable origin and long tradition of the wines. The winery Ramón de Ayala Lete e Hijos (Ramón de Ayala and sons) opts for making it explicit in the name of the company, and like other wineries, includes on the website pictures of the members of the family in the vineyards. Likewise, Bodegas Abeica uses the tagline “Bodegas Familiares de Rioja” (translated as “Family wineries from La Rioja”), and both Bodegas Abeica and Bodegas Afersa start their body copies with the structure “Bodega familiar que...” (Family winery that...). In addition to this, Bodegas Afersa builds all three paragraphs of the body copy around this topic. The first paragraph underlines the experience gained by three generations of producers. In the second paragraph, the company explains that the wine is partly produced with the grapes from other vineyards, but swiftly points out that the owners of those vineyards are “agricultores selectos de la localidad” (select local farmers). The third and final paragraph claims that although the wines cannot be found in large supermarkets, they are worth discovering to appreciate the effort put by the family into the production. Here, the topic of the family takes an additional dimension: the copywriter uses specifically the term “mimo” (pamper or indulge) to express the idea that the producers treat the wine with great care, in the same way they would treat their own child.

Tradition plays a main role, but also does modernity, as it was also observed on the Galician websites. This topic performs three tasks: firstly, modernity is employed as a guarantee of

quality and an up-to-date and regulated production process; secondly, it is used as a sign of style and sophistication based on the notion that wine consumption is evolving from a traditional habit into a fashionable trend; and, thirdly, it targets a new profile of potential customers, younger and starting to explore the wine world. For example, Bodegas Afersa explains in its body copy that “Tradición y modernidad forman un vínculo indisoluble” (Tradition and modernity form a indissoluble bond); and Bodegas Altona clarifies that despite the long tradition of the winery, it also embraces modernity, since “jóvenes viticultores con nuevos impulsos colocan la piedra fundamental de una nueva generación de bodegueros que funden con éxito la tradición y la innovación” (translated as “young grape growers with fresh impulses place the cornerstones of a new generation of winemakers who successfully integrate tradition with innovation”). Similarly, Bodegas Carlos Serres uses the slogan “Vinos de hoy... con historia”. This hook is translated in the English version as “Today’s Rioja... with a taste of history”. The translation specifies the name Rioja to make it clear to foreign visitors, and to target, on the one hand, those who know the Designation and are expressly looking for it, and, on the other hand, those who are less familiar but might be interested in learning more about it.

Finally, copywriters appear to use more lyricism in the advertising discourse. For example, Bodegas Abeica employs expressions such as “deleitar paladares” (to delight palates) or “mantenemos la tradición que se pierde en el tiempo” (we are keeping alive a tradition that is disappearing over time), and yet blends these poetical expressions with a substantial amount of technical terms and data in the same body copy. Bodegas Afersa describes the *terroir* as a “cuna de grandes vinos de reconocido prestigio” (cradle of great wines of renowned prestige), and Bodegas Altanza speaks of the “maridaje del vino y arte” (translated as “a pairing between wine and art”). In addition to this, Bodegas Altanza builds the advertising discourse of the website with the parallelisms “Es tiempo de vino”, “Es tiempo de Lealtanza” and “Es tiempo de artistas” (translated as “It is time for wine”, “It is time for Lealtanza”, and “It is time for art”). In

a similar manner, Castillo de Cuzcurrita shows a series of photographs, each with a two-line caption, that follow each other composing a poem-like text: “Otoño/ Una nueva estación”, “Colores/ Marrones, ocres y rojos pintan el paisaje”, “El viento/ Sopla frío”, “Las hojas/ Cubren el suelo”, “El vino/ Descansa en las barricas”, and “Momentos/ Para disfrutar descorchando” (translated in the English version as “Autumn/ Still autumn”, “Colours/ Brown, ochre and red hues paint the landscape”, “The wind/ Blows cold”, “The leaves/ Cover the ground”, “The wines/ Slumbers in the casks”, and “Moments/ To enjoy uncorking bottles”). All these lyrical resources add a sense of value and great style and sophistication to the products and the companies.

The present analysis shows that English wineries tend to emphasise the English origin of the products, address consumers in a direct fashion and include a considerable number of foreign terms. Rioja companies appear to underline instead the international reputation of the wines and add a certain level of lyricism in their advertising discourse. All in all, the comparative study of advertising samples from other cultural contexts provides for a better understanding of the characteristics of advertising language used to sell Galician products and companies and, by extension, for a more reliable approach to translating advertising copy in the Galician context.

### 3. TRANSLATION OF ADVERTISING IN THE GALICIAN CONTEXT

#### 3.1. TRANSLATION IN THE MINORITY CONTEXT OF GALICIA

Translation plays a crucial role in the formation of identities, a field that has been thoroughly studied by Venuti (1995) and Cronin (2006). The power of translation as intracultural and intercultural agent becomes specially accentuated in the minority context of Galicia. Cronin (1995: 88) holds that “the continued existence of the (minority) language and the self-perfection and self-confidence of its speakers are intimately bond up with translation effects”. Indeed, the activity of translation is deployed in Galicia as a key instrument in the process of linguistic normalisation and the strengthening of the Galician language and culture. On the one hand, it is an important resource to normalise and give prestige to the language within the borders of the region. This is achieved, for example, through the translation into Galician of key works of universal literature, such as the version of James Joyce’s “Ulysses” produced by Eva Almazán and her team, whose quality was awarded with the Spanish “Premio Nacional de Traducción” in 2014. On the other hand, translation is an indispensable tool for the projection of Galician culture abroad. This projection is carried out, for instance, by means of the translation of significant works of Galician literature into majority languages and cultures, like the works of the Galician writers Chus Pato and Manuel Rivas translated into English by Erín Moure and Jonathan Dunne respectively. In the specific case of the advertising sector, the work of translators is central to the promotion of the image of the brand Galicia, as discussed below.

The activity of translation in Galicia has evolved parallel to the normalisation of language and culture and the change of attitudes from considering Galician a language valid only for literature to a language for “everyday use” (Millán Varela, 2000: 273). In fact, translation contributes to the development of the language by filling empty spaces. It does not only contribute to the expansion of nonexistent or marginal literary genres in an uneven literary

system, but also introduces new terminology from very different areas of society, such as technical and scientific categories. By doing so, translation ensures that the language is updated and speakers can live a full life in it. As a direct consequence, the process of translation bears a substantial cultural and political weight and is unavoidably conditioned by external factors. Bará Torres (2011: 74) refers to four of these external factors to explain the growth of translation in Galicia: the activity of professional associations, such as the Asociación de Tradutores Galegos (Galician Translators Association) and the Asociación Galega de Profesionales da Tradución e da Interpretación (Galician Association of Translation and Interpretation Professionals); the increasing interest and engagement of publishing houses and the Asociación Galega de Editores (Galician Publishers Association); the creation of the degree of Translation and Interpreting in 1991 in the University of Vigo; and the institutional support from the Galician regional Government in the form of policies, subsidies and promotional activities.

Despite the apparent progress, there are other external factors that exert a particular negative effect on translation in Galicia. In fact, the position of this activity is damaged by socioeconomic constraints and its overdependence on government economic support for its very existence (Millán Varela, 2000: 277). The extent and nature of the government support for both translation and linguistic normalisation is directly linked to the ideological criteria of the party in power. Therefore, translation remains subject to “policies developed within a social environment that determines their existence or absence, and which ultimately decides which texts are translated, by whom, where, and how” (Luna Alonso et al., 2011: 8). Publishers might be less dependent upon ideological criteria, but they still need to adhere to the official policy to be eligible for subsidies and to follow market trends in order to be profitable. As a result, there is a lack of a well-defined strategy to decide which Galician works are translated and how, and choices often respond to marketing criteria or personal motives of the intermediary agents (Luna Alonso, 2005: 33).

