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"Are Greeks Desperate for Heroes?" A Corpus-based Investigation of Colonial Discourses

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The author recently completed a master's degree (M.St.) in Modern Languages at the University of Oxford. Being a holder of a master's degree (M.Sc.) in Applied Linguistics (University of Edinburgh) and a B.A. in Greek Philology (University of Athens), he is interested in the fields of Critical Discourse Studies, Social Semiotics and Corpus Linguistics. His research so far has centred around the combination of qualitative and quantitative methods for the exploration of the ways in which power, dominance and social inequality are (re)produced, performed and disseminated through discourse.

Joining previous research on the discourses that have been produced on Greece by the Western press during recent years—particularly related to the economic crisis—the present article examines the British media narratives which covered the archaeological excavation of the mound of Kasta in Amphipolis, Greece, in order to trace any possible colonial discourses. By deploying corpus linguistics in the form of word lists and concordance tables, a total of 324 articles from 108 British publications were investigated. In this study, I argue that Michael Hertzfeld's concept of 'crypto-colonialism' is an ongoing situation that Greece finds itself in and has been greatly perpetuated due to Western colonial discourses that manifest themselves both explicitly and implicitly. These discourses present the ancient past as a kind of cultural example that modern Greeks should somehow follow. Consequently, a cycle of self-colonisation where colonial discourses abroad inform self-colonising discourses domestically emerges, highlighting the dynamic and complex character of crypto-colonialism and the power relationship between the West and Greece that still exists. Finally, I advocate the benefits of using corpus linguistics in cultural research, as a tool for wide-reaching empirical research.

Introduction

Greece, as a nation state established in the nineteenth century, was never formally colonised and thus, has rarely been part of any discussion of post-colonialism. However, this situation changed in the last few years since works in the field of comparative and critical literature have shown the potential for Greece to be situated within post-colonial studies.[1] Additionally, historians and human geographers started addressing the interface between colonialism and national-

[1] For example: Stathis Gourgouris, *Dream Nation: Enlightenment, Colonization and the Institution of Modern Greece* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Dimitris Tziovas, "Beyond the Acropolis: Rethinking Neohellenism," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 19 (2001): 189–220; Vangelis Calotychos, *Modern Greece: A Cultural Poetics* (Oxford: Bloomsbury Publishing, 2003).

ism in terms of both the role of the European powers and the nature and character of Greek nationalism in its internal colonising role.[2] Finally, the anthropologist Michael Herzfeld suggested the description of Greece as a crypto-colony. 'Crypto-colonialism' as a term is defined as

> the curious alchemy whereby certain countries, buffer zones between the colonised lands and those as yet untamed, were compelled to acquire their political independence at the expense of massive economic dependence, this relationship being articulated in the iconic guise of aggressively national culture fashioned to suit foreign models. Such countries were and are living paradoxes: they are nominally independent, but that independence comes at the price of a sometimes humiliating form of effective dependence.[3]

As a concept, crypto-colonialism has been influential and has led to numerous studies attempting to investigate its many facets.[4] Although Greece's crypto-colonial situation involving Greek elites and the West from the late eighteenth century onwards has been discussed by modern Greek scholarship,[5] it seems that more research is needed for a better understanding of the nature of this phenomenon nowadays. A specific issue that needs to be examined is whether only the domestic political and intellectual elite are responsible for the indebtedness of modern Greeks to their ancient classical past or if the West has also an active role in this.

In this article, I argue that crypto-colonialism is an ongoing situation that Greece finds itself in and is greatly perpetuated due to Western colonial discourses that manifest themselves both explicitly and implicitly. These discourses present the ancient past as a form of cultural example that modern Greeks should somehow follow. Consequently, a cycle of self-colonisation—where colonial discourses abroad inform self-colonising discourses domestically—emerges, highlighting

[2] For example: Elisabeth K. Flemming, *The Muslim Bonaparte: Diplomacy and Orientalism in Ali Pasha's Greece* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1999); Shannan R. Peckham, "Internal Colonialism: Nation and Region in Nineteenth-century Greece," in *Balkan Identities: Nation and Memory*, ed. Maria Todorova (London: NYU Press, 2004), 15–43.

[3] Michael Herzfeld, "The Absent Presence: Discourses of Crypto-Colonialism," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 101 (2002): 899–926.

[4] For example, see: Yannis Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid: The Archaeo-politics of The Crisis," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 34 (2016): 227–264. Michael Herzfeld, "The Hypocrisy of European Moralism: Greece and the Politics of Cultural Aggression—Part 1," *Anthropology Today* 32 (2016): 10–13. Similar terms that have been suggested are *surrogate colonialism* and *self-colonisation*. For more information, see: Elisabeth K. Flemming, "Orientalism, the Balkans, and Balkan historiography," *American Historical Review* 105 (2000): 1218–1233; Calotychos, *Modern Greece*, 47–53.

[5] Yannis Hamilakis, "Decolonising Greek Archaeology: Indigenous Archaeologies, Modernist Archaeology and the Post-colonial Critique," in *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and Hellenic Identity in Twentieth-Century Greece*, eds. Dimitris Damaskos and Dimitris Platzos (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008), Benaki Museum supplement 3; Dimitris Platzos, "The kouros of Keratea: Constructing Subaltern Pasts in Contemporary Greece," *Journal of Social Archaeology* 12 (2012): 220–244.

the dynamic and complex character of crypto-colonialism and the power relationship between the West and Greece that exists today.

This study examines the archaeological excavation of the mound of Kasta in Amphipolis, which provoked public discourse on both a national and international level, leading to a media frenzy. To be more specific, the article explores the media coverage of the excavation in the United Kingdom in an effort to trace the existence of possible colonial discourses produced and how they interacted with the Greek discourses. Thus, drawing on this archaeological case that triggered the publication of many articles by the British press, I investigate these narratives by formulating a corpus of 324 articles and deploying corpus linguistics as this study's research method, in order to answer the following questions:

- How was the excavation in Amphipolis presented in the British media from a discursive point of view?
- Were there any further non-archaeological references and implications? If so, what were they? Additionally, did they occupy a prominent role in the corpus?

