Selling an/other Wales. A deconstructive approach

José Igor Prieto Arranz [†]

Universitat de les Illes Balears (España)

Resumen: Por contraposición a los materiales turísticos galeses destinados a un público británico, perfecto ejemplo de creación de una imagen gratamente distinta, aunque fundamentalmente anglizada, de Gales (Prieto, 2004), aquellos otros orientados a mercados extranjeros se esfuerzan por crear una nación culturalmente diferente. El presente trabajo se concentrará en estos últimos para analizar las estrategias utilizadas por la Oficina de Turismo Galesa para atraer al visitante internacional. Siguiendo a Halliday (1994) y a Kress & Leeuwen (1999) para el análisis de los componentes verbales y visuales, respectivamente, este estudio atestiguará el uso del patrimonio como instrumento de creación de identidad, siendo nuestra meta última la deconstrucción de dicha imagen, que posiblemente resulta de la delicada situación de Gales dentro de lo que parece un Reino crecientemente (des)Unido.

Palabras clave: Patrimonio; Hibridismo; Otredad; Promoción turística; Gales.

Abstract: As opposed to the Welsh tourist materials addressing a British readership, which excel in creating a gratifyingly dissimilar although mainly anglicised image of Wales (Prieto, 2004), those others targeting foreign markets struggle to create a culturally distinct nation. The present work will focus on the latter in order to analyze the strategies used by the Wales Tourist Board to appeal to the international visitor. Following Halliday (1994) and Kress & Leeuwen (1999) in the analysis of the verbal and visual components, respectively, this study will bear witness to the use of heritage as an identity-creation tool, our ultimate aim being the deconstruction of such an image, possibly resulting from the delicate situation of Wales within what seems an increasingly (dis)United Kingdom.

Keywords: Heritage; Hybridity; Otherness; Tourist promotion; Wales.

[†] • José Igor Prieto Arranz es doctor del Departament de Filologia Espanyola, Moderna i Llatina de la Universitat de les Illes Balears. E-mail: jose-igor.prieto@uib.es

Introduction

The Welsh tourism industry and most specifically its promotional policy, results from its market distribution. On the one hand, Wales is overdependent on domestic –especially English- tourism (ECTRC, 1998: 107), which somehow parallels the situation to be found in Scotland and Northern Ireland. On the other hand, Wales has always found it very difficult to attract overseas visitors, which may be caused by the low awareness of Wales in many foreign countries (WTB, 2002a: 20). At all events, the main sources of overseas inbound tourism in Wales are the United States (21%), Germany (11%), Ireland (9%), the Netherlands (9%), Australia (8%), France (7%) and Canada (5%), Spain ranking 13th with a mere 2% (WTB, 2002b: 11).

Domestic and foreign visitors in Wales follow different patterns, the former being more interested in the area's natural resources than in its cultural peculiarities (ECTRC, 1988: 107), which is very much related to the long-held vision of Wales as England's backyard. This is a very different position from that of overseas visitors, who seem to be primarily drawn by Wales' distinct cultural heritage. In order to cater for both of these opposing trends, the Welsh national tourist organization (NTO), the Wales Tourist Board (WTB) publishes two sets of info-promotional texts: *A View of Wales*, which targets an exclusively British (mainly English) readership; and *Wales Land of Nature & Legend*, targeting a foreign audience and available in different languages apart from English. The former excels in the outstanding task of creating a gratifyingly dissimilar although mainly anglicised image of Wales (Prieto, 2004). The aim of the present work, however, is to focus on the foreign-oriented Welsh info-promotional publications (IPPs) in order to analyse the strategies used by WTB to appeal to the international visitor. In this regard, our approach will be a functional one, following Halliday (1994) and Kress & Leeuwen (1999) in the study of the verbal and visual components, respectively. English translations of Spanish texts will be provided in which faithfulness to the source-text structure will prevail over their possible idiomaticity.

Wales. Land of Nature and Legend. The textual corpus

WTB's overseas-oriented IPP is available in several languages, including (British) English and Spanish, on which we shall concentrate. What follows is a list of the texts analysed for the present study.

-WTB/BTA [trans. unknown] (1999) *Gales. Tierra de belleza Natural y de leyendas*. Cardiff & London: WTB/BTA. ISBN: WB/SP/00ISBN 1 85013 099 X. This IPP was available throughout 2000.

-WTB/BTA [trans. unknown] (1999) *Le Pays de Galles. Terre de nature et de légende*. Cardiff & London: WTB/BTA. ISBN: WB/FR/00ISBN 1 85013 095 7. This IPP was available throughout 2000.

-WTB/BTA [trans. unknown] (2000) *Gales. Tierra de belleza natural y de leyendas*. Cardiff & London: WTB/BTA. ISBN: WB/SP/01/ISBN 1 85013 109 0. This IPP was available throughout 2001.

-WTB/BTA (2001) *Wales. Land of nature and legend*. Cardiff & London: WTB/BTA. ISBN: R2WMGEN/ISBN 1 85013 118 X. This IPP was available throughout 2002.

All of them feature a standard size (29.7 x 21 cms) and a standard number of pages (64, except WTB/BTA 2001, which has 72). All of them include full-colour photographs plus a map of Wales on the inner side of the back cover, a section with suggested routes across Wales and a final supplement with practical information on Wales and a selection of recommended accommodation in the different areas.

Even if we shall only be considering the Spanish and English texts, the inclusion of the French version of the 1999 IPP is quite enlightening in that it allows us to check that it presents no significant variations when compared to its 1999 Spanish counterpart. Its visual component is exactly the same and its verbal component not only contains the same information but could also be said to be almost identical, to the extent that sentence-by-sentence correspondences could even be found. It is to be expected, therefore, that similar correspondences will also be found between the remaining versions in languages other than

English, most probably because they are all translations from an English original.

(WTB/BTA, 1999 & WTB/BTA, 2000)

As mentioned above, WTB/BTA 1999 & WTB/BTA 2000 are very similar texts. In fact, their respective verbal components are almost identical, the main difference lying in that WTB 2000 updates some of the information already provided in WTB 1999. Consequently, we shall be mostly referring to WTB 1999 in our analysis, resorting to the 2000 edition only in those cases when substantial changes must be noted. However, significant differences can be appreciated in their non-verbal components, as we shall see. To start with, their respective covers are different (see Figure 1).

If the covers above are considered, it is clear that unlike *A View of Wales*, WTB's British-oriented publication (see Prieto, 2004), Welsh exportable IPPs focus on cultural heritage. This is especially visible in

WTB/BTA 2000, in which the highly evocative ruins of Dolbadarn Castle seen in the dim dusk light against a probably artificially-blurred background add a sense of mystery and intrigue which perfectly complements the title of the publication.

And the same could be said of WTB/BTA 2001 (Figure 2). Such emphasis on cultural heritage was only to be expected since it has already been noted that foreign tourists show a marked tendency to practise heritage tourism.

And indeed, a marked emphasis on cultural distinctiveness is what we are to find in WTB's exportable materials –a cultural distinctiveness which, incidentally, is given extra attention in the 2000 issue. Thus, the inner part of the cover in WTB 2000 contains a new section bearing the same title as the whole publication (Gales. Tierra de belleza natural y de leyendas), while the main text goes like this:
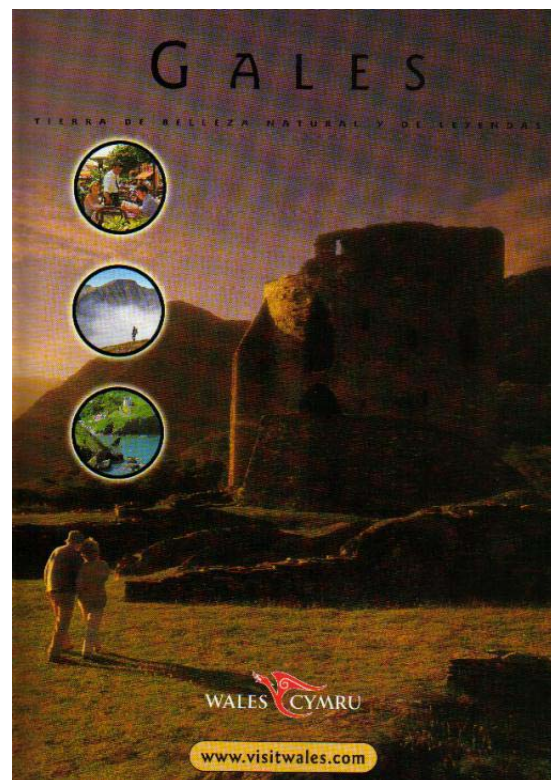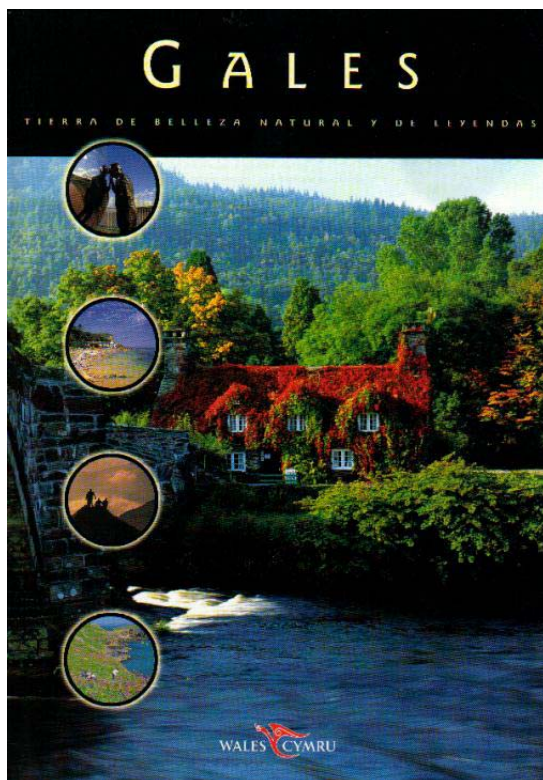

