

**GREECE IN TRANSLATION:
(RE)CONSTRUCTING ONLINE NARRATIVES OF NATION AND IDENTITY IN
TOURISM AND CULTURE**

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Doctor of Philosophy Languages and Social Sciences

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SUMMARY:

This Dissertation focuses on original Greek and translated English online multimodal texts from the domains of tourism and culture, produced or copyrighted between 2009-2019. It aims to examine possible fluctuations between the two language versions, in order to determine the extent to which translation may be an important reconstructive factor in the process of national identity creation in contemporary Greece. To do so, it engages with narratives and discourses of nationalism and explores the relationship between national identity and discourse within the framework of narrativity and hegemony.

After delving into an interdisciplinary literature review which draws on Translation Studies (TS), discourse theory, identity research, branding and marketing studies as well as nationalism theory, textual data is extracted from three high-popularity Greek websites (i.e. Visit Greece, the Acropolis Museum and the National Archaeological Museum of Athens), which are available both in Greek (EL) and English (EN) and follow the EL to EN translation process.

The analysis carried out follows a Critical Narrative Analysis paradigm, drawing both on Critical Discourse Analysis and narrativity, and focuses on multimodal and textual features. Discussion of results leads to the conclusion that translation does not seem to be a major reconstruction force regarding Greek nation image and identity in the websites studied, as ST and TT narratives are almost identical with only minor fluctuations. Greece is depicted by means of its past and present, while heritage and continuity are core to the identity construction; at the same time, processes of stereotyping, commodification and identity attribution are also evident, as seen in the examples provided.

Hence, this study contributes to TS by examining the role of translation in discursive identity construction and by providing an interdisciplinary method of analysis. At the same time, it offers new insights into questions of national identity and nationalism, particularly about Greece.

KEYWORDS:

tourism and translation, Critical Discourse Analysis, narrativity, nationalism, ideology

And I am bringing you the news.
In India, in the city of Kolkata
They stopped a person
They chained a walking person.

This is why I don't bother
To lift my gaze to the starlit sky
What if the stars are far and our earth is small
I don't care.
What I find to be more
Incredible, astonishing, mysterious and grand
Is a person walking
Being stopped.
It's a person being chained.

-Nazim Hikmet, from "Why did Banerjee kill himself?"

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

List of Abbreviations	7
List of Figures	8
List of Images	9
List of Maps	10
List of Tables	11
1. Introduction.....	12
2. Translation, Discourses, Identities and Tourism: Theoretical Perspectives.....	21
2.1 Translation in Tourism and Culture	21
2.1.1 Culture and Power Turn in Translation Studies	21
2.1.2 Rewriting and Patronage	24
2.1.3 Ideological Implications and Translation.....	27
2.1.4 Image Formation, Web Tourism Translation and Audience Design	31
2.2 Discourses, Texts, Narratives.....	36
2.2.1 Discourse and Discourses	37
2.2.2 Text Types and Hybridity	40
2.2.3 Narratives and Dissemination of Stories.....	42
2.3 Nation and National Identity.....	44
2.3.1 Construction of Identities.....	46
2.3.2 The Emergence of Nations and National Identities	50
2.3.3 Tourism and Culture: The Case of Greece.....	50
2.4 Tourism/Cultural Promotion and Nation Image	52
2.4.1 Commodification & Stereotypisation of Culture and Nation in Tourism.....	53
2.4.2 Nation Branding and Online Promotion	58
2.4.3 Branding as a Greece Nation-Building Tool.....	60
3. Methods and Research Design: Theory and Practice.....	62
3.1 Research Questions, Aims and Objectives	62
3.2 Data Collection and Design	65
3.2.1 Final Shortlisting and Website Information.....	65
3.2.2 Early Shortlisting and Statistical Data	67
3.3 Multimodal, CNA and Comparative Analysis in Practice	76
3.3.1 CNA: Model Overview	78
3.3.2 Comparative Analysis.....	90
4. Analysis, Findings and Discussion	91
4.1 Multimodal Homepage Analysis	91
4.1.1 Visit Greece Homepage	91
4.1.2 Acropolis Museum Homepage.....	102
4.1.3 National Archaeological Museum of Athens Homepage.....	108
4.1.4 Multimodal Analysis: Summary of Findings.....	115
4.2 Actors and Brand Relationships.....	116

4.2.1 Greece Offers What	118
4.2.2 Ambassadors as Promotional Actors	130
4.2.3 Exoticisation of the Nation	143
4.2.4 Actors and Brand Relationships: Summary of Findings.....	149
4.3 Brand Reference Temporal Orientation.....	151
4.3.1 Temporal Relativity	155
4.3.2 Greece: Temporally Bound Timelessness.....	163
4.3.3 Brand Reference Temporal Orientation: Summary of Findings	170
4.4 Intertextuality.....	171
4.4.1 In the Words of Ancientness	174
4.4.2 ‘What They Say About Us’.....	180
4.4.3 Intertextuality: Summary of Findings	182
4.5 Dominance	183
4.5.1 Temporally Framed Dominance	187
4.5.2 The Best Food, Monuments and Sea	189
4.5.3 Dominance: Summary of Findings	193
4.6 Preliminary Conclusions: Multimodal and Critical Narrative Analysis	194
4.6.1 Multimodal Analysis.....	194
4.6.2 CNA.....	196
5. Concluding Remarks and Future Considerations.....	198
5.1 The Role of Translation in National Identity Construction: Discourse and Narratives	200
5.2 Greek Identity, Nationalism and Implications	204
5.3 Insights Gained, Limitations and Further Research.....	210
6. References.....	214
7. Appendices.....	225
7.1 Appendix I: Types and Qualities of Image Formation Agents	225
7.2 Appendix II: The 5 Most Popular Museums in Greece	226
7.3. Appendix III: Top 100 City Destinations Ranking.....	227
7.4. Appendix IV: Top 10 Visited Archaeological Sites and Museums: Sep. 2013 - May 2014....	228
7.5. Appendix V: Most Visited Museums and Sites in Greece: Jan. 2016 – Feb. 2017	229
7.6. Appendix VI: Hofstede’s 6-D Model© on Cultural Indices in the Case of Greece.....	230
7.7. Appendix VII: Original Version of the Logo of the Greek State <i>Health First</i> Program	231

List of Abbreviations

APA	American Psychological Association
BCE	Before Common Era
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CNA	Critical Narrative Analysis
CofP	Community of Practice
CSI	Culture-Specific Item
DIF	Destination Image Formation
Dr	Doctor
EL	Greek language
EN	English language
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNTO	Greek National Tourism Organisation
HTML	Hypertext Markup Language
ibid	ibidem (=in the same place)
ISA	Ideological State Apparatus
ISO	International Organisation for Standardisation
LT	Literal Translation
MSS	Multimodal Social Semiotics
NAMA	National Archaeological Museum of Athens
n.d.	No Date
OoA	Order of Appearance
Prof.	Professor
RGB	Red Green Blue
RQ	Research Question
RT	Russia Today
SA	State Apparatus
SC	Source Culture
SETE	Greek Tourism Confederation
SEO	Search Engine Optimisation
SFL	Systemic Functional Linguistics
SL	Source Language
ST	Source Text
TC	Target Culture
TL	Target Language
TS	Translation Studies
TT	Target Text
UI	User Interface
UK	United Kingdom
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNWTO	United Nations World Tourism Organisation
USA	United States of America
USP	Unique Selling Point
WTTC	World Travel & Tourism Council
WWI	World War I
WWII	World War II

List of Figures

Figure 1: Schematisation of the relationship between national identity and translation.	24
Figure 2: Visual indication of the collocation of promotional genres on the information-to-persuasion ration continuum (Torresi, 2010, p.28).	42
Figure 3: Adaptation of Van Dijk's (1997, p.24) model of discourse analysis.	47
Figure 4: Activity/role grid affecting identity shaping at any given time (Ivanic, 2006, p.23).	48
Figure 5: Methodology steps adapted from Vázquez Hermosilla (2013, p.154).	77
Figure 6: Three-step model of analysis followed in the present research project.	78

List of Images

Image 1: Screenshots of www.visitgreece.gr full homepage from top to bottom (TT).	92
Image 2: Selected screenshots from Visit Greece promotional video taken from YouTube.	94
Image 3: Screenshot of hyperlinks/tabs from the homepage of Visit Greece.	96
Image 4: Screenshot of hyperlinks/tabs from the homepage of the Spanish official tourism website.	97
Image 5: Screenshot of hyperlinks/tabs from the homepage of the Turkish official tourism website.	97
Image 6: Screenshot of icons from www.visitgreece.gr TT homepage.	99
Image 7: Screenshot of icons from www.visitgreece.gr TT homepage.	99
Image 8: Logo and motto of Visit Greece in ST and TT.	100
Image 9: Screenshot of the logo of the official Spanish tourism body (ST-TT).	101
Image 10: Screenshot of the logo of the official Italian tourism body (ST-TT).	101
Image 11: Screenshot of www.theacropolismuseum.gr full homepage from top to bottom (TT).	103
Images 12-20: Screenshots of rotating images/captions from the Acropolis Museum website homepage.	104
Image 21: Screenshot of the logo of the Acropolis Museum website (TT).	106
Image 22: Screenshot for the bottom part of the www.theacropolismuseum.gr homepage (TT).	107
Image 23: Screenshot of the updated (December 2018) –full homepage of namuseum.gr when scrolling down (TT).	109
Image 24: Screenshot of the introductory image of the NAMA website homepage (TT).	110
Image 25: Logo of the National Archaeological Museum website (TT).	112
Image 26: Screenshot from the NAMA homepage showing the use of red colour as a browsing element (TT).	112
Image 27: Screenshot from the NAMA homepage showing the use of red colour as a browsing element (TT).	113
Image 28: Logo of the Greece: Health First tourism and hospitality state program (Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic, 2020). © Greek Ministry of Tourism.	163

List of Maps

Map 1: Critical Narrative Analysis model components per domain.	80
Map 2: Visualisation of brand offering themes per website (created with MindMup.com).	119
Map 3: Visualisation of brand ambassador themes per website (created with MindMup.com).	132
Map 4: Visualisation of intertextuality themes per website (created with MindMup.com).	173
Map 5: Visualisation of dominance themes in Visit Greece (created with MindMup.com).	186

List of Tables

Table 1: Final listing of websites.	65
Table 2: Fifth website shortlisting.	75
Table 3: Delin's (2005, p.13) categorisation and function of referential branding techniques.	83
Table 4: List of references considered robust in branding narrative shaping here.	84
Table 5: Intertextuality types and foci according to Austermühl (2014).	86
Table 6: Number of images, videos and hyperlinks as generated by uDev.	91
Table 7: Qualitative content categorisation of www.visitgreece.gr homepage images.	97
Table 8: Qualitative colour categorisation of www.visitgreece.gr homepage images.	98
Table 9: Qualitative categorisation of www.visitgreece.gr homepage hyperlinks per web path.	99
Table 10: Number of images, videos and hyperlinks as generated by uDev.	102
Table 11: Qualitative colour categorisation of www.theacropolismuseum.gr homepages images.	106
Table 12: Qualitative content organisation of www.theacropolismuseum.gr homepage images.	107
Table 13: Qualitative categorisation of www.theacropolismuseum.gr homepage hyperlinks per web path.	108
Table 14: Number of images, videos, hyperlinks of the namuseum.gr homepage.	109
Table 15: Categorisation of NAMA homepage rotating images per OoA and theme (ST-TT).	111
Table 16: Qualitative content organisation of the namuseum.gr homepage images.	112
Table 17: Qualitative categorisation of the namuseum.gr homepage hyperlinks per web path.	113
Table 18: Number of actors and brand relationships instances per website.	117
Table 19: Data set word count.	117
Table 20: Normalised to 10,000w data set frequency of br, vis and amb instances per website.	118
Table 21: Raw numerical data of macro temporal instances per website.	152
Table 22: Raw numerical findings of in-text brand temporal references per website.	153
Table 23: Normalised to 10,000w data set frequency of in-text brand temporal references per website.	153
Table 24: Percentage of in-text brand temporal references per total website instances.	154
Table 25: Raw numerical findings of intertextuality instances per website.	172
Table 26: Normalised to 10,000w data set frequency of intertextuality instances per website.	172
Table 27: Raw numerical findings of dominance instances per website.	185
Table 28: Normalised to 10,000w data set frequency of dominance instances per website.	185
Table 29: Temporal analysis categorisation of dominance instances in Visit Greece.	186

1. Introduction

Individuals learn about their national identity from a very early age through school, family, socialisation, books and the internet. These domains of experience are bound to specific multimodal discourses (i.e. textual, visual, auditory, etc.) that may appear in their native language or in translation. In many national communities, they are bound to receive a plethora of messages about past glory, patriotism, love for the flag, hate for the invader and many more narratives that have acquired the traits of a status quo through systematic dissemination by dominant powers (Baker, 2005, 2006). Greece is no exception: Greeks, myself included, learn about Alexander the Great and his allegedly peaceful march towards the east of Ancient Macedonia. We are taught to admire the city of Ancient Athens with its false (however innovative) democratic political system and glorious architectural/cultural production without no reference to colonisation, slavery and women's oppression. We marvel at the Byzantine Empire considering it a purely Greek success story and we are introduced to myths about the Olympian Gods and their heroic feats. Greek school curricula highlight national glory, focusing on the past and nation continuity at large (Athanasidou and Figgou, 2017). History textbooks hardly discuss contemporary history and the post WWI and WWII situation in the country. Far from this, contemporary notions such as social solidarity and cross-border cooperation do not find their way into mass conscience seeing that education is ethnocentric at large (Chalari and Georgas, 2016). As a result, the identity formulated focuses on the past to a large degree without enough space to be enriched, while also lacking fluidity, i.e., the quality of identities to develop, change and be affected, which is one of the core features of human identity (Ivanic, 2006; Sunderland, 2010).

In Europe particularly, and in the case of Greece more specifically, contemporary societies rarely engage *en masse* in overt patriotic acts of land protection or other similar feats that would directly pertain to the ideas of nationhood as described above. This means narratives around the idea of nation mostly relate to other channels of communication, practice and thematic domain. Tourism is such an example, as it has become a national product, main field of employment and national pride for Greece. Through this narrative dissemination and identity (re)construction process, Greeks learn to love the sea and the blue sky, they learn that there is no place like Greece, and feel awe upon seeing the ancient ruins, acquiring sentiments of superiority (Chalari and Georgas, 2016). Nevertheless, native discourses around nationhood are not the sole source of identity construction. Greece, as a largely touristic destination, receives millions of visitors that have formulated their own preconception about the Greek nation image and identity. Through original texts and translations, non-Greek-speaking visitors are fed a series of narratives around Greece and its people, both by Greek and foreign media and institutions.

In turn, the Greek population learns to anticipate the millions of tourists who visit with their own ideas about Greece: some of them visit for the glorious antiquity, others visit for the seas and lifestyle, etc. All these national/cultural traits become promotional elements and are in some ways detached from the

very ‘Greekness’ they supposedly hold, since they are utilised in (desti)nation branding campaigns within the tourism domain. As I will also discuss in more detail under section 2.4, tourism is one of the most important domains of financial activity worldwide and the largest industry for Greece, employing almost a fifth of the country’s population (SETE, 2016, p. 60). This means millions of individuals are involved in activities that relate to touristic/cultural offering—from waiters and ferry boat captains to museum curators and translators—and they actively engage, no matter whether knowingly or not, in a nation image construction process.

The particularities of this process of narrative construction, and the crucial role that translation inexorably plays in it, is the starting point of my PhD Dissertation, in which I aim to study the (re)writing of Greek national identity through online Greek promotional campaigns on three leading touristic websites in Greek and English, i.e. Visit Greece, the Acropolis Museum and the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, looking particularly at how both language versions may affect the way Greeks see themselves, as an outcome of discursive identity construction processes.

The focus on online instead of print campaigns is not coincidental, but it is based on the fact that (desti)nation branding efforts are communicated to tourists mainly online and prior to their visit. Indeed, since tourism is one of the main overt actions of identity communication or (desti)nation branding (Anholt, 2005), multimodal digital promotion is the leading force behind narrative and image construction. The growing demand for experiences deemed ‘authentic’ coupled with the high expectations of visitors lead to a process of bipolar mirroring; the destination both feeds and helps shape narratives, yet at the same time, it is physically affected by dominant discourses (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

As visitors, brands, states, locals and many more actors engage in this insatiable process of online discursive production and consumption, the narratives circulating around a destination start acquiring the status of meta-narratives (Baker, 2005; 2006), meaning they supersede reality and construct a new image that may or will replace the existing one, despite its degree of truthfulness. The importance of tourism discourse to national identity (re)construction is large, particularly because there is no tourism without discourse and more specifically there is no promotion without translation (Wodak et. al, 2009; Lefevere, 1992). Although, in the case of Greece, there are indications discursive production also takes place directly in a foreign language, mainly English¹, translation is still the norm in tourism communication. In recent years, linguistic choices have proved to be of great significance in branding and this “increase in the interest and development of what has been termed verbal identity” (Bielsa, 2012, p.147) means that linguistics are on the very core of branding and that translation exhibits an equally great significance, as fundamental part of a multinational branding process that affects not only a local yet a global image. Thus, looking through a financial frame of reference, the identification of

¹ Popular websites such as thisisathens.org and greeka.com publish content directly in English, while discovergreece.com produces original content both in Greek and English translating both ways.

translation patterns offers the opportunity for further evaluating of branding success on behalf of the institution that would authorise the translation.

The translation of touristic and cultural texts has received a lot of academic attention over the past thirty years (Cappelli, 2008; Francesconi, 2006; Kefala, 2014; Malamatidou, 2018; Manca, 2016). Given the importance of translation in promotional campaigns that thematically touch upon tourism and culture, a significant number of scholars have delved into an analysis of textual data, studying language and ideology under different perspectives, i.e. linguistic, marketing, financial, socio-political, etc. The cultural and subsequent power turn in Translation Studies (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1992, 1998; Tymoczko and Gentzler, 2002) opened new avenues of research for projects focusing on the examination of translation phenomena under a critical perspective, often shifting scholarly interest from the micro-community of translation practices to the macro-effect of translations and translators. Combining TS with post-Marxist theories on ideology, patronage and power relations has allowed the field to progress into a much more radical understanding of translation that allows for exploring of phenomena beyond language production per se, as well as for engaging and promoting acts of active resistance through academic research and translation practice (Baker, 2013). Lefevere's (1992) work on 'rewriting' has redefined the TS academic spectrum, stemming from Foucault (1980, 1998) and other works on the power relations existing between hegemony and the masses, in relation to discursive production and translation. Schaffner (2004) presented a combined interdisciplinary approach to the study of political discourse through TS, while Baker (2005, 2006) proposed an exegesis of dominant narratives and the establishment of political power through language.

With regard to the study of tourism and language production/translation, Cappelli (2008) provided useful insights regarding the effect of translation practices on brand image and promotional success, while Francesconi (2006) shed light on the discursive nature of tourism promotion, examining the semiotic construction of tourism as a practice and field of promotion. Focusing particularly on Greece, Kefala (2014) discussed the function of patterns of 'otherness' in Greek tourism texts by examining translation fluctuations in order to contribute to the discussion of identity construction, while Malamatidou (2018) explored the ways in which physical space was represented in tourism texts produced in Greek and translated into English.

Similar data sets have also been studied by scholars in discourse studies. Among them, Thurlow and Jaworski (2011) studied the concepts of authenticity and stereotyping in the globalised world through tourism discourse, Zantides (2016) conducted content analysis on Cypriot Tourism organisation advertisements to provide conclusions on the construction of Cypriot identity through the texts, and Archakis and Tzanne (2009) attempted to identify narratives patterns of 'Greekness' through conversation analysis under a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) perspective.

Despite the rising interest in tourism communicative practices, there has not been extensive research in translation in the tourism domain. The few studies undertaken in the field mainly focused on phenomena of translation equivalence, linguistic quality and marketing without fully considering the narrative power of the Source Texts (STs) and Target Texts (TTs). That is, tourism, as a powerful pool of discourse, takes into consideration the vast audience it reaches both as a text and as a practice, and, by so doing, it carries a series of messages that are important in identity shaping. The potential of Greek STs in (re)constructing Greek national identity is deemed crucial based on existing CDA literature on tourism practices and audience reception.

In this Dissertation, I propose that TTs can also have a meaningful effect on the construction of native identity in the case of Greece, seeing that TTs are part of the narrative circulation process (Baker, 2005, 2006). This means that translated texts may reach the native population through identity formation processes of attribution and address (Ivanic, 2006). Although it could be argued that the Greek-speaking population rarely engages directly with the TT content, narrative theory suggests that the messages contained in these texts will reach the potential and actual non-Greek visitors. By means of tourist experience and socialisation, both physically as well as digitally, as expressed in the capitalist promotional sphere, these messages would typically be adopted by the tourism/cultural bodies and authorities as well, in order to construct their brand image, based on the foreign audience preconceptions. Significantly, given that Greek tourism as a socio-economical practice is mainly focused on incoming visitors and considering the effects of globalisation on destination branding and tourism promotional discourse, it is expected that, at times, foreign conceptions of Greekness would prevail over local understanding of native identity with respect to branding campaigns. This dichotomy between native and foreign perceptions of Greek national identity is better understood when considering i) one of the core aspects towards the formation of human identity, i.e. rejection of the out-group (Ivanic, 2006), in that the way we view ourselves feeds upon and is feeding the way we view others, and ii) the differing narratives to which the Greek-speaking population residing in Greece is exposed in comparison with the narratives communicated to non-Greek speakers residing outside Greece. Even if we were to overlook the globalised tourism discourse narratives that are communicated to each group and are evident in the STs and TTs that mirror audience preconceptions at large, the narrative power of everyday messages through socialisation, the media, politics, sports, etc. (Anholt, 2005) constitute a robust spectrum of branding practices that help shape receivers' perception of native and foreign national identity.

Examining both STs and TTs provides us with a more comprehensive and original picture as regards narratives around the Greek national identity. Studying these texts through the prism of translation studies allows for an in-depth appreciation of the degree of cross-language and cross-cultural fluctuations, insofar as the produced identity is discursively constructed. Despite the already mentioned circular narrative-creation nature of TTs, there appears to be a research gap in the field in this regard,

as existing academic publications in the tourism translation field have not yet considered the potential of English TTs in (re)forming domestic nation image and identity. I explore this through the prism of narrativity (Baker, 2005, 2006; Souto-Manning, 2014) and CDA (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 1997; Wodak et. al, 2009), focusing on three websites: Visit Greece (visitgreece.com) and the National Archaeological Museum (namuseum.gr), which are state-operated and the Acropolis Museum (theacropolismuseum.com) which operates autonomously. The analysis of the possible narrative fluctuations (ST-TT) in my data set is complemented by the study of narratives via these websites, discussing the national identity produced and highlighting nationalist tendencies. The study of what Anderson (2006) has termed “imagined communities” through tourism discourse promises meaningful findings as nation branding is at the core of both tourism/culture promotion and national identity construction (Wodak, 2011).

Exploring the above-mentioned points under an interdisciplinary approach offers a novel practical example of study within the premise of interdisciplinarity, aspiring to showcase the advantages of using such a methodology. At the same time, my study provides a fresh insight into the rather unexplored field of Greek nation branding and the Greek language, highlighting the importance of language production in marketing campaigns in relation to identity and image shaping by hegemonic powers. What is more, exploring the means through which a nation is promoted can reveal different commodification and exoticisation processes possibly involved in nation branding campaigns, as well as the implications of these processes on the native national identity through the messages disseminated in said campaigns. I also aim to offer a well-structured model of analysis combining methodological tools for a number of disciplines such as TS, linguistics, discourse studies, identity theory and marketing research, accounting both for multimodal and textual discourses. The model will allow for reproduction and further development by scholars in the various disciplines upon which it touches.

This Dissertation has also scope for considerable social impact, inasmuch as it deals with a topical issue, i.e. national identity and nationalism, which has been under a lot of discussion in recent years in the academia and also in the public sphere. Examining the discourses behind this phenomenon will provide useful information both regarding the dominant powers behind the construction, and regarding the construction process itself. This way, it will be possible to understand in more depth the ways in which processes of nation construction are functioning; and to be in a better position to tackle related challenges, particularly as far as the chauvinist/extremist expression of nationalism is concerned. Last but not least, this Dissertation has the potential to achieve economic impact, since the main topic explored, i.e. tourism, constitutes one of the most prominent financial fields not only in Greece, but globally. Shedding light on the practice of language production, translation and nation branding production can offer valuable information to marketing officials about the produced narratives and the role of translation in possibly (re)framing the original message, thus leading to economic loss or gain.

In short, the fundamental purpose of this Dissertation is to explore the ways in which the English (EN) translation of cultural/touristic promotional texts originally written in Greek (EL) may contribute to the (re)construction of the Greek national identity and image from 2009 to 2019. In order to achieve this, my interdisciplinary study delves into an analysis of textual data on three different levels, i.e. Source Text-Target Text (ST-TT), Website *vs.* Website, and overall nation image/identity produced. Placing Translation Studies (TS) and Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA) at the core of my research, I reckon narrative theory (Baker, 2005, 2006; Souto-Manning, 2014) and discourse/language analysis theories (Delin, 2005; Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006; Van Dijk, 1993, 1997) to be the theoretical and practical foundation of this study. Additionally, I draw on identity studies (Ivanic, 2006; Sunderland, 2010), nation branding theory (Anholt, 2003, 2005), studies on nation and nationalism (Anderson, 2006; Wodak et al., 2009), as well as tourism literature (Francesconi, 2006; Kavoura, 2007) in order to attain research goals regarding theoretical, methodological and analytical purposes.

Starting with the following chapter, I present the fundamental concepts guiding this study. Through a comprehensive literature review on translation in tourism/culture settings, discourse and narratives, the notion of identity construction, and finally tourism promotion and branding, I attempt to connect the study of Greek national identity through promotional tourism/culture discourse to the wider ideological implications of nation construction, destination branding and narrative dissemination. The theoretical framework discussed in **Chapter 2** spans across different disciplines to account for the multifaceted phenomenon of tourism discourse production and translation, as well as the identity construction processes that are core to this study. Section 2.1 focuses on the translation of tourism and cultural texts, introducing the culture and power turn in TS. I then expand on a discussion of ideology in translation, zooming in the theory of rewriting, as Lefevere (1992) put it forward in his study of literary texts. Expanding on the theory, I propose its application to hybrid promotional texts, considering that they are also a product of a power relationship between dominant bodies and common audience. The concept of patronage guides my discussion with regard to audience design and the original Greek texts and English translations produced by the hegemonic institutions from which the collection of texts was extracted. In section 2.2 I analyse the notion of discourse providing an exegesis of the multi-faceted term as applied in this study. Drawing on Critical Discourse theories, I consider discourse to refer to any linguistic or non-linguistic means that is used to convey a certain narrative through a possibly multimodal interface, i.e. a text (Fairclough, 1993). Additionally, I explain that discourse is to be understood as an open-ended concept regarding the analysis of texts (Van Dijk, 1997; Wodak et al., 2009). Moving on to the discussion of texts and their discursive features, I investigate the hybrid nature of the data set, meaning that texts combine traits from both promotional and informative language to construct the Greek nation image. Before proceeding to a discussion of nation and national identity, I also lay out the fundamental features of the texts under consideration, highlighting the feature of narrativity as proposed by Baker (2005, 2006) and Somers and Gibson (1994), to explain the evolving

status of stories to dominant beliefs when disseminated through and by dominant institutions. These ideas include the early capitalist notion of nationality and national identity that is explored in section 2.3, having Anderson's (2006) work as a focal point. The emergence of national identity coincided with the rise of capitalism through mass printing and this relationship between mass media and (re)construction still goes hand in hand. As a socially constructed phenomenon, nations are bound to dominant ideologies produced by dominant institutions through language in use (Wodak et. al, 2009). One such arena of linguistic production is (desti)nation branding as conducted through tourism/cultural promotion. Section 2.4 discusses the connection of nation image with promotional activities, examining the effect of commodified mass tourism (Kavoura, 2007; Zantides, 2016) and the tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen, 2011) on nation image through online campaigns; a narrative domain considered highly crucial for meaning-making and image formation (Anholt, 2005).

After establishing the core literature that would allow me to proceed to an informed research design in order to study the specifics of Greek national identity in online STs and TTs extracted from tourism/culture websites, and having manifested the need for further investigation in the topic, I proceed to **Chapter 3**, where I present the main research questions and study objectives. Section 3.1 lays out the specific questions guiding my study and signifies the expected contribution this research aspires to achieve at a societal, academic and ideological level. Studying, exposing and deconstructing the hegemonic powers that manipulate society through discourse is one of the cornerstones of CDA research and I abide by the paradigm of critical discourse analysts, applying the same objective in a TS framework. In section 3.2 I present the data set extracted and provide a report detailing the data collection process. In order to create a homogenous data set that would allow for a robust discussion, I extracted both textual and operational data. The data set was compiled by collecting webpages from the Visit Greece, Acropolis Museum and National Archaeological Museum websites, which were found to fulfil my shortlisting criteria: (i) exhibiting an extensive translation attempt, (ii) following the EL to EN translation process, (iii) thematically belonging to the domains of tourism and culture, hence being part of Greek (desti)nation branding, (iv) having been published from 2009 to 2019, and (v) demonstrating high popularity in terms of both physical and/or online visitors.

The final step before presenting and discussing my findings is the articulation and design of the model of analysis. In section 3.3 I draw on various (para)linguistic disciplines, such as translation studies, branding and marketing communication, CDA, narrative analysis, multimodal discourse theory and functional linguistics and I provide a detailed overview of the methodology deployed to study the textual data. The model of analysis built for this study combines narrative theory with CDA in what has been termed Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA) (Souto-Manning, 2014). CDA is useful in focusing on the micro level of textual analysis, while narrative analysis helps provide insight into the macro practices leading to and emanating from the discursive construction of national identity. In brief, the model includes three steps: 1) conducting multimodal analysis on the website homepages, 2) carrying out CNA

with focus on the text and 3) doing comparative ST-TT analysis to determine the degree of fluctuations between the two language versions and appreciate their ideological implications.

Step 1 uses visual analysis theories to study multimodal elements such as videos, images, hyperlinks, and User Interface (UI) elements, drawing on the work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002, 2006) on visual semiotics at large. In Step 2 I investigate the following discursive instances: (i) actors and brand relationships: studying the discursive construction of relationships built between the nation, the visitors and the native population and determining the assigned roles (Bielsa, 2012; Delin, 2005; Fairclough, 1989), (ii) brand reference temporal orientation: examining the degree of orientation towards the past, present or future when it comes to brand construction (Delin, 2005; Hofstede, 2011; Wodak et al., 2009), (iii) intertextuality: identifying intertexts and explaining their function as regards the construction of a wider discourse pool that can possibly reinforce or enrich the existing meta-narratives (Austermühl, 2014), and (iv) dominance: examining the degree of overt 'we vs. you' relationships through narratives of superiority existing in the data set as a discursive element of promotional discourse expressed through stereotypes that is tied to nationalistic discourses and practices (Wodak et al., 2009; Souto-Manning, 2014). These themes can produce meaningful results as regards the narratives disseminated both in STs and TTs, in relation to the national identity promoted, the degree of nationalism in the texts, as well as the relationship built between Greece, Greeks and visitors. Manual CNA is complemented with the use of the web tool *uDev*² to determine the frequency of multimodal elements in the homepages, as well as with numerical evidence on the frequency of discursive instances contemplated across websites and language pairs. Finally, in Step 3, beyond studying all findings in language isolation, I also proceed in a comparative analysis to unearth possible narrative and/or ideological fluctuations between the original Greek text and the English translation.

Chapter 4 presents and discusses the results of the analysis. First, section 4.1 focuses on findings extracted through multimodal discourse analysis applied to the homepages of the websites studied, while sections 4.2 to 4.5 discuss typical findings extracted based on the four narrative components previously presented under section 3.3. I present core themes identified through close open-ended analysis and provide relevant examples (ST-TT), numerical evidence and theme maps, accounting for the extent of findings per instance and their subsequent vigour in providing meaningful conclusions.

In **Chapter 5**, I conclude by summarising the core findings and linking them to previous research, extending theoretical concepts vis-à-vis my project and model of analysis. The research questions are approached on the ground of conclusions extracted and a wider discussion around the ideological and socio-political implications of the phenomenon studied takes place. I highlight the ways this Dissertation contributes to TS under an interdisciplinary approach and explain how my findings fit in

² *uDev* (Web Developer Toolbar) is a free web tool, used as a browser extension, which can be used to provide analytics and meta-data for webpages.

the wider academic environment from which they emanate. Finally, I consider the study limitations, briefly contemplating on possible solutions and I lay the groundwork for future research in the area that could provide new and different insights, expanding on the methodology adopted, the texts selected as well as the foci of discussion.

After listing my references in **Chapter 6**, using the American Psychological Association (APA) system³, I include six appendices in **Chapter 7** to provide additional visual representations of data and relevant arguments.

³ Link to the APA website: <https://apastyle.apa.org/>

2. Translation, Discourses, Identities and Tourism: Theoretical Perspectives

2.1 Translation in Tourism and Culture

The present study takes an interdisciplinary perspective within Translation Studies, encompassing theoretical contributions from several academic fields such as linguistics, sociology and politics, psychology, marketing and tourism. In what follows I begin by drawing on Translation Studies (TS) examining the culture and power turn, the concept of translation and rewriting in connection with ideology and patronage, to finally examine tourism/culture translation in relation with audience design in promotional web settings.

2.1.1 Culture and Power Turn in Translation Studies

In TS, the study of language that extends beyond linguistic level would not have been possible without the greatly influential work of Bassnett and Lefevere (1992, 1998). Their idea of the ‘cultural turn’ in TS paved the way for scholars to engage in a more in-depth analysis of language and discourse that is characteristic of a contemporary interdisciplinary stance, moving from text/language-inclined research to context-inclined research. Bassnett (1998) explains this “shift of emphasis” as a

study of the process of translation combined with the praxis of translating [that] could offer a way of understanding how complex manipulative textual processes take place, how a text is selected for translation, for example, what role the translator plays in that selection, what role an editor, publisher or patron plays, what criteria determine the strategies that will be employed by the translator, how a text might be received in the target system. (p. 123)

The ‘cultural turn’ introduced, defined and established TS research beyond the study of language, thus establishing a distinct academic field that has moved from its significantly linguistic past to a new direction, i.e. from text to context, from micro approaches that focus on the smaller units of language and text to macro approaches that zoom out of the language and focus on what surrounds it. For instance, drawing on the study of promotional texts to showcase the shifting analytical approach, Cui (2008) considers context to be relevant to the following elements: (i) substance: physical material that carries or relays the advertisement, (ii) music and pictures: they complement the text and carry additional meaning, (iii) paralanguage: behaviour or style that affect the language, (iv) participants: individual understanding and ideology, (v) cotext: texts that appear next to the text under discussion, (vi) intertext: associated texts that are considered to be relevant to the text studied and (vii) function: the purpose of the text as perceived by the actors involved (p.26). Through this listing, it is clear that the scholar encompasses different levels of analysis and recognised the importance of context in TS.

Marinetti (2011), following the paradigm of Bassnett and Lefevere (1992), defines translation as “a fact of history and a product of the target culture, and as such it cannot be explained through the mapping of linguistic correspondence between languages or judged with respect to universal standards of quality

and accuracy” (p.26). Although, translation, in the contemporary frame of understanding, is not always considered to be a product of the target culture (TC), but also a product of the source culture (SC) in the industry and publishing context, it is still clear to translation theorists that an all-encompassing and standardised model of translating and implementing quality control cannot exist under a context-centred view of translation. With a similar understanding that widens the notion of translation and language, Cronin (2002) advocates the need for interpreting practice and research to consider issues of culture, so as to “address explicitly questions of power and issues such as class, gender and race in interpreting situations” (p. 46). He, thus, highlighted the importance of such a research focus shift in connection to the research potential arising and the opportunity to showcase the importance of interpreting in society as a communicative and socio-political tool.

This translocation of research and analysis focus was not coincidental, but was triggered by the social context. The post-modern era saw the rise of a number of social movements such as post-colonialism and feminism. As a result of the post-Marxist literature and social struggle, social sciences delved in the study of society with a critical stance highlighting the need to focus on grave social issues and being aware of the implications of their research and practice. This, also, had an impact on TS. For example, Vermeer (1994) puts great emphasis on the social role of translation practitioners and promotes the idea of translators as social actors who should be aware of the implications of their choices and therefore are called to be adequately informed about the potential consequences of their actions. Expanding on the crucial role of translation practice in society, Malamitidou (2018) highlights the lack of focus by translators and/or authorising bodies on the intricacies of tourism discourse across languages and cultures, as regards the translation of concepts and descriptions related to ‘physical space’ from ST to TT. The scholar advocates for in-depth cross-cultural understanding as a tool that would contribute to tourism, through translation, both as a social and as a financial domain. Similarly, in academia, the cultural turn promoted the idea that scholars take into consideration the social importance of research as understood in the framework of social change and impact. The sociological turn also highlighted the need for TS to research into the wider social context and investigate translation as a process that occurs not only through visible, but also through invisible social channels (Wolf, 2007).

Combining socio-critical research and activism, TS subsequently moved to what has been termed, by Tymoczko and Gentzler (2002), as the ‘power turn’ in translation research. Bassnett (1996) argues that “the study and practice of translation is inevitably an exploration of power relationships within textual practices that reflect power structures within the wider cultural context” (as cited in Castro, Mainer and Page, 2017, p.3). The social role assigned to translation by Bassnett is one of the most prominent declarations regarding the post-modern character of the discipline. In parallel, Tymoczko’s (2000) ideas on the social role of translations and translators in the postcolonial world are also substantial. Tymoczko (ibid) supports that the very act of translating is one of partiality. Consequently, every act of translating enables translators “to participate in the dialectic of power, the ongoing process of political discourse,

and strategies for social change” (p.24) within a narratively constructed understanding of reality and resistance to power structures.

Initiated by Foucault’s (1980, 1998) and Bourdieu’s (1994) work on power, this tradition sees any translation as having power-related implications. This means that translation scholars have now shifted to an even more detailed and deep investigation of power relations and ideology. The ‘power turn’ is a TS tradition that encompasses the experience of the field and many of the methods and literature produced throughout the history of the field, following long-established empirical developments. Scholars are called to study the text, context, subtext, intertext as well as the interpersonal and power relations with a critical stance. The outcome of research is not solely connected to the advancement of the field, but to social contribution as well. Research is fed by real contemporary social challenges and aims to study them, offering solutions and/or raising awareness about these phenomena and about the role of translators in these phenomena (Baker, 2013, 2016; Tymoczko, 2000; Pym, 2012). Accordingly, the present study follows the ‘power turn’ tradition and investigates issues of identity and nation in culture and tourism ST-TT narratives. It adopts a critical approach to achieve social impact by informing the public and stakeholders about the implications of translation as regards national image and identity, as well as instances of nationalism in the selected pool of textual data (see Chapter 3). The focus is placed on the treatment and (re)construction/production of collective national identity through the translation of texts. Issues of translator identity and its relationship with the translation process, as well as questions of national identity survival of minor or minoritised cultures/nations/languages through translation fall beyond the scope of this study as the focus is placed on bureaucratic institutional/hegemonic discourse; this means that the website and body authorities, and not the translators, are considered to be the disseminators of narratives.

This study examines the possible effects of translation as promotional tool and linguistic practice on the Greek national identity, considering translation to be an institutional and/or narratively constructed ideology-bearing process via which identities can be (re)negotiated in the contemporary world. Understanding the role of translation as a social practice, Cronin (2006) comments that

the ways in which people represent themselves to each other and themselves is not just a function of different histories; it is also bound up with the way in which in the contemporary world, they are invited, encouraged or obliged to participate in the economy and the society. (p.2)

The linguistic and societal aspect of translation combined can have a thorough effect on the produced national identity and image, and studying the extent and nature of possible fluctuations between STs and TTs can potentially reveal ideological stance and the analogous produced narratives (Sidiropoulou, 2012; Van Doorslaer, 2012). In this study, translation is understood as a filter through which language, ideas, ideologies, concepts and meanings are negotiated. *Figure 1* below illustrates the relationship between translation and identity as understood here.

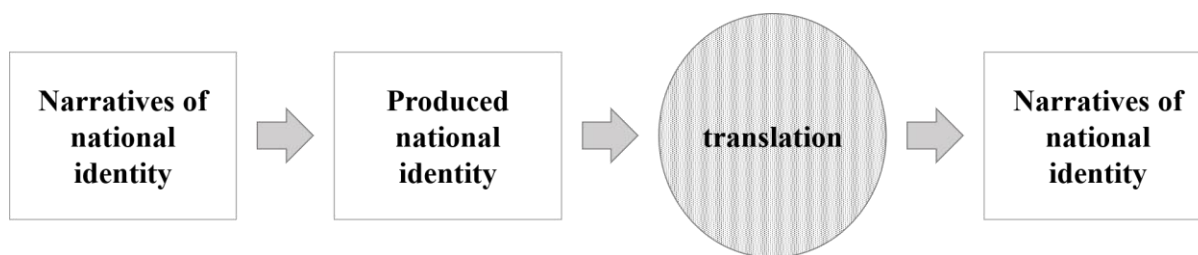


Figure 1. Schematisation of the relationship between national identity and translation.

Significantly in the translation of promotional tourism/culture material, the translation process tends to be much less strict and literal than technical or legal documents for example. The core of promotion lies in creative flexibility, and the pursue of this flexibility leads to translation shifts. It is important to note that although almost every translation act includes shifts, in the discourse studied here, the initiator of the shifts is usually the body responsible for textual production/translation (Kefala, 2014). At the same time, it is important to note that translation shifts do not always equal narrative/meaning shifts, as these shifts may occur at micro-linguistic or cross-cultural level that would produce identical narratives. Narrative reframing is not always within the scope of translation, regardless of the existence of unavoidable shifts. The narrative power of these bodies is such that, via translation, they can affect the nation image produced and consequently alter the corresponding national identity, in an attempt to attract visitors and become the leader of a globalised market (Cronin, 2006) that follows similar textual/genre conventions and admittedly uses the same promotional language, i.e. English. Nevertheless, the question of the use of English as a lingua franca in the globalised world - significantly in translation (Bennett, 2007; House, 2014; Pym, 2006) - is not one to be investigated in this study, as it does not fall within the scope of research questions, i.e. the investigation of the Greek national identity and image through translation.

To sum up this brief discussion of turns in TS, the field has gone through several turns and traditions. This does not mean that each new ‘turn’ erases a whole part of already established TS research and knowledge. On the contrary, ‘turns’ or more appropriately termed ‘trends’ or ‘streams’, such as post-colonialism or feminism, use existing knowledge in order to facilitate the advancement of the field by means of new tools, methods, themes and interests, thus moving forward to new eras. At this stage, it is important to note that the distinction of all post-modern approaches to TS is the focus on contextual elements from culture to power. One such contextual element important in a robust and critical study in translation is the concept of ‘rewriting’ coined by Lefevere (1992).

2.1.2 Rewriting and Patronage

Translation is foremost understood as a rewriting of the original in a TT. Translators are called to mediate between two languages, two cultures and two systems of representation and present the target audience with a text that evokes similar reactions, feelings or other verbal, visual or mental stimuli. Lefevere (1992) sees translation as a societal act bound to the world system in which it occurs. The

main components of this system are patronage, ideology, poetics, and the universe of discourse. To briefly introduce the concepts before examining them more thoroughly later, ‘patronage’ refers to the powers exercised by hegemonic institutions, bodies and individuals that affect the translation process; ‘ideology’ refers to a set of experiences and knowledge-shaped opinions that filter our understanding of the world; ‘poetics’ is related to the nature and role of literature in the world. It is relevant to the literary devices, motifs and themes used as well as to the social role of literature and its effect on people and the society as a whole; finally, the ‘universe of discourse’ can be understood as the total sum of elements making up a specific culture.

Although Lefevere initiates discussion of ‘rewriting’ in translation regarding literary texts, the theoretical framework proposed can also be applied to promotional tourism/culture texts (Van Doorslaer, 2012). Tourism and culture, as thematic domains, are characterised by an abundance of cultural references and a high volume of culture-specific items (CSIs). When the text is translated into a TL, these elements will most likely be modified in order to be understood by the target audience, who is not expected to have prior knowledge of the CSIs. The original Source Language (SL) element is altered, expanded upon, replaced, described or even omitted. Regardless of the successful or unsuccessful translation attempt in terms of linguistic quality, the TT is bound to differ from the ST. It can be supported that since texts carry culture, an ST may carry a different variation of a cultural expression than a TT. Bassnett (1998) stresses the importance of studying the implications the process of rewriting bears, calling attention to the agenda behind translator’s choices and ideology, as well as the processes followed until the translation product is published and disseminated. Questions of hegemony and interpersonal relations among the translation process stakeholders and actors are also relevant to the notion of ‘rewriting’, since ideology is related both to individual choices as well as frameworks of purpose, translation briefs and the overall assigned or unassigned skopos (Nord, 1997) of a translation.

Asimakoulas (2009), discussing Lefevere’s model, points out that the model does not take into account linguistic competence as a factor for rewriting. Indeed, language constraints are not systematically considered by Lefevere, although the open-endedness of the model can allow for the inclusion of such an analysis. Here, in order to overcome this limitation, I employ Critical Discourse Analysis as both an analytical tool and as an intentional vs. unintentional shift filter to determine ideologically loaded fluctuations in the texts at micro and macro level. This means that despite the encompassing nature of the concept of rewriting when it comes to translation, not all instances of rewriting bear narrative fluctuations. For this reason, Critical Discourse Analysis is necessary in evaluating the function and effect of translation shifts through rewriting, as well as determine what constitutes rewriting under a narrative analysis approach. At the same time, the rather extended collection of texts allows for the observation of patterns in the data that would showcase insisting narratives, stemming from the dominant power behind the translation and not the translators themselves. I consider the idea of

‘rewriting’ in translation and the ideological implications it carries to be mostly relevant to studies of hegemonic discourses that are produced and/or disseminated by regulatory bodies affected by dominant narratives, i.e. a system of patronage (Lefevere, 1992).

The system of patronage is relevant to the discussion of ideology and hegemony as it describes the means and operation of dominant actors. In the case of translation and narrative dissemination, it can be explained as a regulatory system for hegemonic powers to exert power on the production, dissemination and reception of narratives. To understand the application of the patronage system to this study, it is helpful to draw upon similar studies that place patronage outside the literary world in which it was born. Shuping (2013) wrote on ‘patronage’,

[it] can be exerted by individuals, groups, institutions, a social class, a political party, publishers, the media, both newspapers and magazines and larger television corporations. Patronage sees to it that the literary system does not fall out of step with the rest of society. Patrons try to regulate the relationship between the literary system and the other system, which, together, make up a society, a culture. Patrons often count on professionals to bring the literary system in line with their ideology. (p. 57)

What is described above as a literary system in relation to the translation of literature can be implemented in the study of different ideologically loaded text production systems too. In reality, the word ‘literary’ can be replaced by the word ‘touristic’ or ‘promotional’. Hence, I claim for the existence of a ‘promotional touristic system’ regulated by patrons who attempt to control production and operation, in line with the relevant hegemonic social system production and operation. According to Lefevere (1992), there are three channels through which patrons exercise power: (i) economy, (ii) ideology and (iii) status. Economy refers to the financial relationship between translation commissioner or agency, as well as to the macro view of global financial power structures that regulate circulation/translation of specific texts; hence, they regulate specific narratives. The interpersonal financial aspect is not relevant to this study, as there is no examination of translators as individual actors. Translations are viewed here as products of a body and not an individual, as bureaucracy and institutionalisation are central to the process. Continuing the discussion on patronage, ideology is understood under this perspective as a set of beliefs mainly unveiled in translation shifts as a result of translation choices. Again, this is central to this research, as it constitutes the bedrock of analysis. However, the examination of ideology should not be limited to instances of rewriting, as I consider ideology to exist both in and out of translation shifts; the degree of ST-TT equivalence can be telling regarding ideological implication across the spectrum of shifts or absence of shifts. Finally, the status component can be understood to incorporate both ideological and economic implications. A rise in status can both mean a rise in social terms as well as in financial terms and in the contemporary capitalist world, the two are often linked. Status functions as a pressure/manipulation mechanism for the writers and translators that follows the false idea of personal social growth in the neoliberal sense. Hence, translators are asked to follow the patron’s ideology in their professional endeavour in order to acquire

the necessary status that will secure their financial future. To conclude, Lefevere's (1992) ideas on 'rewriting' may stem from an examination of the production of literary translations, but can also be understood as a critique of the capitalist system that permeates many aspects and types of translation activity, among other social variants. It is in fact an inspection of the 'poetic' created in the dominant social system that creates an ideological protocol for translation (Munday, 2012).

In relevance to questions of translation procedure in relation to ideology, Sulaiman (2016) advocates the need to research into the translation commissioners in a promotional tourism translation context, stressing the gravity of translation briefs and guidelines, drawing on theories of translation purpose or *skopos*. For this reason, I conducted interviews with the relevant representatives to get insight into the processes followed (see section 3.2).

In translation practice, training and research, knowledge of the purpose of translating as well as awareness of the intention of the product is crucial and has been largely investigated since Vermeer first introduced the concept of 'translation *skopos*' or 'Skopostheorie' in 1978. According to Vermeer, every translational act has a very specific purpose (*skopos*) and it is this purposeful character of the process that defines the translation choices and techniques and thus, the translation product. Nord (1991) considers intention to be part of any action and since translation is mainly an activity, an action and a conscious procedure, it can be argued that there is no translation without some form of intention. Although this framework of analysis can be useful for a functionalist approach, the strict adherence to the idea of function does not allow for a critical investigation of culture and ideology.

Hence, we understand that a functional approach cannot be used to identify and explain micro translational elements at textual or linguistic level, but to study the function of the text. The process of translating as a communicative instance is rarely categorically deliberate and hence, researching into the translation brief or interviewing the stakeholders does not suffice. By extension, in a critical study of language, it is not possible to extract ideology by means of a mere study of guidelines and briefs. In the next section, I discuss ideology in translation attempting to define the concept for the purposes of this study.

2.1.3 Ideological Implications and Translation

The word 'ideologie' was invented by French philosopher Destutt de Tracy in the 18th Century and it was used to describe the 'study of ideas'. Etymologically, the word is made up from the Greek words: *idéa* [ιδέα] and *lógos* [λόγος], meaning 'idea' and 'discussion', and in simple terms can be defined as the act of discussing ideas. Understandably, this etymological definition is of no use in 21st century critical studies, as it does not allow for an in-depth analysis of complex social phenomena, as is language and discourse.

Although there is no need to produce an absolute definition of ideology in a critical study of language as this would possibly limit the analytical potential of the study (Van Dijk, 2007), it is beneficial to give

a working definition of ideology and explain the context in which ideology will be studied as well as the assumed locus of ideological implications in the present study. Hence, ideology is defined as a set of ideas that shape and feed the actions of a group of people. Ideology is inescapable and is built on the ‘*us vs. them*’ polarisation. It can be subtle and/or straight-forward, conscious and/or subconscious and it is political in nature, infusing every field of human practice and existence. In TS, ideologies may be transferred from the ST to the TT, while all translation actors may affect the ideology the TT disseminates.

Van Dijk (2007) proposes an exegesis of ideology on three levels: First, “ideologies as the fundamental beliefs of a group and its members” (p.7); the first level of ideology definition refers to all these ideas that determine the beliefs about the world of a specific Community of Practice. It is their philosophy of living, the lenses through which they view themselves and their surroundings. Religion can be considered one such lens; groups of people that lead their lives on the basis of core ideas deriving from religious guidelines or rules. Second, “ideology as ‘false’ consciousness or misguided beliefs” (p.7); the second level of the conception of ideology is related to the treatment of ideology as an often negatively loaded political concept. It is built on the ‘*us vs. them*’ dichotomy and recognises ideologies to be right or wrong, depending on where they originate. In Marxist theory, this type of ideology is often related to manipulation strategies on behalf of hegemonic powers. For example, in connection with the concept of ‘status’ discussed above, the American Dream can be considered a ‘misguided belief’ that subconsciously guides people towards specific expected practices that favour the perpetuation of dominant parties. Third, “ideology as the basis of social practices” (p.8); in this case ideology is treated as the locomotive force behind types of social activity. For example, racist pogroms may be attributed to specific ideologies and so can the participation in a left-wing syndicalist rally. The ‘*us vs. them*’ polarisation is again evident. However, it is not to be assumed that the relationship of ideology and practice is always transparent or axiomatic. Human behaviour and practice is much more complex and therefore solely through an interdisciplinary study can there be sound results that also attempt an evaluation of the roots, practices and consequences of a specific ideology.

Since ideology shapes humans, we understand that it can be met on every level of human existence and practice. One of the elements that permeate human life is language. As Munday (2007) suggests, “the link between language and ideology is central” (p.198) and the way words are understood and used is affected by the ideological connotations they bear and in turn affect their future meaning. The same scholar explains that “words tend to occur in certain more or less fixed lexical and syntactic patterns, which partly determine their future use” (ibid, p.199). Thus, in the same fashion, language tends to occur in certain more or less fixed contexts, which partly determine its future use as well as its users. The persistence of these context-specific language units and their dissemination can have an effect on the understanding of the language unit as well as on its corresponding concept long-term (ibid; Baker, 2006). For example, within the context of modern-day Basque nationalism, the idea of ‘nation’ largely

signifies a revolutionary and progressive concept, often, yet not exclusively, related to left-wing radical political movements. On the contrary, the same term in the context of Chamic Albanian nationalism is mostly related to ethnocentrism and oppressive right-wing political ideas. It is important to note that these contexts can be perceived differently throughout history and retrospectively and it also depends on the receptor(s). For this reason, the study of these contexts in a critical study of language is greatly important and the challenge lies in the fact that the relationship between ideology and discourse is most of the times underlying or even hidden or vague. In this study, for instance, the texts studied are not supposed to be promoting specific ideologies, neither to be disseminated by people who represent specific ideologies. For the website visitor, texts solely serve a mostly promotional and/or informative purpose and it is not easy to see through the ideological implications of narrative dissemination, let alone the ideology that led to textual production. As translation is not an unconditionally conscious procedure and based on the fact that different actors mediate ideology on the text before it is published, it is concluded that a study of ideology has limitations as regards the conclusiveness of the arguments made. Munday (2007) proposes that translation shifts indicative of ideology may arise due to two reasons. He claims that translator choices may be deliberate and conscious or be a result of a less conscious procedure that stems from the translator's experience of the languages involved. Adding a third reason, I suggest that shifts may also occur as a result of a subconscious process that involves the translator being affected by narratives on any possible aspect of their life or around the actual translation practice too. As Fairclough (1989) argues, "texts do not typically spout ideology. They so position the interpreter through their cues that she brings ideologies to the interpretation of texts - and reproduces them in the process!" (p.85). Consequently, ideology exists, circulates and is (re)produced on every level of human cognition and this includes the ideologically loaded attempt to study ideology.

Fawcett (1998) brings forward this problematic in the field of critical studies and suggests that the ideological stance of the person researching into ideological implications can and will affect the discussion of ideology therein. Indeed, since ideology is unavoidable as are the narratives that shape us, there is no definite way to be clear of all preconceptions. One of the basic premises of Critical Discourse Analysis dictates that the users of CDA declare their ideological stance before attempting to conduct such a delicate and intricate analysis. Truly, I attempt to provide an overview of my socio-political inclinations in the Introduction, being aware that this cannot not constitute an absolute truth.

Ideology is omnipresent and can be significantly pervasive in the case of mass media. Althusser (1971) in a post-Marxist understanding of ideology and its exercise/dissemination identifies eight ideology-producing dominant institutions that he terms Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs): religion, education, family, law, politics, trade unions, media, and culture (p.143). He differentiates these ISAs from the Marxist (Repressive) State Apparatuses (SAs) that he believes were imposing ideology through violence. Both ISAs and SAs help maintain the hegemonic rule of the dominant class by replicating the dominant ideology, i.e. the dominant narrative. Althusser understands ISAs to be both private and public

institutions and he rejects this distinction in relation to inherent differences between the two types of institution solely based on their status. On the contrary, he suggests that this dichotomy stems from a bourgeois understanding of social structure. He proposes that institutions should be distinguished based on the way they operate and the ideology under which they operate. Since all institutions operate under the ideology of the dominant class (or the dominant group that disseminates the dominant narratives) this means that they function under the same operational framework, i.e. bureaucracy. As discussed before, bureaucracy appears to be the operational framework of both state and private bodies/websites in this study; hence, the websites examined can be regarded as components of ISAs, i.e. media and culture.

Moving on to the linguistic aspect of dominant ideology replication, in order to communicate a certain ideologically loaded message “dominant writers may effectively limit the communicative goals of others and indirectly manage the public mind. They may do so by making use of semantic figures, argumentative strategies or rhetorical structures that manipulate the mental modes of the audience [...]” (Nahrkhalaji, 2009, p.3). Breaking down this quote, we can focus on the most important traits of pervasive ideological manipulation, i.e. power over other dominant antagonist actors, communicative abilities corresponding to language production and manipulation and in-depth knowledge of the audience. Here, the websites chosen have been proven to be dominant in terms of audience engagement and number of visitors/followers. Additionally, the majority of writers/translators as well as marketing professionals are also specialists in tourism/culture promotion, as determined in the course of interviews, and are, hence, able to handle language in the desired way. Monitoring website visits as described in section 3.2 also gives them the ability to target specific groups and make smart choices regarding their content.

