ESTUDOS

A Study of Literature Translated by Galician Publishing Houses Established after 2003 during the Period 2005 to 2012

Estudo da literatura traducida por editoriais galegas fundadas a partir de 2003 durante o período 2005-2012

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A Study of Literature Translated by Galician Publishing Houses Established after 2003 during the Period 2005 to 2012

Estudo da literatura traducida por editoriais galegas fundadas a partir de 2003 durante o período 2005-2012

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Summary: I. Introduction.—II. Recent studies about translation into Galician.—III. An eight-year study case for a better understanding of the Galician translation sub-field. 1. Distribution. 2. Dates. 3. Literary genres. 4. Source languages. 4.1. Group A. 4.2. Group B. 4.3. Group C.—IV. Translation and the discourse of cultural normalización.—V. Conclusions

Abstract: This paper studies the translations published between 2005 and 2012 by 25 publishing houses incorporated into the Galician publishing field since 2003 regarding their levels of publication, issue date, literary genre and source language. At the same time, it reflects upon the relationship between these publications and the cultural normalización discourse. After presenting and discussing relevant data from the Projeto Livro Galego database (Samartim & Cernadas 2020), it is shown that Spanish and English are the main source languages for these works, while the most translated genre is children and young adults literature, followed by prose fiction. This is, however, mostly due to a minority of publishing houses that concentrate many of the publications, while the remaining businesses show more varied translation plans. Also, data shows that the translation sub-field in the selected period is dependent on the field of power. Finally, the idea of normalización is presented as one of the main functions of Galician literary translation. This analysis aims at contributing empirical information, and some critical remarks, to the understanding of the cultural model of a European minoritized language in one of its fundamental expressions.

Keywords: Translation, Galician literary system, publishing house, normalización.

Resumo: Este artigo estuda as traducións publicadas entre 2005 e 2012 por 25 editoras incorporadas ao campo editorial galego a partir de 2003, canto a volumes e data de publicación, xénero literario e lingua orixinal. Igualmente,
este texto reflexiona sobre la relación entre estas publicaciones y el discurso de la normalización cultural. Apóspresentar e discutir información extraída de la base de datos del Proyecto Livro Galego (Samartim & Cernadas 2020), mostrase que estas obras proceden mayoritariamente del español y del inglés, en tanto el género predominante es la literatura infantojuvenil, seguida de la narrativa. Esto es debido, por último, a una minoría de editoras que concentran la mayoría de las publicaciones, mientras que el resto muestran planes traductológicos más variados. Asemade, los datos muestran que el subcampo de la traducción en el período seleccionado es dependiente del campo del poder. Finalmente, la idea de normalización es presentada como una de las principales funciones de la traducción literaria al gallego. Esta análisis pretende contribuir con información empírica, y algunos comentarios críticos, a comprensión del modelo cultural de una lengua minorizada europea en una de sus manifestaciones fundamentales.

Palabras chave: Tradución, sistema literario galego, editora, normalización.
I. Introduction

Apart from the obvious motivation of getting a message across different languages, translation has been proven to fulfil many other functions. For example, the prestige of a certain author is often measured by how many of their works have been translated, and into what languages. Also, the criteria by which texts are selected, and the models according to which they are translated, provide information essential to understanding the relationships between cultural systems. As professor José Lambert put forward, no culture exists within itself; therefore, complex cultural networks such as literary systems are better understood from a macro-structural paradigm that accounts for all the relationships between three elements: internal production, tradition, and translation. From this perspective, translation appears as an interference among complex, dependent systems, which work according to models that are considered central. The legitimacy of such models is estimated by means of comparing them with the models and values of the surrounding systems. It is through this logic that studying the literary works translated into a European minoritized language proves useful. Synthesising previous academic approaches to this subject, this paper will analyse the translation policies of a selection of publishing houses engaged in the Galician publishing field, with the aim of contributing to a better understanding of the directions of Galician culture during the 21st century.

Previous studies of the Galician publishing field have shown that since the turn of the century, and arguably since the last revision of the Normas Ortográficas e Morfolóxicas do Idioma Galego (NOMIG RAG-ILG) in 2003, a series of new publishing houses have implemented a series of distinct strategies. These include greater autonomy regarding the market, relative diversity in genres, and an important presence of children and young adults’ (CYA) and/or translated literature in their production. More
specifically, thanks to the Projeto Livro Galego database\(^6\), it has been possible to identify 100 publishing houses established between 2003 and 2019 that reflect these features. Proceeding on this basis, this paper narrows down the study of their production by focusing on translation; at the same time, it centres on the shorter period of 2005-2012 for reasons both internal and external to the Galician publishing field. Firstly, these dates mark two different governments running the Autonomous Community of Galicia: the bipartite formed by the Bloque Nacionalista Galego (BNG, sovereigntist left) and the Partido dos Socialistas de Galicia (PSdeG, autonomist centre-left) between 2005 and 2009; the first term of the Partido Popular (PPdeG, regionalist centre-right) government lead by Alberto Núñez Feijóo between 2009 and 2012.

Both governments mentioned above enacted laws and implemented policies affecting the subject of this article. Perhaps the most relevant one is the Lei do libro e da lectura de Galicia, which came into effect in 2006. This piece of legislation fixed a wide set of measures to promote reading, publishing in Galician, and the economic activity associated with it (art. 1)\(^7\). This might account for the high number of new publishing houses issuing books in Galician born in 2007\(^8\), as well as the number of books published during this year\(^9\).

For the purposes of this work, the most important article of the Lei do Libro is number 6, concerning translators, which establishes that the regional government will power translation from and into Galician through a recurring funding line, as well as through agreements with publishing houses and associations of translation professionals. The bill also sets the translation of “obras da literatura universal, así como daqueles textos que se consideren de referencia obrigada nos distintos ámbitos científicos e técnicos ou dos que se poidan empregar como manuais de estudo nas universidades galegas” as a priority (art. 6)\(^10\). Furthermore, in its fifth section the Lei do Libro establishes the creation of the Consello Asesor do Libro. The functions of this entity are, among others: producing annual or biannual monitoring reports on the reading rates of the Galician population.