The use of archaeology and, more generally, the Greek antiquity in Western discourses has been explored by previous research either systematically or fragmentally.[6] Moreover, Greece's perception of its history and its place in a globalised world have also long been sources of discussions in modern Greek scholarship.[7] In the case of Amphipolis, however, there has not been systematic research of the discourses produced outside Greece, and this article aims to contribute towards the filling of this gap as well.

In what follows, I begin by reviewing existing literature on the usage of antiquity in media and public discourses both internationally and in Greece and also literature which specifically addresses the Amphipolis 'saga.'[8] I then go on to discuss the methodology employed for the purposes of this study, along with a presentation of the findings (supported by a concluding appendix that includes a word list and frequencies of occurrence). Finally, a discussion and some concluding remarks complete this article.

[6] Eleana Yalouri, *The Acropolis: Global Fame, Local Claim* (Oxford: Berg, 2001); Lauren E. Talalay, "Drawing Conclusions: Greek Antiquity, The €conomic Crisis, and Political Cartoons," *Journal of Modern Greek Studies* 31 (2013): 249–276.

[7] For example: Patrick L. Fermor, *Roumeli: Travels in Modern Greece* (London: John Murray, 1966), 106–113; Michael Herzfeld, *Ours Once More: Folklore, Ideology and the Making of Modern Greece* (Austin: Texas University Press, 1982); Artemis Leontis, *Topographies of Hellenism: Mapping the Homeland* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1995), 103-131.

[8] I distinguish media from public discourse in this study, with the latter referring mainly to political discourse, but not exclusively (e.g. institutional).

Ancient Heritage in Media and Public Discourses

Since the outbreak of the ongoing Greek financial crisis in 2008, Greece has been at the heart of the international—particularly Western—public and media discourses. Front covers, articles or debates at political and economic levels are some of the platforms where issues primarily regarding the economy have been discussed and negotiated. These public and media discourses have been quite imaginative, since they draw on the ancient Greek heritage (mythology, archaeology, culture) and have manifested using modes beyond language, particularly with images. Lauren Talalay, in her investigation on how classical references were deployed by cartoonists of the Western press for the encapsulation of the Greek financial crisis from 2010 to 2012, offers an inventory of the repetitive images and motifs: the Parthenon and ancient temples, ruins, Venus De Milo, the Discobolus, the Trojan horse, mythological heroes or deities, like Hercules, and so on. These images and motifs have functioned as a major component of Greece's 'symbolic capital' and been part of a global language and market of traded images in the international press.[9] They have been used in a way consistent with an 'imagined community,' to borrow Anderson's phrase, of the Greek heritage and ideals constructed by Western Hellenism;[10] a Hellenism that focuses on classical hallmarks, like democracy or science.[11] The use of these cartoons during, and, even before the crisis, implied that modern Greeks differ from their classical ancestors.[12] Instances of presentations of the Greeks as the unworthy descendants and the chance habitants of the ancient land, in addition to instances of presentations of the Europeans as the true descendants of the ancient past, suggest that this past is a contested site, whose rightful ownership is claimed both by Greeks and Westerners.[13] The fact that the Western press/cartoonists have portrayed Greece as rupturing its once 'glorious' heritage is of great research interest to the degree that the crystallisation of a negative view of the Western audience towards the modern Greek identity can further influence the Greeks themselves in how they situate themselves from a cultural perspective.[14] In other words, cases like the political cartoons—and any kind of similar discourse[15]—can function as powerful elements in the Greek media and public discourse, reflecting and shaping at-

[9] Pierre Bourdieu, "Forms of Capital," in *Handbook of Theory and Research for the Sociology of Education*, ed. John G. Richardson (Greenwood, New York: Greenwood Publishing Group, 1986), 243–251.
[10] Benedict Anderson, *Imagined Communities*, 3rd ed. (London: Verso, 2006).
[11] For example, see: Jonathan Friedman, "The Past in the Future: History and the Politics of Identity," *American Anthropologist* 94 (1992): 837–859.
[12] Yalouri, *Acropolis*, 187; Talalay, "Drawing Conclusions," 251.
[13] For example, see: Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 238.
[14] Talalay, "Drawing Conclusions," 251.
[15] I speak of discourse from a semiotic point of view across the whole article.

titudes, perceptions and stereotypes.[16] Thus, the exploration of all Western public discourses on the Greek culture and identity are of major importance for the investigation of the mechanisms that affect the formation of one's self-perception and, in this case, Greeks' self-perception. The case of Venus de Milo giving the finger on the cover of the *Focus* magazine and the public outcry this created in Greece, including plans of suing the German publication, serve as an example.[17]

Classical heritage and archaeology, however, have also dominated the Greek public discourse: political, institutional and media. Ever since the Greek independence and the formation of the Greek state in the nineteenth century, archaeology has culminated to be a major component of the public discourse in Greece. Politicians, the intellectual elite of the country, the media and every institutional agent of the state, in addition to common citizens, have all developed archaeological discourses for a variety of purposes, from addressing actual cultural issues to exploiting archaeology for a political or economic agenda. The appeal of archaeology has been of such momentum that it has been characterised as a national discipline, an arena in which national imagination is being produced and reproduced daily.[18] It constitutes a space, within which non-archaeological concerns of all kinds (e.g. economy, notions of morality and respectability) are debated and contested.[19]

The politicalisation of the past in Greece has been a product of both conservative and left-wing politicians suggesting that the association of the ancient heritage with national issues and concerns transcends political ideologies, despite possible differences in the usage ranging from simple references to cases of 'banal nationalism.'[20] Political speeches in front of the Acropolis denoting the birthplace of democracy or discussions about material or non-material cultural heritage issues are among the many instances of the use of cultural heritage in public discourse. The resurgence of the debate about the return of Parthenon marbles following Amal Alamuddin's involvement in 2014 and the archaeological finds at the hill of Kasta in Amphipolis during the same year both serve as striking examples.