As discussed earlier, translation is essentially a rewriting, a reproduction of an original. Valerio (2013) argues that “translation is a process which involves a transposition of a culture into another language, thus the resulting text will inevitably carry some meanings and values which do not pertain only to the language” (p.993). Undoubtedly, even if we reduce translation to an act of linguistic transfer that is carried out by a single person, the resulting textual product will be baptised in the ideological pool of this person. Therefore, translation is an ideological clash in which author, culture, language, and commissioner ideology of the source are in battle with the target. This clash becomes crucial when the environment in which it takes place and the topics handled are of a possible critical nature. Nonetheless, the crucial aspect of different translation-related practices is relative, and evaluation requires prior study. As Stowe (2013) supports “any translation has implications for power and ideology, and even a discussion that explicitly excludes power as a framework is making an ideological decision by doing so” (p.135). The above constitute a rationale of the choice to study ideology in translation, considering the amount of negotiating put into every step of the process.

Hence, ideology is discussed regarding the narratives circulated through translation of website content as part of nation branding campaigns. The aim is to study the ideological motives that lead to the production and translation of textual data, as well as discuss the ideological implications these practices have on a social level as far as the message communicated is concerned. I do not study ideological choices of translators and original text authors, but the produced politically loaded ideology of the texts and the possible ideological basis through which they emerge. The ideology of translators and translation practices is not discussed as it was not possible to extract such information in part due to the reluctance exhibited by the bodies to share relevant information. Yet, even if data collection allowed for such details, these data would still be bound by the discursively constructed ideology of meta-narratives, which I consider to be above individual ideology in institutional bureaucratic settings.

In parallel with the examination of ideology and narrative dissemination, it is also important to explore the specifics of translation in the web and web audience design, seeing that the audience are web users and the medium through which the message is communicated is electronic.

2.1.4 Image Formation, Web Tourism Translation and Audience Design

According to Gartner (1994), “due to the inability to pretest the tourism product, touristic images will often be based more on perceptions than reality” (p.196). These images are established in the mind of the potential visitor long before their visit and are disseminated through the web at large. In other words, in online promotional translation of touristic and cultural material, the locus of the first contact the web user makes with the destination/product is different from that of the actual experience and thus it constitutes an important part of the potential actual visit. The web user/potential visitor is briefed about their visit before actually being in the place of interest. This means that certain preconceptions are created that will affect the visitor’s experience. As Pritcher and Morgan (2005) suggest, tourism websites constitute “the codified and authorised versions of local culture and history” (as cited in Manca, 2016, p.2). The potential narrative power of the web in promotional activities is tremendous since the online environment can be very different from the actual visit, being enhanced or enriched by such alterations that mask any drawbacks and showcase all advantages of the destination. In doing so, the authorising body or destination may distort its self-image, as Kefala (2014) argues. The same process of refining can also happen physically at a destination, albeit at a usually narrower width. Malamatidou (2018) argues that “as touristic places become more and more similar, the language used to promote them aims at distinctiveness to attract visitors and bring economic benefit to the region. Tourism transforms the image of physical space, both literally and metaphorically” (p. 6). This powerful recreation process is furthered by translation, as the act of translating is by default steeped in reconstruction and rewriting, either deliberate or not, as well as further dissemination by means of narrative repetition.

Through the process of rewriting, as described above, and through audio-visual stimuli, as described in the relevant chapter on multimodal discourse (see sections 2.2 and 3.3), the potential visitor is guided

through opinion-making and image-shaping processes. Since the locus of this first contact is usually the web and due to the fact that online mass media have a huge manipulative power, as previously discussed, the first image the user creates will be decisive in relation to the way the future visiting experience is going to be understood and appreciated, as well as to the very decision process the potential visitor follows to select a destination (Gartner, 1994).

According to Destination Image Formation (DIF) theory, the audience, prior to their visit, construct/reconstruct their understanding of destinations based on a number of induced and organic sources, which shape their cognitive, as well as affective and conative image components towards destination selection (Gartner, 1994; Beerli and Martín, 2004; Agapito, Oom do Valle and Mendes, 2013). DIF defines the cognitive component as a fact-based (regardless of actual objectivity or degree of truthfulness) sum of beliefs about a destination, which inform the intellectual evaluation of the destination before the actual visit. As regards the affective component, this is deemed to encapsulate the motives and internal stimuli that prompt an individual towards visiting a destination, also connected to Cohen's (1972) ideas on escaping, in which an individual seeks traveling to disrupt her everyday life. Finally, the conative component is the one related to action and depends on the images constructed by the individual up to the time of destination selection. As Beerli and Martín (2004) explain,

image [is understood] as a concept formed by the consumer's reasoned and emotional interpretation as the consequence of two closely interrelated components: perceptive/cognitive evaluations referring to the individual's own knowledge and beliefs about the object [...], and affective appraisals relating to an individual's feeling towards the object (p.658)

The three components which determine destination selection, i.e. cognitive, affective and conative, are hierarchically interrelated, meaning that the influence of the cognitive component on the conative component gets higher when mediated by the affective component (Gartner, 1994). In other words, when relating to destination branding and audience design, we understand that when the image communicated speaks to the needs and desires of the potential visitor, the campaign is more successful in establishing a desired brand image both for the potential visitor, as well as the brand officials. Still, it is important to highlight that in tourism promotion, these needs and desires are additionally constructed through narratives within globalisation and capitalism that define travel trends and construct imagined motives for traveling and tourism.

Bearing in mind the fact that both the cognitive and affective components are narratively constructed regardless of their agent/source, it is deduced that i) destination selection is bound to narrative manipulation both at the cognitive and affective level and ii) destination understanding is affected by dominant narratives disseminated by dominant agents and iii) dominant narratives disseminated by the visitors following their visit (or even prior to their visit) get stronger by means of repetition, as well as due to the fact that word-of-mouth is also prominent in image formation (Beerli and Martín, 2004).

Apart from word-of-mouth, there are more sources affecting image formation. Gartner (1994) explains that images can either be organic or induced. Organic images derive from sources supposedly not controlled or related with the destination or its campaigning bodies per se, such as news articles or films, while induced images stem from desti(nation) branding efforts, including brochures, websites and other promotional materials. Gartner (1994, p.196) claims that “the key difference between organic and induced image formation agents is the control the destination area has over what is presented”. Nevertheless, I argue that contemporary neo-capitalist promotional practices are not always easy to discern based on the medium or apparent source. For example, state ministries or relevant private bodies can outsource blog articles, hire influencers or other (non)professionals to act as nation brand agents/ambassadors, purchase web backlinks⁴ to increase online engagement, operate under a non-state-oriented framework or frame themselves as being independent of the destination regardless of the reality of the situation.

Gartner (1994, p.210) puts forward 8 agents of image formation: 1) overt induced I, 2) overt induced II, 3) covert induced I, 4) covert induced II, 5) autonomous, 6) unsolicited organic, 7) solicited organic and 8) organic (see *Appendix I* below), distinguishing at overt vs. covert level depending on whether the image promoted can straightforwardly be attributed to an induced or organic source. He then proceeds in assigning each of the 8 categories different values (high to low) depending on their credibility and market penetration, as well as on their imposed destination cost; the latter is not relevant to this study.

Continuing discussion on the narrative dissemination effect of brand images, it is grave to highlight that the image formed through the formation and dissemination processes by different sources is not always representational of the reality of the destination and/or culture, yet the expectations and assumptions of the visitor are widely mirrored on the native national identity. Said image is created by dominant bodies and it is communicated to the potential visitor, later disseminated by the visitors themselves when in online or physical contact with the native residents. In such a way, rewriting continues its course from source, to translation, to communication, to identity shaping and back to narratives until a full circle has been formed. This is what Baker (2006) understands as a narratively constructed society in which narratives are not one-directional, but rather circular in their dissemination and the way they shape reality, significantly via translation.

Translation is undoubtedly manipulative in nature as its main premise is the reconstruction of a SL unit in a TL. When translating a text, the very fact that the original ‘signs’ are substituted with different, albeit synonymous or close, signs means that the produced text (TT) has gone through a process of remaking. Although the signified is attempted to be the same, the signifier has definitely changed when transferred from a SL to a TL, as understood in Saussurian philosophy. Yet, although the basis of

⁴ Moz (n.d.a) explains on the nature and importance of backlinks: “a backlink is a link created when one website links to another. Backlinks are also called “inbound links” or “incoming links.” [They are] a signal to search engines that others vouch for your content. If many sites link to the same webpage or website, search engines can infer that content is worth linking to, and therefore also worth surfacing” (par. 1-3).

structuralist theory in order to principally explain the translation process is useful, the binary interpretation of language is not in line with this study as it too simplistic. For this reason, I adopt the Foucauldian post-structuralist view of language that accepts the relationship between signifier and signified and partly recognises the arbitrary relationship between words, sounds and concepts, but extends our understanding of the signs to a macro examination of the socio-historical implications and the consequent prejudice that can be created as far as the interpretation of a sign is concerned (Foucault, 1972). The translation commissioner may distort the message, the translator may distort the message, the medium may distort the message and the recipient may do so as well. Consequently, rewriting is viewed through the lens of Critical Discourse Studies to appreciate the subtle ideological implications of the translation process.

Moreover, the web setting offers an abundance of modes through which manipulation may occur, since messages are not restricted to text, but extend to context. Pym (2010) stresses the importance of translator choices in localisation processes, as there is a multitude of (non-)translatable elements in the web. The scholar (*ibid*) identifies the following loci of textual elements in web translation: title bar, search engine descriptors and keywords, menus, hyperlinks, images and videos, sound files and audiovisual files, and other graphics and suggests that these elements can also be translated. The environment in which the text appears is, thus, very decisive for the communication of textual message and constitutes a dynamic, diverse and powerful platform of discursive practices.

According to Manca (2016), websites are sophisticated textually oriented message carriers that do not only consist of linguistic elements, but also of other dependent modes of communication that contribute to the creation and transmission of messages. Policymakers and translation commissioners are aware of the power of the web and hence attempt to make optimal use of the communication means in order to persuade the potential visitor. Tourism and culture in these settings constitute domains of promotion. Thus, translation is a product of commerce, which, although cannot be purchased by the web user, is used to attract ‘clients’, i.e. visitors.

There are two major factors that, in the domain described, render promotional activities partly imponderable: (i) the fact that in most cases (including this study) the language used to attract non-native-destination speakers is English and (ii) the fact that the audience that will engage with the content is diverse in terms of age, race, sex, education etc. Audience design in translation presupposes knowledge of the recipient. The translation is modelled to appeal to a certain group of people according to their individual characteristics that group them in a community. In the case of web tourism/culture translation, the audience targeted is diverse and wide and textual products cannot be tailored to the expectations of every group. Hence, we understand that here, I will not treat the translation process as a process of localisation/adaptation that is primarily audience-oriented, since the core feature of audience design is absent. As Cappelli (2008) notes,

as for the “participants”, questions arise relative to the nature of the source text (e.g. was it meant to be translated?) and of its author (e.g. just one author or many?). [Most importantly,] the receivers are “global readers”: they come from all over the world, they have diverse culture, interests, values and, for most of them English is not an L1⁵. (p.7)

Nonetheless, as shown in section 3.2, some of the websites track their online visitors and through electronic tools manage to draw visitor data. The reliability of these data as well as the trustworthiness of the electronic tools is still under discussion and it can rarely be said that there is an absolutely accurate and comprehensive recording of visitor information. In most cases, websites receive data that deal with the country of origin and age of the visitor, as well as other information on website usage behaviour. As a result, the bodies responsible for textual production mostly follow guidelines that are connected to the destination market demands and stem from ideological stances followed by the bodies, writers and translators. As Mele, De Ascaniis and Cantoni (2016) put forward, expression of culture in the web is not neutral and activities such as translation/localisation are bound to processes of reconfiguration in order to (a) facilitate the TL readers’ understanding and (b) (re)frame the promoted messages accordingly to match the visitor metadata expectations either consciously or subconsciously. In their study of the localisation of tourism websites, these authors propose a framework for the evaluation of cultural values that can be adapted to CDA of nation branding practices as in the present study (ibid, p. 304). Each destination builds a branding strategy addressing a specific group of people offering a cultural or touristic product that will attract the ‘right’ type of visitors. This group of people targeted by the brand is not standardised with regard to demographics, interests or L1, but they are all part of globalised tourism and the dominant tourism promotion discourse. Although, they do not always share the same identity or background, they are affected by the same meta-narratives and have similar preconceptions on the brand. That being said, it is important to highlight that regardless of the degree of audience design tailoring by the campaign officials and their targeting of specific social groups, the reality of audience reception in tourism promotion dictates that the audience is more diverse and cannot be perfectly predicted. Hence, as mentioned above, translated texts are not part of a localisation/adaptation process and audience design mostly takes place in the production of original ST Greek texts. By promoting a specific image of the destination, brands follow a process of audience ‘luring’ that begins by the construction or subversion of image. In this Dissertation, I will examine the construction of the Greek nation image and identity through these websites in both STs and TTs and I will study the ideological implications of discourse and narrative choices.

⁵ L1: first language, native language

2.2 Discourses, Texts, Narratives

Language is the carrier of meaning that determines our understanding of the world. Texts are the accumulation of messages that are communicated through discursive means. The result of this process is a number of narratives about specific themes, ideas and products, and in the case of this study a nation promoted as a destination. Before I discuss the concepts of text, discourse and narrative in detail, I will provide initial working non-exhaustive definitions that facilitate reading of the following sections, determining the framework in which these are used here.

- (a) Language: It refers to two ideas: (1) the distinction between Greek and English, i.e. Source Language and Target Language respectively and (2) the linguistic features utilised by the text authors towards the production of the text and the sum of texts.
- (b) Text: It is considered to be a single identifiable piece of writing that belongs to a sum of texts, i.e. a website, exhibiting a specific overt or covert purpose and function. A text does not only comprise of linguistic features, but extends to the use of non-linguistic discourse.
- (c) Discourse: First, discourse is the sum of (non-)linguistic features employed by the author in order to achieve a specific result. Within a text or a body of texts, there are discursive features and instances to be observed. The collective discursive instances of a text create a specific meaning which underlines the text. Second, discourse refers to the domain- and purpose-specific communicative framework within which a text belongs. For instance, nationalist discourse can be placed within the political sphere of communication and can be expected to exhibit certain communicative features.
- (d) Communication: Communication is the process in which a transmitter of a message directs this message to a recipient in order for the message to be successfully transmitted. At least two ends are involved in communication. In this study, website bodies communicate with the audience, the readers, doing so by means of texts with the use of specific language-related tools and other discursive means in order to produce a message, and promote an idea or argument and/or inform. Communication rarely ceases when the message reaches the recipient at first level. The recipient can reply to the original transmitter, or in the case of this study further disseminate the message and subsequently contribute to narrative establishing.
- (e) Narrativity: The concept of narrativity explains the way our world is constructed, understood and reconstructed through communication. Narratives are stories containing messages about different topics. Personal and collective opinions are shaped through narratives and the more widespread and authoritative the narrative is, the stronger the opinion.

Narratives are, thus, disseminated in a specific language, using a sum of (non-)linguistic channels, by means of discourse-specific texts that communicate a message. In the following sections I will examine these concepts in context-specific detail.

2.2.1 Discourse and Discourses

2.2.1.a Introducing the Notion of Discourse

Within the discursive analysis framework, in the study of online textual material, discourse should refer to all communicative aspects, going beyond the traditional notion that limits discussion to linguistic features. Significantly online, textual pieces feature images, videos, sounds, electronic commands, i.e. hyperlinks, pop-up windows, etc. that render the text versatile in nature. Experienced web users are expected to make use of the abundance of message modes and create a paratextual rather than a textual experience.

Following Fairclough's (1993) understanding of the term, I consider discourse to be any linguistic or extra-linguistic trait used, in order for a certain message to come across. Discourse may include modes of non-verbal communication and it is also a carrier of meaning (ibid). Apart from the exegesis of discourse as communicative means, I am also interested in the product of said means, i.e. the discourse domain. The collection of discursive instances expressed through thematic references and other subtle or non-subtle communicative instances creates a discursive pattern that is translated into a type of discourse; for instance, web discourse, promotional discourse and nationalist discourse that are discussed below.

However, I treat discourse domains as not being tied to predetermined and rigid, as regards their variety, features. These features are examined through open-ended inspection, which allows for in-depth and more extended results not bound to the assumed and predetermined features of each discourse domain. In reality, the model of analysis presented in section 3.3 accounts for discursive instances not bound to the presupposed features of discursive domains, but to the requirements of the Research Questions (see section 3.1) that are related to the discourse traits examined. To conclude, discourse is language in use as a carrier of ideology via a multiplicity of verbal and non-verbal modes (Van Dijk, 1997; Wodak et al., 2009); I discuss these modes below.

2.2.1.b Multimodal Discourse and the Web

Web and user-experience design literature (Djamasbi and Hall-Phillips, 2014; Li, Huang and Christianson, 2016; Pauwels, 2012) confirms that, especially nowadays, websites are built on the grounds of multimodality in order to make content more appealing. Content is organised in accordance with audience expectations and the online environment created is flexible enough to anticipate users' preferences (Pauwels, 2012).

Multimodal discourse carries visual and auditory signals, which often intertwine and create an experience much different than traditional text. The use of diagrams, music or colour can enhance and/or manipulate the message transmitted through written verbal communication. In turn, these visual and

auditory modes may disseminate a certain message that in successful communication would complement writing. However, in a contrasting scenario, they could harm the original message disorienting the user (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). The texts examined in this study are those that feature traits of web multimodal discourse. This means that texts in the electronic form of docx, pdf, xlsx or other such formats do not constitute part of the pool of textual data, as they are different in communicative means.

For multimodal textual data, it is, hence, crucial that research focuses not only on each semiotic instance, but on the interplay between them too, since the transmitted message is a result of these processes at large; most substantially in the case of nation branding campaigns, where discourse around nation is penetrated by promotional/advertising discourse.

2.2.1.c Promotional Discourse and Branding

As regards the importance of semiotics in promotional contexts, Scott, Green and Fairley (2016) support that “concrete imagery of a product was more effective in stimulating vivid visual-imagery processing and favourably influencing attitude towards the advertisement and brand” (p.635). Promotional discourse is a type of discourse that abounds in communication modes. Francesconi (2006) argues that the large number of signs in promotional discourse “transcend the authentic [message] and give birth to another textual presence” (p.61). Consequently, in order to fully grasp the intended ‘product description’ one has to delve into the study of ideological and cultural implications that lurk in the many modes of promotional discourse.

Cultural or tourist websites attempt, through the use of discourse, to “persuade, lure, woo and seduce millions of human beings” (Dann, 1996, p.2). Yet, I propose the idea that before succeeding in this, they primarily aim or happen to (re)shape their ideas about the product, revoking current narratives before new ones are established. This is significantly true in current narrative circulation practices, as due to extensive and easily accessible web content, there are stories, images and narratives around the vast majority of destinations. Apart from the attempt to null or suppress negative images and narratives around a product suffering from a harmed reputation, either because of the product quality or because of politics and popular acceptance, the revoking is also tied to globalised tourist promotion, in which destinations often appear to be very similar in their offering and need to be differentiated in order to be successful. This is the primary goal of branding campaigns through promotional discourse. Promotion stakeholders may also make use of rhetorical devices such as metaphors, slogans, imperatives, alliterations, etc. Danesi (2015) argues that “rhetorical discourse is a linguistic translation of visual images connected to a product or service” (para. 17). However, I propose that it would be more accurate to claim that these devices rather function as linguistic complements of equal significance to the primary or secondary message; this is evident in the way websites are built, often putting visual and auditory signs at the forefront of the user interface, and then inviting them to browse through written content,

again combined with multimodal elements. Tourism discourse is a field in which nations are reshaped, packaged and sold (Manca, 2016) and national identity shaping occurs under the same reconstruction process. It has been noted that in such a discourse framework, the existence of nationalist discourse is often evident (Bhandari, 2016; Kavoura, 2007; Pretes, 2003), and this is a hypothesis I will examine.

2.2.1.d Nationalist Discourse

In section 2.3 below I will offer more insight on how the idea of nation is treated herein. In order to conduct a methodologically sound discourse analysis, it is now crucial to briefly refer to nationalist discourse and differentiate between the two endpoints of the spectrum: banal and hot nationalism (Billig, 1995; Ståhlberg and Bolin, 2016).

In this research project, drawing on this typology, banal nationalism is considered to be a non-radical social phenomenon/practice as well as a set of communicative instances around the idea of a homogeneous community within the purposes of promoting a desirable image of Greece as a cultural product. The concept of hot nationalism will be used to refer to social and political practices and/or discourse of social/national exclusion that runs in parallel with racist and fascist practices and can share common ground with banal nationalism with respect to themes unravelled and their respective discourse patterns. Banal nationalism refers to everyday nationalism as expressed through everyday occurrences in non-critical contexts, mainly visible in discourse. For example, applying this spectrum on tourism communication, the use of an image of the Parthenon with a Greek flag flying in the wind or the dominant use of the blue colour in nation branding promotion can be considered instances of banal nationalism. On the contrary, hot nationalism is mostly related to fascist and racist oppressive practices and is mostly performed than discursively expressed, although it is in fact discursively perpetuated. For example, narrative omission of the Ottoman Empire in discussing the origins of contemporary Greek cuisine or an overt narrative of dominance of Greece over other nations when it comes to the most important historical monuments can point to a hot nationalist agenda. However, the examples above are merely instrumental and they do not reflect the multiplicity and complexity of nationalist discourse across the nationalism spectrum in the domain of tourism and culture promotion. It is grave that we examine each of the above instances through a Critical Discourse Analysis filter and not in a contextless vacuum, as mere discursive instances do not directly connote a banal or hot nationalist narrative, and it is often impossible to place a discursive instance on simply one end of the spectrum significantly in the field of tourism nation branding.

That being said, these two social realities can be easily discerned on the basis of their practical implications, but pose distinguishing difficulty regarding their discernibility under a communication scope, since they appear to be sharing a similar discourse pool. Ideological associations may solely be resolved through CDA within the TS theoretical tradition and analysis.

2.2.2 Text Types and Hybridity

2.2.2.a Info and Promo – Info vs. Promo

It has already been established that there are several types of discourses that can be manifested in a single text or in a text type affecting communication. Going a bit more macro, I examine the communicative function at textual level, looking at how hybrid texts tend to carry multiple functions and borrow from various discourses. Most importantly, the distinction between discourse and text type should be consolidated. While both terms describe the accumulation of communicative means, discourse describes the domain and/or theme in which the text falls, while text type describes the linguistic methods used in order to discuss such domains and/or themes. As a result, a text can carry different discourses, i.e. nationalist and tourist discourse, expressed through a number of modes, and belonging in the informative text type.

My textual data are multimodal by default, since they form part of websites featuring a plethora of communicative instances. Although I agree with Reiss (2004) in that texts are normally hybrid, this does not mean that the discursive and narrative features are the same in every text. As Reiss (2004) also explains, each text can have more of an informative, operative or expressive function (p.163), and this is directly connected to the features of discourse they would exhibit. The informative type aims at the dissemination of facts/information, the expressive type aims at the dissemination of artistic content and the operative type aims at the communication of opinion-loaded content in order to persuade (ibid). The expressive text type is not contemplated here, as the texts studied are either mostly informative and/or promotional and even though artistic qualities are present in discursive production, artistic degree is not relevant to the study.

In comparative analysis of texts and within the CDA tradition I aspire to operationalise the function of text and context to better understand the narrative created. For example, the same image can have different connotations and different effect when placed in different texts according to the context and function of the text. In a persuasive text on the (non-)importance of the Olympic Games for instance, the image of the Greek flag would be critical as far as the message is concerned. On the contrary, an encyclopaedia entry on the country of Greece, i.e. a mostly informative text, featuring the Greek flag does not inherently assign any secondary level meaning to the image. However, I should note that this cannot be taken for granted and it can only be examined through a critical approach, as text types are not always clear-cut and hybrid texts are common. In the same fashion, different languages and different cultures make use of different speech acts to build different speech functions. This means that the same linguistic patterns do not necessarily invoke the same response, action, feeling etc. across languages. What might be considered appropriate or polite may differ depending on the culture-specific and language-specific context. For this reason, examination of function will primarily take place at narrative

level rather than micro-language level and will solely serve the analysis process within the CDA tradition, rather than discussion of findings.

In my data set, specific websites lean more towards informative content than promotional content and *vice versa*. Still, blind or absolute categorisation cannot occur, as within the same website, there are texts that are mostly informative or mostly promotional or share both qualities in balance. For example, the Acropolis Museum website is in comparison much more info-oriented, including lots of practical information or details of historical interest, than the Visit Greece website, which is mostly promo-oriented; the latter can also be attributed to the very type of the website-body. However, this is not conclusive and needs to be closely investigated on a case by case basis, in order to serve the analysis process with the aim to identify relevant findings.

2.2.2.b Textual Hybridity in Web Promotional Settings

Schäffner and Adab (1997) claim that “hybrid texts are a feature of contemporary intercultural communication [and they] result from cultures and languages being in contact” (p.325). Although, this is not the sole environment in which hybrid texts are produced, translation practices and the setting in which promotional campaigns take place are fertile ground for such texts to exist and they abide by the terms described by the aforementioned authors. Hybrid texts carry multiple functions; they can be 1) promotional, 2) persuasive, 3) informative, 4) entertaining and 5) commercial at the same time (Skibitska, 2013). This is very common in touristic/cultural campaigns, usually resulting in the blurring of target cultures into one dominant supra-culture; another distinct feature of hybridisation.

Moreover, hybrid texts are unmistakably modern and post-modern in kind and they are further enriched linguistically due to their electronic nature. Web pages featuring hybrid texts are multi-semiotic, hence understanding their multi-faceted nature is cornerstone in delving into their analysis. Textual and discourse features deriving from web texts, cultural texts, promotional texts, informative texts or advertising texts mean the textual product is inherently abundant in (para)linguistic and discourse patterns that need significant treatment regarding translation to the TL. When pointing out the particularities of web textuality, Cappelli (2008) stresses its dynamic character as opposed to print and supports that web pages tend to be more sophisticated and mixed, drawing on a variety of discursive domains.

Figure 2 below, in which Torresi (2010) offers a classification of promotional texts based on their information *vs.* persuasion ratio, is useful to better understand the nature of tourism/culture promotional texts, highlighting the fact that tourism is placed in the middle.

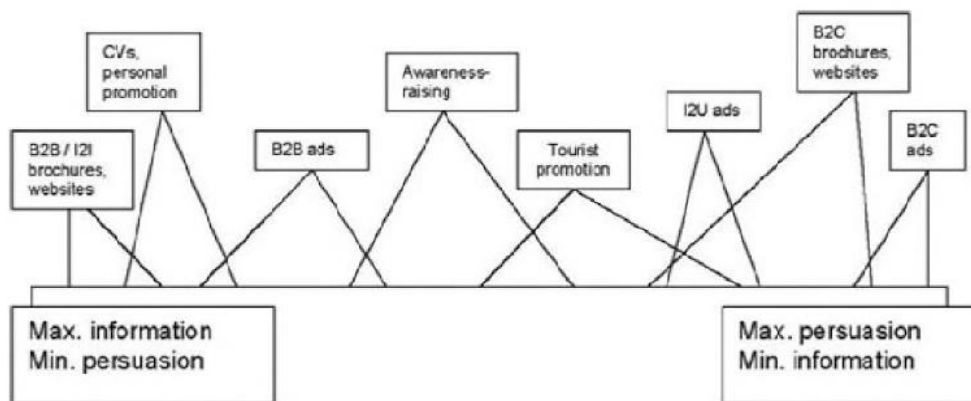


Figure 2: Visual indication of the collocation of promotional genres on the information-to-persuasion ratio continuum (Torresi, 2010, p.28).

Consequently, I expect that in the study of websites for the purposes of this project, texts will –at different degrees– bear:

- a. advertising traits relying on socio-cultural values to achieve their persuasive function per audience,
- b. distinct promotional elements, visible or underlying in nature,
- c. cultural references throughout and
- d. a continuous exchange between communicative functions that will yet comply within a promotional system.

2.2.3 Narratives and Dissemination of Stories

Narrative theory initiates research from a macro point of view examining the production and circulation of stories and studies their traces in discourse, hence going micro. These stories can either be marginal or dominant and they can, thus, affect a narrow or broad audience. Baker (2005) defines these stories as narratives and she claims individuals or groups subscribe to them and unwillingly modify their behaviour. It is important to note that translations do not necessarily carry the same narratives with the original texts. As noted before, the process of translation can rewrite the original meaning in different ways, hence producing different narratives.

The narrative theory, developed and used by Somers and Gibson (1994) and later by Baker (2005, 2006) and others, views narratives as an inescapable medium of message transmission. Narratives are not an option in the vast array of communication, yet ubiquitous producers of mode and meaning. According to Baker (2006), “narratives [...] are dynamic entities; they change in subtle or radical ways as people experience and become exposed to new stories on a daily basis” (p.3). She continues by suggesting that

people's behaviour is guided by narratives and not "by their gender, race, colour of skin, or any other attribute" (p.3). Expanding on this, I argue that even gender, race and many more presumably 'inherent' human attributes are also experienced through narratives. Hence, a person might view the world through the lenses of their gender, for example, but this does not mean that the actual decisive factor is gender. On the contrary, it is narratives circulating on the idea of gender that guide this person's experience of gender and the ways gender imposes certain behavioural paths.

Transferring this argument to the case of tourism and culture, an individual will be driven by narratives about the way a visitor should behave with reference to the visiting experience and the movements one will make to experience the actual destination will be the result of norms at large. Thurlow and Jaworski (2011) argue that "much of the significance – the cultural capital – of tourism lies in the 'tourist haze' created as tourists return home with their own travel stories" (p.288). These are stories that affect both a destination's image, but they also affect tourist practice norms. Consequently, Cohen's (1979, p. 182-183) classification of tourist experience types in which he distinguishes between different types of tourists⁶ also depending on the degree to which they conform to standard commercialized tourism practices in their seeking of experiences beyond their typical life space, although reasonable in understanding tourism through a sociological or marketing scope, does not succeed in considering the influence of narratives. In other words, the narrative power of discourses, particularly in contemporary tourism, does not always allow for much authenticity, as it encompasses and negotiates not only standard mass tourism themes and realities, yet off-the-beaten-path and alternative travel experiences too. The aforementioned is valid even for the most 'experimental' of tourists, who according to Urry and Larsen (2011), "are based on rejecting ways of organising tourist activity", seeing that they are also affected by the dominant narratives.

Somers and Gibson (1994) identify four types of narratives: ontological, public, conceptual and meta. Each of these types differ mainly on grounds of their effect array. Ontological narratives are personal stories that affect an individual's position in the world. Public narratives are stories circulated by institutions and larger social formations such as educational institutions, the church or the family. Conceptual narratives are "stories and explanations that scholars in any field elaborate for themselves and others about their object of inquiry" (Baker, 2005, p.6). Finally, meta narratives are the inescapable stories that permeate society at large and impact every aspect and level of society regardless societal or political power.

Assuming that narratives are produced or reinforced primarily by hegemonic institutions (Somers and Gibson, 1994), one can argue that, in the course of time, they will have evolved from public narratives into meta narratives under the dominant manipulation power of institutional practices. The destinations

⁶ Cohen (1979, p. 183) suggests the following five modes of tourist experience: 1) recreational, 2) diversionary, 3) experiential, 4) experimental, and 5) existential.

studied, either companies, institutions or organisations, operate in a bureaucratic way and are all part of the same narratively constructed society. Narratives circulating between destinations and the public do not follow a one-way route. On the contrary, narratives both feed the public and are fed by it, thus affecting higher power bodies too. Kavoura (2007), in her work on the role of bureaucracy in nation building through heritage tourism, refers exclusively to state institutions, supporting that bureaucracy is a major driving force behind national identity narrative dissemination, thus breeding nationalist ideologies within a predefined socio-political context (ibid, p. 401). However, I wish to extend the theoretical model to non-state institutions, grouping them under common bureaucratic practices and narrativity, seeing that they operate in the same society and domain, hence they receive and are affected by the same narratives. Thus, texts deriving from a variety of sources, both state and non-state, will be studied, as seen in section 3.2.

As Foucault (1980) indicates, “each society has its régime of truth, its ‘general politics’ of truth” (p.131) and in this case truth is both constructed and experienced by the sender and the recipient. Similarly, Rojec and Urry (1997) as well as Jack and Phipps (2005) support that tourists not only consume and experience semiosis, but also order and produce it. This perfectly describes narrative circularity and the argument that Target Language Texts can affect native national identity.

2.3 Nation and National Identity

(i) Nation and National Identity

My research project lies upon the idea of nation and its (re)construction, looking at the ways national identity is formed and the twofold processes by which nation image creates or is created by national identity. The concept of nation should not be understood as a nation-state or as a geographically distinct territory, since it is not only comprised by the people residing within its borders (White and Frew, 2011), but it also carries political, social, cultural, historical, economic, linguistic and religious components. These factors can be viewed as the ingredients for a constantly fluid national identity, following a post-modern perception of identity (Ivanic, 2006; Sunderland, 2010).

I would argue, as Hobsbawm (1990) and Rakic (2008) suggest, that an overarching definition of nation cannot be provided. However, the concept of nation should be treated in a systematic manner for research purposes. As such, in this project I consider nation as: a constructed body of individuals self-identifying as Greek with a similar aforementioned background and no territorial constrictions. Dissemination of narratives and ideology is not limited to the Greece-residing population, but extends to the huge number of expatriates and consequent generations too. It would, therefore, not serve the research questions to confine Greek nation when the construct is so fluid.

(ii) Nationalism

Nationalism as a political and societal phenomenon has been widely discussed in academia. In this project, nationalism is viewed as a political phenomenon, not exclusively in the sense of politics expressed through organised governance, but as a component of their identity guiding their everyday existence. Furthermore, nationalism appears in the whole spectrum of political beliefs and it can be traced in all aspects of collective life (Jenkins and Sofos, 1996).

There are two different scopes when it comes to the treatment of nationalism here: (a) methodological issues and (b) critical discussion. Initially, the concept is treated as a textual genre and the textual data to be extracted are analysed thematically to substantiate the textual pool is homogeneous. When it comes to discussing the findings, I treat nationalism as a social and linguistic phenomenon and the ways hot nationalism is connected to banal nationalist discourse (Billig, 1995) are duly dwelled upon in the discussion section.

In order to conduct a methodologically sound discourse analysis, it is crucial to differentiate between the two endpoints of the nationalism spectrum as defined by Billig (1995): banal and hot nationalism. In accordance with this typology, banal nationalism is considered to be a non-extremist social phenomenon/practice as well as a set of communicative instances around the idea of a homogeneous community. In Billig's (1995) words: "banal nationalism operates with prosaic, routine words, which take nations for granted, and which, in so doing, inhabit them" (p. 93). This process is connected to the purposes of promoting a desirable image of Greece as a cultural product. The concept of hot nationalism is used to refer to social and political practices and/or discourse of social/national exclusion that runs in parallel with racist and fascist practices; it can share common ground with banal nationalism with respect to themes unravelled and their respective discourse patterns. Studies carried out confirm the existence of a mechanism that (re)produces ideology through everyday banal narratives (Penrose, 2011; Jones and Merriman, 2009; Ståhlberg and Bolin, 2016). This mechanism is not only found in the state and in political discourse as understood in the context of organised politics, but mass media are also main perpetrators, in line with Althusser's (1971) understanding of ideological state apparatuses (see section 2.1).

However, although distinction between hot and banal nationalism is a useful instrument in discussing the narratively created reality, it is not always useful under a critical approach, as it tends to undermine the importance of what has been termed as *banal* versus what has been termed as *hot*. Significantly in the contemporary western world, rarely do political movements succeed through *hot* processes, but rather construct their reality and pursue their goals through rhetoric. Thus, it is not always clear what can be considered *hot* and what *banal* in this sense as the terms pose distinguishing difficulty regarding their discernibility under a communication scope, since they share a similar discourse pool.

Moreover, Billig (1995) does not seem to take into account the differences in narrative dissemination per linguistic, national or cultural context and claims that these practices are beyond national borders. However, since nations are products of history among other elements, we cannot advocate for the uniformity of narrative dissemination and understanding of nation across nations blindly (Jenkins and Sofos, 1996). Indeed, in the western globalised world, ideology tends to circulate via similar channels, but it is important to highlight the fact that discussion of nationalism in this study occurs for the Greek context and the bureaucratic bodies that attempt to brand the nation and this does not necessarily mean that these practices and the subsequent narratives will be universal.

Ideological associations may solely be resolved through Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) within the TS theoretical tradition and analysis, as even though a narrative can belong to a *banal* nationalism thematic pool, it does not necessarily mean that its consequences are not going to be *hot*. I will now proceed to an extensive discussion of the key terms defined above.

2.3.1 Construction of Identities

Employing a postmodern, socio-political understanding of the notion of identity based on the discursive construction paradigm (Wodak, 2011; Sunderland and Litosseliti, 2002, Van Dijk, 1997), I follow contemporary post-modern approaches to identity construction that consider identity to be formed through and by discourse. Identity is viewed as a fluid and ever-changing construct, moving away from its early conceptions as a process of self-reflection or even a set of innate traits –these are of no interest to this study as national identity is understood as a significantly social construct developed by humans, with no correspondence to the natural norms (Anderson, 2006).

Identities are (re)formulated through meaning and meaning solely exists and develops in “context-dependent use” (Wodak, 2011, p.216); hence, (re)construction of national identity needs to be framed within a discourse analytic approach. Van Dijk (1997) puts forward a model of “multidisciplinary discourse analysis” (p.24) in which he suggests discourse analysis to be carried out simultaneously via three interrelated and overlapping approaches forming the discourse analysis triangle: (a) linguistic, (b) cognitive and (c) sociocultural. According to Van Dijk (*ibid*) a robust Critical Discourse Analysis should consider issues of language use and language reception, as well as cultural aspects of language.

Applying the framework to this study and following Austerlühl’s (2014) paradigm in examining the American national identity construction through presidential political discourse, I consider identity to be constructed on the three aforementioned levels, which, for the purposes of this study, are in analogy interpreted as follows in *Figure 3* below:

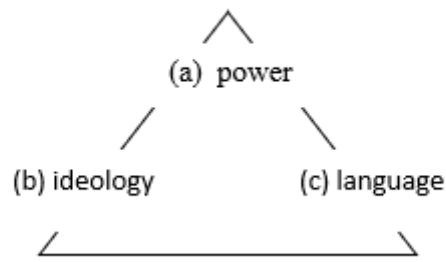


Figure 3: Adaptation of Van Dijk's (1997, p.24) model of discourse analysis.

As explained in section 2.2, narratives circulate in the form of (para)linguistic means to and from individuals and dominant institutions, each of which holds different ideologies and sets of beliefs. The power relations existing between actors are also important with regard to the power of narratives and their establishing.

In communication, interaction and context, there are power relations between individuals, between individuals and institutions, between institutions, between individuals and their surroundings and within the individuals themselves. According to Ivanic (2006), “people’s identities are in a continual state of flux co-emergent with the ongoing activity in which they are participating” (p.17). Similarly, Sunderland (2010) claims that “our identity [...] will change in a range of nuanced ways over time” (p.25).

Consequently, understanding identity as a sum of social tags or categories such as class, age or race is not in line with the shifting nature of the concept and cannot be used deterministically to discuss neither individual nor collective identity. As individuals locate themselves or are located in different temporal and spatial contexts and situations, they find themselves in an actor-positioning board that allows them, urges them or transfers them to different overlapping roles *vis-à-vis* themselves or other actors physically or mentally present (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005) in an activity. While an individual may be primarily involved in one activity assuming a specific role, e.g. working as a pastry chef in a Syrian restaurant, there are more roles making up the identity of the individual at the same time, e.g., girlfriend, lover, watching favourite football team, amateur acrobat, orphan etc. Some of these activities are action-led while others are static. Ivanic (2006), as seen in *Figure 4* below, provides a simple yet meaningful visual representation of the grid of activities affecting our identity conception, placing central activity A in the centre of the grid and surrounding activities overlapping to feed the context-dependent identity.

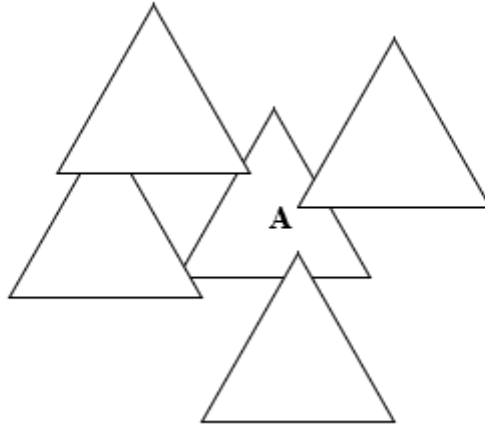


Figure 4: Activity/role grid affecting identity shaping at any given time (Ivanic, 2006, p.23).

The idea of interaction is central to the construction of identities as human beings foremost build identities based on communication with their surroundings and the people present in the various settings. The power of dominant actors and discourses should be taken into consideration as well. In the case of mass media such as the web, it is vital to consider the manipulation potential that hegemonic identity narratives carry (Wodak, 2011; Baker, 2005, 2006). Nonetheless, even powerful narratives disseminated by hegemonic social actors are not categorically inescapable. As Sunderland (2010) explains, “[we] are never ‘deterministically’ made into this or that sort of person, and are rarely forced to behave, speak or write in certain ways with no room for manoeuvre” (p.26). The level of persuasiveness of a narrative depends on the individual receiver, i.e. education, psychology, age, experiences, ideology etc., as well as the disseminating and manipulating power of the narrative source (see sections 2.1 and 2.2). Cultural or tourism bodies are narrative sources with extensive discourse power and institutional/bureaucratic prestige. Hence, their manipulation power is major, in a similar manner with Austermühl’s (2014) understanding of American presidential discourse as the scaffold that constructs and holds together national identity.

As regards identity construction, ‘saying is trying to be’ and ‘being told is becoming’. As Ivanic (2006) suggests in her study on gender identity, communication by means of (a) address, (b) attribution and (c) affiliation construct and reconstruct identity. To begin with, *address* is understood as “the way we are talked to by others” (Ivanic, 2006, p.13), i.e. the way we are addressed. Moving on to *attribution*, it is “the way we are talked about by others” (ibid.), i.e. the attributes assigned to us by other actors by means of their words, their actions or their behaviour (Sunderland, 2010). Finally, *affiliation* is defined as “the way we talk like others” (ibid), i.e. the integration and acceptance struggle we undertake to assimilate into a group of people and identify ourselves with the group. Consequently, as Sunderland and Litosseliti (2002) explain, “identities can thus be seen as emerging from an individual’s different sorts of relationships with others” (p.7).

The actors involved in the identity construction process in the context of Greek tourism/culture promotion, i.e. (potential) visitors, native audience (primarily Greek citizens or Greek-speaking residents), tourism and cultural bodies are receivers and transmitters of the discourse around Greece as a branded cultural product. I claim that the expectations of visitors are attributed to the native audience who in turn assumes the identity and hence feeds it back to the narratives circulating around the idea of Greekness, thus finding their way into the texts produced and translated by dominant bodies in Greece in a vicious cycle process of identification.

The *us vs. them* dichotomy is useful in understanding this process of identity (re)formulation under the scope of presumed collective conscience on behalf of the native audience. As Wodak (2011) argues, “the notion of identity presupposes that there are similarities/equivalences [...] and differences” (p.216-217) on an axis of inclusion and exclusion discourses and practices. Similarly, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) use the terms ‘sameness’ and ‘difference’ to explain how we identify ourselves through a process of acceptance negation, belonging and distancing (as cited in Almeciga, 2012, p.48). Placing ourselves into a social group means that we reckon other groups to be non-conforming to our values and/or beliefs and we tend to assert our own conception of truth and meaning, commonly by discriminating against the *others*. Nevertheless, the sameness-difference spectrum of affiliation is not made up of two absolutes. Bucholtz and Hall (2005), putting forward the “relationality principle”, promote a non-binary model of the dichotomy and coin “adequation” and “distinction” as useful terms to describe the process of leaning towards and distancing from a group of people with distinct identity (p.598). The relational aspect of identity means that any argument supporting an absolute self is false, since identity is constantly negotiated and one can be more or less of something at any given time and context as described above.

The use of the *us vs. them* dichotomy in this study is instrumental and thematic-based and does not conform to traditional views of identity as being x or y, yet recognises a movement towards one, both or even more points. In the tourism domain, the native audience assumes the Greek identity or parts of it, thus differentiating themselves from the ‘other’ in order to promote a socially constructed and at times false identity of belonging. Notions such as Greek hospitality or kind-heartedness etc. are assumed by the native audience to match the expectations of visitors who in turn have formed their own pre-conceptions based on the narratives circulated around the ‘typical’ Greek person and society.

Ultimately, studying such intricate nuances of identity construction require an ethnographic study that is not the scope of this work, but would definitely offer additional findings on the identity negotiation process through actor contact. In the same way that identity is not absolute, neither is the conclusion of any single study. Context-based research provides a contextual truth and not a singular one. In the following sections, focus will be placed on the exploration of the emergence of nations and national identities, touching upon the emergence of the Greek national identity in socio-historical terms.

2.3.2 The Emergence of Nations and National Identities

Anderson, in his prominent work on “imagined communities” first published in 1983, was pioneeringly arguing that the emergence of nations is a socially constructed phenomenon connected to the establishment of capitalism in the modern western world. This scholar came up with the concept of imagined communities to describe groups of people that developed a sense of belonging. The members of these community lead their lives ruled by the arrogation that they are connected in a definite way. However, “the members of even the smallest nation will never know most of their fellow-members, meet them, or even hear of them” (Anderson, 2006, p. 6).

Regarding the dynamics between nations, national identities and nationalism, there has been a debate on which emerges first. Hobsbawm (1990) considers nations to be a result of nationalism, while Seton-Watson (1977) argues nationalism is a product of nation formation. Contemporary narrative theory views nation as both a product and a producer of nationalism. A nation, albeit socially constructed, cannot materialise with no systematic actions and the same is true for nationalism. When it comes to the contemporary world, nationalism can narratively construct nations and vice versa. Anderson (2006), nevertheless, fails to recognise this relationship and does not seem to take into account intercultural communication as a national identity formation factor. This is also the case with Kavoura (2007), who acknowledges intercultural communication and succeeds in studying state ideology and bureaucracy as vehicles of nationalist tendencies, but does not extend her research to discourse and narratives, thus dismissing the co-dependent nature of the concepts studied and the distorting potency of politics.

Consequently, while distortion occurs, a fertile ground emerges for various forces to plant the understanding that best serves their cause. It is within this framework that nationalism, being a societal concept of self-determination and a cultural concept protecting multi-culturalism, tradition and co-existence, is misconstrued by extremist political groups aiming for suppression and seclusion.

2.3.3 Tourism and Culture: The Case of Greece

Anderson (2006) suggests that communities needed to be formed so that early capitalism could develop. The emergence of nations required a central economy to control and regulate exchange practices among its members, who gradually started sharing the same language, history and nationality. The same is true for contemporary Greece, where the idea of a unified nation emerged during the late 18th century and spread in the early 19th century after the Greek War of Independence (1821-1829). Nevertheless, the population considered to be Greek at that time had been partly alienated from the Ancient Greek history and tradition and although Hellenicity was omnipresent, it was more infused with the Oriental than with the Western.

The way Greekness came to be understood was greatly affected by the movement of Philhellenism, which aimed for the resurrection of ancient Greek ideals. As Tsigakou (1981) explains “Greece that was created in 1828 [...] was, moreover, modelled by its European guarantors rather than by the Greeks themselves” (as cited in Rakic, 2008, p.38). Or as Anderson (2006) narrates, “[European intellectuals] undertook the ‘debarbarizing’ of the modern Greeks” (p.72) trying to impose an identity rather than guide the population through a self-reflection process. This procedure of defining took place via circulation of narratives mainly in the form of ancient texts and their translations into Modern Greek, and was a result of a stereotypical understanding of Greekness at large (Athanasiadou and Tsiggou, 2017; Travlou, 2002). This intellectual ‘elite’ was, therefore, pivotal for the development of the Greek state and identity.

In parallel fashion with the narratives in the 19th century, the contemporary discourse ‘elite’, i.e. the media, is now the defining formulating factor for Greek national identity. Glynos and Voutyras (2016) suggest that “elite political discourse and practice has served to reinforce popular attachment to Greek nationalist fantasies” (p.203), which is stereotype-focused to a large degree in a similar manner with 19th century dominant narratives around the nation. This kind of discourse, disseminated by the whole range of public and private bodies, is powerful enough to create a nation image. Therefore, it is striking to see that scholars have so far delved into studies of nation and national identity mostly under historical scope, at times neglecting the very relationship macro- and micro-economics, culture, politics and identity historically share with regard to the representation of nation (Edensor, 2002).

Foster (1999) studies nation in relation to commerce, while Bhandari (2008, 2014, 2016), Kavoura (2007) and Zantides (2016) conclude that tourism as a contemporary commercial practice makes use of the idea of the nation and renders the very core of national identity a commodity. Kavoura (2007) further suggests that tourism does indeed resort into a nationalist agenda to extract narratives, while Bhandari (2008), when examining Scottish poet Robert Burns, suggests that cultural resources are an important element of national identity shaping. These commercial campaigns are both initiators and consumers in the nation image building process. Hence, I deem culture to be inextricably linked with consumption, yet not excluding its relationship with nation building, for consumption and nation building processes often overlap and one should actually study the very subtle variation that capitalist society has attributed to nation image and its respective products (Rakic, 2008; Foster, 1999). Edensor (2002) considers national identity to be “constituted out of a huge cultural matrix which provides innumerable points of connection” (p. vii) and he views culture as always being in development. Although the above argument is valid, this development is rarely spontaneous, but rather orchestrated by hegemonic practices (Pretes, 2003)—notably through discourse (Wodak *et al.*, 2009).

Tourism in Greece, and in most high-ranking tourist destinations, is predominantly related to the concept of recreation and leisure through activities such as lying on the beach, visiting spas or eating at

a taverna on one hand, and knowledge of the culture/destination through a number of touristic activities from visiting museums and archaeological sites to sitting in on seminars and attending local festivals on the other hand. These two types of touristic focus and experience almost always overlap and are at times synonymous in that even destination traits deemed recreational, such as relaxation, have turned into elements of the cultural capital and psyche of Greece through promotion. In this study, texts to be put under scrutiny are extracted from Visit Greece, the Acropolis Museum and the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, containing texts that focus on Greek cultural and touristic elements. That is, hybrid (promotional and informative) textual data (Schäffner and Adab, 1997) are selected from websites whose focal point is to address the potential visitor.

The pool of data may indeed seem irregular, but it is vital to bear in mind that the general framework enclosing all texts to be analysed is their dynamic in shaping an image for the reader and potential visitor, seeing that the narratives disseminated through these texts are robust in nature (see sections 2.2.3 and 3.2). In this study, I consider websites examined to contribute equally to destination promotion and nation image construction, albeit possibly through different channels due to their very nature, yet as a part of the destination promotion process within nation branding. At the same time, not focusing exclusively on touristic websites per se provides an interesting platform of investigation as to the pervasiveness of national identity narratives across domains of promotion, experience, as well as business and social scope. In the following sections I move on to a discussion of tourism and culture promotional activities in order to grasp the perpetual interconnections between nationalism, national identity, culture/tourism and translation.

2.4 Tourism/Cultural Promotion and Nation Image

Tourism as a scientific field exists since the 1960s (Bhandari, 2008) and since then it has been studied through historiographical, financial, psychological, sociological, political, cultural and linguistic terms. Nowadays, tourism is one of the broadest social practices, operating as an “expression and experience of culture” (Robinson and Smith, 2006, p.1). It is a major financial and industrial marker as well. According to statistical evidence from the World Travel and Tourism Council (WTTC), in 2019 tourism and travelling accounted for 10.3% of the world Gross Domestic Product (GDP) and roughly 10% of all employment, thus making travelling and tourism the largest industries worldwide (WTTC, 2020). There are around 880 million international passenger arrivals worldwide per year, the great majority of whom travel for touristic purposes alongside professional and other reasons (Urry and Larsen, 2011).

The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) (2014) provides a rather categorical, yet still inclusive, definition of tourism as a “social, cultural and economic phenomenon which entails the

movement of people to countries or places outside their usual environment for personal or business/professional purposes” (p.1). For the purposes of this research, I focus on the cultural form of tourism, given that in the case of Greece, tourism is predominantly non-business-oriented and mainly culture-oriented. Yet, tourism is also an industry and Thurlow and Jaworski (2011) claim that it is “instrumental in producing the very culture that tourists set out to know” (p.3), operating as a self-reflective production apparatus.

Although there is more to tourism than cultural activities, a region’s cultural offering is the main motive. Bhandari (2008) argues that cultural heritage acquires high commercial value when paired with tourism. Culture is not solely a representation of past and present artistry, but it can also be understood as an acquired, collective and distinct set of behaviour and thinking patterns, manifested as an everyday expression of identity (Mele, De Ascaniis and Cantoni, 2016). Thus, culture has both a concrete and an impalpable nature and as Ivanovic (2008) supports on the relationship between tourism and culture, each destination is loaded with a distinctive tangible or intangible supply of culture that awaits, in turn, to be consumed by the demand side, i.e. the visitors.

Visitors are one of the foremost components of tourism, with White and Frew (2011) supporting that visitors tend to mirror their personal expectations on the destination they visit, thus affecting local identity through narrativity, as well as by means of the tourist gaze (Urry and Larsen, 2011), which I understand to be narratively constructed. The United Nations World Tourism Organisation (UNWTO) (2014) defines visitors as travellers moving to a destination outside their normal residential environment for no permanent professional purposes. It distinguishes between visitors from tourists arguing that the latter spend at least a night residing at the destination. However, this classification is not useful for my purposes, since in order to delve into the study of nation image, I need to consider permanent residents, visitors and tourists as they are all affected by narratives around the destination.

2.4.1 Commodification & Stereotypisation of Culture and Nation in Tourism

Tourism is “an expression and experience of culture” (Robinson and Smith, 2006, p.1), yet also a commodified activity. As such, it (a) semiotically distorts the product and (b) provides the means for profit to the plutocracy (Marx, 1867). First, this means that tourism can have an effect on the image disseminated, potentially replacing the real and original image if it acquires a norm status under a narratively constructed understanding of the world (Baker, 2005). Second, given that tourism is a huge industry, the relevant campaigns will be permeated by the profit motive. Communication, in line with this motive, rarely aims to depict reality, yet makes use of communicative instruments that appeal to a specific audience regardless of their degree of authenticity.

Tourism campaigns are largely based on commodified cultural/national elements, understanding commodification as “the offering of cultural products for money” (Medina, 2003, p. 2). This simple

definition perfectly describes the final step of commodification, that is, the commercial exchange. Nevertheless, cultural commodification starts much earlier than the transaction that perpetuates it and, at its present state, is inextricably linked to the creation of nations and destination branding. Under a Marxist understanding of commodification, Gotham (2002) suggests that there has been a movement from commodity-driven society to a spectacle-driven society. Spectacles have partly replaced commodities as regards consumption, but I would argue that it is still within a process of commodification that these spectacles appear. The spectacle, unlike the commodity as understood in its traditional sense, i.e. a golden watch, a handmade vase etc., is not valued equivalently to its actual production worth and/or authenticity. There are many performed instances of such spectacles that relate to tourism promotion. The *Greek Wedding Show*⁷ in the island of Santorini, Greece, is such an example. The organisers offer what they describe as a unique and authentic Greek wedding experience that reproduces the spirit of 1940s Greece by inviting customers to be part of the musico-theatrical show and engage in the production. Similarly, in Germany, Checkpoint Charlie⁸, one of the core Berlin Wall crossing points, stands as both a reminder of the past, yet is reproduced and distorted at the same time with actors posing as American soldiers for tourist photos, a spectacle deemed unauthentic as it is inaccurate in its temporal and spatial depiction of the nation image. As MacCannell (1973) suggests, “What is taken to be real might, in fact, be a show that is based on the structure of reality” (p.593).

Authenticity in this study relates to degree of reality narratives hold against the possible enactment of such narratives at a societal/national level within a specific temporal and spatial environment that matches the one of the actual touristic experience. In other words, I am using the term ‘authenticity’ to distinguish between authenticity vs. staged authenticity/lack of authenticity. Although this binary is rather limiting in assessing the nation image disseminated through tourism promotion and practice as well as the very nature of tourism as a phenomenon seeing that ‘staged authenticity’ is not necessarily the opposite of ‘authenticity’ not does it equal lack of reality per se (MacCannell, 2008), it is useful in examining the degree to which and the ways through which the Greek nation image is distorted, framed or manipulated through discourse within brand promotion.