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and the publishing of books in Galician; creating plans to encourage reading and boosting the book sector; organising the triannual Congreso do Libro Galego, and elaborating strategies to promote Galician literature and Galician books abroad (art. 26)\textsuperscript{11}. The hope that these measures would come into effect might have also impacted on how publishing houses behaved, even if a quick search on the Internet is enough to check that the targets of the Consello Asesor do Libro are not being met. Fifteen years after its creation, there is no trace of any reports of conferences, while the first plan aimed at fostering reading habits was only presented in 2019\textsuperscript{12}.

The combination of the criteria mentioned above and the state of the data in the Projeto Livro Galego database—the features of which can be consulted in previous studies\textsuperscript{13}—results in a set of 447 entries of books, consisting of 404 titles and associated with 25 publishing houses. These data will be explored with regards to the distribution of production, chronology, genre, and source language. By means of a small-scale study case, this text intends to contribute to the analysis of the Galician cultural system in the autonomous period: a multi-layered social and political reality, the study of which may show the state and the prospects of non-hegemonic cultural systems in Europe.

II. Recent studies about translation into Galician

In recent years, literary translation into Galician has been the subject of several research projects and publications, which need to be reviewed before carrying out any new studies. In order to gain a better understanding of Galician translation in the 21\textsuperscript{st} century, it is firstly essential to refer to the works published since 2003 by the BITRAGA (Biblioteca da Tradución Galega) research group, coordinated by professors Ana Luna Alonso (2003 to 2017) and Silvia Montero Küpper (2018 onwards) at the University of Vigo. The main result of BITRAGA’s work is the Digital Library of Galician Literary Translation. This tool would collect all data about translations from and into Galician between 1980 and 2005\textsuperscript{14}, but it now


\textsuperscript{13} Cernadas, “O campo editorial galego de 2003 a 2019”.

\textsuperscript{14} BITRAGA, “El Observatorio de La Traducción En Galicia: A Biblioteca de Traducción”, in Actas Del III Congreso Internacional de La Asociación Ibérica de Estudios de Tra-
extends to 2013\textsuperscript{15}. Utilising this digital catalogue, the members of this research group have published several relevant descriptive and analytical contributions relevant to this paper.

In terms of descriptive work, professor Gonzalo Constenla Bergueiro compiled a series of annual translation panoramas with the information in the Digital Library of Galician Literary Translation, resulting in a synthesis of literary translation in Galicia from its origins to 1999\textsuperscript{16}. The data he presents for the last quarter of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century are especially interesting, as they allow a comparison between the period studied in this paper and the previous years—namely in terms of literary genres and source languages. Regarding genres, CYA literature accounted for 70\% of the production, followed by prose fiction (9\%), drama (7\%), comic (5\%), poetry (5\%) and essay (4\%)\textsuperscript{17}. As for languages: those from which most books were translated included Spanish (21\%), French (19\%), English (16\%), German (9\%) and Italian (4\%)\textsuperscript{18}.

On another note, members of BITRAGA have also coordinated volumes presenting several approaches to translation in Galicia. More specifically, professors Luna Alonso and Montero Küpper coordinated a monograph about CYA literature that features contributions about translation in the Spanish state\textsuperscript{19}. The monograph includes critical outlooks on translation in Galicia, such as Fran Alonso’s “Quince puntos para o debate sobre Literatura Infantil e tradución”. The former assistant director of Xerais, one of the most central publishing houses in Galicia in the autonomous period, highlights the rise in works translated into Galician through CYA literature, but he juxtaposes these data with the dependence of the Galician literary field on the school system, as well as with the drop in sales and circulation. He also points out that Castilian is the main source language of these titles, followed by English and French\textsuperscript{20}.

Individually, professor Montero Küpper has analysed Xunta de Galicia’s translation policies\textsuperscript{21}. This author advocates for positive


\textsuperscript{17} Constenla Bergueiro, “Evolución das traducións ao galego”, 94.

\textsuperscript{18} Constenla Bergueiro, “Evolución das traducións ao galego”, 96.

\textsuperscript{19} Ana Luna Alonso and Silvia Montero Küpper, \textit{Traducción e política editorial de literatura infantil e xuvenil} (Servizo de Publicacións da Universidade de Vigo, 2006), https://dialnet.unirioja.es/servlet/libro?codigo=11087.

\textsuperscript{20} Alonso and Küpper, \textit{Tradución...}, 96.

\textsuperscript{21} Silvia Montero Küpper, “As políticas de tradución no caso galego” (Universidade da Coruña, 2013), https://ruc.udc.es/dspace/handle/2183/13522.
discrimination\textsuperscript{22} of both imports and exports of Galician literature by means of translation, while she describes the features of public funding granted to these products by the Spanish and the Galician administrations, a key factor in understanding the production examined in this paper. Montero Küpper stresses a sizable rise in the amount of money devoted to support translation in the BNG-PSdeG government, in the context of Lei do libro, which was interrupted in 2009 by the new PPdeG administration. The funding line was re-established in 2010 with €300,000 made available, the highest amount up to that point, yet the following years saw this funding reduced\textsuperscript{23}. As for the criteria used to select which translations would receive economic support, Montero Küpper points out their “liberdade e imprecisión”\textsuperscript{24}, but stresses how, in 2009 and 2011, the funding body seemed to value “universal” or “global” works\textsuperscript{25} more, and also how all the titles selected already had a Spanish translation\textsuperscript{26}. After analysing these circumstances, Montero Küpper advocates for the creation of an “Oficina do Libro”\textsuperscript{27} that would guide the Xunta on the development of flexible criteria for the optimal use of public funds, in response to the demands of translation professionals, publishing houses, and society in general. This proposal clearly shows how the aforementioned Consello Asesor do Libro has had little or no effect since its inception.

More recently, Montero Küpper has examined the grants awarded to publishing houses between the beginning of the economic crisis in 2008 and 2016\textsuperscript{28}. She emphasises the ambiguity of the selection criteria before 2008, pointing out how from that point one of the most valued features was the prizes a certain book had received\textsuperscript{29}, while neither the CV of the translator nor distribution plans were considered until 2015\textsuperscript{30}. Montero Küpper also underlines how many projects applying for funding are left out on the basis of not obtaining 50\% of the required score, even if that means there are funds leftover\textsuperscript{31}. As a conclusion, the author asserts that the Xunta de Galicia’s translation policies are

\textsuperscript{22} Montero Küpper, “As políticas...”, 47.
\textsuperscript{23} Montero Küpper, “As políticas...”, 50-51.
\textsuperscript{24} Montero Küpper, “As políticas...”, 51.
\textsuperscript{25} Montero Küpper, “As políticas...”, 51.
\textsuperscript{26} Montero Küpper, “As políticas...”, 52.
\textsuperscript{27} Montero Küpper, “As políticas...”, 59.
\textsuperscript{29} Montero Küpper, “Sobre las subvenciones...”, 108.
\textsuperscript{30} Montero Küpper, “Sobre las subvenciones...”, 109.
\textsuperscript{31} Montero Küpper, “Sobre las subvenciones...”, 111.
governed by the goal of accumulating symbolic capital and “un ideario político-cultural”—rather than by the need to help the translation sector in a time of recession\textsuperscript{32}.

