

HEALTH NARRATIVES IN THE GREEK TRANSLATED PRESS

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ABSTRACT – This paper looks see how meaning is constructed in translated news texts about health and science and awards a narrative potential to unforced translation shifts, moving along the theoretical lines of Baker's Narrative Theory (2006). The thematic thread of health zooms in on "emotional frames" (Nabi, 2003) of risk and fear of human health that is narrated as being 'under attack' by potentially dangerous diseases. Themes also orbit around schemas that promote hope and optimism about science represented as coming to the rescue of man from fear of the disease. The data consists of 21 pairs of English-Greek health news articles culled from the Greek newspapers I Kathimerini, To Vima and Ta Nea. Findings point towards translation as a process that employs lexicogrammatical and intrasentential configurations to a) give emphasis to the risk or hope dimensions underlying a health or science story, b) enable the reflection or emergence of a cascade of public, conceptual and master narratives.

Key words: Narrative. Health. Risk. Discourse. Translation.

NARRATIVAS DE SAÚDE TRADUZIDAS NA IMPRENSA GREGA

RESUMO – Este artigo mostra como é construído o sentido em textos de notícias traduzidos a respeito de saúde e ciência. É aqui privilegiada a narrativa potencial, não acompanhando as mudanças de tradução e movendo-se na direção das traduções da linha da Narrativa Teórica de Baker (2006). O eixo temático da saúde foca na "perspectiva emocional" (Nabi, 2003) de risco e medo da saúde humana, que é narrada como se estivéssemos 'sob o ataque' de potenciais doenças perigosas. Os temas também circundam ao redor de esquemas que promovem a esperança e o otimismo sobre a ciência, representados como um resgate para o homem do seu medo da doença. Os dados consistem em 21 pares de notícias sobre saúde traduzidas do inglês para o grego, coletados dos seguintes jornais gregos: I Kathimerini, To Vima e Ta Nea. Os achados apontam na direção da tradução como um processo que emprega configurações léxicogramaticais e de sentenças para: a) dar ênfase às dimensões do risco e esperança subjacentes a uma estória de saúde ou ciência e; b) permitir a reflexão, ou emergência, das narrativas pública, conceitual e acadêmica.

Palavras-chave: Narrativa, Saúde, Risco, Discurso, Tradução

LAS NARRATIVAS DE SALUD TRADUCIDAS EN LA PRENSA GRIEGA

RESUMEN – En este artículo se muestra cómo se construye el sentido en los textos informativos traducidos acerca de la salud y la ciencia. Aquí enfatizamos la narrativa potencial, no siguiendo los cambios de la traducción, pero buscando el enfoque de la Teoría Narrativa introducida por Baker (2006) en el campo de la traductología. El tema central de la salud se enfoca en el “punto de vista emocional” (Nabi, 2003), de los riesgos y el miedo a la salud humana, que es narrado como si estuviéramos ‘bajo el ataque’ de potenciales enfermedades peligrosas. Los temas también rodean alrededor de esquemas que promueven la esperanza y el optimismo acerca de la ciencia, representados como el rescate del hombre de su miedo de la enfermedad. Los datos consisten en 21 pares noticias sobre la salud traducidos del inglés al griego, recogidos de los siguientes periódicos griegos: I Kathimerini, To Vima y Ta Nea. Los resultados apuntan en la dirección de la traducción como un proceso que emplea las configuraciones léxico-gramaticales y las frases para: a) hacer hincapié en las dimensiones del riesgo y la esperanza que subyacen a una historia de la salud o de la ciencia y; b) permitir la reflexión, o el apareamiento, de las narrativas académica, pública y conceptual.

Palabras clave: Narrativa, Salud, Riesgo, Discurso, Traducción.

1 Introduction

This paper is meant as a contribution to the existing literature on the potential of media for constructing reality (Stein, 1972; Berger & Luckmann, 1966; van Dijk, 1988; Fairclough, 1992) and links up translated discourse to the production, establishment and perpetuation of a set of representations. The overarching research question that underpins this paper and has been taken up with an aim to showcase the interconnectedness between social representation and translated language asks how narrative theory can elucidate the effects of unforced translation shifts in translated news items. It is ultimately by integrating the perspectives from narrative analysis and translation studies that this paper brings the focus on representations in translated discourse.

