

Anita Żytowicz

anittaz@op.pl

Kazimierz Wielki University in Bydgoszcz

EMOTIONS AND LANGUAGE MEDIATIONS IN THE MICRO-ACCOUNTS OF POLISH TEENAGE BROKERS

Introduction

There has been numerous research on emotions, personality traits and multilingualism linked, i.e. Cook and Bassetti, (2011); Dewaele (2013, 2014); Pavlenko (2005); Dewaele and Li Wei, (2012, 2013) or Dewaele and Pavlenko, (2001–2003). While language brokering is a concept broadly discussed by such linguists as Antonini, (2010); Flores et al., (2003); Harris, (1980, 1992); Toury, (1995, 2012); or Tse, (1995), yet from the perspective of Polish teenagers, it has not been presented so far. As for bilingualism or multilingualism, among the most well-known publications on the subject are those by De Houwer (2009); Dewaele (2013); Grosjean (1982, 2010); Koven (1998); Pavlenko (2005), Baker (1988, 1995); Bialystok (1987, 2011); Chen et al. (2008) or Cline et al. (2010), just to name the few. All these studies have shown that human beings are diverse, different from one another and the key aspects shaping their ‘self’ seems to be a mixture of the uniqueness of their personality and the impact of the environment they grow up/live in. It is the everyday situations that one faces, the little obstacles that obstruct their path, the success that paves their driveway and the communication that builds the relationships. The fact of being a young, bilingual/multilingual student of Polish origin, growing up in a British society has undoubtedly shaped the ‘self’ of the young respondents to a great extent. Some have shown maturity which was surprising for their age, and awareness of the benefits of living in

Great Britain and brokering for others, expressed mainly in the interviews (to be discussed in the upcoming papers of the author). The paper shall not discuss the concepts of bilingualism or multilingualism in detail, but focus on the emotions that are mentioned in the ‘micro-accounts’ given by Polish teenage brokers with regards to their experience with language mediations. It will show the differences between the extent to which girls and boys express their feelings, and prove that language brokering triggers a plethora of emotions, with the positive ones prevailing.

Language brokering undertaken by bilinguals

The classic definition of bilingualism as “being more than two monolinguals in one body” proposed by Grosjean (1982) has nowadays been presented in the new, more expanded light by such researchers as Cook (2002); Herdina and Jessner (2002); Dewaele, Housen and Wei (2003); Wang (2008), and reformulated by Grosjean (2008) himself. It takes into consideration not the mere ability to speak two or more languages but the multiplicity of mutual interactions that occur in the brain of the bilingual or multilingual in connection with the overall complexity of language, social and cultural experiences. Such definition has also been followed by the author, perceiving a person bilingual irrespective of his/her particular language abilities, and assuming that their language aptitude would differ to a great extent when compared to typical Polish monolingual children. In the studies by de Houwer (1990); Kurcz (2005); Genesee and Nicoladis (2006) or Bialystok (2010), the differences in the development of language skills of monolinguals and bilinguals have been broadly described.

The research on language brokering of bilingual children has been pending for at least three decades, i.e. Toury (1980, 1995); Downing and Dwyer (1981); Schieffelin and Cochran-Smith (1984); Shannon (1990) or Malakoff and Hakuta (1991). However, it was Lucy Tse (1995) who introduced the term child language brokering (CLB) into linguistics and has had many followers: i.e. Orellana (1999); Ekiaka-Oblazamengo et al. (2014); or Cline et al. (2010), just to name the few.

Since the main aim of the paper is to present the relationship between the fact of being a bilingual/monolingual broker and the feelings that prevail in the process of language mediations, it is necessary to look at the correspondence between languages and emotions. As Dewaele and van Oudenhoven

(2009, p. 4) noted: “Experts on multilingualism do focus on the linguistic aspects of immigration and acculturation, but typically pay less attention to psychological aspects”. Thus, the research might, to some extent, shed light on the psycho-linguistic aspects of the topic. It will attempt to prove that brokering in the eyes of the Polish language mediators appears as a predominantly positive experience, triggering pride, happiness and the feeling of being helpful and needed. It will not however, fail to mention the negativity expressed by the young respondents.

Language/culture acquisition and emotions

Fredrickson (2003, 2007) advocates that positive emotions facilitate building of resources, broaden the person’s perspective and open an individual to absorb. MacIntyre and Gregersen (2012, p. 209) go further stating that in language learning and acquisition emotions are an essential factor as: “What could be healthier for language growth than learners who want to play, explore, integrate and establish relationships?”. It applies not only to language learning but also acquisition, and positive attitude towards the language and target culture. It shows that positive attitude surely facilitates the process of adaptation and enhances language skills’ development. Ellis (1985) claims that acquisition of a language is a complex process, comprising of the purely linguistic aspects, and impacting or having been impacted by the interactions around:

The product of many factors pertaining to many interrelated factors. Acquisition refers to picking up a second language through exposure to the subconscious or conscious process by which a language is learnt in a natural or tutored setting. It covers the development of phonology, lexis, grammar and pragmatic knowledge. (Ellis, 1985, p. 4–6)

Therefore, taken the fact that the person is exposed to a number of languages as well as culture-related events, we cannot perceive acquisition as a solely linguistics process. Learning/acquiring a language among native speakers in a new, often initially unknown environment, being surrounded by countless stimuli undoubtedly has an enormous impact on the person’s personality, motivation and language aptitude, and looks very different to attending formal language classes in a home country. Dewaele (2008b) and Pavlenko (2008) stated that immersion in a foreign language and culture is necessary

for the socialization process to be affective. Previously, in her research on the correspondence between language switching and the feelings of difference, Pavlenko (2006) concluded that the majority of the respondents also admitted to feeling more 'natural' or 'real' when speaking their L1, rather than L2. Whereas Dewaele and van Oudenhoven (2009, p. 12) showed that certain personality dimensions of young teenagers were linked to their multilingualism and multiculturalism. They discovered a correspondence between the number of languages a child could speak and multicultural personality dimensions. According to their findings, multilinguals' scores on Emotional Stability turned out to be much lower than those on Cultural Empathy and Open-mindedness, when compared to their bilingual/monolingual counterparts and language learners in the classroom. Eva Hoffman (1989) in her work describes which differences between the expression of emotional experiences in Polish and English she noticed:

When my friend Penny tells me that she's envious, or happy, or disappointed, I try laboriously to translate not from English to Polish but from the word back to its source, to the feeling from which it springs. Already, in that moment of strain, spontaneity of response is lost. And anyway, the translation doesn't work. I don't know how Penny feels when she talks about envy. (Hoffman, 1989, p. 29)

Barańczak (1990) also claims that certain, commonly recognized concepts such as "happiness" are understood and interpreted differently in Polish and English and there is often vague correspondence between their translations. Finally, Wierzbicka (1992, 1999) discusses lack of direct correspondence between the meanings of certain cognates in different languages, and shows that they reflect and convey ways of living and thinking characteristic of a given society as priceless clues to the understanding of culture.

Brokering, personality and emotions

The relationship between language performance and anxiety has been noticed by the author during the data collection process (both interviews and 'micro-accounts') when some students openly admitted to feeling more secure when using the language which was closer to their heart, and which ensured more safety in expressing themselves (English in most cases, to be discussed in detail in the next paper). Similar findings were presented by Hull (1987,

1990), who showed that bilinguals might get different scores in the same personality test, depending on the language of the test. Stern (1983, p. 379) shows that among the personality traits which might enhance or impair language learning, extraversion and introversion are the most significant ones, and claims that extraverts are believed to be more open, sociable and eager to engage in interactions with others. The study did not address these traits directly, though it could be noticed that certain respondents were more open and willing to share their opinions during the interviews, while others seemed more intimidated and remained in the back. Taken these two traits only, we might assume that engaging in language mediations will turn out easier/more enjoyable or more difficult and stressful, depending on the particular personality profiles. However, the study aimed at showing that emotions are expressed by all children (they were not divided into particular personality types) and it is rather the linguistic and social context than the personality trait that should be looked into when analysing them.

In the studies by Hanson and Morales (2005, p. 490), it was reported that language brokers experience feelings of frustration, embarrassment, or pressure to translate accurately. The research by Pohl (2006) shows contrary results, as the ex-language brokers questioned during the project "Wirsorgen für Verständigung" expressed positive attitude towards brokering in retrospect: "They have learned, they have grown more independent, they were able to help" (Pohl, 2006, p. 43). The 'micro-accounts' given by Polish teenage brokers will be an attempt to answer the question of how they perceive language mediations (as a burden or uplifting activity), and thus bridge the gap in research on Polish bilingual/multilingual child/teenage language brokers. They will complement the picture of brokering experience of bilingual/multilingual Polish teenagers painted in the interview section of the study.

Material and methods

The study and data collection procedure. The whole study, carried out in Great Britain in the years 2015–2016, by the author in person comprised 3 parts: the semi-structured interviews, 'micro-accounts' (including three questions) and translation of hospital admission form. The study aimed at analysing the prevalence and linguistic context of language brokering undertaken by Polish teenagers living in the United Kingdom as well emotions that are triggered in the said process. Additionally, it addresses such aspects

as social and cultural adjustment, language identity, social/language/national-based prejudice and cultural differences. This paper focuses on the data collected from the 'micro-accounts'. It discusses the answers given in writing to the 'open-ended' question concerning the emotions that appear during the brokering process: "When I translate for others I feel...". It is important, however, to mention, that the interviews were carried out first, in order to get the respondents acquainted with the concept of language brokering. As it turned out, most of them had undertaken language mediations on a daily basis, as part of their everyday existence, without realising it might be an experience that only some children share. The data were collected by the author in person in the UK (London and Oxford), either at the school the children attended (in a classroom, in the comfort of our own company), or in the safety of their own flat, with no intruders.

The group comprised 24 girls and 12 boys aged 10–18. The variables common for all the respondents are: the place of living – the UK, the fact of being bilingual/multilingual and language mediations undertaken for third parties. Interestingly, all the participants have shared brokering experience, irrespective of the age of onset or time of immersion into the British reality. Both during the interviews and free-writing ('micro-accounts') some students responded in English and some in Polish, in which case, for the purpose of the paper, their accounts were translated into English. The research data were collected following the rules described by John W. Creswell (2014) and Earl R. Babbie (1973, 2007).

Having completed the interviews, the 36 selected interviewees were asked to complete three open-ended questions (either in Polish or in English, depending on their language preferences), named by the author 'micro-accounts'. The author chose this term mainly due to the fact that they did not meet the proper definition of a *narrative* proposed by Lieblich (1998) or Oxford Dictionaries ('a spoken or written account of connected events, a story'), yet still remained a piece of free-writing, an account of one's thoughts and opinions. Since the author did not want to abuse the patience of the parents or the children (most of the interviews took over 30 minutes), she would not have dared ask for more time, and thus creating proper narratives seemed hardly possible. Most of the 'micro-accounts' were merely single sentences or two, three-sentence utterances. Nonetheless, they complement the picture drawn based on the oral accounts given during the interviews, and show a plethora of emotions that appear when language mediations are undertaken.

The author assumed that expressing one's thoughts, opinions and most of all feelings in writing, unaccompanied and undisturbed may turn out less intimidating and stressful than the interviews per se (facing an interviewer and a group of peers), and thus produce a more "open" account of the brokers' feelings. Therefore, each respondent was seated separately (if they participated in a group interview), given a piece of paper and a pen, and requested to complete the sentences in their own words, using any of the preferred languages.

