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TRANSLATING WORLD NEWS: THE LANGUAGE OF INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS IN NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

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Translating World News: The Language of International Relations in Newspaper Articles

Sorina POSTOLEA[1]

Abstract

Drawing on a small corpus of news items referring to the Ukraine crisis, translated from English into Romanian, this article aims to sketch a typology of the main term categories and terminologies present in the discourse of international relations as reflected in the news and to explore how they are usually dealt with in translation. Appellations and individual concepts form an important part of the language used in world news, whereas the terms referring to national security and the military are omnipresent. As far as translation is concerned, metonymic substitution, i.e. translating an individual concept by a related entity (e.g. Moscow for Russia or the Russian government) is a common procedure and an integral part of the transediting process undergone by these texts. Although subtle, apparently innocuous choices in the translation of some lexical items may help impose a distorted view on the events described.

Keywords:

language of international relations; news translation; terminology; metonymy; Ukraine conflict; translation framing.

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1. Introduction

Pursuing the common goal of establishing connections and fostering dialogue across linguistic and national borders, translation and the field of international relations[2] have always maintained a symbiotic relationship. Without the former, the existence of the latter would have been if not impossible, then much more difficult and thorny. International and national bodies that deal with foreign affairs and diplomacy have always been highly dependent on translation. None of them can survive or function properly without an in-house translation department, e.g. the Translation Service at the UN, or without outsourcing on a regular basis all or some of the translation and interpreting services they need, e.g. the European Union, the World Bank, etc. The heavy use of translation by this kind of transnational establishments as well as by national organisations has even led to the emergence of a new discipline in translation studies, i.e. *institutional translation* (Kang 2009; Schäffner, Tcaciuc and Tesseur 2014).

But the two fields meet just as often in the newsrooms of mass-media establishments. The relationships maintained by states and nations, their upheavals, conflicts, or peaceful agreements, with far-reaching and sometimes global consequences, have always found some room in the editorial agendas of the mass-media. News reporters themselves have relied on local stringers and fixers (Palmer and Fontan 2007) and their translations when reporting from faraway conflict zones. On the other hand, more than once, the mass-media have been used as a back-channel for international communication when all the usual, direct channels of dialogue between states or international bodies have failed. Politicians and the official representatives of state or transnational organisations have been using the media to further their own foreign affairs agendas or to impose their own views in the international public sphere. Translation has played a crucial role in all these processes as well.

International news and their translation may be approached from several angles, spanning at all the levels of discourse analysis, from morphology and lexis to their thematic structure and schematic

[2] Understood here as the study and the practice of "the relations of states with each other and with international organizations and certain subnational entities (e.g., bureaucracies, political parties, and interest groups)", *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, online, http://www.britannica.com/topic/study-of-international-relations (accessed on 5 May 2015)

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structuring (van Dijk 1988). Among others, they may also be analysed in terms of their belonging to the "reporting genre colony" (Bhatia 2004) or in wider sociological and ideological terms, as "public narratives"[3](Baker 2006) portraying and disseminating a given view of the world. However, this article focuses only on the lexical-grammatical features and general semantics of the language used to talk about foreign affairs in international news, with a special focus on the way they are dealt with and sometimes (re)framed in translation.

2. Corpus structure and size

The small corpus used in this article is made up of 30 pairs of English source texts and their translations into Romanian. The target texts were retrieved from the online archives of the two most important news agencies in Romania: Agerpres[4] and Mediafax[5]. They were produced over the span of one month, from 15 February 2015 to 15 March 2015, and they focus on a single topic, i.e. the *Ukraine crisis*. 15 of the target texts were published by Agerpres and 15 by Mediafax. The English texts come from several sources, such as Reuters, the Associated Press, the Agence France-Presse, or TASS, the Russian news agency. Of course, due to the nature of the international news arena, it is impossible to determine whether the source texts were actually produced in English or not. On the contrary, there is reason to believe that some of these news reports (or fragments) are translations as well, at least as far as the statements of Russian or Ukrainian officials are concerned. However, it is safe to assume that the English and the Romanian texts in the corpus are linked by a process of translation, be it relay or direct.