To attend to the nature of translated news discourse this paper draws on translated press items that thread across issues of health and science and tap into the social constructions that step out of narrations (Murray, 2002). It extends analysis around the themes of health and science as it contends that the representation of scientific and biomedical knowledge in newspapers is entangled with and constructs narratives of the human body and the human condition, stories that guide our everyday existence and from which we can-

not escape. As such, it attempts to identify, describe and interpret unforced translation shifts that are pertinent to narratives which are hence triggered and activated by the biomedical genre of news discourse across English-Greek. Moreover, it traces how two seemingly polar¹ and self-excluding emotive scripts namely fear of disease and hope for scientific advancements are discursively co-constructed through unforced translation shifts, showcasing how translated biomedical texts in the Greek press include both perils and promises.

Taking a closer look at newsprint language entails an attempt to both identify and see through the various paths of how meaning is interlaced with language and how it is associated with linguistic choices or framing strategies (Entman, 1993; Baker, 2006). Unlike studies which focus on analyzing monolingual texts, this paper focuses on translated press items and, in this sense, speaks for and on behalf of the often neglected role of translation in news discourse (Bielsa, 2007; Doorslaer, 2010). Ultimately, attendance to the translation perspective proposed here foreshadows the negotiation and rewriting of meaning(s) in the target text (TT) environment and is in line with previous work by (Sidiropoulou, 2004; Munday, 2007).

The motivations, that have propelled investigation of translated biomedical discourse in Greek press items have three starting points; the first is media-centered and aligns itself with Calsamiglia and Ferrero (2003) who talk about the need to explore “the different settings in which knowledge circulates” (p. 147). Whereas it is acknowledged that newsprint media is a considerable source of information, it seems that “newspapers do not simply provide information and facts about the world, but that the news media also constructs interpretive frameworks or “frames” through which certain issues or events are to be understood” (Prosser, 2010, p. 54). The frame-oriented perspective leads us towards the second motivation which is interpretative in nature, narrative-centered and rests on the assumption that all we come to know and feel is narrative. In line with this assumption, Fisher (1987) notes that “there is no genre, including even technical discourse that is not an episode in the story of life” (p. 85). To highlight the connection between narrative and science, Baker (2006) notes that “[n]arrative, including scientific narrative, categorizes the world into types of character, types of event, bounded communities. It also systematizes experience by ordering events in relation to each other.” (p.10, my emphasis). The third motivation originates from Sontag’s work (1978) who talks about discourse challenging the social construction of ill-

nesses such as cancer, AIDS, and tuberculosis and maps out the social determinants of each of the abovementioned ill-states. Analysis here seeks inspiration from Sontag's work and traces representations of illness and health in news discourse.

Finally, it should be noted that although this paper acknowledges the significance of a growing body of literature on reception theory of media messages (Hall, 1980, Lindlof, 1987; White 1990) yet it does not undertake an audience ethnography to see how translated health messages are internalized by audiences or constructed and interpreted by the subjects receiving the messages^{2,3}. However, it does proceed with the following premises in mind in terms of audience activity: i) newspaper readers are not necessarily media and narrative-savvy to be able to see through the influence of media messages ii) they are however prone to subconsciously import narratives that step out of the news language into their own ontological narrative fabric.

2 News, translation and narratives

This paper examines narrative in news; it pursues a meticulous analysis of translated media discourse to locate unforced translation⁴ shifts, and to assess these in conjunction with the narratives that leak out of texts and either bounce back and reflect reality or construct new frames of it. By translation shifts we mean the changes and impromptu or necessary reconfigurations that may occur at lexical or grammatical or syntactical level and indicate a departure from the correspondence of the source text. To explain how media in general and newspapers in particular, host, reproduce, frame and reframe events and concepts, this paper keeps continuously 'in play' contributions from three disciplinary strands that inform it in the first place.

First, this paper contends that newspapers contain storied versions of events which have a point of departure and arrival i.e. a particular orientation meaning(s) and are conditioned by language as well as a multi-dimensional interpretative momentum relating to audience cognition, ideological leaning and psychological make-up. Presently, news as a product and news-making as a process is all-pervasive, ubiquitous while how news is storied can play a key role in retelling and rewriting the narrative under way; this means that news is not merely there to inform; instead it is a social and ideological product since "most of our social and political knowledge and beliefs

about the world derive from the dozens of news reports we read or see every day” (van Dijk, 1991, p. 109).

Secondly, emphasis here is put on translated news discourse. The translational import of this paper embraces a) the opening-up of the discipline of translation to a variety of communicative genres, and b) the interlaced relationship between translated discourse, translated meaning and the institutions that accommodate these. While language is looked at in relation to its performance through translation, it is also acknowledged that it has a strong affiliation to the institutions which reproduce it. The translated text, in turn, following a series of gatekeeping functions (Vuorinen, 1995) checks in the target environment newspaper where it forms a new “localised” (Orengo, 2005, p.168) version of the international source text (ST). What is more, translation emerges as a requisite for newspapers and the Greek media stakeholders in order to solidify their identity and image as truly opening up to the world.