For her part, professor Luna Alonso has focused on translation from and into minoritized languages, drawing on the premise that the number of copies published and the characteristics of those translations are a reliable indicator of the situation and the needs of the cultural systems revolving around those languages\textsuperscript{33}. In 2006, she described the situation in the following terms:

La situación actual no ha variado mucho, se importa más que se exporta y se traduce mucho desde el español como un modo de evitar un conflicto lingüístico que creemos suprimir al eliminar en apariencia el complejo de dependencia. En términos de diglosia, podemos constatar un rechazo consciente del sistema literario vehiculado por la lengua fuerte en busca de signos en el tiempo que puedan contribuir a identificar la cultura de la lengua débil. Aunque se hacen esfuerzos por seleccionar obras contemporáneas procedentes de otras culturas y quienes traducen son, además de los creadores, los profesionales que se han comenzado a formar en la Facultade de Filoloxía e Tradución de nuestra Universidad [University of Vigo]; por lo que podemos observar, la normalización de nuestro sistema literario a través de la traducción sigue manteniendo un valor simbólico. Sí, percibimos un cierto cambio en la norma operativa frente a décadas anteriores, sin embargo, la ausencia de criterios en la selección de las obras parece ser el criterio más empleado\textsuperscript{34}.

At the same time, the author identified four motivations or perspectives that power literary translation into Galician, which could be equated to what Justo Beramendi called referents of affirmation, opposition, analogy and reintegration\textsuperscript{35}:

Por un lado, existe una mirada hacia la literatura escrita en lengua española que se presenta como una amenaza, una literatura que se querría ver como extranjera, aunque su presencia sigue siendo constante desde la escuela hasta la universidad, y sus códigos y modelos pasan a la escritura y a la formación del público lector desde pequeños. Existe también una mirada

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\textsuperscript{32} Montero Kúpper, “Sobre las subvenciones...”, 111.
\textsuperscript{34} Luna Alonso, “La traducción...”.
hacia lo extranjero imaginado como relativo, un extranjero que se ve como semejante, es el caso de Portugal (no carente de prejuicios). Tenemos la mirada solidaria, hacia otros sistemas extranjeros que se consideran más o menos análogos (como es el caso de Cataluña o el País Vasco, pero también el de las otras literaturas procedentes de espacios lejanos denominados “exóticos”). Y por último, existe una mirada hacia las consideradas “grandes literaturas”, relaciones importantes que se establecen en sentido único, que siguen teniendo interés en la actualidad […]36

In 2013, Luna Alonso updated the study of recent translations into Galician, looking closely at several aspects of their production and asserting that the function of translation is shifting from linguisticnormalisation (normalización lingüística) to that of cultural normalisation(normalización cultural)37. Firstly, she shows how the number of translations published is rather inconsistent throughout the years, yet still higher between 2006 and 2009, when the Lei do Libro proved most effective38. In this vein, she points out how well-established publishing houses continue issuing translations, but also how new projects such as OQO, Urco, Rinoceronte or Hugin e Munin, contribute to this activity39. Secondly, in relation to literary genre, Luna Alonso confirms the predominance of prose fiction, both for adult and CYA readers, the latter commanding the largest group of titles40. Thirdly, the author highlights the prevalence of Spanish and English as source languages, followed by Italian and Portuguese, while she notes how translations of CYA literature between the languages of the Spanish state flow rather independently41. Finally, the author mentions new means of importing literature through translation into Galician, such as bilingual anthologies, but also individual works from areas that had been previously unexplored, such as Scandinavian, Balkan, or Asian literatures42.

Following on from this work, Luna Alonso has more recently focused on the cases of Hugin e Munin, Urco and Rinoceronte. Drawing from interviews with the then-directors of these publishing houses, the author confirms that these projects “deben manter o sistema de

36 Luna Alonso, “La traducción...”.
38 Luna Alonso, “Análise...”, 105.
40 Luna Alonso, “Análise...”, 108.
41 Luna Alonso, “Análise...v”, 108-111.
42 Luna Alonso, “Análise...”, 111-114.
subscribers para poder sobrevivir”⁴³ and that, on the other hand, all three businesses have clear intentions of innovating, by combining the translation of classic and contemporary texts that fill the spaces the Spanish translations have not covered for the same potential readership. However, while Urco and Hugin e Munin seem to value cultural over economic capital, Rinoceronte opts for economically successful releases, the rights of which are paid with help of public funding⁴⁴. The author concludes that, in practice, editorial plans are a matter of balancing ground-breaking releases with classics that have not been translated into Galician before, in order to ensure economic survival, helped by means of subscription schemes⁴⁵.

Finally, apart from the relevant contributions by BITRAGA members discussed above, there are two more sources that provide information about the publishing houses this paper will analyse. In one the former editorial director of Xerais, Manuel Bragado, briefly examined the situation of translation into Galician⁴⁶. He describes this activity as quantitatively deficient and dependent on both translations from Spanish and what the author calls the “para-school” sphere⁴⁷. Yet Bragado highlights three publishers that, he reckons, have helped to work against the tendencies mentioned previously. These are Rinoceronte, Hugin e Munin and 2.0 Editora. Bragado finds in Rinoceronte a “revulsive” for the publishing sector—being the first Galician publishing house that focuses solely on translation⁴⁸; Hugin e Munin features because of its distribution method based on subscriptions, and also for its will of bringing foreign literature of “prestige” to Galician readers⁴⁹; finally, 2.0 is highlighted for working on a higher number of translations since 2009⁵⁰. Meanwhile in the other Míriam Sánchez Moreiras has carried out a study case about translation practices in Kalandraka (the publisher from which the Faktoría K imprint stems) and OQO. She analyses how both publishers explore the balance between quality products that hold the added value of coming from a minoritized culture and the circulation of

⁴⁴ Luna Alonso, “Editoras...”, 46.
⁴⁵ Luna Alonso, “Editoras...”, 47.
⁴⁷ Bragado, “Tradución...”, 222.
⁴⁸ Bragado, “Tradución...”, 224.
⁴⁹ Bragado, “Tradución...”, 225.
⁵⁰ Bragado, “Tradución...”, 225.
those materials in the global market, or —in other words— the balance between “pride” and “profit”\textsuperscript{51}.