The study group – a short characteristic. The 36 respondents were selected from among the 55 interviewees who participated in the research. There were 12 boys and 24 girls aged 10–18, with the majority 77,8% – 28 being students of secondary schools, 16,7% – 6 being graduates of secondary schools and 5,5% – 2 children who were about to end primary and begin the secondary education. For the purpose of the study, and in accordance with the personal data protection regulations, the names of the participants have been changed and data coded. Only one girl – Veronica (R35), aged 13, was born in England, while all the others, having different age of onset, have lived there from 1 to 13 years. The tables, analysing particular emotions, additionally include a division of the respondents by gender, age, and the age of onset. All the respondents were accessed thanks to help and support of friends who, living in England, had managed to talk them into participating in the study. Expressing emotions is hardly ever an easy task. The more difficult when expected of teenagers. In this case, most of the respondents were in their teens (some in the middle of puberty), and had been immersed into a foreign culture at different ages. The only thing the author had not predicted was the fact that teenagers in general tend to be less willing to write, so the accounts might come out as very short (tiny/micro). The picture of the 'emotions' does get complete in the end, thanks to the combination of the interviews and 'micro-accounts'.

Data analysis – brokering experience and emotions in the micro-accounts. The open-ended question posed was: "When I translate for others I feel...". Prior to giving their accounts, the children were interviewed, and thus familiarized with the concept of brokering/translating/interpreting for others. Additionally, the emotions had been elicited to some extent as well. The accounts below have been divided into four sections depending on the feelings that were mentioned. The first three groups present positive emotions triggered when undertaking language mediations for third parties, and the fourth one negative feelings only. The author has decided

to group them accordingly, since the majority of emotions mentioned were positive 62 vs 20 negative – out of the total 82 (making up 75% vs 25%). Additionally, the distribution of the emotions with regard to the brokers' age and length of stay in the UK have also been analysed. Thus, they have been divided into two groups A and B (1–4 years in the UK and 5–13, respectively). Group A comprises 6 girls and 3 boys and group B – 18 girls and 9 boys. Finally, the particular feelings have been inserted in separate tables with regard to the respondents' gender. All the accounts have been preserved in their original form, without grammar or spelling corrections. The analysis of the data is presented below the accounts, followed by the corresponding table accordingly. It is worth pointing out that in most accounts a few feelings co-occurred. The R number stands for the code allocated to each person.

Section no. 1 – happiness, being needed and helpful. The first group includes all the accounts where happiness and being needed/helpful appeared. Since in most cases they came hand in hand, the author has decided to put them together:

- When I broker for others I feel needed (R1).
- When I translate for others I feel helpful and I enjoy it a lot. It makes me feel smarter and I feel happier (R2).
- When I translate for others I feel happy since I know that what I learnt I can use for a good cause (R3) – the good cause has been interpreted as 'to help others'.
- When I broker for others I am happy that I can help, I feel needed (R4).
- When I translate for people I feel important and needed (R7).
- When I translate for others I feel intelligent and helpful (R8).
- I think that I am needed to something, I feel helpful. I also learn myself. (R12) – this respondent has been staying in the UK for merely 2 years, yet she has already noticed the importance of brokering as well as expanding her language skills 'I can learn myself'.
- When I translate for others I feel like I'm helping other people and that they can't go on if I don't translate to them (R13).
- When I translate for others I feel frustrated that I have to translate for them when I'm not so comfortable not knowing the word. Although, if I know what I have to translate, I feel wanted and needed (R15).
- When I translate for others I feel proud of myself, I feel smart and I feel happy because I can help someone. I feel like I'm a better person (R17).

- When I translate for others I feel smart and helpful and surely, I feel proud of myself and my language skills. I feel happy that I can/I am able to help my friends and not only friends! (R18) – only one male respondent to have enumerated four positive feelings.
- When I translate for others I feel like I'm needed for someone, which makes me happy and also proud to be able to do that (R19).
- When I translate for others I feel excited and I am happy that I can help (R23).
- When I translate for others I feel important and happy that I can help them (R24).
- When I translate for others I feel that I can help. I am proud especially when I do it for my mum (R25).
- When I translate for others I feel happy that I can help others (R26).
- When I translate for others I feel happy that I can help someone in a foreign country (R27).
- When I translate for others I feel helpful because I know I'm helping others (R28).
- When I translate for others I feel that I'm doing great job for them. (R30) – [since it was said by a girl aged 13 who has been living in England for merely 2 years and who during the interview remained modest, yet happy she was also able to help others, it can be interpreted as feeling of being proud of being helpful rather than merely important].
- When I translate for others I feel that I'm needed and it's a pleasure for me and it isn't difficult (R31) – 'it's a pleasure' has been interpreted as I enjoy it.
- When I translate for others I feel I'm helping others (R33).
- When I translate for others I feel helpful because I know English and because they trust me and they think I know English very well (R34) – the 'trust' aspect has been interpreted as the feeling of 'making a difference and doing a great job' – this respondent is a very modest, yet mature girl, who wishes her mum would have a better command of English and is trying to do her best to help her.
- Since I translate for my parents I feel scared that I may get something wrong and I will not manage. But when I do it right then I am very happy and proud (R35).
- When I translate for others I feel scared that I might mistranslate something. I feel helpful because I can help in translation. I feel important because I can help (R36).

Data analysis 1. The feelings of being helpful and needed appeared in 19 'micro-accounts' of girls (out of 24 – 79%) and 7 'micro-accounts' of boys (out of 12 – 58%). So in total 26 respondents (out of 36 – 72%) state that when translating for others they feel needed and helpful – being the most prevailing among all the feelings expressed, with rather similar ratio of incidence in both gender groups – above 50%. When we look at the prevalence of this particular type of emotion, we can see that it ranks first – being mentioned 26 times out of the total of 62 all positive emotions and makes up 42%.

Looking into the variable of time/length of stay – in group B with longer residence in the UK, these emotions were mentioned 12 times by the girls and 5 times by the boys. However, in group A 5 out of 6 girls admit feeling helpful (R12, R17, R23, R30 and R26) and additionally, one of them (R12) also mentions feeling needed. As for the boys in group A only 2 associate brokering with helping others – the one who has been living in England for 4 years (R18) and the one who has been there merely for 1 year. The latter admitted in the interview that even though his language skills were still low, he would often be asked for help and willingly provided such, especially to his schoolmates. It can imply that the length of stay plays some role here, though cannot be interpreted alone. Presumably, the longer the time of residence is, and subsequently the better language skills acquired, the more confident the respondents become and in turn the more willing to broker they are. Once they mediate and notice that they are appreciated by others, they tend to feel more confident and, in return, more open to help in linguistic settings. At the same time those with low language aptitude also serve as mediators and having once achieved their goal or assisting at conveying the message, feel helpful and needed. Even though the studied sample of the population is low, it cannot be straightforwardly concluded that only the brokers with high language skills or long stay in the host country feel helpful and needed.