Thirdly, the narrative overtones that penetrate and organize this paper bring to the fore the potential of language to both reflect and construct meaning. The link is established by looking at narratives through social representation theory (Somers, 1994; Somers and Gibson, 1994; Murray, 2002) and not simply through the lens of traditional narratology where narrative had a “long association with the humanities and the ‘story-telling’ methods of historians” (Somers, 1994, p.695). To this end, Murray (2002) attests to the need for a socially-driven narrative analysis when he argues that “much of the research on the character of narratives has focussed on their internal structure and has not sufficiently considered their social nature” (p.653). Indeed, it was this shift that propelled narrative theory forward and streamlined its appropriation by other disciplines such as translation studies (Baker, 2006; Boéri;2008; Harding, 2009).

Narrative analysis in Translation Studies has been kick-started by Baker (2006) who draws on Bruner (1991), as well as on Somers and Gibson (1994) to explain how meaning is reflected in language and narrative and also and more importantly constructed through processes that involve media, stories and translation. Baker also details a toolbox for narratives that encompasses various elements that could be used for the analysis of translated and original texts (i.e. framing). On her part, Harding (2009) takes a case-study approach and examines news as narrative looking at the narratives which ‘stepped out’ of the media that covered the tragic incidents of the 2004 Beslan hostage

crisis. Finally, Boéri (2008) adopts a narrative view to investigate the identities and roles shaped by and for conference interpreters. This paper picks up the thread from these contributions and looks at the connection of narrative in translated news texts.

2.1 The theoretical framework

The paper finds theoretical and methodological backing in two main research streams, namely Narrative Theory and approaches to analyzing translated discourse through framing (Entman, 1993) In this study, these two streams engage in a constant dialogue with each other as framing operates on a micro-level and assists the analysis of the textual features of translated discourse which are then cross-linked to the macro-level that is interpreted through Narrative Theory. Both streams mentioned above have been integrated and utilized as they too contribute to a *critical* understanding of language use, one that links up linguistic choice to its output and effects. On its part, the critical approach in translation studies has been showcased by researchers such as Olk (2002) who mentions that “translation has come to be investigated increasingly from critical perspectives with various studies highlighting the translator’s mediating involvement in the construction of particular discourses” (p.101).

2.1.1 Critical discourse analysis and translation

Critical Discourse Analysis has been one of the tools with long tradition in the analysis of news discourse and has been frequently pulled in to link ideology, language to their outlets, such as media. In CDA, claims are made that language is not simply “a transparent medium of communication about the objective world, but a constantly operative part of the social process” (Malkmkjaer, 1991, p.89). CDA-driven analysis has been unabashedly calling for a deep understanding of the intricate relationships among discourse, ideology, and media. Yet, although this paper does not ignore the insights that CDA has provided, which in relation to news discourse have proved invaluable (Wodak, 2001), yet it decides to privilege a narrative perspective. This shift of focus has been motivated by *two* incoming relevancies, one originating from translation studies and

the other from CDA itself. *First*, the fact that analysis of translated material resides in both the “primary and secondary discourses understood as source texts (ST)s and target texts (TT)s” (Valdeón, 2007, p.100) makes CDA analysis of translated discourse a rather complicated and less straightforward process. Target texts (TT) are therefore secondary texts in the sense that they are not created from scratch but are rather deeply grounded in the meaning intended by the ST, from which they cannot escape, and in that sense constantly interact with the latter. Secondly, as this paper is concerned with understanding the social construction of reality, through news, it defocuses attention from issues of demystification of power and ideology, which have been amongst the primary theoretical and methodological preoccupations of CDA. Narrative on the other hand has, as I argue here, the potential to implicate more directly translated news discourse with the constructions and reflections the latter produces.

