

Georgia State University

ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University

Applied Linguistics and English as a Second
Language Dissertations

Department of Applied Linguistics and English
as a Second Language

12-16-2019

Reimagining Multilingualism From the Heritage Speaker Perspective: A View of Language Brokering Through the Lens of Translanguaging and Resemiotization

Jessica Lian

Follow this and additional works at: https://scholarworks.gsu.edu/alesl_diss

Recommended Citation

Lian, Jessica, "Reimagining Multilingualism From the Heritage Speaker Perspective: A View of Language Brokering Through the Lens of Translanguaging and Resemiotization." Dissertation, Georgia State University, 2019.

doi: <https://doi.org/10.57709/15943116>

This Dissertation is brought to you for free and open access by the Department of Applied Linguistics and English as a Second Language at ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. It has been accepted for inclusion in Applied Linguistics and English as a Second Language Dissertations by an authorized administrator of ScholarWorks @ Georgia State University. For more information, please contact scholarworks@gsu.edu.

REIMAGINING MULTILINGUALISM FROM THE HERITAGE SPEAKER PERSPECTIVE:
A VIEW OF LANGUAGE BROKERING THROUGH THE LENS OF TRANSLANGUAGING
AND RESEMIOTIZATION

by

JESSICA LIAN

Under the Direction of Stephanie Lindemann, PhD

ABSTRACT

This study examines the experiences and ideologies of heritage language speakers in the United States who have shouldered the responsibility of interpreting and translating for their families since childhood. These “language brokers” (Tse, 1995) are often “circumstantial bilinguals” (Valdés & Figueroa, 1994) who have maintained their heritage language out of necessity in order to interpret and translate for their parents. Many of these heritage speakers continue their roles as language brokers as adults (Del Torto, 2008), interpreting and translating for their families in increasingly complex situations as their parents age. However, despite the complexities of these language brokering (LB) interactions and the value that they bring for

those involved, there remains a deficit view of heritage speakers, whose heritage language proficiency is often assessed negatively against ideal native speaker standards (cf. Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky, 2013b).

Building on recent studies of adult language brokers (e.g. Guan, Nash, & Orellana, 2016; Sherman & Homoláč, 2017), I explore the LB experiences of heritage speakers living in the United States through the frameworks of *translanguaging* (García, 2009a; García & Li, 2013) and *resemiotization* (Iedema, 2001, 2003). Using a sequential transformative mixed-methods design (Creswell et al., 2003), I surveyed and interviewed adult heritage speakers across the United States about their LB experiences during childhood and adulthood. I also video recorded authentic LB interactions for linguistic and semiotic analysis using myself as a researcher-participant. Findings indicate that heritage speakers perceived language brokering as a normal part of their lives with functions that go beyond mediating communication. Most participants attributed their heritage language maintenance to their LB experiences, but they also expressed a deficit view of their heritage language proficiency. While almost all participants identified themselves as native English speakers, they felt ambivalent about identifying themselves as native speakers of their heritage language. This ambivalence stems from how heritage speakers compared their heritage language proficiency to their own English proficiency and imagined native speaker standards. Implications from these findings suggest the prevalence of standard language ideology (Lippi-Green, 1994, 2012) among heritage speakers, whose LB experiences simultaneously challenge and perpetuate deficit ideologies of heritage speakers.

INDEX WORDS: language brokers, heritage language, language ideology, identity, mixed methods, semiotics

REIMAGINING MULTILINGUALISM FROM THE HERITAGE SPEAKER PERSPECTIVE:
A VIEW OF LANGUAGE BROKERING THROUGH THE LENS OF TRANSLANGUAGING
AND RESEMIOTIZATION

by

JESSICA LIAN

A Dissertation Submitted in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

in the College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

2019

Copyright by
Jessica Lian
2019

REIMAGINING MULTILINGUALISM FROM THE HERITAGE SPEAKER PERSPECTIVE:
A VIEW OF LANGUAGE BROKERING THROUGH THE LENS OF TRANSLANGUAGING
AND RESEMIOTIZATION

by

JESSICA LIAN

Committee Chair: Stephanie Lindemann

Committee: Diane Belcher

Eric Friginal

Steven Black

Electronic Version Approved:

Office of Graduate Studies

College of Arts and Sciences

Georgia State University

December 2019

DEDICATION

For my parents, Charles and Edith, without whom I wouldn't have had this story to share.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

My dissertation examines the processes behind language brokering interactions, so I would be remiss not to acknowledge the processes behind my dissertation—those unsung heroes who encouraged me, guided me, and supported me throughout this PhD journey.

This PhD journey literally began when Kenji Nishiura, my husband and partner, agreed to drive with me all the way from San Francisco to Atlanta during the hottest month of the year back in 2015...with my parents. It was probably not the most romantic way to start our marriage, but somehow that didn't faze him. These last four and a half years would have been more difficult had it not been for Kenji's unwavering encouragement and gentle shaming whenever I shirked my research responsibilities. Without Kenji's support—both emotional and financial—I could not have completed this dissertation.

My parents, Charles and Edith Lian, helped me move to Atlanta not knowing what this PhD would bring me. I am especially grateful for their support when we were grieving for my 奶奶, whose passing almost led me to give up on this journey. 爸爸媽媽: 感謝你們, 從我上學到讀完博士, 這一路走來, 給我鼓勵寫支持。你們的故事就是我的成長歷史。

I am also grateful to my one and only sister, Pamela, for not only helping me recruit participants for my dissertation, but also sheltering me in Boston these last four years whenever I needed a change of scene.

Many friends and colleagues encouraged and supported me along this PhD journey: Hannah Nicol—thanks for cheering me on and supporting my research; Ramaa Chitale—thanks for being my voice of reason and sheltering me in New York all those times I needed to get away; Jenny Lam—thanks for helping me workshop my research ideas with you and patiently listening to me all these years; Jarlene Choy—thanks for listening to me and giving me valuable

career advice when I doubted myself; Moë Mizukami—thanks for introducing me to a new career path when I wasn't sure what I would do with this degree; Patricia Kuang—thanks for empathizing with me and reminding me to look at the bigger picture; Lorraine Albert, Herman Yu, and Jennifer S. Cheng—thank you for reminding me of my worth outside of academia. I am also thankful to other friends and colleagues in my department who celebrated and commiserated with me in the best of times and the worst of times—Mackenzie Bristow, Sally Haoshan Ren, Rurik Tywoniw, Minkyung Kim, YuKyoung Shin, Nicole Pettitt, Ruth Nolen, and many others who have helped shape my identity as a scholar and applied linguist.

I am especially grateful to my adviser and mentor, Stephanie Lindemann, who has guided me throughout my PhD journey. Dr. Lindemann's untiring advocacy gave me the courage to pursue this research topic. Most importantly, she believed in me when I had stopped believing in myself. When I said I wanted to be "ready for a job that may not exist yet," she took me seriously and encouraged me to pursue a new career, even though she, like I, didn't know what that would look like. These moments of encouragement from Dr. Lindemann gave me the motivation to complete this project and take pride in my research. Stephanie, I am forever grateful for your mentorship, and I look forward to working with you for years to come.

I am also very grateful to my other committee members: Diane Belcher, Eric Friginal, and Steven Black. Each of them played an important role in helping me develop my identity as a researcher: Dr. Belcher instilled in me the confidence to assert myself as a qualitative researcher; Dr. Friginal taught me how to identify the applications of linguistics research in other fields; and Dr. Black taught me to not be afraid to reach outside the scope of my field and apply a multidisciplinary lens to my research. Thank you all for guiding me through my dissertation project, for encouraging me to publish my work, and for showing me that my research has value.

Many thanks to these multilingual individuals who helped me translate my consent forms for this dissertation project: Yu Kyoung Shin, Minkyung Kim, Sally Haoshan Ren, Laura Yi Tan, Noriko Hashimoto, and Kenji Nishiura. Thank you all for volunteering your time and expertise, without which I would not have completed my data collection.

I also want to acknowledge those who have inspired and supported me in my professional development during this PhD journey: Nic Subtirelu, Molly Friesenborg, Ikumi Crocoll, and Anna Tsiola for welcoming me into their homes when I needed a place to stay during conferences; Naomee-Minh Nguyen for inspiring me to research heritage speakers and confidently address this research gap in our field; Diane Belcher, Nicole Pettitt, and Jackie Jia Lou for helping me discover my passion for qualitative methodologies; and David Malinowski for introducing me to the concept of resemiotization at the 2017 AAAL conference in Portland.

I want to especially thank the Center for Research on the Challenges of Acquiring Language and Literacy (RCALL) for supporting me financially and professionally these last four years at Georgia State University and in particular, Keneé Stephens, who wrangled the logistics of my fellowship. I also want to acknowledge the GSU Dissertation Grant for funding my dissertation; without this grant, I would have had a much harder time completing my data collection and analysis. And of course, I am thankful to the Department of Applied Linguistics at Georgia State University for supporting me at conferences and the individuals who patiently addressed all of my administrative questions: Susan Coleman, Diedra Crockett, Doreen Kincaid, Lisa Page, and Shartara Rox.

Last but not least, I want to express my gratitude to my participants, especially my interview participants who gave me their time and trust. Thank you for sharing your stories with me. This is your dissertation too.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	V
LIST OF TABLES	XIV
LIST OF FIGURES	XV
LIST OF EXCERPTS	XVI
LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS	XXII
1 INTRODUCTION	1
2 LITERATURE REVIEW	6
2.1 The scope of language brokering	7
2.2 Definition of language brokering	8
2.3 Recent research in language brokering	12
2.4 Ideologies about heritage language speakers	15
2.5 Translanguaging in language brokering	19
2.6 Resemiotization	27
2.7 The current study	31
3 METHODOLOGY	36
3.1 Researcher positionality	39
3.1.1 Language biography of the researcher	40
3.1.2 Researcher positioning in the study	42
3.2 First stage: Language brokering survey	42

3.2.1	<i>Questionnaire</i>	43
3.2.2	<i>Participants</i>	44
3.2.3	<i>Procedures</i>	44
3.3	Second stage: Composing language biographies through interviews	45
3.3.1	<i>Participants</i>	47
3.3.2	<i>Protocol</i>	48
3.3.3	<i>Analysis</i>	48
3.4	Third stage: Video-recorded language brokering task and interview	49
3.4.1	<i>Participants</i>	50
3.4.2	<i>LB task protocol</i>	51
3.4.3	<i>Post task interview</i>	53
3.4.4	<i>Analysis</i>	54
4	A BROADER PICTURE OF LANGUAGE BROKERING	55
4.1	The landscape of language brokering	56
4.1.1	<i>Survey participants</i>	56
4.1.2	<i>Interview participants</i>	61
4.2	Language brokering situations and documents	62
4.2.1	<i>The mundanity and responsibility of childhood language brokering</i>	63
4.2.2	<i>The complexity of adulthood language brokering</i>	70
4.2.3	<i>Additional functions of language brokering</i>	83

4.3	Language ideologies of language brokers	92
4.3.1	<i>Heritage language attrition and maintenance</i>	<i>93</i>
4.3.2	<i>Defining heritage language proficiency based on linguistic ability.....</i>	<i>98</i>
4.3.3	<i>Defining heritage language proficiency based on others' perceptions.....</i>	<i>105</i>
4.4	Identities of language brokers.....	109
4.4.1	<i>Ambivalence about heritage language native speaker identity</i>	<i>109</i>
4.4.2	<i>Obligations and identities.....</i>	<i>118</i>
4.5	Discussion.....	123
4.5.1	<i>What are the situations in which U.S. language brokers find themselves interpreting for their family members?</i>	<i>124</i>
4.5.2	<i>What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?.</i>	<i>127</i>
4.5.3	<i>How does LB shape the identities of U.S. language brokers overall?.....</i>	<i>130</i>
5	THE LANGUAGE AND SEMIOTICS OF LANGUAGE BROKERING	131
5.1	Karen.....	134
5.1.1	<i>Background</i>	<i>134</i>
5.1.2	<i>Directive language brokering as language learning.....</i>	<i>135</i>
5.1.3	<i>Positioning the parent as child</i>	<i>140</i>
5.1.4	<i>Making meaning through translanguaging and resemiotization.....</i>	<i>144</i>
5.1.5	<i>Resemiotization as a result of LB ideologies</i>	<i>147</i>
5.1.6	<i>Summary.....</i>	<i>151</i>

5.2	Reiko.....	151
5.2.1	<i>Background</i>	<i>152</i>
5.2.2	<i>Collaborative language brokering as a resource</i>	<i>154</i>
5.2.3	<i>Bivalent expressions</i>	<i>159</i>
5.2.4	<i>Negotiating meaning through translanguaging</i>	<i>161</i>
5.2.5	<i>Negotiating through resemiotization</i>	<i>165</i>
5.2.6	<i>Summary.....</i>	<i>169</i>
5.3	David	169
5.3.1	<i>Background</i>	<i>170</i>
5.3.2	<i>Collaborative language brokering for accuracy</i>	<i>171</i>
5.3.3	<i>Translanguaging and semiotics.....</i>	<i>178</i>
5.3.4	<i>Receptive bilingualism</i>	<i>180</i>
5.3.5	<i>Resemiotization and elaboration.....</i>	<i>182</i>
5.3.6	<i>Summary.....</i>	<i>184</i>
5.4	Chloe.....	185
5.4.1	<i>Background</i>	<i>185</i>
5.4.2	<i>Directive language brokering as a form of advocacy</i>	<i>186</i>
5.4.3	<i>Negotiating meanings with linguistic resources</i>	<i>188</i>
5.4.4	<i>Literacy brokering</i>	<i>191</i>
5.4.5	<i>Miscommunication from resemiotization.....</i>	<i>196</i>

5.4.6	<i>Summary</i>	200
5.5	Discussion	200
5.5.1	<i>What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?</i> . 201	
5.5.2	<i>What are the linguistic and semiotic resources that U.S. language brokers utilize in their LB interactions?</i>	207
6	CONCLUSION	211
6.1	Reimagining heritage language speakers	211
6.2	Reimagining language brokering	215
6.3	Reimagining multilingualism	218
	REFERENCES	224
	APPENDICES	241
	Appendix A First stage: Language brokering survey	241
	<i>Appendix A.1 Recruitment text for survey participants</i>	241
	<i>Appendix A.2 Informed consent form for survey participants on Qualtrics</i>	242
	<i>Appendix A.3 Survey screener questions on Qualtrics</i>	243
	<i>Appendix A.4 Language brokering questionnaire</i>	243
	Appendix B Second stage: Composing language biographies through interviews	257
	<i>Appendix B.1 Recruitment text for interview participants</i>	257
	<i>Appendix B.2 Informed consent form for interview participants</i>	258
	<i>Appendix B.3 Interview protocol</i>	260

Appendix C Third stage: Video-recorded language brokering task and interview	261
<i>Appendix C.1 Recruitment text for video-recorded task LB adult participant.....</i>	<i>261</i>
<i>Appendix C.2 LB adult informed consent form</i>	<i>263</i>
<i>Appendix C.3 LB parent original informed consent form in English.....</i>	<i>265</i>
<i>Appendix C.4 Translated LB parent informed consent form in Chinese</i>	<i>267</i>
<i>Appendix C.5 Translated LB informed consent form in Japanese</i>	<i>270</i>
<i>Appendix C.6 Translated LB informed consent form in Korean</i>	<i>273</i>
<i>Appendix C.7 Questionnaire given to LB parent to complete as a task with LB adult.</i>	<i>276</i>
<i>Appendix C.8 Post task interview protocol.....</i>	<i>281</i>

LIST OF TABLES

Table 4.1 Countries of birth reported by survey participants	57
Table 4.2 Languages used for language brokering reported by survey participants	58
Table 4.3 Participants' parents' countries of birth.....	59
Table 4.4 Interview participant demographics organized in alphabetical order by participant name. All participant names are pseudonyms.....	62
Table 5.1 Participant profiles for adult language brokers (LB adults) based on their survey responses.	132
Table 5.2 Participant profiles for the parents of adult language brokers (LB Parent) based on their survey responses from the questionnaire task.....	132
Table 5.3 Summary of ideological approaches to language brokering and its functions observed during the questionnaire task.	201

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 3.1 Outline of study design with corresponding research questions	37
Figure 4.1 Survey participants’ reporting of their parents’ education levels.....	60
Figure 4.2 Survey participants’ reporting of their mother’s English language proficiency	60
Figure 4.3 Survey participants’ reporting of their father’s English language proficiency	61
Figure 4.4 Most commonly reported childhood LB situations from questionnaire.....	63
Figure 4.5 Most commonly reported childhood LB documents from questionnaire.....	64
Figure 4.6 Comparison of childhood and adulthood LB situations reported by survey participants	71
Figure 4.7 Comparison of childhood and adulthood LB documents reported by survey participants	79
Figure 4.8 Findings for survey participant attitudes towards the effects of language brokering on participants’ English language proficiency, knowledge of American culture, heritage language maintenance, and knowledge of heritage culture.	94
Figure 4.9 Survey participants’ self-reported fluency in their LB (heritage) language.....	99
Figure 4.10 Findings for survey questions: “Do you consider English to be your first language?” and “Do you consider yourself to be a native English speaker?”	110
Figure 5.1 Ms. R’s written response guided by Reiko’s suggestions.	157
Figure 5.2 Ms. D’s written response after David’s suggestion to add “South.”	172

LIST OF EXCERPTS

Excerpt 4.1 Miguel and Cindy describe their earliest memory of language brokering.	64
Excerpt 4.2 Chloe and Linh share their experiences applying to college.	65
Excerpt 4.3 Celeste explains how language brokering feels normal.	67
Excerpt 4.4 David and Karen describe how they language brokered with doctors.	68
Excerpt 4.5 Casey and Gabriella explain they no longer live with their parents.	71
Excerpt 4.6 Vivian and Miguel explain the impact of translation technologies.	72
Excerpt 4.7 Connie and Linh describe their parents’ lack of confidence.	73
Excerpt 4.8 Gabriella and Trang describe their mothers’ access to bilingual doctors.	75
Excerpt 4.9 Gabriella explains why she accompanies her mother to see the doctor.	76
Excerpt 4.10 Reiko explains the limitations of medical interpreters.	77
Excerpt 4.11 Thomas explains his reservations about professional interpreters.	77
Excerpt 4.12 David, Reiko, and Christine describe higher stakes LB situations.	80
Excerpt 4.13 Trang and Reiko describe recent LB documents they have written.	81
Excerpt 4.14 Thomas explains why his parents do not use language services.	82
Excerpt 4.15 Adriane and Reiko explain the convenience of language brokering.	82
Excerpt 4.16 Miguel and Isabel describe language brokering as proofreading.	84
Excerpt 4.17 Vivian and Thomas explain how their parents check their understanding of English with them.	85
Excerpt 4.18 David and Miguel describe language brokering as opportunities to talk to their parents.	86
Excerpt 4.19 Reiko describes language brokering as heritage language maintenance.	87
Excerpt 4.20 Cindy describes opportunities for heritage language maintenance.	88

Excerpt 4.21 Trang expresses her heritage language maintenance concerns.	89
Excerpt 4.22 Lucia and Casey describe why they language broker for their mothers even though their fathers speak English.	90
Excerpt 4.23 Chloe and Cathy describe how they maintain their heritage language.	94
Excerpt 4.24 Christine and David attribute heritage language attrition to moving out.	96
Excerpt 4.25 Adriane and Lucia describe feeling more proficient as children.	97
Excerpt 4.26 Adriane and Trang explain their views of heritage language literacy.	99
Excerpt 4.27 Karen and David share their definitions of what it means to be bilingual.	101
Excerpt 4.28 Linh explains how she feels limited in Vietnamese for her profession.	102
Excerpt 4.29 Miguel and Cathy explain they are not comfortable interpreting in professional situations.	103
Excerpt 4.30 Cathy and Isabel describe how others seem impressed by their heritage language proficiency.	105
Excerpt 4.31 Vincent and Thomas describe the negative feedback they have received about the way they speak in their heritage language.	106
Excerpt 4.32 David and Casey describe their American accent.	107
Excerpt 4.33 Lucia, Vivian, and Miguel define “native speaker.”	110
Excerpt 4.34 Chloe shares her views of “native speaker” in a multilingual situation.	112
Excerpt 4.35 Celeste and Linh express their views about identifying as native speakers of their heritage languages.	112
Excerpt 4.36 Adriane and Reiko express their reservations about identifying as a native speaker of their heritage language.	114
Excerpt 4.37 Trang explains why she would not call herself a native Vietnamese speaker.	115

Excerpt 4.38 Christine and Chloe express their lack of confidence in identifying as native speakers of their heritage language.....	116
Excerpt 4.39 Cindy explains why she does not currently identify as a native speaker of her heritage language.	117
Excerpt 4.40 Casey and Celeste share how they still have an LB identity in their family.	119
Excerpt 4.41 Thomas, Miguel, and Vincent explain their feelings of LB obligation.	120
Excerpt 4.42 Christine and Isabel explain how they felt obligated to language broker.	122
Excerpt 5.1 Karen explains the task to Ms. K. (English translation).....	136
Excerpt 5.2 Karen explains the task to Ms. K. (Original transcript)	136
Excerpt 5.3 Karen reminds Ms. K she cannot fill out the form for her. (English translation) ...	138
Excerpt 5.4 Karen reminds Ms. K she cannot fill out the form for her. (Original transcript)	139
Excerpt 5.5 Karen explains the rationale behind her LB method.	141
Excerpt 5.6 Ms. K seems to agree with Karen’s “method” of language brokering. (English translation)	142
Excerpt 5.7 Ms. K seems to agree with Karen’s “method” of language brokering. (Original transcript)	142
Excerpt 5.8 Karen and Ms. K try to translate “burden” into Mandarin. (English translation) ...	144
Excerpt 5.9 Karen and Ms. K try to translate “burden” into Mandarin. (Original transcript)....	145
Excerpt 5.10 Karen explains why she led her mother towards an answer. (English translation)148	
Excerpt 5.11 Karen explains why she led her mother towards an answer. (Original transcript) 148	
Excerpt 5.12 Reiko and Ms. R work through an open-ended question. (English translation)....	155
Excerpt 5.13 Reiko and Ms. R work through an open-ended question. (Original transcript)	156
Excerpt 5.14 Reiko and Ms. R explain how language brokering brings them closer.	158

Excerpt 5.15 Reiko uses a bivalent word transliterated as “Ma-mi” in Japanese. (English translation)	160
Excerpt 5.16 Reiko uses a bivalent word transliterated as “Ma-mi” in Japanese. (Original transcript)	160
Excerpt 5.17 Reiko and Ms. R try to translate “burden” into Japanese. (English translation)...	161
Excerpt 5.18 Reiko and Ms. R try to translate “burden” into Japanese. (Original transcript)....	162
Excerpt 5.19 Reiko and Ms. R use gestures to communicate. (English translation)	163
Excerpt 5.20 Reiko and Ms. R use gestures to communicate. (Original transcript).....	164
Excerpt 5.21 Reiko and Ms. R draw on linguistic and semiotic resources as part of their resemiotization process. (English translation)	165
Excerpt 5.22 Reiko and Ms. R draw on linguistic and semiotic resources as part of their resemiotization process. (Original transcript).....	165
Excerpt 5.23 Reiko elaborates on Ms. R’s answer and adds her own point of view about how language brokering has affected their relationship. (English translation)	167
Excerpt 5.24 Reiko elaborates on Ms. R’s answer and adds her own point of view about how language brokering has affected their relationship. (Original transcript)	168
Excerpt 5.25 David advises Ms. D to specify “South” Korea on the questionnaire “just in case.” (English translation).....	171
Excerpt 5.26 David advises Ms. D to specify “South” Korea on the questionnaire “just in case.” (Original transcript)	171
Excerpt 5.27 David and Ms. D negotiate her self-ratings for her English language proficiency. (English translation).....	173

Excerpt 5.28 David and Ms. D negotiate her self-ratings for her English language proficiency. (Original transcript)	174
Excerpt 5.29 Ms. D describes the resources she used to communicate during her children’s doctor’s visits. (English translation)	176
Excerpt 5.30 Ms. D describes the resources she used to communicate during her children’s doctor’s visits. (Original transcript)	177
Excerpt 5.31 David helps his mother answer a question and learns the Korean word for “symptom.” (English translation)	179
Excerpt 5.32 David helps his mother answer a question and learns the Korean word for “symptom.” (Original transcript)	179
Excerpt 5.33 Ms. D understands the English question and responds in Korean but defers to David to interpret for her. (English translation)	181
Excerpt 5.34 Ms. D understands the English question and responds in Korean but defers to David to interpret for her. (Original transcript)	182
Excerpt 5.35 David elaborates in his translation and elicits a more detailed answer from Ms. D. (English translation)	183
Excerpt 5.36 David elaborates in his translation and elicits a more detailed answer from Ms. D. (Original transcript)	183
Excerpt 5.37 Chloe clarifies her translation for Mr. C and directs him to answer the question. (English translation)	187
Excerpt 5.38 Chloe clarifies her translation for Mr. C and directs him to answer the question. (Original transcript)	187

Excerpt 5.39 Chloe relies on her linguistic resources to translate the word “nervous” into Cantonese while Mr. C tries to help her. (English translation).....	189
Excerpt 5.40 Chloe and Mr. C explain that their LB dynamic is due to his lack of English literacy. (English translation).....	192
Excerpt 5.41 Chloe and Mr. C explain that their LB dynamic is due to his lack of English literacy. (Original transcript)	193
Excerpt 5.42 An example of how I consciously shifted my body language towards Mr. C to direct my question clearly to him. (English translation).....	195
Excerpt 5.43 An example of how I consciously shifted my body language towards Mr. C to direct my question clearly to him. (Original transcript)	195
Excerpt 5.44 Chloe and Mr. C encounter confusion as Chloe gestures towards the questionnaire while interpreting for him. (English translation)	197
Excerpt 5.45 Chloe and Mr. C encounter confusion as Chloe gestures towards the questionnaire while interpreting for him. (Original transcript).....	198

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

LB: language brokering

1 INTRODUCTION

The world is my world: this is manifest in the fact that the limits of language (of that language which alone I understand) mean the limits of my world.

– Ludwig Wittgenstein, *Tractatus Logico-Philosophicus*

Seeing comes before words. The child looks and recognizes before it can speak.

But there is also another sense in which seeing comes before words. It is seeing which establishes our place in the surrounding world; we explain that world with words, but word can never undo the fact that we are surrounded by it. The relation between what we see and what we know is never settled.

– John Berger, *Ways of Seeing*

The impetus for this dissertation stemmed from my desire to stretch the limits of the applied linguistics world. In the last decade, calls for a “multilingual turn” in applied linguistics research (May, 2013; Meier, 2017; Ortega, 2013b, 2013a; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016) have stretched the limits of the English language to describe multilingual phenomena, among which include *polylinguaging* (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen, Karrebæk, Madsen, & Møller, 2011), *metrolinguism* (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010), *translingualism* (Canagarajah, 2013; Kellman, 2000), and more recently, *translanguaging* (García, 2009b; García & Li, 2013). Underpinning these new frameworks is the reconceptualization of multilingualism and language as *practice* rather than an object of study. In other words, these frameworks invite us to shift our focus from the language itself to what people *do* with the languages they know.

However, any endeavor to apply these frameworks faces a greater challenge of shifting our views of multilingualism away from a monolingual lens. As Piller (2016) and Ortega (2019) remind us, the body of research on multilingualism has been dominated by a monolingual perspective. An unintentional consequence of this is the exclusion of multilinguals, such as heritage language speakers, who exist in liminal spaces. Unlike their monolingual counterparts, heritage speakers are more difficult to classify when it comes to their heritage language proficiency. Considered neither native speakers nor second language learners of their heritage

language, heritage speakers add a layer of complexity to applied linguistics studies that can either frustrate or inspire the researcher.

As a heritage speaker and applied linguistics researcher myself, I have experienced both frustration and inspiration when it comes to researching multilingualism. Throughout my graduate school experience, I have found myself puzzled by terms like “L1” and “native speaker”—neither of which describe my language experiences nor that of my childhood friends. For a while, I posited that heritage speakers are outliers in applied linguistics research, whose linguistic profiles consist of confounding variables that must be excluded from the data set. Perhaps the limits of my linguistic repertoire (Busch, 2012, 2017; Gumperz, 1964) had been limiting my understanding of the applied linguistics world.

Yet, as the art critic John Berger famously posited, there are always different *ways of seeing* the world. The relation between what I had *seen* in the field of applied linguistics remained incongruent with what I *knew* from my own linguistic experiences. Over the course of my doctoral studies, my initial curiosity about multilingualism has evolved into a personal quest to address this incongruency between the knowledge I had acquired as an applied linguistics researcher and the knowledge of my heritage language experiences. This dissertation is the culmination of this journey.

The context for this dissertation is the United States, where most heritage speakers are children of immigrants. These heritage speakers acquire their parents’ language naturalistically in the home while acquiring English in school. In other words, heritage speakers typically find themselves using their heritage language in private spaces while using English in public spaces. The intersection of these languages occurs when their parents seek their help with English communication. These forms of English communication range from informal situations such as

encounters with customer service to more formal situations such as interactions with government administrative offices. Having never undergone professional training, these heritage speakers find themselves translating and interpreting, i.e. *language brokering*, for their parents using whatever resources available to them.

Language brokering is the phenomenon of children interpreting and translating for their parents and family members. It is also a multilingual experience shared by many heritage language speakers, whose immigrant parents or family members lack the necessary language skills and interpreter services to navigate the systems of their adopted country. In the United States, language brokers are typically heritage speakers who acquired English in school while speaking a language other than English at home. These heritage speakers often encounter their first language brokering interaction as children in lower stakes situations, such as mediating a parent-teacher conference or translating school announcements for their parents. As they grow older, these heritage speakers often maintain this language brokering role for their family, sometimes mediating situations with higher stakes.

The term language brokering suggests a certain degree of mediation and negotiation but also transaction. A quick search in the Corpus of Contemporary American English (COCA) for the word “broker” yields mostly results in business contexts such as finance and real estate like “stockbroker” and “real estate broker.” In these usage examples, “broker” appears frequently as a noun or verb synonymous to “dealmaker” or “making deals,” implying transaction. The implication of this usage for *language brokers* suggests that unlike their professional counterparts, i.e. interpreters and translators, language brokers have a transactional agenda that renders them biased in their interactions. This definition is seen in the earliest usage of the term language brokers, who are described as “intermediaries between linguistically and culturally

different parties” that, “unlike formal translators, influence the contents and nature of the messages they convey, and ultimately affect the perceptions and decisions of the agents for whom they act” (Tse, 1995, p. 180).

While differences between language brokers and professional interpreters and translators certainly exist, it is the perception of these distinctions that remains problematic. The term “language brokering” implies a less legitimate form of interpreting and translating compared to trained, professional interpreters and translators. Given that language brokers are typically heritage speakers who are assessed negatively against native speaker standards (cf. Benmamoun et al., 2013b; S. A. Montrul, 2008), this negative perception of language brokering perpetuates a deficit view of this group of multilingual speakers.

I argue that for applied linguistics research to truly move towards a multilingual turn, any deficit view of multilingual speakers must shift to an asset view. By reorienting our view of multilingual speakers, we can begin to explore new ways of seeing multilingualism. Using frameworks like *translanguaging*, which focuses on the speaker’s practices rather than the language itself, perhaps we can start to answer the ontological and epistemological questions about multilingualism from a *multilingual* rather than the monolingual perspective that has dominated the applied linguistics field.

This dissertation explores the phenomenon of language brokering from the perspective of heritage speakers who have been language brokers for their families since childhood. As a language broker and heritage speaker myself, I examine language brokering from an emic perspective as presented by my participants. As an applied linguist and researcher, I examine language brokering from an etic perspective by specifically analyzing the language ideologies

espoused by my participants and the identities they perform as language brokers. Together, these dual perspectives paint a clearer picture of language brokering in the United States.

The remaining chapters of this dissertation are the culmination of research I conducted over the course of six months from August 2018 to January 2019. In Chapter 2, I provide a review of the literature and frameworks in this dissertation. I begin with a description of language brokering and the scope of my study, followed by a brief overview of the language brokering studies from education, social psychology, and applied linguistics. I then situate my study of language brokers in heritage language speaker research. The second half of the chapter presents the two frameworks for this study: translanguaging and resemiotization. The chapter concludes with a description of this study and the research questions.

In Chapter 3, I discuss the design of this study and methods used for data collection and analysis. I begin with a brief statement of my positioning as a researcher and researcher-participant in the study. I then outline the three stages of my data collection by describing the procedures for each stage and the data analysis that followed.

In Chapters 4 and 5, I present my findings in the order that I collected my data. Chapter 4 focuses on my survey and interview findings while Chapter 5 focuses on my findings from four sets of video- and audio-recorded data. In Chapter 4, I present the landscape of language brokering in the United States by describing the situations and documents reported by my survey and interview participants. I then discuss the language ideologies expressed by my interview participants in order to illuminate the ways in which standard language ideology impacts heritage speakers. I also discuss the linguistic identities expressed by my interview participants, and how these identities are intertwined with their language ideologies.

In Chapter 5, I present my findings for a video-recorded task and interview that I carried out across four pairs of participants. I present my findings for each pair of participants—an adult language broker and their parent—as separate case studies. I highlight the ways in which the adult language brokers expressed their ideologies through their approaches to language brokering during the task and our follow-up interview. I examine the salient linguistic and semiotic features of their language brokering interactions with their parent. I also discuss the implications of my participation in this stage of my study as a researcher-participant.

In Chapter 6, I conclude my dissertation with a brief overview of my research findings and their implications for applied linguistics research, as well as some suggestions for future research in the areas of language brokering and heritage speakers. Together, these chapters present a broader picture of the lived experiences of language brokers whose multilingual, multicultural experiences challenge us to reimagine multilingualism from their perspectives.

2 LITERATURE REVIEW

To contextualize my study, I present an overview of the literature to provide a clearer picture of language brokering and how I examined this phenomenon in my study. In the first half of this chapter, I define the scope of language brokering in my current study and review the recent studies of language brokering to demonstrate how my study fits into this line of research. The second half of this chapter focuses on the frameworks I applied to my analysis. I start with a discussion of the language ideologies surrounding heritage language speakers in order to situate language brokering in the U.S. context. I then explain the applications of *translanguaging* to language brokers and *resemiotization* to the phenomenon of language brokering. I conclude this chapter with a description of the significance of my study and a presentation of my research questions.

2.1 The scope of language brokering

In the broadest sense, language brokering can occur in any situation where an individual mediates communication between two linguistically different parties. When professional interpreters are unavailable, *ad-hoc interpreters* are often called upon to fill this mediating role. However, unlike ad-hoc interpreting, language brokering—and specifically child language brokering—describes a very specific type of ad-hoc *family* interpreting among immigrant communities. Whereas ad-hoc family interpreting encompasses all types of interpreting performed by family members in the absence of professional interpreters, language brokering specifically refers to bilinguals who have mediated on behalf of their family members since childhood. In other words, language brokers specifically describe bilinguals who began interpreting and translating, i.e. language brokering, for their families as children.