Lastly, the unequal power relation between the two co-official languages of Galicia is clearly reflected in the translation dynamics. Galician can be considered what Cronin (2003: 145) terms as source-language intensive: translations are mainly from majority languages into Galician — the centre encroaching on the periphery — while there is far less activity in the opposite direction. This can be especially detrimental given the fundamental role played by the translation of Galician literature into other languages in the development of internal recognition of the culture. Furthermore, Castilian is the most common target language in the translation of Galician literature, and most of the Galician works that are exported are translated first into Castilian and then from Castilian into other languages and marketed as Spanish literature (Luna Alonso, 2005: 34). As a result, Galician literature loses its identity and the opportunity to gain greater recognition. Quite to the contrary, translating from Castilian into Galician is a polemical issue in the Galician context since Castilian “is perfectly understandable and, in addition, the preferred language among Galician readers” (Millán Varela, 2000: 279). It is by following this line of thinking that certain companies might choose Castilian to address Galician customers and consider that translating their documents and advertising materials into Galician would only suppose a considerable investment of money and not necessarily report any benefits, as it was the case with some of the companies interviewed by Ramallo and Rei Doval (1997).

### 3.2. TRANSLATION OF ADVERTISING LANGUAGE

Languages are always tightly bound with the history, traditions, values and beliefs of their territory, and both language and culture have the power to shape each other. Therefore, translators must fully know the significance of the relevant linguistic units in both the source and target language to find an adequate equivalent (García Yebra, 1994: 385) and rise to the challenge of transferring the information that words convey.

Advertising language must be understood according to its actual function and communicative nature in order to produce a translation that will fully transfer the information transmitted by the original advertising message and cause the same effect. This viewpoint can be linked with the Skopos theory developed by Vermeer (2004) and the functional approach to translation held by theorists like Reiss and Nord (2014). Vermeer (2004: 233) argues that the “translational action” is driven and directed by a *skopos*, that is, “a given goal, function or intention, and also an assumed set of addressees”. The translator shares the same intention as the author of the original text but with the added dimension of working into a foreign language as part of a process of intercultural communication. The translation needs to be oriented towards the target culture, and subordinate notions such as fidelity to adequacy in order to produce an optimal translation (Vermeer, 2004: 236). The translator of the advertising copy needs to find the best possible solution to pursue the same ultimate goal: to convince the consumers.

The wording of any advertisement will ultimately depend on the target audience and the same rule applies to its translated version. The translation of advertising requires an understanding of cultural and marketing aspects that range from national perceptions and preferences to legal constraints (Séguinot, 1995: 270). Despite globalisation, global marketing still requires good knowledge of the target culture. For the same reason, the translator must be aware of the conventions for this type of text in the target market, so the advertisement can be understood and thus be relevant and convincing to the target audience (Valdés Rodríguez,

2000: 273). The translated advertisement has to conform to the formal restrictions of the genre in the target culture in order to meet the audience's expectations.

Both copywriters and translators must keep the target audience in mind at all times. However, multimedia texts can have "a heterogeneous, anonymous and geographically dispersed mass audience" that will interpret the message in different ways and thus question the prevailing strategy of advertising for "one-audience" globalised world (Valdés Rodríguez, 2000: 272). In such a case, defining the profile of the addressees can be a challenging task. Now, regardless of the location and cultural diversity of the target audience, the fact remains that a literal translation will most probably fail in appealing to new potential customers. This argument is developed more thoroughly below.

Furthermore, the message depends not merely on the referential content of the words, but also on their stylistic selection and arrangement (Nida, 2004: 165). The text is often adorned with rhetorical devices and figurative language that convey strongly culture-bound images and references. This demonstrates that language cannot be separated from cognitive competence (Littlemore, 2009) and can therefore serve as a powerful tool for causing a cognitive reaction in the receiver.

In addition to this, the translation of advertisements proves especially complex as a series of added constraints linked to this genre need to be taken into account. For example, the challenge posed by restrictions of time and space. Similarly, the source text is often accompanied by images, sounds and paratextual material that play a crucial role in the message and add a further layer of meaning. The translation of an advertisement must be understood as a transfer of the semiotic interplay of non-verbal elements as opposed to a bare linguistic transfer (Valdés Rodríguez, 2000: 279). Elements such as colour, size and position are culture-specific and can have different interpretations in different cultures and, for that reason, should be taken into consideration during the translation and localisation process.

All things considered, when translating the language in advertising, certain procedures commonly used in other genres, such as explicitation or equivalence (Vinay and Darbelnet, 1958/1995), are no longer sufficient. The translator is forced to show a high level of creativity and perform miracles with the language in order to find acceptable, as opposed to adequate, solutions (Toury, 1995: 56). A quality translation of the advertising material of a company will benefit the projection of the corporate image and, by extension, the image of the brand Galicia at national and international levels. Unfortunately, the quality of the translations found in this research is in many cases limited, and the method of literal translation is quite common, as shall be discussed next.

### 3.3. TRANSLATION OF CULTURE-SPECIFIC ITEMS

Translators act as intercultural mediators between a source text that is product of a particular culture and a target text that has to function in a new culture. Schäffner (1995: 4) remarks that “translation is not a matter of words only, but that it is a matter of making intelligible a whole culture”. As a matter of fact, the source text is usually replete with what theorist such as Baker (1992) and Aixelá (1996) refer to as culture-specific items. These items are loaded with meaning and add information to the message. The advertisements used to promote Galician products and services are no exception to this.

Some advertisements make use of icons and cultural associations as a marketing strategy. In the current globalised world, there is a growing tendency to create international advertising campaigns and to use English as the language for communication. However, many copywriters instead decide to emphasise the cultural element as the distinctive feature of the product (Calvi, 2004: 63). This is also the case in the Galician context: the origin of the products gives them a competitive edge, since it becomes a significant differentiating factor and is interpreted as a synonym of authenticity and quality. The campaigns of Galicia Calidade employ elements of the landscape of the region, such as the sea, the rivers and springs, the rocky coast, the green and lush vegetation, etc., in order to emphasise the origin of the products. In effect, a particular pattern can be detected in its promotional material. This is shown, for instance, by the repeated presence of water in the posters of 2006, 2008 and 2009, and in the video of the 2014 promotional activity “Galicia Calidade en ruta” (Galician Calidade on the road). As a result, these representations are swiftly identified as “Galician” in the rest of Spain and increasingly recognised internationally. Besides this, advertisers often make use of recognisable cultural symbols in order to reinforce the positive attributes of the product (Cannon, 2000: 19). By way of example, the websites of the wine companies in the corpus of this study include both textual and visual cultural markers. Among the textual markers, the companies specify the place and the Designation of Origin of the wines. The winery Gargalo

also makes reference to a historical building, the Castle of Monterrei in Ourense, in order to denote a long tradition of wine-making. As for visual markers, the websites employ images to convey ideas of long tradition or modernity, or even a thoughtful combination of both, as in the photography in black and white of the modern facilities of the company Gargalo. Moreover, the pages display similar themes and aesthetics — most include photographs of large vineyards in scenic valleys — and thus contribute to the construction of a particular representation of Galicia.

Some of the products advertised are particularly culture-bound and distant from the target audience. Séguinot (1995: 260) stresses the need to differentiate between two types of advertisements: those created to sell a product with competitors in an already existing niche or those that introduce a new product or service. When translating the latter into a new culture, the *skopos* of the target text is transformed into both selling and presenting a new product, which might require explanation about its use or applications. In such a case, translators often resort to the use of visual images and extra information to fill the cultural gaps, but still retain the foreign flavour of the product (Valdés Rodríguez, 2000: 275). In the corpus of this study, the company A Pementeira sells small green peppers from the municipality of Padrón, an example of a product strongly culture-bound to the region of Galicia. The main peculiarity of these peppers is that, according to popular perception, some are mild and some are hot. The website of A Pementeira is only available in Galician and Castilian, and the body copies of both versions contain the same information. The fact that there is no added explanation in the Castilian version indicates that the company assumes that any potential customer from the rest of Spain will already be familiar with this product.

Some other products might exist also in the target culture, but hold different values in the different societies (Bassnett, 2002: 37). This is due to the fact that the interpretation of any text is normally ideologically determined, since it is processed by brains already filled with set ideas, prototypes and categories which are defined a priori by the dominant discourse of a

society and its cultural systems (Beeby Lonsdale, 1996: 38). An example of this would be the art of the silversmith, a trade of long tradition in Galicia and, consequently, part of its cultural identity. Santiago de Compostela, capital of Galicia, is a referent because of the many workshops that have crafted silver and jet since the Middle Ages. It is for this reason that the jewellery companies Fink Orfebres and Orfega make reference to the place of production and add it to their commercial names, which appear on the websites as “Fink Orfebres Santiago de Compostela” and “Orfega Compostela”. Orfega also names one of its collections after the capital of Galicia and explains in the description that “Nuestro origen como taller the orfebrería compostelana se evidencia en la naturaleza de estas piezas” (Our origin as a silversmithing workshop from Compostela is evident in the nature of these pieces). It also describes the pieces as having “un marcado carácter” (a strong character) or “atemporales” (timeless).

