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A study of language brokering prevalence, context and emotions among Polish teenage bilinguals. Language mediations undertaken in the UK

Introduction

The paper discusses the concepts of context and anxiety in child language brokering as well as language identity on the basis of literature review and samples derived from the accounts given by Polish teenage brokers living in the UK (being part of the PhD research of the author). In the first part some general views on language anxiety, emotions and brokering context are presented, and in the second the views expressed by Polish bilinguals (multilinguals) on the emotional aspects. The prevalence of the phenomenon, its most common settings, and finally, the impact of stress and related emotions on family relations of teenage language mediators are also to be briefly discussed. Finally, whether brokering is perceived by the teenagers themselves as a positive activity, as opposed to a burden, is summarised in the conclusion of the paper.

Child language brokering context and prevalence

The significance of mastering at least one foreign language leaves little ground for discussion. According to the report drafted by the European Commission in June 2012, 98% of the European population is aware that knowledge

of other languages is useful for the future of their children, and 88% of the respondents admit that they find it practical in their everyday lives¹. It seems however, that whilst parents expect their children to master the language, many remain reluctant to do so themselves. This approach is confirmed by articles on child language brokering as a worldwide phenomenon, published among others by: Cohen et al., (1999); Lam & Green, (1994); Free et al., (1999, 2003); Hall & Sham, (1998); Abreu et al., (2004), and Kaur & Mills, (1993); Pöchhacker (2001); Rajic (2005); Dirim (2005); Hanson and Morales (2005); Degener, (2010) or Orellana (2003b). The majority translate in most situations of everyday life for family members, friends and strangers, mainly at home, on the streets, in shops, and at schools. (Degener 2010: 351). This corresponds with the findings by Orellana et al. (1999) who, having studied brokering settings of American children and youth living in the US, pinpointed home as the highest rated (69%), followed by stores (57%). As for the 'big stake' brokering settings such as hospital, also mentioned by Degener (ibid.), the Orellana survey (ibid.) showed that only 40% of the respondents admitted to having translated at doctor's offices, 30% at parent-teacher conferences and that only 20% and 14% respectively had translated bank statements or other legal documents. In my research of micro-accounts given by young Polish brokers, preliminary conclusions clearly show that all the participants have shared brokering experience, irrespective of the age of onset or time of immersion into the British reality (Żytowicz, 2017a) and the second interview part of the study (discussed further) confirms the prevalence of this phenomenon. As for the most commonly occurring settings, school, health clinic or hospital, shop, bank or the local council placed first in both parts of the study. The extract below, though only a sample, shows the plethora of brokering contexts:

A: *No, I mean like, to whom would you translate?*

K: *My mom...*

INT: *Parents?*

K: *Parents, family, family's friends...*

INT: *Ok, who else?*

W: *Like for example in Poland, when I go to Poland for holidays, my cousins and my friends ask me like what English words mean.*

P: *Yeah, same one.*

¹ European Commission Report: Europeans and their Languages, Special Eurobarometer 386, June 2012, Internet source: http://ec.europa.eu/public_opinion/archives/ebs/ebs_386_en.pdf [accessed: 10.02.2015].

[...]

O: *So my mom was making a job application and I had to check for any grammar mistakes, did she use the correct words...*

INT: *So you were correcting work for her?*

O: *Yeah*

INT: *OK.*

S: *When my dad was buying insurance.* INT: *We're talking about translating for others. Do you translate for others or did you?*

Vic: *Yes, still do, for my dad, a bit. Because my dad, when I know.. he's speaking good English, but when he doesn't get some words... And I read and mum... my mum knows English perfect, not so perfect, but I help her reading her... her... documents and something like that.*

INT: *That's and interesting thing. Documents. Looking at others I asked: Have you ever translated any documents?*

Pat: *Yes, a lot of times. ... Yeh, like my mum gets a bill or... anything like that I always translate it for her cause she doesn't understand it.*

Pl: *When my mum gets a letter from the school. She says to translate.*

Alexandra: *Like sometimes when they send like letters from the bank..*

Patr: *When sometimes when they send notes from the bank and it's really important I mostly like... translate it. Sometimes if it's not that important I just offer it saying, my mum usually knows what it's about.*