Since "an act of news translation undertaken at the editing stage is frequently – if not usually – based upon more than one 'original' text, with these texts commonly summarized and amalgamated in the same process as translation" (Palmer 2009, 188), the Romanian texts in the corpus encompass many additions whereas some of the fragments in the source

[3] "Public narratives are stories elaborated by and circulating among social and institutional formations larger than the individual, such as the family, religious or educational institution, the media, and the nation" (Baker 2006, 4)

[4] According to its website (www.agerpres.ro), Agerpres, Romania's National News Agency, is the oldest institution of this kind in the country, with a history of over 125 years. It is financed by the Romanian state.

[5] According to its website (www.mediafax.ro), Mediafax has been the leader of the Romanian news reporting market for over twenty years. When it was established, in 1995, it was the first privately-owned news agency in Romania.

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texts were omitted. In the literature, this process is also known under the names of *transediting*[6], *tradaptation/transadaptation*, or *adaptation*(Valdeón 2014, 54). Given that this article focuses on lexical-semantic features and on translation at word and phrase level, the corpus used in this analysis was made to encompass only the sentences actually translated from one language into the other. It encompasses about 6000 tokens in English and 6200 tokens in Romanian.

3. Actors and appellations

If the news items at hand are to be considered in their entirety, as a "text", a "narrative" or an articulate piece of discourse about the current "hot spot" in eastern Ukraine, then the top ten most frequent nouns in the corpus reveal right away its *semantic macrostructure*, i.e. "the overall coherence of a text as well as its upshot or gist" (van Dijk 1988, 13).

Table 1 Top ten most frequent nouns in the corpus

English	Tok.	Romanian[7]	Tok.
Ukraine / Ukraine's	93	*Ucraina / Ucrainei*	79
Russia / Russia's	67	*Rusia / Rusiei*	72
Putin	21	*Putin*	22
weapons	21	*conflict*	21
sanctions	19	*sancţiuni*	20
conflict	17	*armament*	16
Minsk	16	*Donețk*	16
troops	16	*Minsk*	16
ceasefire	16	*Moscova*	16
president	15	*foc*	13

The narrative in these reports tells the story of a violent *conflict* between two main actor states, *Russia* and *Ukraine*, a conflict in which President Vladimir *Putin*, as the third most frequent word in the corpus, is obviously thought to play a central part. The confrontation also involves the use of *weapons* and *troops*, but also a *ceasefire* (agreement) and *sanctions*. The other proper nouns in the lists above, *Minsk*, *Donețk* [Donetsk] and *Moscova* [Moscow] establish the geographic coordinates of this conflict. The nouns in the Romanian list correspond roughly to those in the

[6] The term "was originally introduced by Stetting (1989) as a new term to account for the fuzzy borderline between translating and editing" (Schäffner 2012, 867)
[7] The figures for the Romanian nouns include all their inflected forms.

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English list, which seems to suggest that the translation process has not changed radically the semantic macrostructure of the texts at hand. *Armament* is one of the possible Romanian translations of the English *weapons*, whereas *foc* is a part of the noun phrase *acord de încetare a focului*, the conventional Romanian term for *ceasefire*. Two main reasons explain the higher frequency of *Donețk* and *Moscova* in the translated Romanian corpus: on the one hand, probably to avoid repetition, they are sometimes used metonymically to refer to related entities (1) and, on the other hand, they are sometimes added in the Romanian editors' background explanations about the facts presented (2).

- **EN**: The Russian Strategic Missile Forces commander Colonel-General Sergey Karakayev said in December that ***Russia*** has no intention of deploying Strategic Missile Force units in Crimea.
- **RO**: Generalul Serghei Karakaiev, comandantul Forelor Strategice ruse, afirma în decembrie 2014 că ***Moscova***nu intenționează să instaleze armament strategic în Crimeea.

- **EN**: "This morning the Ukrainian armed forces together with the National Guard completed an operation for a planned and organised withdrawal from Debaltseve"...
- **RO**: "În această dimineaţă (miercuri - n.red.), forţele armate ucrainene, împreună cu garda naţională, au finalizat operaţiunea de evacuare planificată şi organizată a unităţilor noastre militare din Debalţevo", ***nod de comunicaţii strategic ce leagă capitalele regiunilor Lugansk şi Donețk***... (a strategic communication hub linking the capitals of the Lugansk and Donetsk regions...)