When transferring the aforementioned culture-specific items the translator has to intervene at both textual and cross-cultural levels in order to preserve the function of the text and ensure the participation of readers (Agorni, 2011: 7). The extent of the intervention will depend on the ability of the translator to assess the knowledge and expectations of the target audience. The translator also needs to identify the semiotic status of all intertextual references that bind a text to a particular culture to determine whether to give priority to function or form (Beeby Lonsdale, 1996: 39). Once all these factors are considered, the translator will have to ponder the amount of explanatory information that needs to be included (domestication) or left out (foreignisation). This will be attained by correspondingly lessening or highlighting the tokens of cultural difference present in order to reduce or enhance the sense of otherness between the two audiences (Venuti, 1992: 5). Consequently, the decisions taken as part of the translation strategy will reinforce the familiarity or exoticism of the textual content. In either case, the translator must avoid providing an excess of information that would be difficult to process and cause a breakdown in communication (Kelly, 1997: 35). Often, a translation is considered

successful when it favours transparency, reads fluently and is not identified as a translated text. When this is the case, the translator works for what Venuti (1991: 127) calls the acculturation of the text, which domesticates the cultural otherness of the foreign discourse and hides its linguistic and cultural difference. Venuti's predecessor, Schleiermacher, favours instead a translation, in his words, "bent towards a 'foreign likeness'" (Venuti, 1991: 145), which takes the reader on a journey to the source-language context. His approach is based on a cultural resistance that emphasises linguistic and cultural differences and seeks cultural diversity. Whatever the case may be, the translation strategy will primarily depend on the marketing strategy chosen by the selling company. In the marketplace, many will opt for readability and turn down discourses that are not transparent, while others will consider difference to be an appealing device.

The process discussed in the preceding paragraph should have been applied when translating the advertising material of the jewellery collections "Os Bolechas" and "Viarum" of the company Fink Orfebres. The first collection is based on the Galician children's series "Os Bolechas", which is popular among the young audiences of the region. The design of the second collection is based on a scallop shell, which is the symbol of the Saint James's Way, the pilgrimage route that attracts thousands of tourists to Galicia every year. The company, however, has decided not to add explanatory information on the cultural meaning of both designs and to rely solely on the aesthetic features of the jewels to attract potential buyers. On the one hand, this strategy sends out a clear message and avoids any excess of information; on the other hand, however, it does not benefit from the competitive edge provided by the cultural element.

### 3.4. LITERAL TRANSLATION

When two languages are in contact and share the same territory, they are liable to a certain amount of interference phenomena. According to Beswick (2002: 257), lexical interference and borrowing have been occurring for over 800 years between Castilian and Galician, to the extent that forms of the former became integrated into the latter, and vice versa. In 1982 first steps were taken to adopt a standard form that would halt interference and confirm Galician as valid language for all functions and domains. As mentioned before in this study, the standardisation process aimed at maintaining the language as a marker of cultural differentiation and collective identity. Nevertheless, many linguists claim that the adopted norm mirrors the Castilian form, disregards the distinctive linguistic traits of Galician and emphasises instead the similarities between the two languages (Beswick, 2002: 261). This strategy further subordinates Galician to Castilian by setting the latter as the mandatory reference for the evolution of the former. Furthermore, as already noted, the presence of translation in new scientific and social domains is crucial in the process of updating the language as it helps the spread and normalisation of Galician in all areas. However, most of the new terminology is created imitating the already existing Castilian models (Millán Varela, 1996: 11), instead of departing from the source language to introduce translated equivalents that most closely match the target language. The vocabulary developed around the social network Twitter provides a concrete example of new terminology successfully translated into Galician without taking Castilian as starting point: the terms “a tweet”, “to tweet” and “to retweet” have been adapted as “un tweet”, “twittear” and “retwittear” in the Castilian version of the site, whereas they have been translated as “un chío”, “chiar” and “rechouchiar” in the Galician version.

Literal, direct or word-for-word translation is a prevailing tendency when translating from a majority-status language into a minority-status language. This is particularly true for the sectors of media and advertisement, where the discourse practices of the source language

dominate the media output of the territory shared by both languages (Hatim and Mason, 1997: 121). For example, as mentioned earlier, a considerable number of national and multinational companies choose Castilian to advertise their products on the regional television channel. In those cases where the companies opt for Galician, they use dubbed versions of the same original advertisements and dialogues are translated word-for-word. Nida (2004: 157) warns the translator of the complications involved in conveying a message between closely related languages and cultures

Where the linguistic and cultural distances between source and receptor codes are least, one should expect to encounter the least number of serious problems, but as a matter of fact if languages are too closely related is likely to be badly deceived by the superficial similarities, with the result that translations done under these circumstances are often quite poor.

With this method in place, the minority language comes under assimilationist translation pressures that leave it vulnerable to extensive source-language interference and can make it succumb at lexical and syntactic levels (Cronin, 2003: 141). In this case, the translation process aggravates the intrusion of Castilian and undermines the differentiation of Galician as an independent linguistic entity.

At the other end of the scale, some translators choose to implement a domesticating strategy in order to protect the integrity of Galician as a separate linguistic entity and contribute to its normalisation. However, these translators are subject to the charge of purism and atavistic essentialism, and by avoiding interference and opting for domestication of the foreign text the translation will no longer function as a tool of regeneration of the minority language (Cronin, 2003: 147). Translators must find the right balance to protect the target language while also leveraging the translation from majority languages to encourage the development of the minority language.

On the whole, the method of literal translation obviates all differences between the two languages and by extension between the two cultures, since “No two languages are ever

sufficiently similar to be considered to be representing the same social reality” (Sapir, 1956: 69). The role of the translator is to understand this difference and act against the decline of diversity. As Cronin (2006: 121) points out

If translation is proverbially a bridge-building exercise, and much is said about how it bridges gaps between cultures, it must not be forgotten that translation has as much a vested interest in distinctness as in connectedness. To put this another way, translation scholars must be to the forefront in campaigns to protect and promote the teaching of diverse languages as there is little point in being in the business of connection if nothing is left to connect.

With regard to the corpus of this study, a considerable number of companies provide translations of limited quality, both at textual and at page level. At textual level, these pages present a substantial number of literal translations or even translations that contain mistakes. Firstly, there is a common practice of literal translation of originally Castilian structures and lexis into Galician. Most phraseological units are translated word-for-word due to the fact that they are considered to be exact equivalents. However, to attain a total equivalence the translator should factor in other traits such as the denotative and connotative meanings, the distribution and frequency of use, the pragmatic component and the socio-cultural conditions of both units (Corpas Pastor, 2000: 491). On the website of Bodegas Nairoa one can read “En pleno corazón del Ribeiro y a orillas del río Arnoia” (At the heart of the Ribeiro and along the banks of the river Arnoia) and this sentence has been translated into Galician as “En pleno corazón do Ribeiro e a beiras do río Arnoia”. However, the structure “No corazón do” is more frequently used than “En pleno corazón”, and the correct phraseological unit for “a orillas de” would be “nas beiras do” or “á beira do”. In a similar manner, the literal translation of Castilian verbs implies that some Galician characteristic verb forms and structures are no longer being used, such as the personal infinitive or the periphrasis “ir + infinitive”, which is commonly used to express future actions. As a direct result, the examples mentioned above do not only generate a bad translation product, but can also prove pernicious for the integrity of the

original forms and expressions of Galician. The language loses its richly-endowed distinctness and, by extension, its potential as a differentiating factor in advertising.

Secondly, the translations in the corpus of this study present a considerable number of mistakes and omissions. In general these mistakes are due to lack of awareness or specialisation in this working language, originated in the belief that both Castilian and Galician are almost identical languages. The difficulty of working with two languages which are close in linguistic terms is aggravated by the fact that

marketing executives often underestimate the complexity of the translation process and fail to understand the balance between quality and cost. In their minds, a person who can speak the language of the target market is good enough to undertake the translation job (Ho, 2004: 239).