The contributions discussed above provide a starting point for this study. This is defined by unstable support from the autonomous administration, dependence on the Spanish cultural system, and Eurocentric translation practices—namely through hegemonic languages such as English, French, or Italian. It also seems to be aimed towards the acquisition of symbolic capital, yet with signs of a shift to market-based practices and a relative diversification in importation systems. Also, many of these authors draw attention to the predominance of translations aimed at school-age readers. Moreover, most of the references, implicitly or explicitly, depict translation as a \textit{normalising} activity; this being so, the responsibility of designing coherent translation plans through specific bodies and fund lines is put on the Xunta. In the following pages, the accuracy of the previous descriptions and discourses when applied to the subject of this paper will be tested.

III. \textbf{An eight-year study case for a better understanding of the translation sub-field}

As stated previously, this section will deal with the production translated between 2005 and 2012 by 25 publishing houses, incorporated into the Galician publishing field from 2003. This will be considered in four ways: the distribution of their production levels, the dates these publishers were established, the genre of their translations, and their source languages. As a starting point, the table below shows the start date of these publishing houses, as well as their translated (and overall) production in the selected period, both in total and proportionally.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Publisher</th>
<th>Start date</th>
<th>Total titles published</th>
<th>Total translations published</th>
<th>Translations published (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>OQO Editora</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>119</td>
<td>35.73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Faktoría K de Libros</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>174</td>
<td>83</td>
<td>47.70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rinoceronte Editora</td>
<td>2005</td>
<td>74</td>
<td>71</td>
<td>95.94</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Urco Editora</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>123</td>
<td>69</td>
<td>56.09</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SM Xerme</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>143</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>12.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>El Patito Editorial</td>
<td>2007</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>24.52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Patasdepeixe Editora</td>
<td>2008</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>72.22</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Editorial Hugin e Munin</td>
<td>2011</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>100.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.0 Editora</td>
<td>2010</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>36.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Edicións Barbantesa</td>
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<td>23</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>26.08</td>
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<td>Morgante</td>
<td>2007</td>
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<td>5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Edicións da Curuxa</td>
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<td>1.16</td>
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<td>10.00</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
1. Distribution

Scaling the selected corpus is essential before approaching it. At the moment, the most reliable reference to measure the impact of translated literature is the production of the 100 publishing houses that start publishing in Galician from 2003 on, identified in previous studies\(^\text{52}\). Thus, the first fact that must be considered is that a quarter of these publishers, 25 out of 100, import literature by means of translation. Moreover, as shown in figure 1, the production volume of these 25 publishers adds up to almost a third of their total output.

![Figure 1](image-url) 

**Figure 1**

Translations out of the total production of the 25 selected publishing houses

*Source:* Projeto Livro Galego database.

For a more accurate perspective on their dynamics, the 25 publishing houses have been classified in three groups, according to their volume of translated production: group A (more than 20 translations), group B (19 to 10 translations) and group C (9 translations or less). Figures 2 and 3 show the number of publishers in each group and their translated production, respectively.

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\(^{52}\) Cernadas, “O campo editorial galego de 2003 a 2019.”
The contrast between both figures shows how translations are concentrated in group A, a small number of publishing houses born at the beginning of the century: Rinoceronte, OQO, Faktoría K and Urco. Rinoceronte is specialised in translation and holds a total of 74 publications, while both OQO and Faktoría K focus on CYA literature. Finally, Urco publishes horror, science-fiction and mystery, genres which are supposedly intended for all demographics, but are generally associated with young readers. Group B is also formed by four publishers: SM Xerme, El Patito Editorial, Patasdepeixe and Hugin e Munin. Besides textbooks, which are not studied in this paper, Xerme’s catalogue focuses mainly on CYA literature. For their part, El Patito Editorial and Patasdepeixe are both devoted, again, to CYA literature, while Hugin e Munin is specialised in translation for adult readers. Interestingly, in group B, the general and translated production figures of each publisher are inversely proportional (table 1). Finally, group C includes most of the publishing houses under focus (17). In this group, the inverse proportion between general and translated output is maintained.

2. Dates

As a starting point to the study of chronological distribution, figure 4 below shows the annual number of literary translations published between 2005 and 2012 by the 25 selected publishers, in general and according to the groups identified in the previous section.
The starting point is a minimum of 6 books in 2005; at this stage, only 4 publishing houses were present in the subfield since 2003, while other 3 had just started their activity (see table 1). From 2005, the translated output rises to its maximum of 98 titles in 2010, before later falling to 69 publications at the end of the period.

The first significant piece of information that figure 4 provides is that production decreases despite the incorporation of 7 new publishing houses from 2010 on (see table 1). A priori, the presence of a greater number of agents in the subfield could mean a higher production. Nonetheless, the data show that, while groups A and B keep on publishing translations (even if in a smaller measure), many of the publishers in group C do not import any titles in these two years: in 2011, only 6 out of 17 houses (Corsárias, Estaleiro, Axouxe, Franouren, 2.0 Editora, Barbantesa and Edicións da Curuxa) issued translations; in 2012, again, only 6 publishing houses produced translations, 3 of them for the first time (Morgante, Meubook and Ézaro) and the remaining ones having participated in the subfield before (Axouxe, Barbantesa and Edicións da Curuxa).

The chronological evolution shown in figure 4 differs from the publication levels shown for the whole Galician editorial field from 2003, as its maximum was in 2008. However, the translation publication levels
coincide with those of the 100 publishing houses incorporated into the field since 2003, as the output volumes of these projects also peaked in 2010. In addition, previous studies showed that the production of publishing houses born after 2003 was relatively stable, thanks to strategies that allowed more autonomy from the market and public institutions, such as subscription schemes. However, the available information on public funding for translation and the last graph shown above prove that such stability is not present in the subfield of translation, at least in the period under discussion.