2.1.2 Narrative theory

Narratives then are not used here to make up for any methodological shortfall but rather to assist the enlargement of the views and to shortcut around the above-mentioned relationship between STs and TTs. The theoretical framework elaborated is made up of both micro and macro approaches to discourse. In terms of the first, the analytical toolkit for analyzing translated press items includes elements that fall under the scope of frames which are seen as “sole explanations that serve as unifying social devices by making some meanings more salient than others” (Entman, 1993, p. 53). This paper concretises this definition and uses “framing” (Baker, 2006, p. 106) as a general analytical toolkit. Such tools include Baker’s (2006) “labelling” (p.122) and “repositioning of participants” (p.132) which are going to be used here. According to Baker (ibid) “labelling implies the used of any lexical item, term or phrase to identify a person, place, group, event, or any other key element in a narrative” (p.122). In this sense, all unforced lexical choices claimed by the translator are means of labelling. Also, all intrasentential reconfigurations that are identified in the corpus can be interpreted by what Baker (ibid) calls “repositioning of the participants” (p. 132) which can be summed up as the way” in which participants in any interaction are positioned,

or position themselves in relation to each other and to those outside the immediate event". With regard to the macro-level the narrative canvass of *ontological*, *public*, *conceptual* and *master* narratives is used. At the macro-level narratives are:

- **Ontological:** these narratives, according to Baker's (2006) and Harding's (2009) taxonomy are formed through personal stories we tell ourselves over time and shape our identity (Baker 2006; Harding 2009). These stories may be first person accounts narrating a personal health story. In this paper ontological narratives are biographical health stories that belong to one individual and are appropriated and capitalized by newspapers.

- **Public:** these are stories that "are elaborated by and circulate among formations larger than the individual" (Baker, 2006, p.33); public narratives then do not restrict themselves to one individual and are interrelated to cultural and institutional formations. In this corpus public narratives reflect or construct anew stories about health and science that are common and shared by more than one individual.

- **Conceptual:** these are "the concepts and explanations that we construct as social researchers" (Somers, 1997, p.85). As Boéri (2008) notes "conceptual narratives shape the way in which societal processes are understood and explained" (p.63). This paper taps into the different conceptualizations and frames enacted by translation in terms of health and science.

- **Master:** these are stories that persist over time and grow to become rigid and lithified representations that occur and re-occur in varying degrees and different genres. Somers and Gibson (1994) define master narratives as "narratives in which we are embedded as contemporary actors in history" (p. 61). In this paper, fear and hope are treated as two emotive scripts that are manipulated discursively through translation and mirror the master narratives of health and science. The master narrative quality awarded to these two concepts stems from the awareness that all individuals participate in and are affected by stories about health and science.

The analysis and rationalization of the unforced translation

shifts that follows in section 4, is motivated by the belief that newspapers, as institutional formations larger than the individual form critical channels of dissemination of public narratives. At the same time however, as it will be shown below, they can be incubators of ontological, conceptual and master narratives.

3 Corpus and methodology

The working hypothesis embraced here is that sustained cross-textual analysis of unforced translation shifts in translated news texts can assist us in seeing through the target text and identify the narratives that circulate in the TT environment. To test the hypothesis that translation reflects and creates narratives and then renegotiates meaning, this paper finds support in a bottom-up synthesis of a “parallel text corpus” (Baker, 1995, p.230) and reports on findings from a cross-textual study of source and target texts. It explores a sample data set comprising 21 pairs of English-Greek biomedical news articles culled from the Greek newspapers *I Kathimerini*, *To Vima* and *Ta Nea*. All 21 news articles span across 2008 and 2009. Target news articles have been matched with their source counterparts originating from newspapers such as *The New York Times*, *The Times*, *The Independent*, *International Herald Tribune* and *The Economist*. The total TT word count analyzed comes up to 11,493 words. Texts retrieved are full-texts and not fragments; full texts are more useful than those which consist of text fragments. As to the representativeness of the corpus, data collection was performed horizontally i.e. across Greek newspapers and by retrieving the equivalent STs. Texts have been retrieved electronically⁵ in the www which as Fletcher (2004) notes offers “a freshness and topicality unmatched by fixed corpora” (p.191). In terms of interpreting the findings, the methodological focus here is put on the quality of the results rather than on the quantity as frequency of occurrence alone would not necessarily paint a reliable picture in terms of significance, as a shift with fewer frequency rate may ‘speak louder’ than shifts that persistently re-occur. This has been attested by van Leuven-Zwart (1990) who believes that “the macro-structural impact of shifts depends not upon their quantity but upon their quality or significance” (p.88). The section of results below will highlight the bottom-up architecture of narratives in translated news discourse and assist the elicitation of conclusions. Examples below form a part of the sample corpus data.