Figure 1: Gales. Tierra de belleza natural y de leyendas 1999 & 2000

Sp. 1. Eso es Gales, una cautivadora parte de Gran Bretaña que no se debe perder.
[That is Wales, a captivating part of Great Britain you must not miss].
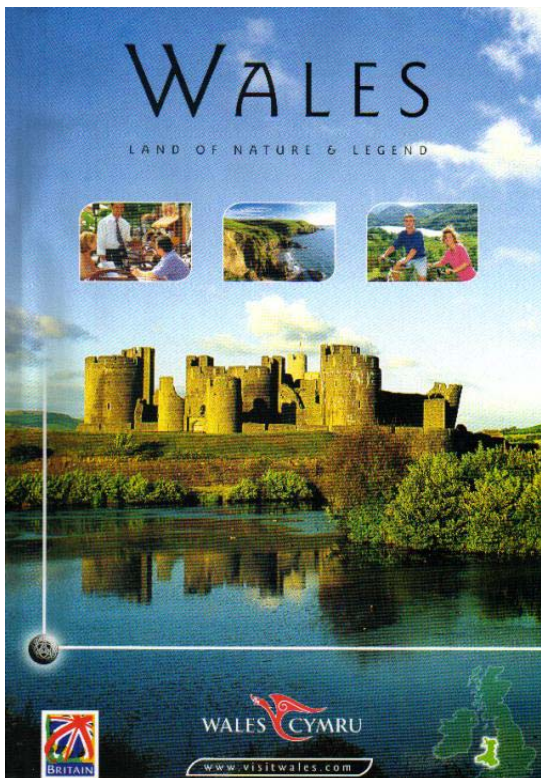(WTB/BTA, 2000: inner cover)

Figure 2: *Wales. Land of nature & legend* (WTB/BTA, 2001)

The first remarkable fact is the use of a relational process, which conveys a sense of objectivity. But this is no ordinary relational process but an intensive identifying relational process in which the Subject ('eso' ['that']), a pro-form clearly standing for a 'tierra de belleza natural y de leyendas' ['land of natural beauty and legends'] functions as the Identifying Value for the Complement 'Gales' ['Wales'], Token in this case. This identifying relationship is far more effective than a simple attributive one since the relationship between Identifier and Identified is far closer than that between Carrier and Attribute. It almost amounts to saying that Wales is *the* 'tierra de

belleza natural y de leyendas'. However, this Token is actually a more complex one since it is composed of two Noun groups in apposition: 'Gales, una cautivadora parte de Gran Bretaña que no se debe perder' ['Wales, a captivating part of Great Britain you must not miss']. The second half of this apposition is significant since it occupies final position in the sentence and is therefore given extra emphasis. We will ignore the rather trite use of the Epithet 'cautivadora' ['captivating'] as well as the qualifying relative clause and concentrate instead on its core, the Nucleus 'part' and its immediate Qualifier 'of Great Britain'.

The fact that this text should openly state its allegiance to the Union from the very beginning is, indeed, significant, since it makes it easy for us to foresee that whatever ideological use might be made of Wales' historic and cultural heritage, such use will never be as aggressive as that found in, for example, Scottish IPPs (see Prieto, 2003).

In principle, the Value in this clause highlights both Wales's natural wonders and its legendary past, although the final position of this latter aspect seems to indicate that it will be treated more thoroughly in the IPP. This is certainly the case, since the text will keep referring to this type of aspects. Thus, it goes on to say that:

Sp. 2. Gales es una tierra de castillos y cultura, de relatos del pasado y de tradiciones aún vivas que dan cabida a un país vibrante y moderno.
[Wales is a land of castles and culture, of tales from the past and traditions still alive which [however] allow for a vibrant, modern country]. (WTB/BTA, 2000: inner cover)

It should be noted that, once again, the process chosen is a relational one, although intensive attributive this time. The Nucleus of the Attribute is 'tierra' ['land'], which has not one but three different Qualifiers. The first one is a rather simple prepositional phrase which emphasises the idea already commented on. More interesting are the second and third ones. These two Qualifiers emphasise the importance of

the past and link it to the essence of contemporary Wales. The Noun 'tradiciones' ['traditions'] is postmodified by a Classifier 'aún vivas' ['still alive'] and a qualifying relative clause in which the relative pronoun, clearly referring back to those same traditions, becomes the Actor of a material process which has as a Beneficiary 'un país vibrante y moderno' ['a vibrant, modern country']: Wales itself. This syntactic construction is most interesting in that it captures the ultimate message which the copywriters want to put through: the existence of a continuous line at one end of which stands the past whereas at the other the present can be found. The aim, therefore, is to create the illusion of an uninterrupted, unique tradition giving shape to today's Wales.

The same aim can be appreciated in the same section in WTB/BTA 2001. In fact, it is enlarged, so that the part devoted to Wales' past and heritage is even more explicit:

En. 1. To be inspired is to be taken to a different place. [...]
En. 2. You'll know that you are somewhere different. [...]
(WTB/BTA, 2001: inner cover)

The English text opens with an unambiguous declaration of Wales's differentness which would have been unthinkable in WTB's British-oriented materials. In En. 1 an identifying attributive structure equals two almost parallel non-finite clauses. The first one, functioning as Token, could be interpreted as either an intensive attributive process, thus taking 'inspired' as an Attribute, or as a passive material process structure in agreement with the second clause. In neither of them is the Actor mentioned, although there is an extra Participant in the second clause which cannot be ignored, and this is the Location 'to a different place', which occupies final position. Thus, the two most salient positions in this clause complex relate the highly evocative and almost semi-divine concept of inspiration to, we assume, Wales' *Difference*. The same emphasis is to be found in En. 2, also as part of a Location within an existential process functioning as Phenomenon of an emphasised (note the use of 'will') mental

process.

What matters the most, then, is that this open declaration of differentness would have been impossible in WTB texts targeting a purely British audience. And, as in WTB/BTA 1999 & 2000, this different, current Wales is linked to its fascinating past, as can be seen in En. 3.

En. 3. The country's distinctive personality [...] springs from a rich heritage and history. (WTB/BTA, 2001: inner cover)

In this case, *Difference* is given a life of its own as Actor in a clearly material process in which the associations with the past are clearly emphasised. The text then goes on to mention the living testimonies of such a past and, consequently, Wales's *Difference*:

En. 4. The Welsh language is still spoken, along with English.
En. 5. Countless hundreds of castles and Celtic sites dot its hills and valleys.
En. 6. It's a place where myths and legends, tales of King Arthur and the medieval Welsh Princes, are still charged with the power to captivate and inspire.
(WTB/BTA, 2001: inner cover)

Not surprisingly, the first aspect highlighted is the Welsh language. To be noted in En. 4 is, of course, the use of a passive structure, which allows for the deletion of the Sayer/Actor in the process.[1] Thus, the illusion is created that Welsh still is the language of habitual use throughout the country, although it is significant that special emphasis is placed on the Circumstantial element of Accompaniment (Comitation) so as to encourage non-Welsh speakers to visit the country.

Such early emphasis on the Welsh language is indeed noteworthy, since WTB/BTA 1999 & 2000 deal with the subject not in their promotional but informative section. And so does WTB/BTA 2001:

The Welsh language has been in daily use in Wales for centuries, but don't worry about encountering any language difficulties – EVERYBODY in Wales speaks English, the road signs are bi-lingual and you'll frequently

come across dual place-names eg Swansea/Abertawe, Cardiff/Caerdydd. (WTB/BTA, 2001: 31)

El idioma galés es el idioma cotidiano en el país desde hace siglos, pero no se preocupe porque no tendrá problemas lingüísticos. TODO EL MUNDO en Gales habla inglés, las señalizaciones están en ambos idiomas y los topónimos a menudo se expresan en los dos idiomas, p. ej. Swansea/Abertawe, Cardiff/Caerdydd.

[Welsh has been the day-to-day language in the country for centuries, but do not worry because you will not have linguistic problems. EVERYONE in Wales speaks English, signs are in both languages and place names are often written in both languages, e.g. Swansea/Abertawe, Cardiff/Caerdydd]. (WTB/BTA, 1999: 26; WTB/BTA, 2000: 27)

In introducing the subject at such an early stage, WTB/BTA 2001 pushes the matter of cultural differences even further. En. 5, on its part, can be easily related to Sp. 2, although the new 2001 rephrasing is even more effective in that it gives heritage an active role as Actor in a material process, not to mention the hyperbolic measure expression in the Nominal group functioning as Actor in the aforementioned process.

Slightly less evident is the text's equally early mention of Celticness, around which the image of the entire country will be constructed, as we shall see. Lastly, we cannot help pointing out WTB/BTA 2001's introduction to Arthurian themes, which –just like WTB/BTA 1999 & 2000- it will deal with at length in later sections.

For the time being, it is clear that WTB bases Wales' tourist appeal on its supposedly age-old historical and legendary tradition. But at this point it is worth mentioning that Gruffudd reminds us that such Welsh traditions in particular, and all traditions in general, are 'ethno-histories', very frequently blunt inventions with an important ideological component in that their preservation mostly indicates how an 'imagined community' wishes to

present itself to others (1997: 50).

However, this partiality is exactly what WTB pretends to avoid. Thus, in the inner part of the cover in WTB 1999 we can read:

Sp. 3. Por más bonitas que sean las fotografías, o detallada la información, un folleto no puede nunca transmitir fielmente la realidad de un país.

[Pretty or detailed though its photographs and contents may be, a brochure can never faithfully transmit a country's reality].

Sp. 4. Es por eso que en este folleto hemos procurado acercarnos todo lo posible a la realidad de Gales por medio de enfoques personales de este notable país, desde la perspectiva de algunos hijos e hijas de esta tierra.

[It is for this reason that in this brochure we have attempted to bring ourselves as close as possible to the reality of Wales through personal approaches to this outstanding country, from the perspective of some sons and daughters of this land]. (WTB/BTA, 1999: inner cover)

It must be acknowledged that the way this IPP introduces this subject is a very clever one indeed. Sp. 3 starts with a Marked Theme of contingency (concession), thus implying that the brochure really is comprehensive as regards the information it contains, and features the best-quality photographs (the assumed status of photography as the most objective way to portray reality should be borne in mind here). However, according to the copywriters, this is not enough since 'un folleto nunca puede transmitir fielmente la realidad de un país' ['a brochure can never faithfully transmit a country's reality']. In this case, the material process of faithfully transmitting a country's reality (the wording: 'país' / country is indeed significant, especially in the Spanish version, in which it has final position and therefore receives extra emphasis) is quite categorically denied through the use of the negated Finite 'no puede' ['cannot'], in turn modified by the equally categorical 'nunca' (never). It would seem, therefore, that the aim of the authors of this brochure is an impossible one. However, this is qualified in Sp. 4.

This sentence is a clear instance of a Thematic Equative structure,[2] through which any constituent in a sentence may become a Marked Theme and, consequently, gain additional prominence in the sequence, whilst allowing some other element to benefit from the emphasis always to be derived from occupying final position in the sequence. In this particular case, the Marked Theme is 'por eso' ['for this [reason]'], which unambiguously refers back to the proposition stated in Sp. 3 (in this case we should more properly talk about a postponed Marked Theme, since it follows the copula).