In terms of autonomy and stability, confronting 2010 output levels with the results of the public funding granted to translation by the autonomous government proves enlightening. These subsidies established a provision of €300,000 (art. 2), the highest offered in this period. Appendix I of the legal order shows 5 publishing houses from the group being discussed were granted funding: Urco (through the company Edizer Scp) for 19 translations, Faktoría K de Libros for 6, Rinoceronte for 15, Triqueta Verde for 1 and Barbantesa (through Xestión Literaria Galega S.L.) for 3. Therefore, 44.89% of the translations published by the selected publishing houses in 2010 were dependent on autonomic subsidies. Moreover, it is worth noting that both Faktoría K and its parent company, Kalandraka, competed for this funding. The data at the Projeto Livro Galego database show that, in practice, Faktoría K works as a collection of Kalandraka that is used, among other aims, to increase their possibilities of securing external funding. In any case, the high number of books dependent on this funding shows a tendency to heteronomy with regards to the field of power. In contrast, the years after the enactment of the Lei do Libro and prior to the change of government show a stable production around the average of the period being focused in this paper (55 titles).

When observing the chronological distribution by groups, more relevant information comes to the surface. Both the graph above and the fact that the median of translated titles for the period is just 4 show how the majority of the production is concentrated in a small number of publishing houses, especially those that form group A. Figure 4 also shows how the companies in this group were the most affected by the lack of public funding in 2009. While production by groups B and C increased, group A showed a decline in its publication level to 43 titles. This amount can be considered the minimum for the period, as it is the lowest since all four publishing houses in this group became active. After this low, it is possible to see how group A is responsible for the overall maximum in 2010, and that public funding was essential to it: 36 out of those 69 titles (52.17%) were supported by the Galician administration, with Urco and Rinoceronte in particular greatly benefiting from it.

For its part, group C seems to follow the general trend as well, peaking in 2010. Though still relevant, public funding does not seem to have been as crucial in their case, with Triqueta Verde and Barbantesa receiving money for
four titles. Were the public resolution of the grants to include the titles that have been left out, as some translation professionals have demanded, it would be possible to see whether publishing houses depend on public funding when planning their annual releases (in a way that, ultimately, only the few of those plans which receive funding come to fruition).

Finally, group B shows slightly different behaviour. Its maximum output volume is not in 2010 (when none of its four publishing houses received institutional support), but 2011. This maximum is explained by the publication of three collections of CYA literature by El Patito Editorial, Patasdepeixe and SM Xerme. This, together with the increase in publications by Hugin e Munin, allowed group B to overcome the limit of 10 titles at the end of the period.

3. Literary Genres

Figure 5 shows the distribution of the translations under focus with regards to literary genre. Most of those translations corresponds to CYA literature (53.35%), followed by prose fiction (37.72%), while the percentages of the remaining genres are very low: essays represent 5.21% of imported titles; poetry accounts for 2.23%; comic amounts to 0.99%, and drama arrives only at 0.5%.

The chart above confirms the dependence of the editorial system on CYA literature, as suggested by Luna Alonso, Montero Küpper and Bragado. However, when compared to Constenla Bergueiro’s description for the 1976-1999 period (with all due caution, as his study includes all publishing houses working at the time), it is possible to see that prose fiction increased its relevance (from 9% to 37.72%), at the expense of CYA literature (from 70% to 50.35%). The percentages of the remaining genres change as follows: essay goes from 4% to 5.21%; poetry drops from 5% to 2.23%; comic falls from 5% to 0.99% and, finally, drama descends from 7% to just 0.5%.

53 Tobar, De recompensas e cazatesouros. Denuncia do actual sistema de adxudicación de axudas á tradución e proposta para un cambio efectivo de modelo, 19.
54 The data in the Projeto Livro Galego database is still under revision and normalization; therefore, it is not yet possible to tell apart the different genres within CYA literature (which is, of course, not a genre, but one part of the reading public). Still, a preliminary observation of these titles points at prose fiction being the predominant genre.
55 Luna Alonso, “Análise…”
56 Alonso and Küpper, Traducción e política editorial de literatura infantil e xuvenil.
57 Bragado, “Tradución e literatura galega II”.
A closer look at the distribution of genres in each of the groups formed above draws more accurate information about the strategies of the selected population. As figure 6 shows, group A stands out due to the predominance of CYA literature, followed by prose fiction. This layout coincides with that of the general production, as is logical when taking into account that this group comprises 76.51% of the production being studied.

Previous studies showed that publishing houses born after 2003 seemed to rely on CYA literature and prose fiction to maintain their activity. With the information presented here, this tendency is confirmed for the translation subfield. Those businesses with a higher output present in group A (OQO, Urco and Faktoría K) are responsible for most of the imports of CYA literature; in fact, OQO is fully devoted to this genre. For its part, Rinoceronte opts for prose fiction in 83% of its catalogue. Leaving OQO aside, the focus on CYA literature and prose fiction allows the three other publishing houses in this group to issue some books from underrepresented genres. This is especially significant in the case of Rinoceronte as it is responsible for all poetry translated by group A, as well as three out of six works of essay, four comics and the only play featured in the graph.

Moving on to group B, these publishing houses only published prose fiction and CYA literature, as shown in figure 7.
The predominance of CYA literature is explained by the fact that three out of four publishers in this group (Patasdepeixe, Xerme and El Patito Editorial) are specialised in this genre. Thus, the fact that general production and translated production are inversely proportional in group B is obviously mirrored for CYA literature. As for prose, all references correspond to Hugin e Munin.

Finally, as shown in figure 8, group C is the one with a relatively balanced output in terms of genre. Prose accounts for most titles, but only two points over essay, while poetry and CYA literature each represent 14% of group C’s publications. The remaining 2% corresponds to a single play, which is also the single translated text by Difusora de Letras, Artes e Ideas.

![Figure 8](image)

**Figure 8**

Translations by genre in group C

*Source:* Projeto Livro Galego database.