INT: *So the bank, school letters. Any other letters?*

Vic: *Managing papers. Letters that... telling you what you should do, what you agreed and like that...*

INT: *Text messages?*

Initially, they shake their heads 'no' and then Victor eagerly adds:

Vic: *I helped my mum once writing a text message.*

Pat: *I always help her writing text messages cause she has to like ... write to her clients... where she works. So I always have to write in English for her.*

Pl: *My mum receives messages from school or work... or something...*

INT: *Then she asks you for help..?*

Paula and Alexandra also nodded their heads 'yes'

INT: *Any other places?*

INT: *Some legal office or a lawyer's or solicitor's?*

Patrick: *Yes, I mostly go...*

Pl: *In a shop. When my mum goes shopping.*

Pat when asked about a shop, says: *Yes, in a shop I always translate... cause she doesn't understand. (Żytowicz 2017: 191-192)*

As the sample above clearly shows, daily brokering activities included not only school or shop situations but also home chores with such translation contexts as: text messages, emails and various kinds of official letters. Since the data analysis is still in progress, final qualitative results are yet to come (Żytowicz *ibid.*).

Child language brokering and emotions

The initial research on language brokering concentrated on retrospective accounts of the brokers, where young adults were asked to recall their previous experience of language mediations (Buriel et al. 1998; McQuillan and Tse 1995; Tse 1996), and the researchers focused on answering developmental questions, concerning brokers' personality and the impact of the process on family relations. This generated a somewhat pessimistic perception of brokering with many linguists and psycho-linguists highlighting its negative, even detrimental outcomes from anxiety (Umaña-Taylor 2003; Weisskirch and Alva 2002) to disturbing or reversing adult-child relations: "adultification" (Suárez-Orozco and Suárez-Orozco 2001) or "parentification" (Minuchin 1974). The research which followed shed a new light on language mediations and presented its beneficial outcomes in terms of culture adaptation and academic performance (i.e. Acoach and Webb 2004; Halgunseth 2003; Love and Buriel 2007; Weisskirch 2007), but nevertheless the, still popular, belief that brokering triggers a sort of role reversal has remained pervasive. There are also several publications focusing on brokering and the social relations young translators build, mainly in Mexican, Chinese, Latino, Italian, Spanish or Israeli communities (Xiao 1999, 2000; Francis and Archer 2005; Davis and Sensenbrenner 2000). Hanson and Morales (2005) claim that child language brokering is still a complex phenomenon, assessed quite differently in different studies:

It appears, then, that the area of language brokering is divided into two different camps. One camp believes that children serving as language brokers find the experience enjoyable and that it helps them learn more about their first and second languages. The other camp believes, in contrast, that children serving as language brokers find translating and interpreting stressful and a burden (Hanson and Morales 2005: 490).

Nevertheless, in the majority of projects, the concept has hardly been addressed from the point of view of the children involved and the emotions that

prevail when brokering is expected of them. Thus, following the approach of Orellana (Orellana et al. 1999) who, by talking to fifth and sixth grade students at a single public school, carried out 'field research' and thus received 'first-hand' results, seemed most appropriate for me too. Her findings showed that even in the relatively "settled" immigrant community, with the majority of first-, second-, and third- generation English speakers most students admitted having had some experience as language brokers. 73% confessed to having translated at least sometimes for their mothers, and 55% for their fathers. My findings showed that all the 55 interviewees in my study broker for their parents, and the vast majority also for peers (on a daily basis) or teachers (during parents' evenings) at school, yet only some admit to having translated for strangers in a shop or another language setting (i.e. a 16 year-old Gypsy girl assisting a cousin at childbirth):

Back translation from Polish undertaken by the author: *Cause my cousin was pregnant and she was in pain, and there was her mother, but her mother doesn't understand anything in English. So I had to and it was difficult because everything went so fast. ...Sometimes I didn't understand everything but I tried (recording 5.0)²*

