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Shaping the glo/cal in Greek–English tourism advertising

A critical cosmopolitan perspective

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The study explores mediated identity construction on the local and global stage, in Greek-English tourism material. It examines sample data, drawing on the Greek National Tourism Organization website, to identify shifts in the Greek and English versions of the data using Swain's (2009) model of critical cosmopolitan orientations. The critical cosmopolitan framework is shown to be instrumental in revealing identity construction tendencies in the two versions, which shape the interaction of host and visitor, the destination and the travel experience. Findings raise awareness of how identities are perceived and constructed in the tourism business and of the formative potential of these practices on discourses. They also have consequences for training practices in tourism advertising, the translation of identities and self-representation practices. Results are expected to carve a path towards raising awareness of the complexities involved in cultural communication and the construction of messages.

Keywords: tourism, discourse, identity construction, digital texts, cosmopolitanism, Greek/English

1. Tourism discourse and cosmopolitanism: Translating the Self

Thurlow and Jaworski (2010:2) describe and interpret tourism (mobility for pleasure or leisure) “as one of the major forces shaping social, political and cultural processes in the world today” and argue that scholarly attention on how communication works through tourism discourse is expected to shed light on processes of transformation in the so-called “discourses on the move” (2010:20). In examining Asturian tourist texts, Valdeón (2009) suggests that scholars from various fields should be involved in the production of tourist material and Smecca (2009)

highlights the mediating role of translation in constructing images of places which are only partially true. Representations of place, local people, lifestyle, nation, region and heritage are renegotiated in a cosmopolitan context. In discussing tourism from a cosmopolitan perspective, Johnson (2014: 257) defines cosmopolitanism as a human condition which “can be conceptualized as a paradigm of cultural literacies that locates social, cultural, political and geographic orientations, takes the local into consideration, and indicates involvement in global citizenship”. Salazar (2010) also focuses on cross-cultural competences which foreign visitors need to develop in order to enhance their cosmopolitan status. In discussing “the socially situated nature of cosmopolitan processes”, Delanty (2006: 43) focuses on the notion of translation or translatability. He argues that “every culture can translate itself and others” (ibid.) drawing on the actual dynamics of cosmopolitan transformation, which assume perception of the local and global. Cosmopolitanism “concerns the multiple ways the local and the national is redefined as a result of interaction with the global” (2006: 36). Delanty refers to a process of (a) hybridization, creolization, indigenization, where the “local appropriates the global” (ibid.), (b) glocalization, as in the case of global diasporas, where “the local is transformed into a new cosmopolitan global flow” (ibid.) and (c) cultural globalization, where the global predominates over the local.

Emphasis seems to be placed on the public sphere and “the emergence of a global public which is less a spatially defined entity” (ibid.: 37). Tourism mobility seems to favour the emergence of a global public where processes of glocalization transform the local into a new ‘cosmopolitan global flow’. Tourism is a field where the cosmopolitan practices of self-presentation and self-transformation become particularly evident in that a culture presents and/or transforms itself to appeal to local or global visitors. Notions of communicative transformation and critical self-understanding are highly important in tourism advertising, where the dynamic relation between the local and the global is explored in the context of the social world, and from a discourse perspective.

A double process of translation seems to be taking place on the ‘glo/cal’ stage, the first amid local cultures (for internal tourism) and the second between the local and the global (for global audiences). Translation amid local cultures is assumed to parallel the process of *intra-lingual* translation where forms of the local are transformed to attract local visitors or visitors who are already in Greece. Translation between the local and the global is realized in a country’s attempt to construct a global identity of itself through processes of self-understanding as tourism does, and seems to display affinities with *inter-lingual* translation.

Cronin (2006) argues that Cosmopolitanism¹ (especially what he calls “micro-cosmopolitanism” [favouring local diversity], as opposed to “macro-cosmopolitanism” [favouring hegemonic and assimilation attitudes]), enables local identities to project their complexities on an international level. Cronin devotes the first part of his book *Translation and Identity*, to explain the relation between cosmopolitanism, translation and identity. His aim is to “track the instances of translation which highlight the micro-cosmopolitan complexity of places and cultures” (2006:18). He argues that “[c]osmopolitanism may be thought of as primarily a socio-cultural condition” and that it is considered “most apt to describe our essential connectedness as global producers and consumers” (2006:9), in engaging with others. This desire for interaction is a core value in tourism discourse and is here confirmed as being also a cosmopolitan value. Bielsa (2012:23) also mentions that “processes of cultural hybridisation and localisation are highlighted as important ways through which the local and the national are redefined through their interaction with the global”. Cosmopolitanism has attracted the attention of researchers beyond the context of tourism. For instance, in the context of emerging public spheres, Daskalaki (2012) explores construction of global identities in transnational communities by focusing upon personal narratives of frequent work-related mobility. She traces instances of “reconstitution of identity during transient inhabitation of places” (ibid.: 430).

In Greek-English translational contexts, the global public emerging in the context of global mobility seems to have imprinted features which may be shared between Greek tourism material and its English translation (Kefala 2014).² Hall (1996) pointed out five narratives used for the construction of national identity, namely the ‘narrative of the nation’, an ‘emphasis on origins, continuity and tradition’, the ‘invention of tradition’, the ‘myth of origin’ and finally the ‘pure, original people’, and these were found to be implemented in a similar manner in the Greek and English versions of the data.