The distribution shown above makes sense when taking into account that group C is mostly formed by publishing houses with a low overall output. These projects show a more artisanal way of understanding editorial work—paying less attention to hegemonic dynamics (which privilege prose and CYA literature) and valuing poetry to a greater extent\(^59\). Indeed, it is possible to discern two motivations behind the translations of poetry that publishing houses from group C have undertaken. On the one hand, there is the interest for non-hegemonic languages, spaces, and topics, as in the cases of Meubook or Barbantesa\(^60\). On the other hand, Edicións da Curuxa represents the strategy of translating classic works from the western canon\(^61\).


\(^{60}\) Cernadas, “Estudo...”

\(^{61}\) Cernadas, “Estudo...”
Previous approaches also showed how essay was a minority genre in the catalogues of those publishing houses born after 2003\textsuperscript{62}. In this sense, it is interesting to note how relevant essay is, in the subfield of translation, for publishers in group C: translated essays seem to have found a space in these projects that is not available in bigger companies.

Finally, production in group C includes 7 CYA titles, distributed among four publishing houses. On the one hand, Triqueta Verde issued three CYA books, one of which was subsidised by the Xunta in 2010; on the other hand, Cerditos de Guinea Còmics and Todogrove published one title each. Eventually, Biblos published two books that make part of a collection. The presence, however small, of CYA literature in the catalogues of Todogrove and Biblos, two non-specialised projects, points at how this genre is related to a greater chance of success in the market and, therefore, a greater chance of survival of these businesses.

4. Source languages

Table 2 shows the source languages of the production under discussion.

\begin{table}[h]
\centering
\begin{tabular}{llll}
\hline
Source language & Titles & Source language & Titles \\
\hline
Spanish & 131 & Serbian & 4 \\
English & 127 & Hungarian & 3 \\
French & 47 & Hebrew & 2 \\
Italian & 21 & Portuguese & 2 \\
German & 19 & Polish & 1 \\
Czech & 8 & Occitan & 1 \\
Japanese & 7 & Latin & 1 \\
Basque & 6 & Catalan & 1 \\
Dutch & 5 & Arabic & 1 \\
Icelandic & 4 & Amharic & 1 \\
Finnish & 4 & No data available & 2 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Table 2}
\label{tab:source_languages}
\end{table}

\textsuperscript{62} Cernadas, “O campo...”, 30.
The most striking detail in the table is the predominance of Spanish. Books translated from this language represent 32.42\% of all translations; this is a sizeable rise since the turn of the century\textsuperscript{63} and proves the hegemony of Spanish mentioned by several researchers\textsuperscript{64-66}. Interestingly, 87.78\% of those 131 titles are CYA literature, while only 7.63\% are prose and the remaining 4.68\% are essays. If, as suggested above, Spanish works as a referent of opposition in the Galician literary system, this is not the case for CYA literature.

Immediately below Spanish, English accounts for 31.43\% of the production under review. Again, this demonstrates a sizeable increase from the levels of previous decades\textsuperscript{67} and confirms a tendency already noted by several researchers\textsuperscript{68-69}. The rising presence of English translations has been empirically tested on a global scale\textsuperscript{70} and may be linked to the increasing influence of Anglophone cultural systems in a globalised world.

After English and Spanish, the most represented source languages are French (11.63\%), Italian (5.19\%), and German (4.70\%). Translation from these languages may be linked to their role as central languages in Europe, believed to be a vehicle for “great literatures”, as suggested by Luna Alonso\textsuperscript{71}. Also, it is relevant to note how the only Galician university offering professional training in translation, Universidade de Vigo, focuses on the five languages mentioned so far\textsuperscript{72}.

The remaining source languages featured in table 2 have a limited quantitative impact; however, they represent several relevant tendencies in the translation policies of the publishing houses under focus. While Czech and Dutch are featured because of specific collections and authors\textsuperscript{73}, Japanese represents the only non-European language over five titles without any apparent referential connections to the Galician literary system; six of the works translated from this language are novels, while one of them is an essay by Nobel prize nominee Tanizaki Junichiro. The cases of Basque, Catalan and Portuguese, however, have traditionally worked as referents of analogy.
(Basque, Catalan) and reintegration (Portuguese), yet this does not apply to the production studied here. Basque only accounts for 1.48% of translations, while only one book is translated from Catalan; this contradicts the hypothesis of a fluid exchange of translations between the languages of the Spanish state\textsuperscript{74}, at least for the production being studied in this paper. For its part, Portuguese represents 1.73% of translations, mostly linked to CYA literature. It would be far-fetched to assume this confirms a lack of referential potential, yet the fact that publishing houses opt for translation rather than direct importation (reinforcing the idea of a linguistic difference between Portuguese and Galician too) points at this hypothesis for future research.

For a better understanding of translation policies regarding source language, this aspect will again be dealt with by groups of publishing houses.

4.1. Group A

Group A follows the general tendency shown above, as it concentrates most of the translated output. Its four members are responsible for the greatest variety of languages in this production, yet with sizable quantitative differences.

\begin{figure}[h]
\centering
\includegraphics[width=\textwidth]{oqo_translations_by_source_language.png}
\caption{OQO translations by source language}
\end{figure}

\textit{Source:} Projeto Livro Galego database.

\textsuperscript{74} Luna Alonso, “Análise…”, 108-111.
Firstly, OQO Editora focuses solely on publishing tales, either original or re-worked from oral traditions around the globe. Its editing process includes joint releases in Galician and Spanish and translations to Portuguese, English and French within OQO itself—with the possibility of further translations via the sale of translation rights\textsuperscript{75}. This is, therefore, a highly professional structure with stable relationships with several cultural systems, as shown in figure 9.

The most relevant information to be drawn from the graph is that the predominance of Spanish as a source language is almost entirely due to OQO—both in group A and in general, as it holds 74.04\% of texts translated from this language by all publishing houses. In an overall consideration of the production of CYA literature\textsuperscript{76}, the oppositional reference towards Spanish seems to fade. Using the terms Sánchez Moreiras suggests\textsuperscript{77}, an element of pride or symbolic capital comes from the edition in Galician, while the edition in Spanish and the translations give OQO the element of economic profit.

Secondly, Faktoría K shows a rather varied distribution of source languages.

\[\text{Figure 10}\]

\textbf{Faktoría K translations by source language}

\textit{Source:} Projeto Livro Galego database.

\textsuperscript{75} Eva Mejuto, “OQO editora: un camiño de ida e volta” (Universidade da Coruña, 2013), https://ruc.udc.es/dspace/handle/2183/13535.

