

*A Study of Idiom Translation from English
in the Greek Press*

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is devoted to the investigation of translational aspects of idiomatic meaning. Although plentiful in everyday language, idioms seem to constitute a particularly intriguing issue for translators primarily due to their semantic and syntactic idiosyncrasies. The main objective of this study is to answer two interrelated questions with reference to English-Greek, namely how idioms are translated and which parameters influence translators' choices.

More specifically, this thesis aims at examining the translation strategies employed in the treatment of idioms in the Greek financial press. To this end, 121 instances of idioms were examined, taken from a 101,202-word sample of 2009 news material translated into Greek (Source Text: *The Economist* newspaper, Target Text: the Sunday edition of *Kathimerini* newspaper). A new idiom classification was proposed distinguishing idioms into inward and outward, the former subdivided into cognitively and affectively-oriented idioms and the latter into general outward and business idioms. The results obtained indicate that business idioms accounted for the biggest percentage in the corpus examined whereas in terms of idiom-translation strategy, omission was the preferred strategy for both inward and outward idioms. With respect to the parameters that influence translators' choices, it was argued that in adhering to idiomatic meaning, translators were prompted to take into account idiom and genre-related parameters. On the other hand, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and genre parameters gained prominence when there was idiom literalization. Lastly, idiom omission seemed to rely on pragmatic, cognitive and genre parameters whereas idiom compensation largely depended on pragmatic and genre ones.

The study concludes with the suggestion that an awareness of idioms' sensitivity to genre conventions and a realization of the multiplicity of parameters that affect the choice of idiom-translation strategy are essential for appropriateness to be met in Greek financial news translation, bearing consequences for both translation theory and translator training.

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My interest in idiomaticity and figurative language is not new. It was Professor Adam Adam with his two courses on idioms that caught my attention when I was still a first-year undergraduate student in the English Department of the University of Athens. Then, it was under the supervision of Professor Jonathan Charteris-Black that my interest grew bigger and led to my M.A. dissertation on idioms from an applied linguistics perspective. Then, this interest in idiomaticity expanded and in some way merged with translation when I did my Masters in Translation at the University of Athens. During my doctorate studies, this interest matured and grew even deeper during my exploration of translational aspects of idiomatic meaning in the Greek press. In trying to solve the puzzle of idiom translation in the Greek press, I used Juliane House's model of translation quality assessment that formed the backbone of my data analysis. Until 2013, I had only heard her voice in her various journal articles and books and it was in March 2013 that I had the chance to meet her in person. I am grateful to her for reminding me that translation is basically a linguistic activity and one should always go back to the basics. Her talk at the *Tesol Greece Convention* about English as a lingua franca and translation prompted me to think twice on more than one translation issues.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Abstract</i>	ii
<i>Acknowledgements</i>	iii
<i>Table of contents</i>	v
<i>List of figures</i>	viii
<i>List of tables</i>	viii
 CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION	 1
1.1 Research aim	1
1.2 Background	1
1.3 Importance of the study	5
1.4 Methodology	8
1.5 Thesis outline	10
 CHAPTER TWO: LITERATURE REVIEW	 11
2.1 Introduction	11
2.2 Terminological aspects of idioms	11
2.2.1 Earlier theories of idioms	15
2.2.2 Syntactic approaches	17
2.2.3 Semantic approaches	21
2.2.4 Pragmatic approaches	23
2.2.5 Corpus-based approaches	25
2.3 Translational aspects of idioms	26
2.3.1 Some preliminary remarks on language, thought and translation	26
2.3.2 The discipline of Translation Studies	28
2.3.3 House's model of translation quality assessment	31
2.3.4 English-Greek news translation: Sidiropoulou's work	38
2.3.5 Translating idioms: problems and considerations	40
2.3.6 Computer-aided idiom translation	42
2.3.7 Previous accounts of idiom-translation models	46
2.4 Towards a new idiom-translation model	63

CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	73
3.1 Introduction	73
3.2 Corpus-based translation studies	73
3.3 Corpus design and data analysis	77
3.3.1 The present corpus	77
3.3.2 Corpus design and features	79
3.4 Methodological issues: idiom typology and search tools	84
3.4.1 Idiom typology.....	85
3.4.2 Search tools	91
 CHAPTER FOUR: FINDINGS	 101
4.1 Introduction	101
4.2 Quantitative findings	101
4.3 The translation of inward idioms	102
4.3.1 The translation of cognitively-oriented idioms	102
4.3.1.1 Idiom adherence	103
4.3.1.2 Idiom literalization	107
4.3.1.3 Idiom deletion	110
4.3.2 The translation of affectively-oriented idioms	113
4.3.2.1 Idiom deletion	113
4.3.2.2 Idiom adherence	118
4.3.2.3 Idiom literalization	121
4.3.2.4 Transediting	122
4.4 The translation of outward idioms	124
4.4.1 The translation of general outward idioms	124
4.4.1.1 Idiom deletion	124
4.4.1.2 Idiom adherence	134
4.4.1.3 Idiom literalization	145
4.4.1.4 Mistranslation	152
4.4.1.5 Transediting	153

4.4.2 The translation of business idioms	154
4.4.2.1 Idiom deletion	155
4.4.2.2 Idiom adherence	166
4.4.2.3 Idiom literalization	178
4.4.2.4 Transediting	187
4.4.2.5 Mistranslation	191
4.5 Conclusion	192
 CHAPTER FIVE: DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS	193
5.1 Introduction	193
5.2 Parameters affecting idiom adherence	193
5.3 Parameters affecting idiom literalization	198
5.4 Parameters affecting idiom deletion	203
5.5 Parameters affecting idiomatization and mistranslation	205
5.6 Idioms in headlines: some translational perspectives	205
5.7 A new idiom-translation model	209
5.8 Conclusion	211
 CHAPTER SIX: CONCLUSIONS	212
6.1 Revisiting the research questions	212
6.2 Contribution of the study	214
6.3 Limitations of the study	217
6.4 Implications of the study	218
 APPENDIX	220
Appendix A: Sources of Samples	220
 REFERENCES	228

LIST OF FIGURES

2.1 A scheme for analysing and comparing original and translation texts	34
2.2 The dimension <i>Overt-Covert</i> translation	36

LIST OF TABLES

1.1 Main issues addressed in each chapter of the thesis	9
2.1 Gottlieb's idiom-translation strategies	58
2.2 Summary of idiom-translation strategies.....	60
2.3 Modified idiom-translation strategies.....	62
2.4 Stylistic and semantic quality in translation	69
3.1 Publications in the corpus	77
3.2 32 Themes in the Collins COBUILD Idiom Dictionary.....	85
3.3 100 idioms alphabetically categorised and their number of occurrences in a 2009 141,426-word sample of English (source) financial news material.....	94
3.4 100 idioms categorised according to the inward/outward idiom typology....	95
4.1 Idiom-translation strategies and percentage proportion of each strategy employed in the 121 sample instances of idiom rendering (taken from the 2009 101,202-word sample of Greek (target) financial news material).....	99
5.1 Summary of idiom-translation strategies in the Greek news press	210

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 Research aim

The importance of idioms in human language as well as their ubiquity in the general vocabulary of our linguistic repertoire has been observed by linguists and language teachers alike (Chafe, 1968:111; Jackendoff, 1997:177; Liu, 2008:xiii). In fact, mastery of idioms has been an important indicator of second-language proficiency since many second-language learners rarely learn or use idioms appropriately (Yorio, 1989:64). Even though there is a growing body of research on issues pertaining to idioms, such as their definition, classification, comprehension, usage patterns and functions, there has been a marked absence of research into idiom translation. The present thesis endeavours to bridge this gap to some extent by examining the translation strategies employed in the treatment of idioms in the Greek financial press. In particular, its aim is to subject translators' preferences regarding English-Greek idiom translation to critical scrutiny so as to shed light on current trends as well as constraints regulating idiom treatment in the Greek financial press.

1.2 Background

In recent years there has been a growing interest in the field of news translation, which is primarily concerned with problems of translating news, "whether print, television or internet based" (Bassnett, 2006:7). Apart from numerous academic publications, this interest is also evident from the organization of international seminars which aim at investigating the multifaceted nature of news translation. More specifically, in April 2004 there was a conference held at the University of Warwick dedicated to exploring the issues surrounding the training of translators working in the media. Following that, there were two seminars in 2005, the first held at the University of Aston and the second held jointly by said university and the University of Warwick, centering on issues that mainly dealt with the translation of discourses of terror. Then, there were two

subsequent seminars, one in June 2006 at Warwick and the other at Aston in the spring of 2007, focusing on political discourse and the news. Moreover, the development of this field of study has led to the publication of a number of monographs, among which the influential book by well-known expert in media translation, Yves Gambier, entitled *(Multi)Media Translation. Concepts, Practices and Research* (2001) and the innovative treatise of Susan Bassnett and Esperança Bielsa *Translation in Global News* (2009). Irrespective of the approach adopted by each scholar, there is a general consensus that news translation is an interdisciplinary field that brings together researchers from both media studies and linguistics and by doing so it also touches on other fields of study such as globalization, sociology, text linguistics and international relations, fields that are not directly related to this area of study but for which the basic premise of emphasizing the importance of context and contextualization in studying both translation process and product in the news industry also holds true. In Greece, news translation has also received relative attention in both translation programmes and in academia. The Hellenic American Union offers a two-year programme in General Professional Translation in which there is a 30-hour course on news translation. Moreover, some translation scholars (e.g. Loupaki, 2010; Sidiropoulou, 2004) have examined the language of press highlighting linguistic preferences across cultures. In particular, Loupaki (2010) has been primarily concerned with investigating ideological conflict in news articles. Her main argument is that news translation can rarely be ideologically free since translators' choices seem to be informed by the newspaper's political orientation (2010:72). Her analysis of Greek translations of English news articles has revealed that translation strategies such as literal translation, omission, addition, neutralization and explicitation can reproduce or erase ideological conflict or even introduce it elsewhere in the target text. On these grounds she concludes that news translation is not as innocent as originally perceived by some readers and raises the question of whether the term "translator" captures effectively all those people involved in the (re)production of news (2010:72).

The study of the news-reporting genre has also been of interest to Sidiropoulou (2004:16), who has examined the use of adversative, causal and temporal cohesive devices in various samples of Greek press news material in an effort to foreshadow the ideological significance attached to these linguistic preferences. Drawing from a 20,300-word sample of target versions of Greek press articles, she maintains that there is an explicit preference for counter-argumentation in the Greek version which may

partly be attributed to the fact that Greek readers are more readily prepared to take up the role of the denier since they are used to conceptualizing the world in terms of contrasts (2004:33). Furthermore, the Greek target versions point to a tendency for explicitation of cause-and-effect relationships since the examination of a 12,000-word sample of target Greek news articles reveals that cause-and-effect relationships are almost always transferred in the Greek target text and those who are implicit are made explicit, thus conforming to the reason-giving tendency that seems to dominate Greek press news translation. It seems that Greek translators go to considerable lengths to provide the target readership with reasons in order to facilitate persuasion (2004:37).

Further insight into the norms governing the genre of press news translation with respect to the English-Greek paradigm, is provided through the contrastive analysis of temporal structure in the two cultures. Sidiropoulou's findings (2004:45) indicate that there is tendency on the part of translators-journalists to eliminate time indicators in the Greek target version and this may be justified by virtue of the fact that such information is of marginal importance and may cause unnecessary processing effort on the part of the readers. In addition to that, it has been claimed that in the Greek news reporting context there seems to be a preference for shorter time spans as opposed to the relatively longer ones assumed to be adopted by the English readership (Sidiropoulou, 2004:46). Moreover, the intensification of temporal adverbials was observed in the Greek version and the point was made that it contributes to the creation of dramatic effect by translators which is rooted in the different conceptualizations of the social reality construed by the two cultures. Lastly, a future orientation in the description of time was observed in the Greek version, which contrasts with the preference for past time reference in the English source version, thus highlighting further cross-cultural differences.

The existence of cross-cultural differences was also revealed in the testimonial discourse in press news translation into Greek. In particular, there was a tendency for adverbialization and thematization of constituents of the sentence that refer to the source of information which may be explained as part of the translators' effort to 'actualize' the persuasive force of the sources of informed opinion. Furthermore, a difference in the degree of generalization was observed in the two cultures since in the Greek version there was a preference for omitting names of informed-opinion sources, either because the target readership is unlikely to be familiar with these names or because they are considered of peripheral importance. Moreover, the manipulation of the argumentative

‘value’ of reporting verbs was observed in an effort to make the illocutionary force of such verbs more explicit. For example, the source-text (henceforth ST) verb *say* was turned into *reassure*, *confess* or *decide* in the target text (henceforth TT) (Sidiropoulou, 1999:76). This modification was interpreted as a sign of strengthening the argumentative force of the target text and raising “the degree of personal involvement of the authoritative source” (Sidiropoulou, 2004:68). Results have shown that such types of modifications occur in articles dealing with low-importance topics as opposed to high-importance topics in which there was less modification of the authoritative opinions. According to Sidiropoulou (2004:71), in high-importance topics accuracy is more highly valued than appropriateness. In addition to that, perceived readership interest and involvement in the topic dealt with in the article in question also have a say since the translators’ intervention is said to be kept at a minimum in high-interest topics as opposed to low-interest ones which allow for greater degrees of intervention.

A similar phenomenon has been observed in metaphor treatment in English-Greek news translation where there is a relationship between the topic dealt with in the news articles and the metaphor-translation strategy adopted. In more detail, Sidiropoulou (2004:80) argues that the retainment or literalization of a metaphor is determined in accordance with her psychological remoteness thesis in which it is maintained that metaphors retain their metaphorical status when the topic dealt with in the article is psychologically remote to the Greek target readership whereas when there is psychological immediacy to the topic dealt with, then metaphors do not survive the intercultural filter. According to Sidiropoulou (2004) some issues “are too ‘hot’ to be part of a language game employing metaphors” (2004:81). She concludes that the estimation of the psychological remoteness of a newspaper article is an ideological issue suggesting that metaphors are pragmatic/cognitive phenomena involving varying cultural assumptions (2004:83). On these grounds, she argues (2004:83) that metaphor treatment in the English-Greek news press involves different conceptualizations across cultures. Taking as a starting point Sidiropoulou’s claim (2004:83) that “the same environment, or the same data can be organized in different conceptual ways across cultures”, this thesis attempts to explore the issue of idiom transference in the field of news translation. It is claimed that idiomatic expressions in English (source) and Greek (target) press news also present an interesting research area as will be elaborated on in the next section.

1.3 Importance of the study

In contrast to metaphors which have been investigated in financial texts (e.g. Henderson, 1982; Henderson, 1994; Henderson, 2000; Boers, 1999; Charteris-Black, 2000) and in business media discourse (Koller, 2004; Koller, 2005), there are only a few studies on idiom translation in financial texts (Koester, 2000; Handford and Koester, 2010), and to my knowledge, the issue of idiom treatment in the Greek financial press has not been the focus of any research to date. Consequently, research on idiom translation has been lacking and the absence of an adequate idiom-translation model leaves both translators and educators with insufficient knowledge of appropriate idiom-translation strategies. Therefore, in an attempt to bridge the gap between linguistic theory and educational practice, this thesis examines the translation strategies employed in the treatment of idioms in the Greek financial press in the hope of helping not only translators but also foreign language instructors and students.

More specifically, having taught English for ten years in both the public and private sector, mostly preparing students for English language certificate examinations and for entrance into tertiary education, I have noticed that there is a problem in, firstly, comprehending, and secondly, translating idioms. In both General English and specialized texts, there seems to be a tendency to omit idioms and this has urged me to investigate why idioms are not always translated but instead are preferably omitted. Instead of choosing to study idiom translation in General English texts or literature texts, the present study focuses on press news, and in particular, financial texts and seeks to determine: a) how idioms are transferred from the source language (henceforth SL) A (English) to the target language (henceforth TL) B (Greek) and b) which parameters influence the translators' choices.

The assumption behind this choice is that although translators of General English or literature texts may have a background in literature or the social sciences, translators of financial texts are, in most cases, financially literate, and they probably specialize or even have a diploma in Business Administration, Finance or Accounting but may not necessarily have a humanities background, meaning that they may not have explored the fields of linguistics, philosophy, classics and history in depth. So it could be the case that whenever they come across an idiom, they do not necessarily recognize it, and even when they do so, they may not always fully comprehend the idiom, tending to omit it on the basis that arriving at an accurate translation would prove too difficult and time-consuming. Furthermore, translators of financial texts, falling under the rubric

of journalist translation, may assume that there is no need to come up with an equivalent idiomatic expression in the target version since producing a clear and accurate paraphrase of the content of the idiom will effectively capture its meaning. This tendency to paraphrase or omit the idiom(s) in question may be a result of the general conventions that govern press-news translation and it is worthwhile investigating to which extent general translation procedures such as omission and elaboration influence idiom translation in the Greek financial press.

Apart from abiding by such conventions, there are instances where translators do not capture the meaning of an idiom accurately. This ineffective capturing of idiomatic meaning may cause misunderstandings which can have unintended, and often funny, rude or confusing side-effects. For example, on *The Economist* website, the following comment was made about the 20th May 2010 article *Europe's three great delusions*:

Europeans, perhaps not the Brits, are quite used to an adequate Health Care system and a Tertiary Education, both of which do not *cost and arm and a leg*.

(retrieved from <http://www.economist.com/node/16163376/comments>)

In the *Kalimera Ellada* television morning programme aired by ANT1 channel, which includes national and local news as well as daily analysis of newspapers' front pages, the aforementioned idiom was translated literally, thus confusing viewers about the actual meaning of the source-text idiom. It could be the case that because the topic of conversation was the healthcare system, the idiom, which made reference to two body parts, was not interpreted metaphorically but literally, thus giving the statement a sense of exaggeration and confusing viewers by leading them to ponder whether the literal or idiomatic meaning of the words *arm* and *leg* was being employed. This incident would not have been noticed had it not been for the presenter of the satirical talk show *Radio Arvila*, who realized the incoherence of the translated message and made fun of the literal translation of the idiomatic expression. This misunderstanding, which was the result of the ineffective capturing of the idiom's meaning, is indicative of a flawed idiom translation.

Having observed the pitfalls of idiom translation described above on more than one occasion, I have decided to address the problem by posing the following questions:

1. What translation strategies are employed in the treatment of idioms in the Greek financial press?
2. Which parameters influence the translators' choices?

These key questions could be further broken down into a number of more specific research questions:

1. Is there any relationship between idiom-thematic category and idiom-translation strategy employed ?
2. Which idiom-translation strategy is mostly employed in transferring English idioms into the Greek financial press?
3. Which syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive, genre and idiom-related parameters influence idiom translation ?

The answers to these questions may enable translators to make more informed and effective translation choices and develop better strategies in rendering the source-language idiom into the target-language. Thus, research on idiom-translation strategies in the Greek financial press can prove particularly fruitful for the language needs not only of translators but also of students and teachers who can analyse the nature of idiomatic meaning and how it can be comprehended and eventually translated more effectively. In this respect, students preparing for language certificates in which the element of translation is one of the tested skill components, e.g. English exams leading to the Greek state certificate of language competence known as KPG (i.e. *Kratiko Pistopiitiko Glossomathias*) could be significantly facilitated by acquiring a deeper understanding of the meaning of a particular idiom instead of simply learning it by heart and then, perhaps, forgetting it. Hence, the professional motive for writing this thesis lies in a desire to investigate and analyse idioms and their translation in financial texts in an effort to pinpoint the cultural and stylistic issues that arise when translating English idioms into Greek in the hope of enhancing translators' interest in and sensitivity to idioms.

1.4 Methodology

A corpus-based approach is used to identify and analyse idiom-translation strategies in the Greek financial press. Specifically, a 101,202-word sample of 2009 Greek news material taken from the Sunday edition of *Kathimerini* newspaper, translated from the newspaper *The Economist*, was contrasted with its source version with respect to the way idiomatic expressions are rendered. For the purposes of the current research, a new idiom-typology was proposed based on two hyper-categories; inward/thought-related and outward/communication-related idioms. Inward idioms were further subdivided into cognitively-oriented idioms, that is, think-based idioms and affectively-oriented idioms, that is, feel-framed idioms whereas outward idioms included the subcategories of general outward idioms and business idioms. Both manual and software search were combined in order to find out how idioms have been translated in the Greek financial press. The combination of both manual and software search enabled me to find 100 idioms in the data which yielded 121 instances of idiomatic expressions in total.

It should be noted that *The Economist* refers to itself as a newspaper although it is published in the form of a glossy magazine. However, it is registered in the Post Office as a newspaper; therefore, it will be referred to as such. *The Economist* newspaper was selected for two reasons. Firstly, it is one of the most influential publications, reporting developments in international business and world affairs through a range of formats, from magazines and newspapers to conferences and electronic services. Secondly, practical reasons came into play when choosing this newspaper since translated articles from *The Economist* appear in *Kathimerini* newspaper on a daily basis. Hence, this corpus-driven study was significantly enhanced by the availability of numerous financial, political and technological articles that have been translated into Greek from the original newspaper *The Economist*. In Table 1.1, which follows, the main issues addressed in each chapter of the thesis are summarized.

Table 1.1 Main issues addressed in each chapter of the thesis

CHAPTER	MAIN ISSUES ADDRESSED IN EACH CHAPTER
Chapter 1 Introduction	What is the research aim of the present thesis? What is the background? What is the importance of this study? What is the methodology adopted? What is the outline of the thesis?
Chapter 2 Literature Review	What are the significant issues and challenges in defining idioms? What is translation and what is its relationship with language and thought? Which translation model will form the backbone of this study? What are the translator's problems when dealing with idioms? What are the computer's problems when dealing with idioms? What idiom-translation strategies have been proposed so far? Which idiom-translation model will be employed in this study?
Chapter 3 Research Methodology	Which source(s) will be used so as to gather financial articles? Where will the translation of these articles be found? Which idiom typology will be used? Which tools will be necessary for extracting the idioms under question?
Chapter 4 Findings	Which idiom-thematic category is encountered more frequently in the corpus in question? Which idiom-translation strategy is mostly employed in transferring English idioms into Greek? Which strategies have been employed for the translation of inward and outward idioms in the Greek financial press?
Chapter 5 Discussion of the findings	What parameters influence idiom adherence? What parameters influence idiom literalization? What parameters influence idiom deletion? What parameters influence idiom compensation? What parameters influence idiom mistranslation? How are English idioms in headlines translated into Greek? What kind of idiom-translation model emerges from the analysis of all the above parameters?
Chapter 6 Conclusions	What is the contribution of this study? What are its limitations ? What are its implications?

1.5 Thesis outline

The present thesis consists of six chapters as summarised below:

The first chapter serves to introduce the background of the research by providing a brief overview of the literature on news translation in general and within the English-Greek paradigm. Moreover, it introduces the key research questions, justifies the choice of methodology and explains the significance of this study.

In Chapter 2, the main definitory axes of idioms are briefly discussed and a preliminary definition of the term *idiom* is provided. In more detail, an overview of the diverse views on idiom definitions is given, ranging from early theories of idiomaticity to more recent ones. Furthermore, the translation model that will be adopted for the present study is explored in detail as well as some translational aspects of idioms. In addition, the kinds of difficulties translators face when translating idioms are outlined and the strategies that have been proposed to help them carry out the task of idiom translation are analysed.

Chapter 3 restates the aims and objectives of the research and clarifies the research questions in the context of the literature reviewed. Then, an explanation and justification of my proposed methods of data collection and analysis is given, while in Chapter 4 the idiom-translation strategies adopted in the Greek financial press are critically examined.

Chapter 5 proceeds with a discussion of the parameters influencing English-Greek idiom translation as well as the kinds of constraints that could be possibly regulating idiom treatment in the Greek financial press. It is proposed that idiom translation is genre-sensitive and that this is linguistically manifested by the outlining of specific syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and idiom-related parameters that seem to influence the rendering of English idioms in the Greek financial press.

Finally, Chapter 6 highlights the study's contribution to idiom translation and closes with a discussion of the limitations and implications of this study.

CHAPTER 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter an overview of the diverse views on idiom definitions will be given and a detailed examination of House's model of translation quality assessment, that will form the basis for the analysis of the data, will be provided. Having placed the focus of research on the idiom-translation strategies used in financial texts, research related directly to idiom translation will be reviewed and a new model of idiom translation will be finally proposed.

2.2 Terminological aspects of idioms

There seems to be considerable variation in the literature as to what constitutes an idiomatic expression. This section aims at outlining the variety of different ways in which idiomatic expressions have been dealt with in linguistic and applied linguistic theories. Even a cursory look at the terminological aspects associated with the field of *idiomaticity* in general, and in particular with the term *idiom*, is enough to cause a sense of bafflement and confusion. This is mainly due to the fact that the phenomenon of idiomaticity is too complex to be defined in terms of a single property since it lacks monolithic uniformity. As such, it has led many linguists to steer almost completely clear of it; to name a few, Bloomfield (1926, 1933), Harris (1951), Chomsky (1957, 1965), Saussure (1916) and Lyons (1963, 1968). Even those linguists who have shown an interest in this 'problematic' area of linguistic enquiry and have attempted to provide a definition of the term, have unfortunately reached no agreement because an all-embracing definition as well as a presentation of the multiple criteria that will adequately capture all the idioms in a language while excluding all the non-idioms is still lacking.

In this section an attempt is made to give a brief overview of the main definitions posited by linguists for the linguistic category under investigation and to denote a working definition of the term *idiom*. Starting from the root of the term, one may notice its Greek origin since the word *idiom* stems from the Greek lexeme *idios*, meaning 'own, private, peculiar' (Oxford English Dictionary, 1989:624). The term *lexeme* may be perceived as a minimal unit of syntactic analysis (Lyons, 1963:12), the fundamental unit of the lexicon (Matthews, 1974:22) or perhaps more simply as a

dictionary word or abstract unit of vocabulary (Bauer, 1988:246). In other words, it is an abstract entity which lacks inflectional marking, e.g. *runs*, *ran* and *running* are forms of the English lexeme *run*.

It is worth noting that the words *idiom* and *idiomatic* were originally used in Greek and French to denote dialectical variability and, hence, peculiarity. Nowadays, they have become a vessel for any type of peculiarity whether this has to do with art and music or language and linguistics. Thus, if one wanted to subsume the meaning of the term *idiom* under two broad categories, then they would come up with two main uses. First, the word *idiom* depicts a particular way of expressing something in music, art, writing, and so on, which characterizes a person or a group and secondly, it refers to a particular lexical collocation which exhibits a certain degree of phraseological peculiarity. The second use of the term, though much more common in English, is perhaps too broad since it embraces many kinds of multi-word items, whether semantically opaque or transparent (e.g. *to chew the fat* vs. *how do you do*). On the other hand, narrower uses of the term restrict it to a particular kind of unit and acknowledge its fixedness and semantic opaqueness (e.g. *kick the bucket*). According to Cruse (1986:39), a semantically non-transparent expression may be described as semantically opaque. In other words, the constituents' meanings do not relate directly to the meaning of the compound as a whole.

Another definition of what constitutes an idiom is given by Sadock (1974). Drawing from pragmatics and specifically speech-act theory, Sadock (1974) uses the term *idiom* to refer to a conventionalized formula with an illocutionary function, e.g. *Can you pass the salt?*. Furthermore, he claims that some lexico-grammatical strings such as *let's* and *why don't you* are processed as idioms since they have a different meaning from the sum of their semantic components.

Given the above controversial definitions, it can be seen that this chaotic terminological situation cannot be easily resolved since some linguists, like Alexander (1978, 1979) and Carter (1987) prefer to use the very general term *fixed expression* whereas others like Glässer (1986a), Cowie (2001) and Naciscione (2011) opt for the term *phraseological unit*. Another approach to dealing with this terminological abundance is the one adopted by Moon (1998:2) who opts for the term *fixed expressions and idioms*, which is abbreviated to FEIs throughout her book.

As Fernando and Flavell (1981:19) point out idiomaticity is a phenomenon too complex to be defined in terms of a single property. Hence, the attempt by experts or

non-experts to define idiomaticity on the basis of a single criterion seems to be an elusive one. Nevertheless, the fact that linguists and non-linguists alike are becoming increasingly keen to contribute to this field is indicative of two major developments: the acknowledgment of the ubiquity of idioms in human language and the realization that an interdisciplinary approach to the study of idioms can give new insights into the field, extend these insights into other areas of linguistic study, and more importantly, shed some light on the hotly debated issues of idiom comprehension, processing and translation.

Given this confusing terminology, the following clarifications should be made: whenever I use the term *idiom* or *idiomatic expression* I am only referring to those phrases whose meaning cannot be derived compositionally from the meaning of its individual words. Whenever I refer to the study of idiomaticity or use the term *idiomatic meaning* I am hereafter referring to the study and meaning of these phrases and not of any others.

Even though scholars have different theoretical positions on what constitutes an idiomatic expression, it should be mentioned that there seems to be a consensus on the four most frequently mentioned features of idioms. The first one is *institutionalization* meaning that idioms are conventionalized expressions recognized and approved by the usage of the language (Bauer, 1983:48). It is worth mentioning that Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994:493) consider this to be the only necessary feature of an idiom given the variability of all other ones.

The second is *semantic opacity* which is manifested by the fact that the meaning of an idiom is not the sum of its constituent parts. In fact, some researchers (Nunberg, Sag and Wasow, 1994; Cacciari and Levorato, 1998) argue that idioms do not constitute a homogeneous group but vary in terms of their transparency and/or opaqueness. The notion of transparency is very important because it reveals how the form of an idiom is motivated by its meaning on both the literal and figurative level.

Another frequent characteristic of idioms, the third one, is *formal rigidity*, or to borrow Moon's term (1998:7) 'lexicogrammatical fixedness', which presupposes rigidity and inflexibility and implies some degree of lexicogrammatical defectiveness of the idioms in question. The fourth feature is *compositeness* indicating that idioms are considered to be multi-word expressions (e.g. *shoot the breeze*, *hot potato*, etc.) even though scholars such as Hockett (1958) have accepted single morphemes as idioms. It should be mentioned that Philip (2011) mentions two more features of idioms which are

semantic in nature. The first one is *salience*, which is a rather subjective concept and refers to a belief about what words mean, and the other one is *truth conditions*, which indicate whether a word is being used literally or metaphorically and differentiate idioms from other phrasal sequences (2011:23). A more recent study (Penttilä, 2010) has shown that some additional idiom attributes are *pragmatic constraints* and *partial lexical openness*. For example, *do a Dianagate* is an idiomatic construction that is lexically partially open since the position of the proper noun can be taken by any proper noun (Penttilä, 2010:155).

Given the fact that there is no consensus as to the characteristics attributed to idiomatic expressions, I will provide my own working definition of the term *idiom* based on four central criteria, adopting Penttilä's (2010:149) definition which claims that an idiom is an:

- (i) institutionalized
- (ii) non-compositional
- (iii) syntactically restricted
- (iv) multiword expression

(Penttilä, 2010:149)

Furthermore, acknowledging the graded nature of idioms, I will endorse Penttilä's proposal that "idioms and non-idioms form a continuum in which idiomaticity is a matter of degree rather than a dichotomous notion" (2010:149). In other words, non-compositionality in an idiom may be either total (e.g. *trip the light fantastic*) or partial (e.g. *lose one's cool*). Similarly, idioms are prototypically defined as syntactically restricted compared to non-idiomatic word combinations but recent studies (e.g. Langlotz, 2006; Moon, 1998) have shown the paradoxical flexibility of fixed expressions. In addition to that, multiwordiness has also generally been assumed to be a necessary characteristic of a prototypical idiom but formulas such as *cheers* (used for toasting) have come to be regarded as highly idiomatic (Warren, 2005:39). In light of the above, my own working definition of the term *idiom* is the following:

An idiom is an institutionalized construction that is composed of two or more lexical items and it is non-compositional either totally or partially. Moreover, it tends to be fixed and syntactically restricted.

Needless to say, all these properties as such do not suffice so as to be made sole criteria of idiomaticity but rather complement the notion of idiomaticity. Hence, it is important to explore earlier to current views of idiom definition in order to have a wider picture of the history of idiomaticity. This task is taken up in the next section.

2.2.1 Earlier theories of idioms

Having explored some definitional aspects of idiomaticity, the focus of the present section will be on the description and critical evaluation of the earlier phraseological models, as these were developed at the beginning of the twentieth century.

The first major contribution to our understanding of English idioms is made by Logan P. Smith, who in 1925 published a book entitled *Words and Idioms*, which was a collection of his essays. Writing largely from a prescriptive viewpoint, he provides us with a detailed and elaborate classification of idioms on the basis of their imagery: the sea, warfare, weather, hunting, the birds, the trees, etc. It is worth mentioning that he embraces an all-encompassing definition of the term *idiom*, thus implying that idioms are essentially those forms peculiar to a language disregarding whether they are literal or not.

More specifically, he distinguishes between habitual collocations such as *milk and honey* (later termed *binomial* by Malkiel, 1959:142) and idiomatic transgressions (e.g. *try and go*). Idiomatic transgressions refer to idiomatic expressions that violate what are considered the laws of language. For instance, in the example mentioned previously, the laws of grammar are broken since, grammatically speaking, *try to go* is correct whereas *try and go* seems ungrammatical (Smith, 1925:177). He also acknowledges the role of imagery in his account of idioms and concludes that most English idioms are used “as expressions of determination, of exasperation and vituperation” (1925:262). Even though Smith lacks the formal methodologies of other linguists, he recognizes that “idioms are the life and spirit of language” (1925:277).

Along similar lines, Roberts (1944) in his journal article *The method of inquiry into the cognitive design of language* takes for granted the existence of idioms in the

language and is in fact concerned with any type of elements capable of conveying unpredictable meanings. What is of immense importance to him though, is that idioms are primarily believed to originate as innovations of individuals which are then taken up by the community as a whole and are creatively manipulated.

From a critical standpoint, the two aforementioned views on idiomaticity reflect the need to identify the peculiarity of language per se as this is encapsulated in the term *idiom*. Their contribution to the nature and origin of idioms in language is more than evident but what is missing is the theoretical analysis and formalization that characterizes modern linguistics in general. These inadequacies, however, are not to be found in Hockett's analysis of idioms (1958). Hockett is in fact the first linguist who examines idioms from a modern linguistic perspective. From a definitional perspective, Hockett does not give us much insight since he adopts an all-pervasive view of idiomaticity, including monomorphemic lexemes, proper names, abbreviations, even complete conversations. On closer inspection of his idiom definition, it becomes evident that the entire lexicon of a given language could be characterized as idiomatic. The main argument against Hockett is his use of a single criterion to define idioms: that the meaning of an idiom is not the compositional function of its constituent parts. As Fernando and Fravell (1981:6) point out "idiomaticity is best defined by multiple criteria, each criterion representing a single property". Hence, defining the term *idiom* on the basis of a single criterion does not suffice but according to Makkai (1972:58) it leads to a catch-all definition.

Attempting to capture the complex nature of idioms, Healey (1968) groups idioms into twenty-one different categories according to their syntactic function. Working within a tagmemic model he provides us with a functional definition of the term *idiom* arguing that an idiom should be viewed as a functional unit within a sentence (e.g. noun, verb) which can be replaced by other units whose meaning cannot be deduced from its constituent parts. In more detail, the inventor and primary proponent of the linguistic theory of tagmemics was Kenneth L. Pike. Against Chomsky's claims, Pike, in his book *Language in Relation to a Unified Theory of the Structure of Human Behaviour* (1967), argues that the situational context of utterances and the cultural aspect of communication are of immense importance in investigating and solving actual communication problems and yielding insights into the nature of language use and acquisition. Drawing from the distinction made between phone and phoneme in phonology and phonetics, Pike claims that something analogous happens in

grammar. He uses the terms “etic” (as in phonetic) to refer to objective units of meaning and “emic” (as in phonemic) to subjective ones. For example, the words “disagree” and “dispute” are etically different but emically the same. In the same manner that the aspirated [p^h] in *pin* and non-aspirated [p] in *spin* are allophones for the phoneme [p] in the English language, so are the synonyms “disagree” and “dispute” considered different instances of a single tagmeme. With respect to idioms, Pike (1967) argues that an idiom involves a hypermorpheme, that is, a specific sequence of two or more specific morphemes, but he also acknowledges that people’s culture is reflected through the use of idiomatic expressions, thus incorporating cultural factors as well.

In conclusion, it can be seen that even though Hockett, Healey and Pike do not agree on the definitional aspects of idiomaticity, they all embrace structuralist theories in their attempt to identify and classify idioms in terms of their syntactic properties (Fernando and Flavell, 1981:10). It is from a syntactic viewpoint that the next group of linguistics works as well, only this time the focus is on the transformational-generative model as well as recent syntactic developments.

2.2.2 Syntactic approaches

In the fifties, Bar-Hillel’s *Idioms* (1955) and Malkiel’s *Irreversible Binomials* (1959) gave us a first glimpse of the transformational problems of idioms. More specifically, the first article dealt with the problems idioms pose for the then fashionable machine translation whereas the second article pointed out their irreversibility, thus denoting a very important transformational deficiency. In more detail, binomials is a name that Malkiel has given to expressions usually of the form X and Y (where X and Y are noun phrases) whose semantic properties change when the order of the noun phrases is reversed (Cruse, 1986:47). Some examples are *bread and butter*, *soap and water*, *fish and chips*, *man and wife* etc. Usually the order of elements cannot be reversed, hence its irreversibility. Since they occur only in one order, one can say *bow and arrow* but not *arrow and bow*.

Four years later, Katz and Postal (1963) entered the scene with their very short article entitled *Semantic interpretation of idioms and sentences containing them* in an effort to deal with the transformational potential of idioms. They are careful to define using syntactic criteria two types of idioms, namely *lexical idioms* and *phrase idioms*

(Katz and Postal, 1963:275-6). The former are syntactically dominated by one of the following syntactic categories, for example, noun, verb, adjective etc., and thus include compounds such as *telephone* and *photograph*. Lexical idioms are not of much interest for Katz and Postal since they behave like ordinary lexical units. On the other hand, phrase idioms such as *spill the beans* (= *reveal the truth about something private or secret*) and *shoot the breeze* (= *talk with other people in an informal and friendly way*) seem to attract their attention. In fact, Katz and Postal are careful to note the transformational deficiencies of idioms by noting that a passivized version of the idiom *kick the bucket* e.g. *The bucket was kicked by George* tends to be understood literally rather than idiomatically. Although Katz and Postal's analysis is limited since they solely focus on the idiom *kick the bucket* (= *die*) and as they themselves admit their theory is inadequate in dealing with idioms which are syntactically ill-formed (e.g. *by and large*), it should be pointed out that Katz and Postal were the first researchers to introduce the transformational potential of an idiom as one of its salient features.

Another scholar who employed the principles of generative-transformational grammar is Uriel Weinreich (1969). Adopting a rather narrow definition of the term *idiom*, he believes that only multi-word expressions like *shoot the breeze* qualify as idioms. In other words, polymorphemic words like *telephone* cannot be considered as idioms. Moreover, he distinguishes between idioms and stable collocations and argues that idioms are potentially ambiguous because they have both a literal and an idiomatic interpretation (e.g. *pull someone's leg*) whereas stable collocations like *bacon and eggs* have nothing idiomatic.

Before I move on to another important transformational grammarian who dealt with idioms, it is worth mentioning Chafe's article *Idiomaticity as an anomaly in the Chomskyan paradigm* (1968). As the title itself denotes, the writer strives to prove the inadequacies of Chomsky's theory within a transformational framework. Chafe is able to find four different idiom features that ought to be considered as anomalies in the Chomskyan paradigm: first, the meaning of an idiom is not an amalgamation of the meanings of its parts; second, the majority of idioms exhibit transformational deficiencies; third, some idioms are syntactically ill-formed; and fourth, any well-formed idiom will have a literal counterpart but the text frequency of the former will be, in most cases, much higher. Chafe's study is illuminating because it highlights the syntactic and semantic idiosyncrasies of idioms. However, he does not distinguish between pure idioms that block syntactic transformations and 'semi-idioms' that allow

some syntactic transformations such as that of passivization to occur, thus failing to realize the graded nature of idiomaticity and excluding non-prototypical cases of idioms.

Perhaps, the title that is most evidently preoccupied with the transformational potential of idioms is Fraser's *Idioms within a Transformational Grammar* (1970). Using only one criterion for defining idioms, he argues that: "an idiom is a constituent or a series of constituents for which the semantic interpretation is not a compositional function of the formatives of which it is composed" (1970:22). However, his true contribution lies in his acknowledgement of a certain hierarchy of transformational frozenness, which according to him, provides an adequate explanation to the different transformational behaviours that each idiom has. Using a seven-level frozenness scale he puts at the one end frozen idioms such as *beat around the bush* (= *be deliberately ambiguous or unclear in order to mislead or withhold information*), which only allow for the gerundive transformation whereas at the other end of the scale there are idioms such as *read the riot act* (= *reprimand someone for having done something stupid or wrong*), which seem to be able to undergo almost all sorts of transformations. Even though such a scale cannot be claimed to be universal, one cannot ignore the practical applications of Fraser's work evident in the two volumes of the *Oxford Dictionary of Current Idiomatic English* (1975) and the *Longman Dictionary of English Idioms* (1979), all of which clearly depict the transformational constraints on all the listed idioms. Another very important consequence of Fraser's work, which is also noted by Fernando (1996:9), is the revelation of the stylistic effects that can be achieved through the transformation of the idioms in question.

Of course, there are more contemporary attempts which deal with idiomaticity within the transformational-grammar framework. More specifically, Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor (1988) were freed from the previous definitional constraints of their colleagues and produced an admittedly broad definition of the term *idiom* which reads as follows: "an idiomatic expression or construction is something a language user could fail to know while knowing everything else in the language" (1988:504). To explain, a language user who has a very good knowledge of both the grammar and vocabulary of a given language could not know the meaning of an idiom and the circumstances under which it is used by virtue of that knowledge alone. This is the case because idioms belong to that group of phrases and expressions that are not covered by the principles of

compositional semantics. Consequently, Fillmore, Kay and O'Connor (1988:504) believe that idioms have meanings only as wholes and treat them as long words.

Furthermore, in his attempt to explain the syntactic behaviour of idioms, Nunberg (1978) was the first to introduce the possibility of idiomatic meaning being linked to its form. More specifically, he proposed that idioms vary in terms of the syntactic transformation they may undergo and that the relationship people see between an idiom's meaning and its form may have an effect on the syntactic transformations an idiomatic construction may undergo. In fact, Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994) divided idioms into two categories: namely *idiomatically combining expressions* and *idiomatic phrases*. For instance, the idiom *pop the question*, which belongs to the first category, is linked to its meaning because of certain literal meanings its parts have. In other words, if one knows that *pop the question* means 'make a marriage proposal', then one can easily infer that *pop* refers to asking the question and *the question* to the proposal itself. The same cannot be argued for the idiom *saw logs*, which belongs to the second category, because the link between form and meaning cannot be made since the figurative meaning *snore* cannot be logically motivated by or obtained from the combination of *saw* and *logs* taken literally. According to Nunberg, Sag and Wasow (1994:503) idioms belonging to the second category should be entered in the lexicon as complete phrases for the simple reason that they do not allow for syntactic modifications such as passivization and quantification.

Moving away from the mainstream generative grammar, Jackendoff (1997, 2002) proposes a fresh and novel approach to idioms by acknowledging the central role of idioms and formulaic expressions in natural language (1997:177). In more detail, his approach should be understood "against his critique of the syntactocentrism of mainstream Chomskyan theory" (Taylor, 2007:582). In other words, although he would admit to being in the generative tradition, he is not a mainstream generative grammarian. For him, lexical units have a central position and are understood by combining a phonological, syntactic and semantic representation. The same goes for idioms which have a phonological, syntactic, semantic and conceptual structure, and what makes a syntactic structure idiomatic is the lack of correspondence of all the syntactic constituents to the conceptual ones. Hence, Jackendoff claims that "idioms are conceived as constructional, as complex lexical items whose meaning is not syntactically determined, but rather is to be dealt with at the syntactic structure-conceptual structure interface component" (cited in Mateu and Espinal, 2007:34).

In conclusion, the contribution made by syntacticians is greatly acknowledged for bringing the transformational behaviour of idioms into the spotlight. Nevertheless, the transformational approach does not hold a superior status since semantic and pragmatic paradigms of idioms also play a significant role in the overall conceptualization and realization of the term, as will be argued in the following sections.

2.2.3 Semantic approaches

Intrinsically linked with the semantic approach to idiomaticity is Makkai's *Idiom Structure in English* (1972). In fact, no linguist concerned with idioms can ignore Makkai's *Idiom Structure in English* (1972) which is the extended version of his 1965 doctoral thesis at Yale University. Adopting a strongly stratificational view of language and consequently of idiomaticity, he claims that "the idiom by its very nature, is a linguistic phenomenon which cannot be fully understood without a stratificational view of language" (cited in Binnick, 1974:155). Proponents of stratificational linguistics like Lamb (1966) and Lockwood (1972) advocate that language usage and production are stratificational in nature, meaning that there are separate 'strata' or levels in the brain used for language. Each level provides actualization or 'realization' for the next, higher level with elements on each level being similar with one other. For instance, phoneme is said to be the unit on the phonemic stratum, lexeme on the lexical stratum, morpheme on the morphemic stratum and sememe on the semantic stratum. Strata are divided into higher and lower levels with higher involving meaning and lower phonetics and mutually define and are defined by each other.

More specifically, for a unit to be granted its idiomatic status it must consist of at least two independent lexical items. As is evident from Makkai's definition of the term *idiom*, expressions consisting of one free form and one or more bound forms are excluded because for Makkai an idiom is "any polylexonic lexeme made up of more than one minimal free form or word" (as defined by morphotactic criteria) (Makkai, 1972:122). In more detail, there are two kinds of idioms, namely *idioms of encoding* and *idioms of decoding*. The former comprise of 'phraseological idioms or peculiarities' (1972:567) and can be illustrated by using proper prepositions such as the use of the preposition *at* and not *with* in the sentence *he drove at 70 m.p.h.*, whereas the latter are the real idioms e.g. *hot potato* (= *a very controversial issue that most people would prefer not to deal with*), which are perceived as 'misleading lexical clusters'. Idioms of

decoding which are also idioms of encoding are further divided into *lexemic* and *sememic* (Makkai, 1972:117). Broadly, a lexemic idiom consists of more than one word but its meaning cannot be deduced from the meaning of its parts (e.g. *lose one's shirt*) whereas a sememic idiom is a multiple-word structure whose meaning is derived from its constituent lexemes (e.g. *do not put all your eggs in one basket*). Then, Makkai exemplifies six types of lexemic idioms, namely phrasal verbs, tornures, irreversible binomials, phrasal compounds, incorporating verbs and pseudo-idioms, and nine types of sememic idioms among which are proverbs and formulaic greetings. A criterion of immense importance for identifying idioms is their *disinformational potential*. In other words, for Makkai any idiom could be potentially ambiguous for it could function with its literal meaning in a different environment. However, such criterion is questionable since as Fernando (1996:6) observes adequate contextualization along with situational improbability significantly reduce, if not exclude, the possibility of disinformation. For instance, on the www.athomemagazine.co.uk website, on 18th May 2011, the following sentence appeared “The much talked-about Middleton sister has spilled the beans on how she keeps her body looking beautiful”. According to Fernando’s claim, adequate contextualization of this phrase, meaning that Pippa revealed how she maintains her excellent shape, and situational improbability, meaning that this sentence is not about cooking and spilling beans but has to do with diet and fitness issues does not leave much doubt as to whether the idiom *spill the beans* is used literally or metaphorically. Another flaw in Makkai’s idiom conceptualization is that it is essentially dichotomous, thus excluding any gradations or focusing on other kinds of equally problematic collocations. Despite all its inadequacies, Makkai’s book has been strongly influential and is undoubtedly one of the most extensive works ever written on English idiomatic expressions.

An equally interesting semantic approach to idiomaticity is provided by Sinclair (1991) who argues that there are two major diametrically opposed principles that govern language: the *idiom principle* and the *open-choice principle*. More specifically, in his *idiom principle* there are “semi-preconstructed phrases that constitute single choices even though they might appear to be analyzable into segments” whereas in his *open-choice principle* there is “a large range of choice with the only constraint being grammaticalness” (1991:109-110). Sinclair seems to prioritize collocational norms over creative structures based on syntactic rules. In particular, he illustrates a case in point by using the phrase *of course* which seems, on first inspection, to comprise two free

choices but the idiom principle pinpoints that despite its two-word status it is a single choice.

In addition, greetings, sayings, similes and proverbs also represent single choices but vary in their degree of fixedness. As Pawley and Syder claim, there are ‘*institutionalized*’ or ‘*lexicalized*’ sentence stems that “form a high proportion of the fluent stretches of speech heard in everyday conversation” (1983:208). In fact, they have introduced the term *speech formula* which seems to act as a cover term for what we simply name idiomatic expression. Hence, all idioms seem to be speech formulas but not vice-versa. Furthermore, for a unit to be granted its idiomatic status it must be semantically non-compositional and syntactically non-conforming. Although, such a view is highly debatable, since not all idioms are non-compositional, one must acknowledge the usefulness of this approach in highlighting the role of lexicalized phrases in language use.

2.2.4 Pragmatic approaches

With regard to the pragmatic aspect of idiomaticity, there are at least three scholars that should be mentioned. The first scholar is Jürg Strässler, who in the extended version of his doctoral thesis, *Idioms in English: A Pragmatic Analysis* (1982), argues that idioms are functional elements which act as status markers and their use or non-use among conversational partners signals social membership (1982:134). In fact, Strässler (1982:79) adopts a rather narrow definition of the term *idiom* since he excludes single words and phrasal verbs. In particular, his corpus of spoken English interaction consisting of 106,000 words includes transcriptions of privately recorded conversations as well as those of trials and therapeutic sessions. Through this rather heterogeneous, small sample of language, Strässler argues that in communicative exchanges between socially equal partners the use of both first and second-person idioms is common. In cases of social hierarchy, the use of second-person idioms is restricted to the communicative partner of higher status whereas the use of first-person idioms is reserved for the lower-status partner (1982:101). Also, he puts forward the view that idioms perform particular functions in discourse such as that of summarizing/closing, evaluating etc., thus enhancing interpersonal relationships. In other words, in settings like that of work, idioms are used by speakers for transactional purposes in order to accomplish a workplace task or for interpersonal goals in order to maintain or build working relationships. As Koester (2000:182) argues, idioms play an important role “in

summarizing and closing off encounters (or sections of the discourse) or in signalling where the discourse is going”. Furthermore, their role is of great significance in problem-solving or decision-making situations. When dealing with face-threatening issues such as assigning responsibility or blame, idioms can play a smoothing role in the negotiation process. Hence, idioms are pragmatic units that facilitate the handling of special social situations since they carry deictic elements and information that are not present in the literal synonyms of idioms. What is not made clear by Strässler’s study is the precise nature of the special information conveyed by idioms. Perhaps, a more detailed analysis of this special information could have strengthened his seemingly valid hypothesis, thus clarifying the deictic use of idioms.