This study examines digital texts and focuses on *variation* as manifested through tourism discourse translation, in a process of glocalization. It shows that critical cosmopolitanism can account for processes of self-representation and self-transformation, assuming intended images of the global and the local (glocal).

1. Cosmopolitanism is differentiated from globalization and imperialist practices in that the focus is “on multiple affiliations and the possibility of individual choice” (Cronin 2006:10, emphasis added), underlining the notion of ‘voluntary affiliation’.

2. Kefala examined a wider set of data types than the data set the present study focuses on. It examined both parallel and comparable material from the Greek NTO and the British NTO (translation directions GR>EN and EN>GR, respectively), drawing on both local and international exchanges.

It examines Greek and English versions of texts produced by the Greek National Tourism Organization (GNTO, hereafter), to outline realizations of the various orientations of cosmopolitan practice in the Greek and English versions of the data. It accounts for shifts in the way parallel tourism texts are constructed to enforce their communicative (and profit-making) potential. It seems that the critical cosmopolitan processes of self-transformation are highly productive in the interactive relations between societies as manifested in tourism texts.

On a par with Delanty who claims that “social reality entails processes of social construction entailing knowledge and socio-*cognitive* structures” (2006: 36, emphasis added), and Johnson (2014) who highlights *cognitive*, behavioural and affective dimensions of cultural literacies involved in cosmopolitanism, the study examines cognitive aspects of tourism messages. It examines shifts in the conceptualization of reality as manifested through the use of metaphors in the Greek and English versions of the data: it shows that variation in the metaphorical conceptualizations (Lakoff and Johnson, 1980/2003), or analogies, employed in this bilingual set of data is not random. It is rather connected to the way some cosmopolitan values are perceived in the two versions of the data.

2. Critical cosmopolitan orientations

Swain (2009: 508) reviews relevant literature to distinguish globalization from cosmopolitanism in terms of the human values associated with the latter term. She explains that

[t]he term ‘globalization’ is often conflated with capitalism, while ‘cosmopolitanism’ suggests a complementary or critical set of human values that relates to the world not only as consumers or workers, but also as citizens (Hannerz 2004: 71). Global capitalism is strongly tied to the dominance of nation states and transnational corporations in politics, often generating circumstances and scenarios where the market has more rights than the individual. In contrast ‘capitalist’ cosmopolitanism has marked a turn against empire, albeit a weak defence against reactionary nationalism in arenas of human rights and environmental change (Calhoun, 2002: 102–3).

In Delanty’s view (2006: 35), cosmopolitanism explores “the creation and articulation of communicative models of world openness in which societies undergo transformation”. A major point in the theory of critical cosmopolitanism is that of self-problematization. This is seen as a series of responses towards globalizing trends, global mobility and economic/migration/cultural flows — which seem to be partly realized through tourism. Delanty’s (2006: 35) process of “communicative

transformation” is interpreted here as the communicative transformation of a host culture which addresses global visitors. The emphasis is put on cultural encounters and relational processes which enable cultures to interact and accept or evaluate one another. Every actor in the relation needs to re-evaluate him/herself and construct a self-image which is subject to interpretation by the other members of the community. These constructivist strategies create a space which accommodates ‘translations’ (in the sense of transformation) and acquisition of roles. The ways in which a destination chooses to describe itself, to reflect on its own qualities and characteristics in tourism discourse and to communicate the message to others, are implemented by positioning itself in relation to others. This positioning assumes a process of self-representation, a self-problematization in the encounter with the Other, an awareness of the cosmopolitan Self in the tourist context, and has attracted the attention of scholars.

Swain (2009: 505) examines “how cosmopolitanisms are actually experienced, embodied, situated, performed and imagined in tourism by consumers and the toured”. Her questions are how “we embody our cosmopolitanism through engagement with tourism” (*ibid.*), and what cosmopolitan practice, theory and methodology could possibly contribute to Critical Tourism Studies.

Cosmopolitan practices have been claimed to involve a set of orientations or choices of engagement adopted by the cosmopolitan person. Following Szerzynski and Urry 2006, and Gunesch 2005, Swain combines orientations of cosmopolitan practice or cosmopolitan personhood to highlight aspects of the concept. Swain’s combination of orientations assume the following practices or choices of engagement:

- Mobility — bodily, imaginatively, virtually, through global and local spheres.
- Consumption — of places, peoples and environments.
- Curiosity — non-typical tourist attitude.
- Risking encounters with the other — open to diversity.
- Mapping, aesthetic reflection — varied notions of home.
- Openness to the other’s culture — connoisseur of cultural diversity.
- Semiotic skill to interpret — critique of the other and own nation-states.

Implementation of these cosmopolitan orientations in social behaviour and/or in discourse assumes a kind of cultural literacy, an awareness of how the cosmopolitan person would make use of these options. Johnson (2014:260) highlights the cognitive, behavioural and affective dimensions of cultural literacy involved in Swain’s orientations and stresses its usefulness in tourism research. “For the researcher of tourism,” she claims, cosmopolitanism “adds to the conceptual toolbox and provides a mechanism for reflectivity and reflexivity” (*ibid.*). The study attempts to show how cultural literacy may be achieved in tourism translation

contexts through glocal manifestations of cosmopolitan orientations in parallel tourism data. The data sample seems to draw on almost all of these orientations of cosmopolitan practice. The bilingual version of the data sample registers these processes sometimes identically and other times differently, raising issues of how ‘discourses on the move’ (Thurlow and Jaworski 2010) may be transformed to accommodate intended identity construction.