As for enjoyment and happiness, 11 girls (45%) and 3 boys (25%) admit that brokering is a pleasant experience. So in total brokering is perceived as a pleasant experience, triggering happiness in 14 respondents, making up 39% of the total study group, and being the second most prevailing feeling mentioned.

Having looked at the length of stay variable, we can see that 3 girls and 2 boys from group A enjoy brokering. Interestingly, in group B enjoyment appears 8 times in girls and once in boys. Even though at first glance the table shows that these emotions are experienced by both those who have been in

the UK for a long time, and those who have lived there for merely two years, still there is a difference when we analyse the time frame in detail. Those with longer language experience once more seem more positive about brokering and admit the joy when being helpful. It can be assumed that language confidence is strongly related to positive attitude towards language mediations and triggers such emotions as happiness and the feeling of being helpful. At the same time, it must be pointed out that in 9 cases (R2, R4, R17, R18, R19, R23, R24, R26, R27) the respondents feel happy that they can help others, so their enjoyment comes from the ability to do something right, be able to make a difference for someone else, not the mere fact of possessing better language skills than their 'clients'. Though it can be noticed that even in cases when both positive and negative emotions co-occur, the negativity is outperformed when the feeling of accomplishment and the ultimate goal of helping others is achieved (R35 and R36).

Table 1

Distributions of emotions in girls and boys (happiness, being needed and helpful)

BOYS – AGE	TIME IN THE UK	BEING NEEDED/ HELPFUL	ENJOY IT/HAPPY
R28 – 10	9	1	
R7 – 13	7	1	
R27 – 13	1	1	1
R33 – 13	10	1	
R18 – 15	4	1	1
R13 – 15	9	1	
R3 – 18	10	1	1
TOTAL		7	3

GIRLS – AGE	TIME IN THE UK	HELPFUL/BEING NEEDED/ WANTED	ENJOY IT/HAPPY
R26 – 11	2	1	1
R31 – 11	7	1	1
R23 – 12	1	1	1
R36 – 12	6	1	
R34 – 12	9	1	

GIRLS – AGE	TIME IN THE UK	HELPFUL/BEING NEEDED/ WANTED	ENJOY IT/HAPPY
R30 – 13	2	1	
R5 – 13	7		1
R19 – 13	9	1	1
R25 – 13	10	1	
R35 – 13	13		1
R12 – 14	2	2	
R1 – 14	8	1	
R15 – 14	9	2	
R24 – 15	7	1	1
R2 – 15	8	1	2
R8 – 16	6	1	
R4 – 17	8	2	1
R17 – 18	4	1	1
TOTAL		19	11

Source: own data source.

Section no. 2 – pride, being important and smart. The feelings of being proud, important and smart were categorized in the second group and turned out to be the next feelings most commonly mentioned in the ‘micro-accounts’, expressed in 8 accounts of the girls and 2 of the boys:

- When I translate for others I feel helpful and I enjoy it a lot. It makes me feel smarter and I feel happier (R2).
- When I translate for others I feel important (R6).
- When I translate for others I feel proud because I feel that no one else knows what I’m talking about but I feel happy (R5).
- When I translate for people I feel important and needed (R7).
- When I translate for others I feel intelligent and helpful (R8).
- When I translate for others I feel proud of my work. (R9).
- When I translate for others I feel proud but frustrated when I can’t translate it correctly (R16).
- When I translate for others I feel proud of myself, I feel smart and I feel happy because I can help someone. I feel like I’m a better person (R17).

- When I translate for others I feel smart and helpful and surely, I feel proud of myself and my language skills. I feel happy that I can/I am able to help my friends and not only friends! (R18).
- When I translate for others I feel like I'm needed for someone which makes me happy and also proud to be able to do that (R19).
- When I translate for others I feel important and happy that I can help them (R24).
- When I translate for others I feel that I can help. I am proud especially when I do it for my mum (R25).
- When I translate for others I feel helpful because I know English and because they trust me and they think I know English very well (R34) – it might be assumed she feels proud of her language skills.
- Since I translate for my parents I feel scared that I may get something wrong and I will not manage. But when I do it right then I am very happy and proud (R35).
- When I translate for others I feel scared that I might mistranslate something. I feel helpful because I can help in translation. I feel important because I can help (R36).

Data analysis 2. Eight girls admit to feeling proud and think they are doing a great job when brokering for others (33%), while boys only use the expression “proud” and do so in 2 cases (16%). Altogether these feelings are expressed in total by 10 (28%) of the respondents and make up 16% of the total number of positive emotions mentioned. Interestingly, 3 boys (25%) and 3 girls (12%) claim that translating for others makes them feel important and smart – which constitutes the total of 16% of the responses. Three girls admit brokering makes them a better person while this feeling was not mentioned by boys. The results clearly show that pride co-occurs with the feelings of being needed and helpful, as only once does it appear alone, making up the second most significant benefit of participating in language mediations. These young people show that even when brokering seems difficult or challenging, having accomplished the task, the predominating reward is feeling proud and smart. Analysing the results from the time frame perspective, we can see that in group A in girls only two and in boys only 1 admit to feeling proud when brokering for third parties. As for feeling more clever, only 1 boy and 1 girl mentioned these emotions in relation to language mediations. It can therefore be concluded that the length of stay and language aptitude play a key role in triggering the feeling of pride, as it appeared in total in the micro-accounts of 8 girls, 6 of whom have stayed

in the UK for over 5 years (group B). In total, only 2 boys mentioned this emotion, one (R9) living there for 6 and the other (R15) for 4 years. Only 6 times did the respondents mention that brokering for others would make them feel smart – interestingly, 3 boys and 3 girls.