In fact, as shown by these excerpts and by the top words in Table 2, one of the most striking lexical features of the language used in international news reports is its heavy use of *appellations*, i.e. terminological entities that "refer to individual concepts and comprise names, titles and other similar forms" (ISO 704: 2009 (E), 3). In the English part of the corpus there are no less than 705 proper names and capitalized common names that are part of one-word or multi-word appellations. They represent 11.9 % of the total number of tokens in the source text (5, 919), a significant ratio.

The appellations in the corpus cover a wide array of individual concepts of frequent use in the language of international relations and relevant for the narrative of the conflict at hand. As a matter of fact, drawing on his extensive study of international news, Van Dijk (1988, 89-90)shows that the arguments present in the macropopositions of news

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discourse are "often persons, groups, institutions, or countries". Thus, listed in the order of their frequency, the appellations in the corpus refer mainly to:

(a) states
EN: *Ukraine*, *Russia*, *the United States*, *Poland*, *Britain*, *Canada*, *Estonia*, *Germany*, etc. **RO**: *Ucraina*, *Rusia*, *Statele Unite*, *Polonia*, *Marea Britanie*, *Estonia*, *Germania*, etc.

(b) geographical entities
- regions

EN: *Europe*, *Crimea*, *Donbas*, *the West*, *the Baltics*,etc.
RO: *Europa*, *Crimeea*, *Donbas*, *Occidentul*,*ţările baltice*,etc.
- cities

EN: *Donetsk*, *Minsk*, *Moscow*, *Debaltseve*, *Mariupol*, *Odessa*, etc.
RO: *Donețk*, *Minsk*, *Moscova*, *Debalțevo*, *Mariopol*, *Odesa*, etc.
- landforms

EN: *the Crimean Peninsula*, *the Black Sea*, *the Sea of Japan*, *the Azov Sea*, etc.
RO: *peninsula Crimeea*, *Marea Neagră*, *Marea Japoniei*, *Marea Azov*, etc.

(c) transnational organisations
EN: *the European Union/EU*, *the UN*, *the Organisation for Cooperation and Security in Europe/OSCE*, *NATO*, *Amnesty International*, etc.
RO: *Uniunea Europeană/UE*, *ONU*, *Organizaţia pentru Cooperare şi Securitate în Europa/OSCE*, *NATO*, *Amnesty International*, etc.

(d) statesmen, politicians, and official representatives
EN: *Vladimir Putin*, *Petro Poroshenko*, *Michael Fallon*, *Pavlo Klimkin*, *John McCain*, *Angela Merkel*, *John Kerry*, etc.
RO: *Vladimir Putin*, *Petru Poroşenko*, *Michael Fallon*, *Pavlo Klimkin*, *John McCain*, *Angela Merkel*, *John Kerry*, etc.

(e) titles and functions
EN: *President*, *Prime Minister*, *Chancellor*, *NATO Secretary General*, *Finance Minister*, *Foreign Minister*, *UN High Commissioner for Human Rights*, *Defence Secretary*, etc.
RO: *preşedinte*, *prim-ministru*, *cancelar*, *secretarul general al NATO*, *ministrul de Finanţe*, *ministrul de Externe*, *Înaltul Comisar ONU pentru Drepturile Omului*, *ministrul Apărării*, etc.

(f) national institutions
EN: *Foreign Ministry*, *the Ukrainian Parliament*, *Defence Ministry*, *Finance Ministry*, *National Security and Defence Council*, *Verkhovnaya Rada*, *State Secretariat for Economic Affairs*, etc.

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RO: *Ministerul de Externe*, *Parlamentul ucrainean*, *Ministerul Apărării*, *Ministerul de Finanțe*, *Consiliul Național de Securitate și Apărare*, *Rada Supremă*, *Secretariatul de Stat pentru Afaceri Economice*, etc.

As these examples show, the translation into Romanian of all these English appellations is rather straightforward and does not seem to raise any particular difficulties since, in most cases, Romanian already has recognised translations for these entities. The only noticeable difference is the effort to adapt the source items to the spelling and orthographic rules of Romanian and therefore to the conventional expectations of the target culture. Thus, on the one hand, many names of functions and titles capitalized in English are written with small letters in Romanian (e.g. *Minister – ministru*). On the other hand, the names of Russian/Ukrainian entities are transcribed according to Romanian spelling rules: *Donetsk – Donețk*, *Debaltseve – Debalțevo*, *Andriy Lysenko – Andrei Lisenko*, etc.