3. The data: Implementing the cosmopolitan orientations

The section shows how Swain’s (2009) orientations of cosmopolitan practice are implemented in Greek-English tourism institutional material on the web or in brochures.³ The intention is to use the critical cosmopolitanism perspective in order to account for variation between Greek-English versions of the material, which otherwise would have been seen as random.

The sample data set in this study comprises 2012 texts culled from the Visit Greece’ official website of the Greek NTO (<http://www.visitgreece.gr/el>), advertising seven Greek destinations. They have been produced by the Greek NTO in Greek, and translated into English (Greek text word count: 3,733). Attention is, thus, directed to what Thurlow and Jaworski (2010:13) call “representational” tourism genres which are institutional and directive, as opposed to more “interactional” genres like postcards and guidebooks, where individual choice may be more prominent. Examples of variation in the verbal implementation of cosmopolitan processes appear below, and are frequently associated with rendition of conceptualizations in the two versions of the data. Tourism discourse makes abundant use of metaphors and figurative language in order to improve the communicative potential of discourse.

3.1 Mobility: Tourism as an opportunity to escape

A critical cosmopolitan strategy realized differently in the Greek and English version of the data is that of mobility. Dann (1976, cited by Salazar 2012:9) points out two directions of tourist fantasies. One is the “boosting of personality — ego-enhancement, leading to the accumulation of symbolic capital”. This has been realized in various ways in this corpus (see for instance the potential of the visual text, as analysed in Kress and van Leeuwen 1996, to suggest the ego-enhancement effect, as a result of knowledge acquisition in Poster 1, appendix). If knowledge is symbolic

3. Some texts are in the form of brochures but are available online, not in print.

capital (Bourdieu 2000), the tourists in poster 1 seem to boost their personality through knowledge accumulation (on ancient monuments, history etc.).

The other direction of tourist fantasy is “the overcoming of monotony anomie and meaninglessness of everyday life with more satisfying experiences — *escapism* and the desire for exoticism or difference” (ibid.: 9, emphasis added). Escapism is associated to the quest for *authenticity*, for the exotic and unique, as expressed in the wider context of cosmopolitanism.⁴

In the present set of data, escapism seems to be a value associated with tourism and is more often exploited in the English version of the data, rather than in the Greek one.

- (1) ST: Η Σαντορίνη θεωρείται κατεξοχήν ρομαντικός προορισμός στην Ελλάδα. (‘Σαντορίνη’ online)
 “Santorini is considered to be the most romantic **destination** in Greece”
 TT: Santorini is considered to be the most sought after place for a romantic **getaway** in Greece. (‘Santorini’ online)

In ST1, Santorini is simply a *προορισμός* (‘destination’) in Greek, a *getaway* in the English TT, which more eloquently implements the idea of escapism. Likewise TT2, from the text on Sikinos island, [*e]scape* is given a sentence-initial position.

- (2) ST: Η Σίκινος, ένα μικρό νησάκι μεταξύ Ίου και Φολεγάνδρου, αποτελεί την ιδανική επιλογή για ήσυχες διακοπές **αποφόρτισης** από τα άγχη και τις φροντίδες μιας κουραστικής καθημερινότητας. (‘Σίκινος’ online)
 “Sikinos, a small island between Ios and Folegandros, is the ideal choice for a quiet vacation, **discharging** anxiety and everyday stress”
 TT: **Escape** from everyday stress and anxiety on this small island, located between Ios and Folegandros. (‘Sikinos’ online)

Escapism is a fantasy given initial position in the English version, doing justice to the cosmopolitan orientation. The Greek text uses the item *αποφόρτιση* (‘discharging’) which assumes a different conceptual metaphor (ACTIVITY/STRESS=ELECTRIC CURRENT) not readily associated with the cosmopolitan orientation of mobility.

A search in the wider corpus suggests that the tendency seems to be more prominent in the English version of the GNT0 data. This could also be connected to the fact that (as shown elsewhere in the data, Kefala 2014) the English text assumes a more active visitor/addressee, more willing to interact and take part in the decision-making process. See for instance the English version of (1): *Santorini*

4. Moira, Mylonopoulos and Parthenis (2011:25) use Maslow’s hierarchy of needs (1943) to interpret findings about newlywed couples’ ‘escapist’ fantasies, based on the notion that “the tourism industry is based on the precondition that vacations are a human need and that every man should have such an experience”.

is considered to be the most *sought after* place for a romantic getaway in Greece. In the Greek version, the *sought after* item, which implies a more active role of the tourist, is silenced. More manifestations of the active role assumed of the English tourist appear below.

The next section highlights the consumption dimension of the tourism experience, which appears more prominently in the English version of the examples.

3.2 Consumption: The journey as something precious

Scholars (Herbig 1998, Akaka and Alden 2010) have observed that advertisements highlight wealth, capital and idealized ways of living, which ‘promise’ the client social status, if they buy the product. In the words of Bourdieu (2000), they acquire symbolic capital. The present set of data shows that the English version enforces the wealth and capital implications of the tourism experience, activating the ‘consumption’ cosmopolitan orientation (Swain 2009).