Table 2

Feeling smart, important, proud and a better person – GIRLS/BOYS

GIRLS – AGE	TIME IN THE UK	SMART/ IMPORTANT	PROUD/GREAT JOB	BETTER PERSON
R34 – 12	9		1	
R36 – 12	6			1
R30 – 13	2		1	
R5 – 13	7		1	
R19 – 13	9		1	
R25 – 13	10		1	
R35 – 13	13		1	
R24 – 15	7			1
R2 – 15	8	1		
R8 – 16	6	1		
R17 – 18	4	1	1	1
R16 – 18	11		1	
TOTAL		3	8	3

BOYS – AGE	TIME IN THE UK	SMART/ IMPORTANT	PROUD
R6 – 11	5	1	
R7 – 13	7	1	
R18 – 15	4	1	1
R9 – 18	6		1
TOTAL		3	2

Source: own data source.

Section no. 3 – I feel good, pleased, excited. The third group is made up of other positive emotions such as feeling good, pleased or excited that appeared

in the ‘micro-accounts’, often together with the feelings of pride and happiness to be able to help. Interestingly, only girls mentioned these emotions.

- When I translate for others I feel good because it’s nice (R22).
- When I translate for others I feel that I’m needed and it’s a pleasure for me and it isn’t difficult (R31).
- When I translate for others I feel excited and I am happy that I can help (R23).

Data analysis 3. The three examples (nearly 1%) shown above once more present language mediations as a positive experience in the eyes of the brokers. Since they were mentioned by girls only, the author wanted to show that girls are capable of expressing more emotions than their male counterparts.

Section no. 4 – negative emotions. The study shows that there are certain respondents who perceive brokering as a burden and a stressful experience, especially when facing the need to meet parents’ expectations or facing a linguistic challenge. They do not want to disappoint the adults and fear their language skills are not up to the task. Thus, there were accounts expressing frustration, nervousness or anger, when translation concerned difficult language contexts such as medical or legal terms. In total, 20 negative emotions were found in the ‘micro-accounts’ of the 36 Polish teenage brokers – 5 were mentioned by the male and 15 by the female group. These were put together in the fourth section:

- When I translate for others I feel frustrated that I have to translate for them when I’m not so comfortable not knowing the word. Although, if I know what I have to translate I feel wanted and needed. (R15)
- When I translate for my dad I feel:
 1. Nagged.
 2. I can’t be bothered.
 3. What if I get it wrong (R10).
- When I translate for my dad I feel pressured, worried and stressed (R11).
- When I translate for others I feel anxious, as I don’t want to make a mistake and then have the feeling of guilt because I didn’t do what was expected of me (R14).
- When I translate for others I feel proud but frustrated when I can’t translate it correctly (R16).
- When translating for others I feel nervous as I feel I am going to get a word wrong or understand it wrong and the person I am translating to will then misinterpret me and I will feel guilty. I also feel annoyed when my parents ask me to translate a formal letter and I don’t know

long/complicated words in English then I either stop translating or skip the word or find another similar word (R20).

- When I translate for others sometimes I can't find the word to help them. Because I still don't know too much words in Polish/English (R29) – a girl aged 10, living in the UK for 8 years.
- When I translate for others I feel embarrassment and anger (R32).
- When I translate for others I feel scared that I might mistranslate something. I feel helpful because I can help in translation. I feel important because I can help (R36).

Table 3

Distribution of negative emotions in girls and boys

GIRLS – AGE	TIME IN THE UK	ANNOYED/ FRUSTRATED	NAGGED/ BOTHERED	NERVOUS/ STRESSED/ WORRIED	I GET IT WRONG/ GUILTY/ PRESSURE/ NOT COMFORTABLE
R29 – 10	8			1	
R36 – 12	6			1	
R35 – 13	13			1	
R15 – 14	9	1			1
R11 – 14	10			2	1
R20 – 15	11	1		1	1
R10 – 15	10		2		1
R16 – 18	11	1			
TOTAL		3	2	6	4

BOYS – AGE	TIME IN THE UK	GUILTY	SCARED/ ANXIOUS	ANGRY	EMBARRASSED
R37 – 10	2		1		
R32 – 13	10			1	1
R14 – 16	12	1	1		
TOTAL		1	2	1	1

Source: own data source.

Data analysis 4. Altogether 20 negative emotions related to language brokering appeared in the accounts given by the respondents. Fifteen of them were expressed by girls (75%). The most prevailing ones turned out to be: being nervous, stressed and worried – 6 accounts; feeling under pressure, not comfortable and guilty of getting it wrong – 4 accounts; annoyed and frustrated – 3 accounts and the feeling of being nagged and bothered appeared twice. In boys negative emotions were mentioned in 5 accounts (25%): 2 admitted to feeling scared or anxious while anger, guilt and embarrassment appeared once each, respectively. We can see that the most commonly named emotions seem to be stress/anxiety as they were mentioned by 8 respondents in total (40%). During the interviews young people often mentioned that they were asked to translate in language setting requiring specific medical, legal or even banking vocabulary and it made them feel uneasy and pressured. The ‘micro-accounts’ confirm the anxiety and frustration that Polish bilingual teenage brokers experience when approaching too difficult tasks. They are aware of the responsibility resting on their shoulders and do not want to fail or disappoint the parents (who make up the majority of their ‘clients’). Finally, as they realize their parents cannot manage on their own and there is no one else to appeal to, they tend to perceive this experience as a positive one in general.

Discussion

Findings of the qualitative research reported in this paper show that brokering is a common practice among Polish teenagers living in the United Kingdom which triggers a number of emotions (mainly positive 75% – 62 out of 82). The most prevailing feelings are related to being needed/helpful – 42% of the overall positive emotions, strongly related to happiness and followed closely by the feelings of being proud – 16% of the total number of positive feelings mentioned. Being important and smart, feeling good or excited were also mentioned by some of the respondents (in 12 accounts in total). The accounts given also show that apart from the ‘easy tasks’, the young bilingual/multilingual language mediators are also expected to broker in complex linguistic settings and then feel stressed, nervous or anxious. In total 20 out of 82 emotions mentioned were negative, making up 25%. Anger, frustration, and annoyance appeared in 4 accounts, similarly to the feelings of guilt and discomfort – also 4 times. Two respondents (girls only) mentioned

they felt nagged or bothered when brokering was expected of them. Since in total 62 times positive emotions were mentioned and only 20 times negative ones, it can be assumed that young, bilingual/multilingual Polish brokers associate language mediations with happiness of doing the right thing, of being needed and helpful.