This personal and emotional connection to family is what distinguishes ad-hoc *family* interpreting from other types of ad-hoc interpreting because oftentimes there are personal stakes involved. What distinguishes language brokers from other ad-hoc family interpreters is their experience of performing this work as children for adult family members—most often their parents. Without adult ad-hoc family interpreters available, children—or “child language brokers”—are called upon to fulfill this role. These child language brokers often assist their adult family members in a variety of situations normally handled by adults such as parent-teacher conferences, visits to the doctor, and communication with authority figures. As they grow up, these child language brokers often continue their roles as the primary language brokers for their parents throughout adulthood. With this experience of parents relying on them for language assistance, language brokers may find themselves switching roles between parent and child (cf. Umaña-Taylor, 2003). Such language brokering (LB) experiences may also have implications for

how language brokers view family obligation (cf. Wu & Kim, 2009). As my study will show, LB experiences can also shape a language broker's linguistic identities, their ideologies about language, and their perception of their own language proficiencies. To explore these linguistic elements further, I define "language brokering" and "language broker" more narrowly in the following section.

2.2 Definition of language brokering

Language brokers are intermediaries between linguistically and culturally different parties. People who broker, unlike formal translators, influence the contents and nature of the messages they convey, and ultimately affect the perceptions and decisions of the agents for whom they act. The brokers, in turn, are affected linguistically and affectively in different manners and degrees by brokering experiences. (Tse, 1995, p. 180)

Anna Guisti with the Fort Wayne Center for Nonviolence said while things are improving, she still sees too many police reports that rely on kids to translate for their parents during non-life threatening calls. "You don't have to pay them. 'I'm not taking the time to call an interpreter or pay for anybody else,'" she said. (Erika Celeste, 2017)¹

Fundamentally, language brokering shares the same functions of translation and interpretation. Both require multilingual interaction that is mediated by a bilingual individual who interprets for two or more parties who are unable to effectively communicate otherwise. However, as seen in these quotes above, language brokers are not considered "formal translators" or interpreters. The earliest attempt to define "language brokers" came from Tse's (1995) survey of thirty-five Spanish-English bilingual adolescents who were asked to rate their own language proficiency and describe their LB experiences. Tse's definition differentiates language brokers from "formal translators" based on an ideological notion that formal translators hold a neutral position when they are mediating between two parties. This ideology assumes that

¹ Celeste, E. (2017, August 15). Is it ever OK to ask children to translate for their parents in emergency situations?. Marketplace. Retrieved February 28, 2018, from <https://www.marketplace.org/2017/08/15/life/it-ever-all-right-ask-children-translate-their-parents-during-emergency-situations>

formal translators merely transmit information while language brokers somehow bias the information they are tasked with transmitting. While formal or professional interpreters and translators may strive to maintain neutrality, they inevitably “influence the contents and nature of the messages” that they are hired to interpret and translate. The linguistic choices they make for their translations—however precise or accurate—are ultimately subjective choices that, whether they intend to or not, influence the receivers of those translated messages. Likewise, language brokers perform a similar task that may yield similar outcomes depending on their linguistic choices.

As the quote from Celeste’s (2017) news article shows, there remains a general perception of a clear distinction between an interpreter and a child who interprets for his or her family members. The most obvious distinction from the aforementioned quote designates interpreters and translators as professionals—formally trained and paid for their services—implying that language brokers carry out these same services informally and as non-professionals. However, even though they have not undergone formal training, language brokers ultimately provide the same language services for their family and community as those offered by interpreters. In their study of Chinese-British child language brokers, Hall and Sham (2007) found that these language brokers contributed significantly to their families’ economic lives with their language services—services which would otherwise be prohibitively expensive if they had been provided by professional interpreters. The authors assert that “The quantity, the range, the depth and scope, and the burden of these [language brokering] activities make it irrefutable that a lot of it has economic worth” (Hall & Sham, 2007, p. 27), particularly because every LB interaction saves money and time for those who need these interpreter services. Thus, these findings indicate that language brokering should be seen as legitimate work, even if unpaid.

At the same time, the terms *language broker* and *interpreter* also invoke images of two different types of bilinguals. On the one hand, language brokering implies a lack of choice (see Angelelli, 2010), where the language broker has acquired their languages out of necessity. On the other hand, interpreting implies that the individual could have acquired their language intentionally for their job. In other words, whereas language brokers have acquired their languages due to circumstance, interpreters and translators may have acquired an additional language out of choice. These two different types of bilinguals have been defined in the literature as *circumstantial bilinguals* and *elective bilinguals* (Valdés, 1992; Valdés & Figueroa, 1994). In this sense, language brokers are always circumstantial bilinguals while their professional counterparts may be either.

In many ways, language brokering resembles professional interpretation and translation in that both types of interactions require an intermediary to provide a language service for two parties. In fact, it has been argued that language brokering should be viewed as a professional language service (see Antonini, 2016; Hall & Sham, 2007). Indeed, interpretation and translation are technical skills which require professional training. This is clear in contexts such as American courtrooms where professional interpreters are provided for non-English speakers, or the United Nations General Assembly where professional interpreters are expected to interpret for policymakers. However, whether it is due to ideological differences or pragmatic reasons, language brokers continue to be viewed as a group distinct from professional interpreters and translators, even though it can be argued that they essentially perform the same language services.

In my study, I build on previous LB studies (e.g. Guan et al., 2016; Sherman & Homoláč, 2017) which have extended Tse's (1995) original definition of language brokers to include adult

language brokers with childhood LB experiences. I expand on Tse's (1995) definition to focus on the multilingual experiences of language brokers which remain distinct from those of professional interpreters and translators.² To distinguish *language brokers* from *interpreters* and *translators*, I adopt the term, *circumstantial bilinguals* (Valdés, 1992; Valdés & Figueroa, 1994), to describe language brokers as bilinguals who acquired a language not out of choice, but out of circumstance. This is in contrast to *interpreters* and *translators*, who may be either circumstantial or *elective bilinguals*—individuals who intentionally chose to learn and acquire an additional language (Valdés, 1992; Valdés & Figueroa, 1994). In light of these distinctions, the term, *language brokers*, is operationalized in my study as individuals in the U.S. who

- are circumstantial bilingual speakers.
- are bi/multilingual speakers of English and at least one heritage language.
- speak their heritage language at home with their family members.
- have interpreted and/or translated for their family members as children.
- may identify as native speakers of English and native speakers of their heritage language(s).
- may continue to interpret and/or translate for their family members in adulthood.
- are intermediaries between linguistically and culturally different parties (Tse, 1995).
- influence the content and nature of the messages they convey and ultimately affect the perceptions and decisions of the family members for whom they interpret/translate (Tse, 1995).

² Though these experiences are not mutually exclusive given that language brokers may become professional interpreters and translators, nevertheless, the focus of my study is on the language brokering experience, not professional interpreter/translator experiences that may have come later in life for individuals who have experienced both.

While not all ad-hoc family interpreters are heritage language speakers, language brokers typically are speakers of a heritage language. This is largely due to the fact that language brokers are typically called upon for their LB services as children because they can communicate in both their family's heritage or home language and the dominant or de facto language of society. I elaborate on heritage language speakers later in section 2.4 in order to situate the frameworks for my study.

I define *language brokering* as interpreting and translating that is not confined to oral or written language but encompasses all multimodal and semiotic forms of communication. Although Tse's (1995) definition does not explicitly identify language brokers as family interpreters, the participants in her and other LB studies have been language brokers for their families. Therefore, I also restrict language brokering to refer to interpreting and translating enacted by bilinguals for their family members. These bilinguals are personally invested in these interactions, which is not necessarily the case for professional interpreters and translators. As a result, language brokers are "affected linguistically and affectively in different manners and degrees by brokering experiences" (Tse, 1995, p. 180) in a way that their professional counterparts may not experience. Whereas professional interpreters and translators provide their language services for both parties, language brokers primarily assist and advocate for one party—their own family members. Thus, my operationalization of the terms *language broker* and *language brokering* only refer to instances of circumstantial bilinguals interpreting and translating for family members since childhood.

2.3 Recent research in language brokering

The topic of language brokering has generally occupied an infrequent presence in the literature, at least in the field of applied linguistics. Even the terms, *language broker* and

language brokering, have not been used often by researchers in the fields of linguistics and translation and interpretation (Hlavac, 2014). Most studies of this phenomenon have emerged from the fields of social psychology (e.g. Buriel, Perez, de Ment, Chavez, & Moran, 1998; Hua & Costigan, 2012; Katz, 2014; Morales, Yakushko, & Castro, 2012; Weisskirch, 2013; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002) and education (e.g. Cline, Crafter, O'Dell, & de Guida, 2011; Coyoca & Lee, 2009; Lee, Hill-Bonnet, & Raley, 2011; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Reynolds & Faulstich Orellana, 2014; Tse, 1995, 1996), with the vast majority of these studies focusing on child and adolescent language brokers.

Among the studies of child and adolescent language brokers, some have examined their emotions (e.g. Hall & Sham, 2007; Love & Buriel, 2007; Umaña-Taylor, 2003; Weisskirch, 2006), acculturation processes (e.g. Weisskirch & Alva, 2002), family relationships (e.g. Hua & Costigan, 2012; Weisskirch, 2013), and academic performance (e.g. Buriel et al., 1998; McQuillan & Tse, 1995). However, there has not been much agreement among these studies (Morales & Hanson, 2005). For example, whereas Buriel et al. (1998) found that language brokers in their study did well academically, McQuillan and Tse (1995) found that language brokering did not necessarily correlate with a student's academic performance. Most recently, Angelelli (2016) found that adult language brokers retrospectively connected their academic achievements with their childhood LB experiences. Yet, direct, observable correlations between LB experiences and academic performance remain uncertain. A few studies have also explored the benefits of language learning from LB interactions, whereby language brokers reported that language brokering accelerated their English learning (e.g. Hall & Sham, 2007; Tse, 1995). Hall and Sham (2007) also found positive affective results, whereby participants reported feeling positive about having such an enormous responsibility interpreting for their family. However, the

extent to which language brokering facilitates language learning remains unclear as some studies have found that LB experiences may sometimes hinder students from achieving high academic performance (e.g. Coyoca & Lee, 2009; Lee et al., 2011).

Studies of adult language brokers have also examined affect and acculturation. In her study of Italian-English bilingual families across three generations, Del Torto (2008) found that adults with child LB experiences continue to act as language brokers and may even extend their LB identities from public to private domains. In her study, second-generation adults who had interpreted for their first-generation family members in institutional contexts (public) extended their LB identities to the family context (private) by acting as intermediaries between first- and third-generation family members. Interestingly, Del Torto (2008) found that some LB instances were initiated by the language broker even though neither party needed them to interpret. This sense of responsibility for interpreting was also found in Sherman & Homoláč's (2017) study of young adult Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic. Participants who were older siblings often felt a responsibility to be language brokers as adults, even when they were not directly asked to interpret for their family. These findings suggest that for some adult language brokers, language brokering can become a familial obligation that must be performed for their family members.

These aforementioned studies have tended to focus on the social and psychological effects of language brokering on language brokers and their families. In the field of applied linguistics, language brokering remains a seldom researched topic. Studies that have examined language brokering from a linguistic perspective generally have not engaged with issues like codeswitching (Kamwangamalu, 1989; Poplack, 1980) and bivalency (Woolard, 1998) found in studies of bilingualism (Reynolds & Faulstich Orellana, 2014). Because these studies tend to

frame language brokers as exceptional and distinct from other types of bilinguals (Morales & Hanson, 2005; Valdés & Angelelli, 2003), most research has overlooked how the language practices of language brokers relate to bilingualism. To address the gap in applied linguistics literature about language brokering, my study examines language brokers and LB practices from a linguistic perspective by utilizing two frameworks drawn from applied linguistics and semiotics: *translanguaging* and *resemiotization*. In the remainder of this chapter, I situate language brokering in the U.S. through a discussion of heritage language speakers and related language ideologies about this population. I then discuss the benefits of using translanguaging to examine LB interactions and resemiotization to examine the process and outcomes of those interactions.

2.4 Ideologies about heritage language speakers

Language brokers are typically heritage language speakers who mediate communication for their families in their heritage or home language and the dominant or de facto societal language. As circumstantial bilinguals, language brokers acquire the dominant or de facto societal language out of necessity while simultaneously acquiring a heritage language from their natural home environment. In the context of the United States, language brokers are frequently children of immigrants whose native language is often a language other than English. As a result, these children of immigrants may acquire their parents' native language as a heritage language from childhood and acquire English once they enroll in school.

Studies of heritage languages and their speakers have generated an array of definitions due to the wide spectrum of heritage language proficiency and experiences across different societies. In the broadest terms, *heritage language* refers to “nonsocietal and nonmajority languages spoken by groups often known as linguistic minorities” (Valdés, 2005, p. 411).

Additional attempts to narrow down this definition tend to focus on either ethnolinguistic connection, i.e. the “heritage” part of “heritage language,” or proficiency, i.e. the “language” part of “heritage language.” Studies that focus on ethnolinguistic connection (e.g. Comanaru & Noels, 2009; He, 2010; Leeman, 2015) are rooted in Fishman’s (2001) assertion that what distinguishes a *heritage speaker* or *heritage learner* is their cultural, personal connection to rather than their proficiency in that language. These definitions have tended to adopt what Benmamoun, Montrul, & Polinsky (2013) characterize as a “broad notion” of heritage speaker, whose “ethnic, cultural, or other connection with a language” remains regardless of whether or not they learned the language from childhood (p. 261). Studies that focus on heritage language proficiency (e.g. Montrul, 2010, 2013; Montrul, Foote, & Perpiñán, 2008; Polinsky, 2018) tend to define heritage language speaker more narrowly, whereby the speaker has acquired their heritage language during childhood and has maintained a certain degree of proficiency in adulthood. Given that I have defined language broker as a bilingual speaker of at least one heritage language, my study adopts this narrower definition of heritage language speaker.

Attempts to define heritage language speaker or *heritage speaker* evoke an imagined speaker whose heritage language proficiency differs from that of a *native* speaker of that language. This line of research tends to apply a deficit lens to heritage speakers by characterizing them as speakers with *incomplete acquisition* of their heritage language (see Montrul, 2008). Critics of this deficit view (e.g. Kupisch & Rothman, 2018; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014) contend that heritage speakers are essentially native speakers if one were to define “native speakers” as those whose “age of onset in a naturalistic context” determines their proficiency more so than “some dubious proficiency levels that monolinguals supposedly have and/or holding the view that dominance is a necessary deterministic factor” (Kupisch & Rothman, 2018,

p. 571). In other words, the experience of language acquisition in a naturalistic process matters more than the outcome or proficiency level when deciding which heritage speaker is or is not a native speaker of that language.

Likewise, heritage speakers should not be conflated with *heritage language learners*. The difference lies in the context of a study; whereas heritage *speakers* encompass all multilinguals who acquired their heritage language in childhood, heritage language *learners* refer to multilinguals learning a language to which they feel a historical or personal connection. In other words, heritage speakers refer to bi/multilinguals who have acquired a heritage or home language naturalistically from childhood, while heritage language learners refer to bi/multilinguals who have acquired or are acquiring a heritage language in a classroom. In the context of my study, I borrow from Rothman's (2009) definition of heritage language, where "the heritage language is acquired on the basis of an interaction with naturalistic input and whatever in-born linguistic mechanisms are at play in any instance of child language acquisition" (p. 156). Rather than quantifying or evaluating the heritage language proficiency of a language broker, I problematize such tendencies as an epistemological problem rooted in monolingual-centric views of language proficiency which are incompatible with the lived realities of multilingual heritage speakers. Instead of framing heritage language speakers as the result of *incomplete acquisition* of a heritage language (see Montrul, 2008), I propose a reconceptualization of these individuals as a unique group of multilinguals worthy of research beyond the monolingual baseline—specifically the English monolingual baseline assumed by much of applied linguistics research in the United States (see Piller, 2016).

The study of a language by necessity means studying it from the lens of a language. Piller (2016) argues that the field of linguistics has tacitly adopted English as the universal language

through which we study other languages. This tendency for studying languages through English is evident in the dominance of English research articles in academic journals. Yet because of the status of English as a lingua franca, native speakers of English have little incentive to learn additional languages. As a result, countries like the United States with a de facto English society have become de facto monolingual societies as well, rendering multilinguals as outliers rather than the norm. This English monolingual lens is also extended to how we research multilingualism, which has been examined primarily from a decontextualized approach that theorizes multilingualism as serial or parallel monolingualisms. One major consequence of this monolingual lens of multilingualism is that “examination of the detailed and specific in its local context is devalued” (Piller, 2016, p. 28). This is particularly true for heritage language research which has tended to view heritage speakers from a monolingual lens. Studies of heritage language speakers often compare them with their monolingual counterparts or adult learners. The unintentional consequence of focusing on the outcomes of heritage language acquisition is the devaluing of the heritage language speaker experience as not worthy of further study.

Another consequence of this monolingual baseline is the mischaracterization of heritage language speakers as non-native speakers. Because a monolingual speaker is by default a native speaker of one language, there is a tendency to assume that native speaker status should only be bestowed upon those who have achieved proficiency levels equal to that of a monolingual speaker of that language. In other words, monolingual speakers are taken to be the native speaker standard. When this idealized version of native speaker proficiency is applied to heritage language speakers, they are often considered non-native speakers because their heritage language proficiency “often does not reach native-like attainment during adulthood” (Benmamoun et al., 2013b). However, given that heritage speakers exist on a continuum of proficiency and

dominance in their heritage language (Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014), this binary view of nativeness applicable to monolinguals makes little sense for heritage speakers.

An alternative way of understanding nativeness among heritage language speakers is to reconsider the most basic premise of native language—that it is “a language acquired (largely) naturalistically in early childhood” (Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014, p. 96). Under this definition, any language acquired naturally at home should be considered a native language for a typically developing child. Even if “native” were defined as “first language (L1)”, such a definition would not disqualify a heritage language speaker from being a native speaker since the heritage language would still be one of the first languages they acquired naturalistically in early childhood. Viewing heritage speakers as native speakers in their own right allows for a richer understanding of how heritage speakers use their linguistic repertoire in situations unique to their context not experienced by their monolingual counterparts, such as situations of language brokering. To understand the continuum of heritage language speakers more in depth, I argue that we must move away from a deficit perspective and reconceptualize heritage speakers and language brokers from a multilingual lens (Cabo & Rothman, 2012; Kupisch & Rothman, 2018; Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014). I elaborate on what this multilingual lens could look like in the following section about translanguaging.

2.5 Translanguaging in language brokering

Translanguaging presents a new way of conceptualizing multilingualism by focusing not on the languages, but on the “practices of bilinguals that are readily observable” (García, 2009, p. 44). It is a framework that counters a prevalent misperception of “balanced” or “true” bilingualism (Thiery, 1978) as the only legitimate type of bilingualism (see Perri Klass’ 2017

article in the *New York Times*³), in which a speaker is only considered bilingual insofar as they are equally fluent in both languages. Grosjean (1985, 1989) first criticized this perception of bilingualism for perpetuating the “two monolinguals in one person” myth. In second language acquisition (SLA) research, this monolingual view of bilingualism has led to a narrow definition of bilingualism that ignores the everyday complexities of language use by bi/multilingual speakers (Ortega, 2013a, 2019). Part of this (mis)perception about bilingualism stems from standard language ideology, which asserts that every language has a standard variety (Lippi-Green, 1994; Milroy, 2001). This ideology has reinforced ideologies of nationhood and linguistic purism, which equate language with nationhood, or the “one nation one language” ideology (Jernudd, 1989).

For heritage language speakers, and language brokers in particular, this presumption of standard language varieties reflects a prescriptivist view of language that ignores their everyday linguistic realities. By definition, language brokers destabilize the assumptions of a “one nation one language” system by being linguistically tied to both their cultural heritage and the dominant culture. Language brokers often learn their heritage language informally through their family and diasporic communities. Although this process of heritage language acquisition often results in varying levels of literacy and proficiency, nevertheless many language brokers successfully perform interpreting and translating services for their family members by enacting and negotiating their own set of linguistic and semiotic resources. In some ways, the success of these interactions results from how language brokers and their family members have developed their own ways of using the languages they know. This parallels the concept of an idiolect, where “a person’s own unique, personal language” and sense of grammar “emerges in interaction with

³ Klass, P. (2017, July 10). Raising a Truly Bilingual Child. *New York Times*. Retrieved November 7, 2017, from <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/07/10/well/family/raising-a-truly-bilingual-child.html>

other speakers and enables the person's use of language" (Otheguy, García, & Reid, 2015, p. 289). In this sense, language use can be viewed as ongoing human action, which simultaneously shapes and is shaped by humans (García & Leiva, 2014). This view resembles the sociocultural positions taken by other scholars like Otsuji and Pennycook (2010) and Canagarajah (2011a, 2011b) who have reconceptualized language as social practice instead of an object of study.

At the same time, the radical call to blur the distinctions between named languages and linguistic and non-linguistic semiotics has been criticized by researchers of translation and interpretation. Grin (2017) argues that the concept of multilingualism exists precisely because individuals possess multiple repertoires defined by identifiable languages. In translation and interpreting research, a translanguaging approach may not hold because translation "presupposes the assumption that we are dealing with different (named) languages" (Grin, 2017, p. 172). While the idea of named languages has not been explicitly rejected in discussions of translanguaging (e.g. García, 2017; García & Leiva, 2014), focusing on the boundaries of language and what constitutes a language trivializes the role of language in perpetuating social inequalities (Kubota, 2016). In other words, translanguaging distracts us from critically examining the ways in which language continues to uphold inequality in society. For example, in her discussion of adult migrant language education, García (2017) implores teachers to empower their students to take up translanguaging as they learn the *de jure* or *de facto* language of their new country. Yet, Kubota (2016) cautions that these discussions about translanguaging and the boundaries of language are also a privilege afforded to those whose livelihood may not depend on acquiring a language. Translanguaging may be empowering for the adult migrant students in García's (2017) example, but it does not change the fact that those students need to acquire the

language of their new country, nor does it erase the challenges they face without sufficient proficiency in that language.

Nevertheless, translanguaging can serve as an alternative to traditional views of translation by including all varieties of language used in interpreting and translating. This is in contrast to traditional views of translation which tend to privilege the standard variety of a language over others (cf. Lewis, Jones, & Baker, 2012). This is because translation, like codeswitching, views languages as separate entities. For language brokers without any formal training in translation and interpretation, it is unreasonable to assume these linguistic boundaries in their LB interactions when their primary goal is to communicate for their family member. This is particularly true for language brokers who have acquired a non-standard variety of their heritage language spoken in their diasporic community, where the heritage language has evolved separately from its original country of speakers such that it may not have the same prestige it once had.

Recent scholarship on the impact of globalization on language and borders (e.g. Blommaert, 2010) has led to new endeavors to reconceptualize multilingualism and the nature of language itself. Traditional views of language as discrete codes or systems do not adequately describe the fluid, complex language used by multilingual individuals (Cenoz, 2013). Various frameworks have emerged to describe multilingualism and language practices, such as hybridity (Gutiérrez, Baquedano - López, & Tejeda, 1999), polylinguaging (Jørgensen, 2008; Jørgensen et al., 2011), metrolinguism (Otsuji & Pennycook, 2010; Pennycook & Otsuji, 2016), codemeshing (Canagarajah, 2011a), translanguaging (Canagarajah, 2013), and translanguaging (García, 2009; García & Li, 2014). While all of these frameworks adopt a poststructuralist view of language, only translanguaging remains distinct as a “transformative” framework that attempts

to “wipe out the hierarchy of languaging practices that deem some more valuable than others” (García & Leiva, 2014, p. 200). In the context of translation and interpretation, translanguaging challenges existing ideologies that privilege standard language varieties over others. Unlike interpreters and translators who are formally trained in standard language varieties, language brokers may use non-standard varieties, particularly if they had acquired their heritage language in diasporic communities. Thus, translanguaging presents a comprehensive framework that reconsiders aspects of language brokers’ linguistic repertoires previously overlooked by researchers.

Although linguistic repertoires have been studied among multilingual speakers, these studies tend to view an individual as having multiple linguistic repertoires through which they deploy their linguistic resources in separate situations. Such a view has underpinned much of applied linguistics research, which has tended to focus on the language of the speech community and communicative event, rather than the speakers in their social contexts. Cenoz (2013) suggests a reconceptualization of the linguistic repertoire towards a “whole linguistic repertoire” approach that considers the entirety of an individual’s repertoire rather than analyzing each language as separate entities. In her updated review of the linguistic repertoire concept, Busch (2017) advocates for reevaluating linguistic repertoire through its relationship with individuals’ lived experiences of language. A shift away from locating “the linguistic repertoire in a linguistic community” (Busch, 2017, p. 345) to focusing on the speaker(s) and their linguistic contexts can illuminate more understanding about the nature of multilingualism. Translanguaging rejects the notion of multiple linguistic repertoires existing for an individual and instead, sees an individual as having one linguistic repertoire that encompasses all of their languages and registers from which they draw for different situations (García, 2009c, 2009b; García & Li, 2013; Otheguy et

al., 2015). For language brokers who have not undergone formal training in interpretation and translation, translanguaging allows us to reimagine language brokers as multilingual individuals who draw on their entire communicative repertoire (Rymes, 2010) when they interpret and translate for family members in a variety of contexts.

This reframing of language from the language itself to what an individual does with the language highlights a key difference between traditional and translanguaging approaches to multilingualism. Whereas traditional linguistic discussions about multilingual speakers center around whether the speakers conform to the linguistic structures typically produced by native speakers, translanguaging reorients the discussion about multilingualism to the speakers themselves and their language practices. Rather than asking whether or not a speaker is fluent or a native speaker, translanguaging asks how the speaker utilizes their entire linguistic repertoire when they communicate and use their language with others. In the case of language brokers, translanguaging shifts away from decontextualized approaches to language brokering which seek to codify the features of this phenomenon. Instead, translanguaging moves us towards a contextualized approach that focuses on the lived experiences of language brokers. In other words, the application of translanguaging to language brokering research allows us to redirect our focus to the language brokers and how they utilize the languages in practice rather than focusing on their language proficiency based on monolingual standards of fluency.

However, one limitation of translanguaging is the tendency to overlook multiple semiotic ways of translanguaging. Kusters, Spotti, Swanwick, and Tapio (2017) argue that while multimodality tends to neglect multilingualism, translanguaging studies tend to neglect multimodality. The current translanguaging framework claims to be inherently multimodal, but the concept is still underdeveloped. Kusters et al. (2017) propose reconceptualizing these two

constructs together as semiotic repertoires, extending previous proposals of dismantling named languages (Milroy, 2001; Otheguy et al., 2015) to linguistic and non-linguistic repertoires. In other words, “if we do not want to make a strict distinction between named languages” then we should “make no distinction between linguistic and non-linguistic,” and instead, “talk about semiotic repertoires rather than linguistic repertoires” (Kusters et al., 2017, p. 223). This echoes other multimodality studies that have called for attention to simultaneous deployment of semiotic and linguistic resources (e.g. Goodwin, 2000; Mondada, 2016). For example, the simultaneous use of sign (linguistic) and gesture (non-linguistic) conveys meaning that perhaps linguistic expression may fail to communicate alone. Thus, applications of translanguaging could encompass other non-linguistic and semiotic forms.

Translanguaging studies have only just begun to examine other semiotic forms of translanguaging (e.g. Gorter & Cenoz, 2015; Guzula et al., 2016; Pennycook, 2017; Zhang & Chan, 2017). For example, Pennycook (2017) uses the case study of an interaction in a Bangladeshi-owned corner shop to illustrate how translanguaging occurs not only through spoken language, but also spatial and gestural semiotics. He shows how the physical placement of a large freezer, which contains frozen products shared across multiple culinary traditions under different names in different languages, elicits multilingual exchanges between customers and the shop owner. Pennycook explains that integrational linguistics must be considered in this analysis because it challenges the assumption of languages as independent linguistic systems that operate independently from other communicative modes. This is seen in his case study where objects and their placement in the shop play as much of a role in the translanguaging interaction as the verbal exchange between the speakers.

To date, only a couple of studies have explicitly applied translanguaging to examine language brokers. In his study of young emergent bilinguals participating in a literacy mentoring program, Alvarez (2014) proposes viewing language brokering as one form of translanguaging. His study highlighted the use of language brokering as a resource, challenging deficit views of child language brokers who often engage in LB practices for their family members while they themselves are perceived as linguistically less capable than their monolingual peers. Like Alvarez (2014), Reynolds and Faulstich Orellana (2014) also treated language brokering as a form of translanguaging in their study of ten- to fourteen-year-old language brokers. The authors observed their participants in focus groups performing a variety of activities and group discussions. To understand how these participants perceived language brokering, Reynolds and Faulstich Orellana instructed them to create skits depicting typical examples of their LB interactions. The authors found instances of translanguaging such as *bivalency*, whereby bilinguals use words “that could ‘belong’ equally, descriptively and even prescriptively, to both codes” (Woolard, 1998, p. 7). They also found translanguaging features like *codeswitching*, defined as “the alternation of two languages within a single discourse, sentence or constituent” (Poplack, 1980, p. 583). However, one limitation to Reynolds and Faulstich Orellana’s study is that these LB skits were simulations of conversations based on what the participants *believed* they should and would do in those imaginary LB scenarios. The authors did not gather speech data from authentic interactions of language brokering.

Aside from Reynolds and Faulstich Orellana’s (2014) study of language brokers, most existing studies that have adopted translanguaging have focused on language learning (e.g. Alvarez, 2014; E. B. Bauer, Presiado, & Colomer, 2017; Blair, 2016; Canagarajah, 2011; Carstens, 2016; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Leiva, 2014; García & Otheguy, 2017;

García & Sylvan, 2011; Guzula et al., 2016; Makalela, 2015; Sayer, 2013) and identity (e.g. Creese & Blackledge, 2010, 2015; García & Leiva, 2014; Li, 2011; Li & Zhu, 2013). Most of these studies have only examined classroom contexts, where students are expected to draw on whatever linguistic and semiotic resources they have to learn (e.g. Canagarajah, 2011b; Carstens, 2016; Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García & Leiva, 2014; García & Otheguy, 2017; García & Sylvan, 2011; Guzula et al., 2016; Jonsson, 2013; Makalela, 2015; Probyn, 2015; Sayer, 2013). The precise nature of translanguaging in everyday contexts remains a rich area to be explored. As a form of translanguaging that occurs in everyday interactions outside of the classroom, language brokering is an area of research that further develops the translanguaging framework.

2.6 Resemiotization

If one were to envision a truly anthropological theory of translation, language, and the transfer of meaning between languages would obviously be key components. But more than anything, an anthropology of translation would be about the people doing the work of translation—speaking the languages, reading and writing the texts, and making the interpretive choices that create a basis for the way the texts are understood. Such a field would focus on the intricate process of interpreting and re-encoding meaning in the face of both real and imagined cultural and linguistic difference. (Pritzker, 2012, p. 344)

Although this quote from Pritzker (2012) highlights the centrality of the individual in translation and interpreting, it also brings attention to the complex processes of re-encoding meaning. For language brokers who have not received formal training in translation and interpreting, these processes reflect their semiotic and interpreting choices drawn from their lived experiences. To understand these LB processes, we can investigate the linguistic and semiotic interpretations of language brokers from the lens of Iedema's (2001, 2003) *resemiotization* framework. Resemiotization refers to the transformative processes of meaning-making as it moves through different modalities and contexts (Iedema, 2001, 2003). This process can be observed among language brokers—and likewise interpreters and translators—as they

“resemiotize” language in their interactions between different parties. However, whereas interpreters and translators have acquired formal training to transform meaning from one language into another, language brokers draw on linguistic and semiotic resources from their own experiences to achieve the same communicative goals.

The multimodal dimensions of translation and interpretation highlight the dynamic nature of these processes. In translation, this dynamic view was first suggested by Martinet (1985), one of the earliest proponents of viewing translation in a semiotic and linguistic framework. Instead of viewing translation as solving the problem of “untranslatability” in a text, Martinet reconceptualizes translation as a dynamic process that examines the entire semiotic system of the text. However, Martinet explicitly does not address interpreting, which she distinguishes from translating in two crucial ways. First, whereas translators typically work with “non-volatile” texts, i.e. written texts, interpreters usually work with “volatile” texts, i.e. live speech. Second, unlike translators who work with texts that are decontextualized and must therefore reconstruct the contexts, interpreters work directly in the contexts and therefore have access to paralinguistic cues. Although Martinet was specifically focused on translators, her argument applies to the work of interpreters as well. Like translation, the process of interpreting can be viewed from a semiotic and linguistic perspective and analyzed in its semiotic entirety. In fact, the very volatility of interpreting identified by Martinet suggests that the dynamic process of interpreting must be examined in order to fully understand how an interpretative choice is made.

These dynamic processes can be examined through resemiotization, whereby we focus not on the outcome of interpreter interactions, but rather on the processes—the semiotic and re-encoding choices—that have led to this outcome. The origins of resemiotization can be traced back to Roman Jakobson’s (1959) concept of intersemiotic translation. In his discussion of the

various types of language translation, Jakobson argues that sometimes, translation from one language to another must necessarily undergo a semiotic shift. This is because a word in one language does not always have a linguistic equivalent, but its meaning may be conveyed through other semiotic means. For example, a metaphor in one language may not be translatable, but can be conveyed visually. This idea of translating meaning from one context to another has been explored by Mehan (1993) in his case study of recontextualization. Mehan traced the discursive construction of a student as learning disabled to a series of recontextualizations. Beginning with an interaction between the student and his teacher, Mehan observed that the teacher recontextualized their interaction into a referral form for the student to take a placement test. The results of the test were then recontextualized to a report on file that deemed the student as officially learning disabled. Mehan challenges the assumption that the student had learning disabilities that were only revealed through the teacher's interaction, referral, and the student's test score. Instead, he suggests that it was this series of textual recontextualizations that discursively reconstructed the student as one with learning disabilities.

This series of recontextualizations in Mehan's (1993) study can also be reframed as instances of resemiotization. The final diagnosis of the student as learning disabled reflects an accumulation of resemiotized texts. From the verbal interaction between the teacher and student to the teacher's written referral form, we can see that the first interaction has been transformed into a written document. Iedema (2001) uses Mehan's (1993) study as an example of how a text is an accumulation of a series of recontextualizations and extends his analysis to other semiotic systems. To illustrate these resemiotization processes, Iedema (2001) uses a case study of the renovation of a mental hospital. The initial stages of the construction project consisted of face-to-face meetings, from which the spoken contents were resemiotized into the written form of

meeting minutes. These meeting minutes were then resemiotized into a formal project planning report, which was then resemiotized into the architectural drawings for the construction project. In each stage, the text undergoes resemiotization to be transformed into a new semiotic form. However, the text is not necessarily recontextualized, because the purpose of the text in each of its semiotic forms remains the same. That is, each instance of resemiotization builds upon the previous instance into the same, final renovation project. Yet more importantly, these instantiations of resemiotization become increasingly more durable and concrete, from negotiable discussions to increasingly non-negotiable written documents (Iedema, 2001). This process can be seen in Mehan's (1993) study as well as each recontextualization increasingly solidifies the image of the student as one with learning disabilities.

Similarly, language brokering can be viewed as instantiations of resemiotization whereby language brokers transform meaning from one context to another. Studies of adult language brokers have found semiotic cues used to make meaning from one language to another. For example, in their study of young adult Vietnamese-Czech language brokers, Sherman and Homoláč (2017) found that their participants did not necessarily find the linguistic dimension of language brokering to be the most important in their LB interactions. This was exemplified by one participant who recalled an instance when her mother understood her, even though she was unable to translate the word at hand. In other words, the communicative success of this LB interaction came from not only linguistic but also non-linguistic cues. A similar finding emerged from Antia's (2017) study of South African university students, who not only used translanguaging in their side-talk during class time, but also engaged in language brokering in their side-talk with their peers to facilitate understanding of the lecture material in their mother tongue. Antia (2017) also found that students practiced translanguaging through multimodal

semiotic means, including drawings and gestures (cf. Blackledge & Creese, 2017; Kusters et al., 2017).