In the following examples, a destination is compared to a precious gem, assuming the conceptual metaphor DESTINATION=JEWEL. This is particularly noticeable in the English TT, probably reflecting awareness of consumerism social values, namely, wealth accumulation and capital acquisition. Travelling is seen as a way of joining a certain social group, of acquiring (social) capital, of rising to another social class. It could also be a means through which the Greek institution targets a specific audience as part of an institutional policy. This could be motivated by an intention of the Greek National Tourism Organization to attract upper class tourists. The institutional policy seems to be implemented through appropriate metaphorical mappings signifying wealth.

This is more evident in example (3), from the text on Santorini. The reference to a gem does not appear in the Greek ST.

- (3) ST: Η Σαντορίνη (ή Θήρα) βρίσκεται στο νοτιότερο σημείο των Κυκλάδων και είναι στην ουσία ένα σύμπλεγμα νησιών. (‘Σαντορίνη’ online)
 “Santorini (or Thira) is situated at the southern end of the Cyclades and is in fact a group of islands...”
 TT: Crescent-shaped Santorini (or Thira), the **precious gem** of the Aegean, is actually a group of islands... (‘Santorini’ online)

The Greek text seems to be purely informative and does not seek to attract the reader’s attention through allusions to wealth and capital. In English, the text activates wealth connotations (through the *gem* item). Travelling is precious, a privilege, something to be acquired, to be sought-after.

In example (4), the English version of the text also activates the jewellery conceptualization (through TT4 item *pearl*). Example (4) also provides additional

evidence of the active role assumed of the tourist in the English version vs. a more passive role assumed of the Greek tourist. See *θα σας γοητεύσει* ('it will enchant you') vs. the exhortation to *experience the [...] charm of this pearl*. Such shifts seem to implement another cosmopolitan orientation, that of risk-taking, to be discussed below.

- (4) ST: Θα σας **γοητεύσει** κάνοντάς σας να ανυπομονείτε να γυρίσετε πίσω στη «χαμένη Ατλαντίδα» σας. (‘Σαντορίνη’ online)
 “It will **enchant** you, making you to look forward to coming back to your ‘lost Atlantis’”
 TT: Experience for yourself the once-in-a-lifetime romance and charm of this **pearl** of the Aegean (‘Santorini’ online)

The preference for the DESTINATION=JEWEL conceptualization in the English version of the data is not only apparent in the texts of the Greek NTO.

The examples show that the consumption orientation is implemented differently in English and Greek: the values and orientations, in the two versions of the data, show a diversified awareness of consumerism, as a strategy of tourist engagement. The assumption is that travelling is connected to notions of wealth and jewellery, with the latter connoting authenticity.⁵

The analogy seems to appear in discourses produced by the British NTO, as well. The example below appears without numbering, as it comes from the *Visit Britain* site, advertising spa towns (Cheltenham Spa), and describes the destination as a precious jewel. The analogy is toned down in the Greek target text through the *στολίδι* (*ornament*) item. Also, *the jewel* is fronted in the English text whereas in the Greek TT it appears later in the sentence and is described as an ornament: still something pretty but not so precious and expensive.

- ST: The **jewel** of Cheltenham’s Regency architecture, the Pump Room... (‘Spa Towns’ online)
 TT: Το Cheltenham έγινε λουτρόπολη το 1716 και είναι ένα **στολίδι** αρχιτεκτονικής... (Cheltenham Spa online)
 “Cheltenham became a spa resort in 1716 and is an architectural **ornament**...”

3.3 Curiosity and risk-taking in the tourism experience

Curiosity and risk-taking are two other orientations of the cosmopolitan model, which seem to be implemented differently in the Greek and English versions of the

5. The quest for authenticity has been identified as a major concern in tourist discourses. Poster 2 in the Appendix, seems to highlight the significance of tradition/authenticity through allusions to myth (see, for instance, the mermaid-like shape of the lady on the beach).

data. In the following examples, TT item *experience* does not appear in the Greek text at all, as if the concept is incompatible with travel pleasure.

- (5) ST: Ερωτευμένα ζευγάρια συρρέουν κάθε χρόνο στο ηφαιστειακό νησί αναζητώντας να απολαύσουν αγκαλιασμένοι σε κάποιο μπαλκονάκι της Καλντέρας το διάσημο σε όλους ηλιοβασίλεμα της Σαντορίνης.
(‘Σαντορίνη’ online)

“Couples in love wave towards the volcanic island every year seeking to enjoy the famous sunset of Santorini embracing each other, on some Caldera balcony”

TT: A trip to Santorini with the other half is a dream for anyone who has seen at least one photo of the island’s famous Caldera and exchanging kisses beneath Santorini’s famous sunset is the ultimate romantic **experience!**

(‘Santorini’ online)

The TT in (6) also foregrounds the concept of experience, which seems to connote curiosity and risk-taking. In the source version, nothing in the text seems to give rise to the concept of experience, beyond the description of the sandy beaches, the coexistence of blue and white, etc.