[16] Yannis Hamilakis, "No Laughing Matter: Antiquity in Greek Political Cartoons," *Public Archaeology* 1 (2000): 58.
[17] "Angry Greeks to Sue German Magazine for Defamation," *Der Spiegel*, April 20, 2011, accessed December 12, 2016, http://www.spiegel.de/international/europe/bird-trouble-angry-greeks-to-sue-german-magazine-for-defamation-a-758326.html.
[18] Yannis Hamilakis, *The Nation and Its Ruins: Antiquity, Archaeology, and National Imagination in Greece* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017); Dimitris Damaskos and Dimitris Plantzos, *A Singular Antiquity: Archaeology and the Hellenic Identity in the Twentieth Century* (Athens: Benaki Museum, 2008).
[19] Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 241.
[20] Michael Billig, *Banal Nationalism* (London: Sage, 1995).

The Case of Amphipolis

The archaeological excavations in Amphipolis are a fine example of the place and role of archaeology and cultural heritage in contemporary public and media discourse. Since 2014, this ancient city has suddenly found itself in the spotlight of media, even though it has been a target of investigation by scholars and antiquarians since the nineteenth century.[21] As for the mound of Kasta itself, this was known to archaeologists for decades. Their interest in the mound can be divided in two general periods, with the first phase beginning in the 1960s and lasting until the 1990s.

The second period is connected with the name of archaeologist Katerina Peristeri. In 2013—and particularly during and after 2014—a public and media frenzy emerged around new findings, and the case of Amphipolis was rendered an unprecedented archaeological phenomenon or, as Hamilakis puts it, "a social and public phenomenon enacted on an archaeological stage."[22] In early 2013, the excavators announced that the lion of Amphipolis, a statue discovered during the Balkan Wars at the beginning of the twentieth century, was originally placed on the top of the hill of Kasta, triggering a speculation about the importance of the archaeological site. It was during the summer of 2014 that the excavation at Amphipolis galvanised the attention and received great media coverage on national and international level, following the full revelation of the 497-metre circumference of the mound and the statues of two Sphinxes guarding its entrance. The visit of the Greek Prime Minister Antonis Samaras to the hill and his interview in front of the monument proclaiming it as "an extremely important find," which is related to the land of Macedonia and its "unique treasures" that are "part of the Greek history," sparked further increase of public interest and the dialectic regarding Amphipolis. The tomb was treated as extra evidence for the 'Greek-ness' of the Macedonian history, which is claimed by both the northern region of Greece, Macedonia, and the neighbouring state FYROM/Republic of Macedonia.[23] Politics and archaeology became inextricably interrelated in the Amphipolis case ever since. A well-controlled communication strategy implemented by the Ministry of Culture offered, on the one hand, an apparently detailed account of the progression of the excavation and, on the other hand, it fuelled public expectations on the identity of the occupant of the mound. The findings after Samaras' visit in August—namely two Caryatids, a mosaic and the skeletal remains that were fi-

[21] Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 244.
[22] Ibid., 241.
[23] Antonis Samaras, August 12, 2014, accessed 08.12.2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=P5juUt6PFzg; Greece and the (Former Yugoslav) Republic of Macedonia/FYROM have been in a political dispute regarding the use of the name of Macedonia ('Macedonia naming dispute') which is also used by the northern region of Greece. No agreement has been reached between the two countries so far resulting in Greece vetoing the accession of the Republic of Macedonia/FYROM to the EU and NATO until the name issue is resolved.

nally discovered—were in the midst of a dramatised public discourse seeking to address the identity of the buried occupant and its further potential significance for the country.[24]

Academic research has attempted to shed light on the cultural, social and political dimensions of this case of cultural politics. There is general consensus over the politicalisation of the excavation and its contextualisation within the wider socio-economic framework of the Greek crisis.[25] For Dimitris Tziovas, Amphipolis is only one instance of the politicalisation of the past during the crisis, acting as a counterbalance and source of national uplifting. The prevailing media narratives in Greece during the excavation at Amphipolis have been explored by Mina Dragouni, who captured the social impact of the excavation. Her findings suggest that the unearthed tomb served as the means for the Greeks to re-establish their pride towards the 'Other,' namely the West that has been criticising modern Greeks during the crisis. Furthermore, she argues that the political agenda of the government aimed at the introduction of Amphipolis in the naming dispute with FYROM over Macedonia, in order to distract the citizens from the adverse economic situation. In other words, archaeology was seen as a way for escapism through the creation of spectacle. What is worth remembering is the production of a discourse regarding the cultural economy of Greece as opposed to the economy of financial markets; a juxtaposition that reflects a so-called cultural indebtedness towards the ancient Greeks. This notion of debt in public discourse is investigated by Hamilakis, who sees Amphipolis as a case of 'occult economy,' where the "earth itself comes to the rescue of Greeks by offering its well-hidden treasures."[26] According to him, this indebtedness is linked with the crypto-colonial constitution of Greece. Thus,

[24] A caryatid is a sculpted female figure serving as an architectural support. It is used instead of a column or a pillar supporting an entablature on her head. The Caryatid Porch of the Erechtheion temple on the rock of Acropolis in Athens is arguably the most recognisable.

[25] Mina Dragouni, "'Greek drama': The Role of Heritage in Spectacle Creation during the Greek Economic Crisis," April 26, 2016, accessed December 12, 2016, https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/greek-drama-role-heritage-spectacle-creation-during-greek-economic-crisis; Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 227–264; Dimitris Tziovas, "Pride and Prejudice: Archaeo-politics and the Iconology of the Crisis," April 28, 2016, accessed December 12, 2016, https://podcasts.ox.ac.uk/pride-and-prejudice-archeopolitics-and-iconology-crisis.