The pragmatic nature of idioms is also stressed in Moon’s treatise *Fixed Expressions and Idioms in English* (1998) where she argues that fixed expressions and idioms (henceforth FEIs) can be better comprehended only if they are considered together with the texts in which they occur. Adopting a use-centered model of FEIs, she discusses extensively their discursual behaviour as well as their evaluative character and the role they might play in the cohesion of a given text. She concludes that further corpus studies are required in order to shed light on both form and variation of FEIs so that existing models and descriptions of idioms can become more accurate and complete.

Another equally interesting and pragmatically-oriented approach to idiom comprehension and processing is offered in Vega-Moreno’s book, entitled *Creativity and Convention. The Pragmatics of Everyday Figurative Speech* (2007). Applying Sperber and Wilson’s Relevance Theory (1995) to idioms, the author argues that by using the principle of optimal relevance “the hearer at every point will follow the most accessible inferential route in deriving the overall idiomatic meaning” (2007:216). This inferential route may be fast or slow depending on the degree of idiom familiarity but in either case it is this automatic tendency towards selective processing that bridges the gap between the encoded ‘literal meaning’ of the phrase and the resulting idiomatic interpretation. Of course, the fact remains that what is relevant for one speaker may be completely irrelevant for another. Furthermore, it is too optimistic to claim that the idiom interpretation the listener will come up with using the *principle of optimal relevance* will be similar to the one the speaker intended to communicate. Despite its inadequacies, Vega-Moreno’s premise that the comprehension of metaphors and idioms

does not require any special pragmatic principles or procedures provides an alternative way of interpreting everyday figurative speech.

2.2.5 Corpus-based approaches

The benefit of large, balanced corpora to the study of idiomaticity cannot be overstressed. Lexicographers have realized that it is virtually impossible to manually create a complete lexicon of idioms and idiomatic usage patterns and have developed automatic extraction techniques in their efforts to accomplish this objective. As Simpson and Mendis insightfully observe:

although no single corpus can provide a comprehensive selection of idioms, a corpus is arguably a much better starting point than an invented list of idioms, in part because such lists are by and large entirely devoid of a coherent focus on a particular language domain.

(Simpson and Mendis, 2003:420)

More specifically, a variety of techniques have come into play in the last decade as far as idiom search in spoken and written corpora is concerned. In conducting a corpus-based study of idioms in academic speech, Simpson and Mendis (2003:424) have used the concordance programme *WordSmith Tools* whereas Liu's study (2003:679), which involved a close concordance search and analysis of the idioms used in three contemporary spoken American English corpora, made use of the concordance computer programme *MonoConc Pro 2.0*. Moreover, in conducting two corpus-based studies on idiom variation in Italian and English, Cignoni, Coffey and Moon (1999) explored the English corpus by means of the search programme *Argus* and the Italian one by employing the *DBT* programme whereas in her corpus-based study of German idioms, Fellbaum (2006:352) exploited the linguistic search engine *DDC* (Dialing DWOS Concordancer).

It should be stated that some considerable progress has been made towards automatic retrieval of idioms from written and spoken corpora but still there are certain researchers (e.g. Gibbs and Nayak, 1989) who recognize the inability to come up with an all-encompassing idiom search programme. Despite the aforementioned reservations,

two important advantages ensue when a corpus is consulted for examples of idiom usage, namely presentation of idioms in authentic contexts and awareness of their socio-pragmatic and interactional features. Hence, it could be argued that corpus-based studies of idiomatic expressions can shed light on their variability and lexicosyntactic behaviour, thus unravelling their manifold nature.

2.3 Translational aspects of idioms

Drawing from the corpus-based paradigm of research, this study has as its primary aim to analyse some translational aspects of English idioms in the Greek financial press. To this end, it sets out to discuss at some length the translational aspect of idioms, examine the translation strategies that have been proposed for the translation of idioms so far and provide a rationale for the translation model that will be employed for examining the translation strategies used in the treatment of idioms in the Greek financial press.

2.3.1 Some preliminary remarks on language, thought and translation

Definitions postulated for the term *translation* often incorporate the notion of meaning transfer of a text in language A (the source language) into an equivalent text in language B (the target language). But the question remains as to what it is exactly that is transferred from one language into the other. This section attempts to set the picture in the linguistic scene so as to move on to the field of translation studies and explain how these two are related. According to Jackendoff (1997:183), the main argument about language and thought is that although language expresses thought, thought does not simply amount to bits of language in the head but should be viewed as a separate brain phenomenon. For example, babies and chimpanzees can think but they do not have language. Language is an evolutionary bolt-on that helped Homo Sapiens to survive and prosper in this world. It is because we have language that we are able to communicate our thoughts (Jackendoff, 1997:194). It should be mentioned that Jackendoff (1997:31) uses the term *conceptual structure* (CS) to indicate a system of mental representations. This term is used for his own specific purposes meaning that it is not a term that is in general use. His main argument (1997:187) is that conceptual structures interact with the visual system, with percepts of the world, with action decisions, etc., and when a human being wants to communicate with another human being who uses the same communicative code they put their conscious thoughts out into the world using the

syntax and phonology. All (healthy) humans could be said to be capable of having similar conceptual structures but depending on their environmental inputs (for example, place of birth) they develop a different language. For instance, a baby born in Greece will utter the word *μπαμπάς* (= *dad*) to indicate fatherhood whereas a baby born in Great Britain will say *dad*. In other words, the phonological form is different but the concept is equivalent. This means that linguistic forms are “possible conscious manifestations of thought, but they are not thoughts” (Jackendoff, 1997:189). In fact, Jackendoff (2002:274) maintains that linguistic forms are only one means of making conscious thoughts available to awareness. Another is visual imagery. For example, when seeing a horse, a representation of the form of the horse is constructed by the visual system and the concept of a horse is retrieved by the conceptual system. That is, we have a perceptual awareness of the visual form of what we are actually seeing but “our understanding of what we see is a consequence not only of visual images but also of the conceptual organization connected with these visual images” ((Jackendoff, 1997:191). In other words, the perceptual structure interacts with the conceptual structure.

Translation, it could be argued, is putting a concept that has been expressed in one code into another. In other words, we are NOT translating thoughts but languages since similar thoughts may occur within anyone but the language used to express them differs (from person to person, from culture to culture etc.). The whole point of translation is the preservation of the thought behind the expression (Jackendoff, 1997:183). If the same thought can be expressed in different languages, then thoughts “must be neutral with respect to what language they are expressed in” (Jackendoff, 1997:183). For example, a Greek speaker may have the same concept as an English speaker but the conscious encoding of that concept will be in Greek syntax and phonology. There are undoubtedly differences in vocabulary among languages as well as differences in grammatical constructions such as tense-aspect systems and social-status markers indicating that surface representations of similar concepts differ across languages (Jackendoff, 1997:238). A number of researchers such as Levinson (1996) and Majid et al. (2004) have shed light on crosslinguistic differences in prepositional systems that have an effect on the expression of spatial relations. Nevertheless, Jackendoff (1997:238) argues that these differences should not be blown out of proportion.

Now, when it comes to figurative language, there are also cross-linguistic differences between idioms. For instance, Bortfeld (2003:219) argues that whereas English speakers say *spill the beans* to indicate that information has been revealed Latvian speakers say *spill [the] water*. Moreover, the meaning of the final, additional,

small burden that makes the entirety of one's difficulties unbearable is rendered in English by the idiom *the last straw that broke the camel's back* whereas in Greek the idiomatic expression *το ποτήρι ξεχείλισε* (= *the glass overflowed*) is used. It is worth noting here that even though in English we have straws and camels, which have an Old Testament resonance, and in Greek we have water overflowing, the Greek idiomatic expression may be said to be equivalent in meaning to the English idiom in spite of differences in the use of lexical items and imagery. So, it could be argued that an attempt is made to translate the same concept that is manifested in different linguistic forms. Hence, the argument could be put forward that while language may affect thought processes it does not govern thought itself. Having made that clarification, the next section purports to explain how the discipline of translation studies was established and has since been expanded.

2.3.2 The discipline of Translation Studies

The practice of translation is long-established and has been prevalent throughout much of history significantly enhancing interhuman communication. The writings of Cicero and Horace in the first century B.C. and St. Jerome's in the fourth century B.C. indicate that the subject of translation is rather old. However, as an academic discipline, translation studies is relatively new since it was not until the second half of the twentieth century that the need for translation to become an independent field and to be researched systematically was recognised by scholars. Before that, translation usually fell under the rubric of comparative literature or contrastive linguistics and there was no consensus as to the name the discipline should hold. For instance, Nida (1969) proposed the term "science of translation" whereas Goffin (1971) opted for the term "translatology" or "traductologie" in French. Nevertheless, the term widely used for the academic subject under investigation is that of "translation studies". In particular, it was the Dutch-based US scholar James S. Holmes who argued for the adoption of the term "translation studies" in his 1972 seminal paper *The name and nature of translation studies* originally delivered in the *Third International Congress of Applied Linguistics* in Copenhagen. This term embraced a more broadened view of translation shifting emphasis from literary translation to other forms, such as interpreting, and showed interest in its pedagogical aspects such as the training of translators. Hence, as Baker (1998) argues "translation studies are now understood to refer to the academic discipline concerned with the study of translation at large" (1998:277).

Even though the now established discipline of translation studies has expanded explosively in the last forty years or so, there are certain issues that have always been of concern to both academic researchers and translators. One such issue is that of ‘equivalence’. In fact, basic to the history of Western translation theory, since the first testimonies we have of such activity almost two thousand years ago, is the concept of ‘equivalence’ which is a fundamental constituent of a definition of translation since translating a text from a SL into the TL involves finding the closest possible match of form and content between SL text and TL text (cf. Snell-Hornby, 1988:2; Hatim and Munday, 2004:11; Nord, 1997:4). Nevertheless, uniformity in the way equivalence is conceptualized and put into practice is far from a reality since some of the most heated debates have been caused by translation theorists seeking to explain, analyse, describe and even rationalize the phenomenon of equivalence in translation. The major polar split is usually between two types of equivalence: (1) *formal equivalence* and (2) *dynamic equivalence*. In particular, formal equivalence pays close attention to both the form and content of the TT message which should resemble the ST message as much as possible. In this type of equivalence, ST structure seems to have a prevalent position and the degree of success of the TT depends on whether it has a close approximation to the ST structure or not. On the other hand, dynamic equivalence occurs when it is not possible to find formal equivalents between language pairs. This type of equivalence is based on what Nida has called ‘the principle of equivalent effect’, where the message is translated as naturally as possible in order to accommodate the receptor’s linguistic needs (Nida, 1964:159). For Nida, naturalness is of paramount importance since he argues that the ultimate goal of dynamic equivalence is to find “the closest natural equivalent to the source-language message” (Nida, 1964:166). Similar bipolar views of translation are held by translation theorists such as Newmark (1981) who distinguishes between *semantic translation and communicative translation*, Catford (1965) who makes a distinction between *formal correspondence and textual equivalence* and Pym (2010) who differentiates *natural equivalence* from *directional equivalence*. However, both translators and theorists (Snell-Hornby, 1988:13; Hermans, 1991:157) soon realized the ‘illusionary’ status of the concept of equivalence and moved on to develop different paradigms which follow the current translation trends and are assumed to address the needs of the target audience more effectively.

More specifically, in the 1980s the German theorist Hans Vermeer provided us with a fresh new paradigm which became widely known as “skopos-theory”. As the name itself denotes the main principle of this paradigm is the purpose of the translation. Reiss and Vermeer put it that “the dominant factor of each translation is its purpose [Zweck]” (1984:96). In this sense, the primacy of the source text is overridden for the sake of the target-culture norms. From this perspective, translations serving the previously-mentioned paradigm have addressed fundamentally different audiences and have been required to adapt to a new cultural situation since they fulfil functions quite different to those of source texts. In this respect, equivalence of function was considered as just one of many possible skopoi of a translation. The translator is no longer a passive recipient but once he decides, in consultation with the client, what the purpose of the translated text will be, he becomes an active partner in a complicated cross-cultural communication act.

Another translation paradigm which focused on the target side is the descriptive one introduced by Toury (1995). Moving away from prescriptivism, descriptive theories of translation tried to describe what translations are like or could be like. In particular, drawing from the work of Russian formalists of the 1920s, the Israeli scholar Itamar Even-Zohar developed *polysystem theory* which viewed the target culture as a polysystem comprising systems. He argued (1978/2000:193) that translations can be either ‘central’ playing an innovative role and differently shaping the culture or ‘peripheral’ conforming to the established patterns and playing an auxiliary role. Only when the target culture is perceived to be inferior to the source can translations gain a ‘central’ role; otherwise they are normally in peripheral positions most of the time.

Apart from descriptive approaches to translation, the development of discourse-oriented approaches to translation started to gain ground in the 1990s and several key figures in translation such as Mona Baker, Juliane House, Basil Hatim and Ian Mason have made use of the Hallidayan model of language and discourse to examine translation “as communication within a sociocultural context” (cited in Munday, 2001:16). In particular, Juliane House’s model of translation quality assessment has become very popular among many translation theorists because it does not only provide us with an analysis of the way language communicates meaning but also with a flexible model that allows us to systematically compare the textual ‘profile’ of the ST and the

TT (House, 1997:43). I will therefore now look at House's model of translation quality assessment in more detail.

2.3.3 House's model of translation quality assessment

In 1997, Juliane House in her *Translation Quality Assessment: A Model Revisited* proposed a functional-pragmatic model of translation evaluation which is based on the Hallidayan systemic functional grammar (henceforth SFG). More specifically, the basic premise of SFG is that it views language as a social phenomenon and is based on texts rather than sentences. To use Halliday's words, it is "a theory of meaning as choice, by which language of any other semiotic system is interpreted as networks of interlocking options" (Halliday, 1994:xiv). For SFG, language and social context are interdependent because they influence meaning within each other's domain. That is to say, that when people use language, their language construes patterns of social context and in return, social context construes language. In order to encapsulate the relationship between texts and social context, Halliday employs the term 'register'. The concept of register has been viewed by Halliday as bound to a particular discursive situation and is defined as "a language variety associated with a particular domain of language use" (Halliday, 1978:31). Halliday and Hasan (1976:22) recognize three variables of register (or context of situation): (a) the field of discourse, (b) the tenor of discourse and (c) the mode of discourse. *Field* deals with what is being talked about, *tenor* makes reference to who is communicating and to whom whereas *mode* is preoccupied with how the text is represented, i.e. spoken or written. Each of these variables of register reflect the context of the given situation and are realized by means of three functions which Halliday names metafunctions: (a) the ideational, (b) the interpersonal and (c) the textual. In the ideational metafunction, language is used to express factual and background knowledge whereas in the interpersonal one, language is meant to capture people's behaviour, feelings and attitudes in communicative events. Lastly, the textual metafunction refers to how language is used "to organize the text itself" (cited in Bloor and Bloor, 2004:11). Halliday's groundbreaking contribution was that he linked the aforementioned metafunctions to actual lexicogrammatical systems, i.e. *field* to ideational, *tenor* to interpersonal and *mode* to textual.

The connection made in SFG between form and function through register analysis is of absolute importance for the field of translation studies because it underpins the close correspondence between contextual factors and the linguistic elements of a text. Taking register as her point of entry and drawing from the Hallidayan register analysis of field, tenor and mode, House provided us with a model of translation quality assessment. In more detail, House's first attempt to establish the parameters for the assessment of a translation text was made in 1977, where her original model of translation quality assessment, which was based on her Ph.D. dissertation, was published by the Gunter Narr Verlag. Four years later, in 1981, a second edition of the model appeared with minor revisions. It was not until 1997 that House decided to become involved in a more radical re-shaping of her model in order to address some of the criticisms applied to her original model. In this section, I will focus on House's later, revisited model as this will form the backbone of my analysis. This model was chosen because it focuses on texts rather than unrelated sentences and provides the tools for both the translator and the text analyst to achieve a better understanding of how meaning is construed at the level of lexico-grammar and discourse semantics.

One of the basic concepts underpinning House's functional-pragmatic model of translation evaluation is "translation equivalence", a concept that has been extensively used to define translation albeit not always successfully or accurately. House is careful to note that equivalence cannot and should not be restricted to mere formal, syntactic and lexical similarities but should also endorse a semantic, pragmatic and textual aspect. Adopting Ivir's view (1996:155), that "equivalence is ... relative and not absolute, ... it emerges from the context of situation as defined by the interplay of many different factors", House posits that a necessary and sufficient condition for a translation text to be semantically and pragmatically equivalent with its source text is that it has a function equivalent to that of its original. Function is defined as "the application or use which the text has in the particular context of situation" (House, 1997:36). The basic premise behind such a definition is that "text" and "context of situation" are intertwined in the sense that the social environment on the one hand and the functional organization of language on the other help unfold the "context-side" of the text. It is House's belief (2001:248) that the broad notion of "context of situation" must be broken down into the more digestible register categories of field, tenor and mode. In effect, House assumes register analysis to be her framework for both textual analysis and the establishment of

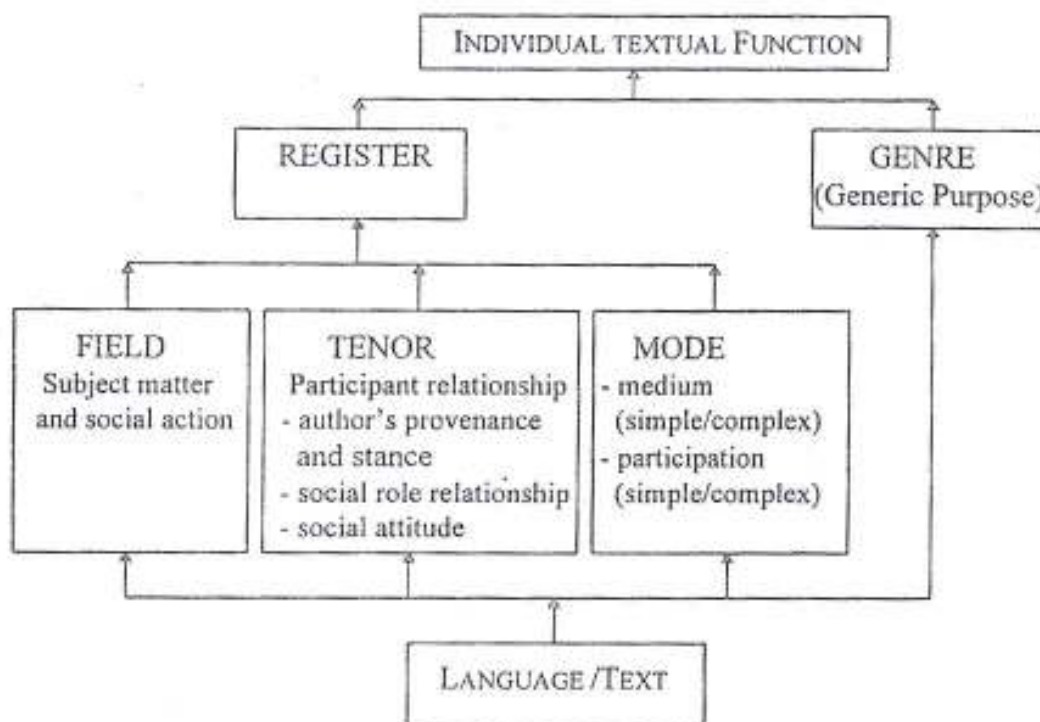
textual function. The notion of register presupposes a close relationship of text to context and refers to language used for a particular purpose in specific social settings. Hence, register is viewed as a “contextual category correlating groupings of linguistic features with recurrent situational features” (1997:105).

As was mentioned, House subsumes the categories for register analysis under the Hallidayan ‘trinity’ of field, tenor and mode. In more detail, field includes subject matter and social action and “covers the specificity of lexical items” (cited in Munday, 2001:108). Tenor refers to the relationship between the participants including both the addresser and the addressees in terms of social power and distance and takes into consideration “the text producer’s temporal, geographical and social provenance as well as his intellectual, emotional or affective stance” (House, 1997:109). Furthermore, social attitude is also depicted in tenor and refers to three different styles, namely formal, consultive and informal. Mode makes reference to both medium and participation. Medium, which is normally spoken or written, can be either “simple”, e.g. “written to be read” or “complex”, e.g. “written to be spoken as if not written”. In a similar manner, participation can be “simple” primarily involving monologue, or “complex” including various linguistic mechanisms that “invite” the addressees to become involved (House, 1997:109).

However detailed the abovementioned categories of field, tenor and mode are, they cannot provide us with a direct statement of the individual function. Bearing this in mind, House incorporates the concept of “genre” into her analytic scheme “in between” the register categories of field, tenor and mode and the textual function (1997:110). The use of genre is meant to capture “deeper” textual patterns that register descriptions focusing on individual features cannot adequately explain, thus trying to foreshadow the “macrocontext” of texts pointing both to the linguistic and cultural community in which these texts are integrated. House herself points out (1997:159-160) that genre is a rather fuzzy-edged category and “remains therefore a socially-determined, pre-scientific category in the sense that its parameters cannot be set by scientific decree” (1997:159). Nevertheless, genre seems to be of paramount importance in House’s model since it is “a socially established category characterized in terms of occurrence of use, source and a communicative purpose or any combination of these” (1997:106). In this respect, genre might be viewed as the link between “register (which realizes genre) and the individual textual function (which exemplifies genre)” (cited in Cuéllar, 2002:191).

Hence, House's revised model comprises four levels: individual textual function, register, genre and language/text which are best depicted in the scheme below:

Figure 2.1 A scheme for analysing and comparing original and translation texts



(adapted from House, 1997:108)

House's scheme is meant to provide us with a textual profile that has a specific individual function. According to her "a translation text should not only match its source text in function, but employ equivalent situational-dimensional means to achieve that function" (1997:42), that is, the match has to be on all situational dimensions. When analysing situational dimensions, House (1997:44-45) makes use of syntactic, lexical and textual means, the latter comprising theme dynamics (thematic structure and cohesion), clausal linkage (e.g. additive, adversative) and iconic linkage (parallelism of structures). To explain, in House's model, a detailed description of both the profile of

the ST and the TT is made along with a ‘statement of function’ and then the TT profile is compared to the ST profile. When there is a mismatch between the two profiles, then there is an error. According to House (1997:45) there are two types of errors: (a) *covertly erroneous errors* which result from a mismatch in one situational dimension and (b) *overtly erroneous errors* which are the result of a mismatch of the denotative meanings of the ST and the TT or “stem from a breach of the target language system” (1997:45). Finally, a ‘statement of quality’ of translation is made.

In attempting to outline this evaluation scheme as a sort of *tertium comparationis*, House is careful to note that the extent to which this textual function can be maintained if at all, depends on the translation type. In other words, House suggests that there is a relation between “source text type and appropriate translation type” (1997:66) and goes on to distinguish between two translation types: *overt* and *covert* translation. An overt translation is a TT that has many elements that remind us that it is a translation. In such translation types, equivalence should be sought at the level of language/text, register and genre. In fact, House (1997:112) believes that the text function cannot possibly be the same for original and translation since we are dealing with different discourse worlds. Hence, House proposes that a “second-level functional equivalence” should be sought so as to enable receivers to have some kind of access to the function of the ST. For instance, Jeremy Munday (2001:94) cites the example of the German ST *Die Zauberberg* and the English TT *The Magic Mountain* and asserts that these two texts cannot possibly have the same individual function.

On the other hand, a covert translation “is a translation which enjoys the status of an original source text in the target culture” (1997:69). According to House, examples of covert translation are a tourist information booklet and a scientific text. House (1997:114) maintains that in a covert translation, the function of the original is recreated without having to take the TT reader into the discourse world of the ST. Hence, equivalence is necessary only at the level of genre and individual text function. These differences are displayed in Figure 2.2:

Figure 2.2 The Dimension *Overt-Covert* Translation

Level	Is strict equivalence the translational goal?	
	Overt Translation	Covert Translation
Primary level function	NO	YES
Secondary level function	YES	(does not apply)
Genre	YES	YES
Register	YES	NO
Language/Text	YES	NO

(adapted from House, 1997:115)

Moreover, House maintains (1998:199) that in order to give the impression that the TT is an original, the translator may be required to apply a cultural filter which will alleviate cultural differences, thus making the TT sound like an original. The concept of the “cultural filter” is defined as “a means of capturing socio-cultural differences in shared conventions of behavior and communication, preferred rhetorical styles and expectation norms in the two speech communities” (House, 2001:251). House elaborates on the concept of “cultural filter” by drawing on a number of German-English comparative pragmatic studies that she has conducted where she claims that the two cultures differ in terms of their communicative patterns along a set of dimensions, among them directness, explicitness and content-focus (1997:84).

When rethinking the notion of ‘translation evaluation’, House argues that while theoretically speaking the distinction between overt and covert translation is valid, in practice it might be difficult for someone to make that judgment because it is not an either-or option since a particular piece of text may require an overt translation whereas another one may be better rendered by performing a covert translation. As House argues (1997:119), the choice of an overt or a covert translation does not depend entirely on the translator but there are other factors such as social considerations or even ideological constraints that do not directly relate to the linguistic-textual side of the translation. On that note, House concludes (2001:255) that the concept of “quality” is problematic if it is meant to refer to value judgments alone and that the field of translation should move

from a macro-analytical focus to a micro-analytical one in order to evaluate both translators' decision processes and final choice in as objective a manner as possible. This notion is complemented by the fact that translation is at its core a linguistic-textual phenomenon and it is linguistic analysis that will provide us with the basis for making an evaluative judgment. In House's words:

Translation must be seen first and foremost for what it is, namely a phenomenon in its own right: a linguistic-textual operation. And the nature of translation as a linguistic-textual operation should not be confused with issues such as what the translation is for, what it should, might, or must be for.

(House, 2001:255)

When evaluating a translation, both the linguistic and the evaluative component are implicit but they should not be mixed. According to House (2001:256) translation criticism consists of ideational and interpersonal functions that have different methodological steps; the first rests on linguistic-textual analysis and is based on empirical research whereas the second refers to value judgments and touches on social and interpersonal questions. One must do the first in order to move onto the second because for House the objective assessment of a translation is only achieved through the distinction between linguistic description and social evaluation.

2.3.4 English-Greek news translation: Sidiropoulou's work

Having analysed House's model of translation quality assessment, I will now turn my attention to Sidiropoulou's work on news translation since it is one of the main frameworks that will be used in the data analysis. Focusing on the English-Greek translation paradigm, Sidiropoulou's treatise *Linguistic Identities Through Translation* (2004) attempts to answer the question whether contrastive analysis of STs and TTs can provide insights to the study of linguistic identities. In the introductory chapter, she explores the relationship between translation and identity and claims that identity is manifested in the "linguistically inscribed preference in the choice and construction of discourses" (2004:2). Through the juxtaposition of source and target texts, translators are not only given the opportunity to inquire into aspects of linguistic preferences across cultures but they are also given the chance to examine the degree of conventionality that certain genres exhibit. These regularities are evident in genre discourses and thus minimize the role of both sender and receiver as subjective agents in text production (2004).

In more detail, the book consists of three parts, each tackling translation issues in a different genre. In the first part of her book, Sidiropoulou looks at the relation between translation and identity in the news reporting genre. In particular, she explores how ideological perspectives are inscribed in the translation of specific linguistic phenomena in press news translation. Taking as a starting point the modifications of connectives and time adverbials in target versions of the data, she puts forward the claim that awareness of potential differences in the way connectives and temporal adverbials operate across languages can help translators acquire a deeper understanding of assessing presumably appropriate versions of TTs. In analysing cohesive devices, Sidiropoulou (2004) observes that there is a preference for counter-argumentation and explication in the Greek target texts which may be attributed to readership type since readers tend to adopt the role of the denier (2004). Furthermore, there is a preference for balance formats in Greek texts as opposed to the lop-sided format ones and this may be attributed to the translator's effort to maintain the suspense and give a more interpersonal tone to the translation (2004).

Regarding time adverbials, Sidiropoulou claims (2004) that there is a preference for past time reference in English as opposed to the Greek version which is more future-oriented. In contrasting an 18,000-word sample of 1992-1995 Greek news material translated from the English press with its source version (with respect to the way

temporal adverbials are transferred in the target version), Sidiropoulou argues that there are three types of intervention: (a) the introduction of evaluative comments which are meant to make the reading of certain temporal expressions more transparent, (b) the use of shorter time spans and (c) the rendering of temporal adverbials with others showing frequency and immediacy. According to Sidiropoulou (2004), these devices of intensification aim at creating a dramatic effect and an interpersonal attitude between translators and readership.

Turning her attention to the rendering of testimonial discourse in the Greek press, Sidiropoulou (2004) maintains that awareness of cross-cultural differences in testimonial discourse is of immense importance for translators because persuasion strategies are adjusted according to them. Moreover, it is Sidiropoulou's belief (2004) that apart from ideological considerations, there are also normative and cognitive variables which influence the target version. Starting from the assumption that metaphors in translation are treated as manifestations of norm-governed behaviour, Sidiropoulou explores the kind of modifications that metaphors undergo when crossing the intercultural filter. Drawing her data from a 38,300-word sample of translated 1997 Greek press news material, she argues there are instances of metaphors transferred intact in the Greek version whereas others have undergone a variety of modifications. One such modification is the neutralization of the metaphorical expression in favour of simplicity and informativity, which is not such a common type of intervention, as opposed to introducing metaphors which is a more favoured device and aims at enriching the emotional texture of the target text. Another device employed in the sample data examined is the modification of the original metaphor either by replacing it by another one or by turning a metaphor into a non-metaphor. The last type of modification is a rather frequent one since it complies with the norm of boosting informativity. Sidiropoulou (2004) concludes that linguistic identities in news translation are created through ideological assumptions prevailing in source and target texts. According to her, such findings have a consciousness-raising intention since translation students should not only be aware of the underlying principles governing linguistic realization in news translation but also be able to transfer "the intended ideological message across and at the same time reflect audience preferences" (2004:87).

2.3.5 Translating idioms: problems and considerations

Having reviewed the main frameworks that I will employ for my analysis, I will now turn my attention to some specific problems that occur when translating idioms. More specifically, the main problem with idioms is that they cannot be translated using the ‘normal’ rules translators abide by because they are expressions whose meaning cannot be completely understood from the meanings of their component parts. In other words, if one translates the meaning of each of the words comprising the idiom separately, in all probability, the result will be nonsense. Instead, idioms have to be treated as single units in translation in order to be successfully translated. Of course, there are exceptions, for example *I am all ears* (= *listen very carefully*) can be translated literally into Greek as *εἶμαι ὅλος αὐτιά* (= *I am all ears*), which has the same meaning. However, this is not the case for the majority of idiomatic expressions.

The second major problem is the extent to which the translator will opt to use the literal equivalent of an idiom or come up with an idiomatic expression which has a similar meaning to the ST idiom and fits the context. It could be claimed that finding an appropriate idiom in the target language that conveys the same meaning may entail more effort on the part of the translator than finding the literal equivalent. However, things are not so clear-cut, since there are other constraints such as genre preferences that license the translator to use (or forbid them from using) either the literal or the idiomatic equivalent in the TL. For instance, Sidiropoulou (2004:78) has argued that translators seem to disregard idiomatic and figurative language in favour of formality and informativity in press news translation. What remains to be seen is the variation in translators’ behaviour with respect to the treatment of idioms.

In fact, the issue of idiom translation is not straightforward since many problems may arise when attempting to translate an idiom. For instance, a problem with sentences containing idioms is that they may be ambiguous in the sense that either a literal or an idiomatic interpretation is possible (i.e. the phrase *the balloon goes up* can really be about balloons going up). The real problem however is their variability which is not limited to variations in inflection (as it is with ordinary words). Consequently, translators may have some difficulty in recognizing an idiom. Of course, not all idioms have variants since some of them are completely frozen expressions whose parts tend to appear in the same form and order (i.e. *by and large*). However, this is not the norm. According to Arnold et al. (1994:118), a typical way in which “idioms can vary is in the form of the verb, which changes according to tense, as well as person and number”.

For example:

- (1) You should all speak your minds.
- (2) John spoke his mind.

Another common form of variation arises because some idioms allow adjectival modifiers, e.g. *Speak your parental mind* or appear in different syntactic configurations just as regular non-idiomatic expressions do (Cacciari and Glucksberg, 1991:224). Similarly, *bury the hatchet* (= *forget a dispute with someone and become friends again*) appears in the passive as well as the active voice as shown below:

- (3) They buried the hatchet.
- (4) The hatchet seems to have been buried.

(Arnold et al. 1994:118)

It should be stated that not all idioms allow these variations in form. But where idiom variation occurs then apart from the problem of transfer, the translator must also face the problem of recognition. On closer inspection, it could be claimed that the major problems that translators face fall into two main categories: firstly, *the recognition problem*; and then *the transfer problem*. As Baker (1992:65) observes:

the main problems that idiomatic and fixed expressions pose in translation relate to two main areas: the ability to recognize and interpret an idiom correctly; and the difficulties involved in rendering the various aspects of meaning that an idiom or a fixed expression convey into the target language.

(Baker, 1992:65)

With regard to the first issue, that of idiom-recognition, it seems that machines (as translation systems) tend to have problems when it comes to the identification of idiomatic expressions. Even though current machine translation systems have difficulty

addressing the double challenge of idioms' non-compositionality and syntactic variability, considerable progress has been made concerning idiom-translation systems. This issue will be taken up in the next section in which the findings relating to idiom translation with machine translation systems will be analysed.

2.3.6 Computer-aided idiom translation

In computer-aided translation, idioms pose two major problems: that of *recognition* and that of *interpretation* due to their non-compositionality and their syntactic variability. More specifically, machine translation systems cannot perform a word-for-word translation on an idiom because its meaning is not, in most cases, recovered from the meaning of its individual parts. For example, the idiomatic expression *take the cake* (= *express surprise or anger at someone's extreme behaviour or qualities*) would be translated into Greek by a machine translation system as *παίρνω το κέικ* (= *take the cake*), thus distorting the meaning. Furthermore, if a solution to the problem of recognition was found, machine tools would still have to face the problem of idioms' syntactic variability. For instance, the idiom *spill the beans* could possibly exist in an integrated translation memory system but its variants *pour the beans* and *didn't spill a single bean* (Glucksberg, 2001:79) would probably pose a problem for machine translation systems because they exhibit a significant amount of variability which cannot be predicted and depends primarily on the context and the communicative intention of the speaker.

In particular, the growing interest in various approaches to machine translation (henceforth MT) such as rule-based MT (Brown et al., 1993) or example-based MT (Nagao, 1984; Carl and Way, 2003; Koehn, 2010) has led many researchers to rethink the issue of idiom translation. Before exploring rule-based and example-based idiom-translation models, it is worth mentioning what machine translation is and some core features as well as differences between the two paradigms. More specifically, machine translation, sometimes referred to by the acronym MT, is a sub-discipline of the wider field of artificial intelligence (AI) and it involves translating something by means of a machine, especially a computer. The basic task of a machine translation system is to take a SL text and translate it into the TL. It should be mentioned that both source and target languages are natural languages such as English and Greek (Rao, 1998:61). Thus, it could be claimed that MT is doing natural language processing (NLP).

Having provided a brief definition of machine translation, two of the most important approaches to MT that have emerged in recent years will now be discussed. In particular, the first set of translation models, which go under the name *rule-based translation models* (henceforth RBTM), make use of part-of-speech taggers in order to produce accurate translations in the target language. The part-of-speech tagger is a programme through which the words of a given text are assigned to a lexical category. This task is done either by looking up words in the lexicon, or by using a morphological analyzer (Merialdo, 1994). When dealing with ambiguous words, e.g. *bank*, then rule-based systems “rely on the phrase dictionary, and sometimes on semantic information, to determine the correct translation of an ambiguous word” (Nie, 2010:39). Therefore the dependence of RBTM systems on linguistic knowledge (meaning morphological and bilingual dictionaries which contain lexical, syntactic and semantic information) and part-of-speech disambiguation rules is evident. In other words, there is a morphological and syntactic analysis of the original text before it is converted to the target text. However, the programmed rules that comprise RBMT in a way mirror their inflexibility since they cannot account for context-dependent meanings of words, colloquial expressions, words slightly out of order or even typographical errors. Nevertheless, the process of building a RBTM system entails a large amount of human effort so that the necessary linguistic resources are built (Arnold, 2003).

Realizing the inadequacies of the aforementioned paradigm, Nagao proposed an alternative paradigm in 1981 in the International Nato Symposium on Artificial and Human Intelligence, namely the *example-based machine translation* (henceforth EBMT) system. Since then, many variants of EBMT have been proposed and alternative names such as “analogy-based”, “memory-based”, “case-based”, and “experience-guided” have been used. In fact, EBMT has been linked with the related technique of “translation memory” (TM) and the two terms, “memory-based translation” and “example-based translation” have been used interchangeably. As the name itself denotes, translation memory is a linguistic database in which all previous translations are accumulated and can be re-used so as to avoid translating the same word(s), phrase(s) or sentence(s) twice.

A translation memory system includes text segments in a source language and their translations into one or more target languages. These segments can be blocks, paragraphs, sentences, or phrases. Individual words are handled by terminology bases and are not within the domain of TM. The core principle of this paradigm is the use of a

corpus or database of already translated examples and as Somers (1999:114) claims, “it involves a process of matching a new input against this database to extract suitable examples which are then recombined in an analogical manner to determine the correct translation”. In fact, Nagao argues that there are three major processes in EBMT: (1) matching fragments against a database of real examples, (2) identifying the corresponding translation fragments, and then (3) recombining these to produce the target text (cited in Somers, 1999:116).

In a nutshell, the difference between RBMT and EBMT can be described as “deductive” vs. “inductive” MT, meaning that the former relies on linguists who create or modify a set of rules in accordance with their knowledge and expertise whereas in the latter “the rules are derived by the system itself and rely on a given set of translation examples” (Carl et al., 2000:224).

Now, with regard to idiom translation, significant progress has been made by researchers who have proposed both RB and EB machine translation models. More specifically, Santos (1990) has proposed his English to Portuguese machine translation system named PORTUGA which makes use of one single comprehending parser that allows for maximal readability and has minimal storage requirements. Moreover, in an attempt to develop a Korean-English machine translation system, Ryu et al. (1999) have created the *FromTo K/E* which is a rule-based Korean-English machine translation system developed by the Electronics and Telecommunications Research Institute (ETRI). The major advantage of this system is that it is “the first prototype of Korean-English machine translation system” that is said to tackle “the long-lasting language-typological and ambiguity-related problems in the field of Korean-English machine translation” (Ryu et al., 1999:474). Arguing that the translation of idioms can be better performed by EBMT than by rule-based MT (RBMT), Anastasiou (2008) has developed an automatic idiom-matching programme named METIS-II.

In more detail, Anastasiou (2010:xiii) maintains that the hybrid EBMT system METIS-II, with the help of morphosyntactic rules, is able not only to process correctly some idioms but also translate them. This innovative EBMT system is hybrid because it combines statistical tools and linguistic rules. Its SLs are Dutch, German, Spanish and Greek and its TL is British English. It makes use of the British National Corpus (BNC) and language-specific resources for both SL and TL, such as “bilingual dictionaries, tokenizer, part-of-speech tagger, chunker, lemmatizer, and manually constructed matching rules” (2008:13). Anastasiou (2008) focuses on one idiom-type, namely

idiomatic verb phrases in German and their respective translations into English. Furthermore, she distinguishes between continuous and discontinuous idioms, the former displaying adjacency of constituents and the latter exhibiting discontinuity of constituents due to the insertion of an alien element between two idioms' constituents (2008:12). In measuring the frequency of these two idiom-types in her German corpus, she argues that continuous idioms form a 73.8% of instances whereas discontinuous idioms account for only 26.2% (2008:12). In explaining the translation process of METIS-II, Anastasiou (2008:15) proposes the following three steps: firstly, there is a SL analysis in which idioms are processed in the same way as all lexical units. Then SL to TL matching occurs with the help of three resources, namely a bilingual idiom dictionary of 871 entries, a monolingual German corpus of 486 sentences and four types of manually constructed morphosyntactic rules. For the matching to take place, the idiom has to be stored in the bilingual idiom dictionary. Then, METIS-II is able to identify this idiom on the basis of the abovementioned rules. The experiments carried out to evaluate the system have shown more than 80% precision for all experiments both for continuous and discontinuous idioms. In order to further boost her findings, Anastasiou goes on to compare METIS-II with three commercial MT systems: Power Translator Pro, SYSTRAN, and T1 Langenscheidt and looks at how they translate sentences containing idioms. The first two systems have given quite satisfactory results regarding the translation of continuous idioms whereas all three commercial MT systems seem to have been unable to identify and accordingly translate discontinuous idioms. Hence, the potential of METIS-II lies in its ability to identify and correctly translate both continuous and discontinuous idioms in spite of the verb inflections of the idiom or its syntactic modifications. The study finishes on a positive note since Anastasiou (2008:19) argues that one of her future plans is the enrichment of the corpus with more sentences containing both continuous and mainly discontinuous idioms in order to make the difficult task of automated idiom matching and translation less burdensome.

To sum up, the vexing issue of idiom-recognition and transfer has prompted computational linguists to propose various machine translation systems for detecting and translating idioms. Considerable progress has been made in the field of computer-aided machine translation, thus facilitating the task of translators. On a more personal note, I would like to point out that the use of technology in the field of translation studies is both necessary and desirable. Nevertheless, the human factor should not be

underestimated at the expense of technological advancement. The distinction between idiomatic and literal meaning is not a task to be taken lightly. Presently, the creation and development of an all-encompassing translation system may be a more demanding task than it was originally perceived to be. Of course, there are rapid developments in the field of computational linguistics, but still there is a lot to be done. After all, machines are machines and humans are humans and this is more than just a tautological statement.

2.3.7 Previous accounts of idiom-translation models

Having presented some basic problems in translating idioms, this study will now address the issue of idiom-translation strategies reviewing those that have been proposed so far. Before doing so, the term ‘strategy’ will be firstly defined. In particular, the term ‘strategy’ has been variously interpreted in applied linguistics and translation theory. Within applied linguistics, it has been associated with the solution of particular kinds of communication problems and with language-learning methods that good language learners typically use (e.g. self-monitoring, inference-testing etc.). Both these definitory axes are relevant to translation since translators deal with communication problems and are increasingly interested in becoming better at solving them. In light of this, “a strategy offers a solution to a problem, and is thus problem-centred” (Chesterman, 1997:89). This kind of definition envisages translation as an action and strategy as a kind of process. Strategies, in this sense, describe text-linguistic behaviour and as Chesterman (1997:89) argues they are forms of explicitly textual manipulation because:

they refer to operations which a translator may carry out during the formulation of the target text, operations that may have to do with the desired relation between this text and the source text, or with the desired relation between this text and other target texts of the same type.

(Chesterman, 1997:89)

Now turning to the issue of idiom translation, it should be mentioned that in translation studies the focus has been on the translation of metaphors and metaphorical language

and as a result the translation of idioms and idiomaticity have yet to receive the due attention they deserve. As Menacere (1992) argues:

one of the major obstacles in the translation of idioms is determining the exact emotive and aesthetic meaning of the idioms or clichés which are often of a vague and ambiguous nature.

(Menacere, 1992:570)

Similarly, Bortfeld (2003) claims that a successful idiom translation involves not only recognition of the concept or concepts entailed in a given idiom in the SL but also the finding of its closest lexicalization in the TL (2003:224).

One of the first Western Europeans to be concerned with the issue of idiom translation was Eckhard Roos (1981), who set up the following typology for idiom translation:

1. SL idioms matched by TL idioms:

- a) congruence (identical at word level)
- b) equivalence (differing at word level)

2. SL idioms matched by other TL lexemes:

- c) single-word matches
- d) formula (i.e. non-idiomatic multi-word matches)
- e) free expressions

(cited in Gottlieb, 1997:319)

Similar translation strategies are proposed by Merwe (2001) who deals with the translation of English idiomatic expressions into Afrikaans. According to his view there are four methods of idiom translation:

- a) direct translation where English idioms are translated directly to Afrikaans due to the existence of many equivalent idioms between these two languages.

- b) translation of an idiomatic expression into another idiom with semantic equivalence, but different form.
- c) de-idiomatization (translating an idiom as a non-idiom because there is a lack of idioms in the target language or/and problems with stylistic equivalence).
- d) transforming a non-idiom into an idiom, thus enhancing the creative role of the translator and expanding the stock of Afrikaans idioms.

(adapted from Merwe, 2001:80)

In proposing the aforementioned translation methods, Merwe is careful to highlight the relevance of the following aspects: the manifestation of culture in idioms, semantic and stylistic equivalence, the level of formality, adaptability to context, familiarity, frequency of use of the expression and the command of language of the target group (2001:80-81). He also stresses the need for idiom innovation and the coining of new expressions concluding that the achievement of equivalence in as many aspects as possible between ST and TT should be the ultimate goal of every translator.

Having the same goal in mind, Ghazala (2003:208) argues that there are two major procedures dominant in the translation of idioms (English-Arabic), namely *evasion* and *invasion*. By *evasion* he means (2003:209) “the elimination of the idiomaticity of the SL idiom when translating it into the TL with no compensation of any kind” and by *invasion* he means (2003:217) “the translator’s deliberate use in the TL of an idiom that matches, if not supersedes, the original”. In the former, loss of idiomaticity is the end-result whereas in the latter its retainment is achieved.

In more detail, as far as evasion is concerned, two main procedures are suggested: (1) dissuasion from idiomaticity owing to the following reasons: (i) the translator’s incompetence, (ii) zero language equivalence, and (iii) avoidance of taboos; and (2) preference for literal sense. To make the second procedure more clear, it seems that some translators are reluctant to translate idioms even if there is an equivalent in the TL for the simple reason that they are advocates of literal sense. In other words, some translators supply us with non-idiomatic translations because they favour sense, whether sensible or not, for reasons of simplification and ease of TL translation (2003:215).

Now turning to invasion, it can be seen that three invasion procedures are proposed: (i) equivalent idiomaticity, (ii) enforced idiomaticity and (iii) abortive idiomaticity. With respect to the first procedure, Ghazala (2003:217) observes that many English idioms have perfect or nearly perfect equivalents in Arabic despite major

cultural, social, religious and political differences. The second procedure, enforced idiomaticity, although negatively loaded due to the term enforced, could be viewed as a creative procedure because the translator is determined and makes a courageous attempt to achieve an idiomatic translation of some kind in the TL “to match and compensate for the original’s idiomaticity to some extent at least” (2003:220). The last translation procedure, abortive idiomaticity, is the least creative of all because “it is based on copying the English idiom literally in Arabic regardless of differences in cultural connotations between English and Arabic” (2003:222).

Admittedly, invasion procedures are preferable to their evasion counterparts, but again, among invasion procedures, that of enforced idiomaticity supersedes all others as being the most creative whereas abortive idiomaticity is the least creative but the easiest and fastest to use. Finally, Ghazala (2003:226) goes on to suggest nine criteria in order of preference for tracing an appropriate TL idiomatic equivalent:

1. Check direct standard and then informal/colloquial idiomatic TL equivalent.
2. Check a name, an animal, or an object (as specified in the idiom) of identical connotations in the TL.
3. Check (a) similar expression(s) in a similar TL context.
4. Borrow a part of a similar expression (a word or a collocation) and continue in a similar structure and sense.
5. Suggest an own [sic] idiom in imitation of the structure and style of that of the SL.
6. Look for correct literal sense using standard collocation, or any other kind of expression in the TL.
7. Avoid a hasty, dull, word-for-word deceptive TL translation of the SL idiom.
8. Do not despair. There is always a possibility of finding a good version in the TL.
9. Be eager to match the SL idiomaticity in the TL. It is the core part of any idiom, and if marginalized in translation, there is not much left in it.

(adapted from Ghazala, 2003:226)

Another paper focusing on the translation of idiomatic expressions from English into Arabic when dubbing children’s cartoons is presented by Zitawi (2003) who agrees with other linguists and translators in the field that idiom translation constitutes a major

challenge. Furthermore, he points out that translators of texts to be dubbed have a more demanding job, due to various factors, “such as the unpredictability of idioms in the target language, the cultural and linguistic differences between the SL and the TL, the timing factor, etc.” (2003:243). Based on his analysis of how idiomatic expressions are translated, Zitawi (2003:244) proposes the following techniques in translating idioms for dubbing:

- (a) dynamic translation
- (b) naturalization, localization
- (c) addition
- (d) deletion
- (e) word-for-word translation

(Zitawi, 2003:244)

In particular, *dynamic translation* is the most common one since when a functional equivalent idiom in Arabic cannot be found, the meaning of the target idiom is introduced by paraphrasing it in simple, standard Arabic. The second most frequent strategy, which goes under the name *naturalization/localization* and is considered to be the best strategy for translating idioms into a different culture, involves finding an equivalent idiom in the target language which conveys the same meaning and function as the source idiom (2003:245). Alternatively, when an equivalent target idiom cannot be found and when the original idiom requires more explanation and clarification when translated into the target language, then the strategy of *addition* is used. Contrariwise, *deletion* refers to the total elimination of the idiomatic expression and is a common strategy followed by Arab translators due to cultural, social and marketing considerations. Lastly, *word-for-word translation* is defined as “words translated by their nearest target language equivalents” (2003:249) which results in a rather unnatural translation and is the least frequent. All in all, translating idioms in dubbed children’s animated series is a rather demanding task and apart from linguistic competence translators should be endowed with some knowledge of both cultural milieus in order to come up with a successful translation.

Another study which investigates problems encountered in English-Arabic idiom translation is that conducted by Awwad (1990), who admits that idiomatic expressions pose a great challenge for both translators and teachers. In particular, he comes up with a theoretical framework, according to which an idiom can be assigned to one of the four correspondence categories below, which are ordered in a descending order of difficulty:

- a. Idioms with no correspondence between expressions and functions, i.e. expressions and functions are language specific.
- b. Idioms with corresponding functions in both languages but with completely different expressions.
- c. Idioms with corresponding functions in both languages, but with slightly different expressions.
- d. Idioms with corresponding functions and expressions in both languages.

(adapted from Awwad, 1990:66)

Through this framework it is claimed that degrees of difficulty of translating an idiom from one language into another can be predicted. Nevertheless, this study remains classificational in nature and does not seem to shed light on idiom-translation strategies or propose a novel translation model. The author simply classifies Arabic idioms according to the categories above and observes the problem along with many other researchers without being able to provide a viable solution.