However, let us concentrate on the Rheme, which contains an interesting instance of the clause as representation. Once they have established the difficulty of the initial task, the authors state that 'en este folleto hemos procurado acercarnos todo lo posible a la realidad de Gales por medio de enfoques personales de este notable país, desde la perspectiva de algunos hijos e hijas de esta tierra'. If we focus on the verbal element, we shall see that this 'hemos procurado acercar(nos)' ['we have attempted to bring ourselves close'] is a rather complex verbal form which, in our view, conforms to what Alarcos calls a verbal periphrasis ('perífrasis verbal') (1994: 257-265). Equally interesting is the analysis from the Mood perspective, in which 'acercar' (a material process) becomes Predicator and 'hemos procurado' is seen as Finite with a significant modal meaning which conveys the Actor's every effort in carrying out the material process. The Goal of such a feat is the reflexive 'nos' ['ourselves'], whereas the real Wales, that unattainable object of desire, is constructed as Beneficiary in the Process. These are the main Participants in this Action but, since the Action itself has been said to be impossible from the very beginning, it is also surrounded by qualifying circumstances. First of all, we have a circumstance of Manner or Degree ('todo lo posible' ['as much as possible']) which makes it clear that the view we will get of the real Wales will be neither complete nor absolutely objective. Then, we also have another circumstance which specifies the Means through which the

aforesaid picture of Wales will be obtained ('por medio de enfoques personales de este notable país' ['through personal approaches to this outstanding country'] – also to be noted is the expression used to refer to Wales). This Means clearly announces the use of WTB's trademark, namely the testimony strategy (see Prieto, 2004), but to the non-knowledgeable reader this may sound as a rather subjective approach. This is why last, but not least (final position always involves emphasis) comes the Angle through which this picture will be taken ('desde la perspectiva de algunos hijos e hijas de esta tierra' ['from the perspective of sons and daughters of this land']). This Angle is clearly included in order to add some sense of authority to the result to be achieved. Especially relevant is the use of the patriotic construction of the land/Wales as a mother raising her own children/Welshmen and Welsh women.

Indeed, WTB 1999 & WTB 2000 use personal testimonies on several occasions, always including the name of the person to whom the words are attributed. Most important of all is the reproduction of the testimony of Sir Anthony Hopkins, a well-known Welsh film star. However, the likelihood of Hopkins having uttered the words attributed to him is just as little as that of him having actually posed in front of the beautiful scenery depicted in the figure below.

As Figure 3 shows, there are substantial differences between the Hopkins picture in WTB/BTA 1999 and that to be found in WTB/BTA 2000. There is no doubt that his pose is exactly the same. However, the background image is significantly different. On both occasions, it represents the same scenery (Llyn Gwynant, in Snowdonia National Park), but on the first one the picture was taken on a dull, grey day whereas on the second it was taken on a perfectly clear day. This makes us suspect that Hopkins never was in Snowdonia for the photo session. And if the visual fails us, why should we place any more trust on the verbal component?

All this reveals nothing but the constructedness of the discourse of tourism promotion and will make us stay alert to

the allegedly objective image of Wales these IPPs have promised to provide us with. In this regard, both the 1999 and the 2000 editions of this IPP contain a section entitled 'Una nación de linaje antiguo con un espíritu moderno' ['a na-

tion of old lineage with a modern spirit'] (corresponding to another one entitled 'A living history' in WTB/BTA 2001) in which a substantial part of this image has been concentrated.
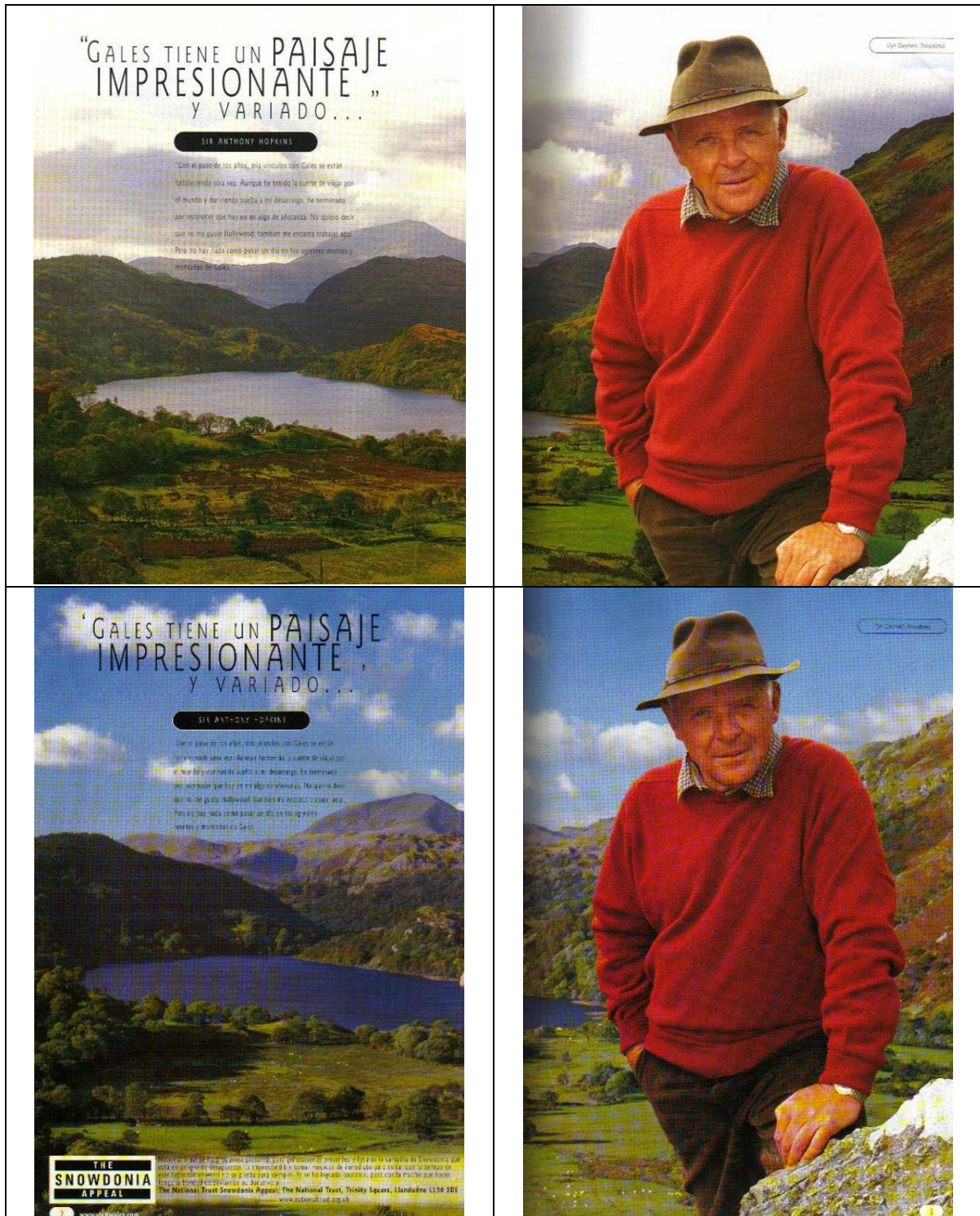

Figure 3: Hopkins 1999 & 2000. (WTB/BTA, 1999 & WTB/BTA, 2000: 2-3)

The very title refers back to the idea of an uninterrupted Welsh tradition giving shape to today's Wales, which will be repeated here.

Sp. 5. Gales es una nación de linaje antiguo.

[Wales is a nation of old lineage].

(WTB/BTA, 1999: 6)

Apart from the word 'nation' –it will have been noted that 'nation' and 'country', with all that they connote, are alternately used to refer to Wales- the main feature here is the choice of an apparently objective intensive attributive relational process. This choice of process, however, does not really identify Wales but simply relates to it the Attribute 'una nación de linaje antiguo'; in other words, it simply makes Wales one out of many other nations 'de linaje antiguo'. But the rest of the text will very soon change this.

Sp. 6. Sus orígenes se remontan más allá que los de la mayoría de las civilizaciones del planeta. Mucho más allá que incluso los celtas de la Edad de Hierro que se establecieron en Gales y otras partes de Europa entre los años 700-500 a. de J.C. o que los Beaker Folk que llegaron procedentes de la costa de Iberia, Europa Central, hace unos 4 ó 5.000 años.

[Its origins go further back than those of most civilisations on this planet. Much further back than even the Iron Age Celts that settled in Wales and other parts of Europe between the years 700-500 BC, or the Beaker Folk, who arrived from the Iberian Coast, [or] Central Europe, four or five thousand years ago].

(WTB/BTA, 1999: 6)

In the sentence above, the text quite categorically states the antiquity of the Welsh pedigree. In order to do so, it is worth noting that a material process ('remontar') is chosen for which the nation's origins are both Actor and Goal. By placing an abstract entity as Actor, the copywriter avoids the selection of a human source in charge of measuring the antiquity of Welshness, since this would undoubtedly involve an act of interpretation on the part of such a human agent and consequently diminish the effectiveness of the message. This is why the text

can afford to locate Wales' origins 'más allá que los de la mayoría de las civilizaciones del planeta'. Conscious of the tremendous effect of this proposition, the copywriter goes on to mention examples of ancient peoples who are known to have inhabited Wales, only to reinforce the idea that Wales' true origins must be traced much earlier in time.

Part of the effectiveness of this message, of course, derives from the way this sentence has been constructed from an interpersonal point of view. Indeed, all Finites contained above are Indicative declaratives. They express the highest or most absolute type of modality possible in a proposition. But apart from this the fact cannot pass unnoticed that highly effective Mood Adjuncts indicating intensity have also been added ('más allá que' ['further back than'], 'mucho más allá que incluso' ['much further back than even']). The underlying propositions, therefore, are presented as declarative statements with the highest degree of certainty and, consequently, not as simple hypotheses but as true, real facts.

Sp. 7. Incluso se cree que ciertas estructuras encontradas en Gales fueron construidas unos 1.500 años antes que las pirámides de Egipto.

[It is even believed that certain structures found in Wales were raised some 1,500 years before the Pyramids in Egypt].