This extract shows that children are expected to broker in the most bizarre circumstances, irrespective of their maturity and emotional readiness. This girl admitted later, off-record, that the time around delivery was very stressful for her and that she felt great responsibility on her shoulders, yet as everything ended well, she was relieved, happy that she was able to help and proud that she had managed. So it is worthwhile, to take a closer look at the emotions that young brokers recall. In her study Rajic (2005) asked her respondents (children and youth) to assess their own interpreting activity and showed that the vast majority 60.9 % enjoyed this experience and to only 34.4% was brokering uncomfortable due to shyness, lack of knowledge or interest, communication problems, translating problems or fear. Some brokers even stated that they had turned down requests for brokering, due to personal

² Translation of the author from Polish: *Bo moja kuzynka była w ciąży i była w bólu i była jej matka, ale jej matka wcale nie rozumie nic po angielsku więc ja musiałam i było trudno bo wszystko się tak szybko działo. ... No, nie rozumiałam czasami ale próbowałam.*

fears. In the research carried out by Żytowicz (2017) the majority of the respondents treated language mediations as a natural and predominantly positive experience, making them feel needed and helpful.

I was observing their faces and noticed that they seemed positive when talking about their experiences and treated it as a normal, everyday, routine activity. Despite their initial hesitation concerning the very act of brokering they are now so used to it that they treat it as something natural and almost unnoticed.

INT: *Ok, what about feelings? How do you feel when you translate? Try to tell me.*

Pat: *Bored. I don't like translating. It's hard for me because I understand the English but when I try to translate it in Polish it's not quite right. So my mum just uses Google Translate almost all the time.*

Vic: *I am used to it. I am used to it. Every time, every single day.*

INT: *Every single day...?*

Vic: *Not every single day cause my dad never goes outside the house because he has to look after our two dogs but if he does... I am doing it mainly for them. I mean... when he first time like came here he didn't know how to speak English. I learnt how to speak English in six or five months... Then I was like, then I helped my dad speaking and I'd teach my dad and I would sometimes teach my dad...*

INT: *So you're used to it.*

Vic: *Yes...*

INT: *Are you proud?*

Vic: *Shaking his head - half side yes, half side... no*

Pl: *Sometimes I am just nervous, I don't know if I am gonna translate it right.*

INT: *So nervous...*

A: *Like confused... because sometimes I don't know how to say a word in Polish.*

Patr: *Yes, sometimes it's challenging because there might be like a long paragraph that I have to translate and then there might be like... all of the words might be hard and I might not know them and I just get stuck...*

Interestingly, it was easier for them to admit negative emotions like stress, confusion, anxiety or nervousness rather than pride or feeling special. They seemed embarrassed about feeling proud and denied this when asked directly. However, when I asked them about being helpful they seemed less embarrassed and all admitted they did.

INT: *Do you feel that you're helping someone, you feel helpful?*

They all nod yes.. and say: 'yes'.

INT: *Do you feel more clever?*

Patr: *Maybe.*

Victor shakes his head both – *no/yes...* (Żytowicz 2017: 193-194)

Children appeared to be a little uneasy when talking about their emotions and in particular those positive ones such as pride, thoughtfulness or being helpful. Yet this time, just as in the previous studies, linguistic setting and the level of difficulty must not be underestimated. In another group the majority of the interviewees also openly admitted to feeling more secure when using the language which was closer to their heart, and which ensured more safety in expressing themselves (Żytowicz 2017a: 129-130).

Consequently, it might be assumed that the negative emotions reported in literature data in previous projects, might have been widely discussed not for their abundance or prevalence, but because of the natural modesty and shyness of the respondents, as well as uneasiness in their elicitation.