Another study dealing with English-Arabic idiom translation is that of Abu-Ssaydeh. In fact, acknowledging the importance of examining idioms from a translational perspective, Abu-Ssaydeh (2004) monitored the Arabic version of *Newsweek* in order to examine the strategies Arab translators employ when rendering English idioms into Arabic. The results from the analysis of the sample idioms taken from the Arabic *Newsweek* have shown paraphrasing to be statistically the most significant strategy Arab translators employ in their attempt to translate English idioms into Arabic. This reveals not only that the idiomatic expressions of the two languages are typically very different but also indicates the loss of the cultural significance and

brevity of the idiom concerned. Furthermore, the important role of literal translation is pinpointed in this study and it is concluded that it forms a dominant strategy in the translation of English idioms. According to the author (2004:128), this strategy can lead to the creation of senseless lexical strings that are too awkward to be interpreted. More often than not, literal translations in the target language which tend to be erroneous arise primarily from the failure of the translator to recognize a certain lexical chunk as an idiom. Hence, the need arises for translators to improve their recognition skills when it comes to idiomatic expressions.

Realizing the complexities of idiom translation, Margarita Strakšienė (2009) has analysed the difficulties translators have in translating English idioms into Lithuanian. Drawing mostly from Baker's, Moon's, Newmark's and Toury's idiom-translation theories, Strakšienė attempts to find the most prevalent idiom-translation strategies in the Lithuanian translation by R. Kirvaityte of Agatha Christie's novels *Appointment with Death* (2001) and *Death on the Nile* (1977). According to Jakaitienė's book *Lietuvių Kalbos Leksikologija* (1980), Lithuanian idioms are divided into two large groups according to their meaning: *unmotivated phraseologisms* and *motivated* ones. The former refers to idioms with rigid meanings whereas the latter includes idioms "where there is a relation between the whole phrase and the meaning of each word" (2009:14). It is concluded that four basic strategies are employed for translating idioms: (i) idiom-to-idiom translation, which comprises using an idiom of similar meaning and form and/or using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form, (ii) paraphrasing, which comprises explanatory and stylistic paraphrase, (iii) literal translation and (iv) omission (2009:17). The most prevalent strategy adopted by Kirvaityte is paraphrase whereas the least used is omission. It became obvious through the translation choices made by Kirvaityte that she was trying to find equivalents by using idioms of similar form and meaning, or idioms of similar meaning and dissimilar form, thus sticking to the original text by preserving the meaning of the original idiomatic expressions and paying respect to her culture.

A different approach to this vexing issue is given by Theodoropoulou (2006), who deals with English-Greek idiom translation in subtitles. More specifically, she proposes that the meaning of idioms is not only semantic but also pragmatic (register-based) and sociolinguistic (speaker's background-based). She puts forward her *Functional Variation Model* (henceforth FVM) according to which both the pragmatic (functional) and sociolinguistic (variation) diversity of the idiom's meaning are

captured. The term ‘functional’ refers to the idiom’s communicative force (Hatim and Mason 1990:60) while the term ‘variation’ refers to the social and idiolectal variation among the speakers. In more detail, the FVM model is an elaboration of Nida’s (1964:159) dynamic equivalence principle and suggests that the TL idiom translation should have the same impact on the TL audience as the impact the SL idiom has on the SL audience so that the result sounds as natural as possible. On these grounds, Theodoropoulou’s (2006) argues that equivalent Greek idioms should be given for the translation of English ones. In her words (2006:2), an equivalent idiom is one “which has the same impact on the audience as the impact the English idiom has on the hearers and is able to fit in the restricted subtitle space”. The term ‘functional’ was chosen because this model is applied to ‘oral idioms’ gathered randomly from James Bond films and their subtitle translation. More specifically, Theodoropoulou (2006) gathered 125 idioms from all 21 James Bond films and asked 15 speakers of Modern Greek who study in a UK University and are proficient in English to evaluate whether the idiom translation was successful or not. It was found that only 30% of idioms were judged to be successfully translated while the remaining 70% were idioms whose translation could have been improved, if the proposed model had been applied.

A cognitive model of idiom translation has been proposed by Charteris-Black (2003). In particular, he proposes a model for the comparison and translation of English and Malay idioms based on an analogy with human relationships and on the relationship between surface form and conceptual basis in each language. He argues that an exclusively linguistic definition cannot capture cognitive aspects of an idiom’s meaning. Therefore, he adopts a prototype-based definition of the term *idiom* because it “ensures that specifically linguistic criteria such as syntactic and lexical fixedness are balanced by cognitive criteria” (2003:126). In more detail, prototype theory as a psychological theory of human categorization constitutes “a non-objectivist alternative to the classical objectivist philosophical paradigm” (Marmaridou, 1991:136). In the classical objectivist paradigm, the boundaries of a category are clear-cut and its members are defined by common properties. Hence, an entity must satisfy the necessary and sufficient conditions that are required for membership in this category so as to be perceived as a member of same. All (and only) those entities that satisfy these conditions are considered to be members of this category. On the other hand, all other entities are excluded. These necessary and sufficient conditions for membership constitute the set of common properties that all members share (Marmaridou, 1991:136).

This classical account of categorization was challenged by the psychologist E. Rosch (1973, 1975, 1983) in the 1970s and early 1980s who developed prototype theory. More specifically, there are four major characteristics of prototype categories. Firstly, the definition of a prototype category cannot be achieved by the use of a single set of criterial attributes (Geeraerts, 1990). In greater detail, Wittgenstein (1953) argues that while we all know what a game is, no two games share all of the same properties; some involve skill while for others luck suffices. In other words, a prototypical unit at the centre of the phraseological system is opaque, formulaic and non-compositional whereas peripheral phraseological units are “partially compositional, semantically transparent and share some of the syntactic and lexical transformational potential of unmarked phrases and sentences” (Charteris-Black, 2003:126). The second characteristic is that the category boundaries are not fixed, meaning that some criteria may overlap with others. Furthermore, there are degrees of category membership, meaning that idioms such as *kick the bucket* and *spill the beans* are considered to be good examples of idioms whereas conventional formulae such as *how do you do* are considered ‘less good’ examples of idioms. Lastly, what characterizes a prototype category is its blurred edges, meaning that there is no distinct point or a standard set of criteria according to which a multi-word item acquires the status of an idiom.

Drawing also from the notion of conceptual metaphor, Charteris-Black (2003:129) argues that conceptual metaphor “allows for identification of degrees of similarity and difference in the ideas underlying the surface forms of idioms and therefore can facilitate their comparison, both between languages and within a language”. In line with the Charteris-Black view, a number of researchers investigating idioms espouse the notion that idioms form part of figurative language and, more specifically, that they are cases of metaphor and metonymy rather than any other kind of figure of speech (see, for example, Cacciari 1993, Geeraerts 1995, Gibbs 1994, Kövecses 2002, Nunberg et al. 1994). More specifically, in defining an idiom, Grant and Bauer (2004) chose the most frequently used criterion of compositionality plus an additional one, that of figurativeness. Their criterion of figurativeness (2004:49) rests on the element of ‘untruth’ and presupposes that the understanding of an idiom rests on recognizing its untruth and pragmatically reinterpreting it in a way that correctly explains this. Hence, the biggest similarity between metaphors and idioms is that their understanding largely depends on our realization of their figurativeness which calls for a metaphorical rather than a literal reinterpretation.

To elaborate, there are some idioms that cognitive linguists think have metaphorical meaning. These idioms are considered to bear a similarity with metaphorical expressions in that they are dead metaphors, that is, they have conventional metaphorical meanings. For example, idioms such as ‘flip one’s lid’, ‘hit the ceiling’ and ‘be doing a slow burn’ “are seen as instantiations of the combination of the Conceptual Metaphors ANGER IS HEATED FLUID IN A CONTAINER and THE HUMAN BODY IS A CONTAINER” (cited in Skoufaki, 2006:38). Moreover, Goosens (1990:324-325) and Charteris-Black (2003:291) consider idioms as more prone to being instantiations of both metaphor and metonymy than metaphorical words. In fact, Charteris-Black (2003:306) argues that the identification of the conceptual basis of idioms can significantly assist both idiom understanding and use.

In his translation model, which is a combination of the conceptual metaphor approach and corpus-based data, he proposes five categories according to whether there is correspondence of a) surface lexis and b) conceptual metaphor. In the first category which is named ‘Close Family Members’ we find “idioms with the same conceptual basis and equivalent surface lexis in that all words have close correspondences of meaning” (Charteris-Black, 2003:130). In such cases, literal translation is acceptable. In the second category, which is termed ‘Ordinary Family Members’, idioms that have the same conceptual basis and similar surface lexis belong (Charteris-Black, 2003:132). Literal translations or near-literal translations may be used in these cases but the translator must pay close attention to the idiom’s meaning in context. The third category refers to ‘False Friends’. As Terkourafi (2005:xvi) mentions, “false friends may be informally defined as words belonging to different languages whose phonological forms resemble each other, but whose meanings diverge to various degrees”. For example the word *sympathetic* does not refer to someone that you like as the Greek word which has a similar phonological form (*συμπαθητικός*) wrongly leads us to infer, but rather to the feeling of sympathy or of being compassionate towards someone. In the case of idioms, false friends comprise idioms that have “a similar linguistic form in English and Malay but which have a completely different conceptual basis and hence a different meaning” (Charteris-Black, 2003:133). In such cases, the translator should opt for paraphrase instead of literal translation since the surface form of an idiom may interfere with the correct interpretation of the meaning. In contradistinction to ‘False Friends’, there is also the category of ‘Friends’ to which idioms with completely different surface forms but a shared conceptual basis belong (Charteris-Black, 2003:134). The translator has

two choices: either use a translation paraphrase or search for an equivalent idiom from the target language. The final category is termed ‘Strangers’ and is used to refer to idioms that have completely different surface forms and completely different conceptual bases (Charteris-Black, 2003:135). In such cases, the translator should distinguish between transparent and opaque strangers and decide between literal translation or paraphrase where this is feasible.

Moving still further away from the European continent, it can be seen that Chinese researchers have also been intrigued by the challenges that idiom translation poses to both translators and pedagogists. In particular, Yong and Peng (2007:187) in the course of English-Chinese dictionary making, mention the following translation techniques: literal translation, free translation, a combination of literal and free translation, literal translation plus explanation or transferred translation. In cases where there is a corresponding relationship between the idiom’s form and content then literal translation is favoured whereas the absence of obvious structural and semantic correspondences of idioms invites free translation (2007:188). On the other hand, when semi-corresponding relations can be established between source and target language idioms, then combining literal and free translation is preferable (2007:189). The technique of literal translation plus explanation is used in translating idioms with heavy cultural load and aims to make their meaning more easily understandable (2007:189). In addition to this, when dealing with English and Chinese idioms which use different words for quite similar denotations and connotations then transferred translation takes place. For example, when someone wants to convey the idea of achieving two things with a single action, English speakers will say *kill two birds with one stone* but the Chinese will say *kill two birds with one arrow* (2007:189).

Similar translation strategies are proposed by Chen (2009). More specifically, Chen (2009:164) proposes six translation tactics in translating English idioms into Chinese: literal translation, compensatory translation, free translation, explanatory translation, borrowing and the integrated approach. Out of all the above strategies, literal translation seems to be particularly favoured by the author because he (2009:165) argues that the original cultural information is transferred effectively, the implied meaning is conveyed without misunderstandings being aroused and the gap between the two languages is narrowed.

The view that literal translation should claim top priority in translation is also espoused by Ji-Xin (2009:57), who uses a somewhat different term named ‘alienation’

(maintaining the image of the idiom). This method gives an accurate representation of the meaning of the original idiom and raises readers' awareness of the formal features of the original text. In this sense, Ji-Xin proposes that one should translate as literally as possible in order to reproduce the basic meaning of the words and to retain the original figure of speech form and national characteristics on the condition that TL rules are not violated (2009:58). However, Chinese and English are two completely different languages with entirely different historical and cultural backgrounds and consequently there are many idiomatic expressions which may be perfectly understood in their country of origin but which sound nonsensical to foreigners. In such cases, where the danger of misunderstanding is present, the method of adaptation should be preferred. This method involves the replacement of the SL cultural expressions with those of the target language (2009:59). For example, a literal translation into Chinese of the idiom *it's raining cats and dogs* will certainly create a sense of bafflement. Hence, in such cases the method of adaptation should be used instead.

The priority of literal translation does not seem to be favoured in other languages. Ditruchgij (2006) in her case study on *Translation Methods and Processes Applied to the Translation of American Idioms from English to Thai* argues that free translation is used much more than the literal one. It is worth mentioning that, to carry out her study, Ditruchgij collected idioms from business articles in *Fortune* magazine during February-September 2001, so it may be the case that genre might have played a role in the extensive use of free rather than literal translation. It should also be noted that American and Thai cultures differ significantly and, as a result, it is difficult for translators to come up with the closest equivalent of an American idiom in Thai. Thus, most translators naturally opt for the translation method of idiom into non-idiom since it is the easiest way to give an accurate and clear picture of the idiom's meaning to Thai readers. In her concluding remarks, Ditruchgij is careful to note (2006:40) that "some idioms can be translated either by free translation method or literal translation method, based on the types of texts, target readers and the point of view of the translator". Thus, there is not only one method or solution to the problem of idiom translation but only possible, or better put, preferable strategies according to each individual case.

Realizing the difficulties involved in translating idioms, Baker (1992:47) observes that the basic problem in translating formulaic language is achieving equivalence "above word-level" in expressions conveying meanings that are often not transparent from the analysis of the individual words comprising them. More specifically, the difficulties involved in translating idioms are summarized by Baker (1992) as follows:

- No equivalent idiomatic expression exists in the TL.
- Even if there exists a similar idiomatic expression in the TL its context of use may be different.
- Both literal and idiomatic uses of an idiomatic expression may be used in the SL which are not so easy to reproduce in the TL.
- Genre restrictions as well as frequency considerations may have a say in idiom translation.

(Baker, 1992:68-71)

Baker (1992) proposes a number of strategies which can also be encompassed to other categories of formulaic language, as can be seen below:

- (i) Use of an equivalent idiom in both meaning and form
- (ii) Use of an equivalent idiom in meaning but not in form
- (iii) Paraphrase
- (iv) Omission
- (v) Compensation

(Baker, 1992:72-78)

It is worth noting here, that Baker (2007) has used comparable corpora to investigate differences in patterns of idiomaticity in translated vs. non-translated texts. The data for her study consist of a subset of the *Translational English Corpus* (henceforth TEC) and a subset of the *British National Corpus* (henceforth BNC). In particular, TEC comprises more than 10 million words, is freely accessible via the web and “is a computerized collection of authentic, published translations into English from a variety of source languages, European and non-European, and by a wide range of professional translators” (Baker, 1999:281). In comparing the use of idioms in the two corpora in question, Baker makes the following observations: firstly, a basic characteristic of idioms is their manipulation which mainly derives from their fixedness. In other words, idioms are creatively manipulated to bring out humour, sarcasm etc. Examples of such manipulation can be found in the BNC but not in the TEC. Secondly, some idioms are problematic for the translator because they are culture-specific and highly local. Hence, it is only natural that such idioms occur in the BNC but not in the TEC. Thirdly, a high degree of idiom opacity may imply a high level of informality which goes against the

preference for formality and correctness which is the norm in translated texts. This could partly explain Baker's (2007:15) finding that there are no instances of idiomatic use of highly opaque and informal expressions such as *chew the fat* (= *talk socially without exchanging too much information*) in the TEC compared to four idiomatic uses in the BNC. Fourthly, one would expect grammatically irregular idioms such as *put paid to* (= *if an unexpected event puts paid to someone's hopes, chances or plans, it completely ends or destroys them*) to be avoided by translators who favour standardized uses of language. Nevertheless, Baker (2007:16) reports that the syntactically irregular idiom *put paid to* occurs 6 times in the TEC and 8 in the BNC. Finally, there are some stretches of language that have equally strong idiomatic and literal meanings like the expression *off the hook* (= *they manage to get out of the awkward situation they are in without being punished or blamed*). Baker (2007:17-18) observes that there is a balanced distribution of idiomatic and literal uses of this expression in the BNC but a very clear preference for literal uses of the idiom in the TEC. Although no generalizations can be made, Baker (2007:20) states that "there is a clear preference for literal meanings of idiomatic expressions in translated English".

In outlining the idiom-translation strategies that have been proposed in the idiom-translation literature so far, Gottlieb's (1997) idiom-translation model should also be mentioned since this is the one that will be adopted for my analysis. Unlike condensed idiom-translation models, Gottlieb's proposal, as far as idiom translation is concerned, seems to be more water-tight since he identifies four major tendencies in idiom translation: adherence, literalization, deletion and idiomatization and comes up with eight analytic idiom-translation strategies that realize these tendencies. In fact, Gottlieb's contribution to idiom translation is significant in that he synthesizes three sets of strategies proposed by Roos (1981), Svensen (1993) and Baker (1992) respectively and comes up with the following eight strategies for the rendering of English idioms in Danish TV subtitles:

Table 2.1 Gottlieb's idiom-translation strategies

Strategy	Process
1. Congruence	SL idiom > identical TL idiom
2. Equivalence	SL idiom > similar TL idiom
3. Correspondence	SL idiom > different TL idiom
4. Reduction	SL idiom > TL word
5. Paraphrase	SL idiom > TL phrase
6. Expansion	SL idiom > TL circumlocation
7. Omission	SL idiom > ø (void)
8. Compensation	SL non-idiom > TL idiom

(adapted from Gottlieb, 1997:319)

These strategies fall into the following four categories:

Adherence (1, 2 and 3: idioms rendered metaphorically)

Literalization (4, 5 and 6: idioms rendered non-metaphorically)

Deletion (7: idioms being omitted)

Idiomatization (8: non-idioms rendered metaphorically)

These four categories are best viewed as end-results of the strategies used and consequently reflect the translator's decision to "*bring the reader to the idiom*" or to "*bring the idiom to the reader*". In the former case, the translator tries to transplant all idioms and the culture-specific connotations found in the originals, whereas in the latter an effort to adapt the idioms of the original text through linguistic modification is necessary so as to conform to the expectations and preferences of the target readership.

In concluding his study he notes (1997:334) that whatever strategy translators opt for, one thing should always be kept in mind; that idioms should not be viewed as isolated curiosities but should be studied in their natural habitat for the simple reason that word-meanings are interdependent and never cease to interact. In order to have a general picture of the idiom-translation strategies proposed so far, the following table has been made:

Table 2.2 Summary of idiom-translation strategies

1. Roos	2. Merve	3. Ghazala	4. Zitawi	5. Abu-Ssaydeh	6. Strakšienė	7. Charteris-Black
1. SL idioms matched by TL idioms a) congruence b) equivalence 2. SL idioms matched by other TL/lexemes a) single-word matches b) formula c) free form	1. Direct translation 2. Translation of an idiomatic expression into another idiom with semantic equivalence, but different form 3. De-idiomatization (translating an idiom as a non-idiom) 4. Transforming a non-idiom into an idiom	EVASION 1. Dissuasion from idiomaticity a) translator's incompetence b) zero language equivalence c) avoidance of taboos INVASION 2. Preference for insensible sense a) equivalent idiomaticity b) enforced idiomaticity c) abortive idiomaticity	1. Dynamic translation 2. Naturalization/localization 3. Addition 4. Deletion 5. Word-for-word translation	1. Paraphrasing 2. Literal translation 3. Semantic equivalence 4. Omission 5. Compensation	1. Idiom to idiom translation a) using an idiom of similar meaning and form b) using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form 2. Paraphrasing a) explanatory paraphrase b) stylistic paraphrase 3. Literal translation 4. Omission	1. Literal translation 2. Paraphrase 3. Equivalent idiom
8. Yong and Pen	9. Chen	10. Ji-Xin	11. Ditruchgij	12. Baker	13. Gottlieb	
1. Literal translation 2. Free translation 3. A combination of literal and free translation 4. Literal translation plus explanation	1. Literal translation 2. Compensatory translation 3. Free translation 4. Explanatory translation 5. Borrowing 6. Integrated approach	1. Alienation 2. Adaptation 3. A combination of alienation and adaptation	1. Free translation 2. Literal translation 3. Word-for-word translation	1. Using an idiom of similar meaning and similar form 2. Using an idiom of similar meaning but dissimilar form 3. Paraphrase 4. Omission 5. Compensation	1. Congruence 2. Equivalence 3. Correspondence 4. Reduction 5. Paraphrase 6. Expansion 7. Omission 8. Compensation	

On closer inspection of the Table 2.2, we notice that researchers tend to propose similar idiom-translation strategies with slight differences in the naming of the strategy in question. For instance, the strategy of deletion is mentioned by five researchers, the difference being that Baker, Strakšienė, Gottlieb and Abu-Ssaydeh opt for the term omission whereas Zitawi uses the term deletion. The same goes for the strategy of equivalence, which is mentioned by Gottlieb as such and by Ghazala as equivalent idiomaticity, whereas Merve goes for the term direct translation while Baker and Strakšienė periphrastically state it as the use of an idiom of similar meaning and form. In addition to this, the strategy of literal translation is used by Abu-Ssaydeh, Strakšienė, Chen, Gottlieb and Ditruchgij. On the other hand, the strategy of enforced idiomaticity has common features with that of dynamic translation, free translation, idiomatization, and the transformation of a non-idiom into an idiom. Furthermore, the strategy of compensation is used by Baker, Abu-Ssaydeh, Chen and Gottlieb, as well as that of paraphrase. Moreover, Baker, Strakšienė and Merve suggest the use of an idiom with similar meaning but dissimilar form using slightly different wording. Lastly, the strategy of addition is also mentioned by Gottlieb who uses a somewhat different term; that of expansion.

Hence, it seems to me, that the conclusion that can be drawn from these preliminary remarks is that there are two major converging trends in idiom translation:

- a) to maintain the idiom either by using an idiom of similar meaning and form or one of similar meaning but dissimilar form
- b) to literalize or neutralize the idiomatic phrase either by leaving some trace of its idiomatic/metaphoric origin or by completely omitting it.

Having discussed the major idiom-translation models proposed so far, a new theoretical model will be proposed in the next section which is meant to address the issue of idiom translation more holistically.

2.4 Towards a new idiom-translation model

The selection or creation of an adequate idiom-translation model is not an easy task. As was stated in the previous section, a preference was made for adopting Gottlieb's eight idiom-translation strategies. Returning back to Gottlieb's typology of idiom-translation strategies, it can be seen that in the category of *adherence* there are three strategies: (a) congruence, (b) equivalence and (c) correspondence, which are realized as: (a) SL idiom > identical TL idiom, (b) SL idiom > similar TL idiom and (c) SL idiom > different TL idiom whereas in the category of *idiomatization* there is one strategy, namely compensation which is realized as SL non-idiom > TL idiom. Taking into consideration Svensen's (1993) idiom-translation model, in which the following four categories are suggested: (1) idioms with identical metaphors in SL and TL (2) idioms with related metaphors (3) idioms with different metaphors and (4) SL idioms with no metaphorical counterparts, I would like to modify Gottlieb's typology as follows:

Table 2.3 Modified idiom-translation strategies

Strategy	Process
1. Congruence	SL idiom > identical TL idiom or metaphor
2. Equivalence	SL idiom > similar TL idiom or metaphor
3. Correspondence	SL idiom > different TL idiom or metaphor
4. Reduction	SL idiom > TL word
5. Paraphrase	SL idiom > TL phrase
6. Expansion	SL idiom > TL circumlocation
7. Omission	SL idiom > ø (void)
8. Compensation	SL non-idiom > TL idiom or metaphor

This change is meant to accommodate for the fact that in the news reporting genre, idioms when crossing the intercultural filter do not always preserve their idiomatic status. In other words, it may be easier for the translator to come up with a metaphorical expression instead of an idiom, especially when there is no equivalent idiomatic expression in the TL. After all, it has been shown that metaphors play a central role in

both political and financial communication (Wilson, 1990:104). This metaphorical rendering may consist of only one word as will be shown in the next chapter.

On closer inspection of the abovementioned modified idiom-translation model, it can be seen that adherence to idiomaticity is achieved through the use of three idiom-translation strategies: (a) SL idiom > identical TL idiom **or metaphor**, (b) SL idiom > similar TL idiom **or metaphor** and (c) SL idiom > different TL idiom **or metaphor**. With respect to the first two strategies, identical or similar TL idioms are supposed to be indicated not only by similarity in syntactic form but also by a great level of likeness at the lexical, pragmatic and sociocultural level. For example, the English idiom *touch wood* (= *you hope that the situation will continue to be good and that you will not have any bad luck*) is identical in syntactic form to the Greek one *χτύπα ξύλο* (= *hit wood*, imperative + noun) and the English idiom *the upper hand* (= *in a competitive situation one side has more power than the other and can control things*) is identical at the lexical level to the Greek idiomatic expression *το πάνω χέρι* (= *the upper hand*). Similarly, *to pull strings* (= *someone gets something they want by using their friendships with powerful and influential people, often in a way which is considered unfair*) is identical at the pragmatic level to the Greek idiom *κινώ τα νήματα* (= *move the threads*) whereas the English idiomatic expression *die like a dog* (= *someone dies in a painful and undignified way, usually after they have been shot or injured in a violent fight*) and the Greek one *πήγε σαν το σκυλί στο αμπέλι* (= *went like the dog in the vineyard meaning die a dog's death*) are identical at the sociocultural level. As Baker (1992:72) points out, when a similar idiom is used in the target language then it has roughly the same meaning and consists of equivalent lexical items.

Conversely, translating a SL idiom using a different TL idiom or metaphor involves finding an idiom in the target language that has a similar meaning to the one in the source language but consists of different lexical items. In particular, more often than not, translators may come up with an idiom that has similar semantic connotations but consists of different lexical items. For example, the English idiom *neck and neck* (= *in a competition or race, two competitors are exactly level with each other, so that it is impossible to say who will win*) and the Greek idiomatic expressions *σώμα με σώμα* (= *body with body*) or *στήθος με στήθος* (= *chest with chest*) are semantically and contextually similar in form and grammatical distribution but they have some differences in the use of lexical items and imagery. Specifically, the English idiom *neck*

and neck stems from horse racing, one of the most favoured English sports, when two horses run so close together that they are exactly level with each other so that it is impossible to say which will win, whereas the Greek idiom *body with body* comes from wrestling, where the bodies of the competitors sometimes come so close to each other during the fight that you cannot tell one from the other (Adam, 1992:36). In terms of imagery, it could be said that the English situational context of “racing” stands for either the Greek “running” or “wrestling”, “horse” for “athlete”, and “neck” for either “chest” or “body”.

Another process signalled by the use of the strategies of paraphrase, reduction and expansion is that of literalization. To explain, literalization stands for the non-metaphorical use of idioms. In more detail, according to Baker (1992:74), translating an idiom by paraphrase is probably the most popular idiom-translation strategy. More specifically, when it seems impossible for translators to find a match in the target language or text norms and stylistic conventions forbid the use of idiomatic expressions, then translators resort to the next best thing; they reduce the idiom to its sense by paraphrasing it. Apart from paraphrase, translators may also use the strategies of reduction and expansion. The former refers to the translation of the SL idiom with a single word whereas the latter indicates the tendency of the translator to elaborate on the meaning of the SL idiom. On the other hand, idiom omission makes reference to the fact that an idiom may be completely omitted in the TL. According to Baker (1992:77), this may happen because of stylistic reasons or because the SL idiom cannot be easily paraphrased. Lastly, compensation means making up for the loss of idiomatic meaning at a particular point in the TT by introducing it elsewhere in the target text (Baker, 1992:78).

However, this idiom-classification only takes us halfway since there is no mentioning of the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic strategies that are used in order for the abovementioned idiom-translation processes to be realized. In other words, how does a translator turn a SL idiom into an identical idiom or metaphor? Which syntactic, semantic and pragmatic changes do SL idioms undergo in order to become identical, similar, different, paraphrased, reduced, expanded or omitted?

In order to answer this question, I will adopt Chesterman’s (1997:93) heuristic classification which comprises three primary groups of strategies: mainly syntactic/grammatical (coded as G), mainly semantic (coded as S) and mainly

pragmatic (coded as Pr). More analytically, syntactic strategies involve “syntactic changes of one kind or another” and are shown in the next page:

- G1: Literal translation
- G2: Loan, calque
- G3: Transposition
- G4: Unit shift
- G5: Phrase structure change
- G6: Clause structure change
- G7: Sentence structure change
- G8: Cohesion change
- G9: Level shift
- G10: Scheme change

(adapted from Chesterman, 1997:94)

In more detail, *literal translation* is defined by Chesterman (1997) as “maximally close to the SL form, but nevertheless grammatical” (1997:94). *Loan, calque* refers to both the borrowing of individual items and the borrowing of syntagma whereas *transposition* has to do with changes of word-class. The term *unit shift* which was originally used by Catford (1965) refers to “a SL unit which is translated as a different unit in the TT” (e.g. a German sentence to an English phrase). The term *phrase structure change* implies a number of changes in the phrase. If it is a noun phrase, then changes are assumed to occur in number, definiteness and modification whereas in the verb phrase changes normally have to do with the person, tense and mood. *Sentence structure change* involves changes between main-clause and sub-clause status. A *cohesion change* mainly deals with issues of reference, ellipsis and substitution, *level shift* implies change from one level, e.g. syntax to another e.g. lexis, and lastly, *scheme change* makes reference to the changes translators make when translating rhetorical schemes such as parallelism, repetition, alliteration etc.

Under semantic changes, Chesterman (1997:101) groups changes which have to do with lexical semantics and include:

- S1: Synonymy
- S2: Antonymy
- S3: Hyponymy
- S4: Converses
- S5: Abstraction change
- S6: Distribution change
- S7: Emphasis change
- S8: Paraphrase
- S9: Trope change
- S10: Other semantic changes

(adapted from Chesterman, 1997:101)

The strategy of *synonymy* involves the choice of a synonym or near synonym instead of the “obvious” equivalent in order to avoid repetition whereas the strategy of *antonymy* presupposes the selection of an antonym and combines it with an element of negation. On the other hand, *hyponymy* is divided into three subclasses: (a) ST superordinate → TT hyponym, (b) ST hyponym → TT superordinate and (c) ST hyponym X → TT hyponym Y (of the same superordinate) (Chesterman, 1997:102). According to Chesterman (1997:103), *converses* are “pairs of (usually) verbal structures which express the same state of affairs from opposing viewpoints, such as *buy and sell*”. Now, turning to the strategy of *abstraction change*, it can be seen that it may involve a change from abstract to more concrete or vice versa. On the other hand, *distribution change* occurs when the “same” components are distributed over more items (expansion) or fewer items (compression) whereas *emphasis change* signals a change in the thematic focus either by adding to, reducing or altering the emphasis. In the strategy of *paraphrase*, prevalence is given in favour of the pragmatic sense of some higher unit such as a whole clause whereas semantic components at the lexeme level are disregarded. Chesterman (1997:104) argues that this is a typical idiom-translation strategy. Lastly, the strategy of *trope change* applies to the translation of rhetorical

tropes (e.g. figurative expressions) whereas *other semantic changes* refer to physical sense or deictic direction changes (1997:107).

Now moving on to the pragmatic level, it can be seen that by pragmatic changes Chesterman (1997:107) refers to changes that have to do with information selection in the TT, such selection being influenced by the translator's knowledge of the perspective readership of translation. According to Chesterman (1997:107), these strategies are often the result of a translator's global decisions since it could be argued that they manipulate the message itself and typically include syntactic and/or semantic changes. These are:

- Pr1: Cultural filtering
- Pr2: Explicitness change
- Pr3: Information change
- Pr4: Interpersonal change
- Pr5: Illocutionary change
- Pr6: Coherence change
- Pr7: Partial translation
- Pr8: Visibility change
- Pr9: Transediting
- Pr10: Other pragmatic changes

(adapted from Chesterman, 1997:108)

The strategy of *cultural filtering* very much resembles House's notion of "cultural filter" and echoes a process of domestication whereby culture-specific SL items are translated as "TL cultural or functional equivalents so that they conform to TL norms" (1997:108). The opposite strategy is referred to as foreignization and refers to the direct transfer of such SL elements in the TL. *Explicitness change* signals either a change towards more explicitness, which is a rather common translation strategy, or more implicitness whereas *information change* refers either to the addition of new information in the TT or to the omission of ST irrelevant information. The strategy of *interpersonal change* is a more holistic one since it operates at the level of the overall style by altering the level of formality, the degree of emotiveness and involvement and

the level of technical lexis (Chesterman, 1997:110). Changes of speech acts, that is, *illocutionary changes* are often linked with other strategies since, for instance, changing the mood of the verb from indicative to imperative transforms a statement into a request. *Coherence change* touches upon the ideational level and reflects changes that have to do with the logical arrangement of information in the text. *Partial translation* covers cases of summary translation, translation of the sounds only, transcription and the like (Chesterman, 1997:111). On the other hand, when the translator makes his presence known to the reader and draws his attention by adding glosses, bracketed comments or even footnotes then this is a *visibility change*. Moreover, the strategy of *transediting* suggests a radical re-ordering and rewriting of badly written original texts (Chesterman, 1997:112). In fact, the concept of transediting firstly proposed by Karen Stetting, is used as “a new term for coping with the grey area between editing and translating” (1989:371) and involves radical re-editing of some parts of the text. Lastly, *other pragmatic changes* have to do with the layout and the choice of dialect (Chesterman, 1997:112).

It should be mentioned that Chesterman (1997:93) himself acknowledges the fact that there is considerable overlapping of the three types of strategies listed above and that “strategies of different types often co-occur”. Hence, there is no reason to exemplify which syntactic, semantic or pragmatic strategy occurs with which idiom strategy since some are more obvious, such as when the SL idiom is turned into TL phrase by the use of the semantic strategy of paraphrase, whereas others are more debatable since for example idiom compensation may involve a phrase or a clause structure change which may result in an emphasis change from a semantic point of view and may even cause an illocutionary change from a pragmatic point of view.

Apart from the “how” question, a holistic idiom-translation model would also have to answer the “what effect”. As Gottlieb (1997:322) argues, we need to have a matrix of semantic and stylistic quality which is depicted in Table 2.4:

Table 2.4 Stylistic and semantic quality in translation

Effect	Quality of Rendering
1. Correspondent	+
2. Insufficient	-
3. Defective	Ø

(adapted from Gottlieb, 1997:322)

According to Gottlieb (1997:321), in this matrix, an idiom is shown by a plus (+), a non-idiom by a minus (-), and a missing expression by a void (Ø). On closer inspection of the abovementioned ‘quality’ table it can be seen that the terms *correspondent*, *insufficient* and *defective* refer to value judgements that are by definition subjective. Gottlieb (1997:322) himself admits that “it takes some nerve to allocate these three “grades” to the idiom data since quality is not easily identifiable. On a par with House (1997), I would like to argue that the concept of quality is problematic if it is meant to address value judgments alone. In other words, both translators’ decision processes and final product could be more objectively evaluated if translation is primarily envisaged as a linguistic-textual process. Given these considerations, I wish to endorse House’s categories of *genre* and *register* as well as her register categories of *field*, *tenor* and *mode* in order to address various issues of idiom translation.

As far as the issue of genre is concerned, a number of studies (Biber et al., 1999; Liu, 2003; Moon, 1998) have shown that idiom use tends to be genre sensitive. As a general rule, idioms are found more often in informal discourse, such as fiction and conversation, than in formal registers. In addition to that, not all idioms feature prominently in informal settings since some idioms occur more frequently in writing. For example, Moon (1998:72) argues that it is more likely to find pure idioms in written discourse. This issue is also taken into account by Glässer (1986b) who makes a plea for ‘phraseo-stylistics’, that is, examination of phraseology from a stylistic perspective. As Moon argues (1998), some idioms are more likely to occur in formal situations (e.g. *have the honour of*) and this may be explained in terms of tenor (Halliday et al., 1964) and constraints enforced by the power relationships of participants (Moon, 1998:68).

Although further research is required to determine the exact densities and proportions of different idioms in different genres, there is a consensus among scholars that genre and idiom use are intertwined. Hence, for a holistic idiom-translation model to emerge, genre considerations must be also taken into account. This, in effect, means that apart from a syntactic, semantic and pragmatic dimension of idiom-translation, the textual dimension should be also added in a holistic idiom-translation model.

In more detail, in this section an attempt is made to provide a holistic model of idiom translation that takes into account the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and textual dimensions when comparing SL with TL idioms. Previous accounts of idiom translation exhibited a one-sided concern and mainly dealt with the question of “how a SL idiom is translated into a TL idiom”. In other words, their analysis rested on identifying comparison patterns among idioms alone. To explain, the “how” question is only answered by addressing four major realizations of idioms in the TL: adherence, literalization, omission and idiomatization. However, these strategies deal with idiom translation in an idiom vis-à-vis idiom sort of fashion and do not move on to explain with what syntactic, semantic and pragmatic means this is achieved. More importantly, they are not concerned with more global issues that involve not just the context of the idiom but the whole co-text. An idiom does not exist out there on its own but is used in a given context. In particular, context is said to comprise all the assumptions that the individual holds to be true about the world, including factual and sociocultural ones, as well as beliefs, morals etc. It follows that when an idiom is used, parameters such as context determine which chunk of knowledge will be activated in order to decipher its meaning. Apart from that, the problem that arises is not only to specify which but also what kind of knowledge is activated each time. For example, the idiom *lose one's shirt* in the sentence *I lost my shirt on the beach* is used literally whereas in the sentence *I almost lost my shirt on that deal* it is used idiomatically and this distinction in use can only be made by examining all aspects of context that are activated with each separate and unique production of the word or phrase concerned. In other words, *shirt* in the first sentence refers to the piece of clothing whereas in the second it refers to the amount of money that was almost lost, or more specifically, it emphasizes the extent of the downside risk taken by the speaker in whatever just completed action is being referred to.

Along similar lines, when it comes to translating an idiom, it does not suffice to simply say that a SL idiom has been translated using a similar TL idiom. In other words, similarity has to be explained at a syntactic, semantic and pragmatic level. In order to perform this kind of analysis one needs to have the linguistic tools that will enable them to realize these syntactic, semantic and pragmatic changes. Such tools are provided by Chesterman's classification of strategies (1997) which are heuristic in nature and can be readily applied to account for a number of translation phenomena (Chesterman, 1997:93). Again, such tools alone are not adequate and cannot solve the puzzle of idiom translation, unless Gottlieb's proposed model for idiom translation is further ratified by the implementation of register analysis. Through register analysis, the intimate relationship of text to context is foreshadowed since register refers to "what the context-of-situation requires as appropriate realizations in a text" (House, 1997:105). In this respect, the notion of register is of paramount importance in trying to explain why one particular idiom-translation strategy has been employed in this particular text-type as opposed to another. Hence, the idiom-translation model proposed here calls for a dialectical perspective among the two facets of idioms: (a) how an idiom is translated and (b) why this idiom-translation strategy has been chosen. Only a detailed analysis of the "hows" and "whys" of translated idioms will lay the foundations for an objective translation evaluation that will allow us to gain insight into the parameters that might influence idiom translation in the Greek news-reporting genre. Having thus described the idiom-translation model employed for the analysis of the data, I will now focus on issues concerning the selection and consideration of the relevant data that will form the basis of my research. The next chapter is devoted to research methodology and data collection considerations.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

The aim of the present chapter is to present the methodological framework for the research analysis in this study. First, some background information about corpus-based translation studies is provided and then issues related to corpus design and data analysis are addressed. This is followed by a detailed description of the methodological tradition and tools used to obtain and analyse the data.

3.2 Corpus-based translation studies

Corpus-based translation studies represent a new paradigm of research which has grown very rapidly and has attracted a significant number of researchers, thus greatly influencing the way translation scholars conceptualize, study and consequently, teach translation. As the name itself suggests, the emphasis is on two words: *corpus* and *translation*. More specifically, the term *corpus*, which comes from the Latin word for ‘body’, was used as early as the sixth century to describe a collection of legal texts, *Corpus Juris Civilis* (Francis, 1992:17). Although the initial meaning of the term – that of a body of texts, either full-running texts or text extracts – has been retained, corpus linguists have enriched it by claiming that “it is a collection of texts assumed to be representative of a given language, dialect or other subset of a language, to be used for linguistic analysis” (cited in Francis, 1992:17). Similarly, the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary* (1995:336) defines a corpus as “a large collection of written or spoken texts that is used for language research”. A more refined definition is provided by Johansson (1998:3) who claims that a computer corpus is “a body of texts put together in a principled way and prepared for computer processing” and it represents all types of corpora “from the smallest bilingual parallel corpus consisting of one text and its translation to the largest multilingual corpora representing all European languages” (cited in Laviosa, 2002:34).

It is through Baker’s articles in the first half of the 1990s (1993, 1995) that the paradigm of corpus-based translation studies matures and inspires scholars by giving them both the motive and rationale to study the product and process of translation

through corpora. It is Baker's strong belief that the availability of large corpora of both original and translated texts together with the creation of a corpus-driven methodology can be powerful tools in the translator's arsenal of resources. In addition to that, there are further developments that have enhanced corpus-based research. Firstly, the static notion of equivalence which centred on formal correspondence of grammatical and semantic structures has been replaced by that of functional equivalence, which focuses on target language text types and translated texts (Baker, 1993:236). Secondly, interest in idealized notions of grammatical competence detached from real life is waning and there has been a great shift in emphasis towards authentic instances of language use. Thus, meaning is not viewed as an independent variable but something that arises from the particular context of use. Through large quantities of source texts and their translations, researchers are able to investigate the nature of translation as well as the limitations and constraints of translational behaviour.

Being at the forefront of corpus-based translation studies, Baker (1996) draws on three fundamental aspects of it: its theoretical connection with target-oriented approaches, its novel methodology and its capacity to explore the multi-faceted nature of translation conceived as "a distinctive communicative event, shaped by its own goals, pressures and context of production" (Baker, 1996:175). In terms of theory, Baker (1996:176) states that the corpus-based paradigm acknowledges the fact that "a translation, like any kind of text production, develops in response to the pressures of its own immediate context and draws on a distinctive repertoire of textual patterns". This view could be said to lead to a greater autonomy of the target text from the source text.

In fact, many corpus-based translation scholars (e.g. Malmkjaer, 1998; Olohan, 2004) have proposed that one way to study translation is through parallel corpora. Simply put, a parallel corpus can be defined as a corpus consisting of a set of texts in one language and their translations in another. It could be claimed that parallel corpora represent a solid basis for contrastive studies since they are useful for exploring "how the same content is expressed in two languages" (Aijmer and Altenberg, 1996:13). Santos (1996:i), for instance, claims that "studies based on real translations are the only sound method for contrastive analysis". Along similar lines, McEnery and Xiao (2007:25) point out that "parallel corpora can serve as a useful starting point for cross-linguistic contrasts". In this respect, parallel corpora are 'indispensable' to contrastive studies (Mauranen, 2002:182). In Baker's words:

Parallel corpora's most important contribution to the discipline in general is that they support a shift of emphasis, from *prescription* to *description*. They allow us to establish, objectively, how translators overcome difficulties of translation in practice, and to use this evidence to provide realistic models for trainee translators.

(Baker, 1995:231)

McEnergy and Xiao (2007:27) are careful to note that it is not always easy or even possible to build the ideal bidirectional parallel corpus because of the heterogeneity between languages and genres. So researchers should be cognizant of the fact that their corpus is useful and could serve the purposes of their research, but is far from being characterized as ideal. After all, one of the major problems associated with the use of a parallel corpus is that it contains only one translated version in the target language which could lead to misleading results if taken solely as the basis for contrastive studies. As Malmkjaer (1998:540) suggests, this difficulty could be overcome if smaller corpora were created and contained as many translated versions of the target text as possible but this is difficult, practically speaking, since multiple versions of translation are not always available.

In spite of the aforementioned shortcomings, Baker (1993:243) argues that the careful development of a corpus-driven methodology can prove particularly fruitful for a descriptive approach to translation studies. This descriptive approach, which goes against the prescriptive approaches that dominated the study of translation up to the 1980s, is best described by Kruger (2000), who maintains that descriptive translation theorists begin by examining a given corpus of texts and then come up with the norms and constraints regulating these texts since their aim is not to prescribe how translations ought to be done but to describe how they have actually been done (2000:39). Although Baker strongly supports the need to develop a coherent corpus-based methodology for identifying typical translation patterns, she is careful to warn us not to restrict these studies to mere linguistic descriptions but instead to try and uncover the underlying reasons and motivations behind the regularities governing the translated text, which

may, for instance, have to do with what the perceived status of the specific SL in the target culture is (cited in Laviosa, 2002:24).

Of course, Baker was not the only one to stress the advantages of corpus use in linguistic analysis; indeed, it was Halliday in the 1960s who first suggested the creation of a 20-million-word corpus for collocational analysis (Halliday, 1966:159). The creation of a computer corpus ensures objectivity and verifiability of results since the Chomskian intuitive, invented isolated sentences are replaced by authentic texts moulded and shaped by socio-political circumstances. As Sinclair notes “human intuition about language is highly specific, and not at all a good guide to what actually happens when the same people actually use the language” (1991:4). On the other hand, “a large corpus, consisting of at least several million words, searched with computer assistance, provides a way out of this dilemma” (cited in Stubbs, 1996:32).

Furthermore, through the gathering of samples of different registers and styles of language the broadness of language is represented and the corpus becomes easily accessible for the simple reason that it is computer-based. Hence, the possibility of cumulative results is evident since several researchers can work on the same texts, and compare, contrast and modify their results. This computer-based status of the corpus facilitates its analysis because it “allows a broad battery of statistical tests to be carried out on the data in a matter of seconds” (Nelson, 2000:329). In addition to that, reliability of analysis can be ensured when dealing with million-word corpora since, as Biber (1995:32) says, “computers do not become bored or tired”.

Nevertheless, it should be pointed out that even though computers do the analysis, it is the researcher who must do the thinking. Thinking must not only come in respect of the discussion and evaluation of findings but the researcher must also reflect on issues of corpus size, balance and representativeness. And, perhaps just as pointedly, even if computers were capable of doing the reasoning behind the research, the fact is that human intuition should not, and simply could not, be completely replaced by machines. Considering both the merits and possible pitfalls of using corpora for linguistic study, I tend to believe that language study should make use of actual, authentic instances of language and adopt the corpus-based translation paradigm. Accordingly, the next section of this chapter investigates issues of data collection and analysis in relation to idiom translation in the Greek financial press.

3.3 Corpus design and data analysis

Given the orientation of this study as an investigation into the translation of financial texts, and the choice of idioms as the linguistic category in terms of which this investigation will be carried out, two questions immediately arise: (i) *what data collection instruments will be used* and (ii) *how the data will be analysed*.

3.3.1 The present corpus

A 101,202-word sample of 2009 Greek news material taken from the Sunday edition of *Kathimerini* newspaper, translated from the newspaper *The Economist*, will be contrasted to its source version with respect to the way idiomatic expressions are rendered. Being one of the leading sources of analysis in international business and world affairs, the company responsible for *The Economist* delivers information through a range of formats, from magazines and newspapers to conferences and electronic services. According to the *Economist Group* (www.economistgroup.com), what ties all of its publications together, content wise, is their “objectivity of opinion, the originality of their insight and their advocacy of economic and political freedom around the world”. On visiting the webpage of *The Economist* we are provided with the following information:

The Economist tries in each issue to cover the main events – business and political – of the week. It goes to press on Thursdays and, printed simultaneously in six countries, is available in most of the world's main cities the following day or soon after. Readers everywhere get the same editorial matter. The advertisements differ. The running order of the sections, and sometimes the cover, also differ. But the words are the same, except that each week readers in Britain get a few extra pages devoted to British news.

(<http://www.economist.com/help/DisplayHelp.cfm?folder=663377#AboutEconomistcom>)

According to Koller (2003) “the readership is almost exclusively male, with women accounting for a meagre 9% only” (2003:81). The majority of readers (52%) are

between 35 and 54 years of age, and only 33% are older than 55. Most of the readers (93%) are university graduates, which means that their average household income is approximately \$186,000 (cited in Koller, 2003:81).

Now, as far as *Kathimerini* newspaper is concerned, it is a quality newspaper (Dimitrakopoulou and Siapera, 2005) and ideologically more of a right-wing or an independent one (Papathanassopoulos, 2001). It is a daily morning newspaper but it also has a Sunday edition. Each Sunday of every month it circulates a special insert, entitled *Economia* (= *economy*), in which financial, political, and technological articles have been translated into Greek from their original versions in the newspaper *The Economist*. *Kathimerini* newspaper covers local as well as world news, art events, sports in Greece, local weather and includes useful information like emergency phone numbers in Greece for residents and travellers. It should be mentioned that there is an English version of *Kathimerini* newspaper. Its daily circulation including the Sunday edition amounts to 100,000 copies approximately. The readership of the daily edition is mostly male (59%) whereas the readership of the Sunday edition is mostly female (52%). The majority of readers are between 55 and 70 years of age and around 25% fall within the 35 to 44 age bracket. Most of the readers (65%) are university graduates and only 22% have no more than a second-level education [Vrontoulaki, 2010 (Research and Development Department, *Kathimerini*), personal communication]. Lastly, another important feature of *Kathimerini* is that it has an online version available free of charge to its readers.

In fact, the corpus for this research was selected through said online version (www.economist.kathimerini.gr). In particular, I have chosen to collect all the 2009 translated articles from *Kathimerini's* Sunday edition and juxtapose them with their source version for the purposes of this research. The Sunday edition was chosen for the simple reason that it is more enriched and contains more translated articles from *The Economist* than the daily one. Details on the structure of the two corpora are provided in Table 3.1:

Table 3.1 Publications in the corpus

Name of publication	Type of publication	Date range	Number of articles	Number of words	Average article length
The Economist	weekly newspaper	December 2008-December 2009	148	141,426	955 words
Kathimerini	daily newspaper	January 2009-December 2009	151	101,202	670 words

The discrepancy in numbers between source-text articles from *The Economist* and target texts from *Kathimerini* stems from the fact that some articles from *The Economist* were considered too big and *Kathimerini*'s translators decided to divide them into parts. For instance, the 18th January 2009 article entitled *When a flow becomes a flood* has been divided into three parts and has been translated as three different articles. The sources for the samples used in this current research are all mentioned in Appendix A.

Before outlining the tools that will be used for the analysis of the corpus, it is of immense importance to set out the distinctive features of the corpus in question. This task will be taken up in the next section.