A phenomenon worth noting at this level are the numerous cases of *metonymic substitution* found in the Romanian texts. This solution is mainly used when non-animate individual concepts or collective entities, such as states or institutions, are personified in discourse, but it can sometimes work the other way round, as in (4), where Vladimir Putin is taken to embody Russia as a whole.

- **EN**: After the resolution had not been passed on time, (...) Alexander Zakharchenko and Igor Plotnitsky asked German Chancellor Angela Merkel and French President Francois Hollande, (...), to exert pressure on ***the Ukrainian leadership*** and make it implement the Minsk agreements.
- **RO**: În contextul amânării adoptării acestei legislații, (...) Aleksandr Zaharchenko și Igor Plotnițki le-au cerut cancelarului german Angela Merkel și președintelui francez Francois Hollande să exercite presiuni asupra ***Kievului*** pentru punerea în aplicare a Acordului de la Minsk.
- **EN**: "Our Government remains steadfast in its commitment to stand with the people of Ukraine in the face of ***thePutin regime's*** ongoing military aggression, which has already cost the lives of more than 5,300 people," Canadian Prime Minister Stephen Harper said.
- **RO**: Guvernul Canadei 'rămâne de neclintit în dorința sa de a fi alături de populația Ucrainei în fața agresiunii militare constante' din partea ***Rusiei***, a menționat premierul Stephen Harper într-un comunicat.

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This kind of personification is a technique often used in journalism in general (e.g. Washington says...) and seems to be an integral part of the *transediting* process. In Romanian, it is likely determined by stylistic criteria and may be justified by various reasons, from the need to avoid repetition, which is usually seen as a sign of poor style, to the need of keeping a certain number of characters or of maintaining the target text's coherence through *co-reference chains* (Baker 1992, 182). However, metonymic substitution is not always deprived of risks, as it may help impose a different ideological frame in the target texts, as in (4) above, where the phrase*the Putin regime's ongoing military aggression*, a clear reference to a policy imposed and controlled by a specific entity, was generalized to become *Russia's aggression*.

The newly established state entities from the Donbas region could also be included in the list of the actors participating in the conflict. In the English corpus, they are mentioned thrice, in *theself-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic*, *the self-proclaimed republics of Donbas*, and the *self-proclaimed Donetsk People's Republic (DPR) and the Lugansk People's Republic (LPR)*. These are also the only four instances in which the term *republic* occurs in the English corpus and it is not by chance that each time it is accompanied by the term *self-proclaimed*. This shows that the English texts are careful to point out that these states are not officially recognised worldwide. The translation of *self-proclaimed*, i.e. *autoproclamat*, appears only twice in the Romanian corpus, also with reference to the two state entities; however, the latter are also characterised as *republici separatiste* (separatist republics) in Romanian (3 occurrences), an expression which leaves more room for ambiguity as far as their international status is concerned.

4. Terminologies

Another important feature of the language of international relations as reflected in the news and, *mutatis mutandis*, in general, is that it borrows terms from a multitude of related fields. In fact, there is reason to suggest that there is no language of international relations per se, but rather a mixture of terminologies[8] that are usually used to talk about the relations established between states. These specialised knowledge units

[8] The analysis here subscribes to the recent trends in terminological research, e.g. communicative, sociocognitive and frame-based approaches, according to which "trying to find a distinction between terms and words is no longer fruitful or even viable, and (...) the best way to study specialized knowledge units is by studying their behaviour in texts" (Faber, León, & Prieto 2009, 4)

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come mainly from the fields of international law, diplomacy and intelligence services, economics, political science, geography and, of course, national security and the military. The texts in the corpus encompass terms from all these fields.

National security and the military

Seeing that the Ukraine crisis is actually an armed conflict in both of the meanings described by international law[9], besides the appellations discussed above, the terms relative to *national security* and *the military* are omnipresent in the corpus at hand. Out of these, the most frequent are*military*and *weapons*, with 20 occurrences each. Being an English word that may function either as an adjective or as a noun, *military* is usually translated into Romanian either as *militar(ă)* (5) or as *armată* (army)/*militari* (troops) (6), according to its use. In the corpus, it appears in combinations such as: *military presence/prezența militară*, *military equipment/echipament militar*, *military exercises/manevre*, etc.