- (6) ST: Κυκλάδες. Το διασημότερο νησιωτικό σύμπλεγμα του Αιγαίου περιλαμβάνει μερικά από τα ομορφότερα νησιά του κόσμου! Οι εκπληκτικές ακτές και οι εξαιρετικές αμμουδιές, η γοητευτική συνύπαρξη του λευκού και του μπλε στην κυκλαδίτικη αρχιτεκτονική, ο παραδοσιακός τρόπος ζωής, τα νησιώτικα τραγούδια, η ζεστή φιλοξενία, τα γυμνά τοπία με τα έρημα ξωκλήσια καθιστούν το ταξίδι στις Κυκλάδες αληθινά μοναδικό.
(‘Κυκλάδες’ online)

“Cyclades. The most famous island group in the Aegean Sea comprises some of the most beautiful islands in the world! Gorgeous sandy beaches, the enchanting coexistence of white and blue in Cycladic architecture, the traditional lifestyle, the island folk music, the warm hospitality and the barren landscapes with isolated chapels turn a trip to the Cyclades truly **unique**”

TT: Cyclades. The most famous island group in the Aegean Sea comprises some of the most beautiful islands in the world! Gorgeous sandy beaches, architecture in white and blue, traditional lifestyle, folk music, warm, hospitable people and barren landscapes with isolated chapels turn a trip to the Cyclades into a lifetime **experience**.
(‘Cyclades’ online)

Experience in the English text seems to construct a dynamic aspect of travelling, whereas the absence of the item from the Greek version is assumed to connote a more passive tourist profile.

Such differences in the implementation of cosmopolitan orientations reveal variation in modes of self-definition in relation to one's local vs. international identity. In the present context, the English TT seems to enforce the rhetoric of adventure and 'risk'.

3.4 Mapping

Another manifestation of varying implementations of a cosmopolitan orientation, namely that of 'mapping' (Swain 2009) comes with the use of the concept of *paradise*. As mentioned in Section 2, tourism discourse makes abundant use of metaphors. "Metaphors carry a more important role in tourism advertisements than just of attracting the attention. They drive the attention to the text and make the readers think and re-conceptualize numerous ideas expressed by their use" (Djafarova and Andersen 2008: 300).

In the following examples there seems to be a stronger tendency in the English texts to map the target destination onto the concept of 'paradise'. The DESTINATION=PARADISE conceptual metaphor does occasionally appear on the Greek side, as shown in example (7), but the present set of data has shown that the English version is more keen on using the metaphor (as indicated in the TT of (8) and (11), where the paradise conceptualization appears only in English).

- (7) ST: Η Ανάφη είναι ένας μικρός **παράδεισος**, με ανέγγιχτες φυσικές καλλονές και παραδεισένιες παραλίες με κρυστάλλινα νερά. ('Ανάφη' online)
 "Anafi is a small **paradise** with untouched natural beauties and paradise-like beaches with crystal clear waters..."
 TT: Greek mythology has it that Anafi, a **paradise** of pristine beauty and "exotic" beaches washed by crystal clear waters... ('Anafi' online)
- (8) ST: Εκατομμύρια Έλληνες και ξένοι ταξιδιώτες επισκέπτονται σήμερα τις Κυκλάδες [...] αναζητώντας στο εκτυφλωτικό φως και στα διάφανα γαλανά νερά τη δική τους εκδοχή για «μαγευτικές διακοπές». ('Κυκλάδες' online)
 "Millions of Greek and foreign visitors come to the Cyclades today seeking to enjoy in the dazzling light and the crystal blue waters, their version of an '**enchanting vacation**'"
 TT: Millions of Greek and foreign visitors come to the Cyclades every year to enjoy the dazzling light and the crystal blue waters, in the quest of the **paradise** on earth. ('Cyclades' online)

Another instance of the DESTINATION=PARADISE analogy appears in example (11), where the item *A visit to Santorini is the ultimate gastronomic experience, as the island is a true culinary paradise!* is simply added to the English TT.

In the critical cosmopolitan framework, the mapping orientation is assumed to construct varied notions of home. The tourism message seems to be renegotiated, in order to encompass conceptualizations of the tourist experience, of the target destination, of engaging with the ‘Other’.

3.5 Aesthetic reflection: Tourism as art

Varied implementations of the cosmopolitan orientation ‘aesthetic reflection’ also appear in the data. Hatim (2004: 19) mentions the “Stop and Look” strategy, where visitors are guided through museums and asked to stop and appreciate works of art. In example (9), from the text on Halkidiki, the destination is represented as a colourful canvas, waiting to be appreciated by the Greek visitor, whereas in the English TT the lexical choice assumes a *blend* of colours.

- (9) ST: Σε αυτόν το μεθυστικό **καμβά** γαλάζιου και πράσινου, ο επισκέπτης θα βρει ... (‘Χαλκιδική’ online)
 “On this intoxicating **canvas** of blue and green, the visitor will find...”
 TT: Among this intoxicating blend of blue and green, the visitor will find... (‘Halkidiki’ online)

Although the DESTINATION=ARTISTIC CREATION conceptual metaphor occasionally appears on the English side, the data show that the Greek text freely favours the ‘artistic creation’ cosmopolitan orientation: see *σμιλεμένα* ‘carved’ and *πολύχρωμα* ‘colourful’ in (10), alluding to sculpture and painting respectively.

- (10) ST: Παραλίες με μαύρη, κόκκινη, λευκή άμμο ή **πολύχρωμα** βότσαλα και **σμιλεμένα** από την αλμύρα και τον άνεμο βράχια (‘Σαντορίνη’ online)
 “Beaches of black, red or white sand or **colourful** pebbles and rocks **carved** by saltiness and the wind”
 TT: Beaches with white, red or black sand or volcanic pebbles, spectacular rock formations and impressive lunar landscapes (‘Santorini’ online)

It seems that the Greek text favours the orientation of ‘aesthetic reflection’ more than the English TT does. The Greek version seems to construct ‘local knowledge’ as to what an ideal destination may be.