3.3.2 Corpus design and features

The first major step in constructing a corpus is the determination of the criteria on which the texts that form the corpus will be chosen (Sinclair, 2004). In an attempt to identify the principal features of corpus design, Laviosa (2002:25-27) mentions authenticity, size and representativeness. In fact, drawing from Atkins et al., (1992), she (2002:34) proposes a corpus typology that is organized along four hierarchical levels. In more detail, the first level relates to the more general features of a text corpus and comprises six sets of contrastive parameters whereas the other three levels draw on more specific criteria involved in corpus design. The first set of contrastive parameters has to do with corpus types and distinguishes between a full-text corpus, a sample one, a mixed one and a monitor corpus. The second set of parameters relates to the period of time (synchronic vs. diachronic) and the third one has to do with the domain of the texts (everyday, non-specialised language vs. terminological corpus). The fourth set of parameters is mainly concerned with whether the texts comprising the corpus are produced in one or more languages and distinguishes among monolingual, bilingual and multilingual corpora whereas the fifth set of parameters deals with the language or languages of the corpus. Lastly, the sixth feature has to do with the mode of the text; whether written, spoken, mixed or in electronic mode. The focus of the second hierarchical level is on the monolingual corpus types (single vs. comparable), the bilingual corpus types (parallel vs. comparable) and the multilingual corpus types (parallel vs. comparable) whereas the third hierarchical level expands on single corpus

types (translational vs. non translational), bilingual parallel corpus types (mono-directional vs. bi-directional) and multilingual parallel corpus types (mono-source language, bi-source language and multi-source language). Lastly, the fourth level distinguishes among translational corpus types (mono-source-language, bi-source-language and multi-source-language) and discusses more specific criteria such as the translating mode, the translation method, the direction of the translation and the status of both the translation and the translator. Given the above corpus typology, I will firstly outline the design features of my corpus according to the abovementioned four hierarchical levels and then I will deal in a more analytical fashion with the issues of representativeness, authenticity and size.

The present study uses an English-Greek parallel corpus containing 141,426 English words and 101,202 Greek words to investigate idiom-translation strategies in the Greek financial press. This bilingual, machine-readable corpus is unidirectional because it contains source texts in language A (English) and target texts in language B (Greek). It is also a full-text corpus since it contains unabridged texts; it is synchronic because it contains texts produced within a restricted period of time and it is mainly terminological because it mostly includes texts originating within the specialized subject field of finance. Lastly, it is written since it is made up entirely of written texts, and mono-source in terms of language because it is made up of texts translated from one source language. With respect to the translation method followed, it is human translation. Moreover, the direction of the translation is into the mother tongue of the translators and the majority of readers. Lastly, the status of the translation is published. The authors of the source texts are various and it is worth noting that articles in *The Economist* are not signed since even the most illustrious of its staff write anonymously.

As far as the identity of the Greek translators is concerned, it should be mentioned that their names are not given for any of the articles so it is not possible to know how many different translators were used. It should be stressed that these people are not professional translators but have an excellent knowledge of English (Cambridge Proficiency). They work in the newspaper as journalists and not as translators, even though they translate articles from *The Economist* and other newspapers twice or three times a week. On these grounds, it was decided that the identity of the translator(s) is not going to be an intervening variable, given the fact that all ST and TT news articles are anonymous. Yet, this remains a rather intriguing issue and future research may well

start out from a different set of data where there is a clear match between translations and individual translators. Koller (2003) has encountered similar difficulties in her research and argues that it would be interesting to see how gender influences metaphor and idiom usage in the data (2003:85).

Despite these shortcomings, some information concerning the translators' education and professional experience needs to be mentioned. In particular, there are six journalists (one male and five female) in the Finance Department of *Kathimerini* newspaper responsible in the main for translating articles from *The Economist* [Sokou, 2011 (Finance Department, Kathimerini, S.A.), personal communication]. The first one has a degree in Translation and Interpreting from the Ionian University and has been working for the newspaper for eighteen years. The second one has a degree in Finance from the University of Essex and a degree in Shipping and Finance from the Cass Business School. He has worked for the newspaper since 2009. The third journalist has a degree in Finance from the University of Portsmouth and a Master's degree in International Relations from the University of Kent. She has twelve years of experience with the newspaper. The fourth journalist has a degree in Media from the University of Athens and a Master's degree from Panteion University. She has been working for the newspaper for twenty years. The fifth journalist has a degree in Philosophy from the State University of New York and eighteen years of experience with the newspaper. Lastly, the sixth journalist has a degree in History from the University of Ioannina and a Master's degree in International Political Economy from the University of Warwick. She has been working as a journalist for *Kathimerini* newspaper for thirteen years.

These journalists have been instructed to make their texts understandable to the target audience, following grammatical and stylistic conventions. According to Ziras (2010):

their main interest lies in getting the meaning across and producing translations that are of roughly the same quality and standard. The main purpose of the TT is to be informative, comprehensible and easily readable by the target readership. *Unnecessary information that does not add up to the meaning of the TT should be preferably omitted.*

(Ziras, 2010, personal communication, emphasis added)

After all, translators should take into consideration space restrictions and come up with a translation comprising a specific number of words. Thus, it is only natural that, especially in newspapers, the source version is much longer as material is almost always selectively included in the target version. Consequently, if some sections of each article are omitted, then it is most likely that some cases of idiom translation are lost.

Another challenging issue that crosses the mind of every researcher when trying to build a corpus is that of representativeness. As Kennedy (1998:62-66) observes, every researcher would like to claim that their corpus is ‘representative’ enough so as to be able to make generalizations but the truth is that it is difficult to convincingly argue for general patterns governing translational behaviour on the basis of a compilation of texts belonging to a specific genre. One quite apparent reason for this is that the criteria for text compilation may vary from the obvious ones, such as text type, text function or purpose, to less obvious, such as “how influential or how typical a text might be” (Olohan, 2004:46). It should be mentioned that *genre* should be distinguished from *text type* in that the former is based on “external, nonlinguistic criteria whereas the latter is based on the internal characteristics of texts themselves” (Biber, 1988:70). In this respect, *genre* is defined as:

a category assigned on the basis of external criteria such as intended audience, purpose, and activity type, that is, it refers to a conventional, culturally recognised grouping of texts based on properties other than lexical or grammatical (co-)occurrence features, which are, instead, the internal (linguistic) criteria forming the basis of *text type* categories.

(cited in Lee, 2001:38)

It could be argued that the genre of press news reporting is important when studying idiomaticity for the following three reasons: (a) idioms are presented in authentic contexts rather than contrived ones (b) the discourse perspective of idioms is emphasized since attention is drawn to their sociopragmatic and interactional features and (c) a specialised corpus such as that of press news that contains examples of idioms

that are embedded in contexts that learners can find familiar and relevant might help them develop awareness of appropriate idiom use.

Apart from genre, corpus design is also affected by regional and temporal factors such as the nationality, ethnicity, age and gender of the writer or speaker (Olohan, 2004:46). In fact, reservations concerning the issue of corpus representativeness are best put by Malmkjaer (2005), who notes that a corpus can only be descriptive in nature, never proscriptive or prescriptive because “a corpus can never show the future, only part of what has happened in the past” (2005:132). Along similar lines, Laviosa (2002) observes that the representativeness of a given corpus can never be absolute or even complete but is something that is constantly being negotiated (Laviosa, 2002:6). Representativeness, however, does not only deal with criteria for text selection but seeks to learn something about the translator’s behaviour. In this respect, Olohan (2004) points out that the question of representativeness could be further extended to “whether certain translations are representative of translation behaviour” (2004:47).

Since this Ph.D. thesis deals with newspaper articles, it is worth seeing how ‘representative’ newspaper articles can be. As Laviosa (2002:40) argues, newspapers offer greater and less problematic levels of comparability “given the greater availability of translational and non-translational texts and the possibility of identifying the topic of each article from the titles and subtitles with a reasonable degree of accuracy”. I do not claim that the present corpus is representative either of the variety of financial texts that exist or of the translational habits governing idiom treatment in the Greek financial press. An attempt is only made to indicate some tendencies rather than capture and treat most or all.

Of paramount importance is also the issue of authenticity in corpus linguistics. Malmkjaer (1998) stresses the advantages of using authentic texts by claiming that they are invaluable to the contrastive linguist who is given the opportunity to provide an in-depth analysis of the differences and similarities in language use, as opposed to language systems (cited in Laviosa, 2002:27). In fact, a number of corpus linguists pride themselves on analysing large amounts of authentic texts with the help of computational tools (e.g. Biber et al., 1999; Biber, 2001; Flowerdew, 2001). Recognizing the importance of authenticity in constructing a corpus, I have decided to compile my own corpus taking news texts from *The Economist* newspaper and their

respective translations from the Sunday edition of *Kathimerini* newspaper. Ideally, having access to authentic workplace texts would have been even better but there is considerable difficulty accessing these frequently sensitive and confidential pieces of text.

Another issue that cannot be bypassed when designing a corpus is that of size. And the all-time classic question pops up: does size matter? A simple yes or no does not suffice, nor is it an adequate answer. Of course, a more refined question would be: do I need a small or a big corpus for what I am looking for? Inevitably, what the researcher is looking for will affect the size of the corpus. In this case, the researcher has created a rather small corpus compared to some of the million-word corpora that exist. But a big corpus does not necessarily mean a more useful or representative corpus since “there is a limit to the amount of data a researcher can analyze” (Olohan, 2004:46). Factors such as the availability of texts or need for manual annotation may influence the size of the corpus (Hunston, 2002:26). Again, the objective of each body of research plays a fundamental role, and since the aim of the present study is not to identify all the idioms present in the newspaper articles in question but to analyse a sizable number (in this case 100 idiomatic expressions) so as to illustrate the use of idioms in specialized contexts, even a small corpus is useful. In fact McCarthy and Carter (2002) have argued that in the case of collocation, “a small corpus can uncover a considerable number of relative tokens, as this manifestation of idiomaticity is actually very common indeed” (cited in Prodromou, 2008:95).

3.4 Methodological issues: idiom typology and search tools

Having discussed the major characteristics of my English and Greek corpora, the aim of the present section is to analyse the methodology employed. The present research is not based on pre-existing assumptions but primarily rests on the conclusions that will be drawn from the analysis of the idiom-translation strategies employed in carrying out said research. Hence, the approach taken is data-driven since any linguistic or translational ideas applied must be relevant to the task. As Tognini-Bonelli (2001) argues, corpus-driven studies:

build up the theory step by step in the presence of the evidence, the observation of certain patterns leads to a hypothesis, which in turn leads to the generalization in terms of rules of usage and finally finds unification in a theoretical statement.

(Tognini-Bonelli, 2001:17)

In particular, the two main research questions of this study are: (i) *which idiom-translation strategies are employed in the Greek financial press* and (ii) *which parameters influence the translators' choices*. In order to answer these questions, two modes of analysis will be employed: the quantitative and the qualitative. It is strongly believed that the combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis is indispensable in corpus-based studies because it enables researchers to provide fuller descriptions of linguistic and translational phenomena (Olohan, 2004:86). As McEnery and Wilson (1996:62) observe, “quantitative analysis enables one to separate the wheat from the chaff” while “qualitative analysis, which does not require the data to fit into a finite number of categories, enables very fine distinctions to be drawn”. It should be stressed though, that the nature of this study is more qualitative than quantitative. The main aim of the present investigation does not solely rest on the presentation of a purely quantitative account of the idiom-translation strategies in the Greek financial press but instead its primary focus is mainly on describing possible reasons behind the choice of these strategies. But before outlining possible reasons behind translators' choices, two methodological issues should be firstly addressed: (i) what kind of idioms to search for and (ii) how the search for them will be conducted.

3.4.1 Idiom typology

Before the data processing stage, some amendments had to be made once the corpus was compiled so as to alleviate problems concerning the typographical form of texts. In particular, the majority of downloaded texts from both the sites of *The Economist* and *Kathimerini* newspapers contained diagrams, photographs, and columnar layouts which did not contain any idiomatic expressions and hindered the search procedure since they were not plain texts. It was decided to manually edit each text, which was a rather time-consuming task, convert them into plain text files, delete all diagrams, photographs, and

columnar layouts, and then store all texts in different folders and subfolders according to the month and date of publication.

Then the question that arose was that of what kinds of idioms to search for. It was decided to adopt a thematically-based idiom typology. The thematic index of the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Idioms* (2002) (henceforth CCDI) seemed quite appealing initially. Offering an in-depth treatment of the meaning and usage of thousands of British and American idioms, the CCDI is in a unique position to describe idioms in current English. Moreover, containing approximately 6,000 entries and 8,500 examples of real English compiled on the basis of the Bank of English corpus, the CCDI covers a large number of the idioms which people are likely to find in everyday English. Not only does it include traditional idioms, but it also contains a number of expressions which can be considered ‘semi-idioms’ such as multi-word metaphors (e.g. *the acid test*), metaphorical proverbs (e.g. *every cloud has a silver lining*) and common similes (e.g. *white as a sheet*) as well as some other expressions which have a strong pragmatic meaning (e.g. *famous last words*) (2002:v). Furthermore, since my study is based on British English data, the CCDI is suitable because it includes a variety of British idiomatic expressions. More specifically, there are 32 themes in the CCDI and the idioms are listed alphabetically within each theme, according to the headword at which the idiom in the dictionary is found. It should be noted that the headword in each idiom is highlighted. The themes included in the thematic index are:

Table 3.2 32 themes in the Collins COBUILD Idiom Dictionary

1) Information	17) Memory and mind
2) Understanding and knowledge	18) Disagreement
3) Importance and priorities	19) Success and failure
4) Involvement and interest	20) Fairness
5) Decisions	21) Progress
6) Starting and stopping	22) Control and influence
7) Quality and effort	23) Safety and risk
8) Love	24) Death and illness
9) Communication and relationships	25) Expectation and likelihood
10) Help and encouragement	26) Limitations and restrictions
11) Honesty and directness	27) Happiness
12) Anger and irritation	28) Sadness
13) Deception	29) Trouble and difficulty
14) Revealing and hiding	30) Money
15) Frustration and fear	31) Self-importance and humiliation
16) Authority and responsibility	32) Drinking

Each thematic category has a number of idioms and there are approximately 1,000 idioms listed under the 32 themes of the CCDI. These are listed alphabetically according to their headword. The use of ‘someone’, ‘something’, and ‘somewhere’ in idiom headwords indicates that the idiom has to be completed with a word referring respectively to a person, a thing, or a place (CCDI, 2002:x). Furthermore, the same idiom may have slight alterations in different dialects. For instance, in the idiom *when your ship comes in* (= *what people will do when they become rich and successful*) the word *ship* is often replaced by the word *boat* and the idiom *see which way the cat jumps* (= *they delay making a decision or taking action on something until they are more*

confident about how the situation will develop) is also phrased as *see which way the wind blows*. Another example is that of the idiom *be/fall head over heels* (= *you fall suddenly and deeply in love with someone*), which is usually said/written as *be/fall head over heels in love*. Similarly, the idiom *the horns of a dilemma* (= *you have to choose between two or more alternatives, which seem to be equally good or bad*) is usually preceded by the preposition *on*. Lastly, next to some idioms there are regional labels indicating which idioms are mainly used in the USA, Australia and Britain. For example, *not have a bean* is mainly a British idiom, *thick as mince* a Scottish one, *dollars to doughnuts* an American one and *kangaroos in your top paddock* an Australian one. Another important observation is that the same idiom has sometimes been included in two different thematic categories because it has different meanings. For example, the idiom *go to pieces* is included in the thematic category of *Communication and Relationships* because it means that your work or relationship is no longer as good as it once was and you cannot stop it getting worse but is also included in the thematic category of *Memory and Mind* because it can also bear the meaning of someone being so upset or distressed by something that they cannot control their emotions or cope with the things that they have to do.

Perhaps, the most important observation that can be made is that there is considerable overlap between the CCDI 32 thematic categories of idioms and there are no clear-cut boundaries as to why an idiom has been placed in a specific thematic category. To explain, in some cases, the same idiom which has one meaning has been put into two thematic categories. For example, the idiom *take a back seat* (= *you allow other people to have all the power, importance or responsibility*) is classified under two thematic categories: the thematic category of *Importance and Priorities* and also that of *Authority and Responsibility*. Given these inadequacies of the CCDI's thematic categorization, I have decided to come up with my own idiom-thematic categorization.

For the purposes of the current research, two hyper-categories were created to accommodate the 32 thematic categories of idioms in the CCDI. These two hyper-categories are conceptually motivated and draw on semantic and pragmatic rather than syntactic idiom-classification criteria. The first hyper-category is termed *inward idioms*. The term *inward* is used to refer to the quality or state of being inward or internal and could be extended to refer to one's private feelings, thoughts, attitudes, ethical and ideological values. To be more specific, inward idioms could be informally divided into

cognitively-oriented idioms and *affectively-oriented idioms*. In more detail, *cognitively-oriented idioms* are primarily concerned with the human mind and reflect on the human being as a thinking organism functioning in specific environments. Concepts such as attention, memory, perception, reasoning, imagining, thinking and judgment touch upon the cognitive side of idioms. In this respect, the thematic categories of *memory and mind*, *understanding and knowledge* and *decisions* which have to do with the inner thoughts of an individual could be classified as cognitively-oriented inward idioms. On the other hand, *affectively-oriented idioms* describe feelings, emotional states and attitudes that exist in one's inner psyche and may not necessarily be expressed in the outer world. Such feel-framed idioms can be found in the thematic categories of *love*, *anger and irritation*, *frustration and fear*, *happiness*, *sadness*, *honesty and directness*, *self-importance and humiliation* and *fairness*. These idioms are emotionally charged and could be claimed to depict feelings and attitudes rather than thoughts.

Conversely, the second category is termed *outward idioms*. The term *outward* refers to the outside or exterior, the outer, the clearly apparent, the observable and visible. In other words, it moves away from the interior and heads towards the outside. In this sense, *outward idioms* point towards the social dimension of the individual focusing on the experiences one has of the external world. To be more specific, outward idioms could be informally divided into *general outward idioms* and *business idioms*. In general outward idioms, the communicative aspect of the individual is emphasized since our relationships with other people, and with the external world in general, inevitably affect our lives giving us positive and negative experiences. Hence, the thematic category of *communication and relationships* could be placed within the subcategory of *general outward idioms*. The same could be argued for the thematic categories of *involvement and interest*, *importance and priorities*, *information*, *help and encouragement*, *deception*, *revealing and hiding*, *disagreement*, *trouble and difficulty*, *starting and stopping*, *limitations and restrictions*, *quality and effort*, *expectation and likelihood* since idioms belonging in these categories reflect aspects of human relationships. It should be mentioned that these two hyper-categories should not be treated as binary ends but as collateral possibilities since the inner part of the individual and the outer world are interdependent reflections of each other, reciprocally co-arising together.

Since the primary purpose of this thesis is to delineate aspects of English-Greek idiom translation by examining the translation strategies employed in the treatment of idioms in the Greek financial press, this classification would not have been complete if it did not encompass business idioms. Hence, apart from general outward idioms another subcategory was created and named *business idioms*. Conceptually speaking, this subcategory endorses all possible idioms that have to do with money, sales and marketing, and negotiations. Thus, the idiom-thematic category of *money* as well as those of *success and failure, progress, control and influence, safety and risk, authority and responsibility* could be associated with the aforementioned subcategory. It should be stressed that this categorization is a rather loose one and, more importantly, it is not complete. In particular, there is no specific reason why, for instance, the thematic category of *authority and responsibility* should belong to the subcategory of *business idioms* and not that of *general outward idioms*, or why the thematic category of *anger and irritation* should belong solely to *inward idioms*. This classification does not exhaust all possibilities due to the overlapping semantic features that are associated with each idiom. It also has difficulty in dealing with some thematic categories whose idioms do not easily fit into any existing pattern, like the thematic category of *starting and stopping* which has been loosely categorized as belonging to *general outward idioms*. But these inadequacies could be best treated either in the light of a different categorization or by means of individual treatment.

3.4.2 Search tools

The role of corpus processing tools in extracting and managing data cannot be overstressed. It would have been impossible to manually search million-word corpora without the existence of corpus software. To this end, several software programmes have been developed for storing and analysing data. In the relevant literature, two famous software tools that have been used for the extraction of idioms are the BNC search engine *XAIRA* and the *WordSmith Tools* software programme. In particular, Grant (2003) and Langlotz (2006) have employed the former search engine whereas Prodromou (2008) has used the latter. It should be noted that the client programme *XAIRA* is exclusively used for the BNC whereas *WordSmith* can be used for other corpora as well.

In the present study, the ‘Concord’ tool of *WordSmith*, which is a concordancer that does collocation and word-cluster analysis could have been used for this contrastive corpus-based study. Nevertheless, automatic retrieval of idioms using conventional software is only partially possible. One can generate lists of recurring chunks but these are massive and they still have to be sifted through manually in order to determine which item is an idiom and which is not (O’Keeffe, McCarthy, and Carter, 2007:82). Again these lists do not provide contextual information and one must call up the contexts to fully research the case for each prospective idiom. This view is also held by O’Keeffe, McCarthy, and Carter (2007) who argue that a corpus can be searched productively by starting with certain basic everyday words that are the foundations of basic cognitive metaphors. “These would include parts of body, money, light and colour, and other basic notions” (2007:83). Following this line of thinking, I have decided to search the corpus according to the headword of the idiom which is the word in bold in the 32 thematic categories of the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Idioms*, e.g. a long **nose**. For instance, the word-form *nose* has 7 occurrences in the corpus, and a reading of the 7 concordance lines yields 2 idiomatic expressions: *keep your nose out of something* (= *they are telling you rather rudely not to interfere in something because it does not concern you*) and *put your nose out of joint* (= *it offends or upsets them, because they think that they have not been treated with the respect that they deserve*). To account for all possible morphological inflection of the headwords including variations in the verb tense and variations in active or passive form, I searched all possible types of a verb. For example,

in the idiom *take centre stage* (= *someone or something that becomes the most significant or noticeable person or item in a situation*), I searched all five possible forms of the verb; *take, takes, taking, took, taken*. In verbs such as *play*, four searches were conducted, i.e. *play, plays, playing and played*, whereas in idioms where the verb *be* is included – for example, *be on the right track* (= *you are acting or progressing in a way that is likely to result in success*) – eight verb types were searched, namely, *be, was, been, I am, is, are, were and being*. In the case of nouns, both singular and plural forms were searched.

In more detail, the idioms of the 32 thematic categories were searched by using the search function of the Microsoft Word programme and selecting the word in bold, which is the key word of the idiom. I have decided that the most preferable way is to search the key word and read the surrounding sentence context as well. Given the fact that there is idiom variation, it is of vital importance to have a look at the context so as to verify that the item is indeed idiomatic (or not, as the case may be). The small size of my corpus (141,426 words) enabled me to engage in intensive reading of the entire texts. A similar procedure was followed by O’Keeffe, McCarthy, and Carter (2007) and by Simpson and Mendis (2003). So all the financial articles were firstly read so as to gain an overall picture of the language used in the genre in question. The most frequent idiomatic expressions were then noted down with the help of the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Idioms*, and, after that, the search function was used. The primary goal was to evolve a system by piloting; that is, identify the idiom, then plug the headword into the search engine and check its frequency and typical environment. So, in this way, both manual and software search were combined to find the idioms in the data. It should be mentioned that the aforementioned search mode cannot account for lexical substitution but since the focus of the present research is not on idiom variation this problem was not tackled. This search system enabled me to find 104 idioms but I decided to exclude four because they do not fall into the finite list of idioms belonging to the 32 thematic categories of the CCDI examined in the present research. The four idiomatic expressions excluded are shown on the next page:

1. The first was Mr. Sarkozy's **firm line on** the wearing of the burqa, the Islamic head-to-toes covering, in France.
(“Reforming France”, *The Economist*, 22.6.2009)

I think that in this particular case the word *line* refers to attitude or opinion and has nothing to do with the idiom *get/have a line on someone* which belongs to the thematic category of *Information* and means that you get some information from someone.

2. That might offer part of the explanation for why the Fund has come down so strongly **on one side** of the debate.
(“What went wrong”, *The Economist*, 6.3.2009)

In the above example, *side* refers to the point of view or position involved in a debate and has nothing to do with the idiom *something is on your side* which belongs to the thematic category of *Help and Encouragement* and bears the meaning of giving you an advantage and helping you achieve something.

In example 3, there is the exact opposite of the idiom *under the counter* which belongs to the thematic category of *Revealing and Hiding* and bears the meaning of doing something secretly because it is illegal or dishonest.

3. Those that are traded **over the counter** (away from exchanges) will face federal regulation and supervision of dealers will be tightened.
(“More than just repairs”, *The Economist*, 26.3.2009)

The same goes with example 4, where we have the opposite of the idiom *set your sights on something* which belongs to the thematic category of *Importance and Priorities* and means that you try very hard to get something you want.

4. As if that were not grim enough, there is a sapping of confidence across our land – a nagging fear that America's decline is inevitable, and that the next generation must **lower its sights**.
(“And now to work”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

After the exclusion procedure, the remaining 100 idioms were analysed along with all the instances of these idiomatic expressions, which came to 121. In more detail, when an idiom that existed in *The Economist* corpus was found, it was written down. The same pattern was followed with the rest of the idioms which were found and the corresponding sentences were written down as well as the title of the article and the date of publication. Then, the translation in Greek followed each sentence as well as back-translation (henceforth BT) of the sentence in question in Greek. The aim of BT here is to provide information about the Greek equivalent. So the BT is less idiomatic and closer to the Greek, that is, a literal BT. In particular, word-for-word translation is employed in examples 4, 6, 44, 49, 53, 54, 55, 57, 60, 62, 64, 101, 102, 104, 109 and 113 since this facilitates discussion of some translational aspects of the target sentences in question. It should be stated that the meanings of the idioms were taken from the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Idioms* (2002). If the idiom was omitted in the translation then the hyphen (–) appeared to acknowledge this. The same hyphen was used in cases where the whole sentence was omitted as is evident in the example below. It was decided that examples that have an explanatory function will be distinguished by the mark ' so as to differentiate this occasional use from their actual one in the data as can be seen below:

- ST41' An arm's-length bank management board would both keep the interferers at bay, and also require the public sector to bear the consequences of its meddling on the bank's performance.
(“In knots over nationalisation”, *The Economist*, 26.2.2009)
- TT41' -
- ST57' Take trade: the global economy would benefit from a trade-liberalising Doha deal, but as unemployment rises governments will have their work cut out just to keep Protectionism at bay.
(“Not so fast”, *The Economist*, 13.11.2009)
- TT57' Στο εμπόριο, π. χ. η παγκόσμια οικονομία θα επωφελούνταν από μια συμφωνία για την απελευθέρωση του εμπορίου. Με την αύξηση της ανεργίας, οι κυβερνήσεις θα πρέπει να φροντίσουν να μην υποπέσουν σε προστατευτισμό. («Ο κινεζικός δράκος θα οδηγήσει την οικονομική ανάκαμψη το 2010», *Η Καθημερινή*, 22.11.2009)

BT57' In trade, for example, the global economy would benefit from a deal for trade-liberalization. With the rise of unemployment, governments will have to take care **not to fall under** protectionism.

In these examples we have two instances of the idiom *hold/keep someone at bay*, which means ‘to keep something from attacking you or affecting you in some other way’. In the first example we have no target version since the whole sentence is omitted whereas in the second one the idiom in question is translated as *να μην υποπέσουν* (= *not to fall under*). In order to have a more detailed view of the idioms found in the corpus, in Table 3.3 there is an alphabetical categorization of the 100 idioms found and the number of their occurrences in the corpus which appear in parentheses whereas Table 3.4 shows their categorization according to the inward/outward idiom typology proposed in the previous section.

Table 3.3: 100 idioms alphabetically categorised and their number of occurrences in a 2009 141,426-word sample of English (source) financial news material

Twist someone's arm	Turn the corner (2)	Lose ground	The pecking order	The suits (2)
At arm's length	On course for	Stick to your guns	Feel the pinch	Cross swords
Pat someone on the back	Run its course (2)	Cap in hand (2)	Line your pockets	Red tape (2)
Hang in the balance (2)	Get a crack at something	Get out of hand	Sing the praises of someone	A rule of thumb (2)
Keep something at bay (2)	Save for a rainy day	In something for the long haul	At a price	Play for time
Tighten the belt	The day of reckoning	A change of heart	Keep a low profile	The tip of the iceberg
A sure bet	It's early days	Dear to the heart	Hold someone to ransom	Bite your tongue
Foot the bill	A death blow	Bring to heel	A ray of sunshine	A track record
A security blanket	Make a dent in something	On hold	In the red	On the right track (2)
Back to the drawing board	Plumb the depths	Bleed red ink	A bumpy ride	Talk turkey
Drop a bombshell	Better the devil you know	Handle someone with kid -gloves	A lightning rod for something	Come unstuck
Fill someone's boots	Behind closed doors	Tie someone in knots	Ride roughshod over someone	Go to the wall
Reach rock bottom	In the dumps	Pay lip service to something	From scratch (2)	Tread water
Bear/take the brunt of something	At the lowest ebb	In the lap of luxury	Turn the screw on someone	Fall by the wayside
The bubble has burst (3)	A nest egg	Flex your muscle(s) (2)	Come out of your shell	Pull your weight
Pass the buck	Fence -sitting	Stick your neck out	Look on the bright side	Throw someone's weight behind (2)
A fat cat	Play second fiddle	Keep your nose out of something	Cut someone down to size	The wheels are turning (2)
A blank cheque	Point the finger at someone	Put someone's nose out of joint	Smoke and mirrors	Sail close to the wind
A vicious circle	Put your foot down	An olive branch (2)	Take centre stage (2)	Throw a wobbly
Not have a clue	Bear fruit (2)	A tall order	With strings (attached) (2)	Have your work cut out (2)

Table 3.4: 100 idioms categorised according to the inward/outward idiom typology

INWARD IDIOMS		OUTWARD IDIOMS	
COGNITIVELY-ORIENTED IDIOMS	AFFECTIVELY-ORIENTED IDIOMS	GENERAL OUTWARD IDIOMS	BUSINESS IDIOMS
1. Understanding and knowledge	1. Anger and irritation	1. Communication and relationships	1. Money
Not have a clue	Throw a wobbly	Come out of your shell	Tighten the belt
A rule of thumb	2. Frustration and fear	2. Help and encouragement	Foot the bill
2. Decisions	Red tape	An olive branch	A fat cat
Hang in the balance	Tie someone in knots	Pat someone on the back	A blank cheque
A change of heart	3. Happiness	Sing the praises of someone	Save for a rainy day
The day of reckoning	A ray of sunshine	Throw someone's weight behind	A nest egg
Fence-sitting	Look on the bright side	3. Importance and priorities	Feel the pinch
Stick to your guns	4. Sadness	Take centre stage	Line your pockets
Play for time	In the dumps	Play second fiddle	At a price
3. Memory and mind	At the lowest ebb	Handle someone with kid-gloves	In the red
-	Reach rock bottom	The tip of the iceberg	Cap in hand
	5. Honesty and directness	4. Involvement and interest	Bleed red ink
	Bite your tongue	At arm's length	2. Progress
	Talk turkey	Keep something at bay	Turn the corner
	6. Self-importance and humiliation	Get a crack at something	Make a dent in something
	Cut someone down to size	Dear to the heart	Bear fruit
	7. Fairness	Keep your nose out of something	Lose ground
	-	Keep a low profile	On hold
	8. Love	5. Information	On the right track
	-	Drop a bombshell	Tread water
		6. Starting and stopping	The wheels are turning
		Run its course	3. Control and influence
		A death blow	Twist someone's arm
		From scratch	Get out of hand
		7. Quality and effort	Bring to heel
		In something for the long haul	Flex your muscle(s)
		A track record	Hold someone to ransom
		Pull your weight	Turn the screw on someone

		8. Deception	The suits
		Pay lip-service to something	4. Safety and risk
		Smoke and mirrors	Better the devil you know
		9. Revealing and hiding	Stick your neck out
		Behind closed doors	Sail close to the wind
		10. Expectation and likelihood	A sure bet
		On course for	A security blanket
		It's early days	5. Authority and responsibility
		11. Limitations and restrictions	Fill someone's boots
		With strings (attached)	Pass the buck
		12. Disagreement	Point the finger at someone
		Put someone's nose out of joint	Put your foot down
		Cross swords	A lightning rod for something
		13. Trouble and difficulty	The pecking order
		A vicious circle	Ride roughshod over someone
		Have your work cut out	6. Success and failure
		A tall order	Back to the drawing board
		A bumpy ride	The bubble has burst
		Bear the brunt of something	Come unstuck
		Plumb the depths	Go to the wall
			Fall by the wayside
			In the lap of luxury

During the search procedure, a number of challenges arose. Firstly, some idioms, like *turn the screw* (= *they increase the pressure on you to make you do what they want*), or *the devil you know* (= *you would rather deal with someone you already know, even if you do not like them, than deal with someone that you know nothing about, because they may be even worse*), appeared in isolation prior to a sentence. This could be partly explained by the fact that an often-employed media device is to use an idiomatic expression as a headline (Grant, 2003:102). In the case where the idiom in question was contained both as part of the headline and within the article, it was decided to count the examples separately as two different occurrences. In other instances, the heading was not the idiom per se but was clearly a play on the idiom. For example, the idiom *talk turkey* has been altered into *talk Turkey* to indicate that this is a pun using the idiom for an article about Turkey, the country. Another more challenging issue was the thorough examination of whether an example was used literally or idiomatically. For instance, the idiom *ray of sunshine* could probably be used both literally and idiomatically in the sentence “Yet a ray of sunshine is breaking through the storm clouds”.

In addition to that, when conducting the corpus search some occurrences of idiom variation were found. For example, the verb in the idiom *bleed red ink* (= *a company has severe financial problems*) was changed into *spill* in the following sentence “Emerging economies are *spilling* less *red ink*, both because their banking industries are in less of a mess and because their stimulus plans, in general, are smaller”. Such variations are not included in the CCDI since they are considered to be creative variants of the idiom rather than conventional ones. That is not to say that the CCDI does not contain any idiom variations. For instance, the idiomatic expressions *the dust clears* (we normally say *the dust settles* and *the fog clears*) and *plain as a day* (we normally say *plain as a pikestaff* and *clear as a day*) are included in the CCDI and could be claimed to have acquired the status of usual variants (cited in Langlotz, 2006:201).

To conclude, it should be stressed that this search method is only a partial solution to the problem of idiom identification and its feasibility rests primarily on the small size of the corpus. In other words, in a 10-million word corpus, like the BNC, the use of a software programme like XAIRA would have been mandatory. Nevertheless, my primary aim was to create a search system for students and translators who do not have access to specialized

programmes. Lastly, the focus of the present research was not to find all idioms but only a sample of 100 idiomatic expressions. Presumably, a different search technique would have been employed if the research aim had been different.

Thus, having described the idiom-typology and the search tools that will be used in the present study, I will now proceed to critically discuss the strategies employed by the Greek translators of *The Economist* and subsequently give an account of the translation tendencies evident in English-Greek idiom translation, e.g. to what extent idioms are literalized, omitted or even mistranslated, in so far as a project of this scope can reveal. This task will be taken up in the next chapter.

CHAPTER FOUR

FINDINGS

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to give a detailed description of the idiom-translation strategies employed in the Greek financial press. More specifically, the chapter is divided into six sections where the translation strategies of both inward and outward idioms are analysed according to frequency of occurrence. In more detail, the first section serves as the introductory one and the second one summarizes the quantitative findings of this study. The third section deals with the translation strategies employed for the translation of inward idioms and is further divided into subsections where the translation choices of cognitively and affectively-oriented idioms are discussed. Then, the translation-strategies of general outward idioms are analysed and the chapter closes with a discussion of the translation patterns of business idioms.

4.2 Quantitative findings

Preliminary results indicate that the majority of idioms were omitted whereas there was a considerable number of idioms which were transferred in Greek either by using an identical, similar or different idiom or metaphor. Furthermore, twenty-five idioms were literalized and two were mistranslated. In addition to that, there were three instances of idiomatization and nine of transediting. The following table summarizes the types of idiom-translation strategies employed in the 101,202-word sample of the Greek (target) version and indicates the frequency of occurrence and percentage proportion of each idiom-translation strategy.

Table 4.1: Idiom-translation strategies and percentage proportion of each strategy employed in the 121 sample instances of idiom rendering (taken from the 2009 101,202-word sample of Greek (target) financial news material)

Translation Strategies	Adherence	Literalization	Deletion	Idiomatization	Transediting	Mistranslation
Number of instances and percentage	35 28.92%	25 20.66%	50 41.32%	3 2.47%	9 7.43%	2 1.65%

It should be noted that the majority (forty-five) were business idioms. General outward idioms also comprised a fair share; thirty-six idiomatic expressions belonging to this category were found. Lastly, only eleven instances of affectively-oriented idioms were found and eight of cognitively-oriented ones. In short, only nineteen out of the one hundred idioms were inward idioms whereas the remainder were outward.

4.3 The translation of inward idioms

The focus of this section is on the translation of *inward* idioms. Inward idioms have been described as idioms focusing on the internal side of human beings and reflecting on their own private thoughts and feelings. These are further divided into cognitively-oriented idioms, that is, think-framed idioms and affectively-oriented idioms, that is, feel-framed idioms. The following subsection focuses on the former.

4.3.1 The translation of cognitively-oriented idioms

Cognitively-oriented idioms could be said to serve as mirrors of the way in which the world is perceived and organised in the mind of the individual. One's inner thoughts, processes of reasoning, perceptions and judgments point to the cognitively inward direction and reveal a keen interest in one's psyche. The internal world of the individual is put at the forefront and emphasis is placed on internal features and thinking functions. In other words, the use of cognitively-oriented idioms exhibits inner-directness and an explicit interest in perceiving and experiencing one's inner self. The sentences containing these idioms (as well as all others studied) will be shown below (and in subsequent sections) and firstly there will be a brief profile of the original text and its translation and then a comparison of the sentence containing the SL idiom with the sentence containing the TL idiom will be made in syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and textual respects.

4.3.1.1 Idiom adherence

Four instances of idiom adherence were observed in the Greek target version. The first one is the idiom *the day of reckoning*:

- ST1 It could not run deficits for ever but **the day of reckoning** might be years away.
 (“When a flow becomes a flood”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)
- TT1 Ασφαλώς, υποστήριζαν, η χώρα δεν θα μπορούσε να έχει τέτοια ελλείμματα επ’ άπειρον, όμως – έλεγαν – η ημέρα της κρίσης θα απείχε πολύ.
 («Η μόνη πρόβλεψη που δεν επαληθεύθηκε ήταν η κατάρρευση του δολαρίου», *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.1.2009)
- BT1 Of course, they were claiming, the country could not have such deficits for ever, but – they were saying – **the day of judgment** would be far away.

This newspaper article, belonging to the genre of news reporting, focuses on the reasons developing countries have decided to export capital to rich countries such as America even though they may make a better use of it at home. One such reason is that America is perceived as a beacon of financial stability and financial crisis could be years away as is stated above. In this example, the English idiom *the day of reckoning* (= *the time when people are forced to deal with an unpleasant situation which they have avoided until now*) has been translated using its similar counterpart in Greek, namely *η ημέρα της κρίσης* (= *the day of judgment*). In other words, the TL idiom is identical to the SL idiom in syntactic, semantic and pragmatic terms and in this case the strategy of congruence has been employed. What is worth noting here is the insertion of the adverb *ασφαλώς* (= *certainly*) and the addition of the verb *υποστήριζαν* (= *they argued*) which indicate direct presentation of opinions and are meant to strengthen the argumentative force of the target discourse. In particular, Sidiropoulou has observed that “there is a strong tendency for the illocutionary force of authoritative utterances to be made explicit in the target text” (1999:76) which in effect raises “the degree of personal involvement of the authoritative source and contributes to the directness effect” that has been observed in English-Greek news translation (1999:77).

The second idiom is *have a clue* as is shown below:

ST2 “Now we **haven’t a clue**. This smacks of a complete lack of control.”

(“Dubai seeks a reprieve on its debts”, *The Economist*, 26.11.2009)

TT2 «Τώρα δεν έχουμε ιδέα και αυτό καταδεικνύει πλήρη απώλεια του ελέγχου».
(«Τον δρόμο της Θυσίας πορεύονται οι επενδυτές», *Η Καθημερινή*, 29.11.2009)

BT2 “Now **we do not have an idea** and this demonstrates a total loss of control”.

The newspaper article containing the above ST sentence is about Dubai’s efforts to convince its creditors to agree to a freezing of repayments until the 30th of May 2010. Even though Dubai’s ruler assured investors that the emirate would be able to meet its obligations, Dubai seems to have suffered further financial loss, thus severely compromising its financial credibility. In the paragraph where the sentence in question exists, the dismay of investors about the inability of the emirate’s government to pay its debts is mentioned and the paragraph concludes with the words of one sheikh in Sharjah who declares that they do not have a clue about what is going on in the market and as a result they have lost control.

In this SL sentence, the idiom *not have a clue* (= *you do not know anything about it or you have no idea what to do about it*) has been translated with the Greek idiom *δεν έχω ιδέα* (= *I do not have an idea*). The strategy used here is that of equivalence since the SL idiom has been translated with a similar TL idiom. Pragmatically speaking, there is a coherence change, that is, a change in the arrangement of information in the text, which is realized syntactically by a sentence structure change. In other words, there is insertion of the clause *και αυτό καταδεικνύει πλήρη απώλεια του ελέγχου* (= *and this shows complete loss of control*) in the first sentence-unit. The effect of this strategic change is to produce one information unit by uniting the two SL sentences, namely *Now we haven’t a clue* and *This smacks of a complete lack of control* and to shift the emphasis onto the consequence of not having knowledge of the situation which is no other than losing control. In this case, the sentence boundaries were not retained but instead the translator decided to conjoin sentences. Shortness of SL sentence structure may be said to justify such conjoining but as Doherty (1992) argues there seems to be something specific about these sentences since

“informationally seen, the second short sentence serves to specify the first one” (1992:74). On these grounds, the translator decided to conjoin the two sentences with the conjunction *και* (= *and*), thus ending the sentence with the most relevant and important element, informationally speaking.

Of particular interest is the translation of the following idiom:

- ST3 Mr. Erdogan needs to **stick to his guns** and push through these changes.
 (“Restive colonels and generals”, *The Economist*, 18.6.2009)
- TT3 Ο Ερντογάν θα έπρεπε να κρατήσει τα όπλα που έχει στη διάθεσή του και να προωθήσει τις αλλαγές αυτές.
 («Στο εδώλιο ο στρατός για απόπειρα πραξικοπήματος», *Η Καθημερινή*, 5.7.2009)
- BT3 Erdogan should have **kept the guns** he has at his disposal and promote these changes.

In this newspaper article, the row between the army and the ruling Justice and Development (AK) Party is described. Disputes between the government and the army in Turkey are a frequent phenomenon and the article concludes that the army should be in compliance with Mr. Erdogan’s orders. In this example, the idiom *stick to my guns* (= *you refuse to change your decision or opinion about something, even though other people are trying to tell you that you are wrong*) has been translated as *κρατάω τα όπλα μου* (= *keep my guns*). In order to evaluate this idiom-strategy, one must refer to the co-text. In particular, this sentence appears just before the final one and is meant to conclude that Mr. Erdogan needs to make it clear to the army that it is they who take orders from him and not vice versa. Seen in this light, the Greek expression *κρατάω τα όπλα μου* (= *keep my guns*) is used metaphorically here and is meant to stress the fact that attacks on democracy will not be tolerated. Hence, the translator has used the strategy of equivalence and has translated this SL idiom with a similar metaphor that conveys the meaning of the idiom quite effectively.

The metaphorical element is also retained below:

- ST4 But nor is it strong enough to ride out the hurricane wrecking the world's car industry without help that GM, its own survival **hanging in the balance**, can no longer provide.
(“No Opel, no hope”, *The Economist*, 5.3.2009)
- TT4 Αλλά δεν είναι και αρκετά δυνατή για να αντέξει τη θύελλα που έχει συμπαρασύρει τον κλάδο της αυτοκινητοβιομηχανίας σε παγκόσμιο επίπεδο χωρίς τη βοήθεια της GM. Κι η τελευταία που παραπαίει και η ίδια δεν είναι σε θέση να συνεχίσει να προσφέρει βοήθεια.
(«Χωρίς την Opel δεν υπάρχει ελπίδα για την General Motors», *Η Καθημερινή*, 8.3.2009)
- BT4 But it is not strong enough to withstand the hurricane that has swept away the sector of the car industry on a worldwide level without the help of GM. And the last one which **is faltering** and itself is not in position to continue offering help.

The focus of this newspaper article is on the car industry, and in particular, General Motors. More analytically, General Motors in Europe, which includes Opel, is undergoing a severe financial crisis and is willing to surrender 50% of its stake in Opel in an effort to convince the German government to come up with a recovery plan for Opel. Throughout the article, the critical situation of both General Motors and Opel is stressed.

Now turning to the idiom *hang in the balance*, it can be seen that the CCDI does not differentiate between the two idioms *in the balance* and *hang in the balance* even though their meanings in this particular context tend to be different. To explain, *in the balance* means that ‘it is not clear what is going to happen’ whereas *hang in the balance* means that ‘something is in question or at risk’. In this particular example, the idiom has been translated with the verb *παραπαίω* (= *falter*). It should be pointed out that this verb has a strong metaphorical value and perhaps it has been preferred in order to show the clumsy attempts of GM to regain its balance. In this case, the strategy of equivalence has been employed and the SL idiom has been translated with a TL word that is used metaphorically. The preference for a single-word translation may indicate the translator’s effort to enhance readability of the text in question. This tendency on the part of the translator to make things easier for the reader is

signalled by the breaking of the original sentence into two. One thing that immediately catches our attention is the longer length of the Greek translation, which is realized syntactically by the separation of the two clauses and the production of two independent sentences. Syntactically speaking, this is a unit shift. These positional differences point to information-hierarchy differences between the two languages. In this particular example, the focus is on the second sentence where the fact that GM can no longer provide help because it is in a very bad financial state is stressed through the use of the phrase *και η ίδια* (= *and itself*). Moreover, the production of two TL sentences signals the translator's effort to keep the cognitive load for readers to a minimum by giving them two separate sentences that are more easily digestible. More specifically, cognitive load is associated with information-processing patterns in the working memory and suggests that our working memory capacity is limited. Given the fact that only a few discrete units of information can be retained in short-term memory, the translator has decided to provide the readers with two sentences instead of one that has a lot of informational load.

4.3.1.2 Idiom literalization

Apart from adherence of idiomatic meaning, literalization was also employed for translating cognitively-oriented idioms since there were three instances of idiom literalization. In fact, the idiom below has been translated non-metaphorically:

ST5 The G20 meeting offers it a chance to show **a change of heart**.
(“How China sees the world”, *The Economist*, 19.3.2009)

TT5 Η σύνοδος του G20 της προσφέρει μια ευκαιρία να δείξει αλλαγή διαθέσεων.
(«Αδυναμία και ισχύς για τη νέα Κίνα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 29.3.2009)

BT5 The G20 meeting offers it a chance to show **a change of dispositions**.

The ST article quoted above describes the rise of China over the past three decades and puts forward the claim that geopolitics is now a bipolar affair between China and America. In effect, the G20 meeting has as its goal to convince China to bolster the IMF's resources in order to save the countries that have been hit by the financial crisis. The idiom *a change of*

heart, which means that ‘their attitude towards something changes’, has been translated in Greek with the expression *αλλαγή διαθέσεων* (= *change of dispositions*), which could be argued captures the meaning of ‘heart’ in this context quite well. In this case, the SL idiom has been translated into a TL phrase, that is, the strategy of paraphrase has been used.

Similarly, the following idiom has literalized:

ST6 This appeared to be a **play for time**.
 (“Still defiant in Iran”, *The Economist*, 17.6.2009)

TT6 Πρόκειται, φυσικά, για τέχνασμα με στόχο να κερδηθεί πολύτιμος χρόνος.
 («Μετά τη νοθεία, η βία και τώρα αδιέξοδο», *Η Καθημερινή*, 21.6.2009)

BT6 It is, of course, a **ploy with aim to be gained valuable time**.

This article describes the social unrest that exists in Iran because of the presidential election. The two major opposition parties are those of Mr. Mousavi and Mr. Ahmadinejad respectively. In this sentence the idiomatic expression *play for time* (= *you try to delay doing or saying something definite until you have decided what is the best course of action to take*) has been rendered with the expression, *τέχνασμα με στόχο να κερδηθεί πολύτιμος χρόνος* (= *ploy with aim to be gained valuable time*). This is a clear case of expansion where we have an explicitness change. In other words, the translator adds components to the TT explicitly by elaborating on the meaning of the SL idiom. In fact, expansion is claimed to be an essential and effective strategy in press translation since as Davies (2006) argues it highlights “elements which are essential to a text’s message or effect, and which therefore need to be included at the translation even at the cost of elaboration” (2006:84). The concept of ‘ploy’ seems to be of immense importance in the TT since it is used as a lead before the first paragraph. So it is only natural for the translator to want to emphasize the exact nature of the ploy and its consequences, which are to gain valuable time. The insertion of the adjective *πολύτιμος* (= *valuable*) foreshadows the importance of the ploy and the addition of the phrase *φυσικά* (= *of course*) strengthens the argumentative force of the sentence and is meant to prepare the reader for the explication to come next.

Another idiom which was rendered non-metaphorically in the target version is *rule of thumb*:

- ST7 The popular **rule of thumb** for a recession is two consecutive quarters of falling GDP.
(“Diagnosing depression”, *The Economist*, 30.12.2008)
- TT7 Σύμφωνα με μια ευρέως διαδεδομένη εκδοχή, βρισκόμαστε σε περίοδο ύφεσης, όταν το ΑΕΠ παρουσιάζει πτώση επί δύο συνεχή τρίμηνα.
(«Η κρίση απαιτεί δημοσιονομική χαλάρωση», *Η Καθημερινή*, 4.1.2009)
- BT7 According to a widely spread **version**, we are at a period of recession, when the GDP is falling for two consecutive quarters.

The topic of the above-quoted newspaper article is the description of the difference between recession and depression and the different policies that need to be adopted by the respective economies suffering in order to cope with either recession or depression. In this case, the SL idiom *rule of thumb*, which refers to ‘a general rule about something which you can be confident will be right in most cases’ has been translated with the word *εκδοχή* (= *version*). In more detail, the translation strategy of reduction has been employed and the SL idiom has been turned into a TL word. It could be argued that the translator does not opt for the equivalent expression, *γενικός κανόνας* (= *general rule*) since it would sound odd and incomplete (general rule of what?) but chooses the word *version* in order to indicate that both the terms recession and depression are not so easily defined concepts and that differences between them are not so clear cut. In fact, the journalist of *The Economist* states that “before the 1930s all economic downturns were commonly called depressions” and that recession was a term coined in order to avoid bad memories. Two paragraphs down, it is also stated that depressions like recessions can be mild or severe. Hence, pragmatically speaking, the choice of the word *version*, points to the subjective aspect of these two concepts.