- **EN**: The UK has said it will supply Ukraine with £850,000 worth of non-lethal ***military*** equipment…
- **RO**: Marea Britanie a anunțat că va furniza Ucrainei echipament ***militar*** neletal în valoare de 850,000 de lire sterline...
- **EN**: The Ukrainian ***military***said Tuesday that its forces would not withdraw their weapons….
- **RO**: ***Armata*** ucraineană a declarat marți că forțele sale nu își retrag armamentul...

Weapons is the second most frequent military term in the texts at hand and has two main translations. On the one hand, itis usually translated as *armament* (weaponry) in the multi-word term *heavy weapons/armament greu*. On the other hand, it is translated by the Romanian established translation of *weapons*, i.e. *arme*, in phrases such as *nuclear weapons/arme nucleare*, *arme atomice*, or *illegal weapons/arme ilegale*. This suggests that the collocational ranges of the terms *weapons* and *arme/armament* vary in the two languages at hand.

Another interesting case is that of the term *war*, which emerges 10 times in the English corpus but is translated as *război* in only 3 of these

[9] "International armed conflicts exist whenever there is resort to armed force between two or more States" and "Non-international armed conflicts are protracted armed confrontations occurring between governmental armed forces and the forces of one or more armed groups…" (International Committee of the Red Cross, 2008)

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occurrences, being downgraded to *conflict*, *confrontation*or *armed conflict* in the other translations. This may suggest that the Romanian word *război* is perceived as too strong for the confrontation at hand, having a narrower semantic area of coverage than *war* in English. On the other hand, this couldalso be seen as a way of *framing*(Baker 2006, 107) the Ukraine conflict in more neutral terms, maybe as a way of appeasing the Romanian readers of these news items. A full-blown war so close to Romania's borders would have far more disquieting reverberations.

Other common military and conflict terms in the corpus are *conflict onflict*; *conflict zone/zonă de conflict*; *troops/trupe*, *militari*, *soldaţi*, *contingent*; *separatists/separatişti*, *insurgenţi*; *armed forces/forţe armate*, *armată*; *rebels/rebeli*, *separatişti*, *insurgenţi*; *fighting/lupte*, *conflict*; *artillery/artilerie*; *air defence units/unităţi de apărare antiaeriene*; *cluster bombs/bombe cu dispersie*; *drones/drone*, *avioane fără pilot*; *strategic railway hub/nod feroviar strategic*; *front line/linia frontului*; *withdrawal/retragere*; etc.

Stealth as a military term emerges thrice in the corpus, in the phrase *stealth textiles*, and seems to be problematic as far as translation is concerned. The first time it was used, in an English title, *Swiss sent 'stealth' textiles to Russia*, it was generalized to *bunuri de uz militar* (goods of military use). In the other two occurrences, it was largely amplified into a definition-like phrase, as in *materiale textile folosite pentru plasele de camuflaj şi uniforme ultramoderne* (textile materials used for ultra-modern camouflage nets and uniforms). In fact, this sort of amplification seems to be the first-hand solution used with difficult English terms, e.g. *drone / avion fără pilot* (unmanned plane).

International law and diplomacy

The field of *international law* and *diplomacy* may be seen as one of the pillars of international relations, since it basically regulates any form of relation established between state entities. The corpus encompasses several legal terms, out of which the most frequent are *sanctions* and *ceasefire*. The former forms collocations such as *economic sanctions/sancţiuni economice* or *serious sanctions/sancţiuni severe* and is usually followed by the prepositions *against* or *on* and the nouns *Russia* or *Moscow*. *Ceasefire* produces three different translations in the corpus: *acord de încetare a focului* (7), *armistiţiu* (truce) (8) and the clumsy calque *încetare a focului* (9):

- **EN**: "*The ceasefire* has not been respected," he told reporters before meeting with...

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- **RO**: '*Acordul de încetare a focului* nu a fost respectat, a insistat el, adăugând că...
- **EN**: On the rebel side, officials said Ukrainian forces had violated *the ceasefire* 17 times...
- **RO**: La rândul lor, insurgenţii susţin că armata ucraineană a încălcat de 17 ori *armistiţiul*...
- **EN**: ...its forces would not withdraw their weapons until *a cease-fire* takes hold.
- **RO**:...forţele sale nu îşi retrag armamentul până la respectarea *unei încetări a focului*.