These examples of language brokering suggest that a framework that considers multimodality may elucidate further understanding about LB processes. A multimodal approach such as resemiotization would consider the entire semiotic repertoire (Kusters et al., 2017) of a language broker in order to understand how they draw on their resources to interpret and mediate interactions. The intercultural intertextuality of language brokering can also be examined as a process of texts or discourses being carried across language and culture. Schäffner (2012) notes that translators often use the strategy of replacing a direct quote with an indirect quote in political speeches in instances when searching for the exact original quote is not feasible or when they feel that the exact wording is not necessary for the purpose of the text. Similarly, language brokers use these strategies, sometimes because a term is not translatable, or because they find it unnecessary to translate directly. In both situations, the translator or language broker is using their personal judgment as they assess the communicative situation. Intercultural intertextual instances would certainly occur during translation and interpreting, whereby the speaker intentionally uses intercultural intertextuality to translate a stretch of discourse from one language to another. For language brokers, this phenomenon inevitably occurs as they navigate the intercultural spaces between the people for whom they are translating.

2.7 The current study

Despite the overlapping functions of language brokering and interpreting, research in these areas remains distinct and separate. Part of the reason is that approaches to LB research have largely come from social psychology and education, while translation and interpretation occupy a distinct, separate research space. At the same time, language brokering has not been

widely explored from the perspective of second language acquisition (SLA) and bilingualism. One possible reason is that linguists have generally avoided research in or even resembling translation and interpretation. Angermeyer (2010) posits that the tendency for linguists to ignore interpreter-mediated bilingual language data might stem from their focus on bilinguals' separate interactions in different language communities. This appears to be the case for SLA studies of bilingualism, which examine how bilinguals use each of their languages in separate domains and contexts. At the same time, it can be argued that this perspective is ideologically rooted in the perception of bilinguals as having monolingual interactions in their language communities. In other words, it has been assumed that bilingual individuals use one language with one interlocutor at a time.

However, with the recognition of codeswitching and other multilingual practices in linguistics research, this demarcation of languages used by bilinguals has become less clear. For language brokers immersed in interpreting and translating, this boundary between languages becomes even less clear. As Tse (1995, 1996) found in her surveys of adolescent language brokers, language brokering occurs in a variety of situations in their lives both in public and private domains. In her earliest study of language brokers, Tse (1995) found that home, school, and store were the most commonly reported LB contexts. These contexts were also reported by participants in a more recent LB study of adult language brokers from Angelelli (2016). These findings showcase examples of contexts where multilingual individuals interact in more than one language. For language brokers, LB interactions in these mundane contexts are perceived as a normal part of everyday life (Sherman & Homoláč, 2017). My study seeks to understand these contexts more in-depth while surveying a broader spectrum of adult language brokers in the United States.

Language brokering remains a seldom researched topic, particularly from a linguistic and semiotic perspective. Most studies have focused on the social and psychological development of language brokers (Buriel et al., 1998; Hua & Costigan, 2012; McQuillan & Tse, 1995; Weisskirch, 2013; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002), with some examining attitudes and affect (Corona et al., 2012; Guan et al., 2016; Sherman & Homoláč, 2017; Weisskirch, 2006). These studies have tended to focus on adolescents or child language brokers. Only a few studies have examined language brokering from the perspectives of adult language brokers (e.g. Bauer, 2013; Del Torto, 2008; Guan et al., 2016; Sherman & Homoláč, 2017; Weisskirch, 2006), and even fewer have examined the linguistic resources actually employed by adult language brokers (e.g. Bolden, 2012; Del Torto, 2008; Hlavac, 2014). While these LB studies have yielded valuable insight into the lived experiences of language brokers and their relationships with their families, LB research has yet to explore how language brokers utilize the full extent of their linguistic and semiotic repertoires in LB interactions.

Linguistics and discourse studies of LB interactions have tended to use audio-recorded data, which are then resemiotized into written texts, i.e. transcripts, for conversation analysis or some other form of discourse analysis (e.g. Del Torto, 2008; Hlavac, 2014). A few studies have used video-recorded data to observe language brokering practices (e.g. Bolden, 2012; Reynolds & Faulstich Orellana, 2014). Bolden's (2012) study examined video-recorded textual data in which she found that language brokering was used as a form of conversational repair. Although her study provides an important insight into one major function of language brokering, Bolden (2012) only focused on the linguistic features of the interactions and excluded other semiotic forms. Reynolds and Faulstich Orellana's (2014) study also collected video-recorded data, but their study used simulations based on what language brokers believed they would do, rather than

authentic LB interactions. Even though these studies uncovered some of the linguistic features of LB interactions, they did not examine other semiotic features.

To my knowledge, there have not been any LB studies that have examined the semiotic dimensions of language brokering beyond linguistic and paralinguistic features. Only a couple of LB studies have captured both semiotic and linguistic LB data through video recordings (e.g. Morales, 2008; Reynolds & Faulstich Orellana, 2014), but these have not examined semiotic data, such as embodied actions (Goodwin, 2000). The only in-depth study that has examined LB interactions comes from Alejandro Morales' (2008) dissertation in which he used video-recorded data in order to examine how his participants—pairs of child language brokers and their parents—interacted as the children translated documents for their parents. However, although Morales examined the linguistic data from his video recordings, his dissertation is a social psychology study that focuses on the family relationships and dynamics of language brokers rather than the actual linguistic and semiotic processes of LB interactions.

To address these gaps in linguistics research on language brokers, my study will apply frameworks from applied linguistics and semiotics to language brokering, namely translanguaging and resemiotization. Given the complexity of LB interactions, these two frameworks allow me to construct a fuller picture of language brokering by addressing both linguistic and semiotic processes behind this phenomenon. Combining translanguaging and resemiotization brings a unique lens through which we can analyze LB interactions and understand the ways in which language brokers draw on their linguistic and semiotic repertoires.

More importantly, there remains a general lack of discussion about language brokering in applied linguistics research despite the recent development of new frameworks for multilingualism like translanguaging. As these frameworks attempt to challenge standard

language ideology, language brokering represents one form of resistance to this ideology that remains underexplored. My study attempts to address this gap in applied linguistics research by focusing on the linguistic and semiotic dimensions of LB interactions while also examining sociocultural aspects of language brokers such as acculturation and identity. My study aims to reorient the conversation about language brokers from one that views them as ill-equipped to interpret and translate professionally, towards one that sees them as legitimate interpreters and translators in their own right. My study aims to reimagine language brokers as resourceful multilingual individuals, whose LB experiences have uniquely impacted them in ways that cannot be compared with monolingual or even other types of multilingual individuals. By examining language brokering through the frameworks of translanguaging and resemiotization, my study seeks to understand LB processes from an asset rather than a deficit perspective. This positive view of language brokering as an asset has been expressed by LB researchers:

Specifically for bilingual youngsters, the experience of interpreting for their communities—whatever the views of the service providers, trained interpreters or, for the matter, researchers—offers opportunities for young interpreters to develop very specific strategies for brokering interactions which other youngsters (even other bilingual youngsters) of the same age may never experience. (Angelelli, 2010, p. 101)

It is these strategies and lived experiences of language brokers that my study explores in order to illuminate the ways in which language brokering impacts multilingual individuals whose language practices resist the norms of standard language ideology.

Through my study, I attempt to paint a more comprehensive picture of language brokering by examining the linguistic and semiotic resources employed by adult language brokers both retrospectively from their perspective and actively from my own perspective as the researcher. The following research questions will guide my study:

1. What are the situations in which U.S. language brokers find themselves interpreting for their family members?
 - a. What are the most common types of LB interactions from their childhood?
 - b. What are the most common types of LB interactions in their adulthood?
2. What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?
 - a. In particular, what are the language ideologies that U.S. language brokers express as they draw on their linguistic and semiotic resources during LB interactions?
3. How does language brokering shape the identities of U.S. language brokers overall?
 - a. How do U.S. language brokers perceive the effects of their LB experiences on their linguistic identities?
 - b. How do U.S. language brokers perceive the effects of their LB experiences on their cultural identities?
4. What are the linguistic and semiotic resources that U.S. language brokers utilize in their LB interactions?
 - a. What are the most salient linguistic features of LB interactions?
 - b. What are the most salient semiotic features of LB interactions?

3 METHODOLOGY

The structure of my study was informed by a sequential transformative mixed-methods design (Creswell, 2013; Creswell, Plano Clark, Gutmann, & Hanson, 2003). According to Creswell et al. (2003), “The purpose of a sequential transformative design is to employ the methods that will best serve the theoretical perspective of the researcher” whereby distinct sequential data collection phases (stages in my study) allow the researcher “to give voice to diverse perspectives, to better advocate for participants, or to better understand a phenomenon or

process that is changing as a result of being studied” (p. 228). This research design was the most suitable for the aims of my study for three reasons. First, the purpose of my study was driven by my ideological endeavor to reframe how we view heritage speakers. Second, a major goal of my study was to give voice to heritage speakers and their perspective of multilingualism. Finally, as I discuss further in this chapter, my positioning as a researcher-participant and my own LB experiences inevitably affected the phenomenon of LB interactions in my data collection.

The study took place in three phases, or stages, beginning with a quantitative method through a broad survey of adult language brokers, followed by a qualitative method using a more in-depth discussion of LB experiences with participants, and finally a qualitative analysis of the ideologies, identities, and linguistic and semiotic features of video-recorded LB interactions. I present an outline of my study design and corresponding research questions in Figure 3.1.

Stage of Study	Research Questions
First stage: Language brokering survey	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the situations in which U.S. language brokers find themselves interpreting for their family members? 2. What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?
Second stage: Composing language biographies through interviews	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. What are the situations in which U.S. language brokers find themselves interpreting for their family members? 2. What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves? 3. How does language brokering shape the identities of U.S. brokers overall?
Third stage: Video-recorded language brokering task and interview	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> 2. What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves? 4. What are the linguistic and semiotic resources that U.S. language brokers utilize in their LB interactions?

Figure 3.1 Outline of study design with corresponding research questions

The first stage of my dissertation project surveyed participants who had been language brokers for their families since childhood in the United States. The contents of my survey focused on domains of LB interactions and attitudes towards language brokering. These survey results informed the guiding questions for the subsequent stage of my project, where I conducted semi-structured interviews with survey participants. I structured these interviews in the form of language biographies (Nekvapil, 2001), focusing on the LB experiences, ideologies, and attitudes of my participants.

For the third and final stage of my project, I invited pairs of participants to complete a LB task followed by an interview with both participants. The task was a translation activity where an adult language broker was filmed assisting one of their non-English-speaking parents complete a questionnaire. After my participants completed the task, I carried out a post task interview with them as a researcher-participant. The purpose of this interview was to not only seek a better understanding of my participants' perceptions of their interactions during the translation task, but also capture authentic LB interactions between my participants and myself. Hence, the adult LB participant acted as the language broker for me and their parent during the interview. These interactions—both the task and interview—were video recorded in order to provide linguistic and semiotic data for further analysis.

In the remainder of this chapter, I describe these three stages of my project in more detail. However, before I launch into the details of my data collection and data analysis, I want to maintain transparency by discussing my own positionality as a researcher and researcher-participant in this study. In the next section, I discuss my role in this research and my endeavors to balance my emic and etic perspectives.

3.1 Researcher positionality

As a language broker myself, I find it impossible to write this dissertation without critically examining my own positionality as a researcher and researcher-participant. I think it goes without saying that qualitative research inherently raises questions about researcher positionality given the epistemological implications of conducting research on human beings whose interpretations of their experiences are being reinterpreted by the researcher. Who controls the narrative, who disseminates knowledge, and whose perspective is received as knowledge—all of these questions must be accounted for particularly when the researcher is deeply embedded in her participants' experiences. Ultimately, this dissertation reflects a series of decisions I made along the way as a researcher. I decided on the research questions, I decided on the methodologies used to answer those questions, and I decided what and how to present the findings of this research. In other words, my dissertation itself is a process of resemiotization as well. However, these decisions do not render my research more or less subjective than the work produced by any other researcher. Rather, I mention these observations as a way to hold myself accountable as a researcher whose experiences both inspired and shaped the direction of this dissertation.

For this study, my own personal experiences as a language broker, heritage language speaker, and child of immigrants overlapped with my participants' life experiences. The implications of this shared experience meant that while I had an easier time building rapport with participants, I also put myself in a compromising position as a researcher. To mitigate some of these concerns about researcher ethics and trustworthiness, I find it crucial to maintain transparency and clearly describe my background as a language broker and how I positioned

myself as a researcher and researcher-participant throughout this study. Therefore, before I present the findings of my participants' language biographies, I begin with my own.

3.1.1 Language biography of the researcher

I identify as a Chinese-American cis-woman and a native speaker of English and Mandarin Chinese.⁴ I grew up in San Francisco as a daughter of Chinese immigrants who were college-educated in the People's Republic of China but never educated in the United States of America. This means that in my household, I primarily spoke my parents' language, which I have always referred to as *Wuhanese* or Wuhan dialect (武漢話). It is classified as a variety of Southwestern Mandarin with four distinct tones; however, whether it is mutually intelligible with Mandarin (standard) Chinese depends on the listener. It is the language variety spoken by most of the ten million residents of Wuhan, the capital of Hubei province in central China. While it is typically described as a Chinese dialect or *fāngyán* (方言), I will refer to this variety as *Wuhanese* because that is how I first learned its English translation. Although I am technically a native speaker of *Wuhanese* and not Mandarin, I identify as a native Mandarin speaker when prompted due to the fact that *Wuhanese* is neither a prestige language nor a variety known outside of Chinese-speaking communities. In addition to *Wuhanese*, I spoke a variety of Northern Mandarin, *Henan-hua* (河南話) with my paternal grandmother, Mandarin at church, and Cantonese in preschool. I do not remember speaking much English until kindergarten, but I also do not remember a time when I did not understand any English. While I do remember a time

⁴ While it is currently more conventional to refer to this variety of Chinese as *Putonghua*, I will use *Mandarin* when I refer to my own linguistic repertoire because this is the English term I heard and used in my community throughout my childhood. I first learned of the term, *Putonghua*, in my college Chinese class, which was a specific class geared towards heritage language speakers. In my current life, I use *Putonghua* and *Mandarin* interchangeably.

when I did not understand Henan-*hua* or Cantonese, I was conversational in these two language varieties before kindergarten and before I became conversational in English.

Throughout my childhood, I was the primary language broker for my parents and grandparents. This meant I was present for emergency room visits, responsible for filling out all English forms, and expected to handle all phone calls with English speakers. This also meant that I was a primary decision-maker for low-stakes situations such as choosing a mobile phone service or repair company for house maintenance issues. I was also often responsible for sorting through my parents' mail and bills—a responsibility that I passed on to my younger sister once I moved out to Maine for college. These LB experiences never felt unusual to me because I grew up around mostly children of immigrants, whose language environments mirrored mine.

Currently, I seldom interpret for my parents as they are capable of handling most situations in English on their own. However, the recent situations where I have interpreted for them have tended to be high stakes situations, such as emergency rooms in hospitals (most recently within the last year of this study) and other healthcare-related contexts. I still occasionally translate documents for my parents, which I conduct either through email or verbally on the phone. These documents range from the mundane (e.g. junk mail) to more complex texts that most native English speakers probably find challenging (e.g. health insurance policy changes). Due to the fact that my parents still live in San Francisco where Chinese language access is mandated by the city,⁵ my LB role has diminished significantly since childhood. Nevertheless, I am still expected to interpret and translate for them whenever we are together in situations that require more complicated English communication.

⁵ In the City and County of San Francisco, language access services must be made available for “threshold languages” in compliance with the Language Access Ordinance. Chinese is one of these “threshold” languages, along with Spanish and Filipino. See <https://sfgov.org/oceia/city-compliance-dashboards> for a quick overview.

3.1.2 Researcher positioning in the study

Given that the impetus for my study was a strong desire to understand my own experiences as a language broker and heritage language speaker, it seemed impossible to conduct this research from a solely etic perspective. Pike (2015/1967) differentiated between etic and emic perspectives in research whereby the “etic viewpoint studies behavior as from outside of a particular system” and the “emic viewpoint results from studying behavior as from inside the system” (p. 37). In my case, I began this study as someone who directly came from inside the system. However, my curiosity led me to seek a deeper understanding of the language broker experience by exploring other systems of heritage language communities and language brokering experiences. Hence, I designed my study from both an emic and etic approach.

To achieve a balance between these two perspectives, I began with an etic approach using a survey in order to gain a broader perspective of language brokering outside of my own experiences. I then shifted to a combination of etic and emic approaches in my interviews and video-recorded task. In my interviews, I strived to position myself as a researcher-participant to the extent that I included my participation in my data analysis. For the video-recorded task, I began the session with an etic approach as a researcher-observer and shifted to a researcher-participant position by including myself in the video recording and data analysis. I describe these three stages of my study in the following sections.

3.2 First stage: Language brokering survey

The first stage of my project addressed the first and second research questions:

1. What are the situations in which U.S. language brokers find themselves interpreting for their family members?
2. What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?

The aim of the survey was to generate more information about LB experiences across a wider spectrum of bilingual adults who were raised in the United States. A secondary aim of the survey was to inform the interview questions in the second stage.

3.2.1 Questionnaire

The survey was conducted in the form of an online questionnaire. Survey questions were modified based on the questionnaires carried out by Tse (1996) and Weisskirch and Alva (2002). Participants were asked to first describe their language background and rate their language proficiencies on a seven-point scale.⁶

In addition to these questions about participant language backgrounds and self-perceptions of proficiency, the questionnaire included questions about the domains of LB interactions and attitudes towards LB experiences. Participants were asked to identify the most frequent types of LB interactions they encountered during their childhood and adulthood, including situations in which they interpreted for their family and documents they translated. They were also asked to rate their attitudes towards to their LB experiences on a seven-point scale. To avoid confusion, my questionnaire used the term *interpreting/translating* instead of *language brokering*, which is not a common term. The survey questions are provided in Appendix A.4.

⁶ I chose to exclude objective measures of language proficiency for three reasons. First, my study focuses on the participants' self-perceptions of their LB experiences, not their language proficiency. Second, since the purpose of this study is to provide a clearer picture of LB processes and not the accuracy of LB interactions, assessing my participants' language proficiency was not relevant to my research questions. Third, since the main purpose of the survey was to crowdsource information about adult language brokers in order to inform the interview questions, language proficiency was not a necessary component to achieve this purpose beyond the participants' English ability to complete the questionnaire.

3.2.2 Participants

All participants were adults aged 18 and older who have been language brokers as children living in the United States. Participants were screened according to four criteria:

- They were at least 18 years old at the time of the study.
- They had attended high school in the United States.
- They had grown up speaking a language other than English at home.
- They had interpreted and/or translated for their parents or relatives who do not speak English.

These four criteria served as the first four questions in the questionnaire in order to screen out participants who did not qualify for the survey (see Appendix A.3).

Initially, 131 participants responded to my questionnaire. However, after excluding incomplete responses, the final number of participants included in my analysis was 104. In total, 28 males and 76 females completed the questionnaire. Participant ages ranged from 21 to 66, with a median age of 30 ($M = 31.88$). The majority of them ($N = 70$) were born in the United States. Participants reported sixteen varieties of languages that they used for language brokering. I provide more detail about the demographics of my participants in Section 4.1.1.

3.2.3 Procedures

The survey was hosted on Qualtrics. The primary sampling method was snowball sampling (Buchstaller & Khattab, 2013) through my online social networks. Given the exploratory nature of this study, the narrow set of criteria for participants, and the lack of demographic information about language brokers in the United States, snowball sampling served the most suitable method of finding a large pool of participants for surveying. I began my recruitment process with announcements posted to my social networks, namely Facebook and

LinkedIn. Recruitment texts are provided in Appendix A.1. At the end of the questionnaire, participants were asked whether or not they were willing to be interviewed. Participants who indicated that they were willing to be interviewed were then contacted by email for the second stage of this study.

3.3 Second stage: Composing language biographies through interviews

The second stage of this study consisted of interviews with adult language brokers who had completed the questionnaire. These interviews were semi-structured around a form of narrative inquiry called “language biographies.” According to Nekvapil (2001), “a language biography is a biographical account in which the narrator makes the language, or rather languages, the topic of his narrative—in particular the issue of how the language was acquired and how it was used” (p. 80). Language biographies have largely been used for research on those most impacted by their language experiences, such as migrants (e.g. Pavlenko, 2007) and multilinguals in language learning contexts (e.g. Busch, Jardine, & Tjoutuku, 2006). This type of narrative inquiry allowed for a more focused approach to answer my first, second, and third research questions:

1. What are the situations in which U.S. language brokers find themselves interpreting for their family members?
2. What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?
3. How does language brokering shape the identities of U.S. language brokers overall?

Only a few LB studies have utilized language biographies, or methods resembling the narrative inquiry approach (e.g. Guan et al., 2016; Sherman & Homoláč, 2017). Using semi-structured interviews, Guan et al. (2016) examined the LB practices of ten young adults who were either Arab, Asian, or Latin-American immigrants in the United States. Though they did not use

language biographies per se, the authors' interviews explored related areas of language use, including the participants' LB experiences, their family context as a result of their LB practices, and the sociopolitical contexts of their LB interactions. These domains allowed the authors to construct a language biography of each of their participants that focused on their LB experiences. However, the authors did not focus on their participants' language history, but rather the acculturative processes involved in their participants' LB experiences and self-concepts. Unlike Guan et al. (2016), Sherman and Homoláč (2017) explicitly structured their interviews around language biographies, but did not focus on language brokering. Instead, the authors state that language brokering emerged as one key theme in their language biography study. My dissertation project builds on these previous studies by focusing on my participants' LB experiences and how they utilized their linguistic and semiotic resources in addition to their acculturation experiences and sense of identity through their language experiences.

As a language broker myself, I acknowledge that there were particular advantages and disadvantages to using qualitative interviews. The interview has been problematized for being theorized as a "research instrument" (Talmy, 2011) used to elicit objective and subjective knowledge from participants under the assumption that such knowledge can only be elicited through specific methods of inquiry (cf. Briggs, 2007; Mann, 2011). To address this problematic approach to interviews, Talmy (2010, 2011) has proposed an alternative model that takes a "research interview as social practice" orientation instead of an "interview as research instrument" orientation. This model builds on Holstein and Gubrium's (1995) view that interviews are inherently sites of social interaction where both interviewer and interviewee collaboratively co-construct the interview together. Under this perspective, interviews should be thought of "not as events that take place in a particular spatio-temporal location but as

dimensions of the larger set of practices of knowledge production that makes up the research from beginning to end” (Briggs, 2007, p. 566).

Following these calls for researchers to adopt a “research interview as social practice” (Mann, 2016; Talmy, 2010, 2011) model, I engaged in researcher reflexivity as a researcher-participant where I approached both the content of the interviews and the interviews themselves as data for analysis. I practiced researcher reflexivity by writing field notes describing my impressions and thoughts about the interview interaction immediately after each interview. These field notes are additional artifacts that I have incorporated in my data analysis. Additionally, I considered my own background as a child and adult language broker as an asset to this interview process that equipped me with the ability to co-construct knowledge about language brokering with my participants.

3.3.1 Participants

Twenty-one survey participants agreed to my request for a follow-up interview. Participant ages ranged from 24 years old to 39 years old. These participants were adult language brokers who have had LB experiences from childhood while living in the United States; however, not all of them reported being language brokers for their families at the time of the interviews. The vast majority of these participants were born in the United States, and all reported having at least a college degree. Due to a technical error on my end, I failed to record my interview with one participant, Cecilia (pseudonym). Though I had taken notes throughout our interview, which I used for my analysis, I did not feature any quotes from this participant because I could not reliably attribute any quotes to her verbatim.

3.3.2 Protocol

I recruited participants who had completed my survey by sending them follow-up emails inviting them to participate in an interview. The recruitment text for this initial email can be found in Appendix B.1. Each interview was conducted online through Google Hangout or Skype and audio recorded for subsequent transcription and analysis. At the beginning of the interview, I asked my participant for their permission to record our interview. I then read aloud the informed consent form to my participant and received their recorded verbal consent. The informed consent form can be found in Appendix B.2. Following each interview, I jotted down field notes describing my observations about the interview interaction. These field notes contained both descriptive and reflective observations, impressions, and overall thoughts I felt about the interaction. Each interview lasted between thirty minutes to one hour. All interviews were conducted between August 2018 and January 2019, with most of them completed within two months after the launch of the questionnaire.

Although the interviews were primarily guided by participant responses to the survey, I mainly focused on five areas of language brokering: identity, attitude, ideology, and family. The guiding questions for the interview are listed in Appendix B.3.

3.3.3 Analysis

After transcribing all my interviews verbatim, I read and reread the interview transcripts while coding them thematically. My coding process was guided by my research questions. I applied an iterative coding approach (Miles, Huberman, & Saldaña, 2014), beginning with a round of broad thematic coding for each interview, and grouping these codes across participants for a cross-case analysis of these themes. I then compared my codes against my field notes in order to see if any common themes emerged from my initial impressions of each interview. By

comparing my interview codes and field notes, I was able to give myself some distance from the interview process as a researcher-participant and reflect more critically about how my positioning might have influenced the interview process. I conducted all data analysis using NVivo, a software tool for qualitative analysis. I strived to practice researcher reflexivity during the analysis phase of my study by critically examining my own discourses in each interaction. In Chapter 4, I present the findings from these interviews along with the survey findings.

3.4 Third stage: Video-recorded language brokering task and interview

The final stage of my project consisted of two parts: a task and a post task interview immediately following the task. The purpose of this stage was to help crystallize the findings from the survey and interview data by exploring the linguistic and semiotic features of LB interactions and the perceptions of LB practices from family members who rely on language brokers. The goals of this stage were to collect LB linguistic and semiotic data using video recordings; gather interview data from the perspective of the family members of language brokers; and gather LB interaction data as a researcher-participant in order to obtain authentic LB linguistic and semiotic data. This stage was aimed towards answering my second and fourth research questions:

2. What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?
 - a. In particular, what are the language ideologies that language brokers express as they draw on their linguistic and semiotic resources during LB interactions?
4. What are the linguistic and semiotic resources that U.S. language brokers utilize in their LB interactions?

I designed this part of my study based on Morales' (2008) dissertation for which he video-recorded children translating documents for their parent. However, the design of my

video-recorded task differed from that of Morales in several crucial ways. First, whereas Morales' study focused on child language brokers, my study focused on adult language brokers. Second, I did not require my participants to bring in their own documents for translation due to the fact that not all of my participants were able to provide documents for the task. In order to provide consistency across all of my participant pairs, I assigned the same questionnaire for my participants to complete, which also served as the translation task. Finally, a significant portion of the video-recorded task was dedicated to the post task interview, during which I shifted my role from non-participant observer to a researcher-participant. This shift in research positioning did not occur in Morales' study.

3.4.1 Participants

I recruited four pairs of participants for a total of eight participants. Each pair consisted of one adult language broker (hereafter LB adult) and one family member for whom the LB adult acts as language broker (hereafter LB parent). I first invited the LB adults, all of whom had previously participated in the second stage of my study (see Appendix C.1). Those who consented then recruited one of their parents, who contacted me to express their interest in participating in my study. I then emailed consent forms to each of my participants individually beforehand to provide them with more information about my study. The consent form for the LB adult language brokers can be found in Appendix C.2. LB parents were given translated consent forms based on the language they reported to be most comfortable reading. These translated consent forms had been translated from English to Chinese, Japanese, and Korean by three different individuals who self-identified as native speakers of these three languages. These translated consent forms were then back-translated to English by three other individuals who self-identified as native speakers of Chinese, Japanese, and Korean; only the Japanese bilingual

translator also self-identified as a native speaker of English. All of the Chinese and Korean translators had backgrounds in applied linguistics, but this was not the case for either of the Japanese translators. The original consent form can be found in Appendix C.3. All translated consent forms can be found in Appendices C.4, C.5, and C.6.

All participant pairs were recruited using purposeful sampling method since “qualitative research generally uses a small purposeful sampling to promote an in-depth understanding of the explored phenomenon” (Ivankova & Creswell, 2009, p. 149). This sampling method was particularly suitable for this stage of my study since the aim of this data collection method was to deepen our understanding of the possible manifestations of language brokering. These participants were all recruited from the San Francisco Bay Area, where I myself had spent most of my LB years. This location was chosen due to two reasons. First, this is the context with which I am most familiar given that that is where I grew up as a language broker for my family. Therefore, this context allowed me to have both an emic and etic perspective, Second, the vast majority of my interview participants were based in the Bay Area, which made this location most practical for recruitment.

3.4.2 LB task protocol

The basis for this LB task comes from Morales (2008), whose study examined child language brokers translating documents for their non-English speaking parents (see also Morales et al., 2012). Morales (2008) used a multiple case study design to examine six Mexican immigrant families living in the U.S. Midwest. Each case study involved two parents and one child language broker, who were selected using maximum variation sampling based on the child language brokers' education level and gender. In Morales's (2008) simulation task, which he

described as “non-participant observation,” the parent participants were asked to bring in documents typically translated by their children for them.

Similar to Morales (2008), my study sought to elicit authentic LB interactions through a task. Initially, I had also requested that my participants bring in documents for translation, but this was not feasible for two reasons. First, not all of my LB adult participants had recently translated documents for their LB parent. Second, the LB adults who had recently translated documents for their parents were not able to share those documents for this study given the sensitive nature of these documents. Therefore, in order to maintain consistency across all pairs of participants while attempting to elicit authentic LB interactions, I designed a questionnaire task for my participants. This questionnaire task was derived from the questionnaire used in the survey during the first stage of my dissertation; however, unlike the survey, this questionnaire task was tailored towards the LB adult’s language background and LB experiences. The questionnaire for this task can be found in Appendix C.7.

At the beginning of the task, I provided physical copies of the informed consent forms for each participant to read and sign in person. I then gave them instructions to fill out the questionnaire and showed them the video and audio equipment I would use to record the task and interview. I also reminded participants that each of them would be compensated with a \$50 Amazon gift card after the completion of the task and interview. During the task, I observed my participants and recorded field notes, which informed the questions for the subsequent post-task interview. Participants were video-recorded and audio-recorded as they were completing the questionnaire task, during which I was a researcher-, i.e. non-participant, observer. The purpose of video-recording these interactions was to capture both linguistic and semiotic LB data, which Morales (2008) also captured in his video recordings but did not focus on in his study. My goal

was to examine both the language that was actually used in the interaction and the non-linguistic or other semiotic data—such as gestures and facial expressions—that may have facilitated or hindered communication during the LB interaction. Audio recordings were used for transcription and served as a back-up for any unclear audio from the video recordings. The questionnaires were collected at the end of the post task interview and served as an artifact for triangulation in this study.

3.4.3 Post task interview

Following the simulation task, I shifted my role from non-participant observer to a researcher-participant. I carried out a post task interview based on my field notes and a set of guiding questions, which can be found in Appendix C.8. These questions were used to clarify any questions or misunderstandings and to understand how each participant felt about their LB interactions. As seen in Del Torto's (2008) study of adult language brokers, interviews that elicit meta commentary from participants may uncover ideologies and attitudes towards language brokering. This served the first purpose of my interview protocol.

The second purpose for this post task interview was to allow me to co-construct an authentic LB interaction with my participants. Whereas in the previous task, I remained a passive, non-participant observer, in this interview, I shifted my role to that of an active researcher-participant. As a result, this interview was video recorded with me as an onscreen participant as well. During the interview, some of my questions were directed towards the LB parent in order to learn more about his or her English language experiences. In instances where the LB parent and I were unable to communicate clearly with each other, the LB adult mediated the interaction as our language broker.

3.4.4 Analysis

All video transcriptions were outsourced to GoTranscript, a transcription and translation company based out of the United Kingdom that employs human transcribers and translators. Only audio data was provided for this transcription and translation service. Transcripts were produced verbatim without paralinguistic markers, i.e. pauses and false starts were not transcribed. Video transcripts were first transcribed in the original languages by one set of anonymous transcribers, and then translated into English by another set of translators. Because I am literate in Mandarin and Cantonese, I did edit the final transcripts for Karen and Chloe wherever I found discrepancies between the video recording and the transcripts. Unfortunately, I was not able to check for errors in the transcripts for Reiko and David due to the fact that I am literate in neither Japanese nor Korean. However, given that there were very few errors in the transcripts for Karen and Chloe, I felt confident enough in the transcripts for Reiko and David for my analysis. To maintain transparency, I provide both versions of the transcripts in English and their original languages in Chapter 5 when I present excerpts from these video transcripts to illustrate my findings.

I analyzed the video recordings by watching each session and simultaneously coding for semiotic, non-linguistic features, such as gestures and facial expressions. I watched and re-watched these videos as I engaged in a recursive coding methodology to narrow down the key themes that emerged from these semiotic features. I bookmarked instances where language brokering clearly took place, such as when there was negotiation of meaning. I then analyzed the linguistic features of these instances by reading the transcripts and comparing the transcripts to the video recordings.

For the video recordings of the task I approached my data following Goodwin's (2000) embodied interaction framework and Iedema's (2001, 2003) resemiotization framework in order to trace the linguistic and semiotic processes that led to the final, completed questionnaire. Linguistic features, such as codeswitching and bivalent words, were coded and analyzed. Other semiotic, non-linguistic features, such as gestures and body positioning, were coded and analyzed to see how those features facilitated or hindered the successful outcomes of LB interactions.

For the post task interview, I applied thematic analysis to salient themes related to my research questions that emerged from the video and transcript data. As with the task, I also analyzed the embodied procedures of my participants—including myself—from the video recordings of the interview, in order to understand how non-linguistic and linguistic expressions interacted during instances of language brokering. I then compared my findings to my field notes to see where my initial impressions of the interactions may have corroborated my analysis. I present these findings in Chapter 5.

4 A BROADER PICTURE OF LANGUAGE BROKERING

A complex picture of language brokering emerged from participant survey responses and interviews. Survey participants reported a variety of situations and documents they encountered as language brokers; however, the types of situations and documents changed from childhood to adulthood. Whereas childhood language brokering was described by interview participants as a normal part of their lives, their current LB situations and documents as adults were described as more complex with higher stakes involved. Interview participants also described additional ways in which language brokering functioned beyond mediating communication for their parents. These in-depth interviews also revealed how standard language ideology may have shaped my

participants' views of language brokering and assessment of their own heritage language abilities. Participants from the survey and interviews also reported ambivalent feelings about their linguistic identities. While the majority of participants described themselves as native speakers of English, most of them also did not identify English as their first language. Interview findings suggested that this mismatch between participants' self-reported native language and first language reflects their overall ambivalence about their heritage language identity.

In this chapter, I present this broad picture of language brokering first from the perspective of participants as reported in their questionnaires and interviews. To contextualize my study, I begin with a presentation of some general findings about my participants in these first two stages of research. I then present an overview of the LB situations and documents reported by participants, followed by a discussion of the functions of language brokering that emerged from the interviews. I then describe the themes I observed emerging from participant responses and offer my interpretation of these findings. These themes are presented under two overarching concepts: language ideologies and linguistic identities. I conclude this chapter with a discussion of how these findings address my research questions about LB situations (first research question), language ideologies (second research question), and identities (third research question).

4.1 The landscape of language brokering

This section provides a general picture of the participants in my study, beginning with the survey participants followed by the interview participants, whom I recruited from the survey.