4 Analysis of translated texts

The organization of health and science experiences along two contradicting axes: a) hope about scientific research (Hughes et al 2008) and b) threat imposed on human condition stemming from disease. A corpus-wide screening of translations to identify constructions that are consistent either with hope narrations or fear related ones show that the attitude or frame of optimism (hope) and fear (risk) narrated in the Greek press surfaces, in a) in-text shifts, b) shifts in headlines and c) photographic material accompanying the text. More specifically, the optimistic perspectivization adopted in TT items is associated with an overreliance on scientific findings and on their efficacy displaying an inherent resistance of the target public to open itself up to victimization. It also stands for and aspires gaining affective feedback from readers in the sense that hope about science passes on a sense of trust and confidence to readers. On the contrary, constructions of risk and threat induce fear about human condition and affect social and ‘biomedical’ behaviors of readers. Chart 1 below summarizes in numbers the shifts identified after cross-textual investigation of ST-TTs in the three newspapers and which are associated to the frames of risk/fear and hope/optimism. In this sense the table is exhaustive in terms of the shifts that emerged all 21 articles put under the test. Sections 4.1 and 4.2. below provide a sample view findings.

Chart 1 – Unforced Translation Shifts per Target Newspapers associated to Fear/Risk and Hope/Optimism

Emotional Frames	Target Newspapers		
	<i>I Kathimerini</i>	<i>To Vima</i>	<i>Ta Nea</i>
Fear/Risk	14	17	13
Hope/Optimism	11	6	5

Source: The author

4.1 Fear and risk

The following two sections constitute the core of this paper and adopt a micro-macro approach to showcase how translation choices and framing strategies are used for selecting or deselecting certain items in the texts and how these changes affect meaning. The approach to the data adopted spearheads two directions: section one (1) looks at the narratives that emerge in the TT and appeal to the *fear* and *risk* disease and health perceptions that step out of translations and section two (2) concentrates on the other emotional extremity i.e. that of *hope* and *optimism* about science which are exaggerated in translations. It has been shown that health concern is also constructed by the media, and that health is correlated with exaggerated fear (Meyer, 1990) or exaggerated hope (Cohen, 1997). On their part, fear and fear appeal have been studied as a behavioral paradigm (Billig, 1987) and attempts have been made to explain the construction of fear through an experimental approach. As this paper is concerned with how translated discourse frames health and science, examples that follow will illustrate how the translated text becomes a textual territory where *angst* for personal health is illustrated followed by examples that provide evidence of a counter-telling i.e. hope and optimism.

Example 1 offers a new conceptualization of cancer in the TT by introducing an unforced addition of the clause *που συνεχίζει να αναπτύσσεται* (*that continues to grow*) which is altogether absent in the ST. The representation foregrounds how translational choices can construct a new conceptual narrative about the disease by re-narrating cancer as an on-going process that is deployed in the suffering and captive human body. Interestingly, this process-based construction of treatment in Greek is in agreement with Lascaratou's (2007) work on the construction of pain and finds that there is an interpretation of pain as "an inner activity or a self-induced *processural* event" (p. 183).

(1) ST: Despite this, some men have had "hormone-resistant" cancers. "Prostate cancer drug gives hope to 'untreatable' patients". *The Independent*, July 23, 2008

ΤΤ: Παρ' όλα αυτά κάποιοι άνδρες έχουν καρκίνο που αντιστέκεται στη νορμόνη, δηλαδή που συνεχίζει να αναπτύσσεται. «Χάπι για τον καρκίνο του προστάτη». *TaNea*, July 23, 2008

[= GLOSS: Despite this, some men have had "hormone-resistant" cancers meaning cancer that continues to grow].

While example 1 is associated with *conceptual* narratives, example 2 shows the appropriation of *ontological* health narratives by newspapers. The emotional frame of fear here is constructed by means of capitalizing on a person's biographical health storyline. Both labelling and repositioning of participants are identifiable framing strategies. The fronting (i.e. selective repositioning) of the first name SIMON, in the TT highlights the importance of the biographical i.e. ontological narrative and works as a vehicle for minimising the newspaper-reader distance. Also, risk constructions are present in the TT as the latter proceeds to the addition, of certain high-impact lexical items such as *acute* pain (absent in the source text) manifesting that the target newspaper labels pain in a more pronounced way. The replacement of the verb *spread* (ST) with the more scientific μετάσταση (*metastases*) upgrades the terminological value of the text and induces fear of the unfamiliar. The personalized turn that the TT takes peaks with the phrase Του είπαν ότι είχε δύο χρόνια ζωής (*He was told that he has two years to live*) which provides more evidence of how the newspapers capitalize on ontological narratives.