3.6 Openness to cultures in the tourism experience

Openness to culture may be implemented through culinary experience, among other things. Food is seen as a means of expressing and reinforcing identity, binding individuals together. Molz (2004) sees it as a tool for classifying tourist motivation. Furthermore, she goes on to claim that “the term culinary tourism refers to

practices of exploratory eating, especially in which unfamiliar foods are seen as an encounter with Otherness” (Molz, 2007: 77).

Openness to diversity is a feature of a cosmopolitan person according to Swain’s (2009) orientations. Example (11) shows a diversified manifestation, in the two versions, of the cosmopolitan orientation ‘openness to cultures’ with reference to gastronomic experience. The English version implies that plunging into the unknown is a way of appreciating the ‘Other’ assuming the analogy UNKNOWN=ATTRACTION. The English target version of the text makes sure tourists are given enough information on the special kind of fresh goat cheese (*χλωρό τυρί*), which the Greek version avoids, although Greek audiences may not be familiar with this type of cheese.

- (11) ST: Τα προϊόντα της θηραϊκής γης
 Και ποιος δεν γνωρίζει τα μοναδικά τοπικά προϊόντα της Σαντορίνης;
 Λευκή μελιτζάνα, ντοματάκια, φάβα, κάπαρη και *χλωρό τυρί*: όλα
 γευστικότερα συστατικά απολαυστικών τοπικών εδεσμάτων που θα
 εκτιμήσουν δεόντως οι λάτρεις του καλού φαγητού! (‘Σαντορίνη’ online)
 “Thera products Who doesn’t know the unique local products of Santorini?
 White eggplant, cherry tomatoes, fava, caper and fresh cheese: all tasty
 ingredients of pleasurable local food, to be appreciated by gourmands”
 TT: A visit to Santorini is the ultimate **gastronomic experience**, as the island
 is a true culinary paradise!
 Treat your taste buds to some famous traditional products like cherry
 tomatoes, white egg plants, fava, caper and “**hloró tyri**”, a **special kind of
 fresh goat cheese found on the island**, ... (‘Santorini’ online)

TT item *gastronomic experience* registers an ‘openness to cultures’ cosmopolitan orientation in the English text vs. the emphasis on authenticity in the Greek version (see *μοναδικά τοπικά προϊόντα* ‘unique local products’). The use of *experience* in this example also aims at exoticising the Greek cuisine and ties with the curiosity and risk-taking orientations (Section 3.3 above).

A sign that the English text favours the ‘openness to culture’ cosmopolitan orientation is also manifested through the transliteration of *χλωρό τυρί* as *hloro tyri* in the English version followed by the explanation that it is *a special kind of fresh goat cheese found on the island*. Torresi (2010: 104) in explaining a similar account of Italian products points out the use of *realia tantum* “i.e. words that refer to things that exist only in the source culture”.

3.7 The semiotic skill to interpret: Conflictive perspectives

English-Greek parallel data in advertising, news reporting and elsewhere seem to show that there is a preference in the Greek version of the data for highlighting contrasts in discourse construction (Sidiropoulou, 1998, 2004, 2008), which is toned down in the English version. In the present context, the preference seems to be manifested through the *αλώβητο* (*unharméd*) vs. *untouched* options, namely with the Greek version highlighting a conflict situation. *Αλώβητος* implies contrastiveness, it brings to the fore some kind of conflict between the monument and time (the assumption being that time is an enemy). It favours a conflictive perception of reality, which is downplayed in the English target version.

- (12) ST: ...το Άγιο Όρος, ανυέρβλητο μνημείο της χριστιανοσύνης που στέκει **αλώβητο** από την πάροδο του χρόνου σαν ζωντανό μουσείο του βυζαντινού πολιτισμού μέσα στην παρθένα φύση (‘Χαλκιδική’ online)
 “...Mount Athos, a unique Christian monument, **unharméd** by the passing of time like a living monument of Byzantine culture, standing in the midst of untouched nature”
 TT: ...Mount Athos, a unique Christian monument, **untouched** by the passing of time and a living monument to Byzantine culture, standing in the midst of untouched nature. (‘Halkidiki’ online)

Instances of this appear elsewhere in the tourism material: e.g. Kefala (2014) shows that portrayal of the ideal tourism destination involves a contrastive perception of reality, in the Greek version of the data.

What comes as a surprise, in this set of data, is that this tendency for highlighting conflict is occasionally manifested on the English side, as examples (13) and (14) show. In (13), ST item *σκληρές μάχες* (‘*fierce* battles’) is rendered as ‘**bloodiest** battles’ with the superlative enhancing expressiveness even more.

- (13) ST: Σύμφωνα με τη μυθολογία, στο έδαφος της Χαλκιδικής δόθηκε μια από τις πιο **σκληρές** μάχες, η μάχη των Γιγάντων.
 (‘Χαλκιδική Παλλήνη’ brochure 2006)
 “According to mythology, one of the **most fierce** battles was fought on the ground) of Halkidiki, the battle of the Giants”
 TT: According to mythology, one of the **bloodiest** battles was fought on Halkidiki: The Battle of the Giants or Gigantomachy.
 (‘Halkidiki Pallini’ brochure, 2006)

Likewise, in example (14), TT addition *enemy* referring to giants reinforces the war and conflict implication.