4.1.1 Survey participants

Among the final number of survey participants ($N = 104$) were 28 males and 76 females who completed the questionnaire. Participant ages ranged from 21 to 66, with a median age of 30

($M = 31.88$). Almost half of the participants ($N = 51$) reported having a post-graduate degree while the remaining participants reported at least some college education ($N = 6$) or having a college degree ($N = 47$). Hence, the findings of my study reflect a very well-educated group of heritage speakers with language brokering experiences, and therefore, should be interpreted with this demographic detail in mind.

Among the survey participants, the vast majority of them ($N = 70$) were born in the United States. The remaining participants reported a wide range of countries of birth, which are listed in Table 4.1. These participants have spent an average of 24.32 years in the United States.

Table 4.1 Countries of birth reported by survey participants

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>Number of Participants</u>
Afghanistan	1
Argentina	1
Belarus	1
Bosnia	1
Brazil	1
China	9
Germany	1
Greece	1
Guatemala	2
Hong Kong	3
Korea	1
Mexico	4
Philippines	1
Russia	1
Sierra Leone	1
Taiwan	2
Ukraine	2
USA	70
Vietnam	1

Survey participants also reported a wide variety of languages they used for LB interactions, as seen in Table 4.2. The majority of participants reported language brokering in a variety of Chinese, such as Cantonese and Mandarin. Spanish was the second most reported LB language by survey participants. These language demographics reflect the limitations of my snowball sampling method for participant recruitment, which concentrated heavily in California and New York, where most of my networks reside.

Table 4.2 *Languages used for language brokering reported by survey participants*

<u>LB Language</u>	<u>Number of Participants</u>
Cambodian	1
Cantonese	33
Chinese (unspecified)	10
Chinese variety/dialect*	7
Croatian	2
Dari	1
Greek	1
Haitian-Creole	1
Japanese	3
Korean	3
Krio	1
Mandarin	11
Portuguese	1
Russian	6
Spanish	17
Tagalog	1
Vietnamese	5

*Fujinese, Fuzhounese, Toisan (Taishan), Hakka, Wuhanese

About a third ($N = 35$) of survey participants reported they had translated and interpreted professionally or in a professional setting. However, only a couple ($N = 2$) of participants reported they had undergone professional training for translation and interpretation. To put it

another way, the majority of my participants had never performed any translation or interpretation work professionally ($N = 69$) nor had they undergone any professional training for translation and interpretation ($N = 102$). Nevertheless, all of these participants had experienced interpreting and translating for their family as children.

All of the participants were children of immigrants, as indicated by their parents' countries of birth. These countries are listed in Table 4.3 below.

Table 4.3 *Participants' parents' countries of birth*

<u>Country of Birth</u>	<u>Mother</u>	<u>Father</u>
Afghanistan	1	1
Argentina	1	1
Belarus	-	1
Bosnia	1	1
Brazil	1	1
Cambodia	2	2
China	48	41
Colombia	1	1
Croatia	1	1
Ecuador	1	-
El Salvador	2	-
Greece	1	1
Guatemala	-	3
Haiti	1	1
Hong Kong	3	6
Japan	2	3
Liberia	1	-
Mexico	11	8
Nicaragua	1	2
Philippines	1	1
Russia	1	1
South Korea	3	3
Soviet Union	1	1
Taiwan	4	4
Ukraine	3	2
USA	-	1
Vietnam	12	13

Participants were also asked to report some information about their parents' education and language background. In general, participants reported their mothers as having slightly less education and lower English proficiency compared to their fathers. These differences are depicted in Figures 4.1, 4.2, and 4.3.

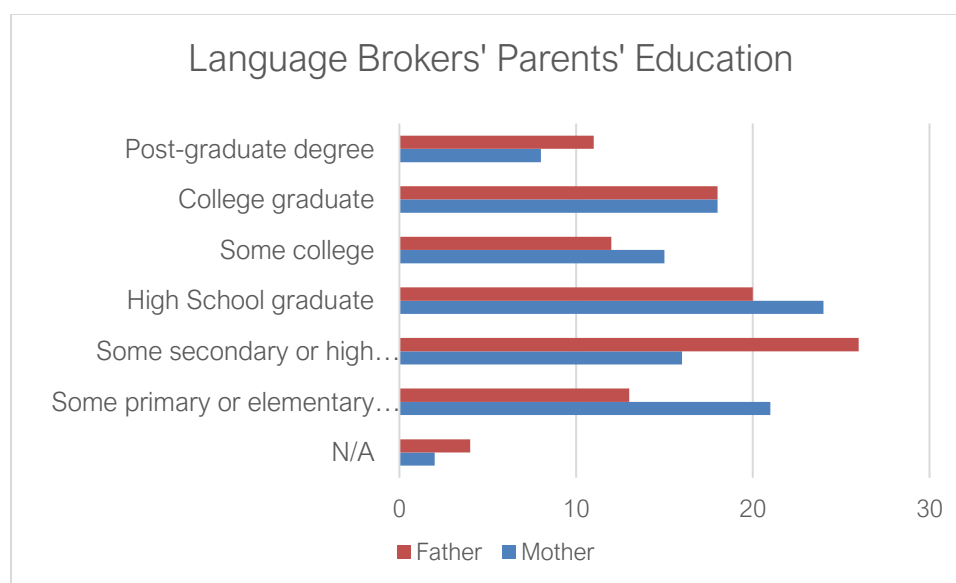


Figure 4.1 Survey participants' reporting of their parents' education levels

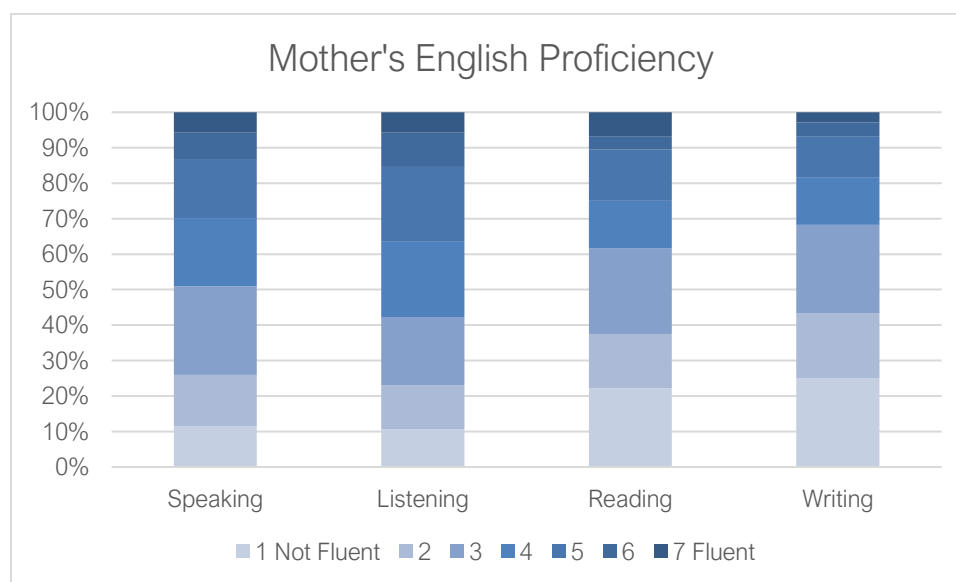


Figure 4.2 Survey participants' reporting of their mother's English language proficiency

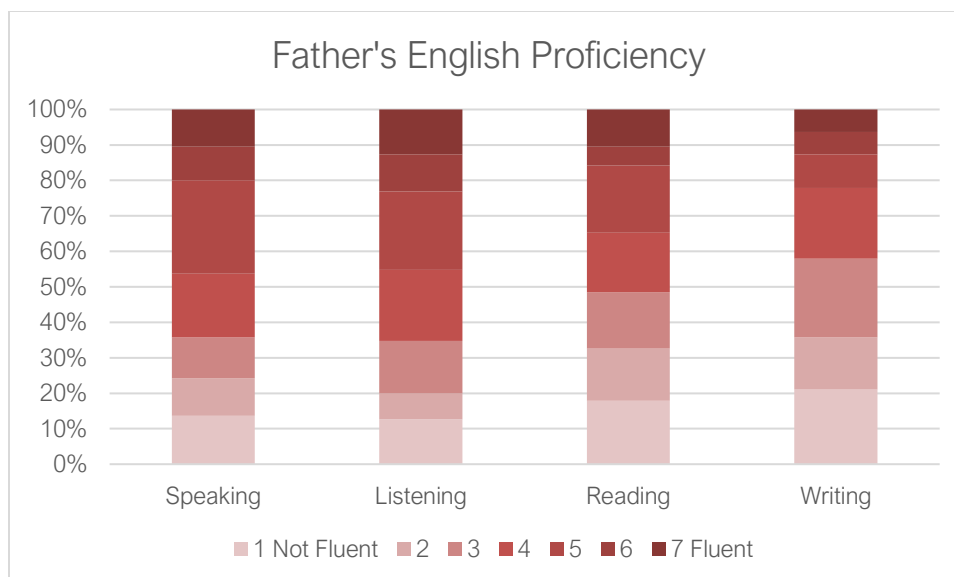


Figure 4.3 Survey participants' reporting of their father's English language proficiency

As indicated by the darker colors in Figures 4.2 and 4.3, survey participants rated their mothers and fathers as more proficient in speaking and listening than reading and writing. However, more participants rated their father's speaking level as higher than that of their mother. Overall, more participants rated their father's English language skills as fluent than for their mother. This finding was corroborated by interview participants, many of whom did describe their fathers as more proficient in English. The details of these interviews will be discussed in the subsequent sections of this chapter.

4.1.2 Interview participants

From among the survey participants, I interviewed a total of 21 language brokers, including 4 males and 17 females. All participant names are pseudonyms that I assigned. Participant pseudonyms whose names seem to suggest their ethnic identities were selected to reflect that characteristic of their actual name. The majority of these participants grew up in California, some of whom were also my childhood friends. All of my interview participants grew up in or near urban areas of the United States; however, they did not necessarily live near

communities of immigrants or heritage language speakers. A summary of these participant profiles is provided in Table 4.4.

Table 4.4 *Interview participant demographics organized in alphabetical order by participant name. All participant names are pseudonyms.*

<u>Participant</u>	<u>Gender</u>	<u>Age</u>	<u>Education</u>	<u>Country of birth</u>	<u>Years in USA</u>	<u>LB Home Language</u>	<u>Childhood Location</u>
Adriane	F	31	Post-grad	USA	31	Mandarin	Chicago
Casey	F	29	College	USA	29	Taishanese	San Francisco
Cathy	F	28	Post-grad	USA	28	Cantonese	San Francisco
Cecilia*	F	33	Post-grad	China	19	Cantonese	San Francisco
Celeste	F	37	College	USA	37	Cantonese	San Francisco
Chloe	F	31	Post-grad	USA	31	Cantonese	Bay Area
Christine	F	30	College	USA	30	Cantonese	Bay Area
Cindy	F	34	Post-grad	USA	31	Cantonese	New York City
Connie	F	29	College	Hong Kong	24	Cantonese	San Francisco
David	M	31	Post-grad	USA	31	Korean	Metro Los Angeles and Bay Area
Gabriella	F	37	Post-grad	USA	35	Spanish	Metro Los Angeles
Isabel	F	31	Post-grad	Guatemala	25	Spanish	Metro Dallas
Karen	F	39	Post-grad	China	28	Mandarin	San Francisco
Linh	F	32	Post-grad	USA	32	Vietnamese	Charlotte
Lucia	F	30	College	USA	30	Spanish	Washington D.C.
Miguel	M	30	College	USA	30	Spanish	San Francisco
Reiko	F	30	College	USA	31	Japanese	San Francisco
Thomas	M	24	College	USA	24	Cantonese	Honolulu
Trang	F	25	Post-grad	USA	25	Vietnamese	Metro Boston and Metro Atlanta
Vincent	M	24	College	USA	24	Cantonese	San Francisco
Vivian	F	30	Post-grad	USA	28	Wuhanese	San Francisco

*Due to technical errors made on my end, I was unable to audio record my interview with Cecilia. Therefore, quotes are not featured from this participant.

4.2 Language brokering situations and documents

Participants reported interpreting in a variety of situations and translating all types of documents for their families. Although all participants reported interpreting and translating in their childhood, not all of them reported doing so as adults. Participants reported fewer types of LB situations in their adulthood compared to their childhood. For LB documents, findings were

mixed, with some types of documents encountered more by participants than others. However, interviews with participants revealed more complexity and higher stakes in both LB situations and documents they encountered as adults. In the following sections, I elaborate on these examples of LB experiences in childhood and adulthood.

4.2.1 The mundanity and responsibility of childhood language brokering

Participants described interpreting and translating for a variety of situations and documents during their childhood. Summaries of these situations and documents reported from the survey are displayed in Figures 4.4 and 4.5 below.

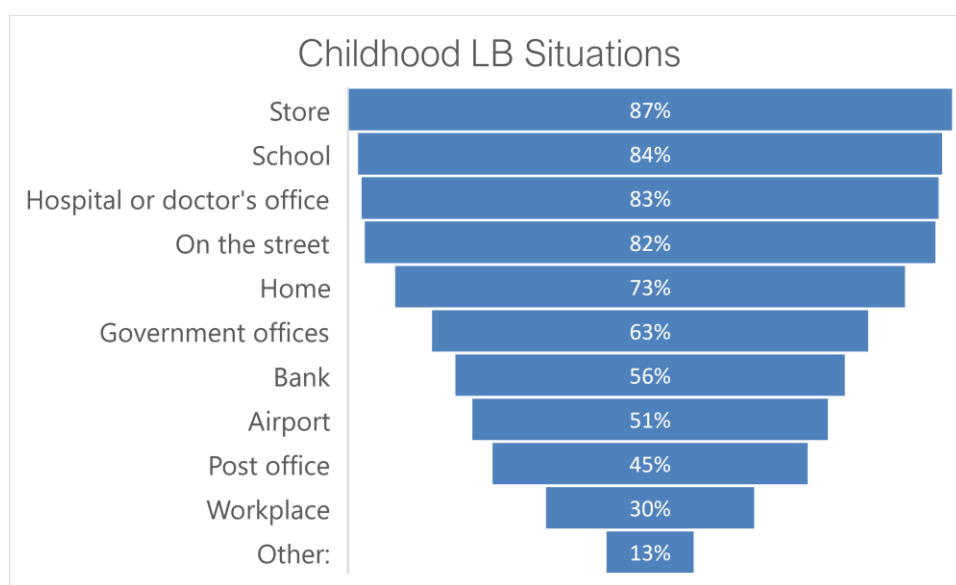


Figure 4.4 Most commonly reported childhood LB situations from questionnaire

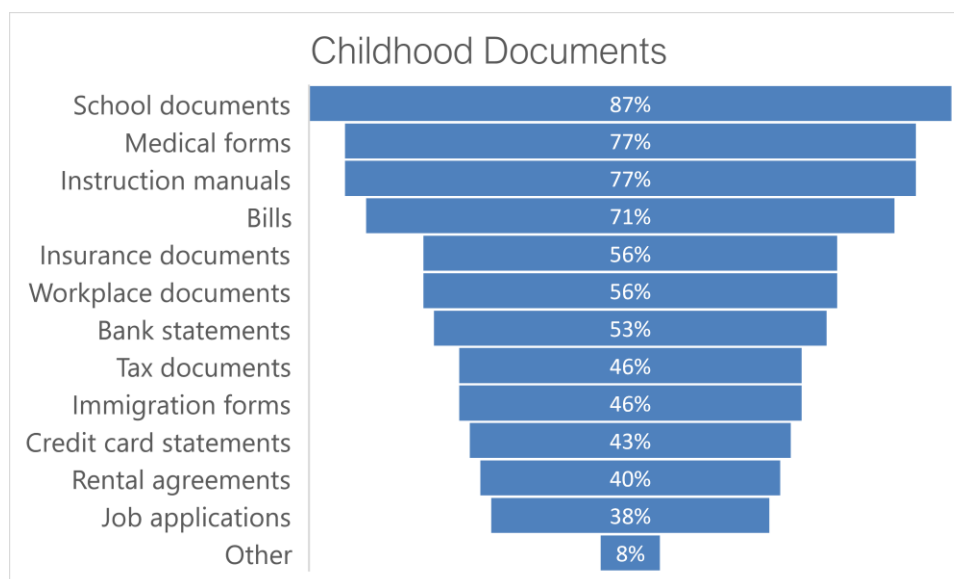


Figure 4.5 Most commonly reported childhood LB documents from questionnaire

The vast majority of survey participants reported “school” as a typical context for their childhood LB experiences. This was reiterated by additional participant responses to the open-ended survey question, which asked survey participants to describe the most common LB situations and documents during their childhood. The most common responses were related to school, medical, and shopping contexts. These survey responses were corroborated by several interview participants who described school documents as their earliest memories of LB experiences.

Excerpt 4.1 Miguel and Cindy describe their earliest memory of language brokering.

Miguel

Jessica: So, how old were you when you first interpreted or translated for somebody? Do you remember?

Miguel: Oh...That is, rough. I would say...at least the elementary school years? I think closer to like, third, fourth, fifth grade when like, my literacy was at a point where I was able to read. I think the context there was like, I'd be provided a permission slip, a piece of paper that my parents would have to sign, from school. I would actually have to interpret what the piece of paper said to them, so they understood what the context was. So, I would say around that

age range, like third fourth fifth grade is when I started actually translating forms for my parents.

Cindy

Jessica: Do you remember how old you were when you first translated or interpreted for somebody?

Cindy: Yeah! I have very vague memories of bringing home permission slips in like, first or second grade. I don't know if my mom understood like, I needed her to sign a permission slip or something? I was like, "Mom, it just says parent signature, parent guardian signature." And I'm like, "I just have to go on a trip, and it just says like," you know, something about emergency phone numbers and who to contact and what the trip's about. So, I think those are probably my first memories of when I had to translate things that my mom wasn't really familiar with.

These findings are not surprising, given that U.S. children typically spend the majority of their time either at school or at home (see Tse, 1996). Moreover, one could argue that to a certain extent, all U.S. children facilitate communication between their parents and teachers through written letters and school notices. However, with the additional responsibility of translating—and mediating—these school documents for their parents, LB children are also exposed to the bureaucracy of U.S. educational institutions at an earlier age. Language brokers often continue to navigate these bureaucratic processes such that anything involving their education often remains their responsibility. This sense of responsibility was evident from my interviews with participants about their college application experiences.

Excerpt 4.2 Chloe and Linh share their experiences applying to college.

Chloe

Chloe: And I'm still finding out that... you know, in terms of, applying to colleges, filling out the FAFSA, right?

Jessica: Yes...

Chloe: Combing through tax documents, because you need to know their gross income, and it's like, you realize other kids, other...you know, teenagers

didn't have to do that at all. They have no idea what that is. I mean, I feel a sense of independence now that I know how to do it, and at the same time, it's like "Wow! that's...yep! Totally assumed that was normal"

Linh

Jessica: I don't know if you experienced this in college where like, you're filling out financial aid forms and stuff, and I was doing a lot of that on my own, but I didn't question it. It was just like, "Well, no one else is going to do it." Like, why would my parents do that, right? And then, in college when I was re-filling it out, I was finding out that my monolingual—like White peers—their parents did it for them, which blew my mind!

Linh: Yes, absolutely! Same experience. When I was filling out the FAFSA and CSS profile I think it was called?

Jessica: Yeah

Linh: Oh my gosh, it was so stressful for me and having to request my parents' tax documents so I could fill it out, and everyone in my dorm was looking at me like I was insane, like "my parents do this" or, someone told me they had no idea what I was doing. They just figured their parents were doing it.

Jessica: Yeah

Linh: But yeah, I didn't realize that all college students who needed to fill those out didn't just fill them out on their own.

Jessica: Yeah! I didn't know I had other options!

This shared experience of navigating the college application process in the absence of parental guidance reveals the mundanity of language brokering in everyday life for my participants and me. Our cumulative childhood LB experiences led us to believe that we were naturally responsible for navigating the U.S. education system—after all, a decade of language brokering for our parents and teachers had made us into expert navigators. Moreover, as circumstantial bilinguals, we have grown up with a feeling of no choice (see Angelelli, 2010) in LB situations, which were embedded in our lives both inside and outside of our homes.

This sense of normalcy towards LB experiences was reiterated by other interview participants, some of whom mentioned that prior to our interview, they had never thought about

language brokering as distinct experiences. This was reinforced by the fact that participants often framed their LB experiences as one of many responsibilities they had in their families. In other words, participants considered language brokering as mundane as any other household chore.

Excerpt 4.3 Celeste explains how language brokering feels normal.

Celeste

Jessica: Would you say that since it was such a normal part of your life, there was never a time where you kind of questioned or wondered whether your dad could have just gone to someone else? It was just kind of like, “Yeah, sure!” Like, “I’ll do it for you, dad.”

Celeste: Yeah, I never. (pause) Yeah! I never really thought about it. I mean, sometimes I wish he would, but I just figured, it’s like, it’s just one of those things. It’s like, it’s a chore, you know? You dry the dishes. You know, dry the dishes, write a contract, it’s just...one other thing on the list of things to do growing up. I mean I still visit my mom every weekend, and she’d have a stack of mail for me to go through. She just...she won’t do it, and I live like an hour away. I usually manage to go back once a week. So, it’s just easier, I guess, or she’s used to it.

In this interaction, I had prompted Celeste to reconsider her LB experience as a normal part of her experience based on similar comments from previous interviews with other participants. However, Celeste’s pause and her response seems to indicate that she did in fact, view language brokering as a normal part of her life to the extent that she had “never really thought about it.” Furthermore, Celeste’s comparison of her LB experience of writing up work contracts for her father to drying the dishes underlines the ordinariness of language brokering from her perspective. Like Celeste, survey participants also reported performing the mundane task of translating mail and letters for their parents, such as identifying junk mail and utility bills that needed attention. In fact, this was the second most commonly reported childhood LB experience from the open-ended question on the survey. At first glance, it seems possible that my participants’ perception of language brokering as a normal, mundane part of their lives stemmed

from these very ordinary situations—after all, school permission slips and mail are not unique documents encountered only by children of immigrants. However, the equal weight that Celeste places on her LB responsibilities—writing contracts for her father’s work and reading mail for her mother—suggests that for language brokers, the prevalence of language brokering in multiple aspects of their family lives rendered these experiences as ordinary.

Another commonly reported situation in the surveys was medical contexts, such as doctor’s visits. Like school contexts, medical contexts were also described in terms of family responsibility and mundanity.

Excerpt 4.4 David and Karen describe how they language brokered with doctors.

David

Jessica: When you were a kid, like when you were translating for them, was it pretty often that you had to do that?

David: No. I don’t think it was that often. Yeah. It was... just...one offs, here and there. But, I just thought of another thing. Even small—I mean it’s not small I guess—but even if like, my mom was taking me to the doctor, it’s not like she was the one understanding everything. So, I would understand most of the stuff, and then my mom would say, “So what did he say?” like, “Are you okay?” or like, “Is everything okay?” And then I have to explain to my mom how the doctor visit went, even though she was there with me, and she’s the one that took me there. So yeah, I never really thought about that, but yeah, that’s definitely something that happened.

Karen

Jessica: But you mentioned like the medical scenario—was that something that you helped your parents a lot with when you were growing up?

Karen: Um...a little bit. So I never... So, my dad actually did most of that for my mom. My dad actually had to take the day off anytime my mom had to go to the hospital. Um, but I don’t know if that’s just because he cares or because he has to because he is the translator. I also think that my mom may not be as comfortable with a translator, and she might be scared. I think the other thing with a lot of immigrants that don’t speak the language is that they tend to be a lot more scared and timid than people that do, right? So, it’s a problem that feeds on itself.

Jessica: Right.

Karen: Because they don't speak the language, they're scared, and they especially don't want to talk to a stranger that might know all of their business. It just feeds on itself. Um...so I didn't go to the hospital with—also, so. The interesting thing was, when my sister was born, I was sixteen. My dad did most of the translating, but he passed out at the sight of blood. So, I ended up translating for the rest of my mom's labor, like the whole thing—like I was the one to cut the umbilical cord, to hold my sister first. Because I had to, I basically just stepped in for my dad.

Jessica: Wow...okay. That's a huge responsibility!

Karen: So, it's interesting that I didn't even think of it until...basically, the conversation first shifted toward it. Cause this whole time, we talked about my dad translating for my mom, and then you asked if I've ever translated for my mom in the hospital, I was like, "No... I've never been to the hospital with my mom." And I was like, "Wait, except once."

Although these two examples highlight very different types of encounters with healthcare, both David and Karen describe their experiences in a similarly mundane manner. David's anecdote suggests that he did not think of these LB experiences in medical contexts as unusual. In fact, prior to that exchange, I had asked him, "So what kinds of situations were you asked to interpret or translate for your parents?" to which he responded, "Back then it was simple things like I just mentioned," and then proceeded to discuss his current LB experiences as an adult. David's response by trivializing his childhood LB experiences as "simple things" suggests that for him, these experiences were normal, not unusual. Had I not followed up with him about the frequency of his childhood LB experiences, David may not have recalled this childhood experience at the doctor's office. Likewise, my interview triggered Karen's memory of her hospital experience in a way that suggests she too did not think of her LB experiences in medical contexts as unusual. When I followed up with her about her experience in the hospital, commenting "It sounds like you haven't really thought much of it," Karen responded by reframing her experience as a universal reaction rather than a unique experience as a result of being a language broker or child

of immigrants: “I think it’s just so...um, innate? That you would do that for people?” In other words, even though the main reason for Karen’s presence in the delivery room was because of her LB skills, Karen did not necessarily remember this moment as an LB experience.

Another common thread throughout my interviews was the shift in roles from child to parent. As seen in the anecdotes from David and Karen, both participants took on their parents’ responsibilities as language brokers. David explained his doctor’s visit to his mother, and Karen literally took over her father’s role in the delivery room. Although one could argue that these are two rather extreme cases, the shift in parental responsibility was apparent in many of my participants’ stories. This sense of responsibility that participants felt for their parents as children extended into their adult lives—some from a sense of obligation and others from pragmatism. I address these themes more in-depth in the following section about adulthood language brokering.

4.2.2 The complexity of adulthood language brokering

The majority of my participants reported continuing their roles as interpreter and translator for their families as adults. However, findings from both the survey and interviews suggest a general decline in the types of LB situations in adulthood. In fact, the types of LB situations consistently decreased for most participants, as illustrated in Figure 4.6.

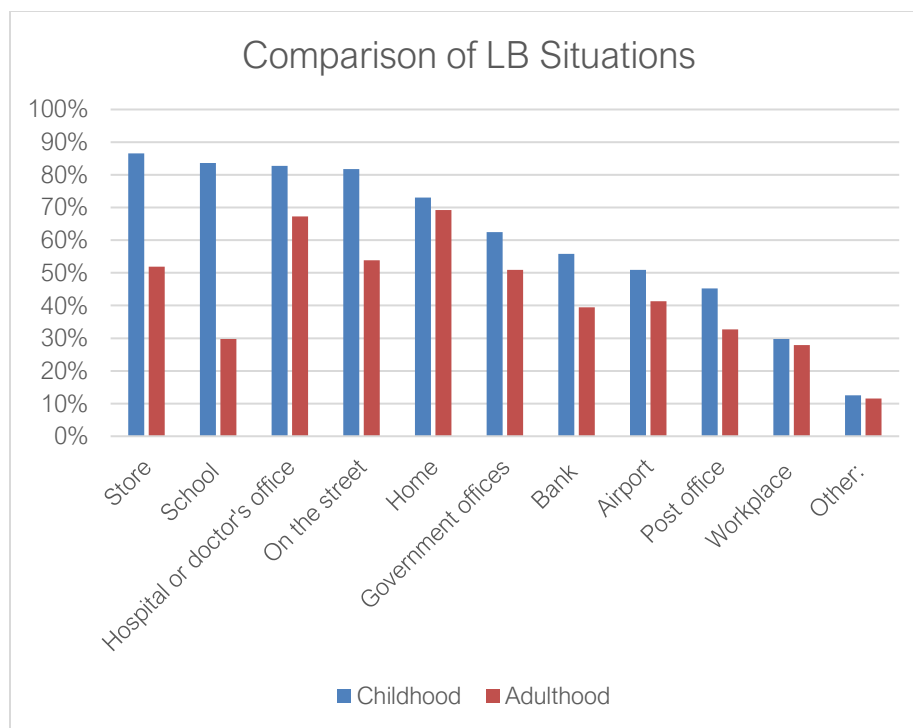


Figure 4.6 Comparison of childhood and adulthood LB situations reported by survey participants

This general decrease in adulthood LB situations can be explained by several reasons. First, given that the average reported age was 31 ($M = 31.88$) and median age was 30, it is likely that some of my survey participants no longer reside with their parents or family members and would therefore not find themselves in as many LB situations as during their childhood. This was confirmed by several of my interview participants who had moved out of their childhood homes for college, work, and marriage.

Excerpt 4.5 Casey and Gabriella explain they no longer live with their parents.

Casey

Casey: Like, right now, I don't live with my parents anymore. I've moved out for a few years now, but my brother still lives at home, so he definitely has to fill in that role. If I'm not around and there's something, I guess, that [my mother] has to know about right away, then she can ask him, like, "Can you

read this mail for me?” “Translate this.” Or like, “What does this mean?” So, he has to be the one to do that now.

Gabriella

Jessica: Do you feel like it’s also a sense of responsibility on your end to go with [your mother to the doctor]?

Gabriella: To an extent. But...I’m lucky that I have other siblings, and like, I don’t live close to her, so I don’t take the brunt of it now that she’s older. But when I was younger, I definitely had to do a lot of that...a lot of it.

These quotes also illustrate that some of my participants shifted their LB responsibilities to other language brokers in their household, such as their siblings. This suggests that even though my participants may encounter fewer LB situations in their own adult lives, this did not necessarily indicate that they were no longer needed as language brokers. In fact, their parents’ translation and interpretation needs may remain the same, but they now have access to different resources.

Another possible reason for this general decline in adulthood LB situations is that access to translation technologies on mobile phones and other resources may have reduced the need for my participants’ LB services in recent years.

Excerpt 4.6 Vivian and Miguel explain the impact of translation technologies.

Vivian

Jessica: Are they using like, utilizing professional interpreter and translating resources?

Vivian: They have in the past when it’s been supplied for them at no cost. But otherwise...no. They just use like...the dictionary or WeChat or something. I don’t know.

Miguel

Jessica: And then I guess, now what do you do as an adult?

Miguel: Now, I guess it’s no longer filling out the form for them. It’s more like, just spot checking, making sure they have all the requirements done, that it was filled out correctly. Thankfully, their English has improved over the years, so

there is less of a reliance on filling out the form. But it's more like, "Hey, did we fill out this form correctly? We're going to send it off soon." And I'm just checking, making sure like all the "i's" are dotted "t's" are crossed. It also helps that there's like, Google Translate; they can translate it themselves even.

Many of my interview participants mentioned using Google Translate with their parents in their current LB interactions. However, as seen in Miguel's example, even with the availability of translation technologies like Google Translate, my participants were still needed occasionally for their LB services. In other words, while easier access to translation technologies may have decreased the frequency of LB situations for my participants, such technologies did not eliminate the need for my participants' LB skills.

Miguel's example also suggests a third possible reason for the decline in adulthood LB situations: their parents' higher levels of English proficiency. After all, given the amount of time—in fact decades—that my participants' families have resided in the United States., it is conceivable that their parents have acquired enough English skills to navigate situations on their own. This was the case for a few of my interview participants; however, all of them stated that they still help their parents with English to a certain degree. Some of these situations were in fact, less complicated than those encountered during their childhood.

Excerpt 4.7 Connie and Linh describe their parents' lack of confidence.

Connie

Connie: Recently, ever since I came back from college, she hasn't asked me as much. It could be because her English is starting to be a little bit better? But still, I think when we're out, like going to a restaurant, things like that, she still relies on us on translating or just speaking for her.

Jessica: Do you feel she's like, relying on you? Or is she just more comfortable to have you do it, just cause? Like "why not" since you're there?

Connie: It could be a “why not” since I’m there? Cause honestly, I think my mom— she gives herself too little credit for how much she has learned? And maybe, I think it could be just other people too, depending on the place. Maybe sometimes, the waiter is like, “Okay, can you hurry up?” So, she kind of gives up and just lets me do it. Or, I guess a little bit of both. I guess sometimes, it makes her nervous, but at the same time, she’s just more comfortable cause we’re there.

Linh

Jessica: I noticed that you mentioned restaurants being a place where you would translate for them right now. Can you tell me a little bit about that?

Linh: Yeah. So, you know, growing up, my parents were both like, hourly wage-earning, blue collar workers. And so, if we were to really go out to nicer restaurants—and by nicer restaurants, I mean like, anywhere where like, our family of five, could eat for twenty dollars or something like that.

Jessica: Same here, same here.

Linh: So, we lived pretty frugally so that they could send all three of us to college and all of that, and, I didn’t realize until I was older that that meant we never went to restaurants other than like, McDonald’s or like, getting take-out pizza or like at a Vietnamese restaurant where obviously they would be comfortable. And so, because of that, now that I’m an adult, and my husband and I will take my parents out to eat and places like that, I see that they’re really nervous about looking at menus. It’s like unfamiliar to them, they’re not sure how to order, because they’re used to just ordering like, fast food. They get the concept of that, but with like a sit-down American restaurant, they get anxious, and they don’t recognize very familiar menu items that, you know, Americans going to restaurants regularly would recognize. And so, they have to have like certain dishes explained to them, or often I’ll just order food once they tell me what they want, even though they’re perfectly capable, they speak English just fine, they would if they had to, but I just know that they’re more comfortable with me just kind of taking the reins still.

Both Connie and Linh acknowledge that their parents have improved their English proficiency to the extent that they are quite self-sufficient, suggesting that perhaps this is the reason why they do not need to interpret or translate as often for their parents. Nevertheless, both Connie and Linh find themselves interpreting for their parents not due to their lack of proficiency, but rather their lack of confidence and familiarity with certain genres of English, such as American restaurants. This suggests that beyond translating information for their parents, my participants play a

multifaceted role for their parents as language brokers. In the cases described by Connie and Linh, this role includes mediating social and cultural customs.

Another role taken on by my participants was that of an advocate for their parents. This was especially true among participants who described helping their parents in medical settings. Participants acknowledged that overall, they have accompanied their parents to the doctor less frequently now as adults due to a wider availability of bilingual doctors and interpreter services at hospitals.

Excerpt 4.8 Gabriella and Trang describe their mothers' access to bilingual doctors.

Gabriella

Jessica: So, you mentioned taking your mom to the doctor. Does she have access to any professional interpreters or translators in that situation?

Gabriella: You know, when we were younger, not really. But now, there's Spanish-speaking doctors that we take her to. Now, it's much more accessible.

Trang

Jessica: So, nowadays it seems like you only do medical kinds of translation for your mom, or when you're going to the doctor with her. Where does she get her other translation/interpreting needs met?

Trang: We try to get her Vietnamese doctors.

Jessica: Okay.

Trang: So, we try to remove that step. A lot of her doctors now are Vietnamese. Unless we have to go to a specialist, to like, get an MRI done. Even her physical therapist—who's like this young Vietnamese man—his Vietnamese isn't great, but at least he can understand her? Which is...like, way better than having somebody who might judge her. So, we just try to find Vietnamese doctors now. It's so much easier now with the internet, to find out who's Vietnamese and who's not, and with recommendations and whatnot.