[26] The term *occult economy* refers to an economy outside conventional structures, which relies on the promise of instant enrichment through alternative means, such as magic, visionary skills, dreaming and ancestral inheritance, variously conceived. For more information, see: Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 250; David Sutton, "The Concealed and the Revealed: Buried Treasures as Sense of Place in Neoliberal Greece," presented at "The Economic and the Political: Locating the Greek Crisis within History and Anthropology," Durham, UK, December 20, 2014; Leonidas Vournelis, "Alexander's Great Treasure: Wonder and Mistrust in Neoliberal Greece," *History and Anthropology* 27 (2016): 121–133. Recent anthropological writings speak of occult economy as a characteristic of the twenty-first century neoliberal capitalism. For example, see: Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, "Occult Economies and the Violence of Abstraction: Notes from the South African Postcolony," *American Ethnologist* 26 (1999): 279–303; Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, "Millennial Capitalism: First Thoughts on a Second Coming," *Public Culture* 12 (2001): 291–343.

what seems to emerge is the ongoing crypto-colonial situation of Greece considering the existence of crypto-colonial discourses. A de-colonising process might become a reality by rupturing from the teleology of ancestral indebtedness.[27] However, the question is how this process can take place. Is this ancestral indebtedness owed solely to the domestic political and intellectual elite—indicating the start of this rupture from ancestral indebtedness—or is there also a separate colonisation of the ancient past in Western civilisation, serving as its so-called originary point? This question can probably find no answer, but it highlights the complexity and the dynamic character of this situation. As Michael Herzfeld argues, Greece has played up to imported Western models since the nineteenth century, models of the period of Western colonial empires.[28] Taking this into account, one would reasonably think that a possible de-colonial process of Greece would start at a great extent—but of course, not exclusively—outside Greece in the West by changing attitudes towards ancient and modern Greek cultural identity and, especially, attitudes regarding comparisons between ancient and modern Greeks based on the criterion of greatness.

Methodology

Corpus Linguistics

In order to answer the research questions posed in the introduction, this study uses Corpus Linguistics. As a method or approach, it has been deployed in a wide range of disciplines apart from linguistics, such as social science research, media studies, literature and translation studies.[29] Corpus Linguistics relies on corpora, namely "large collections of authentic texts that have been gathered in electronic

[27] Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 227.
[28] Herzfeld, "The Absent Presence," 904.
[29] Some examples that show the potential of Corpus Linguistics in the aforementioned fields are the following studies: Amanda Potts, "The Application of Corpus Linguistics in Social Science Research: A Case Study from the Annual Reports from the 'International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia,'" paper presented at "Law as Text in Context: International Case Law from a Discourse Perspective," iCourts, University of Copenhagen, Denmark, August 28, 2013); Kieran O'Halloran, "How to use Corpus Linguistics in the Study of Media Discourse," in *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics*, ed. Anne O'Keeffe and Michael McCarthy (Abingdon: Routledge, 2010), 563–576; Jonathan Culpeper, "Computers, Language and Characterisation: An Analysis of Six Characters in Romeo and Juliet," in *Conversation in Life and in Literature*, ed. Ulla Melander-Marttala, Carin Ostman and Merja Kyto (Uppsala: Universitetstryckeriet, 2002), 11–30; Michaela Mahlberg, "Corpus Stylistics: Bridging the Gap Between Linguistic and Literary Studies," in *Text, Discourse and Corpora: Theory and Analysis*, ed. Michael Hoey, Michaela Mahlberg, Michael Stubbs and Wolfgang Teubert (London: Continuum, 2007), 219–246; Mona Baker, "Corpus-based Translation Studies: The Challenges that Lie Ahead," *Benjamins Translation Library* 18 (1996): 175–186.

form according to a specific set of criteria."[30] After these large collections of texts are built, they can be investigated and processed using computer software (for instance Wordsmith) and the tools that it offers for a text analysis, such as word lists, keywords, concordance tables, clusters and collocations.[31] The main advantage of corpus linguistics is the identification of frequent and salient linguistic patterns over large amounts of data and that is owed to the usage of computer software.[32] As a result, researchers' arguments speak to a larger scope of primary material, which can then in turn be interpreted to make broader statements about the texts and themes under analysis.

Dataset and Procedure

The corpus that was built for this study consists of 324 articles from 108 British publications. The British media was chosen for two reasons. First, it has a global prominence which indicates its level of power and influence. Thus, its potential for the formation of mentalities through discourse points to the need of the analysis of its discourses. Second, unlike other European media (e.g. German) whose discourses on Greece over the last seven years have been explored by previous research, the British media has not been adequately investigated. The articles were found on the UK database *LexisNexis*. To be more specific, after typing the keyword 'Amphipolis' into the *LexisNexis* search engine all the available articles written about the Amphipolis excavation from 2013 until 2015 were retrieved and then collected to form the corpus of this article. Table 1 shows its exact size.

Number of publications	108
Number of articles	324
Total word count of corpus	84,596

TABLE 1: Size of Corpus

The articles do not belong to publications of a specific political stance. *LexisNexis* includes articles of diverse publications, ranging from liberal papers (such as *The Guardian*) to conservative tabloids (such us *The Daily Mail*). Thus, no discrimination between the political allegiances of papers was made while building the corpus.[33]

[30] Lynne Bowker and Jennifer Pearson, *Working with Specialised Language: A Practical Guide to Using Corpora* (London: Routledge, 2002), 9.

[31] John Sinclair, *Corpus, Concordance, Collocation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1991), 17.

[32] Paul Baker, Costas Gabrielatos, Majid Khosravinik, Michał Krzynaowski, Ruth Wodak and Tony McEnery, "A Useful Methodological Synergy? Combining Critical Discourse Analysis and Corpus Linguistics to Examine Discourses of Refugees and Asylum Seekers in the UK Press," *Discourse and Society* 19 (2008): 280.

[33] This study does not examine if there are more results appearing in the conservative or the liberal publications (raw corpus), since this is beyond its scope.