Undoubtedly, holistic examination of the phenomenon of staged authenticity would require an ethnographic approach to study the appreciation of such occurrences by visitors and the degree to which locals identify with these spectacles or narratives. Seeing that, ultimately, authenticity cannot be solely evaluated by means of exploring the narratives and representations produced and disseminated by bodies, it is also necessary to add the ways these are experienced by tourists to the research equation

⁷ Website of the Greek Wedding Show: <https://www.whitedoorsantorini.com/> (last accessed, 19 September, 2020)

⁸ Webpage of Checkpoint Charlie from *Visit Berlin*: <https://www.visitberlin.de/en/checkpoint-charlie> (last accessed, 19 September, 2020)

(Cohen, 1988). However, this falls beyond the scope of this study, as my aim is to examine the online discursive construction of such nation branding processes and not their physical representation.

The main means through which this commercial process takes place nowadays is undoubtedly the media and most specifically the web. As Zantides (2016) argues, “digital capitalism seems to permeate our daily practices through a plethora of mediums” (p.249). Promotion, branding and manipulation have always relied on mass audience communication methods in order to attain their goals. The wider the audience the story reaches, the more people believe it and the truer it gets. Consequently, visitors are burdened with a number of preconceptions about a destination, which they expect to experience while visiting. Upon actively experiencing the spectacles and becoming part of the dominant narratives, visitors then proceed to a further dissemination of these narratives online, during their physical social interactions back home, as well as during their visit by interacting with locals and other visitors who take part in the narratively constructed identity formation process (Baker, 2005; Ivanic, 2006). According to Urry and Larsen (2011), this process of mediated experience is the core of contemporary tourism practices; what the scholars have termed the “tourist gaze” (ibid) in order to explain the construction, consumption, dissemination and establishment of imagery that characterises a destination.

As a result of this process of “gazing”, destinations and cultures are commodified in order to meet visitor expectations and satisfy their pursue of controlled familiarity and discovery (Cohen, 1972). My understanding of the term “tourist gaze” builds on Urry and Larsen’s (2011) recognition that it does not constitute an exclusively visual experience. In other words, I do not abide by a strict visual-oriented approach to the construction of tourist experience and nation construction. The “tourist gaze” is useful in outlining the core of tourist experience as expressed through institutionalised and controlled commodification/construction in the contemporary world, but does not fully succeed in successfully accounting for the plethora of stimuli involved in (desti)nation/brand construction, i.e., i) it does not consider other modes of narrative consumption and dissemination in detail, ii) it does not take into account narratively-constructed identities as a filter through which “gazes” are formulated, communicated and reproduced and iii) does not adequately describe the sentimental aspect of tourism, which can include stimuli that stretch beyond the powerful narrative-inducing elements of the visual, such as sexual intercourse. Based on these points, I wish to further develop Urry and Larsen’s (2011) argument that the tourist gaze “presupposes a system of social activities and signs which locate the particular tourist practices, not in terms of some intrinsic characteristics, but through the contrasts implied with non-tourist social practices”, to also account for the narratively mediated nature of these ‘contrasts’ and identity elements, as I have already mentioned in section 2.2.3. At the same time, although this study does not extend to an examination of narratively-constructing phenomena such as active visitor-local interactions, I consider the gaze of touristic experience to go further than the visual aspect, particularly within the intensely competitive contemporary world, in which campaign officials engage into a plethora of diverse outreach techniques, such as podcasts.

Indicated by the meticulous promotional campaigns worldwide, the importance of tourism and culture in finance is immense. These campaigns depend on both tangible and intangible goods. In such promotional contexts, language is regulated and commodified alongside culture, history or even actual buildings, which go through a makeover process that will render them consumable (Foster, 1991). Although visitors most of the times seek a pure experience, what they often get is a gift-wrapped façade that in the process of commodification is deprived of most of its authenticity. Foster (1991) suggests that these processes safeguard the national patrimony and consolidate the ground on which national feelings are built. Since the narrative dissemination circle is a vicious one, this means nation (re)building campaigns are not solely directed by the state, but extend to private corporations/institutions as well. By commodifying the object, building or feeling they want to promote, they manage to actually acquire it or appropriate it and present it to the public. Museum exhibitions and building conservations/restorations are such examples. The question arising is whether these commodification processes help perpetuate historical traditions and local culture manifestations by making them popular or whether the (re)production of the culture is equal to its nullification, by moving away from its roots and thus becoming a global or stereotypical commodity that does not correspond to the specific original culture and is not in line with the actual nation image. Bearing in mind tourism is a huge industry and one of the most popular social practices, local experience shared by a great number of people will become popular. However, the process that leads to such popularity in the late capitalist world is one of alterations and modifications to suit the need of the consumer/customer/audience. As a result, popularity of cultural element does not equal authenticity of cultural element and the nation image produced through these campaigns is bound to differ from the original and/or stem from stereotypical depictions familiar to the consumers (Dann, 2001). As soon as this image is disseminated and reaches the destination residents, the process of identity (re)configuration commences (see section 2.3) and it is important to note that this process is not easy to be halted or rerouted, as the wide and age-long circulation of stereotypes does not only reach a meta-narrative status for the out-group, but it also affects the self-identification of the in-group, i.e. Greeks in this study. Gartner (1994), in discussing destination image formation, suggests that “the larger the entity the more slowly the images change” (p.205) . Similarly, Dann (2001, p. 10) explains, “it becomes difficult, if not virtually impossible, to brand or rebrand a country, as if it were simply another consumer product. The overwhelming presence of past cliché undermines the attempt to represent”. This focus on the past both feed nationalistic ideas and halts cultural/social/identity evolution.

In her study of guidebooks about Athens, Travlou (2002) puts forward that “Greeks [...] reproduce and/or recycle the ‘ready-made’ [imagery], employing the same stereotypical images. They shape their cultural identity according to what they believe tourists want to see” (p.125). Hence, the brand selling points promoted and highlighted are reproductions of stereotypical ideas about the nation, which acquire a *status quo* condition through continuous dissemination and consumption (see section 2.2.3 above). In

turn, this stereotypical nation imagery nullifies the actual identity of the nation and its components. By reproducing and narratively imposing stereotypes related to the nation image of the brand, narrative dissemination actors contribute to a static national identity that cannot find room for enrichment or development. Francesconi (2011), in her study of tourism, stereotypes and identity, supports that stereotypes focus on a set of memorable characteristics about an object, idea or person and simplify the understanding of said object, idea or person, based on an exaggerated version of that set of characteristics. Consequently, “the discursive process of stereotyping engenders dynamic of distinction and identification, which position a chosen element in relation to otherness” (ibid, p. 3). If an identity (national or other) is reduced to a predetermined and rigid collection of superficial elements that are not in correspondence with the individual or social reality to which they belong, there can be no identification; this process leads to a distorted “non-place” (Travlou, p.127).

This “non-place” constructed is a fertile ground for processes of ‘otherness’ and ‘exoticisation’ as it solely presents a limited view of the nation and does not allow for development. At the same time and particularly seeing that a static identity can lay the groundwork for obsolete nationalist ideas that feed on the past at large, it is deduced that the narrative power of stereotypes disseminated through tourism and culture national discourses can have grave ideological implications. For example, one of the core narratives disseminated by international media throughout the Greek financial crisis of 2009 was related to the inherent traits of Greeks as to their professional and personal way of life that would invite such socioeconomic turmoil (Wodak and Angouri, 2014). Although these narratives originate at a political level to a large degree, their very nature invites questions about the age-long depiction of Greece as a (desti)nation within tourism promotion, in which the country and its residents is distinguished by its easy-going and relaxed demeanour. This process of ‘otherness’ based on stereotypisation can lead to polarisation and create nationalistic trends on both the message communicator and receiver ends. In fact, the anecdotal battle between Greeks and Germans was quite intense during the 2009 financial crisis in Greece.

In order for these processes to occur, there need to be “institutional patterns of behaviour” (Schäffner and Adab, 1997, p.326) regarding administrative and operational standards of professional bodies; this means a systematic and organised approach to branding. It has been noted that ideology in promotional frameworks requires a bureaucratic body to be established. Both Kavoura (2007) and Francesconi (2006) suggest that it is within such bureaucratic bodies that these promotional campaigns take place. Consequently, via promotion consisting of images, symbols, slogans, sounds and physical location (ibid), a nation image emerges through a structured and purpose-oriented process.

2.4.2 Nation Branding and Online Promotion

Anholt put forward the term nation branding in 1996 (as cited in Poljanec-Boric, 2016, p.4) to refer to the processes followed by a state body to promote a specific country as having a specific and distinct image and exhibiting positively loaded attributes. However, bureaucracy and promotion do not only occur in state-led campaigns, but penetrate such operations across the capitalist environment in which they exist and act.

The practice of branding first appeared alongside the need for a communication code enabling collective understanding (Moore and Reid, 2008). Today the quintessence of branding remains the same, although significantly altered in terms of methods, complexity and variety. According to Giannopoulos, Piha and Avlonitis (2011), “based on their unique identities, many countries have been branding themselves deliberately and systematically for centuries” (para. 2). Anholt (2005) highlights the importance of branding claiming that consumer choice is primarily driven by the brand when products or services are largely similar, stressing that “without a powerful and positive reputation or “nation-brand”, no country can consistently compete” (para. 4). In a similar fashion, Gartner (1994) explains that “destination promoters without an image formation strategy will find it increasingly difficult to maintain, increase, or develop their unique share of the tourism market” (p.209). Therefore, when considering the effect of globalisation, it is understandable that nations should strive to be culturally distinct and to successfully communicate their distinctiveness. As Anholt (2003) indicates, it is far more important to promote an image than to actively and actually build one. For this reason, the majority of ‘developed’ and ‘developing’ countries have built cultural and touristic departments that deal with the promotion of the nation. Ahn and Wu (2015) support that “the existence of a ministry dedicated to the arts and culture sector indicates the presence of active national cultural policy in the sector rather than leaving the sector to develop on its own with minimal government influence” (p. 165). It is true that the existence of such bodies is an indication of involvement. However, in order to clarify the level and type of involvement, one should research into these bodies per case, as the mere existence of a body does not guarantee active involvement. For example, in the case of Greece, the Ministry of Tourism is actively involved in the tourism promotion campaign of the country, while the Ministry of Culture is not primarily involved in the promotion of the Acropolis Museum, although it is one of the top selling points of the branding campaign.

Nation or (desti)nation branding has received much attention in academia in the last decades (Anholt, 2003, 2005; Dinnie, 2008; Gertner, 2011), yet there has not been any conclusive definition of this term (Gertner, 2011). Költringer and Dickinger (2015) state that in (desti)nation branding, activities involve the creation of symbols, names, logos or images. In the same fashion, Ritchie and Ritchie (1998) understand branding as “a name, symbol, logo, word mark or other graphic that both identifies and differentiates the place” (as cited in Saraniemi, 2011, p. 248). However, these definitions although

adequately depicting the product and production process of branding practice, do not account for the provision of information on the individuals and bodies exercising these practices.

Aronczyk (2008) supports that “nation branding allows national governments to better manage and control the image they project to the world” (p.42), while Jordan (2014) claims that nation branding can be viewed as a tool via which governments manage to produce a wishful image of the nation. These definitions are rightful towards realising the scope of branding practices, albeit fail by restricting (desti)nation branding practices to state bodies. Exceptionally in the contemporary world, financial practices are rarely restricted to state interests and private bodies are constantly active in such campaigns. As Volcic and Andrejevic (2011) explain, the mobilisation of both state and private bodies is a definite trait of contemporary marketing campaigns. Hence, nation branding campaigns should not be considered an exclusive practice of governmental bodies, but a practice in which both private and state bodies are involved, operating on the basis of bureaucracy and under the force of narratives which they circulate and consume.

Regarding narratives within nation branding campaigns, there has been much discussion around the circulation of nationalist rhetoric and agenda (Kavoura, 2007; Pretes, 2003; Ståhlberg and Bolin, 2016). Kavoura (2007) argues that promotional campaigns, when part of nation branding, touch upon nationalist themes and promote nationalist ideals. Despite the fact that much of the content is nowadays produced and disseminated by end-users instead of organisations and institutions (Munar, 2011), narratives can affect behaviours and (re)create meaning on both ends of the individual-official body spectrum.

Narratives require channels through which to circulate. In a like manner, nation branding spans across communication channels; Anholt (2003) puts forward the “place branding hexagon” (p.215), proposing six channels of communication for branding a place: tourism, export brands, foreign and domestic policy, investment and immigration, culture and heritage and people. The same author identifies tourism as the “most visible aspect of a country’s brand, [...] the biggest spender and the most competent marketing force” (Anholt, 2005, para. 14) and calls attention to the relationship between tourism and culture. For the purposes of this research, I focus on tourism and culture as thematic threads guiding my textual data selection process. These two domains are a cornerstone in the case of Greece and other important players in the industry with similar cultural/touristic product such as Italy, Spain and Turkey; hence, relevant analysis would show how Greece is branded in order to differentiate itself from the competition.

As regards the importance of semiotics in promotional contexts, the existence of robust product imagery is the most effective way to elicit positive feelings towards the advertisement and brand (Scott, Green and Fairley, 2016). Promotional discourse is a type of discourse that abounds in communication modes such as images Francesconi (2006) argues that the large number of signs in promotional discourse

“transcend the authentic [message] and give birth to another textual presence” (p.61). Consequently, in order to fully grasp the intended ‘product description’ one has to delve into the study of ideological and cultural implications that lurk in the many modes of promotional discourse.

Cultural or tourist websites attempt, through the use of discourse, to lure and convince millions of people. Before succeeding at this, they primarily aim at (re)shaping their ideas about the product, revoking current narratives before new ones are established. Promotion stakeholders may also make use of rhetorical discourse devices such as metaphors, slogans, imperatives, alliterations, etc., which function as linguistic complements of equal significance to the primary or secondary message. National identity shaping is central in this reconstruction process and tourism discourse is a field in which nations are reshaped, packaged and sold (Manca, 2016). In such a discourse framework, the existence of nationalist discourse is often evident (Bhandari, 2016; Kavoura, 2007; Pretes, 2003). This is a hypothesis I will examine after focusing next on the specifics of nation branding as narrative disseminator.

2.4.3 Branding as a Greece Nation-Building Tool

Hellenic civilisation is one of the most prominent ancient civilisations. With a cultural production of about 5000 years, modern Greece boasts many exhibits of its long past and especially in the case of Athens, cultural production is still outstanding. Tourism in Greece started acquiring a notable status in the 19th century after the country’s liberation from the Ottoman Empire, with the visiting focus being the Athenian Classical past. In the past decades the focus has partly shifted, with visitors spending less time in Athens and more time in the Greek islands or other non-urban locations (Asprogerakas, 2007). However, Athens is still considered to be the centre of visitor flow due to its infrastructure and cultural variety offering.

Tourism is of central importance for Greece. A report published in 2016 by the World Travel and Tourism Council studying economic impact, showed that travel and tourism accounted for more than 18.5% of the country’s GDP in 2015, while it is forecast that this number will rise drastically by 2026 (WTTC, 2016, p.1). Additionally, the Greek Tourism Confederation (SETE) stresses the importance of the industry in relation to employment, finding that 18.9% of the country’s employment occurs within this industry (SETE, 2016, p.60).

In the case of Greece, increasingly in recent years, promotional and commercial information for touristic or cultural purposes has been transferred to the web, while print promotion has been restricted mainly to on-site use (Skibitska, 2013). As regards touristic campaigns, Greece has launched several promotional campaigns through the Greek National Tourism Organisation (GNTO) such as *Live Your Myth In Greece* or *Greece: A Masterpiece You Can Afford*, while non-state actors such as Discover Greece and Aegean Airlines also launch their own bi- or multilingual campaigns. As Cappelli (2008)

demonstrates, the linguistic quality of websites is perceived by potential visitors to be in line with the quality of the destination represented therein, thus translators in such a context are called to mediate between cultures.

Translation is central to the websites that will be put under scrutiny and to the majority of promotional websites online in Greece. The vast majority makes use of English as the TL, while there are a few websites featuring translations in multiple languages. The use of target-audience language or translations in nation-branding and nation-building is a common pattern. For example, in the context of nation branding campaigns, the Russian Government launched RT (Russia Today) as a television network in 2005, which still operates offering web content in multiple languages. Similarly, the multilingual publication of speeches by the General Secretary of the Communist Party of China, Xi Jinping, is typical of nation branding campaigns. The translation of such texts in multiple languages is inextricably tied to the dissemination of ideology and branding, seeing that translating most probably achieves wider dissemination of narratives. In the next chapter, I present the Research Questions (RQs) tied to the concepts studied above; the RQs have been formulated to investigate these concepts in the context of the dataset presented in section 3.2. After presenting the RQs, I present the ways the questions around the concepts presented will be answered, by looking at the model of analysis in section 3.3.

3. Methods and Research Design: Theory and Practice

3.1 Research Questions, Aims and Objectives

In previous chapters I identified a research gap in the field of tourism and translation, as the potential of English TTs in (re)forming Greek nation image and identity has not yet been thoroughly studied. The careful consideration of core theoretical perspectives about translation, discourse, tourism, identity and branding allows me to proceed now to the articulation of the research questions guiding my study as well as the main objectives of this project. Aiming to provide new insights into the narrative-construction power of translation in the framework of tourism/culture texts in the case of Greece, this research project seeks to answer the following overarching question:

1. In what ways is the translation of cultural/touristic texts from Greek into English a catalyst in the (re)construction of the Greek national identity and image from 2009 to 2019?

In order to offer a thorough answer to this overarching question, other aspects that are investigated include:

2. Since my project comparatively analyses texts in Greek and their English translation, are there any systematically differentiated discourse patterns used in the ST-TT and the respective Source and Target Culture?

3. Seeing that tourism discourse makes use of ideas of nationhood and national identity, how evident is the existence of a nationalist discourse in the ST and TT and what are the dominant narratives in terms of nationalist discourses by extension?

4. Understanding the social impact of tourism as a mass activity promoted through dominant bodies, what are the socio-political implications and ideological connotations of the Greek nation image branded through the ST and TT?

This study builds on previous literature in TS framed in the ‘cultural turn’ (Bassnett and Lefevere, 1992) and the ‘power turn’ (Tymoczko and Gentzler, 2002). This means I follow previous scholarly work in the field that focuses on a critical exploration of language and communication and attempts to unearth ideological implications and power relations within translation as a phenomenon and practice. I also extend the premises of these TS paradigms with a critical exploration of language and discourse, as dictated by Critical Discourse Analysis and Critical Narrative Analysis that are presented in detail under section 3.3.

Subsequently, this research project carries out a linguistic, discursive and ideological comparison between bureaucratic tourism/culture bodies, as initiators of textual data, investigating the socio-

political implications of the produced narratives on the Greek nation image and national identity within a system of patronage (Van Dijk, 1997). Understanding of power relations and ideology through discourse can pave the way for social change on the premise that discourse construction equals social construct formation (Fairclough, 1992; Lefevere, 1992). Studying discourse through a translation prism can offer a valuable insight into the intricate mechanism of social control through discourse manipulation in the field of tourism and culture. Subverting existing dominant powers and relevant discourses that contribute to the (re)construction/distortion of national identity and image is inextricably tied to a deep understanding of the discourse production mechanisms and translation processes involved. Following CDA tradition, as will also be discussed under section 3.3 below, I situate this Dissertation within the above-mentioned ideologically bearing paradigm, considering research to be ideologically loaded by default; recognizing this limitation and actively engaging with it is the foremost aspect of honest academic research.

This study is also an excellent example of the multitude of ways social sciences can enrol in an exploration of nationalistic movements following an interdisciplinary perspective, ultimately with potential to inform the general public and take action in relation to the multifaceted occurrence of nationalism that can be a halting element in relation to social progress. In an era where nationalistic discourse is on the rise and the concept of nation is being debated (Wodak, KhosraviNik and Mral, 2013), this Dissertation can prove valuable in unfolding the particularities of nationalistic/chauvinistic rhetoric not through the mere scope of politics, as it has often happened so far, but by focusing on the detection, isolation and analysis of these elements that appear to be at the core of the projection of national identity. Consequently, my objective is to offer some insights into the mistreating of national identity elements by those discourses that arrogate the very concept of nation, often through manipulation of its image. By the same token, I discuss the bureaucratic processes of narratively constructed identity and image through media, aiming to shed more light on the hegemonic power processes that define the whole social spectrum (Kavoura, 2007; Lefevere, 1992).

Offering a critical thinking approach to the audience, particularly regarding the fashion through which the message receiver responds to specific content, this study has the potential to bring new perspectives to those engaged in tourism practices, as well as to the general public, about the possible corrosive force of nationalism as manifested in nation image construction processes via translation. Based on the model of analysis presented under section 3.3 below, I aim to address the discursive construction of national identity and the subsequent nationalistic discourses by investigating the extent to which translation plays an important role in the Greek nation image and identity, as disseminated through touristic/cultural texts. Retrieving the discursive and narrative features of nation construction in my collection of texts has the dynamic to provide useful findings with connection to the phenomenon of nationalism and its discursive construction. At the same time, investigating the dominant nationalist

narratives in my collection of multimodal texts allows me to contribute to the discussion of tourism and branding discourse by expanding on existing literature as set out in Chapter 2.

This research project also aims to contribute to the academic discipline of Translation Studies in the following ways: (i) providing a concrete and original method of analysis on the basis of interdisciplinarity within the tradition of narrative theory and Critical Discourse Analysis, thus showing how these methods can be applied to the TS framework, (ii) offering useful conclusions that could allow for and possibly lead to further research in TS, specifically as regards Greece and the Greek language in the framework of critical studies of discourse and translation.

My conclusions may also prove useful for translation practitioners and language professionals involved in branding and marketing campaigns. Understanding the specifics of language production in relation to ideological implications in the Source and Target Cultures is the basis of quality language production that accounts for the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic differences between two language pairs. Audience design and message reception is at the core of (desti)nation branding; as a result, being able to both interpret and account for cultural expectations leads to the creation of culturally aware multimodal content that appeals to the target audience by responding to the needs of the Target Culture, respecting and accounting for cultural differences and adjusting the TT content both for the sake of promotion, as well as social reasons pertaining to religion, demographics, ethics etc.

Finally, the findings can be a practical tool for campaign officials, who plan and execute branding activities to promote Greece as a destination. Inasmuch as Greece heavily relies on tourism for its GDP, successful branding campaigns appear to be greatly important for the country's economy. It is typical of the situation that during the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic, Greek tourism/culture bodies engaged in excessive marketing in an attempt to salvage the financial loss to which the quarantine and travel restriction measures would by default lead. Acquiring insight into the produced messages promoted through specific narratives allows for a systematic attempt to better anticipate audience reception and generate better multimodal content, which would in turn lead to financial profit.

In the following sections, I present the practical and methodological foundations of my study. Section 3.2 explains the data collection process and presents the websites making up the data set: Visit Greece, the Acropolis Museum and the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. Finally, section 3.3 focuses on the model of analysis and research design, discussing the particularities and fundamental aspects of the methodology of Critical Narrative Analysis designed and applied herein.

3.2 Data Collection and Design

3.2.1 Final Shortlisting and Website Information

Data collection for this study is understood in two ways. First, it refers to the textual data retrieved from the websites and second it relates to the information acquired from the bodies and other means as explored below in order to be able to classify the websites and corresponding bodies, as well as ensure that the data set is homogeneous. Textual data collection posed no significant challenge as there are no copyright issues for research purposes and all texts are publically available. Reproduction rights of web material for academic purposes is permitted and/or has been granted for all three of the websites: www.visitgreece.gr, www.namuseum.gr and www.theacropolismuseum.gr. As far as the operational data are concerned there needed to be a number of shortlisting steps to narrow down the data set, and ensure all websites are permeated by the same standards of operation as regards the translation process they follow.

Body	Type	Website Link
Greek National Tourism Organisation	Tourism Promotion	www.visitgreece.gr
National Archaeological Museum of Athens	Museum	www.namuseum.gr
The Acropolis Museum	Museum	www.theacropolismuseum.gr

Table 1: Final listing of websites

Table 1 above presents the final listing of websites: Visit Greece, the Acropolis Museum and the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. These websites meet the following criteria: (i) they show an extensive translation attempt (most content is bilingual), (ii) translation process follows the EL → EN direction, (iii) they thematically belong to the domains of tourism and culture, hence constituting narrative-producing elements within Greek (desti)nation branding, (iv) they were either published or copyrighted from 2008 onwards, and (v) they exhibit high popularity in terms of on-site and/or online visitors. Criterion (i) serves the research purposes as it allows for an extensive and balanced set of textual data to be formed; factor (ii) is related to the quality of the data set that would allow for a balanced discussion of possible translation fluctuations accounting for translation direction; criterion (iii) is relevant to the domain of the social phenomenon at the centre of this study and points to the most suitable data; factor (iv) is used so that the website data extracted are representative of time period examined and it helps strengthen the data set uniformity, seeing that web discourse, web environment and tourist trends can change from time to time, and criterion (v) is relevant to the narrative power of the websites/bodies, based on the extent to which they can reach large number of online/physical users, i.e. the more a narrative is disseminated to large audiences, the stronger it becomes and the greater manipulative power it holds.

The textual data to be analysed are the ones that are of permanent nature and constitute the core of each website and are not removed or are chronologically bound so that they become obsolete. This means that announcements of limited temporal interest as well as press releases and other non-visitor related texts are not considered part of the data set. Furthermore, the texts to be analysed are all accessible from the website homepage and these that are only accessible through secondary browsing, downloading or in non-webpage format are not considered. More details on these parameters are presented in section 3.2.1 below, after presenting the shortlisted websites:

(i) Visit Greece

Visit Greece is the main portal of the GNTO, part of the Ministry of Tourism in Greece. It is state-operated, meaning that the professionals working in the body are public servants and the strategy and procedures followed are a result of government planning. The main scope of the website is touristic promotion in Greece and it features reports, articles and information about destinations, sites, events and other useful practical details for visitors, i.e. phone numbers, maps, tips, travel routes etc. The website writes “Visitgreece.gr is the official tourism web site for Greece, run by the Greek National Tourism Organisation, where you'll find information on the main tourist destinations, such as cities, beaches, as well as activities, events and much more!” (GNTO, 2018). It is a multimodal website published in Greek and translated into English, with some audiovisual material being published either monolingually or multilingually in more languages, i.e. Russian, Spanish, German etc. For this study, only material published in Greek and translated into English is considered.

(ii) National Archaeological Museum of Athens

Namuseum.gr is the corresponding website of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (NAMA). The body is state-operated, and it is part of the Ministry of Culture. The main scope of the website is presentation of the exhibits, history and events of the museum, while it also includes visitor information related to fares, opening hours, location etc. The website writes “Welcome to the official website of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, Greece. The National Archaeological Museum of Athens is the largest archaeological museum in Greece and one of the most important museums in the world devoted to ancient Greek art” (NAMA, 2018). It is published in Greek and translated into English and its content is multimodal.

(iii) Acropolis Museum

The Acropolis Museum website contains information about the museum built in 2007 to host exhibits and events related to the Acropolis and the Parthenon Temple in Athens, Greece. The body is centrally regulated and although the content of both the museum and the website are public, the operation of the museum is not government-led and it operates semi-autonomously. The main goal of the website is to provide information on the visiting experience and the collection of the museum, offer audiovisual material and provide details about events taking place at the museum. The website fully supports two

languages, i.e., Greek and English, but it also features multimedia material in more languages, that is French, German, Spanish, Italian, Russian, Chinese and Japanese. This study only focuses on the original Greek and translated English textual data.

In the following sections, I present in chronological order the various steps of the shortlisting process, explaining the informed choices that guided me through the final shortlisting. Presenting statistical data and other information about the operation, status and translation procedure of the websites, I lay out the reasoning behind my data set to ensure textual data selected are extracted from websites, deemed appropriate for this research, and clarify the logic behind exclusion of other relevant websites. Shortlisting went through six stages.

3.2.2 Early Shortlisting and Statistical Data

3.2.2.a First Shortlisting

Textual data were selected from websites that belong to the domains of culture and tourism as defined in section 2.4. These two inextricably linked domains were chosen as the thematic pools based on their importance as regards nation branding campaigns featuring in Anholt's (2005) brand hexagon (p.3), where a classification of domains comprising the commercial representation of nation is attempted. Also, the pervasive nature of the aforementioned domains in the Greek society is central to the study. Notably, the country's GDP in 2014 was the outcome of tourism revenue to a percentage of up to 25% of the total contribution (Ikkos, 2015).

Since the domains are broad in nature and often overlap, as in most high-ranking tourist destinations, the main driving force behind data pool selection is its dynamic in shaping the nation image within a promotional framework. The focus is on texts (produced in Greek and then translated into English) that concern the country's tourist and cultural offering, i.e. festivals, museums, places and archaeological sites. Apart from their common thematic orientation, the websites belong to specific cultural bodies, either state or private, which operate in a bureaucratic way. That is, they operate under codes, hierarchy and law (Kavoura, 2007), meaning that (a) roles are defined and attributed to the members of the bodies with the responsibility to follow role requirements, (b) all members communicate under the same communicative framework sharing common channels and modes of communication as well as terminology and (c) there is a distinct and clear hierarchical structure within the body that places members at a higher or lower status. Finally, all bodies are receivers and transmitters of the same narratively constructed society, as explained in section 2.2.3 on narrativity.

The websites were primarily chosen based on two factors: (i) extent of translation attempt, i.e. the extent of ST material that gets translated, with categorisation being: no translation, non-systematic translation and most content translated, thus offering the study with the adequate amount of textual data and (ii) popularity in terms of visitor physical attendance. Using a number of indicators such as the Greek

Tourism Confederation (SETE) library of statistics⁹, as well as *Appendices II, III, IV, V* detailing the popularity of locations, made it possible to produce an initial shortlisting of websites. This was, then, complemented by personal research with reference to the extent of translation attempt per website, which according to stakeholders¹⁰ consulted, follows the Greek to English translation process. Adhering to my research questions, I have not considered ST and TT language and content quality.

For the purposes of narrowing down my data set, this project focuses on textual data dating from 2009 onwards, designating the early establishment of the financial crisis in Greece as the starting point, until the end of 2019. The specific time frame is particularly important for Greece, as it can be considered the latest version of contemporary Greece from the moment the country entered the financial crisis until roughly the present day. As Wodak and Angouri (2014) support, the financial crisis led to polarisation and nationalism in the case of Greece, while at the same time it created narratives of ‘otherness’ in the ways Greece has since been viewed and portrayed. This radical narrative change is due to led to further narratives of nation construction and nation branding, that are particularly important within the time frame selected. This, in turn, can lay the foundation for future research when it comes to the promotional campaigns of brands in times of financial crises or deteriorating popularity. Moreover, as regards data extraction, website statistical data retrieval is more trustworthy for the time frame selected, as web analytics tools are more robust for contemporary webpages.

Retrieving of textual data commenced in December 2015 and the date of extraction is declared on a case-by-case basis. I collected a single version of the webpages examined with the exception of the National Archaeological Museum of Greece, for which it was necessary to extract two versions, as the website layout changed on the course of research. Following the CDA data set paradigm, the only factor determining the extent of textual data is the potential to address and provide answers to the research questions (Vázquez Hermosilla, 2013).

Preliminary research did not point to an extensive translation attempt for locations, destinations and other points of cultural/touristic interest outside the capital of Greece, although there are notable exceptions such as Incredible Crete (www.incrediblecrete.gr) and Thessaloniki Travel (www.thessaloniki.trevel). Primarily based on the statistical evidence acquired through SETE, the first draft contained the following websites: Visit Greece (www.visitgreece.gr), the Portal of the Ministry of Culture (http://odysseus.culture.gr/index_en.html), the National Archaeological Museum of Athens (www.namuseum.gr), the Acropolis Museum (www.theacropolismuseum.gr), the Thessaloniki

⁹ Link to the SETE statistics library: <http://sete.gr/en/statistical-data-library/statistics-repository/>

¹⁰ At the first stage of the shortlisting I communicated with stakeholders from the following websites: www.visitgreece.gr, www.culture.gr, www.namuseum.gr, www.theacropolismuseum.gr, www.filmfestival.gr and www.greekfestival.gr. The individuals contacted are members of the Translation Department, Directors of Content and/or Press Office representatives.

International Film Festival (www.filmfestival.gr), and the Athens and Epidaurus Festival (www.greekfestival.gr/en/home).

3.2.2.b Second Shortlisting

The second shortlisting focused on the electronic visits of selected websites in connection with the indexes and methods mentioned above. The initial shortlisted websites, thus, met the following criteria:

- Thematic relevance and coherence
- Extensive translation of website ST content (EL-EN)
- Larger number of physical visitors among similar destinations

After an initial pool of 22 destinations/bodies, only those with a website remained:

- Acropolis Museum → www.theacropolismuseum.gr
- Athens and Epidaurus Festival → www.greekfestival.gr
- Byzantine Museum of Athens → www.byzantinemuseum.gr
- Greek Ministry of Culture → www.odysseus.culture.gr
- Greek National Tourism Organisation → www.visitgreece.gr
- National Archaeological Museum of Athens → www.namuseum.gr
- Thessaloniki International Film Festival → www2.filmfestival.gr
- White Tower of Thessaloniki → www.lpth.gr

Websites were then chosen based on the number of onsite visitors where applicable. At the second stage of shortlisting, I made use of the free trial version of website analytics software *alexa.com*¹¹ to determine whether the initial shortlisting matches the electronic visits of the website. The free version of the website allows users to access data corresponding to the last three months of traffic. Moreover, conducting a keyword search through *alexa.com*, I explored the possibility of other important websites that match my research needs and context.

Alexa.com, a website owned by *amazon.com*, collects web browsing behaviour data and rankings stemming from several sources and tools thus triangulating results. Although the statistics presented are more of an estimate since they rely on a sample of global web usage, the numbers seem to be quite accurate when compared with other relevant electronic tools such as *similarweb.com*. These websites

¹¹“Alexa's traffic estimates are based on data from our global traffic panel, which is a sample of millions of Internet users using one of many different browser extensions. In addition, we gather much of our traffic data from direct sources in the form of sites that have chosen to install the Alexa script on their site and certify their metrics. However, site owners can always choose to keep their certified metrics private. Our global traffic rank is a measure of how a website is doing relative to all other sites on the web over the past 3 months. The rank is calculated using a proprietary methodology that combines a site's estimated average of daily unique visitors and its estimated number of pageviews over the past 3 months. We provide a similar country-specific ranking, which is a measurement of how a website ranks in a particular country relative to other sites over the past month.” (Alexa, 2018)

are primarily used for promotional and/or business-related reasons, utilised by companies and institutions in order to maximise their marketing plan efficiency online. Statistics for the above shortlisted websites as well as the keyword search results extracted on 16 December 2017 from *alexa.com* are presented below:

- **Greek National Tourism Organisation**

The website is ranked 5,006th in Greece, having a bounce rate¹² of 71.1%. Daily pageviews per visitor are 1.6 and the daily time spent on the site is 1' 49''. There are 3,145 sites linking to this website, while 64.5% of the links occur from search engine results.

- **Greek Ministry of Culture**

This is the most visited subpage of the website *culture.gr* (41.27%). The website is ranked 1,103rd in Greece, having a bounce rate of 45.4%. Daily pageviews per visitor are 3.9 and the daily time spent on the site is 6' 17''. There are 4,367 sites linking to this website, while 33.7% of the links occur from search engine results.

- **White Tower of Thessaloniki**¹³

The website is ranked 78,870th in Greece, having a bounce rate of 35.7%. Daily pageviews per visitor are 4.4 and the daily time spent on the site is 7' 13''. There are 74 sites linking to this website, while 78.6% occur from search engine results.

- **Acropolis Museum**

The website is ranked 5,919th in Greece, having a bounce rate of 49.6%. Daily pageviews per visitor are 4 and the daily time spent on the site is 3' 02''. There are 1,994 sites linking to this website, while 57.5% of the links occur from search engine results.

- **Athens and Epidauros Festival**

The website is ranked 12,345th in Greece, having a bounce rate of 58.6%. Daily pageviews per visitor are 1.9 and the daily time spent on the site is 1' 57''. There are 891 sites linking to this website, while 51.7% occur from search engine results.

¹² "A *bounce* is a single-page session on your site. In Analytics, a bounce is calculated specifically as a session that triggers only a single request to the Analytics server, such as when a user opens a single page on your site and then exits without triggering any other requests to the Analytics server during that session" (Google Support, 2018)

¹³ This website is quite recent and there are no consistent data about visits. A combination of statistical evidence from *alexa.com* and *similarweb.com* is used.

- **Thessaloniki International Film Festival**¹⁴

The website is ranked 4,125th in Greece, having a bounce rate of 33%. Daily pageviews per visitor are 5.6 and the daily time spent on the site is 5' 51''. There are 1,168 sites linking to this website.

- **National Archaeological Museum of Athens**

The website is ranked 11,373rd in Greece, having a bounce rate of 36.9%. Daily pageviews per visitor are 4 and the daily time spent on the site is 3' 14''. There are 1,051 sites linking to this website, while 57.7% of the links occur from search engine results.

- **Byzantine Museum of Athens**

The website is ranked 19,956th in Greece, having a bounce rate of 37.1%. Daily pageviews per visitor are 3 and the daily time spent on the site is 2' 49''. There are 618 sites linking to this website, while 71.4% of the links occur from search engine results.

Results from the keyword search conducted on *alexa.com* are presented below:

Keyword Search: Bilingual tourism/culture related non-administrative/advertising websites appearing in the list:

Keyword: *τουρισμός Ελλάδα* [greek tourism]

- visitgreece.gr
- discovergreece.com

Keyword: *φεστιβάλ* [greek festival]

- www.filmfestival.gr
- greekfestival.gr

Keyword: *πολιτισμός* [greek culture]

- discovergreece.com
- visitgreece.gr
- benaki.gr¹⁵

Keyword: *μουσείο* [greek museum]

- benaki.gr
- namuseum.gr

¹⁴ The website has changed as per November 2017 and the new version is now online. All institutional activities are presented through the new website. Also, the website is mainly active and more frequently visited during the time of the festival each year in November.

¹⁵ Alexa statistics: Rank in Greece: 7,151 / Bounce rate: 57.9% / Daily pageviews per visitor: 1.3 / Daily time on site: 2'47'' / Total Sites Linking: 1,544 of which 59.9% are search engine results.

- gnhm.gr¹⁶
- theacropolismuseum.gr
- culture.gr
- emst.gr¹⁷
- enjoythessaly.com¹⁸
- athensinfoguide.com¹⁹
- warmuseum.gr²⁰
- amth.gr²¹
- nhmuseum.gr²²
- visitgreece.gr

3.2.2.c Third Shortlisting

The third shortlisting is based on statistical data provided by the bodies for the purposes of this research. In general, stakeholders seemed reluctant to share such information and there are little or even no data for some of the websites.

Lack of Statistics

- National Archaeological Museum of Athens
- Greek Ministry of Culture
- White Tower of Thessaloniki
- Byzantine Museum of Athens

Available Statistics

- **Thessaloniki International Film Festival**

29 October – 15 November 2017

Unique Visitors: 47,918

Visits: 102,136

¹⁶ Alexa stats: Rank in Greece: 12,227 / Bounce rate: 25.8% / Daily pageviews per visitor: 3.6 / Daily time on site: 3'45'' / Total Sites Linking: 315 of which 61.3% are search engine results.

¹⁷ Alexa stats: Rank in Greece: 17,196 / Bounce rate: 39.7% / Daily pageviews per visitor: 3 / Daily time on site: 3'39'' / Total Sites Linking: 453 of which 60.3% are search engine results.

¹⁸ Alexa stats: Rank in Greece: 41,933 / Bounce rate: 94.7% / Daily pageviews per visitor: 1 / Daily time on site: 1'57'' / Total Sites Linking: 27 of which 84.2% are search engine results.

¹⁹ Website is obsolete. Copyright is 2004-2009.

²⁰ No conclusive data.

²¹ Alexa stats: Rank in Greece: 33,127 / Bounce rate: 21.9% / Daily pageviews per visitor: 3.8 / Daily time on site: 3'15'' / Total Sites Linking: 332 of which 71.9% are search engine results.

²² Alexa stats: Rank in Greece: 38,603 / Bounce rate: 50% / Daily pageviews per visitor: 2.7 / Daily time on site: 2'48'' / Total Sites Linking: 252 of which 67.4% are search engine results.

Webpages Browsed: 809,594

- **Greek National Tourism Organisation**²³

April 2010 – 25 October 2017

Unique Visitors: 15,200,799

Visits: 19,297,915

Average Connection Duration: 1'55''

Bounce Rate: 66,93%

Webpages browsed: 42,990,262

Webpages browsed per visit: 2.23

New visitors: 78.8% / Returning visitors: 21.2%

- **Acropolis Museum**

The Acropolis Museum collects browsing data for its website and social media pages. All stats are published once a year to account for the time period between June and May of the following year and they are available to the public through the website.

June 2009 – May 2010

Visitors: 794,917 (Location: Greece: 70%, United States of America (USA) and United Kingdom (UK): 11%)

First time visitors: 70%

June 2010 – May 2011

Visitors: 397,656 (Location: Greece: 67%, USA: 8%, UK:3%, France, Spain, Italy, Germany:2%)

First time visitors: 69%

June 2011 – May 2012

Visitors: 450,468 (Location: Greece: 72%, USA:8%, UK:3%, France: 2%)

June 2012 – May 2013

Visitors: 465,943 (Location: Greece: 72%, USA:8%, UK:3%, France:2%)

June 2013 – May 2014

²³ Extracted from Google analytics by the institution.

Visitors: 534,561 (Location: Greece: 70%, USA: 8%, UK:3%, France:2%, Germany:2%)

June 2014 – May 2015

Visitors: 635,734 (Location: Greece: 69%, USA: 8%, UK:3%, France:2%, Italy:2%, Germany:2%)

June 2015 – May 2016

Visitors: 641,534 (Location: Greece: 69%, USA: 7%, UK:3%, Italy: 2%, Germany: 2%, France: 2%)

June 2016 – May 2017

Visitors: 744,300 (Location: Greece: 68%, USA: 8%, UK:3%, Italy: 2%, France:2%, Germany:2%)

- **Athens and Epidaurus Festival**

March 2017 – August 2017²⁴

Visits: 790,339

Unique Visitors: 448,918

Average time spent in the website: 3'02''

March 2016 – August 2016²⁵

Visits: 650,000

Unique visitors: 450,000

3.2.2.d Fourth Shortlisting

The fourth shortlisting, carried out to triangulate results, is based on data extracted from website *blog.feedspot.com* that combines statistical evidence from alexa.com, coupled with stats from Facebook as well as Twitter. There is an active on-going listing of the most popular travel-related websites referring to Greece. On 8 January 2018, the Top 5 reads as follows:

- discovergreece.com → EL-EN
- visitgreece.gr → EL-EN
- greeka.com/blog → EN
- www.greece-is.com → EN
- www.davestravelpages.com → EN

Visit Greece has already been considered and belongs to the data set, while greeka.com, greece-is.com and davestravelpages.com only have an English version, hence they cannot be part of the bilingual data

²⁴ Duration of the festival in 2017.

²⁵ Duration of the festival in 2016.

set. Discovergreece.com needs to be considered. Stats from alexa.com for blog.discovergreece.com are presented below:

The website is ranked 3,732nd in Greece, having a bounce rate of 72.2%. Daily pageviews per visitor are 1.6 and the daily time spent on the site is 2' 16''. There are 551 sites linking to this website, while 54.9% occur from search engine results.

However, after interviewing people from discovergreece.com, it became apparent that the website does not always follow the EL → EN translation process²⁶. So, for cohesion purposes it cannot be part of the data set.

3.2.2.e Fifth Shortlisting

Since the stats for greekfestival.gr show that the website is popular only seasonally and is considerably low in the popularity list, the existing textual data pool is formulated as indicated in *Table 2* below:

Body	Website
GNTO	www.visitgreece.gr
Ministry of Culture Portal	odysseus.culture.gr/index_en.html
National Archaeological Museum of Athens	www.namuseum.gr/index-en.html
The Acropolis Museum	www.theacropolismuseum.gr/en
Thessaloniki International Film Festival	www.filmfestival.gr/

Table 2: Fifth website shortlisting.

3.2.2.f Sixth Shortlisting

Subsequent research considered the examination of the blog of website visitgreece.gr which is populated by individuals, journalists, historians and various professionals with an interest in the subject matter that are not employed by Visit Greece. The reason for this consideration was the balancing of the data set with the aim to include an equal number of private and state websites. Again, in this case, it was not possible to determine which texts featured are originally produced in Greek.

In my attempt to homogenise and further balance the textual data, I also examined www.greecebygreeks.gr by Aegean Airlines. This is a platform to which common people are invited to send their short (sometimes one line) stories. It is private, bilingual and multimodal. Communication with the airline revealed that not all texts are produced in Greek and translated into English. This means that www.greecebygreeks.gr does not meet the requirements to be included in the website data set.

²⁶ Discover Greece representatives confirmed during an electronic interview that translation does not always follow the EL → EN direction. At times, texts are originally written in English and then translated into Greek or they are written simultaneously in both languages. It was not possible to determine which texts were produced in English as the SL.

Finally, in order to make the textual data homogeneous in terms of translation process, and multimodal character, two final modifications occurred: (i) The Ministry of Culture Portal is not eligible to be part of the data set as the obsolete user interface of the website means that multimodal analysis would not be conducted in equal terms for all websites and (ii) the Thessaloniki Film Festival website is also removed from the final shortlisting as the initial website to be studied is no longer in use by the body and it is not populated.

Thus, the listing appearing in *Table 1* above is the final one and includes three websites: Visit Greece, the Acropolis Museum and NAMA. The decision to focus on these websites was based on the research scope, statistical evidence acquired online and interview with the body representatives.

3.3 Multimodal, CNA and Comparative Analysis in Practice

My methods of analysis are guided by the research questions and the types of discourse evident in my collection of texts. The intricate and complex textual data require a tailored analytical model. Due to lack of an already established model in the field that would be perfectly fit for my research, I developed an original analytical model, making use of methods from a number of scholars and traditions with greater emphasis on Critical Discourse Analysis.

CDA is an analytical approach that is not bound to a single model of examining discourses; in such a theoretical approach it is vital to construct a model of analysis that fits the data and the research questions per case. *Figure 5* below is a summary of the methodology used, adapted from discourse analysis and communication studies methods (Fairclough, 1992; Van Dijk, 1993; Vázquez Herмосilla, 2013). Steps 1 to 3 have already been discussed in previous sections, while steps 6 and 7 are discussed in Chapters 4 and 5. This section mostly focuses on steps 3, 4 and 5. In order to comprehensively and systematically file the data set to facilitate analysis, as well as acquire information on the size, type and name of online multimodal elements, I make use of the free web tool *Web Developer Toolbar uDev*.

Although it is primarily used for web developing purposes, it is also used to provide analytics and meta-data for webpages. I use *uDev* to determine the number and function of images, videos and hyperlinks per website homepage as an initial macro analytical approach to the data set. Thus, I first determine the nature of the webpage regarding its UI focus on text or non-text. Through multimodal discourse analysis (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006), I subsequently examine the underlying narratives created via these online elements through close open-ended inspection.



Figure 5: Methodology steps adapted from Vázquez Hermosilla (2013, p.154).

For example, the colour of the images and the purpose, as well as content and location of the webpages to which the hyperlinks direct the visitor can also be elements of narrative creation. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) put forward the idea that there are two approaches to visual narrative construction study. Visual elements can be examined through a traditional merely linguistic approach, treating visual stimuli as lexis, to study overt or covert narratives disseminated by these stimuli. The two scholars propose an additional level of analysis, which approaches visual elements at the level of syntax and grammar. In other words, stimuli are also examined by means of relationships; either between visual elements or between visual elements and text. This analysis follows both routes in that it combines visual multimodal analysis with Critical Narrative Analysis following the CDA tradition. Kress and Van Leeuwen (*ibid*) write on this approach:

“The plain fact of the matter is that neither power nor its use has disappeared. It has only become more difficult to locate and to trace. In that context there is an absolute need in democratic terms for making available the means of understanding the articulations of power anywhere, in any form. [...] To do so we need to be able to ‘read between the lines’, in order to get a sense of what discursive/ideological position, what ‘interest’, may have given rise to a particular text, and maybe to glimpse at least the possibility of an alternative view”. (p. 14)

Hence, moving to a more robust analytical approach, narrative theory (Baker, 2005, 2006) and Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1992, 1993; Van Dijk, 1993, 1997 and Wodak *et al.*, 2009) are

used as the basis of my methodology. Fairclough (1992) proposes a “three-dimensional conception of discourse” (p.73), which he understands as a social phenomenon including both text and context, as well as actors and their relationship between them and the social structures. He argues discourses circulate and thus should be investigated on three levels: (i) text, (ii) discursive practice (production, distribution, consumption) and (iii) social practice. In a like manner, Van Dijk (1997) suggests that discourse analysis should involve questions of language, ideology and power placing discursivity in a wider framework of socio-political understanding. CDA is ideal for this study as it focuses on power structures negotiation, questions of dominance and hegemony, aiming to expose the discursive practices and patterns that lead to the circulation and establishment of such social structures (Van Dijk, 2001). When combined with narrative theory, it offers a thorough macro to micro *modus operandi* in what has been labelled as Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA) (Souto-Manning, 2014).

Comparative analysis of textual data within the TS tradition constitutes an homologous analysis technique, useful in retrieving narrative and discourse patterns between language and culture sets, i.e. Greek and English in this project. Hence, this research project follows a three-step analytical approach illustrated below (see *Figure 6* below). The three different analytical steps often occur in parallel and complement each other when the data requires. Narrative Analysis is part of Multimodal Analysis and vice versa, while at the same time Comparative Analysis relates to both instances.

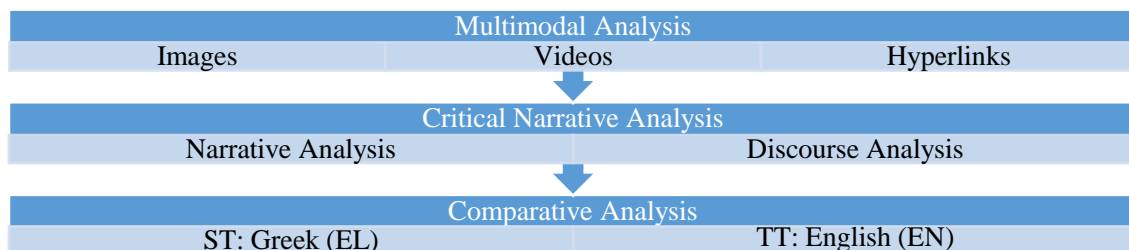


Figure 6: Three-step model of analysis followed in the present research project.

3.3.1 CNA: Model Overview

Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA), the coupling of narrative theory and CDA, is an analytical model helpful in attempting a macro to micro analysis. Souto-Manning (2014) attempts to establish the notion of Critical Narrative Analysis in political (ideologically loaded) settings. Although she appears to be sceptical of CDA for lack of fixation on micro foci of analysis, she does not proceed in setting out an analytical framework matching her data set, before delving into the actual analysis. This means micro discursive instances are not studied in a systematic pre-defined method, which could lead to a lack of consistent findings. Trying to overcome this pitfall, I have constructed a micro CDA model within the greater CNA environment that emanates from an understanding of the collection of texts and the research needs. CDA advocates the exploration of causal relationships between discursive events and

dominant hegemonic institutions, exploring the ideology behind these hegemonic bodies and its manifestation in the wider social spectrum (Fairclough, 1993). In a similar fashion, narrative theory, as Souto-Manning (2014) posits, may be useful to “connect microevents to broader discourses and contexts with the intent of asserting the construction of social experience through narratives” (p.162).

Fusing the two approaches leads into a vigorous model of analysis that makes use of narratives, both as a theoretical contribution and as a tool for close examination; while at the same time, it frees CDA from all inconsistencies and circumstantialism created by an assumed lack of a specified theoretical framework. CDA investigates the ideological foundations of dominant discourses through examination of text, society and ideology (Van Dijk, 1997; Fairclough, 1992) while narrative theory examines the ways these discourses find their way in our personal or global stories and form our identity.

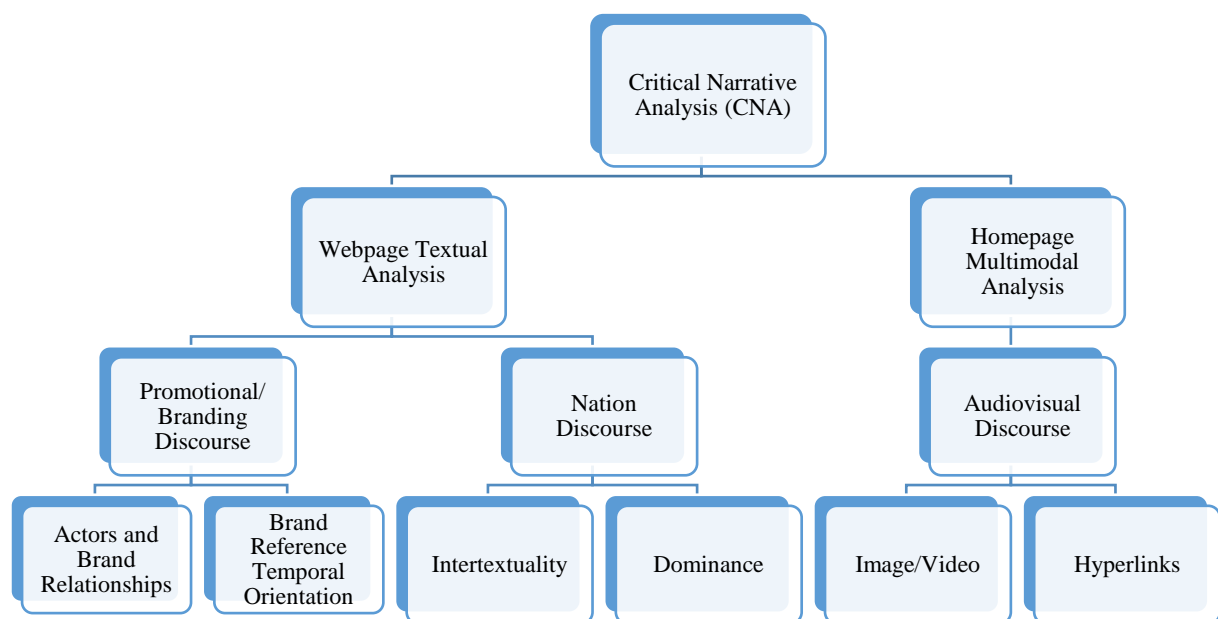
CDA has been criticised for the politicisation of findings and the lack of objective and single methodology, thus creating biased results fed by the expectations of the researcher (Titscher et al., 2000). CDA can be used heretically to propose fabricated findings through manipulation of data or isolation of discourses from a larger and more intricate discursive environments. However, a clear step by step explanation of methods used and a detailed analysis of findings coupled with peer reviewing can easily halt such academic mistreatment. The approach is used to generate findings on specific datasets under specified means and methods, and does not aspire to reach singularity in its analytical attempts. The steps outlined in *Figure 6* above provide for such research framework.

Initially, CDA asserts that the researcher is responsible to decide whether a particular topic is of critical social importance. Criticality in CDA refers to the links between social and political expression, where such expression leads to inequality or manipulation by hegemonic powers (Wodak, 2001). Tourism and culture in online settings, as well as the narratives circulating within and by these domains, shall be deemed critical seeing that, according to Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2010), “the world wide web with its invitation to explore both within and outside the site through various links, encourages interaction between text and tourist. It serves, therefore, as a setting for the initiation and incitement of social action” (p.6). Moreover, research shows that in nation branding contexts, nation image is manipulated in ways similar to nationalist discourse (Kavoura, 2007). Nationalism, both in its hot and banal modes explained in section 2.3 (Billig, 1995; Ståhlberg and Bolin, 2016), is a topic of critical importance that requires extensive research.

Having identified the critical discourse arena and having outlined the research questions, the next step in conducting CNA is to identify the textual data and create a homogeneous pool that is capable of offering useful findings matching the research aim (see sections 1 and 3.1). Academic and personal familiarity with the topic is critical in shaping the body of analysis. As the concepts studied are conceptually challenging and hard to define, I provide definitions and discuss all core concepts used. This also contributes in diminishing the subjectivity for which critical discourse studies have been

accused. Providing definitions is a research tool that sets out the ground for analysis and does not constitute an absolute extract of truth.

Following the literature review, the presentation of RQs and the discussion of concepts, I am guided to the creation of an analytical model that is specific to the study, but can be reused, recreated and tested. Within this operational framework and in order to consistently study discourse in the collection of texts, I focus on the following discursive instances, presented in *Map 1* below on the basis of the wider discourse environment to which they belong, also distinguishing between multimodal homepage CNA and textual webpage CNA.



Map 1: Critical Narrative Analysis model components per domain.

Hence, this study carries out textual and multimodal analysis. Textual analysis focuses on the totality of data set webpages in which the following discursive instances are examined: (i) Actors and Brand Relationships, (ii) Brand Reference Temporal Orientation, (iii) Intertextuality, and (iv) Dominance, whereas multimodal analysis focuses on the website homepages in which the following instances are studied: (v) Image/Video and (vi) Hyperlinks. Discursive instances, i.e. discourse pools and/or patterns/techniques, do not necessarily and strictly belong in a single discourse type. On the contrary, they may emerge from one discourse pool to affect another or coexist under the same type of discourse. For example, an image or video with nationalist content or even an image with a simple idyllic landscape can affect nation image and can be regarded part of nation discourse. Thus, categorisation is mainly instrumental and non-exclusive, except for the first level of analysis, that is webpage textual

analysis as opposed to homepage multimodal analysis. Discussion will occur holistically without limiting findings under one single category as this would mean treating discursive instances as linear and fixed, which is not in line with the CNA principles.