(2) ST: After being diagnosed with advanced prostate cancer in August 2005, Simon Bush had a course of intense radiotherapy and began three monthly injections of the anti-testosterone drug, Zoladex. A year later the cancer had spread to a number of sites in his skeleton and was starting to cause pain. He began a six-month course of chemotherapy and was told that life expectancy for patients such as him was about two years. "Prostate cancer drug gives hope to 'untreatable' patients". *The Independent*, July 23, 2008

TT: Ο ΣΑΙΜΟΝ διαγνώσθηκε με προχωρημένο καρκίνο του προστάτη τον Αύγουστο του 2005. Έκανε ακτινοβολίες και ενέσεις με φάρμακα για τον περιορισμό της τεστοστερόνης. Έναν χρόνο αργότερα υπέστη ανάσχυση. Ο καρκίνος είχε κάνει μετάσταση στα οστά και εκδήλωθηκαν αφόρητοι πόνοι. Η εξαμηνιαία χημειοθεραπεία δεν κατόρθωσε να σταματήσει τη εξάπλωση. Του είπαν ότι είχε δύο χρόνια ζωής. «Χάπιε για τον καρκίνο του προστάτη». *TaNea*, July 23, 2008

[= GLOSS: SIMON was diagnosed with advanced prostate cancer in August 2005. He received treatment with radiation and drug injections to reduce testosterone. A year later the news was bad. There were cancer metastases in the bones and he was experiencing acute pain. The six-month course of chemotherapy did not stop the spread. He was told that he had two years of life].

Fearis implicitly exaggerated by means of narrating cancer as a pathology that takes over the human body. This is instantiated via a conceptualization of cancer as a "pathology of space" (Sontag, 1978, p. 14), rather than time. Evidence of this is presented in example

3 where the replacement the ST causative preposition *by*, with the space-relevant items *στον, στους (in)* are creating an image of the body as A CONTAINER. While the ST talks about *testosterone* as a hormone produced *by* the tumor itself, the TT reports differently on this image and narrates *testosterone* produced at a specific bodily venue, i.e. the *tumor* and the *testicles*. Translation hence fortifies the image of cancer as having occupied the human body.

(3) ST: The key discovery was that the cancers depend on testosterone manufactured by the tumour itself, not by the testicles. “Prostate cancer drug gives hope to ‘untreatable’ patients” *The Independent*, July 23, 2008

TT: Ηαποκάλυψη κλειδί ήταν ότι συγκεκριμέν ος καρκίνος εξαρτάται από την τεστοστερόνη που παράγεται στον ίδιο τον όγκο και όχι στους όρχεις. Χάπι για τον καρκίνο του προστάτη» *TaNea*, July 23, 2008

[= GLOSS: The key discovery was that the cancers depend on testosterone manufactured in the tumour itself, not in the testicles].

The same fear-calling effect and conceptualization of the body as a territory that is held captive by the disease is salient in example 4 where labelling is used altering the narrative at issue by means of rewriting the experience for the disease not as one *originating from* the body but as *being born inside it*".

The conceptualizations in examples 3 and 4 create a sense of inescapability for the human body that portrayed as taken up by the disease⁶.

(4) ST: Because cancer cells originate from the body, the immune system usually leaves them alone. “Implant raises cellular army to attack cancer”. *New Scientist*, January 11, 2009

TT: Δεδομένου ότι τα καρκινικά κύτταρα «γεννιούνται» μέσα στο σώμα, το ανοσοποιητικό σύστημα πολλές φορές δεν τα αναγνωρίζει ως ξενοειδή. «Έμφυ τούματα εκπαιδεύουν το ανοσοποιητικό». Το *Vima*, January 13, 2009

[= GLOSS: Given the fact that cancer cells are born inside the body, many times the immune system fails to recognize them as alien].

Fear is re-written in the TT by adding sub-headings in between paragraphs that re-frame that story as it evolves. In example (5), whereas the ST has no subheading, the TT adds the phrase *Ανησυχία από τις μεγάλες δόσεις* (*Concerns for the large doses*) and re-frames the story that follows. This narration may also reflect a prevailing and long standing public narrative in the target environment that sums up in the phrase *πανμέτρον άριστον*, (*all in good measure*) which rejects all exaggeration. Threat derives from unpredictable and unknown treatment results after receiving potential large doses of the drug.