4.3.1.3 Idiom deletion

In the corpus examined, I have come across two instances of idiom deletion. Firstly, there were cases where the whole sentence, where the idiom was included, was omitted and there were also cases where there was idiom deletion within the sentence. It should be clarified that there is a big difference between deletion of an idiom and deletion of a sentence or other larger portion of text. A sentence/portion of text being deleted says nothing about the translation of idioms, unless it is obvious that it has been deleted because of the idiom. Most of the idiom deletion in the corpus examined appears to be a by-product of sentence/portion of text deletion as shown below:

ST8 But reserve holdings in some emerging markets have gone way beyond levels suggested by prudential **rules of thumb**—enough to pay for three months of imports, say, or to cover short-term foreign-currency debt.
 (“When a flow becomes a flood”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

TT8 -

In this example, the whole sentence has been omitted in the TT. In order to account for such omission, we need to have a more global view of the ST. The journalist cites in detail the research of three academics aiming to prove that emerging economies are immature and as a result cannot keep up with the pace of economic growth. In fact, the ST journalist spends four paragraphs elaborating on their research. On the other hand, the translator of the TT omits all four paragraphs. This strategy of omission which is a fairly common practice in the press news (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009:8), may be justified by virtue of the fact that press translation is characterized by the imperative of quickness (Bani, 2006) which does not only allude to the tight deadlines for completing a translation but also to the fact that reading newspapers is a light and quick activity (Bani, 2006:37). Given this, Greek readers do not need to be bothered by superfluous information concerning the research of USA-based academics on reserve holdings in some emerging markets. On the contrary, they want to read the gist of the article. Hence, in this case omission is an effective strategy because it ensures both speed and readability. In fact, Davies (2006) argues that omission is “a necessary and effective strategy” for there are certain elements that hinder communication and must be omitted (2006:84).

The below idiom has also been omitted:

ST9 That **fence-sitting group** has grown, though 60 votes are still needed to ensure passage of a bill.

(“Let's agree to agree”, *The Economist*, 19.11.2009)

TT9 -

This newspaper article concentrates on the Copenhagen climate conference that took place in November 2009 and concludes that no agreement on a new treaty is going to be reached at the conference, partly because of the American senators who could not pass the bill quickly and partly because of the complexity of matters that were debatable. Just before the final paragraph of the SL text, there is analytical information about the number of Senators who are in favour of the climate bill and those who are against it. Furthermore, mention is made of 27 Senators who hold a neutral position, that is, the fence-sitting group. It should be noted that the whole paragraph has been omitted in the TT, probably because the translator has estimated that it refers to information that has to do with the American political system and is of no concern to the Greek readers. In other words, the translator wants to make life easier for the reader by eliminating unnecessary information that does not add up to the meaning of the text.

Apart from complete omission of the sentence in which the idiom is included, there were also instances of idiom deletion within the target sentence that was translated. The aim of the present study is to focus on these cases of idiom deletion and try to uncover possible reasons behind such deletions. To explain, in the example below there is an instance of idiom deletion where the information provided by the idiom is implied by the preceding text:

ST10 With all these considerations **in the balance**, it is no wonder that Mr. Obama has moved cautiously on Iran.

(“A Persian puzzle”, *The Economist*, 24.2.2009)

TT10 Με δεδομένα όλα αυτά, δεν είναι άξιο απορίας το γιατί ο Ομπάμα χειρίζεται με τόσες επιφυλάξεις το θέμα της Τεχεράνης.

(«Με αργά βήματα ο διπλωματικός χορός Ουάσιγκτον-Τεχεράνης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 1.3.2009)

BT10 **Given all that**, it is not worth wondering why Mr. Obama handles with so many reservations the Teheran issue.

In this article, the factors that Obama must take into consideration when approaching Iran are discussed. Certain political and economic facts that complicate the situation are outlined and it is concluded that Mr. Obama must move cautiously on Iran. In the sentence in question, the idiom *in the balance* (= *it is not clear what is going to happen*) has not been translated and the phrase *Με δεδομένα όλα αυτά* (= *given all that*) has been used instead. By using this phrase, the translator refers anaphorically to negative elements that Obama should take into account in his attempt to engage with Iran. In more detail, the previous sentence refers to the fact that Iran has enough nuclear material for a nuclear bomb and reads as follows: *Διαθέτει αρκετή για την κατασκευή πυρηνικής βόμβας, αν και το υλικό χρειάζεται περισσότερο εμπλουτισμό* (= *It has enough for a nuclear bomb, though that material would yet require much more enrichment*). So it could be argued that the phrase *Με δεδομένα όλα αυτά* (= *given all that*) refers to negative facts that have been previously mentioned and make the diplomatic dance between Iran and America even more delicate. Hence, this phrase functions as a cohesive device aimed at boosting the coherence of the text. As Hoey (1991:8) argues “the text provides the context for the creation and interpretation of lexical relations, just as the lexical relations help create the texture of the text” (cited in Baker, 1992:206). Hence, the translator employs the strategy of deletion, thus supporting the claim that the translator is not preoccupied with isolated phenomena “but with tracing a web of relationships, the importance of individual items being determined by their relevance and function in the text” (Snell-Hornby, 1988:69).

In conclusion, it can be seen that there were four instances of idiom adherence, three of literalization and three of deletion.

4.3.2 The translation of affectively-oriented idioms

Affectively-oriented idioms mainly draw on the emotional side of the individual and depict basic emotions such as love, hate, anger, happiness, frustration and sadness.

4.3.2.1 Idiom deletion

The most frequent translation strategy of the eleven affectively-oriented idioms found in the corpus examined was deletion. In particular, there were seven instances of idiom deletion; four instances of idiom deletion as a by-product of sentence omission and three idiom deletions within the TT sentence. Again, the focus is on the idioms that are omitted within the target sentence as can be seen below:

- ST11 Introducing stem cells into a body is a bit like transplanting an organ: the recipient's immune system might **throw a wobbly** and try to destroy the intruder. ("Can I serve you now?", *The Economist*, 29.1.2009)
- TT11 Εισάγοντας βλαστοκύτταρα είναι σαν να εμφυτεύεται ένα όργανο: το ανοσοποιητικό σύστημα θα προσπαθήσει να καταστρέψει τον εισβολέα. («Η έρευνα των βλαστοκυττάρων και τα διλήμματα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 1.3.2009)
- BT11 Introducing stem cells is like transplanting an organ: the immune system will try to destroy the intruder.

In this article the potential of human embryonic stem cells is explored and the advantages and disadvantages of stem cell therapy are discussed. One of the disadvantages is outlined above and the idiom *throw a wobbly* which refers to someone's losing their temper in a noisy, uncontrolled and childish way, often about something unimportant, is used to describe the reaction of the recipient's immune system. This information is omitted in the target text on the basis of the fact that it is unnecessary and emphasis is placed on the end-result, which is the destruction of the intruder. The strategy of omission is a frequent type of textual intervention in news translation because as Bielsa and Bassnet (2009) observe information that is redundant because it is already known by the target readers or information that is too complicated and detailed for the specific readers is eliminated (2009:64). What is worth noting here is the translation of 'might' which expresses an objective (scientific) probability. This is what the immune system tends to do, but not every time.

The strategy of idiom deletion is also evident below:

- ST12 Even if Hollywood is **in the dumps** (see article), it still boasts an unequalled array of sunrise industries and the most agile venture-capital industry on the planet; there is no prospect of the likes of Google decamping from Mountain View for Austin, though many start-ups have.
(“America's future”, *The Economist*, 9.7.2009)
- TT12 Δεύτερον, διότι δεν αποδίδει να στοιχηματίζει κανείς κατά της Καλιφόρνιας – έδρας μιας σειράς από νέες βιομηχανίες παρά τω Χόλιγουντ και του πιο εύστροφου κλάδου venture capital στον πλανήτη – μιας πολιτείας που έχει την εξαιρετική ικανότητα να επανεφευρίσκει τον εαυτό της.
(«Η Καλιφόρνια μπορεί να διδαχθεί από το μοντέλο του Τέξας», *Η Καθημερινή*, 12.7.2009)
- BT12 Secondly, because it does not pay off to bet against California – the home base of a number of new industries along Hollywood and the most brilliant sector of venture-capital industry on the planet – a state that has the remarkable ability to reinvent itself.

In this article a comparison of the two states, namely California and Texas, is made. It is argued that California has severe financial problems whereas Texas has coped well with the recession. The article closes on a positive note by outlining the good things about California. In fact, the above paragraph, which appears just before the last one, concentrates on the reasons why California should not adopt the Texas model. In the ST, the reasons are elaborated on in two paragraphs and the second begins as follows: *Second, it has never paid to bet against a state with as many inventive people as California*. And then the sentence above comes next. Conversely, in the TT, the two reasons are mentioned in one paragraph in a more concise and clear way. As Davies (2006:85) argues, clarity should be the translator's priority. In this case, the translator has opted to focus on the mentioning of the two reasons why California should not adopt the Texas model and has very wisely omitted unnecessary information that has been previously mentioned. The bad financial state of California is explicitly analysed in the second paragraph of the ST. So, given limited time and space, there is no reason to repeat “given” information (in the sense of Halliday's distinction between given and new information).

Similarly, the below ST idiom is omitted in the TT:

ST13 Naturally, the foreign governments **biting their tongues** on the war are expected to pay for the camps and rebuilding the war-torn north.
(“Trading danger for captivity”, *The Economist*, 5.3.2009)

TT13 Η κυβέρνηση στο Κολόμπο περιμένει ότι οι δαπάνες ανοικοδόμησης θα βαρύνουν τη Δύση, καθώς τα αποθέματα συναλλάγματος της χώρας βρίσκονται σε πολύ χαμηλά επίπεδα και το ΔΝΤ μελετά αυστηρό πρόγραμμα οικονομικής ανάκαμψης.
(«Ανθρωπιστική κρίση τεραστίων διαστάσεων στη Σρι Λάνκα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 15.3.2009)

BT13 The government in Colombo expects that the reconstruction expenditures will burden the West, as the exchange stocks of the country are in very low levels and the IMF is studying a strict program of economic recovery.

In particular, the idiom *bite your tongue* (= *you do not say a particular thing, even though you want to or are expected to, because it would be the wrong thing to say in the circumstances, or because you are waiting for a more appropriate time to speak*), which features in the first sentence of the last paragraph of the ST, has not been transferred in the target version. Instead, the translator has opted to conjoin the two ST sentences, namely *Naturally, the foreign governments biting their tongues on the war are expected to pay for the camps and rebuilding the war-torn north* and *Sri Lanka's foreign reserves are running dangerously low, and an IMF bail-out is under discussion*, thus causing a sentence structure change. In fact, the translator uses the conjunction *καθώς* (= *as*), which could be interpreted as a causative conjunction bearing the meaning of *because*. This structural change also causes an information change since the focus is now shifted at the end of the TT sentence. This reason-giving tendency in Greek has also been observed by Sidiropoulou (1999:24) who maintains that translators make use of the strategy of explicitation at points of evaluation or estimation in press-news translation. According to her, the use of this strategy conforms to the denier discursual attitude of the Greek readers. In other words, Greeks take more easily the role of the contradicter or denier in comparison to English readers who are perceived to be more neutral (1999:18).

Apart from idiom deletion within the target sentence, there were also four instances of idiom deletion which are a by-product of sentence omission as can be seen below:

ST14 Banks, after all, blew up spectacularly despite being covered in **red tape**.

(“More than just repairs”, *The Economist*, 26.3.2009)

TT14 -

In this article, Tim Geithner’s plans to cleanse the financially-troubled banks are discussed. The above statement, which is made by Mr. Geithner, appears in the last paragraph of the ST. Conversely, this sentence is omitted in the TT probably because the focus is on the measures that will be taken in order to regulate America’s banks rather than on the exact words of America's treasury secretary. As Bielsa and Bassnett (2009:14) point out, unlike literary translation where shape and size of original are maintained, in news translation there is considerable editing that involves both synthesizing and cutting information. This seems to be the case here, where the sentence including the idiom *red tape* (= *official rules and procedures that seem unnecessary and cause delay*) is omitted.

The same goes for the below example as well:

ST15 And it has no intention of undoing the protectionist **red tape**, particularly in services, that does the most to hold back Japan’s economy.

(“New bosses”, *The Economist*, 3.9.2009)

TT15 -

This newspaper article discusses the effects that the change of government in Japan will have on business. In this paragraph, which appears before the last one, it is stated that the Democratic party of Japan is in favour of future reforms but is not willing to contend with Japan’s bureaucracy. In the TT this information is omitted and the focus is on what the new government is willing to do rather than what it has no intention of doing. In fact, there is radical re-editing of the ST since the former comprises thirteen paragraphs whereas the latter contains only two large ones. In this case, the translator may be viewed as a re-creator (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009:58) whose main aim is to produce fast, reliable and easily-read translations by eliminating unnecessary information.

ST16 Britain's top financial policeman has endorsed a tax on transactions to **cut** the industry **down to size**, an idea that is Utopian and misguided.
 ("Unnatural selection", *The Economist*, 10.9.2009)

TT16 -

This article highlights the problems in the American and British banking industry. The ST article consists of fourteen paragraphs whereas the TT has only nine. In fact, the last four paragraphs of the ST have been omitted because the translator perhaps has judged that they contain unnecessary information. Consequently, the sentence that contains the idiom *cut down to size* (= *when they are behaving arrogantly, you do or say something which shows that they are less important or impressive than they think they are*) belonging to the first paragraph has been omitted as well. In fact, these four paragraphs make reference to previous bank regulations that were of no effect. So, given the fact that speed and readability are essential features of press translation, the translator prefers to give us the gist of the ST article, thus taking into consideration that extensive details about the previous regulations of American banks will be of no interest to the Greek target readership.

The same tendency is depicted below:

ST17 ALWAYS **look on the bright side** of life.
 ("Whistling in the dark", *The Economist*, 8.4.2009)

TT17 -

In this newspaper article, it is stated that even though America has started to recover from the severe financial crisis it has suffered, the danger of recession is still there. As a result, both economists and investigators are rather sceptical. In fact the ST article starts on a happy note by claiming that we should always *look on the bright side of life* (= *you try to be cheerful about a bad situation by concentrating on the few good things in it or by thinking about how it could have been even worse*). Conversely, in the TT this sentence is not translated and the translator prefers to start by giving us details of the unexpected rise of the S&P 500 index by 21%. In other words, the translator opts to provide their target readership with factual information and does not waste any space on sayings that are of limited relevance to the subject-topic of the article in question. Consequently, the translator is more keen to provide

the readers with actual facts regarding American financial markets since one of the major goals in the genre of press news reporting is to produce informative articles.

4.3.2.2 Idiom adherence

The second preferred translation strategy of affectively-oriented idioms was idiom adherence. In fact, there were four instances of maintaining the idiomatic/metaphoric meaning of the SL idiom in the TT. Such is the case in the below example:

ST18 Yet **a ray of sunshine** is breaking through the storm clouds.
(“Sea of troubles”, *The Economist*, 30.7.2009)

TT18 Διαφαίνεται, όμως, μια αχτίδα φωτός μέσα από τα σύννεφα.
(«Το 10% των πλοίων έδεσε τις άγκυρες», *Η Καθημερινή*, 9.8.2009)

BT18 It is discernible, though, **a ray of sunshine**, through the clouds.

In this article, the recession of the container shipping industry is described. In this example, the idiom *a ray of sunshine* (= *they make you feel better because there is something positive and refreshing about them*), has been translated with the identical Greek idiomatic expression, *μια αχτίδα φωτός* (= *a ray of sunshine*). It could be said that the TT idiomatic expression is equivalent at the syntactic, semantic, lexical and pragmatic level with the SL idiom and the translator has used the strategy of congruence.

The metaphorical element is also maintained below:

ST19 GM was **at its lowest ebb** when it decided to offload Opel/Vauxhall.
(“Magna force”, *The Economist*, 10.9.2009)

TT19 Η GM ήταν στα χειρότερα της όταν τον Ιούνιο αποφάσισε να πωλήσει την ευρωπαϊκή της θυγατρική Opel/ Vauxhall στη Magna.
(«Τέλος εποχής για την κραταιά αυτοκινητοβιομηχανία General Motors», *Η Καθημερινή*, 13.9.2009)

BT19 GM was **at its worst** when in June it decided to sell its European subsidiary Opel/ Vauxhall to Magna.

In this article, the process of selling GM’s Opel/Vauxhall to a Canadian car-parts firm named Magna is described. In fact, it is stated that GM has suffered severe financial losses and is forced to sell Opel/Vauxhall. In this example, the SL idiom *at the lowest ebb* (= *they are very*

depressed or unsuccessful) is meant to stress that GM was in such a bad situation that its decision to sell Opel/Vauxhall was inevitable. In the TT this idiom is transferred by using a similar metaphor *είμαι στα χειρότερά μου* (= *I am at my worst*). In this case, the strategy of equivalence has been used. Moreover, the time reference *June* and the company reference *Magna* are meant to serve as explication devices further clarifying when and to whom GM will sell Opel/Vauxhall.

A metaphorical expression is also employed for the translation of the following idiom:

ST20 Equities take less time **to reach rock bottom** but lose more than half of their value by the time they get there.
(“Drastic times”, *The Economist*, 8.1.2009)

TT20 Οι μετοχές χρειάζονται λιγότερο χρόνο να αγγίζουν το κατώτατο σημείο, αλλά από τη στιγμή που θα φθάσουν σε αυτό, έχουν ήδη απολέσει το ήμισυ της αξίας τους.
(«Η γνώση των παλαιότερων οικονομικών κρίσεων προσφέρει λίγη αισιοδοξία για την τρέχουσα» *Η Καθημερινή*, 11.1.2009)

BT20 Shares need less time **to touch the lowest point**, but by the time they get to it, they have already lost half of their value.

In this article, the main topic is America’s financial crisis. In particular, Kenneth Rogoff of Harvard University outlines the results of his new research which are rather frustrating. The paragraph where the sentence in question exists mentions the main results of this research. The sentence above appears at the end of the paragraph and makes reference to what happens with equities, by using the idiom *rock bottom*. In particular, the idiom *to reach rock bottom*, which refers to ‘something which is at an extremely low level and cannot go any lower’, has been translated as *να αγγίζουν το κατώτατο σημείο* (= *to touch the lowest point*). In this case, the translator has used the strategy of equivalence and has translated the SL idiom using a similar TL metaphor.

The metaphorical element is also preserved below:

ST21 In 2008 emerging stockmarkets fell by more than those in the rich world, and financial woes forced countries such as Hungary, Latvia and Pakistan to go **cap in hand** to the IMF.
(“Stumble or fall?”, *The Economist*, 8.1.2009)

TT21 Το 2008, τα χρηματιστήρια των αναδυόμενων χωρών υποχώρησαν περισσότερο από εκείνα του πλούσιου κόσμου, ενώ τα χρηματοοικονομικά δεινά ανάγκασαν χώρες όπως η Ουγγαρία, η Λεττονία και το Πακιστάν να καταφύγουν με απλωμένο το χέρι στο Διεθνές Νομισματικό Ταμείο.
(«Η κρίση έπληξε μακροπρόθεσμα και τις προοπτικές των αναδυόμενων οικονομιών», *Η Καθημερινή*, 11.1.2009)

BT21 In 2008, the stockmarkets of the emerging countries fell more than those of the rich world, whereas the financial woes forced countries such as Hungary, Latvia and Pakistan **to resort with an open hand** to the International Monetary Fund.

The topic of this article is the financial crisis that has hit emerging economies alongside developed ones. In this case, the idiom, *cap in hand*, which is used to refer to ‘someone who asks very humbly and respectfully for money or help’, is translated with a similar metaphorical expression *να καταφύγουν με απλωμένο χέρι* (= *to resort with an open hand*). In this case, the translation strategy of equivalence has been used. Through this strategy the personification of the countries is maintained and there is insertion of the body part *hand* that is intended to make the metaphorical expression more vivid. After all, the word *hand* exists in the SL idiom. It is also worth noting that whereas in the ST the acronym IMF is used, in the TT *International Monetary Fund* is spelled in full. This is in line with the tendency for explicitation that has been observed in Greek news reporting (Sidiropoulou, 1999:22). Moreover, the contrast-creating tendency evident in the genre of Greek news reporting is realized in this example by the use of the adversative conjunction *ενώ* (= *whereas*) in the target version.

4.3.2.3 Idiom literalization

Literalization was the least preferred translation strategy of affectively-oriented idioms since there was only one case of idiom literalization. It should be noted that the abovementioned idiom has not maintained its idiomatic meaning in the below context:

ST22 Hungary has already had to go **cap in hand** to the IMF for a loan.
(“Domino theory”, *The Economist*, 26.2.2009)

TT22 Η Ουγγαρία ήδη έχει αναγκαστεί να καταφύγει στη βοήθεια του ΔΝΤ.
(«Ντόμινο κατάρρευσης απειλεί τις αναδυόμενες οικονομίες», *Η Καθημερινή*, 1.3.2009)

BT22 Hungary has already been forced **to resort to the help** of the IMF.

More specifically, the translator has used the strategy of paraphrase and has translated the idiom in question with the phrase *να καταφύγει στη βοήθεια* (= *to resort to the help*). In this case, the translator has opted to paraphrase the idiom in question. As has been noted by Sidiropoulou (1999:83), the neutralization of metaphorical expressions in favour of simplicity and informativity is a fairly common device employed by the translators. Alternatively, it could be argued that the paraphrase of the idiom may have to do with the context of the sentence. In other words, this is a very small sentence where a fact is presented, namely that Hungary has resorted to seeking the help of the IMF. Contrariwise, in example 21, the SL sentence is lengthier. In more detail, in the first part of the sentence an explanation is provided as to why these countries had to go cap in hand to the IMF, and in addition to that, there is a dramatic effect that is realized by the use of the verb *force* that makes the image of the metaphor more prominent. This need for metaphor maintenance is not signalled in example 22 since the information that Hungary has resorted to seeking the help of the IMF is considered given information.

4.3.2.4 Transediting

Of particular interest are two instances of affectively-oriented idioms that served as headings:

ST23 **In knots** over nationalization (heading)
(“In knots over nationalization”, *The Economist* 26.2.2009)

TT23 Η κρατική παρέμβαση πρέπει να γίνει σωστά
(«Η κρατική παρέμβαση πρέπει να γίνει σωστά», *Η Καθημερινή*, 1.3.2009)

BT23 The national intervention **must be done correctly**

In this newspaper article, focus is placed on the state control of some American banks and it is stressed that such control must be done the right way. In fact the lead below the heading goes as follows, *State control of some banks is sadly unavoidable. Don't run away from it; focus on doing it well*. In light of this, I tend to believe that here the TT is not a translation of the title but an alternative heading based on the translator's interpretation of the lead. In other words, the translator has used the strategy of transediting and drawing from the clause *focus on doing it well* has come up with a heading where emphasis is placed not on the confusion that exists over nationalization but on the fact that it must be done and it must also be done the right way. In this respect, the TT heading could be argued to have a framing function since it serves as a preamble that explains the article's main theme. On closer inspection of the TT heading, it can be seen that the modal *πρέπει* (= *must*) changes the illocutionary force of the title by making this a 'demand' of some kind, that is, an order. This is in line with Sidiropoulou's findings about the illocutionary force of headlines in the English-Greek news reporting context. In fact, she cites (1999:15) the example of the source headline version “What are they Waiting For?” (Time, 6.4.1992) which was transferred as «Χρειαζόμαστε βοήθεια τώρα!»... (BT: We need help now!) (Η Καθημερινή, 12.4.1992) where the illocutionary force of a petition is turned into a demand for help in the TT because according to Sidiropoulou (1999:15) this is how a communicative response by the target readers is going to be ensured.

Also worthy of attention is the following idiom headline where the strategy of transediting has been used again:

ST24 **Talking Turkey**
 (“Talking Turkey”, *The Economist*, 8.4.2009)

TT24 Μήνυμα με πολλούς αποδέκτες
 («Μήνυμα με πολλούς αποδέκτες», *Η Καθημερινή*, 12.4.2009)

BT24 **Message with many recipients**

In this newspaper article, the view of Mr. Obama that Turkey should enter the EU is presented along with the reservations of the European leaders to go along with such view. More specifically, in the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary of Idioms* (2002) the meaning of the idiom *talk turkey* in the example above is *discuss something in a frank and serious way*. This is a pun using the idiom for an article about Turkey, the country, so it could be argued that the capital T in Turkey is a deliberate play on words. This pun however, does not exist in the TT since it seems that the translator has abandoned any attempt to translate the heading and instead has opted for an explanatory title. The explanatory force of the Greek heading is reinforced by the lead just below the heading which reads as follows: *Από την Τουρκία ο Αμερικανός πρόεδρος απευθύνθηκε τόσο στην Ευρώπη όσο και στο Ισλάμ* (BT: From Turkey, the American president addressed to Europe as well as to Islam). So the phrase *πολλούς αποδέκτες* (= *many recipients*) is meant to refer to both Europe and Islam. These findings seem to boost Sidiropoulou’s claim (1995) that there is a tendency to transfer more information in the target version of political articles’ headlines as opposed to medical and economic articles’ headlines which exhibit a tendency for “less and almost equal respectively amount of information with reference to the source headline versions” (1995:298).

In conclusion, it can be seen that there were four instances of idiom adherence and seven of idiom deletion. Moreover, there was one instance of literalization and two cases of transediting.

4.4 The translation of outward idioms

This section focuses on exploring the translation strategies employed in outward idioms. Outward idioms have been described as idioms focusing on the external side of human beings and reflecting on their social behaviour. These are further subdivided into *general outward idioms* and *business idioms*. The following subsection focuses on the former.

4.4.1 The translation of general outward idioms

General outward idioms reflect the individual's social dimension and are mainly used for describing various aspects of one's social behaviour. Language users employ such idioms in a variety of interactional situations in order to depict both positive and negative experiences they have of the external world as well as to describe aspects of their relationships with other people.

4.4.1.1 Idiom deletion

In the corpus in question there were twenty-one instances of idiom deletion which makes this the most popular translation strategy for dealing with the thirty-six general outward idioms encountered in the data. In fact, there were nineteen cases of idiom deletion which were a by-product of sentence deletion as is outlined below:

- ST25 For a start, Mr. Obama's special representative for North Korea, Stephen Bosworth, is a proponent of engagement over confrontation as the means to **draw** the country **out of its shell**.
 ("Making a splash", *The Economist*, 8.4.2009)
 TT25 -

This newspaper article deals with the launch of North Korea's three-stage rocket and the reactions of the United States, South Korea and Japan. This is a rather long article that comprises twenty-one paragraphs whereas the TT consists of ten paragraphs. The sentence above is in the paragraph that talks about Mr. Obama's stance towards North Korea. It is clearly stated that the American president is against the confrontational approach adopted by his predecessor George Bush and in favour of dialogue. The sentence above which comes next is meant to elaborate on U.S. politics by saying that Mr. Obama's special representative for North Korea, Stephen Bosworth, is also a proponent of this engagement policy. In the target

version, this sentence is omitted because it is highly unlikely that Greek readers are familiar with this particular person. After all, it has previously been shown that in English-Greek press translation there is a tendency to omit specific names in the target version (Sidiropoulou, 1999:74). This illustrates a difference in the level of generalization allowed in the ST and the TT which tends to be lowered in the target version since there seems to be limited interest for detailed attribution of statements (Sidiropoulou, 1999:75).

The strategy of deletion is also favoured below:

ST26 On May 28th the Security Council was due to meet **behind closed doors** to discuss a possible new resolution on North Korea.
 (“On mushroom cloud two”, *The Economist*, 28.5.2009)

TT26 -

In this article, which again deals with North Korea’s nuclear test, this sentence, which is in the last paragraph of the ST, is omitted in the TT. In more detail, in the ST there are fourteen paragraphs that elaborate on the actions of the North Korean dictator, Kim Jong II, whereas in the TT there are only six paragraphs that in effect summarize the dictator’s actions as well as the reactions of China and the UN Security Council. Summarizing seems to be one of the most frequent processes that underpin the interlingual transfer of news items in the Greek press.

This tendency is also evident below:

ST27 Indeed, the new pontiff was known to be sceptical of the value of that inter-religious dialogue **dear to the heart** of his predecessor.
 (“A chapter of accidents”, *The Economist*, 14.5.2009)

TT27 -

This article is a feature on the Pope Benedict XVI’s tour to the Holy Land and the relationship of the Catholic Church with the Muslim world. This is a very long article consisting of 29 paragraphs whereas the TT comprises only ten. In particular, the TT article focuses only on the pontiff’s tour to Jordan and Israel and closes with a small paragraph that refers to the past of the then Pope. The sentence that contains the idiom *dear to the heart*

(= *something is very important to you and you are concerned about it or interested in it*)
 belonging to the fourteenth paragraph of the ST has been omitted.

The next two ST sentences have also been omitted in the TT:

ST28 He carries “a great big **olive branch**, or maybe a bag of Stay Puft marshmallows”
 to toast around the bonfire while singing “kumbaya”.
 (“Reinforcing failure?”, *The Economist*, 24.9.2009)

TT28 -

ST29 Nor, after the warlike Bush years, are all Americans as scandalised as Mr.
 Huckabee by the sight of a president brandishing **an olive branch**.
 (“Reinforcing failure?”, *The Economist*, 24.9.2009)

TT29 -

The war in Afghanistan is the main topic of this article and, in particular, it describes how Mr. Obama has decided to change his politics and scale down the war that he once had declared as necessary. Again, we have a shorter target version that consists of eight paragraphs and is mainly concerned with transferring the “message” of the ST. On closer inspection of the first sentence that has been omitted in the TT, it can be seen that there are two specific cultural elements, *Stay Puft marshmallows* and *kumbaya*, that the Greek target readership is unlikely to be familiar with. Hence, it is decided to omit the whole sentence. Moreover, Mr. Obama’s change of politics as far as the war in Afghanistan is concerned, is signalled from the beginning of the article in example 29 so there is no need to mention it again in the TT.

In the next article, the efforts of Mr. Obama to reform America’s troubled health system are mentioned:

ST30 Mr. Obama voiced theoretical support for the idea, but by also supporting other
 options—including, crucially, the idea that such a plan could be triggered only if
 necessary later—he has, in effect, dealt it **a death blow**.
 (“Fired up and ready to go”, *The Economist*, 10.9.2009)

TT30 -

In terms of size, the target version is slightly smaller than the source version, with the former consisting of 11 and the latter 13 paragraphs, so there is no radical cutting in this TT article. In fact, the ST paragraph that contains the sentence above is transferred in the target version and it is only this particular sentence that is omitted. This may be partly explained by the fact that the TT is primarily concerned with stressing the positive aspects of this health-reform bill and Mr. Obama's actions in this area. In this ST sentence, however, an unfortunate saying of the president is stressed and the sentence concludes that the efforts to create a new health system may be abandoned. This, if transferred to the TT, it will send mixed messages and may make things complicated. So this is an instance of omission where elements contained in the ST are not included in the target version, for reasons of simplification (Davies, 2006:84).

An instance of omission is also observed below:

ST31 “WE HAVE a long **track record** of pulling together when times are tough”.
 (“Unnatural selection”, *The Economist*, 10.9.2009)
 TT31 -

This is the first sentence of the first paragraph of the ST article that talks about America's banking system. Specifically, these are the words of the boss of Lehman Brothers that seem to have gone unnoticed in the TT which starts by reporting facts about America's economy after the crash in 1929. This preference for factual events over quotes from people, whose names will, in all probability, not be known by the Greek target readership is justified by the fact that in the English-Greek press translation there is selective presentation of information and a tendency for omission of names of informed opinion sources in the target version (Sidiropoulou, 1999:74-76).

The next article focuses on the attacks of the Taliban in northern Pakistan:

ST32 And the army is to **keep its nose out of politics**.
 (“Tackling the other Taliban”, *The Economist*, 15.10.2009)
 TT32 -

In more detail, the ST describes two types of Taliban, those who are militants of the Meshud tribes and the Mullah Omar Taliban. On the other hand, the TT refers only to the first type of Taliban. Hence, this ST sentence containing the idiom *keep its nose out of something* (= *they are telling you rather rudely not to interfere in it, because it does not concern you*) and referring to the second type of Taliban is omitted in the target version. I guess, overloading readers with too much information on a topic that is not of immediate concern to them does not pay off since readers may be deterred from reading such a disproportionately large article. This seems to be the case in the below example as well:

ST33 But at least that means that the several committees that **get a crack at** the bill will be allowed to get on with their work.
 (“Let's agree to agree”, *The Economist*, 19.11.2009)

TT33 -

The main conclusion of this article is that there is not going to be any climate agreement between America and China at the Copenhagen climate conference and this is stressed in the ST paragraph where this sentence occurs. In the target version this inability to reach an agreement is clearly transferred whereas the aforementioned sentence, which refers to the committees that will be allowed to get on with their job, may be perceived as not such important information and is thus omitted.

In the next article, Mr. Obama's diplomacy is being questioned since it is claimed that he is someone that can be pushed around.

ST34 His guest this week, Manmohan Singh, India's prime minister, may well have moaned about Mr Obama's **kid-glove handling** of China.
 (“The quiet American”, *The Economist*, 26.11.2009)

TT34 -

Before the abovementioned sentence there is a more generic statement as to the President's attitude, which the author implies seems to be friendlier to America's rivals than to its friends. Then, the example of the kid-glove treatment of China is given and it is mentioned that this might have annoyed India's prime minister. However, this kind of detail seems to be of limited importance to the Greek target readership. Hence, it is omitted.

The strategy of deletion is also adopted below:

ST35 Both report that more countries are **paying lip-service to** religious freedom, but in reality it is being systematically undermined, often by courts and local officials; across the world, “there are advances in theory, but impediments in practice,” says the commission’s vice-chairman, Elizabeth Prodromou. (“Too many chains”, *The Economist*, 17.12.2009)

TT35 -

The subject of this article is religious liberty and it is stated that there are a lot of obstacles that have to be overcome so that people all over the world are not oppressed because of their religious beliefs. In fact, to support this statement the ST article mentions in detail a report conducted by the Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. Conversely, the TT dedicates only one paragraph to this report and summarizes its main findings. Hence, the abovementioned sentence that belongs to the analytic part of the report is omitted. The journalist-translator has wisely chosen to minimize the cognitive load put on the Greek target readership.

The same goes for the next example:

ST36 The IMF might have to be prepared to offer funds more quickly and **with fewer strings**.

(“When a flow becomes a flood”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

TT36 -

As was previously stated, this is a very long ST article that has been broken into three different TT articles in order to be made more reader-friendly. The last four paragraphs of the ST under the lead *It's good to talk* have been omitted, and consequently, this sentence belonging to the second paragraph has been omitted too. The effect is to foreground three main facts of the ST article: (a) greed and incompetence are believed to be the main reasons for the financial crisis, (b) better coordination of governments is required in order to deal with such crisis and (c) the only prediction that was not verified was the collapse of the dollar, and this may have been the translator’s intention. Hence, the titles of the three TTs that allude to these three facts.

The same applies for the below example:

ST37 Because it has not had to resort to government aid in America, which comes **with** many **strings attached**, Ford still has some freedom of manoeuvre.
(“No Opel, no hope”, *The Economist*, 5.3.2009)

TT37 -

Since the primary subject of this article is the European arm of General Motors, namely Opel, this sentence that makes reference to Ford is omitted. In fact, the whole paragraph referring to Ford is omitted.

The next sentence is also omitted in the TT:

ST38 August is proving to be a particularly bloody month, with the urban poor and rural dwellers **taking the brunt** of earlier attacks.
(“Blasted, again”, *The Economist*, 19.8.2009)

TT38 -

This article discusses bombs in Bagdad. In the fifth paragraph where the sentence in question exists, the fears of Iraqis that political violence will worsen and that a more general fighting may restart, are expressed. The information conveyed in the sentence above that August has been a bloody month for Baghdad is deleted and this may be linked to the tendency to use statistics as a preamble to the main points in articles, especially articles referring to conflict zones. As will be shown in the next example, other statistical information is excluded. This may be an attempt to reframe the body count perspective of ST articles.

The following sentence is also omitted:

ST39 Construction activity **plumbed** new **depths**.
(“Combating the recession”, *The Economist*, 8.1.2009)

TT39 -

In this article, the topic of discussion centres around the decision of the Bank of England to cut interest rates to 1.5%. In the second paragraph, where the sentence in question exists, it is mentioned that this cut was made because of certain surveys that were carried out and showed the extent of the recession. In the ST paragraph, there is analytical mentioning of certain areas, such as manufacturing and construction, that have suffered severe losses. Such information is omitted in the TT since it is considered to be very detailed, statistical information that is of no immediate interest to the Greek target readership.

Apart from omitting paragraphs, there is also a tendency to convert two paragraphs into one as is the case with the following example. In more detail, in this article the main topic is the advantages that some American banks would have if there was state control. The sentence below, which contains two idiomatic expressions, has been omitted in the TT:

ST40 An **arm's-length** bank management board would both keep the interferers at bay, and also require the public sector to bear the consequences of its meddling on the bank's performance.

("In knots over nationalisation", *The Economist*, 26.2.2009)

TT40 -

ST41 An arm's-length bank management board would both **keep** the interferers **at bay**, and also require the public sector to bear the consequences of its meddling on the bank's performance.

("In knots over nationalisation", *The Economist*, 26.2.2009)

TT41 -

On closer inspection of the TT, it can be seen that the translator has subsumed the two ST paragraphs into one TT paragraph by giving us a summary of the main points of each. This sentence that appears just before the final one of the last paragraph is omitted and emphasis is placed on the scale and scope of public ownership of the banks in the Greek target text.

The below idiom is also omitted:

ST42 America seems to have **thrown its weight behind** the emerging world on this issue.

(“Money, votes and politics”, *The Economist*, 7.10.2009)

TT42 -

In this article, the politics of the World Bank and the IMF are discussed and their battles over money and politics are described. The ST article consists of nine paragraphs. Contrariwise, there has been cutting and synthesizing in the TT article, which amounts to five paragraphs. The sentence above, where the idiom *throw one's weight behind* is included, belongs to the four omitted paragraphs which contain information about Axel Webel, the chairman of the Bundesbank and Germany's governor, and Eswar Prasad, a former IMF official. These names are, in all probability, not known to the Greek target readership. Hence, the translator does not want to draw the readers' attention to relatively unimportant details or use up their processing effort.

Similarly, the below idiom has not been transferred in the TT:

ST43 The DPJ promises to rebuild the budget-making process **from scratch**, going through programmes line by line.

(“The vote that changed Japan”, *The Economist*, 3.9.2009)

TT43 -

This article discusses Japan's elections and the plans of the winning party, which is the democratic one. The paragraph which includes the sentence in question is dealing with bureaucracy and the delicate balance that it has to strike between motivating and punishing bureaucrats. This sentence, which refers to the budget-making process, is not directly related to the topic of bureaucracy. Hence, it is omitted.

Apart from complete omission of the sentence in which the idiom is included, there were also two instances of idiom deletion within the target sentence that was translated as shown below:

- ST44 One senator with his **nose out of joint** is Joe Lieberman of Connecticut who is now officially an independent but who still caucuses with the Democrats.
(“A public row”, *The Economist*, 29.10.2009)
- TT44 Χαρακτηριστικό είναι το παράδειγμα του Τζο Λίμπερμαν, ανεξάρτητου γερουσιαστή, ο οποίος συνήθως ψηφίζει με την πλευρά των Δημοκρατικών.
(«Δημόσια αντιπαράθεση για την Υγεία», *Η Καθημερινή*, 1.11.2009)
- BT44 **Characteristic is the example** of Joe Lieberman, an independent senator, who usually votes with the side of the Democrats.

The topic of the above-quoted article is the controversies that the proposal for a new American health-care system has caused. In the paragraph before the one where the abovementioned sentence exists, it is stated that Mr. Obama would like to pass this health reform without resorting to budget reconciliation. In the target version, this sentence is translated and after that we have the addition of another sentence by the translator which does not exist in the ST: *Κάτι τέτοιο όμως θα προκαλέσει θύελλα αντιδράσεων* (= *something like that however will cause a storm of reactions*). Hence, the impression is that ‘one senator with his nose out of joint’ refers back to this sentence. So it seems a reasonable choice by the translator to say *Χαρακτηριστικό είναι το παράδειγμα* (= *Characteristic is the example*). In that case, a reason for not translating the idiom would be that its meaning is already implied in the co-text.

Similarly, the below idiom is omitted:

- ST45 But, again, proceedings are likely to be abandoned before the full procedure, involving as many as three trials, has **run its course**.
(“Justice can be ever so inconvenient”, *The Economist*, 8.10.2009)
- TT45 Και σε αυτήν την περίπτωση, όμως, η δίκη κινδυνεύει με ναυάγιο, εξαιτίας παραγραφής των αδικημάτων.
(«Η δικαστική εξουσία (και πάλι) κατά Σίλβιο Μπερλουσκόνι», *Η Καθημερινή*, 11.10.2009)
- BT45 And in this occasion, however, the trial is in danger of being shipwrecked because of the writing off of offenses.

This article describes Silvio Berlusconi's troubles with the law. The immunity law that the prime minister had passed was judged unconstitutional and now he is faced with two trials. In the first, he is charged with bribery and in the second with tax evasion. In both cases, it is stated that the prime minister has escaped conviction because in the first case the charges were dropped and in the second proceedings are also likely to be abandoned. In the TT, emphasis is placed on the end-result, namely that the trial is in danger of being shipwrecked. The fact that the full procedure involves three trials which are unlikely to run their course may be considered to be parenthetical information of limited importance to the target readership and is thus omitted.

4.4.1.2 Idiom adherence

In contrast to the previous section's examples, in the following twelve sentences we are provided with a translation of the ST idiom where the idiomatic/metaphorical element is maintained in the TT. In fact, the two previously-mentioned idioms, namely *throw its weight behind* (example 42) and *run its course* (example 45) have preserved their idiomatic/metaphorical meanings in the following contexts:

ST46 Given this interpretation, it is not surprising that the IMF has **thrown its weight** strongly **behind** an enormous increase in the scale and scope of financial regulation in a series of papers leading up to the G20 meetings.
(“What went wrong”, *The Economist*, 6.3.2009)

TT46 Δεδομένης της εξήγησης αυτής, ήταν αναμενόμενο να ρίξει το ΔΝΤ το βάρος κυρίως στην επιβολή αυστηρότερων ρυθμίσεων και στη διεύρυνση της εφαρμογής των ρυθμίσεων αυτών.
(«Το ελλειπές θεσμικό πλαίσιο είναι ο κύριος ένοχος της κρίσης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 8.3.2009)

BT46 Given this explanation, it was expected for IMF **to throw its weight** mainly on the enforcement of stricter regulations and on the expansion of the application of these regulations.

This article seeks to determine the causes of the financial crisis. In doing so, it claims that the IMF blames inadequate regulation as the root of evil. The abovementioned sentence which comes after the mentioning of inadequate regulation as the primary reason for causing the crisis, stresses the action taken by the IMF to fix that. In particular, the idiomatic phrase *to throw your weight behind something* (= *you do everything you can to support them or it*) has been translated with the metaphorical expression *να ρίξει το βάρος* (= *to throw the weight*). In this case, the translator has adopted the strategy of equivalence, thus translating the SL idiom with a similar TL metaphor. What should be noted here is that in the target version the phrase *in a series of papers leading up to the G20 meetings* is omitted and emphasis is placed on the measures taken by the IMF. This omission could be justified by virtue of the fact that the translator may not wish to overload the Greek target readership with extra processing effort (Sidiropoulou, 1999:13).

The below SL idiom is translated by a similar TL metaphor:

- ST47 All epidemics **run their course**.
 (“Turning the screw some more”, *The Economist*, 24.11.2009)
- TT47 Όλες οι επιδημίες ακολουθούν μια πορεία.
 («Το έιτζ έχει αρχίσει να υποχωρεί. Τα αντιικά φάρμακα καθίστανται προσβάσιμα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 29.11.2009)
- BT47 All epidemics **follow a course**.

This is the starting sentence of an article that talks about AIDS. It can be seen that the idiom *run its course*, meaning that ‘something develops gradually and comes to a natural end of its own accord’, has been translated with the metaphor *ακολουθώ μια πορεία* (= *follow a course*). In this case, the strategy of equivalence has been employed. What is worth commenting on here is that in the ST the word *course* is preceded by the possessive adjective *their* whereas in the TT the indefinite article *a* is used instead. This may be justified by way of the fact that in the TT this sentence serves as a generic statement which is exemplified by the sentence which follows. More specifically, the translator could have chosen the metaphorical expression *ακολουθούν την πορεία τους* but this might not have been appropriate given the specific co-text. To explain, this is meant to be a generic statement that is

particularized in the next sentence which reads as follows: Το *έιτζ* δεν θα αποτελέσει εξαίρεση (= *AIDS will be no exception*). Hence, the first sentence of this target-text article serves as introduction to the the topic and since this is a medical article, the translator decides to retain the formality of register by avoiding possessive adjectives that might give a more personal and less formal tone to the target text in question.

In the next example, the ST idiom has been translated with an identical TT idiom:

ST48 That's **the tip of the iceberg**.

(“There was a lawyer, an engineer and a politician...”, *The Economist*, 16.4.2009)

TT48 Αυτή είναι μόνο η κορυφή του παγόβουνου.

(«Ο νομικός, ο μηχανικός και οι δύο πρόεδροι», *Η Καθημερινή*, 26.4.2009)

BT48 This is only **the tip of the iceberg**.

In this article, there is discussion about the professions of the lawyer, the engineer and the politician. In the sentence where the idiom in question exists, it is stated that America's ruling elite seems to consist of lawyers. In fact, the idiom *the tip of the iceberg* (= *it is part of a very large problem or a very serious situation, although the rest may not be obvious or fully known about*) has been translated with the identical Greek idiomatic expression *η κορυφή του παγόβουνου* (= *the tip of the iceberg*). In this case, the translator has employed the strategy of congruence. It is worth mentioning that in the target version the word *μόνο* (= *only*) has been added before the Greek idiomatic expression probably to stress the fact that this is only a minor part of a much bigger problem. It has been shown that the use of intensifying modifications is a rather frequent phenomenon in Greek press news translation. According to Sidiropoulou (1999:51) such devices of intensification serve to add an evaluative element to the target text. More importantly, they create a dramatic effect which results in a different conceptualization of social reality. In other words, it has been argued that Greeks enjoy a stronger oppositional view of the world (Sidiropoulou, 1999:51).

The same idiom-translation strategy has been employed below:

ST49 But this week Harry Reid, the leader of the Senate Democrats and an ardent fan of the proposal, **dropped a bombshell**.
 (“A public row”, *The Economist*, 29.10.2009)

TT49 Τη μεγάλη βόμβα άλλωστε την είχε ρίξει ο ηγέτης των Δημοκρατικών στη Γερουσία, Χάρι Ρίντ, ο οποίος μετέβαλε την προηγούμενη στάση του και δήλωσε ότι το νομοσχέδιο που θα τεθεί προς ψήφιση στην ολομέλεια του σώματος τις επόμενες εβδομάδες θα περιέχει πιθανότατα και κρατικό ασφαλιστικό φορέα.
 («Δημόσια αντιπαράθεση για την υγεία», *Η Καθημερινή*, 1.11.2009)

BT49 **The big bomb** besides **it had dropped** the leader of the Democrats in the Senate, Harry Reid, who changed his former position and declared that the bill which will be submitted for a vote in the full Senate the next weeks will probably include and a public insurance sector.

In this article, the controversies that the proposal for a new, American health-care system has caused, are discussed. In particular, the idiom *drop a bombshell* (= *they suddenly give you a piece of bad news which you were not expecting*) has been translated by using the identical Greek idiom *ρίχνω βόμβα* (= *drop a bombshell*) as shown above. It should be noted here that the idioms are similar at the pragmatic and sociocultural level, but at the lexical level, it is worth noting that in the Greek idiom the adjective *big* has been added, probably for reasons of emphasis. This example is another instance of the use of an intensifying device that is meant to create a dramatic effect. Furthermore, the phrase *this week* which indicates time has been omitted in the TT. This tendency for elimination of temporal specifications has been observed in the Greek news reporting genre (Sidiropoulou, 1994:82) and may be justified by virtue of the fact that such information may be deemed to be of marginal importance to the target readership and may involve further processing effort from the part of the readers. Moreover, as Sidiropoulou (1999) has observed this tendency to avoid accuracy in time specification signals the interpersonal involvement between the translator and the readers “as opposed to a more transactional involvement observed in source version situations” (1999:51).

Moreover, there is a difference in the theme-rheme organization of the sentence in the English and the Greek version. Theme, for Halliday, is the “point of departure; it is that with which the clause is concerned” (Halliday, 1994:37). Theme is viewed as a universal element in the sense that every language has identification means for ascertaining what the clause is about. Rheme is “the part of the clause where the theme is developed” (Halliday, 1994:37). Theme, which is usually associated with given information, comes first whereas rheme, which has to do with new information, comes second. In this particular sentence, the phrase *the big bomb* has been thematized, thus placing emphasis on this particular feature and allowing the translator to better organize the message to be transferred to the target readership through this clause change. Such fronting of the theme is licensed, grammatically speaking, by the fact that Modern Greek has a free word order and allows for the object to be fronted in order for it to be emphasized.

The strategy of congruence is also employed below:

ST50 The late Deng Xiaoping gave warning, in the wake of the collapse of European communism, that China should **keep a low profile** in world affairs and bide its time.
(“China takes centre stage”, *The Economist*, 31.3.2009)

TT50 Ο εκλιπών Ντενγκ Χσιαοπίνγκ είχε προειδοποιήσει τις παραμονές της κατάρρευσης του ευρωπαϊκού κομμουνισμού ότι η Κίνα θα πρέπει να τηρήσει χαμηλό προφίλ στις παγκόσμιες υποθέσεις και να περιμένει να έρθει η δική της σειρά.
(«Κίνα, ο σημαντικότερος δυνάμει δανειστής της Δύσης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 5.4.2009)

BT50 The late Deng Xiaoping had warned, on the eve of the collapse of European communism, that China should **keep a low profile** in world affairs and wait for its turn to come.

In more detail, in this article the potential of China taking centre stage in worldwide developments is explored. Given the rapid economic growth of the country, it is asserted that it could help global financial recovery. In this sentence the idiomatic expression *keep a low profile* refers to ‘people who avoid doing things that will make other people notice them’ and has been translated with the identical Greek idiom *τηρώ χαμηλό προφίλ* (= *keep a low profile*), thus exhibiting syntactic, semantic and pragmatic conformity with the ST idiom. Lexically speaking, it should be mentioned that the translator could have used the verb

κρατάω (= *hold*) instead of τηρήσω (= *keep*) but it seems that the translator has opted for a word-for-word translation or, to use Chesterman's words (1997:94), literal translation.

The strategy of congruence is also used below:

ST51 It looks like **a vicious circle**.
 ("People's parties without the people", *The Economist*, 6.8.2009)

TT51 Η κατάσταση είναι φαύλος κύκλος.
 («Η παρακμή του δικομματισμού «τρομάζει» τους Γερμανούς», *Η Καθημερινή*, 9.8.2009)

BT51 The situation is a **vicious circle**.