As a result, the websites of the wine companies, for example, present typographical errors, such as the use of both question marks instead of one in the sentence “¿Tes idade para beber no teu país?” (Are you of legal age to drink in your country?) that leads to the site of Bodegas Pazo de Villarei; mistakes of graphic accentuation, such as “Cómo chegar” (How to arrive) instead of “Como chegar” on the site of Regina Viarum, “Suscríbete o noso boletín” (Subscribe to our bulletin) instead of “Suscríbete ao/ó noso boletín” on the site of Adega Eidos, or “Fai única á nosa terra” (Makes our land unique) instead of “Fai única a nosa terra” on the site of Bodegas Pazo de Villarei; and grammar mistakes, such as “Pode facer o seu reserva” (You can make your booking) instead of “Pode facer a súa reserva”, and “Nosas Reportaxes” (Our television reports) instead of “As nosas reportaxes” on the site of Regina Viarum. These last two examples also suggest that the company may have used an automatic translator to translate the contents of the page instead of paying for the services of a qualified professional. Even worse, the company Coren does not provide translated versions of its website, but includes instead an app powered by Google Translate that carries out the automatic translation of the contents into more than seventy languages.

At page level, almost all websites of the corpus offer several language options, but many of these versions are incomplete or do not exist yet, maybe owing to a lack of time or, most probably, to budget constraints. The wine company Bodegas Nairoa offers Galician, English and German on its website, but several sections remain in Castilian across all versions. In a similar manner, there are several advertisements where a text has been inserted into an image and it is often the case that this text remains in the original language in all language versions. Examples of this are, among others, the advertisement “Vendimiarlo no es fácil. Disfrutarlo, sí.” (Not easy to harvest, but easy to enjoy) of Regina Viarum, and the banner “¡Entra en nuestro Facebook!” (Visit our Facebook!) of Castro Baroña. These cases show a deficient work of web localisation, which is equally nonexistent for the adaptation of elements such as measures or currencies. In fact, all websites that offer two or more languages provide translated versions of the main website, rather than separate websites with localised contents specifically created for each language or country. Therefore, they also disregard the aforementioned genre conventions of the target culture.

All in all, these websites are the image that the companies show to consumers both within and outside Galician borders. With regard to Galician, the actual translation strategy can reinforce interference phenomena and undermine the value of the regional language as an independent linguistic entity in the eyes of Galician costumers. At a general level, a bad quality translation can be detrimental for a business, since it limits its marketplace, creates a sloppy image of the company and, by extension, of the brand Galicia.

#### 4. CONSTRUCTION AND PROJECTION OF GALICIAN IDENTITY IN THE ADVERTISING CONTEXT

##### 4.1. THE IDENTITY OF GALICIA

For many people today, the cultivation and protection of one's identity and culture have become a social response to globalisation and a force against centralist political developments. Nevertheless the distinctive identity of an individual or a group is not an empirical reality, but a construction that has been conceptualised and verbalised over time, and is ultimately based on a differentiation between the self and the other (Beller and Leerssen, 2007: 337). This differentiation is in itself built on a selection of images deployed over time to represent the self and a set of counter-images derived from what is known about the other. Cronin (2006: 50) has noted with respect to the shaping of identity that

it is difficult to see how we can define ourselves except in relationship to what we are not. If everything is the same, there is no difference and if there is no difference, there is no identity. Consequently, difference is essential to the construction of identity.

Galicia has a distinct regional identity based on its historical, linguistic and cultural heritage. It is a historical nationality that has constructed its identity on the dialectical process of defining the "We" and the "Other". However, this discourse is not only a separatist one, as the divide between this peripheral northern region and the centre of Spain, but it can also be one of integration with other nations, as evidenced by the links existing between Galicia and other peripheral "allies", the Lusophone community, or the Atlantic-Celtic nationalities (García Álvarez, 1998: 122). These referents are not only culturally and ideologically created, but they are also based on material arguments such as language, territory, history, traditions or economy.

In the particular case of Galicia, it is debatable whether its self-image is an auto-image or one which has been imposed by a hegemonic source and interiorised as such. According to Beller and Leerssen (2007: 340),

subaltern nations tend to develop a sense of identity and a self-image while under foreign rule, and as a result have their initial self-image thrust upon them, to be negotiated in the second instance by processes such as internalization, rejection, adaptation or avoidance.

In fact, Miguélez Carballeira (2013: 5) claims that the representations of Galicia emerge in the context of a colonial relationship between Galicia and Spain, and serve a two-way purpose: the dominant position employs them to disarticulate an insurgent national culture while allowing some space for controlled difference, whilst the oppressed uses them for self-differentiation and expression. As a result, these colonial representations become deep-rooted stereotypes that do not only influence the way the rest of Spain understands Galicia, but also determine how Galicians see themselves. Along the same line of thought, Pintos (1997: 3) holds that the media describe and construct the reality of Galicia from different perspectives depending on the position of the observer, and to explain his theory reduces the complexity of perspectives to two social systems that he calls “Galicia” and “Madrid”, which is also the geographical centre and capital of Spain. This interpretation could be extrapolated to the advertising agencies hired by Galician companies to advertise their products both in Galicia and in the rest of Spain. A considerable number of Galician companies choose advertising agencies that are based outside Galicia. For example, the banking company Abanca hired the Madrid-based agency Shackleton to create the campaign “Sentir común” referred to above. Apart from the fact that this choice hinders the strengthening of and investment in the Galician advertising industry, the agencies from outside the region will not have the same perspective or understanding of Galician culture and, importantly, of Galician consumers.

The Galician economy has traditionally been based on agriculture and fishing due to the social and geographical characteristics of the region. For instance, its peripheral location and its rugged topography have caused most of the transport infrastructure to be relatively recent or of poor quality, but in compensation it counts on four relatively important seaports (Hulbert, 2012: 6). Location still represents a challenge for the economy of Galicia. According to OECD

Secretariat Hulbert (2012: 6), the challenges that could hinder the future economic performance of Galicia are: a relatively inaccessible location; demographic and economic disparities between coast and inland; and demographic issues such as a low birth rate and a rapidly aging population. Since its entrance into the European Union, however, Galicia has undergone an exceptional transformation from an agrarian and rural to industrial and urban economy (Nogueira, 2008: 2). The accession to the European Union compelled Galicia to undergo major and rapid changes that provided the region with a powerful industrial structure and the development of its tertiary sector. In fact, at present the most important sectors for the regional GDP are services, industry and construction (Hulbert, 2012: 5). Moreover, the *Plan Estratégico de Galicia 2010-2014* (Strategic Plan of Galicia 2010-2014) and the *Informe ARDÁN 2014* (Report ARDÁN 2014) identify the following as strategic sectors: textile, car industry, ship building, energy production, ornamental stones and wood, and tourism.

With regard to tourism, the Xunta de Galicia issued on June 2011 a decree on the branding of Galicia as a tourist destination. The official text explains the rationale behind this new branding strategy and introduces a new corporate logo. The branding of touristic destinations, just as the branding of products and services, is a key marketing technique that helps to position the brand in the marketplace, to increase its distinctiveness, and to enhance its reputation and perception among the consumers. The decree states that the Government is aware of the power of tourism, not only for economic, but also for social reasons. With that in mind, they want to promote the brand Galicia with “unha imaxe nova e renovada, orgullosa do seu pasado, respectuosa coas súas tradicións, cultura, lingua, patrimonio cultural e ambiente” (a new and renovated image, proud of its past, respectful of its traditions, culture, language, cultural heritage and environment) (DOGA, 2011: 17618). To this end, Galicia needs to find “un sinal de identidade, que estableza un vínculo emocional con aqueles a que se dirixe e sexa aceptado por aqueles a que representa: as galegas e os galegos” (an identity mark, that establishes an emotional bond with those addressed by it and that is accepted by those

represented by it: Galician women and men) (DOGA, 2011: 17618). Thus, they want to present a different image of the region, perhaps a more modern one, and to retain at the same time the elements that Galicians identify as representative of their culture. These representations, however, are far from being neutral, since “branding says much about power and discourse, and is equally reflective of global power relationships and the dominant ways of seeing the world” (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 139). The decree, for instance, emphasises the fact that the promotion and development of tourism in Galicia is the responsibility of the regional Government. After the instauration of Democracy, the Spanish Government changed its strategy for tourism and the marketing task shifted from the central government to the regions. The expected benefit of this new approach was a better understanding of the needs and cultural identity of the destinations. Nonetheless, in her analysis of the branding carried out by the Xunta de Galicia, Miguélez Carballeira (2013: 218) finds that

a peculiar self-colonizing logic underlies this exposition of shared emotional values among tourists (both actual and potential) and Galicians themselves, who are meant to identify with a prescribed social imaginary about their collective identity whose historical origins are not to be fully explored.