With regards to the procedure that followed the formation of the corpus, all articles were processed and analysed using the corpus analysis software *AntConc 3.4.0.* The tools that were utilised are *word lists* and *concordance tables* or *concordances*. A *word list* denotes "a list of all the words that appear in a text or a corpus. It offers the frequencies of each word (or token) in the corpus. Words are usually ordered in this list in terms of frequency, either with a raw frequency count and/or the percentage that the word contributes towards the whole text."[34] The collocational relationships of the words with the highest frequency in the corpus[35] of this study were explored with *concordances*, namely tables showing all the occurrences of a word, phrase or related pair of words in the immediate context that they occur in.[36] The first one hundred words with the highest frequency of occurrence in the corpus of the 324 articles (as shown in the word list) were examined in their immediate linguistic context (with the use of concordances).[37] Each word and its linguistic environment were studied in detail and, when necessary, some words were investigated in the article from which they derive. The grammatical morphemes like "and" or "the" were excluded from the word list with the one hundred words considering their high frequency in any corpus. Thus, the focus was primarily on lexical morphemes. At the end of the procedure, an attempt of grouping the findings took place, which is presented in this study.

Results

The quantitative analysis of the corpus revealed the words with the highest frequency of occurrence (for a more detailed account, see appendix). Their investigation in their immediate linguistic environment allowed the prominent discursive strategies and their characteristics to be disclosed. These discursive attributes make up four main categories: the portrayal of the monument, discourses of hope and memory, meta-discourses and, finally, Greek voices. In the presentation of the findings that follows I quote words, pairs of words or phrases—as examples—from the corpus that was built without citing their source (i.e. the article of origin) for technical reasons.[38]

[34] Paul Baker, Andrew Hardie and Tony McEnery, *A Glossary of Corpus Linguistics* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2006), 169.
[35] These were given by the word list.
[36] Paul Baker and Erez Levon, "Picking the Right Cherries? A Comparison of Corpus-based and Qualitative Analyses of News Articles About Masculinity," *Discourse and Communication* 9 (2015): 226.
[37] As it is common in linguistic studies using tools like *word lists*, a threshold is chosen by the researcher. In the present study, I chose to investigate the first one hundred words with the highest frequency of occurrence out of all the words that a word list offers by using the *concordance tables*.
[38] No meta-linguistic information was added on the corpus (raw corpus) during its formation. At the time of the conduction of the empirical research my focus was on the corpus as a whole and the pervasive discursive strategies in it, not on the publications themselves. Hence, the quotes that follow are cited with no citation of their source (i.e. article).

Portrayal of the Monument

As expected, the mound of Kasta itself was at the heart of the corpus, since this was the main subject of all articles. The tomb and the various archaeological findings (for instance, the mosaic, grave, entrance, wall, Caryatids) were first and foremost presented and described with a focus on the size or circumference and, secondly, on the craftsmanship of the tomb. Descriptive adjectives like "enormous," "giant" or "large" and evaluative adjectives such as "remarkable," "magnificent," "rare" or "spectacular" abounded. The wealth of the burial site also stood as a major point of interest (for instance, "lavish monument," "decorative mosaic").

The media discourses closely observed the process and the stages of the excavation. The chronicle of the excavation began with the revelation of the circumference and the two sphinxes and continued with the two Caryatids, the mosaic, the final chamber and the burial site with the bones. The British media followed the paradigm of their Greek counterparts, in terms of the speculation over the identity of the tomb's occupant as the procedure of the excavations unfolded ("speculation," "mystery," "enigma"). The names of the prospective occupants occupied a high place in the word list, namely "Olympias" (mother), "Roxane" (wife), "son," "general" and, of course, "Alexander the Great."[39] Although it was only for a short while (between August and September 2014) that the name of Alexander was circulated as one possible occupant, it was his name that came first in the word list reaffirming his allure as a famous hero. The names of the other possible occupants received their significance with reference to their relationship with Alexander. It is worth mentioning that many articles included a short biography of Alexander, even if the article was not about him as a possible occupant.

Finally, the archaeological site at Vergina was repeatedly mentioned. This archaeological site, excavated in the 1970s, appeared related to Amphipolis in a significant percentage of the total number of the articles (for example: "Alexander's fellow royals were traditionally interred in a cemetery near Vergina, far to the west, where the lavishly furnished tomb of Alexander's father, Philip II, was discovered in the 1970s"). What was featured most prominently in these articles was their interrelation as ancient and royal Macedonian sites.

Discourses of Hope and Memory

A second category that emerged during data processing refers to hope. Emotional discourse in the press releases by the Greek Ministry of Culture and the

[39] The name of Hephaestion, for who the whole tumulus was built as funerary monument, according to Mrs. Peristeri, did not make it into the top positions in the word list. Perhaps, this is due to the fact that this claim was made in late 2015 and not 2014, when the speculation and the media coverage reached both their peak. For Mrs. Peristeri's claim, see: "Greek tomb was 'for Alexander the Great's friend Hephaestion,'" October 1, 2015, accessed December 15,.2016, http://www.bbc.co.uk/news/world-europe-34417796.

media appeared as a vehicle to describe the mental state of the Greeks throughout the excavation. Thus, phrases like the following ones dominated:

> Greeks hope the tomb holds members of the ancient Macedonian family
>
> Greece's confidence returns
>
> Find raising Greeks' hope that the tomb will add another chapter to their tumultuous history
>
> Discovery in Amphipolis reignites the hopes of Greece

Confidence and hope are depicted as the main ways in which the mental state of the Greek people are affected by the excavation and, more specifically, for their projection into the future. According to the British press, the significance of the findings at the mound of Kasta for the Greeks lies not in the monument itself, but rather in the role(s) this excavation can play in the years to come. In addition to hope, discourses of memory also prevailed within the corpus. To be more specific, the burial site at Amphipolis is presented as a reminder of a distant past. Phrases in the form of declaratives or rhetorical questions were often used. Some instances include:

> Will this monument remind the Greeks of their glorious past?
>
> Great dig reminds Greeks of past glory
>
> Mosaic as a reminder to Greeks of past glories

What is of interest here is the presumptuous hypothesis that this past which is related to the late Classical period and the empire of Alexander has been forgotten by the Greeks, or that this past is distinguished by a glory that no longer exists in the country. It is crucial to note that this juxtaposition of the glorious past and the inglorious present was pervasive in the corpus. With regards to the terms through which this ancient 'glory' is represented (for example, cultural or political), after examining the linguistic context, in which these references were made, it becomes apparent that glory is relayed primarily in financial terms. It is the wealth of the tomb that is juxtaposed with a Greek present that faces an economic crisis or poverty. As for the ways that this was handled, the references were either explicit or implicit. The following quotations serve as examples:

> The near-intact sculptures and staggering mosaics found at Amphipolis have been a cheering reminder of past glories for a country mired in economic woes
>
> The excavation is not going to lift the fortunes of a country where over one in four is unemployed and household income has fallen by a third since the crisis began
>
> After six years of economic crisis, political tumult and a humiliating international bailout, Greeks are desperate for heroes

Here the crisis is presented as the incompatible feature of the present that lies in conflict with the wealthy and glorious past. Thus, hope, memory and economy are inextricably connected in that the last one constitutes the negative or adverse present of a country that starts to "remember" a forgotten and economically powerful past which was part of its identity:

> It [the tomb] revives Greeks' hopes that, despite their big struggle to survive, there is a holy grail that will *re*connect them to a period of glory and power. In times of crisis, people have the chance to *re*define their identity [emphasis added]
>
> The Amphipolis syndrome: the economic crisis revealed a cultural deficit

In light of these media approaches, one important question that arises is why the identity of a people is discussed from an economic perspective, rather than from a cultural point of view. Additionally, one might wonder why a potential cultural deficit is presupposed and what the reasons are for its linkage with a potential 'oblivion' of the distant past of antiquity. If the finds at Amphipolis are seen as a 'chance for Greeks to re-define their identity,' what does this tell us about the ways in which the modern Greek identity is perceived and constructed outside Greece?

Meta-discourses

The discourses that were produced and which dominated the Greek public sphere stood as an object of observation and critique by the British media. The excavation saga was seen as a 'show'—even as a 'reality show'—in which Samaras himself and the archaeologists were the main stars. The role of the Greek media was also often discussed in the British press which, in some cases, presented the former as manipulating the imaginations of citizens through the excavation:

> Although the official news release said nothing about Alexander the Great, a recent report in the Athens daily Kathimerini cited vague sources at the Culture Ministry

> saying that the female skeleton might be Olympias, Alexander's mother, who was murdered after his death

An interest in the Greek politics also emerged. More specifically, the role of archaeology as a political tool of the ruling party at the time, New Democracy, was addressed in the corpus. The financial investment in the excavation triggered the British media's interest:

> Greece invests 600,000 euros in Amphipolis

> No other similarly significant project has received this amount of money before

With regards to the motives behind this unprecedented investment, the British media speculated about a strategy to shift the attention of Greek citizens from the 'real' problems linked with the economy, to a monument projected as the 'proof' of a great Hellenistic past and its Greek origins. For instance:

> discovery to distract Greeks at a time of economic and social hardship

> find to rebut FYROM's claim that the ancient general was of Slavic rather than Greek descent

Tapping into national pride was also portrayed as serving the political survival of the New Democracy government at the time, whose precarious position was worsening:

> It is questioned whether this is an attempt to restore Greece's tarnished image and boost national pride and morale that included elements of a strategy that will see the government's popularity increase at a time when polls put ruling New Democracy 10% behind the main opposition, Syriza

Another meta-discourse focused on the enhancement of Amphipolis' local economy that this tomb could trigger. References to Greek hopes for the unearthing of hidden "treasures" and their touristic merit to drive some new revenue into the economy in a time of need were made:

> Samaras hopes that some treasures have survived

> Discovery of female sculptures gave fresh hope that some treasure may have survived

> Amphipolis for an elusive growth
>
> Greece hopes tomb discovery breathes life into economy

Greek Voices

Data processing showed that quotations occupied a significant place in the corpus from a quantitative point of view. The origins of these quotations ranged from politicians and archaeologists to the average Greek citizens. For instance, public statements of the Prime Minister Antonis Samaras hailing the tomb as "an extremely important discovery" and proclaiming Macedonia as the land that "continues to move and surprise us, revealing from deep within its unique treasures," or quotations from Peristeri's reports on the processes of excavation, reflected their protagonist role. The public speculation over the occupant of the monument, both inside and outside Greece, is indicated by the different opinions and criticisms that various experts expressed about the monument. However, what stands out is the space given to Greek citizens to voice their own views often in an anonymous way and, especially, the kind of views that were expressed. This took place structurally through either direct or indirect speech and included both eponymous and anonymous citations. Some examples include:

> This discovery proves that Alexander belongs to Greece
>
> It [the monument] shows one more time that Macedonia is here, ok? Not up there with the Slavs!
>
> You are proud of your ancestors, but are they proud of you?
>
> Extremely important monument not just for the area, but also for Greece, for history itself and archaeology

The phrases quoted indicate how the cited words of Greek people in the corpus were focused. To wit, the Greeks are presented as claiming their singular right to the Macedonian heritage as its only true heirs, unlike their neighbours from FYROM. Moreover, Greece's citizens (and the politicians) are portrayed as culturally aggressive. They project a cultural superiority in their effort to show the rest of the world the importance of their cultural heritage, part of which is the legacy of Alexander according to them. Finally, people in Greece are presented as being in a peculiar relationship with their ancient past; a relationship of concern, negotiation and effort to keep up with a 'great' legacy. Occasionally, however, this effort did not appear as successful, as the third example suggests.

Discussion

The British media followed the stages of the excavation closely, especially from August 2014 until the beginning of 2015, and joined the Greek public discourses in the game of speculation. In fact, they went as far as to reproduce the different opinions that were expressed by politicians, experts and, in general, every public figure, regarding the identity of the occupant. The interplay between visibility and invisibility that is at the heart of material heritage management in modernity as a whole, and which was so tightly manipulated in the case of Amphipolis in Greece,[40] are also apparent in the UK's media.

As a case of occult economy, Amphipolis was also depicted as such, and this fact aligns with previous research on Amphipolis,[41] whose earth promised immense and untold wealth, and was about to give birth to treasures. Thus, an oneiric cultural economy seeking roots by unearthing cultural masterpieces became in this case an 'economy of hope' for Greeks;[42] an economy that will pay dividends to the true believers in the dogmas of national destiny.