(i) Actors & Brand Relationships

Bielsa (2012), in her paper on language branding where she studied the ways two Spanish brands promote themselves linguistically, makes use of the model of transitivity deriving from the functional grammar tradition, as Halliday and Matthiessen (2004) and Delin (2005) put it forward. She studies the ways in which a brand associates itself with certain actions and processes, examining the relationship between the different actors involved on the production and reception ends of a branding campaign. This model seeks to define the doer, process and context of communicative instances and tries to systematically monitor the ways the brand positions itself and the consumers in this equation. In this project, I examine Greece as a brand²⁷ and the construction of relationships with potential visitors and the native population, concerning processes associated with each agent, in connection with ideological implications. According to Delin (2005),

this kind of study is related to what Fairclough (1989: 202) has called ‘building relations’ between the producer/advertiser and the consumer, ‘building images’ of products (in our case, brands), and ‘building consumers’ themselves by associating them with ideal ‘subject positions’ in which they might be likely to accept or reject the product and their relationship with it. (p.18)

Hence, studying patterns of transitivity means creating mind-maps that define the assigned role the brand, i.e. Greece and the consumers, i.e. potential visitors have in the textual data. Fairclough (1989) explains that in promotional campaigns, discourse constructs the brand and the consumers, building images of brand and consumers respectively, while also building the relationship between the two. This model is the basis on which Delin (2005) and Bielsa (2012) have also examined brand communication.

Due to the nature of promotional discourse in tourism campaigns, I propose analysis to include an additional level, i.e. brand mediator/ambassador relationships. This reflects the actual communicative branding practice in cultural/touristic promotion. As already established, in such campaigns national and cultural identities are used and commodified through discourse. At the same time, in contrast with other promotional domains, in tourism/culture, as examined herein, the promotional initiator (bodies) does not create the product, i.e. Greece, but merely narratively constructs and promotes it. The real physical ambassadors that willingly or unwillingly assume the actual promotion of the brand are the Greek residents, the Greek-speaking population, who paradoxically are not the owner of the product either. Hence, analysis of processes and actors aims to investigate the extent of associations between Greeks and the brand, as well as the Greeks and the visitors/consumers as communicated through discourse,

²⁷ See *Table 4* below for a list of brand evoking references to be used in CNA.

discussing the existence and function of processes at ST-TT level. Both in the ST and the TT, references to Greeks include overt mentions such as Greek people, Greeks, Greek residents, Hellenes, etc., as well as covert references and hyponyms such as the people of this land, we, or Ancient Greeks, Macedons, Mycenaeans etc. Similarly, in both language versions, the brand can be referenced by means of the following signifiers: 'Greece', 'Greek', 'Hellas', 'Hellenic', 'the (this) country'/ 'the (this) land', 'we', 'us', 'our', placenames (hyponyms of Greece), and 'here' (and other indices). Finally, consumers are considered to be referenced through lexical choices such as 'you', 'visitors', 'tourists', 'travellers', 'those' etc.

Given that the texts are steeped by default in such overt or covert references as this is their communicative purpose, it is important for analysis to consider only these cases that highlight the relationship(s) between either brand, ambassadors and/or visitors to avoid considering every textual instance a relevant finding. In order for a finding to be considered relevant it should involve two or more actors. As discussed in section 2.2, although all websites are considered hybrid, it is expected that ambassador references/relationships are more prominent in Visit Greece, as a promo-focused website, in comparison with NAMA and the Acropolis Museum, as info-focused websites. Still, all relevant cases are examined individually without any preconceptions as to the degree of information-promotion per website or webpage. At the same time, the (non-)existence of actor relationships is also discussed.

Examining the above relationships under a comparative (EL-EN) CNA framework gives insight into the ways the brand is presented in the texts and the associated processes and contexts that are assigned to the brand, as brand ambassadors are both members and products of the brand promotion. In parallel, discussion also highlights the relationship between Greeks (brand ambassadors) and visitors/consumers through actor positioning and context of assigned processes, as well as Greeks and the brand, i.e. Greece. Thematic analysis of contextual actor framing is also examined and this complements discussion of possible *we vs. you* narratives which are also discussed under instance (d), dominance.

(ii) Brand Reference Temporal Orientation

Drawing anew from the Systemic Functional Linguistics (SFL) tradition, I attempt to examine the means a brand is evoked within texts and understand the function of each reference in relation to the temporal orientation to which it is tied. This discursive practice is well linked with the model of transitivity given that it focuses on the *doer* of the process. Delin (2005) identifies the following means of reference to be the most prominent: "repetition, partial repetition, co-reference, brand elements, possessive inferrables" (as cited in Bielsa, 2012, p.150). She claims that a brand may be referenced in a text either via means of direct brand name reference, lexical choices such as 'the company' or 'the team', grammatical choices such as first-person plural, visual representations of brand logos or other visual brand elements and finally less strong referential lexical structures such as 'our offices' or 'our team'. This way the brand is evoked and remains constantly active in the mind of the audience, i.e. the

potential visitor in this study. By investigating such occurrences, I research how the Greek nation brand makes use of references to establish itself within the data.

Consequently, I determine the degree of ethnocentrism in the data set and identify the assigned national identity temporal features in the process of onomatopoeia. Delin (2005, p.13) puts forward *Table 3* presented below, categorising the different referential techniques used in branding and explaining the function of each instance, determining the level of brand evoking strength per case. Taking this table as a starting point and using it as an instrument towards creating my model of analysis, I consider the instances that directly or implicitly refer to the brand name.

Link	Definition	Example	Evokes brand?
Repetition	Repeating the full reference to the brand	Orange... Orange HSBC... HSBC	Strongly evokes
Partial repetition	A phrase contains a reference to the brand, but refers to something other than the brand concept	Orange... the Orange Service Promise HSBC... HSBC branches	Strongly evokes
Co-reference	Where a concept is reinforced by referring to it again, but not using a full descriptive NP	Orange... we HSBC... with us	Strongly evokes ²
Brand elements	Where a link is created by language or visuals recognisably special to the brand	Special terms such as Orange TalkShare; Distinctive font Brand colour Logo	Strongly evokes
Possessive inferrables	Where a link is created by referring to something that the brand has, does, or has given to the customer, using a possessive NP	Orange... our network Your phone HSBC... our branches Your account	Evokes
General inferrables	Where a link is created by referring to something that things of this type (e.g. banks, telecomms companies in general) have or do	Orange... the network HSBC... branches	Does not evoke
Other NPs	Referring to other things relevant to the topic, but not related to the brand	Your current address Your laptop	Does not evoke

Table 3: Delin's (2005, p.13) categorisation and function of referential branding techniques.

I do not consider non-evoking instances, as they are not in line with the image shaping processes studied through discourse here. Similarly, seeing that Delin's (2005) analysis does not include audience response analysis, which is also true for this study, I propose analysis of references that are straightforward in their connection to the brand to minimise unsubstantiated findings.

For this reason, references not referring implicitly or explicitly to one of the elements presented below in *Table 4* are not examined. This is mainly a textual-oriented analysis of brand references as multimodal elements are studied under instances (v) and (vi). Based on Delin's (2005, p.13) model, I

set out the lexical brand references²⁸ (see *Table 4* below) that can refer to the product, i.e. Greece and after identifying the brand references, I examine them as to the temporal orientation they bear.

In promotional contexts, nations are often commodified by reference to their past actions. This is especially true for nations that have a long history, such as Greece. Wodak *et al.* (2009) claim that national identities are constructed through historical reflections and accordingly, nations are representations of the past at large.

List of Brand References
'Greece'
'Greek'
'Greeks'
'Hellas'
'Hellenic'
'Hellenes'
'the (this) country'/'the (this) land'
'we', 'us', 'our'
Placenames (Hyponyms of Greece)
'here' (and other indices)

Table 4: List of references considered robust in branding narrative shaping here.

In this project, I set out to evaluate to what extent Greece and its referents are represented by means of its past, present or future actions and if there are any patterns in ST and TT as regards temporal manifestation, building on Kefala's (2014) research project in which she pointed to the existence of narratives of continuity and tradition in tourism promotion STs and TTs. I also draw upon Hofstede's (2011) notion of *long/short term orientation* used to describe a nation's clinging to the past or present and future.

According to Hofstede (*ibid*), nations that score high on the short-term orientation scale tend to place extra focus on tradition and the past, are often less financially and economically developed, consider

²⁸ The list attempts to predict the different referential strategies based on the multimodal features of branding campaigns in the context of destination branding in tourism and cultural promotion, yet it should not be deemed exhaustive and pre-defined, as CNA can show the existence of more such referential strategies through close inspection. Such instances will also be considered, if encountered in the textual data.

family to be the cornerstone of social life and are generally more conservative in nature. Greece, scores 55/100 on this scale (see *Appendix VI* below), which does not offer such decisive results, yet signifies a tendency to move away from long-term orientation (Hofstede Insights, 2018).

By studying the narratives around the image of Greece and placing brand references within a temporal orientation scale, I compare the results with Hofstede's metrics, as I consider cultural/national values to be reflected into national narratives under the principle of narrativity. Due to the nature of the branded product in my study, there bound to be references inherently and at times physically bearing a past temporal orientation. For example, the narrative of Ancient Greece, when discussing Ancient Greece does not constitute a past temporal orientation. However, the existence of the narrative of Ancient Greece when discussing an element of the brand that is not necessarily tied to Ancient Greece, e.g. beach holidays or spa therapies, does constitute temporal manipulation through reference framing and is appropriately examined and discussed. The ultimate goal is to determine a) the ways the brand is referenced in regard with its temporal placement: past, present, future at micro level; and b) the orientation of different macro-thematic categories conducting a macro vs. micro orientation analysis to unearth possible fluctuations between in-text and context temporality.

(iii) Intertextuality

The term intertextuality was coined by Kristeva in the 1960s and was previously discussed by Bakhtin (1981) under a different term, i.e. heteroglossia (as cited by Auster Mühl, 2014, p.27). The premise of both authors' work is the insertion of history in the form of past communication instances into new communicative acts (Fairclough, 1992b). Intertextuality is, therefore, a concept closely related to temporal framing, as well as hyperlinks, as presented above. It is to be noted anew that these discursive instances often overlap and can be discussed in combination. The aforementioned understanding of intertextuality is useful for a macro philosophical discussion on textual production, yet is insufficient for a Critical Discourse Analysis study, where texts are put under close scrutiny, significantly because the traditional understanding of intertextuality does not provide an exegesis of the nature and/or type of texts that feed and/or are fed by others and solely describes the phenomenon without accounting for actor intervention and the power structures that may affect textual production (Auster Mühl, 2014). Through intertextuality a text can transform existing realities of the past into the present, hence constructing identity, executing political power and establishing institutional hegemony (ibid). There are two main canals through which intertextuality operates: (a) manifest intertextuality and (b) constitutive intertextuality (Fairclough, 1992b).

Type	Authors	Level	Pre-texts
Universal			
	Kristeva	Open	All texts; culture in general
Specific			
Discursive, <i>Systemreferenz</i>	Pfister	Linguistic system	Language use (political language)
Generic, Architextuality, <i>Textsortenreferenz</i>	Genette, Heinemann	Genre, text types	Groups of texts (inaugural addresses)
Thematic, <i>Mythenreferenz</i>	Pfister, Nünning and Jucker, Steyer	Text themes	Cultural topoi, myths (American Dream)
Hypertextuality	Genette	Rhetorical and argumentative patterns	Entire texts (Odyssey → Ulysses; Us-vs.-Them)
Material, Allusions, <i>Einzeltextreferenz,</i>	Plett	Concrete individual texts	Quotes, references to people, sites
Metatextuality	Genette	Commentary, critical reflection	Editorial
Paratextuality	Genette	Textual “neighbors”	Preface, headings
Autotextuality	Broich, Dällenbach	Texts by same author	References to previous speeches (Second → First Inaugural)
Intermediality	Rajewsky	References across different media	Films in book, speeches in films
Interdiscursivity	Fairclough	Discourse from other areas	Medical language (America’s economy as patient)

Table 5: Intertextuality types and foci according to Auster Mühl (2014).

Constitutive intertextuality refers to textual patterns and conventions which have shaped textual genres over time through repeated and canonised patterns. Manifest intertextuality is more closely connected to this study, given that it deals with the existence of covert or overt references to other authors, works or utterances in discourse, regardless of whether the source is acknowledged or not. Auster Mühl (2014, p.31) provides a very useful account of intertextuality types (see *Table 5* above). Out of the 11 types outlined, 2 seem to match my research aims, i.e. thematic, which refers to the existence of themes, narratives and stories specific to a cultural or national group, such as the ‘American Dream’ for the USA or the idea of the ‘birthplace of democracy’ for Greece; and material, which describes the existence of concrete individual texts in the data by means of direct or indirect references, i.e. references to national heroes or important authors, as well as quotes from texts deemed important for a nation; for examples, the New Testament for a nation considered to be of Christian Orthodox faith or the writings of Vladimir Lenin for a state led by a communist party.

Looking back to the CNA model (see *Map 1* above), it is understood that the study of thematic intertextuality can also be integrated into temporal orientation examination with a focus on narrativity. Under its material sense, I study intertextuality instances looking at how past works of third sources

infiltrate the textual data and analysing the implications this has for the building of the current nation image as well as the rebuilding of the past, possibly reflecting nationalist narratives. Both types are studied in conjunction and relevant cases undergo open-ended analysis to identify core trends. Although my data set is a result of bureaucratic processes that seldom allow for the existence of third voices that could potentially disrupt the branded narrative, examining traces of intertextuality with a focus on patterns can still provide useful insight. Intertexts that appear solely in either ST or TT are also considered and form part of the narrative manipulation process.

(iv) Dominance

The final aspect to be studied under the textual CNA strand of the model is the theme of dominance by means of agent positioning and relationship-building (Wodak *et al.*, 2009; Souto-Manning, 2014). I consider dominance to refer to a narrative of national prevalence stemming from a desire to promote Greece as a destination within a globalised marketing orientation. The ‘*we vs. you*’ rhetoric, which is studied in order to determine the existence and function of narratives around the idea of national dominance, has been found to be prominent in hot nationalist discourses and in order to study its existence in the data set, an analysis of the participants or text agents is deemed vital. The plausible secondary nature of ‘*we*’, as an agent of exclusion rather than inclusion, is also taken into account and is not only lexically but also critically assessed, to examine the rhetoric that places Greece above the ‘*other*’ and attempts to raise its status. Narratives of dominance are deemed to be these that attempt to raise the nation’s status by means of reference to national success or dominance in different fields, such as ranking number one in popularity or quantity, being the birthplace of products or ideas, etc. The truthfulness or untruthfulness/indeterminacy of such statements is not considered critical for this study, but it is contemplated when it is deemed useful for discussion. The gravity lies in the degree of overt or covert comparison attempt in showcasing these national feats. Examining narratives of this kind through a ‘*we vs. you*’ lens strengthens the findings and points towards a hot rather than banal aspect of nationalism. The instances presented and discussed bear the ‘*we vs. you*’ rhetoric. The ones that do not follow this narrative are not contemplated as they are not considered critical in the context of this study, since the existence of national dominance narratives has already been proven prevailing in tourism promotion and constitutes a core feature of tourism discourse (Kefala, 2014).

(iv) Image/Video and (v) Hyperlinks

Additional focus is placed on the homepage of the websites textual data are extracted from, since they constitute the first glimpse a visitor catches of the product advertised and can, thus, be cornerstone in the construction of image (Hoang and Rojas-Lizana, 2015). Seeing that web users tend to formulate their opinion on the web product in few seconds or even milliseconds (Lindgaard, Fernandes, Dudek and Brown, 2006), websites attempt to “evoke a favourable initial impression at the moment when information searchers access it, because they can easily leave the site through one-time click to find

another potentially more persuasive website” (Kim and Fesenmaier, 2008, p.8). It is, hence, understood that colour, font or layout can have a significant effect on the narrative communicated to the web user. Following a multimodal discourse approach, I will attempt to spot the narratives unravelling through CDA.

In the field of social semiotics, Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) go beyond a simple exploration of relationships between visual elements and text, to study visual elements in depth, considering additional layers of analysis that deal with internal image structure, image actor and object positioning, image depth or brightness, among other visual features. Examining such traits is not central to this analysis, as it mainly focuses on examining narratives. Yet, semiotic theories are followed to some extent, in their proposition of narrative constructing relationships between visuals and text.

Carrying out analysis at content multimodal level, I examine the existence and function of hyperlinks and images/videos in my texts. According to Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger (2010), “due to the role of language [...] in constructing and displaying a self, an analysis of identity construction must incorporate a multimodal analysis” (p.6). Such visual modes operate as a continuation of the verbal text and can, hence, complement, alter or distort its meaning. As explained above, through *uDev* I acquired information on these elements that can be critically assessed. The size, colour, (re)positioning and sound of the multimodal elements is contemplated in conjunction with plain text. Pierini (2007) pertinently writes on the nature of tourism/culture websites,

the Web page as text (Garzone, 2002) is a multisemiotic entity resulting from the interplay of various resources – written language (and sometimes spoken language), pictorial (images, icons), graphic (layout, typographic features) and acoustic elements (sounds, music). So, meaning is generated by the totality of verbal utterances and non-verbal signs. The Web page as genre can be profiled as a class of communicative events characterised by the interaction of verbal and non-verbal features, fulfilling a set of communicative purposes (e.g. informing, influencing the receiver’s behaviour [...]). (p.88)

Significantly in the case of hyperlinks, they often function in accordance with the norms of intertextuality. These web elements may transfer the web user to both internal and external sources and these sources make up the whole text and the subsequent narrative. The difference between hyperlinks and intertexts as traditionally considered in linguistics is that, as Adami (2013) suggests, hyperlinks, or *interactive sites/signs*, require an active reader as opposed to intertexts that are often offered to the reader on the same environment as text and solely require mental (sub-)conscious capacity. The reader is able not only to have glimpse of the referred text, but to read the complete version and create their own complete version. As Michelson and Álvarez Valencia (2016) argue, drawing on CDA and Multimodal Social Semiotics (MSS),

Since social knowledge materializes in spatially and temporally located social practices (Van Leeuwen, 2008), often governed by institutional norms, it is necessary to examine discourse as ‘a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the

situation(s), institution(s), and social structure(s), which frame it' (Fairclough and Wodak, 1997: 258). (p.237)

Kristeva (1980) notes on intertexts that “any text is constructed as a mosaic of quotations; any text is the absorption and transformation of another” (p.66). In web discourse, quotations have transformed into whole texts at times and thus texts are rarely isolated. Web texts are often interconnected, and this is why a narratively holistic view of these web campaigns is adopted; in order to study the narratives of a set of texts.

As regards images and videos, Kress and Van Leeuwen's (2002; 2006) work on colour and image type is again central. Colour, in this study, is used to determine narrative associations to cultural and/or historical elements that affect the overall message through enhancement, distortion or addition. Following Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002), I do not consider colour to bare a biological physical narrative-creating effect on the reader, yet I recognise its potential to affect meaning through its qualities: pale *vs.* strong, light *vs.* dark, colourful *vs.* black & white etc. that are not necessarily tied to a historic-cultural specific item and can be considered meta-narrative elements (ibid; Baker, 2006).

Images and videos can also be categorised as to their communicative mode through their construction and depicted elements. In language, words can have a narrative mode, meaning they involve action or a conceptual mode, meaning they are abstract and do not involve action; they are static in essence. Similarly, images can be considered 'narrative', e.g. a person diving into the sea from a cliff, or 'conceptual', e.g. the ruins of the island of Delos, (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006; Marley and Reershemius, 2016). This theoretical approach is combined with the temporal orientation examination instance (ii) with the understanding that narrative images, such as an image depicting a family trying cliff-diving in the Cyclades, are connected to present and future as temporal deixes, whereas conceptual images, such as an image depicting sailing boats anchored at a small harbour in Crete, are tied to the past. The reflection of these temporal markers on the image of nation in the textual data is complemented by examination of image mode. Similarly, following the paradigm of Michelson & Álvarez Valencia (2016), a categorisation of location will offer insights into the narrative, determining the type of location depicted in the visual stimuli, i.e. outdoors *vs.* indoors, plus a more micro classification on themes such as monuments, beaches, statues, sun etc. that occurs following CNA on the collection of texts. Except for the so far laid out examination foci, in the case of videos, since they constitute more complex visual elements, music and/or tempo as well as beat are also investigated paying attention to the relationship between text, image mode, music, colour in a holistic approach to the element (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006; Michelson & Álvarez Valencia, 2016).

Again, in this case, narratives of dominance (iv), temporal framing (ii), and actor relationships (i) may be presented or complemented, thus showcasing the interconnectedness of narrative construction and the equally networked analysis.

3.3.2 Comparative Analysis

The final step, which in reality occurs in parallel with the CNA of the bilingual textual data, is a comparative analysis of ST and TT at all levels as described above. Following a macro-micro analytical framework, I identify fluctuations and similarities in the discourses used, the narratives disseminated and the linguistic choices or their attributed meaning between the two versions of my texts and examine the nation image produced. After applying the above model of analysis and presenting findings and relevant examples in Chapter 4, I consider the research questions, as well as broader implications that relate to the data and summarise the points raised (see Chapter 5).

4. Analysis, Findings and Discussion

This chapter presents and discusses the findings extracted from the pool of websites after applying CNA. Section 4.1 focuses on the online environment of the website homepages through multimodal, visual and textual, analysis. It is complemented by *uDev* analytics and provides numerical data about the online elements of the homepage of each website (ST-TT). These numerical data refer to a specific date stated per case and are representative of the webpage under analysis. In regard with *uDev*, the numerical data presented can change as webpages are updated. For example, in the course of data collection and analysis, I noticed that website hyperlinks may be added or removed; similarly, typos may be fixed, images may change etc. Sections 4.2 - 4.6 proceed to the comparative analysis of the websites within the CNA framework, highlighting the discursive instances previously presented (see section 3.3) on the basis of my research questions.

4.1 Multimodal Homepage Analysis

Numerical data from *uDev* were extracted on 29 October 2018 for Visit Greece, the Acropolis Museum and the old National Archaeological Museum of Athens website, and on 25 December 2018 for the new NAMA website.

4.1.1 Visit Greece Homepage

The *uDev* report generated the following numbers for the homepage of *www.visitgreece.gr* (see Table 6 below), which are reflected on the layout of the homepage (see *Image 1* below).

	EL	EN
Images	92	92
Videos	1	1
Hyperlinks	272	269

Table 6: Number of images, videos and hyperlinks as generated by uDev.

The website is predominantly built around visual stimuli. On the upper part of the page, there are 7 images. These images rotate automatically or manually while the visitor browses through the homepage. Most of these images (=6) feature a beach/sea scenery. Although the different website sections attempt to introduce the visitor to a diverse tourist environment by means of thematic tabs such as “Mainland” and “City Breaks” that are not restricted to the lure of the seaside, the multimodal aspect disseminates

a different message highlighting this specific aspect of the destination. Hence, through images, Greece is branded as predominantly a seaside destination, rendering the message truthful yet stereotypical.

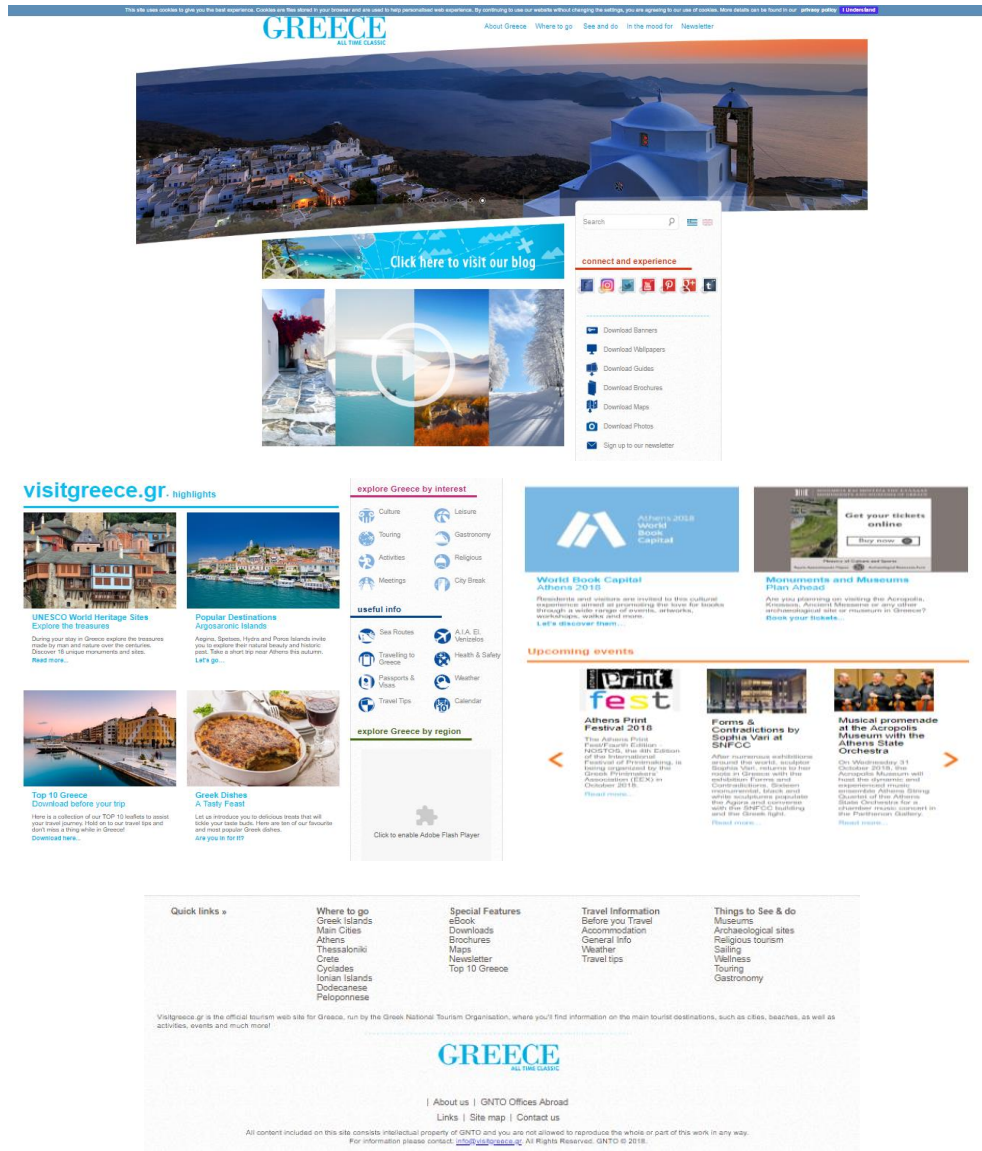


Image 1: Screenshots of www.visitgreece.gr full homepage from top to bottom (TT).

Attempting a qualitative identification of the rotating images, there is a balance between narrative and conceptual images (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006; Marley and Reershemius, 2016). 4 images of static, conceptual nature do not involve any action, being just representations of generic landscapes; 3 images of active, narrative nature do involve action and depict people engaging in various situations. This may contribute to the past-to-present temporal orientation attempted widely in the website and the narratives around Greece. Conceptual images are deemed indicators of the past, while narrative images are used as indicators of the present/future. Through this visually and narratively constructed movement in time, the country acquires a timeless identity that is very often also encountered in nationalistic discourse,

supposing the continuation of a nation temporally and culturally. This is excellently put by Baker (2006):

The retelling of past narratives is also a means of control. It socializes individuals into an established social and political order and encourages them to interpret present events in terms of sanctioned narratives of the past. This restricts the scope of their present personal narratives, their sense of who they are, if these are to be considered legitimate. In other words, it circumscribes the stock of identities from which individuals may choose a social role for themselves. (p.21)

In promoting a past to present temporal orientation, body officials establish, by means of narrative circulation, a set identity of Greekness that is used both to promote Greece as a destination taking advantage of the country's past, but it also feeds identity elements to the Greek-speaking population both by direct messages in the ST as well as indirectly via the English text by means of address and attribution as Ivanic (2006) proposes.

Right below the rotating images on the top of the website, there is a video that holds a significant amount of space and contrary to the cover images it changes more regularly based on the season or the time of the year. Clicking on the video, the visitor is taken to the *YouTube* page of Visit Greece, where there is a large number of videos (=136); some of them are duplicates in different languages, predominantly Greek, English, German, Chinese, Spanish, Russian among other languages. For the purposes of this Dissertation, only the videos that appear on the main website on the day of the data extraction are considered, since applying CNA to the YouTube platform would require a different theoretical approach that is not within the scope of this study. Additionally, the YouTube channel of Visit Greece includes shorter and/or longer versions of the same videos, which again would require a different approach than the one this study adopts.

The importance of multimodality in the online promotional tourist discourse is evident, while the message disseminated in the video at the time of data extraction focuses on the year-round appeal of Greece as a destination and is divided per season (see *Image 2* below). The video begins with 4 images representing the 4 seasons. The first image shows a famous Greek beach, the second presents the Meteora rock formation, the third shows an image of a frozen lake and the fourth is a shot of a small church surrounded by plants. For the summer months, the imagery used is exclusively of the sea with 5 shots of the Greek seaside being used. Moving on to autumn, there are 10 shots of which only 3 have a sea theme. There are 2 shots of olive groves and 1 of a vineyard, while notably 6 of the shots include a reference to the element of water. For the winter months, there are 6 shots used, with 4 shots presenting a snowy scenery and 2 presenting Greek traditional indoor coffee places and people speaking Greek. Finally, spring is presented through 9 images, of which 6 show traditional Greek food and people dancing and eating, while only 3 focus on nature. The video closes with an image of the Acropolis. As expected, the video is in nature rich in visual narratives, since its main goal is to present a plethora of

holiday options in Greece all year round. Following Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), the indoor or outdoor locations appearing in this video are considered narrative-producing elements. Outdoor locations are dominant; through them, Greece is portrayed as a predominantly outdoor (rather than indoor) recreation destination. Although this contrasts with the narrative of ancientness that would have been enhanced by the indoor museum/gallery space, it still promotes the stereotypical depiction of Greece as a seaside location. The image disseminated is one of relaxation and is mostly connected to living in the present, therefore excluding narratives of the past and future. There are no images of infrastructure or of cities and the few references to luxury and activities are nulled by the sovereignty of the outdoor beach/nature images. Interestingly, although the video seeks to promote Greece as an all-year destination, it is rather unsuccessful as the narrative produced mostly puts summer forward by incorporating imagery of the sea, good weather and outdoor activities across all seasons.



Image 2: Selected screenshots from Visit Greece promotional video taken from YouTube²⁹.

Aiming to classify relationships between brand (Greece), agents (Greeks) and visitors (Bielsa, 2012; Delin, 2005; Fairclough, 1989) in this video, it becomes apparent that Greeks are used to construct the brand. At 0:21 there is a young woman with a handful of freshly collected olives extending her arms in an act of offering. Visitors are symbolically offered the olives that operate as a symbol of the brand, which once again extends from past to present. Similarly, at 0:43 the video shows a traditional tavern

²⁹ YouTube link to the video appearing on the website homepage on 29 October 2018: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gaenAbLF6OA&list=PLxSL-OpDgAX5hqtef-FZJEHjf-40w2yf> (last accessed, 24 January, 2019).

full of Greeks raising their glasses to greet visitors. The message on the screen “age-old greeting” indicates the prevalence of past to present temporal orientation. At 0:44 another man raises his glass and the message writes “welcome friend”. Except for the enhancement of the welcoming narrative that places Greeks as actual brand agents, the man in the video does not actually say “welcome friend”, but (rather unintelligibly) “Cheers, Nikolas!” (=Γεια σου, Νικόλα!) or possibly “Cheers, Antonia” (=Γεια σου, Αντωνία!). Finally, the video at 1:01 writes “This is our Greece / Come share it with us”. The possessive ‘our’ signifies the nationalist understanding of culture, while ‘Greece’ is promoted as the ‘it’ that can be shared; something typical of the commodification processes in nation branding. In this last sentence all studied actors, i.e. Greece, Greeks and visitors coexist and simultaneously co-construct the nation image. The way ambassadors are portrayed is a combination of tourism communication practices. The act of offering and serving is part of a more stereotypical idea around tourism and nation representation, which promotes a banal ‘we’ vs. ‘you’ narrative. On the other hand, the friend idea is more in line with contemporary tourism practices. Locals are seen as companions in the tourism experience, rather than facilitators. This balance between esoteric and exoteric practices places Greece as a both traditional and modern destination, which is also in line with Hofstede’s findings on Greece (see *Appendix V*) when examined through his model of cultural indices (Hofstede’s Insights, 2018).

The musical theme of the video is an instrumental piece by French composer René Aubry³⁰. This particular composer is widely popular in Greece and has appeared in local concerts several times. Moreover, his musical style encompasses a wide array of musical traditions among which the Greek one. As mentioned on his official website: “he is an admirer of, among others, Leonard Cohen, Philip Glass and Manos Hadjidakis” (Aubry, 2013, para. 2). Manos Hadjidakis was an internationally acclaimed Greek composer popularly considered by Greek people to be one of the top composers in the musical history of the country. The piece of music that accompanies the video has a nostalgic character. It is a slow, yet rhythmical and catchy tune with distinct Greek/oriental influence, played with piano, guitar and ukulele, and enhanced by digital re-mastering in the studio version. The music choice is typical of the temporal orientation constructed through the promotional narratives in the website. The track is essentially a combination of tradition/ancientness and innovation/modernity and is in line with the ways Greece is portrayed in the data. The combination of past and present in the data is telling of the branding campaign attempt to present Greece in such a way that it constitutes a clear continuation of its past.

The relationship occurring between the music and images in the video discussed is an important multimodal discursive element. The narrative of present developed visually and the combination of past and present developed audially is telling of the attempt to present Greece as a clear continuation of its past; it is doing so by employing more than one multimodal elements.

³⁰ Link to the website of composer Rene Aubry: <https://reneaubry.fr/styled-3/styled-8/index.html> (last accessed, 24 January, 2019).

As regards hyperlinks, most of the website content can be accessed with a single click through the homepage. This is evident in the large number of hyperlinks. As seen in *Table 6* above, the numbers are almost the same for both the EL and the EN version, with a small deviation in the number of hyperlinks (=272-EL / 269-EN), which in itself does not suggest any major differences in the narrative output. In terms of order of appearance in the website, the first hyperlink is the tab taking the potential visitor to a page about Greek history (see *Image 3* below) in both ST and TT. When comparing this structural choice with other related official tourism websites of similar tourism destinations in terms of cultural/touristic product and history, such as Turkey³¹ and Spain³², it is observed that in the case of Spain the first tab takes the visitor to a page about Madrid (see *Image 4* below) and the Turkish one leads the visitor to an About sub-page in which Turkish Lifestyle appears as the foremost element according to tab size and positioning (see *Image 5* below) (Hallett and Kaplan-Weinger, 2010). The country's history is once again highlighted and prioritised over other promotional elements and the comparison with similar websites indicates this choice is not the result of standardisation as regards touristic web content. For Visit Greece, Greek history is the topmost selling point that would convince the potential visitor. At the same time, this choice enhances the narrative of ancientness and the past temporal orientation of the message. Significantly when the content of the hyperlink is examined, it is striking to see that (i) there is no mention of the 21st century (ii) the 20th century is only presented in three lines.

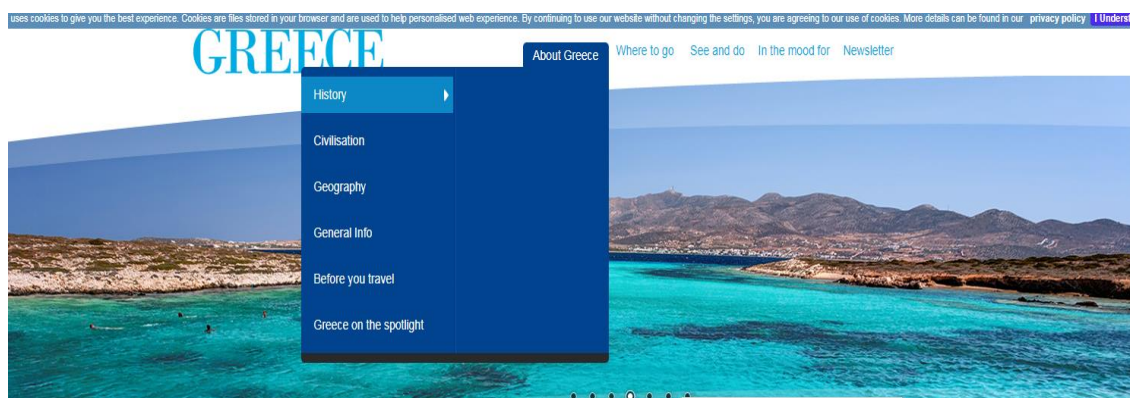


Image 3: Screenshot of hyperlinks/tabs from the homepage of Visit Greece.

³¹ Link to the official tourism website of Turkey: <https://www.goturkeytourism.com/>

³² Link to the official tourism website of Spain: https://www.spain.info/en_GB/

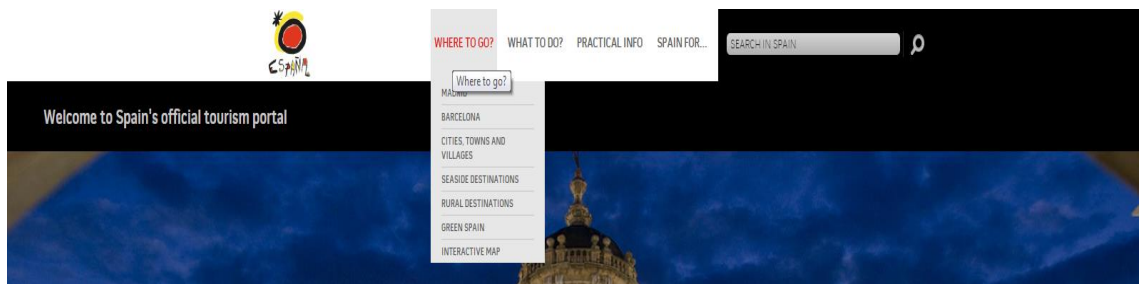


Image 4: Screenshot of hyperlinks/tabs from the homepage of the Spanish official tourism website.

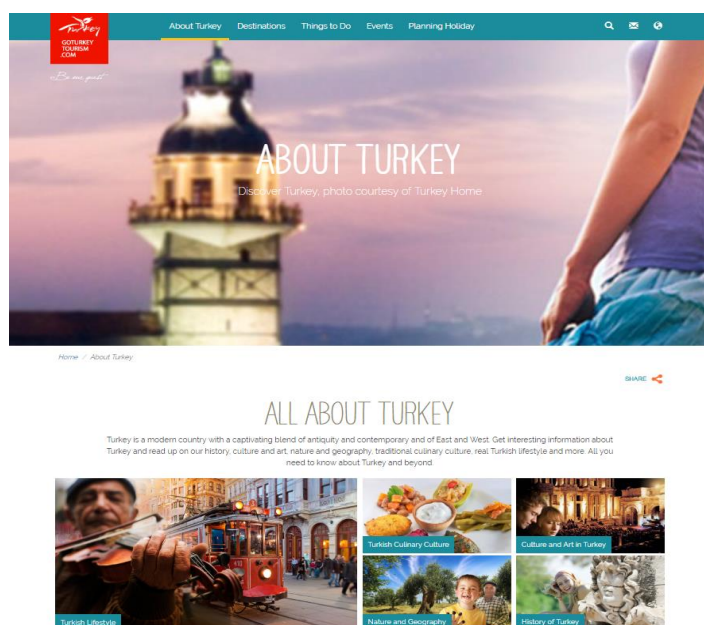


Image 5: Screenshot of hyperlinks/tabs from the homepage of the Turkish official tourism website.

In order to conduct a more micro analysis, I attempted a qualitative categorisation of the above stats presented in *Tables 7, 8 and 9* below. *Table 7* refers to the content of images and differentiates between content and no-content images. Content images contain meaningful content and are more important for meaning-making. No-content images refer to website icons, logos, separators, bars and other elements used to build the web user interface. *Table 8* refers to the dominant colour each image has. Since blue is the colour that is traditionally considered Greek, focus here is on the existence and percentage of the colour blue in images.

Images		
	Content	No-content
EL	42	50
EN	42	50

Table 7: Qualitative content categorisation of *www.visitgreece.gr* homepage images.

Images			
	Dominant blue colour	Some blue colour	No blue colour
EL	47	4	41
EN	47	4	41

Table 8: Qualitative colour categorisation of www.visitgreece.gr homepage images.

The homepage features a big number of content images, accompanying most textual elements with images. There are permanent and topical/temporary images, while the user interface includes a large number of no-content images rendering the page rich in multimodal means and content, offering an experience different to printed material. Contrary to the rotating images, categorisation of the 42 content images shows that 28 are conceptual while only 14 are narrative. Most of the images represent news about Greece, events or places of interest. These are mostly represented with conceptual images that further enhance the past temporal orientation via lack of action-led imagery. As Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006) explain, “conceptual patterns represent participants in terms of their class, structure or meaning, in other words, in terms of their generalized and more or less stable and timeless essence” (p.59).

Table 8 is indicative of the importance of brand repetition in promotional material following Delin’s (2005) exegesis of chains of reference. Most images feature a dominant blue colour, with only 44% having no blue colour at all. Blue for Greece is both a national indicator and a national export. Blue evokes thoughts of the sea, the sky and the Cycladic windows, while at the same time it refers to the Greek flag, the national symbol (González-Vaquero, 2017; Stenou, 2019). Not only do content images feature the colour blue, but homepage icons, separators, bars, buttons etc. are mostly blue as well (see *Images 6* and *7* below).

Through this colour repetition, the Greek brand is established around its most popular product, i.e. the sea. Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002) state that “signifiers, and therefore also colours, carry a set of affordances from which sign-makers and interpreters select according to their communicative needs and interests in a given context” (p.355). Indeed, although colour can produce freely made associations in some instances, that is not the case in the context of promotional discourse. The choice of colour is deliberate and leaves almost no room for misinterpretation or alternative understanding of the intended message. Blue is tied to the blue seas, the blue skies and the blue flag of the country.

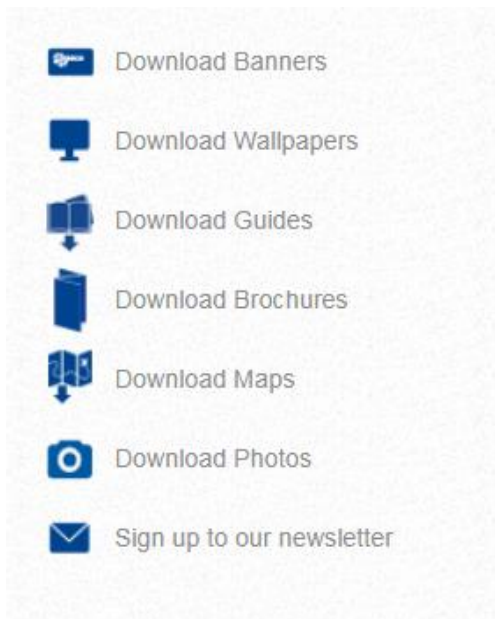


Image 6: Screenshot of icons from www.visitgreece.gr TT homepage.



Image 7: Screenshot of icons from www.visitgreece.gr TT homepage.

Drawing on yet another analysis element proposed in the work of Kress and Van Leeuwen (2002), it is noted that the website is mostly designed in pale and relaxing colours. There is plenty of light and blank (white) space. This points to a more relaxing image promoted in relation to nation representation. Yet, at the same time several shades of blue exist in the homepage. From icons and logos to images, blue is used in different hue and intensity, possibly to highlight the multiplicity of options Greece offers to the visitor under a single national umbrella. Darker and lighter shades of blue are indicative of the narrative.

Table 9 below indicates the number and function of hyperlinks taking the visitor to third websites, within the www.visitgreece.gr webpage, or to other GNTTO websites.

	Hyperlinks		
	Third websites ³³	Visit Greece	GNTTO
EL	8	256	5
EN	8	259	0

Table 9: Qualitative categorisation of www.visitgreece.gr homepage hyperlinks per web path.

The ST contains 13 third-website hyperlinks and the TT only 8 such hyperlinks, with the rest taking the visitor to other webpages within the website. Nevertheless, even the remaining websites are

³³ The 7 third-party websites which are connected to social media accounts of Visit Greece are: (1) Instagram, (2) Pinterest, (3) Twitter, (4) Facebook, (5/6) YouTube (two instances), and (7) Google Plus. The 8th third-party website is an online ticket platform: https://etickets.tap.gr/webengines/tap_b2c/english/tap.exe?PM=P1

again controlled and operated by Visit Greece or the Greek National Tourism Organisation as well. The function and content of hyperlinks manifest (a) an attempt to make the visitor spend more time in the website and engage with the content, thus being affected by the message in the framework of narrative dissemination power (Baker 2005, 2006) and offering the sought-after clicks that raise the website popularity and (b) the centralisation attempt of the body in order to control the narratives communicated and the subsequent nation image produced. This is indicative of a bureaucratic operational framework as the one put forward by Kavoura (2007) and Francesconi (2006) that is often a carrier and means of nationalist agendas. Controlling the narrative means controlling the media that communicate the message. Thus, bureaucracy, in the case of Visit Greece is a means to achieve a homogeneous national message.

Except for the third websites, there are also 5 hyperlinks to the Ministry of Tourism in the EL version which are not found in the TT as the Greek Ministry of Tourism website is largely monolingual with only few headings and sections translated into English at the time of extraction. Although, these hyperlinks do indeed refer to a state body and hence define Visit Greece as a state body as well, they are not textualised as links to the Ministry, but appear as additional tabs. The content of these hyperlinks is not relevant to the promotional nation-building aspect of the GNTO and only contain information on tenders, government programmes, Ministry contact details and official tourism institutions contact details. The non-explicit reference to the Ministry helps the body disassociate itself from the state, possibly to construct itself as a distinct brand not affected by state-level criticism or negative connotations arising at political or financial level. The tab ‘Contact Us’ on bottom part of the TT website takes the visitor to a page within the Visit Greece website, while the ST hyperlink takes the visitor to a Ministry webpage. The same is true for the tab ‘Links’. In this case, it is the unavailability of EN Ministry webpages that leads to such a difference between ST and TT.

The most remarkable conclusion from the textual (ST-TT) analysis of the homepage, is that the motto accompanying the body’s logo, i.e. “All Time Classic” (*Image 8* below) is used in the English language both for the EL and the EN version³⁴.



Image 8: Logo and motto of Visit Greece in ST and TT.

³⁴ The “All Time Classic” motto is not featured on the homepage of the website on February 2021. However, the motto is not replaced, as it is still available in the media download section of the website both in the EN and the EL versions. It is possible that it was removed to prioritise the “Health First” campaign, which appeared amidst the Covid-19 pandemic of 2020.

Not all cases where the ST is in English are necessarily worthy of critical analysis stemming from the mere fact that the ST is not in Greek, as this may be attributed to translation negligence and/or programming/programmer error. However, keeping the branding campaign logo in English seems a conscious choice and has some implications. First, it renders the product more impressive and trustworthy for the Greek-speaking population, communicating a message of contemporariness which is different than the everyday message residents receive. The brand is referenced in such a way that it promotes a message of Europeanness (reinforced by the “all time classic” slogan that connotes the assumed origins of the European financial/political/cultural structure) and of international equivalence. Hence, it is more effective. Second, since the logo appears in the form of an image in online settings, it can appear in any language during web search. If the motto had been translated, this would cause narrative inconsistencies and could potentially harm the campaign as (i) the Greek alphabet is incomprehensible to most non-Greek speakers and (ii) the Greek word for Greece, i.e. Ελλάδα [Ellada = Hellas] is different from the English word. It is useful to note that in the case of Spain and Italy where the above limitations do not apply, the bodies have decided to use the native name for their country, i.e. ‘España’ and ‘Italia’ respectively; an attempt to retain or enhance the exoticism of the destinations (see *Images 9 and 10* below) to non-native audiences.

As regards the motto of Visit Greece, the narrative of modern-ancient is found to be persistent. The motto promotes the idea of Greece as a continuation of its ancient past and constructs an image of the country as a non-disrupted entity that has always been relevant and strong. Nevertheless, history challenges such claims, as seen in section 2.3, and it is understood that narratives of ancientness can only be products of cultural commodification in the case of Greece.



Image 9: Screenshot of the logo of the official Spanish tourism body (ST-TT).³⁵



Image 10: Screenshot of the logo of the official Italian tourism body (ST-TT).³⁶

³⁵ Link to the official tourism website of Spain: https://www.spain.info/en_GB/

³⁶ Link to the official tourism website of Italy: <http://www.italia.it/en/home.html>

The homepage of the body does not allow for extensive textual findings, as plain text is limited, and the few textual occurrences do not suggest any critical fluctuations between ST and TT. The homepage is built around visual stimuli and the significance of imagery and colour in tourism promotion is highlighted (Pauwels, 2012). The attempted linkage between ancient and contemporary Greece is evident through both textual, visual and auditory messages, while the blue colour is dominating the browsing environment evoking the sea and the Greek flag. Finally, the narrative is widely regulated and protected as there are in essence no hyperlinks taking the visitor to third websites, with the message being communicated more effectively for the campaign officials.

4.1.2 Acropolis Museum Homepage

	EL	EN
Images	51	51
Videos	0	0
Hyperlinks	61	60

Table 10: Number of images, videos and hyperlinks as generated by uDev.

The numerical data in *Table 10* above indicate that the homepage of www.theacropolismuseum.gr includes lots of images and the visual aspect is important in the narrative dissemination as part of the branding campaign. There are no videos on the homepage, but there is a large number of hyperlinks which help the visitor navigate through the website. The homepage is minimal and does not include much text, except for the different tabs/sections that operate as hyperlinks (see *Image 11* below).

On the top of web homepage there are 6 different tabs, i.e. The Museum, Collections, Visit, Activities, Learning and Press Room. There is a drop-down menu for each tab that includes more theme-specific sections from which to choose. The tabs and sections are almost identical in the ST and TT with two exceptions. First, the sub-section Διαγωνισμοί (=Contests or Tenders³⁷) is not translated. The tab per se does not exist in the TT, but the web path exists, but is empty.

This website section mainly includes job openings or declarations of interest for different museum-related activities of professional nature. Although this can be due to negligence, lack of translation-related recourses, or general state tendency to exclude non-Greek speakers from such processes, it is surely characteristic of a strict understanding of audience and, by extension, of what the Greek population is considered to be. The circular nature of narrativity perfectly encompasses such translation phenomena in that it describes the moving of narratives from institution to state, state representatives, audience and back to institution (Baker, 2005, 2006). So, the act of audience exclusion by means of

³⁷ My literal translation.

language restrictions is typical of a nationalist state. Second, the Δια βίου μάθηση (=Lifelong learning³⁸) tab and content are not present in the TT, although the content of the tab could be relevant to non-Greek speakers. This difference cannot be attributed to a purposeful choice and it possibly constitutes mistreatment or lack of translation-related resources.

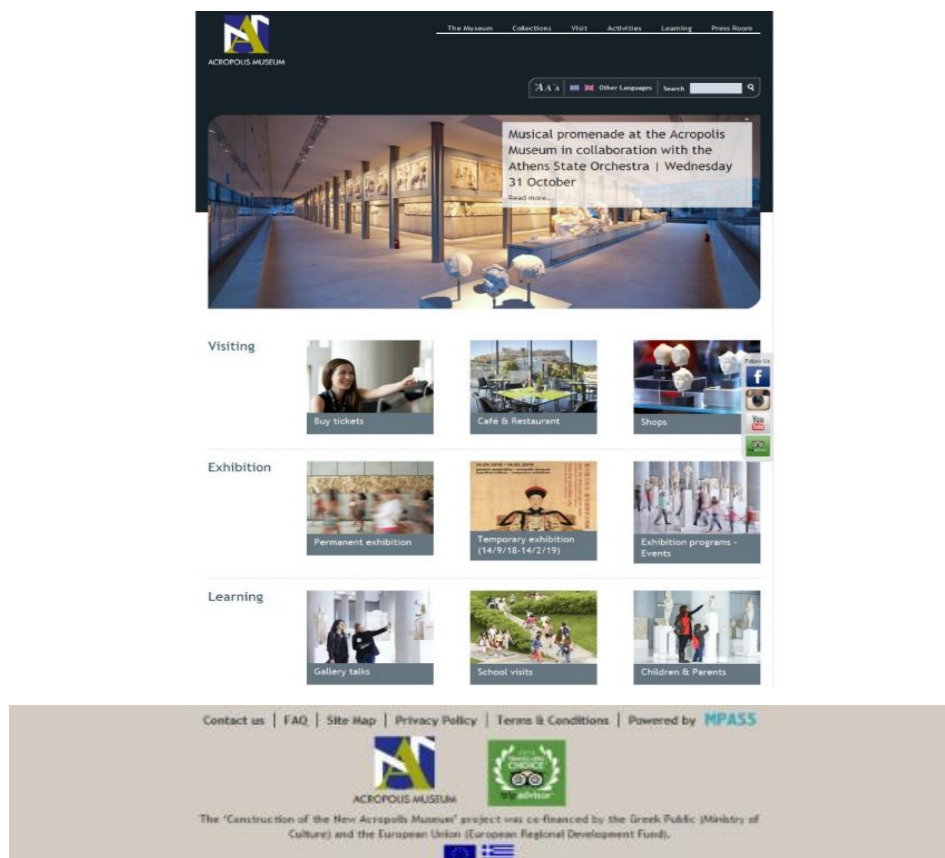


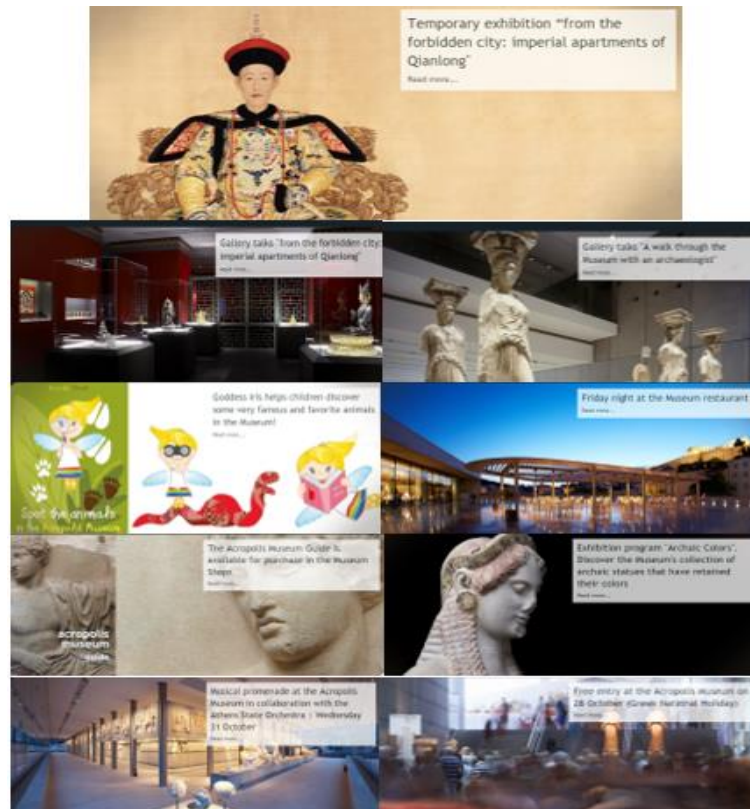
Image 11: Screenshot of www.theacropolismuseum.gr full homepage from top to bottom (TT).

Below the tabs, there are 9 rotating images complemented with a short caption as title, each of which operates as a hyperlink with reference to events, exhibitions and other museum-related activities that are current at the time period or relevant in general, such as the museum guide. Some of these images change often, while others feature in the same place for longer. On October 29th 2018 the following 9 images and captions were featured (see *Images 12-20* below).

The images and the corresponding topics are quite diverse in nature and reflect the wide variety of activities in which the Acropolis Museum is involved. There are no repeating narrative or visual patterns, but an attempt to showcase the museum as a destination for all tastes, i.e. academic talks, educational family activities, exhibitions, entertainment, shopping and dining. Via this depiction, the narrative around the old and the new is present, with the exhibits representing the old, and the restaurant

³⁸ My literal translation.

and the shop representing the new. The brand, i.e. the Museum of the Acropolis, albeit new, does not want to be identified as a solely contemporary endeavour. As seen before, the main offering of Greece as regards nation branding is the ancient culture. The Museum, also, highlights the product and this is expected, as it is relevant to its actual purpose. The only direct reference to Greece on the homepage is a section advertising free entry to the Museum on 28th October 2018, one of the most important and popular national holidays celebrated as an act of national resistance. The vast majority of museums in the country follow the same practice as an advertising technique.



Images 12-20: Screenshots of rotating images/captions from the Acropolis Museum website homepage.