Like Gabriella and Trang, several other participants mentioned that their parents currently have access to bilingual doctors and medical professionals. However, even with this access to

bilingual doctors and interpreters, these participants felt compelled to accompany their parents for reasons not necessarily related to language barriers. For Trang, a visit to a specialist might be a situation where she would accompany her mother, though she does not explicitly attribute this decision to language reasons. One possible reason may be the challenge of visits to specialists—after all, a visit to a specialist occurs precisely because of a medical complication. At the same time, one can argue that any visit to a medical professional involves complex communication irrespective of language proficiency. In addition to medical terminology, a visit to the doctor involves other complex interactions, from completing paperwork to understanding how to ask follow-up questions. This is the case for Gabriella, whose mother's doctor's visits remain inherently difficult due to her limited education.

Excerpt 4.9 Gabriella explains why she accompanies her mother to see the doctor.

Gabriella

Jessica: I was wondering if like, you know, even though your mom can have access to a Spanish-speaking doctor, like do you still go with her...just like, because that's what you've always done?

Gabriella: So, she gets nervous in social settings no matter what. Plus, my mom went to the sixth grade twice, like, that's as far as her education goes. So, she doesn't ask all the follow-up questions that you need to ask, so someone needs to go with her. I think the education has a big part to do with her, you know, lack of wanting to, learn a different language and a different culture.

Gabriella's concern about follow-up questions was also mentioned by other participants with well-educated parents. For example, in the case of Reiko, whose mother is college-educated, the challenge of using medical interpreters was not a linguistic concern but rather an issue of comfort level.

Excerpt 4.10 Reiko explains the limitations of medical interpreters.

Reiko

Jessica: It's interesting that you use the word "stranger" too. I wonder if... I mean do you feel like when you know that your mom has an interpreter there, do you feel confident that she's going to be fine? Or do you feel like you need to be there?

Reiko: Yeah. I think... I think fine enough to know that whatever the doctor's saying, she's getting the right information. I think if anything the interpreter is probably better because they aren't just an interpreter, right? They're an interpreter at a hospital, so they probably have better vocabulary. But, going back to being a "stranger": I feel like she may not be as comfortable asking the interpreter questions to ask the doctor. So, when it comes to incoming information, then I think, I'm pretty confident that the interpreter is doing fine. I think it's more of like... Cause sometimes she'll come back, she'll be like, "Oh, I wanted to know this." And I'm like, "Well, why didn't you ask?" And she's like, "Uh...like I don't know." Like. "I just didn't." I'm like, "Okay."

These examples from Gabriella and Reiko highlight their roles as advocates for their mothers, a role that is embedded in their language brokering identity. Like Trang, it seems that Gabriella and Reiko both agree that their mothers' access to language services has been beneficial; yet at the same time, they feel that their presence is necessary to mediate their mother's interaction with her doctor because of their unfamiliarity with medical interpreters. Reiko's description of a professional interpreter as a "stranger" was echoed by a few other participants as well.

Excerpt 4.11 Thomas explains his reservations about professional interpreters.

Thomas

Jessica: Have they ever used a professional interpreter or translator? Like I noticed you didn't check off, um, like health or doctor, kind of visits? And I was wondering if they had that provided for them.

Thomas: Usually they're... I know my mom's primary care physician spoke Mandarin, so I didn't really have to go. But when she went to see specialists, I would go with her. And that got really difficult at times.

Jessica: Yeah, yeah. I mean, if they had that option, to always have like a professional interpreter or translator, would you prefer that they use that option instead of you?

Thomas: I guess like, if I knew the person beforehand? So that I knew they knew what they were doing...I guess yeah. There would be some initial hesitation because I've been the one doing it for so long, and I'm pretty confident that I know what I'm talking about when I'm translating. I don't know. I've never worked with a translator. I assume they're very competent, especially if you're doing the job for a living. But it's difficult when you don't know the person you're working with.

Both Reiko and Thomas express ambivalent feelings towards professional interpreters and translators not because of the language barrier, but because of privacy concerns. They highlight the discomfort of having an unfamiliar professional medical interpreter mediate for their parents during a sensitive, private interaction. Having interpreted for their parents at a doctor's office, my participants understand that the intricate interactions between doctors and patients cannot be easily resolved by the presence of a professional medical interpreter. Their concerns suggest that their own role as language brokers extend beyond that of interpreting and translating.

Though LB situations declined in adulthood, survey responses to adulthood LB documents paint a different picture.

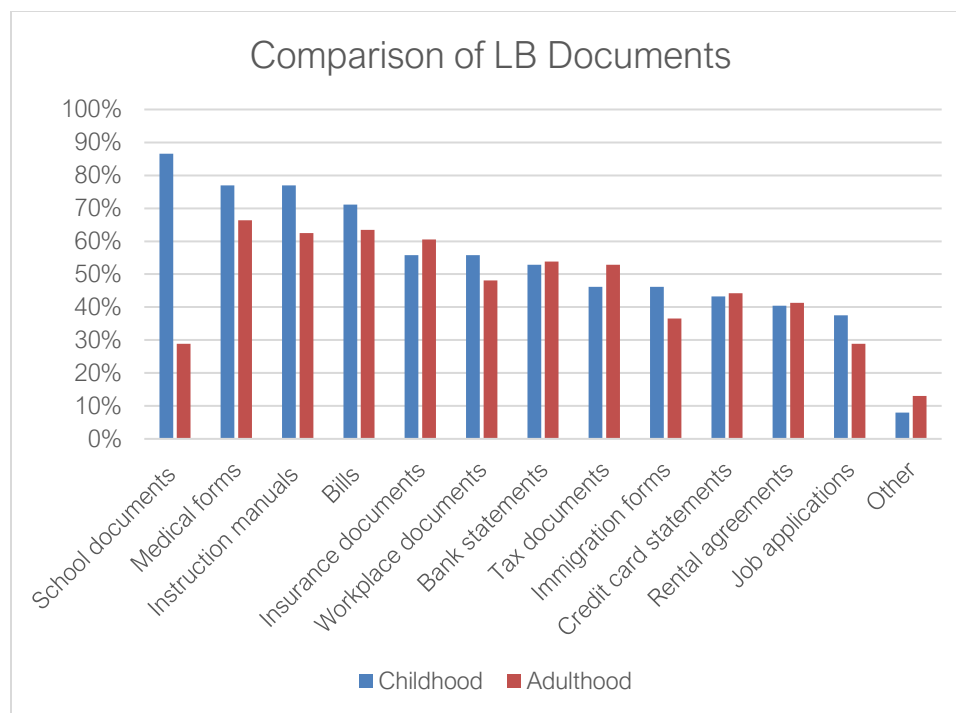


Figure 4.7 Comparison of childhood and adulthood LB documents reported by survey participants

Similar to survey responses about LB situations, encounters with LB documents in school contexts and medical contexts decreased in adulthood. The decrease in school contexts can be explained by my participants' age range, given that they are no longer of school age. The decrease in medical forms could be explained by the availability of translator services, translated documents, and the availability of translation technologies on mobile devices. However, this explanation leaves an incomplete picture of language brokering when it comes to documents, given that in five of the twelve categories (insurance documents, bank statements, tax documents, credit card statements, rental agreements) more participants reported translating these documents as adults. One possible reason for this increase is the higher stakes of language brokering as adults—whereas as children, LB participants might have been asked to simply identify documents for their parents, as adults, LB participants may be asked to translate and

advise on these documents. Some of my interview participants described these situations and documents as being more serious.

Excerpt 4.12 David, Reiko, and Christine describe higher stakes LB situations.

David

Jessica: What kinds of situations were you asked to interpret or translate for your parents?

David: Back then, it was simple things like I just mentioned. Now, it's more serious I would say, like tax stuff or investment stuff, or healthcare related stuff.

Reiko

Reiko: She's applying for Medicare, she's going to Kaiser for check-ups more often, and I think having those more serious situations, you need someone to be there physically...actually on Friday—I had to go to the Social Security office with my mom, and I was there for like three hours.

Christine

Jessica: Nowadays like aside from translating, that you mentioned translating like mail and stuff for your relatives, um, what are the main things that you're translating for your mom when it comes to like documents and things?

Christine: Usually like, lab results. I do that a lot. Sometimes, if a big statement comes in, and she doesn't know what it is for. Or any letters that have her name on it, and there's some junk. They're mostly junk, but she'll keep it thinking it's something serious.

These situations and documents described by David, Reiko, and Christine illustrate two challenging facets of language brokering that are specific to adulthood language brokering. First, as adults, my participants are better equipped to assist their parents with complex documents. As they navigate complex bureaucratic systems typically encountered in adulthood, my participants also help their parents navigate those same situations and documents, such as the financial “stuff” described by David. Second, as my participants' parents have aged, they face additional challenges navigating complex bureaucratic systems faced by the elderly in the U.S., such as

Medicare and social security benefits. Such bureaucratic systems may not have been encountered by my participants during their childhood but have now added another layer of difficulty to their LB interactions in their adulthood.

In addition to translating English documents, several interview participants also reported having to write more English documents for their parents in recent years. These documents and the level of language brokering ranged widely, from proofreading as shown in Miguel's aforementioned example in Excerpt 4.6 to writing the entire document for their parents.

Excerpt 4.13 Trang and Reiko describe recent LB documents they have written.

Trang

Trang: So, I had to help [my father] write a letter of resignation for a company that he was leaving. He was like, "Can you check on this for me?" Or like, "Can you check my resume for me for grammar and spelling?" and various emails—like he wanted me to draft an email for him. I consider that part of interpretation as well, I think, especially with register and vocabulary. My dad was like, "You know, I did everything I could to survive in this country. I didn't have a lot of time to improve my English. I just did the bare minimum to get to where I am." I'm like, "No! That totally makes sense!" and like, nobody can expect a sixty-year-old man that's working full time to, you know, spend the time to improve his English proficiency.

Reiko

Reiko: Yeah. So... You know, my mom is self-employed.

Jessica: Right

Reiko: So, she... Yeah, so even if I'm not physically there, she is constantly like, sending me text messages about translating or like, "Here's what I want to say in English to my client. Can you write something up?"

Although not all of my interview participants had to draft documents for their parents' professions, the complexity of the writing and the writing choices involved were similar. Like Trang and Reiko, other interview participants had to write on behalf of their parents for

important communication which, though infrequent, impacted their parents more than the types of communication from their childhood.

Some interview participants mentioned that although there has been an increase in interpreter and translator services available for their parents, these services remain an inconvenience.

Excerpt 4.14 Thomas explains why his parents do not use language services.

Thomas

Jessica: Nowadays, are your parents able to find like, professional interpreters or translators or those kinds of services when they need it when you're not around?

Thomas: Some of the documents from the state of Hawai'i, you know, they'll come in and like, if you need a translation of this, it'll be in Chinese characters that ask, "Oh please call this number and ask for an interpreter." But, that's too much of a hassle for them, so they'd rather just send me a picture of the document and have me explain it.

This view of language brokering as a convenient alternative to other translation and interpretation services was echoed by other participants as well as they reflected on their childhood and adulthood LB experiences.

Excerpt 4.15 Adriane and Reiko explain the convenience of language brokering.

Adriane

Adriane: When we had problems, I was kind of like the most easily available translator. Um, and then things kind of, probably [went] over my head in terms of linguistics, then they would either go to people from church or...my brothers.

Reiko

Reiko: I want to say, I think it kind of goes back to convenience too because I left for college and my brother had always stayed at home. So, I'd imagine like,

maybe...like in college, he was doing a lot more of the [language brokering] work. Yeah.

While Adriane and Reiko posit that their mothers resorted to them for interpreting and translating out of convenience, they also mentioned during our interview that their parents lacked access to language services. Yet, as seen from Thomas' example, even when language services become available, families may not utilize these services if they are not easily accessible. This value placed on convenience is not surprising (see Hall & Sham, 2007) given that ultimately, language brokering is a means of easing communication for their parents.

As I have discussed, some of the anecdotes from my interviews reveal complex reasons for why LB situations occur during adulthood. Whereas during childhood, language brokering occurs primarily out of necessity, during adulthood, it may occur due to their parents' lack of confidence as seen in Connie's and Linh's examples (Excerpt 4.7), or out of convenience as seen in Thomas' example (Excerpt 4.14). Some of these LB situations and documents during adulthood also tend to have higher stakes. I explore these additional reasons for language brokering in the next section where I discuss the functions of language brokering.

4.2.3 Additional functions of language brokering

Although I had expected our conversations to center around descriptions of LB situations and documents, my participants' responses revealed that the functions of language brokering went beyond interpreting conversations and translating documents for their families. Some participants described their LB experience as a proofreading service for their parents.

Excerpt 4.16 Miguel and Isabel describe language brokering as proofreading.

Miguel

Jessica: Do you feel more anxiety now when you're doing it? Like, more pressure to make it right or perfect when they ask you?

Miguel: I think it's just like, it's already a high standard, so I have that high standard for myself. I want to deliver that. But I don't think that high pressure situation is there much anymore. It's just like, [my parents] have a much better understanding of English. Like, I'm mostly doing spot-checks. I do want to make sure that if it's an important tax form or application form, that it's filled out correctly, so I'm pretty thorough with it.

Isabel

Jessica: Do you feel like, this has affected your relationship with your parents at all?

Isabel: No, not really. I mean, it was nice that I never had to translate for them. I mean, it's nice to be able to support my mom with the proofreading and editing of her emails, letters, and stuff. It's nice that she puts that amount of trust in me. And, I mean, we have a pretty close relationship anyway, so it's not a big deal at all.

Jessica: Was that something she asked to do when you were younger too? Like, was it pretty, often?

Isabel: Yeah! Like later elementary, like fourth, fifth grade and onward. She would sometimes show me like, a printed-out email or something and say, "Hey, what do you make of this...?" Like, try to figure out if I interpreted it the same way she did and then, like, we work on how she could phrase her response. I mean, it's not like she does it every day. But it was fairly frequent.

As highlighted earlier in this chapter in Excerpt 4.6, Miguel's current LB experiences revolve around helping his parents proofread their documents and navigate the bureaucratic systems of retirement. Similarly, Isabel's LB experiences for her mother involve editing and proofreading. For both Miguel and Isabel, language brokering is less of a necessity for their parents, whose English proficiency is sufficient for their everyday needs. Rather, language brokering functioned more as a source of expertise and confidence for my participants' parents. Even though their parents did not need them for language brokering per se, my participants were still considered to

be English language experts who provided the confidence their parents needed in their English communication. This was particularly interesting to see in Isabel's case, whose LB experiences were not centered around her parents at all, but rather her grandparents during their occasional visits to the United States. In fact, Isabel states that she "never had to translate" for her parents. However, despite Isabel's parents' self-sufficiency in their English language communication, Isabel's mother still relied on her for reading and writing English documents in a way that native English-speaking parents may never need from their children.

This perception of English language expertise emerged in other parts of my interviews with participants, particularly as they described their current language brokering situations. For some participants, their language brokering roles have evolved from language mediators to language experts.

Excerpt 4.17 Vivian and Thomas explain how their parents check their understanding of English with them.

Vivian

Vivian: But, my mom, for example, [with] Medicare options or whatnot: She'll already, have read the letter, and she'll pretty much understand it. She will, I don't know, ask her friends. She will tell me and send me the letter, and ask me to translate it for her as if she doesn't know anything about the contents.

Jessica: So, you're like triangulating for her?

Vivian: And then... after I tell her my takeaway, she'll be like, "Oh, okay. That's what I understood." And, the reason I know she already knows is because a couple times, I'll leave things out. Or, my interpretation is a bit lacking, and she's like, "But, doesn't it say this too? What about this other thing that it says?" And, I'll be like, "Well, if you already know, why are you asking me?" She said, "Oh, I just wanted to check."...I now know my mom is a lot sharper than—she pretends to be dumber than she is, but she understands a lot of what's going on.

Jessica: Do you think she's just deferring to your expertise? That like, she needs you to kind of confirm it for her to make her feel confident in her understanding of that document.

Vivian: Yeah, I think maybe...cause yeah, it's like a confirmation of...her consulting her friends. Maybe this is my interpretation of it, but it comes off like, gossipy old wives' tales, you know? Like, you don't know if it's actually true, or if it's like true true, and so if they get someone completely isolated from all of that, who says the same thing, then okay, it's true.

Thomas

Thomas: Yeah, I think that's the case for me as well. Sometimes they'll just ask me what this is even though I know my dad knows what this is.

Jessica: It sounds like it's almost like they're deferring to your expertise or something.

Thomas: Yeah! I think it's also sometimes a way to get me to talk to them. Yeah, I don't call them as often or anything. And, maybe I should? So, it's their way of getting me to talk, making sure I'm still alive.

Though Vivian initially perceived her LB interaction with her mother in a negative light, she also agreed with my alternate interpretation of their interaction. While Vivian felt that her mother might be testing her in these LB interactions, it is also possible that her mother might be deferring to her expertise. Likewise, Thomas agreed with me that it is possible his parents might also be deferring to his expertise, but he also interprets this behavior as a means of communication. In other words, for Thomas, language brokering now functions as an opportunity for him to communicate with his parents. This was echoed by other participants as well.

Excerpt 4.18 David and Miguel describe language brokering as opportunities to talk to their parents.

David

Jessica: How do you think your role being this occasional interpreter for your family, how do you think that's affected your relationship with your parents?

David: I guess...it made it...better? I don't know. I mean, I don't know if it made it worse or whatever. I mean... It gives us an opportunity for me to help her, I guess, and interact with her. And, it's a good way to check in on her, I guess. Yeah, other than that, I don't know if it really affects it that much.

Miguel

Jessica: I mean it sounds like it's made you much more empathetic, but in your personal life, do you feel like it's impacted you...to feel more connected with either side of your family?

Miguel: Yeah, I think so. Like, even though some of the stuff is transactional, I'm still helping them. It still gives me an opportunity to interact with them. I'm still like, "Oh," you know, "Hey," you know, just talking to them afterwards and just like, "Oh what was that form for?" And they're just like, giving me a little insight on what they're doing, what their lives [are like].

Here, my question to both David and Miguel centered around the impact of language brokering on their relationships with their parents. Interestingly, both of them framed it not as an experience with significant impact on their relationships, but as a means of facilitating their ongoing relationship with their parents now that they no longer live with them. Reiko expressed a similar sentiment about her mother, but also framed language brokering as a means of maintaining her Japanese proficiency.

Excerpt 4.19 Reiko describes language brokering as heritage language maintenance.

Reiko

Jessica: You mentioned on the survey that you agree that this experience of translating has helped you maintain your home language. Can you tell me a little bit about that and how you feel about that?

Reiko: Yeah, I think because...I went to Japanese school, but the group of friends that I always tend to hang out with were also always bilingual...Even now, I do have a group of Japanese friends that I still talk to. But, I wouldn't consider it like really Japanese cause it's always like Japanese-English...And I realize that...when I was younger, I didn't have to explain more difficult concepts, like my job. Like, I have a hard time explaining it in English sometimes. So now [when] I go back to Japan, I'm seeing family friends, they see me as an adult, and they're like, "Oh, what do you do for work?" And...I had a really hard time explaining what I do as my job. It was definitely a bit of a wake-up call. I was like, "Oh, my Japanese isn't as good," and the skill level must have been stunted at a certain age because I'm no longer using it. I don't live at home. I don't talk to my mom as often as I used to. I'm not going to Japanese

school. I have Japanese friends, but we don't speak the language...

Jessica: So, would you say that like, by virtue of your mom asking you to help, it's making you use it basically?

Reiko: Yeah, definitely. And... (pause) Yeah! Like, there are times that I catch myself not being able to say it as well as I want to, so it's definitely been like... Okay, I'm glad that...I see my mom at least once a week. But I find that, one—of course I want to connect with my mom, but two—it's been like, "Okay, this is kind of how I'm going to keep it alive or else...when am I going to use it?"

Reiko's feelings about maintaining her heritage language stems from a realization that she no longer speaks Japanese as frequently as she did when she was still living with her mother. For her, language brokering is simply an outlet for her to speak Japanese with her mother, an opportunity for heritage language maintenance not afforded to her by her Japanese-speaking friends.

Similarly, most of my participants agreed that to a certain extent, language brokering helped them maintain their heritage language proficiency. However, like Reiko, these participants framed language brokering not as the key reason for their heritage language maintenance, but rather an opportunity for communication in their heritage language.

Excerpt 4.20 Cindy describes opportunities for heritage language maintenance.

Cindy

Jessica: So, overall, how do you think this role...as translator interpreter for your family, how do you think that's affected your language abilities? Like, so I noticed you had said, you think it's really helped you maintain your home language. Can you talk a little bit about that?

Cindy: Yes. It's definitely a really great way to maintain my first language because otherwise, if it wasn't for translating and interpreting for them, I wouldn't... (pause) I wouldn't have a regular occasion to speak it. Like, that's part of the reason I think why I feel like my Cantonese in the last couple years has kind of deteriorated, I guess. Because I don't see them very often or because I was living in Hawai'i for the last couple of years, so I never came across important documents very frequently. And so, then our conversations kind of just revolved around, "What'd you eat? Where'd you go? What'd you do?" And that kind of level of speaking is very...um...it doesn't really challenge me to use

more Cantonese words.

Cindy's response points to the function of language brokering as a benefit for her own heritage language maintenance. Both Reiko's and Cindy's responses were echoed by other participants who agreed that language brokering helped them maintain their heritage language by providing an opportunity to communicate in their heritage language—an opportunity that was missing in their everyday lives as adults living in the United States. Whereas previously as children, my participants communicated in their heritage language daily with their parents, in their adulthood, my participants found themselves communicating less frequently in their heritage language. In other words, the circumstances under which my participants found themselves communicating in their heritage language decreased in their adulthood when they moved away from their parents.

Excerpt 4.21 Trang expresses her heritage language maintenance concerns.

Trang

Jessica: In terms of—you mentioned heritage language maintenance? And like, more than half of the participants in the survey agreed that this experience has helped them maintain it. How do you think it's helped you?

Trang: Um... I think if I weren't—it's that peer pressure! Like, if I weren't forced to use it—because my mom's main mode of communication is in Vietnamese. Like, her widest range of expression is in Vietnamese, and if I don't tap into that, we're not going to get along. And, I was close to her in high school as I was in college. And, I think it was that separation that was like, "Oh, now I don't have to speak Vietnamese all the time." Like, once I got to campus, I was like, "If I don't speak Vietnamese everyday here, I'm going to lose it, cause I don't have it at home anymore."

Like Reiko and Cindy, Trang worried about her heritage language proficiency declining as a result of her moving out of her childhood home. However, language brokering also plays a role in sustaining Trang's communication with her mother, whose "widest range of expression" is

Trang's heritage language, Vietnamese. Beyond maintaining her own heritage language proficiency, Trang feels concerned about maintaining her relationship with her mother, which depends on her ability to communicate in Vietnamese. While Trang does not necessarily attribute her heritage language maintenance to language brokering alone, language brokering does function as one way for her to sustain her Vietnamese proficiency and her relationship with her mother.

For Trang, language brokering also functions as the primary language resource for her mother in the absence of her father. This family dynamic was also shared by other participants, particularly those whose fathers spoke English, but were not available to interpret and translate for my participants' mothers.

Excerpt 4.22 Lucia and Casey describe why they language broker for their mothers even though their fathers speak English.

Lucia

Jessica: Do you remember how you felt as kid? Like translating for your mom or interpreting for your mom?

Lucia: Not as a kid necessarily, but I still do it. I think honestly, I still feel like it's a lot. I get a little bit annoyed definitely and a little frustrated. Probably as a kid, maybe I was embarrassed too. She's college educated, she's very smart...it would be just so nice to have more of a partner...I'm barely understanding what I'm in legally. I'm trying to figure it out, and then I have to turn around and translate and synthesize and explain to someone else, and then we're supposed to make a decision together. It would be so nice to just have someone to literally hear and be more of a partner...When my dad had the accident, I missed that a lot because he was fully proficient, and I realized how much he did, in terms of translating for her...So, it was more like a partnership where it would be like, "Can you handle this administrative task for me?" instead of, right now which is more like, I get tasked with doing all these things on my to-do list that are simple administrative [things] that I think she could do but doesn't feel secure doing it.

Casey

Casey: It was definitely an obligation. Even now, it still is. I'm always like, "No. I have another sibling, you can reach out to," but I think that's also my role in

my family...My father, he immigrated here when he was fourteen. So, he's very fluent in English. But, I can still catch it sometimes because I guess he's not what you could consider a native English speaker. Like, I can still catch the times when I'm like, "Hm...I don't think we're on the same page with this conversation." So, there are those kinds of differences where she would prefer to have me go with her somewhere. Say, if we had to talk about legal proceedings—cause I had to do something like that recently—and then my father would not be her first choice in that situation. So, she would prefer that I look over more technical terms, or my brother. Cause, she looks at [my father] like, "Okay, you're conversational, and you can get the job done when it comes to paying the bills and reading the forms, but, you know, I need the kids who grew up here speaking English to look at all these things when I'm talking to a lawyer."

Lucia's and Casey's situations highlight the ways in which language brokering functioned as a substitute LB service for their immigrant mothers, who relied on them to be language brokers primarily to fill in for their fathers. In these families, certain domains of English communication remained under their father's supervision because his English proficiency was higher than that of their mother. This often included more consequential English documents such as tax forms and bill payments. Other less complicated, lower stakes domains such as school documents were often left to my participants, who translated and interpreted on behalf of their mothers. Yet, these LB responsibilities are dynamic, as seen in Lucia's and Casey's experiences. For Lucia, her LB responsibilities expanded when her father became incapacitated, and she became fully responsible for her parents' English needs. In a similar vein, Casey's LB responsibilities expanded over time as well.

Perhaps the reasons for these changes in my participants' LB responsibilities stem from their parents' ideologies about English language proficiency. In Lucia's case, her expanded LB role is an extension of her father's role as her mother's language broker. In the past, Lucia may have only interpreted for her mother in her father's absence within specific domains. However, in Lucia's current situation, her mother sees her as a substitute for her father by expecting her to

act as a decision-making partner in the domains previously supervised by her father. Lucia comments that perhaps her mother “doesn’t feel secure” handling certain English tasks and that her father was “fully proficient.” It is possible that because Lucia and her father were deemed proficient in English, Lucia’s mother refrains from handling English tasks on her own because she does not see herself as a legitimate English speaker. Likewise, in Casey’s case, her increasing LB responsibilities stem from her mother’s ideologies about English language proficiency, specifically the notion that native English speakers will always be more proficient than her husband. For Casey’s mother, her ideology about her children’s English proficiency surpassing that of her husband’s is so strong that she would rather place her trust in her children than her husband when it comes to high stakes situations such as navigating the U.S. legal system. While the examples from Lucia and Casey highlight some of the underlying ideologies about language brokering in their families, my participants themselves also expressed certain ideologies about heritage language proficiency and language brokering. Casey’s quote demonstrates some of these ideologies when she describes her father as “very fluent in English” but “not what you could consider a native English speaker.” I explore these ideologies in depth in the following section.

4.3 Language ideologies of language brokers

Since I had structured the interviews around the language biography (Nekvapil, 2001), my participants and I invariably expressed ideologies about language and language brokering. Some of my participants subscribed to standard language ideology by characterizing their heritage language proficiency and their bilingual abilities from a deficit perspective. Others shared their understanding of the dynamic nature of language, but still expressed reservations about their identities as bilingual speakers and heritage language speakers. The majority of

survey and interview participants agreed that their LB experiences supported their heritage language maintenance. However, my interviews revealed that these participants often sensed a decline in their heritage language proficiency as they aged. These participants' perceptions of heritage language attrition stemmed primarily from two definitions of heritage language proficiency. One definition emerged from internal sources, namely my participants' assessment of their heritage language proficiency against their English language proficiency. The other definition of heritage language proficiency emerged from external sources, such as the feedback my participants received about their heritage language proficiency. I explore these findings in more detail in the following sections.

4.3.1 Heritage language attrition and maintenance

Participants reported that while their LB experiences did not necessarily affect their English proficiency and understanding of American or U.S. culture, these experiences did contribute to their knowledge of their heritage language and culture. This was reported by survey participants, as seen in Figure 4.8.

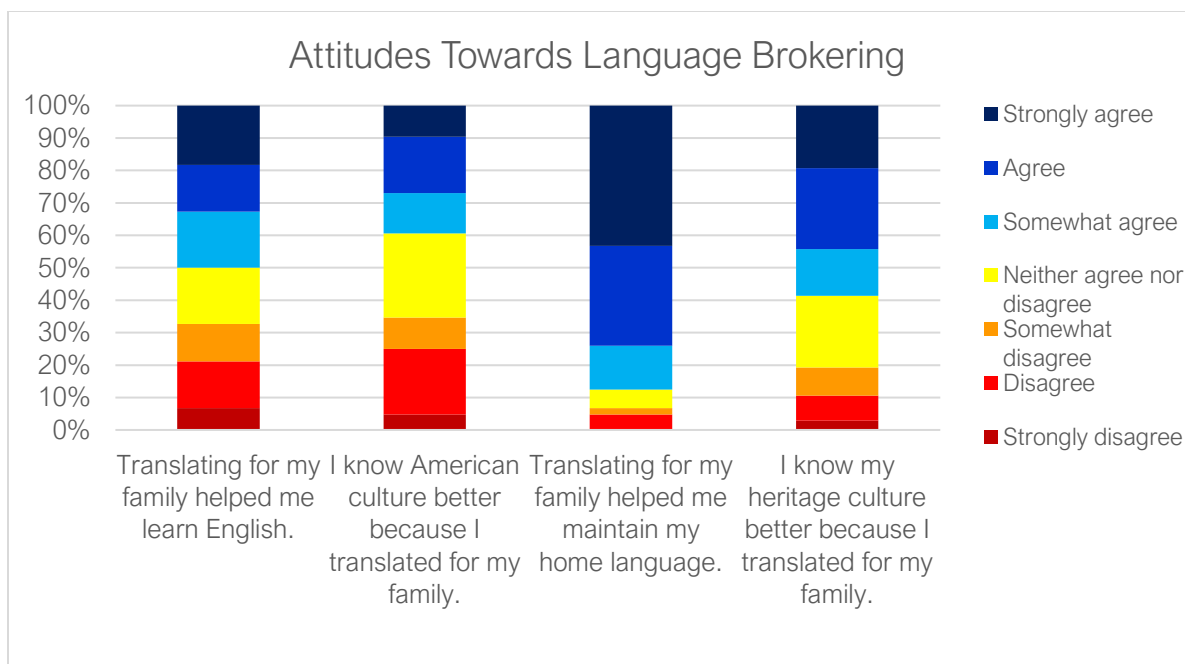


Figure 4.8 Findings for survey participant attitudes towards the effects of language brokering on participants' English language proficiency, knowledge of American culture, heritage language maintenance, and knowledge of heritage culture.

My interviews corroborated some of these findings when the majority of participants agreed that language brokering contributed to their heritage language maintenance. A few participants explained how their LB interactions helped them expand their vocabulary in their heritage language.

Excerpt 4.23 *Chloe and Cathy describe how they maintain their heritage language.*

Chloe

Jessica: You mentioned in the survey that you feel like translating and interpreting has helped you feel like you've maintained your language, your home language. Can you tell me a little bit about that, and why you say that?

Chloe: Yeah. I mean to me, there are plenty of kids who grow up being exposed to their home language and dialect and eventually forget it completely... So, for me, I feel like having any sort of exposure and practice—not just listening but like speaking and interacting with other people—helps with maintaining that, right? There aren't that many opportunities outside of the home to speak the language unless you go to language school, or you have a close-knit group of friends who speak that dialect. So... definitely like late middle school or high

school, and definitely now, I think when you're in those settings too, you're exposed to different vocabulary as well. I say like, I am the most fluent in Cantonese when I'm having a heated discussion with my family. But, you don't use that kind of language in a hospital or at a doctor's office. So, I think just being able to be around different types of settings, using that language.

Cathy

Jessica: Um, I was wondering if I could ask a little bit more about...um, so you mentioned that on the survey that you feel like translating helped you to maintain your home language. I was wondering if you could talk a bit about that?

Cathy: Yeah, absolutely! I feel like for language specifically, you just have to use it, or you kind of lose it. And so, um, you know, with translating, it really...you know, makes you kind of, on your feet about like, oh, how do you say this in Cantonese, like how would I say that. And so, it helps me develop a bigger vocabulary.

Both Chloe and Cathy attribute their expanded vocabulary knowledge to their LB experiences, but they do not consider language brokering to be the main source of their heritage language maintenance. For Chloe, her LB experiences exposed her to settings outside her home, which helped her acquire vocabulary from multiple genres in her heritage language. However, she also concludes that “any sort of exposure and practice” helps with maintaining her heritage language, indicating that language brokering represents just one of those occasions for practice. This is echoed by Cathy when she describes language maintenance as a situation where “you just have to use it or you kind of lose it.” Even though language brokering expands her heritage language vocabulary, Cathy considers any occasion to communicate to be a way of maintaining her heritage language proficiency.

This idea of “using” one's heritage language in order to maintain it also reveals my participants' awareness of the possibility for their heritage language attrition. As I discussed in the previous section, one reason for this sense of heritage language attrition stems from the fact that my participants no longer live with their parents.

Excerpt 4.24 Christine and David attribute heritage language attrition to moving out.

Christine

Jessica: I noticed that you also mentioned that translating for your family has helped you maintain Cantonese?

Christine: Yeah. So, I guess my Cantonese has gotten a lot worse since I moved out from home. So, if I ever moved back home again, I think it would go back up just because I'll be [using it] daily. And, right now the only time I really use Cantonese is when I see my family. I don't use it at work anymore. At home, I definitely don't use it. With my friends, I don't use it even though some of them do speak Cantonese.

David

Jessica: I was just wondering if in terms of language maintenance because um... cause you were saying how you felt like your Korean had been going down when you were in college. And, I'm assuming that might be because you weren't using it as much with your parents?

David: Yeah. I just wasn't using it as much. And, I think in college...I didn't call them as often, I guess. I talk to them more regularly now, and we go over every once in a while. College was not as often, so that's when it really started to go downhill. And I think from then, it went up a little. Yeah.

Though Christine and David both feel a sense of decline in their heritage language proficiency, they also view their language ability as a dynamic process. Both Christine and David view their heritage language proficiency as correlated with the frequency of use with their parents.

Christine attributes the decline in her Cantonese proficiency to the lack of opportunities in her daily life to use the language, but she believes that this can change if she were to use Cantonese more frequently with her family. David similarly attributes the decline in his Korean proficiency to the decrease in communication with his parents, but as a result of more regular communication in recent years, he feels that his heritage language proficiency has improved.

This dynamic view of heritage language proficiency emerged in the majority of my interviews. However, my participants often considered themselves less proficient in their heritage language compared to their proficiency as children.

Excerpt 4.25 Adriane and Lucia describe feeling more proficient as children.

Adriane

Jessica: Um, did you consider yourself to be bilingual when you were growing up?

Adriane: I actually consider myself to be more bilingual growing up than I do now. I think especially when I went to [college], I spent so much time not speaking Mandarin, that I lost some of the skill. I was better at translating as a kid than I am now.

Lucia

Jessica: So, I know that right now you're dealing with much more highly technical documents in Spanish and stuff. Do you remember a time when you were younger where you encountered situations where you weren't sure how to interpret or translate something? And like, how did you deal with that?