\textsuperscript{76} Sánchez Moreiras, “Translation Practices of Kalandraka and OQO”, 14.

English and French are the main source languages, followed by German. Faktoría K’s production represents 38.29% of titles translated from French and 57.89% of those translated from German, all being CYA literature—while the English titles also include modern classics for adults. The remaining languages, notably with Spanish among them, are quantitatively less significant; however, some of them diverge from the usual importation languages of the main brand Kalandraka (Galician, Spanish, Catalan, Basque, Italian and English). This reinforces the hypothesis that the parent company provides economic support for riskier translation projects in the secondary brand.

Thirdly, Rinoceronte displays the most qualitatively diverse distribution of source languages, as seen below.

![Figure 11](image_url)

**Figure 11**

Rinoceronte translations by source language

*Source*: Projeto Livro Galego database.

Considering Rinoceronte solely publishes literature for adults, the absence of Spanish as a source language is remarkable. It shows how the...

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oppositional reference may apply in this case, and also how this project aims at covering spaces not yet filled by literature in this language in the same literary market. Moreover, it is worth noting how half of Rinoceronte’s translations come from three central European languages (English, French and Italian), while the other half is devoted to more peripheral languages. However, some of the titles from languages such as English or French correspond to rather peripheral themes and spaces. Overall, Rinoceronte seems to make riskier choices when selecting the works in their catalogue.

Finally, as illustrated by figure 12, Urco shows a great dependence on English.

![Figure 12](https://example.com/figure12.png)

**Figure 12**
Urco translations by source language

*Source:* Projeto Livro Galego database.

The distribution above is mainly due to the fact that Urco imports several titles from the same key authors in the mystery, horror and science fiction genres. These are mainly American writers (including: Robert E. Howard, H. P. Lovecraft, and Edgar Allan Poe, among others), but also English and Irish authors feature. All titles in French all correspond to Jules Verne, while those in Spanish are written by Latin American narrators (which, as seen above, may reflect a conscious decision to avoid the Spanish cultural system).

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80 Cernadas, “Estudo…”, 42.
81 Cernadas, “Estudo…”, 44.
4.2. Group B

Production in group B shows a simpler distribution of source languages, all of them European and rather culturally central.

![Figure 13](https://huginemunin.gal/catalogo/)

**Figure 13**
Translations by source language in group B

*Source:* Projeto Livro Galego database.

Significantly, English surpasses Spanish as the main source language of group B’s production. Titles in these languages correspond mostly to those publishing houses issuing CYA literature: El Patito Editorial, Patasdepeixe and Xerme. Perhaps the most interesting case in this group is that of Hugin e Munin: between 2011 and 2012 this publishing house issued six books translated from English, two from French, and two from Italian. However, a look at the publisher’s catalogue online shows works translated from 17 different languages. Although mostly European, they are nevertheless quite diverse. The fact that Hugin e Munin’s founder, Alejandro Tobar, is a professional translator from English may explain why most works are imported from this language. Nevertheless, his own declarations on how titles are chosen shed some light on this matter:

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[...] tratamos de que as linguas hexemónicas —o inglés, o alemán, o francés, o italiano— teñan espazo porque teñen grandes literaturas, pero que non lle coman demasiado ás linguas minorizadas ou minoritarias como pode ser o serbio. Hai un equilibrio continuo, iso é difícil de cadrar.83

Said balance seems to lie on an initial support of central languages, from which translation is less costly, to then move on to translating from more peripheral cultural systems.

4.3. Group C

Group C shows two clear tendencies: a group of central languages on the one hand, concentrating most of this group’s titles, and a small number of titles from peripheral languages on the other.

![Figure 14](image)

**Figure 14**

Translations by genre in group C

*Source:* Projeto Livro Galego database.

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As discussed earlier, the hegemony of Spanish and English in the titles of this group coincides with the cultural hegemonies found in the Galician system as a whole: English as a global language\(^{84}\) and the pervasiveness of Spanish as a dominant language in Galician society. On the other side of the coin, the presence of languages such as Amharic, Arabic, or Icelandic shows an interest in avoiding hegemonic publishing policies from those independent publishing houses contained in group C.

IV. Translation and the discourse of cultural *normalización*

However inevitably varied the production of 25 publishing houses be, there are some common traits that explain the motivations behind their translations into Galician. Though sometimes combining with each other, three traits of varying definition can be identified: the selection of canonical\(^{85}\) works from “great literatures” that work as metonymies of hegemonic languages; the attention to the dynamics of market and/or critical success in the international panorama, and the selection of works from cultural systems that work as referents of analogy for the Galician literary system. These three traits can eventually be summarised in the economic capital / symbolic capital duality.

Arguably, a fourth factor permeates those presented above: the latent presence of the idea of *normalización* in the subfield of translation and in the whole of the Galician cultural system. The studies and the data presented above show how translated literature is assigned a *normalising* function. Thus, the importation of these titles is not made solely on the grounds of market logic or to legitimise the Galician literary system, but also to sustain the validity of—a certain idea of—the systemic norm: the Galician language, around which the whole cultural system revolves.

The concept of *normalización* has been defined by Cristina Martínez Tejero and Isaac Lourido as a tendency that:

> [...] aspira em última fase ao desenvolvimento de modelos de planificação sociocultural que, com a referência imprescindível das culturas ditas normais ou normalizadas, devem envolver uma maioria dos agentes participantes nos campos culturais e intelectuais na procura desse objetivo.

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The main features of *normalización* would be the following:

A urgência por preencher os vazios da cultura galega, as mais ou menos explícitas chamadas à unidade e lealdade das/os agentes e grupos envolvidos (face à estimulación dos debates intelectuais e científicos), a construçom de públicos para as práticas culturais e intelectuais consideradas cultas, as tentativas de planificaçom institucional tanto dos setores sistemicamente periféricos, marginais ou heterodoxos quanto dos interesses heterónomos vinculados à criaçom dum campo de grande produçom (Figueroa, 2001: 120 e ss.), ou a centralidade concedida à reivindicación da língua galega (língua autonómica e nutritiva central do nosso “kit identitário”; Thiesse, 1999) [...][86]

It is in this teleological framework, widespread among Galician institutions and general society, that this study places the relevance of translated literature.