(WTB/BTA, 1999: 6)

However, the authors go even further and present us with Sp. 7, thus openly comparing Wales with one of the oldest civilisations on earth. Needless to say, Wales emerges victorious from this battle. Once again, the effectiveness of the message lies in the combination of specific choices in the fields of the clause as message (interpersonal dimension of language) and representation (ideational dimension). From a purely ideational perspective, we must remark that the main Process in the sentence ('se cree' ['it is believed']) is not material but mental, which of course connotes subjectivity. However, this loss of authority is somehow compensated for by choosing the characteristically Spanish 'pasiva refleja' construction which, apart from letting the

Object of the Verb occupy final position and, therefore, gain prominence, always serves to delete an unwanted Participant (in this case, the Senser). In this, it differs from the typical passive construction in which the deletion of Participants is optional, not compulsory. At all events, such deletion is most welcome here since it certainly helps diminish the inherent subjectivity of the mental process. To this we must also add the inclusion of the intensifying Mood Adjunct 'incluso' ['even'], which plays an important role in the cohesion of the text in that it makes the reader interpret this sentence as a further argument backing the original proposition stating the antiquity of Wales. Finally, equally noticeable here is the choice of the passive for the material process presented as Phenomenon of 'creer' ['believe']: once again, this is another example of the perfectly conscious use of the passive as a means of obliterating unwanted participants. Readers do not care who built those constructions –in fact, we do not know who did. The only thing that matters, and that is why it appears in final position, is that such structures were built well prior to the pyramids of Egypt, themselves a symbol of antiquity.

> Sp. 8. Hay, además, como es lógico, una multitud de artefactos celtas, fortificaciones romanas, castillos normandos y las grandes residencias de la nobleza galesa, todo ello muy bien conservado y a menudo restaurado de tal modo que el pasado vibrante y diverso de Gales vuelve a la vida una vez más. [There is, moreover, as could be expected, a multitude of Celtic artefacts, Roman fortifications, Norman castles and the great houses of the Welsh nobility, all of which very well preserved and often restored so that Wales' vibrant and diverse past comes to life once again].
> (WTB/BTA, 1999: 6)

Sp. 8 above could be seen as the culmination of the argument taking up the whole of the preceding text. That it provides some further justification for the status of Wales as a land of ancient civilisation can be seen in the presence of not just one but two Mood Adjuncts: the intensifying 'además' ['moreover'] and the Adjunct of obviousness 'como es lógico' ['as could be expected'] (which, rather exceptionally, consists of a full clause and not a simple Adverb).

The main process in Sp. 8 is an existential one, similar to relational processes in the objectivity it conveys. What is expressed here, therefore, will inevitably be taken as 'fact' by the reader. What follows after the parenthetical Mood Adjuncts is a rather complex Existent with two main components in apposition (from 'una multitud' ['a multitude'] until 'nobleza galesa' ['Welsh nobility'] and from 'todo ello' ['all of which'] until the end). The first part of this Existent is a list of some of the Welsh heritage highlights in chronological order so that the last element is closer in time to the reader. It is obvious that the ultimate aim is for the reader to perceive the overwhelming presence of Wales' historic heritage as a substantial part of the nation's essence. At all events, this is more clearly stated in the second part of the apposition.

This second element of the apposition is a rather complex Nominal group whose Head is the Pronoun 'ello' ['which', in our translation], which refers back to every single piece of heritage mentioned before –a fact emphasised by the premodifying Numerative 'todo' ['all']. But there is also postmodification, as shown by the presence of a Classifier / Epithet ('muy bien conservado y a menudo restaurado' ['very well preserved and often restored']) and, perhaps most importantly –not in vain does it occupy final position- a qualifying process ('de tal modo que el pasado vibrante y diverso de Gales vuelve a la vida una vez más' ['so that Wales' vibrant and diverse past comes to life once again']). The aim here is undoubtedly to round off the message already conveyed by Sp. 2., namely the presence of the past in contemporary Wales. And in order to do so a material process ('volver' ['come']) is chosen and the past, in principle an abstract notion, is endowed with a life of its own by being selected as the Actor in the above-mentioned material process –the notion of life being inherently present in the Epithet 'vibrante' ['vibrant'] and more openly in the spatial Location following

the process.

It must also be said that WTB/BTA 2001 concentrates on this latter message, namely the important role played by the past in today's Wales, and not quite so much on the record-breaking antiquity of Welsh civilisation.

En.7. The past is still very much part of the present in Wales.
(WTB/BTA, 2001: 9)

This is the opening statement on page 9 and, as can be seen, it manages to convey the above-mentioned message perfectly. By choosing an (intensive attributive) relational process, the copywriters endow the text with the sense of objectivity needed to relate past (Theme) and present (Rheme). On the other hand, the power of this statement is enhanced through the use of 'very much', an intensifying Modal Adjunct.

Then, the text moves on to provide material evidence for that past still living in the present. Thus, we are presented with two sentences clearly reminiscent of Sp. 8:

En. 8. It lives on at a multitude of evocative historic places –at mysterious prehistoric monuments and Celtic sites, majestic cathedrals and medieval castles.
En. 9. All still possess a powerful sense of times gone by.
(WTB/BTA, 2001: 9)

Many are in fact the coincidences between Sp. 8 and En. 8 & 9. To start with, and perhaps most importantly, there is the selection of the past as Actor in a material process. But we cannot leave aside the inclusion of the purposefully vague yet hyperbolic numerative expressions that introduce the actual instances of historical heritage so as to justify the widespread presence of the past throughout present-day Wales. And precisely to emphasise this main idea, there is a new addition in WTB/BTA 2001, presented below as En. 10-12:

En. 10. Also linking past with present is the Welsh language, one of Europe's oldest spoken tongues.
En. 11. It's a lilting, musical language that reflects the country's love of poetry and song.
En. 12. You'll hear it –and see it

alongside English on signs – during your travels.
(WTB/BTA, 2001: 9)

As we can see, this new addition is once again a reference to the Welsh language. Even if such emphasis on linguistic difference would have been impossible in those IPPs targeting a British audience, it is worth pointing out that the treatment of the subject as present in WTB/BTA 1999 & 2000 is nowhere near that found so far in WTB/BTA 2001, which turns Welsh into one of the basic pillars on which both Welsh *Difference* and Welsh historical heritage stand. It is precisely this latter point that En. 10 wants to highlight; hence its peculiar thematic structure. What the copywriters have done here is reverse the normal Mood structure in the English statement, thus taking the Residue to occupy Theme position –thereby gaining emphasis in contrast- and leaving Subject and Finite as Rheme. Consequently, a twofold effect is achieved: the Marked Theme connects the sequence with the preceding discourse whereas the Rheme gives extra prominence to a Subject featuring a language whose antiquity is also mentioned.

Finally, En. 11 & 12 expand on the subject, first relating the sound quality of Welsh with the nation's stereotypical love of poetry and music, a rather slippery affirmation which could face much confrontation. However, the use of not one but two relational processes in En. 11 serves to introduce the subject with apparently absolute objectivity. The same topic is also dealt with in a later section in WTB/BTA 1999 & 2000, which we will not, however, discuss here. Lastly, En. 12 makes a reference to En. 4 above and reinforces the illusion of Welsh being a widespread language whilst appeasing the fears of the non Welsh-speaking tourist.

Sp. 8. Hay, además, como es lógico, una multitud de artefactos celtas, fortificaciones romanas, castillos normandos y las grandes residencias de la nobleza galesa, todo ello muy bien conservado y a menudo restaurado de tal modo que el pasado vibrante y diverso de Gales vuelve a la vida una vez más. [There is, moreover, as could be ex-

pected, a multitude of Celtic artefacts, Roman fortifications, Norman castles and the great houses of the Welsh nobility, all of which very well preserved and often restored so that Wales' vibrant and diverse past comes to life once again].
(WTB/BTA, 1999: 6)

Coming back to where we left it in the Spanish text, it must be remembered that, apart from the everlasting presence of the past in the present, Sp. 8 also introduced such past as 'vibrante y diverso' ['vibrant and diverse']. Although we shall certainly have occasion to discuss the extent to which this IPP presents Wales as a culturally diverse country, for the time being let us concentrate on this fascination about the past. So great is the emphasis on this idea that it is actually conveyed not only verbally but also visually.

In terms of representational structure, what we have in both illustrations is a reactional process, although in WTB/BTA 2000 there is also a secondary action (material process) in the man's holding of the girl. This reactional process, signalled by the gaze of the depicted Participants, could be seen as a transactional process, since even when we do not actually see the Phenomenon (i.e., the object of their gaze), it is evident that they are looking at the camera, which in turn means that they are looking at the reader. In other words, their gaze only becomes operative as long as it is reciprocated by the reader.

This interactive gaze, together with the broad smile on their faces, makes us interpret the scenes as visual invitations, unambiguously encouraging the reader to visit Wales and so partake of their happiness.

But apart from these narrative structures emphasised in the foreground, both illustrations contain backgrounds which could be interpreted as classificational structures. In WTB/BTA 1999 we have a partial view of Dolbadarn Castle, which takes us back to medieval Wales –the same function is carried out by the picture insets, evoking even earlier times. What is clear is that the figure of the girl serves as a link between the static past Wales and the reader. It is as if all the

energy and vigour of the now decayed stones of Dolbadarn Castle were embodied in this Welsh girl who, as her dress signals, represents the whole of the Welsh community. In WTB/BTA 2000, on the other hand, the background is a rather more futuristic one, but its Welshness is also clear all the same thanks to the presence of another girl wearing an identical dress. Both female figures in WTB/BTA 1999 and WTB/BTA 2000 are presented as female embodiments of an ancient territory while, on the other, as can be derived from their youth, they are here to represent the latest Welsh generations. In this regard, what we first interpreted as a simple transactional reaction can also be seen as a fairly clear symbolic attributive structure, in which the girl functions as Carrier and the dress she is wearing or, rather, the national flag it consists of, as a clear Symbolic Attribute.

The red dragon is one of the many symbols that are associated with Wales today. However, its origins are far from clear. Although it has been traced back to the Middle Ages, it seems that the dragon was more of an English invention rather than anything else, since it was first widely used by the Tudor monarchs, probably to emphasise their allegedly Welsh descent and, consequently, legitimise their rule over Britain. For a long time, it was mostly seen as the administrative symbol of the Council of Wales rather than a native national symbol (Morgan, 1983: 91). However, today it is arguably Wales's most visible symbol and this can be seen in that even WTB has chosen it as its logo, all of which can of course be connected with what Hobsbawn & Ranger call 'the invention of tradition' (1983) and the discursive nature of national identities.