Notwithstanding the substantial development of industry and tourism, agriculture and fishing are still defining areas of the Galician economy. This is clearly reflected in the type of companies and products certified by Galicia Calidade (wines, milk, fruits and vegetables, meats, sea products, etc.) and the fact that some of the products that they promote are particularly culture-bound. The quality brand invests in the promotion of these products, both nationally and internationally, with advertising campaigns and by taking part in events. However, the promotion of this range of products under the brand Galicia can reinforce a particular image of the region and be counterproductive for its economic development.

Even so, there are several examples of companies in the industrial and services sectors in the corpus of this study. With regard to the service industry, Galicia Calidade entered in January 2015 into an agreement with the Clúster Turismo de Galicia (Galician Tourism Companies) in

order to incorporate the seal of quality to the tourism industry and to certify the best establishments. Prior to this agreement, Galicia Calidade had already certified four companies of rural and spa tourism, two types of tourism that are characteristic of Galicia. However, as will be outlined down below, the two companies of spa tourism choose not to include cultural markers, whereas the two companies of rural tourism of the corpus make use of stereotyped images and emblematic tourist attractions.

#### 4.2. ADVERTISING AND IDENTITY

Consumption plays an influential role in the construction of our identity. All advertised products are presented in association with certain role-models and as features of a particular lifestyle. By buying a specific product, consumers are somehow choosing to be part of that lifestyle (Warner, 2000: 65) and the small buying choices that they make every day are among the factors that determine who they are.

In the current highly globalised world, large brands often conceive of and distribute their advertising campaigns internationally. Some companies even choose not to translate the advertising text to add a sense of modernity, sophistication or exoticism, and, ultimately, to stand out from the competition. These practices result in the homogenisation of cultures and in the importation of foreign uses and values that replace the traditional ones, thus becoming a challenge to all national identities (Valdés Rodríguez, 2001: 191). In a similar manner, advertisements also reflect the homogeneities and homologations that nowadays characterise the design of airports, shopping centres, restaurants, hotels and houses across the globe (Pintos, 1997: 1). These can be identified for instance in the images of the facilities of the spas Hotel Augusta Spa Resort \*\*\*\* Superior and Hotel Louxo. The images could belong to hotels located in very different parts of the world. By way of example, Hotel Augusta includes a photograph of its “Caribbean Chill Spa”, which is surrounded by palm trees; another picture invites the visitor to “Descubre la Galicia más exótica” (Discover the most exotic Galicia); several images show the Oriental decorations of the hotel; and the last photo celebrates the Italian concept “Dolce far niente” (Sweet doing nothing). These companies have decided not to leverage the qualities and attractions of their specific location, maybe with the intention of not alienating potential customers. As a result, they do not make use of the differentiating factor of the brand Galicia.

In contrast, a considerable number of the companies certified by Galicia Calidade employ and add meaning to cultural representations. Their goal is once again to differentiate themselves from the competition. For instance, the wine company Castro Baroña and the company Celtic Stores, which sells sun blinds, resort to the alleged Celtic roots of Galicia to create both their name and logo. The wine company Bodegas Paz de Villarei includes a section titled “Celtic Heritage” on its website. In this section the company goes as far as to state that “The vines of the wineries where the Bodegas Pazo de Villarei was born are heirs to a tradition of twenty centuries, initiated by the Celts”, assures that “We still maintain customs from (their) ancient wisdom”, and asserts in a pseudo-nationalist fashion that “Their past is our present, and the tradition of an exceptional wine culture survives in our wines, which has made our country unique”.

When portraying a particular culture the media do not always reflect reality, but often use instead highly ideological and selective representations based in historical, social, economic and political facts (Morgan and Pritchard, 1998: 146). By means of repetition, these representations become a form of stereotype that is rapidly shared and ingrained. In reality, the use of stereotypes is a common practice in the field of advertising, as they prove to be particularly useful, firstly, to overcome the usual restrictions of time and space of the genre; secondly, to create conventional images that can be easily and quickly decoded by the audience; and thirdly, as an informative strategy based on the idea that the audience responds and retains emotive values better than rational information (Correa et al., 2000: 103). As a result, copywriters make conscious use of these stereotyped images. This happens to such an extent that there is even a direct reference to the imaginary of Galicia on one of the websites of this study. The jewellery company Orfega describes its collection “Atlántica” as follows: “La naturaleza del mar Atlántico, las incomparables y mágicas ‘carballeiras’, la artesanía y el imaginario de la Galicia más salvaje inspiran las creaciones...” (The nature of the Atlantic Sea, the incomparable and magical oak woods, the craftwork and the imaginary of the wildest

Galicia inspire the creations...). The Atlantic Ocean and the sea are in fact two established elements of the Galician imaginary. For example, Kiwi Atlántico uses the Atlantic Ocean as reference and adds it to the very same name of the company. Likewise, the jewellery company Óscar Rodríguez Joyeros chooses the sea as a leitmotif. It adds it to its tagline “Tesoros desde el amor al mar” (Treasures from our love of the sea) and in the name of the section “Tesoros del mar” (Treasures of the sea), takes it as inspiration for its designs, and even uses seashells as raw material in its creations.

In a similar manner, López Silvestre and Lois González (2007: 242) hold that tourism in Galicia is promoted using the same topographic, climatic, botanical and cultural elements that regionalism and nationalism exalted during the beginning of the twentieth century to define Galicia’s national identity and enhance difference through its landscape. These iconographic elements (i.e. the chestnut grove, the oak forest, the rugged coast, the granary, etc.) evolved into the Galician cliché that has now been interiorised as part of the social imaginary. These icons can be visual and textual, and the websites of the establishments of rural tourism, or “casas de turismo rural”, of this study present examples of both. Casa de Cacheiro, for instance, uses a scallop shell as its logo and explains on its main page that the establishment offers “Un ambiente muy agradable para descubrir una Galicia fantástica, que enamora con sus paisajes, sus gentes y muy especialmente con su gastronomía” (A very pleasant environment that captivates with its landscape, its people and, most specially, with its cuisine).

Interestingly, the images that define the identity of a given group can change across time and even transform into their counter-images. The final result is what Leerssen named an *imageme*: a combination of all accumulated counter-images that will characterise the group (Beller and Leerssen, 2007: 344). A good example of this is the image of rural Galicia, which was once considered as a synonym of backwardness and lack of dynamism, and evolved to become one of the main touristic appeals of the region. It is now identified with ideas of nature, regeneration and tradition, attributes that are commonly emphasised in advertising.

For instance, Casa de Cacheiro states in its body copy that its establishment is “Rodeada de paz e tranquilidade” (Surrounded by peace and tranquillity) and Casa Brandariz builds its advertising discourse with the sentences “Observa los encantos de la naturaleza” (Observe the charms of nature), “Escucha los sonidos del silencio” (Listen to the sounds of silence), “Siente el tacto del descanso” (Feel the touch of rest) and “Huele los aromas de la tradición” (Smell the aromas of tradition). The image that is shown with this last sentence compiles a good number of objects associated with the Galician cliché: a hearth, a caldron and a dough trough in an old-fashioned kitchen with stone walls.

Advertisers draw on the established discourse because it is easily recognisable and it will help them to achieve their goal. The repeated use of the social imaginary, together with the type of products promoted by the seal of quality of Galicia Calidade, plays its part in the construction of the Galician identity.