These results seem to be informative to both scholars and parents alike, as they show that to the majority of young respondents language brokering is a positive experience, which enhances their socio-emotional development. The results correspond with the findings published by Buriel et al. (1998), who also suggested the brokering boosts cognitive and socio-emotional development of bilingual/multilingual children. Undoubtedly the negative voices expressed by the practitioners of clinical psychology, who having examined parent-child relationship claim that brokering leads to reversing parent-child roles: “parentified child”, “adulthood”, “parentification” (Love & Buriel, 2007), cannot be ignored. Nevertheless the research results show that it might be the case when brokering is abused and children are expected to serve as mediators in extremely difficult language settings (i.e. medical, legal or technical). Mainly then the negative emotions such as frustration, embarrassment, scare, annoyance, guilt, anxiety and pressure occur. They are strongly related to fear of getting something wrong, misinterpreting or disappointing the person who expects their help. Similar findings were presented by Corona et al. (2012), who showed that Latino children feel stressed when dealing with complex medical language, and García-Sánchez, Orellana and Hopkins (2011), who discussed negative impact of LB on parent-child relationships resulting from brokering during parents-teacher evenings.

Even though the analysis of the data clearly shows that the majority of the emotions that were mentioned in the micro-accounts were positive – 75%, the remaining 25% must not be undervalued. The research is just an attempt to find the answers to the question: which emotions do bilingual/multilingual Polish teenagers experience when undertaking the strenuous task of translating for third parties? It surely shows a link between feeling helpful and enjoyment as well as pride that comes when brokering is undertaken. It also leads to making connections between the language context in which brokering occurs and the feelings it thus triggers. The more difficult the task, the more negativity appears. In the light of lack of other data on Polish bilingual/multilingual teenage brokers available, further studies need to be carried out if broader conclusions are to be drawn.

Non-professional translations are a common experience, widely discussed in literature, and, as the research shows, undertaken by all the interviewees. The findings provide an insightful view on Polish teenagers' brokering experience, coming straight from the brokers themselves. They show that neither age, nor length of stay appear a statistically significant variable for determining whether positive or negative emotions would prevail. As for the gender, girls seem to be more at ease when naming particular feelings, since in total they have mentioned more positive and negative types of emotions than boys have.

Finally, the results carry a message to authorities, scholars and parents alike, saying that even though young people perceive language mediations as something natural and feel proud, needed and glad to be able to help, using them in complex language settings should be avoided or at least carefully thought over.

References

- Antonini, R. (2010). The study of child language brokering: Past, current and emerging research. *MediAzioni, Online Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Languages and Cultures*, 10, http://www.mediazioni.sitlec.unibo.it/images/stories/PDF_folder/document-pdf/monografia2010CLB/01%20antonini%20pp1_23.pdf [accessed: 23.03.2017].
- Babbie, E.R. (1973). *Survey research methods*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth Publishing Company, Inc. (second edition 2007).
- Baker, C. (1988). *Key issues in bilingualism and bilingual education*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Baker, C. (1995). *A parents' and teachers' guide to bilingualism*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Barańczak, S. (1990). *Breathing under water and other East European essays*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Bialystok, E. (1987). Influences of bilingualism on metalinguistic development. *Second Language Research*, 3, 154–166.
- Bialystok, E. (2010). Global-local and trail-making tasks by monolingual and bilingual children: Beyond inhibition. *Developmental Psychology*, 46, 93–105.
- Bialystok, E. (2011). Reshaping the Mind: The benefits of bilingualism. *Canadian Journal of Experimental Psychology*, 65, 229–235.
- Buriel, R., Perez, W., De Ment, T., Chavez, D.V. & Moran, V. (1998). The relationship of language brokering to academic performance, biculturalism, and self-efficacy

- among Latino adolescents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioural Sciences*, 20(3), 283–297, doi: 10.1177/07399863980203001.
- Cline, T., de Abreu, G., O'Dell, L. & Crafter, S. (2010). Recent research on child language brokering in the United Kingdom. *MediAzioni. Online Journal of Interdisciplinary Studies in Languages and Cultures*, <http://www.mediazioni.sitlec.unibo.it> [accessed: 20.03.2017].
- Cook, V.J. (2002). Introduction: background to the L2 user. In: V. Cook (ed.), *Portraits of the L2 User* (p. 1–28). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Cook, V.J., Bassetti, B. (2011). *Language and Bilingual Cognition*. New York: Psychology Press.
- Corona, R., Stevens, L.F., Halfond, R.W., Shaffer, C.M., Reid-Quinones, K. & Gonzalez, T. (2012). A qualitative analysis of what Latino parents and adolescents think and feel about language brokering. *Journal of Child & Family Studies*, 21, 788–798, doi: 10.1007/s10826-011-9536-2.
- Creswell, J.W. (2014). *Research design. Qualitative, quantitative and mixed methods approaches* (4th edition). Los Angeles: SAGE Publications.
- De Houwer, A. (1990). *The acquisition of two languages from birth: A case study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- De Houwer, A. (2009). *An introduction to bilingual development*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Dewaele, J.-M. (2008b). Dynamic emotion concepts of L2 learners and L2 users: a second language acquisition perspective. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 11, 173–175.
- Dewaele, J.-M. (2011). The differences in self-reported use and perception of the L1 and L2 of maximally proficient bi- and multilinguals: a quantitative and qualitative investigation. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 208, 25–51.
- Dewaele, J.-M. (2013). *Emotions in multiple languages*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, (2nd ed).
- Dewaele, J.-M., Housen, A. & Li Wei (2003). *Bilingualism: beyond basic principles*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Dewaele, J.-M. & Li Wei (2012). Multilingualism, empathy and multi-competence. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 9, 352–366.
- Dewaele, J.-M. & MacIntyre, P.D. (2014). The two faces of Janus? Anxiety and enjoyment in the foreign language classroom. *Studies in Second Language Learning and Teaching*, 4(2), 237–274.
- Dewaele, J.-M. & Nakano, S. (2013). Multilinguals' perceptions of feeling different when switching languages. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 34(2), 107–120, <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/01434632.2012.712133> [accessed:], doi:10.1080/01434632.2012.712133.
- Dewaele, J.-M. & Pavlenko, A. (2001–2003). *Web questionnaire: bilingualism and emotions*. London: University of London.