- (14) ST: [Ο Δίας] Κάλεσε την Αφροδίτη να τους παραπλανήσει επιδεικνύοντας τα κάλλη της και ταυτόχρονα ανέθεσε στον Ηρακλή να τους ρίξει τις φαρμακερές σαϊτες του. (‘Χαλκιδική Παλλήνη’ brochure 2006)
 “[Zeus] called upon Aphrodite to distract them by showing off her beauty and at the same time he instructed Hercules to shoot them with his poisonous arrows”
 [Zeus] He called upon Aphrodite to distract **the enemy** by showing off her beauty — at the same time he instructed Hercules to shoot the Giants with his poisonous arrows. (‘Halkidiki Pallini’ brochure 2006)

The contrastive perspective highlighted on the English side is assumed to be a manifestation of the ‘semiotic skill to interpret’ cosmopolitan orientation, a “cultural hybridization” (Delanty 2006: 43) which occasionally favours unconventional forms of expression. Images of hostility and battle may foster underlying themes of ‘primitivity’, in line with potential stereotypes prevailing internationally, just as cultural misinterpretation of ‘the Orient’ lies in the heart of Said’s *Orientalism* (1977). This could be seen as an instance of ‘staged authenticity’ where the host country recreates and interprets its image in order to be appreciated by the tourist. This process could be an instance of self-transformation of an identity, in agreement with perceived narratives (primitivity) circulating in the visitor’s environment.

Delanty (2011: 640) emphasizes the cognitive dimension of culture and explains that “culture is constructed in sense-making activities” which are realized through narratives of self-representation. Greece may be constructing a representation of itself by transferring into the English version the source preference for a contrastive perception of reality.

This section has attempted to present different aspects of the travelling experience through the prism of Swain’s (2009) critical cosmopolitan orientations. It showed that the English version of the data revealed a preference for mobility, consumption, risk-taking and openness to cultures, whereas Greek texts seemed to avoid the above cosmopolitan orientations and rather opted for the aesthetic reflection one.

Table 1 summarizes findings. ‘+’ shows the version which displays preference for the relevant orientation, manifested through the analogies in the second column.

Table 1. Cosmopolitan orientations manifested through translation shifts in the data.

Cosmopolitan orientations	Manifested through the following analogies	Greek (local audiences)	English (international audiences)
Mobility	TOURISM = ESCAPE	-	+
Consumption	DESTINATION = GEM	-	+
Risk-taking — Curiosity	TRAVELLING = EXPERIENCE /more active tourist role	-	+
Mapping	DESTINATION = PARADISE	-	+
Aesthetic reflection	DESTINATION = ARTISTIC CREATION	+	-
Openness to other cultures	UNKNOWN = ATTRACTION	-	+
The semiotic skill to interpret	DESTINATION = SITE OF CONFLICT	-	+

In the English version of the Greek NTO tourism advertisements, the text producers renegotiate discursive features to transform local identities into what would be assumed to be appealing internationally, thus conforming to globally appreciated cosmopolitan orientations. This process of self-presentation employed in addressing international consumers produces target texts which register a distinct glocal perception of self-identity and reflect the power of destinations to impose conceptualisations of destinations, hosts and tourists.

Alternatively, it may reflect the power of the (often hegemonic) tourist to impose trends on the way the host country constructs its self-representation to appeal to international audiences. Kövecses underlines the influence the social environment can exert on the use of metaphorical expressions. “The impact of social context on metaphorical thought is especially clear in the case of power relations in a given society” (2005: 233). The table shows that the GNTO implements the cosmopolitan orientations differently when addressing local vs. international audiences.

4. Translating the cosmopolitan Self

Host-tourist interactions and identities embody the very essence of globalizing processes. It is in the communication of each other, in every particular instance of contact, that hosts and tourists also negotiate the nature of tourist experience, the meaning of culture and place, as well as their relationship to each other and their own identities. (Thurlow and Jaworski, 2010: 9)

Elsewhere, Jaworski and Thurlow (2010) focus on fleeting identities and relationships across national boundaries as manifested through tourism discourses and Coupland (2010) highlights the hybridity and multiplicity expressed through the interaction of globalizing and localizing shifts in communication. The data in this study seem to register this hybridity and multiplicity scholars assume in glocal contexts. There seems to be a combination of shared and non-shared narratives and orientations registered in the two versions of tourism discourses. As mentioned in Section 1, narratives like ‘emphasis on origins, continuity and tradition’ or the narrative of ‘pure, original people’ etc. seem to be shared in the two versions of the data. This seems to be a globally oriented trend in identity construction, which the Greek NTO intends to promote through tourism digital ‘texts on the move’. By contrast, Swain’s combination of cosmopolitan orientations have the potential to highlight local trends in identity construction, as manifested through analysis of the parallel data sample, confirming Johnson’s claim that cosmopolitanism adds to the conceptual toolbox of the researcher.

The parallel data sample analyzed in this study shows that the English target version renegotiates the nature of tourist experience and the meaning of culture through the metaphorical conceptualizations it employs. As Thurlow and Jaworski (2010:2) argue, mobility for pleasure “serves as a powerful channel and agent for the manoeuvres of global capital”. Although a cosmopolitan identity is a value in Greek tourism discourse⁶ — the term is a Greek loanword, the Greek version of the data seems less at ease with highly-priced cosmopolitan orientations like ‘consumption’, ‘mobility’ and ‘risk-taking’. The Greek version of the data seems more at ease with the cosmopolitan orientation of ‘aesthetic reflection’, which is rather less explicitly cost-demanding. These findings seem to answer Swain’s question, as mentioned in Section 2, namely, how “we embody our cosmopolitanism through engagement with tourism” (2009:505) in the Greek-English paradigm.