Lucia: You deal with it the best you can, and the answer is all the time! All the time, either I wasn't fully understanding the situation that I was in as a kid or—also you need to think that every year that I progressed in school in English only, it was less time I spent speaking Spanish. So, every year I feel like my proficiency in Spanish declines. So, sometimes I'll be trying to speak in Spanish, and it's so slow, and I can't say the right word. And, my mom will be like, "What are you talking about?" like, "What sentence did you just throw at me?"...It definitely creates an issue for translation, so I might not be translating the right thing, and we just kind of need to understand each other the best way possible, right? Like, she needs to work hard...And sometimes, instead of a sentence, I need to create a paragraph, so she understands what I'm trying to tell her. So, you just do the best you can, and like both sides have to actively work. It's not like she's there passively listening to what I'm translating. It's very much a dynamic process, because sometimes the translation that I'm creating clearly isn't the best...someone who was born in Mexico, they would never translate that way. So, it's very much a dynamic process and it's a lot of work on both sides, I would say.

In these two examples, I asked my participants about their heritage language experiences in their childhood. Without being probed, my participants shared their sense of decline in their heritage

language proficiency. Similar to David, Adriane also considered college to be the turning point in her life when she felt her heritage language proficiency declined. Because of this decline, Adriane thinks that her ability to interpret and translate for her mother has also languished. Lucia expresses a similar logic where her interpreting skills have followed the decline of her Spanish proficiency. She reasons that the amount of time she spent in school in English overtook the amount of time she had spent at home in Spanish, which naturally led to a decline in her Spanish proficiency. Yet, at the same time, she views her LB experience as a dynamic process of negotiating meaning with her mother. Interestingly, Lucia still sees herself as less proficient in Spanish in spite of the fact that her current LB situation requires a higher level of Spanish proficiency than her childhood LB experiences. This deficit view of heritage language proficiency was prevalent among all my participants, who generally characterized their heritage language abilities as in a state of decline. I explore the reasons for this deficit view in the remainder of this section as I describe other elements of language ideology expressed in my interviews.

4.3.2 Defining heritage language proficiency based on linguistic ability

To understand their self-perceptions of their heritage language proficiency, I asked survey participants to rate their skills across listening, speaking, reading, and writing. Although the majority of participants rated themselves as fluent in speaking and listening, most rated themselves less fluent in reading and writing (see Figure 4.9).

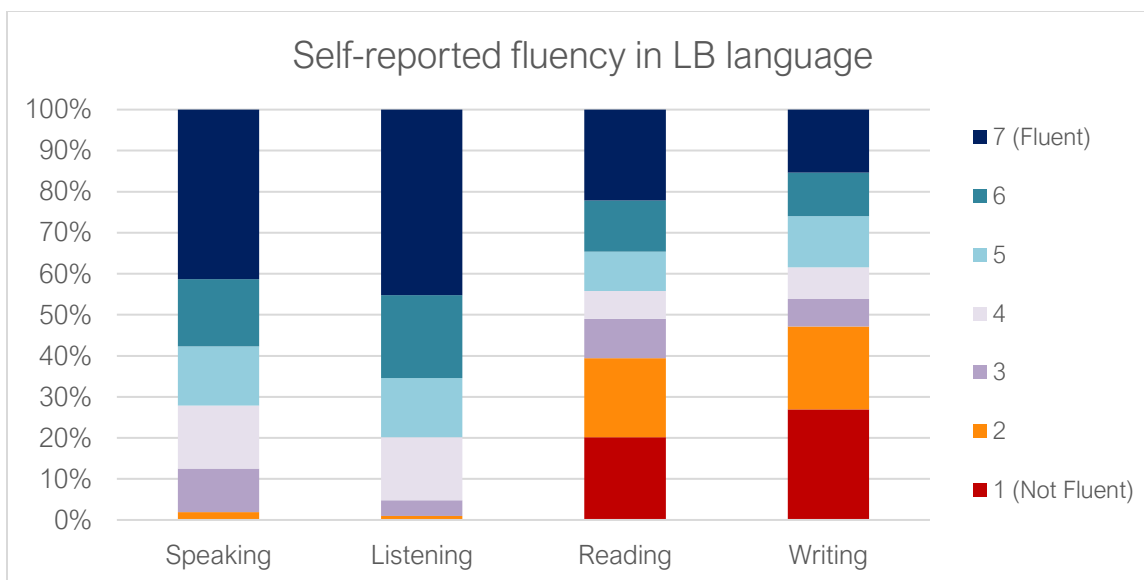


Figure 4.9 Survey participants' self-reported fluency in their LB (heritage) language

Interviews with participants provided a clearer picture of how they define their reading and writing abilities in their heritage language and how literacy influences their ideologies about language proficiency.

Excerpt 4.26 Adriane and Trang explain their views of heritage language literacy.

Adriane

Adriane: Well, here's the thing. If I'm able to write calligraphy, and if I were able to read characters, if I were able to speak at a college or beyond level, like a Bachelor's degree level or beyond in Mandarin, then I would consider myself a native Mandarin speaker also, right? But, I don't have those skills. Right now, I would say I'm at a sixth or seventh grade level. So, it's enough for me to like, if I get lost, I can figure out where I'm going. But, I wouldn't be able to read street signs. I can't order at a restaurant. Um, I even remember distinctly like being a kid, and my parents--my mom taking me to Taiwan. And then we went to a restaurant and they asked me what I wanted, and I was like, "Can you read the menu to me?" And, on the outside I very much looked Taiwanese, and so the server kind of looked at me like I was, pulling a prank on her? And I was like, "No no no, you have to understand I'm American, I don't read Chinese. I can't order unless you read it to me." So, um, so like, does that qualify you as a native speaker? I don't think so!

Trang

Trang: I think it's also difficult cause I don't have the literacy. I mean I am able to read and write in Vietnamese, but only to maybe like a secondary level. I stopped just short of doing some serious Vietnamese literature because I took courses in college. I'm pretty confident in speaking. Then again, it's like, in certain registers, certain like, spheres, right? So, all things related to the home and running errands and like, I don't know, some comedy, culture, that kind of stuff: that's fine. But, talking about my research in Vietnamese—I don't have the vocabulary for that.

Here, Adriane equates proficiency in her heritage language with literacy at a Bachelor's degree level because of her own education level. Having obtained a Bachelor's degree in English, Adriane deems her Mandarin insufficient. Likewise, Trang discusses her limitations in Vietnamese literacy based on education level. Both Adriane and Trang express an ideology that privileges literacy as a benchmark for heritage language proficiency. At the same time, because these responses emerged from my question about how they identified as native speakers, these answers reflect my participants' native speaker ideology as well. I discuss these ideologies about native speaker identity more in depth in section 4.4, which focuses on issues of identity.

Many of my participants characterized their heritage language proficiency based on their self-perceptions of their linguistic abilities. This internal assessment of their heritage language proficiency provided a glimpse into my participants' underlying ideologies about what defines language proficiency and bilingualism. While all of my interview participants considered themselves to be bilingual, the degree to which they felt confident about claiming this bilingual identity varied.

Excerpt 4.27 Karen and David share their definitions of what it means to be bilingual.

Karen

Jessica: I was wondering at what point would you have considered—started to consider yourself to be bilingual?

Karen: I usually consider my Chinese to be pretty weak. So, I don't know if I'd really... Like, I'm bilingual in the sense that most people's Chinese—if it wasn't their first language, then [they're] quite bad. And everything's relative, right? But, my parents would definitely say my Chinese is awful, that I'm not bilingual.

David

David: ...I mean, I don't feel like I'm truly bilingual.

Jessica: What do you mean by that though, like when you say, “truly bilingual”?

David: Well, I mean, I guess it depends on how you look at it. In a way I am—it depends on the definition. In some ways, I guess I am bilingual because it's so natural to me. I think I can communicate basic thoughts and all that stuff, but I can't do anything super complicated. Like, definitely not healthcare related things or just really abstract, like high level vocabulary—that kind of stuff. Oh, and another big aspect: reading and writing is really difficult—especially writing. Reading is a little easier.

Karen and David share similar ideologies of bilingualism, though they express them in different ways. For Karen, her identity as a bilingual fluctuates depending on how she compares herself to others. David's bilingual identity depends on how he compares his ability to communicate in Korean versus English. However, both Karen and David measure their bilingual abilities against hypothetical, imagined situations. Karen states that she would be bilingual compared to a hypothetical, non-native Chinese speaker, but not bilingual as she imagines how her parents would describe her Chinese (Mandarin) proficiency. Although David characterizes himself as not “truly bilingual,” he agrees that he would be bilingual only to a certain extent. For David, his definition of bilingualism is tied to his definition of language proficiency. This is evident when he talks about his reading and writing abilities in his heritage language, indicating that he

considers literacy to be an important component in language proficiency, which echoes Adriane and Trang in Excerpt 4.26. At the same time, he also considers his bilingual identity to be constrained by his inability to “do anything super complicated” or talk about “healthcare related things.” For David, his sense of his bilingual abilities is tied to his professional identity as a pharmaceutical researcher.

Similar to David, other participants considered themselves insufficiently fluent in their heritage language based on what they felt unable to express or communicate. Like David, these feelings were colored by their own professional identities.

Excerpt 4.28 Linh explains how she feels limited in Vietnamese for her profession.

Linh

Linh: Yeah, just because I get anxious because...I’m actually an attorney and thinking if a client came in and thought that I should be explaining patent law to them in Vietnamese—oh gosh! I feel like I would not be able to explain it to them competently enough in my Vietnamese language. So, I wouldn’t want to mislead them and say I’m fluent in Vietnamese. Instead, it’s just conversational.

Jessica: But it’s like, you’re not fluent in Vietnamese law. You didn’t learn law in it, right? So, that’s a genre that isn’t—it’s like the context of it isn’t really discussed, I guess? I don’t know.

Linh: Yeah

Jessica: But I feel like if anything, you would be an excellent resource for the client to feel comfortable, right? Like, that’s not the same as just someone who happens to know how to explain it in Vietnamese specifically, so.

Linh: True. So, my dad is not an attorney of course but if he were there in the same room with me, and he was trying to explain a mechanical device to them and how it could be patented, my dad will be able to do that perfectly—not the law part, but he could explain this mechanical device to them, like, every facet of it and how it works. Whereas I feel like I would not be able to do that. I just wouldn’t know the words, whereas even though he doesn’t know the legalese, he would know every single component of that mechanical device. Whereas I could just be like, “This is a machine. This has a screw.” [My Vietnamese isn’t] sophisticated enough to get the nuances.

This above excerpt came from my earlier question, “Did you always consider yourself, or maybe always isn’t the right word but, have you considered yourself to be bilingual, pretty much?” This question sparked a longer conversation about the extent to which we identified ourselves as bilinguals. For Linh, her self-assessment of her Vietnamese proficiency is benchmarked against her professional identity—an identity constructed in English. She refrains from identifying herself as fluent in Vietnamese based on imagined standards that she thinks her clients expect of her. Here, Linh echoes some of David’s reservations about claiming fluency in her heritage language. Like David and his lack of “complicated” and “high level vocabulary” in Korean, Linh sees her Vietnamese as not “sophisticated enough.” Though both of them acknowledge that they have interpreted and translated all their lives, they felt unable to claim proficiency in their heritage languages. This sentiment was echoed by other participants who had experience using their heritage language in professional settings.

Excerpt 4.29 Miguel and Cathy explain they are not comfortable interpreting in professional situations.

Miguel

Jessica: Yeah, yeah. Um, oh and there was one other question I forgot to ask. When you said you were doing professional interpreting and translating, was that something that you were comfortable doing at that point already for like, people outside of your family?

Miguel: So, I was very comfortable doing it for my family, but doing it professionally, not at all. I did not feel comfortable doing it.

Jessica: It was just like a job that you had to do.

Miguel: Yeah, it was a job I had to do. I knew my Spanish wasn’t as good as it should have been, so I think for me personally, a lot of the issue there is confidence—like, not having that confidence to say my Spanish is good... Doing support in general can be very stressful. People get upset...and generally, I think a lot of the times, customers don’t really know what they’re asking for or what they’re trying to accomplish. So, adding all that onto someone whose Spanish is already shaky, like, sometimes I will just shut down. It’s like, I don’t know how to proceed with this. I get to a point where I’m just parroting the same

things over and over again, hoping that they get the context the third or fourth time... I never really felt comfortable doing it... Being able to speak Spanish was something, that put the favor on my application. It was like, “Oh! This guy knows how to speak Spanish. He can do our Spanish support.” Even though if you were to do a certification, I don’t know if I would’ve necessarily passed it. Yeah, there was definitely a feeling of, “I shouldn’t be doing this,” like, this almost like, fraudulent feeling for it.

Cathy

Jessica: That’s interesting when you say you wouldn’t call yourself a professional. Like, is there a reason why you don’t feel comfortable doing that?

Cathy: Um, because my Cantonese isn’t...or like I wasn’t taught Cantonese in school, you know? Like I was taught how to speak it, you know, through listening...and it’s not...I didn’t professionally. So, there’s still a lot of terms for myself that I probably should be using if I was a professional. But I’m not using those terms. You know, like, it’s more slang. Sometimes, I wouldn’t know how to say it on the spot? Versus if you’re professionally trained, you would be able to come up with these words pretty fluently. So, when I do it, it doesn’t sound like the best, I would say, compared to someone that’s from Hong Kong, or they’re professionally trained to translate Chinese.

Both Miguel and Cathy had experience using their heritage language and interpreting in their workplace. However, both expressed a feeling of impostor syndrome even though they had been hired for their bilingual skills. Miguel attributes this feeling to “not having that confidence to say [his] Spanish is good.” Because my interview participants were highly educated, this posed a conundrum on their bilingual identities. On the one hand, they were very aware of distinguishing their language proficiency levels across listening, speaking, reading, and writing. On the other hand, they were more likely to compare their heritage language literacy with English—the language through which they earned their college degrees. As a result, my participants tended to associate bilingualism with literacy because they had benchmarked their heritage language proficiency against their English proficiency. These ideologies about language proficiency were related to my participants’ understanding of “native speaker,” which I will discuss in section 4.4.

4.3.3 *Defining heritage language proficiency based on others' perceptions*

Participants internalized a deficit view of their heritage language proficiency based on the feedback they perceived and received from others around them. This external assessment of their heritage language proficiency often came from family members and other native speakers of their heritage languages.

Excerpt 4.30 Cathy and Isabel describe how others seem impressed by their heritage language proficiency.

Cathy

Jessica: Has anyone ever commented on your ability to speak your home language?

Cathy: Um, yes, multiple times. So, I work at an after-school program, and I have a lot of families that would come up to me [and say] “Oh wow! Your Cantonese is really great! Like...were you born here?” And then it’s like, “Oh no, I’m actually, I was born here. And, I’m not from another place. Like, I didn’t immigrate over like my family.” And they would just be in shock like. “Oh really?!” And, so for them, a lot of American-born Chinese—even their own kids—their Cantonese or their ability to speak Chinese is not at my level, I guess. So, they’ve always just said, “oh wow! That’s amazing that you can do both.”

Isabel

Jessica: Did you ever encounter situations where people were like, impressed that you could speak Spanish?

Isabel: Um... maybe? I don’t know, I guess...maybe a little bit like, I think that the thing that’s impressive for most people... Like, some of the members of [my husband’s] family and some of the members of my family...I guess they’re impressed by my vocabulary? The fact that I don’t really struggle. Like, I pretty much blend in as a native speaker at least in Guatemala...So, it’s more like, [they’re] impressed like, “Wow, you moved there when you were five, and you still speak Spanish so fluently!”

Whenever I asked my participants if they had encountered comments about their heritage language proficiency, most of them shared that they had received a mixture of positive and negative feedback. These examples from Cathy and Isabel illustrate the positive feedback about

their heritage language abilities from their family members and other members of their heritage language community. Yet, at the same time, underlying these positive compliments is the negative assumption that they are not expected to be as proficient in their heritage languages. For both Cathy and Isabel, their heritage language proficiency exceeded expectations from their commenters because they had not grown up in their heritage countries. Comments like “were you born here” in Cathy’s case imply an ideological association between “proficiency” and “country of birth.” Though the feedback received by Cathy and Isabel was generally positive, other participants described receiving feedback that was explicitly negative.

Excerpt 4.31 Vincent and Thomas describe the negative feedback they have received about the way they speak in their heritage language.

Vincent

Jessica: Could we talk a little bit more about your proficiency? Cause you talk about it—it’s interesting cause you keep saying like it’s limited proficiency, but I was wondering what do you mean by that? Why do you say that?

Vincent: Uh... I guess when I speak at home, it’s more natural? But if I try to speak elsewhere [outside my] home, I like for some reason, have to have this weird accent or like, I have to try really hard to speak it, and it’s just not natural. I don’t know why, but it’s like a psychological thing. When I’m talking to my parents, it comes out so naturally. But if you ask me to speak to you now, it’s probably going to be really bad, or it’s probably going to have a thick accent. So, like—and people have pointed it out too—so I really don’t know. Like, I’m really wary of when I speak Chinese outside of home.

Jessica: When you say people have pointed it out, do you mean like, your peers? Or like, is it family?

Vincent: Or like co-workers or like people who were born in China like older co-workers who hear me talk, and then they’re like, “You have an accent!” or like “You don’t speak very naturally.” And then it’s just like, it gets to me a little.

Thomas

Jessica: I guess, I was also wondering if anybody has ever commented on your Cantonese.

Thomas: Oh yeah, I have like, an accent in Cantonese. Some of my grammar isn’t completely correct. Like, there are many ways to say the same word in

English. There are many ways to say a word in—how do I explain this. It sounds like I’m translating in my head right now. So, like the word, “wear,” to “wear clothes” in English: There are many ways to say that and many appropriate ways to use different forms of “wear” in Cantonese. So, sometimes I’ll say the wrong “wear” and my mom will always correct me. And, she’ll like smirk or something and say, “You should know that by now.” Yeah, so people have made those comments, but I feel like I can have an intelligent conversation with most people in Cantonese.

Both Vincent and Thomas describe their heritage language proficiency from a deficit perspective by emphasizing accent as a marker of proficiency. Throughout our conversation, Vincent persistently described himself as having “limited proficiency” in Cantonese. When I asked him to clarify, he explains that he has encountered criticism from others about his Cantonese, namely his accent. These criticisms remain a source of frustration for Vincent as he seeks to assert himself as a legitimate Cantonese speaker. Likewise, Thomas first mentions his accent as a marker of his Cantonese proficiency and then proceeds to talk about how his mother has corrected his word choices. Unlike Vincent, however, Thomas asserts his confidence in his ability to converse in Cantonese despite the fact that his “grammar isn’t completely correct.” While Vincent and Thomas express different levels of confidence in their heritage language proficiency, both have internalized the same ideas of language proficiency perpetuated by standard language ideology. Both associate accent with proficiency in a way that implies accent undergirds one’s legitimate claim to heritage language proficiency.

This ideology of accent and heritage language membership was reiterated by other participants who evaluated their proficiency based on how “American” they sounded.

Excerpt 4.32 David and Casey describe their American accent.

David

Jessica: Has anyone ever commented on your ability to speak Korean?

David: Uh...yeah! Plenty of times. When I went to Korea recently, people commented that my Korean is pretty good...But, I've also had people tell me that I have an accent. Like, my cousin would say "I can tell...you're like an American." Which I think, is expected. I mean, I never lived there in Korea, so yeah. I guess I got a little bit of both.

Casey

Jessica: I did notice—what was interesting is how you responded to my question about whether you considered yourself to be a native English speaker. So, you said "yes" to that, and you also considered English to be your first language. Um, I was just wondering, would you consider, um, 台山话 (Taishanese/Taishan language) to be, um, would you consider yourself to be a native speaker of, 台山 (Taishan) dialect?

Casey: Yes and no? I mean, I'm really fluent to the point that, I think I can trick anybody in China to think that I'm from China, if I'm speaking just in 台山 (Taishanese). Because I recently went—well it was like two years ago—I went to China with my mom and my brother. And, all the locals were approaching us, and they gave me this quizzical stare because I replied back in their local dialect, and they couldn't figure me out...You know, when you're speaking a different language, you can hear someone else's accent? But, when I'm speaking in Taishanese, I don't have that accent, so it's pretty fluent. But I can catch myself if I'm speaking in Cantonese or Mandarin, and I can hear my American accent coming out.

Here, David and Casey were not necessarily experiencing negative feedback about their heritage language proficiency. In fact, they pride themselves in their high proficiency because of their ability to effectively communicate in their heritage countries through their heritage languages. At the same time, they have positioned themselves as non-legitimate members of their heritage language communities due to their American accent. By positioning themselves as outsiders based on their accent rather than proficiency, my participants demonstrate the extent to which they have internalized standard language ideology whereby cultural membership is inextricably tied to accent and other notions of "native speaker" levels of language proficiency. I explore these ideologies about idealized native speaker standards and identities in the next section.

4.4 Identities of language brokers

As my participants and I discussed our shared experiences as language brokers, elements of how we identified with our heritage culture and language emerged. The most prominent themes centered around our identities as native speakers in our heritage language communities and as language brokers in our families. Most of my participants expressed reservations about identifying themselves as native speakers of their heritage languages. As seen in the previous section, some of them hesitated because they compared their heritage language proficiency against their English speaker proficiency. Others defined themselves as native speakers of their heritage language in the same way they equated “first language” with “native speaker.” In this section, I describe my participants’ ideologies about native speaker identity as they define “first language” and “native speaker.” I then elaborate on how these terms influenced their self-perceptions of their own heritage language identities specifically related to language brokering.

4.4.1 Ambivalence about heritage language native speaker identity

The majority of survey participants ($N = 65$) reported that they do not consider English to be their first language. However, an even larger majority ($N = 83$) reported that they *do* consider themselves to be native English speakers. These findings are depicted in Figure 4.10.

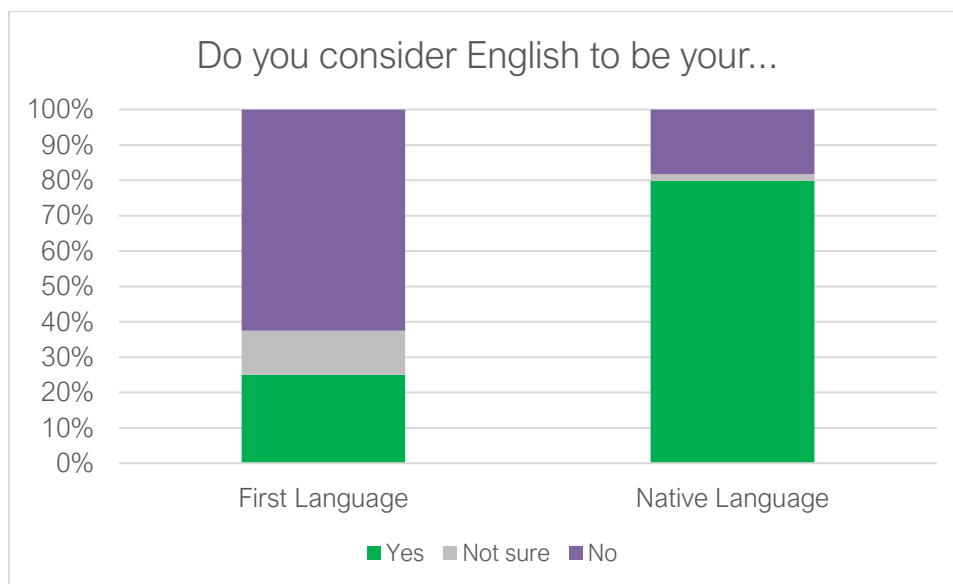


Figure 4.10 Findings for survey questions: “Do you consider English to be your first language?” and “Do you consider yourself to be a native English speaker?”

When I asked participants to elaborate on their responses during our interviews, various definitions of “native speaker” emerged. Most defined the term as the language that one acquired from their immediate family.

Excerpt 4.33 Lucia, Vivian, and Miguel define “native speaker.”

Lucia

Lucia: To me that definitely means—I guess within the nuclear family that raised you, that would mean at least one parent—so that essentially it is the first language that you’re touching, or at least one of two. For myself, since both of my parents spoke it, that is definitely the first language I caught on to. So, that’s what I would consider a native Spanish speaker, and if you learn it in a classroom, to me that’s just not native Spanish speaker at that point.

Vivian

Vivian: I guess when I think of a native speaker, I think like, yes, you grew up speaking the language, you’re familiar with it, you feel very comfortable with it. But, I hesitate because my proficiency in the language is not that strong. And, I would associate a strong proficiency with the language, like a native speaker would have a strong proficiency in that language.

Miguel

Miguel: So, “native speaker” has a dual meaning to me. Like, it is someone who was brought up with Spanish or whatever language as their foundation during their formative years. But, also native speaker kind of has that—what’s the word I’m looking for—that connotation that you’re proficient, like you should be able to, have a wide vocabulary, be able to read, speak, and like, pretty much do everything you can with the language. So, I think “native speaker” is kind of a loaded term for me.

These three excerpts illustrate the various degrees to which participants defined language proficiency for native speakers. All three participants agreed that at minimum, a native speaker should have been raised in the language. Lucia specifies that at least one parent is a speaker of that language and that the language is at least one of the first languages encountered in childhood. Vivian extends this definition to a language that one grows up speaking, is very comfortable using, and also possesses “strong proficiency.” However, Miguel’s definition seems to exhibit an ideology that conflates “native speaker” with “monolingual speaker” more than those of Lucia and Vivian. This is seen when he specifies that a native speaker should “be able to read, speak” and “pretty much do everything you can with the language,” which monolinguals are assumed to be able to do given that it is the only language they know.

Although Miguel shares a similar view with Lucia and Vivian, he also expresses ambivalence about the term, “native speaker” describing it as a “kind of a loaded term.” This ambivalence came from the general uncertainty about the definition of “first language” and “native speaker,” which also was expressed by other interview participants. Some participants attributed this to the challenge of identifying as a native speaker in a multilingual environment.

Excerpt 4.34 Chloe shares her views of “native speaker” in a multilingual situation.

Chloe

Chloe: Native speaker... I think when it comes to Cantonese, it's like...it's a first language you've learned growing up, but then the other piece is that English is also something I grew up with, right? Just like, a little bit later in childhood. So, it also feels...native in that sense. I think sometimes we feel like we have to choose. But, in reality, like plenty of kids grow up speaking multiple languages. Like, you know, some kids have parents or grandparents who speak like Mandarin and Cantonese, and they grew up speaking both. I think sometimes there isn't the option to be like, “Hey! I'm native in both!” and it feels like there's the obligation to choose.

Here, Chloe highlights the challenge of being constrained by monolingual-centric ideologies which expect people to identify a single native language. At the same time, she highlights the complexity of conflating first language and native language. Chloe, like most of my participants, does not identify English as her first language, but she does identify as a native English speaker. Drawing upon her own multilingual experience, Chloe resists the notion that she must choose one language over the other.

Likewise, other participants felt uncertain about identifying as a native speaker of their heritage language because of this monolingual-centric ideology.

Excerpt 4.35 Celeste and Linh express their views about identifying as native speakers of their heritage languages.

Celeste

Jessica: I noticed that on the survey, you had mentioned, or you had answered that you don't consider English to be your first language, but you do consider yourself to be a native speaker of English. I was wondering, would you consider yourself to also be a native speaker of Cantonese?

Celeste: I answered that way because I wasn't really sure. I mean, I'm still not sure what first language means, or native language, I guess. It sort of both

happened at the same time for me, so I can never really decide what's my first language.

Linh

Jessica: But, I've noticed that you and most of the other participants did something very similar. Where they would, say no to English being a first language, but consider themselves native speakers. Um, but then I wanted to ask, would you consider yourself to be a native speaker of Vietnamese?

Linh: That's—gosh, these questions are so tricky! I guess I would because I feel like Vietnamese was probably my first word, and I would also consider it one of my first languages. Yeah, I guess I would. I mean, I'm having trouble answering because currently my Vietnamese is not as good as when I was younger and living at home and speaking it every day. But yeah, I would consider it one of my native languages—not the first and only one, though.

Celeste and Linh echo Chloe's uncertainty about choosing one native language over another in a multilingual environment. Like Chloe, both Celeste and Linh feel constrained by my survey questions and the notion that they must identify a single first language. Celeste feels that she does not identify with either question because she had simultaneously acquired more than one language during her childhood. While I did not ask her to identify only one native language, she had interpreted my question about identifying as a native English speaker as being confined to one native language. Her interpretation indicates that to a certain extent, she has internalized a monolingual-centric ideology that forces her to identify as a native speaker of only one language. Linh similarly expresses this ideology when she tries to classify Vietnamese sequentially in her linguistic repertoire. However, Linh also reinterprets the idea of "first language" by expanding the possibility of redefining it as multiple first languages. Here, as a multilingual speaker, Linh reimagines the concepts of "first language" and "native speaker" to encompass multilingual individuals.

While Linh considers herself a native speaker of her heritage language despite the fact that she rates her Vietnamese proficiency as worsening over time, a few participants felt the opposite.

Excerpt 4.36 Adriane and Reiko express their reservations about identifying as a native speaker of their heritage language.

Adriane

Adriane: So, I guess, when I consider the title, “native speaker,” I don’t really think of it as like, “Oh, like that was the first language that I learned.” I think of it in terms of, what language I’m more comfortable in and what language am I more proficient and eloquent in. And that is definitely not Mandarin anymore. So, I consider myself to be a native English speaker, American English speaker. But, that doesn’t mean that that was the first language that I learned.

Reiko

Reiko: So, I put “not sure” because I think technically, Japanese was like my first language, as in my first words were probably Japanese...esque I guess? I’m sure it’s probably like “Mom” but it was more Japanese. And then, I put that I still considered myself an English native speaker because, I guess, I’m born here, my primary school was in English, and growing up (it was English). But I think as I got older, I don’t know. It’s hard to claim one or the other because I’m like, “Okay, I spoke Japanese technically, that’s my first language,” but if someone were to test me now, my English sounds much more native than my Japanese. Like now, my Japanese sounds fine, I think? But I’m not as comfortable speaking Japanese as I used to be. So, I don’t know.

Jessica: Would you consider yourself to be a native speaker of Japanese?

Reiko: Um...that’s a good question. I guess it kind of depends what like, native speaker...means? Like, technically? Or like, are you speaking like a native speaker? I guess it’s more of technical, so I would probably say no.

Similar to Linh in Excerpt 4.35, Adriane and Reiko attempt to redefine “first language” and “native speaker” for multilingual individuals. Adriane explicitly suggests that these two concepts are not equivalent, echoing Lucia’s assertion that language proficiency is dynamic (Excerpt 4.25). Because she feels her Mandarin proficiency has declined, Adriane does not identify as a native Mandarin speaker. Reiko also expresses this sentiment when she tries to distinguish

between “first language” and “native speaker.” Like Linh and Adriane, Reiko interprets “first language” in a very literal sense as the first language she experienced, but she hesitates to identify herself as a native Japanese speaker. One possible reason might be my positioning in the interview as a linguistics researcher, which could have influenced Reiko’s inclination to focus on the “technical” definition of native speaker. After all, my participants knew the purpose of my study and my linguistics background, so it is conceivable participants like Reiko might have believed that my question about native speakers was premised on some “technical” or academic definition of the term—a term that I never defined for my participants during our interviews. Nevertheless, it seems that Reiko refrains from identifying as a native speaker of her heritage language due to her ideology about who is allowed to claim native speaker status. The way Reiko justifies her native English speaker status suggests that to claim native speaker status in Japanese, she would have to achieve the same requirements—being born in Japan, being educated in Japanese, and so forth. This ideology was echoed by other participants like Trang, who also did not feel the right to claim native speaker status in her heritage language.

Excerpt 4.37 Trang explains why she would not call herself a native Vietnamese speaker.

Trang

Jessica: So, I was asking you how you would define native speaker and I had asked you if you would consider yourself to be a native speaker of your home language.

Trang: Yeah... It’s such a weird thing, right? I don’t feel like I have the cultural right to claim that. Even though I’m not like a monolingual native speaker of English, I still consider myself a native speaker of English, but I don’t consider it the other way around for Vietnamese? So, I think there’s just something there where you grow up with Vietnamese people telling you that you’re not Vietnamese enough, and then that makes you question your right to claim that sort of status, I guess.

As someone with a linguistics background, Trang is extremely self-aware of her heritage language identity and the ideologies underlying the notion of “native speaker.” Yet, from this excerpt, it is clear that much of her reservations about claiming native speaker status in her heritage language stems from standard language ideology expressed by her heritage language community. For Trang, the ambivalence of the status of heritage language speakers drives her own uncertainty about her heritage language identity. Other participants expressed a similar lack of confidence in identifying as native speakers of their heritage language.

Excerpt 4.38 Christine and Chloe express their lack of confidence in identifying as native speakers of their heritage language.

Christine

Jessica: Would you consider yourself to be a native speaker of Cantonese then?

Christine: I think...yes. But as I got older, the less Cantonese I spoke—especially when I moved out—it’s not as good as my English anymore. And I can’t read or write in Cantonese, so I still consider English my native tongue. And needless to say, there’s a lot of words that I don’t know in Cantonese. I think that may be just because I don’t speak it as often as I used to.

Chloe

Jessica: Like, sometimes what they’re looking for is a native English speaker, so you’ll put your first language as English sometimes just to get that point across for whatever you’re applying for or something.

Chloe: Right. And then like, on the flip side, it’s also important to me personally to emphasize that that wasn’t...the first language I learned, right? ...I guess the tricky part is if you asked if I was a native Cantonese speaker, I think technically I am? But then it doesn’t feel that way anymore, right?

Jessica: Can you tell me a little bit about that? Yeah, I was going to ask you if you felt like you were a native speaker of Cantonese. Can you tell me a bit about that?

Chloe: Yeah. So, it’s interesting, right? So, I’m a social worker, and I do therapy in Cantonese most of my day. I’m speaking Cantonese, but I think there’s a lot more back and forth, and like translating in my head with what I’m trying to convey and what I’m trying to say. And so, I think it takes more energy, it takes more work to convert back. I think naturally I’m thinking in English, and English comes a lot more naturally to me now. And Cantonese is something that I consider myself fluent in, and I feel that people who I interact with

understand what I'm saying. But it doesn't feel as comfortable. But again, technically, that was the first language that I was speaking growing up.

Although both Christine and Chloe consider themselves native speakers of Cantonese, they still qualify their responses by comparing their Cantonese proficiency against English. Christine highlights her lack of Chinese literacy and smaller vocabulary range in Cantonese in comparison to her English proficiency. Chloe describes herself as “naturally” more able to communicate in English compared to Cantonese. Yet, by equating first language with native speaker, both Christine and Chloe may feel compelled to identify as native speakers of Cantonese. This is especially evident for Chloe, who reiterates her position as “technically” a native Cantonese speaker. However, because they feel less comfortable communicating in Cantonese, they appear less confident about identifying as native Cantonese speakers. For Chloe, even though she considers herself fluent and able to communicate in a variety of situations in Cantonese, this feeling of being less comfortable in Cantonese compared to English hinders her from confidently identifying as a native speaker of Cantonese. These responses from Christine and Chloe were echoed by Cindy, who shared a similarly dynamic view of language proficiency but does not currently identify as a native speaker of her heritage language.

Excerpt 4.39 Cindy explains why she does not currently identify as a native speaker of her heritage language.

Cindy

Jessica: So, when you talked about dominant language, it's great! You know the terminology! But I was wondering if you would also consider yourself a native speaker of Cantonese.

Cindy: I guess if you looked it up in the dictionary, “native speaker,” as in it's my “native tongue...” But I think when people think of native speaker, they actually think of fluency. So, I wouldn't really comfortably claim Cantonese as my native language. But I understand that it was my first language, and I was born with it, or I was born into speaking it. But I don't have expertise in it,

and it sort of makes me uncomfortable saying it's my native tongue because I don't think of myself as fluent in Cantonese.