- Dewaele, J.-M. & Pavlenko, A. (2016). Multi-competence and emotion. In: Li Wei & V. Cook (eds.), *The Cambridge handbook of linguistic multi-competence* (p. 461–477). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Dewaele, J.-M., & van Oudenhoven J.P. (2009). The effect of multilingualism/multiculturalism on personality: no gain without pain for Third Culture Kids?. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 6(4), 4–113, 443–459.
- Dittmar, N. (1979). *Developing grammars*. Heidelberg: Springer.
- Downing, B.T. & Dwyer, S. (1981). *Brokering among refugees in an Americancity: A case study of language contact*. Paper presented at the Tenth Annual University of Wisconsin–Madison Linguistics Symposium. Madison, WI.
- Ekiaka-Oblazamengo, J., Medina-Jiménez, M.R. & Ekiaka Nzai, V. (2014). Language brokering affects bilingual children parents' acculturation processes in South Texas MA. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science*, 4(3), http://www.ijhss-net.com/journals/Vol_4_No_3_February_2014/2.pdf [accessed: 21.01.2016].
- Ellis, R. (1985). *Understanding second language acquisition*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Flores, G., Laws, M.B., Mayo, S.J. & Hardt, E.J. (2003). Errors in medical interpretation and their potential clinical consequences in paediatric encounters. *Paediatrics*, 111, 6–14.
- Fredrickson, B.L. (2003). The value of positive emotions, *American Scientist*, 91(4), 330–335.
- Fredrickson, B.L. (2007). The broaden-and-build theory of positive emotions. In: F. Huppert, N. Baylis & B. Keverne (eds.), *The science of well-being* (p. 217–240). New York, NY: Oxford University Press.
- García-Sánchez, I.M., Orellana, M. & Hopkins, M. (2011). Facilitating intercultural communication in parent teacher conferences: Lessons from child translators. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 13(3), 148–154, doi:10.1080/15210960.2011.594387.
- Genesee, F. & Nicoladis, E. (2006). Bilingual first language acquisition. In: E. Hoff & M. Shatz (eds.), *Handbook of Language Development* (p. 324–342). Oxford, England: Blackwell.
- Grosjean, F. (1982). *Life with two languages: An introduction to bilingualism*, Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Harris, B. (1980). How a three-year-old translates. In: *Patterns of bilingualism. REL Anthology, series 8*. Singapore: National University of Singapore Press.
- Harris, B. (1992). Natural Translation: A Reply to Hans P. Krings. *Target*, 4(1), 97–103.
- Herdina, P. & Jessner, U. (2002). *A dynamic model of multilingualism: Perspectives of change in psycholinguistics*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Hoffman, E. (1989). *Lost in translation*. New York, NY: Penguin Books.
- Hull, P.V. (1987). *Bilingualism. Two languages, two personalities*. MI: University of Michigan Press.

- Hull, P.V. (1990). *Bilingualism: two languages, two personalities?*. Unpublished, PhD thesis Berkeley: University of California.
- Koven, M. (1998). Two languages in the Self/The Self in two languages: French-Portuguese verbal enactments and experiences of self in narrative discourse. *Ethos*, 26, 410–455, doi: 10.1525/eth.1998.26.4.410.
- Kurcz, I. (2005). *Psychologia języka i komunikacji*. Warszawa: Wydawnictwo Naukowe Scholar.
- Lieblich, A., Tuval-Mashiach, R. & Zilber, T. (1998). Narrative Research, Reading, Analysis and Interpretation (Applied Social Research Methods Series, 47). Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE Publications.
- Love, J. & Buriel, R. (2007). Language brokering, autonomy, parent-child bonding, biculturalism, and depression: A study of Mexican American adolescents from immigrant families. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 29(4), 472–491, doi: 10.1177/0739986307229.
- MacIntyre, P.D. & Gregersen, T. (2012). The Positive-broadening emotional power of the imagination in language learning. *Studies of Second Language Learning and Teaching*, 2, 193–213.
- Malakoff, M. & Hakuta, K. (1991). *Translation skill and metalinguistic awareness in bilinguals*. In: E. Bialystok (ed.), *Language processing in bilingual children* (p. 141–166). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Morales, A. & Hanson, W.E. (2005). Language brokering: an integrative review of the literature. *Hispanic Journal of the Behavioural Sciences*, 27, 471–503.
- Orellana, M.F. (1999). Space and place in an urban landscape: learning from children's views of their social worlds. *Visual Sociology*, 14(1), 73–89.
- Oxford dictionary: <https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/definition/narrative>.
- Pavlenko, A. (2005). *Emotions and multilingualism*. Cambridge, MA: Cambridge University Press.
- Pavlenko, A. (2006). *Bilingual selves*. In: A. Pavlenko (ed.), *Bilingual minds: Emotional experience, expression, and representation* (p. 1–33). Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Pavlenko, A. (2008). Emotion and emotion-laden words in the bilingual lexicon. *Bilingualism: Language and Cognition*, 11, 147–164.
- Pohl, R. (2005). *Wirsorgen für Verständigung. Jugendlichedolmetschen in Kiel- Mettenhof – ein Projektbericht*. Berlin: Magazin-Vlg.
- Schieffelin, B.B & Cochran-Smith, M. (1984). Learning to read culturally: literacy before schooling. In: H. Goelman, A. Oberg & F. Smith (eds.), *Awakening to literacy* (p. 3–23). Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann.
- Shannon, S.M. (1990). English in the barrio: the quality of contact among immigrant children. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioural Sciences*, 12(3), 256–276.