Other common international law and diplomacy terms in the news studied include the Minsk agreement(s)/acordul, acordurile de la Minsk (individual concept); peace deal/acord de pace, armistiţiu; human rights/drepturile omului; talks/negocieri, discuţii privind...; truce/armisiţiu, acord de încetare a focului; intelligence service/servicii secrete; occupied territory/teritoriul ocupat; violations/încălcări; ambassador/ambasador; international law/drept internaţional, etc.

As these examples show, armistiţiu is used to translate at least three different English source terms, i.e. ceasefire, truce, and peace deal, although they are not synonyms. Ceasefire and truce refer to a "temporary cessation of armed hostilities" and are seen as a first step that may lead to an armistice (a more formal agreement) and then to a peace deal or treaty (Massi 2014). In fact, as the direct translation of armistice, armistiţiu may help impose in the Romanian texts the idea that the conflict in Ukraine is much closer to an end that it actually is.

Political science and government

Just like international law, *political science*and *government* are an integral part of the field of international relations, to which it also lends some of its terminology. Apart from the appellations discussed above (names of state institutions and functions), the corpus encompasses several other terms. *State* is one of the most frequent, emerging in phrases such as *thePolish state Radio 1*, *thestate oil giant Rosneft*, *state body*, *the Ukrainian state*, and *secretary of state*. In the first three instances it was omitted in translation for unknown reasons, although it might have been translated as *public* or *naţional*. *Statul ucrainean* or *Kiev* (metonymy) were used to translate *the Ukrainian state*, whereas *secretar de stat* is the recognised translation of the last phrase in the list. Other common political science terms in the corpus include *government/guvern*, *guvernamental*; *special order of*

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self-government/proiect de lege privind acordarea unui statut special...; *draft resolution/proiect de lege*; *local elections/alegeri locale*; *districts/raioane*; *MP/deputat*, etc.

It is interesting to notice that in the phrase *special order of self-government*, a draftput forth by the Ukrainian government for the regions of Lugansk and Donetsk, the term *self-government*, very important in the context at hand, was downplayed in Romanian to *statut special* (special status), a far more neutral and ambiguous term.

Economy and trade

Finally, the field of *economy*and *trade*is the least represented in the corpus analysed here, even if economic affairs are sometimes at the heart of international relations and conflicts. However, economic or economy-related terms do emerge in the texts at hand and out of them *gas* is the most frequent, with 12 occurrences. This shows, if needed, that energy and *gas* are thought to be an important part of the ongoing conflict in Ukraine. The texts mention the *oil and gas sectors/sectoarele petrolier şi al gazelor naturale*, a *gas supply contract/acord de aprovizionare cu gaze*, and *proposals on humanitarian gas supplies/Rusia ar putea furniza gaze în calitate de 'ajutor umanitar'*. Other economic terms in the corpus are *economy/economie*, *bond restructuring/restructurare a datoriilor*, *maturity extension, extension of maturities/prelungirea scadenţelor*, *principal reduction/scăderea dobânzii* and *economic sanctions/sancţiuni economice*.

It should go without saying that all the ontological domains discussed above are interrelated and that some terms belong to more than just one field.

5. Conclusions

From a lexical-terminological viewpoint, the language used to talk about international relations in the press is a mixture of terms and entities coming from many areas of knowledge and activity, from geography and history to national security and the military, political science, government and trade. A striking feature, which becomes immediately apparent in corpus based-analysis, is the very consistent ratio of appellations present in these texts. They designate the main participants, both agents and objects, taking part in the events described.

Metonymic substitution or translation by a related entity seems to be a common procedure in news translation, having deep roots in the journalistic style itself. However, although apparently innocuous, it may

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sometimes help form distorted views on the entities presented, such as the idea that the events in Ukraine are controlled by Russia itself, not by President Putin, who is just a political leader who uses his power to suit his own agenda. The same shifts, even if subtler, may also emerge in the translation of other lexical entities. Translating *war* as *conflict* or *confrontation* over and over again is a sure way of downplaying its seriousness and breadth. Apart from sound knowledge about all the ontologies at play in international relations, the translators/editors working with world news should have a heightened sense of awareness about the consequences of their linguistic choices as well.

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