In this article, the decline of the two major political parties in Germany is described. In the paragraph where the sentence in question exists, it is stated that the parties' combined membership has dropped dramatically. One reason for this is that the young have other interests and feel that they will not get any help from the political parties. Instead, they have to fight for themselves. Inevitably, this leads to a vicious circle. Specifically, the idiom *a vicious circle* (= *how one problem has caused other problems which, in turn, have made the original problem even worse*) has been translated with the equivalent Greek idiomatic expression *φαύλος κύκλος* (= *vicious circle*). What is worth noting here is the tentativeness expressed in the ST by the use of the phrase *it looks like* as opposed to the certainty conveyed in the TT, which is achieved through the use of the expression *the situation is*. In this way, the argumentative force of the target discourse is strengthened. After all, "one goal in the news reporting business is making the story or argument as convincing as possible" (Sidiropoulou, 1999:70).

Conversely, the translator has employed the strategy of equivalence in translating the below idiom:

ST52 At the G20 summit in London on Thursday April 2nd, China's President Hu Jintao sees a chance for his country to **take centre stage**.
(“China takes centre stage”, *The Economist*, 31.3.2009)

TT52 Η σύνοδος του G20 στο Λονδίνο ήταν μια ευκαιρία για τον Κινέζο προέδρο, Χου Ζιντάο, να θέσει τη χώρα του στο επίκεντρο του παγκόσμιου ενδιαφέροντος.
(«Κίνα, ο σημαντικότερος δυνάμει δανειστής της Δύσης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 5.4.2009)

BT52 The G20 summit in London was a chance for the Chinese president, Hu Jintao, **to put** his country **in the centre** of global interest.

In this case, the idiom *take centre stage* (= *they become the most significant or noticeable person or item in a situation*) is rendered with a similar metaphorical expression, *θέτω στο επίκεντρο* (= *put in the centre*). It is worth noting that this metaphorical expression is further explained by the insertion of the phrase *of global interest*. This reveals an explication tendency on the part of the translator which is achieved through the incorporation into the translation of material which is not present in the ST, thus resulting in an information change. According to Davies (2006:85), clarity and precision should be among the translator's priorities. Hence, on this particular occasion, the translator has judged it necessary to explain that China is going to be in the spotlight of global interest.

The same idiom translation-strategy has been employed below:

ST53 In fairness, **these are early days** in his presidency, and stabilising the economy needs to be his priority.
(“Brave rhetoric, grim reality”, *The Economist*, 26.2.2009)

TT53 Για να είμαστε δίκαιοι, είναι οι πρώτες ημέρες της προεδρίας του και πρέπει να θέσει σε προτεραιότητα τη σταθεροποίηση της οικονομίας.
(«Ο φιλόδοξος προϋπολογισμός του Μπαράκ Ομπάμα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 1.3.2009)

BT53 To be fair, **these are the first days** of his presidency and he must put in priority the stabilization of economy.

In this article, which deals with Mr. Obama's financial plans, the English idiomatic expression *it's early days*, meaning that 'it is too soon to be sure about what will happen in the future', has been translated with a similar metaphorical expression *είναι οι πρώτες μέρες* (= *these are the first days*), where the adjective *first* has been used in place of *early* exhibiting the same meaning. Two things are worth noting here; the interactional attitude adopted by the translator in respect of their target readership which is revealed by the use of the expression *για να είμαστε δίκαιοι* (= to be fair - 1st. pl.) and the difference in the theme-rheme organization of the second clause of the SL and TL sentences. Specifically, in the SL sentence *the stabilization of economy* is thematized by being fronted whereas in the target version the hierarchy of informational structure (given information first, new information last) is maintained. According to Sidiropoulou (1999), the varying thematization patterns reflect differences in the theme-rheme organization of the English and Greek sentences, thus highlighting cross-cultural differences (1999:21).

In the next article, which centres on the life of Sir Harold "Harry" Evans, the idiom in question has been translated with a metaphorical expression of similar meaning as can be seen below:

ST54 But he happily admits to **playing second fiddle** to his much younger and nowadays more famous second wife, Tina Brown.
(“A golden age”, *The Economist*, 17.9.2009)

TT54 Παραδέχεται όμως χαρούμενα ότι δέχτηκε να κάνει σεγκόντο στην πολύ νεότερη και σήμερα πολύ διασημότερη δεύτερη σύζυγό του, την Τίνα Μπράουν.
(«Ηλθε και παρήλθε η χρυσή εποχή της δημοσιογραφίας;» *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.10.2009)

BT54 He admits however happily that he accepted **to do secondo** (the second part of a piano duet) to his much younger and today much more famous second wife, Tina Brown.

In more detail, the idiomatic expression *to play second fiddle*, which means that 'you have to accept that you are less important than they are and do not have the same status, even though you may resent this', has been rendered with the metaphorical expression *κάνω σεγκόντο* (= *to do secondo* meaning *to do the second part of a piano duet*), thus drawing the imagery used to convey meaning from the field of music probably been influenced by the word *fiddle* in the ST. In this case, the strategy of equivalence has been used. It should also be mentioned

that the Greek translator has misspelled the word *secondo* in Greek and has written *σεγκόντο* instead of *σεκόντο*.

The metaphorical element is also apparent below:

ST55 That sort of money may put a brake on the global industrial collapse, but it will not set the world economy **on course for** a sustainable recovery.
(“Accelerating downhill”, *The Economist*, 15.1.2009)

TT55 Τα χρήματα αυτά ενδέχεται να λειτουργήσουν σαν φρένο στην κατάρρευση της παγκόσμιας βιομηχανίας, αλλά και πάλι δεν πρόκειται να δρομολογήσουν την ανάκαμψη της παγκόσμιας οικονομίας.
(«Η ραγδαία πτώση της βιομηχανικής παραγωγής οδηγεί σε κλιμάκωση της ύφεσης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 18.1.2009)

BT55 This money may work as a brake to the collapse of global industry, but and again, it is not going to **put on the road** the recovery of global economy.

In this article, the poor situation of the global financial system is described along with the actions that have to be taken by each country in order to achieve recovery. This sentence, which appears in the last paragraph, makes reference to the \$800 billion package of tax cuts and spending that may stall global industrial collapse but will not result in the recovery of the world’s economy. In particular, the idiom *on course for*, which refers to something ‘that you are likely to achieve’, has been translated with the verb *να δρομολογήσουν* (= *to put on the road to*), which is a metaphorical expression in this context, since the word *δρόμος* (= *road*) is used metaphorically here. Hence, in this example the strategy of equivalence has been used. Also worth noting is the contrast-creating tendency in the TT evident in the use of the adversative conjunction *αλλά* (= *but*) and the phrase *και πάλι* (= *and again*).

In the following example, the metaphorical element is preserved in the TT:

ST56 Those who do reach Vavuniya's teeming refugee camps are **in for the long haul**.
(“Trading danger for captivity”, *The Economist*, 5.3.2009)

TT56 Οι πρόσφυγες που φθάνουν στον καταυλισμό της Βαβουνίγια, στον βορρά της χώρας, γνωρίζουν ότι θα χρειασθούν μεγάλα αποθέματα υπομονής.
(«Ανθρωπιστική κρίση, τεραστίων διαστάσεων στη Σρι Λάνκα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 15.3.2009)

BT56 The refugees that arrive at Vavuniya camp, in the north of the country, know that **they will need big stocks of patience**.

In this article, the focus is on the war in Sri Lanka and the terrible conditions that prevail in the refugee camps. More specifically, the idiom *in something for the long haul*, which bears the meaning ‘a task or action which will be very difficult to deal with and will need a great deal of effort and time’, has been translated with the metaphorical expression *θα χρειασθούν μεγάλα αποθέματα υπομονής* (= *they will need big stocks of patience*). In this case, the translator has employed the strategy of equivalence since the phrase *αποθέματα υπομονής* (= *stocks of patience*) is used metaphorically here to denote that a great deal of time and effort is required on the part of the refugees. It is also worth noting that the addition of the phrase *στον βορρά της χώρας* (= *in the north of the country*) further explicitates the exact whereabouts of the refugee camp of Vavuniya.

The metaphorical element of the below SL idiom is also preserved in the TT:

- ST57 Take trade: the global economy would benefit from a trade-liberalising Doha deal, but as unemployment rises governments will have their work cut out just to **keep** protectionism **at bay**.
(“Not so fast”, *The Economist*, 13.11.2009)
- TT57 Στο εμπόριο, π. χ. η παγκόσμια οικονομία θα επωφελούνταν από μια συμφωνία για την απελευθέρωση του εμπορίου. Με την αύξηση της ανεργίας, οι κυβερνήσεις θα πρέπει να φροντίσουν να μην υποπέσουν σε προστατευτισμό.
(«Ο κινεζικός δράκος θα οδηγήσει την οικονομική ανάκαμψη το 2010», *Η Καθημερινή*, 22.11.2009)
- BT57 In trade, for example, the global economy would benefit from a deal for trade-liberalization. With the rise of unemployment, governments will have to take care **not to fall under** protectionism.

This article discusses how China’s financial boom will help other economies recover. The sentence in question appears in the second-to-last paragraph in the ST and is meant to draw the attention of the West’s policymakers to two issues, namely trade and public spending. In this case, the idiom *hold something at bay*, which means ‘to keep something from attacking you or affecting you in some other way’ has been translated with a different metaphorical expression, namely *να μην υποπέσουν* (= *not to fall under*) and the strategy of correspondence has been used. What is also worth commenting on is the length of the ST sentence and that of the TT. It can be seen that the TT has been broken down into two sentences and this contrast-creating tendency which is evident from the use of the conjunction *but* in the ST is no longer maintained in the target version. By eliminating ‘but’ and ‘just’ the translator has changed the message. The implication of the ST is that a trade-liberalizing deal is doubtful because of unemployment and that the most one can hope for is not to revert to protectionism. The first sentence of the TT simply says that trade-liberalization is desirable, and the second sentence that protectionism should be resisted. It does not, however, imply the negative outcome that the original does.

4.4.1.3 Idiom literalization

Literalization is the third preferred strategy for the translation of general outward idioms. As can be seen below, the metaphoricity of the following nine SL idioms is not maintained in the target version:

- ST58 Take trade: the global economy would benefit from a trade-liberalising Doha deal, but as unemployment rises governments **will have their work cut out** just to keep protectionism at bay.
(“Not so fast”, *The Economist*, 13.11.2009)
- TT58 Στο εμπόριο, π. χ. η παγκόσμια οικονομία θα επωφελούνταν από μια συμφωνία για την απελευθέρωση του εμπορίου. Με την αύξηση της ανεργίας, οι κυβερνήσεις θα πρέπει να φροντίσουν να μην υποπέσουν σε προστατευτισμό.
(«Ο κινεζικός δράκος θα οδηγήσει την οικονομική ανάκαμψη το 2010», *Η Καθημερινή*, 22.11.2009)
- BT58 In trade, for example, the global economy would benefit from a deal for trade-liberalisation. With the rise of unemployment governments **should take care** not to fall under protectionism.

The central topic of this article is the global economy in 2010. In the second-to-last paragraph, where the sentence in question appears, the measures that policy makers in the West should take in order for the situation not to further disintegrate are mentioned. One of the provisions that governments should make is to keep protectionism at bay. This measure is articulated through the use of the idiom *have your work cut out*, which means ‘that they have a very big problem to deal with, and they will not find it easy to do’. This idiom has been translated non-idiomatically and the TL phrase *θα πρέπει να φροντίσουν* (= *should take care*) has been employed to transfer its meaning in the TT. In other words, the strategy of paraphrase has been employed here. Of particular interest here is the phrase *θα πρέπει* (= *will have to*) which makes this a ‘demand’ of some kind, thus changing the illocutionary force of the statement into an obligatory action.

Paraphrase is also the preferred idiom-translation strategy employed below:

ST59 Much to the chagrin of China's online leftists, Mr. Wen has repeatedly **sung the praises of** Adam Smith in speeches and meetings with journalists.
(“A time for muscle-flexing”, *The Economist*, 19.3.2009)

TT59 Δυσανεστώντας τους αριστερούς του πολιτικού βίου της χώρας, ο πρωθυπουργός της χώρας, Γουέν Τζιαμπάο, έχει κάνει πολλές αναφορές στον φιλελεύθερο Άνταμ Σμιθ, είτε στο πλαίσιο ομιλιών, είτε σε συναντήσεις με ομολόγους του.
(««Ιστορική ευκαιρία» για τον ασιατικό γίγαντα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 22.3.2009)

BT59 Displeasing the leftists of the political life of the country, the Prime Minister of the country, Wen Jiabao, **has made many mentions** to the liberal Adam Smith, either in the framework of his speeches, or in the meetings with his counterparts.

To explain, the idiom *sing the praises of someone*, which bears the meaning ‘praising them in an enthusiastic way’, has been translated with the phrase *έχει κάνει πολλές αναφορές* (= *has made many mentions*). In this case, the translator uses a generalisation technique and coherence is established on the basis of background knowledge (concerning Adam Smith's legacy) and the use of *φιλελεύθερου* (= *liberal*) as a qualifying adjective that explains the opposition here. Alternatively, the translator could have used the equivalent Greek idiomatic expression *πλέκω το εγκώμιο κάποιου* (= *knit the praises of someone* which means *praise someone in an enthusiastic way*), thus achieving formality of register since this is considered a formal fixed expression.

The following idiom has also been paraphrased in the TT:

ST60 But since the charges were dropped after the passage of the immunity law, the prosecution will have to start **from scratch**. It will probably be timed out by a statute of limitations before a verdict is reached.
(“Justice can be ever so inconvenient”, *The Economist*, 8.10.2009)

TT60 Καθώς, όμως, οι κατηγορίες απορρίφθηκαν μετά την ψήφιση του νόμου ασυλίας, η εισαγγελία πρέπει να αρχίσει τη δουλειά της από την αρχή, ενώ τα αδικήματα πρόκειται να παραγραφούν πριν από την έκδοση απόφασης από το δικαστήριο.
(«Η δικαστική εξουσία (και πάλι) κατά Σίλβιο Μπερλουσκόνι», *Η Καθημερινή*, 11.10.2009)

BT60 But since the charges were dropped after the passage of the immunity law, the prosecution must start its work **from the beginning**, whereas the offences are about to be statute-barred before the judgment of the court.

In this case, the ST idiom *from scratch* meaning that ‘you create something completely new’ has been translated with the phrase *από την αρχή* (= *from scratch*). The translator has used the strategy of paraphrase here. On closer inspection of the TL sentence, it can be seen that it is considerably lengthier than that of the SL since the two SL sentences are conjoined. Informationally viewed, the explanatory relevance of both sentences is equally high and their conjoinment with the conjunction *ενώ* (= *whereas*) is a further indication of the contrast-creating tendency in the Greek news reporting genre. This conjoining of sentences may also be justified by the fact that in the ST the two charges are mentioned in one paragraph whereas in the TT the translator dedicates two paragraphs to the description of the two charges. Since this adversative clause is the final sentence of the ST, it makes sense for the translator to conjoin them into a more concise sentence and move on to the next paragraph to explain the second charge. As Bielsa and Bassnett (2009:69) argue, “conciseness is emphasized in order to maximize informative content”.

In the following example, the strategy of antonymic translation has been used:

ST61 Not impossible, but **a pretty tall order**.
(“Unstable atom” *The Economist*, 18.6.2009)

TT61 Δεν είναι ακατόρθωτο, αλλά εν μέσω κρίσης σίγουρα δεν είναι και εύκολο.
(«Ενας Σουηδός αριστοκράτης στο τιμόνι της Saab», *Η Καθημερινή*, 21.6.2009)

BT61 It is not impossible, but in the middle of a crisis, certainly **it is** not and **easy**.

The main topic of this article is Koenigsegg’s acquisition of Saab from General Motors. In the final paragraph, where the sentence in question appears, it is stated that Koenigsegg will have to increase Saab sales and achieve 50,000 more sales than the 93,000 produced last year. As stated in the sentence above, this is not impossible but it is rather difficult. In fact, the idiom *a tall order*, referring to ‘a task that is going to be very difficult’ has been translated with the paraphrase *δεν είναι εύκολο* (= *it is not easy*). In this case, the translator has decided to use the strategy of antonymic translation or overlexicalization. The use of this particular strategy could be partly explained by the fact that the translator wishes to minimize the degree of difficulty of such action. The pragmatic aspect of this idiom translation is

evident here since in the ST the degree of difficulty is made explicit whereas in the TT this is something that is implicit and has to be inferred by the Greek target readership. It could be argued that the use of litotes/antonymic translation renders the translator's voice more visible and the register of the ST is compensated for by using an alternative rhetorical device.

The strategy of expansion is used below:

ST62 A riot in Riga, in which more than 40 people (including 14 police officers) were hurt and 106 arrested, suggests there is **a bumpy ride** ahead.
(“To the barricades”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

TT62 Οι ταραχές στην πρωτεύουσα Ρίγα στη διάρκεια των οποίων τραυματίστηκαν 40 άτομα, συμπεριλαμβανομένων και 14 αστυνομικών, και συνελήφθησαν 106, αφήνουν να εννοηθεί ότι θα πρέπει να αναμένονται ακόμη περισσότερες εκδηλώσεις διαμαρτυρίας στο άμεσο μέλλον.
(«Στα χαρακώματα οι οικονομίες της Ανατολικής Ευρώπης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.1.2009)

BT62 The riots in the capital Riga during which 40 people were injured, including 14 police officers, and 106 were arrested, lead us to infer that **even more demonstrations of protest are expected** in the near future.

The main topic of this article is Latvia's tragic economic state and its dramatic rescue by the IMF. In the first paragraph, where the sentence in question exists, it is mentioned that the tough political conditions imposed by the bailout may not be tolerated by the people of Latvia. Indicative of this political turbulence is the number of people who have been injured and killed during the protests, as mentioned in the sentence above. Specifically, the idiom *a bumpy ride* (= *they are likely to have a lot of problems and that it will be very difficult for them to achieve something*) is translated with the phrase *αναμένονται ακόμη περισσότερες εκδηλώσεις διαμαρτυρίας* (= *even more demonstrations of protest are expected*). In this case, the translator has used the strategy of expansion and has elaborated on the ST idiom by saying explicitly that problems in this case have to do with demonstrations of protest.

The same idiom-translation strategy is used below:

ST63 It is often argued that emerging Asian economies have large current-account surpluses—and are thus not **pulling their fair weight** in the world—because consumers like to save rather than spend.
(“Shopaholics wanted”, *The Economist*, 25.6.2009)

TT63 Ένα επιχείρημα που «βαραίνει» το προφίλ των αναδυόμενων αγορών στην Ασία είναι ότι έχουν μεγάλα πλεονάσματα τρέχουσων συναλλαγών. Κατά συνέπεια, δεν μοιράζονται ευθύνες ανάλογες με τον υπόλοιπο κόσμο, δηλαδή οι καταναλωτές δεν ξοδεύουν τα ίδια χρήματα με τους «ομογενείς» τους στη Δύση.
(«Η κατανάλωση είναι η αχίλλειος πτέρνα της Ασίας», *Η Καθημερινή*, 28.6.2009)

BT63 An argument which “burdens” the profile of the emerging markets in Asia is that they have big surpluses of current transactions. Consequently, they **do not share responsibilities similar with the rest of the world**, that is, their consumers do not spend the same amount of money as their “expatriates” in the West.

In this article, the spending patterns of emerging Asian economies are explored. In the paragraph which begins with the abovementioned sentence, two opposing facts are described. On the one hand, consumer spending has increased, but on the other, consumption has fallen. On closer inspection of the sentence in question, it can be seen that the idiomatic expression *pull your weight* (= *they work as hard as everyone else who is involved in the same task or activity*), has been translated with the phrase *δεν μοιράζονται ευθύνες ανάλογες με τον υπόλοιπο κόσμο* (= *they do not share similar responsibilities with the rest of the world*), thus expanding on the meaning of the ST idiom. This tendency of expansion is also evident in the separation of the SL sentence into two TL sentences. In particular, the second sentence serves as an explanation of the first one and informationally speaking it is of greater importance. Furthermore, it is also worth noting here the reason-giving tendency of the translator which is revealed by the use of the expletive conjunction *δηλαδή* (= *because*). As has been previously stated this tendency normally occurs at points of evaluation or estimation in the news reporting genre and is indicative of the positive politeness preferences of the ST producers and the “denier” attitude of the TT receivers (Sidiropoulou, 1999:24).

In the next article, the topic is the optimism that exists in financial markets because the pace of global decline has been reduced. Nevertheless, governments should not sleep quietly since the global financial crisis is not over yet. This message is conveyed in the last paragraph of the article, where the below sentence can be found:

ST64 Amid rising confidence, they will be tempted to **pat themselves on the back**.
 (“A glimmer of hope?”, *The Economist*, 23.4.2009)

TT64 Η ανάκαμψη της εμπιστοσύνης θα τους δώσει λόγους για να συγχαρούν ο ένας τον άλλον με ένα χτύπημα στην πλάτη.
 («Υπάρχει βελτίωση αλλά ας μην εφησυχάζουμε, είναι επικίνδυνο»,
Η Καθημερινή, 26.4.2009)

BT64 The recovery of trust will give them reasons **to congratulate one another with a pat on the back**.

With respect to the idiom *pat someone on the back* meaning ‘you congratulate them or show your appreciation for something they have done’, it can be seen that it has been translated by the phrase *να συγχαρούν ο ένας τον άλλον με ένα χτύπημα στην πλάτη* (= *to congratulate one another with a pat on the back*). The strategy of expansion has been used here in order to further reinforce the action of congratulating by providing Greek readers with an expression that very much resembles the metaphorical connotations of the ST idiom.

Conversely, the following idiom is translated with one word:

ST65 The governor also **crossed swords** with the chancellor on whether more fundamental changes were needed. He said that banks thought to be too big to fail are too big.
 (“Turf wars in black tie”, *The Economist*, 18.6.2009)

TT65 Επίσης, διαφώνησε με τον υπουργό Οικονομικών σχετικά με το αν χρειάζονται πιο θεμελιώδεις αλλαγές, υποστηρίζοντας ότι είναι πράγματι υπερβολικά μεγάλες όσες τράπεζες θεωρούνται «υπερβολικά μεγάλες για να πτωχεύσουν».
 («Διάσταση απόψεων στη Βρετανία», *Η Καθημερινή*, 21.6. 2009)

BT65 Also, he **disagreed** with the Chancellor of the Exchequer about whether more fundamental changes are needed, claiming that they are indeed extremely big these banks which are considered “too big to go bankrupt”.

This article discusses the bank reforming efforts that need to be made in Britain and the disagreement between the governor and the chancellor as to the nature of the changes that need to be made. In this sentence, the idiomatic expression *cross swords* (= *you disagree and argue with them or oppose them*) has been translated non-metaphorically with the word *διαφωνώ* (= *disagree*). Instead, the translator could have used the equivalent Greek idiom which is frequently used in press news, namely *διασταυρώνω τα ξίφη μου* (= *cross my swords*). But I think that the choice of the translator to use the strategy of reduction is justified by the length of the target sentence. In other words, the translator has opted to conjoin the two SL sentences, thus providing a reason for the disagreement of the governor with the chancellor. In terms of informational hierarchy, the second sentence seems to specify the first and it is the most informationally-relevant clause. Given its considerable length, it might be the case that the translator opted for the word *διαφώνησε* (= *disagreed*) in order not to burden the target readers with any extra information-processing load.

The same tendency is observed below:

ST66 Harry Reid, the Senate majority leader, and Nancy Pelosi, the speaker of the House, are running this process; and they **have their work cut out**.
 (“But don't ask how much it costs”, *The Economist*, 15.10.2009)

TT66 Το σίγουρο είναι ότι τα προβλήματα παραμένουν.
 («Άλλο ένα «ναι» στην Υγεία», *Η Καθημερινή*, 18.10.2009)

BT66 It is for sure that **the problems remain**.

The main topic of this article is a health-care bill that has been passed by the American Senate. In the fifth paragraph, it is stated that the next step is to reconcile the two current Senate bills into a version which the Senate will soon vote. In the sixth paragraph, where the sentence in question exists, it is mentioned that Harry Reid and Nancy Pelosi are responsible for this process but they still have a lot of obstacles to face. In the TT version, the names of the people responsible for this process are omitted and it is only mentioned that there are a lot of problems with same. This is in line with Sidiropoulou's findings (1999:75) that specific names referred to in the source version are likely to be omitted in the TT. Moreover, the

idiom *have your work cut out* (= *face a difficult problem*) has been transferred in the TT with the phrase *τα προβλήματα παραμένουν* (= *the problems remain*). In this case, the translator has used the strategy of paraphrase and has translated the SL idiom with a TL phrase. What is worth noting is the addition of the phrase *το σίγουρο είναι* (= *it is for sure*) which serves as an evaluative comment meant to reinforce the interactional attitude adopted between the translator and the target readership.

4.4.1.4 Mistranslation

Sometimes mistranslations may occur in idiom translation as a result of faulty interpretation of the SL idiom. In the corpus examined, one instance of mistranslation of general outward idioms was found:

ST67 Out of **smoke and mirrors**, say some Western skeptics.
 (“An astonishing rebound”, *The Economist*, 13.8.2009)

TT67 Από τους καπνούς και τα θαύματα, λένε ορισμένοι Δυτικοί σκεπτικιστές.
 («Οι ασιατικές τίγρεις ανέκαμψαν πριν από τις δυτικές οικονομίες, διαψεύδοντας τις Κασσάνδρες», *Η Καθημερινή*, 23.8.2009)

BT67 From **smokes and miracles**, say some Western skeptics.

In this article, where the astonishing rebound of Asian economies is described, the question of how this can be done is raised. The answer is the sentence above which contains the idiom *smoke and mirrors*. More specifically, this idiom which refers to ‘things which are intended to deceive or confuse people’ has been translated as *τους καπνούς και τα θαύματα* (= *smokes and miracles*). This is an instance of mistranslation since the translator seems to have disregarded the fact that this particular construction functions idiomatically. According to Parianou and Kelandrias (2000:270), this is one of the most frequent dangers that translators of specialized texts face. Alternatively, the translator could have used the expression *από παραπλανητικά τεχνάσματα* (= *from deceptive tricks*) in order to convey the meaning of the idiom in question. The use of the word *fake* in the next sentence could have ‘warned’ the translator about the idiomatic meaning of the particular phrase. Fast turnaround times might have played a role in the translation process since it could be the case that the translator did not have the time to look at the specific idiomatic expression more carefully.

4.4.1.5 Transediting

Of particular interest is the following heading where the translator has used the strategy of transediting:

ST68 China **takes centre stage** (heading)
(“China takes centre stage”, *The Economist*, 31.3.2009)

TT68 Κίνα, ο σημαντικότερος δυνάμει δανειστής της Δύσης.
(«Κίνα, ο σημαντικότερος δυνάμει δανειστής της Δύσης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 5.4.2009)

BT68 China, **the most important future lender of the West.**

Again, this is not a translation but an alternative heading, based on the translator’s interpretation of the text that follows. In more detail, this article discusses China’s stance against the rest of the world. To explain, China has stopped keeping a low profile and has assumed an increasingly self-confident tone towards the rest of the world as the sub-heading declares. In other words, it is stated that China’s rapid economic growth will play a vital role in the global recovery since it is the most important future lender of the West. The translator opts to make that information explicit in the TT, thus conforming to the norm of Greek news press translation that requires more information to be transferred when translating the headlines of political articles (Sidiropoulou, 1999:17).

This difference in translation reflects a difference in the amount or quantity of information to be allowed in the English and Greek news headlines. It has been shown, that when dealing with political articles, as is the case here, the Greek version of the headline requires more information (Sidiropoulou, 1995:298). According to Sidiropoulou (2004:14), the amount of information to be included in the category “headline” of the news reporting schema seems to be regulated by a genre-specific constraint. This genre-specific constraint is none other than the main objective of news translation which is to transmit information in a clear and direct manner (Maria Josephina Tapia, quoted in Hernández Guerrero (2005:157-158). Thus, by making explicit the role of China in the TT, the translator conforms to the English-Greek news reporting norms that require more information in the target version of political article headlines.

In summary, the results obtained from the translation of general outward idioms are the following: twelve instances of idiom adherence, nine instances of literalization, twenty-one of deletion, one instance of transediting and one of mistranslation.

4.4.2 The translation of business idioms

Business idioms could be said to relate to money, sales and marketing and endorse concepts of success, failure, progress, control and influence, safety and risk, authority and responsibility. The correct rendering of business idioms is of paramount importance in business or other settings. To put it differently, the inability to establish good communication linkages between a company and its customers due to faulty translation can have very serious side-effects. The reason for this is quite obvious: money is at stake and no one wants to make a translation error that might cause the breakdown of a lucrative agreement.

In fact, Ricks (1999) points out that translation errors are responsible for a number of unfortunate incidents in international business. More specifically, he (1999:77) reports errors made during the translation of idioms and fixed expressions. He (1999:88) mentions that many small firms have literally translated the slogans for their products only to find out later that they were promoting something other than what they had originally thought. To prove his point, he (1999:89) cites the case of an American company which advertised its product to a Spanish audience declaring that anyone who did not wear its brand of hosiery just *wouldn't have a leg to stand on* (= *they are in a weak position because they cannot prove something they have claimed*). Unfortunately, the translation declared that the wearer would *only have one leg*. Moreover, Ricks (1999:90) mentions one European firm which mistranslated the idiom *out of sight, out of mind* (= *if you do not hear about or see someone or something for a period of time, you stop thinking about them*) as *invisible things are insane* in Thailand. Finally, the phrase *the spirit is willing, but the flesh is weak* (= *people are not always physically capable of doing what they are willing to do*) has been mistranslated to read *the liquor is holding out all right, but the meat has spoiled*. (Ricks, 1999:90).

4.4.2.1 Idiom deletion

Given the above, it is interesting to see how business idioms were translated in the corpus in question. As with general outward idioms, deletion is the preferred translation strategy of business idioms since there were nineteen instances of idiom deletion out of the forty-five business idioms encountered in the data. In particular, there were thirteen instances of idiom deletion which were a by-product of sentence deletion as is evident below:

- ST69 Hungary, the most indebted country in the region, has little option but to **tighten its belt** further.
 (“To the barricades”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)
 TT69 -

This article describes Latvia’s critical financial state after its rescue from the IMF. The ST article is divided thematically, and first discusses Latvia’s economy before then moving on to look at the financial state of other Eastern European countries. In the TT, however, the translator is only concerned with transferring Latvia’s financial state to the target readership. Indeed, information concerning other countries’ economies, including Hungary’s, is omitted because it is not directly relevant to the topic of discussion.

The following idiom is also omitted in the TT:

- ST70 Householders cannot rely on a ready supply of credit—or on government safety nets—so must **save hard for a rainy day**.
 (“When a flow becomes a flood”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)
 TT70 -

As was previously stated, in this article the journalist cites in detail the research of three academics aiming to prove that emerging economies are immature and as a result, cannot keep up with the pace of economic growth. In fact, the journalist spends four paragraphs on elaborating on their research. On the other hand, the translator of the TT omits all four paragraphs. Consequently, this sentence which belongs to the first paragraph is omitted too. Hence, omission in this case enhances readability of the target text.

The strategy of deletion is also preferred below:

ST71 In December Mr Sarkozy postponed a school reform out of fears, prompted by riots in Greece, that French high-school protests could **get out of hand** and even set off a rerun of May 1968.

(“A time of troubles and protest”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

TT71 -

The main topic of this article is rising unemployment in France and the social unrest it might cause. The ST article dedicates two paragraphs, including the sentence in question, to describing various outbursts that took place in some places in France, such as Normandy and Poissy. On the other hand, the translator chooses to omit these two paragraphs perhaps because they describe events that are not directly related to the Greek social and political reality. Again, the tendency on the part of the translator to provide their readers with the gist of the article is evident here.

The same tendency seems to prevail below:

ST72 The rules currently work the other way, allowing banks to **sail closer to the wind** when times are good.

(“More than just repairs”, *The Economist*, 26.3.2009)

TT72 -

In this article, Tim Geithner’s proposals to cleanse banks off their loans are presented. Whereas in the ST there is a detailed analysis of the measures comprising of six paragraphs, in the TT there is only a brief mention of the measures which takes up only two paragraphs. There is significant cutting in the TT article that could be justified by the fact that the translator does not want to burden the reader with unnecessary information regarding details about America’s banking systems. This translation choice points to the nature of the journalistic medium that “imposes translation choices that do not require an effort from the reader” (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009:44).

The following sentence has also been omitted:

ST73 This may sound like **buck-passing** by the world's main international macroeconomic organisation.

("What went wrong", *The Economist*, 6.3.2009)

TT73 -

In this article, the causes of the financial crisis are discussed. On the one hand, some economists blame China and America's huge current-account surpluses and on the other, the IMF blames inadequate regulation as the root cause. This disagreement is made clear in the first paragraph, where the sentence in question also appears. In the TT, emphasis is placed on articulating this disagreement and on the consequences it will have. This sentence, which in effect expresses an opinion about how the cause proposed by the IMF is perceived, may be judged as parenthetical. Hence, the translator decides to omit it in order to enhance the reading flow of the target text.

A prime example of the synthesizing and cutting that occurs in news translation is shown below:

ST74 It is possible they are now **putting their foot down**, fearful that if Dubai does not take its share of pain, it will be back for more money in the next downturn.

("Standing still but still standing", *The Economist*, 26.11.2009)

TT74 -

This ST article that discusses the efforts of Dubai to deal with its debts comprises nine paragraphs whereas the TT only one huge paragraph. In the paragraph where the above sentence is included, there is mention of the stance of Abu Dhabi. Since this is not directly related to Dubai, it is omitted because it is perceived to be of minor relevance to the central topic of the article.

Omission is also evident below:

ST75 That also seems true of Chinese politics, in which government often **rides roughshod over** critics.

(“There was a lawyer, an engineer and a politician...”, *The Economist*, 16.4.2009)

TT75 -

In this article, there is discussion about the professions of the lawyer, the engineer and the politician. It is stated that China’s ruling elite normally consists of engineers. Whereas there are two paragraphs in the ST analysing the ideology of such engineer-politicians, in the TT this information is subsumed into one paragraph. This sentence which makes a parallel between the building as an end-product and the process by which buildings are built in order to state that the second is of less importance than the first, is omitted. Similarly, the fact that in Chinese politics, government counts more than critics could be perceived as a parenthetical element and is omitted too.

The same goes with the sentence below:

ST76 These changes, it is hoped, will restore growth to the economy, which has stagnated since a stockmarket and property **bubble burst** in the early 1990s.

(“New bosses”, *The Economist*, 3.9.2009)

TT76 -

This newspaper article discusses the effects that the change of government in Japan will have on business. Whereas the measures taken by the Liberal Democratic Party, which has won the elections in Japan, are outlined in detail in the ST which consists of thirteen paragraphs, in the TT only the most important information is mentioned in two big paragraphs. Consequently, this sentence which appears in the fourth paragraph of the ST is omitted since the whole paragraph is omitted.

The below idiom is also omitted:

ST77 Though it might seem as if rich democracies are most susceptible to managerial charms, **the suits** are in fact more significant in emerging markets.

(“There was a lawyer, an engineer and a politician...”, *The Economist*, 16.4.2009)

TT77 -

In outlining the professions of politicians, this article mentions that the second most common profession of politicians is that of a businessman. In the ST, there are four paragraphs elaborating on this whereas in the TT there is only one. Since this sentence appears in the second paragraph of the ST talking about businessmen, it has been omitted along with the whole paragraph.

The following sentence has also been omitted:

ST78 But though **the** legislative **wheels** have yet to **start turning**, the mood has already shifted.

(“Can I serve you now?”, *The Economist*, 29.1.2009)

TT78 -

In this article, the potential of human embryonic stem cells is explored and the advantages and disadvantages of stem cell therapy are discussed. The paragraph that includes the sentence in question mentions the possibility of Mr. Obama reversing the ban on embryonic stem cell research. If that happens, then American academics will have nothing to envy about from their colleagues in other parts of the world. After that statement, the above ST sentence appears and then the third paragraph begins by explaining what the signs of this shift in attitude are. In the TT, the sentence in question has been omitted, probably because its meaning is implied in the previous sentence, so there is no need to mention again that the change of the existing legislation will also result in a change of mood.

Idiom-deletion is also observed below:

ST79 “We’re **on the right track**.”

(“Unnatural selection”, *The Economist*, 10.9.2009)

TT79 -

These are the words of the boss of Lehman Brothers on the 10th of September 2008 that appear in the first sentence of the first paragraph of the ST. On the contrary, this first paragraph is omitted in the TT, which begins with the translation of the second paragraph of the ST, that refers to the fact that America’s economy shrank after the crash in 1929. It could be argued that the translator has omitted the first paragraph of the ST because it makes

specific reference to Lehman Brothers, the fourth-largest investment bank in the U.S.A.. This information is not directly relevant to the Greek target readership, since it might be the case that certain readers may not know the name of this specific bank or may have never heard of it. So, in order to make the TT more accessible the translator decides to omit this information. This omission foreshadows the translator's effort for domestication since the ST material is tailored in such a way so as to suit the needs and expectations of the target audience (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009:10).

This tendency is also evident below:

ST80 The Gang of Six also appears to be taking up another good idea that had nearly **fallen by the wayside**.

(“What now for Obamacare?”, *The Economist*, 30.7.2009)

TT80 -

This ST article, where America's health system is the central topic, is a rather long article comprising twenty-one paragraphs. On the other hand, the TT article consists of four big paragraphs. This by itself indicates that there has been a lot of cutting and synthesizing in this article. Indeed, the sentence in question belongs to one of the last paragraphs of the article where there is a change of topic and the proposal for the creation of an Independent Medicare Advisory Council is discussed. Since this does not fall within the immediate socio-political interests of the Greek target readership, it is judged as information of low importance and is thus omitted in the TT.

Similarly, the below idiom has been omitted:

ST81 China's stimulus is already **bearing fruit**.

(“A glimmer of hope?”, *The Economist*, 23.4.2009)

TT81 -

This is the case because the whole paragraph in which the sentence in question is included, has been omitted. In fact, this ST article is a rather lengthy one, consisting of twenty-three paragraphs whereas the TT comprises just four. The main topic of the article is the optimism that exists in financial markets because the pace of global decline has been reduced. In the ST there is an extensive reference to the economies of America, Germany, China and Japan.

In fact, the sentence in question where the idiom is found is making reference to China's growing economy. Contrariwise, such specific information is avoided in the TT since the translator prefers to provide their target readers with the main points of the article instead of burdening them with unnecessary information.

The below six examples are instances of idiom deletion within the target sentence that was translated:

- ST82 There was little disagreement over policies required to get beyond the economic crisis, but Mr Steinmeier seemed the more determined to punish **fat cats** and purge the economy of the misguided values that caused the troubles.
(“A closer contest?”, *The Economist*, 14.9.2009)
- TT82 Διαφώνησαν ελάχιστα για την απαιτούμενη πολιτική, που θα βγάλει τη χώρα από την οικονομική κρίση, αλλά ο κ. Σταϊνμάγιερ φάνηκε πιο αποφασισμένος να τιμωρήσει και να καταδιώξει τις ανήθικες οικονομικές πρακτικές, που προκάλεσαν τα προβλήματα.
(«Ρόλο ρυθμιστή επιδιώκει ο Σταϊνμάγιερ», *Η Καθημερινή*, 21.9.2009)
- BT82 They had a minor disagreement about the required policy, which will get the country out of the economic crisis but Mr. Steinmeier seemed more determined to punish and pursue the unscrupulous economic practices that caused the troubles.

This article centres on the television debate in Germany between Mr. Steinmeier and Ms. Merkel. In the sentence where the idiom in question is found, it is stated that they did not have any major disagreements over policies to get beyond the financial crisis, but that Mr. Steinmeier seemed more determined to punish the culprits responsible for the financial crisis. In the TT the idiom *fat cats* (= *when you disapprove of the way a businessman or politician uses their wealth, power, and privileges*) is not translated and emphasis is placed on the punishment of immoral financial values. It may be the case, that the translator has omitted the idiom in question since the Greek target readership can probably infer that those who have implemented this economy of misguided values are privileged elites.

The following idiom has also been omitted:

- ST83 Emerging economies are **spilling** less **red ink**, both because their banking industries are in less of a mess and because their stimulus plans, in general, are smaller.
(“Big government fights back”, *The Economist*, 29.1.2009)
- TT83 Τα ανάλογα μέτρα που λαμβάνονται στις αναδυόμενες οικονομίες είναι μικρότερης αξίας, κυρίως διότι τα τραπεζικά συστήματά τους δεν αντιμετωπίζουν τόσο μεγάλα προβλήματα.
(«Το δίλημμα των πακέτων στήριξης και του υψηλού δημόσιου χρέους», *Η Καθημερινή*, 1.2.2009)
- BT83 The similar measures taken in emerging economies are of less value, mainly because their banking systems do not face such big problems.

In this article, the plans of eleven governments to battle financial crisis and recession are mentioned. In the first four paragraphs of the ST these plans are mentioned whereas in the fifth paragraph a comparison is made with the measures taken by emerging economies, which are smaller because their economies are not in such a mess. In the TT, this comparison is made evident in the first part of the sentence *Τα ανάλογα μέτρα που λαμβάνονται στις αναδυόμενες οικονομίες είναι μικρότερης αξίας* (= *The similar measures taken in emerging economies are of less value*). The explanation that follows from that, namely that this is the case because their economies do not face such big problems suffices and the translator does not translate the first part of the ST sentence where the idiom *spill red ink* (= *a company has severe financial problems*) exists since this information could be inferred by reading the rest of the sentence. It should also be noted that the original idiom is *bleed red ink* and that the use of the verb *spill* is an instance of idiom variation.

Idiom-deletion is also evident below:

ST84 During a meeting in Mexico with overseas Chinese, Mr Xi, who is widely believed to be the heir-apparent to President Hu Jintao, accused “well-fed foreigners with nothing better to do” of “**pointing fingers**” at China. (“A time for muscle-flexing”, *The Economist*, 19.3.2009)

TT84 Ας μη λησμονούνται και τα σχόλια του αντιπροέδρου της Κίνας και επικρατέστερου διαδόχου του Χιου Τζιαντάο, Χι Τζιπίνγκ, σε επίσκεψη που πραγματοποίησε στο Μεξικό. Ο Τζιπίνγκ αναφέρθηκε επικριτικά στους «καλοταϊσμένους ξένους». (««Ιστορική ευκαιρία» για τον ασιατικό γίγαντα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 22.3.2009)

BT84 Jinping referred critically to “well-fed foreigners”.

In this article it is stated that China could take advantage of the financial crisis in America and Europe and strengthen its position. In the second paragraph, China’s decision to block Coca-Cola’s \$2.4 billion bid for a Chinese juice manufacturer is put forward as evidence of China’s intention to force America to agree to its demands. In the third paragraph, this attitude is reinforced by the statement of Vice-President Xi Jinping who implicates “well-fed foreigners”. The information that these foreigners point fingers at China could be inferred since this air of hostility between China and America is transmitted from the very beginning of the article in question, so the translator omits it in the TT. It is also noteworthy that the TT sentence is considerably smaller than the ST sentence and this is the case because the place of the meeting, namely Mexico, and the fact that Mr Xi is widely believed to be the heir-apparent to President Hu Jintao is mentioned in the previous target sentence. Very sensibly the translator has decided to make things easier for their target readership by minimizing the cognitive load of this considerably large ST sentence and has broken it down into two more easily readable target sentences.

The prioritization of the readability of the TT is also observed below:

- ST85 What is needed is a regulatory regime that disciplines banks without **forcing them to the wall** in such a way that their demise wrecks the payments system. (“Dilute or die”, *The Economist*, 14.5.2009)
- TT85 Χρειάζεται λοιπόν ένα ρυθμιστικό πλαίσιο που να επιβάλει πειθαρχία στις τράπεζες, χωρίς η κατάρρευσή τους να συνεπάγεται κατάρρευση του συστήματος πληρωμών. («Ή θα ρυθμιστούν ή θα αφεθούν να πτωχεύσουν», *Η Καθημερινή*, 9.8.2009)
- BT85 So, a regulatory framework is needed that enforces discipline in banks, without their collapse entailing a collapse of the payment system.

Again, the translator is mainly concerned in transferring the main point of this sentence, which is no other than the enforcement of a regulatory regime in the banks that will discipline them in such a way so that their demise does not wreck the payments system. The fact that this regime is not meant to force banks to the wall is omitted in the TT perhaps because it is considered to be of secondary importance that does not add up to the meaning of the TT. What is worth mentioning here is that the idiom *go to the wall* (= *they lose all their money and their business fails*) has been turned into *force to the wall*, thus being an instance of idiom variation.

The following idiom is also omitted:

- ST86 And he insists that reform efforts have gone so badly wrong that it is time to “**go back to the drawing board**”.
- (“What now for Obamacare?”, *The Economist*, 30.7.2009)
- TT86 Αλλά ο κ. Κούπερ είναι Δημοκρατικός και επιμένει ότι οι προσπάθειες για μεταρρύθμιση του συστήματος υγείας κινούνται σε εντελώς λάθος κατεύθυνση. («Κριτική στην ασφαλιστική μεταρρύθμιση Ομπάμα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 9.8.2009)
- BT86 But Mr. Cooper is a Democrat and insists that the efforts for the reform of the health system are moving into an entirely wrong direction.

In this article, the main topic is the health-reform plan of America. In the first paragraph of the ST it is clearly stated that even though Mr Cooper is a Democrat, he is against this plan because he considers it to be a populist initiative that will fuel America’s inflation. This is the gist of the highlighted ST sentence and the translator prefers to transfer this information

as opposed to the information conveyed by the SL idiom *go back to the drawing board* (= *something which you have done has not been successful and you will have to start again or try another idea*). It is worth pointing out that in the ST, the information that Mr. Cooper is a Democrat appears in the previous sentence after the semi-colon whereas in the TT these two sentences are conjoined and the focus of the information is placed at the end of the sentence. What is also worth noting is the connective *αλλά* (= *but*) which is placed at the beginning of the target sentence. According to Cotter (2010:209), the fact that conjunctions such as *but* appear in sentence-initial positions in news stories, despite the prescriptive rule that says that a sentence cannot start with a conjunction such as *but* or *and*, is evidence of the fact that these connectives are used pragmatically. In this case, *but* is used in order to achieve stylistic prominence of the sentence and underscore the fact that even though Mr. Cooper belongs to the Democrats, he is not in favour of the health reform plans of the American government.

Idiom deletion is also evident below:

- ST87 If you have capital and courage, the markets are packed with opportunities—as they well understand at Goldman Sachs, which is once again **filling its boots** with risk.
(“Three trillion dollars later...”, *The Economist*, 14.5.2009)
- TT87 Αυτό που διαπιστώνει κανείς είναι ότι, αν διαθέτουν κεφάλαια και θάρρος, οι τράπεζες μπορούν να εκμεταλλευθούν σήμερα πληθώρα ευκαιριών στις αγορές.
(«Πεταμένα λεφτά για τις τράπεζες», *Η Καθημερινή*, 17.5.2009)
- BT87 What one realizes is that, if they have capital and courage, banks today can take advantage of a wealth of opportunities in the markets.

This is the second sentence of the first paragraph of the ST article that talks about the banking industry. As can be seen, the first part of the sentence is a generic statement whereas the second part makes specific reference to Goldman Sachs. The rest of the ST paragraph refers to generic statements about what governments should do to remedy the banks' problems. The same generic tone also exists in the TT. So, the translator decides to omit the sentence in question in order to save their readers from extra processing effort since it could be the case that this particular bank is not known to the Greek target readership. Consequently, the idiom *fill my boots* (= *you get as much of something valuable or desirable as you can*), which belongs in this sentence, is omitted as well.

4.4.2.2 Idiom adherence

Idiom adherence also accounted for a significant share of the idioms identified since there were sixteen cases of preservation of the idiomatic/metaphorical meaning of business idioms. Specifically, the idiom *the bubble has burst* has been translated idiomatically/metaphorically in the following contexts:

ST88 No event is seared upon Japan's recent memory like **the bursting** of the country's credit-inflated **bubble** in land and share prices after 1990.
(“Early in, early out”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

TT88 Κανένα γεγονός δεν έχει σφραγιστεί τόσο έντονα στην πρόσφατη μνήμη της Ιαπωνίας όσο το σκάσιμο της φούσκας στις αγορές ακινήτων και μετοχών μετά το 1990.
(«Σε πρωτοφανή επιβράδυνση εισέρχεται η Ιαπωνία», *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.1.2009)

BT88 No event has been imprinted so intensely in the recent memory of Japan as **the bursting of the bubble** in real estate and share markets after 1990.

In particular, the translator uses the strategy of congruence and translates the SL idiom using an identical TL metaphor. In other words, the idiom *the bursting of the bubble* (= a situation or idea which was very successful has suddenly stopped being successful) is identical at all levels to the Greek metaphorical expression *το σκάσιμο της φούσκας* (= the bursting of the bubble). In this case, the ‘bursting of the bubble’ is a noun phrase (with an embedded prepositional phrase) just like the translation. Also, *φούσκα* (= bubble) has become a standard term in financial and journalistic discourse.

Similarly, the metaphorical element of the above idiom has been maintained in the following example:

ST89 A standard recession usually follows a period of tight monetary policy, but a depression is the result of **a bursting** asset and credit **bubble**, a contraction in credit, and a decline in the general price level.
(“Diagnosing depression”, *The Economist*, 30.12.2008)

TT89 Μία κανονική ύφεση ακολουθεί συνήθως μία περίοδο σφιχτής νομισματικής πολιτικής, αλλά η «παρατεταμένη ύφεση» (depression) είναι αποτέλεσμα της εκρήξεως της στεγαστικής και της πιστωτικής αγοράς, της συρρίκνωσης των δανειοδοτήσεων και της καταρρεύσεως των τιμών.
(«Η κρίση απαιτεί δημοσιονομική χαλάρωση», *Η Καθημερινή*, 4.1.2009)

BT89 A normal recession usually follows a period of tight monetary policy, but a “prolonged depression” is the result of **the explosion of the** real estate and credit **market**, the shrinkage of lending and the collapse of prices.

In more detail, the idiom *the bursting bubble* (= *a situation or idea which was very successful has suddenly stopped being successful*) has been translated with a similar metaphorical expression, namely *η έκρηξη της αγοράς* (= *the explosion of the market*). In this case, the translator has used the strategy of equivalence. Taking into consideration the co-text, one might argue that it would sound unnatural to translate the SL idiom with its Greek equivalent, namely, *το σκάσιμο της φούσκας* (= *the bursting of the bubble*). This in fact may be partly explained if one sees the translation strategy adopted as a signal of tenor, meaning that tenor reflects levels of formality in texts across cultures and is related to both lexical and syntactic choices (Sidiropoulou, 1999:23). Translating this idiom by using its Greek equivalent would inevitably change the quite formal level of the TT that is also signalled by the use of the technical term *ύφεση* (= *depression*). Hence, the translator has decided to abide by the formality level of the TT and has translated the idiom in question with a similar metaphorical expression that is consistent with the high level of formality of the target sentence.