In contrast to Christine and Chloe, Cindy separates the concept of “native speaker” from “first language.” However, it is important to note that because Cindy has experience teaching English as a foreign language, she has examined the ideologies and definitions behind the term, “native speaker,” more extensively than my other participants. Echoing Chloe, Cindy seems to define “native speaker” as “fluency,” given she avoids identifying as a native Cantonese speaker because she “does not think of [herself] as fluent in Cantonese.” Yet, like both Christine and Chloe, Cindy's perception of her fluency in Cantonese is based on her benchmarks for English; after all, her academic background indicates her “expertise” in English, which she “does not have” in Cantonese. As my participants assess their heritage language proficiency against their English proficiency, my participants seem to apply this assessment to their linguistic identities as well. In other words, by identifying as native English speakers, my participants feel compelled to apply the same standards to their heritage language proficiency in order to justify their claim as native speakers of their heritage language.

4.4.2 Obligations and identities

In addition to their linguistic identities, my participants also described ways in which language brokering has impacted their identities in their families. To a certain extent, my participants have maintained their roles—and identities—as their family's language broker. For some participants, this role has shifted to siblings who live closer to their parents. However, even these participants remain the primary language broker in certain domains.

Excerpt 4.40 Casey and Celeste share how they still have an LB identity in their family.

Casey

Casey: I would say before I was ten, my father did all the heavy lifting. He had to be the one to help [my mom] translate more often. Like, I could help her occasionally, but my vocabulary was limited because I was younger, so I would have to say, “Ask dad.” But now that we’re adults...she’s come to rely on us more instead, and that’s like, our responsibility. My brother still lives at home, so that’s why now that I’ve moved out, it’s kind of shifted a little bit to him. But every time I go home...I’m always going to be handed mail. And I’m always going to be given forms...And she’ll send me messages...And she’ll tell me, “Oh can you do this? Can you do that?” And I’m just like, “Why? You have this other resource at home. Why must you use me?” But I’m still her go-to. My brother can do the things that I’m not around to do, so she still uses the both of us as either an interpreter or translator like we’re her mini henchmen.

Celeste

Celeste: I just had to spend a lot more time with my parents, just going over stuff. And then, the language thing, I mean there’s more of a language barrier for my brother than for me...They always come to me first to ask for something. And if I can’t do it, then they’ll ask my brother. But, I mean, even some things where my brother understands better like, he’s an econ major, so he knows finances better and 401Ks—stuff like that. I don’t know anything about that, so I would tell them, “Go ask [my brother]” and they’ll be like, “Oh, okay.” Like, it didn’t even occur to them to ask him first.

Both Casey and Celeste have maintained their LB roles for their families even though their brothers can assume that role. However, as illustrated in these excerpts, my participants’ parents have also ascribed this LB identity onto their children. One possible reason for assigning this default language broker role to Casey and Celeste is that they are the oldest child. Casey and Celeste also suggested that perhaps their parents default to them due to their higher proficiency in their heritage language compared to that of their brothers. Regardless of the reasons, it seems that both Casey and Celeste have maintained their LB identities at least in the eyes of their parents.

In addition to being seen as the language broker of the family, my participants also tended to continue in their LB role due to their own sense of family responsibility. Having assumed the role of language broker, these participants described continuing this role for their families out of obligation.

Excerpt 4.41 Thomas, Miguel, and Vincent explain their feelings of LB obligation.

Thomas

Jessica: If they had that option, to always have a professional interpreter or translator, would you prefer that they use that option instead of you?

Thomas: I guess if I knew the person beforehand so that I knew they knew what they were doing. I guess, yeah, there would be some initial hesitation because I wasn't the one—I've been the one doing it for so long, and I'm pretty confident that I know what I'm talking about when I'm translating. I don't know. I've never worked with a translator. I assume they're very competent, especially if you're doing the job for a living. But it's difficult when you don't know the person you're working with.

Jessica: It sounds like you do feel quite a bit of responsibility for your parents in those situations.

Thomas: Yeah.

Jessica: Do you feel like that's something you've developed because...you've been in this role for so long? That perhaps, if you hadn't done this, you wouldn't feel, that kind of responsibility at all?

Thomas: I think I would still feel responsible because, they're still my parents at the end of the day. And like I guess, they looked after me when I was young, so I feel this obligation as a Chinese son to do such a thing.

Miguel

Jessica: Did it ever occur to you at that point—but you just didn't think about it—that it was just a part of normal life?

Miguel: Yeah. I would say it was just like, it was a normal part of life. It was, I would say, expected. Like, I was the one who spoke English better than they did, and they were family, they were my mom and dad. So, I of course was—it's like, not necessarily obligated, but it was an obligation to help out. Like, they're my parents. I need to give them a hand for this type of stuff.

Vincent

Jessica: How do you think your role as the interpreter or translator in your family has affected your relationship with your parents?

Vincent: Affect my relationship with my parents? I don't know. I guess in terms of how I feel, I guess it's uh...maybe like a slight sense of accomplishment, like, "Oh I'm helping them" or something like that? Or doing something for them? So, it feels kind of nice in that regard. In terms of my relationship with them—I don't know. I think they ask for help, they kind of expect that to a certain extent, you kind of like, have to do it too. I don't know how to answer that question, sorry!

Jessica: No, no! Not at all! It's like, have you ever felt obligated to translate for them? Like, this is a family obligation in some ways?

Vincent: To a certain extent yes. But I wasn't like, super bothered or annoyed with it. But it was something like, "Oh, you know, they need help, and I know I can be of some assistance, so I should help them." So, I guess in that regard, there was a sense of obligation.

These three excerpts highlight the different ways in which the theme of obligation emerged.

With Thomas, we had been discussing his parents' access to professional translators and interpreters and the types of language resources available to them in Hawai'i. Thomas admits his reservations about entrusting his parents' language needs to a professional translator. When I shared my impression that he seems to feel responsible for his parents, Thomas reveals his feelings of obligation to his parents, which are rooted in his cultural identity as a Chinese son. Here, Thomas indicates that his language broker role persists not out of habit but out of a sense of obligation. Miguel expresses a similar sense of obligation as a son, albeit not rooted in cultural identity per se. Instead, during our exchange where I was probing his sense of normalcy in his language brokering experiences, Miguel admits his feelings of obligation to his parents.

Although Miguel tries to refrain from explicitly describing this feeling as an obligation, he does indirectly connect language brokering to obligation when he says that "it was an obligation to help out." The words he ultimately uses—"Like, they're my parents. I need to give them a

hand”—clearly reflects his sense of duty to his parents. Perhaps Miguel views language brokering as simply one of many ways in which he feels obligated to help, but not a particular obligation by itself. While my exchange with Vincent was more explicitly about obligation, this topic only emerged because of how I interpreted his earlier response to my question about his relationship with his parents. Because Vincent described his parents as expecting him to “have to do it,” I decided to probe a bit further to see if obligation influenced his language brokering identity. Though he prefaces his response with how he “wasn’t like, super bothered or annoyed with” language brokering, he ultimately agrees that he does feel a sense of obligation. This was quite clear from his use of “should” when he says, “[my parents] need help and I know I can be of some assistance, so I should help them.”

This sense of obligation also emerged with participants who felt an obligation to the extent that they did not see another option for their family.

Excerpt 4.42 Christine and Isabel explain how they felt obligated to language broker.

Christine

Jessica: When you say that you have a hard time saying no, is it like—would you say this is partly a personality thing? Like you just, felt obligated to go do it?

Christine: I think so—a little bit of personality, a little bit of obligation, and it’s a little bit of like, if it’s not me, then who?

Jessica: Yeah.

Christine: Like, someone has to do it.

Jessica: Yeah.

Christine: And I kind of feel bad because I know what they went through to get to America. And it’s not fair that they can’t understand. When they need help, I know they would do it for me if it ever came up, so the least I could do is, go through their mail.

Isabel

Jessica: Was that ever something that you felt obligated to do, like it was like an obligation?

Isabel: Like, with a negative connotation? Or just kind of like, I have to do because I have to do it.

Jessica: That still sounds negative. (laugh)

Isabel: Yeah. (laugh) Like, I felt I had to do it just because I mean, who else was going to do it for me? I mean, there were never any negative feelings about it. It was just the way it was. At the end of the day I'm helping her cause if I don't do it, nobody else was going to do it. But I never felt there were ever any negative feelings about having to translate for anybody.

Christine and Isabel frame language brokering as a necessity on their end. Similar to Thomas, Christine feels a sense of obligation that is rooted in her cultural identity as a child of immigrants. Isabel felt obligated to help her grandmother because she feels there were no other options. For Isabel, this may have been quite literally a necessity given that she is an only child. However, the fact that she shares these feelings of obligation out of necessity with participants like Christine and Thomas, who have other siblings that act as language brokers, indicates an overall shared sense of obligation among language brokers. While these situations could be simply an extension of their childhood responsibilities, it could also be a typical obligation felt by language brokers as adults.

4.5 Discussion

The findings in this chapter are geared towards addressing my first, second, and third research questions:

1. What are the situations in which U.S. language brokers find themselves interpreting for their family members?
 - a. What are the most common types of LB interactions from their childhood?

- b. What are the most common types of LB interactions in their adulthood?
2. What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?
3. How does language brokering shape the identities of U.S. language brokers overall?
 - a. How do U.S. language brokers perceive the effects of their LB experiences on their linguistic identities?
 - b. How do U.S. language brokers perceive the effects of their LB experiences on their cultural identities?

In this section, I address these questions with a discussion of my survey and interview findings. I begin with an overview of the LB situations reported by participants in their childhood and adulthood and the implications of these findings. I then discuss the ideologies expressed by my participants followed by a discussion of my participants' linguistic identities. I conclude with a brief discussion of the implications from these findings.

4.5.1 What are the situations in which U.S. language brokers find themselves interpreting for their family members?

A variety of LB situations were reported by both survey and interview participants, but also additional functions of language brokering that I had not considered prior to launching my study. These LB situations changed from childhood and adulthood primarily due to two reasons uncovered during my interviews. First, certain situations encountered in childhood such as school settings were no longer occurring in my participants' current adult lives. Second, participants who had moved out of their parents' homes reported fewer instances of LB situations overall due to their physical distance from their parents. Similar to Tse's (1996) finding where the majority of her adolescent participants reported "home" and "school" LB situations, these two situations were also reported by most of my survey participants for their

childhood LB experiences. However, in addition to these two domains of “home” and “school,” participants also reported language brokering in medical contexts (hospital or doctor’s office) and shopping contexts (store). My interviews revealed that these situations were perceived as normal by my participants, to the extent that some stated they had not thought about their LB experiences until I had invited them to be interviewed. The mundanity of these experiences echoes some of the findings from other studies of language brokers who view their LB experiences as a normal family responsibility over time (e.g. Sherman & Homoláč, 2017). Other participants described language brokering as a chore, suggesting that similar to findings from Hall and Sham (2007), language brokers contribute to the family economy in a way not commonly found in English-speaking families in the U.S. This was particularly evident in the case for Celeste and Reiko, who supported their parents’ communication and correspondences with clients for their jobs, and for Vincent who supported his parents’ correspondences with their tenants.

In general, participants reported encountering fewer types of LB situations as adults compared to their childhood LB experiences. However, this did not necessarily mean that my participants’ parents no longer needed translation and interpretation services. In fact, most interview participants reported occasionally translating and interpreting for their parents in situations where the stakes are now higher. These situations and documents were often related to healthcare, retirement, and formal communication and correspondences. A few participants also mentioned complicated LB situations where they were helping their parents navigate government bureaucratic systems, such as Medicare. For these participants, their LB role was inextricably tied to their education level given that these bureaucratic systems would be complicated and challenging for adult native English speakers as well. This was also found by Antonini (2016),

whose study of language brokers in Italy showed that “As language brokers grow older the interactions which they are required to mediate linguistically become more complex and formal” (p. 719). Antonini notes that these are situations and documents that “even an adult native speaker of Italian would find quite demanding in terms of the vocabulary and knowledge required” (p. 720). This finding was quite evident for my participants such as Lucia and Casey, who were expected to translate and interpret for their parents at a lawyer’s office. Despite knowing that such legal contexts would be extremely challenging for translation and interpretation, my participants felt compelled to language broker for their family. This feeling of having no other option has been found in other studies of language brokering as well (e.g. Angelelli, 2010), which is a defining characteristic of language brokers—and circumstantial bilinguals who have no other option but to learn an additional language. As Christine aptly put it, “If it’s not me, then who?”

My interview findings also revealed that the functions of language brokering went beyond the act of translating and interpreting for my participants. Participants like Miguel and Isabel, whose parents were more proficient in English, reported being relied on for proofreading, indicating that their parents still deferred to their child’s authority in English communication. To put it another way, my participants were perceived as English language experts by their parents. For some participants, this perception of their English expertise may have been due to their ideologies about native English speakers as English language experts, as seen from Lucia and Casey. For others, this English expertise may have been ascribed to them out of convenience, as seen from Thomas—after all, his parents had become accustomed to his LB services. At the same time, my interviews revealed that my participants and their parents experienced mutual benefits from language brokering (see Dorner, Orellana, & Li-Grining, 2007). While their

parents received the convenience of their children's LB services, my participants—like Reiko and Trang—gained an opportunity to practice and maintain their heritage language proficiency. In addition to this function of heritage language maintenance, some participants—like David and Miguel—described language brokering as simply an opportunity to stay abreast of their parents' news. Having moved out of their parents' homes, my participants realized they would need to be proactive to stay in touch with their parents. For these participants, language brokering functioned as a topic of conversation with their parents.

These findings for LB situations and documents suggest that language brokering remains a normal part of everyday life for language brokers from childhood through adulthood. While the types and occasions for LB interactions may decrease over time for participants as they have moved out of their parents' homes, the complexity of these interactions increases as my participants' parents encounter more complicated situations as they age. Furthermore, the role of language brokering in these heritage language families extends beyond the scope of translation and interpretation. As my interviews showed, language brokering not only provided an English language expert for my participants' parents, but also an opportunity for my participants to maintain their heritage language.

4.5.2 What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?

My interviews shed some light on the ways in which standard language ideology permeates through my participants' self-perceptions of their heritage language proficiency. Though participants generally agreed that language brokering contributed to their heritage language maintenance, they also tended to frame their proficiency in a state of decline. This belief in heritage language attrition stemmed from my participants' awareness of their limited opportunities to use their heritage language now that they have moved out of their parents'

homes. Even participants who viewed their heritage language proficiency as a dynamic process like Adriane and Lucia still tended to frame themselves as less proficient over time.

This deficit view of heritage language proficiency seemed to come from two factors shaped by standard language ideology. First, participants tended to assess their heritage language proficiency based on internal factors, such as their literacy level and ability to communicate. These participants tended to compare their heritage language proficiency against their English proficiency, indicating that my participants may have also been comparing themselves to an idealized native speaker standard. After all, all but two of my interview participants identified as native English speakers, which could have influenced their assumptions about what native speakers of their heritage language should be able to accomplish. This was evident in my conversations with Trang, Adriane, and other participants who highlighted literacy as an important indicator of native speaker proficiency. Second, participants also evaluated their heritage language proficiency based on external factors, such as comments from their family and other native speakers in their heritage language community as seen in the stories shared by Vincent and Thomas. Whether imagined or experienced, these comments from others impacted my participants' confidence in identifying themselves as proficient or native speakers of their heritage language.

Much of my participants' self-perceptions of their language proficiency also came from their ideologies about native speakers. Some equated the term, "native speaker," with "first language," while others struggled to define the terms. Some participants like Vivian and Miguel struggled to reconcile proficiency with native speaker identity. Others like Celeste and Linh struggled with their definition of native speaker because they themselves grew up in multilingual households. These participants' responses showed the extent to which they had internalized

standard language ideology as they were only able to talk about “native speaker” within the constraints of a monolingual-centric lens. At the same time, the way my participants defined these terms were not always applied to themselves. While the majority of my participants reported that English was not their first language, almost all of them identified themselves as native English speakers. These participants clarified that while their heritage language was technically their first language, they were no longer as proficient.

Whether their experience with heritage language attrition was imagined or real, most participants seemed to assess their heritage language proficiency based on ideologies about “true bilingualism” (Thiery, 1978) or what Grosjean (1985, 1989) criticized as the unrealistic “two monolinguals in one person” characterization of bilinguals. This was evident in the way most of my participants used literacy as a measure of their heritage language proficiency. Since all of my participants were highly educated and therefore, highly literate in English, their heritage language literacy would unsurprisingly feel inadequate against their own English literacy baseline. Adriane exemplified perhaps the most idealized view of the imagined native speaker when she characterized Chinese literacy as the ability “to write calligraphy” and “read characters” (Excerpt 4.26). One could argue that this characterization of literacy in fact reinforces Adriane’s lack of proficiency in Mandarin. Yet, on the other hand, Adriane’s idealized view of what it takes to be a native speaker of Mandarin did not come out of nowhere—after all, Adriane did say that she was a native speaker at one point in her life before her English proficiency surpassed her Mandarin proficiency. Adriane’s imagined standards for what *she* needs to attain native Mandarin speaker status is the result of how she has internalized standard language ideology. It is likely that other interview participants who assessed their heritage language proficiency based on literacy had also internalized standard language ideology as well.

4.5.3 How does LB shape the identities of U.S. language brokers overall?

The experience of language brokering impacted my participants' linguistic identities but not necessarily their feelings of connection to their heritage culture. As participants like Cindy pointed out, their connection to their heritage was shaped by simply communicating in their heritage language, indicating that perhaps cultural identities were not specifically impacted by their LB experiences. Yet language brokering did impact my participants' linguistic identities in two ways.

First, language brokering seemed to have affected my participants' heritage speaker identities. Most of my participants were ambivalent about identifying themselves as native speakers of their heritage language—a result of their tendency to compare their heritage language proficiency against their English proficiency through their LB experiences. As my participants interpreted and translated for their parents, they encountered increasingly more instances where they struggled to find the exact words in their heritage language. These participants interpreted these struggles as an indicator of their heritage language proficiency, viewing their own difficulties in interpreting as evidence of their low proficiency. For some participants like Trang, this ambivalence led them to feel like they did not have the right to claim native speaker status in their heritage language.

Second, language brokering impacted my participants' feelings of obligation and view of their LB role in their family. While my participants continued to identify as the language brokers for their family, it was unclear whether this was out of obligation or necessity. Just as Del Torto (2008) found in her study of language brokering identity within one family, I found that my participants also carried their LB identities from childhood into adulthood. This was evident among participants with siblings who also carried out LB duties but felt obligated to interpret

and translate for their parents in spite of their parents having additional language brokers available to them. However, in contrast to findings from Hua and Costigan (2012), whose study found negative associations between familial obligation and LB experiences, I did not find strong negative feelings about language brokering from these participants who expressed a sense of obligation. This may be attributed to the fact that my participants were adults at the time of my study, whose current views of the LB experiences may not reflect their feelings about this experience during their adolescence, which was the age group in Hua and Costigan's study. Instead, it seemed that my participants shared similar positive emotions towards their LB experiences as those of Weisskirch (2006) whose study found that LB adult children of immigrants had a positive outlook on their LB experiences and even higher self-esteem. Nevertheless, my participants expressed more frustration about the act of language brokering particularly when they were unable to interpret or translate something. I present some of these frustrations along with examples of language brokering in the next chapter.

5 THE LANGUAGE AND SEMIOTICS OF LANGUAGE BROKERING

The video-recorded tasks and follow-up interviews provided a glimpse into the linguistic and semiotic features of language brokering as well as further insight into ideologies about this phenomenon. Each pair of participants exhibited different approaches to how they constructed and negotiated meaning during the questionnaire task and the follow-up interview. While my participants all had different language backgrounds, all of them have lived in California for a significant part of their lives. All of the adult language brokers (LB adults) grew up in California or spent a significant portion of their childhood there while their parents (LB parents) immigrated to California and have permanently resided there ever since. The education levels of the LB adults were quite high but varied among the LB parents. Though all of the LB adults

described themselves as native speakers of English, they were more ambivalent about identifying English as their first language—a finding that was common among all survey participants, as I previously discussed in Chapter 4. A summary of these participant profiles is presented in Table 5.1 and Table 5.2.

Table 5.1 *Participant profiles for adult language brokers (LB adults) based on their survey responses.*

Survey Questions	LB Adult			
	<u>Karen</u>	<u>Reiko</u>	<u>David</u>	<u>Chloe</u>
Age	39	30	31	31
Country of birth	China	USA	USA	USA
Years in U.S.	28	31	31	31
Education	Post-grad	College graduate	Post-grad	Post-grad
Home language	Mandarin	Japanese	Korean	Cantonese
English is L1?	Yes	Not sure	Not sure	No
Native English speaker?	Yes	Yes	Yes	Yes

Table 5.2 *Participant profiles for the parents of adult language brokers (LB Parent) based on their survey responses from the questionnaire task.*

Task Questions	LB Parent			
	<u>Ms. K</u> (Karen's mother)	<u>Ms. R</u> (Reiko's mother)	<u>Ms. D</u> (David's mother)	<u>Mr. C</u> (Chloe's father)
Age	66	65	55	75
Country of birth	China	Japan	South Korea	China
Years in U.S.	29	38	31	45
Education	Some college	Some college	College graduate	Some primary
Languages spoken	Mandarin and English	Japanese, English	Korean, English	Cantonese, Mandarin, another Chinese dialect
Languages read/write	Chinese, English	Japanese, English	Korean, English	Chinese (a little)
English is L1?	No	No	No	No
Native English speaker?	No	No	No	No

Findings from this video-recorded task addressed my research questions about the language ideologies of language brokers (second research question) and the linguistic and semiotic features of LB interactions (fourth research question). Language ideologies and specifically, ideologies about language brokering, manifested in the attitudes and approaches towards language brokering expressed by the LB adults. The LB adults tended to express their ideologies about their own roles as language brokers and their parents' roles through either a collaborative or directive approach towards the video-recorded task and interview. *Collaborative* LB adults tended to play a supportive role, assisting their parents as needed. They tended to be less involved in the LB interaction, indicating perhaps they view their parents as autonomous individuals who are capable of handling LB situations on their own. *Directive* LB adults tended to play a more leading role, guiding and directing their parents in their LB interactions. They tended to be more involved in the LB interaction, suggesting that perhaps they view LB parents as individuals for whom they take responsibility.

In the remainder of this chapter, I present my findings from each participant pair as a case study in the order that I carried out the research. I start by describing what I observed about Karen and her mother (Ms. K), then Reiko and her mother (Ms. R), then David and his mother (Ms. D), and finally Chloe and her father (Mr. C). I conclude this chapter with a discussion of these findings as they address my second research question concerning the language ideologies of language brokers and fourth research question exploring the linguistic and semiotic features of LB interactions.

5.1 Karen

Karen and her mother (hereafter Ms. K) exhibited a complicated language brokering dynamic largely driven by Karen's ideologies about language brokering and language learning. These ideologies emerged in Karen's directive approach towards language brokering during the questionnaire task when she repeatedly instructed her mother to try to find the answers to her English questions on her own. In this section, I elaborate on these ideologies I observed between Karen and Ms. K and from my interaction with them during our post task interview. I start with a brief overview of Karen's and Ms. K's backgrounds. I then discuss the themes more in depth using transcript excerpts from my video recordings.

5.1.1 Background

Karen spent the first eleven years of her life in China speaking Mandarin with her family. When she immigrated to the United States around age eleven or twelve, she quickly realized that she needed to learn English not only for herself, but also for her parents.

I just remember, when I moved to the U.S., it became very clear to me that my parents didn't understand what was going on any more than I did. Uh...which was scary. Cause I didn't know what was going on. And then I turned to my parents, and I realized they didn't know what was going on. (Interview with Karen from second stage)

This realization that her parents were unable to help her in this new country drove Karen to take on many responsibilities in her family, such as helping her parents navigate government documents and communicate with medical professionals. When Karen moved out of her parents' house for college, her younger sister—who is almost sixteen years younger—took over some of Karen's language brokering responsibilities. By this point, Karen's father had acquired more English, and more Mandarin language services were available in their community in the Bay Area in California. Recently, Karen has moved back to the same city as her parents, occasionally helping her parents with translating English documents.

Ms. K was born in China but has lived in the United States for twenty-nine years. She speaks Mandarin and English and reads and writes Chinese and English. While she can handle most daily communication in English these days, Ms. K still relies on her husband for more complex English tasks such as communicating with government administrators and doctors. Now in her sixties, Ms. K has been dealing with more complicated government documents and paperwork related to her retirement and Medicare enrollment. However, the availability of Mandarin language services in her city has allowed her to navigate these processes on her own.

5.1.2 Directive language brokering as language learning

Throughout the questionnaire task and our post task interview, Karen's directive approach to language brokering was evident in the ways she would instruct her mother. At the same time, Karen strove to maintain a neutral stance during the questionnaire task, frequently declaring that she would and should not fill out the questionnaire for her mother. This dynamic emerged from the very beginning of the questionnaire task, where Karen kept giving her mother directions, even though her mother had already begun to fill out the questionnaire.

Excerpt 5.1 Karen explains the task to Ms. K. (English translation)

1 **Karen and Ms. K Task 00:00 – 00:42 (Underline indicates translated from**
 2 **Mandarin)**
 3 Karen: Okay, perfect. *(holds the questionnaire and shows her mother)*
 4 She wants you to fill this out, but because you're in Chinese, I will help you
 5 translate a bit. Uh... this...
 6 *(points to the first page)*
 7 Ms. K: *(reads the first page of the questionnaire, presumably where Karen pointed)* Age?
 8 Karen: ...what you don't know.
 9 *(grabs a pen for her mother and hands her mother the questionnaire)*
 10 You're supposed to—you start filling it out now, and then what you don't know,
 11 *(grabs a binder)*
 12 I will help...I will help translate for you.
 13 *(hands over the binder to place under the questionnaire)*
 14 Ms. K: Now?
 15 Karen: *(uncaps the pen and gives it to her mother)* Yeah
 16 Ms. K: *(takes the pen and starts writing)* Age, sixty-six.
 17 Karen: Yes. She's trying to—the purpose of her
 18 recording this is to see how you fill it out and how I help you.
 19 This is your...male female
 20 Ms. K: Gender?
 21 Karen: Gender, yeah.
 22 Ms. K: This one?
 23 Karen: Yeah.
 24 Ms. K: Draw a line?
 25 Karen: No, no, no. *(points to the page)* Just circle.

Excerpt 5.2 Karen explains the task to Ms. K. (Original transcript)

Karen and Ms. K Task 00:00 – 0:42
 Karen: Okay, perfect. 她要让我们把这个，要你填。但是因为以中文的，所以让我帮你翻译一下。Uh...这个...
 Ms. K: Age?
 Karen: 因为你开始，你开始填，然后你不知道的我来帮你，我来帮你翻译。
 Ms. K: 现在填？
 Karen: 对。她就是--
 Ms. K: --Age, sixty-six
 Karen: --录这个就是看你怎么样，怎么样填，然后看我怎么帮你。
 这是你...男女
 Ms. K: Gender?
 Karen: Gender, yeah.
 Ms. K: This one?
 Karen: Yeah.
 Ms. K: 画一条线？
 Karen: No, no, no. Just circle.

From the very beginning of this task, Karen is quite directive by taking the lead. Even though Ms. K has already started to fill out the questionnaire (lines 14 – 16), Karen continues to give her mother instructions (lines 17 – 19). Karen also declares her role to her mother, explaining she will help her mother when her mother does not know something (lines 8 – 12). The actions that Karen takes from the very beginning are also indicative of her tendency to be more directive in her LB approach. From taking the questionnaire to instruct her mother (line 4 – 13), to uncapping the pen and passing it to her mother (line 15), these simple acts of assisting her mother reflect Karen’s directive manner of language brokering. At the same time, these actions also demonstrate Karen’s desire to make things easier for her mother, which is what language brokers do by definition for their families. In other words, while Karen’s actions may appear dominating, they can also be interpreted as an extension of her LB role—as a daughter trying to make life easier for her mother when she encounters English.

As she was helping her mother with the questionnaire task, Karen repeatedly asserted her ideologies about language brokering by declaring her neutral role. There were several moments where Karen reminded her mother, “I’ll help you with translation, but you need to fill it out by yourself.”

Excerpt 5.3 Karen reminds Ms. K she cannot fill out the form for her. (English translation)

1 **Karen and Ms. K Task 14:05 – 16:05 (Underline indicates translated from**
2 **Mandarin)**
3 Ms. K: *(reads aloud question to herself in English, pointing at the words with her pen)*
4 Your child will help you... It's the same as the ones before?
5 Karen: *(points at the page)* So it's, when I...
6 Ms. K: Nowadays?
7 Karen: Right.
8 Ms. K: Then it's still this bill, isn't it?
9 Karen: I am here to translate for you, but you have to fill it out by yourself.
10 Ms. K: *(reads aloud question quietly to herself in English)* How about this one? Credit
11 Karen: Credit
12 Ms. K: *(reading each question silently, pointing at the words with her pen)*
13 Right now, it's still this one that sometimes needs medical
14 Karen: Mmhm. *(points to the page)* Rent, it says at the bottom (inaudible 14:49)
15 Ms. K: Oh, right. This is the same, isn't it?
16 *(reading question aloud to herself in English, pointing at the words with her pen)*
17 Right now what are the most frequent when you ask your child to translate for
18 you. What's the meaning of this sentence, "right now"?
19 Karen: You've seen this sentence before.
20 *(Ms. K is about to flip the page, but she stops.)*
21 Ms. K: Well, then I am still not quite clear.
22 Karen: You've read this sentence, right?
23 Ms. K: Earlier? *(flips through the questionnaire)*
24 Then the most important for me is still... bills *(looks over at Karen)*
25 Karen: Mmhm
26 Ms. K: Right? *(looks back at the page and writes her answer)*
27 Karen: I can only translate for you; I can't fill it in for you. If I help you, then it's me
28 filling it out, not you.

Excerpt 5.4 Karen reminds Ms. K she cannot fill out the form for her. (Original transcript)**Karen and Ms. K Task 14:05 – 16:05**

Ms. K: Your child will help you...跟那个前面是一样的

Karen: 就是我就

Ms. K: 现在

Karen: 对

Ms. K: 那还是这个 bill, 是不是?

Karen: 我是帮你翻译, 你得自己填的。

Ms. K: 这个呢? Credit

Karen: Credit

Ms. K: 现在还是这个有时候要 medical.

Karen: Mmhm. Rent, 那说底下搞得 (inaudible 00:14:49)

Ms. K: 呵对, 这个是不是也是, 是不是? 现在 what are the most frequent when you ask your child to translate for you. 这一句的意思呢, “现在”?

Karen: 你见过这句话了。

Ms. K: 那我还是不太清楚。

Karen: 你读过这句话了。

Ms. K: 前面啊? 那我主要的还是 bills.

Karen: Mmhm.

Ms. K: 对不对?

Karen: 我只能跟你翻译不能跟你填阿。如果我帮你的话那就是我填, 不是你填。

In this excerpt, Karen reminded her mother twice (lines 9 and 27 – 28) that she is unable to fill out the form for her mother, and that she should not be answering for her mother. Karen reminded her mother of this at least ten times throughout the task. As Karen continued to repeat this throughout the activity, it seemed that she was also reminding herself to not interfere or answer on behalf of her mother. During these moments, Ms. K never explicitly asked Karen to answer for her. Yet as seen in the above excerpt, there were many moments where Karen would help her mother by confirming her answer. For example, in line 24, when Ms. K stated her answer and looked over at Karen, Karen did in fact, confirm her mother's answer by saying “Mmhm” (line 25). However, only when Ms. K explicitly asked Karen to confirm she was giving the correct response did Karen again say, “I can't fill it in for you” (line 27). Here, Karen is performing an ideology about her role as a translator by explicitly declaring how she cannot fill out the form for her mother and positioning herself as a neutral mediator. At the same time,

Karen's earlier response in line 25, "Mmhm," suggests that this neutral role is an aspirational attempt to refrain from influencing her mother's answers.

5.1.3 Positioning the parent as child

The roles taken up by Karen and her mother vacillated between parent and child. As Karen had mentioned earlier in her interview with me, she recalled that her mother disliked the switch in their roles as parent and child during their language brokering interactions. This dynamic in their interaction remained a constant theme throughout the questionnaire task and our interview. However, Ms. K never expressed any frustration or negative reactions to Karen's direct manner of guiding her through the questionnaire task. Rather, it seemed that Karen struggled to find a balance between her role as her mother's LB daughter—ready to help when needed—and as her mother's LB instructor—eager to guide her mother toward the "right" translation of the question and answer. During our interview, Karen continued to restrain herself from translating everything for her mother. When I asked her if this was typical of their language brokering dynamic, she responded that it was her belief that she should be teaching her mother to use English.

Excerpt 5.5 Karen explains the rationale behind her LB method.

1 **Karen and Ms. K Post Task Interview 00:44 – 02:00 (Underline indicates translated**
 2 **from Mandarin)**
 3 Jessica: Yeah! Yeah. I noticed—I was taking notes (*gesturing taking notes*) when this
 4 was happening, and I noticed that you (*pointing at Karen*) were trying very hard
 5 to (*gesturing with both hands directing at self*) let your mom be like in control, let
 6 her make sure she has autonomy and agency when she’s filling it out. Is this how
 7 you usually do it, you think? When you’re helping your mom out?
 8 Karen: (*looks over at Ms. K then back at Jessica*)
 9 (*points at herself then at Ms. K*) Is that for me or for her to answer?
 10 Ms. K: (*points at Karen*) For you.
 11 Jessica: (*points at Karen then Ms. K*) For you and then I’ll also see how your mom feels.
 12 Karen: I think it’s both. It’s uh...because she doesn’t...she hates feeling like a child, and
 13 she has said that to me before—‘Who do you think you are? The parent?’ So, I
 14 definitely know that it rubs her the wrong way. And then just personally, even
 15 when I am interacting with the child—like one of my friends has a ten-year-old.
 16 And he was playing a video game and the internet went down or something went
 17 down. So he came back—(*gestures upward*) he came upstairs to find us, like, ‘I
 18 can’t play my games with my friends. Come fix it.’ Right? (*shakes her head*) And
 19 so I just wouldn’t go downstairs. I said, (*gestures ‘cut it out’*) ‘Turn off the game.
 20 Wait ten seconds. Turn it back on. Then do that with the internet router. Do both
 21 and come back.’ It’s just sort of—It’s my personal belief that if you just...teach a
 22 man to fish rather than fishing for him.

Karen basically repeats what she told me in our earlier interview during the second stage of my study, that her mother “hates feeling like a child.” However, Karen’s choice of analogy here indicates that perhaps Ms. K’s negative feelings are not in fact, unfounded. Karen’s decision to compare an anecdote about friend’s ten-year-old child to her mother’s English language learning situation suggests that Karen may also perceive her mother as a child in need of instruction. Throughout the questionnaire task and post task interview, Karen seems to impose her ideologies about language learning on her mother by having her mother try to handle English communication on her own as much as possible. From Karen’s perspective, this is the best way to help her mother be more self-sufficient in English communication. Her mother seemed to agree with this perspective.