### 4.3. CHANGES TO THE REGIONAL PORTRAIT

The use of these established cultural markers helps to differentiate the products exported from Galicia, already bound to values of authenticity and quality, and to make them visible and attractive in the global market. Pena Rodríguez (2013: 177) supports the use of images of the culture of Galicia as the core of the advertising discourse, but adds that advertisers should deploy a new discourse that would escape from old stereotypes and sell the brand Galicia as innovative and assertive of its idiosyncrasy. In the Galician context, this strategy would not only create an updated emotional link that would help new generations of consumers to feel identified with the products, but also, at a more general level, would increase the self-esteem and cohesion of its society by reinforcing the reputation of the production system of Galicia.

At this point, however, it could be questioned whether it would be possible to dispose of the aforementioned stereotypes, or, what is more, whether any of the involved stakeholders would be interested in this change. As Morgan and Pritchard (1998: 139) hold

Identities are never static or monolithic yet attempts to re-present changed identities are often time consuming and expensive, particularly as they can challenge concepts and ideas which can be deeply rooted in the popular psyche, are often drawn from popular culture and which conform to prevailing ideologies.

Advertisers make use of long-established images to convey a message of quality and uniqueness in a quick and easily identifiable manner. It could be hazardous to challenge those familiar representations, which are already loaded with symbolism and meaning, and employ a new discourse that does not coincide with the audience's expectations. In other words, an advertisement of a Galician product that does not include a cow grazing in a lush green field, a wild sea crashing against a rugged coast or the music of bagpipes might not feel "as Galician" as expected and dissuade consumers from buying. This could help explain, for example, why the company Colterxy, which markets bedding products, displays on its home page the image of one of their mattresses placed in the middle of an oak forest. Furthermore, it could be argued that an updated advertising discourse based on a more modern and sophisticated

image of Galicia would just highlight aspects which are already present in other cultural contexts. As a result, this strategy would further the aforementioned homogenisation of cultures and fail to preserve the distinctive features of the brand Galicia.

Lois González et al. (2010) analysed the evolution of the transmitted image of Galicia in tourist promotions: from the initial romantic and bucolic image of a rural and peripheral region, enhanced by history and literature, to the consideration of tourism as a strategic activity for the Galician economy and the consequent improvement of promotional campaigns with the incorporation of elements of its language and cultural identity, such as cultural attractions, gastronomy and a relaxed lifestyle. Despite this major transformation over the years, the image of rural Galicia still holds a prominent role in the promotion of the region and is one of its main appeals for potential tourists. The 2016 campaign “Quero Galicia” (I want Galicia) from the Galician tourism agency provides a good example of this. The video features shots recorded with selfie sticks by an old man, a family and a group of friends while they travel around Galicia. The old man travels by motorbike, the family, by convertible, and the group of friends, by caravan, and they all visit a large number of natural spaces where they engage in activities of active tourism, such as hiking, surfing, sailing, cycling or swimming. Therefore, it is possible for advertising to make use of longstanding cultural referents in conjunction with a new strategy that promotes the quality of the products and services of Galicia in a different light. This renovated approach challenges old stereotypes and projects a more complete and reliable image of the idiosyncrasy and identity of Galicia.

## CONCLUSION

Advertisements of Galician companies are created on the basis of the same plan of action followed in other cultural contexts. In the first place, advertising campaigns can be conceived for different purposes, such as selling a new product or promoting the good image of a company to the eyes of consumers, yet they all share an ultimate objective: to convince a particular audience. Moreover, throughout the history of advertising and the development of new advertising techniques, language has always played a central role in the persuasive process. Both in Galicia and other cultural contexts, copywriters make use of a substantial number of language tools to trigger a reaction from the audience and to increase the differentiation and memorability of the advertisements.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, a closer analysis of advertisements of Galician companies reveals a series of distinctive characteristics that are present in the majority of samples. The most obvious differences are observed in the approach adopted to sell certain products that are particularly bound to the history and culture of the region, for example, the silver and jet jewellery crafted in Santiago de Compostela. In such cases, the advertising discourse focuses on the ideas of long tradition and expertise and includes a considerable number of cultural references. These cultural references are explained to a greater or lesser extent depending on the advertising strategy. Likewise, copywriters deploy cultural markers such as the wild sea, the lush vegetation or the Way of Saint James to underline the specific origin of the products and use cultural difference as a selling tool. This is the case of the quality mark Galicia Calidade, which promotes certain products and services of the region at national and international level by highlighting their Galician origin and binding it to the values of authenticity and quality.

Nevertheless, when it comes to advertising the products and services within the region, Galicia Calidade, the companies under the seal of quality and other Galician companies seem to

obviate a mayor differentiating element of advertising in diglossic contexts: the choice of language. This study has shown that the companies certified by Galicia Calidade use primarily Castilian on their websites and do not use Galician. Some companies employ Galician, but in ways that are prejudicial for the language. Firstly, some websites include Galician terms for tokenistic purposes and to stress the origin of the product. In these cases, Galician is used for decorative effect, but not as a valid vehicle to communicate information. Secondly, some companies use Galician only on specific parts of their websites or to advertise a particular type of products, mainly those related with family, tradition and culture. In these cases, Galician is considered inadequate for certain spheres and unsuitable as a language of progress and modern times. All in all, these uses reinforce old prejudices, aggravate diglossia and undermine the status of the language. On top of this, as a direct consequence of globalisation, there is a growing number of advertising stakeholders — companies, advertising agencies and media — from outside the region that operate in Castilian in the Galician market and thus reduce the proportion of advertising in Galician. With regard to the media, the regional television and radio channels, press, etc. face the strong competition from the national outlets that are also distributed in Galicia, and the Internet enables national and international companies to reach Galician consumers in a simpler and quicker fashion.

Over the last decades there has been a change of mentality with regard to the use of Galician in advertising. An increasing number of major companies — both from outside (Lidl, El Corte Inglés, Eroski, etc.) and inside the region (GADIS, R, Pescanova, etc.) — have decided to adopt Galician to advertise their products in Galicia and even make the language the main theme of their campaigns. Companies are abandoning old preconceptions about the uses and status of the language and no longer dread the idea that employing Galician in advertising can lead to losing customers and reducing sales. The Internet and all new digital formats also offer a powerful structure to easily incorporate Galician into the marketplace. This change of mentality is not only due to a lack of prejudices or fear: Galician has been demonstrated to be

an effective advertising tool. In effect, a considerable number of national and global companies are conscious of the key role of the language and have decided to adopt the language in their advertising campaigns. The approach of these companies might respond to the willingness and commitment to fit into the region or simply to the awareness that language is a differentiating factor that can sell. Indeed, the language conveys credibility and trust to Galician customers, even to those that speak primarily Castilian, and creates an emotional bond built on the feelings of proximity and belonging. Consequently, together with the governmental and non-governmental institutions that carry out initiatives to protect and defend the use of Galician in all spheres, there are several organisations, such as Foro Peinador and Fundación Galicia Empresa, which, being aware of the profitability of the language, are specifically working to promote the use of Galician in the business and advertising industries.

Against this backdrop, it might seem odd that a considerable number of Galician companies do not exploit the profitability of the regional language or even include errors in their translated materials, and more specifically, that a quality brand that follows strict control and regulation processes to certify the origin of Galician companies does not include the promotion of the use of Galician in its agenda. At this point, it would be appropriate to question whether the decision not to advertise in Galician is mainly influenced by companies, copywriters or consumers. The regional language does not pose a problem of comprehension for the audience. The studies carried out by the Instituto Galego de Estatística on language knowledge and use have consistently shown that, despite the decrease in Galician speakers, the level of knowledge and comprehension of the regional language is very high. Most Galicians are able to understand both co-official languages, even though not all of them are willing to speak both. Moreover, the incorporation of Galician into the study plan of primary and secondary schools has helped to improve the skills of reading comprehension and writing. Therefore, the language does not represent a barrier for the audience. On the contrary, the popularity of certain advertising campaigns shows that Galician consumers favour the use of Galician in

advertising. In view of all the foregoing, advertisers might suggest the use of one language or the other, always bearing in mind the target audience, but ultimately follow the instructions of the companies that pay for their services.