The preceding excavations at Vergina occupied a significant place in the corpus, which was the result of this 'oneiric archaeology' of Amphipolis that operates through a complicated temporality;[43] it invokes various times and recalls and cites important temporal landmarks and major moments in national archaeology. These two moments, Vergina and Amphipolis, were conjured up and placed side by side, enacting a 'polychronic temporality'.[44] In other words, 'analogic thinking'[45] or 'cultural proximity'[46] as a mode of historicisation was employed.

The analysis showed that the discourses of memory focused on a juxtaposition and implicit—even explicit at times—comparison between modern Greece and its classical antiquity. These discourses included verbs like "remind" or "reconnect" and referred to a past, whose glory and power are missing currently from Greece. Moreover, considering that the articles were written to cover a topic of cultural nature and not political, it was perhaps surprising that the 'glory' was defined

[40] Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 253; Yannis Hamilakis, *Archaeology and the Senses: Human Experience, Memory, and Affect* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); for more information regarding the aforementioned interplay between visibility and invisibility in the case of Amphipolis read the papers cited on page 5.

[41] Sutton, "The Concealed and the Revealed;" Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 227–264; Vournelis, "Alexander's Great Treasure," 121–133.

[42] Vincent Crapanzano, "Reflections on Hope as a Category of Social and Psychological Analysis," *Cultural Anthropology* 18 (2003): 3–32.

[43] Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 254.

[44] Hamilakis, *Archaeology and the Senses*. Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 253.

[45] David Sutton, *Memories Cast in Stone: The Relevance of the Past in Everyday Life* (Oxford: Berg, 1998).

[46] Daniel Knight, *History, Time, and Economic Crisis in Central Greece* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2015).

primarily in financial terms and not culturally.[47] An economically glorious past was juxtaposed with an economically inglorious present. The fact that modern Greece is struggling to overcome a deeply rooted economic crisis was presented as a break of its connection with the 'glorious' classical/Hellenistic past, an event that led to a cultural deficit for modern Greek identity. This indicates that modern Greeks are perceived as different from their antecedents of the classical past or, even maybe, not as 'glorious' as they used to be. This finding supports previous research that investigated the Western attitudes towards modern Greek identity.[48]

Furthermore, considering that this discourse of juxtaposition was deployed by the media of a Western country that continues to be one of the great powers since the nineteenth century, I would argue that this discourse signals the view that modern Greece should view its classical past as a form of cultural example.[49] Taking into account, first, that modern Greeks are urged to remember and reconnect to the classical antiquity, in order for them to surpass their "cultural deficit" that is so closely related with the economy, and, second, that this is articulated within a global cultural hierarchy, where the United Kingdom as a Western country holds a prominent position, I argue that colonial discourses are still existent in the British media. Since the inception of the Greek nation state, the great powers (Britain among those) pointed at a model of classical Attica or the classical past, in general, as Greeks' only possible source of legitimacy.[50] This coincided with the Western European Philhellenism's colonisation of classical antiquity that was a project on self-awareness, whereby affiliation led to appropriation.[51] This study's findings support Michael Herzfeld's argument:

> [T]he reality of colonialism's heritage is that the global hierarchy of cultural value it has created persists long after the demise of the political and military empires.[52]

Relevant to the aforementioned argument are the meta-discourses and the Greek voices. The results showed that the British media presented Amphipolis as an arena where politicians, experts and citizens voiced their opinion. The tomb

[47] The role of the Greek economic crisis should be acknowledged here.
[48] For example: Yalouri, *Acropolis*; Talalay, "Drawing Conclusions," 249–276.
[49] I would add various aspects of this projected supremacy of the classical past, apart from the cultural one (e.g. economic). Additionally, the UK's position as a great power nowadays was indicated by the British Pound to Euro exchange rates in 2014/2015. For example, see: Katie Allen, "Pound hits five-year high against euro and dollar," *The Guardian*, September 25, 2014, accessed December 12,2016, https://www.theguardian.com/business/2014/jun/16/pound-high-five-year-dollar-euro..
[50] Herzfeld, "The Hypocrisy of European Moralism," 10.
[51] Suzanne L. Marchand, *Archaeology and Philhellenism in Germany, 1750–1970* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1996); Simon Goldhill, *Victorian Culture and Classical Antiquity. Art, Opera, Fiction, and the Proclamation of Modernity* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2011), 9–17; Platzos, "The kouros of Keratea," 230.
[52] Herzfeld, "The Absent Presence," 920.

was used mainly by politicians as a vehicle to stage the nation's cohesion.[53] The discourse employed mainly by Samaras was culturally aggressive. It projected the cultural leadership of Greece outside the country serving the enhancement of his political power and his agenda of political survival in that way. In addition, the Greek people are presented as if they are in a peculiar relationship with their ancient past, in that they are concerned if they actually keep up with its 'global significance.' Considering these two findings, Herzfeld's concept of crypto-colonialism is particularly pertinent. According to the scholar, crypto-colonies, although not colonies technically, are governed by elites that use world-dominating civilisational discourses, first, to enhance their power and, second, in defence of their perceived national interests and specificity (in this case, the naming dispute with FYROM).[54] Greece, as a crypto-colony, has adapted to dominant images of Hellenic cultures greatly focused on classical antiquity, confirming its cultural subordination to imported Western models. Thus, in addition to the existence of colonial discourses that I advocated earlier, I also argue that in the British media there were crypto-colonising presentations of Greece, which are an inextricable part of the former, through the meta-discourses and the Greek-voices.