- Stern, H.H. (1983). *Fundamental Concepts of Language Teaching*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Toury, G. (1980). *In Search of a Theory of Translation*, Tel Aviv: The Porter Institute for Poetics and Semiotics. Tel Aviv University.
- Tse, L. (1995). Language brokering among Latino adolescents: prevalence, attitudes, and school performance. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 17, 180–193.
- Wang, X.L. (2008). *Growing up with three languages*. Clevedon: Multilingual Matters.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1992). *Semantics, Culture and Cognition: Universal human concepts in culture-specific configurations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Wierzbicka, A. (1999). *Emotions across languages and cultures: Diversity and universals*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Żytowicz, A. (2017). *Language brokering undertaken by five multilingual Polish teenagers living in the UK. Prevalence and emotions – sample study*. In: D. Gabryś-Barker, D. Gałajda, A. Wojtaszek & P. Zakrajewski (eds.), *Multiculturalism, Multilingualism and the Self-Studies in Linguistics and Language Learning* (p. 185–198). Springer International Publishing [e-book].

EMOTIONS AND LANGUAGE MEDIATIONS IN THE MICRO-ACCOUNTS OF POLISH TEENAGE BROKERS

Summary: The paper discusses the aspect of emotions seen through the eyes of Polish bilingual and multilingual children living in the United Kingdom, expressed in short pieces of writing (called ‘micro-accounts’). It is a part of the PhD project, comprising semi-structured interviews with 55 language mediators (aged 8–18). 36 of the respondents aged 11–18 agreed to express their feelings in black and white. The data were collected in the years 2015–2016 in the United Kingdom by the author and the 36 teenage brokers were selected on the basis of their age and thus presumed maturity, as well as their readiness to participate in the additional part of the study. All data were transcribed and analysed by the author in person. The preliminary results of the interviews reveal that when asked how they feel brokering for others, the majority of the interviewees admitted to having experienced positive emotions, such as pride, happiness, the need to be helpful, needed and smarter. Since the interviews were video recorded, eliciting emotions turned out a true challenge at times and the author had suspected that her presence might impact the answers to some extent. Thus, in order to check whether the same feelings would be confirmed in writing, when young people are left unattended, without the intimidation related to the presence of a camera, the open-ended question “When I translate for others I feel...” was asked. The

study complements the picture that is unveiled from the oral accounts given by the brokers on such aspects as brokering context, emotions, national identity and perception of Polish vs English (Żytowicz, 2017). Interestingly, the prevailing feelings that the teenage brokers give accounts of turn out to be positive – 62 out of 82 – 75% (which correlates with the results of the analysis of the interviews, *ibid.*). Even in those instances when negative emotions were expressed – 20 out of 82 – 25%, they tend to be strongly related to pressure, anxiety and guilt they might not accomplish what is expected of them, and thus disappoint their parents.

Keywords: bilingualism, multilingualism, emotions, CLB – child language brokering, pride

EMOCJE I MEDIACJE JĘZYKOWE W WYPOWIEDZIACH POLSKICH DZIECI WIELOJĘZYCZNYCH PODEJMUJĄCYCH SIĘ „BROKERINGU”

Streszczenie: Artykuł porusza kwestie emocji, jakie towarzyszą dzieciom polskim mieszkającym w Wielkiej Brytanii. Na co dzień podejmują się one bowiem niezwykle trudnego zadania, jakim są nieprofesjonalne tłumaczenia (ang. *language brokering*), a ich klientami stają się najczęściej rodzice oraz koledzy i koleżanki w szkole. W ramach badań do rozprawy doktorskiej autorka przeprowadziła częściowo ustrukturyzowane wywiady z 55 dzieci w wieku od 8 do 18 lat. Część z nich zgodziła się wziąć udział w dodatkowym badaniu nazwanym przez autorkę „mini-wypowiedziami”. Zarówno wywiady, jak i wypowiedzi pisemne młodych ludzi dotyczą wielu kwestii związanych z wielojęzycznością, m.in. „brokeringu”, emocji, procesu akulturacji czy adaptacji, a poniższy artykuł obejmuje wyłącznie część dotyczącą emocji wyrażonych pisemnie w formie „mini-wypowiedzi”. Dzięki nim obraz emocji, jakich doświadczają młodzi „brokerzy”, który jawi się w wywiadach, wydaje się pełniejszy. Gdy pierwsze wywiady pokazały, że rozmowa o uczuciach nie jest łatwa, zwłaszcza w grupie rówieśników i w towarzystwie obcej osoby, autorka postanowiła wykorzystać narzędzie krótkiej „mini-wypowiedzi”, dzięki której młodzi ludzie mieli okazję podzielić się swoimi przemyśleniami na temat „brokeringu” anonimowo, w formie pisemnej. Łącznie 36 młodych ludzi zgodziło się dokończyć zdanie: „Kiedy tłumaczę dla innych, czuję...”, a całość badania odbywała się w Wielkiej Brytanii w latach 2015–2016. Wstępne wyniki wywiadów pokazują, że w zdecydowanej większości przypadków młodzi „brokerzy” odczuwają pozytywne emocje. Analiza wypowiedzi pisemnych dodatkowo je potwierdza – 75% wszystkich wymienionych emocji było pozytywnych, a młodzi ludzie najczęściej odczuwają radość, dumę i szczęście, że podejmując się tłumaczeń dla innych, mogą być pomocni. Nawet gdy pojawiły się negatywne

emocje (25%), w głównej mierze były związane ze stresem, który wynikał z konieczności zmierzenia się z trudnym językowo kontekstem oraz presją i poczuciem ogromnej odpowiedzialności za zadanie im powierzone. Autorka zebrała oraz przeanalizowała wszystkie dane osobiście, a wyniki przedstawione poniżej są próbą odpowiedzi na pytanie: „Czy Polskie dzieci wielojęzyczne podejmujące się tłumaczeń dla innych odczuwają z tego powodu więcej pozytywnych, czy też negatywnych emocji?”.

Słowa kluczowe: dwujęzyczność, wielojęzyczność, emocje, *brokering*, duma