The study

Material and method

The study presented below is an interview with the semi-focus group of nine Polish multilingual children aged 12-15 (transcript 6.0). All but one Weronika aged 14, were born in Poland. The group consisted of four boys and five girls, who moved to the United Kingdom at different ages: Wiktoria aged 12, 8 years in the UK; Sandra aged 12, 5 years in the UK; Diane aged 12, 9 years in the UK; twins Michał and Jakub aged 13, 10 years in the UK; Oskar aged 15, 12 years in the UK; Kinga 13, 10 years in the UK; and Piotr aged 15, 5 years in the UK. The interviews were carried out in London in June 2016 by the author herself and constitute part of the PhD research, including 55 interviewees. The secondary school they attend is truly multinational, with 64 different nationalities and the respondents were selected with a regard to homogeneity of particular variables: nationality, age, language skills and brokering experience. As in the case of all the other participants, regardless of the age of onset and length of stay, they all shared brokering experience which occurred in similar linguistic contexts. Even though initially they were a little intimidated, as they got used to me asking questions, friendly rapport was built and the discussion became more open. The interview was recorded on video and the transcription done personally by the author. For the purpose of the study and in accordance with the personal data protection regulations, the names of the participants have been changed and the research data collected following the rules described by Creswell (2014) and Babbie (1973, 2007).

Dewaele (2008b) and Pavlenko (2008) stated that immersion in a foreign language and culture is necessary for the socialization process to be effective. I believe that due to this immersion many children have fitted in perfectly and are expected to undertake language brokering at any adult-convenient time. The extracts below show not only in which circumstances young Poles translate for others, but most of all what kind of emotions this process triggers.

Brokering context, examples from the interview with group 6.

After a short introduction of the interviewer and the children, and several 'ice-breakers' the key part of the interview, concerning brokering situations began:

INT: *No, I mean like, to whom would you translate?*

K: *My mom...*

INT: *Parents?*

K: *Parents, family, family's friends...*

INT: *Ok, who else?*

W: *Like for example in Poland, when I go to Poland for holidays, my cousins and my friends ask me like what English words mean.*

P: *Yeah, same one.*

INT: *So you're like a dictionary?*

S: *Yeah they're like (points finger at the table) 'and what does that mean'?*

This piece shows that language skills of the brokers are widely used not only during language mediations by parents but are often put to a test by family members and friends in Poland. It can be presumed that young bilinguals seem attractive from the perspective of language aptitude and thus may be treated as 'google translate' by others, who want to check, whether they really know a lot more than them. Since I was more interested in brokering situations 'per se' the discussion was brought back to the desired track:

INT: *OK. What about here, would your parents need your help sometimes?*

(All agree)

INT: *When? Give me examples of such situations.*

O: *So my mom was making a job application and I had to check for any grammar mistakes, did she use the correct words...*

INT: *So you were correcting work for her?*

O: *Yeah*

INT: *OK.*

S: *When my dad was buying insurance.*

INT: *OK, so what, what happened?*

S: *Like... He didn't understand, like... The whole information on the website.*

INT: *OK, and?*

S: *And I had to translate it for him and if he... He goes like 'I don't know if you translated it correctly' and he goes to her dad (points at Wiktoria) to translate that.*

INT: *OK*

S: *I don't feel like he's trusting me to, like... Translate for him.*

Not only do the parents expect their offspring to translate in everyday contexts, but as this conversation unveils, we can see they go way beyond, requesting help with job applications or insurance purchase. What is more, however, the case of helping the father shows that he did not entirely trust the daughter and having received support questioned her language aptitude, thus making her feel a bit uneasy.

INT: *So how did you feel about it?*

S: *Well... I don't care, really... It didn't matter to me*

She did seem a bit uncomfortable about the whole situation, though and seeing the confusion on her face, I decided to move on to ask about other examples of brokering:

P: *I was translating for my mom when she was writing a message.*

INT: *Message, like a text message?*

P: *Yeah.*

(Group agrees)

INT: *All of you?*

K: *Yeah, my mom sends text messages all the time.*

INT: *E-mails, do you translate e-mails?*

(All agree)

INT: *All of you?*

(Everyone say yes, except for Oskar and Piotr)

P: *I'm not really at home.*

INT: *Uh, if somebody calls your parents, do you pick up the phone if they... Do they say 'oh, come on and help me'.*

(The part of the group agrees)

INT: *They do? 4 people said yes. Where else? In a shop, would you translate for them in a shop?*

(Most of the group disagrees)