In the conceptual vs. narrative images dichotomy, only 2 out of 7 images explicitly refer to action rather than abstract concept. The first image is a call to parents and children visitors to engage in ‘animal-spotting’ in the museum space, browsing through the exhibits to find sculptured animals; the second one shows a crowd of people walking up the museum interior staircase. The remaining images are still in nature and show either exhibits or museum locations. This contributes to a past temporal orientation narrative, as visitors are mostly expected to see the museum rather than engage with it and actively experience it (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006). Moreover, when comparing depicted locations, 8 out of 9 images show an interior location and only 1 shows an outdoor setting. This spatial esotericism boosts the narrative of ancientness that is expected to be present in the brand construction.

Scrolling down, the online visitor sees more images again corresponding to different sections in the website (see *Image 11* above). There is no difference between ST and TT as regards the visual elements on the homepage. The 9 images in this section equally correspond to Visiting, Exhibition and Learning. In contrast to the rotating images discussed above, 6 of the images are narrative in nature as they show people engaging in activities and involve action. This is tied to a present temporal orientation and when discussed in conjunction with the past temporal orientation extracted before, it leads to past-to-present temporal orientation, which is illustrative of the Greek nation image constructed in such campaigns and was also the case in Visit Greece. Classification of images in indoor/outdoor shows that all, except one, images depict indoor locations, replicating the aforementioned esotericism that leads to a past temporal orientation.

Most images including people have visitors browsing through the exhibits promoting a close relationship between brand and visitor. Actor relationships are also present in the image tab 'Buy tickets' where a young receptionist is seen handing an admission ticket to a possible visitor. The welcoming female employee is smiling; brand agent-and-visitor relationship is promoted as one of 'serving' and 'welcoming'. The same pattern was found in the Visit Greece website above, and repeated visually and textually in two more cases: first, an image of the Caryatids is used to promote "A walk through the Museum with an archaeologist", with the archaeologist placed in the role of the host and actually signified as a host when following the 'read more' hyperlink of the section. And second, in a fashion of 'serving' for the children-parents activity recommended, which presents mythical Goddess Iris in the role of the tour guide, as an animated character to appeal to younger visitors. Mythical and art figures of the Greek culture are used to promote an image of Greece as an infinite space of offering, where locals act as brand ambassadors rather than companions, moving away from contemporary notions of tourism and pointing towards a past understanding of the nation and its relationship with visitors. The narrative is also typical of hardcore marketing campaigns in the capitalist market, such as the ones studied by Bielsa (2012), where she confirms the brand relationship dynamics also unearthed herein.

Cooler colours dominate the homepage and are used for the webpage interface as well. Grey is used for different tabs, sections, dividers and as background. The colour choice can be attributed to an attempt to promote the Museum as a 'serious' and important institution. It evokes respect and gravity in contrast with relaxation and carefreeness and is in line with a narrative supporting the high status of the institution, also visible in the History section which prominently appears on the top left of the website. The blue colour which is archetypically and stereotypically tied with Greece is almost absent in the homepage of

the Museum (see *Table 11* below) and grey is the dominant one. However, blue is present in the logo of the museum (see *Image 21* below).³⁹

Images			
	Dominant blue colour	Some blue colour	No blue colour
EL	5	10	36
EN	5	10	36

Table 11: Qualitative colour categorisation of www.theacropolismuseum.gr homepages images.



Image 21: Screenshot of the logo of the Acropolis Museum website (TT).

The logo is made up by three colours: blue, gold and white. The letters A and M that stand for Museum and Acropolis, or Μουσείο (=Museum) and Ακρόπολη (=Acropolis) in Greek where the initial letters are the same in both the Latin and Greek alphabet, are painted gold and white respectively. Although the blue used is not the exact Greek flag blue colour, it is still representative of the Greek nation tied to images of the sea, with gold referring to its glorious past in general and Pericles' Golden Age of Athens in specific.⁴⁰ The logo of the museum is characteristic of the past and present fusion narrative typical in Greek cultural promotional discourse, as also discussed for Visit Greece above. The story promoted is one of evolution and state-of-the-art infrastructure suitable to pay respect to the glorious past.

Finishing discussion on visual elements, there is a quite large number of no-content images (see *Table 12* below), which is typical of a contemporary promotional webpage and signifies attention to detail.

³⁹ Inspection of the webpage using Google Chrome Inspection tool shows that HTML (hypertext markup language) code for the body logo includes colour code #2A2A7F. In the RGB (Red, Green, Blue) scale, #2A2A7F is made up of 16.5R, 16.5G and 49.8B as regards colour intensity level. A typical purple colour #800080 uses 50R, 0G and 50B, while typical blue colour #0000FF uses 0R, 0G and 100B. So, #2A2A7F is closer to blue than purple as it uses almost as much B, but far less R that would lead to purple. The existence of a G percentage in the logo colour does not make up for the loss of R.

⁴⁰ Golden Age of Athens is defined to be most of the 5th century Before Common Era (BCE). This was an era of political, economic and cultural growth for the present-day Greek capital. The Parthenon and many of the Acropolis edifices was also built during this period.

	Images	
	Content	No-content
EL	17	33
EN	17	33

Table 12: Qualitative content organisation of *www.theacropolismuseum.gr* homepage images.

It is notable that the website homepage does not include any videos, and the YouTube page of the body has been inactive for almost a year and includes only few videos. Promotional activity seems to rely a lot on social media in the case of the Acropolis Museum. Four hyperlink buttons are present on the homepage placed in a very prominent position taking visitors to YouTube, Facebook, Trip Advisor and Instagram. There are 13 hyperlinks in total taking visitors to third websites (ST and TT), while there is no hyperlink to any state institution (see *Table 13* below), although there is a short textual reference to the Ministry of Culture at the bottom of the page (see *Image 22* below).



Image 22: Screenshot for the bottom part of the *www.theacropolismuseum.gr* homepage (TT).

The absence of a link to a state website can be telling of an attempt by the museum to differentiate itself from the Greek state for branding purposes and/or is typical seeing that the Museum operates autonomously, as also declared by the body representatives interviewed, and not directly under the Greek state or relevant ministry. Ahn and Wu (2015) have found that associating the brand with the state often helps the brand reputation. Nevertheless, the presence of state in nation branding campaigns and/or activities can mean funding, diplomacy and trade. In the context of Greece all three aspects have been in decline from 2008 onwards as the country has suffered financially and was portrayed negatively in the media during this time. Tourism-related bodies tend to avoid contemporariness in favour of perpetuality, thus steering clear of negative press around the country. In narrative manipulation, the past is easier in reframing than the present, as the present cannot be entirely grasped or controlled. This means that negotiating ideas within the framework of the present poses a grave challenge for tourism-related bodies, as there can be backlash due to an unexpected turn of events or a misreading of the

situation, as was also the case above in relation to the health campaign of the GNTO as a response to the Covid-19 pandemic. On the contrary, focusing on well-established ideas, such as democracy, hospitality or even medicine without framing it within the present rarely evokes negative connotations. At the same time, content production may be considered costly or timely by the stakeholders. Online content is not constantly updated, but tends to be present on the websites for long periods of time.

Hyperlinks			
	Third websites	Acropolis Museum	Ministry
EL	13	48	0
EN	13	47	0

Table 13: Qualitative categorisation of www.theacropolismuseum.gr homepage hyperlinks per web path.

Of the 13 hyperlinks that lead to third websites, 11 are again controlled by the Acropolis Museum, i.e. social media accounts, online document platforms etc., 1 leads to the website development team and 1 to the TripAdvisor page of the Museum. The latter is not controlled by the body and is only populated by reviews from people interested in the Museum and visitors. The rating of the Museum as per 26 December 2018 is excellent, with a 4.5/5 score. It would be interesting to see whether the body would keep that hyperlink in case the rating dropped, but this cannot be currently examined. The non-state operative nature of the body could explain why it does not attempt to restrict the narrative dissemination sources, as was the case with Visit Greece for instance. This will be further discussed in following sections.

Textual analysis does not offer rich conclusions for the homepage of the Acropolis Museum website as text is limited. Potential visitor impression focuses on visual aspects and the design is minimal. The central narrative is the past to present orientation that also highlights the existence and perseverance of the monument and consequently the brand and Greece through time. The relationship between brand agent and visitor is also in the forefront, with agents appearing in a serving or hosting position.

4.1.3 National Archaeological Museum of Athens Homepage

The new, as per November 2018, current version of the NAMA website has been widely restructured and the multimodal environment does not share many similarities with the old version which was originally considered and analysed for this study. For example, it does not have an entry welcome page separate to the homepage; a feature considered obsolete in web design, and since this version was launched recently it is in line with current website design trends. Personal research showed that the already existing textual data remain the same and are still featured in the website. Consequently, multimodal

and textual analysis refers to the new and current website version with visitor stats and translation process insights remaining valid, since the domain URL is the same.

Namuseum.gr is the website of the National Archaeological Museum of Athens. It promotes the exhibits, works, news and activities of the Museum and includes historical, cultural information as well as visitor details. The primary language is Greek and there is an English version as well. The *uDev* report (*Table 14* below) generated the following data for the NAMA homepage on 25 December 2018:

	EL	EN
Images	20	17
Videos	0	0
Hyperlinks	60	36

Table 14: Number of images, videos, hyperlinks of the namuseum.gr homepage.

The numbers show that the homepage is largely built around visual stimuli (see *Image 23* below). Although there are no videos in the homepage, there is a large number of images and hyperlinks both in the ST and the TT.

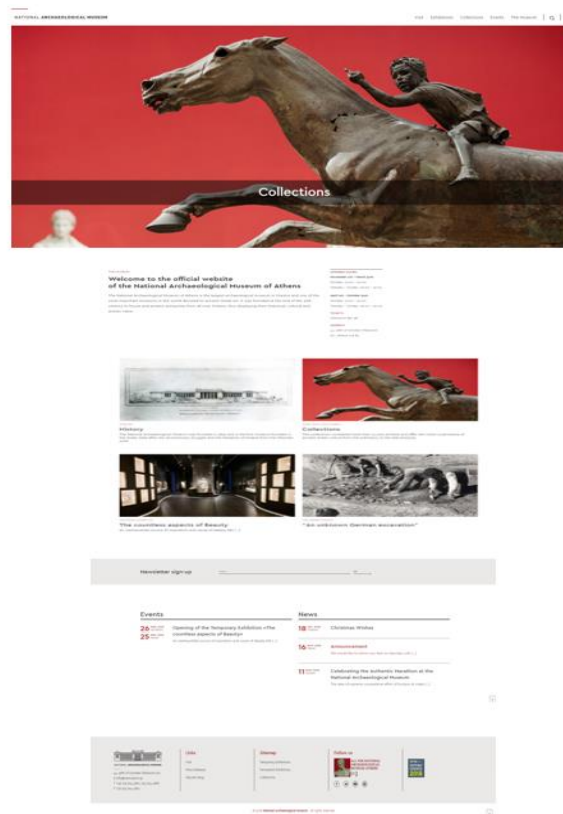


Image 23: Screenshot of the updated (December 2018) full homepage of namuseum.gr when scrolling down (TT).

Images are almost equal in number in both language versions, but hyperlinks are much greater in number in the EL version. This is attributed to the non-existence of some paths in the EN version. All main content and tabs are present in both versions, but hyperlinks about events and/or news that are only deemed relevant to Greek speakers are not translated into English nor are presented by a hyperlink. This does not create data set balance issues, as the texts studied are the ones that constitute the main body of the website as explained before.

The homepage is dominated by a series of large rotating images that extend across the screen. There are 8 such images in the ST and 5 in the TT. In both versions the first image includes a message to welcome visitors to the Museum. The background is a photograph of the entrance of the Museum that shows the high pillars decorating the building entrance (see *Image 24* below).



Image 24: Screenshot of the introductory image of the NAMA website homepage (TT).

All images are accompanied by hyperlink text that leads to different sections corresponding to different activities or exhibitions. The colour that appears most is white, but its frequency does not provide significant results and is mostly random for these images. The large numbers of white marble sculptures exhibited in the museum contributes to this. The rotating images appear in the following order of appearance (OoA) categorised in *Table 15* below per broader theme and language version.

Categorisation shows that only 5 out of 8 sections appear in the TT and that sections missing include the 'Egyptian Collection' tab which is also presented last in the ST. Focus is placed on exhibits that are very typical of Greek ancient culture, and temporary exhibitions for promotional reasons. The non-existence of the 'Egyptian Collection' tab and image in the TT is attributed to lack of translated EN text. Yet, the very fact that the tab is not translated signifies a lack of fixation on behalf of the NAMA campaign officials on the importance of such a collection for foreign visitors and contributes to the narrow national image presented by safeguarding what Greekness should be and what the National Museum should present, a case of narrative manipulation through (non-)translation practices (Baker 2005, 2006).

ST	OoA	Theme	TT	OoA	Theme
	1	welcome		1	visit
	2	temporary exhibition: beauty		2	temporary exhibition: beauty
	3	temporary exhibition: Hadrian		3	n/a
	4	exhibition: Greek treasures		4	exhibition: Greek treasures
	5	museum collections		5	museum collections
	6	sculptures		6	sculptures
	7	metallurgy		7	n/a
	8	Egyptian collection		8	n/a

Table 15: Categorisation of NAMA homepage rotating images per OoA and theme (ST-TT).

All rotating images are conceptual and depict indoor locations. There are no living objects and no relationship between brand, ambassadors and visitors is built. Focus is placed on the exhibits rather than the visiting experience and the brand is oriented towards the past via strict brand representation. This means it is represented “in terms of more or less permanent states of affairs or general truths, rather than in terms of actions or mental processes” (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006, p. 109).

Above the welcoming images, there is the name of the museum on the top left corner and different tabs on the top right corner. The tabs that correspond to different sections allow the visitor to search in the website, as well as choose website language. There are 7 sections in the ST and 5 in the TT. The sections missing in the TT are the ones that focus on issues of Education and Research. Clicking on the EN button for these pages shows a message that indicates the pages are under construction and not available in EN as per the date of data extraction.

Continuing below, there is a welcoming message next to the museum opening time details. Scrolling further down, there are different images of permanent and temporary nature that work as hyperlinks with introductory text. Below the images, one is prompted to subscribe to the Museum newsletter. Navigating further down there is a number of images and text that promote the museum events and present its news. In parallel with the welcoming images, the ST is richer in content in comparison to the TT. There are 6 images/hyperlinks in the ST and only 4 in the TT. The ST includes a narrative image of young visitors engaging in an educational visit; this image is not present in the TT and neither is the hyperlinked content, although the tab exists but is void. The overall mode is conceptual in both cases, as the inclusion of a narrative image in the ST does not alter the discursive environment.



Image 25: Logo of the National Archaeological Museum website (TT).

The bottom part of the homepage features the logo of NAMA (see *Image 25* above), useful navigation and social media links, and a copyright notice.

As can be seen in *Table 16* below, the number of content images surpasses the corresponding no-content number. The homepage UI environment is minimal and not many bars, frames and other UI multimodal elements exist.

	Images	
	Content	No-content
EL	12	8
EN	9	8

Table 16: Qualitative content organisation of the namuseum.gr homepage images.

The colours are pale with white and grey being the most prominent (see *Images 24* and *26* above). Navigation and browsing marks such as highlighting and pointers are marked with a red colour (see *Images 27* and *28* below).

The three aforementioned colours, i.e. white, grey and red create a sharp and smart UI environment, that although shifts away from the pattern of Greekness as described above with the existence of blue, it still promotes a narrative of grandeur and gravity.

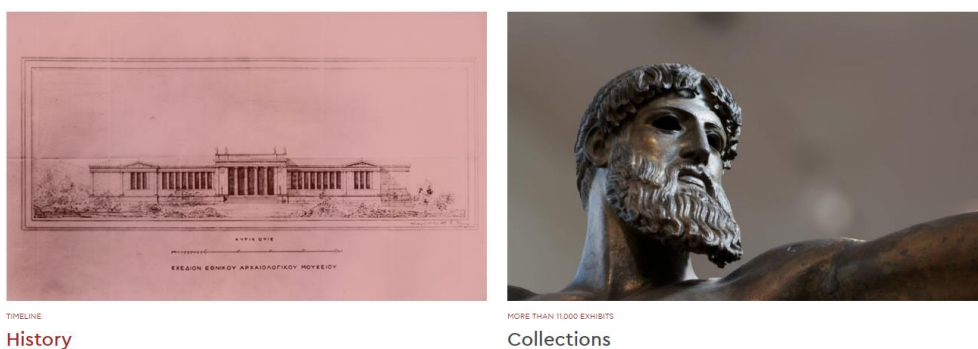


Image 26: Screenshot from the NAMA homepage showing the use of red colour as a browsing element (TT).

Image 27: Screenshot from the NAMA homepage showing the use of red colour as a browsing element (TT).

Historically, in ancient and/or pre-industrial societies, red was the colour of royalty as its costly import/production only made it available to higher social classes. The dark red colour is still tied to ideas of grandeur, dating back to Byzantine times, when the honorary title *Porphyrogenitus*, meaning ‘born in red/purple’⁴¹ was given to the children of Byzantine emperors and royalty. At the same time, the colour is also present in the physical museum space and is part of the building design, interior architecture as well as the exhibits (based on the images at the time of data extraction). This relationship between the intense red and the contrasting white, despite its open-ended connotations, creates the idea of the two worlds, which in the case of NAMA can be translated as the old and the new, seeing that the museum exhibits and focus are largely related to this historical era. NAMA and consequently its promoted ‘product’, Greece, are communicated as a combination of both.

Hyperlinks in the NAMA homepage mainly function as a guide for the online visitor through the website itself (see *Table 17* below).

Hyperlinks			
	Third websites	NAMA	Ministry
EL	8	55	0
EN	8	31	0

Table 17: Qualitative categorisation of the namuseum.gr homepage hyperlinks per web path.

The vast majority of hyperlinks take the user to different pages within namuseum.gr rendering navigation user-friendly and direct. There are no hyperlinks that take the visitor to state/government/ministry websites as was also the case with the Acropolis Museum website. The extent of this finding is characteristic of the promotional type of narrative prominent in the websites. Avoiding links to state allows these bodies to create their own promotional platform, infusing it with their own messages free of narrative distortion created by the existence of different narrativity producers/actors. At the same time, the loss of trust in the Greek state authorities which has been a common theme both inside and outside Greece in the past years after the outburst of the financial crisis, means associating the brand with the state could harm the prestige and trustworthiness of the bodies.

⁴¹ The exact shade and variation of the color varies from culture to culture as well as over time, as different variations of the natural dye have been produced.

(Desti)nation branding is very much connected to state foreign relations and governance and in its combination with tourism creates powerful narratives (Anholt, 2003; Baker, 2005, 2006).

The 8 third website hyperlinks include 4 social media accounts controlled and operated by NAMA, i.e. Twitter, Facebook, Instagram and YouTube, 1 link to a NAMA operated platform called *All for National Archaeological Museum Athens* at www.all4nam.com (appearing twice), 1 link to the website designer company and 1 link to travel/tourism website www.tripsavvy.com⁴² where NAMA is listed as one of the top science attractions in the world for 2018. The website takes the narrative risk of including a hyperlink to a non-controlled source as the narrative disseminated by the source is in line with the body's motives and interests featuring the Museum as one of the top 3 worldwide science attractions. However, NAMA is primarily not a science-related destination/body and although it features artefacts that are related to science and technology with a focus on early civilisations and not in the contemporary sense, its main focus is history and ancientness. This does not seem to create branding focus problems for the Museum. The technological/science aspect is popular with tourists and visitors. Hence, NAMA creates a new narrative that combines its root purpose that is connected to showcasing ancient culture and history with a new purpose that is permeated by evolution and contemporariness, i.e. science and technology. The latter are the epitome of success for any institution and, as already discussed, for any nation as well. The combination of past and present within the national museum is fed to the national self and thus the national identity and image, promoting Greece as modern nation with a great past and an ability to successfully combine the two.

Textual analysis of the website homepage also provides relevant findings⁴³. The welcome image of the ST writes: "Welcome to the National Archaeological Museum", while the corresponding TT writes: "Visit the Museum". The difference between the two versions can be attributed to the differences of sentence mood function in each language, the use of Call to Action message structure per language⁴⁴ in promotional discourse, as well as the promotional aspect of tourism language. The imperative 'visit' attempts to lure the foreign visitors. At the same time, the ST welcomes the Greek-speaking visitors as they are closer to the Museum physically. In doing so, the Museum places itself as an integral element to the Greek-speaking potential visitors, without trying to convince them to visit in a straight-forward manner. The welcome message below the images is much shorter in the TT. First, the ST writes "Welcome to the National Archaeological Museum" skipping the "Athens" part, while the TT includes it. Second, the ST writes "discoveries from every spot of the Greek world". The TT writes: "antiquities

⁴² Link to Tripsavvy webpage listing the top science attractions in the world: <https://www.tripsavvy.com/best-science-museums-attractions-editors-choice-2018-4176708>

⁴³ All examples in this paragraph are my literal translations.

⁴⁴ Call to Action messages are language units that invite the audience to perform a physical or online action. They can be used to attract visitors, sell a product, increase user engagement etc. These messages are more widespread in the English language in the web due to its online prevalence. Such sentence structures are not common in Greek in the web, as they can sometimes be construed as aggressive when using the imperative mood.

from all over Greece”. These two translation shifts are telling of the narrative disseminated in the two versions. The ST version promotes the Museum placing the focus on the nation of Greece and its past by referring to the Greek world, which geopolitically does not exist anymore. On the contrary, the TT focuses on Greece as it stands today and presents a state with a capital city, rather than a nation or cross-border cultural entity. This is further highlighted by the following the ST quote, which again is missing from the TT: “a panorama of the Ancient Greek culture from the beginning of prehistory to late antiquity”. Focus on ancientness is definitely expected in the Museum narratives, yet its absence from the TT highlights its presence in the ST further. The ST welcoming message is much more intense and richer in terms of discursive choices and points to the past temporal orientation more than the TT does. All in all, narratives of the past are prevalent and multimodal textual analysis successfully showcases this.

4.1.4 Multimodal Analysis: Summary of Findings

The website homepages studied show a focus on the visual aspect of promotion including little text mainly for the different tabs and sections in the form of hyperlinks. Images prevail in the UI and videos only rarely appear and when they do, they are hyperlinks to the YouTube page of the body. Two out of three websites do not include hyperlinks to their associated state bodies or the affiliated Ministry in an attempt to disassociate themselves from state operations and, thus protect the brand. For the same reason, hyperlinks to third websites not controlled by the body are almost non-existent in the data, which is typical of bureaucratic operations when the message disseminated needs to remain intact. The UI is the same in all websites for ST and TT and small shifts only appear when a tab is not available in either language. Colour is used as a semiotic mode of narrative creation (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006), with blue being one of the dominant colours in two of the websites, i.e. Visit Greece and the Acropolis Museum. This highlights in a stereotypical manner the Greekness of the campaign, by making reference to the sea and the Greek flag without managing or actively attempting to introduce new narratives that could offer a more holistic image of the nation and its cultural identity. Colour and structural choices generally communicate an attempt to promote narratives of ancientness, with history and past being at the centre of attention. Temporal orientation analysis indicates an attempt to link Ancient Greece to modern-day Greece and highlight a cultural and national continuity through the millennia. The overall mode presents Greece through stereotypical means and employs two basic elements: ancientness and continuity, and the sea. Relationships between the brand, the agents and the visitors are present in most websites and are made clear and prevalent in some cases. Greeks are presented as ‘welcoming’ and the brand is commodified. There are no significant differences between ST and TT except for some minor cases, most of which constitute either mistreatment or are related to omission of elements due to ST-specific content that is expected not to be of interest to the TT readers. Further CNA textual analysis for textual data from all three websites follows in the following sections.

4.2 Actors and Brand Relationships

This section describes the relationships built between brand (br), visitors (vis) and brand ambassadors (amb). Drawing on the functional grammar tradition (Halliday and Matthiessen, 2004; Delin, 2005) and based on Bielsa's (2012) treatment of the model of transitivity in examining brand linguistic promotion, I present and discuss findings extracted from the websites highlighting the positioning of the brand and the ambassadors in relation to the visitors, as well as between the two. My aim is to determine the constructed nation image and identity promoted through the textual data and discuss the degree to which discursive patterns indicate nationalist narratives.

I carried out analysis in two levels. Each body webpage was examined to determine all instances of such relationships in accordance with the CNA terms laid out in section 3.3 both in STs and TTs. As already mentioned, references to the brand may include lexical choices such as 'Greece', 'the country' or placenames, references to the visitor may include lexical choices such as 'you' or 'travellers' and references to the ambassadors may include lexical choices such as 'Greek people' or 'Mycenaeans'. I used a set of similar lexical choices as a guide, but it was through open-ended CNA that I was able to identify the totality of actor references. The websites were, afterwards, collectively examined, identifying common patterns to solidify my conclusions as regards the nation image and identity communicated through tourism promotion in Greece as a whole. The extracts presented below are representative of the trends identified through analysis. They are typical of the instance described and the argument put forward and they constitute appropriate examples of the larger collection of textual data examples pertaining to the argument per case. Discussion of examples relates to the totality of relevant findings and not to the specific example in isolation.

As regards ST-TT comparative analysis, the findings show only small fluctuations between the two versions of the texts, rendering translation-specific comparison, significantly as regards the ST-TT versions of the same webpage, not fruitful for the discussion of Greek national identity as set forward in this study. At the same time, they point to the non-effect of translation as a rewriting process. Actor and relationship patterns appear in balance in both versions, with the exception of few differences that are not considered narrative-inducing. In other words, seeing that the actor relationship follows the same patterns and includes the same actors in both ST and TT, a translation perspective under a CNA approach does not contribute to the discussion of identity per language. Analysis of ST-TT included a hands-on examination per instance, as well as a numerical representation of observed actor frequency to triangulate findings (see *Tables 18-20* below).

Consequently, when presenting the findings, there will be no fluctuation discussion as narratives in both ST and TT are identical, though textual patterns can vary. Both versions plus a literal ST translation from Greek into English are presented in each of the selected examples, to better support the argument.

NAMA	br	vis	amb
ST	180	84	114
TT	185	81	116
Acropolis Museum			
ST	332	331	61
TT	236	243	53
Visit Greece			
ST	457	462	96
TT	506	508	94
Overall			
ST	969	877	271
TT	927	832	263

Table 18: Number of actors and brand relationships instances per website.

Finally, the importance of the extracted findings can be dictated by examining the relationship dynamics between actors to determine the frequency of such relationships per website based on the textual data word count and the relevant examples extracted. It is evident from the numerical data laid out above in Table 18 that brand relationships are greatly important for these campaigns, with much of the website content focusing on constructing these relationships.

Table 19 below presents information on textual data word count. As website size differs, I normalised the word count to deduct per 10,000w frequency so that the findings representation is more accurate across websites⁴⁵.

Website	Word Count	
	ST	TT
NAMA	31,282	32,942
Visit Greece	39,227	40,476
Acropolis Museum	22,507	21,702
Total:	93,016	95,120
Data Set Size: 188,136w		

Table 19: Data Set Word Count.

Table 20 below presents the br, vis and amb instances appearance frequency normalised to a 10,000w data set, using the following formula (see Formula 1 below) by Brown (n.d.). This means that Table 20

⁴⁵ All frequency rates and percentages in the study are rounded to the first decimal place for space and reading ease purposes.

showcases how many instances of each actor would occur per 10,000w of data; the larger the number, the higher the frequency.

$$F_N = F_O(10^6)/C$$

where, F_N is the normalized frequency, F_O is the observed frequency, and C is the corpus size

Formula 1: Formula used to normalise findings frequency per website.

Website	br frequency		vis frequency		amb frequency	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
NAMA	57.5	56.2	26.9	24.6	36.4	35.2
Visit Greece	116.5	125.0	117.8	125.5	24.5	23.2
Acropolis Museum	147.0	108.7	147.1	112.0	27.1	24.4

Table 20: Normalised to 10,000w data set frequency of br, vis and amb instances per website.

Frequency analysis shows that processes examined are stronger in Visit Greece and the Acropolis Museum and less strong when in NAMA. Sections 4.2.1 to 4.2.3 discuss relationship-building in the texts, focusing on the prevalent themes extracted after analysing the websites. Section 4.2.4 focuses on the cumulative and conclusive discussion of these findings as illustrated by the representative examples that precede it. Presentation of findings starts with identifying the overarching sub-themes⁴⁶ under each website. I include specific, representative to the findings, examples under each sub-theme. In presenting the examples, the first column reflects actor(s), the second column shows the process and the third reflects actor(s), and context when applicable.

The Source Text appears in the first row with a literal translation (LT) in the second row and the Target Text in the third. (vis) refers to visitor references, (br) refers to brand references and (amb) refers to ambassador references. When ‘etc.’ is used, it points to an omission of concomitant data for the sake of spatial economy. The letter ‘x’ signifies absence of example in either ST or TT. Finally, words placed in [] are not present in the textual data per se, but are referenced by abstraction.

4.2.1 Greece Offers What

The theme of Greece as the provider is one of the core narratives utilised in the promotion of Greece as a destination in the framework of (desti)nation branding in tourism and cultural campaigns. This idea

⁴⁶ Sub-themes were created as larger collections of examples extracted from the textual data. For every sub-theme, I present and discuss the most representative examples of each category.

of offering is prevalent in tourism promotional discourses, regardless of website type. In this section, I am presenting typical examples of such relationship-building, with reference to the doer, process, recipient as well thematic context of the instance as laid out below. After examining the websites, the following core themes of offering were identified (see *Map 2* below).

As thematic analysis of relationship-building findings suggests all websites construct brand-visitor-ambassador relationships around the themes of welcoming, knowledge and services/needs when it comes to offering to the visitor. The brand uses the well-established narrative of hospitality which is very typical of Greece and the stereotypical ideas around the nation among the non-Greek, as well as the Greek population. The theme of services/needs offering is also tied to the idea of hospitality and extends to a more modern appreciation of the idea relating to contemporary travelling. The past to present temporal orientation discussed in section 4.3 is exhibited here as well. Identifying itself as a provider of knowledge, where visitors can educate themselves and learn about Greece, it i) reasserts the authority of the brand as an official Greek representation, ii) solidifies the narratives created around Greece and iii) assumes the role of the educator to enlighten the visitors; significantly, as regards foreign visitors, the latter is very typical of the narrative of Greece as the ‘cradle of western civilisation’ which is referenced word-per-word in the textual data and points to a nationalist discourse.



Map 2: Visualisation of brand offering themes per website (created with MindMup.com).

The rest of the categories, i.e. feelings and activities/experiences in Visit Greece and exhibits in NAMA and the Acropolis Museum are specific to the aforementioned websites due to the type of each body.

These instances are also crucial to the construction of image and identity. In offering exhibits, Greece is commodified and objectified while reduced to a simple representation of a nation than a living social organism. This tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011) that feeds and is fed by the expectations of visitors finds its way to the museum curation attempts, affects nation image and is communicated back to the visitors and the locals in a vicious cycle of meta narratives. Finally, the static element of exhibits is followed by offering a more active element, i.e. activities/experiences. The exhibits vs. activities/experiences dipole is suggestive of the twofold image of Greece when it comes to temporal placing. Static exhibits communicate a past orientation, while active experiences point to a present orientation. In both cases, though, the narratives are controlled and constructed, be it a museum display or an island-hopping trip around the Cyclades.

The examples below are indicative of the arguments made above and offer even more insight on the construction of image and identity through actor relationships around specific themes. They are representative of a larger database of examples extracted from the data set and are in line with the main findings. At this point, it is also important to note that although cross-website and cross-body comparison is not in line with the RQs of this study, relevant findings are of particular interest, as they are useful in identifying meta-narratives that affect a wide array of thematic and socioeconomic domains.

NAMA

WELCOMING

Example 1: **History**

ST	μουσείο (br)	άνοιξε τις πύλες του	στο κοινό (vis)
LT	Museum (br)	opened its gates	to the public (vis)
TT	Museum (br)	opened its gates	to the public (vis)

In Example 1 the brand places itself as a welcoming entity actively looking to attract visitors, which is true by definition for such an institution engaging in branding promotion. Both versions communicate the same narrative of hospitality offering, which is very common for the website, the constructed nation image of Greece as a destination and the whole of the tourism communication domain. By opening its gates to the public, the brand is opening up for visitors to consume Greece, the product.

Example 2: **Egyptian Antiquities**

ST	αίθουσα (br)	εισάγει	τον επισκέπτη (vis)
LT	room (br)	introduces	visitor (vis)
TT	room (br)	introduces	visitors (vis)

Example 2, again ST-TT identical, is looking to offer visitors a sense of safety by assuring them they will be introduced to the Museum context. This is also a reflection of the nation branding process in which Greece is promoted, seeing that the brand offers itself to the visitor via its own terms. Getting to know Greece is a process filtered by the brand, which is responsible for introducing visitors to the exhibits.

EXHIBITS

Example 3: **Jewellery Collection**

ST	έκθεση των χρυσών κοσμημάτων (br)	παρουσιάζεται	στην αίθουσα [επισκέπτες] (vis)
LT	gold jewellery exhibition	presented	in the room [to visitors] (vis)
TT	gold jewellery (br)	presented	in room [to visitors] (vis)

Example 4: **Unseen Museum/German Excavation**

ST	ευρήματα (br)	παρουσιάζονται	στην αίθουσα [επισκέπτες] (vis)
LT	findings (br)	presented	in room [to visitors] (vis)
TT	archaeological entities (br)	presented	[visitors] (vis)

In Examples 3-4, the motif of offering extends to the foremost and most traditional type of cultural production in the context of tourism communication, the museum exhibits. The brand presents the exhibits to the visitors, so that the visitors understand the brand. Cultural heritage is treated as a commodity that is exhibited and consumed by the visitor in ways offered by the brand.

KNOWLEDGE

Example 5: **Collection of Glass Vases**

ST	κείμενα (br)	διαφοτίζουν	τον επισκέπτη (vis)
LT	texts (br)	enlighten	the visitor (vis)
TT	displays (br)	enlighten	visitors (vis)

In Example 5, the theme of information and knowledge sharing is evident. The Museum displays visitors information about the exhibits and by extension about the brand. It is through the brand discourse that visitors are expected to experience and construct their understanding of Greece and the brand undertakes the act of offering the necessary information for an image to be constructed.

Example 6: Collection of Antiquities of Thera

ST	αμφορείς (br)	προσφέρουν	στοιχεία [στον επισκέπτη] (vis)
LT	amphorae (br)	offer	information [to visitor] (vis)
TT	amphorae (br)	provide	information [visitors] (vis)

Example 7: Collection of Antiquities of Thera

ST	χύτρες (br)	προσφέρουν	μια κλεφτή ματιά [στους επισκέπτες] (vis)
LT	pots (br)	offer	a glimpse [to visitors] (vis)
TT	pots (br)	offer	a glimpse [to visitors] (vis)

Example 8: Vase and Minor Arts Collection

ST	εκθεσιακού προγράμματος (br)	προσφέρει	στον επισκέπτη (vis)
LT	exhibition program (br)	offers	visitor (vis)
TT	exhibition (br)	offer	visitors a panorama (vis)

Example 9: The Museum

ST	πλούσιες συλλογές (br)	προσφέρουν	ένα πανόραμα στον επισκέπτη (vis)
LT	rich collections (br)	offer	a panorama to the visitor (vis)
TT	collections (br)	offer	a panorama to visitors (vis)

In Examples 6-7, the brand is referenced by means of actual inanimate objects of the exhibition, ‘amphorae’, ‘unit’, ‘objects’ and ‘pots’ offer visitors information, secrets and insight on the nation. All these elements, as hyponyms of the brand operate in the same way the brand does to communicate narratives about Greece. The same is true for the larger categories ‘exhibition’ and ‘collections’ in Examples 8 and 9 respectively, as well as the hypernyms ‘Museum’ and ‘Greece’ which are also referenced heavily in the website.

SERVICES/NEEDS

Example 10: **Visit**

ST	μουσείο (br)	διαθέτει	ξεχωριστή είσοδο για τα ΑΜΕΑ (vis)
LT	Museum (br)	has	separate entrance for people with disabilities (vis)
TT	Museum (br)	has	separate entrance for people with disabilities (vis)

Example 11: **Visit**

ST	στο υπόγειο (br)	υπάρχει	WC για ΑΜΕΑ (vis)
LT	in the basement (br)	there is	WC for people with disabilities (vis)
TT	[museum] (br)	there is	WC for the disabled (vis)

Another important theme identified under the ‘offering’ umbrella in relationship-building for NAMA is providing services and meeting visitor needs. I present the trend with Examples 10-11 in which the Museum is presented as a provider of access to visitors with disabilities; in these instances, the brand again assumes a role tied to the one of welcoming yet extending to an audience-inclusive philosophy.

Example 12: **Cypriot Antiquities**

ST	υλικό (br)	διευκολύνει	τους επισκέπτες (vis)
LT	material (br)	facilitates	visitors (vis)
TT	audiovisual material (br)	facilitates	visitors (vis)

Similar to the cases above, Example 12 references the brand as the provider of access, meeting visitors’ needs. Unlike Examples 10-11, here the act is more abstract and less physical in its essence due to the nature of the offering. Retaining the same narrative, the Museum allows and facilitates visitors in meeting the brand, ready to meet their needs in order to render visiting possible. This is also relevant to the notion of ‘hospitality’ as presented in Examples 1-2.

SERVICES/NEEDS

Example 13: **Traditional Products**

ST	κουζίνα (br)	καλύψει	τις ανάγκες του σύγχρονου ανθρώπου (vis)
LT	cuisine (br)	meet	the needs of contemporary humans (vis)
TT	cuisine (br)	can satisfy	the needs of modern man (vis)

Example 14: **Regional Cuisine**

ST	ελληνική κουζίνα (br)	ικανοποιήσουν	αναζητήσεις κρεατοφάγων και χορτοφάγων (vis)
LT	Greek cuisine (br)	satisfy	requirements of meat-eaters and vegetarians (vis)
TT	Greek cuisine (br)	satisfy	both vegetarians and meat lovers (vis)

In the examples above, the brand offers services to the visitors. The brand ‘satisfies’ and ‘meets’ these needs. The narrative of service-provider is very common in promotional discourses and is the basis of the Greek touristic product. Both Examples 13 and 14 refer to Greek cuisine as the vehicle through which the visitor will be satisfied. In Example 13, Greek traditional gastronomy is offered to the visitor with a twist; although still traditional, it can satisfy the needs of modern visitors, i.e. travel through time from past to present, a temporal process frequently appearing in the data and further discussed in section 4.3 below.

KNOWLEDGE

Example 15: **History**

ST	επισκέπτης (vis)	γνωρίσει	ελληνικής ιστορίας (br)
LT	visitor (vis)	meet	Greek history (br)
TT	visitors (vis)	trace	the fingerprints of Greek history (br)

Example 16: **Meetings and Incentives**

ST	συνέδρους (vis)	έρθουν σε επαφή με	την κοιτίδα της επιστήμης (br)
LT	delegates (vis)	come in contact with	cradle of science (br)
TT	participants (vis)	experience	cradle of science (br)

Example 17: **Culture**

ST	όποιος (vis)	θέλει να κατανοήσει	την Ελλάδα [...] και το λαό της (br) (amb)
LT	whoever (vis)	wants to understand	Greece [...] and its people (br) (amb)
TT	whoever (vis)	wants to understand	Greece [...] and its people (br) (amb)

Examples 15-17 are few of the several instances in Visit Greece, where the brand associates itself with the concept of knowledge and information sharing. From science and history to the very Greek residents, the brand promotes the familiarisation of the visitors with the brand elements and promotes Greece as a destination for knowledge-seekers, presupposing and highlighting the importance of the learning object. Although beyond the study analytical framework, it is worth noting that the examples above further point to the objectification of the national capital through actor syntactic positioning. Animate and inanimate objects, i.e. Greek people and Greece, are both presented as the object of exploration. In this case, it is visitors who are urged to actively get familiar both with the history of the country, as well as its people, a pattern also visible in Examples 61 and 62 below.

Except for the objectification and nullification of cultural capital in the framework of promotion, the brand also engages with the nationalist idea of culture as pertaining to a single origin and peoples in framing history or science as ‘Greek’; this is the basis of nationalism as a socio-political phenomenon that allows for the existence of such a concept as nationalism (Anderson, 2006).

WELCOMING

Example 18: **Castles**

ST	Ελλάδα (br)	καλωσορίζει	τους επισκέπτες της (vis)
LT	Greece (br)	welcomes	its visitors (vis)
TT	Greece (br)	welcomes	visitors (vis)

Example 19: **Autumn Vacations**

ST	ελληνική ύπαιθρος (br)	αναμένει	επισκέπτες (vis)
LT	Greek countryside (br)	awaits	visitors (vis)
TT	Greek countryside (br)	awaiting	visitors (vis)

Examples 18-19 are typical of the extensively present narrative of welcoming that is also prevalent in NAMA above. In Example 18, the country ‘welcomes visitors’, while in Example 19, the brand hyponym ‘awaits visitors’. The lexical choice ‘awaits’ suggests an eagerness on behalf of the brand that can be due to an attempt to boost Greek countryside’s tourism, which is significantly lower than in the

islands. At the same time, it signifies an attempt to assign Greek countryside with an enhanced sentiment of hospitality to be assumed by its residents in a population-shaping process leading to ambassador construction and the reshaping of national identity.

FEELINGS

Example 20: **Ecotourism**

ST	[επισκέπτες] (vis)	θα νιώσετε	τη δύναμη της γης στην Ελλάδα (br)
LT	[visitors] (vis)	will feel	the power of the earth in Greece (br)
TT	[visitors] (vis)	chance to see	nature's power in must-visit destinations (br)

Example 21: **Travelling in Greece by Sea**

ST	κάποιος (vis)	να χαρεί	ταξίδι από νησί σε νησί (br)
LT	someone (vis)	to enjoy	island-hopping (br)
TT	one (vis)	can enjoy	island-hopping holiday (br)

The theme of feelings is particular to Visit Greece and is not significantly present neither in NAMA nor the Acropolis Museum, due to the ‘traveling’ focus of the website in comparison with the ‘culture promotion’ focus of the museum websites. Despite some instances in which the brand appears as the subject of the process, in most cases, visitors themselves are the initiators of feelings, that is, they are active agents in receiving the feelings the brand offers. This way the brand is viewed as an open space to be explored and appreciated so that it offers feelings to the visitors. Feelings can be tied to experiences, the mere nature of the country, the ambassadors or other geographical and location-related elements. In Examples 20-21, they are related to the country and the experiences in which visitors can take part.

Example 22: **Family Moments**

ST	όλοι στην Ελλάδα (amb) (br)	κάνουν να αισθάνεσαι όμορφα	σε (vis)
LT	everybody in Greece (amb) (br)	makes feel well	you (is)
TT	you (vis)	have feeling of family	in Greece (br)

Example 22 connects feelings to the brand ambassadors, first, by assigning them with a specific role and identity elements and second, by enriching the pool of feeling-creation experiences a visitor can access when in Greece. Instead of the brand initiating the process of feeling creation, ambassadors, as

sentient brand elements, are expected to welcome, treat and serve visitors so that they get the ‘feeling of family’ during their stay.

ACTIVITIES/EXPERIENCES

Example 23: **Going Out**

ST	επισκέπτες (vis)	βιώσουν	τον ελληνικό τρόπο ζωής (br)
LT	visitors (vis)	experience	the Greek way of life (br)
TT	visitors (vis)	should meet	Greek lifestyle (br)

Example 24: **Touring by Bicycle**

ST	σε πολλές περιοχές της χώρας (br)	προσφέρονται	προγράμματα [επισκέπτες] (vis)
LT	in many regions of the country (br)	are offered	programs [visitors] (vis)
TT	in many regions of the country (br)	offered	programs [visitors] (vis)

In the examples above, visitors are offered activities and experiences in Greece. This is once again more prevalent in Visit Greece than in NAMA. Visit Greece offers a seemingly more diverse destination image that is not only presented, but also experienced. This can be due to the up-to-date content of web communication in contrast to NAMA and because of the very type of the website-body, which is more encompassing and universal than the one of NAMA and of the Acropolis Museum. The motif of offering is expectedly reinforced, but control of identity construction is lessened to a degree, as visitors are called to participate in image reception. However, the image that tourists can actually experience is not necessarily unique or bias-free. Narrative theory recommends understanding of meaning and action as narrative-constructed even when the processes that lead to the message are covert, as they can stem from a meta-narrative function that has permeated the object of analysis and its identity (Baker, 2005; 2006). Greece, as a nation strong in national narratives in the framework of tourism promotion, is such an example.

KNOWLEDGE

Example 25: **Family Backpacks**

ST	μουσείο της Ακρόπολης (br)	δίνει τη δυνατότητα	στις οικογένειες να γνωρίσουν (vis)
LT	Acropolis Museum (br)	gives the opportunity	families to learn (vis)
TT	Acropolis Museum (br)	gives the opportunity	families to learn (vis)

Example 26: **Visit by Researchers and Students**

ST	επισκέπτες (vis)	αποκτήσουν γνώσεις	στο χώρο (br)
LT	visitors (vis)	acquire knowledge	in the space (br)
TT	visitors (vis)	acquire insights	Lab (br)

Example 27: **Educational Programs**

ST	εκπαιδευτικοί (vis)	δυνατότητα να παρακολουθήσουν	σεμινάρια στο Μουσείο (br)
LT	Educators (vis)	chance to attend	seminars at the Museum (br)
TT	Museum (br)	offers programs	educators (vis)

The knowledge offering narrative exists in the Acropolis Museum website as well. The brand offers knowledge-acquisition opportunities to different visitor groups such as families, the general public or educators as seen in Examples 25-27. Diverse audience also means diverse product and plurality, which are identity-constructive elements typical of desti(nation) branding. However, inasmuch as identity construction is built on both the acceptance and rejecting of elements so that the group and out-group form, i.e. the basis of belonging, (Ivanic, 2006), the adoption of multiple cultural elements only leads to a nullification of identity and culture (Wodak, 2011), which in turns affect the national identity of Greece as narratively constructed in the texts. By presenting an all-encompassing cultural or national focus, identities can lose their unique features in order to appeal to a more diverse audience. Instead of attracting visitors that would appreciate the authentic aspects of the nation, branding campaigns adjust the national capital to fit as many visitors as possible. This, in turn, consolidates the ‘new image’ of the nation through narrative dissemination and, hence, distorts reality when it comes to truly authentic cultural features.

SERVICES/NEEDS

Example 28: Organisation

ST	μουσείο της Ακρόπολης (br)	ικανοποιήσει	τις αυξημένες προσδοκίες των επισκεπτών (vis)
LT	Acropolis Museum (br)	satisfy	the increased expectations of visitors (vis)
TT	Acropolis Museum (br)	meet	the increased expectations of visitors (vis)

Example 29: Learning Resources-Online Applications

ST	το Μουσείο (br)	στηρίζει	την επίσκεψή τους (vis)
LT	the Museum (br)	to support	their visit (vis)
TT	the Acropolis Museum (br)	support	visits (vis)

Example 30: Visitors with Disabilities

ST	άτομα με αναπηρίες (vis)	άνετη πρόσβαση	σε όλους τους χώρους του Μουσείου (br)
LT	individuals with disabilities (vis)	convenient access	to all Museum areas (br)
TT	all public areas of the Museum (br)	are wheelchair accessible	[visitors] (vis)

In Examples 28-30 the brand describes different services on offer to meet the needs of visitors. Inclusivity and social responsibility are core to tourism promotion and brand image building, significantly in the era of online travel shopping and reviews. The brand amplifies its visitor base, appealing to different categories by offering different services and highlighting different ways it responds to visitors' needs.

EXHIBITS

Example 31: Educational Programs

ST	μαθητές (vis)	ανακαλύψουν	εκθέματα (br)
LT	students (vis)	discover	exhibits (br)
TT	visitors (vis)	discover	exhibits (br)

Example 32: Archaic Acropolis Gallery

ST	επισκέπτης (vis)	θαυμάσει	εκθέματα (br)
LT	visitor (vis)	admire	exhibits
TT	visitors (vis)	view	exhibits (br)

As was the case with NAMA, Acropolis Museum discusses exhibits displayed in the museum galleries. Visitors are called to ‘discover’ and ‘admire’ exhibits, which as brand hyponyms operate as an extension of the brand, i.e. the museum and consequently Greece. The ‘discovery’ narrative theme will be explored in detail in section 4.2.3 below.

WELCOMING

Example 33: Family Backpacks

ST	μουσείο της Ακρόπολης (br)	προσκαλεί	οικογένειες με παιδιά (vis)
LT	Acropolis Museum (br)	invites	families with kids (vis)
TT	Acropolis Museum (br)	invites	families with kids (vis)

Example 34: Venue Hire

ST	εστιατόριο του μουσείου (br)	φιλοξενήσει	μέχρι 300 άτομα (vis)
LT	museum restaurant (br)	host	up to 300 guests (vis)
TT	museum restaurant (br)	host	up to 300 guests (vis)

Welcoming is the prominent narrative in all three websites examined. Example 33 refers to the act of welcoming directed to all brand visitors, while Example 34 is specific to visitors wishing to book the Museum’s restaurant that can ‘host’ guests. The processes of ‘invitation’ and ‘hosting’ are transferred to the brand identity pool of narratives, rendering Greece a place where visitors are welcomed and served.

4.2.2 Ambassadors as Promotional Actors

In contrast to promotional campaigns belonging to commercial domains other than tourism and culture, this study proposes the existence of an additional actor taking part in the promotional processes. Traditional advertising utilises the two spectrums of communication, i.e. messenger and recipient, which in this case becomes brand and visitor. At times, mainly multimodal advertising, employs the notion of ambassadors in the form of employed actors or other professionals, such as influencers or bloggers, for photoshoots, videos and other material. According to Gartner (1994) in his study of destination image formation processes, these images formation agents are covert in that they do not

directly address the potential customer on behalf of the brand but about the brand. They are considered covert as they are not directly employed by the brand in the traditional way, and also induced because they are in reality initiated by the brand. There are two types of covert induced agents: i) celebrity/recognisable spokespersons whose credibility and/or narrative outreach are strong enough to attract attention to the brand through traditional forms of advertising or real customers testifying for the brand, and ii) supposedly unbiased agents who are hosted by the brand so that they report on their experience (ibid).

In my data and across the majority of discursive tourism communication, I have noticed the introduction of a third actor, namely the brand ambassador, which differs significantly in its nature when compared to traditional promotion. Ambassadors, as understood herein, share some common characteristics: they are not employed by the brand in a promotion-related capacity, they do not engage willingly and purposefully in the promotional process, nor do they do so for financial, employment-related reasons. This means that these mostly textually referenced actors – although physical examination could be very telling of the actual image formation processes they initiate, even when officially employed by the brand, are not an official part of the promotion/branding process, hence they are covert in their approaching or addressing the potential visitors, but abide by the brand narrative without necessarily being aware they do so. Consequently, even though we could categorise brand ambassadors, in the way understood herein, as brand-sourced, the way they are communicated to the potential visitor and possibly understood by the potential visitor appears organic. Drawing on Gartner (1994) as regards the credibility and market penetration variables per image formation agent, it is deduced that brand ambassadors have enhanced credibility and penetration in their textual presence as they are constructed by the brand and disseminate the brand values. Still, seeing that this Dissertation does not undertake a secondary-source investigation nor a physical ethnographic examination of narratives, it would be useful for future studies to proceed to a further appreciation and analysis of these information agents to measure their relationship with the potential visitors both virtually, as well as physically.

Generally, ambassador instances are references to the Greek population as an extension of the brand, creator of the brand, or in cases, as an extension of the product to be explored, admired and watched. This does not mean the sole function of the Greek population in the textual data is that of ambassadors, as they can be referenced as visitors too. Through CNA, differentiation between Greeks as visitors and Greeks as ambassadors was made clear and allowed for the examination of the discursive phenomenon.

Ambassadors are utilised both by reference to specific individuals that are considered important or influential for the creation of brand identity and by abstraction by reference to the totality of the Greek population through generalisation and identity attribution. The latter is tied to the imagined community proposed by Anderson (2006) in his work on the ideas of nation and national identity. The term does

not refer to groups of people who give testimonials about the product or attempt secondary-level promotion through social media reposting and/or other means of communicating online or in print.

As seen in *Table 18* above, ambassadors are present in all texts, yet the br-vis dipole is still dominant in most cases. The only website in which ambassadors are referenced more than visitors is NAMA; this is due to the extensive website content about specific Greek individuals throughout history. Still, examining the relationship process is important for the understanding of Greek nation image and identity as communicated and constructed in the data. Greek people are the main carrier of the identity promoted and their reference in data constitute an identity-construction narrative through actor positioning.



Map 3: Visualisation of brand ambassador themes per website (created with MindMup.com).

Analysing the examples shows a similar thematic trend to the domains of interest identified in the relationship processes instances discussed above: welcoming, contributing, knowledge, exhibits, plus the newly introduced theme of behaviour found in Visit Greece (see *Map 3* above). This reinforces the importance of these themes in identity construction in nation branding through tourism promotion.

NAMA extends the notion of welcoming and hospitality to the brand ambassadors. As seen in the previous section, the narrative around Greek hospitality is major in building relationships between brand and visitors. By including the Greek population, namely ambassadors, in the welcoming narrative, the brand imposes its understanding of Greekness to the population. This constitutes an identity-construction element, also found in Visit Greece and the Acropolis Museum, where ambassadors are presented as being eager to welcome visitors both through their professional and personal activities.

The use of ambassadors in NAMA also largely revolves around the presentation of Greeks as contributors to the current nation image and national product. Apart from attempting a temporal

connection between past and present, the brand assigns ambassadors with the duty and achievement of constructing Greece, thus extending the narrative to the modern-day population, who are called to admire and live up to the achievements of Greek historical figures of ancient and modern history. Stories of messiahs, father-figures and heroes are prominent in nation-construction and nationalist narratives both under banal nationalism agendas, such as the one examined here, as well as hot nationalist agendas mostly evident in the political field. The construction of the perfect Greek, i.e. a Greek person who contributed to the success of the brand as we are called to experience it today leads to identity affiliation processes, as Greeks are called to imitate these behaviours and act accordingly either as tourism professionals or the general public welcoming visitors in the country. The narrative power of such discourses, coming from major Greek state and private bodies is core to understanding the pervasive nature of these narrative instances in the framework of the language-ideology-power triangle (Austermühl, 2014; Van Dijk, 1997). This narrative theme is present in all websites examined.

One of the most striking themes extracted in examining ambassadors is the treatment of said actor in Visit Greece, where Greeks are being attributed with behaviour-dictating traits. The webpages include examples where the behaviour and feelings of ambassadors are reduced to a generalisation, directly presented with no or limited evidence for the sake of tourism promotion in meeting the preconceptions and expectations of visitors about Greeks. At the same time, the same narratives are also present in the ST and being read by the Greek population predominantly they find their way in the identity construction of Greekness.

This stripping of identity appears in the Acropolis Museum as well. In presenting the role of ambassadors for the body operation, the brand places ambassadors in the place of exhibits, reducing them to a static preconception while commodifying and exoticising them. Visitors are invited to find and approach ambassadors as their actual physical positioning is pinpointed by the brand; a narrative trend that permeates the totality of the data set in the way ambassadors and national identity features are treated. I present below examples typical of the ambassador actor findings that support my argument and are illustrative of the existence of such a relationship aspect when it comes to brand relationship-building.

WELCOMING

Example 35: **Unseen Museum/German Excavation**

ST	αρχαιολόγοι του μουσείου (amb)	υποδέχονται	τους επισκέπτες (vis)
LT	archaeologists of the museum (amb)	welcome	visitors (vis)
TT	archaeologists of the museum (amb)	welcome	visitors (vis)

Example 36: **Unseen Museum/German Excavation**

ST	αρχαιολόγοι του μουσείου (amb)	συνομιλούν με	τους επισκέπτες (vis)
LT	archaeologists of the museum (amb)	discuss with	visitors (vis)
TT	archaeologists of the museum (amb)	converse with	visitors (vis)

In Examples 35-36, the museum uses the notion of ambassadors in the form of museum archaeologists, who are called to ‘welcome’ the visitors and be their partners in the brand exploration process. The archaeologists of the museum act as an extension of the brand by attribution of one of the core traits of promotional tourism, that is hospitality and welcoming, particularly strong in the case of Greece.

Example 37: **Collection of Neolithic Antiquities**

ST	"Στοχαστής" (br) (amb)	υποδέχεται	τους επισκέπτες στην αίθουσα (vis) (br)
LT	"The Thinker" (amb) (br)	welcomes	visitors in the room (vis) (br)
TT	"The Thinker" (amb) (br)	welcomes	the visitors in room (vis) (br)

Example 37 is also relevant to the theme of ‘welcoming’. What is significantly striking about this instance is that one of the museum exhibits is used as a brand ambassador charged with welcoming the visitors in the museum. The ‘Thinker’ sculpture is being attributed human characteristics and is both physically and textually positioned as an actor of brand promotion, in the same way that the museum archaeologists were physically and textually positioned in Examples 35-36 above.

Although physical re-enacting of constructed identity is not examined in this study, the examples above point towards the idea of narratively constructed identities being assumed by actual physical (non-)beings in the actual world. This is the final part of the chain which completes the narrative circle of

identity construction, rendering discourse into action; by default, the core element of identity assumption (Ivanic, 2006; Sunderland, 2010; Wodak, 2011). The meta-narratives produced by hegemonic institutions, i.e. the brand, address both the Greek population through the ST and the visitors through the TT. Continuing the process, the Greek population goes through the affiliation step in their collective brand social environment and visitors address the ambassadors based on the assumed identity they have constructed about them.