The metaphorical element of the below idiom is also maintained:

ST90 In other words, **the suits** on Wall Street gambled the country into penury and George Bush failed to stop them.
(“And now to work”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

TT90 Με άλλα λόγια, οι κουστουμαρισμένοι της Wall Street έπαιξαν ζάρια με το μέλλον της χώρας και ο Τζορτζ Μπους απέτυχε να τους σταματήσει.
(«Ωρα για δουλειά και δύσκολες αποφάσεις», *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.1.2009)

BT90 In other words, **the suit-wearers** of Wall Street gambled the future of the country and George Bush failed to stop them.

In this article, which draws on the inauguration of Mr. Obama, there is mention of his predecessor's faults. In fact, the above statement makes explicit the author's view that people who had power brought the country into penury and that George Bush failed to stop them. The SL idiom *the suits* (= *the men who are in control of an organization or company and who have a lot of power*) has been translated using an identical Greek idiom, namely *οι κουστουμαρισμένοι* (= *the suit-wearers*) and the strategy of congruence has been used. It should be mentioned that an equally acceptable Greek translation of the ST idiom would have been *οι κουστουμάτοι* (= *the suits*).

The below article focuses on the changes people hope that the Democratic Party of Japan, which has won the elections, will bring to their lives. In the paragraph where the sentence in question can be found, it is stated that even though growth had slowed, people demanded more from the politicians. One of the things they demanded was that the government would be in position to pay their pensions, as mentioned in the following example:

ST91 And they wanted confidence that the government would still be solvent when they drew down their pensions—not a **sure bet** in a country with a national debt approaching 200% of GDP.
(“The vote that changed Japan”, *The Economist*, 3.9.2009)

TT91 Ήθελαν γιατρούς, γηροκομεία, αξιοπρεπή σχολεία και να είναι βέβαιοι ότι η κυβέρνηση θα εξακολουθούσε να είναι φερέγγυα όταν θα έρθει η ώρα της σύνταξής τους - όχι ένα ιδιαίτερα σίγουρο στοίχημα σε μία χώρα με εθνικό χρέος που προσεγγίζει το 200% του ΑΕΠ.
(«Ευκαιρία αναζωογόνησης της οικονομίας, αλλαγής του τρόπου διακυβέρνησης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 6.9.2009)

BT91 They wanted doctors, elderly houses, decent schools and to be reassured that the government would still be trustworthy when their time of retirement comes - not a particularly **sure bet** in a country with a national debt approaching 200% of GDP.

On closer inspection of this sentence, it can be seen that the idiom *sure bet* (= *you are advising them that it would be a sensible or useful thing to do*), which is a variant of the idiom *good* or *safe bet*, has been translated as *σίγουρο στοίχημα* (= *sure bet*). In other words, the translator has translated the SL idiom using an identical Greek idiom that conveys the same meaning, thus using the strategy of congruence. What is worth commenting on is the length of the ST sentence vis-a-vis the TT sentence. The latter is considerably bigger than the former. In more detail, the translator has decided to conjoin this ST sentence with the previous one which reads as follows: *They wanted doctors, nursing homes and decent schools that would keep young families from moving to the big cities, leaving only the old behind* (see [article](#)). This is evidence of the summarizing tendency that exists in press news translation (the relative clause *that would keep young families from moving to the big cities, leaving only the old behind* is omitted in the TT) and the tendency to convey information in a clear and precise way.

The strategy of congruence has also been employed below:

ST92 But they have **lost ground** over the years and, whoever wins the parliamentary election on September 27th, the outcome may be more fragmentation.
(“People's parties without the people”, *The Economist*, 6.8.2009)

TT92 Ωστόσο, *χάνουν* διαρκώς *έδαφος* και, πιθανότατα, όποιο από τα δύο κερδίσει τις εκλογές της 27ης Σεπτεμβρίου, ο μεγάλος χαμένος θα είναι ο δικομματισμός.
(«Η παρακμή του δικομματισμού «τρομάζει» τους Γερμανούς», *Η Καθημερινή*, 9.8.2009)

BT92 However, **they are** constantly **losing ground**, and, more likely, whoever of the two wins the elections of September 27th, the big loser will be bipartisanship.

In particular, the idiomatic expression *lose ground* (= *they lose some of the power or advantage that they had previously*) could be said to be identical to the Greek metaphorical expression *χάνω έδαφος* (= *lose ground*). What is worth noting here is that the SL idiom is in the present perfect tense whereas the TL one is in the present continuous. As Sidiropoulou claims (1999:57) there is a preference for past time reference in English as opposed to the Greek version which is more future-orientated.

Similarly, the metaphorical component of the below idiom is also maintained:

ST93 That plunge into the depths could be succeeded by a virtuous cycle, where **the wheels** of finance **turn** again, cheerier consumers open their wallets and ambitious firms turn from hoarding cash to pursuing profits.
(“A glimmer of hope?”, *The Economist*, 23.4.2009)

ΤΤ93 Αυτή τη βουτιά στα βαθιά νερά μπορεί να διαδεχθεί ένας κύκλος ευφορίας, όπου οι τροχοί του χρηματοπιστωτικού συστήματος θα αρχίσουν ξανά να τρέχουν, οι καταναλωτές θα είναι εύρυθμοι και γενναιόδωροι και οι εταιρείες με φιλόδοξους στόχους θα αξιοποιήσουν τη ρευστότητά τους για περισσότερα κέρδη.
(«Υπάρχει βελτίωση αλλά ας μην εφησυχάζουμε, είναι επικίνδυνο», *Η Καθημερινή*, 26.4.2009)

BT93 That plunge into the deep waters can be succeeded by a circle of euphoria, where the **wheels** of the financial system **will start to run** again, the consumers will be cheerful and generous and the companies with ambitious goals will utilize their liquidity for more profits.

In this example, the SL idiom *the wheels are turning* (= *a process or a situation is continuing to develop or progress*) has been translated with the similar metaphorical expression *οι τροχοί τρέχουν* (= *the wheels are running*). One cannot ignore the use of the verb *run* instead of *turn*. In standard British English, we say that wheels turn, they do not run, but in Modern Greek this collocation is acceptable. In other words, on reading the sentence *οι τροχοί του χρηματοπιστωτικού συστήματος θα αρχίσουν ξανά να τρέχουν* (= *the wheels of the financial system will start running again*), a Modern Greek native speaker would probably comprehend its meaning without any particular difficulty since the forward progress and the development of a situation can be said to be communicated through the use of this particular expression. Given that, it could be argued that the verb *run* was used here for emphasis in order to stress the circular motion and the fact that one financial process leads to another so smoothly that the wheels do not simply turn, they run. In this case, the strategy of equivalence has been employed by the translator.

The same translation-strategy is used below:

ST94 Strikingly, 45% of Americans now think the country is **on the right track**, up from a miserable 15% before Mr. Obama was elected.
(“A hundred days of hyperactivity”, *The Economist*, 30.4.2009)

TT94 Εντύπωση προκαλεί επίσης το 45% των Αμερικανών, οι οποίοι δηλώνουν ότι η χώρα βρίσκεται στη σωστή πορεία, από 15% που ανέφεραν το ίδιο, πριν από την εκλογή του Μπαράκ Ομπάμα.
(«Οι πρώτες 100 ημέρες δεν ήταν εύκολες», *Η Καθημερινή*, 3.5.2009)

BT94 What is also impressive is that 45% of Americans argue that the country is **on the right course**, in comparison with a 15% who mentioned the same, before the election of Barack Obama.

In this article, the first 100 days of Mr. Obama’s term in office are described. In the paragraph where the sentence in question can be found, it is stated that Americans are more optimistic about economy since the new president took over. This is clearly shown in the sentence above, where it is stated that 45% of Americans think that the country is now on the right track. In this sentence, the idiom *on the right track* (= *you are acting or progressing in a way that is likely to result in success*), is translated with the similar metaphor *βρίσκεται στη σωστή πορεία* (= *is on the right course*).

Of particular interest is the following example:

ST95 Governments should purge banks that are big enough to **hold** the system **to ransom**.
(“Three trillion dollars later...”, *The Economist*, 14.5.2009)

TT95 Οι κυβερνήσεις πρέπει να εξυγιάνουν τις τράπεζες που είναι τόσο μεγάλες ώστε να κρατούν «όμηρο» το σύστημα.
(«Πεταμένα λεφτά για τις τράπεζες», *Η Καθημερινή*, 17.5.2009)

BT95 Governments should purge banks that are big enough **to hold “hostage”** the system.

In this article some possible measures to remedy the flaws of America’s banking system are discussed. One such measure is stated in the sentence above, where the idiom in question exists. In this instance, the translator has used the strategy of equivalence and has translated the idiom *hold someone to ransom* (= *the first person is using their power or influence to force the second to do something they do not want to do*) using a similar metaphorical phrase

κρατάω «όμηρο» (= *hold "hostage"*). Attention should be drawn to the double face of the idiom which is signalled by the use of quotation marks which are meaningful too since they could be regarded as a cue of figurative meaning. In other words, the translator has used inverted commas to convey an implied meaning. This is a pragmatic strategy which conveys aspects of meaning that are above the literal and conventional meaning of the word in question. According to Baker (1992:230), the use of inverted commas around a word could suggest a range of meanings. In this particular case, the figurative meaning of the phrase is conveyed. Lastly, it is worth mentioning that the illocutionary force of the TT is different since the modal *πρέπει* (= *must*) is employed in order to show that this measure is obligatory and must be taken at all costs. On the other hand, this is more lightly stressed in the ST where the modal *should* is employed.

The strategy of equivalence has also been employed below:

ST96 The **lapse of luxury** (heading)
(“The lapse of luxury”, *The Economist*, 24.2.2009)

TT96 Η «πτώση» των ειδών πολυτελείας
(«Η «πτώση» των ειδών πολυτελείας », *Η Καθημερινή*, 11.3.2009)

BT96 The “**fall**” of luxury goods

This article discusses the extent to which the global economic crisis has also affected those who produce luxury goods. This is evident in the heading of the article which, it could be argued, is a pun on the idiom. In particular, the idiom *in the lap of luxury* (= *they live in conditions of great comfort and wealth*) has been turned into *the lapse of luxury* in order to indicate the lack of luxury. In the TT, the SL heading is translated using the metaphorical phrase *Η «πτώση» των ειδών πολυτελείας* (= *the “fall” of luxury goods*). Attention should be drawn to the word «πτώση» (= *fall*). In fact, the use of quotation marks is meaningful here and could be regarded as a signal to the use of figurative meaning. As was mentioned in the previous example, this is a pragmatic strategy used to convey an implied meaning. In this particular case, the figurative meaning of the phrase is conveyed.

Now, let's see how the following idiom has been translated:

ST97 At their most panicky investors shunned all but the safest and most liquid assets: American Treasuries were **a favoured comfort blanket**.
 (“Denial or acceptance”, *The Economist*, 22.10.2009)

TT97 Όταν επικρατούσε πανικός στις αγορές, οι επενδυτές στρέφονταν στο καταφύγιο των αμερικανικών κρατικών ομολόγων.
 («Ανάλυση: Τα «παράπλευρα» οφέλη μιας διολίσθησης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.10.2009)

BT97 When there was panic in the markets, the investors turned to **the shelter** of the American government bonds.

The topic of the present article is the depreciation of the American dollar and the impact it has on other countries. In this example, the idiom *a comfort blanket*, which is probably a variant of the idiom *a security blanket* (= *it provides someone with a feeling of safety and comfort when they are in a situation which worries them or makes them nervous*), has been translated with the word *καταφύγιο* (= *shelter*) which is used metaphorically here. So, in this case, the SL idiom has been translated using a similar metaphor and the strategy of equivalence has been employed. It is worth noting that in the ST there is a colon which indicates a pause before information about the safest and most liquid assets is revealed. On the other hand, no intention to prolong the revelation of such information is evident in the TT where mention is immediately made of the status of American treasuries.

The strategy of equivalence has also been employed below:

ST98 One consequence is that older EU countries will find themselves **footing the bill** for clearing it up.
 (“The bill that could break up Europe”, *The Economist*, 26.2.2009)

TT98 Μία από τις συνέπειες του χάους είναι ότι τα παλαιότερα μέλη, οι χώρες της Δυτικής Ευρώπης, θα κληθούν να πληρώσουν τον λογαριασμό - και αυτό θα φανεί στους πολίτες τους άδικο, όταν εντός των συνόρων τους αντιμετωπίζουν δραματική ύφεση.
 («Ο ακριβός λογαριασμός που περιμένει την Ευρώπη», *Η Καθημερινή*, 1.3.2009)

BT98 One of the consequences of the chaos is that the older members, the countries of Western Europe, will be called **to pay the bill** – and this will seem unfair to its citizens, when within their borders they are facing a dramatic recession.

This article focuses on the state of recession which existed in numerous Western European countries and the possible consequences this situation might have for the rest of Europe. One such consequence is expressed above in the sentence in question, where it is stated that ‘older’ EU countries will have to foot the bill. In particular, the idiomatic expression *foot the bill* (= *you have to pay for something*) has been translated using the phrase *να πληρώσουν τον λογαριασμό* (= *to pay the bill*), which is used metaphorically here. Of particular interest is the length of the TT sentence compared to that of the ST sentence. More specifically, the TT sentence is lengthier because the translator has decided to conjoin this sentence which is the last of the first paragraph with the first of the second paragraph which reads as follows: *Many West Europeans faced with severe recession at home, will see this as outrageously unfair*. Informationally seen, it could be argued that the second sentence serves to specify the first. Special emphasis is placed on the end of the sentence with the temporal clause *όταν εντός των συνόρων τους αντιμετωπίζουν δραματική ύφεση* (= *when within their borders they are facing a dramatic recession*).

The following sentence deals with the issue of religious liberty:

ST99 So it is sad to find that according to most people who study the subject, the cause of religious liberty is **treading water** at best, retreating at worst.
(“Too many chains”, *The Economist*, 17.12.2009)

TT99 Οπότε είναι λυπηρό να διαπιστώνεις ότι σύμφωνα με τους περισσότερους από όσους μελετούν το θέμα, η υπόθεση της θρησκευτικής ελευθερίας επιπλέει, στην καλύτερη περίπτωση, ή υποχωρεί, στη χειρότερη περίπτωση.
(«Σε περιορισμό η θρησκευτική ελευθερία», *Η Καθημερινή*, 20.12.2009)

BT99 So it is sad to realize that according to the majority of those who study the subject, the issue of religious liberty is **floating**, in the best case, or retreating, in the worst case.

In this case, the idiom *tread water* (= *they are in an unsatisfactory situation where they are not progressing, but are just continuing doing the same things*) has been translated with the word *επιπλέω* (= *float*). This word is used metaphorically here and it could be argued that the translator has been influenced by the presence of the word *water* in the SL idiom and has consequently decided to use another water-related metaphor. So, in this case the translator has translated the SL idiom with a similar metaphor, thus using the strategy of equivalence.

The same idiom-translation strategy is also employed below:

ST100 With the right policies in place, he said, the economy might **turn the corner** in a year.
 (“Drastic times”, *The Economist*, 8.1.2009)

TT100 Η συγκριτικά πιο αισιόδοξη πινελιά προερχόταν από τον ανώτατο οικονομολόγο του ΔΝΤ, Ολίβιερ Μπλάντσαρντ, ο οποίος, χωρίς να χαμογελά, τόνισε ότι ίσως σε ένα χρόνο η οικονομία των ΗΠΑ να αρχίσει να ανακάμπτει, εάν εφαρμοστούν οι σωστές πολιτικές.
 («Η γνώση των παλαιότερων οικονομικών κρίσεων προσφέρει λίγη αισιοδοξία για την τρέχουσα» *Η Καθημερινή*, 11.1.2009)

BT100 The comparatively more optimistic touch came from the chief economist of the IMF, Olivier Blanchard, who, without a smile, underlined that maybe within a year the U.S. economy will start **to rise again**, if the right policies are applied.

The main topic of this article is the poor financial state of America. In the paragraph where the sentence in question can be found, we read about the opinions of some economists, such as that of Olivier Blanchard, who is the chief economist of the IMF. He claims that the economy may start to recover with the right policies in place. In particular, the idiom *turn the corner* (= *they begin to recover from a serious illness or a difficult situation*) has been rendered with the word, *ανακάμπτω* (= *to rise again*). In this case, the translator has used the strategy of equivalence and has translated the SL idiom with a TL word that is used metaphorically. It is worth noting here that the economy is presented as a living organism which is sick and must get better. It has been shown that the personification of financial organizations in business discourse as well as the use of health metaphors is a rather frequent phenomenon (Salway and Ahmad, 1997). Furthermore, it should be mentioned that the two ST sentences, *The most hopeful assessment came from Olivier Blanchard, the IMF’s chief economist, although he was hardly upbeat. With the right policies in place, he said, the economy might turn the corner in a year*, have been conjoined with the focus shifting to the final part of the sentence where the opinion of Olivier Blanchard is presented.

Now let's turn our attention to the following example which is very rich in terms of areas for discussion:

ST101 Afghanistan, far from being clever, his *faint-hearted* attempt to talk round Congress, manage his squabbling officials and **twist the arm** of Hamid Karzai, the vote-rigging Afghan president, *has arguably accomplished little* except hand the initiative to the enemy: his generals have an uphill struggle.
(“The quiet American”, *The Economist*, 26.11.2009)

TT101 Σε ό,τι αφορά το Αφγανιστάν, η προσπάθεια του, με μισή ψυχή είναι η αλήθεια, να προσεγγίσει το Κογκρέσο, να συμμαζέψει τους φιλέριδες αξιωματούχους του και να στριμώξει τον Χαμίτ Καρζάι, τον Αφγανό πρόεδρο της καλπονοθείας, δεν απέφερε καρπούς, παρά μόνον έδωσε την ευκαιρία στον εχθρό να αναλάβει πρωτοβουλία.
(«Ο ήρεμος Αμερικανός», *Η Καθημερινή*, 29.11.2009)

BT101 As far as Afghanistan is concerned, its effort, with **half soul** it is truth, to approach Congress, to manage its squabbling officials and **squeeze** Hamid Karzai, the Afghan president of vote-rigging, **did not bear any fruits**, but gave the chance to the enemy to take initiative.

In this article, the foreign policy of Mr. Obama is discussed. In the paragraph where the sentence in question can be found, the defects of his policy on Afghanistan are mentioned. In this sentence, the idiom *twist the arm*, which means ‘they are trying hard to persuade you to do something’, has been rendered in the target text as *να στριμώξει* (= *to squeeze*). In this case, the translator has used the strategy of equivalence and has translated the SL idiom with a TL word that is used metaphorically. Furthermore, it is worth noting that the translator has introduced two more metaphorical/idiomatic expressions in the target version. In more detail, the phrase *faint-hearted* has been translated with the metaphorical expression *με μισή ψυχή* (= *with half soul*), thus giving a more vivid tone to the TT. In addition to that, the strategy of compensation has also been employed in the phrase *has accomplished little*, and the idiomatic phrase *δεν απέφερε καρπούς* (= *did not bring fruits*) has been introduced in the TT. According to Baker (1992), this strategy is not restricted to idiomaticity alone but “may be used to make up for any loss of meaning, emotional force or stylistic effect which may not be possible to reproduce directly at a given point in the target text” (1992:78). What is also worth noting is that the expression *it is true* has been added to the TT, which serves as an evaluative comment and has a two-fold purpose; firstly, to strengthen the argumentative force of the sentence in question and secondly, to reinforce the interactional attitude adopted

between the translator and the Greek target readership (Sidiropoulou, 1999:59). Lastly, it should be pointed out that the target readership's processing constraints have been taken into consideration since the clause *his generals have an uphill struggle* has been translated separately into a different TT sentence, namely, *Τώρα, μεγάλος ανήφορος περιμένει τους στρατηγούς του* (= *Now, a big uphill is waiting his generals*).

On the other hand, the translation strategy of correspondence is employed below:

ST102 But liberal economists in China fret that state-owned banks and their SOE cronies **will carve up the spoils**, leaving small and medium private enterprises **fall by the wayside**.
(“A time for muscle-flexing”, *The Economist*, 19.3.2009)

TT102 Η μερίδα, όμως, των φιλελεύθερων οικονομολόγων φοβούνται ότι οι SOEs θα πάρουν τη μερίδα του λέοντος των κρατικών κεφαλαίων, με τις μικρές και μεσαίες ιδιωτικές επιχειρήσεις να αφήνονται στη μοίρα τους.
(«Από τον Μάο Τσε Τουνγκ στον Ανταμ Σμιθ», *Η Καθημερινή*, 22.3.2009)

BT102 The part, however, of liberal economists is afraid that the SOEs **will take the lion's share** of the state bonds, with small and medium private enterprises **to be left to their destiny**.

More specifically, the idiomatic expression *fall by the wayside*, which means ‘they have failed in something they were doing and have given up trying to achieve success in it’, has been translated with a different metaphorical expression namely *αφήνονται στην μοίρα τους* (= *they are left to their destiny*). Apart from translating the SL idiom with a different metaphor, the translator has also introduced a TL metaphorical expression, thus using the strategy of compensation. In particular, the phrase *carve up the spoils* has been rendered as *they will take the lion's share*. According to Sidiropoulou (1999:84), the introduction of metaphors in Greek news reporting is meant to enrich the emotional texture of the target text.

The strategy of correspondence is also used below:

ST103 China, however, is still reluctant **to stick its neck out** far.
(“China takes centre stage”, *The Economist*, 31.3.2009)

TT103 Η Κίνα, ωστόσο, διστάζει ακόμη να προχωρήσει στα βαθιά νερά.
(«Κίνα, ο σημαντικότερος δυνάμει δανειστής της Δύσης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 5.4.2009)

BT103 China, however, is still reluctant **to move into deep water**.

In particular, the idiomatic expression *to stick your neck out*, which means ‘you say or do something which other people are afraid to say or do, even though this may cause trouble or difficulty for you’, has been translated with a different metaphorical expression *να προχωρήσει στα βαθιά νερά* (= *to move into deep water*). Although these two expressions draw on different conceptual domains with the source domain being the BODY and in particular, neck, and the target domain being WATER, the meaning of doing something courageous even though this may cause trouble or difficulty for you is effectively transferred through the use of the chosen Greek metaphorical expression.

4.4.2.3 Idiom literalization

Literalization came third in the idiom-translation strategies employed for business idioms. More specifically, there were eleven instances of idiom literalization. One such instance is the idiom *bear fruit* which has lost its metaphorical status in the below target version:

ST104 Will Mr Obama’s rousing oratory **bear fruit**?
(“Let’s be friends”, *The Economist*, 4.6.2009)

TT104 Θα αποφέρει, εν τέλει, η έξοχη ρητορική του Αμερικανού προέδρου τα επιθυμητά αποτελέσματα.
(«Άνοιγμα Ομπάμα με στίχους από το Κοράνι», *Η Καθημερινή*, 7.6.2009)

BT104 **Will bring**, in the end, the excellent oratory of the American president, **the desirable results**?

In this example, the idiom *bear fruit* (= *an action produces good results*), has been paraphrased and the TL phrase *αποφέρω τα επιθυμητά αποτελέσματα* (= *bring the desirable results*), has been used. A possible reason for the translator to have chosen to translate an idiom with a non-idiom is a syntactic one. In more detail, the choice of starting with a verb

group could have played a role in this case since the phrase *αποφέρει τα επιθυμητά αποτελέσματα* (= *bring the desirable results*) is separated by the clause *εν τέλει, η έξοχη ρητορική του Αμερικανού προέδρου* (= *in the end, the excellent oratory of the American president*). So, if the Greek equivalent idiomatic expression was used, namely *αποφέρω καρπούς* (= *bring fruits*), it would have sounded unnatural to separate it and put the word *καρπούς* (= *fruits*) at the end of the sentence. Also noteworthy is the use of the cohesive link of co-reference, namely the American president, which refers back to Mr. Obama, and is used in order to avoid repetition. According to Baker (1992:182), co-reference is not an entirely linguistic feature but depends primarily on real-world knowledge. In other words, recognizing that the phrase the American president refers to Mr. Obama is not entirely a matter of textual competence but also one's knowledge of the world.

The strategy of paraphrase has also been employed below:

ST105 After a painful restructuring in 2004 following several years of losses, GM Europe (which includes Opel, Vauxhall in Britain and Sweden's Saab) looked as though it **had turned a corner**.
(“No Opel, no hope”, *The Economist*, 5.3.2009)

TT105 Επειτα από διαδικασία μείζονος αναδιάρθρωσης το 2004, έπειτα από χρόνια ζημιών, η GM Europe στην οποία περιλαμβάνεται η Opel, η Vauxhall στη Βρετανία και η Saab στη Σουηδία, φαινόταν να έχει ξεφύγει από το κίνδυνο.
(«Χωρίς την Opel δεν υπάρχει ελπίδα για την General Motors», *Η Καθημερινή*, 8.3.2009)

BT105 After a procedure of major restructuring in 2004, after years of losses, GM Europe, which includes Opel, Vauxhall in Britain and Saab in Sweden, seemed **to have escaped danger**.

In this example, the idiom *turn the corner* (= *they begin to recover from a serious illness or a difficult situation*) has been translated using the phrase *έχει ξεφύγει από το κίνδυνο* (= *has escaped danger*). In this case, the strategy of paraphrase has been used and the SL idiom has been translated with a TL phrase. One might wonder why in example 100 a word used metaphorically has been employed for the translation of the idiom in question whereas in this case the same idiom has been rendered non-metaphorically. This may be partly explained by the fact that in example 100, the economy is personified whereas in this one, General Motors

is not. Hence the retainment of the metaphor in example 100 as opposed to the paraphrase employed for General Motors.

The following idiom has also been paraphrased:

ST106 The trouble is that the much tighter policy needed to **make a meaningful dent in** the trade deficit would have led to recession in America and perhaps in emerging markets too.
(“The glut and the gap”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

TT106 Το πρόβλημα είναι ότι η κατά πολύ σφικτότερη πολιτική επιτοκίων που θα απαιτείτο για να **έχει επίδραση** στις εισαγωγές ίσως ωθούσε την αμερικανική οικονομία αλλά και εκείνες των αναπτυσσόμενων κρατών, σε ύφεση.
(«Η αντιμετώπιση της κρίσης απαιτεί καλύτερο συντονισμό μεταξύ των κυβερνήσεων» *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.1.2009)

BT106 The problem is that the much tighter interest-rate policy which would be required in order **to have an impact** on imports might push the American economy as well as those of developing nations, into a recession.

In this article, the reasons that there is so much capital inflow in America are presented. In the paragraph where the sentence in question can be found, it is stated that a tighter policy might address these global imbalances but that such tightening policy might have other repercussions. These repercussions are stated in the sentence above, where the idiom *to make a meaningful dent* (= *you reduce the amount or level of something*) is translated using the phrase *έχει επίδραση* (= *to have an impact*). In this case, the translator has used the strategy of paraphrase and has translated the SL idiom with a TL phrase. What is worth noting here is the theme-rheme organization pattern of the TT. In more detail, the word *recession* is brought into rheme position in the target version, thus signalling that it is worthy of the readers' attention.

In the next article, the main topic of discussion is that of the emergence of the new political party of the Kurds, called *Change* and the reforms it will make.

ST107 Many Kurds have been disgusted by the extent to which people tied to the ruling clans, the Barzanis and the Talabanis, have **lined their pockets**.
(“The times they are a-Changing”, *The Economist*, 30.7.2009)

TT107 Πολλοί Κούρδοι έχουν αηδιάσει με τα προνόμια που απολαμβάνουν όσοι έχουν σχέση με τις δύο ηγετικές φατρίες, τους Μπαρζανί και τους Ταλαμπανί.
(«Αλλαγή πορείας στο ιρακινό Κουρδιστάν», *Η Καθημερινή*, 2.8.2009)

BT107 Many Kurds have been disgusted by **the privileges they enjoy**, those that have a relation with the two ruling clans, the Barzanis and the Talabanis.

In the sentence above, the idiom *line your pockets* is used to denote the corruption existing in the Barzanis and the Talabanis. More specifically, this idiom, which bears the meaning ‘accusing them of making a lot of money in a dishonest or unfair way’, has been paraphrased and has been translated with the TL phrase *τα προνόμια που απολαμβάνουν* (= *the privileges they enjoy*). In this case, the translator has translated non-idiomatically the idiom in question and has employed the semantic strategy of abstraction change since privileges refer to rights or benefits that only a specific number of people can enjoy whereas the SL idiom refers to money primarily.

In fact, translating such an idiomatic expression so mildly as *τα προνόμια που απολαμβάνουν* (= *the privileges they enjoy*) as is the case here, does not adequately convey the full range of actual meaning of the idiom. Although the reader may infer that these privileges have to do with the illegal acquisition of money, among other things, there is no harm in being explicit since there is an abundance of Greek expressions that can convey the desired meaning. In other words, the translator could have used the equivalent literal counterpart consisting of a verb, a noun and an adverb, namely *κερδίζω χρήματα παράνομα* (= *to win money illegally*), or *παράνομα κέρδη* (= *illegal profits*). Perhaps, the most preferable option would have been the use of the similar Greek idiomatic expression *βγάζουν βρώμικο χρήμα* (= *they make dirty money*) which would have ensured the appropriate level of formality in the Greek news reporting genre.

The topic of discussion in the next article is the global economy, and in particular, what China should do to boost same. In fact, the sentence below makes reference to China's trade surplus:

ST108 When rich-country economies were growing, China's surplus **was a political lightning-rod**; how much more dangerous will it be when unemployment is rising?
(“Accelerating downhill”, *The Economist*, 15.1.2009)

TT108 Όταν αναπτύσσονταν οι οικονομίες των πλούσιων χωρών, το πλεόνασμα της Κίνας αποτελούσε λόγο πολιτικού προβληματισμού. Πόσο πιο επικίνδυνο θα είναι τώρα που αυξάνεται η ανεργία;
(«Η ραγδαία πτώση της βιομηχανικής παραγωγής οδηγεί σε κλιμάκωση της ύφεσης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 18.1.2009)

BT108 When the economies of the rich countries were developing, the surplus of China was a **reason of political speculation**. How much more dangerous will it be now that unemployment is rising?

As can be seen, the idiom *a lightning rod for something* which means ‘the person who is naturally blamed or criticized by people, although there are other people who are responsible’ has been paraphrased by the translator and has been rendered in the TT with the phrase *λόγο πολιτικού προβληματισμού* (= *reason of political speculation*). The translator seems to take special care in foregrounding the situation in China since in the ST, this sentence is the final one of the seventh paragraph whereas in the TT, the sub-heading *Ο παράγοντας Κίνα* appears and the first paragraph of this sub-heading begins with the sentence above. The choice of the word *speculation* is justified since a question substantiating this speculation follows. It should be noted that whereas in the ST there is a semi-colon after the idiom, in the TT this sentence has been broken into two separate ones. This, on the one hand, reveals the translator's intention not to burden the target readers with unnecessarily big sentences, and, on the other, to illustrate the importance of the question, indirectly addressing the Greek target readership as well. Syntactically speaking, the fronting of the verb *αναπτύσσονταν* (= *developing*) is also of interest and may be justified by the free word order of the Modern Greek language that allows such fronting to take place.

The following idiom has been translated antonymically in the TT:

ST109 Banks with foreign parents are also **feeling the pinch**.
(“Homeward bound”, *The Economist*, 5.2.2009)

TT109 Δεν εξαιρούνται και οι τράπεζες με συνεργασίες στο εξωτερικό.
(«Ο προστατευτισμός δεν αποτελεί τη λύση», *Η Καθημερινή*, 8.2.2009)

BT109 **They are not excluded** and the banks with cooperations abroad.

The main topic of this article is the political pressure on banks to lend at home rather than abroad. In the paragraph where the sentence in question can be found, the previous sentence reads as follows: *In places such as Russia and Ukraine, local banks that had relied on borrowing abroad to finance their expansion were the first ones to suffer when credit dried up*. Then the sentence above, in which the idiom *feel the pinch* (= *they do not have as much money as they used to have, and so they cannot buy the things they would like to buy*) is translated antonymically with the phrase *δεν εξαιρούνται* (= *are not excluded*), follows. This translation choice might be explained if one looks at the previous sentence of the TT which reads as follows: *Ήταν οι πρώτες που υπέστησαν τις συνέπειες με το κλείσιμο των κρουνών πίστωσης*. (= *They were the first ones to suffer the consequences with the closure of the credit taps*). In this case, the translator has opted for the paraphrase *δεν εξαιρούνται* (= *are not excluded*) in order to show that banks with foreign parent companies are also suffering because of the drying-up of credit. Hence, the “pinch” metaphor of the SL text is not maintained in the TT, since its use might have lowered the level of formality in the specific Greek news-reporting context. What is also worth noting is the fronting of the phrase *δεν εξαιρούνται*, which is meant to emphasize the fact that foreign banks have equally big problems to face.

The strategy of antonymic translation or overlexicalization has also been employed below:

ST110 Closer to home, Mr Chávez’s strategic plans have **come** a little **unstuck**.
(“Friends in low places”, *The Economist*, 15.9.2009)

TT110 Στη Λατινική Αμερική, από την άλλη πλευρά, τα πράγματα δεν εξελίσσονται τόσο ευνοϊκά για εκείνον.
(«Η Νέα Τάξη του Τσάβες και οι συμμαχίες του», *Η Καθημερινή*, 21.9.2009)

BT110 In Latin America, on the other side, **things do not develop so favourably** for him.

In particular, the idiom *come unstuck* (= *they fail*) has been translated antonymically in the target version as *τα πράγματα δεν εξελίσσονται τόσο ευνοϊκά* (= *things do not develop so favourably*). This could be interpreted as a signal of tenor, that is, a greater degree of indirectness is preferred in the TT. If one takes into consideration that in all previous paragraphs the achievements of Mr. Chávez are described, then one might understand that this sentence serves as a contradictory one and is meant to address the pitfalls of Mr Chávez's politics. Hence, it might be the case that the translator employs this strategy in order to tone down the shortcomings of Mr. Chávez's politics. It is also worth noting that the word *home* in the ST has been specified and translated as Latin America. This is in line with Sidiropoulou's findings that in the Greek news translation emphasis is placed on specifying elements that may hinder the understanding of a text (1999:22).

In the following example, the strategy of reduction has been employed:

ST111 But the dramatic changes in **the pecking order** mask a lack of more profound change in the system of finance itself.
(“Unnatural selection”, *The Economist*, 10.9.2009)

TT111 Ωστόσο οι δραματικές αλλαγές της ιεραρχίας αποκρύπτουν ουσιαστικά την έλλειψη πιο σοβαρών αλλαγών στο σύνολο του συστήματος.
(«Κρατική στήριξη με ημερομηνία λήξης», *Η Καθημερινή*, 13.9.2009)

BT111 But the dramatic changes of **the hierarchy** are effectively hiding the lack of more serious changes in the whole system.

In this article, the problems of the American and British banking industry are highlighted and in the paragraph where the sentence in question exists, it is stated that a lot of firms have failed and a lot of bankers have lost their jobs. These changes are referred to as dramatic changes in the pecking order. In fact, the idiom *the pecking order* (= *in a group the order of importance of the people or things within that group*) is translated as *ιεραρχία* (= *hierarchy*).

The strategy of reduction is also used below:

ST112 The current account, which measures the balance of investment and saving, has been **in the red** every year since 1992.

(“When a flow becomes a flood”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

TT112 Το ισοζύγιο τρέχουσων συναλλαγών της χώρας, το οποίο αντικατοπτρίζει τις επενδύσεις και την αποταμίευση, παρέμενε ελλειμματικό κάθε χρόνο μετά το 1992.

(«Απληστία και ανικανότητα, τα δομικά λάθη της οικονομίας», *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.1.2009)

BT112 The balance of current transactions of the country, which reflects the investments and savings, remained **in deficit** every year since 1992.

In particular, the idiomatic expression *in the red* referring to ‘a person or an organization which owes money to someone or to another organization’ has been translated with the TL word, *ελλειμματικό* (= *in deficit*), thus conforming to the formal register of the article in question.

Moving away from Europe, the next article talks about China:

ST113 He talks of China as a “great power” and worries about America’s profligate spending endangering his \$1 trillion **nest egg** there.

(“How China sees the world”, *The Economist*, 19.3.2009)

TT113 Μιλάει για την Κίνα ως μεγάλη δύναμη και ανησυχεί για τις υπερβολικές δαπάνες της Αμερικής, που θέτουν σε κίνδυνο τις επενδύσεις του, του ενός τρισ. δολαρίων εκεί.

(«Αδυναμία και ισχύς για τη νέα Κίνα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 29.3.2009)

BT113 He talks of China as a big power and worries about America’s profligate spending, that puts in jeopardy his **investments**, of \$1 trillion there.

In this article, it is stated that China’s rapid economic growth makes it an important player in world affairs. In fact, in the second paragraph, where the sentence in question exists, it is mentioned that China’s prime minister, Wen Jiabao, considers China as a “great power” and is concerned about America’s uncontrolled spending. In particular, the idiomatic expression a *nest egg*, meaning ‘a sum of money that you are saving for a particular purpose’, has been translated non-idiomatically in the TT using the word *επενδύσεις* (= *investments*). In this

case, the translator has used the strategy of reduction and has translated the SL idiom with a TL word. It is worth noting that while in the ST the phrase *\$1 trillion* functions as an adjectival modification to the noun phrase *his \$1 trillion nest egg*, in the TT it is brought into end-position probably to denote the importance of this information. Furthermore, whereas in the ST the phrase “great power” is in quotation marks, probably to indicate its metaphorical use, the quotation marks are not preserved in the TT perhaps because this metaphorical expression is extensively used in a variety of Greek settings so the translator does not think it is necessary to highlight its metaphorical value.

The next article centres on the efforts of the Chinese prime minister, Wen Jiabao to persuade North Korea’s dictator, Kim Jong II to start talking about nuclear weapons. In this sentence, which appears just before the last sentence of the final paragraph, it is stated that China should have used its influence to negotiate with North Korea.

ST114 China has long been criticised for not using its considerable influence to **bring** North Korea **to heel** for its nuclear weapons and intercontinental-missile tests.
 (“Putting a squeeze on”, *The Economist*, 6.10.2009)

TT114 Η Κίνα έχει επικριθεί προ καιρού επειδή δεν χρησιμοποιεί την αξιόλογη επιρροή της για να πείσει το βορειοκορεατικό καθεστώς.
 («Η κινεζική βοήθεια στρώνει το χαλί στην Ουάσιγκτον», *Η Καθημερινή*, 11.10.2009)

BT114 China has long been criticised for not using its considerable influence to **convince** the North Korea regime.

In more detail, the idiomatic expression *bring to heel* (= *you force or order them to obey you*), has been translated non-idiomatically with the TL word *να πείσει* (= *to convince*). In other words, the translator has used the strategy of reduction, thus translating the SL idiom with a TL word.

4.4.2.4 Transediting

The strategy of transediting was employed in six cases of business idioms which served as headlines:

ST115 **The devil you know** (sub-heading)

(“Homeward bound”, *The Economist*, 5.2.2009)

TT115 Προς την εγχώρια αγορά

«Ο προστατευτισμός δεν αποτελεί τη λύση», *Η Καθημερινή*, 8.2.2009

BT115 **Towards the inward market**

This example is of particular interest since this is not a translation but an alternative heading based on the translator’s interpretation of the text that follows. In more detail, this article discusses the dangers adopting a policy of protectionism poses to the world economy. In the text following the subheading *the devil you know*, which is a short version of the idiom *better the devil you know* (= *you would rather deal with someone you already know, even if you do not like them, than deal with someone that you know nothing about, because they may be even worse*), it is explicitly stated that banks should look inward, meaning that there should be more lending at home. In other words, the advice is given to the banks not to send rescue funds abroad in the sense that risk is easier to handle in home markets. Consequently, they are more adept at dealing with this kind of situation since this is the devil they know. The translator, having read the sub-heading and the whole text, decides to provide Greek readers with a title that is explicit, straightforward and concise. In fact, this is a case of transediting since there is radical re-editing of the ST heading. To explain, the translator decides to make it plain to readers which banks are the ‘devil’ ones we know, so to speak, and uses the preposition *προς* (= *towards*) in order to indicate the direction that should be followed by the banks. This headline translation points to the dominant strategy of domestication in news translation since “material is shaped in order to be consumed by the target audience, so it has to be tailored to suit their needs and expectations” (Bielsa and Bassnett, 2009:10).

The strategy of transediting is also used below:

ST116 **Blank cheques**, bankruptcy, nationalisation: the options are dire, but governments must choose between them (heading)
(“Inside the banks”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

TT116 Οι κρατικοποιήσεις μεγάλων χρηματοπιστωτικών ιδρυμάτων δεν έσωσαν τη χρηματιστηριακή τους αξία
(«Οι κρατικοποιήσεις μεγάλων χρηματοπιστωτικών ιδρυμάτων δεν έσωσαν τη χρηματιστηριακή τους αξία», *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.1.2009)

BT116 **The nationalisations of big monetary institutions did not save their market value**

Again, the above translation reflects the translator’s interpretation of the text that follows. In more detail, this article centres on the government’s plans to save British banks either by providing guarantee and insurance or by outright nationalisation. In the eighth paragraph of the ST, it is stated that outright nationalisation of banks has not been very effective since investors head for exit when fear of nationalization is imminent. This seems to be the main message of the ST article and this is what the translator opts to transfer in the TT heading. In this way, the topic of the article is made immediately explicit to the Greek target readers, who once again seem to require more information in the Greek version of headings. It should be mentioned that in this article the journalist’s geographical provenance is marked and this is indicated by the use of the expression *to be sure*, which is mainly Irish and is used to indicate contrast. In this context, it refers to the fact that whereas *The Economist* as a capitalist newspaper rejects wholesale nationalisation, state ownership can have certain advantages for some financial institutions. The sentence “As a capitalist newspaper, we reject a deliberate policy of wholesale nationalisation” stands out as an explicit mention of the both the journalist’s and the newspaper’s stance on this issue; thus, it is marked.

The following example is also an instance of transediting:

ST117 Riskier countries have already raised a big chunk of their borrowing needs this year—but **at a price** (heading)
(“Beating the rush”, *The Economist*, 5.3.2009)

TT117 Τα ελληνικά, τα ιρλανδικά και τα γερμανικά κρατικά ομόλογα
(«Τα ελληνικά, τα ιρλανδικά και τα γερμανικά κρατικά ομόλογα»,
Η Καθημερινή, 8.3.2009)

BT117 **The Greek, the Irish and the German government bonds**

This article deals with the issuance of government bonds and in particular, with the Greek, Irish and German bonds. This is evident from the first paragraph of the ST. The translator makes that explicit in the title and gives us a more condensed but precise TT heading. This is in line with Sidiropoulou’s findings that there is a tendency for less or an almost equal amount of information to be preserved in the Greek version of translated economic and medical articles (1995:298).

However, the below heading of a medical article indicates a tendency for more information:

ST118 **Turning the screw** some more (heading)
(“Turning the screw some more”, *The Economist* 24.11.2009)

TT118 Το έιτζ έχει αρχίσει να υποχωρεί. Τα αντιικά φάρμακα καθίστανται προσβάσιμα
(« Το έιτζ έχει αρχίσει να υποχωρεί. Τα αντιικά φάρμακα καθίστανται
προσβάσιμα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 29.11.2009)

BT118 **AIDS has started to retreat. Antiviral drugs have become more accessible.**

More specifically, the translator has used the strategy of transediting and has provided the Greek target readership with an alternative heading based on the translator's interpretation of the text that follows. In more detail, AIDS is the central topic of the article in question and it is asserted that considerable progress is being made in the fight against AIDS since the death rate is falling and anti-viral drugs have become more accessible. Since this is a rather optimistic message, the translator decides to use it as a heading in order to attract the readers' attention. This two-sentence heading is indicative of the translator's choice to elaborate and give their target readership more information. In this instance, Sidiropoulou's claim (1995:298) that the Greek version of medical headlines requires less information is challenged.

The following example is also an instance of transediting:

ST119 A time for **muscle-flexing**
 ("A time for muscle-flexing", *The Economist*, 19.3.2009)

TT119 «Ιστορική ευκαιρία» για τον ασιατικό γίγαντα
 (««Ιστορική ευκαιρία» για τον ασιατικό γίγαντα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 22.3.2009)

BT119 **"Historic opportunity" for the Asian giant**

In this particular article, reference is made to how China could use the current crisis to boost its strategic influence on the Western economies. In translating the heading of this article, the translator chooses the phrase «ιστορική ευκαιρία» (= "*historic opportunity*"), probably being influenced by the third sentence of the first paragraph which reads as follows: *This would create a "historic opportunity" for China to strengthen its position*. Attention is drawn to the quotation marks of the phrase in question which are used in order to denote the metaphorical value of the phrase. Also worth noting is that the translator clarifies in the heading for whom this is a "historic opportunity" by inserting the phrase *for the Asian giant*. Again, this is indicative of the translator tendency to provide their target readers with more information.

Similarly, the same idiom is used as a sub-heading below where the strategy of transediting has also been employed:

ST120 A time for **muscle-flexing** (heading)
 (“A time for muscle-flexing”, *The Economist*, 19.3.2009)

TT120 Από τον Μάο Τσε Τουνγκ στον Ανταμ Σμιθ
 («Από τον Μάο Τσε Τουνγκ στον Ανταμ Σμιθ», *Η Καθημερινή*, 22.3.2009)

BT120 **From Mao Tse Tung to Adam Smith**

Another article, published on the 19th of March 2009 appeared in *The Economist* newspaper under the heading *A time for muscle-flexing*. The main discussion point of this article is the notion that China should speed up financial reforms and encourage the development of the private sector. In fact, we are told the Chinese prime minister, Mr. Wen, endorses Adam Smith’s principles and praises him in his speeches and meetings with the journalists. This is stated in the first paragraph of the ST. The translator having read the whole article decides to use two very famous names in his heading, that of Mao Tse Tung, the famous Chinese communist revolutionary, and that of Adam Smith, the writer of the famous book, *The Wealth of Nations*, to lay the foundations for the topic of the TT. In this way, the readability of the TT is enhanced since the Greek target readership is made aware of the topic of the TT by reading the headline.

4.4.2.5 Mistranslation

Only one instance of mistranslation was found in business idioms:

ST121 One of his first acts was to **put on hold** all regulations issued by Mr Bush that have not yet gone into effect.
 (“And now to work”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009)

TT121 Αρχικά, ανακάλεσε όλα τα προεδρικά διατάγματα του κ. Μπους τα οποία δεν είχαν προλάβει να τεθούν σε ισχύ.
 («Ωρα για δουλειά και δύσκολες αποφάσεις», *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.1.2009)

BT121 First of all, he **cancelled** all the presidential decrees issued by Mr. Bush, which have not yet gone into effect.

This article, centres on the inauguration of Mr. Obama and makes mention of his first acts in power. In fact, the sentence above mentions one of his first acts, namely to put on hold all the regulations that were issued by Mr. Bush. In particular, the idiom *put on hold*, meaning ‘you decide not to do something, change it, or deal with it now, but to leave it till later’, has been translated using the TL word *ανακαλώ* (= *cancel*). I think that this is an instance of mistranslation since *cancel* refers to the announcement that a planned event will not take place. On the other hand, the SL idiom refers to regulations that are not going to be dealt with now but later. In this sense, the word *αναβάλλω* (= *postpone*) might have better captured the meaning of the ST idiom.

In summarizing the translation strategies employed for the translation of business idioms, the following were observed: sixteen instances of idiom adherence, eleven of literalization, nineteen of deletion, three of idiomatization, one of mistranslation and six instances of transediting.

4.5 Conclusion

In this chapter an attempt was made to capture the translation patterns of idioms in the Greek news press. It was found that deletion is the prevalent translation strategy of all idiom-types whereas idiom adherence was the second most popular translation strategy in the corpus examined. Furthermore, literalization was the third preferred strategy and there were also three instances of idiomatization and three of mistranslation. In addition to that, nine instances of transediting were observed in translating idiom headlines. Given the above findings, one is prompted to consider what possible parameters might affect idiom treatment in the Greek news press. The next chapter is devoted to the investigation of possible parameters affecting translators’ choices.

CHAPTER 5

DISCUSSION OF THE FINDINGS

5.1 Introduction

In this chapter, an attempt will be made to shed light on possible parameters that might affect a specific idiom-type to be translated with a specific idiom-translation strategy. To this end, the chapter is divided into eight sections where the parameters that might influence translators' choices of specific idiom-translation strategies are critically discussed. More specifically, the first section serves as the introductory one, whereas the second, third, fourth and fifth deal with the parameters that influence idiom adherence, literalization, deletion, compensation and mistranslation respectively. Some translational perspectives on idioms in headlines are analysed in the sixth section and in the seventh a new idiom-translation model, that is grounded in the previous data analysis, is presented.

5.2 Parameters affecting idiom adherence

The thematic category that exhibited the biggest percentage of retained idiomaticity is business idioms. Furthermore, adherence to idiomaticity was the second preferred translation strategy of general outward idioms where twelve instances of idiom adherence in total were noted. One may well wonder what licenses the translator to retain the idiomatic/metaphorical meaning of the idiom in question and this will be examined now.

One parameter affecting adherence of idiomatic meaning is *the existence of similar idioms/metaphors in the TL*. In fact, many cognitive linguists (e.g. Lakoff and Johnson, 1980; Kövecses, 2005) working on issues related to metaphor have emphasized the universality of some of the metaphorical structures they have found. In other words, for cognitive linguists, conceptual metaphors are largely or mostly universal because they are shared cross-culturally. On that basis, metaphor in financial discourse could also be viewed as a cognitive phenomenon. In more detail, cognitive theory has been used extensively in metaphor studies since the publication of Lakoff and Johnson's *Metaphors We Live By* (1980). In fact, their notion of conceptual metaphor has been applied to business communication, advertising, and literary studies.