(5) ST: Vitamin C appears to protect the mitochondria from extensive damage, thus saving the cell," Dr. Heaney said. "Vitamin C May Interfere With Cancer Treatment". *The New York Times*, October 12, 2008

TT: Ανησυχία από τις μεγάλες δόσεις «Η βιταμίνη C φαίνεται ότι προστατεύει τα μιτοχόνδρια από εκτεταμένες βλάβες και επομένως σώζει τα κύτταρα» είπε ο Dr. Heaney. «Η βιταμίνη C «φιλική» προς τον καρκίνο» | *Kathimerini*,

October 19, 2008

[= GLOSS: Concerns from large doses Vitamin C appears to protect the mitochondria from extensive damage, thus saving the cell," Dr. Heaney said].

This section took a glimpse at the discourse produced in translations of biomedical press items and attempted to interpret this discourse in terms of what it tells us about collective conceptualizations of health and disease. It seems that the frames of fear and risk are consistent and compatible with news discourse that is sensational in nature as newspapers do not remain grounded on the factual information of the source text but go on to add evaluations and re-tell the story in their own threat-invoking way.

4.2 Hope and optimism

This section breaks away from the plot of *fear* and *risk* and looks at the role of translation in articulating the opposite emotive condition i.e. *hope* and *optimism*. Examples highlight how science as a master narrative is re-written in TT and how, through labelling and repositioning of participants, the TT constructs a) a public narrative of the so-called *Deification of Science*⁷ and b) an optimistic conceptualization of scientists as types of a modern Prometheus, ready to give humanity the gift of science but potentially facing the wrath of God and being punished for arrogance

Examples (6), (7) and (8) are indicative of arbitrary and optional additions of lexical items in the TT that offer an enhanced re-telling of science and ultimately construct a public narrative of *Deification of Science*. The emendations then realized here and contribute to the construction of a story about science that is deified, reified and often borrowing from a discourse of fiction. The way that this is done is by introducing sensational, impact-bearing adjectival evaluations and realizing intrasentential configurations. In example (6) the translated text talks about *revolutionary* contact lenses a choice that eulogizes science and emphasizes the pioneering nature of innovations.

(6) ST: In the future, all you'll have to do is stare intently at a projected image in front of your eyes" And next — the contact lens that lets e-mail really get in your face". *TheTimes*, February 2, 2008

TT: Στο μέλλον, ό, τι μπορεί να κάνει ένας υπολογιστής θα γίνεται μπροστά στα μάτια μας με τη χρήση επαναστατικών φακών επαφής. «Ένα κομψότερο «για τα μάτια σου»». *Ta Nea*, February 4, 2008

[= GLOSS: In the future all the tasks of a computer will take place in front of our eyes with the use of *revolutionary* contact lenses].

Similarly, in example (7) the translation talks about *smart* nanoparticles and aims to upgrade confidence and trust in the invention. The fact that this labelling takes place in the headline is not without meaning as headlines reach a considerably wider audience than the main text itself and have a better framing potential of the event as they “encapsulate not only the content but the orientation” (Abastado, 1980, p. 149).

(7) ST: “New Attack on Cancer with Nano Weapon” *The Times*, November 5 2009

TT: «Επιθεση στον καρκίνο με «έξυπνα» νανοσωματίδια» *Ta Nea*, November 6 2009

[= GLOSS: Attack on cancer with *smart* nanoparticles].

The second linguistic routine linked to the public narrative of *deification of science* relates to an intrasentential structural pattern that lends itself for interpretation and manages to emphasize the role of researchers and scientists in the TT. This is done by means of either thematizing scientist-relevant information or providing this information at the end of the sentence (principle of end-weighting, new information). This pattern reflects Baker's repositioning

of participants (Baker, 2006) which is elaborated as a tool for “mediating the narrative elaborated in a source text or utterance” (ibid, p. 112). The fronting of the item *Researchers have found out* (example 8) impacts the credibility of scientists and legitimizes scientific research.

(8) ST: Genes blamed for one person’s brain tumor were different from the culprits for the next patient. “Gene Domino Effect Behind Brain, Pancreatic Tumors” *Science News*, September 4, 2008

TT: Οπρευνητές ανακάλυψαν ότι τα γονίδια που ευθύνονται για την εμφάνιση όγκου στον εγκέφαλο ενός ατόμου ήταν διαφορετικά από τα αντίστοιχα «ένοχα» γονίδια που ήταν υπαίτια για τον καρκίνο του εγκέφαλου ενός άλλου ασθενούς. «Χαρτογράφησαν το γονιδιό ακρόντιόμιο που οδηγεί στον καρκίνο» *To Vima*, September 6, 2008

[= BackTranslation: Researchers have found out that the genes blamed for one person’s brain tumor were different from the culprits for the next patient.].