CONTRIBUTION

Example 38: Unseen Museum/ The Sophia Schliemann's Trojan Collection

ST	αγγεία κτλ. (br)	δωρήθηκαν	από Σοφία Σλήμαν (amb)
LT	vases etc. (br)	donated	by Sophia Schliemann (amb)
TT	vases etc. (br)	donated	by Sophia Schliemann (amb)

Example 39: Unseen Museum/The Eternal Home of a Cat from Ancient Egypt

ST	Ιωάννου Δημητρίου (amb)	δώρισε	συλλογή στο μουσείο (br)
LT	Ioannis Dimitriou (amb)	donated	collection to the museum (br)
TT	Ioannis Dimitriou (amb)	donated	collection to the museum (br)

In Examples 38-39, the ambassador references are specific to real, named individuals. There are several instances in NAMA, where the Museum underlines the importance of donations made by individuals or families. In mentioning the benefactors by name, it communicates its gratitude to these people and highlights the importance of ambassador contribution to the construction of the brand, and by extension to the construction of the nation.

Example 40: Classical Period

ST	αγαλμάτια κτλ. (br)	αφιερώματα από	μητέρες (amb)
LT	statuettes etc. (br)	dedications by	mothers (amb)
TT	statuettes etc. (br)	dedications by	mothers (amb)

Example 41: Hellenistic Period

ST	Ευκλείδης (amb)	δημιουργεί	άγαλμα (br)
LT	Eukleides (amb)	created	statue (br)
TT	Eukleides (amb)	created	statue (br)

Example 42: **Hellenistic Period**

ST	Διονύσιος (amb)	ανέθεσε	σύμπλεγμα (br)
LT	Dionysios (amb)	dedicated	group of statues (br)
TT	Dionysios (amb)	dedicated	group of statues (br)

The theme of contribution is also present in generic references such as the one in Example 40 or references to ancient Greeks such as the ones in Examples 41-42. We can also see that the contribution theme, as many of the core themes in my data, follows the past to present temporal orientation which highlights the assumed continuation of the nation through its contributors; from ancient Greeks to modern-day benefactors.

VISIT GREECE

CONTRIBUTION

Example 43: **Beaches**

ST	ελλήνων (amb)	μέριμνα	για τη θάλασσα (br)
LT	Greeks' (amb)	care	for the sea (br)
TT	Greeks' (amb)	love	for the sea (br)

Example 44: **Monasteries**

ST	Έλληνικά μοναστήρια (br)	είναι χτισμένα	με το μεράκι των μαστόρων κτλ. (amb)
LT	Greek monasteries (br)	built by	the 'creative soul' of craftsmen etc. (amb)
TT	Greek monasteries (br)	built by	local craftsmen etc. (amb)

Example 45: **Wineries**

ST	Έλληνες παραγωγοί (amb)	ανάπτυξης και βελτίωσης	εγχώριας αμπελουργίας (br)
LT	Greek producers (amb)	development and improvement	of local winemaking (br)
TT	visitors (vis)	taste	greek wines (br)

In Examples 43-45 above, three brand elements, i.e. Greek sea, Greek architecture and Greek wine are attributed to the respective brand ambassadors, i.e. Greeks, Greek craftsmen and Greek wine producers. In these instances, by tying ambassadors to the brand elements, the brand communicates the idea of the indissoluble relationship between Greece and its people. This relationship is the basis of the nation image communicated to the visitors and the identity promoted by the brand to be adopted by the Greek population. In other words, the brand ‘preaches’ for Greeks to love the sea, be creative craftsmen and develop winemaking successfully.

Example 46: Spring Vacations

ST	η Χλωρίδα (amb)	φρόντισε	να φυτρώσουν φυτά στη χώρα (br)
LT	Chloris (amb)	made	plants grow in the country (br)
TT	Persephone (amb)	endowed	Greece (br)

In a like manner as in Example 37 above, a brand exhibit, albeit non-physical, is being referenced in Example 46 as the creator of Greek nature, its main contributor. An ancient mythical being is communicated to be the reason behind the Greek flora. It is also interesting to note that in the ST, the ambassador referenced is Goddess Chloris of ancient Greek mythology, while the TT points to Persephone as the ambassador. Although the narrative examined is not affected, since both deities were connected to nature, the fact that the TT features Persephone is typical of the reconstructional narratives existent in the textual data. Since TTs are ST translations in the Visit Greece website, the choice of Persephone in the TT is a deliberate translation choice that frames the actor in a slightly different manner, assigning a more stereotypical attribute to the idea of Greek mythology and the nation image, as Persephone is more well-known to non-Greek speakers than Chloris. Ultimately, the ambassador narrative is not affected, but the mere change of ambassador is important in understanding the image reconstruction processes in the texts and the subsequent stereotypical ideas that can arise.

WELCOMING

Example 47: Family Moments

ST	όλοι στην Ελλάδα (amb) (br)	κάνουν να αισθάνεσαι όμορφα	σε (vis)
LT	everyone in Greece (amb)	make feel nice	you (vis)
TT	you (vis)	have feeling of family	in Greece (br)

Example 48: **Filming Greece**

ST	ελληνικά συνεργεία (amb)	άψογη συνεργασία με	διεθνείς παραγωγές (vis)
LT	Greek crews (amb)	perfect collaboration with	international productions (vis)
TT	Greek crews (amb)	collaborate with	international productions (vis)

Example 49: **Castles**

ST	Έλληνες (amb)	μοιραστούν	κληρονομιά με τον κόσμο (br) (vis)
LT	Greeks (amb)	share	heritage with the world (br) (vis)
TT	Greeks (amb)	share	heritage with the world (br) (vis)

Examples 47-49 belong to the welcoming theme, which is very prevalent in all websites and constitutes one of the core narratives of the Greek tourism product and the stereotypical manner in which Greek people have been historically portrayed. Greeks are narratively constructed as eager to welcome visitors, share the nation's history with them and create new moments. In the three examples above, brand ambassadors are involved in three separate roles: locals, professionals and hosts. At the same time, the temporal orientation in the examples above combines the past to present temporal orientation under thematic analysis; from sharing the Greek heritage to engaging in film-making collaborations, Greeks are welcoming and willing to meet visitors of any kind.

KNOWLEDGE/INFO

Example 50: **Paths**

ST	ομοσπονδία (amb)	παρέχονται πληροφορίες	[στους επισκέπτες] (vis)
LT	federation (amb)	information is offered	[to visitors] (vis)
TT	visitors (vis)	obtain information	local clubs (amb)

Example 51: **Activities**

ST	υπεύθυνους των ξενοδοχείων (amb)	παρέχονται	πληροφορίες [επισκέπτες] (vis)
LT	hotel officials (amb)	provide	info [to visitors] (vis)
TT	hotel official (amb)	provided	info [to visitors] (vis)

Example 52: **Agrotourism**

		μπορείτε να	
ST	[επισκέπτες] (vis)	παρακολουθήσετε	μαθήματα στους συνεταιρισμούς (amb)
LT	[visitors] (vis)	can attend	classes in the cooperatives (amb)
TT	one (vis)	can take	lessons in cooperatives (amb)

The theme of knowledge offering is present in Examples 50-52. Greece, through its ambassadors, is presented as a destination where visitors can acquire information and gain knowledge. For visitors to get to know Greece, the country seems to have appointed several people as information-givers engaging in the touristic activity to serve visitors. This come as no surprise, particularly when considering the very high GDP and employability percentage connected with touristic and cultural activity in Greece (see section 2.4).

BEHAVIOUR

Example 53: **Gastronomy**

ST	όλοι οι Έλληνες (amb)	μαζεύουν	βότανα (br)
LT	all Greeks (amb)	gather	herbs (br)
TT	almost every Greek (amb)	gathers	herbs (br)

Example 54: **Museums**

ST	κατοίκων (amb)	αγάπη	για τον τόπο τους (br)
LT	inhabitants (amb)	love	their homeland (br)
TT	inhabitants (amb)	love	their homeland (br)

What is particularly important about Examples 53-54, as representative to the argument, is that they employ overgeneralisations concerning the behaviour of ambassadors, which although in some cases, as in Example 54, can be true to a degree, this is not always the case. In Example 53 and other such instances, a false and obsolete stereotype is being used in the identity-construction process. Especially in the ST, the lexical choice ‘all’ is much more deterministic than such an observation would allow, as the majority of the Greek population, especially in the large urban centres, would not identify with the statement about herb-gathering. Interestingly, the TT softens this narrative by rendering it ‘almost every’. Bearing in mind that the Greek version is the original text, as confirmed by the body officials, the existence of such narratives in the ST may invite to question such a statement and to suggest that

the TT may actually be the original version or that the TT narratives have been fed into the ST narratives at large, thus affecting native identity narratives.

The former can be deduced seeing that, in promotional discourse, narratives that would alienate the audience tend to be missing from the texts. This is even more striking when considering the fact that the actor framed and the audience targeted is the same, i.e., Greeks (or the Greek-speaking people). The latter is related to the universality and meta-function of narratives as expressed and circulated within tourism promotional discourse and the effect of those narratives to the understanding of Greek national identity. In other words, even if an identity element is not entirely authentic or truthful in the way it is presented, by means of narrativity it can reach the status of meta-narrative and actually affect the understanding of identity by the very people that knowingly constructed it in the first place.

It is ultimately through such statements, when occurring in repetition and not in isolation as herein, that the native identity is attributed through address until assumed. This example is not crucial when it comes to the socio-political understanding of national narratives, but it does bear ideological implications. The proposed narrative of herb-gathering speaks to a habit of the past, rather than the present and can only communicate nostalgia, a core feature of banal nationalism.

ACROPOLIS MUSEUM

CONTRIBUTION

Example 55: **The Monument**

ST	Αθηναίοι (amb)	επιδιόρθωσαν γρήγορα	ναό (br)
LT	Athenians (amb)	quickly repaired	temple (br)
TT	Athenians (amb)	quickly repaired	temple (br)

Example 56: **Ancient Temple**

ST	αετωμάτων (br)	αποδίδονται	σημαντικού Αθηναίου γλύπτη (amb)
LT	pediments (br)	attributed	important Athenian sculptor (amb)
TT	pediments (br)	attributed	important Athenian sculptor (amb)

Examples 55-56 focus on the notion of ambassador contribution to brand creation. The instances above reference Ancient Athenian residents and sculptors who contributed to present-day Greece and its monuments through their work and dedication. Referencing ancient Greeks as brand ambassadors narratively promotes the past to present temporal framing, which is heavily present in the textual data.

The use of lexical choices such as ‘important’ and ‘quickly’ add a sentiment of awe to the present day Greek-speaking reader, who is abstractly asked to contribute herself to the nation; this can be regarded a narrative of banal nationalism, and certainly of neoliberal capitalist ideology around personal contribution to the state/nation/brand. The latter is relevant to the hegemonic discourses utilised by dominant powers and disseminated through meta-narratives (Baker, 2005; Lefevere, 1992).

KNOWLEDGE

Example 57: Family Programs

	αρχαιολόγοι-φροντιστές και η		
ST	ομάδα (amb)	πραγματοποιούν	εργαστήρια για παιδιά (vis)
LT	archaeologists-curators and the team (amb)	do	labs for kids (vis)
			with the Museum led by Museum
TT	children aged 4 to 6 (vis)	engage	archaeologists and team (br) (amb)

Example 58: Visit by Researchers and Students

			στους Αρχαιολόγους-φροντιστές
ST	ερευνητές και φοιτητές (vis)	απευθύνουν ερωτήσεις	(amb)
LT	researchers and students (vis)	direct questions	to Archaeologists-curators (amb)
TT	researchers and students (vis)	direct questions	to Archaeologists-Hosts (amb)

Examples 57-58 promote the pro-activeness and alertness of brand ambassadors in providing knowledge and services to visitors. Brand ambassadors follow every step of visitors’ experience in meeting the Greek nation, organising workshops and being by visitors when required.

There is also a significant fluctuation between ST and TT as regards the title of ambassadors. The ST refers to museum actors as archaeologists-curators stressing the scientific/academic aspect of their role, while the TT uses the term ‘hosts’ to describe the nature of their ambassador role. The TT relates mostly to the notion of welcoming and serving guests, rather than being scientific advisors or culture professionals. Further investigating the context of this specific type of ambassador relationship, the role of ambassadors as communicated in both the ST and TT, regardless of terminology, is mostly one of hosting rather than providing scientific insight. This means that the term ‘hosts’, although a mistranslation (regardless of deliberation degree), is more appropriate to describe ambassadors judging by the duties outlined in the data.

A physical on-site examination would be also be very helpful in determining to what degree the museum brand ambassadors assume the role of host or curator, also in relation to their interactions with Greek speakers and non-Greek speakers on the basis of the different identity elements address processes they would experience from either group. As regards text, it seems that no matter the title, the narrative described leans to welcoming and the narrative of hospitality rather than scientific expertise.

WELCOMING

Example 59: **Visit by Researchers and Students**

ST	ερευνητές και φοιτητές (vis)	συζητήσουν	με τους Αρχαιολόγους-φροντιστές (amb)
LT	researchers and students (vis)	discuss	with Archaeologists-curators (amb)
TT	researchers and students (vis)	discuss	with them (amb)

Example 60: **Learning Resources/Reading Lounge**

ST	αρχαιολόγοι-φροντιστές (amb)	συνοδεύουν	τους επισκέπτες (vis)
LT	Archaeologists-curators (amb)	accompany	visitors (vis)
TT	Archaeologists-Hosts (amb)	accompany	visitors (vis)

In a similar manner with all websites, Acropolis Museum promotes its hospitable brand environment calling visitors to discuss and explore with the brand ambassadors (see Examples 59-60). As discussed in the Knowledge section of Acropolis Museum above, the role of ambassadors is mostly one of ‘hosting’ than ‘curating’ as described in the data. This reflects the actual narrative construction process of Greek identity and nation image in that the ambassadors do not actually create the identity, but rather assume, reproduce and communicate it to visitors, who in turn mirror their expectations through text and experience back to the ambassadors and vice versa. It is through CNA that it is possible to extract such patterns that would otherwise be considered unsubstantial without an in-depth state policies analysis, which is not part of this study.

EXHIBITS

Example 61: **Family Visits**

ST	Αρχαιολόγοι-φροντιστές (amb)	βρίσκονται δίπλα	στα εκθέματα (br)
LT	Archaeologists-curators (amb)	are by	the exhibits (br)
TT	Archaeologists-Hosts (amb)	can be found	near the exhibits (br)

Example 62: Family Visits

ST	Αρχαιολόγος-Φροντιστής (amb)	βρίσκεται	σε σταθερό σημείο στην αίθουσα (br)
LT	Archaeologist-Curator (amb)	is in	designated spot in the room (br)
TT	Archaeologist-Host (amb)	available	designated location (br)

Examples 61-62 function in a similar manner with Example 37, where an actual exhibit, ‘The Thinker’ is being used as a brand ambassador charged with welcoming visitors to the museum. In the present instances, there is a reversal of the described characteristics, as the living human ambassadors are presented as exhibits, in a way stripped of their movement, and asked to stand at designated locations in the museum for visitors to find and explore.

This perfectly describes the nature of ambassadors as appearing in the totality of textual data in all three websites. Ambassadors are not free agents who independently assume their identity, but they rather conform to the identity communicated to them by the brand in order to promote and reproduce the brand in pre-set ways. This is reinforced to the Greek-speaking population through narrative construction in the STs and through the way visitors expect the population to be and behave in accordance with the TT narratives.

4.2.3 Exoticisation of the Nation

Greece, in my data, is presented as a commodity/product/destination that needs to be seen, discovered and appreciated for its uniqueness. These characteristics are typical of exoticisation when it comes to national identity construction, in the sense that relationships built between the brand and the visitors focus on ideas of exploration and discovery. In this study, I consider exoticisation to refer to the concepts of ‘otherness’ and ‘foreignisation’ in the attempt to promote the destination as worthy of visiting and exploring within the framework of enhancing its appeal and differentiating it both from its competitors, as well as the visitor’s standard social and physical environment. In this study the term ‘exotic’ is not necessarily tied to the ‘oriental’ as understood by Said (1978). Nevertheless, the processes of ‘otherness’ put forward by the scholar (ibid) to describe the identity (re)framing strategies followed by dominant out-groups in order to meet their own desires is part of the play in touristic discourses and trends in the case of Greece. Contemporary tourism practices often have the ‘other’ re-enact stereotypes for the visitors to consume in accordance with their preconceptions, hence reproducing and consolidating the ‘strangeness’ and ‘exotic’ aspects of national identity, culture and heritage, regardless of the degree of temporal realism of such aspects. However, wishing to extend Said’s (1978) on the process of otherness by dominant powers, I understand exoticisation attempts to initiate from both dominant foreign powers, including but not limited to mass tourism trends or Philhellenism, as well as dominant domestic powers, such as the state or other bureaucratically operated and controlled institutions, i.e., tourism and culture bodies.

The brand invites visitors to 'explore', 'meet' and 'search' for places, history, people and culture, with the theme of 'hidden gems' being very prevalent in tourism and travel promotional campaigns. This is reinforced when the product, i.e. Greece in this study, is already well-established. In order to acquire the additional sale value, it needs to appear unexplored and highlight its strangeness value (Cohen, 1979). These narrative processes assign exotic/foreign attributes to the nation, semiotically distorting the product (Marx, 1867) to achieve its consumability, as Dominguez (1986) puts forward (as cited in Foster, 1991, p.249).

These exoticisation processes that range from minor narrative framing by means of inclusion/exclusion of narratives to false/distorted information aim to differentiate the product, so that it appears unique. Considering that the contemporary globalised world of the so-called 'Western World', which refers to Europe and North America at large, seldom allows for such a degree of differentiation, claims of uniqueness and unexploredness can be tied to nationalist discourses, in which nations are portrayed virgin, unique and hospitable. In reality, exoticisation processes distort the product to such a degree that, as Urry and Larsen (2011) claim, the nation is stripped of reality reproducing the status quo of narratives around it until it reaches uniformity instead of singularity. Thus, although exoticisation attempts aim to differentiate the nation image, they do so by affecting its actual differentiating identity traits by giving preference to Unique Selling Points (USPs) and tourism trends, regardless of the temporal relevance of identity elements and the degree of social practice and/or identification of said elements. The signs, which tourism/culture promotional discourse utilises, transform the original image, showing preference to high-sale-value signs rather than realistic signs (Francesconi, 2006). It is through this process of commodification that national identities, as well as physical national territories, are reconstructed and exoticised (Erb, 2005; Malamitidou, 2018; Turner & Ash, 1975) until possibly neutralised and/or homogenised.

Hence, a paradox is created in which the brand seeks exoticisation by focusing on non-realistic identity elements and, in doing so, distorts the actual identity rendering it more globalised than localised within the processes of commodification and globalisation in tourism campaigns, where USPs across destinations tend to be similar rather than unique.

The theme of exoticisation/foreignisation is explored below through the examination of actor relationships significantly between *br* and *vis* to determine the dynamic built between the two, on the basis of discourse choices suggesting the brand is worthy of exploring or discovering by the visitors. Sections 4.3 and 4.5 on temporal orientation and dominance complement the discussion and provide more insights on a) the way the brand describes itself temporally and b) the way the brand constructs itself in relation to other products on the 'we' vs. 'you' axis.

As regards brand-visitor relationships pointing to an exoticisation of the brand in my data, analysis shows a small degree of such a trend particularly in the NAMA and the Acropolis Museum websites.

There are only a few relevant cases not directly connected to robust exoticisation. In Visit Greece, due to the type of the website/body, there are more relevant examples with a larger frequency that helps establish a trend.

NAMA

Example 63: Egyptian Antiquities

ST	επισκέπτης (vis)	γνωρίσει	εκθέματα (br)
LT	visitor (vis)	meet	exhibits (br)
TT	visitors (vis)	identify	exhibits (br)

Example 64: Collection of Antiquities of Thera

ST	χύτρες (br)	προσφέρουν	μια κλεφτή ματιά [στους επισκέπτες] (vis)
LT	pots (br)	offer	a hidden glimpse [to visitors] (vis)
TT	pots (br)	offer	a glimpse [to visitors] (vis)

Example 65: Collection of Mycenaean Antiquities

ST	δεύτερη ενότητα της αίθουσας (br)	αποκαλύπτει	τα μυστικά των ανακτόρων [στους επισκέπτες] (vis)
LT	second unit of the exhibition (br)	reveals	the secrets of the palaces [to visitors] (vis)
TT	second unit of the exhibition (br)	discloses	the secrets of the palaces [to visitors] (vis)

Examples 63-65 above are typical of the limited relevant instances found in NAMA. The relationship between brand and visitors is built around lexical choices such as ‘meet’, ‘glimpse’, ‘reveals’ and ‘secrets’, which are examples of such a covert presentation of the brand qualities so that they are considered exotic/unexplored. Visitors are called to experience the brand through exploration and learn the secrets of Greece, which the brand offers. Although there are some relevant examples, exoticisation in NAMA is not a dominant narrative as the frequency of instances is low.

Example 66: **History**

ST	επισκέπτης (vis)	γνωρίσει	ελληνικής ιστορίας (br)
LT	visitor (vis)	meet	Greek history (br)
TT	visitors (vis)	trace	the fingerprints of Greek history (br)

Example 67: **Castles**

ST	[επισκέπτες] (vis)	ανακαλύψτε	κάστρα (br)
LT	[visitors] (vis)	discover	castles (br)
TT	[visitors] (vis)	discover	the castles (br)

Example 68: **Ecotourism**

ST	[επισκέπτες] (vis)	γνωρίσετε τη δύναμη της φύσης	Ηρακλείου (br)
LT	[visitors] (vis)	meet the power of nature	Heraklion (br)
TT	[visitors] (vis)	chance to see nature's power	must-visit destinations (br)

Example 69: **Touring**

ST	κάποιος (vis)	γνωρίσει	τον τοπικό πολιτισμό (br)
LT	one (vis)	meet	local culture (br)
TT	they (vis)	will experience	local culture (br)

Example 70: **Going out**

ST	επισκέπτες (vis)	βιώσουν	τον ελληνικό τρόπο ζωής (br)
LT	visitors (vis)	experience	the Greek way of living (br)
TT	visitors (vis)	should meet	greek lifestyle (br)

Example 71: **Water Sports**

ST	κανείς (vis)	να ανακαλύψει	ακτές (br)
LT	one (vis)	discover	shores (br)
TT	[visitors] (vis)	to discover	beaches and coastline (br)

Example 72: **Caving**

ST	[επισκέπτες] (vis)	εξερεύνηση	των ελληνικών σπηλαίων (br)
LT	[visitors] (vis)	exploration	Greek caves (br)
TT	[visitors] (vis)	exploring	caves in Greece (br)

Example 73: **Romance**

ST	όσοι από εσάς (vis)	αναζητάτε	ελληνικό ήλιο (br)
LT	any of you	searching	Greek sun (br)
TT	[visitors] (vis)	search	sunlight in Greek islands (br)

Example 74: **Mainland**

ST	λίγοι (vis)	έχουν ανακαλύψει	ηπειρωτική χώρα (br)
LT	few (vis)	have discovered	mainland (br)
TT	x	x	x

Example 75: **Meetings and Incentives**

ST	σύνεδρους (vis)	έρθουν σε επαφή με	την κοιτίδα της επιστήμης (br)
LT	delegates (vis)	come in contact with	the cradle of science (br)
TT	participants (vis)	experience	cradle of science (br)

Example 76: **Summer Vacations**

ST	[επισκέπτες] (vis)	ανακαλύψτε	ανέγγιχτη ομορφιά (br)
LT	[visitors] (vis)	discover	untouched beauty (br)
TT	[visitors] (vis)	discover	its hidden beauties (br)

In contrast with NAMA, Visit Greece exhibits a high frequency of brand-visitor relationships that evoke narratives of nation exoticisation. As can be seen in Examples 66-76, the lexical choices connoting such narratives are identical to the ones extracted from NAMA, i.e. ‘explore’ ‘discover’, ‘meet’ and ‘search’.

Visit Greece makes strong use of the narrative of exoticisation in building brand relationships. This can be attributed to the type of website/body content, focusing on a more diverse product than NAMA, as well as the Acropolis Museum. Most instances extracted from Visit Greece relate to the exploration of concepts and ideas around Greece as a nation, i.e. history, culture, beauty, culture and lifestyle and less

on specific locations, exhibits or sites; nevertheless, such examples also exist (see Examples 68 and 74 above). Ultimately, the purpose of this study is not to reach conclusions as regards the discourses prevalent per website, but to identify the core narratives employed across the domain of Greek nation branding online textual data.

Despite the fact that there are bound to be unexplored spots and experiences in any given destination, not every such spot or experience can be described as worthy of ‘discovery’. Greece, in the last 10 years (with the exception of 2020 due to the Covid-19 pandemic), accepts roughly 20-30 million tourists per year, making it one of the most densely visited country worldwide, especially taking its size into consideration. At the same time, contemporary tourist practices tend to offer a rather homogenised product, responding to global travel tendencies and web-communicated standards and expectations. This means the country’s cultural product is not as ‘unexplored’ and ‘novel’ as communicated.

The produced narrative of exoticisation can have a significant effect on the national identity of Greece, with official bodies, companies and the local residents engaging in a reproduction process to meet the visitors’ expectations when it comes to the ‘unspoilt’ and ‘hidden’ traits they have associated with the country. In turn, as native identity reproduces and reconfirms itself based on the popular and dominant narrative, the narrative gets stronger and does not allow for deviations that would harm the tourism economy of the country.

ACROPOLIS MUSEUM

Example 77: Educational Programs

ST	μαθητές (vis)	ανακαλύψουν	εκθέματα (br)
LT	students (vis)	discover	exhibits (br)
TT	visitors (vis)	discover	exhibits (br)

Example 78: Learning Resources/Educational Booklets

ST	οι επισκέπτες (vis)	ανακαλύψουν	τα εκθέματα του Μουσείου (br)
LT	visitors (vis)	discover	Museum exhibits (br)
TT	visitors (vis)	discover	exhibits (br)

Example 79: Family Backpacks

ST	παιδιά (vis)	αναζήτησης	στο Μουσείο (br)
LT	children (vis)	search	in the Museum (br)
TT	children (vis)	search	inside the Museum (br)

Example 80: **Family Trails for Children and Parents**

ST	τα παιδιά (vis)	να ανακαλύψουν	ζώα μέσα στο μουσείο (br)
LT	children (vis)	discover	animals in the Museum (br)
TT	children (vis)	discover	animals in the Museum (br)

Example 81: **Family Backpacks**

ST	παιδιά (vis)	αναζητούν	συγκεκριμένο έκθεμα (br)
LT	children (vis)	search for	specific exhibit (br)
TT	kids (vis)	look for	a specific exhibit (br)

As already established, Acropolis Museum and NAMA score lower than Visit Greece in exoticisation narratives through brand and visitor relationship building. Acropolis Museum, in specific, features some relevant examples, the majority of which are related to the kids' experience in the museum. Although the narrative is slightly stronger than in NAMA and the lexical choices are similar, i.e. 'discover' and 'search', the exotic elements assigned to the brand through the processes bringing together br and vis are mostly due to advertising methods and outreach campaign strategies targeted to underage visitors to present the museum as a more family-oriented and kids-friendly destination. Nevertheless, the produced narrative, when treating the museum as a hyponym of the nation, is assigning exotic elements to the brand in that it calls the visitors to explore and retrieve exhibits, secrets and experiences (see Examples 77-81).

4.2.4 Actors and Brand Relationships: Summary of Findings

Examining brand relationships in the data set has proved fruitful in identifying the actor focus of the textual data, as well as the frequency of brand relationship actors and their relationship. At the same time, it allowed for an in-depth examination of brand relationship instances that led to the extraction of themes based on the data instances. Discussing the instance findings at both a macro and micro level, with focus to specific examples typical of the larger pool of examples identified, allowed me to identify diverse narrative trends as presented above. Using a mixed methods approach, complementing the CNA findings with a numerical data and frequency analysis allowed for a more robust appreciation of the findings to determine their importance for narrative creation as regards the Greek national identity and image. Based on the findings, as illustrated in the representative examples above, brand relationships were categorised in three major pylons: 1) Greece as a provider, 2) ambassadors as promotional actors and 3) exoticisation of the brand.

The brand assumed the role of the provider, particularly in relation to the visitors. Via discourses of welcoming, the narrative of hospitality, which is paramount to tourism promotion, was reasserted. Acts

of offering also extended to knowledge at a large degree, where the brand presented itself as an authority when it comes to educating visitors and presenting Greece to them. Control of information about the nation is typical of a banal nationalism discourse. Said control is natural to tourism discourses and is evident in all websites examined in this study. The narrative of ‘cultural cradle’ when it comes to Greece is also used in the texts reinforced through such discourses.

Although traditional promotion makes use of two actors in building brand relationships, tourism and cultural brand promotion in the case of Greece makes use of a third actor, i.e. brand ambassadors. As discussed above, ambassador references to the Greek population act as an extension of the brand. Ambassadors were referenced frequently in the data and it was shown that in the case of NAMA, the ambassador frequency was higher than the visitor frequency, which is telling of the importance of the instance in understanding nation image and identity. Ambassadors, as actors of promotion, showed similar themes as in the brand-provider instance. Focusing on the role of ambassadors to welcome and educate visitors, the texts render the Greek population a brand component. By assigning specific identity traits, behaviour practices and actions to the ambassadors, the brand actively reconstructs the native Greek identity. The constructed role of ambassador as visitor-pleasers is prominent in examples showing treatment of the actor as a static entity (commodification/objectification) and through a major translation fluctuation. As already discussed, ambassadors in the case of the Acropolis Museum, are described as ‘museum curators’ in the Greek version *vs.* ‘museum hosts’ in the English version. The terms ‘hosts’ is perfectly in line with the duties and description of the ambassadors in the brand and better describes the assigned characteristics, highlighting the identity attribution process.

Regarding nation exoticisation, some relevant examples were identified and discussed. Greece was presented as worthy of exploration, full of unspoilt locations, untouched and hidden spots that visitors need to ‘explore’, ‘search’ and ‘meet’. Where such exoticisation occurs, it brings about the opposite results, as globalised tourism promotion discourse practices lead to a nullification of the cultural product, initially in its description and subsequently in its physical representation that is altered to meet visitor expectations. Nevertheless, with the exception of Visit Greece, where a strong reconstruction of the Greek nation image occurs through exoticisation, in the cases of NAMA and the Acropolis Museum, the trend is not meaningful due to low frequency.

Finally, through frequency and ST-TT hands-on analysis it was determined that there are no major fluctuations between the original and the translated text. Few differences between the two versions of the texts were identified when it comes to discourse and narrative and these narrative-creating differences were discussed were appropriate and insightful for the discussion.

4.3 Brand Reference Temporal Orientation

The aim of this section is to present and discuss findings extracted after executing the model of analysis instance ‘brand reference temporal orientation’. Examining the type of temporal references attached to the brand will enable me to discuss temporal trends in relation to patterns of representation of the nation image in the collection of texts.

Examination of references is based on Delin’s (2005) work on transitivity and brand evoking, where she studies the ways brands reference themselves in order to create identity narratives and build relationships. In my study, I focus on the way Greece is temporally framed either by means of direct references or hyponyms and hypernyms (as laid out in section 3.3), leading to the construction of nation-shaping images through repetition of the brand and assigned temporal deixis. Enriching brand referential instances with a study of temporal markers assigned to the brand in each case, I look into the specificities of tourism promotion, when applied to the case of Greece, aiming to examine Wodak et al.’s (2009) understanding of national identity construction through narratives of the past; a discursive feature of nationalist discourses. At the same time, I reflect on Hofstede’s Insights (2018) metrics on Greece (see *Appendix V*) regarding the nation’s long- and short-term orientation, in which the model shows a balance between past and present/future.

To determine the brand identity’s clinging to past, present or future, I follow a twofold approach. First, I assign a temporal marker to each website page based on its macro thematic domain. For example, webpages devoted to historical events are categorised as ‘past’, webpages devoted to sea sports or other contemporary touristic/cultural domains are categorised as ‘present’ and webpages with a focus on new initiatives or future brand projects/features/infrastructure/services can be categorised as ‘future’. After examination of macro themes, no pages showed a ‘future’ orientation, so, discussion of future instances is limited to micro temporal markers. This gives an indication of temporal orientation at macro level, based on web content approach on behalf of the body officials. Drawing from these macro temporal results, I examine whether in-text temporal orientation per webpage matches the macro temporal orientation at thematic level. That is, I study whether a page focusing on wine tasting, which would be treated as ‘present’, matches its thematic temporal orientation when set against the in-text micro brand temporal references. This would help identify the ways themes are treated temporally in the data set. For example, a wine tasting page thematically belonging to the ‘present’ could show an in-text tendency to the ‘past’ with ‘past’ references prevailing over ‘present’ ones in relation the brand. The second and more robust analysis step includes identification of temporal narrative tendencies based on the totality of instances extracted. I present relative and representative examples from the data set that are typical of the tendencies put forward after examining the websites in full and conducting frequency and hand-on discourse and narrative analysis. Identification of such instances follows the methodological tools of the model of transitivity (Delin, 2005) on brand repetition, as well as the analytical principles of

CDA that invites the researcher to actively engage with the data and extract trends and findings based on her previous social/academic knowledge and personal experience. CDA recognises the mediated role of the researcher not only in a critical study of language, yet in all types of academic study, and invites scholars to question the degree of their objectivity. Particularly in such a study of language and culture-specific context, instances identified are undoubtedly filtered through the researcher.

	NAMA		Visit Greece		Acropolis Museum		Overall	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
past	53	53	15	15	59	59	127	127
present	6	6	71	71	46	46	123	123
future	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
past+present	16	16	4	4	4	4	24	24
past+future	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
present+future	0	0	0	0	3	3	3	3
past+present+future	0	0	1	1	1	1	2	2

Table 21: Raw numerical data of macro temporal instances per website.

Table 21 above presents raw numerical evidence of macro temporal references based on webpage focus. As can be seen in the table, there is a clear trend towards the past and present when it comes to thematic choices per website as well as overall. Subjects pertaining to the future are almost absent from the data, which is in line with conservative nationalist narratives. Past prevails in NAMA and the Acropolis Museum, while present prevails in Visit Greece.

In examining the webpage themes, it has become apparent that they often pertain to more than one temporal categories. This is the reason I also account for temporal combinations as seen in the table below. NAMA shows more macro findings of the past+present persuasion than ‘present’ or ‘future’ ones, which is a very prominent trend in the data as I also argue below. A more detailed analysis of micro vs. macro temporal comparison follows in section 4.3.1.

To conduct a thorough brand reference temporal orientation, I proceed to the examination of all in-text brand references that bore a temporal sign of either past, present and/or future. In other words, I compiled a list of all in-text temporally bound brand references. Such references include instances where the brand or a brand hyponym is framed in terms of a temporal orientation. For example, I considered instances where Greece is tied to its ancient glory, thus creating a past temporal orientation or the Acropolis Museum was presented in terms of its modern visitor facilities, thus creating a present temporal orientation. *Table 22* below presents raw numerical evidence on the extracted temporal references per website.

NAMA	past	present	future
ST	11	10	0
TT	11	10	0
Acropolis Museum			
ST	15	57	4
TT	17	61	4
Visit Greece			
ST	245	243	12
TT	253	236	9
Overall			
ST	271	310	16
TT	281	307	13

Table 22: Raw numerical findings of in-text brand temporal references per website.

To better appreciate the dynamic of findings comparatively and proceed to a robust discussion of trends, I also present normalised to 10,000w frequency data in Table 23 below. The comparative percentages per the totality of in-text temporal markers within the same website offered in Table 24 below allow me to better depict the trends, seeing that data set size and number of instances differ across websites. As also seen in the data above, past and present dominate the reference pool at large, while future is almost non-existent.

	past		present		future	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
NAMA	3.5	3.3	3.2	3.0	0	0
Acropolis Museum	6.7	7.8	25.3	28.1	1.9	1.8
Visit Greece	62.5	62.5	61.9	58.3	3.1	2.2
Overall	29.1	29.5	33.3	32.3	1.7	1.4

Table 23: Normalised to 10,000w data set frequency of in-text brand temporal references per website.

NAMA does not offer much insight when it comes to in-text temporal references in connection with brand image. There are only few instances that cannot be used for a thorough discussion of findings. Overall, the specific discourse feature is not prominent in the NAMA data, although, albeit at a small scale, the past+present narrative prevails at micro level.

	past		present		future	
	ST	TT	ST	TT	ST	TT
NAMA	52.4%	52.4%	47.6%	47.6%	0.0%	0.0%
Acropolis Museum	19.7%	21.0%	75.0%	74.4%	5.3%	4.9%
Visit Greece	49.0%	50.9%	48.6%	47.3%	2.4%	1.8%

Table 24: Percentage of in-text brand temporal references per total website instances.

The same past+present temporal narrative is identified in Visit Greece, where ST: 49% / TT: 50% of the instances are tied to a past temporal orientation and ST: 48.6% / TT: 47.3% are tied to a present temporal orientation. These findings confirm Hofstede Insights (2018) markers on the temporal orientation of Greece. The Acropolis Museum is the only website examined that points towards a present temporal narrative in constructing brand identity, with a significant number of past references too.⁴⁷ As also seen in the macro temporal markers above, future references are approaching a zero frequency; NAMA has a ST-TT: 0.0 frequency of micro future references, the Acropolis Museum exhibits a frequency of ST: 1.9 and TT: 1.8 and Visit Greece exhibits a frequency of ST: 3.1 and TT: 2.2 for future temporal brand references.

Comparative examination of macro vs. micro temporal markers produced no meaningful findings for NAMA as temporal references score low in total. As regards the Acropolis Museum, macro temporal orientation seems to match in-text temporal orientation. Examination showed a temporal reversal tendency in Visit Greece. In-text ‘past’ references are introduced in macro ‘present’ webpages and there is a prominent tendency for balancing between past and present.

In the following sections, I present and discuss typical examples of the trends briefly presented above. Drawing on critical discourse studies, it is understood that brand, i.e. nation, (re)construction processes often initiate a dialogue between past and present to construct nation image and identity (Wodak et. al, 2009). By focusing on the past, tourism brands exoticise the nation image, they reinsert stereotypical narrative features in the native national identity and lead to nationalist ideas of continuity, not accounting for historical deviations, alterations and external influences. This ultimately leads to history and reality distortion and imposes a hegemonic meta narrative of nations; the same narrative identified by Anderson (2006) in his discussion of imagined communities. Building a sense of belonging through an assumed historical connection forms national identities; the cornerstone of tourism practices that

⁴⁷ It is interesting to note that although NAMA and the Acropolis Museum are both museum websites, the Acropolis Museum focuses significantly more on the present than NAMA. This can be indicative of brand-specific writing/translating guidelines, temporality of the textual production in relation to discourse trends or an indication of the overall brand approach of the body under question. Although cross-website comparison is not the focus of this study, it is a useful finding in understanding the importance of applying CDA without focusing on preconceptions stemming from website type and focus.

nullify diverse national identities for the sake of overtly expressed and exaggeratedly communicated cross-national differentiation in the framework of commodification practices (Foster, 1999; Kavoura, 2007; Manca, 2016).

Examining such nation commodification processes and the degree to which they dominate national narratives in tourism promotion is telling of the ideological penetration of tourism as a social phenomenon through hegemonic discourses and contemporary socio-economic powers. Through these discourses dominant powers consolidate their narrative outreach and control national narratives (Foster, 1991). In turn, narratives not only affect the image constructed, but they also assign specific traits to the very linguistic choices and their use by language user (Munday, 2007). Language use and meaning are consolidated through the constant recirculation of narratives; turning into meta narratives, they acquire the qualities of a status quo (Baker, 2006). By and via these narrative processes a banal nationalist narrative such as attachment to the past or nation continuity, which I discuss below, can turn into hot nationalist practices, considering that ideology is ultimately an expression of identity narratively constructed.

As regards translation, there do not appear to be major fluctuations between Greek and English, which means the narrative has remained intact across languages and audiences, allowing for a holistic identity construction both in native and foreign narratives circulating around Greek identity. The minor level of ST-TT differences when it comes to narratives is observed in *Tables 21-24* above and is also exhibited in the examples used below to discuss trends.

As is the case throughout the study, the ST appears in the first row with a literal translation in the second row and the TT in the third. When ‘etc.’ or (...) are used, they point to an omission of concomitant data for the sake of spatial economy, while [] includes information not directly mentioned, but implied, and contributes to a better understanding of the relevant example. If not explicitly stated, the examples presented are not the total of extracted instances per webpage, but merely representative instances of the wider argument. The total number of webpage instances is provided in footnotes per example.

4.3.1 Temporal Relativity

The section focuses on the presentation and discussion of major narrative trends in relation to the macro vs. micro temporal dipole. Macro temporal references are compared with the corresponding micro temporal references per webpage to determine the degree to which there is a match between the two temporal markers.

As suggested above, NAMA and the Acropolis Museum include a large number of webpages that feature no in-text brand temporal references, rendering such a discussion infertile. On the contrary, Visit Greece seems to reverse temporal expectations between theme and content of a webpage. Macro

analysis shows the majority of pages are of a present orientation, yet in-text examination shows a tendency towards the past in these pages and the whole website.

Although NAMA and the Acropolis Museum do not offer enough data to produce meaningful results, the few instances point towards such a trend as well. Some of these few examples are presented below. The past+present narrative that is also discussed in section 4.3.2 is anew identified through this model component, thus triangulating findings on temporal relativity.

NAMA

The majority of NAMA webpages show no temporal brand references, rendering discussion of temporal shifts between macro and micro temporal orientation not possible. In the few relevant cases identified, there is a tendency towards the past+present narrative, but this is not robust enough to constitute a major narrative in the website.

Textual data extracted by NAMA mostly present information and lay out details about exhibits and historical events and/or persons. The brand is rarely referenced in attachment with a temporal reference in the texts. For record-keeping purposes, I present two examples, from a total of four instances below, where a temporal shift occurs at a macro *vs.* micro level of analysis.

Example 82: Collection of Mycenaean Antiquities

Macro: Past

Micro: Past+Present⁴⁸

ST (...) ελληνικό χώρο, που τότε όπως και τώρα, αποτελούσε τη γέφυρα μεταξύ Ανατολής και Δύσης.

LT (...) Greek territory, which back then as well as now, was the bridge between East and West.

TT (...) Greece, which has always served as a bridge between the East and the West.

Greece in the example presented above is presented through its continuous existence throughout history. By reference to its geographical location and its historical importance, the narrative of national continuity is established. ‘Back then as well as now’ and ‘always’ serve as temporal markers that argue the uninterrupted dominant geo-socio-political role of Greece through time, an argument invalid by the mere historical facts of occupation by the Ottoman Empire. Significantly in the TT, there is no differentiation between Greek territory and Greece as a nation, which would tone down the narrative as is the case with the ST. The macro narrative of ‘past’ is enriched in-text with a combination of past and present.

⁴⁸ Past – ST: 1, TT: 1 / Present – ST: 1, TT: 1

Example 83: Classical Period

Macro: Past

Micro: Past+Present⁴⁹

ST (...) κυριαρχία της Αθήνας (...) καταλυτική όχι μόνο για τον αρχαίο ελληνικό κόσμο, αλλά και (...) για όλο το σύγχρονο δυτικό κόσμο.

LT (...) the dominance of Athens (...) catalyst not only for the ancient Greek world, but also (...) for the whole contemporary western world.

TT (...) dominance of Athens (...) catalyst not only for the ancient Greek world, but also (...) for the whole modern western world.

In Example 83, the joint past+present narrative is identified in-text, even though the page thematically belongs to the past. Combining the ‘ancient Greek world’ with the ‘contemporary’ or ‘modern’ world, the brand narratively travels through time, stressing the importance of its past not only for the present nation, but for the totality of the ‘Western World’ too. The temporal continuity narrative is core to branding campaigns and very prominent in nationalist discourses. It communicates ideas of a pure national identity, highlights the importance of national history and builds links to construct identities. Both in the marketing world and the tourism promotion field, brand continuity is one of the core features of branding, as it builds relationships with the present customers while establishing a historical connection with them and their ancestors, attempting a foundation of authority and familiarity.

Even though the examples presented for NAMA, as well as for the Acropolis Museum below, are not part of an extensive pool of findings that would point to such a trend, they pave the way for further exploration of such trends. As the section on Visit Greece will show, cross-examination of temporal narratives is an important part of temporal examination under a CNA approach.

ACROPOLIS MUSEUM

In the Acropolis Museum website macro temporal orientation and the corresponding in-text micro temporal orientation seem to match. At the same time, almost half of the pages exhibit no in-text brand temporal references, rendering discussion of temporal shift not fruitful. This is due to the nature of the pages, many of which simply present images and limited text. These are macro-thematically categorised as ‘past’, but they do not feature micro instances.

There are only limited instances where past and present interconnect through macro and micro analysis. I present two relevant examples for record-keeping purposes, without considering said examples part of a narrative-constructing trend.

⁴⁹ Past – ST: 2, TT: 2 / Present – ST: 2, TT: 2

Example 84: **The Settlement**

Macro: Past

Micro: Past+Present⁵⁰

ST (...) οικιστικού ιστού της αρχαίας Αθήνας (...) τη σχεδόν συνεχή χρήση του (...)

LT (...) residential network of ancient Athens (...) its almost continuous use (...)

TT (...) urban fabric of ancient Athens (...) its almost uninterrupted habitation (...)

Example 47 illustrates the temporal shift occurring between macro and micro temporal orientation. Although, the page is thematically categorised as ‘past’, narratives of ‘present’ also exist in the text. This flow from past to present is paramount in understanding Greek nation image and nationalist discourses. The lexical choices ‘continuous’ and ‘uninterrupted’ are telling of such a narrative and create the idea of timeless existence, a core discursive feature of nationalism, very common in tourism promotion too.

Example 85: **Café and Restaurant**

Macro: Present

Micro: Past⁵¹

ST Εστιατόριο [της Ακρόπολης] (...) με παραδοσιακές συνταγές (...)

LT Restaurant [of the Acropolis] (...) with traditional recipes (...)

TT Restaurant [of the Acropolis] (...) based on traditional recipes (...)

In Example 85, the brand promotes its on-site restaurant, a brand element. The macro temporal orientation is ‘present’ as a restaurant consists a modern-day tourist activity and it need not be directly connected with narratives of the past. However, the in-text instances point towards the past with the word ‘traditional’, which is not only a lexical representation of brand image, but also a physical one in this case. The TT slightly stretches from past to present by using the word ‘based’, absent from the ST which shows a connection between past and present.

The examples above were useful in solidifying the importance of such an analysis aspect of CNA as analysis solely at macro level would not produce insightful results. Although the findings in NAMA and the Acropolis Museum did not point to a temporal shift, the section below on Visit Greece does exhibit this trend.

⁵⁰ Past - ST: 1, TT: 1 / Present - ST: 1, TT: 1

⁵¹ Past - ST: 2, TT: 1

Visit Greece is rich in brand temporal references with a total of 998 instances in both language versions. As was the case with NAMA and the Acropolis Museum, some webpages feature no in-text instances, but this trend is significantly lower in this website. Macro temporal analysis shows that Visit Greece presents themes tied to a present temporal orientation; this can be due to the website focus being more on tourism promotion and less on tourism information.

Although the large majority of texts deal with contemporary issues such as activities, dining, shopping and vacation themes, in-text micro analysis of brand references shows that themes of the ‘present’ are subdued or complemented by past temporal brand placing, whereas the reverse or alternative shifts are atypical. This leads to a past+present temporal balance confirming the temporal shift hypothesis. Examples presented below are typical of the trend and are representative of Visit Greece.

Example 86: **City Breaks**

i)

Macro: Present	Micro: Past ⁵²
----------------	---------------------------

ST Η μακραίωνη ιστορία κάθε ελληνικής πόλης (...)

LT The century-long history of every Greek city (...)

TT The age-old history of each Greek city (...)

ii)

ST (...) Αθήνα (...) τα περιαστικά της δάση είναι γεμάτα με θρύλους (...)

LT (...) Athens (...) its suburban forests are full of legends (...)

TT (...) Athens (...) its suburban forests are filled with myth and legend (...)

The above examples are extracted from a macro: present webpage. Yet, in-text analysis shows that the brand is mostly referenced in connection to the past. In Example 86i both ST and TT assign the feature of timelessness to the brand, directly reinforcing the past+present national narrative, which is not only telling of the brand’s clinging to the past and the concept of ancientness, but it also attempts to establish the destination as a contemporary location in line with nation branding efforts (Anholt, 2003). Example 86ii shows a more straight-forward past orientation, connecting Athenian forests to legend and myth. By assigning such features to the brand element, it exoticises it and strips it of its actual physical and contemporary identity, thus distorting the actual image.

⁵² Past - ST: 13, TT: 13 / Present - ST: 5, TT: 5

Example 87: **Relaxation**

Macro: Present

Micro: Past+Present⁵³

i)

ST (...) των ιαματικών πηγών όπου οι Νύμφες προσέφεραν τα θεϊκά δώρα (...)

LT (...) of the healing springs where the Nymphs offered godly gifts (...)

TT (...) thermal springs where the Nymphs offered the divine gifts (...)

ii)

ST Η Αιδηψός (...) εξασφαλίζει άνετη πρόσβαση (...) διατηρεί έναν αέρα νοσταλγικό (...)

LT Aidipsos (...) guarantees easy access (...) retains a nostalgic air (...)

Aidipsos (...) can be reached easily (...) mentioned in the scripts of Plutarch etc. (...)

TT unique nostalgic atmosphere!

Examples 87i and 87ii are taken from a macro: present webpage presenting ways to relax in Greece. Close examination shows ‘past’ prevailing as far as brand narratives are concerned. In Example 87i we can see that thermal springs are presented as a divine gift from the Nymphs. Exoticisation is once more dominant in nation construction through temporal framing, shifting temporal expectations. In Example 87ii the past+present narrative appears in combination. ‘Easy access’ meets ‘nostalgic atmosphere’ and ‘Plutarch’ as present meets past in the town of Aidipsos, which according to Visit Greece possesses the necessary accessibility infrastructure, while also originating from ancient times that can still be felt by visitors.

Example 88: **Romance**

Macro: Present

Micro: Past⁵⁴

i)

ST (...) εδώ γεννήθηκε ο φτερωτός θεός Έρως (...)

LT (...) winged god Eros was born here (...)

TT Greece is the birthplace of the winged god Eros (...)

⁵³ Past - ST: 4, TT: 5 / Present - ST: 5, TT: 2

⁵⁴ Past - ST: 7, TT: 19 / Present - ST: 4, TT: 5

ii)

ST (...) ελληνικές καστροπολιτείες (...) όπου οι ιππότες χαιρετούν τις δεσποσύνες (...)

LT (...) Greek castle-towns (...) where knights greet the young ladies (...)

TT (...) be the knight or princess of your childhood fairy tales in (...) Mystras (...)

The Visit Greece section on romance features one of the most significant translation shifts in the data set, where a whole ancient hymn excerpt about god Eros is introduced in the TT to further enhance past temporal framing. The excerpt is not present in the ST and it does not constitute a direct brand reference (Delin, 2005, p.13), but the shift from present to past occurs both in the ST and TT through other instances. Example 88i describes Greece as the birthplace of god Eros, the counterpart of Roman deity Cupid. In a similar fashion, Example 88ii attempts to revive the past and using a present tense, it describes how princesses and knights fall in love with each other in the town of Mystras. These promotional discourse and narrative techniques subvert reality and exoticise the destination, engaging in storytelling. Images from the past are used to describe a present destination that is not merely an ancient site nor ancient Greek finds; by doing so the body commodifies it and renders it a spectacle through the tourist gaze (Urry & Larsen, 2011).

Example 89: Greek Wines

Macro: Present

Micro: Past⁵⁵

i)

Αγιωργίτικο (...) της μυθικής Νεμέας, τη γη του «φλιάσιου οίνου» που έπινε ο Αγαμέμνων

ST (...)

LT *Agiorgitiko* (...) of mythical Nemea, the land of “*fliasios oinos*” that Agamemnon drunk (...)

TT (...) Ayoryitiko (...) the favourite of the mythical king Agamemnon.

ii)

Η περιοχή φημίζεται για την αμπελουργία της από αρχαιοτάτων χρόνων και συνδέεται με τη

ST λατρεία του Διονύσου (...)

The region has been popular for its wine production since antiquity and is connected to the

LT worship of Dionysus (...)

TT x

Webpage ‘Greek Wines’ is thematically considered to be of ‘present’ orientation, as the topic presented

⁵⁵ Past - ST: 7, TT: 4 / Present - ST: 1, TT: 1

is of temporally unbound or contemporary interest within tourism promotion. Examples 89i and 89ii show temporal reversal from present to past. The first example describes Agiorgitiko wine as the favourite of King Agamemnon, while the second one, although directly referenced only in the ST, makes the connection between wine and the cult of god Dionysus to describe the place of wine production, i.e. Nemea in this case. The insertion of past temporal references in macro: present texts holds constant and permeating power in Visit Greece and via this temporal shift, where present and past mingle, the past+present narrative acquires meta status through wide and persistent dissemination (Baker, 2005).

Example 90: **Spring Vacations**

i)

Macro: Present

Micro: Past⁵⁶

ST (...) αγριολούλουδα [.] Στολίζουν τις μνήμες της πανάρχαιας κληρονομιάς μας (...)

LT (...) wild flowers [.] They adorn the memories of our ancient heritage (...)

TT (...) the wild flowers give colour to our age-long heritage (...)

ii)

(...) βότανα (...) εκτιμήθηκαν από τους αρχαίους κτόλας προγόνους μας (...) [και] σήμερα, ένα

ST ποσοστό (...) φαρμάκων βασίζονται στις θαυματουργές ιδιότητες (...)

(...) herbs (...) appreciated by our ancient ancestors (...) [and] today, a percentage (...) of

LT medicines are based on the wondrous properties (...)

(...) herbs (...) have been used since the ancient times (...) [and] nowadays, (...) medicines are

TT based on the miraculous properties of herbs.

Example 90i, belonging to the webpage about spring vacation, uses wild flowers as a brand element tying it to the past. Nature is here described as a decorative element of the country's past, distorting its actual purpose by prioritising the ancient history of Greece. As for Example 90ii, past and present are combined to create the timeless identity narrative. Herbs are described as the basis of modern medicine and their use is also attributed to ancient Greeks. By extension, modern medicine is also connected to Ancient Greece; apart from constituting a reference to the 'past', it also creates a theme of offering on behalf of the brand to the world, i.e. the visitors, as discussed in section 4.2 above on brand relationships.

⁵⁶ Past - ST: 5, TT: 5 / Present - ST: 1, TT: 1

4.3.2 Greece: Temporally Bound Timelessness

Based on *Table 24* above, it is deduced that future in-text brand references are greatly absent from the narrative pool of all bodies. All websites construct brand identity through past and/or present in-text references, building nation image strictly on the past+present narrative. Brand temporal framing rarely relies on the ‘future’ axis, meaning that there is a very limited number of instances, where Greece is presented by means of concepts related to growth or renewal⁵⁷.

The lack of future references can be attributed to the genre of the data set, as well as the constructed and widely disseminated national identity narrative of Greece. The country’s tourism promotion rarely focuses on the future as a means to attract visitors. As a nation-centric destination, it exhibits an already established image and identity, meaning narratives of the future could harm the established nation image and lead to financial repercussions. This rigid bureaucratic understanding of (desti)nation branding is evident in the 2020 Greek campaign “Health First”. This initiative came as a response to the 2020 Covid-19 pandemic that created grave challenges for the tourism and travelling industries. Greece’s response to the pandemic is not within the scope of this study, yet it is interesting to see that what was deemed as a success story by the state and a number of media led to the following logo and motto in the attempt to validate proper cleaning and disinfecting practices (see *Image 28* below):



Image 28: Logo of the ‘Greece: Health First’ tourism and hospitality state program (Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic, 2020). © Greek Ministry of Tourism.

The logo features the bust of Hippocrates, ancient Greek philosopher and physician, considered to be an important figure for modern medicine, and it writes “KEEPING YOU SAFE – HIPPOCRATES 460 BC – MINISTRY OF TOURISM”⁵⁸. It is striking to see that what could have been used as an

⁵⁷ Such instances could possibly include references to new museums or projects that are being implemented or constructed, restaurant menus that are going to be launched or medical infrastructure to be created.

⁵⁸ An earlier version of the logo was available (see *Appendix VII*). The original campaign logo featured the phrase ‘safe since 460 BC’, which led to wide social media backlash due to its historical inaccuracy, especially as Athens suffered a plague in 430 BCE. This backlash led to a change in the logo.

opportunity to praise an assumed modern and cutting-edge health system, turned into a reference to Hippocrates, discarding any narratives of the future such as development, evolution, or pioneering attitude.

In the same way, narratives of the future are almost non-existent in the websites. NAMA has no ‘future’ brand temporal references, while the Acropolis Museum exhibits a ST: 5.3% - TT: 4.9% percentage of future references in comparison with the total number of in-text references. This is the highest score among the websites, as Visit Greece scores ST: 2.4% - TT: 1.8%. Finally, in no webpage do future brand references exceed the number of other temporal references and when they appear, they do so in conjunction with other temporal instances.