The crypto-colonial presentations of Greece though quotations of Greeks themselves, in addition to a colonial discourse projecting antiquity as a model of economical glory that should be attained by modern Greece, end up playing one dual role; it affirms and enhances both the situation that the modern Greek state has found itself facing since its birth and its complex nature. As the findings of this study suggest, the modern Greek identity is, on the one hand, haunted by the ancient past and, on the other hand, it is perceived as different or less 'glorious.' I say haunted, because this illustrates a not so productive relationship that is free of comparisons on a scale of significance or status. As a crypto-colony, Greece appears to continue to struggle, burdened by its ancient past, with a future for which there is as yet no clear categorical slot.[55] The repercussions that such Western attitudes, like the ones in the British media, have for the modern Greek identity include the perpetuation of the crypto-colonial constitution of Greece, since these discourses are reproduced by the Greek media in turn. As a result, the Greek identity continues to be informed by these discourses. A possible process of decolonisation, according to Hamilakis, might start by "rupturing the temporality of ancestral debt and imagining an open past which can lead to an open future."[56] However, this issue is more complicated as the findings of this study have shown. To the degree to which Western perceptions and attitudes affect the self-aware-

[53] In Greece, this kind of concern with the territoriality or "Geo-Body" (Winichakul Thongchai, *Siam Mapped: A History of the Geo-body of a Nation* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1994)) of the nation, is commonplace.
[54] Herzfeld, "The Absent Presence," 901-902.
[55] Ibid., 920.
[56] Hamilakis, "Some Debts Can Never Be Repaid," 227.

ness of modern Greeks, a possible process of decolonisation seems to be far from achievable in the imminent future. A change in the direction of the Greek politicians', institutions' and elite intellectuals' ideological regime is arguably the first step to be made.

Concluding Remarks

Joining previous research on the discourses that have been produced about Greece in the Western press over the last few years and, especially, regarding the economic crisis, the present article examined the British media narratives that were published for the coverage of the excavation at the mound of Kasta in Amphipolis. A corpus of 324 articles from 108 British publications was investigated. To answer the research questions posed at the beginning of this essay, data processing revealed that the articles were primarily concerned, first, with the material description of the monument and the speculation about the occupant's identity; second, the effects that this archaeological find generated in the mental state of Greeks (hope and memory). Finally, the discourses that were produced in Greece stood as an object of observation and critique by the British media. The findings suggest that the size and the wealth of the monument stood as a platform for the juxtaposition of a glorious classical past and an inglorious present struggling to overcome the ongoing economic crisis. Therefore, non-archaeological references and implications made their appearance and were pervasive in the corpus. After analysing the conceptualisation of the glorious past and with reference to the perception of modern Greece and its cultural identity, I have argued that colonial remnants are still present in the British media. I showed the dynamic and complicated character of the ongoing crypto-colonial constitution of Greece, a situation that is the outcome of both domestic discourses and discourses abroad. The analysis revealed a cycle of self-colonisation and a relationship of power between the UK and Greece as manifested in media discourses.

The present article employed corpus linguistics, in order to look at the British media from a macro level without focusing on a few articles or articles of a specific political ideology, a practise that is maintained in traditional cultural research and generates the question of the arguments' generalisability. Thus, a methodological contribution is also made.

As for the limitations of this study, the corpus was built with articles that were uploaded only on the website of *LexisNexis*, meaning that other databases may yield different results depending on their digital contents. Furthermore, it did not include any other discourses that could have been produced on social media, for example. My interest was rather in hegemonic discourses and that is why the press, which mediates between the public and institutions of power, was chosen

as the material of this study. Finally, considering the time constraints, I needed to limit the scope of the material I investigated.

Future studies could deploy corpus linguistics for a diachronic investigation of Western discourses and help us disclose if there are qualitative and quantitative differences in the production of colonial discourses not only in the British media, but also in any other Western country's media. This could offer insights into the possible existence of downwards or upwards trends in the development of colonial discourses across the decades, or even the last two centuries, and how this relates to the socio-political context. Moreover, a comparative study between Western countries could also be conducted with corpus linguistics by building two or more corpora, so that the exploration of similarities or differences in how colonial discourses on Greece were used in these countries is rendered possible.

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Appendix

WORD LIST AND FREQUENCY OF OCCURRENCES

O/N	Word	Frequency	O/N	Word	Frequency
1.	Tomb	1209	51.	Their	123
2	Alexander	1013	52.	Egypt	122
3.	Was	925	53.	Years	122
4.	That	905	54.	Skeleton	120
5.	Greece	627	55.	Monument	119
6.	Said	549	56.	Entrance	116
7.	Great	516	57.	Era	116
8.	From	499	58.	Mother	115
9.	Ancient	486	59.	Athens	114
10.	Amphipolis	484	60.	Bones	114
11.	On	463	61.	Near	112
12.	Be	461	62.	Death	112
13.	Greek/-s	385	63.	Wall	112
14.	Archaeologists	369	64.	Unearthed	110
15.	Found	368	65.	Year	109
16.	Which	365	66.	Important	108
17.	Buried	321	67.	Uncovered	108
18.	Site	315	68.	Wife	107
19.	Were	288	69.	Most	106
20.	Ministry	277	70.	We	106
21.	But	255	71.	Philip	105
22.	Northern	244	72.	World	105
23.	Culture	240	73.	Archaeological	103
24.	Discovered	224	74.	Archaeologist	103
25.	Or	224	75.	Last	102
26.	Had	216	76.	Inside	100
27.	There	206	77.	Speculation	100
28.	Will	192	78.	New	96
29.	Burial	189	79.	Caryatids	94
30.	Peristeri	187	80.	Dig	93
31.	Excavation	185	81.	According	92
32.	Remains	184	82.	Other	91
33.	Marble	182	83.	Around	91
34.	Could	177	84.	Female	91
35.	Mosaic	177	85.	Olympias	91
36.	King	172	86.	Generals	90
37.	Experts	171	87.	Largest	90
38.	After	160	88.	Person	90
39.	Mound	159	89.	Before	89
40.	Macedonia	155	90.	Minister	88
41.	Some	139	91.	Chamber	87
42.	Built	138	92.	Where	87
43.	Died	137	93.	Woman	86
44.	More	137	94.	Samaras	84
45.	City	131	95.	Believe	84
46.	During	129	96.	Family	77
47.	Empire	128	97.	Father	75
48.	Grave	128	98.	Country	74
49.	Over	125	99.	Mystery	71
50.	Lion	124	100.	Identity	70