Having said this, it is equally interesting to see that the Welsh nation is represented by a female figure. Indeed, Welsh IPPs provide us with a very clear example of feminisation of the nation, which in this case reaches a degree of sexual provocation not normally expected in the promotion of a cultural heritage destination and, indeed, not present in WTB/BTA 2001.
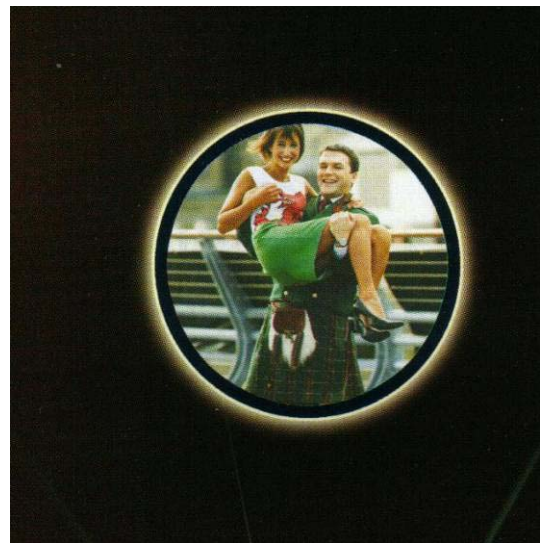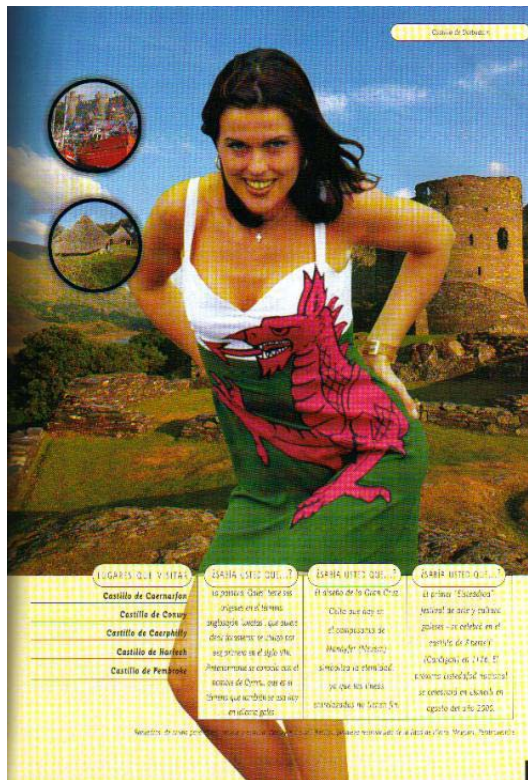
Figure 4: The past in the present: Mother/Daughter Wales. (WTB/BTA, 1999 & WTB/BTA, 2000: 7).

At all events, whether male or female, what matters is that this is a visual representation of a nation whose past has been described as 'vibrante y diverso' ['vibrant and diverse']. Interestingly, however, such cultural diversity does not seem to be reflected in the texts, since the one cultural institution promoted in this section is the so-called 'Eisteddfod':

Sp. 9. El primer 'Eisteddfod' –festival de arte y cultura galeses- se celebró en el castillo de Aberteifi (Cardigan) en 1176.
[The first 'Eisteddfod' –festival of Welsh art and culture- was held at Aberteifi Castle (Cardigan) in 1176].
Sp. 10. El próximo Eisteddfod nacional se celebrará en Llanelli en agosto del año 2000.[3]
[The next national Eisteddfod will be held in Llanelli in August 2000].
(WTB/BTA, 1999: 7)

The structure of these two sentences is exactly the same. On both occasions, a passive material process ('pasiva refleja') has been chosen, which translates as the compulsory deletion of the Actor. Rather than who carries out the Action, the main interest lies in the Action itself or, rather, when the Action is carried out, since the Goal of the Action (which, as defined in the text, implies the existence of a single, distinct Welsh culture) invariably appears in thematic position whereas it is the temporal Location that receives the emphasis derived from the final position it occupies. Thus, the parallel constructions contrast the dates of the first and the latest eisteddfod, thereby creating the illusion of an uninterrupted tradition which has existed for almost a thousand years.

This statement is in stark contrast to the description of an eisteddfod provided in 2000 by *A view of Wales* (an IPP targeting a purely British and mainly English readership) (see Prieto, 2004), which –among some other information- openly declares it an invention of London antiquarians two hundred years ago. This is, in fact, a far more accurate approach to the subject. The Welsh word 'eisteddfod' refers to a formal meeting of Welsh bards and minstrels, the first of which was held

at Cardigan by the Lord Rhys in 1176. According to Morgan,

The word means simply a 'session', and it described a set of musical and poetic competitions, of which notice had been given a year beforehand, and at which adjudications and prizes were given. An eisteddfod would also be the occasion in the Middle Ages for the bards (organised in an order or gild [sic]) to set their house in order, to examine and license the reputable performers, and to cut out the bad.
(1983: 56-57)

1176 set a precedent and eisteddfods (or eisteddfodau) proliferated all throughout Wales in the times prior to the union with England. However, what is not quite so well-known is that this long-held tradition declined almost to the point of extinction in the 16th and 17th centuries, of course due to the unavoidable anglicisation of Wales. Some revivalist meetings appeared around 1700 but, by then, the whole event had little to do with the original eisteddfod since '[t]he last of the professional bards had virtually ceased activity in the 1690s, so the poets who attended the new eisteddfodau were amateurs [...]' (Morgan, 1983: 57). At all events, it was not until the 1780s that the first real signs of recovery appeared. Thus, big eisteddfodau appeared once again under the auspices not of the Welsh people themselves but of a number of London-based antiquarians, interested in things Welsh. Such was the case of the Welsh Society, one of many associations of London Welshmen (Morgan, 1983: 58). Being fully conscious of Wales' increasing anglicisation, such societies fostered and sponsored the celebration of new eisteddfodau, thus adapting an ancient tradition to the modern times, and it was not until well into the 19th century that eisteddfodau started being organised once again by Welsh people in Wales. The turning point seems to have been the 1819 Eisteddfod held at Carmarthen, in which the Gorsedd ('throne') of Bards of the Island of Britain was first introduced. Up to that moment, eisteddfods had always been musical and literary in nature but from that moment onwards, as the very National Eisteddfod Association fully

acknowledges, 'the Eisteddfod had developed into a fully-fledged folk festival on a large scale' (NSO, 2002a) and, therefore, a bastardised version of its original spirit. The Gorsedd was the invention of one of Wales's great inventors of tradition, the scholar Edward Williams, better known as Iolo Morganwg. It was he that 'created the notion that the Welsh bards had been the heirs of the ancient Druids, and had inherited their rites and rituals, their religion and mythology (the religion being a mixture of Iolo's own Unitarianism and eighteenth-century Nature worship)' (Morgan, 1983: 60). What Iolo did, therefore, was turn the Eisteddfod into a visually exciting but also largely fictional staging of Celtic Welshness whilst creating the illusion of a single, Celtic-based Welsh culture. This Neo-Druidism is still very much alive since the Gorsedd of Bards has been linked to the national Eisteddfods ever since. The NSO defines it as 'an association whose members consist of poets, writers, musicians, artists and individuals who have made a distinguished contribution to the Welsh nation, language and culture' and it is clear that it has managed to preserve its characteristic Neo-Druidic flavour –not in vain is its head given the title of 'Archdruid' (NSO, 2002b).

Nowadays, eisteddfodau are hugely popular occasions drawing visitors from all corners of both Wales and the entire UK. It is certainly not our aim to call into question the holding of such excellent-quality arts festivals. But we cannot help pointing out the craftiness of its allegedly uninterrupted tradition, the more than dubious authenticity of its druidic ceremonies and, last but not least, its inappropriateness as a symbol of the whole of Wales.

For Wales, or any other nation, cannot be described as a monocultural entity. Consequently, any attempt to bring forth a given cultural tradition and place it in a hegemonic position on any other existing one must be denounced as, first, fraud; and second, cultural aberration. We do not know what the Welsh cultural panorama might have looked like hundreds of years ago. There is no doubt that, at some point, an overwhelming majority of the

Welsh people spoke Welsh, independently of their being of pure Celtic stock or not. However, it must be remembered that the union with England was a point of no return for Wales in that it started an inevitable process of anglicisation, the consequences of which are still to be seen.

It is true that anglicization, especially as regards the promotion of English as the everyday language in Wales, was not always fair in that it was to a large extent institutionally crafted by the English authorities. Especially noteworthy here was the attempt to abolish the Welsh language in the 19th century, in what came to be known as the 'Treason of the Blue Books' (Morgan, 1983: 92). In this context, the many attempts to fight back by resurrecting long-gone traditions or even inventing new ones are perfectly understandable as a self-defence measure. However, trying to impose on the whole of Wales cultural and linguistic traditions which, at best, had only existed in part of the territory, is just as gross a mistake as the semi-imposed anglicisation of Wales.

Whether Plaid Cymru likes it or not, the fact is that history has made Wales a culturally-diverse nation with at least three distinct areas originally delineated by Denis Balsom in 1979. Thus, we could speak about a British Wales, roughly taking up the wide border country, including the southern coast, plus the north-eastern coast; a Welsh Wales taking up the central and southern areas; and, finally, what is commonly referred to as 'Y Fro Gymraeg', or Welsh-speaking area, represented by the north-western and west-central areas (see Gramich, 1997: 97; Osmond, 2001: 118-119).

This division is indeed significant since it has proved useful for analysing voting patterns, national identity and other related questions. The fact that the urban South is included in the area known as British Wales is also noteworthy, since it includes the main conurbations of Cardiff, Newport and Swansea and covers a significant percentage of the total Welsh population. However, as Osmond states, it must also be noted that the borders between these regions are not fixed or stable. Thus, Cardiff no longer

seems to fit comfortably within British Wales, and nor does Newport. Still, they are different from Welsh Wales. On the other hand, significant parts of the North have been gained by Y Fro Gymraeg (2001: 119-120).

At all events, this division is still important in that it basically reflects different population origins which normally translate as qualitatively different national identities and distinct voting patterns. This is, of course, a highly complex subject we cannot go into here unless at the risk of oversimplification. But there has been a recent occasion on which regional voting patterns proved significant and that was the 1997 Referendum which determined the establishment of a National Assembly for Wales. Even if it is clear that this positive result was the product of several factors (the anti-Welsh language British policy, as felt by the Welsh people; the centralisation of the British state, which would not even let its historic nations participate in the EU Committee of the Regions; the result and circumstances under which the previous 1979 Referendum had been held; and, last but not least, the long Thatcherite and Thatcher-influenced years of Conservative governments), still the different Welsh regions showed different voting patterns. Osmond interprets this as a consequence of the different ethnic origins of the population in each area, stating that '[t]he Yes counties [i.e. those counties having voted Yes in the Referendum] contain a higher proportion of people born in Wales and those who most strongly identify themselves as Welsh' (2001: 118; see also Keating, 1989).