Neglect towards the future is an identity trait, which albeit often stereotypically, is attributed to Greece at large. Clinging to the past is a common nationalistic feature of nations that have a rich heritage and past. Greece, as such a nation, favours past over future and this is visible in the nation’s political, financial and cultural scope. As Anderson (2006) suggests, the past is a major force behind nation construction and it is expected for the past to prevail over future in capitalist societies seeing that the future cannot be yet restructured or narratively controlled. Through the absence of future temporal references in meta-narrative texts that find wide dissemination, the above-mentioned clinging grows stronger as visitors and natives read the texts, consume the narratives and act or consume them accordingly in the process of tourism promotion and commodification.

As was the case with the recent logo presented in *Image 28* and as my findings dictate, the bodies engage in nation branding via combination of two temporal poles: past and present. The past is used as a commodity and the present operates as a vendor through which the commodity is offered. It is an archetypical understanding of national success; the idea that the nation has historical origins and a strong contemporary presence. By combining past+present, the bodies engage in (desti)nation promotion offering visitors the ideal product. The produced narrative is consolidated through these highly influential discourses and is perpetuated through dissemination from source to recipient and back (Rojec and Urry, 1997; Jack and Phipps, 2005). Hofstede Insights’ (2018) metrics on the temporal orientation of Greece as a nation, although verging to absolutism, are confirmed in this instance.

Wodak (2015) and Farrell-Banks (2020) confirm the nationalism-inducing force of heritage towards the shaping of contemporary national identities by hegemonic powers. Lefevere (1992) described these powerful narrative-recreating processes as taking place within the system of patronage. The three central components of this system, i.e. economy, ideology and status, are prevalent in tourism promotion particularly when initiated by dominant bodies via mass dissemination with a major identity reconstruction power. As argued by Wodak (2015), “revisionist narratives of the past are part and parcel of right-wing rhetoric and propaganda [...] the memory of the past shapes the conception of current collective identity” (p. 40).

The insertion of past narratives in themes of the ‘present’ as is the case with my data set is hence an indication of nationalist narratives in tourism promotion. This trend is prominent in Visit Greece, some findings are found in the Acropolis Museum, but less so in NAMA. NAMA exhibits limited brand temporal findings and the Acropolis Museum is mostly present-oriented, although narratives of the past do exist and contribute to a past+present tendency yet not at large. I discuss examples where either a combination of macro and micro temporal instances or solely micro in-text brand references produce past+present balance. The examples presented below are typical of this narrative manipulation process and are illustrative of the trend.

NAMA

Example 91: **Classical Period**

Macro: Past

Micro: Past+Present⁵⁹

ST (...) δημοκρατία (...) από αυτό κατάγονται όλες οι παραλλαγές των σύγχρονων δημοκρατικών πολιτευμάτων.

LT (...) democracy (...) all variations of contemporary democratic systems of governance derive from this.

TT (...) democracy from which all variations of modern representative democratic systems of governance derive.

Example 91 is relevant to a very common narrative of Greek society, i.e. the land of democracy. Greece appears to have brought democracy from the ancient world to the contemporary one and this cross-temporal linking establishes Greece as a cross-temporal entity bearing a cross-temporal identity. Lexical choices such as ‘derive’ and ‘modern’ point to this trend as displayed in the example. Although the macro temporal orientation, after thematic analysis, is ‘past’, the in-text brand references are balanced between past and present.

Example 92: **Library**

Macro: Present

Micro: Past⁶⁰

ST Η παλαιότερη αρχαιολογική Βιβλιοθήκη της Αρχαιολογικής Υπηρεσίας [...]

LT The oldest archaeological Library of the Archaeological Service [...]

TT The oldest archaeological library of the Archaeological Service [...]

⁵⁹ Past - ST: 5, TT: 5 / Present - ST: 1, TT: 1

⁶⁰ Past - ST: 1, TT: 1

Example 92 is typical of the narrative tendency to represent brand elements in terms of the past. Presenting the Museum library, the webpage introduces it as the “oldest” one, focusing on the temporal aspect. This is of paramount importance when contemplating the number of alternative narratives that could have existed in this case. Although the claim is not incorrect, the fact that the core lexical choice made refers to the history of the library as opposed to its infrastructure or the importance of the collection is telling of the trend examined. The webpage belongs to the macro domain of ‘present’ since it is not temporally bound by default to an alternative orientation. We notice how themes of the present meet micro instances of the past to create the balance between past and present discussed.

ACROPOLIS MUSEUM

Example 93: Friday Nights

Macro: Present

Micro: Past+Present⁶¹

i)

ST [...] μενού βασισμένο σε κλασικές και παραδοσιακές συνταγές [...]

LT [...] menu based on classical and traditional recipes [...]

TT [...] menu [...] prepared in traditional methods.

ii)

ST Η επιχείρηση του εστιατορίου είναι πιστοποιημένη με ISO [...]

LT The restaurant company is certified with ISO [...]

TT The restaurant company [...] is certified with ISO [...]

Example 93 is typical of a temporal balance between past and present. The two temporal references of the page create the past+present narrative, constructing brand and nation image accordingly. In Example 93i, the museum restaurant menu focuses on the ‘past’ element, while Example 93ii introduced the concept of ISO (International Organisation for Standardisation) certification to stress the standard-oriented operation of the venue, which highlights the up-to-date nature of the brand. As a result of the balance between tradition and contemporariness, the brand promotes itself as a successful entity, stemming from the past while exhibiting an understanding of the present.

⁶¹ Past - ST: 1, TT: 1 / Present - ST: 1, TT: 1

Example 94: **Propylaia, Athena Nike, Erechtheion**

Macro: Past

Micro: Past+Present⁶²

ST x

LT x

TT [...] works that became prototypes [...] from antiquity to today.

Although there are no ST temporal brand references in Example 94, the trend examined in this section is exhibited in the TT. Presenting the gallery, the text assigns a timeless nature to the exhibits ‘from antiquity to today’. Highlighting their wide influence on art, the narrative of past+present is evoked to describe the importance and success of the exhibits, which, in presenting the brand, are also considered national elements. The narrative of cross-border influence Ancient Greece has on a global scale is exercising an equally great influence on the national identity of the nation. Ideas of dominance, as it is also discussed under section 4.5, are a common nationalistic discourse element verging to the extreme. It is here represented through temporal means by focus on the past+present orientation. The absence of the extract in the ST cannot be attributed to wilful narrative manipulation, as this would be contrary to the overall trend the webpages show.

VISIT GREECE

Example 95: **Family Moments**

Macro: Present

Micro: Past+Present⁶³

ST [...] Αθήνα [...] γεμάτη μουσεία και [...] πολυτελή εμπορικά και τα φημισμένα εστιατόρια [...]

LT [...] Athens [...] full of museums and [...] luxurious shopping malls and renowned restaurants [...]

TT Athens [...] enjoy themselves in a museum or [...] luxurious shopping malls and famous restaurants [...]

Example 95 discusses options one has when visiting Athens. A plethora of options are mentioned among which ‘shopping malls’ and ‘museums’. As is the case with the totality of instances related to Athens

⁶² Past - TT: 1 / Present - TT: 1

⁶³ Past - ST: 10, TT: 8 / Present - ST: 13, TT: 8

and other brand elements in the webpage, there is a balance between past and present. ‘Museums’ refer to the past of the city and by extension of the brand, while ‘shopping malls’ and other references highlight the modern amenities the city offers to the visitors. Athens is presented as the perfect amalgam combining modernity and ancientness. It, thus, appeals to both those visitors who are after cultural offering and visitors who want to experience a modern-day trip with access to luxury amenities.

Example 96: **Beaches**

Macro: Present

Micro: Past+Present⁶⁴

i)

[...] σχηματισμοί, οι οποίοι [...] δίνουν όμως την εντύπωση πως πρόκειται για
 ST θρόνους θαλάσσιων θεοτήτων.

LT [...] formations, which [...] yet give the impressions that are thrones of sea gods.

TT [...] formations, [...] which though give the impression of being thrones for sea gods.

ii)

ST Κοσμοπολίτικοι προορισμοί με υψηλού επιπέδου υποδομές και υπηρεσίες [...]

LT Cosmopolitan destinations with high level infrastructure and services [...]

TT Cosmopolitan destinations with a high level of infrastructure and services [..]

The narrative combining past and present is dominant in the webpage about beaches. Example 96i brings forward mythology as an identity feature of Greek beaches, making reference to ‘sea gods’. This narrative of the past is complemented by the reference to ‘infrastructure and services’ in Example 96ii. The latter is related to the contemporary understanding of national success and is part of the 21st century tourism promotion and nation branding campaigns. The combined nation image narrative of ‘cosmopolitan destinations’ and ‘sea gods’ is the core national identity feature of Greece as promoted in Visit Greece.

⁶⁴ Past - ST: 2, TT: 2 / Present - ST: 3, TT: 2 / Future - ST: 2, TT: 1

Example 97: **Romance**

Macro: Present

Micro: Past+Present⁶⁵

i)

[...] μεγάλη ποικιλία από εστιατόρια, μπαρ και σινεμά στολίζουν τις πανέμορφες

ST αστικές νύχτες [...]

LT [...] wide variety of restaurants, bars and cinemas adorn the beautiful urban nights [...]

TT [...] nice atmospheric bar [...] fine Greek cuisine [...] secluded cinema [...]

ii)

ST [...] σκηνικά που μοιάζουν να έχουν βγει από μεσαιωνικά παραμύθια.

LT [...] settings that seem as if they have come out of medieval fairytales.

TT Set out on a journey through time and experience the sheer medieval beauty [...]

The concept of romance is also temporally framed with a past+present orientation in the website. Example 97i presents Greece as a destination offering top contemporary services to visitors who are after luxurious vacation. Example 97ii appeals to the traditional understanding of romance, placing emphasis on the dreamy aspect of the brand. ‘Medieval fairytales’ meet contemporary facilities constructing the temporally bound timelessness of Greek brand identity.

Example 98: **Relaxation**

Macro: Present

Micro: Past+Present⁶⁶

i)

[...] το νερό των ιαματικών πηγών, όπου οι Νύμφες πρόσφεραν τα θεϊκά δώρα της

ST υγείας [...]

[...] the thermal springs water, where the Nymphs offered the divine gifts of health

LT [...]

TT [...] thermal springs, where the Nymphs offered the divine gifts of health [...]

⁶⁵ Past - ST: 7, TT: 9 / Present - ST: 4, TT: 5

⁶⁶ Past - ST: 4, TT: 5 / Present - ST: 5, TT: 2

ii)

ST [...] εξασφαλίζει άνετη πρόσβαση. Επίσης εύκολο είναι να έρθετε οδικώς [...]

LT [...] guarantees easy access. It is also easy to go by car [...]

TT [...] can be reached easily also by car, bus or train [...]

Infrastructure and mythology are the core temporal narratives used to present thermal spring locations in Greece. Examples 98i and 98ii refer to ‘Nymphs’ and ‘easy access’ respectively. The concept of ancientness, which is communicated constantly in the data set, is almost always complemented by narratives of the ‘present’ such as developed infrastructure.

Example 99: **Destinations**

Macro: Present

Micro: Past+Present⁶⁷

[...] μια χώρα η οποία διαθέτει πλούσιο ιστορικό παρελθόν αλλά που οι κάτοικοί της
ST δεν επαναπαύονται, δεν μένουν προσκολλημένοι σε αυτό.

[...] a country which has rich historical past but whose residents do not rest on their
LT laurels and are not stuck in the past.

[...] a country with a uniquely affluent historical past, whose people, however, do not
TT rest on their laurels and are not stuck in that past.

Example 99 is one of the most narrative-representative instances of the data set. Directly referencing the country, the webpage puts forward Greek national identity as being tied to the past yet also extending to the present. Mirroring the nation image to the state residents, it conforms with the nation creation processes put forward by Anderson (2006) in his argument on mass distribution of narratives towards nation-building. At the same time, it presents Greece as the archetypically successful nation, i.e. one that stems from the past and powerfully extends to the present. This is the capitalist understanding of a brand-worthy destination that can be promoted and consumed.

4.3.3 Brand Reference Temporal Orientation: Summary of Findings

All in all, the ST-TT versions of the websites exhibit identical narratives with only small fluctuations that do not contribute to a comparative discussion at message-level. In all websites, future is almost absent as regards temporal brand references, while past and present prevail in combination. Visit Greece features the most references in total, while NAMA and the Acropolis Museum do not offer such decisive results, yet they seem to confirm the overall trends identified in the literature and extracted from Visit

⁶⁷ Past - ST: 3, TT: 4 / Present - ST: 2, TT: 4

Greece. Particularly in NAMA, findings are very limited and any argument on the nature of temporal references would be incomplete. In the case of the Acropolis Museum, findings show a temporal orientation towards the present and secondarily towards the past, confirming the past+present hypothesis which is very prominent in Visit Greece.

The two major narratives identified in the textual data were a) temporal shifts and b) past+present combined temporal narratives. The bodies build Greek nation image by reference to the past at large introducing narratives of ancientness, heritage and continuity, i.e. core discursive elements of nationalist discourses. As argued above, such narratives of ancientness are commonly utilised by nationalist groups in an attempt to construct a group with assumed common characteristics (Wodak, 2015). Finally, through the systematised temporal framing, national identities cease being fluid and dynamic and are rendered static and constructed, rather than constructible by the identity bearers through action. A static national identity discourse can be considered the basis of hot nationalism in that it does not allow for evolution, it presupposes the identity elements that allow for inclusion in the group and hinders cross-cultural understanding by forming out-groups and focusing on the past, rather than the present or future of a nation.

4.4 Intertextuality

The section on intertextuality discusses the use of intertexts in the texts and their importance in meaning-making based on the works of Fairclough (1992b), Kristeva (1980) and Austermühl (2014). As explained in section 3.3, intertextuality instances in this study refer to either thematic or material intertextuality, that is references to cultural/national narratives, myths, etc., and specific texts respectively, regardless of direct or indirect quotation. The use of intertexts in socio-politically loaded texts contributes to the dissemination of stories sourced from the past (Kristeva, 1980; Fairclough, 1992b). This act of dissemination can either reconfirm history or rewrite identities. At the same time, in relation to hegemony, intertexts often function as a tool of bureaucracy that communicates and consolidates the dominant ideology (Kavoura, 2007; Francesconi, 2006). Such instances of intertextuality are presented in this section and are considered crucial to identity construction since “intertextuality has important implications for the constitution of subjects through texts, and the contribution of changing discursive practices to changes in social identity” (Fairclough, 1992b, p.290).

Austermühl (2014, p.39), in his study on American presidential discourse, identifies three core functions of intertextuality when used in discourse: i) constructing identity, ii) executing political power and iii) establishing institutional hegemony. Although my research does not directly relate to execution of political power in the sense of a governing body or a ruling party, it studies the socio-political

implications of narrativity significantly as regards the bureaucratic processes of capitalism that extend beyond political parties.

Regarding identity construction and institutional hegemony, these are core to this study. Intertextuality as a bearer of voices, myths, persons and temporal markers is a particularly strong identity-construction element. Through repeating narratives, the hegemonic powers (re)invent, (re)enforce and (re)establish the status quo, which in the case of tourism and culture communication is inextricably tied to the ruling powers and the nation image both as a political entity as well as a commodity. As Austermühl (ibid) puts forward, “like a scaffolding, the clearly defined boundaries of the presidential intertext control the overall form of American national identity, standardizing it and preventing the development of an alternative design of American national identity” (p. 278). In a like manner with institutionalised tourism discourse, this process of standardisation of national identity and safeguarding of narratives is central not only in terms of the hegemonic power control and nation image construction, but, also, regarding the nation branding campaign in the framework of tourism promotion. A homogeneous message validates the nation and strengthens its branding face (Kavoura, 2007; Anholt, 2003). Using intertexts to achieve such a message is a robust tool particularly because intertextuality knows no temporal restrictions and excessively feeds on the past, i.e. the nucleus of national identity and nationalism that creates contemporary capitalist societies at large.

NAMA	Intertextuality
ST	25
TT	23
Acropolis Museum	
ST	13
TT	10
Visit Greece	
ST	46
TT	43
Overall	
ST	84
TT	76

Table 25: Raw numerical findings of intertextuality instances per website.

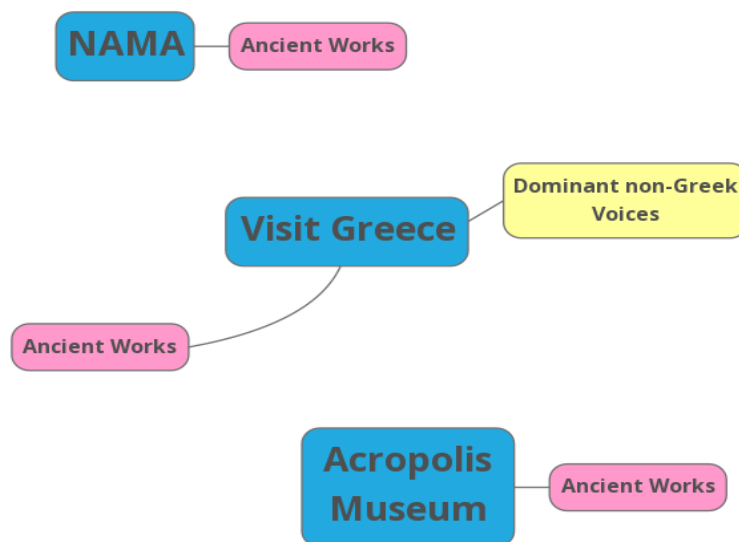
NAMA	Intertextuality
ST	8.0
TT	7.0
Acropolis Museum	
ST	5.8
TT	4.6
Visit Greece	
ST	11.7
TT	10.6
Overall	
ST	9.0
TT	8.0

Table 26: Normalised to 10,000w data set frequency of intertextuality instances per website.

Intertextuality is used extensively in the case of Visit Greece and exhibits a strong presence in NAMA. The Acropolis Museum does not rely heavily on intertextuality but does make use of the discursive

structure in meaning-making ways. *Tables 25 and 26* above present the raw and normalised numerical findings of intertextuality in the data set.

Case and frequency analysis shows that intertextuality is slightly more prominent in the ST in all websites, but this does not contribute to a meaningful in-depth cross-language or cross-text discussion as, in the majority of cases, intertexts are used in the same ways in both versions of the textual data. Even though instances of intertextuality are not the most prominent discursive feature in the websites, trend analysis points to the existence of two core themes relevant to this study: i) ancient authors (NAMA, Acropolis Museum and Visit Greece) and ii) dominant non-Greek voices (Visit Greece) (see *Map 4* below). There are more domains of intertextuality utilised, such as extracts from physical museum exhibit signs, which do not exhibit a trend-like frequency and, thus, are not relevant to the study.



Map 4: Visualisation of intertextuality themes per website (created with MindMup.com).

The intertextuality theme of ‘ancient authors’ is present in all websites examined and is prominent among the totality of instances both per website and across the data set. As proposed in section 3.3, intertextuality is linked to temporal framing predominantly because the insertion of past works into a text of present times constitutes a mixing of temporal frames by default. In the case of tourism promotion in Greece, as has been made clear in the previous sections, past is the most important element of narrativity. It is the core of tourism promotion of Greece, itself acting as a commodity, and it operates as the foundation of national identities.

The use of extracts of ancient Greek authors or references to ancient Greek works constitutes a discursive attempt to construct the Greek national identity in such ways that it communicates its idea of ancientness. This idea is the core of promotion and the basis of nationalism through which promotion

is filtered; in turn, it feeds in a narrative cause-and-effect cycle of hegemonic ideas. Apart from establishing the narrative of the ‘past’, intertextuality, which focuses on ancient Greek authors, exoticises the nation and thus invalidates contemporary or modern works that could have been used as references. In doing so, it contributes to the promotional sentimentalisation, nostalgia and stereotyping, which are common in such campaigns (Dann, 2001).

The second major intertextuality theme is exclusively identified in Visit Greece. In terms of promotional discourse, websites often feature testimonials, reviews and reports from other experienced users who have consumed the product or experienced the service. The particular narrative does not exist in NAMA or in the Acropolis Museum. This may be attributed to website type. As I have also discussed in section 4.2 on brand relationship building, although all websites and texts examined are deemed hybrid in that they use both promotional and informative discursive elements, NAMA and the Acropolis Museum appear to be more informative than promotional, while the contrary is true for Visit Greece. As such, Visit Greece exhibits i) a greater variety of discursive techniques and ii) a more comprehensive approach to branding. Hence, the existence of third voices ‘promoting’ the product is expected in the website.

Given that Visit Greece has no direct sales strategy nor does it constitute a digital sales channel, a ‘They Wrote About Us’ or ‘Reviews’ section would not be in line with web layout and/or content expectations. Instead, the body enhances its narrative and asserts its quality with the use of intertexts; third non-Greek entities, institutions or individuals vouch for the brand. Visit Greece borrows these voices to further and better communicate its message. Particularly, when referencing other dominant institutions such as UNESCO (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization), the brand places itself amongst a collection of institutions that are deemed trustworthy in the collective mind. These alternative ‘reviews’ do not only guarantee the quality of the specific promotional element put forward in each case, but they act as an overall confirmation of the brand; a kind of cross-institutional diplomacy of promotion.

The examples in the subsections below are useful in understanding the role of intertexts in contributing to or creating narratives and are typical of the trends described. Their presentation follows the same principles as in the previous sections.

4.4.1 In the Words of Ancientness

I have already established past temporal orientation in the websites examined by actively studying temporal markers, as well as through the analysis of brand relationships. In all three websites several cases of references to past works or ancient authors were identified; this contributes to the narrative of ancientness through intertextuality. Understanding the importance of intertexts as instances of temporal framing is important in understanding their narrative power under a thematic analysis approach.

Following Austerlühl's (2014) work, I understand intertextuality to draw from the past in order to produce and establish identities, while at the same time it functions as a validation of the authorising body. References to past works or authors fortify the connection between national present and national past and create the "scaffold" (ibid) that supports the perpetuation of hegemony. The meta narratives carrying these messages circulate via processes of bureaucracy and institutional communication, carried and disseminated not only by the messenger yet also by the recipient, that is native Greeks or visitors in narratives and/or in practice.

In relation to tourism practices, intertextuality is also relevant to practices of commodification and exoticisation to promote the brand and its products. As Angouri et al. (2017) propose, "the commercial heritage industry commodifies symbolic representations of the past into heritage products 'as part of a modern consumption of entertainment'" (p. 214). Citing ancient works helps construct the product image by assigning the concept of heritage to modern-day commodities. As Coupland and Coupland (2014) explain, "heritage displays inevitably recontextualise the past within the demands and priorities of the present" (as cited in Angouri et al., 2017, p. 215).

The narrative processes followed by nationalist political bodies are similar to the above. Rewriting of national past and national identity includes references to the past, through intertexts, which are misappropriated and distorted to serve a specific agenda. These groups use intertextuality with a focus on tradition, origins, continuity and timelessness and often glorify ancient authors and heroes by citing their works or recounting their tales (Wodak, 2018).

NAMA

Example 100: **Collection of Mycenaean Antiquities**

- ST [...] βάση για το μύθο των πολυχρύσων Μυκηνών του Ομήρου.
LT [...] the basis for Homer's golden Mycenae myth.
TT [...] the basis for Homer's golden Mycenae.

Example 101: **Geometric Period**

- ST Η γένεση των Ομηρικών επών επηρεάζει σε μεγάλο βαθμό την τέχνη.
LT The birth of Homer's epics affects art to a large degree.
TT Art was influenced to a large extent by the Homeric Epics.

Examples 100-101 make reference to the works of ancient author Homer. The author, whose *Odyssey* and *Iliad* are considered by many to be one of the most influential literary works in human history, is among the most well-recognised figures of Greek arts worldwide. By referring to Homer, NAMA introduces yet another promotional element in its narrative. Example 100 focuses on the inspiration behind some of Homer's works and Example 101 stresses the effect Homeric epics had on art in general.

The importance of Homer as a narrative element of the past is perfectly encapsulated in the above extracts. The author's works are considered both as a reflection of national history and as a force behind its continuation. As such, Homer is used as an example of national heritage highlighting the past, a promotional element and an argument for the existence of a Greek national identity. This threefold utilisation extends beyond this example to the totality of textual data. Evoking Homer, the body creates the following oxymoron: it exoticises the brand elements associated with the intertext by referring to Homer's work that are not by default tied to the specific textual themes, while at the same time it renders them more familiar to the audience by linking them to a familiar concept/narrative element. In a way, it constructs an approachable yet exotic image, distant enough to require exploration, yet familiar enough to be consumed.

Example 102: Cypriot Antiquities

ST	Η Κύπρος, το νησί της Αφροδίτης [...]
LT	Cyprus, the island of Aphrodite [...]
TT	Cyprus, the island of Aphrodite [...]

Example 103: Introduction to the Egyptian Collection

ST	Την Αίγυπτο, που ο Ηρόδοτος αποκαλεί «το δώρο του ποταμού» [...]
LT	Egypt that Herodotus calls “gift of the river” [...]
TT	[...] Egypt northwards, which Herodotus described as “a gift of the river” [...]

Example 102 describes Cyprus as the ‘Island of Aphrodite’, a characterisation found, among other sources, in Homer's work, which further contributes to the argument made above about Homer's promotional value and its central role in Greek national identity. In Example 103, Egypt is assigned the description ‘gift of the river’, a quote attributed to Herodotus in the text. In both examples, through intertextuality, references are made to the nation's past. The narrative of Greece as the birthplace of history and art is communicated through these references to ancient authors.

At the same time, in both examples, nations other than Greece are described in the words of Greek authors. This further enhances the narrative of Ancient Greece glorification and, by using Greek authors as observers through the lens of whom other identities are presented, it points to nationalist ideas of dominance that will also be discussed under section 4.5. Ultimately, in both examples there are commodified heritage elements used to intrigue the online visitor and highlight Ancient Greek culture.

Example 104: Archaic Period -2-

- ST [...] το «ζωτικόν φαίνεσθαι» δηλ., να φαίνεται ότι το γλυπτό ζει ή κινείται.
- LT [...] the “*zotikon fainesthai*”, which means the sculpture appearing alive or in motion.
- [...] the “ζωτικόν φαίνεσθαι” [...], namely the need to make a sculpture look as though it
- TT actually lives and moves

Example 104 refers to the Ancient Greek sculpting concept of ‘ζωτικόν φαίνεσθαι’⁶⁸, describing the way sculptures were created to appear alive and in motion. The quote is commonly attributed to Athenian historian and philosopher Xenophon, although its source is not clear.

Similarly to a number of examples above, this intertextuality instance refers to the past, using an Ancient Greek term to describe the concept presented. The narrative of the past exists in both language versions, further enhanced in the TT, where the term is transferred intact in the Greek alphabet while no phonetic or Latin transcription is provided. The above contribute to the use of intertextuality as a reference to the past in NAMA, where ancient authors, works or notions are referenced as a reminder of the nation’s heritage.

ACROPOLIS MUSEUM

Example 105: Scenes from the LEGO® Acropolis Model

- ST [...] και ο φιλόσοφος απαντά «πήγαινε λίγο στην άκρη, μου κρύβεις τον ήλιο».
- LT [...] and the philosopher replied “get out of the way, you’re hiding the sun”.
- TT [...] “in which case”, said Diogenes, “get out of the way, you’re blocking my sunshine”.

Example 106: Archaic Colors

- ST [...] τα αρχαϊκά αγάλματα να είναι για τους ανθρώπους της εποχής «θαύμα ιδέσθαι».
- LT [...] the archaic statues being for the people of the era “a miracle to look at”.
- TT [...] making the archaic statues “wonderful to behold” for the people of the period.

Example 107: The Propylaia

- ST [...] γνωστά από τις περιγραφές του Πausανία [...]
- LT [...] known from Pausanias’ descriptions
- TT x

⁶⁸ *Zotikon fainesthai* = appearing to be alive (my translation).

Example 108: **From the 5th c. BC to the 5th c. AD**

ST [...] σύμφωνα με τα λόγια του ίδιου του Περικλή, «το σχολείο της Ελλάδας».

LT [...] according to the words of Pericles himself, “the school of Greece”.

TT x

The motif of ancient quotes is prominent in the Acropolis Museum as well. Examples 105-108 showcase the trend; ancient authors, their works and extracts are referenced to enrich the narrative of the body, while the intertext itself constitutes an element of promotion, confirming Angouri et al.’s (2017) argument on the commodification of heritage, which extends beyond the promotional exploitation of monuments.

As was the case with brand ambassadors, ancient authors both promote the product and are the product in the texts. From the anecdote about Diogenes (Example 105) and the uncredited Homer’s quote (Example 106), to the generic reference to Pausanias’ works (Example 107) and the quote by Pericles as cited in Thucydides *Epitaph*, the brand places itself in antiquity drawing from the narrative and promotional power of these references, while rendering them consumable for the potential visitor.

Examples 105-108 are some of the few cases, where there is no equivalence between ST and TT in my data set. As regards the page from which Example 107 is extracted, there is no possible reasoning behind the translation choice not to include the intertextuality reference to Pausanias and may attributed to neglect or individual translator’s choice as it is not part of a trend. The webpage ‘From the 5th c. BC to the 5th c. AD’ where Example 108 belongs is completely different in content between ST and TT. The ST briefly presents the major historical events and context of the era, while the TT focuses on the presentation of the gallery exhibits and their history. It is the only such fluctuation found in the Acropolis Museum and as such it is not finding-relevant.

VISIT GREECE

Example 109: **Relaxation**

ST [...] τα λόγια του Αριστοτέλη: «Η ενέργεια του Νου είναι η ουσία της Ζωής» [...]

LT [...] Aristotle’s words: “The energy of Mind is the essence of Life” [...]

TT [...] Aristotle’s motto: “*The energy of the mind is the essence of life*” [...]

Example 110: **Greek Beer**

ST Ο Όμηρος περιγράφει με γλαφυρότητα πως ο Αλκίνοος [...]

LT Homer vividly describes how Alkinoos [...]

TT Homer gives us a vivid description of how Alkinoos [...]

Example 111: **Greek Beer**

[...] η ελληνική λέξη ζύθος, που συναντάμε στον αρχαίο γεωγράφο Στράβωνα αλλά και στον

ST Διόδωρο [...]

[...] the Greek word *zythos*, which we encounter in ancient geographer Strabo and in

LT Diodorus [...]

Zythos [...] also comes up in texts of the ancient Greek geographer Strabo as well as of the

TT ancient Greek historian Diodorus [...]

Examples 109-111 contribute to the past temporal orientation established in the data through various discursive instances and narrative motifs. Example 109 quotes Aristotle, Example 110 quotes Homer in reference to Alkinoos' beer-related activities, while in Example 111, Ancient Greek authors Strabo and Diodorus are referenced in connection to the origins of the word 'zythos'. These instances place the nation's ancient works into the spotlight; in doing so, they exoticise the destination, link the modern brand to an identity of the past and commodify the works and authors by using them in a promotional settings.

More specifically, Example 111 references Strabo and Diodorus as proof of the Greek origin of the term 'zythos'. Attempting to discuss the etymology of the word, which preceded the term '*bira*'⁶⁹ in Greek, the text fails to explain that the term's etymological source is doubted and there is no common consensus as to its origin.⁷⁰

Example 112: **Wine Routes in Greece**

ST «*Οίνος ευφραίνει καρδίαν*» έλεγαν οι πρόγονοί μας [...]

LT "*Wine pleases the heart*", said our ancestors [...]

TT x

In a similar manner to the previous example, Example 112 misuses the intertext to build on the nation's

⁶⁹ *Bira* [EL: μύρα] = beer

⁷⁰ In reality, the word 'zythos' most probably originated outside Greece (probably in Egypt) and is used in Greek as a loanword.

past in order to promote the present identity. The phrase ‘wine pleases your heart’ is not a Greek saying, but is found in the Bible, Chapter 104: 15, from where it found its way to popular phraseology. Despite the incomplete/imprecise information provided in the text, the narrative is in line with the brand message, as it constructs the relationship between past and present.

4.4.2 ‘What They Say About Us’

Critically examining instances of intertextuality in the textual data led to significant findings of references to third actors in the case of Visit Greece. In a similar fashion to the ‘Reviews’ or ‘Testimonials’ pages of websites that sell products or provide services, Visit Greece employs such voices to enhance its sales value and consolidate the quality of the product.

As the body is not directly offering services nor does it sell products as a vendor, it would not be in line with web expectations to feature such a page. Instead, it uses intertexts evoking dominant voices of third institutions and individuals and introduces them in-text to communicate the desired narrative.

Such an intertextuality trope is also connected to the brand relationships instance examined above. As I proposed under section 4.2.2, brands use the idea of brand ambassadors who carry the brand’s narrative about nation image and identity and operate as an extension of the brand. Situated at the opposite end of the spectrum, intertextuality instances of third dominant voices operate in a similar way; they carry the brand message and provide evidence of the brand’s success. By using these voices, Visit Greece attempts to persuade potential visitors in the same way a ‘Reviews’ page would do so in a conventional vendor website or customer reviews platform.

The added value of hand-picking the intertexts that match the body’s aspirations and narratives is a strong force of meaning-making in the texts. Through the web, dominant bodies find the context in which identities are constructed through meaning (Wodak, 2011). Drawing on the concept of identity attribution and address as understood by Ivanic (2006) in explaining the way identities are formed through (in)voluntary interaction with third agents, I propose that intertexts, which come from dominant third voices, fall within the attribution/address spectrum of identity construction. These voices talk either about Greece or to Greece, as will be seen in the examples below that are typical of the trend exhibited.

VISIT GREECE

Example 113: **Accommodation**

ST [...] στις πρώτες θέσεις [...], σύμφωνα με τα στοιχεία του Παγκόσμιου Οργανισμού Τουρισμού [...]

LT [...] in the first places [...], according to data from World Tourism Organisation [...]

TT [...] among the top ranked countries on the World Tourism Organization’s list [...]

Example 114: **Winter Vacations**

ST [...] από τα δέκα ομορφότερα χωριά της Ευρώπης σύμφωνα με την UNESCO.

LT [...] among the ten prettiest villages in Europe according to UNESCO.

TT [...] included in the list of Europe's ten most beautiful villages, according to UNESCO.

Examples 113-114 cite the World Tourism Organisation and UNESCO respectively, with reference to their ranking Greece. In both examples, a dominant body is called upon to provide a testimonial about the quality of Greece as a destination. In both ST and TT, the name of the referencing bodies is clearly stated. Visit Greece uses the wide popularity and standard positive connotations as regards authority and knowledge the abovementioned bodies hold among the population. Operating as ambassadors, they assign specific attributes to Greece, which complement the already established self-attribution process in which Visit Greece has engaged.

Example 115: **Main Cities**

ST Οι Ολυμπιακοί Αγώνες του 2004 [...] ως «αξέχαστοι και ονειρεμένοι» [...]

LT The 2004 Olympic Games [...] as “unforgettable and dreamy” [...]

The 2004 Athens Olympic Games, the widely acknowledged “unforgettable, dream games”

TT [...]

Example 115, referencing a dominant third voice, is one of the few examples in the data set, where there is reference to a point of history related to contemporary Greece. The Athens 2004 Olympic Games are probably the last significant international success of the Greek state before it entered the financial crisis from which it still has not fully recovered. The quote ‘unforgettable and dreamy’ comes from the speech of Jacques Rogue, President of the International Olympic Committee at the time, during the Olympic Games closing ceremony.

In this example, the recent past is evoked, by reference to an important third voice, to evoke a message of national success. For much of the Greek population, the 2004 Olympics are one of the last times in modern history when they felt proud of the country, while for non-Greeks, it is probably the most recent time in the nation's history where it was widely reported in the news under a positive perspective. In his speech, Jacques Rogue addressed both the international community and the Greek population directly. Circulation of this narrative of memory and dream as uttered by Jacques Rogue constitutes an address process, where a third dominant voice directly assigns identity elements to the nation (Ivanic, 2006) and at the same time it operates as a comment left in the online review page of a product.

Example 116: **World Heritage Sites**

	Σύμφωνα με την επίσημη ιστοσελίδα της UNESCO: «Τα μνημεία που συγκαταλέγονται [...]
ST	τμήμα της κοινής κληρονομιάς της ανθρωπότητας».
LT	According to the official website of UNESCO: “The monuments included [...] part of humankind’s common heritage.”
TT	According to the UNESCO’s official website: “The monuments included [...] part of mankind’s common heritage.”

The intertext in Example 116 by UNESCO explains the reasoning behind including a monument in the World Heritage List of the body. Although it does not refer to Greece in specific, Visit Greece has included the reference as it is line with the context of the webpage in which the relevant World Heritage sites of Greece are presented. By including the reference to UNESCO, it supports the narrative of Greece as a place of heritage that has affected not only Greece but the whole world, a narrative also utilised by the Greek bodies elsewhere in the textual data.

4.4.3 Intertextuality: Summary of Findings

Overall, there appears to be a close balance between ST-TT both as regards the frequency of intertextuality and the relevant narratives. Although intertextuality instances are not the most common discursive feature in the websites, the frequency and meaning-making power of the intertexts constitute a narrative-inducing discursive phenomenon. Visit Greece scores higher in number of intertextuality instances than NAMA and the Acropolis Museum; this can be attributed to the nature of the specific website-body that primarily attempts to promote Greece as a destination and is much richer in branding discourse structures than NAMA and the Acropolis Museum.

Two major themes are identified. The first is related to references to ancient authors or ancient works in an attempt to enrich the narrative of the past that is dominant in the data set by temporally framing promotional elements. These references exist in all three websites studied. The second theme identified, i.e. introducing dominant third voices executing atypical ‘testimonial’ sections, is only relevant to Visit Greece, where references to third dominant voices are noted. Through these review-like intertexts, Visit Greece adds a stamp of recognition to the narratives put forward, as these voices operate in the same way testimonials or user reviews in online sales channels.

The use of Ancient Greek works or authors is an example of heritage commodification in accordance with Angouri et al.’s (2017) work. Voices of the past are used in a contemporary context acting as a bridge for the national identity of Greece to be perpetuated through time, while at the same time they function as an additional selling point to attract potential visitors by exoticising the nation. In parallel, by referencing such intertexts, the bodies construct the identity “scaffold” that holds together the dominant identity narrative as constructed by hegemonic powers and provide the opportunity for further

narratives to be introduced depending on the agenda. As Austerlühl (2014) claims, “with every new discursive contribution, with every new cultural cross-reference, the scaffold is stabilized and strengthened” (p. 8). Intertexts are both utilised for identity construction processes and promotional reasons, in the form of commodified heritage elements. Third dominant voices, as seen in Visit Greece, also engage in the identity construction and promotional processes. They assign identity elements to the Greek nation image by attribution and they provide evidence of the country’s selling points by affirming their validity.

4.5 Dominance

The final discussion section of this study focuses on the degree of existence and extent of the narrative of dominance in the textual data. I start by framing my analysis with a brief introduction about how dominance, promotion, banal *vs.* hot nationalism, and inclusionary *vs.* exclusionary practices are relevant to my case study. Dominance is one of the core features of both promotional and nationalistic discourses. Promotional discourses make use of narratives of superiority and prevalence to promote the brand and highlight their USPs, while nationalistic discourses, either under a hot or a banal nationalism agenda, stress the dominant features of their respective nation in order to establish their national identity through differentiation on a ‘*we*’ *vs.* ‘*you*’ basis.

One of the very first factors of the nation emergence procedure is the assumption and rejection of identity features in order for a ‘self’ and ‘other’ to be established (Anderson, 2006). Examining the degree to which dominance narratives tied to a ‘*we*’ *vs.* ‘*you*’ element exist in the textual data is critical in understanding the function and reproduction of nationalism in the campaigns.

Dominance in this study is not synonymous to narratives of superiority of a non-crucial nature, i.e. narratives of dominance not directly connected to an overt comparison attempt of Greece to other destinations are not considered essential and, hence, they are not discussed. The ‘*we*’ *vs.* ‘*you*’ element is the differentiating factor that determines whether a narrative of dominance is considered hot in this study, drawing on Wodak’s (2011) explanation of inclusionary and exclusionary practices. Given that the texts are of a hybrid-promotional genre, they can be expected to present such instances of prevalence in their attempt to promote the destination to potential visitors online. However, including all these dominance instances would not necessarily be productive, as they would not point to a nationalist discourse. Rather, they would most likely solely confirm the already established discursive features of promotional discourse significantly in tourism/culture campaigns; and the latter is beyond the research scope of the study.

As also discussed in 4.2.3, (desti)nation promotion in the globalised world is bound to make use of USPs at large to attract visitors. The very process of differentiation through USPs is tied to nation

exoticisation and a superficial depiction of national identity, as it widely focuses on stereotypes or narratives which may not be necessarily representative of the nation (Urry and Larsen, 2011; Dann, 2001; Travlou, 2002). These differentiation and stereotypisation processes create narratives of nationalism as already established in section 2.4.1; in a similar manner, when nations make use of the discursive feature of dominance to differentiate from the competition, they risk distorting their identity for the sake of promotion.

According to Cillia de et al. (1999), “the discursive construction of nations and national identities always runs hand in hand with the construction of difference/distinctiveness and uniqueness” (p.154). When the narrative of uniqueness is coupled with the overt exclusion narrative of in-group and out-group, the resulting narrative can contribute to a hot nationalist message. Even though the narratives of national prevalence may stem from a promotion-focused attempt of the bodies to establish their USPs and consolidate the desired nation image and identity to lure visitors, these persuasive banal nationalism devices are also tied to an establishing of the ‘other’ (ibid; Wodak et al., 2009), which is a common feature of hot nationalism in the national identity construction process.

This is confirmed by Wodak (2011) when she states that “identity construction always implies inclusionary and exclusionary processes, i.e. the definition of oneself and others” (p. 216); hence, overtly defining the nation as dominant in comparison with the ‘others’ points to hot nationalism. Ultimately, dominance can be reckoned as an innate trait of national identity construction processes by means of sameness and difference (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005), applied to tourism/culture promotional campaigns in order to differentiate the product, thus creating banal nationalist narratives or hot nationalist narratives through an overt ‘we’ vs. ‘you’ comparison.

A close analysis of the data set reveals that a hot dominance narrative only appears in Visit Greece, and in a limited manner, while it is almost non-existent in NAMA and the Acropolis Museum (see *Tables 27-28* below). Although the texts examined indeed feature narratives of superiority, this is not done by overtly comparing Greece with other named or implied (desti)nations in most cases. Hence, the decisive factor of exclusion that would render the findings crucial in narrative construction is not confirmed. Inclusion of such banal instances in the findings could jeopardise the critical nature of this study: as already discussed, tourism/culture promotion is by default steeped in narratives of banal dominance in the framework of branding campaigns.

Both the raw numerical data and the frequency analysis show that dominance in NAMA and the Acropolis Museum is very low both in the ST and the TT: between 1-2 (raw) and bordering on zero (frequency). Visit Greece exhibits substantially more instances of dominance which are worthy of discussion, as they are considered important in meaning-making and exhibit trends. In view of the results above, NAMA and the Acropolis Museum do not show relevant findings and the present section will only focus on Visit Greece.

Website	Dominance Instances
NAMA	
ST	2
TT	2
Acropolis Museum	
ST	1
TT	1
Visit Greece	
ST	23
TT	21
Overall	
ST	26
TT	24

Table 27: Raw numerical findings of dominance instances per website.

Website	Dominance Instances
NAMA	
ST	0.6
TT	0.6
Acropolis Museum	
ST	0.4
TT	0.5
Visit Greece	
ST	5.9
TT	5.2
Overall	
ST	2.8
TT	2.5

Table 28: Normalised to 10,000w data set frequency of dominance instances per website.

In a similar manner to brand relationships and intertextuality, Visit Greece appears to be more encompassing of diverse discursive features and subsequent narratives. The prevalence of the website regarding discursive means can be explained by the type of the website-body, coupled with the extensive promotional campaign that it utilises. At the same time, interviews and personal observation shows that Visit Greece, as part of the GNTO, follows a very robust promotional approach that is not followed to such a degree by the other websites. This can explain why the website shows more diverse, encompassing and stronger narratives in frequency, and hence in dissemination power, than NAMA and the Acropolis Museum.

In Visit Greece, there are slightly more instances of dominance in the ST than in the TT, scoring 5.9 and 5.2 respectively in the normalised frequency analysis scale. As regards narratives of dominance and thematic analysis, the website does not show any major fluctuations between original and translation; the same is true for most instances studied based on the model built to examine the research questions.

Exploration of dominance in Visit Greece followed a twofold approach: i) categorisation of instances per temporal orientation and ii) open-ended observation of themes under a Critical Narrative Analysis path. First, studying temporal orientation helps determine a core feature of national identities. Meaningfully in the case of dominance, temporal analysis directly assists with answering the question of temporal focus employed by the website. Insofar as the body uses dominance to highlight its stronger images and promote the prevalent identity features of the product, analysis of time points to the core of

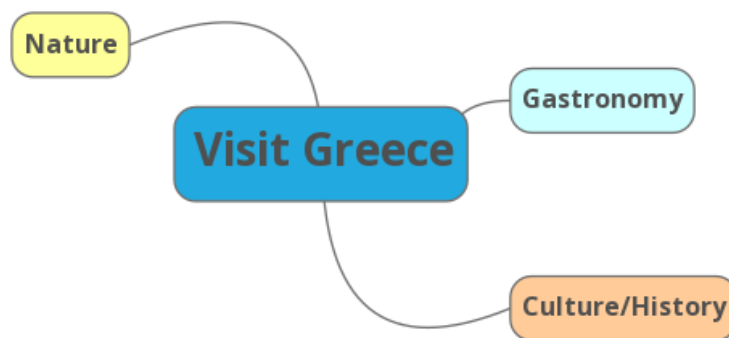
promotional goal. Second, an open-ended analysis is vital to account for themes that cannot be predicted in the same way as previous discussion sections; this is one of the main ideas behind Critical Narrative Analysis as a research approach.

Temporal analysis of dominance instances shows that the majority of instances focus on a generic(all-time)/present theme, while a number of instances focus on themes of the past. As was the case with temporal analysis conducted in previous sections, there is no reference to the future (see *Table 29* below).

Visit Greece	past	present	future
ST	5	18	0
TT	5	16	0

Table 29: Temporal analysis categorisation of dominance instances in Visit Greece.

In Visit Greece, present prevails over past, introducing a slightly differing narrative than the one identified in the examination of other instances, where past prevails or is in balance with present. However, these findings are in line with the past+present temporal orientation evident in the textual data of the website, further contributing to the national identity narrative, focusing both on national heritage and contemporary success and, therefore, promoting the image of a successful destination in the framework of tourism promotion and nation branding. This is confirmed by the lack of future instances and the existence of instances, albeit limited, thematically belonging to the past.



Map 5: Visualisation of dominance themes in Visit Greece (created with MindMup.com).

Open-ended thematic analysis of dominance shows three main domains of focus as regards dominance in Visit Greece. Gastronomy, nature and culture/history are the most prominent domains in the texts (see *Map 5* above). The three main pillars of dominance in the texts are typical of stereotypisation practices within brand promotion seeing that they focus on well-established national elements to promote the brand (Dann, 2001), thus presenting a limited perspective of the possible USPs of Greece,

they contribute to the past+present temporal orientation and further perpetuate then narrative of nation continuation through heritage and history reflected in contemporary Greece. Simultaneously, these themes are important to the promotional campaign of the destination in an attempt to differentiate its offering from other Mediterranean countries, such as Turkey, Spain or Italy, which share several similarities when it comes to nature, gastronomy and culture. Taking into consideration the effect of globalisation in contemporary tourism practices and trends, achieving differentiation in the promotional branding arena requires a robust and thorough narrative approach (Anholt, 2003; 2005).

The selection of examples below are representative of the past+present orientation identified through temporal analysis (see section 4.5.1) and respond to the themes extracted through open-ended analysis of the totality of dominance instances in Visit Greece (see section 4.5.2). All the examples are presented following the same patterns as in previous sections.

4.5.1 Temporally Framed Dominance

Dominance in the data set only appears as a core narrative feature in Visit Greece. The majority of examples presented below are tied to a present temporal orientation, with some others focused on national heritage. Although there is no balance between the two temporal points, the overall nation image constructed on this dipole throughout the data set is once more confirmed. Dominance is by default tied to the past as it is a core feature of national identity construction, in Anderson's (2006) terms. The construction of a nation presupposes the building of national narratives of prevalence in order for a group of people that self-identify as a nation to differentiate themselves from other groups. Claiming prevalence over the 'other', the in-group can be formulated on the basis of a set of shared characteristics and creates feelings of community and superiority. However, dominance may also be used to frame the present, particularly in the modern globalised world. It is used by nations to reinforce their national identity and by hegemonic powers to maintain their status quo, often utilizing the idea of nation via meta-narratives. This technique can be identified in Visit Greece when dominance is examined. The examples below are typical of a present and past temporal orientation.

VISIT GREECE

PRESENT DOMINANCE

Example 117: **Gastronomy**

ST *Είναι απλά κάτι που μπορείς να βρεις, να γευτείς και να απολαύσεις μόνο στην Ελλάδα.*

LT It's simply something you can find, taste and enjoy only in Greece.

TT It is simply something you can only find, taste and enjoy in Greece.

Example 118: **Filming Greece**

Στην Ελλάδα ο φακός της κινηματογραφικής κάμερας θα πιάσει την μεγαλύτερη γκάμα

ST αποχρώσεων του μπλε.

LT In Greece, the camera lens will capture the greatest variety of shades of blue.

TT The camera lens can capture more shades of blue in Greece than anywhere in the world.

Examples 117-118 illustrate national dominance in the domains of gastronomy and nature in Visit Greece when comparing the country with the rest of the world, both implicitly (Example 117) and explicitly (Example 118). In Example 117, Greece is promoted as a unique destination for gastronomical experiences by saying ‘you can only find [...] in Greece’; in Example 118, it is claimed that Greece offers ‘more shades of blue’ than anywhere else, in reference to filming and artistic capture. Both examples constitute clear promotional attempts, built on exaggeration, aiming to differentiate the country from its competitors, and brand the destination as unique, authentic and unprecedented, ultimately trying to consolidate its tourism product. In reality, throughout history and more so nowadays, gastronomical traditions in Greece have both influenced and been influenced by other cuisines in neighbouring communities/countries, such as the modern-day Italian, Turkish and Albanian culinary traditions.

As regards the ‘shades of blue’ claim, although it can be solely understood as a piece of hyperbolic and vague sentimental discourse, the final narrative value of the statement leads to a geo-cultural appropriation of blue seas and skies; this feature is definitely not unique to Greece as there are many countries in the Mediterranean Sea and the whole of the world sharing similar traits.

Regardless of the truthfulness of the statements, building national identity through nation branding on such constructs reduces the depiction of the Greek nation image to simplistic messages and strips the nation of its real past by excluding external influence and historic cross-border communication. It, thus, paves the way for nationalist practices of exclusion and prevalence and halts intercultural communication. By assuming dominance in the present, it discards the past.

Example 119: **Wineries**

ST Η Ελλάδα [...] έχει την πιο μακρόχρονη ιστορία στην παραγωγή και κατανάλωση κρασιού στον κόσμο [...]

LT Greece [...] has the longest wine production and consumption history in the world [...]

TT Greece [...] has the longest wine production and consumption history in the world [...]

Example 120: **Winter Vacations**

ST [...] θαυμάσετε με την άνεσή σας τους αδιάψευστους μάρτυρες των απαρχών του δυτικού πολιτισμού.

LT [...] admire at your own pace the undeniable evidence of the beginning of western civilisation.

TT [...] take your time while you tour the country that has been named ‘the cradle of western civilisation’.

Examples 119-120 assume national dominance that relates to the past of the country. These instances complement their counterpart narratives of the present and highlight the narrative of Greece as the birth-nation of the contemporary world. In Example 119, Greece is portrayed as the global source of wine consumption and production. This particular example perfectly portrays the differentiation attempt in which the brand engages to compete with similar products. Italy, Spain, France and Portugal, direct tourism competitors of Greece, produce more wine and are more popular ‘wine countries’ than Greece (Our World in Data, 2014). In order to challenge their present-day economic dominance, the text claims historical dominance placing itself as a central player in the wine industry, which is extensively tied to tourism experience in the region. In Example 120, Greece is described as ‘the cradle of western civilisation’, self-assigning the role of the motherland of the ‘Western World’, which I have found to be widely disseminated in the texts (see section 4.2). In a similar manner with Examples 117-118 above, these narratives of national dominance, most significantly when tied to the past of the nation, are a halting mechanism that does not allow for progress or social/national change. It establishes the features of Greek national identity and creates sentiments of superiority, common in extreme nationalist discourses.

4.5.2 The Best Food, Monuments and Sea

Thematic examination of Visit Greece dominance instances shows three main pillars of focus: culture/history, gastronomy and nature. These three pillars are tied to the very nature of tourism

promotion and current travel trends, are cornerstone to the construction and perpetuation of national identities, particularly as consumed and experienced by locals in everyday occurrences, and they stem from a stereotypical narrative pool around the Greek nation.

As already discussed, institutional tourism practices make use of national identity elements and cultural features as products/USPs through which they attract potential visitors (Medina, 2003). The act of highlighting these national elements within a promotional campaign is part of a branding process that aims at either establishing or subverting a nation image. The narrative of dominance accentuates national identity elements (cultural, historical, geographical etc.) to create perceptions of superiority consumed by the message receivers. The narratives produced in this study relate to core domains of the Greek national identity, relevant both to tourists/visitors/consumers and to Greeks, i.e. culture, history, gastronomy, and nature.

In parallel, the themes of prevalence unearthed point to a stereotypical understanding of the Greek nation. The body makes use of a limited narrative pool when promoting Greece, feeding on already established ideas, i.e. gastronomy, history and nature, in part imposed through processes of ‘otherness’ by hegemonic powers, be it dominant tourism trends, hegemonic nations/cultures or socio-historical occurrences such as Philhellenism. The fact that these themes of focus were identified after applying the *we vs. you* filter on the textual data is all the more telling of the narrative power of these themes within the Greek destination branding, as well as the totality of socio-political experience in Greece. We, thus, understand that these themes of dominance are the most widespread and embedded in the collective mind. As Travlou (2002) has found in her study on guidebooks about Athens, narratives around the Greek capital show particular resilience over time. The scholar describes how travel discourse focusing on Athens has not changed much since the first guidebook published and this “archetypal imagery” (ibid, p. 109) is also confirmed in this study, where the prominent themes of dominance feed into stereotypical depictions of Greece as a nation.

The fact that USPs are not treated with the assumed high degree of originality and subversion that would be expected in such a campaign is telling of the meta-narrative power of stereotypes disseminated in part through tourism and travel discourse, as well as the trend of familiarity which is cornerstone to the construction of tourism experience (Dann, 2001). As Cohen (1972) puts forward, “most tourists seem to need something familiar around them, something to remind them of home” (p.166). Drawing on Cohen’s understanding of the concept of familiarity, I reckon the term to refer not only to the individual experience of each visitor as regards her own home country – which again is largely bound to globalisation in the contemporary world – but I wish to extend understanding of the term to include familiarity with the destination as well. In other words, the destination attempts to promote itself so that it appears familiar to the visitor not only as far as the hometown experience of the visitor is concerned, yet also as regards the experience of the visitor as far as the destination is concerned, regardless of

whether she has visited before. Breaking stereotypes or introducing brand elements considered ‘foreign’ could possibly alienate the potential visitor and harm the promotional nation image.

Nevertheless, inasmuch destinations build a brand image that attempts to encompass both familiar and authentic elements within contemporary tourism trends and the globalised world, the produced nation image is rendered standardised, particularly across destinations with similar USPs, (e.g., Greece, Turkey, Spain, and Cyprus). As Cohen (1972) explains on the nation image uniformity and distortion in tourism discourse, “whole countries lose their individuality to the mass tourist as the richness of their culture and geography is reduced by the tourist industry to a few standard elements” (p.171). Distortion of nation image and national identity not only harms the object of promotion in the long run as it strips it of all original culture-specific elements, but it can also lead to a nullification of identity by blocking evolution and contemporariness.

This nullification produces a two-way process of banal nationalism, in which locals can only identify with narratives of heritage and the past in their attempt to reach singularity in their belonging, and foreigners view the nation through a simplification lens that does not allow for compassion, emotional attachment, solidarity and other types of cross-border and cross-culture communication. The examples provided below correspond to the core themes of dominance in Visit Greece, showcasing the narratively dominant stereotypical understanding of brand prevalence and authenticity.

VISIT GREECE

CULTURE

Example 121: **Archaeological Sites**

	[...] φωτεινότερης περιόδου που γνώρισε η ανθρώπινη ιστορία, του χρυσού
ST	αθηναϊκού αιώνα.
LT	[...] the brightest period in human history, the golden Athenian century.
TT	[...] the most illuminated period known in human history, the Golden age of Athens.

HISTORY

Example 122: **On the Path of Apostle Paul**

ST	Αυτές ακούν πρώτες σε όλη την Ευρώπη τη διδασκαλία του.
LT	These women are the first in the whole of Europe to listen to his preaching.
TT	They were the first in Europe to hear him preaching.