K: *Sometimes I do...*

INT: *Sometimes... So how many people would say 'yes' in a shop? 3? Where else? Come on, give e examples of places where you translate.*

P: *Tesco!*

INT: *Tesco? That's a shop, isn't it?*

P: *Oh, yes...*

This extract proves that sometimes it is a matter of using the right word - instead of a 'shop' - Tesco and the brokering setting emerges. Surprisingly, brokering while shopping appears in the interviews quite frequently, though most teenagers point out that their parents are communicative enough to manage while going to the stores. The second context mentioned above and confirmed by seven out of nine children was of translating text messages and emails. This aspect was confirmed in other groups as well. As for supporting the parents over the phone, four out of nine children confirmed being asked to do so. Literature findings and data collected from other interviews pointed to a medical setting as one of the most abundant among brokering contexts which was confirmed this time as well (four respondents):

W: *Hospital.*

INT: *Hospital? OK, who would translate in a hospital?*

P: *Me!*

INT: (counts) *So that would be four of you. And what did you do?*

P: *In airplanes!*

INT: *OK.*

S: *Airports and offices...*

INT: *Airports, offices! That's new places! Everybody? Airports? Offices?*

(Group says 'airports')

P: *And banks!*

INT: *Banks?*

P: *Yes*

K: *Yeah, if they don't understand any information...*

INT: *OK, so how many people translate in banks? (counts) Oh my God, 5, a lot! OK, so you said the doctors? What did it look like? How was it?*

W: *When my mother has to fill in the form, I have to translate... Like there's a word and I have to translate it into Polish.*

P: *Yeah, I have to translate for my mom in hospitals, 'cos... I go... When I go to the hospital, when I have an appointment with a doctor or stuff I translate to my mom, she doesn't understand.*

The medical setting turned out to be one of the most typical brokering venues for young Polish bilinguals, with 4 having admitted to doing so when going for a regular check-up or other health related situations yet it was the airport that distinguished this particular group from all the others, as they were the only ones to have mentioned it. At the same time banks were mentioned by five people and offices by four. Since I wanted to make sure that parents were not the only 'clients' of the brokers, I carried on with inquiring about that:

INT: *OK. And other kids at school? When somebody new comes, do you help?*

K: *I had to help once. This new girl came and she didn't know any English so I had to help.*

S: *This happened to me at the beginning, because I was new. I was three, I think that's when I came to England. I had, like, a guy helped me with, like, English.*

INT: *Diane, what about you? Have you helped any friends? No? Nobody? Gentlemen? Have you helped any Polish kids?*

O: *Yeah, I have.*

P: *Not really.*

INT: *Not really... And other kids? From other nationalities?*

O & P: *Yeah.*

INT: *You translated for them?*

O: *They want to know the swear words and stuff.*

P: *Yeah, yeah.*

(Everyone agrees)

Interestingly, not only Polish newcomers were supported by their comrades but also other pupils of other nationalities so it seems that language mediators undertake something more than Polish-English or English-Polish brokering. Having brokered and been brokered for, they have developed empathy towards those in need, as well as the ability to simplify the language and make it serve a bigger cause. This was not an uncommon practice and it was confirmed in conversations 'off the record' by students of other nationalities as well. Having heard that, I was curious to find out if the teenagers were willing to offer their service for strangers in need and to my surprise one boy was:

P: *I sometimes translate for people in... Like when they try to look for areas and they have a paper, but they don't understand... Like in streets.*

INT: *What about strangers in a shop, for example? Would you help?*

P: *Yeah, I would.*

O: *Like, in a hospital, I would help, but... It doesn't have to be an actual case...*

INT: *But you wouldn't volunteer?*

O: *No.*

P: *I would.*

Finally, I wanted to confirm whether these interviewees would also broker for their parents during parents' meetings with the teachers. Since I had heard on the grapevine that some might not be very accurate in what the teacher was saying, I asked about it straightforwardly:

INT: *Mhm, no, no...? OK, any other places where you translate? I know! There's something like parents' evening, is there?*

(Everyone agrees)

S: *Wywiadówka!*

INT: *Yeah, wywiadówka. Everybody? Have you translated for your parents during this parent's meeting? All of you.*

(Everyone, except for Oskar, agrees. He shakes his head.)