The point that needs to be made is that Wales, at least nowadays, is a far more complex reality than a well-preserved enclave for Welsh-speaking Celtic stock. The centuries of English domination, complex migratory patterns and now the globalization era cannot be obliterated at a stroke or taken as the perfect excuse for the imposition of a given cultural pseudo-tradition on the whole of Wales. This is, however, what seems to be taking place in Wales nowadays. In a way, the situation is understandable after centuries of what could be

referred to as cultural oppression on the part of the English, which arguably continues nowadays, since the British media seem to have become the repository of the traditionally English ignorance of Welsh singularity. But this does not justify that the inhabitants of Y Fro Gymraeg should look down on the Anglo-Welsh of the Valleys as not truly Welsh, whose only result is indignation on the part of the Anglo-Welsh who, in turn, although reiterating their Welsh identity, harden themselves against the Welsh language (Gramich, 1997: 101).

The situation, therefore, is a rather complex one, with 80% of the population (the non-Welsh speakers) finding it increasingly difficult to prove their Welshness and feeling largely ignored by the national Welsh-speaking S4C TV Channel, whereas a 20% Welsh-speaking minority 'can also feel like exiles in a land which is becoming overwhelmingly Anglicised, even in the most remote areas' (Gramich, 1997: 103).

What is clear is that IPPs promoting Wales in overseas markets depict an attractive fiction with which only 20% of the Welsh population could easily identify. The ultimate aim is to make Wales as different from England as possible, and this can be seen in the last extract we shall take from page 7 in WTB/BTA 1999 and WTB/BTA 2000:

> Sp. 11. La palabra 'Gales' tiene sus orígenes en el término anglosajón 'wealas', que quiere decir forasteros [...].
> [The word 'Wales' has its origins in the Anglosaxon term 'wealas', which means foreigners [...]].
> (WTB/BTA, 1999 & 2000: 7)

It will be noticed that, once again, the copywriters resort to relational processes to endow the text with a sense of objectivity. The main process in this clause complex is a possessive attributive one in which, apart from the usual Carrier ('La palabra 'Gales'' ['The word 'Wales']) and Attribute ('sus orígenes' ['its origins']), there is also a circumstantial element of Location which will prove essential, as signalled by its final position. Most important of all is the postmodifying relative clause, which contains an identifying

relational process[4] in which 'forasteros' ['foreigners'] proudly functions as Value. This is most interesting, since in normal circumstances, the word 'foreigner' in English is usually endowed with negative connotations whereas the same word, or rather its Spanish counterpart, is used here with quite the opposite aim in mind. Foreignness or 'differentness' becomes an asset which WTB proudly proclaims in the shape of non-Englishness.

Such non-Englishness may also take an extra dimension, namely the appropriation of myths and legends widely held as English and their presentation as originally Welsh. This is the case of the Arthurian legend, around which the next section 'Tierra de mitos y leyendas' ['Land of myths and legends'] (8-9) (corresponding to that entitled 'Legendary times' in WTB/BTA [2001: 10-11]) is centred.

As its title suggests, this section emphasises Wales' mythical component, which will have a clear interest for the potential foreign tourist. The text opens by drawing the reader's attention to the fictional nature of legends but, quite interestingly, the tone changes significantly when it comes to commenting on the myth of the legendary King Arthur:

> Sp. 12. La historia está basada en un personaje histórico [...].
> [The story is based on a historical character].[5]
> (WTB/BTA, 1999: 8)

The change, in fact, could not have been made in a more straightforward manner. Noteworthy is the use of a passive material process so as to delete the unwanted Participant (i.e. the author of the story). Since the Actor is missing, the main stress falls on the Location and, more particularly, on its historic(al) nature, which will make the reader not discard the story as a simple invention on the part of the copywriters. Once the interest has been fostered, the text goes on as in Sp. 13 below:

> Sp. 13. Lo que seguirá siendo misteriosa incógnita por los siglos de los siglos es si Caerleon [...] fue Camelot y si los restos mortales del Rey Arturo están enterrados en Snowdon.
> [What will remain an unsolved mys-

tery forever and ever is whether Caer-leon [...] was Camelot and whether King Arthur's mortal remains are buried in Snowdon].
(WTB/BTA, 1999: 8)

In this case we have a Predicated Theme structure which, by turning an original intensive attributive structure upside down, manages to draw the reader's attention to two important points. In fact, what in Sp. 13 occupies rhematic position would have been presented as Theme in the intensive attributive structure. But, as presented above, the Theme includes an intensive attributive process which, by selecting an Attribute with the connotations of an insoluble riddle, clearly encourages the curious reader to keep on reading. And it is then that the important news is revealed: the Welshness of the Arthurian myth in the shape of a relational and a passive material process, respectively, both conveying a obvious sense of objectivity.

WTB/BTA 2001 works in very much the same way:

En. 13. Arthurian connections are especially strong around Caerleon in the south, where the Roman amphitheatre is reputedly the site of King Arthur's legendary Round Table (it's certainly the right shape!).
En. 14. You can take another voyage of discovery at 'Grailand' in North-east Wales, legendary home [sic] Arthur's courts, famous battles and fabled Avalon.
(WTB/BTA, 2001: 11)

What WTB/BTA 2001 manages to do is profit from the mystery aura surrounding King Arthur by mixing linguistic resources denoting certainty, thus suggesting that Welsh Arthurian legends do have a factual component (note the use of relational processes in En. 14, emphasised by the presence of an Adjunct of Probability ['certainly'] in the Mood structure, or even the wording ['discovery'] in En. 14) with others by which the copywriters imply low affinity with the statement (in this regard, note the Mood Adjunct 'reputedly' and the Epithet 'legendary' in En. 13 and the Epithets 'legendary' and 'fabled' in En. 14).[6]

Finally, WTB/BTA 1999 & 2000 bring the section to a close as follows:

Sp. 14. En efecto, como en mitos y leyendas de tantas otras culturas, los más imperecederos son aquéllos que toman la realidad como sustancia.
[Indeed, as in myths and legends from so many other cultures, the truly everlasting ones are those that take reality as their substance].
(WTB/BTA, 1999 & 2000: 8)

What is being done here is round off the idea with which the Arthurian myth was presented in the first place, namely that it is based on historical facts. After a Marked Theme constituted by a Circumstantial Participant which compares the Arthurian legend with others in different cultures (El Cid, for example, might easily be recalled by a Spanish reader), Sp. 14 introduces an identifying relational process (once again, objectivity is connoted through the choice of process) with the two usual Participants organised as Token and Value, the latter occupying final position and receiving, therefore, greater emphasis. And it is here precisely that the authenticity of the Arthurian legend plays an important role. In fact we could not have found a better term, since it is precisely as a Circumstantial Participant of Role (Guise) that the above-mentioned authenticity is constructed within the Value in this Clause complex. If we have a look at the Value, we shall see that it is composed of a complex Noun group whose Head is the pronoun 'aquéllos' ['those'] (myths and legends, we understand), which is in turn postmodified by a relative clause in which the relative Pronoun itself (co-referent with 'aquéllos') is the Actor in a material process in which 'la realidad' functions as Goal whereas 'como sustancia' ['as [their] substance'], occupying final position, is presented as Role (Guise). Therefore, not only is the authentic component emphasised in the Arthurian legend but also its percentage of truth as opposed to fictional additions[7].

Thus, to the right of the paragraph devoted to King Arthur, we find the photograph of an actor dressed in armour whose looks, as can be seen in the illustration above (left), remind us very much

of those of the actor Nigel Terry in the role of King Arthur in John Boorman's 1981 production of *Excalibur* (right). But this picture is not the only visual element in the text. Thus, towards the left of the verbal component we can also see a series of smaller photographs (four overall, although only two can be seen above). Given this clear left-right divide, it is possible to distinguish here a division similar to what we have been calling thematic structure in verbal language. Thus, the photographs on the left, depicting Welsh sights associated with myths and legends (including Valle Crucis Abbey in clear competition with Glastonbury Abbey in Somerset) can be read as 'Given' information, whereas the image of an Arthur-like flesh-and-bone actor on the right can be interpreted as 'New' information, thus suggesting that Arthurian memories are ever so vivid in this land that visitors will no doubt feel as if they could come across the legendary king and his court of brave knights any moment while in Wales. After all, as the final sentence goes in this section, '[u]no no tiene más que venir aquí para ver por qué la imaginación se desborda en esta tierra' ['one only has to come here to see why the imagination runs wild in this land'].

Finally, it is worth pointing out that WTB/BTA 2000 gives extra emphasis to this question. Both verbally and nonverbally, this section is virtually identical in both editions,[8] but the verbal text changes slightly towards the end in WTB/BTA 2000. Thus, it adds:

Sp. 15. ¿Dónde nació Arturo? ¿Dónde

libró sus antiguas batallas y, lo que es más importante, dónde estaba situada Avalon? [...]
['Where was Arthur born? Where did he fight his old battles and, what is more important, where was Avalon? [...]']
(WTB/BTA, 2000: 8)

As we can see, the text clearly seeks to interact with the reader by resorting to a series of content interrogative propositions invariably highlighting Locations related to Arthur –his birthplace, his battlefields, his final resting place. And it is to be noted that the aim of the text is not quite so much to provide an answer to them as to suggest that all such Locations might well be found within Wales.

Sp. 16. Venga a disfrutar de este mágico paisaje y descubra por sí mismo la vida de Arturo.
['Come and enjoy this magical landscape and discover for yourself the life of Arthur']
(WTB/BTA, 2000: 8)

Once all these suggestions have been made, the Mood changes again, this time to the Imperative, and exhorts the reader to visit the country, although it never quite says this but 'enjoy this magical landscape' –note the wording, clearly reminiscent of the fantastic atmosphere to be found in the Arthurian legends. This could be taken as an instance of grammatical metaphor in which an original material process ('visit the country') is substituted by a highly evocative mental one ('enjoy this magical landscape').
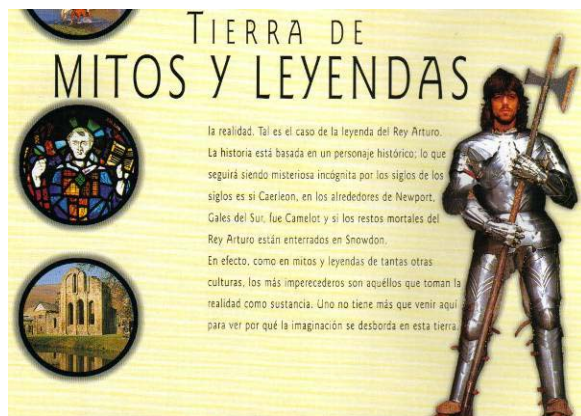

Figure 5 Hyperreal Arthur. (Source: WTB/BTA, 1999: 8; http://dandalf.com/dandalf/IMG30.JPG)

In a way, this can also be seen as an implicit promise of reward so as to somehow diminish the otherwise authoritative tone derived from the use of the Imperative. In this regard, it is interesting to see tourism as a game in which the tourists, eager for freedom, leave their homeland only to find themselves in a strange territory where, quite paradoxically, they will need to be given instructions as to what to do and see (see Dann, 1996: 101ff). The aim of the discourse of tourism in such cases, therefore, can be no other than finding the balance between the restrictions inherent to such authority and the tourist's freedom. In other words, orders, restrictions and constraints must be disguised so as not to be perceived as such by the tourist. And one of the strategies available in order to do this is no doubt the promise of reward, implicit in the grammatical metaphor now under discussion.