Examples 121-122 deal with the narrative of Greece as the starting point for the contemporary world. Example 121 presents the ‘Golden Age of Athens’ as the most important and successful period in human history, understanding this in a narrow-minded and self-absorbed way via imperialistic connotations. In the framework of tourism promotion, Greek heritage is presented as a contributing factor to financial success. In parallel, this monolithic expression of dominance, which places a single moment of human history above all, nullifies one of the core features of the nature of identities, i.e. external influence. By adopting a strict ethno-centric approach to national evolution, it promotes an image of Greece similar to that defended by extreme nationalist groups. Example 122 presents Greece as the first place in Europe, and hence in the so-called ‘Western World’, to welcome the teachings of Christianity. Considering the enormous influence Christianity has had in human history in a variety of contexts, the ‘first in Europe’ argument further contributes to the ‘cradle of civilisation’ narrative already discussed. At the same time, it enhances the stereotypical understanding of Greece as a nation of the past and, thus, promotes a standardised and simplified version of Greek history and culture that is familiar to the visitors and locals and does not subvert existing preconceptions.

GASTRONOMY

Example 123: **Greek Beer**

Και αν η μπίρα διεθνώς είχε παραδοσιακά συναναστροφές με το γρήγορο φαγητό, οι ελληνικές
 ST μπίρες θα σας κάνουν σίγουρα να αναθεωρήσετε [...]

And even though beer has been traditionally associated with fast food, greek beers will surely
 LT make you reconsider [...]

TT x⁷¹

Example 123 focuses on Greek beer, promoting the product as a unique and high-quality gastronomical element. The TT does not follow a dominance pattern to narratively construct the message of superiority, but the ST actively compares Greek beer to other beers, claiming for the superiority of Greek beers when it comes to food pairing. Although Greece has a limited tradition in beer-making and has only recently started producing and promoting it, the body puts forward the specific product trying to differentiate it from similar products in other countries, in a similar way as observed in Examples 117-118. As Anholt (2003) explains, the construction of a branding image is a far more convenient option when it comes to (desti)nation promotion, than the actual construction of reality. Although this element of dominance does not directly conform to nation-specific stereotypical ideas, it is related to existing mass tourism trends and globalisation. Cohen (1972) describes this process in the following

⁷¹ As stated before, in example presentation, [x] indicates lack of TT or TT equivalent.

way: “mass tourism has created the following paradox: though the desire for variety, novelty, and strangeness are the primary motives of tourism, these qualities have decreased as tourism has become institutionalised” (p.172). By promoting a USP that is more inclusive of the existing tourism trends than of the Greek reality, the brand distorts national identity.

NATURE

Example 124: **Geography**

ST [...] μοναδικό στην ευρωπαϊκή ήπειρο ελληνικό Αρχιπέλαγος.

LT [...] the unique in the European continent Greek Archipelago.

TT [...] the unique Greek archipelago.

One of the most prominent features of Greek national identity, as well as of Greek tourism is highlighted in Example 124. The Greek sea and islands are described as ‘unique’ in Europe, although the TT does not overtly mention the European continent when claiming dominance. This instance relates to the domain of nature, attached to the age-long promotional narrative of Greek as the place of blue sea, also noticed in Example 118 and throughout Visit Greece. Once again, the narrative identified stems from the idea of ‘familiarity’ with the product and it highlights the resilience of stereotypes, regardless of their truthfulness, through time within brand promotion settings in tourism (Travlou, 2002).

4.5.3 Dominance: Summary of Findings

Even though the findings extracted are limited when it comes to the identification of the instance across websites, it is important that I proceed to a summary of preliminary findings in this section too, despite the brevity of conclusions. I have found dominance to be a prevalent narrative feature only in the case of Visit Greece. Although narratives of superiority and national success exist in all three websites, overt destination comparison only takes place meaningfully in Visit Greece. ST-TT comparison shows that dominance narratives and relevant frequency are similar, and no meaning-making fluctuations exist between the two language versions, showing that, in this study, translation does not seem to affect the nation image produced.

Examination of dominance instances in Visit Greece shows that the majority of cases temporally relate to the present and secondarily to the past. Once again there is no reference to the future, as is the case with the whole data set for every narrative instance studied. This strengthens the past+present identity narrative. Furthermore, thematic analysis shows three main pillars: culture/history, gastronomy and nature. These three domains are core to the construction of national identity and are important in contemporary tourism promotion largely affected by globalisation and perpetuating stereotypical ideas. The pool of narratives conforms to stereotypical imagery about Greece, self-perpetuating familiar ideas

about the nation or attempting to introduce new ideas, which nevertheless stem from a wider pool of tourism trend narratives, rather than nation-specific narratives. Both processes lead to a nullification of national identity and hinder intercultural understanding.

4.6 Preliminary Conclusions: Multimodal and Critical Narrative Analysis

The analysis presented above sought to determine to what degree and in which ways the English translation of three Greek tourist websites affects the nation image and identity, comparatively examining this in connection with nationalist discourse and practice both in the ST and the TT. In this way, the socio-political and ideological implications of the disseminated narratives were contemplated with a focus on hot and banal nationalist practices. A two-step approach was followed, carrying out a multimodal analysis of the website homepages as well as a Critical Narrative Analysis of the Greek and English textual data extracted.

4.6.1 Multimodal Analysis

A multimodal analysis was conducted through numerical and critical analysis to triangulate numerical findings and proceed to an in-depth examination of multimodality in the data set. Cross-examining multimodal elements showed no significant differences between ST and TT. The only notable fluctuation at multimodal level was the difference noted between ST and TT hyperlinks. However, the findings were not robust enough in nature and number to establish a trend, as they were limited and in the vast majority of such cases the underlying reasons for the fluctuations appear to be i) development error, ii) translation negligence and iii) lack of hyperlinked TT.

The Visit Greece homepage shows a large number of multimodal elements and limited text. The focus is placed on visual stimuli, which are largely used to promote the brand message. There is a large number of hyperlinks and images, accompanied by a video featured on a prominent position. Greece is promoted as a seaside destination despite of the campaign goal to show the year-round appeal of the country. Regarding nation image, Visit Greece appears to be both conforming to and confirming existing narratives around Greece. Blue is the dominant website homepage colour and is found both in content images and no-content images as in the case of UI elements.

Image analysis showed there is a balance between conceptual and narrative images, contributing to a past+present temporal orientation which is dominant throughout the data set. The video also confirms the hypothesis through music and dialogue. The body uses the notion of brand ambassadors to promote Greece, commodifying Greek people and Greek identity. Ambassadors are portrayed as welcoming and friendly and the notion of service is strong in the narrative deployed.

As regards hyperlinks, the large number of the discursive feature does not equal an extensive pool of narrative nor polyphony. There is a very limited number of hyperlinks leading to third pages, while most of these third-website hyperlinks contain narratives that are again controlled by Visit Greece or GNTTO-affiliated bodies. This signifies a bureaucratic approach to (desti)nation promotion, where narratives are controlled by the dominant body. Examination of homepage tabs also shows a focus on the nation's past. The first tab an online visitor can access contains information about the nation's history, which is typical of nationalist discourses and cannot be attributed to default online (desti)nation promotion standards, as exhibited above.

The Acropolis Museum shows a similar multimodal-to-textual element ratio. Text is very limited, and the homepage focuses on visual brand representation. There are several images and hyperlinks, yet there is no video. Detailed examination showed that the majority of images are of conceptual nature, referring mostly to concepts rather than actions. What is more, the spaces depicted are indoor rather than outdoor, which further contributes to the construction of a past-focused brand narrative.

At the same time, tabs and hyperlinked tab-images include action-centric narratives that signify a present temporal orientation. This constructs a past+present temporal focus, as was the case with Visit Greece. The only third-website hyperlink featured on the homepage is a link to the Trip Advisor page of the body that, as per 26 December 2018, featured an excellent review score.

The concept of brand ambassadors is also central to the Acropolis Museum. Greek people and museum professionals are depicted as welcoming and eager to serve the needs of visitors, hence being commodified via this promotional campaign. As far as colour analysis is concerned, Greek brand narrative expectations are not directly confirmed, as the website does not focus on blue as the main colour of the homepage and there is no dominant colour per se. However, the body logo, also featured on the homepage, includes three colours: blue, gold and white. Blue operates as a reference to Greece and the stereotypical nation image, while gold helps construct narratives of the past by indirect reference to the 'Golden Age of Athens' during which the Parthenon was built.

The National Archaeological Museum of Athens (NAMA) homepage is also built around visual rather than textual elements. The homepage includes a large number of images and hyperlinks both in the ST and in the TT. The image thematic focus is expectedly on the museum exhibits and most images are conceptual, showing indoor spaces such as gallery areas.

Past temporal orientation is also prevalent in NAMA and it is enhanced by the dominant UI colour, i.e. red. Although there is no blue to stereotypically reflect Greece, the existence of red predominantly in no-content images signifies the central character of the past in the way the body promotes itself as the nation by extension. Red may be considered a signifier of ancient grandeur, a marker of heritage much associated with historical dominance and wealth. Lastly, the bureaucratic practice of narrative centralisation though the lack of third-website hyperlinks is also evident in NAMA.

4.6.2 CNA

Moving on to CNA, I followed a twofold approach including both numerical and close-up critical analysis of textual data. Numerical findings aided in the theme-establishing process of the findings discussion and proved a helpful tool in identifying trends. Relevant and representative examples selected from my textual data were presented to help illustrate the trends unearthed, and these examples were also discussed on a case-by-case basis, further to the overall narrative discussion in which they pertain. Four narrative instances guided discussion: i) actors and brand relationships, ii) brand reference temporal orientation, iii) intertextuality, and iv) dominance.

Two main trends can be identified in relation to the amount and significance of results. On the one hand, a large number of important findings were produced regarding the first two narratives, i.e. actors and brand relationships as well as brand reference temporal orientation, proving to be core features of nation branding in all three websites. On the other hand, results for intertextuality and dominance are more limited, proving that they are not central discursive elements across website types: only a few relevant instances of intertextuality were found in Visit Greece, and even fewer in NAMA and the Acropolis Museum, and instances of dominance leading to meaningful findings were exclusively found in Visit Greece. Regarding the comparative ST-TT analysis, translation-wise there do not seem to be any major meaning-making fluctuations that would create differing narratives. In most cases, texts feature identical narratives in the two language versions, as evidenced both via numerical data and detailed in-text examination following CNA.

First, actors and brand relationships in the data set fixate on the construction of narratives around Greece in relation to visitors. The nation is promoted as a provider and educator of potential visitors in tourism campaigns, with provision becoming a core feature of promotional discourse. The identity element of 'educator' relates to the cultural dominance and past temporal orientation narrative identified in the websites. Greece invites visitors to be educated on the country's national heritage, undertaking the process of informing them. Furthermore, the websites put forward the concept of brand ambassadors as promotional actors. Apart from the brand promoting itself, the bodies invite and/or place Greek people as ambassadors who will welcome visitors; hence, they actively construct Greek national identity through attribution. Particularly in Visit Greece, it was concluded that the produced narrative exoticises the brand by presenting Greece as an unspoilt and undiscovered locus, which needs to be explored.

Second, regarding brand reference temporal orientation, results extracted show a near lack of future references in relation to the brand. Past and present, or past+present jointly, dominate the temporal axis of brand-related narratives. In the case of Visit Greece, this trend is evident throughout and was confirmed by the wide pool of findings produced. Even though NAMA and the Acropolis Museum feature fewer related instances, they confirm the past and present temporal orientation. Temporal construction of the brand heavily relies on the concepts of heritage and continuity, attempting to bridge

any gap between the ancient and the contemporary Greek world. Apart from the historical inaccuracy of such statements, understanding of national identity as a clear continuation of an assumed national past results in a static and rigid identity that does not allow for evolution. This is a core feature of nationalist discourse in general, and extreme hot nationalist practices in particular. It was also found that temporal framing includes temporal shifts. Macro webpage themes considered temporally null or pertaining to the present were enriched/distorted via the micro in-text dominance of past temporal references, further contributing to the construction of a past+present temporal narrative as part of the promotional process.

Third, the discursive feature of intertextuality proved to be limited in frequency. As is the case with the vast majority of narratives, Visit Greece is also richer in intertextuality instances than the other two websites. All websites feature references to works of the past and/or ancient authors, temporally framing the country's cultural product around the past. Cultural elements are commodified and therefore heritage is not only reduced to a feature of promotion that can be communicated and experienced in ways that are suitable for visitors, but it is also stereotypically perpetuated. The lack of references to contemporary cultural production through intertextuality together with this fixation on the past means that the cultural identity of Greece is distorted through framing. The second theme identified, solely applicable to Visit Greece, relates to dominant third voices that operate as testimonials to the brand; again, a core feature of promotional discourse.

Finally, narratives of dominance were found to be rather limited in the data set. NAMA and the Acropolis Museum did not present enough findings to produce meaningful trends: although there are instances of brand prevalence, there is no overt comparison that could lead to a narrative of superiority over other nations or destinations. In Visit Greece, where the pool of themes is wider due to the nature of the website/body, most instances pertain to a present temporal orientation and secondarily to the past, once again conforming to the temporal narrative already discussed. Moreover, the narrative of dominance is widely identified in the domains of gastronomy, culture/history and nature, which are three of the main pillars of tourism campaigns in Greece and the Mediterranean region. In parallel, these themes are stereotypical in two ways: 1) they stem from year-long pre-existing depictions of the Greek nation as a promotional object and/or a brand and 2) they conform to stereotypes about the very nature of tourism and its latest trends.

On the whole, multimodal analysis and CNA proved useful to extract themes and identify trends in the collection of texts. Through open-ended and focused analysis, I managed to unearth several findings for the majority of narrative instances studied. These findings are important for a discussion about the ideological implication of discursive production taking place in Greek and English in the framework of tourism promotional campaigns.

5. Concluding Remarks and Future Considerations

In this Dissertation I set out to explore to what degree and in what ways the translation from Greek into English of online cultural/touristic texts from three specific websites may affect the (re)construction of Greek national identity and image from 2009 to 2019. In order to do so, I aimed to reveal the existence of discourse patterns and to investigate the nature of possible fluctuations between STs and TTs. This allowed me to examine the social construction of the nation in tourism campaigns, especially as regards nationalism and nationalist discourses, and to study the socio-political and ideological implications of the produced and disseminated Greek nation image and identity through my bilingual data set. Secondly, I focused on the exhibition of specific recognisable narrative features, comparing between the three websites/bodies, i.e. Visit Greece, the Acropolis Museum and the National Archaeological Museum of Athens.

Given the interdisciplinary nature of my project, I engaged in a comprehensive literature review drawing on a number of disciplines to account for the multifaceted nature of the phenomena of tourism and nationalism in relation to translation. My review commenced with Translation Studies (Baker, 2005, 2006; Lefevere, 1992), initiating discussion from the culture and power turn in the field and proceeding to an analysis of the notion of ideology and patronage, which are core to the model of analysis built, also as expressed in tourism and culture translation and audience design. The main focus of the TS review was to examine the relationship between translation and tourism in connection with ideology. I concluded that the reconstructive force of TTs had not been studied before in relation to national identity construction. At the same time, even though scholars seem to agree that translation and tourism processes both bear ideology, the vast majority of studies combining translation and culture/tourism attempt a translation quality assessment and/or focus on the marketing aspect of translation processes in these fields, without considering the ideological implications on a nation construction level through STs and TTs. I then studied the notions of discourse, text type and narratives (Baker, 2005, 2006; Delin, 2005; Fairclough, 1989, 1992; Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2006; Souto-Manning 2014; Van Dijk, 1993, 1997) providing my own understanding of the terms in order to generate valid and study-specific definitions and get acquainted with methodological approaches to the study of identity through discourse, which helped design my methodology and contributed to the discussion of Greek national identity construction in the data set. My consideration of nation and nationalism (Anderson 2006; Wodak et. al, 2009) focused on examining the birth of the concept of nation, its social construction processes and its representations in the Greek tourism and culture domains. Reviewing these concepts led to the common conclusion that nations are socially constructed structures, hence affected by dominant discourses and hegemonic ideology, as exhibited in the discourse studies review; I also expanded on identity construction theories to establish the notion of national identity construction (Ivanic, 2006; Sunderland, 2010) and get a better understanding of the ways people construct their

identities through one-way or two-way socialisation. The importance of interaction and communication for identity formulation is in line with the main argument of this Dissertation that puts forward TTs as a major means of narrative dissemination that reaches native identities. Finally, I explored the notions of language production and marketing (Anholt, 2003, 2005; Francesconi, 2006; Kavoura, 2007), focusing on the ways discourse is used to promote national heritage through nation branding, thus leading to nation-image shaping and the commodification of culture.

Since the potential of TTs in affecting the (re)construction of native identity and image had not yet been considered, I decided to address this research gap by investigating the possible ways through which the translation of cultural/touristic texts from Greek into English may be a catalyst in the (re)construction of the Greek national identity and image. I compiled a collection of texts which I considered to be best suited to provide rigorous answers to my research questions. After broadly investigating online tourism/culture digital content originally produced in Greek and then translated into English, I narrowed down my data set to websites pertaining to the culture/tourism domains, featuring an extensive EL into EN translation attempt, being temporally relevant and clearly defined, being produced or copyrighted between 2009 and 2019, and showing high popularity in terms of online and/or physical visitors.

To study the textual data, I created an original model of analysis that would allow for a thorough consideration of both a multimodal and a textual level. Stemming from the CDA and narrative analysis traditions applied in Translation Studies, my model is framed within Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA) methodology, providing close inspection of the concepts under questions and accounting for alternative trends and conclusions not directly mirrored in the theoretical and methodological framework. First, I studied the website homepages under a multimodal analysis perspective, considering these pages to be the most prominent for meaning-making and image construction when it comes to multimodality; and second, I applied text-oriented CNA to the rest of the relevant website pages, more particularly focusing on homepage multimodal elements, actors and brand relationships, brand reference temporal orientation, dominance and intertextuality. The manual analysis applied to both STs and TTs was complemented by statistical and numerical data extracted by *uDev*, which helped triangulate findings, as well as offer a meaningful comparative analysis about narrative frequency and importance, accounting for data set size differences at website level. My findings were discussed via the presentation of major themes and trends, selecting typical and relevant examples to showcase the key themes per website under the discourse or narrative feature studied. Examples were also representative, as evidenced by the numerical data provided when discussing the existence of themes and the degree to which they were important in meaning-making. Drawing on the preliminary conclusions presented in the different subsections throughout Chapter 4, in what follows I will offer some final concluding remarks about my research project and its contribution to the wider discipline. This will be complemented by some final considerations about specific insights gained through this project and possibilities for further research in the area. Due to the overlapping nature of the questions examined in

this study, I am engaging in a discussion of findings and reflection of major themes without limiting examination under a single research question. This will allow me to better discuss the core ideas of this Dissertation.

5.1 The Role of Translation in National Identity Construction: Discourse and Narratives

The role of translation in processes of national identity construction was studied via a comparative ST-TT analysis of my set of multimodal touristic texts. Applying a CNA methodology, my analysis showed no major fluctuations at narrative or discourse level. This seems to suggest that, in this particular case, translation was not a major reconstruction force when it comes to the shaping of Greek nation image and identity, challenging the default understanding of translation as rewriting in relation to narrative dissemination. In the vast majority of cases extracted, the ST was almost identical to the TT in terms of narratives and discourse patterns, which is also enhanced by the identical ST and TT multimodal environment. The only relatively more major fluctuation noticed was related to the number of hyperlinks and website tabs, with some of them being absent in the TT. A plausible explanation for this could be found in a website development error or in the lack of translation of the TT hyperlink or tab, either purposely (due to the Greece-specific content, e.g. tenders) or because an English translation had not yet been produced up to the time of textual data collection. Since this is neither systematic nor trend-inducing, my conclusion was that the two language pairs were virtually identical in terms of content, either textual or multimodal, and focused on the same discursive means to achieve identical narratives. Hence, although the very process of translation is steeped in actions of rewriting (Lefevere, 1992) and reconfiguration to match the TL, TC, the target audience or follow a translation brief, it seems that, in this Dissertation, there were not any major narrative fluctuations that could affect the original message. Hence, my findings contribute to TS by suggesting that translation processes may not always lead to differing narratives, making it crucial that the role and function of TTs continues to be further examined, both as regards studies of ideology, as well as far as tourism translation practice is concerned within promotional frameworks and financial objectives.

It could be hypothesised that the lack of fluctuations between ST and TT may be attributed to a number of factors, among which I would highlight the following: (i) the possible existence of specific guidelines given by the body officials to language professionals⁷², (ii) a possible lack of cross-cultural understanding shown by the translators in order to account for the target audience, (iii) Search Engine Optimisation (SEO)⁷³ research indicating similar keywords, themes and trends across languages and

⁷² Although procuring such documents was beyond the scope of this project, previous research (Plisiotis, 2015) showed that at the time Visit Greece used to provide guidelines to language professionals; however, I cannot be certain if this is still the case and/or whether other websites follow the same pattern.

⁷³ Moz.com (n.d.b) defines SEO as “the practice of increasing the quantity and quality of traffic to your website through organic search engine results” (par. 1). Part of SEO optimization involves matching website content to

audiences, which would partly explain the identical narratives at thematic yet not discursive level, (iv) recent globalised tourism practices in connection with translation, with more STs being produced with the purpose of being translated, so that the original Greek text is already affected by the English text, (v) the penetrative nature of national narratives as regards the totality of actors involved in the process, i.e. body officials, ST writers, TT translators, Greek-speaking audience and visitors, and non-Greek speaking audience and visitors, meaning that all actors are affected by the same meta-narratives, hence reproducing them, or (vi) although rewriting may have taken place in the past, meaning there would be fluctuations between STs and TTs, the fact that the message constructed about the Greek nation has reached a meta-narrative status does not necessitate further rewriting, seeing that the existing dominant narratives serve the needs, desires and preconceptions of both the host and the recipient.

Apropos points (iv), (v) and (vi), these hypotheses can be attributed to the meta-function of narrativity. As Malamatidou (2018) claims in relation to her study on physical space representations in original Greek and translated English tourism texts, the fact that TTs are affected to such a degree by the patterns found in STs can be “evidence of how well engraved in our own culture perceptions about physical space are” (p.28), particularly seeing that translators into English are most likely native Greek speakers (ibid). Furthermore, since writers and translators are most probably Greek speakers residing in Greece, the fact that the ST and TT narratives are the same is to be expected to a degree, seeing that they do not only engage with nation promotion at a discourse production level, yet they actively experience it in their everyday lives. This explains why ST and TT narratives are identical, seeing that the text producers not only affect and construct the Greek nation image, but they also partake in the performativity of tourism practices within this territory. In turn, the gaze produced returns to language practitioners, who further perpetuate it across languages and cultures. However, despite understanding the need of promotional tourism discourse to employ stereotypes and clichés that meet audience expectations, its blind use across cultures and languages does not necessarily result in successful (desti)nation branding campaigns. As Malamatidou suggests based on her finding that “translators [...] (re)create a view of the world that is compatible with the source text but not with how target readers might classify their world” (ibid, p.28), the fact that stereotypes exist at large in such texts should not invite their non-reframed use in translation; in fact “we can at least make more strategic use of these, taking into account the expectations of the reader/consumer” (ibid, p. 30). The use of identical stereotypical narratives across languages does not only harm the national identity and cultural capital of the country raising ideological implications, but it can also be financially harmful to the product per se, when possibly alienating the audience.

Expanding on the effect of meta-narrativity, I would claim that the pervasive character of narratives around nation image in tourism promotion is typical of the discursively constructed nation

high-ranking keywords, answering search engine Frequently Asked Questions and following web or non-web trending topics.

representations. Narrativity describes the means discourse is disseminated in ways that it affects the viewpoint through which we understand and construct the world around us (Baker, 2005; Somers and Gibson, 1994). In the case of tourism discourse, it is understood that due to the wide spectrum of social phenomena, when such discourses are communicated and mis- or re-constructed by hegemonic institutions such as the ones studied in this Dissertation, the produced narratives evolve through time from public narratives to meta narratives, i.e. inescapable stories around the Greek nation that affect both the ST and TT, the SC and the TC, as well as writers, translators, marketing officials and the hegemonic powers themselves. Additionally, since tourism discourse is a social practice placed at the centre of the activity to which it belongs, I would propose that globalised/commodified tourism communication can also affect ST discourses, in an attempt to match audience or domain expectations. The inevitable force of meta narratives means that these processes of narrative construction and subsequent discursively constructed images are not necessarily controlled and regulated through active agents, but they can be part of the domain-wide or even society-inclusive unconscious. It is within this collective unconscious that dominant powers operate as initiators, perpetuators or carriers of ideology in a system of patronage (Lefevere, 1992). The fact that, in my study, the discourse patterns found in STs and TTs were identical is in part illustrative of the global literary hegemony of English language on tourism communication, as well as the well-established dominant meta-narratives that can affect translation rewriting. As mentioned earlier, the fact that rewriting does not seem to have taken place in the data set examined can be telling of the effect of age-long dissemination of narratives. Taking under consideration the type of texts examined, i.e. belonging to the domains of tourism and culture with nation branding, and considering the narrative manipulation power exercised by dominant actors, such as the movement of Philhellenism, on the Greek nation image since the 19th century, it can be deduced that rewriting is no longer the norm in the translation of these texts, as the SC narratives have become identical with the TC narratives. This can mean that once foreign dominant narratives overpower the domestic ones, rewriting is no longer practiced; although this hypothesis cannot be currently examined in full, it raises interesting questions about the role and function of 'rewriting' in relation to ideology and translation under a historiographical approach in tourism discourse. Particularly, seeing that such texts are widely disseminated and allow for deviation, as opposed to the textual domain of law for example, it is interesting to investigate to what degree and under which circumstances rewriting ceased at some point in the past due to patronage relationships of cultural/social/political dominance.

Hence, drawing on Lefevere's work (*ibid*), I propose the following understanding of the model of patronage in the case of Greece: i) patronage: the dominant tourism bodies and tourism communication trends, both domestic and foreign throughout time, as well as institutional bureaucracy permeating the phenomenon of tourism, ii) ideology: the beliefs held by the Greek and non-Greek speaking population around the Greek nation image, and their meta-narrative construction, iii) poetics: the social role of tourism, and iv) universe of discourse: the totality of elements making up tourism in Greece as a

phenomenon and domain of communication, including discursive products and by-products, such as nationalism.

In parallel, nation representation, as a discursively constructed concept (Wodak et. al, 2009), is led by hegemonic powers through bureaucracy and mass reach. The websites examined in this study are typical of such processes, as they are popular in terms of online and/or physical visitors and also because they operate within the system of bureaucracy, as put forward by Kavoura (2007), Francesconi (2006) and Schäffner and Adab (1997), with the latter concluding that institutionalised practices followed by dominant institutions are a constructive force behind narrative dissemination. This was evident in my analysis both through the interviews I conducted with the website body representatives who confirmed the specifics of the language production and translation processes, as well as through the multimodal analysis of my collection of texts. This analysis showed that in the case of hyperlinks, there is not much room for deviation from the body-specific message, meaning that hyperlinks do not direct users outside the bureaucratically controlled environment in which they are originally placed. The majority of hyperlinks existent in the texts directed potential visitors to other in-site pages or relevant ministry and affiliated organisation pages, with only few exceptions. This control of narratives is both an indication of the bureaucratic approach to tourism communication and nation branding, while it also speaks volumes about the importance of message dissemination control to a successful promotional campaign. Consequently, my research confirmed that tourism communication occurs in bureaucratic settings controlled by hegemonic bodies within capitalism.

Placing this study within the wider paradigm of the TS power turn as put forward by Tymoczko and Gentzler (2002) as well as the CDA tradition, my exploration of the effect and function of translation in the discursive construction of national Greek identity contributed to the field by showing the ways through which dominant ideologies around the Greek nation can find their way to national identity through tourism discourse both in original Greek and translated English texts, hence confirming Wodak's (2011) and Wodak et al's (2009) understanding of the discursive construction of national identity via dominant channels of communication (Baker, 2005, 2006; Van Dijk, 1997), as well as extending narrative dissemination to Target Texts. Despite the fact that translation per se did not appear to be an important factor in reconstructing the Greek identity, this does not mean that TTs do not contribute to the construction of the Greek nation image and identity. Concurrently, the research complements the examination of identity as a discursively constructed concept following the work of Ivanic (2006) and Sunderland (2010), who understand identity as a fluid, reconstructable social construct that can change over time based on the interactions, experiences, discourses and situations which the individual receives and/or experiences. I propose that it is crucial to account for narratives not only directly addressed to the CofP in the SL through dominant bodies and other members of their inner community, yet expand the focus to include narratives reaching individuals through socialisation

with members of the outgroup who receive specific messages through foreign language discourses and/or through translation and consequently mirror their expectations to the native population.

I now move on to present the major conclusions regarding discourse patterns and produced narratives around Greek national identity, discussing the ideological implications of the disseminated messages with a focus on the phenomenon of nationalism and the idea of nations. Given that no major fluctuations were found in the comparative ST-TT analysis, arguments are generally presented without making any explicit mention to the original and the translation, unless such differentiation is deemed crucial.

5.2 Greek Identity, Nationalism and Implications

Multimodal analysis proved useful in unearthing narratives in the collection of texts. Regarding the multimodal discursive construction of Greece as a nation, focusing on the website homepages is an important methodological tool, since homepages constitute the essence of the brand and often the very first glimpse a potential visitor gets. At the same time, given that in my data set, and also generally, the homepage shared similar UI features with the rest of the website pages, homepage exploration covered a large part of the multimodal aspect of identity construction and image formulation; that being said, further multimodal research on every webpage can surely contribute further to the topic, exploring how the textual message is in juxtaposition complemented, distorted or enhanced by multimodal features.

When examining the homepages, following Kress and Van Leeuwen's work (2002, 2006) on visual semiotics and colour analysis at large, they all exhibited certain differences in the way they use colour in image construction, yet pointed to similar narratives. Visit Greece was predominantly based on blue both in content images and no-content images, that is, website pictures and UI elements such as maps, tabs and logos. In the case of the Acropolis Museum, there was no clear-cut colour dominance, as the website UI was mostly made up of white or blank space. However, the body logo was made up of blue, white and gold. As was the case with Visit Greece, this was in direct reference to one of the core narrative features of the Greece branding sphere in tourism practices, since blue is connected to images of the sea and the Greek flag, in turn also inspired by the sea. Gold relates to the Golden Age of Athens during which the Parthenon was constructed and white may also be referential to the Greek flag. In the National Archaeological Museum of Athens, there was a shift in comparison with the other websites. Blue was absent from narrative-inducing homepage elements and instead focus was on the colour red. Recognising colour choices as a semiotic mode of image construction through narrative and identity associations (Kress and Van Leeuwen, 2002), I claimed that red was used as an indication to the nation's grandeur, understanding this colour to be typical of narratives of ancient glory and success. Colour analysis, thus, showed that the focus was placed on the nation's past with some indications of a present

temporal orientation when it comes to visual representation and was approached with an ethnocentric manner typical in tourism campaigns (Kavoura, 2007).

Extending visual analysis to images showed that those used in the website homepages mostly pointed to a balance between inactivity and inwardness, rather than action and outwardness. Exploring images on the basis of the narrative *vs.* conceptual dipole as applied by Kress and Van Leeuwen (2006), as well as Marley and Reershemius (2016), I found that in Visit Greece there was a balance between narrative and conceptual images, pointing to a past+present temporal orientation, that the Acropolis Museum images exhibited a similar trend with a slight majority of conceptual images, while NAMA almost exclusively featured conceptual images showing indoor and static spaces, which is an indication of a past temporal orientation. Both temporal trends are typical of nationalist discourses as also confirmed by Wodak (2015). The narrative of nation continuation disseminated by the past+present temporal focus, as well as the idea of heritage portrayed through visual elements on the homepages are typical of revisionist narratives of the past that can also be spotted in extreme nationalist discourses. As I also discuss below in relation to brand reference temporal orientation, multimodal analysis showed no references to the future, a finding which complements Hofstede's Insights (2018) in which Greece appears to be in an in-between state in the short-term *vs.* long-term orientation scale.

This balance between past and present was also evident under a textual analysis approach when examining the nation's brand reference temporal orientation, showing the wide spectrum in which the narrative operates and at the same time proving the pervasive nature of meta narratives, as argued by Baker (2005, 2006). After having studied the way the brand temporally places itself in the texts across all three websites, I can confirm Kefala's (2014) findings on the existence of narratives of continuity with a focus on heritage. In Visit Greece and NAMA the brand was referenced predominantly through a combination of past+present narratives, while the Acropolis Museum tended mostly to the present in brand representation connotations, with a strong existence of past narratives too. Future was virtually absent in all websites examined. The produced narrative of heritage, ancientness and continuity signified a borderline nationalist approach to brand construction through tourism and treated Greece in a stereotypical manner by reaffirming existing preconceptions about the nation, with no attempt to subvert the existing image. This leads to perpetuating an established image that exoticises the destination by focusing on its ancient roots, instead of its contemporary aspects and progressive attempts. Even though, as far as tourism communication is concerned, such narratives are found to be appealing to potential visitors in the framework of destination authenticity as a trend, in reality the national identity of Greece is rendered null and obsolete in that the brand does not allow for fluidity and progress, which are two of the cornerstone traits of social and by extension national identity (Ivanic, 2006; Sunderland, 2010). As explained before, individuals are part of a community of practice (CofP) and society in wider terms, and their identity is foremost a construct created, enriched and restructured through action and interaction (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005). In the context of tourism, the Greek-speaking

population and the potential and/or actual visitors engage in such processes either online via social media, fora or other channels, but also physically as tourism professionals or common people who are assigned with the pre-conceptions visitors hold about the nation. Following Ivanic's (2006) categorisation of interaction-based identity construction processes, I can conclude that visitors address Greek people with their ideas about the nation and attribute specific national identity features to them through a number of channels. In parallel, Greeks are by default involved in a meta-narrative cycle of national images and tend to affiliate with like-minded individuals belonging in the identity in-group, who also share similar ideas about the nation, given the fact that they have been influenced by the same narratives. This constitutes the vicious cycle of narrativity as expressed in the domain of tourism practices, in relation to identity construction.

Expanding on the discussion of identity as occurring in the framework of bilateral relationships, another major finding of my study relates to the very relationship between the brand, the visitors and the group. Following Fairclough's (1993) proposition as regards the importance of studying these relationships in ideologically loaded settings, this discursive feature exhibited extensive findings. It was evident through analysis that in the data set, the Greek-speaking population was not only constructed as a group of potential visitors, but was also presented as an extension of the brand. I named this new actor 'ambassadors', understanding them as Greek-speaking people, who are not to be understood as or confused with Greek-speaking visitors, since their narrative function is mostly connected to promotion and nation branding. Ambassadors were assigned with brand promotion features such as 'welcoming' or 'serving' and were at times commodified. Studying actors and brand relationships following the 'transitivity' model applied by Halliday and Matthiessen (2004), Bielsa (2012) and Delin (2005) among others, I examined the relationship constructed by the brand involving the brand and other actors. Exploring these relationships proved useful as it provided a better understanding of the brand principles, the way the brand places itself in connection with third actors to promote a certain image and the brand's depiction and treatment of other actors as Fairclough (1989) also suggests.

The brand, i.e. Greece, appeared to assume the following roles in the data set: offerer, services/activities-provider, knowledge-holder and monument/exhibit-shower. This pointed yet again to a past+present temporal orientation, considering that the features assumed by the brand combine aspects of heritage such as monuments, exhibits and the age-long concept of Greek hospitality, as well as modern notions of travelling, such as services and activities. As also discussed in the previous chapter, this dual temporal nature of the brand is tied to the contemporary idealised nature of a successful tourist destination, i.e. encompassing aspects of heritage that are worthy of exploration, while at the same time exhibiting enhanced features of tourism hospitality that promise relaxing holidays to the visitors. The idea of brands (nations) as providers is not novel, yet I expand on this existing conceptualisation by introducing a new actor: brand ambassadors. The brand discursively assigns Greek people with their responsibilities and roles in tourism practice, so that they operate as brand agents, yet

without being professionally involved or employed to do so. Significantly, Visit Greece and the Acropolis Museum exhibited this promotional actor occurrence at large, also found through multimodal homepage analysis. Ambassadors were presented as an extension of the brand and were called to welcome visitors, contribute to their experience and offer knowledge. This constitutes a direct discursive construction of identity as the narratives around Greek people shape both the visitor's expectations and the self-realisation of the population by means of attribution and affiliation. Drawing on Gartner's (1994) typology of image formation agents, I propose brand ambassadors in their physical representation following their narrative construction to be a powerful source of narrative dissemination. Brand ambassadors, as understood in this study, are narratively-constructed agents who disseminate the brand message acting in accordance with desired brand values without necessarily being aware of the process. At the same time, visitors who come in contact with brand ambassadors are not in a position to distinguish them as brand-sourced agents, which means brand ambassadors have increased credibility as they are not associated with the brand in the traditional way. The brand textually assigns ambassadors with the roles of welcoming agent, brand contributor and knowledge provider, hence dictating their relationship with visitors. In the course of time, the brand ambassador narrative acquires meta-narrative status (Baker, 2005). This means that through narrative dissemination, these image formation agents operate in accordance with dominant narratives, perpetuating the status quo of brand values and contributing to nation construction. On the other hand, potential visitors form expectations about the performative actions of brand ambassadors and establish their understanding of them during their actual visit. Consequently, the narratives get disseminated further by means of what Gartner (1994) defines as organic image formation processes that, in their solicited version, have a high credibility value in shaping nation brand image and identity. As Gartner (1994, p. 204) explains, "Sources selected to provide specific destination information have high credibility making Solicited Organic image formation agents an extremely important part of the destination selection process". Expanding on this argument, I propose that they do not only affect the selection process, but define the preconceptions of potential visitors, who in turn mirror them on the brand both before their visit by means of web trends and demand, as well as during their visit by means of attribution through the tourist gaze (White and Frew, 2011; Urry and Larsen, 2011; Ivanic, 2006).

Beyond the overt discursive construction of identity, the introduction of brand ambassadors as a promotional actor is related to the process of commodification visible in the data set. Given that the brand dictated how Greeks behave, move and act, the Greek-speaking population is rendered a commodity that is to be seen by visitors and operate according to their needs. Urry and Larsen (2011) termed this process of spectacle observation as the 'tourist gaze', which in my study did not only relate to and affect the space, image and identity, but it was also directed to the Greek population. Correspondingly, other national/cultural elements such as exhibits, physical spaces, experiences, traditions etc. were also commodified; this was particularly evident in Visit Greece, possibly due to the

technically differing nature of the website in comparison with the other two websites. Angouri (2017) and Erb (2005) also concluded that commodification of heritage is central to tourism promotion. By rendering national identity elements promotional objects which are worthy of exploration and discovery, it means that these elements are reconstructed in order to become more tourism-friendly, more sellable and exotic; subsequently, their authenticity is lost as the narrative disseminated falls within the already established notions of authenticity, meaning it actually loses its essence. The latter also relates to my earlier point about tourism discourse and meta-narratives in the sense that tourism communication is affected by dominant travelling and tourism trends at a global scale.

Yet another core feature of marketing and (desti)nation branding is the ‘standing out from the competition’ theme, meaning that brands attempt to raise their status by highlighting their main advantages or USPs. In relation to tourism practices and expanding on Kefala’s (2014) findings on the narrative of national prevalence that was proven to be present in tourism communication, I examined the texts to expose similar narratives of dominance connected to a nationalist discursive expression. Seeing that tourism communication is steeped in such narratives, it was deemed vital that I differentiated between overt and covert dominance instances towards a more robust methodology. Hence, I introduced the concept of *we vs. you* in accordance with Wodak (2008), who considers such a binary practice to be pertinent to extremist nationalist discourses of inclusion and exclusion. Wodak (ibid) understands processes of inclusion and exclusion through overt bipolarity to be part of right-wing nationalistic discourse and practice, which is particularly important when examining the phenomenon of nationalism either in the traditional political sphere or in a wider social environment as is the case with this study. Using Billig’s (1995) typography on the expression of nationalism, i.e. hot and banal nationalism, I proceeded to a categorisation of dominance instances on the basis of whether they point to an overt comparison between brand and the ‘other’, thus demonstrating similarities with hot nationalism discourses. Although Billig’s (ibid) typography is not particularly useful for a Critical Discourse Analysis that views discourse, ideology and practice as undeniably related (Van Dijk, 1997), as he does not account for the possibility of a hot practical expression stemming from banal nationalist narratives, use of the terms served a practical purpose.

When directing analysis to the existence of narratives of dominance that point to a hot nationalist discourse of exclusion on the *we vs. you* basis, Visit Greece exhibited a limited number of relevant instances, while NAMA and the Acropolis Museum showed almost no findings. Although narratives of dominance tied to hot nationalist discourses proved to be limited, thematic analysis on the dominance instances in Visit Greece illustrated the existence of persistent themes in the texts, with the following ones being identified: nature, gastronomy, culture and history. These themes are typical of the competition in tourism promotion, particularly when contemplating the main ‘rivals’ of Greece in the (desti)nation branding domain, i.e. Spain, Italy and Turkey. They are also considered stereotypical in that they do not deviate from the main brand narrative of the Greek nation and they conform with the

globalised tourism trends, primarily attempting to battle competing destinations, rather than produce a genuine national narrative that would be illustrative of the nation. The implications from this, similarly to what I have already mentioned in relation to images, is that stereotypical depictions of Greece may gradually lead to a distortion of the nation's identity. As visitors' expectations are fed with specific narratives via translation, and visitors subsequently mirror their expectations back to the Greek population through online platforms, social media, socialisation (Ivanic, 2006; Sunderland, 2010) and in the framework of market demand (Foster, 1991), the nation image is rendered a mere reflection of the discursive status quo of tourism communication and/or a product of the hegemonic agenda tied to financial motives.

More importantly, these stereotypical narratives are particularly challenging to overcome as they are well-established both in the minds of foreigners as well as locals (Dann, 2001; Athanasiadou and Figgou, 2017) through meta-narrative dissemination via hegemonic powers. As discussed earlier in the Dissertation, foreign narratives about the contemporary Greek nation have been circulating for more than 200 years starting with the movement of Philhellenism. Considering Said's (1978) work on orientalism, we can deduce that the process of stereotyping cannot be single-sidedly halted, as it is orchestrated and perpetuated by out-group dominant powers (media, politics, culture, etc.), which frame the 'other' in a way that responds to their own preconceptions and needs. It is a common phenomenon for non-dominant cultures/nations to construct their nation image in a way that it re-enacts imposed stereotypical depictions. This process of stereotyping involves not only external influence, but self-appropriation and narrative circulation of the stereotypical ideas (Dann, 2001). As a result, the brand/nation is established as the 'other' and it is, thus, constantly exoticised, objectified and simplified to match expectations. Drawing on Wodak's (2008; 2011) writings on 'otherness' and national identities, it is concluded that 'otherness' can lead to nationalist narratives that function contrary to social progress, intercultural understanding and solidarity, as well as national progress.

Deviation from the stereotypical depictions of a brand requires institutional restructuring and rebranding, which could harm the product and lead to the financial repercussions if it fails to meet visitor needs, fantasies and existing ideas about the brand. In other words, visitors choose destinations partly as a result of their own familiar and easily understandable preconceptions about the brand (Travlou, 2002). At the same time, tourists do not welcome narratives that render a destination unfamiliar, seeing that a degree of familiarity with the otherwise 'unexplored' destination is vital to its successful promotion. As Krippendorf (1987) suggests, "cliches is what people want and cliches they will get" (as cited in Dann, 2001, p.7).

In order to understand the ways hegemonic powers can achieve such levels of meta-narrative distortion of identity, it is useful to remember Austerlühl's (2014) argument that one of the foremost discursive mechanisms of dominant power perpetuation is intertextuality. Through intertexts, a dominant actor

manages to control and regulate the voices that make up the narrative to be disseminated. Taking into consideration Kavoura's (2007) exegesis of bureaucracy as an institutional tool of power centralisation, I would posit that intertexts have the potential to frame and reframe existing narratives by introducing third communicative instances. When a text is inserted into a new text, the following processes are activated: (i) the present narrative is enriched, (ii) the present narrative is directly connected to a past narrative and (iii) the present is rewritten/reframed in specific ways decided by the hegemonic power responsible for textual production. In a similar way with the function of hyperlinks as discussed above, intertexts contribute to the perpetuation of ideology and may lead to a restructuring of existing ideas. I analysed material and thematic intertextuality in my data, and found that Visit Greece exhibited a large number of relevant instances, NAMA showed an important number of findings and only a few relevant instances were extracted from the Acropolis Museum website. As regards the nature of intertexts and their subsequent narrative construction power, I found that the vast majority of instances referred to ancient Greek works or ancient Greek authors. This is in line with previously explored findings in this study, tied to brand reference temporal orientation, multimodal analysis, as well as actors and brand relationships. Through the use of intertexts connected to Ancient Greece, the brand attempted once more to build a connection between the ancient and the contemporary identity of Greece, contributing accordingly to the produced nation image and the overall nationalist discourses found to exist in the texts.

My conclusion, therefore, is that the way Greece is portrayed in these multimodal texts, both in Greek and in their English translation, is guided to a large degree by a temporal framing axis. I found that narratives of the past and the present were dominant in the data set contributing to the concept of national continuity, while the future was absent from the narrative pool. Both through multimodal and textual means, focus was widely placed on heritage and the idea of ancientness and origins. The brand appeared to conform to existing narratives and wider tourism communication practices, thus constructing a stereotypical depiction of Greece that does not allow for flexibility in relation to identity construction. As for the degree of nationalism in the texts, discursive evidence pointed to a banal nationalism agenda, typical of tourism communication, mainly expressed through the majority of discursive instances examined and, also, through dominance in Visit Greece. Although the function and nature of nationalism in the data set cannot be clearly determined, it should be highlighted that banal nationalism can lead to hot nationalist expression through perpetuation of narratives, distortion of national identity and misinterpretation of messages by the audience.

5.3 Insights Gained, Limitations and Further Research

In this final section I will briefly review some of the most valuable insights gained through this research project, consider its limitations and suggest further research avenues in connection to it. Exploring the

(re)construction of Greek national identity and image through original multimodal tourism texts in Greek and their English translations under a CNA perspective, and trying to determine the degree to which translation plays a role in the process of nation construction process has provided new insights into the fields of TS, discourse analysis, national identity and nationalism, as well as branding.

To start with, applying my model of analysis within a critical narrative framework to my collection of multimodal texts in the tourism domain showed that, in this particular case, translation does not appear to alter the original ST narrative, as only minor fluctuations were retrieved. My research also concluded that discourse patterns do not differ substantially between ST and TT. In view of these two findings, I propose that it is important to account for the non-existence of fluctuations in TS studies within specific thematic domains and/or text types traditionally considered to bare fluctuations, such as destination branding, despite acknowledging the need for research into translation fluctuations in order to unearth possible narrative variations that could be telling of ideological repositioning and/or audience design.

Moreover, I presented findings supporting the existence of hegemonic discourses of nationalism in the data set and showcased the meta narrative construction and dissemination cycle processes, based on identity and narrative theories. Expanding on marketing communication theory, I found a third actor to exist in the constructed brand relationships (i.e. ambassadors), thus providing new information on tourism promotional discourse. In discussing hegemony and ideology perpetuation, my study confirmed existing theories on patronage systems and narratively constructed ideological apparatuses, through exploration of the discursive elements pertaining to the system of bureaucracy within which the bodies studied operate. I also explored the ways nationalist discourses can find their way into banal settings such as tourism communication, mapping the discursive means used to put forward specific narratives around nation and national identity. This can contribute to a better appreciation of the phenomenon of nationalism, anticipating further research into the non-critical domains in which nationalist discourses may exist.

Last, a model was built to study the discursive construction of Greece in the selected data set that can be tested and adjusted to fit future research in the field of TS and discourse/narrative analysis related to national identity and tourism. Combining CDA with narrativity, in what has been termed as Critical Narrative Analysis (Souto-Manning, 2014) allowed me to approach the translation of touristic/cultural texts from Greek into English under a critical discourse perspective by looking at discursive features that pertained to the Greek identity construction, while examining the macro effect of produced discourses in the framework of the narrative cycle. Although Souto-Manning's (2014) CNA methodology perfectly describes the relationship and combined advantages of fusing CDA and narrativity, it does define discursive instances before proceeding to the exploration of data. As this could lead to unsubstantiated and/or circumstantial findings, I accounted for the discursive and narratives features to be explored before proceeding to the actual analysis. This allowed me to proceed to a focused

exploration of the data set, while allowing for non-predicted trends to be exhibited through trend and thematic analysis. Regardless of the apparent lack of narrative fluctuations in the translated texts in my Dissertation, the model may be useful for TS scholars when examining ST-TT narratives and discourse features through a CNA prism, as it both focuses on the discourse features used in the bilingual data set to construct narratives and it describes the function of these narratives in the original and translated versions, providing the prospect to discuss ideology through translation when translation shifts exist.

Despite the conclusive findings the model of analysis provided for the discursive features explored in this study, there were some limitations that could be overcome by adjusting the methodology or research data set, in combination with a more in-depth exploration of nationalist discourses that would feed the pool of discursive features on which the model of analysis focused. Future research could expand the method of analysis to also include corpus linguistics electronic tools, such as AntConc, as they would render possible the examination of more micro discursive elements under a CNA perspective through concordance, keyword and frequency/statistical analysis. This could have the potential to offer more information on possible translation fluctuations and contribute to the exploration of further narratives related to the construction of Greek national identity and image.

Beyond the exploration of brand relationships, brand reference temporal orientation, intertextuality and dominance that this Dissertation addressed, electronic tools could be useful to unearth more unaccounted or not-possible-to-predict trends seeing that CNA follows a structured yet open-ended approach to analysis, or confirming the trends already established in this study and hence contribute to the identification of national identity narratives in the original and translated texts. Similarly, future research could further contribute to the exploration of websites by applying robust multimodal analysis on all website pages and not solely on the homepage. Despite the prevalence of the homepage as regards brand communication, critically examining visual and auditory elements through the website will certainly produce more conclusions about the role of multimodality in narrative construction. Given that translation did not appear to be a narrative reconstruction factor in my study, it would be enlightening to also include non-translated (ST) Greek and English texts in the data set. This would allow for a triangulation of findings across different data sets and could provide information at a language and/or culture level by examining to what degree the narratives found in STs and TTs match those extracted from Greek and English original texts, thus showing the extent of meta-narrative dissemination of messages.

Expanding the data set as above would also make it possible to provide more comparative information regarding the discursive patterns per text or website type (hybrid-informative vs. hybrid-promotional), thus contributing to a discussion of textuality and tourism communication. Moreover, retuning the data set shortlisting criteria could lead to a different data set that would possibly allow for the exploration of alternative research questions and additional insights. For example, not considering popularity or

translation direction as shortlisting criteria would broaden the textual data and could possibly enable me to proceed to a comparative analysis on a state body vs. private body level, which would provide useful insights to the extent to which narratives permeate both the public and the private sphere and would shed further light on the function of narrative dissemination.

As regards alternative routes, this Dissertation could be enriched by incorporating new research perspectives that were initially not within the scope of the study. First, incorporating ethnographic research and/or audience reception analysis to such a kind of project could be a productive avenue, inasmuch as these perspectives can help identify the degree to which produced narratives reach the audience and whether they match the ST or TT message discursively disseminated through the texts. Regarding the data set per se, modifying or enriching it could be useful to expand the collection of bilingual Greek to English websites so that the word count and data set balance allows for the in-depth examination of narrative fluctuations between private and state bodies. Including this additional level of analysis could give more insights into the meta-narrative reach of disseminated messages and contribute to a discussion of bureaucracy not only through a state lens, yet also including private bodies that possibly operate within the same framework. Studying differing narratives or examining similarities between state and private bodies would lead to useful findings in relation to the Greek nation image and the ideology it perpetuates and through which the nation image is produced. Additionally, since tourism communication occurs via social media at large, it would be beneficial to look at social media campaigns including original and translated multimodal texts, while also monitoring user response in the comments section to determine the degree to which and the ways through which the audience receives and interprets the disseminated narratives. Finally, the study could focus more on the role of writers and translators and consider individual ideology, provided that there is enough data provided by the bodies under consideration and abiding by the principles of narrativity that views discourse and ideology to be operating within a system of bureaucracy and hegemony that does not leave much room for ideological deviations between the body and its employees.

Interdisciplinary research that accounts for the multifaceted nature of the social practice of tourism understanding the crucial ideological aspects of national identity construction through discourse in translation can offer numerous insights into the dominant powers that control narrative dissemination and enrich the field of TS by expanding on the critical exploration of language in use through a number of social domains.

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7. Appendices

7.1 Appendix I: Types and Qualities of Image Formation Agents

Source: Gartner (1994, p. 210)

Image Change Agent	Credibility	Market Penetration	Destination Cost
Overt Included I			
Traditional forms of Advertising (e.g., Brochures, T.V., Radio, Print, Billboards, etc.)	Low	High	High
Overt Included II			
Information received from tour operators, wholesalers	Medium	Medium	Indirect
Covert Included I			
Second party endorsement of products via traditional forms of advertising	Low/Medium	High	High
Covert Included II			
Second Party Endorsement through apparently unbiased reports (e.g., Newspaper, Travel Section articles)	Medium	Medium	Medium
Autonomous			
News and Popular culture: documentaries, reports news stories, movies, television programs	High	Medium/High	Indirect
Unsolicited Organic			
Unsolicited information received from friends and relatives	Medium	Low	Indirect
Solicited Organic			
Solicited information received from friends and relatives	High	Low	Indirect
Organic			
Actual Visitation	High	- - -	Indirect

7.2 Appendix II: The 5 Most Popular Museums in Greece

Source: http://www.visitgreece.gr/en/culture/museums/the_5_most_popular_museums (last accessed, July 12, 2017).

- The Acropolis Museum
- Archaeological Museum of Delphi
- National Archaeological Museum of Athens
- Herakleion Archaeological Museum
- Palace of the Grand Master

7.3. Appendix III: Top 100 City Destinations Ranking

Source: http://go.euromonitor.com/rs/805-KOK-719/images/TCD-presentation_FINAL.pdf (last accessed,, July 12 2017)

Greek cities in the list:

- Athens
- Heraklion
- Rhodes

7.4. Appendix IV: Top 10 Visited Archaeological Sites and Museums: Sep. 2013 - May 2014

Source: <http://www.iefimerida.gr/news/> (last accessed, July 12, 2017).

- Temple of Olympian Zeus: 500.833
- Ancient Olympia: 392.192
- Ancient Agora: 326.756
- White Tower of Thessaloniki: 172.350
- Museum of Heraklion: 170.983
- Old Fortress of Corfu: 170.308
- Palamidi Fortress: 152. 324
- Archaeological site of Kerameikos: 77.057
- Hadrian's Library: 62.627
- Byzantine Museum of Athens: 39.288

7.5. Appendix V: Most Visited Museums and Sites in Greece: Jan. 2016 – Feb. 2017

Source: <https://www.statistics.gr/en/statistics/-/publication/SCI21/>- (last accessed, July 12, 2017).

Museums

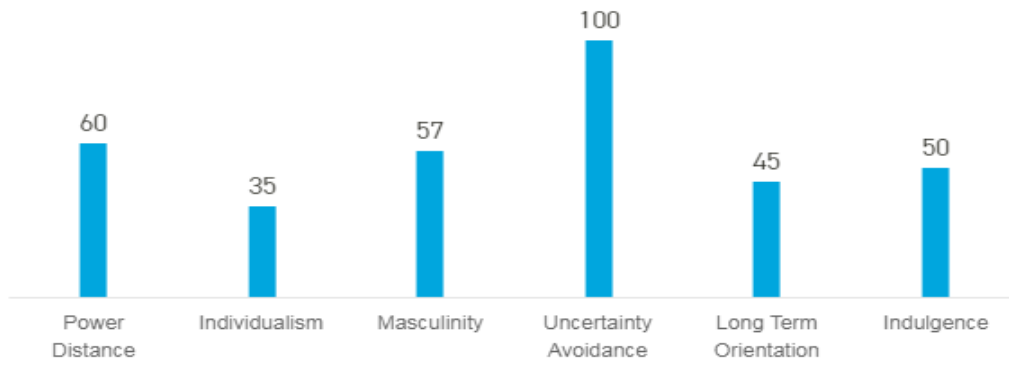
- The Acropolis Museum: 1,535,956 visitors
- National Archaeological Museum of Athens: 496,791 visitors
- Herakleion Archaeological Museum: 360,128 visitors
- White Tower of Thessaloniki: 321,651 visitors
- Palace of the Grand Master: 240,958 visitors

Sites

- Acropolis Archaeological Site: 1.921.662 visitors
- Theatre of Dionysus: 632.198 visitors
- Knossos Archaeological Site: 617.921 visitors
- Ancient Agora: 448.391 visitors
- Temple of Olympian Zeus: 436.906 visitors

7.6. Appendix VI: Hofstede's 6-D Model© on Cultural Indices in the Case of Greece

Source: Hofstede Insights (2018)



7.7. Appendix VII: Original Version of the Logo of the Greek State *Health First* Program

Source: Government Gazette of the Hellenic Republic, 2020. © Greek Ministry of Tourism.