O: *No, my parents know English, they just, you know, they don't have the accent.*

INT: *Mhm.*

K: *That Is true! They sound like they're talking 'Jubrish'.*

INT: *So, they come to this parents' evening and then what happens, you're with them?*

S: *The teacher talks about your grades and your behaviour and sometimes you translate when the teacher is, like, stop talking and wait for me to translate and when we get out she's like 'so, is that good or bad'?*

P: *I'm happy after I translate for my mom.*

INT: *Why?*

P: *Because sometimes when the teacher says I did bad I tell her I did good and she doesn't shout at me.*

INT: *Oh, you don't!*

P: *Sometimes, but in a home I tell the truth. I don't wanna show her in school, 'cos I don't want her to embarrass me.*

INT: *Oh, I see.*

P: *But then I tell her the truth and I just go to my room.*

S: *I don't tell her at school if I've got bad behaviour, 'cos she would hate me. She wouldn't say anything in the class, but then she would go outside and she would ask me questions like 'why?' and it would be like... Like that.*

INT: *So you wouldn't tell the truth?*

S: *I would.*

W: *It depends.*

P: *Yeah, I do, but at home.*

K: *Miss! It depends on what the teacher is like.*

P: *There is a reason. I lie, because I don't wanna be embarrassed in school.*

This piece of the interview shows that children are asked to broker even in situations that might trigger certain level of discomfort. Eight out of nine admitted to having participated in parents' evenings and four confessed to being not entirely honest in their translation mainly for fear of being embarrassed in front of others. This proves that even though they want to be helpful and do not mind brokering in general, this particular setting causes certain level of anxiety.

Brokering and emotions, examples from the interview with group 6.

Having discussed the situations in which young bilinguals undertake language mediations, I moved to enquiring about the emotions that brokering triggers:

INT: *Ok, tell me, when you translate for others, how do you feel?*

S: *Sometimes you're stressed, sometimes you get the feeling that you can translate something wrong...*

INT: *Only stressed?*

P: *I always get a feeling, when I translate for someone, I think I've said it wrong, and then they will have problems because of me, that's what I think.*

INT: *Aha, so you're worried?*

W: *Yes, they would blame it on us...*

(All agree)

INT: *That you did something wrong?*

W: *Yes, that we translated it wrong...*

S: *When I don't know the word, she would be like 'then why would you go to school? You need to learn that word!'*

INT: *Ok, so it's like the parent is going to, what? Patronize you, because you didn't know something?*

K: *I mean like,, they would help us, the other people, if they see that you didn't know something, they would actually translate it correctly.*

INT: *Ok, do you feel proud?*

K: *Sometimes yes... Like, satisfactory.*

INT: *Ok, satisfaction, that you can translate and other people cannot, yes?*

O: *I just get satisfaction that somehow I helped.*

INT: *Ok, so satisfaction of being helpful. Twins, how do you feel?*

M: *Embarrassed...*

INT: *Embarrassed? Why? Because you're shy?*

J: *No, because I'm angry at my parents that they don't know English...*

(All agree)

INT: *So you would like them to be better? At English?*

P: *Yes.*

S: *No! I don't want my mom to know everything...*

INT: *But you're saying that you're angry with your parents, that's very interesting. Do you think they should know more, because they're what? Adults?*

P: *Yeah.*

K: *Oh yes, you expect them to know more...*

INT: *Ok.*

P: *I don't want my mother to know more...*

At first, only embarrassment and anxiety appeared in the children's accounts, and this seemed to be caused by a fear of disappointing the parents or a worry of responsibility for a major mistake. As the discussion progressed, it became evident that, when the stakes were not so high and the burden less, those young bilingual brokers would feel satisfied that they were able to help. Surprisingly, though they would at times, complain about poor language skills of their parents, some might feel uncomfortable if their parents could understand everything that is being said. I concluded that it might take certain amount of linguistic freedom away from them. Since eliciting emotions posed a true challenge not only for myself but also my respondents, I decided to try a different approach by asking my Polish speakers how they felt when mediating for others, and this time giving them some hints:

INT: *Do you feel more grown up, more mature, because you translate for others?*

P: *A little bit.*

INT: *Kind of, a little bit...*

INT: *So do you think... Do you feel more positive or negative about it?*

K: *About what?*

INT: *Translating for others.*

(most say positive)

W: *It shows how much you can understand from both languages...*

P: *It might be something important for them and if I don't I'll probably regret it later.*

INT: *Do you feel smarter?*

(most of the group agree)

J: *No.*

INT: *Why not?*

K: *Oh he just says no to everything!*

This extract ended our discussion on brokering and emotions and showed me and the children themselves that in general they did not mind translating others and perceived it as a positive experience, a sign of maturity and of being smarter or more important than others. The remaining part of the interview was devoted to discussing differences between Polish and English people.

Conclusion

The sample of the study presented above shows that young Polish bilinguals broker for third parties (mainly parents but also other schoolmates and at times friends and other family members) in a number of situations or language contexts. Among the most common turned out to be school, shops, banks, airports, offices and home (including text messages and emails). When it comes to the aspect of the language most commonly appearing in translations, this group confirmed that they were often expected to broker not only in everyday, simple linguistic settings but also might have to deal with more advanced legal or medical language, which could trigger anxiety and discomfort in them. Their main concern seemed to be a fear of being responsible for their parents' trouble or of possible negative consequences resulting from their mistakes. Another interesting aspect, recurring in several interviews was the language aptitude of the parents themselves. While in the other group studied (Żytowicz 2017) some brokers claimed they had attempted to teach their parents English and others admitted to having been frustrated at the ignorance the adults tended to show towards developing their language skills, this time the attitude seemed to differ slightly. Some teenagers mentioned that their parents' language skills (pronunciation in particular) needed improvement but were not eager to face an adult fully comprehensible of what was being said, in case some linguistic freedom and possible secrecy might be lost. Finally, as for the emotions mentioned by the respondents, anxiety did appear in particular with relation to the responsibility that rested on their shoulders, but it was satisfaction and the feeling of serving a good cause that generally prevailed. It shows that from the perspective of the brokers themselves, language mediations are a ubiquitous, positive and even enriching experience, but only so long as the burden of responsibility and fear of negative consequences does not dominate.

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Polska dwujęzyczna młodzież w charakterze tłumaczy w Wielkiej Brytanii. Występowanie zjawiska brokering i emocje jakie mu towarzyszą

Streszczenie: Doniesienia na temat *brokeringu* (tłumaczeń nieprofesjonalnych) dzieci i młodzieży i stresu, jaki wiąże się z tym zjawiskiem są powszechnie znane i szeroko dyskutowane w literaturze. Artykuł ten jest próbą pokazania tego procesu oraz emocji, które towarzyszą młodym tłumaczom z ich perspektywy, w oparciu o fragment materiału zebranego w ramach badań doktoranckich, prowadzonych przez autorkę. Wybrany został wywiad przeprowadzony w Wielkiej Brytanii z grupą dziewięciu dwujęzycznych dzieci polskich, które regularnie występują w charakterze tłumaczy swoich rodziców i przyjaciół. W pierwszej części przedstawione będzie zjawisko *brokeringu*, sytuacje w którym występuje najczęściej oraz emocje, które mu towarzyszą na podstawie wybranych przykładów z literatury. W drugiej natomiast, dla zilustrowania samego zjawiska z perspektywy polskiej młodzieży, przedstawione zostaną wybrane fragmenty wywiadu. Omówione będą takie

aspekty jak kontekst, w którym dochodzi do tłumaczeń, emocje jakie im towarzyszą oraz wpływ *brokeringu* na relacje rodzinne. Podsumowanie obejmować będzie ocenę, czy w oczach młodych ludzi zjawisko to postrzegane jest jako coś pozytywnego, czy wręcz przeciwnie.

Słowa kluczowe: *brokering, bilingwizm, emocje, wywiad, kontekst*

Keywords: *brokering, bilingualism, emotions, interview, context*