The next logical step will be to discuss the rationale behind the choice of Galician companies not to use Galician. Some companies would choose Castilian not to alienate consumers or to deliberately target the share of audience that speaks Castilian. Some might be unaware that using Galician is not just a matter of commitment with the language or a nationalist statement, but actually a profitable choice. Finally, some other companies may not trust the selling power of the language sufficiently and consider that changing or translating into Galician would only represent a considerable expense and not necessarily yield benefits. The last two arguments could be counteracted by means of a greater involvement from the public sector. The Government could, on the one hand, promote and provide financial support for the adoption of Galician by private companies, and, on the other hand, fund and give more visibility to the studies and initiatives by individuals and institutions working to promote the use of Galician in the business and advertising fields. The Statute of Autonomy of Galicia states that it is the responsibility of the regional Government to guarantee and promote the use of the language. Nonetheless, the efforts of the Government are often dependent upon the ideology of the party in power and its commitment to the defence and promotion of the language. Consequently, the regional Government is often accused of a lack of engagement or consistency with the law and regulations on language planning. For instance, the Law of Linguistic Normalisation states that the public regional television channel must use Galician as its customary language, but advertisements are broadcast in Galician or Castilian, at the discretion of the private companies. The decision to require companies to create or translate their campaigns into Galician to be shown on public television would create a protected space for advertising in Galician. This would be a first step towards changing the status quo and leading by example, since Government practices have a direct bearing on the behaviour of

private companies. The fact that the Government disregards this type of initiatives in the advertising sector undermines the prestige of the language.

The decisions taken in advertising do not only affect the status of the language, but also the volume of work of advertising and translation agencies of Galicia. The fact that the regional language is not considered a necessary element reduces the demand and the growth prospects of Galician agencies. Galician companies resort to agencies from outside the region to create and translate their advertising campaigns, despite the professional services provided by Galician agencies, well-supported by higher education studies, extensive experience and increasing awards. In the specific case of the advertising industry, the Galician scene is also hindered by two realities: the high number of advertising agencies and the lack of investment in advertising. Galician advertising agencies are numerous but generally small-sized, so their presence and capability to compete at a national or international level are limited. Moreover, Galicia is one of the regions that invest less in advertising according to the average investment per company. Galician private companies do not allocate adequate human and financial resources to communication and advertising. This choice does a grave disservice to the companies given the paramount importance of developing an advertising strategy to not only sell, but also enhance and consolidate their image. In the case of the translation industry, the dynamics reflect the diglossic situation of the region. In this way, some companies might consider that it is uneconomic to hire a translator to translate their advertising materials into Galician. As a result, they would likely either decide not to translate, because Galicians can understand Castilian, or rely on an employee with a sufficient level of Galician to do it. Conversely, these companies would resort to professionals when translating from Castilian into other majority languages, which are considered to be more cost-effective. In this connection, it could be worth conducting market studies to ponder whether it is more profitable to sell in Galician for Galicians or in English for a much reduced number of consumers.

A substantial number of the companies certified by Galicia Calidade do not exploit the potential of the Internet to reach consumers and increase sales. Firstly, some companies owned static web pages, displayed a rather basic web design and/or included no social networks. Secondly, a considerable number of companies did not update the contents of their sites over the duration of this study, as was also the case for several pages that were “Under construction”. Finally, some companies did not have a web page and their online presence was limited to the information included on the web page of Galicia Calidade. Furthermore, one of the advantages of the Internet is the possibility of creating several language versions for a website. The translation and localisation of the contents of websites offer the opportunity to access the international marketplace. Once more, however, the analysed websites evidenced a deficient work of translation. Firstly, several pages were only available in Castilian. Secondly, some websites included translations with errors, not only in English and other foreign languages, but also in Galician. Lastly, the available language versions were generally word-by-word translations of the original sites, with no localised contents. From this it follows that these companies are not hiring professional translators or even resort to automatic translations. Regardless of whether this is due to a lack of resources or interest, the current state of development and translation of certain advertising websites could limit sales and damage the image of their respective companies.

Just as Galician sells, so, too, does Galicia. The Galician origin of products is a major source of added value and an effective tool to convince consumers since it is increasingly interpreted as a synonym of quality. Galicia Calidade and the companies of the cluster have clearly embraced this idea and, consequently, stress the Galician origin of the products and services in their promotional activity both inside and outside the region. Inside the region, the Galician origin of products adds connotations of proximity and reliability. This aspect responds perfectly to the commitment of a portion of consumers to supporting local commerce and potentiating the local economy, especially after the recent financial downturn. Moreover, the cultural

representations deployed in advertisements build an emotional bond with the audience. Galician consumers feel identified with the product and the company, but also part of a group that holds a shared identity. This common identity helps them in facing an increasingly globalised world. This line of thinking can explain the success of certain advertising campaigns that resort to pseudo-nationalist speeches to build their advertising discourse, as is the case with the advertising campaign “Vivamos como galegos!” (Let’s live like Galicians!) from supermarkets GADIS. The speeches, however, are deployed to achieve an emotional reaction in a controlled fashion and use a positive discourse that ignores all actual social, economic and identity conflicts. Outside the region, the brand Galicia provides products and services with a competitive edge. Advertisers use a set of cultural markers that are clearly identified at national level and increasingly recognised at international level too. These regional images make the difference in a global marketplace that is full of homologations. As a matter of fact, an increasing number of advertising campaigns deploy foreign elements and languages in order to transmit connotations of modernity and exclusivity. However, difference is a key element in advertising and the fact that Galicia has its own cultural identity provides companies with an effective tool to stand out from the competence. Galician companies that deploy the rich idiosyncrasy of the region as differentiating factor and advertising tool have an excellent opportunity to sell their products and services.

Notwithstanding the foregoing, Galicia Calidade, the companies under its seal and other Galician companies commonly resort to a basic portfolio of identity and cultural references to state the origin of their products. These are the same images chosen by the nationalist movement to enhance the differentiation of Galicia at the beginning of the twentieth century. After being systematically deployed throughout the decades, they have become a form of stereotype and part of a common pool used by advertisers to infuse campaigns with Galician flavour. In fact, copywriters need to make use of these iconographic elements to clearly state that the product or service comes from Galicia. Otherwise, they face the risk that the message

will not be completely understood. The repetition of ingrained stereotypes has contributed to the creation of a Galician cliché that is now part of the social imaginary and no longer updated or questioned, even if in some aspects it verges on unreality and magic. Therefore, it can be argued that advertisements do not merely reflect reality, but rather project a construction that has been accepted and interiorised by Galicians as a group. This characterisation allows them to interact with other cultures and provides them with a narrative to explain their culture to others. In short, advertising contributes to the construction and projection of a Galician identity.

All in all, advertising in Galicia is characterised by a series of consolidated practises both with regard to the language and the representation of Galicia. Advertisers follow long-established strategies through inertia or by not challenging tried and tested methods. They make use of customary language patterns and iconographic elements in order to convey the advertising message in a quick and clear fashion. They opt for an advertising discourse that will meet the expectations of the audience and avert any risk of confusion or opacity. Nevertheless, the decisions taken by companies and copywriters have the potential to change old dynamics. As discussed in this study, the brand Galicia is a powerful marketing tool that is steadily gaining visibility and consumers at national and international level. However, the prescribed set of images that is commonly used to represent Galicia is not sufficient to project the full potential of the production system, resources and culture of the region. This can be particularly detrimental given the fact that advertising plays an active role in the construction and projection of identities and the shaping of attitudes towards cultures. There is a need to enrich and widen the vision of the idiosyncrasy of Galicia with a dedicated and updated selection of images that moves beyond old prejudices and clichés. This would ensure a more complete understanding of the true nature of the Galician identity and also contribute to the consolidation of a competitive, quality market in Galicia(n). A considerable number of institutions and companies are already working to promote the use of the regional language in

advertising and the inclusion of new values to show the potential of the Galician productive system. That being said, much remains to be done and one of the first steps could be to increase public and private spending on advertising and translation. A higher investment would strengthen the capability of the Galician advertising industry to grow and evolve and also, as a result, bolster the activity of Galician advertising and translation agencies. Ultimately, this commitment would allow taking full advantage of the excellent opportunity provided by advertising to enhance the prestige of Galician and project an accurate and comprehensive image of the identity of Galicia.