On the point of selecting works depending on their canonicity, a recent interview with Hugin e Munín’s director Alejandro Tobar proves enlightening:

[...] A función normalizadora dun corpus serio de tradución nunha língua minorizada é clara. No noso caso, somos conscientes de que hai que tratar moito ben as traducións. Mentres que non podemos, por unhas cuestións económicas e do propio sistema galego, aspirar a facer grandes libros con tapas durísimas e ilustradas por unha ilustradora recoñecida. [sic] O que tratamos de mirar é que os textos, os interiores, as tripas, vaian perfectamente traducidas, corrixidas e recorrixidas. Ese punto da normalización para nós é esencial.[...] traemos a xente que está consagrada. É difícil que poidamos traer nós, a menos que nos guste moito, a unha persoa que o ano pasado en Francia fixo unha primeira novela e foi ben. Deixemos pasar uns anos para ver se a cousa ten pouso. Nós non somos esa editora. Temos unha especie de equilibrio entre autores e autoras clásicas, como pode ser Camus ou Mary Wollstonecraft e tamén moderna como Siri Hustvedt, que gañou o premio Princesa de Asturias. Nós estamos continuamente pendentes dese equilibrio87.

In this interview, the adjective “serious” refers not only to care for the language, but also to the legitimising function of importing canonical texts from well recognised cultural systems, that is, equating Galician literary system with big, *normal* literatures.

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87 Guerrero Alfaro, “Alejandro Tobar”.
In a slightly different vein, Rinoceronte selects a part of its translations according to international success, paying greater attention to recent releases. While this model might seem less dependent on strategies designed to legitimate a national canon, however, it also contributes to the normalización discourse by highlighting how this kind of importations fill voids in the Galician literary system, both in the creation of a public for large-scale literature and in the importation of titles from languages not explored before:

Na nosa selección de títulos tratamos de cubrir dúas vertentes: apostar por autores de calidade, aínda descoñecidos no noso contexto literario e cultural; e ofrecer obras de autores recoñecidos, recentes ou inéditas en galego. Buscamos amosar un panorama amplo da literatura que se publica en diferentes puntos do planeta, dentro das nosas posibilidades, filias e fobias. No noso catálogo atoparás as primeiras traducións literarias publicadas en galego dende o húngaro, o xaponés ou o árabe88.

As for the role of referents of analogy in the selection of works to translate, it seems that importing books from minority or minoritized cultural systems provides some symbolic capital to the target system. This motivation is present in the selected population, with examples such as works originally in Basque or Catalan; however, these examples are rather anecdotal in the production studied in this paper. This is an important shift with regards to previous decades89, and appears as an attempt to emulate and/or approach more central, normal systems.

Finally, CYA presents a particular situation. This type of literature seems to avoid the cohesive functions of a national canon. Nevertheless, in a literary system like Galician, the repertoire being promoted is the systemic norm itself: the Galician language justifies by itself the normalising function of this kind of publications. The motivation for translating is not legitimising the system or constructing a canon, but rather ensuring a wide availability of materials that legitimise the systemic norm for an age group considered strategic for its survival.

In short: in a context of dependence, language conflict, and precariousness, normalización appears to be the most ambitious target for the Galician cultural system. The 25 publishing houses under focus seem to have worked within this framework to sustain their business models: some have allegedly tried to fill the

89 Gonzalo Constenla Bergueiro, “Evolución das traducións ao galego”
voids of the Galician translation subfield, while others have sought to follow more industrial publishing practices, aiming to build a large-scale readership; ultimately, all have put the Galician language— in its legally backed-up standard— at the centre of their endeavours. The question of what translation strategies would have been implemented were the conditions different remains open.

V. Conclusions

This paper presents an intensive study of translated literature between 2005 and 2012 by those publishing houses incorporated into the field of Galician publishing since 2003, using a relational database designed by this author. This approach allows several conclusions to be drawn.

Firstly, some of the hypotheses proposed by previous research on Galician translation are confirmed: CYA literature is predominant in the subfield of translation (followed by prose fiction), while the main source language is Spanish (followed by central European languages that include French, Italian, and German.) Furthermore, the data make it possible for some other hypotheses to be drawn. It is true that Spanish is the main source language for the studied production, but this is mainly due to the output of OQO Editora, while Urco is responsible for most of the texts translated from English. Apart from these two projects, the rest of the publishing houses’ selection is, if not completely balanced, at least timidly diverse. Still regarding source languages, it is possible to confirm that the Spanish reference of opposition is cancelled in the subfield of translated CYA literature. For its part, Portuguese shows little evidence of being considered a reintegration referent, even if this must be taken cautiously due to the lack of quantitatively relevant data. In any case, its relevance is refuted, as is the hypothesis of fluid translation relationship between the Iberian languages, for the production studied in this paper.

As for the distribution of translated production, it is possible to see how most translations are concentrated among a series of publishing houses with a high overall production, following industrial production models. This is linked to the genre distribution of the production: while CYA literature and prose fiction are linked to those publishers with a higher number of publications, essay and poetry appear in the catalogues of more independent publishers. At the same time, the choice of non-hegemonic source languages corresponds either to those publishing houses with a smaller production (e.g., 2.0 Editora, Barbantesa, Estaleiro) or to those which can financially afford alternative plans, sustained by more hegemonic, profitable practices (e.g., Rinoceronte, Faktoría K).
In terms of chronological distribution, BNG-PSdeG’s Lei do Libro proves highly relevant in the stabilisation of translated production from 2006 onwards. Yet, the truly determining factor for the translation subfield between 2005 and 2012 was the public funding devoted to translation in 2010. This year saw the greater number of translations in all the period—with 44.89% of which being subsidised by this funding line. This points to a high level of dependence of the translation subfield on the field of power, especially in those publishing houses from group A. This must be linked to how public funding from the Xunta de Galicia is seen as a positive strategy in most of the literature reviewed in this paper: scholars researching Galician translation demand new policies from the Xunta, while more autonomous strategies such as subscription schemes are seen as the last resort in the absence and/or against the arbitrariness of public subsidies. These discourses ultimately consolidate the idea of translated literature being heteronomous.

Finally, the information presented and discussed in this study allows for an exercise of critical reflection by which the idea of cultural normalización guides, and perhaps serves as a ceiling, for the activity of the 25 selected publishing houses. All the analyses and comments presented here may serve to reflect upon the possibility of new cultural planning practices for the future of Galician culture, based on empirical knowledge.

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