Findings show that a glocal implementation of values is registered in digital GNTD discourses manifesting a glocal perception of the tourist experience, culture and place, as suggested in the Thurlow and Jaworski quote at the beginning of this section. An open research problem seems to be whether these values (shared or non-shared) will be registered in the same way in tourism discourse, in a decade from now. Diachronic evidence would shed light on further aspects of host-tourist interaction and identity construction, highlighting aspects of the interaction of the global and the local.

6. For instance, see the following extract advertising destinations in Macedonia, Greece, where a cosmopolitan identity is highlighted as a value in the Greek version. ST: *Η «κοσμοπολίτικη» φυσική ομορφιά* (the natural “cosmopolitan” beauty)→TT: An “original” Macedonian beauty).

The approach to culture in this study alludes to a ‘small’ culture paradigm. Holliday (1999) analyses two paradigms of culture in applied linguistics. One is the ‘large’ notion of culture referring to prescribed national and international entities, and the other is a ‘small’ notion of culture which “attaches ‘culture’ to small social groupings or activities whenever there is cohesive behaviour, and thus avoids cultur-*alist* ethnic national or international stereotyping” (1999:237). Holliday’s objection to the ‘large’ culture paradigm seems relevant, in that the “criticism of a large culture paradigm is that the world is becoming an increasingly cosmopolitan multi-cultural place” (1999:244). Discourses ‘on the move’ seem to confine to the small culture view, and as such they are expected to be treated in tourism translation practice.

As mentioned in Section 2, another question Swain (2009) addresses is what cosmopolitan practice and theory can contribute to Critical Tourism Studies. In translation educational contexts, translation training in the tourism industry should be informed by the fact that different degrees or perspectives of cosmopolitan orientations may be manifested in parallel data, and that cultural literacy would entail implementation of different cosmopolitan orientations. Bielsa (2010) highlights the importance of translation for establishing a cosmopolitan social reality or registering openness to the other. Tourism translators should be made aware of the intricacies of intercultural transfer in tourism, to do justice to both local perceptions of the Self (see for instance Archakis and Tzanne, 2009, on social identity construction), and the intended cosmopolitan preferences on the global stage. Mediated identity construction as manifested in tourism seems to be of critical importance in intercultural exchanges. As Jaworski and Pritchard (2005:3) suggest, “through exploring communication between host and tourists we can access and theorize notions of identity, difference, otherness and community”.

Morgan and Pritchard (1998:7) argue that “tourism processes manifest power as they mirror and reinforce the distribution of power in society operating as mechanisms whereby inequalities are articulated and validated”. Practitioners in the tourism industry are expected to be sensitized to this distribution of power and its contribution to tourism discourse construction, with a view to balancing unwelcome power distribution effects, while ensuring communication with the Other. Translators of tourism texts should be made aware of the diversified dimensions of consumerism manifested in the present sample, as well as the assumed tourism involvement in the travelling experience, etc., with a view to constructing discourse accordingly.

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doi:10.1556/Acr.10.2009.1.2

Parallel text sample (total word count: 3,733)

Αλεξανδρούπολη/ Alexandroupolis

Greek text word count: 924

<http://www.visitgreece.gr/el/mainland/alexandroupolis>, accessed 26 May 2014

<http://www.visitgreece.gr/en/mainland/alexandroupolis>, accessed 26 May 2014

Ανάφη/Anafi

Greek text word count: 335

http://www.visitgreece.gr/el/greek_islands/cyclades/anafi, accessed 26 May 2014

http://www.visitgreece.gr/en/greek_islands/cyclades/anafi, accessed 26 May 2014

Σαντορίνη/Santorini

Greek text word count: 828

http://www.visitgreece.gr/el/greek_islands/cyclades/santorini, accessed 26 May 2014

http://www.visitgreece.gr/en/greek_islands/cyclades/santorini, accessed 26 May 2014

Σίκινος/Sikinos

Greek text word count: 198

http://www.visitgreece.gr/el/greek_islands/cyclades/sikinos, accessed 26 May 2014

http://www.visitgreece.gr/en/greek_islands/cyclades/sikinos, accessed 26 May 2014

Κυκλάδες/Cyclades

Greek text word count: 1,123

http://www.visitgreece.gr/el/greek_islands/cyclades, accessed 26 May 2014

http://www.visitgreece.gr/en/greek_islands/cyclades, accessed 26 May 2014

Χαλκιδική/Halkidiki

Greek text word count: 374

<http://www.visitgreece.gr/el/destinations/halkidiki>, accessed 26 May 2014

<http://www.visitgreece.gr/en/destinations/halkidiki>, accessed 26 May 2014

Χαλκιδική, Δήμος Παλλήνης/Halkidiki, Pallini brochure, 2006, 36 pp.

Cheltenham Spa

<http://www.visitbritain.com/en/Spa-towns/>, accessed 26 May 2014

Appendix



Figure 1. GNTTO posters implementing aspects of the tourism message. (Courtesy of the Greek National Tourism Organization (GNTTO 6/2014))

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