## Appendices

### A. List of issues to be considered by Galician companies, advertisers and the regional Government

- 1) To foster the use of Galician in the business sector as a perfectly valid vehicle of communication.
- 2) To promote the use of Galician in advertising in order to both increase the prestige of the language and sell more advertised products in Galicia and other cultural contexts with strong links with the region, such as Portugal.
- 3) To guarantee the quality and correct usage of Galician in advertising as a powerful tool towards the normalisation and standardisation of the language.
- 4) To invest in the professional translation and localisation of advertising websites to ensure that companies optimise the possibilities of the Internet as a window onto the world.
- 5) To invest in advertising to contribute to the ongoing strengthening of this sector in Galicia.
- 6) To add more information on the websites about certain cultural references to enable a better promotion and understanding.
- 7) To question and update certain iconographic elements that verge on unreality or are not longer true.
- 8) To widen the range of cultural references deployed in advertising to provide a more complete and accurate image of the idiosyncrasy of Galicia.
- 9) To include references to the productive system, scientific and technical achievements, human capital, natural resources and potential for growth of Galicia.
- 10) To increase the initiatives and support from the regional Government as part of its guiding role.

B. List of companies under the seal of Galicia Calidade

Sector	Product	Company
Drinks	Wine	<p>Adega A Coroa S.A.T.</p> <p>Adega Eidos S.L.</p> <p>Adega Valdés S.L.</p> <p>Adegas Tollodouro S.A.</p> <p>Bodegas Nairoa S.L.</p> <p>Bodegas Pazo de Villarei S.L.</p> <p>Bodegas Ruchel S.L.</p> <p>Castro Baroña S.L.</p> <p>Gargalo S.L.</p> <p>Quinta do Buble S.L.</p> <p>Regina Viarum S.L.</p> <p>Vilarvín S.L.</p>
	Milk	<p>Feiraco Lácteos S.L.U.</p> <p>Leche de Galicia S.L.U.</p> <p>Cheese: Queixería Casleiras S.L.</p>
	Water	<p>Aguas de Cabreiroá S.A.</p> <p>Aguas de Mondariz, Fuente del Val S.L.</p>
	Beer	Hijos de Rivera S.A. (Estrella Galicia)
Foods	Fish and sea food	<p>Gallego Pereira Frigoríficos S.L.</p> <p>Jealsa-Rianxeira S.A.</p> <p>Luis Escuris Batalla S.L.</p> <p>Mariscos Linamar S.L.U.</p> <p>Puerto de Celeiro S.A.</p>
	Poultry and eggs	<p>Avícola de Galicia S.A.U.</p> <p>Avícola Tratante S.L.</p> <p>Coren (Cooperativas Orensanas S.C.G)</p> <p>Explotación Agropecuaria de Vilane S.A.</p> <p>Grupo Sada P.A. Castilla-Galicia S.A.</p>

	Fruits and vegetables	A Pementeira S.A.T. Conservas A Rosaleira S.L. Kiwi Atlántico S.A. Patatas Conde S.L.
	Bread	Hornos Sanfiz S.A. Ingapan S.L. (Chousa and Kentes) Pizza: Vidisco S.L. (Pizza Móvil)
	Cold meats	Torre de Núñez S.L.
	Snails	Caracoles Do Gallo S.C.
Handicrafts	Jewellery	Ardentia S.L. Fink Orfebres S.L. Orfega S.L. Óscar Rodríguez Joyeros S.L. Unión Joyera de Bergondo S.A.
Industrial	Bedding products	Colterxy S.L.
	Containers	Customdrinks S.L.
	Sunblinds	Celtic Estores S.L.
	Tagging	Coruñesa de Etiquetas S.L.
Leisure	Rural tourism	Casa Brandariz Casa de Cacheiro
	Spa tourism	Hotel Augusta Spa Resort **** Superior Hotel Louxo

C. List of companies and languages

Sector	Product	Company	Castilian	Castilian and other languages (not Galician)	Castilian and Galician	Castilian, Galician and other languages	
Drinks	Wine	Adega A Coroa S.A.T.					
		Adega Eidos S.L.					
		Adega Valdés S.L.					
		Adegas Tollodouro S.A.					
		Bodegas Nairoa S.L.					
		Bodegas Pazo Villarei S.L.					
		Bodegas Ruchel S.L.					
		Castro Baroña S.L.					
		Gargalo S.L.					
		Quinta do Buble S.L.					
		Regina Viarum S.L.					
		Vilarvín S.L.					
	Milk	Feiraco Lácteos S.L.U.					
		Leche de Galicia S.L.U.	No website				
		Queixería Casleiras S.L.					
	Water	Aguas de Cabreiroá S.A.					
		Aguas de Mondariz S.L.					
	Beer	Estrella Galicia					

Sector	Product	Company	Castilian	Castilian and other languages (not Galician)	Castilian and Galician	Castilian, Galician and other languages	
Foods	Fish and sea food	Gallego Pereira S.L.	Red				
		Jealsa-Rianxeira S.A.					
		Luis Escuris Batalla S.L.		Red			
		Mariscos Linamar S.L.U.		Red			
		Puerto de Celeiro S.A.	Red				
	Poultry and eggs	Avícola de Galicia S.A.U.					Blue
		Avícola Tratante S.L.				Blue	
		Coren Coop. S.C.G.	Red				
		Explotación de Vilane S.A.	Red				
		Grupo Sada P.A. S.A.		Red			
	Fruits and vegetables	A Pementeira S.A.T.				Blue	
		Conservas A Rosaleira S.L.					
		Kiwi Atlántico S.A.	Red				
		Patatas Conde S.L.					
	Bread	Hornos Sanfiz S.A.	No website				
		Chousa		Red			
		Kentes					
		Pizza Móvil	Red				
	Cold meats	Torre de Núñez S.L.					Blue
	Snails	Caracoles Do Gallo S.C.	Red				

Sector	Product	Company	Castilian	Castilian and other languages (not Galician)	Castilian and Galician	Castilian, Galician and other languages
Handicrafts	Jewellery	Ardentia S.L.				
		Fink Orfebres S.L.				
		Orfega S.L.				
		Óscar Rodríguez Joyeros S.L.				
		Unión Joyera Bergondo S.A.				
Industrial	Beds	Colterxy S.L.				
	Containers	Customdrinks S.L.				
	Sunblinds	Celtic Estores S.L.				
	Tagging	Coruñesa de Etiquetas S.L.				
Leisure	Rural tourism	Casa Brandariz				
		Casa de Cacheiro				
	Spa tourism	Hotel Augusta Spa Resort				
		Hotel Louxo				

D. Wine companies from England and La Rioja

<b>ENGLISH WINE COMPANIES</b>	<b>RIOJA WINE COMPANIES</b>
Astley Vineyards	Abeica S.L., Bodegas
Biddenden Vineyards	Afersa S.A., Bodegas
Bluebell Vineyard Estates	Alegre Valgañón S.L., Bodegas
Bolney Wine Estate	Altanza S.A., Bodegas
Brightwell Vineyard	Altona S.L., Bodegas
Camel Valley Vineyard	Alvia S.L., Bodegas
Chapel Down	Amézola de la Mora S.A., Bodegas
Coates & Seely	Antigua Usanza S.A., Bodegas
Denbies Wine State	Ayagar, Bodegas
Digby Fine English	Ayala Lete e Hijos S.C.
Exton Park Vineyard	Bargondia S.L.
Gusbourne	Berceo S.A., Bodegas
Hambledon Vineyard	Beronia S.A., Bodegas
Hattingley Valley Wines	Betolaza S.C., Bodegas
Henners	Bilbaínas S.A., Bodegas
Hush Heath Estate	Burgo Viejo S.L., Bodegas de Familia
Jenkyn Place Vineyard	C.V.N.E.
Lyme Bay Winery	Calado de La Loma S.L.
Nyetimber	Carlos Serres S.A., Bodegas
Rathfinny Estate	Castillo de Cuzcurrita S.A.
Ridgeview Wine Estate	Castillo de Mendoza S.L.
Simpsons Wine Estate	Castillo Pérez S.C., Hermanos
Sixteen Ridges Vineyard	Castresana S.L., Bodegas
Stopham Vineyard	Classica S.L., Bodega
Three Choirs Vineyards	Consejo de La Alta S.A.
Wiston Estate Vineyard	Corral Cuadrado S.L.

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