However, there is another promise of reward more openly stated in the remaining part of this clause complex. Note that, in principle, Sp. 16 should be analyzed as an example of parataxis between two parallel clauses. However, it will be agreed that Sp. 16 above can be taken to mean the same as Sp. 16 Bis below:

Sp. 16 Bis. Venga a disfrutar de este mágico paisaje para descubrir por sí mismo la vida de Arturo.
[Come and enjoy this magical landscape to discover for yourself the life of Arthur].

What has been done here is substitute the link between the two original clauses by a clearer one and turn a finite clause into a non-finite one. Our point here is that, once again, grammatical metaphor has a role to play in this case and we base this conclusion on the following argument. The average reader will not normally interpret the second clause in Sp. 16 as an order, and this is quite understandable, since the process presented in the Imperative Mood is not material but a mental one, and here we are entering a domain where external authority has very little to do. If we assume that this is so, and that the Imperative in 'descubra' cannot be taken as an order, the whole relationship of this clause with the preceding one must change, too. In other words, the link between both clauses ('y' ['and']) can no longer be interpreted as an addition of propositions but as something else. And this is possible since 'y' is an essentially ambiguous link which can be substituted by almost any other more clearly stating the semantic relationship between such propositions (on this and other interesting related questions, see Álvarez Calleja, 1994).

If we accept this, it follows that the Imperative in this clause is not a real Imperative and that the theoretically 'additive' value of 'y' is not additive either. Rather, the relationship between both propositions would be much more accurately referred to as 'enhancing'. In other words, the second clause is nothing but a Circumstantial element of Cause expressing Purpose, which somehow qualifies the first clause. And this purpose is, of course, the promise of reward to be derived from a visit to Wales.

At all events, what is clear is that the text emphasises the Welshness of a myth which is normally seen as typically English by the foreign tourist. And it is due to this that WTB/BTA 2000, in a small subsection providing rather curious details concerning Welsh history, culture and sites (always found at the bottom of each section), replaces some information on Prince Llywelyn by the following text:

Sp. 17. Las primeras alusiones a Arturo fueron escritas en galés antiguo o en latín por hombres o monjes galeses.
[The first allusions to Arthur were written in old Welsh or Latin by Welsh men or monks].
Sp. 18. En estas antiguas tradiciones la mayoría de los lugares vinculados a historias arturianas se sitúan en el norte de Gales.
[In these old traditions the majority of the places linked to Arthurian stories are located in the North of Wales].
(WTB/BTA, 2000: 8)

It is quite clear that the aim of this last couple of sentences is not only to emphasise the Welshness of the myth but also to provide further evidence for the theories supporting Arthur's links with Wales. Thus, in Sp. 17 a passive material process has been chosen. As seen before,

passive processes are normally resorted to in order to emphasise the process itself whilst conveniently deleting unwanted Participants. However, they may also be used with quite the opposite purpose, namely to place extra emphasis on one of the Participants, specifically the Actor, who –when mentioned- will inevitably appear in final position. And this is precisely what we have here. In this particular case, it is quite important to mention who were the supposed authors of the first written allusions to King Arthur since their possible links with the Church confer an aura of authority upon them which they would otherwise lack. A similar function can be attributed to Sp.18. Once again, a passive material process is chosen, but this time in the shape of a 'pasiva refleja' structure, which means that this choice cannot have been made to highlight the Actor. The thematic structure is relevant indeed, since the Marked Theme serves as an anaphor referring back to the contents of the preceding sentence whilst letting the Location 'en el norte de Gales' ['in the North of Wales'] occupy final position and consequently receive the main emphasis in the sentence.

Discussion and concluding remarks.

Welsh tourist promotional materials can be divided into two distinct groups, one targeting a British audience and another aiming at an international, non-British readership, on which the present work has focused. Most important of all is that the image sold is clearly different in each of them. Thus, British-oriented materials are characterised by their emphasis on the friendliness of the Welsh people, the beauty of the Welsh landscape and the old-fashioned Britishness to be found in most Welsh resorts. Exportable materials, on the other hand, clearly emphasise Wales's cultural peculiarities, particularly in the form of its Celtic lore and the Welsh language, presented as an ancient tongue of common use in the area.

Such striking differences, which indeed parallel closely those to be found in Scottish IPPs (Prieto, 2003), have already been noted by Pritchard & Morgan (2001) and, as they suggest (although in quite different terms), they may well have been caused by perceived differences in the reception of national discourses. Let us clarify this latter question.

The underlying assumption of WTB must have been that the image the British (and, most particularly, the English) have of Wales and the Welsh is significantly different from that held by any other country outside the United Kingdom. As mentioned above, since the Union of England and Wales in the 16th century, England has tried to deprive its neighbour of its distinctive cultural traits and it must be said that this has been carried out quite successfully. For a long time, the Welsh Other was tamed by being anglicised and therefore allowed to partake of the sacrosanct spirit of Britishness so proudly defended from the 18th century until quite recently. However, there are reasons to believe that Britishness is in crisis today and that Mrs Thatcher's efforts to preserve national unity (by reforming the National Curriculum, for example, giving greater importance to British history) (Scholte, 2000: 165) did not come up to expectations. In this regard, devolution in Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales is an obvious sign that the extremely centralised British state has changed, seeking to adapt to the new times. This is what some have already signalled as the 'break-up' or even 'death' of Britain (see Nairn, 1977; Marr, 2000).

Come what may, the fact is that the non-English nations in the UK are giving free rein to their own individual national identities and can therefore be felt as a threat by an English population whose own English national identity has long been confused with Britishness. It follows from this that a truly different, non-English (or, for this matter, British) Wales is not likely to be considered as a desirable tourist destination by a large proportion of the English people. On the contrary, it might well generate feelings of aversion in them and ultimately result in a significant decrease in the numbers of English tourists visiting Wales. On the other hand, foreign visitors who have

never been subject to the discourse of Britishness may well regard non-Englishness as an attractive feature which will make Wales worth considering as a potential holiday destination.

Given this situation, it is only natural that the Welsh tourist authorities should have found that publishing two different sets of materials may well prove more beneficial for the Welsh tourist industry in the long term. Thus, they seek to appeal to an ever-increasing portion of the British/English audience by presenting attractive products for the different market niches, each presented in the form of a different article in the holiday magazine *A View of Wales* (seaside and activity holidays for two- or single-parent families; walking, bird-watching or cultural heritage holidays for a more veteran audience), although with the common and rather patriotic denominator of 'a good British holiday'. Especially noteworthy is the fact that families with young children and the 55+ segment seem to be the groups preferably targeted not quite so much for long holidays as for short breaks, thus following the opinion of experts in British domestic tourism (see Cockerill, 2001; Seekings, 2001).

On the other hand, an entirely different publication caters for the foreign tourist, also remarking on the beauty and variety of the Welsh landscape (aspects which have not been studied in the present work) but also, and above all, focusing on what are presented as the Welsh cultural distinctive features.

The question may well be posed whether this division of materials will still continue for a long time to come. In this regard, the new slogan for the British campaign in 2002 ('The Big Country') may well indicate a new turn towards a greater presence of Welshness in British-oriented Welsh promotional materials. Pritchard & Morgan, although writing prior to the launch of this new campaign, already foretell a slow change in this direction, since —according to them- the English are also rediscovering their own nationalism, which would make them less hostile to non-English national symbols (2001: 177).

At all events, we have already noted

that what intends to become the best-selling image of Wales in the foreign market, as promoted by WTB, does not even remotely correspond to the complex reality of contemporary Wales, an area not only peopled by Celtic but also English stock who find it increasingly difficult to determine where Welshness lies in the context of the at least 500-year-old anglicization and the more recent and nonetheless terribly important globalisation. WTB's Welshness, therefore, although understandable as both an intelligent marketing strategy and a reaction against English hegemony, is not true to life and once again, provides evidence of the political use of heritage, understanding by such 'an all-embracing concept that applies equally to landscapes, customs and narratives of identity' (Gruffudd, 1997: 50).

True enough, WTB also publicises the enormous economic spend made on the newly redeveloped waterfronts in Cardiff and Swansea, for example, or the new Millennium Stadium in the Welsh capital, thus following established patterns in international tourism promotion suggesting the promotion of a cosmopolitan city life and the building of landmarks (Holcomb, 1999: 58; Thomas & Bromley, 2000). But the fact remains that the main emphasis is placed on Welshness understood as Celticness or, better still, non-Englishness based on a language which, even if it is the only minority language likely to survive in the UK (Smyth, 1997: 255-257), is only spoken by 20% of the total Welsh population; on fictional legends; and last but not least, a considerable set of invented and re-invented traditions.

In other words, we are witnessing how the discourse of tourism promotion may use heritage as an identity-creation tool. The only problem is that such identities are constructs and their use, consequently, a manipulation (Macdonald, 1997: 155). In this regard, WTB has a function very similar to that of the Museum of Welsh Life at St Falgans, near Cardiff, which is of course promoted in WTB's overseas materials but not in the British-oriented *A view of Wales*. A Welsh Folk Museum had long been demanded in

political circles and it is obvious that this was not only because of the sociological function it was to perform but also, and perhaps most importantly, because of a political one, leading to a 'manufacture of Welsh national identity' through the idealisation of the countryside, thus creating 'a classless version of the nation –the gwering- united by having its 'authentic' heritage revealed to it' (Gruffudd, 1997: 60-61). However, it should be pointed out that all such heritage representations are actually artificial and inauthentic, pure bogus history, in which 'local people risk losing the 'authentic' meanings of their culture and debasing it to mere 'local colour' by performing for outsiders' (Macdonald, 1997: 156), losing in turn the necessary reference with the Welsh living culture.