One of the basic tenets of cognitive theory is that metaphor is no longer viewed as a figure of speech restricted to poetry but as a pervasive and intrinsic element of our everyday language that plays a critical role in the organization of the human conceptual system. More specifically, cognitive linguists argue that there are metaphoric mappings between conceptual domains. In other words, concrete concepts are used to facilitate the understanding of more abstract ones. For example, the metaphor LIFE IS A JOURNEY allows us to use a concrete concept like JOURNEY to structure a more abstract one such as LIFE. Consequently, it could be argued that the same strategies that are used for the translation of conceptual metaphors could also be implemented to idioms that have a metaphorical base, the most dominant of which is to replace the SL image with a standard TL image. Taking a close look at the data, it might be argued that English and Greek share conceptual metaphors for the emotion concept of sadness: SADNESS IS DOWN. To explain, the idiom *to reach rock bottom*, which refers to ‘something which is at an extremely low level and cannot go any lower’, has been translated as *να αγγίζουν το κατώτατο σημείο* (= *to touch the lowest point*). Moreover, identical or similar idiomatic/metaphorical constructions were employed in the target version with respect to the following idioms: *the day of reckoning*, *a ray of sunshine*, *the tip of the iceberg*, *keep a low profile*, *drop a bombshell*, *run its course*, *on course for*, *it’s early days* and *a vicious circle*.

Another parameter that significantly influences whether a similar or different idiomatic/metaphorical expression will be employed in the TT is *cross-cultural variability*. In particular, cross-cultural variability could partly explain the translator’s preference to *transfer a SL idiom with a different TL idiom or metaphor*. In fact, there were two instances of idiomatic expressions that retained their idiomatic status in the target version, albeit differently expressed. In other words, idioms in examples 102 and 103 have been rendered in the target text with metaphorical expressions that draw on different conceptualizations. I think register considerations do play a role in this translation choice because if in example 102 the translator had opted for the equivalent in meaning Greek idiomatic expression *μὲ τρώνε οἱ κόττες* (= *the hens eat me*), it would have significantly downgraded the formal style of the specific Greek newspaper. This differentiation in idiom rendering encountered in the corpus has also been noted by Kövecses (2005) who maintains that “two languages may have the same metaphor or idiom, but the linguistic expression of the metaphor/idiom may be

influenced or shaped by differences in cultural-ideological traits and assumptions characterizing the different cultures” (2005:161).

In more detail, Kövecses (2005) has investigated cross-cultural variation in metaphors. For instance, some universal metaphors are instantiated differently in some cultures, because there are cross-cultural differences in the content of the source and/or target concept (2005:68-69). For example, in Zulu the heart metaphor conceptualizes anger whereas in English it is primarily used to indicate love and affection (2005:69). It may also be the case that different metaphors about a certain concept are employed by different cultures (2005:70-71). For example, Chinese has the metaphor HAPPINESS IS FLOWERS IN THE HEART but English does not. Moreover, a particular source concept may map onto different target concepts (2005: 72-8). For instance, a close look at the corpus indicates that the idiom *to stick your neck out* has been translated as *να προχωρήσει στα βαθιά νερά* (= *to move into deep water*). Although these two idioms draw on different conceptual domains with the source domain being the BODY and in particular, neck, and the target domain being WATER, the meaning of doing something courageous even though this may cause trouble or difficulty for you is effectively transferred through the use of the TT idiomatic expression.

Kövecses attributes this differentiation in idiomatic and metaphoric conceptualization to the interaction of cognitive and experiential factors (2005:231). He maintains (2005:232) that such factors have to do with the *physical environment*, the *power relations* that exist in a society and the *communicative situation*. Another socio-cultural determinant of metaphoric/idiomatic variability is differential experiences which means that different people experience different things. Some causes that produce different experiences are awareness of context, differential memory and differential social and/or personal concerns and interests (Kövecses, 2005:232). This latter factor provides an explanation for the fluctuation in the frequency of an idiom’s linguistic instantiation as well as the lack of certain idioms in some cultures (Kövecses, 2005:243). Moreover, there may be cross-cultural differences in the knowledge that is prototypical of a concept. Consequently, the metaphors/idioms that have such concepts as source and/or target domains exhibit cross-cultural differences (Kövecses, 2005:253). Finally, variation between metaphoric and metonymic conceptualization may reflect more general differences in the values and conventions of the two cultures. For instance, Charteris-Black (2003) has convincingly

argued that English has a more metonymic character than the metaphorical one of Malay due to the use of more covert and indirect ways of expressing negative evaluations in Malay culture in which it is considered of utmost importance to save the listener's face when negatively evaluating their actions (cited in Kövecses, 2005:257-258).

Another parameter that might affect the adherence of idioms is *genre conventions*. In other words, this tendency to retain the metaphorical component in the target version seems to be justified by the genre conventions of the Greek news press. In more detail, one of the most important findings of Chatzisavvidis' corpus-based research into Greek journalistic discourse is the great amount of metaphors that exist in the Greek financial and political press (1999:100). In fact, he maintains (1999:118) that metaphor is the most common rhetorical trope (25.2%) in Greek headlines which is indicative of the journalistic tendency to play with language. In fact, the existence of numerous metaphors in the Greek financial press aims at serving the two most significant functions of news articles, namely *summarizing* the content of the article and *directing-tempting* the readers (1999:119). As far as the first function is concerned, Chatzisavvidis (1999:119) argues "that through the use of metaphors more messages can be conveyed with fewer words" (cited in Panou, 2013:481). In this way, the message of the article is summarized. In addition to that, through the use of metaphors ideas are expressed in a powerful way and articles tend to acquire a sense of familiarity and intimacy since metaphors seem to occupy a frequent position in our linguistic repertoire (Hawkes, 1978). Hence, readers may become tempted or directed. Chatzisavvidis' claims seem to be on a par with Sidiropoulou's findings (2004:75) from her corpus-based examination of metaphor treatment. In particular, her contrastive study of a 38,300-word sample of translated 1997 Greek press news material with its source version has shown that intact transfer of metaphors is the most common translation strategy employed with respect to the types of modifications metaphors undergo when crossing the intercultural filter in the Greek news reporting genre.

Similar findings have also been reported by Marmaridou (1994, 2000, 2002), who maintains that there is an abundance of conceptual metaphors in Greek financial discourse. In fact, she argues that the pervasive conceptualization of financial affairs in terms of personification metaphors is indicative of our overall financial thinking (2000:61). Given this, it could be argued that figurative language may be essential to the comprehension of

economic concepts if we interpret this as a process of rendering the unfamiliar more familiar. Furthermore, independently of how metaphors are defined, they function as codes which reflect our understanding of reality. In this light, figurative language acts as “an anchor linking us to the dominant ways of thinking within our society” (Chandler, 2007:124).

Moreover, another parameter that could be argued to affect adherence of idiomatic meaning is *textual considerations*. In particular, the existence of other metaphorical expressions in the same sentence may ‘activate’ the use of other metaphorical/idiomatic expressions. In more detail, in example 4, the word *hurricane* is used metaphorically to refer to the severe crisis that the world’s car industry is undergoing. The existence of this metaphor might well prompt the translator to use other metaphorical or idiomatic expressions as is the case in this example where the idiom *hang in the balance* is translated with the metaphorical expression *παρπαλώ* (= *falter*).

In addition to that, *co-text* and *context* are of paramount importance in deciding whether to translate the SL idiom with an identical TL idiom or come up with a similar or even different metaphorical expression. In the data, there was an instance of an idiomatic expression which was translated with an identical TL idiom in one context while a somewhat different metaphorical expression was employed in another case. In example 88, the idiom *the bubble has burst* has been translated with the identical Greek idiom *το σκάσιμο της φούσκας* (= *the bursting of the bubble*) whereas in example 89 the metaphorical expression *η έκρηξη της αγοράς* (= *the explosion of the market*) has been preferred. The latter translation strategy may be partly explained if the wider co-text is taken into consideration meaning that this strategy abides by the formality level of the article in question which is rather high. Not wanting to change the quite formal level of the TT, which is also signalled from the use of the technical term *ύφεση* (= *recession*), the translator has decided to translate the idiom in question with a similar metaphorical expression that does not downgrade the level of formality. Conversely, in example 88 the bubble metaphor is maintained since it is such a frequent concept in the field of economics denoting the fragile nature of prices which expand often based on nothing more solid than ‘thin air’ and are vulnerable to a sudden burst. A quick search in Kathimerini’s site has revealed that this expression has been used 1,281 times in various articles. Given the above, it could be assumed that the stronger the metaphorical

element, the bigger the chances for the ST idiom to maintain its idiomaticity in the target text, which is indicative of the metaphorical conceptualization of financial affairs in the Greek news press (Panou, 2013:481).

5.3 Parameters affecting idiom literalization

Idiom literalization proved to be quite a popular translation strategy for both general outward idioms and business idioms. In the former category, nine instances of idiom literalization were found whereas in the latter eleven were identified. Conversely, only one instance of literalization was found in affectively-oriented idioms whereas in cognitively-oriented ones there were three instances of idiom literalization. Again, the question that emerges is what prompts the translator to translate the idioms in question non-idiomatically.

An important parameter affecting idiom literalization in the Greek financial press, is *the lack of equivalent idiomatic or metaphorical expressions in the TT* due to *cross-linguistic differences* in the expression of a given idiom. In other words, not all languages share the same idiomatic expressions. Hence, it is highlighted, albeit indirectly, that there is a lack of equivalent idioms/metaphors. By the term ‘equivalent’ I am referring to metaphors/idioms that express the same idea and do not necessarily have the same source and/or target domains. An example illustrating this particular theoretical point is the metaphorical expression *κάθομαι σε αναμμένα κάρβουνα* (= *I am sitting on burning coals*) vs. the English expression *I have kittens*. Both expressions convey the same meaning (= *someone is extremely worried or upset by something*) but have different source and target domains.

Although many cognitive linguists (e.g. Fernandez, 1991:1-30) have emphasized the universality of some metaphorical structures, Kövecses (2005:xii) argues that there are numerous cases of non-universal metaphors. More specifically, he maintains that metaphor variation can take many forms such as intercultural and intracultural variation and tries to provide an explanation for it (2005:3). In his effort to account for the differences in the linguistic expression of a metaphor, Kövecses (2005) argues that a number of parameters need to be taken into consideration such as the literal meaning of the expression in question, the metaphorical meaning to be conveyed and “the conceptual metaphor (or, in some cases,

metaphors) on the basis of which figurative meanings are expressed” (Kövecses, 2005:132). For example, in this particular corpus the idioms *a change of heart*, *get a crack at something*, *smoke and mirrors* and *pass the buck* have either been paraphrased, omitted or mistranslated in the Greek target text.

The literal rendering of a metaphorical expression in the TT does not necessarily reduce its metaphorical effects since as Kövecses maintains many linguistic expressions that have metaphoric and metonymic status are understood literally by speakers (2005:149). In fact, he mentions Eve Sweetser’s study (1990) which showed that the concepts we assume to be literal today “developed historically by means of the many conceptual metaphors that are still fully “active” today (such as UNDERSTANDING/ COMPREHENSION IS GRASPING and KNOWING IS SEEING)” (cited in Kövecses 2005:150).

Another parameter that might be said to influence idiom literalization is *syntax*. In particular, in example 104 the idiom *bear fruit* (= *an action produces good results*), has been paraphrased and the TL phrase *αποφέρω τα επιθυμητά αποτελέσματα* (= *bring the desirable results*) has been used. The choice of this particular idiom-translation strategy could be partly accounted for if syntax is taken into consideration. In more detail, the choice of starting with a verb group could have played a role in this case since the phrase *αποφέρει τα επιθυμητά αποτελέσματα* (= *bring the desirable results*) is separated by the clause *εν τέλει, η έξοχη ρητορική του Αμερικανού προέδρου* (= *in the end, the excellent oratory of the American president*). So, if the Greek equivalent idiomatic expression was used, namely, *αποφέρω καρπούς* (= *bring fruits*), and the word *καρπούς* (= *fruits*) was separated from *αποφέρω* (= *bring*) and was brought in at the end it would have sounded unnatural. Thus, it could be argued that the literalization of an idiom is more likely to occur when the idiom is syntactically separated.

Another parameter that could be argued to have an effect on idiom literalization is *cognitive load*. In particular, cognitive load is a concept widely used in the field of cognitive psychology and is meant to refer to the mental resources that are required for information processing. Back in the fifties, Miller (1956) was the first to suggest that the cognitive load is intrinsically related to our working memory and that our working memory capacity is limited. Then, in the nineties, Sweller (1994) developed *cognitive load theory* which served as a framework for instructional designers to control the conditions of learning by decreasing unnecessary cognitive load during learning. In other words, high cognitive load requires the use of extra memory resources on the part of the learner in order to cope with incoming information. This necessity for extra resources may result in information-processing difficulties. In fact, several studies investigating the role of cognitive load on types of performance (Katsikopoulos et al., 2000 ; Lewis and Linder, 1997) have shown that extraneous cognitive overload can cause a deficit in information processing. This theory may also have an application in the genre of press news translation since it could be argued that the translator tries to minimize the cognitive load by manipulating sentence length. Examples 4, 57, 58 and 63 are cases in point. Furthermore, consideration of cognitive load on the part of the translator may also be indicated by the preference for a single-word translation instead of the idiomatic equivalent. This is illustrated in example 65 where the idiomatic expression *cross swords* (= *you disagree and argue with them or oppose them*) has been translated with the word *διαφωνώ* (= *disagree*) instead of its equivalent Greek idiomatic expression *διασταυρώνω τα ξίφη μου* (= *cross my swords*), which is frequently used in press news. Given the considerable length of the sentence, it might be the case that the translator opted for the word *διαφώνησε* (= *disagreed*) in order not to unnecessarily overload the cognitive resources of the Greek target readership. Similarly, one-word translations are provided in examples 97 and 112 where the idioms *comfort blanket* and *in the red* are translated as *καταφύγιο* (= *shelter*) and *ελλειμματικό* (= *deficit*) respectively.

Another parameter that cannot be ignored when dealing with idiom translation in the press news is *genre conventions*. As far as idiom literalization is concerned, two points should be made regarding the genre of news translation. Firstly, literalization may be partly explained by the translator's *preference for exactitude over simplicity*. In particular, when dealing with technical concepts rather than familiar everyday terms, the translator's priority

should be precision and clarity which is achieved by elaborating and explaining the ST term. According to Davies (2006), the translator is willing to go to considerable lengths to clarify the meaning either by inserting glosses which will slow down the progression of the text or by providing very precise details that the readers of the original were not given (2006:86). Such instances of elaboration of the ST idiom were found in examples 6, 62, 63 and 64 where detailed explanations of the idioms, which are meant to clarify the meaning of the whole sentence and boost the coherence of the TT, are provided.

Secondly, idiom literalization may signal press news conventions that favour formality of style, thus reflecting *standardization processes in the language of news*. Standardization refers to the preference for one form or variety of usage which is considered the norm and is used in particular social contexts (Cotter, 2010:188). In the news context, standardization has to do with the rules and norms that govern journalistic production contexts. In this sense, news discourse is rule-governed and follows the language values of precision and prescription. In order to achieve the former, one must maintain the prescriptive rules about language use, which are none other than accuracy and clarity. Also part of this prescriptivism is formality of style which is indicated by the use of an impersonal, objective, and precise form of language. In this respect, the use of idioms may be seen as a regional variation that downgrades the informativity and seriousness of financial articles. Hence, idiom literalization may be viewed as a strategy necessary for maintaining the hallmark of language standardization in the news context.

Such standardization has also been observed in the field of translation studies where there is a tendency on the part of translators to favour conventional language as opposed to marked linguistic forms, thus showing a considerable degree of conservatism and caution. In fact, Toury (1995:268) mentions the law of growing standardization which refers to “a tendency of translators to modify relations in the source text in favour of more habitual options in the target-language repertoire” (cited in Mauranen, 2008:40). In other words, translators go for the common and typical instead of the unusual or unique. In light of this statement, it could be argued that idioms are marked, colourful expressions whereas their literal counterparts are typical common lexis. Thus, it could be claimed that translators opt for idiom literalization in order to conform to the practice of conventionalization.

Literalization which takes the form of explicitation could also indicate that there is a *semantic factor* governing English-Greek idiom translation in the press news. In particular, a close examination of examples 6, 62, 63 and 64 indicates the translators' attempt to provide the Greek target readership with additional information that is meant to further clarify the meaning of the given idiomatic expression. The primary aim of this additional information is to reinforce comprehension by providing the readers with explicit explanations of otherwise implicit or even ambiguous information. To elaborate, in example 61 the idiom a *bumpy ride*, which bears the meaning of having a lot of problems and that it will be very difficult to achieve something, has been further clarified using the phrase *αναμένονται ακόμη περισσότερες εκδηλώσεις διαμαρτυρίας* (= *even more demonstrations of protest are expected*), which serves as an explicit explanation of the idiom in question.

Literalization taking the form of over-lexicalization could also point to the existence of a *pragmatic factor* regulating idiom treatment in the Greek news press. In examples 61 and 110, the SL idioms *a tall order* and *come unstuck* have been translated antonymically as *δεν είναι εύκολο* (= *it is not easy*) and *τα πράγματα δεν εξελίσσονται τόσο ευνοϊκά* (= *things do not develop so favourably*). This could be seen as signal of tenor, where the translator tries to mitigate the unpleasant effect of the idioms by indirectly expressing the hardship of the situation in the first instance, and in the other, the unfavourable development of things. Through these translations the level of evaluativeness is raised, thus minimizing the distance between producer and addressees. This phenomenon is not novel since raising the level of evaluativeness in the TT has also been observed in English-Greek EEC translation (Sidiropoulou, 1993). According to Sidiropoulou (1993:107) this choice echoes positive politeness preferences from the part of the translator in an effort to minimize interpersonal distance.

Apart from that, another factor determining which idiom translation strategy will be adopted is *idiom-type*. In particular, a considerable number of business idioms (sixteen in total) were maintained in the TT. It could be the case that business idioms were maintained because they directly relate to the subject matter of the financial texts in question whereas general outward idioms referring to the social dimension of the individual and their relationships with other people are not directly related to the subject matter of the TT. However, since only a slight difference was found between general outward idioms which

were literalized and those which were maintained in the TT, one cannot safely conclude that translators of general outward idioms favour one translation strategy over another. The same could be argued for business idioms where there was a small difference between the number of instances of idioms which were literalized and those which were maintained in the target version. After all, the only strategy that was explicitly favoured in all idiom-types was omission. Hence, the next section focuses on possible parameters affecting idiom deletion.

5.4 Parameters affecting idiom deletion

In accordance with the data, deletion seems to be the preferred strategy of both inward and outward idioms. In general outward idioms there were twenty-one instances of idiom deletion, in business ones nineteen, in affectively-oriented idioms seven and in cognitively-oriented ones three. The large percentages of idiom deletion point to the translators' explicit preference for not transferring the SL idiom in the TT. Despite these large percentages, it should be stated that no firm conclusions can be drawn in cases where there was idiom deletion because of sentence deletion and the present section will focus on cases where there was idiom deletion within the sentence.

One parameter that might explain this decision is a *pragmatic* one and has to do with background knowledge. In other words, *the information provided by the idiom is implied by the preceding text* – hence, its omission. In the corpus there were several instances where there was idiom omission within the sentence either because the idiom did not add up to the meaning of the text or because its meaning was implied by the co-text. Characteristic examples of idioms' meanings being implied by the co-text are the idioms found in examples 10, 12, 44, 82, 83, 84 and 85 which are not transferred in the target version because their meanings are implied or have been mentioned in previous sentences.

Another parameter justifying idiom omission is *cognitive load*. As was previously stated, cognitive load affects information processing in the sense that extra cognitive load may hinder understanding of information. In other words, the translator's main concern is not to overload readers by presenting information of limited importance or information that is not directly related to the socio-political Greek reality. Hence, an effort is made by the translator to avoid redundant information and make the reading of the article a pleasant and easy activity by providing the readers with the gist of the ST article. Summarizing key points of the SL

article facilitates Greek readers because it saves them processing effort. Thus, the omission of idioms in examples 11, 13, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86 and 87 points to the translator's effort to make the reading of the TT flow.

The restructuring of material in a form that is friendly to the target readership also echoes *genre conventions*. In the Greek news setting, journalistic conventions call for the editing, synthesizing and transforming of information in such a way so that it is *easily read* by the Greek audience. Easiness of reading is mainly achieved through two processes, that of summarizing and that of domestication. In particular, there is an explicit instruction to the journalists-translators to convey only the information that is deemed to be crucial for the understanding of the article in question and leave out whatever sources of information are of secondary importance or do not reflect the Greek reality in social, political and economic terms (personal communication with Vassilis Ziras, 2010). Now, given the fact that the incoming information of a TT will be consumed by a new set of readers, the role of the translator as mediator who makes the unfamiliar more familiar becomes apparent and is manifested through the strategy of domestication. In other words, domestication entails, among other things, the deletion of those idioms which may sound too unfamiliar or are too inaccessible to the Greek target readership. Hence, domestication reflects the translator's conscious effort to bring the text to the reader and tailor the SL material in such a way so as to meet the needs of the specific local audience (Bassnett, 2005:120). The deletion of idioms in examples 11, 13, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86 and 87 points to that direction.

With respect to cases where there was idiom deletion as a consequence of sentence deletion, no convincing explanations can be provided since a sentence/portion of text being deleted says nothing about the translation of idioms, unless a cause and effect relationship can be proven. That does not seem to be the case since most of the idiom deletion appears to be a by-product of sentence/portion of text deletion. Perhaps, a possible parameter that may influence sentence deletion is *time constraints*. After all, let's not forget that translations should be completed within a short time frame, thus putting a demand on the journalists-translators to comply with the fast turnaround times that seem to prevail in the translation industry (Jensen, 1999; Sharmin et al., 2008). Since the focus of this study is on idiom deletion within the sentence, further research is required to determine the parameters that might influence sentence deletion in the Greek news press.

5.5 Parameters affecting idiomatization and mistranslation

The decision of the translator to create an “attractive” TT is also signalled by the introduction of idioms in the target version. In other words, the translator opts to strengthen the emotive force of the translation by introducing idioms at certain points in the target text. In the corpus examined, there were only three instances of idiomatization. So it may be very tentatively argued that a parameter influencing this choice is *readability* which in this case is related to *naturalness*. As Baker (1992:78) argues, employing the right level of idiomaticity will greatly enhance the readability of the text by making it sound more natural. Moreover, the translator opts for idiomatization in order to signal his/her tendency to adopt a particular stylistic gloss and enforce the persuasive force of the arguments put forward. Consequently, this reflects a tendency for idiom appreciation encountered in the Greek financial press (Chatzisavidis, 1999:110, Marmaridou, 2002:243-256).

Now, turning to mistranslation, there were only two instances of mistranslation observed in the corpus in question, thus giving me little evidence as to what might have triggered these. Perhaps fast turnaround times or lack of awareness on the part of the translator of the fact that the specific construction functioned idiomatically or even the misleading nature of some idioms that allow for both a literal and a figurative interpretation might have influenced the translator’s choices. However, as stated, the limited amount of data does not allow me to draw any firm conclusions.

5.6 Idioms in headlines: some translational perspectives

Being one of the most striking features of newspapers, headlines have always been of particular concern to both journalists and linguists. According to Ungerer (2000:48) a headline “describes the essence of a complicated news story in a few words. It informs quickly and accurately and arouses the reader’s curiosity”. In this respect, it is a unique element in the text for it functions as a marker for monitoring attention, perception and the reading process (van Dijk, 1988). In fact, a number of researchers (e.g. Hatim and Mason, 1997, Sidiropoulou and Kontos, 2012; Straumann, 1935; Valdeón, 2007; Zhang, 2012) have studied the uses of headlines in newspapers from different perspectives, ranging from purely linguistic to dominantly ideological ones. In this section, an attempt will be made to capture some translational perspectives of idioms in English and Greek headlines.

According to Nord (1995:280), headlines are regarded as texts with distinctive functions that exhibit different characteristics from the rest of the newspaper reporting language. Ideally, for Nord, headlines should have the following six communicative functions: (a) distinctive, (b) metatextual (c) phatic (d) informative (e) expressive and (f) appellative (1995:264). In other words, setting up the first contact with the intended audience, Nord argues that headlines must be distinctive, informative of the text content or some of its aspects, indicative of the author's opinion of the text and "attractive" enough as to capture the attention of its intended readership (1995:202). Moreover, Nord goes on to distinguish between essential functions which are common irrespective of genre and culture as well as optional ones which "are determined by the specific circumstances under which a particular title is used" (Nord, 1995:266). Distinctive, metatextual and phatic functions fall into the former category whereas referential, expressive and appellative are placed in the latter. Taking as a starting point Nord's view (1995:279) that titles are model source-texts and their translation is a model process of translating, it is interesting to see the functions of idiom headlines in both the English and Greek language.

Specifically, there were ten instances of idiomatic expressions found in English headlines and in only one case the SL idiom was translated with a metaphorical phrase that is very close to the meaning of the English idiom. In more detail, the headline *the lapse of luxury* which is a pun on the idiom *in the lap of luxury*, intended to indicate the lack of luxury, is an instance of "creative blending" since there is deliberate variation in the lexical form of the idiom in question (Grant, 2003:121). This variation is successfully transferred in the TT with the word «πτώση» (= *fall*) which is used metaphorically here. The use of quotation marks, which is quite a frequent feature in Greek headlines (Sidiropoulou, 1995:288), signals this metaphorical use of the word and indicates a preference for directness in the Greek press. Syntactically speaking both SL and TT headlines are nominal phrases with an informative function. It could be argued that the pun on the idiom is also meant to serve an appellative function which is realized in the TT by the use of quotation marks around the word «πτώση».

The rest of the idiom headlines though exhibit differences both in the quantity and the quality of information found in the source- and target-text versions. To explain, English headlines rarely make an explicit mention of the subject matter to be dealt with in the article

whereas Greek headlines are more descriptive in an effort to minimize their readers' processing efforts. This difference in the quality of information is assumed to be a cognitive constraint influencing the organizational properties of headlines (van Dijk, 1985). A characteristic example that illustrates this difference is the very elaborate translation of the medical article headline *turning the screw some more* which is transferred as *To έιτζ έχει αρχίσει να υποχωρεί. Τα αντιαίικά φάρμακα καθίστανται προσβάσιμα (= AIDS has started to retreat. Antiviral drugs have become accessible)*. In this two-sentence Greek headline, which has primarily an informative function, there is a reference to the issue of AIDS, which is the subject matter of the article, whereas the SL idiom in the English headline makes an appeal to the readers' emotions rather than their understanding by using the verbal headline *turning the screw some more*. In this sense, it could be argued that it mainly has an expressive function. This difference in the rendering of idiom headlines in the TL is also indicative of a cultural constraint governing English-Greek headline idiom translation since there is a preference for factual information in Greek headlines as opposed to English ones, which seem to create an artistic effect by using figurative language. Contrary to Sidiropoulou's findings (1995:297) that report a decreased amount of information in translating medical text headlines into Greek, this example demonstrates the need for more information to be conveyed to the target readership.

Similarly, when dealing with economic articles there is a tendency to transfer more information to the Greek target readership. For example, both the idioms *blank cheque* and *at a price* in examples 116 and 117 respectively, are not translated in the TT but the sentence heading *Οι κρατικοποιήσεις μεγάλων χρηματοπιστωτικών ιδρυμάτων δεν έσωσαν τη χρηματιστηριακή τους αξία (= the nationalisations of big monetary institutions did not save their market value)* and the noun-phrase heading *Τα ελληνικά, τα ιρλανδικά και τα γερμανικά κρατικά ομόλογα (= the Greek, the Irish and the German government bonds)* appear. Through the use of the strategy of transediting, effectiveness of message is given precedence over form and the translator's priority of ensuring readability and naturalness of the TT are achieved through these informative titles that summarize and at the same time foreground the topics to be discussed in the articles in question. In this sense, they have both a metatextual and informative function. The same could be argued for the idioms *in knots* and *talk Turkey* in examples 23 and 24 respectively which are rendered in the TT as *η κρατική παρέμβαση*

πρέπει να γίνει σωστά (= *the national intervention must be done correctly*) and *μήνυμα με πολλούς αποδέκτες* (= *message with many recipients*), thus projecting the translator's effort to put forth the topic of the news article and present the key information of the news event to the target readership (Lu and Chen, 2011:55).

This tendency on the part of the Greek translators-journalists to provide their readers with more information is also evident in the translations of the SL idiom headline *muscle-flexing*. These informative Greek idiom headline translations are focused on answering basic questions such as “who”, “what” and “where”. In the first instance, the translator is primarily concerned with answering the “what” and “for whom” questions with the TT headline “*Historic opportunity*” for the Asian giant. It could be argued that contrary to the English idiom headline which has an expressive function, the Greek idiom headline has a framing function since the phrase “*Historic opportunity*” exists in the first paragraph of the ST article and functions as a preamble that introduces the topic of the article. Again, example 120 is another instance where the expressive function served by the ST idiom headline *muscle-flexing* is no longer maintained in the TT where the informative function takes over. To explain, emphasis is placed on specific names in example 120, where there is particular reference to Mao Tse Tung and Adam Smith. The informative function seems to take precedence in example 68 as well where the headline *China take centre stage* is translated in the TT as *Κίνα, ο σημαντικότερος δυνάμει δανειστής της Δύσης* (= *China, the most important future lender of the West*).

Lastly, the meaning of the idiom headline *the devil you know*, which has an evaluative function and is an instance of a truncated form of the core idiom *better the devil you know than the devil you don't*, is transferred in the Greek TT using the more factual and informative heading *Προς την εγχώρια αγορά* (= *towards the inward market*). According to Sidiropoulou (1995:302), the use of non-figurative language in the Greek headline versions is indicative of the difficulties translators face in creating a similar effect in the TT through the use of similar figures of speech such as idioms. In a sense, it is more culturally appropriate for Greek translators to provide readers with informative rather than expressive or appellative headlines. Although there were only ten instances of idiom headlines encountered in the corpus examined, it could be argued that the Greek news reporting genre has a preference for informative titles as opposed to the English journalistic genre which tends to provide us with

more emotive and evaluative headlines. These differences in the realization of information-transfer are illustrative of differences in both cultures and foreshadow the importance of the ideological load that both English and Greek texts carry.

5.7 A new idiom-translation model

The analysis of a set of probable factors that could influence English-Greek idiom translation does not only reflect translation preferences but indirectly points to some tentative norms, or more kindly put, suggestions that could help translators deal with idioms in the news press more effectively. These norms draw on the four major tendencies dominant in idiom translation, namely idiom adherence, literalization, deletion and compensation and are determined by syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and textual parameters. In particular, the claim of the present thesis is that idiom adherence, literalization, deletion or compensation is determined by the foregrounding of one or more of the above parameters. In other words, one or more parameters are activated when translating an idiom and these lead to the translator's decision to maintain the idiom in the TT, strip off its metaphorical element, omit it or even introduce a new idiom at another point in the TT. For example, in adhering to idiomatic meaning, the translator is prompted to take into account idiom and genre parameters rather than syntactic, semantic, pragmatic and cognitive ones. These latter parameters seem to gain prominence when there is idiom literalization. Lastly, idiom deletion seems to rely mostly on pragmatic, cognitive and genre parameters whereas idiom compensation largely depends on pragmatic and genre ones. As can be seen, the parameter of genre is activated in all four major idiom-translation strategies but there is within variation as to what kind of syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive or idiom-related parameters will be activated so as to take prominence and lead the translator to opt for one specific idiom-translation strategy as opposed to another. These parameters that seem to determine the choice of idiom-translation strategies are tentatively defined in Table 5.1:

Table 5.1: Summary of idiom-translation strategies in the Greek news press

IDIOM ADHERENCE	
<i>Idiom parameters</i>	<i>Likely translation strategy</i>
1. There is an equivalent idiomatic or metaphorical expression in the TL	Use equivalent TL idiom/metaphor
2. The same concept is linguistically realized through a different idiom/metaphor in the TL	Use different TL idiom/metaphor but same concept
<i>Register parameters</i>	
1. The idiom is semantically related to the field	Keep the idiom
2. The idiom can be expressed by a different TL idiom without change of tenor	Change to the alternative TL idiom
IDIOM LITERALIZATION	
<i>Idiom parameter</i>	<i>Likely translation strategy</i>
There is no equivalent idiomatic expression in the TL	Literalize the idiom/metaphor
<i>Syntactic parameter</i>	
The idiom would become syntactically discontinuous in the TT	Literalize the idiom
<i>Semantic parameter</i>	
The idiom would be semantically opaque to TT readers	Literalize the idiom
<i>Pragmatic parameter</i>	
The idiom has a strong emotional force which seems inappropriate to the tenor of the TT	Literalize the idiom
<i>Cognitive parameter</i>	
The equivalent idiomatic expression in the TL would produce a lengthy TL sentence	Literalize the idiom by using a single-word translation
<i>Register parameters</i>	
1. The idiom is culturally obscure	Literalize the idiom
2. The idiom downgrades the seriousness, informativity and level of formality of the TT	Literalize the idiom
IDIOM DELETION	
<i>Pragmatic parameter</i>	<i>Likely translation strategy</i>
The information provided by the idiom is implied in the preceding text	Delete the idiom
<i>Cognitive parameter</i>	
The meaning of the SL idiom does not add up to the meaning of the TT and causes extra cognitive load.	Delete the idiom
<i>Register parameter</i>	
The translation of the SL idiom in the TL inhibits readiness and naturalness of the flow of the TT and violates space and time constraints.	Delete the idiom
IDIOM COMPENSATION	
<i>Pragmatic parameter</i>	<i>Likely translation strategy</i>
The emotional force or stylistic effect of the TT needs to be strengthened	Introduce an idiom
<i>Register parameter</i>	
The readability and naturalness of the TT needs to be enhanced	Introduce an idiom

This set of probable parameters, which is grounded in the previous data analysis, is meant to capture some possible factors that might affect idiom translation and possibly provide a new model for the translation of idioms. Consequently, in this new model the assumption that idiom translation is genre-sensitive is linguistically manifested by the outlining of specific syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and idiom-related parameters that provide an explanation for this kind of sensitivity. Lastly, it should be mentioned that these parameters might occasionally clash, leaving the translator to weigh up the alternatives.

5.8 Conclusion

In conclusion, one could argue that English-Greek idiom translation in the press news seems to imply the tasks of selection, modification and reduction on the part of the translators who are required to reshape the original text so as to conform to the linguistic and stylistic requirements of the Greek news press. Idioms, being part of the Greek press news, seem to be influenced by the conventions governing the Greek journalistic genre and are thus subject to the same requirements that govern news translation in general. This model sets out to clarify the nature of intervention on the part of the translator, as far as idiom translation is concerned, by elaborating on possible syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and idiom-specific parameters that join forces with the conventions of news translation and impinge on the final product. In contrast to previous idiom-translation models that were primarily concerned with just mentioning possible idiom-translation strategies, this new idiom-translation model attempts to answer why these strategies are employed by determining how much of syntax, semantics, pragmatics, cognition and genre come into play when choosing a particular idiom-translation strategy.

CHAPTER SIX

CONCLUSIONS

6.1 Revisiting the research questions

In this study, an attempt was made to investigate translational aspects of idiomatic meaning. In particular, the idiom-translation strategies employed in the Greek financial press were explored in an effort to shed some light on the current trends guiding idiom treatment in the Greek financial press. In more detail, the primary aim of this thesis was to investigate the following research questions: (i) how idioms are translated and (ii) which parameters influence English-Greek idiom translation in the Greek financial press.

The answers to the abovementioned research questions were provided by adopting a corpus-based approach and through a combination of quantitative and qualitative analysis. More specifically, a 101,202-word sample of 2009 Greek news material taken from the Sunday edition of *Kathimerini* newspaper, translated from the newspaper *The Economist*, was contrasted with its source version in respect of the way idiomatic expressions were rendered. For the purposes of this research, a new idiom-typology was proposed based on two hyper-categories: inward/thought-related and outward/communication-related idioms. Inward idioms were further subdivided into cognitively and affectively-oriented idioms whereas outward idioms were split into general outward and business idioms. The combination of both manual and software search enabled the identification of 100 idioms in the data which yielded 121 instances of idiomatic expressions in total.

The analytic tools that were used to provide answers to the first question of how idioms are translated drew from three distinct theoretical frameworks. In more detail, House's model of translation quality assessment, which is based on the Hallidayan register analysis, was employed along with a slightly modified version of Gottlieb's (1997) idiom-translation strategy inventory. Furthermore, Chesterman's translation strategies (1997) were also used in order to account for the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic strategies that SL idioms undergo when they cross the intercultural filter. In fact, the research found that in terms of idiom-typology, business idioms represented the largest percentage group in the corpus in question since there were forty-five of them. Then, general outward idioms followed with thirty-six instances while only eleven instances of affectively-oriented and

eight instances of cognitively-oriented idioms respectively were found. In summary, only nineteen out of the one hundred idioms were inward idioms while the remainder were outward ones.

In terms of idiom-translation strategy adopted no correlation between idiom-translation strategy and idiom-type was found since deletion was the preferred strategy for all idiom-types. Nevertheless, there was some evidence to indicate slight preferences for one idiom-translation strategy over another. For instance, in both inward and outward idioms there were more instances of idiom adherence than literalization. Furthermore, literalization was the third preferred strategy for affectively-oriented idioms, as well as general outward and business ones. In addition to that, nine instances of transediting were found in cases where idioms served as headlines whereas there were only three instances of idiomatization and mistranslation.

The answer to the second research question on possible parameters that might be affecting idiom treatment in the Greek financial press has been provided by the outlining of specific syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and idiom-related parameters that influence English-Greek idiom translation in the Greek financial press. In more detail, the argument was put forward that the degree of adherence to ST idiomatic meaning, and the decision on whether literalization, deletion or compensation of the ST idiom is appropriate, is determined by the foregrounding of one or more of the following parameters: the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive, idiom and/or genre ones. In other words, one or more of the abovementioned parameters gain prominence when translating an idiom and these guide the translator's decision on whether to maintain the idiom in the TT, literalize it, omit it or even introduce it at another point in same. One of the most important findings of this research is that in adhering to idiomatic meaning, the translator was prompted to take into account idiom and genre parameters. On the other hand, syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and genre parameters gained prominence when there was idiom literalization. Lastly, idiom deletion decisions seemed to be based for the most part on pragmatic, cognitive and genre parameters whereas idiom compensation largely depended on pragmatic and genre ones. On account of this information, the proposal was put forward that an adequate idiom-translation model is one that takes into consideration all aspects of idiomatic meaning, including the syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and textual ones.

6.2 Contribution of the study

It is important to assess the contribution of this study. It could be claimed that the present study has contributed to three areas: idiomaticity, translation and journalism.

With respect to idiomaticity, the contribution of this thesis lies in the presentation of a new idiom-typology that deviates from previous idiom classifications and rests primarily on semantic and pragmatic criteria. More specifically, the majority of idiom classifications postulated by linguists (e.g. Fernando and Flavell, 1981; Nunberg, Sag and Wasow, 1994; Gibbs, Nayak and Cutting, 1989; Schenk, 1995) are either semantically, syntactically or functionally orientated and draw on two interrelated concepts that of *meaning*, encompassed by the notion of compositionality and that of *form*, encompassed by the notion of transparency. A close inspection of the existing idiom literature reveals that ‘transparency’ definitions tend to be vague and varied and this vagueness is further reinforced by the inability to determine the subcategorization criteria of transparent idioms (Panou, 2006:12). For instance, various subcategorizations of transparent idioms have been proposed by Cacciari and Glucksberg (1991) but there seems to be no consensus as to the kinds of these subcategorizations [c.f. Cacciari and Glucksberg’s (1991:229-231) and Cacciari and Levorato’s models (1998:163)]. Moreover, their subcategorizations seem to be guided only by intuition since no empirical evidence is presented for the functional distinction between these subcategories (cited in Skoufaki, 2006:16).

Turning to compositionality, it can be seen that a quintessential feature of idioms is the fact that the meaning of an idiom is not the sum of the meaning of its parts. In particular, Katz & Postal (1963: 275) argue that “the essential feature of an idiom is that its full meaning is not a compositional function of the meanings of the idiom’s elementary parts”. However, the non-compositional approach to idiom representation and processing cannot account for the semantic and syntactic flexibility of idioms because it does not take into consideration the fact that some idioms seem to allow for semantically productive operations without any loss of their figurative meanings. The end result of such hazy definitions is some overlapping categories and the listing of the same idioms in a plethora of subtypes resulting from disagreement or ambiguity in relation to transparency/opacity. For instance, it is very easy to categorize the idiom *kick the bucket* at the extreme end of totally opaque non-compositional idioms but things are not so clear-cut with idioms such as *bury the hutchet*.

The proposed idiom typology does not seem to face the abovementioned problems because it draws its main concepts from psychology, namely the inward/outward distinction and views idioms as parts of a human's psychology, thus giving them both an individualistic and a social dimension. This typology is based on a theory of personality that assumes that both the interior and the exterior psyche of the human being are mutually influenced and co-exist with each other. It is flexible because it can accommodate both the cognitive and the societal aspect of the individual, thus taking into account both the internal and the external aspects of human beings. Therefore, the claim made through this idiom typology is that idioms, being part of our linguistic repertoire, reflect both of these aspects. For this reason, an alternative proposal is made in this thesis concerning idiom typology and is based on the fact that idiomatic meaning is construed in terms of both cognitive (think-framed) as well as societal (communication-based) structures.

Furthermore, this thesis has highlighted the fact that the metaphoricity of idioms is partly related to the sociocultural relativity and linguistic diversity that exists among the two cultures. In other words, in cases where there was a similar idiomatic or metaphorical expression and genre considerations allowed its use it was preferred in the target version as opposed to its literal counterpart. This was especially the case with business idioms which exhibited the biggest percentage of retained idiomaticity. Conversely, instances of idiom literalization indicated intercultural metaphor variation. Given these facts, the argument was put forward that when idioms or metaphors are maintained in the target version they function as socially significant constructions whose aim is to facilitate the understanding of unfamiliar concepts. This view leads to a contextualized view of idiomaticity which presupposes that the meanings of idiomatic expressions are contextually drawn during communication.

Furthermore, in acknowledging the importance of context in deciphering an idiom's meaning, this study departs from previous ones in that it specifically links idiom translation to House's functional-pragmatic model of translation evaluation which draws from the Hallidayan register analysis of field, tenor and mode and by doing so it pinpoints the emerging need of translators to become preoccupied with the context of the idiom as well as the whole co-text. In other words, in studying idiom translation in the press news, register variation in translation is illuminated through the detailed discussion of conventions governing the field, tenor and mode of the Greek journalistic genre. Particular focus is placed

on the tenor of discourse and issues that mainly deal with the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic changes that idioms undergo when crossing the intercultural filter are discussed. The point being made here is that idiom translation is not only dealt with at specific linguistic-unit levels but at the levels of context and co-text as well, thus taking as a starting point that translators must draw primarily from such knowledge in order to deal with idiom-translation problems encountered across language systems.

Perhaps the most significant contribution of this thesis lies in the introduction of a new idiom-translation model which makes allowance for syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive and genre considerations. When suggesting an idiom-translation model one must be in a position to explain which syntactic, semantic and pragmatic changes a SL idiom is likely to undergo in order for it to be maintained, literalized, omitted or introduced elsewhere in the TT. The strategies that one might adopt when translating an idiom are more or less reduced down to four main ones: adherence, literalization, deletion and compensation. What is not clear is “how” these strategies are realized and “why” they are employed. And this is where the contribution of this thesis lies in that it seeks to provide not only a thorough description of possible syntactic, semantic and pragmatic changes that idioms undergo when they are translated but also a convincing explanation as to which parameters license one particular idiom-translation strategy’s use in preference to another’s. In particular, it attempts to answer the “how” question by drawing on the notion of strategy as used by Andrew Chesterman (1997), that is, a problem-solving kit that turns out to be a potentially conscious procedure and which is manifested through syntactic, semantic and pragmatic changes. Furthermore, it sets out to answer the question of “why” by maintaining that the choice of a particular idiom-translation strategy is primarily an issue of activation of certain syntactic, semantic, pragmatic, cognitive, genre and idiom-specific parameters.

The proposed idiom-translation model could also be argued to reflect a change in the way translators conceptualize idiom-translation strategies. In particular, adherence to idiomatic meaning and literalization have been traditionally defined as binary ends. But this does not necessarily have to be the case since it could be argued that journalism conventions affect which idiom-translation strategy will be employed. In this respect, idiom translation could be viewed within the wider prism of news translation that adheres to specific norms, rules and practices that characterize this medium. This suggests that textual intervention is

not an isolated issue that has to do with idioms alone but rather a general process that seems to characterize press news translation and is in line with the translator's efforts to produce a comprehensible and easily-read article. Hence, idiom translation falls within the wider sphere of news translation, thus being influenced by the conventions governing this genre.

6.3 Limitations of the study

As is the case with every study, this one has its own limitations and gaps. In particular, the greatest limitation of the present study lies in the method used for identifying idioms in the given corpus which does not ensure the detection of all possible idioms used. Furthermore, some potential instances of idiom translation were lost since material was selectively included in the target version. Nevertheless, the aim of this study was not to identify all idioms in the corpus but rather to shed light on the translation strategies employed when dealing with some General English idioms translated in the Greek financial press. It would be unrealistic to expect a single corpus to include all possible idioms that are used in this genre. However, the use of corpus data can allow translators and teachers of English to inquire into the meaning and form of frequent idiomatic expressions and the context in which they are used, thus allowing them to become familiarized with their meaning and able to use them more effectively in the appropriate setting.

Another limitation of this study is the use of a small corpus which could be characterized as “non-representative”. It should be noted that the concept of size has been redefined and what was considered a “large” corpus in the sixties is now considered “medium” or even “small”. While it is true that a small corpus cannot really guarantee representativeness or allow for the making of overt generalizations, it is equally true that large corpora like the BNC do not guarantee the adequate representation of “specialist” language. Thus, as Gavioli (2002:294) argues, “smaller corpora collecting register/genre-specific texts can be more reliable in this respect”. To further support her argument she states that “small corpus analysis has thus increasingly concentrated on studies of genre and ESP”.

Another issue that should be addressed is the generalisation of the findings. The generalisation potential of this study is debatable, since about one idiom per one thousand

words was considered. Put crudely, the data set is rather limited despite the careful corpus formation. Hence, the contribution of the thesis is more to do with the theoretical treatment of idioms and the corpus design rather than the transferability of its findings in other contexts. One should exercise extreme caution before making generalisations to similar contextual cases on account of the fact that there was only one translated version of *The Economist* articles used here. Moreover, Greek translators' choices regarding idiom translation might have been better explained if they themselves provided an explanation as to why they preferred one strategy over another. Furthermore, the present idiom-typology is rather tentative since what has been termed a general outward idiom might have been classified as an instance of an affectively-oriented idiom by another researcher, and indeed, were a third to be asked to classify the idioms in question, yet another completely different classification might have been proposed.

Lastly, the new idiom-translation model proposed above does not constitute a full-blown model of idiom translation. It only aspires to provide a theoretical framework in which both the complexity and diversity of idiom translation may be addressed so that certain problems arising in the translation of idioms are dealt with in a better way. For instance, this proposed model could have benefited from a more thorough analysis of some other factors such as the profile of the readership of the translated texts.

Despite the shortcomings mentioned above, one tentative conclusion that might be drawn is that idioms and other fixed expressions should not be treated as marginal linguistic phenomena but rather their importance in natural language should be stressed and the wealth of idiomatic expressions should be exploited for both descriptive and instructional purposes.

6.4 Implications of the study

The findings of this study can be of particular use to translators' training. From an educational perspective, the goal is twofold: firstly, *awareness* of the relationship between idiom-type and genre, and secondly, *awareness* of the multiplicity of parameters that affect the choice of idiom-translation strategy. In particular, the extensive use of idiomatic and metaphorical expressions in the Greek financial press does not only prove the conceptual structuring of the world but also signals its cultural variability. In other words, students should gradually realize that languages may employ different idioms and/or metaphorical

expressions for the same concept. Furthermore, the same idiom could be translated in different ways due to a number of parameters that may have to do with the idiom per se, the syntactic, semantic and pragmatic environment of the sentence, the cognitive load of the target sentence and/or the genre the particular text belongs to.

My impression is that the juxtaposition of source and target versions of texts with respect to idiomaticity can enhance awareness of the sensitivity of idioms to genre analysis. Furthermore, both linguists and translators should be cognizant of the fact that, although idioms occur in various text-types with differences in frequency of occurrence, it is misleading for an idiom-translation model to assume that the same idiom-translation strategies are employed irrespective of genre constraints. This view points to a top-down conceptualization of translation where emphasis is placed on the identification of genre-type. As Hatim and Munday (2004:195) argue, translators tend to develop a bottom-up approach focusing on words and phrases rather than texts. However, this severely compromises the end result since larger discourse units and genre-fidelity will not be magically maintained but rather the result will be genre-infelicities which will “read like weak parodies” (2004:195).

This suggestion also has implications for syllabus design in translator training. In other words, in constructing a syllabus the primary concern for both teachers and students should be to ensure that the systematic exposure to the categories of genre takes place, which will enable them to identify the distinctive genre-specific characteristics and translate them successfully. Furthermore, awareness of which idiom-translation patterns are preferred in each genre allows students of translation to firstly identify types of variation within the two cultures, and secondly and most importantly, adjust their translational behaviour accordingly so that the restructuring of material conforms with the conventions governing each genre. To conclude, the translation quality of genres is affected by a number of factors that should be taken into account by translator-training programmes so that the role of translators as mediators and re-creators is foregrounded. Students would thus be able to approach different genres more flexibly and produce more appropriate translations. These views can open up new lines of investigation into the topic examined that will hopefully lead to a better understanding of both the micro- and macro-aspects of idiom translation.

Appendix A

Sources of Samples

Data set: English-Greek pairs of a 101,202-word sample of 2009 Greek (target) financial news material (The publication dates of *The Economist* articles are from its electronic version).

- **Sources of samples – Sections 4.2, 4.3, 4.4 and 4.5**

1. “When a flow becomes a flood”, *The Economist*, 22.1.2009 / «Η μόνη πρόβλεψη που δεν επαληθεύθηκε ήταν η κατάρρευση του δολαρίου», *Η Καθημερινή*, 25.1.2009
2. “Dubai seeks a reprieve on its debts”, *The Economist*, 26.11.2009 / «Τον δρόμο της Θυσίας πορεύονται οι επενδυτές», *Η Καθημερινή*, 29.11.2009
3. “Restive colonels and generals”, *The Economist*, 18.6.2009 / «Στο εδώλιο ο στρατός για απόπειρα πραξικοπήματος», *Η Καθημερινή*, 5.7.2009
4. “No Opel, no hope”, *The Economist*, 5.3.2009 / «Χωρίς την Opel δεν υπάρχει ελπίδα για την General Motors», *Η Καθημερινή*, 8.3.2009
5. “How China sees the world”, *The Economist*, 19.3.2009 / «Αδυναμία και ισχύς για τη νέα Κίνα», *Η Καθημερινή*, 29.3.2009
6. “Still defiant in Iran”, *The Economist*, 17.6.2009 / «Μετά τη νοθεία, η βία και τώρα αδιέξοδο», *Η Καθημερινή*, 21.6.2009
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