Translation here puts emphasis on the role of scientists in mapping out brain tumours. The TT sentence starts with the reference to scientists thus underlining their key role in research.

(9) ST: Our failure to grapple with genetic modification on its own terms been accompanied by the equally unfortunate failure to bring its benefits to cultures that might gain the most from it “Food Politics, Half-Baked” *International Herald Tribune*, February 5, 2008

TT: Η αδυναμία μας να κατανοήσουμε τους μηχανισμούς της γενετικής τροποποίησης συνοδευόμενη από την απόλυτη ηθικανόνητα μάς να «δωρίσουμε» τα πλεονεκτήματά της σε κάποιες κοινωνίες πουμπορούν να επωφεληθούν απ’αυτά. «Αλήθεια για την κατά νόση κλωνοποιημένων» *Ι Kathimerini*, February 10, 2008.

[= GLOSS: Our failure to grapple with genetic modification has been accompanied by the equally unfortunate failure to offer as a gift its benefits to cultures that might gain the most from it].

This examples provides some qualitative evidence of how a target version can amplify hope and optimism and represent scientists as modern type of *Prometheus* who would overstep finite boundaries and may be exposed to the wrath of God to give the human race a gift. The selection of the lexical item *δωρίσουμε* (*offer as a gift*) in example 9 substantiates this conceptualization. The target version seems to exaggerate fascination for science and scientists and counteracts previous narrations that limit-up risk and fear. Target texts are not anchored in one or the other narration but engage in a dialogue between the two frames, namely hope and fear.

5 Discussion

This paper argues for potential of press translation to create new narratives, new versions of stories, by means of lexical choices and redeployment of items in a sentence. It looked at *health* and *science* as two ubiquitous master narratives in which all individuals are embedded and from which nobody can escape. Master narratives about health and science in translated press discourse are steered by the numerous tellings and re-tellings of a) fear of illness and b) optimism and hope for scientific endeavour. This paper particularly chose to tease results out of the themes of *health* and *science* as the master script of health may integrate meanings of *risk* and *fear* about the human condition and in this sense participates in the concept of ‘risk communication’ (Beck, 1992)⁸. On its part, *science* is closely related to and incorporates meanings of *hope* and *optimism* about the research and technological endeavours.

To contribute to the exploration of the narrative aspect of translated discourse, the analysis viewed narrative as a built-in feature in news. Translated press items about health and science then become a territory where the tension between the discourse of news (fast, constantly changing and often arbitrary) is in contrast with the world of science and research which is often time-consuming and slow in progression (Nabi, 2003). What happens then is an adaptation of the content to the setting that accommodates it. Content is therefore “de-located and relocated from one institutional context to another” (MacDonald, 2002, p. 447). Thus, when science and scientific knowledge migrate to a context different than their ‘natural habitat’ i.e. a medical journal, inevitably this does not happen without leaving any traces.

As this paper has investigated translation within the institutionalized context of newspapers it has inevitably looked at narratives *about* science and health and not *by* scientists or patients. In that sense, the narratives elaborated in the texts are a kind of ‘second hand’ and do not account for first-person stories; instead they are mediated by a) the newspaper that hosts them and b) the translation to which they are subjected. Further research in press translation and narratives would shed more light on the linguistic preferences enacted by each newspaper; it would enable us to make a more holistic sense of the narratives that circulate and are articulated through translations without separating the production of translated language from what the latter contributes in meaning and story-telling.

NOTES

- 1 Polar, as disease is often discursively constructed as spontaneously attacking the human body (fast-acting) while science is often thought as a carefully planned activity (slow-acting).
- 2 Mason (2009) draws attention to the insights that Translation Studies could gain by focusing on aspects of reader response as far as the reception of a translationally- constructed discursive message.
- 3 Mason (2009) draws attention to the insights that Translation Studies could gain by focusing on aspects of reader response as far as the reception of a translationally- constructed discursive message.
- 4 Shifts which are not forced by the grammatical and syntactical rule of the target language.
- 5 Texts have also appeared in the printed versions of newspapers at issue.
- 6 Indeed, the CANCER AS OCCUPATION conceptualization has emerged in personal narrations of patients (Murray, 2002).
- 7 In *Science Deified and Science Defied* (1995) Olson commits to the necessity for awareness of the extent to which scientific influences have become so pervasive in mid-twentieth century.
- 8 The rise of risk communication studies is attributed to a cultural inclination towards individualism (Douglas, 1992) or to tendency for liberal governance (Dean; 1999).

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