Notwithstanding all of the above, it must also be acknowledged that WTB's somewhat extreme or even fundamentalist concept of Welshness is not even half as aggressive as STB's Scottishness: whereas the former could be seen as a form of non-Englishness, the latter is quite openly constructed as a violent, potentially offensive form of anti-Englishness (see Prieto, 2003).

Violent or non-violent, both NTOs fail to give an accurate account of the complex cultural variety existing in their respective nations. According to Renan, two principles constitute the soul of a nation. 'One is the possession in common of a rich legacy of memories; the other is present-day consent, the desire to live together [...]' (1994: 19). We have already seen plenty of evidence that the first of these two principles is invariably based on largely fictional elements. So why not simply accept the second, even if this implies a somewhat less romantic concept of nation? There is no way nations can escape the hybridity inherent to globalisation (Amin, 1997), but we must also take into account that such hybridity has not appeared with globalisation. There is not and, of course, there has never been, a pure nation. If we follow Bhabha (1996), all such units are essentially heterogeneous and it is precisely in their heterogeneity that their richness lies, which automatically endows each of their compo-

nents with a right to proclaim their difference and utter opposition against what is only too often an enslaving concept of national identity based on what Hall has accurately termed 'the Constitutive Outside' (1996: 15).

Bibliography

Alarcos Llorach, Emilio
1994 *Gramática de la lengua española*. Madrid: Real Academia Española / Espasa Calpe.

Álvarez Calleja, M. Antonia
1994 "Lingüística aplicada a la traducción: interpretación textual en el marco sistémico-funcional y su desplazamiento hacia una orientación cultural". *Estudios ingleses de la Universidad Complutense,* 2: 205-220.

Amin, Samir
1997 "Reflections on the international system". In Golding, Peter and Harris, Phil (Eds.), *Beyond cultural imperialism. Globalization, communication and the new international order* (pp. 10-24). London: Thousand Oaks & New Delhi: SAGE.

Bhabha, Homi K.
1996 "Culture's in-between". In Hall, Stuart and du Gay, Paul (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 53-60). London, Thousand Oaks & New Delhi: SAGE.

Cockerill, Jon
2001 "Re-inventing a domestic holiday business". *Tourism,* 109: 4.

Dann, Graham M. S.
1996 *The language of tourism. A sociolinguistic perspective*. Wallingford: CAB International.

ECTRC [European Centre for Traditional and Regional Cultures]
1988 *Study of the social, cultural and linguistic impact of tourism in and upon Wales*. Cardiff: WTB.

Gramich, Katie
1997 "Cymru or Wales? Explorations in a Divided Sensibility". In Bassnett, Susan (Ed.), *Studying British cultures: an introduction* (pp. 97-112). London & New York: Routledge.

Gruffudd, Pyrs
1997 "Heritage as national identity: history and prospects of the national

pasts". In Herbert, David T. (Ed.), *Heritage, tourism and society* (pp. 49-67). London & Herndon (VA): Pinter.

Hall, Stuart

1996 "Introduction: who needs 'Identity'?". In Hall, Stuart and du Gay, Paul (Eds.), *Questions of cultural identity* (pp. 1-17). London, Thousand Oaks & New Delhi: SAGE.

Halliday, Michael A. K.

1994 & 1985 *An introduction to functional grammar* (second edition). London: Edward Arnold.

Hobsbawn, Eric and Ranger, Terence (eds)

1983 *The invention of tradition.* Cambridge: CUP.

Holcomb, Briavel

1999 "Marketing cities for tourism". In Judd, Dennis and Fainstein, Susan S. (Eds.), *The tourist city* (pp. 54-70). New Haven & London: Yale UP.

Keating, Michael

1989 "Regionalism, devolution and the state, 1969-1989". In Garside, Patricia L. and Hebbert, Michael (Eds.), *British regionalism 1900-2000* (pp. 158-172). London & New York: Mansell.

Kress, Gunther and Leeuwen, Theo van

1999 [1996] *Reading images. The grammar of visual design.* London & New York: Routledge.

Macdonald, Sharon

1997 "A people's history. Heritage, identity and authenticity", in Rojek, Chris and Urry, John (Eds.), *Touring cultures. Transformations of travel and theory* (pp. 155-175). London & New York: Routledge.

Marr, Andrew

2000 *The day Britain died.* London: Profile Books.

Morgan, Prys

1983 "From a death to a view: the hunt for the Welsh past in the romantic period". In Hobsbawn, Eric and Ranger, Terence (Eds.), *The invention of tradition* (pp. 43-100). Cambridge: CUP.

Nairn, Tom

1977 *The break-up of Britain.* London: NLB.

NSO [National Eisteddfod Organisation]

24/03/2002a [2002] "Introduction". http://www.eisteddfod.org.uk/english/history/introduction.html.

24/03/2002b [2002] "The gorsedd of bards". http://www.eisteddfod.org.uk/english/history/gorsedd/html.

Osmond, John

2001 "Welsh politics in the new millennium". In Morley, David and Robins, Kevin (Eds.), *British cultural studies* (pp. 109-125). Oxford: OUP.

Prieto Arranz, José Igor

2003 "Nation, narration & translation. The case of STB". In Gonçalves de Abreu, Maria Zina and de Castro, Marcelino (Eds.), *Estudos de tradução. Actas de congresso internacional* (pp. 485-496). Cascais & Funchal: PRINCIPIA / Universidade da Madeira.

2004 "'Unothering' Wales. Domestication as a tourist marketing strategy" *PASOS. Revista de turismo y patrimonio cultural*, 2(2): 233-241.

Pritchard, Annette and Morgan, Nigel J.

2001 "Culture, identity and tourism representation: marketing Cymru or Wales?". *Tourism Management,* 22: 167-179.

RAE [Real Academia Española]

2001 *Diccionario de la lengua española* (21st edition). Madrid: Espasa Calpe.

Renan, Ernest [Thom, Martin trans.]

1994 "What is a nation?". In Bhabha, Homi K. (Ed.), *Nation and narration* (pp. 8-22). London & New York: Routledge.

Scholte, Jan Aart

2000 *Globalization. A critical introduction.* Basingtoke & New York: Palgrave.

Seekings, John

2001 "Senior Tourism". *Tourism,* 108: 10-11.

Smyth, Gerry

1997 "Ethnicity and Language". In Storry, Mike and Childs, Peter (Eds.), *British cultural identities* (pp. 241-276). London & New York: Routledge.

Thomas, Colin. J. and Bromley, Rosemary D. F.

2000 "City-centre revitalisation: problems of fragmentation and fear in the evening and night-time city". *Urban studies* 37(8): 1403-1429.

WTB [Wales Tourist Board] / BTA [British Tourist Authority]

1999a *Gales. Tierra de belleza natural y de leyendas.* Cardiff & London: WTB/BTA.

1999b *Le Pays de Galles. Terre de nature et de légende.* Cardiff & London: WTB/BTA.

2000 *Gales. Tierra de belleza natural y deleyendas.* Cardiff & London: WTB/BTA.

2001 *Wales. Land of nature and legend.* Cardiff & London:WTB/BTA.

WTB

28/02/ 2002a [2001] *Vision in action. Wales Tourist Board annual report 2000-2001.* Cardiff: WTB. http://www.wales-tourist-board.gov.uk/attrachments/130.pdf.

01/03/2002b [2000] *Visitor statistics 1999.* Cardiff: WTB. http://www.wales-tourist-board.gov.uk/attachments/21.pdf.

NOTES

1 In our view, 'speak' could be interpreted as both material and verbal. Hence our double choice of Participant as Sayer and Actor.

2 It could also be argued that this Thematic Equative structure presents a serious syntactic flaw in that Spanish in principle requires both constituents to belong to the same syntactic category. In this particular case, the Marked Theme is a Prepositional Phrase and we should also expect its twin constituent to be one. However, this second constituent is not a Prepositional Phrase but a clear example of nominalisation. It is not our aim here to discuss the possible ungrammaticality of this structure but its effects. In this regard, whether grammatical or not, parallel constructions can be heard in the media every day to the extent that it might be argued that these new 'faulty' constructions are replacing the canonical ones. Most readers will therefore accept Sp. 4 as a well-formed sentence and, what is most important, they will be sensitive to its underlying message.

3 WTB/BTA 2000 updates this information: 'El próximo Eisteddfod nacional se celebrará en Denbigh en agosto de 2001' ['The next national Eisteddfod will be held in Denbigh in August 2001']. Similarly, WTB/BTA 2001 states: 'Wales' distinctive culture and heritage are celebrated at eisteddfodau, festivals usually held in the Welsh language. The most important is the National Eisteddfod (taking places [sic] at St

Davids in 2002) which combines colourful ceremony with competitions in poetry, dance and music. Translation facilities are available' (17).

4 We interpret the expression 'querer decir' as a verbal periphrasis synonymous with, and functionally equivalent to, the identifying relational process 'significar'.

5 It should be noted that the term 'historia', as its related adjective 'histórico' are essentially ambiguous in Spanish. The former, thus, comprises the meanings of both 'history' and 'story' in English, whereas the latter corresponds to both 'historic' and 'historical'. Needless to say, this ambivalence proves essential when it comes to interpreting the text above.

6 It is also worth mentioning that this section in WTB/BTA 2001 features not only the myth of Arthur but also other legends. Especially relevant is the following extract, which endows the fairly recent symbol of the red dragon with the authority of the mists of time: 'Also in North Wales, Snowdonia's beautiful Nant Gwynant Valley is said to be the battleground of two dragons, red and white, from which the former, Y Ddraig Goch (the emblem on the Welsh flag), emerged victorious' (11).

7 The RAE (Real Academia Española) distinguishes, among other meanings for 'sustancia', the following two: 'Ser, esencia o naturaleza de algo' and 'Aquello que constituye lo más importante de algo' (2001: 2114). By choosing this meaning as the Role performed by the Goal 'realidad', it is clear that the text not only allows for, but also encourages, a reading according to which the factual base of the legend is greater than its fictional components. Quite interestingly, the use of the word 'fiction' as opposed to truth or fact is a long-established one and dates back to the 14th Century, at least in the English language (Williams 1988: 134).

8 It, however, changes in WTB/BTA 2001, where the image of Arthur is replaced by an effective visual collage with three main images: a ruined castle (Harlech Castle), a wooden sculpture of Y Ddraig Goch (the dragon on the Welsh flag) and a Celtic cross.