Excerpt 5.6 Ms. K seems to agree with Karen’s “method” of language brokering. (English translation)

1	Karen and Ms. K Post Task Interview 02:00 – 03:19 (Underline indicates translated from Mandarin)
2	
3	Jessica: How does your mom feel about that? Is she okay with this style of (<i>gestures with both hands</i>) interpreting translating when you’re doing that for her?
4	
5	Karen: (<i>looks over at Ms. K</i>) <u>Guess what she said. What do you think she is saying?</u>
6	Ms. K: <u>What you said was what she was just talking about.</u> (<i>points at Karen</i>)
7	Karen: (<i>points at Ms. K</i>) No, no, no, no. <u>You can’t assume she will speak Chinese; you need to speak with me.</u> (<i>points at herself</i>)
8	
9	Jessica: <u>Speaking Chinese is no problem; it’s all okay.</u> (<i>gestures “don’t worry”</i>)
10	But I’m still keeping my questions in English. (<i>gestures at notepad on her lap</i>) (<i>laughs</i>)
11	Ms. K: (<i>looks at Karen</i>) <u>Which is to say, when you were a child--</u>
12	Karen: (<i>Shakes her head, points at Ms. K</i>) <u>Not when I was a child. Try and guess again.</u>
13	<u>Guess.</u> (<i>points at Jessica</i>) <u>What she just asked me, what was it that she just asked</u>
14	<u>me?</u>
15	Ms. K: <u>I don’t remember.</u>
16	Karen: Okay. (<i>gestures at Jessica</i>) <u>Her question means, she was watching us just now,</u>
17	<u>when I was translating for you</u> (<i>points at Ms. K</i>) <u>I kept saying this is your form,</u>
18	<u>you fill it in.</u> (<i>stops pointing</i>) <u>Then, I kept telling you to guess what the meaning</u>
19	<u>was. Then, when you guessed wrong, I would then tell you the meaning. In other</u>
20	<u>words, this is a style, like a type of—this is</u>
21	Ms. K: <u>A type of method</u>
22	Karen: <u>Right, a type of method. What do you think of my method? Is it good, or not</u>
23	<u>good?</u>
24	Ms. K: (<i>looks at Jessica</i>) It’s good. Pushing you learn more English. (<i>chuckles</i>)

Excerpt 5.7 Ms. K seems to agree with Karen’s “method” of language brokering. (Original transcript)

	Karen and Ms. K Post Task Interview 02:00 – 03:19
	Jessica: How does your mom feels about that? Is she okay with this style of interpreting translating when you’re doing that for her?
	Karen: 你猜她说什么。你觉得她说的什么？
	Ms. K: 你说的是刚才她说的事情。
	Karen: No, no, no, no. 你不能觉得她会说中文，你得跟我说。
	Jessica: 说中文，没问题，都可以。But I’m still keeping my questions in English. (<i>laughs</i>)
	Ms. K: 就是说，你在小时候--
	Karen: 不是我的小时候。你再猜。你猜她刚才问我最后，最后一句问题是什么？
	Ms. K: 没有记住。
	Karen: Okay. 她的问题就是说，她看到了我们刚才，在我跟你翻译的时候，我总是跟你
	说，这是你的表，你来填。然后，我总是说你猜，什么意思。然后，你猜得不对
	的时候，我才告诉你什么意思。就是，这个是一种 style， 是一种-- 这是
	Ms. K: 一种方法。
	Karen: 对，一种方法。你觉得我这个方法是怎么样？是好，还是不好？
	Ms. K: It’s good. Pushing you learn more English.

To what degree Ms. K actually agrees with Karen that her “method” is helpful remains unclear; nevertheless, Ms. K maintains a collaborative attitude throughout this exchange, which indicates that she is willing to work with Karen at the very least. As Karen tries to lead her mother to understand the question on her own, Ms. K cooperates with Karen by helping her find the right word in Mandarin, “method” (line 21). Even Ms. K’s final response is collaborative as she seems to understand that Karen is implying her method of language brokering is meant to “push” her to learn more English (line 24)—an ideology of language brokering that Ms. K may not have expressed herself, but nevertheless understands her daughter’s intentions.

When I asked this question, I unintentionally positioned Ms. K as a person in need of Karen’s help. In other words, by directing my question to Karen instead of Ms. K, I became complicit with Karen’s positioning of her mother as a child. When I was asking my question, I was looking back and forth at Karen and Ms. K. From the beginning, I should have clearly directed my question to Ms. K, i.e. “How do *you* feel about that?,” rather than to Karen, i.e. “How does your mom feel about that?”, because the way I had asked my question assumed that Karen would interpret or speak on behalf of her mother. In retrospect, perhaps if I had looked at Ms. K directly when I had asked my question and clearly used second person “you” in my question, Ms. K would have paid closer attention and understood my question. Instead, I had relied on Karen to mediate for us. As soon as I said “your mom” in line 3, Karen looked over at Ms. K to let her mother know that this question was for her. Ms. K looked over at Karen to confirm, and Karen repeats, “What do you think she is saying?” Here, Karen continues what she did during the questionnaire task by encouraging her mother to make sense of the English on her own.

5.1.4 Making meaning through translanguaging and resemiotization

In the few instances when Karen was unable to translate a word, both Karen and Ms. K would negotiate the meaning of the word or phrase using Mandarin and English. I observed a clear example of this phenomenon towards the end of the questionnaire task when Karen was struggling to translate the word, “burden” from English to Mandarin.

Excerpt 5.8 Karen and Ms. K try to translate “burden” into Mandarin. (English translation)

- | | |
|----|---|
| 1 | Karen and Ms. K Task 27:15 – 28:36 (Underline indicates translated from Mandarin) |
| 2 | Ms. K: <i>(reads aloud question to herself in English)</i> I feel that I am a <u>what is this?</u> |
| 3 | Karen: Burden. |
| 4 | Ms. K: Burden for my child when I’m asking her to translate for me. <u>What does burden mean?</u> |
| 5 | <i>(looks over at Karen)</i> |
| 6 | Karen: Uh... <u>What’s on one’s back...</u> |
| 7 | Ms. K: <i>(quietly reads aloud the question again to herself in English, pointing at the words)</i> |
| 8 | Karen: Um... <u>burden/heavy load (包袱)</u> |
| 9 | Ms. K: <u>...Burden/heavy load(包袱)?</u> |
| 10 | Karen: Mmhm |
| 11 | Ms. K: For my child when I’m asking, <u>I feel like I am a burden/heavy load (包袱)</u> <i>(looks over to</i> |
| 12 | <i>Karen) to my child.</i> |
| 13 | Karen: Mmhm. |
| 14 | Ms. K: <i>(looks back at the questionnaire)</i> <u>Then I will just put down...</u> |
| 15 | Karen: <i>(points to the page)</i> <u>But this says</u> “When I ask” <i>(moves her hand out of the way)</i> |
| 16 | Ms. K: <u>So when I ask (looks at Karen) I always feel like I am giving them a burden/heavy load</u> |
| 17 | <u>(包袱).</u> |
| 18 | Karen: <u>Right. So, do you agree or disagree.</u> |
| 19 | Ms. K: <u>This is, “disagree.”</u> |
| 20 | Karen: <u>Right, “disagree.”</u> <i>(points to the page to explain)</i> <u>This is the “Most disagree.” This is the</u> |
| 21 | <u>“Most agree.”</u> <i>(moves her hand out of the way)</i> |
| 22 | Ms. K: <u>I’ll just choose the middle one.</u> |
| 23 | Karen: <u>You should fill it—you fill it out, not me.</u> |

Excerpt 5.9 Karen and Ms. K try to translate “burden” into Mandarin. (Original transcript)

Karen and Ms. K Task 27:15 – 28:36

Ms. K: I feel that I am a 这是什么?

Karen: Burden

Ms. K: Burden for my child when I’m asking her to translate for me. 这个 burden 是什么意思?

Karen: Uh...背上面...

Ms. K: (inaudible English)

Karen: Um...包袱。

Ms. K: 包袱?

Karen: Mmhm

Ms. K: For my child, when I’m asking, 我觉得我自己是一个包袱对我的孩子。

Karen: Mmhm

Ms. K: 那我就搞一个。。。

Karen: 但这里写的是 “When I ask”

Ms. K: 当我就问他们的时候, 我总觉得我是给他们一个包袱。

Karen: 对, 就是你赞不赞成。

Ms. K: 这个是不赞成。

Karen: 就不赞。这个最不赞成, 这个最赞成。

Ms. K: 我搞个中间的吧。

Karen: 你得—你来填的不是我来填的。

For this question, Ms. K asked Karen to pronounce “burden” for her first and attempted to understand the question by herself by reading the rest of the question (line 2). Unable to make sense of the question after reading it aloud, Ms. K then asked Karen to define “burden” for her (lines 4 – 5). Karen struggled to translate “burden,” and began to define it in a literal sense as something carried “on one’s back” (line 6). As Karen was trying to think of the translation, her mother went back to reading the statement aloud in English to make sense of the meaning (line 7). When Karen finally finishes her translation of “burden,” her mother rephrases the question for herself by combining Mandarin and English (lines 11 – 12). This moment might be interpreted in two possible ways. At first glance, this utterance appears to be an instantiation of codeswitching, where Ms. K switches from English to Mandarin. Alternatively, this can be seen as an instantiation of translanguaging, where Ms. K demonstrates her adept skill at making meaning of English using Mandarin. At the same time, Ms. K’s tone of voice and the way she turns to look at Karen seems to suggest uncertainty at this translation of “burden.” This may be

because Karen’s choice of the word “包袱” or *bāofu* is typically used in the context of a physical burden, such as a “heavy bundle” or “heavy load” that one carries on their back. Through language brokering, Karen resemiotizes “burden,” from its abstract form in English to its concrete form in Mandarin as a physical burden defined as “carrying a heavy (physical) load on one’s back.” This word in Mandarin, “包袱,” is then resemiotized to a figurative phrase by Ms. K in line 11 when she rephrases the statement in Mandarin and describes herself as a figurative “heavy load” to her child. In other words, “burden” moves from its figurative meaning in English on paper to “包袱,” a physical meaning in Mandarin translated by Karen, and is finally transformed into a figurative meaning in Mandarin by Ms. K.

Through a combination of translanguaging and resemiotization, Ms. K tried to make meaning of the question from Karen’s translation, even though Karen was not necessarily confident about her word choice. This was evident from the tone in their voices as they pondered over the word, “包袱,” in lines 11 to 17. On the one hand, it is conceivable that Karen was simply unable to help her mother translate “burden” beyond what she had already translated. Yet on the other hand, Karen did not attempt to further draw on her linguistic and semiotic resources to clarify her translation of “burden” in response to the hesitation in her mother’s voice. Instead, it is Ms. K who figured out the meaning of “burden” on her own in lines 16 to 17 when she repositioned herself as the one giving Karen a “包袱,” thereby making Karen’s translation of “burden” more comprehensible in Mandarin. In some ways, this instance of translating “burden” as “包袱” appears to be a failure of language brokering. From a deficit perspective, it seems that Karen’s Mandarin proficiency and Ms. K’s English proficiency were insufficient for this translation task. After all, neither Karen nor Ms. K ever mention the more accurate Mandarin word, “負擔” or *fùdān*. Yet from an asset perspective—a translanguaging perspective—this

instance illustrates the complex ways that multilingual individuals draw on their linguistic resources and transform or resemiotize language to make meaning. While it is possible that Ms. K never fully understood the meaning of “burden,” she did at least understand the gist of the word, given the way she rephrased “包袱” as a direct object with herself as the subject in lines 16 to 17. View from a translanguaging lens, this instance also illustrates how Ms. K achieves a degree of self-sufficiency in English by drawing on her linguistic repertoire.

5.1.5 Resemiotization as a result of LB ideologies

Karen’s directive approach is an expression of her ideologies about language proficiency as a form of self-sufficiency. She elaborates on this later during our interview when I asked both of them, “Do you think that by asking her to translate for you, by having this relationship, do you think that this has affected the languages you speak in your home?”

Excerpt 5.10 Karen explains why she led her mother towards an answer. (English translation)

1	Karen and Ms. K Post-task Interview 20:28 – 22:05 (Underline indicates translated from
2	Mandarin)
3	<i>(Karen and Ms. K are looking at each other. Jessica is watching them.)</i>
4	Karen: <u>Like if we—if you did not have a child help you translate,</u>
5	Ms. K: <u>Mmhm</u>
6	Karen: <u>Would it have been different from the language you speak now?</u>
7	Ms. K: <u>Of course it would be different. If there's translating, I would understand the language</u>
8	<u>even more?</u>
9	Karen: <u>Or understand even less?</u>
10	Ms. K: <u>English.</u>
11	Karen: <u>Would you understand more or less?</u>
12	<i>(Ms. K looks away pensively.)</i>
13	Karen: <u>If no one helped you translate, you would have learned a bit more?</u>
14	Ms. K: <i>(looks back at Karen)</i> <u>That might have happened.</u>
15	Karen: <u>So, the question is, a bit more or a bit less?</u>
16	Ms. K: <i>(looks away pensively)</i> <u>I think if no one helped me translate,</u> <i>(looks back at Karen and</i>
17	<i>chuckles)</i> <u>I probably would have had to work harder to learn outside.</u>
18	Karen: <i>(looks at Jessica)</i> <u>Is that your question?</u>
19	Jessica: <i>(shakes head nervously)</i> <u>Just overall, yeah. I mean, <i>(nervous chuckle)</i> I obviously know</u>
20	<u>this time it's a little bit difficult to understand. But just, overall, that—Does that make</u>
21	<u>sense to you as an answer?</u>
22	Karen: <u>Well, I know that she was leaning the other way that she—I could tell that she wanted to</u>
23	<u>say that she learned English more because I translated for her? And I sort of pushed her</u>
24	<u>the other way because I didn't agree with the answer. So there's a little bit of bias there.</u>
25	<u>I'm sorry about that. <i>(chuckle)</i> But, I mean, I definitely...So there's a little bit of personal</u>
26	<u>bias here. It's that I've just always been thrown in the deep end and just survived. But, it's</u>
27	<u>possible that it's just a personality thing that other people learn better when they're given</u>
28	<u>a crutch. I do not.</u>

Excerpt 5.11 Karen explains why she led her mother towards an answer. (Original transcript)

Karen and Ms. K Post-task Interview 20:28 – 22:05
Karen: 就是如果我-- 如果你没有一个小孩儿帮你翻译的话,
Ms. K: 阿。
Karen: 你所说的语言会不会跟你现在的不一样?
Ms. K: 当然不一样。有翻译的话, 我对语言就会好像懂得更多一点儿?
Karen: 或者懂得更少一点儿?
Ms. K: 英文。
Karen: 会懂得更多还是更小? 如果你没有人帮你翻译的话, 你是不是到时候你会学得多一些?
Ms. K: 那有可能。
Karen: 所以这个就是问题是多一些还是少一些?
Ms. K: 我觉得如果没有人帮我翻译, 我可能要更努力到外面去学。
Karen: Is that your question?
Jessica: Just overall, yeah. I mean, I obviously know this time it's a little bit difficult to understand. But just, overall, that—Does that make sense to you as an answer?
Karen: Well, I know that she was leaning the other way that she—I could tell that she wanted to say that she learned English more because I translated for her? And I sort of pushed her the other way because I didn't agree with the answer. So there's a little bit of bias here. I'm sorry about that. <i>(chuckle)</i> But, I mean, I definitely...So there's a little bit of personal bias here. It's that I've just always been thrown in the deep end and just survived. But, it's possible that it's just a personality thing that other people learn better when they're given a crutch. I do not.

Karen negotiates an answer with her mother here, which I explored in my final question to Karen, “Does that makes sense to you as an answer?” Karen admits that she was steering her mother toward another answer—the answer that Karen herself would have given. Though they did not answer my question per se, their interaction did give me a glimpse into how this experience of language brokering might have impacted their relationship and the languages they spoke at home. Prior to this excerpt, Karen and Ms. K had been trying to make meaning of my question for well over a minute. It seemed that Ms. K was not fully comprehending the meaning of my question. Karen then reinterpreted my question for her mother as, “In other words, if you did not have a person help you translate, would you speak English at home, or Chinese. In other words, me helping you translate affected the language we speak at home.” Here, Karen is clearly trying to lead her mother towards an answer, but when Ms. K does not give the expected answer, Karen probes her mother further. On the one hand, Ms. K may not have fully understood the purpose or meaning of this question. On the other hand, I argue that Ms. K’s confusion about the question could have been indicative of her reality that an alternative did not exist for her. For both Ms. K and Karen, there was no choice in this language brokering dynamic between parent and child. More so than positioning herself as a neutral translator, Karen’s language brokering ideology seems to revolve around her own belief that her mother should be self-sufficient in English communication. In my field notes after this interview, I had written:

I originally thought Karen just wanted to let her mom have agency, or that perhaps she had some belief about her own role as a translator, such as the need to maintain a neutral stance, but I was surprised to find out that it was because Karen wanted her mom to improve her English, and believed through her own experience of learning English, that her mom may need to struggle. (Field notes, January 9, 2019)

Throughout their questionnaire activity and our subsequent interview, Karen and Ms. K seemed to have opposite approaches to language brokering. Whereas Karen was quite directive,

Ms. K was more collaborative. My interview and field notes explain this difference in approaches lies in Karen's ideologies about language learning. From the above excerpt, it seems that Ms. K had not given much thought to language brokering, which mirrors Karen's perspective of language brokering as a normal part of their family life. However, by interviewing Karen about her LB experiences earlier, I had brought this normalized experience to the forefront in a way that probably influenced Karen's interaction with her mother during my study. Nevertheless, the moments when Ms. K tried to help Karen find the right words in Mandarin also demonstrated how language brokering is still a collaborative act of negotiating meaning.

From my interview with Karen and my observations from her interaction with her mother, I think for Karen, language brokering has evolved from an act of survival as a circumstantial bilingual to a means of helping her mother become more self-sufficient in English.

In my field notes, I had written:

I also think it's interesting to observe that during the questionnaire, [Karen] tried to avoid influencing her mom's answers, but during the interview, nudged her mom towards a different answer because she herself disagreed with her mom's original response. It seems to suggest that when it comes to LB situations, [Karen] ultimately has to decide whether or not she is merely mediating or communicating on behalf of her mom, and that perhaps her original explanation that it depends on time constraints, isn't exactly the only circumstance under which she will intervene and communicate on behalf of her mom. (Field notes, January 9, 2019)

While language brokering has been defined as mediating communication, Karen's case suggests that language brokers express certain ideologies about their roles and their parents' roles in these interactions. Their ideologies can influence the extent to which they actually mediate communication. Karen's directive approach to language brokering reflects how she views her mother as not only in need of English language support, but also self-sufficiency in English. As a result, Karen seems to see herself as both her mother's English interpreter and instructor, interpreting and mediating when her mother needs help and instructing and guiding

her mother to learn English as well.

5.1.6 Summary

Karen takes a directive approach to language brokering even as she repeatedly reminds her mother that she cannot interfere with her mother's responses to the questionnaire. These instances where Karen refuses to immediately translate for her mother illustrate her ideologies about language brokering as a language learning opportunity for her mother. This ideology may have driven Karen to position her mother as a child in these interactions, in spite of the fact that she knows her mother dislikes this dynamic between them. Meanwhile, even though Karen persists, her mother strives to cooperate with her by drawing on her own linguistic repertoire to help Karen when she seems unable to translate a word, such as "burden." From a translanguaging lens, Ms. K and Karen utilize their entire linguistic repertoire to successfully find an approximate translation of "burden." At the same time, both Karen and Ms. K resemiotize their utterances over and over again in order to make meaning of unfamiliar language.

5.2 Reiko

Like Karen, Reiko also helped her mother with a desire to help her mother become more self-sufficient in English communication. Because Ms. R's English proficiency was higher than that of Ms. K, there were fewer instances where Ms. R needed assistance with reading and deciphering the questionnaire. As a result, most of the LB interaction consisted of Reiko helping her mother spell English words or write out English sentences. Unlike Karen, Reiko was more collaborative in her approach, working together with her mother to make meaning of unfamiliar English words and responding to her mother's questions promptly and directly. This collaborative approach to language brokering continued throughout our post task interview with

Reiko playing a supporting role for her mother, jumping in occasionally when her mother looked to her for interpretation. Reiko's collaborative approach to language brokering seemed to reflect her ideologies about language brokering as a resource for her mother's communicative needs, which was evident in her description of her recent LB support for her mother's English emails to clients.

I'm like, "Can you stop texting me and asking me stuff?" Luckily, they're very simple translations, so I can do it on the spot. But, I like to think that, over time... (pause) I'm also trying to test my mom. So, I'll be like, "Well how would you write it?" So lately she's been actually sending me texts like "I'm planning to send this email. Can you look at it?" And it's already in English. That's happened way more often recently because I've kind of pushed her to be like, "Well what do you think you should write?" And then, she's tried a bit harder. Especially using my past translations as an example. Trying to be more self-sufficient. (Interview with Reiko from second stage)

Initially, this comment from Reiko resembled Karen's LB approach in that both of them sought to push their mothers to be more self-sufficient in English. However, the dynamic that emerged between Reiko and her mother did not reflect Reiko's intention as indicated by her quote. I elaborate on the ideological implications of Reiko's approach along with the most salient linguistic and semiotic features from Reiko and Ms. R's interactions. These features include the use of bivalency and resemiotization.

5.2.1 Background

Reiko was born and raised in the Bay Area in California. In addition to speaking Japanese at home, Reiko also attended Japanese school on Saturdays throughout her formative years, acquiring a high level of Japanese literacy along the way. Reiko's earliest memories of language brokering were in third grade. Because she has an older brother, Reiko did not do much of the language brokering. However, as Reiko and her mother both described it, much of the language brokering gradually fell onto Reiko due to personality differences between her and her brother. Specifically, Reiko is considered by her mother to be more reliable than her brother. As a result,

Reiko has not only continued her language brokering role as an adult, but also expanded her LB duties to more complex situations for her mother as her mother ages. In her professional life, Reiko has encountered two situations where she was asked to use her Japanese skills to translate documents at work. However, as Reiko quickly realized, the genres of these texts were outside the scope of her Japanese knowledge. These two instances led Reiko to reflect on her linguistic identities prior to our conversation about her language brokering experiences, leading her to a dynamic view of her bilingual identities in English and Japanese. Using a professional context as an example, Reiko related this dynamic view of bilingualism to me in our earlier interview.

I don't know if this is the right approach, but if I'm going into a company, and they are like a Japanese company—like, I think the context there, I'd be like, I'm not native. But if I'm going into a company where they're just like, "Oh, I'm just curious, what languages do you speak? Your job will not require you to do anything [with it]," then I might pick the higher level than I actually am because, it doesn't actually like, matter. No one's going to come up to me like...if my Japanese language doesn't matter, no one's going to come up to me like, "Well you said you were native." I'd be like, "Yeah, but my job doesn't require me to be a native speaker, so." (Interview with Reiko from second stage)

Ms. R was born in Japan and has lived the last thirty-eight years of her life in the United States in California. Though she did study some English during her time in college in Japan, Ms. R does not consider herself to be very proficient in English. As a young parent, Ms. R navigated English using Japanese and English dictionaries, helping her children with their homework whenever possible and having simple conversations with the parents of Reiko's classmates. Now in her mid-sixties, Ms. R has recently encountered more complex English situations with visits to the doctor and government administrative offices for her Medicare enrollment. She usually asks Reiko to accompany her to these complicated situations not necessarily to interpret for her, but mainly to support her and ensure she receives the information she needs.

5.2.2 Collaborative language brokering as a resource

The dynamic between Reiko and Ms. R was highly collaborative with Reiko supporting her mother as soon as her mother looked to her for help. During the questionnaire task, Reiko mainly kept her distance, allowing her mother to fill out the questionnaire on her own. The only times Reiko interceded was either when her mother looked to her for assistance or when Reiko anticipated her mother's needs when her mother lingered on a question a bit longer.

Excerpt 5.12 Reiko and Ms. R work through an open-ended question. (English translation)

1 **Reiko and Ms. R Task 09:28 – 11:25 (Underline indicates translated from Japanese,**
2 **dotted underline indicates bivalency)**
3 *(Both Reiko and Ms. R are looking at the questionnaire.)*
4 Ms. R: So, I should be more specific and write “Medicare”?
5 *(brings her pen to the page)*
6 Reiko: Yeah, you could write that. So like, “when I go to Medicare.”
7 Ms. R: Ah *(writes down her answer)* Ask question.
8 Reiko: Not just when you’re asking, right? You need
9 translation to understand the response as well.
10 Ms. R: Ask and okay?
11 Reiko: and listen.
12 Ms. R: Ask...Talk. *(looks over in Reiko’s direction)* Talk?
13 Reiko: Yes *(points to Ms. R)* But not when Ma-mi is talking. You need translation to
14 understand what the speaker is saying, right? *(looks at Ms. R)*
15 Ms. R: Okay, so, yeah, “talk”? *(points at the page*
16 *with her pen)*
17 Reiko: Yeah. *(scrutinizes the page)*
18 Ms. R: That’s the same as “ask,” isn’t it? (chuckle)
19 Reiko: (chuckle) Talk not quite. Just a minute.
20 Ms. R: Conversation?
21 Reiko: Yeah.
22 Ms. R: When I have a conversation. *(looks over in Reiko’s direction as if to confirm)*
23 Reiko: Mmhm/Yes. *(nods yes)*
24 *(Ms. R writes down her answer.)*
25 Reiko: *(watching Ms. R write)* It’s not one word.
26 Ms. R: Yeah, I know.
27 Reiko: Oh, Okay. (chuckle)
28 Ms. R: They just got stuck together. (chuckle)
29 Reiko: (chuckle)
30 Ms. R: With...with... *(stops writing)* With...with...
31 Reiko: Like “office clerk”
32 Ms. R: Yeah, “office clerk”
33 Reiko: *(helping Ms. R spell)* Cl--erks.
34 Ms. R: *(checks her writing and reads aloud to herself)* With office clerks. When I have a
35 conversation with clerks. Have you ever used--
36 Reiko: *(points to the page)* But where? Office clerks. Yes.
37 Ms. R: Government office?
38 *(Ms. R continues to write.)*
39 Reiko: Yeah. At the government office. So, for example, you could put “Social Security
40 Office” or something like that, in parentheses.

Excerpt 5.13 Reiko and Ms. R work through an open-ended question. (Original transcript)**Reiko and Ms. R Task 09:28 – 11:25**

Ms. R: ってことは、具体的に Medicare とか書くわけ？

Reiko: うん。書いても良いんじゃない。例えば Medicare に行く時に。

Ms. R: Ah. Ask question.

Reiko: Ask だけじゃないでしょ？ 聞くのにも Translate 必要でしょ？

Ms. R: Ask and okay?

Reiko: 聞く。

Ms. R: Ask...Talk. Talk?

Reiko: うん。マミが話すんじゃないくて、相手から、相手が話してる時に聞かなきゃいけないのも Translate 要るでしょ？

Ms. R: じゃあ、Talk だな。

Reiko: うん。

Ms. R: だって、Ask でしょ？

Reiko: っていうより、ちょっと待って。

Ms. R: Conversation?

Reiko: うん。

Ms. R: When I have a conversation.

Reiko: 一つの言葉じゃないし。

Ms. R: うん。知ってる。

Reiko: Oh, Okay.

Ms. R: くっついちゃった。

Reiko: (laugh)

Ms. R: With...with... With...with...

Reiko: Office clerk とか。

Ms. R: うん。Office clerk.

Reiko: Cl--erks.

Ms. R: With office clerks. When I have a conversation with clerks. Have you ever used--

Reiko: でも、どこ？ Office clerks. はい。

Ms. R: Government office?

Reiko: うん。Government office で、例えば、カッコで例えば Social Security Office とか

15. **Nowadays**, what types of documents do you ask your child to help you translate? (Please choose all that apply)

<input type="checkbox"/> Bank statements	<input type="checkbox"/> School documents (e.g. report cards, letters)
<input type="checkbox"/> Bills (e.g. phone, utilities)	<input type="checkbox"/> Tax documents
<input type="checkbox"/> Credit card statements	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Workplace documents (e.g. company letters or memos)
<input type="checkbox"/> Immigration forms	<input type="checkbox"/> Other:
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Insurance documents	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Instruction manuals (e.g. electronics, appliances)	_____
<input type="checkbox"/> Job applications	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Medical forms	
<input type="checkbox"/> Rental agreements	

16. **Nowadays**, what were the most frequent situations when you ask your child to translate for you?

When I ~~ask~~ have a conversation with office clerks at government office. (social security office)

Figure 5.1 Ms. R's written response guided by Reiko's suggestions.

In this excerpt, Reiko and her mother were deciding how much specificity is necessary for her mother's responses to an open-ended question. Since there were no instructions about the degree of specificity for written responses, Ms. R and Reiko had to interpret how much detail Ms. R should provide. Here, Reiko suggests to her mother that she should be more specific in her written response and offers very specific suggestions: "When I go to Medicare" (line 6), "office clerk" (line 31), and "Social Security Office" (line 39). For words like "Medicare" (line 6) and "office clerk" (lines 31 and 36), Reiko's pronunciation exhibits a certain degree of bivalency. When Ms. R asks Reiko, "So, I should be more specific and write "Medicare?" in line 4, Reiko seems to mirror her mother's pronunciation of "Medicare" in line 6. However, later when Reiko suggests "office clerk" in line 36, she also uses Japanese pronunciation for these two words. In this instance, Reiko appears to be aligning her pronunciation to that of her mother's as a strategy, possibly to facilitate her mother's comprehension. At the same time, this action also shows Reiko's intention to be cooperative and collaborative as she assists her mother. This expression

of solidarity with her mother through aligning her pronunciation also indicates an alternative ideologization of language brokering that is less deficit oriented. Rather than simply a means of language support, language brokering also functions as a means of connection for Reiko and her mother. This was confirmed later in during our post task interview, when I asked them about how language brokering had changed their relationship:

Excerpt 5.14 Reiko and Ms. R explain how language brokering brings them closer.

Reiko: Yeah, like “how does it affect the relationship with Ma-mi.” (*gestures at Ms. R*)

Ms. R: Because you translated for me?

Reiko: Mmhm

Ms. R: Um...maybe... (*looks at Jessica*) I feel family more close. (*nods*)

(*Jessica nods back*)

(*Ms. R looks at Reiko*)

Reiko: (*nods*) Yeah. It's true.

This desire for more connection was expressed by Reiko in our earlier interview as well:

Like, there are times that I catch myself not being able to say it as well as I want to, so it's definitely been like... Okay, I'm glad that...I see my mom at least once a week. But I find that, one—of course I want to connect with my mom, but two—it's been like, “Okay, this is kind of how I'm going to keep it alive or else...when am I going to use it?” (Interview with Reiko from second stage)

At the same time, as the above quote illustrates, Reiko also views any opportunity to speak with her mother as a resource for heritage language maintenance. Since language brokering offers one avenue for Reiko to communicate with her mother in Japanese, it is likely that language brokering is a resource not only for Ms. R, but for Reiko as well. As a result, Reiko has every incentive to collaborate with her mother as they engage in LB interactions. Perhaps mirroring her mother's pronunciation is one way that Reiko expresses her desire to connect with her mother; however, more importantly, this act of aligning with her mother's pronunciation of English reflects Reiko's ideologies about her LB role as a linguistic resource for her mother, just as her mother is a linguistic resource for her in Japanese.

5.2.3 *Bivalent expressions*

The example of “office clerk” in Excerpt 5.12 is also a bivalent expression—a recurring linguistic feature of language brokering interactions between Reiko and Ms. R. Given that Reiko does not use a Japanese pronunciation for “Social Security Office,” it is also possible that for Reiko and Ms. R, certain English words have taken on meaning for them in Japanese such that they will pronounce the words with a Japanese inflection. When Ms. R reads aloud, “With office clerks. When I have a conversation with clerks” in lines 34 to 35, this instance is clearly English because of the context. Whereas previously, Reiko was still conversing with her mother in Japanese as they were discussing whether Ms. R should write “office clerks” in her response, here Ms. R is clearly reading aloud English to herself. In the other instances of “office clerks,” I argue that to classify these words as English or Japanese would be difficult without considering the views of the speakers. For example, someone not familiar with Japanese accents or pronunciation may not immediately identify “office clerks” in this exchange between Reiko and Ms. R. Those who are able to understand their pronunciation of “office clerks” might interpret this as Japanese-accented English codemixed with Japanese. However, for Reiko and Ms. R, their usage of “office clerks” might be more ambiguous. While an English listener might identify “office clerks” as English words in this instance, it is unclear whether Reiko and Ms. R would agree with this view. From a translanguaging perspective, the speaker’s internal view of their language use would need to be explored before classifying “office clerks” as Japanese or English. Because I did not ask Reiko and Ms. R about this instance, I argue that as an outside observer, I can only suggest that these words hold a bivalent position.

These instances of bivalency occurred in other parts of Reiko and Ms. R's interactions. When Reiko was explaining one of the seven-point statements to her mother, she used a word that initially seemed unrecognizable to an outsider in both English and Japanese.

Excerpt 5.15 Reiko uses a bivalent word transliterated as “Ma-mi” in Japanese. (English translation)

- | | |
|----|--|
| 1 | Reiko and Ms. R Task 12:59 – 13:44 (Underline indicates translated from Japanese, dotted underline indicates bivalency) |
| 2 | |
| 3 | <i>(Ms. R reads aloud the question to herself. Reiko is looking at the questionnaire.)</i> |
| 4 | Ms. R: Please <i>(inaudible)</i> if you agree with each statement. |
| 5 | <i>(points at each word)</i> I think my child learned English better because she's...strongly |
| 6 | agree. I think my child learned English better. Agree. |
| 7 | Reiko: <u>It means my English got better because of translation.</u> |
| 8 | Ms. R: <u>Ah, I see.</u> |
| 9 | Reiko: <u>So, it means, “I was able to learn English better because I was translating for Ma-</u> |
| 10 | <u>mi.”</u> |
| 11 | Ms. R: <i>(points at each word)</i> My child learned English better. |
| 12 | Reiko: Mmhm |
| 13 | Ms. R: My child learned English-- |
| 14 | Reiko: <u>Yes. (looks at Ms. R and points to herself) I-- so, for example, “My English</u> |
| 15 | <u>learning has improved because I translate for Ma-mi”.</u> <i>(points at Ms. R then at</i> |
| 16 | <i>herself)</i> |
| 17 | Ms. R: <u>I see.</u> Okay. Strongly agree. |
| 18 | Reiko: <i>(chuckles)</i> Yeah, yeah, yeah. |

Excerpt 5.16 Reiko uses a bivalent word transliterated as “Ma-mi” in Japanese. (Original transcript)

- | | |
|---|--|
| Reiko and Ms. R Task 12:59 – 13:44 | |
| Ms. R: | Please (inaudible) if you agree with each statement. I think my child learned English better because she's...strongly agree. I think my child learned English better. Agree. |
| Reiko: | 私が Translate したから英語が良くなったってこと。 |
| Ms. R: | そういう意味か。 |
| Reiko: | 英語を上手く習えたってこと。マミのために Translate してたから。 |
| Ms. R: | My child learned English better. |
| Reiko: | Mmhm |
| Ms. R: | My child learned English-- |
| Reiko: | 私が。例えばマミのために私が Translate してるから、英語の習いが良くなる。 |
| Ms. R: | そういうことね。Okay. Strongly agree. |
| Reiko: | Yeah, yeah, yeah. |

In my translated version of the video transcript, the translator had transliterated “Ma-mi” as if it were a Japanese proper noun. Confused by what “Ma-mi” meant, I re-watched this video

clip to see if I could decipher its meaning. I quickly realized that Reiko was saying “mommy” with a Japanese inflection. Here, “Ma-mi” was not obviously clear to the Japanese translator of my transcript because it is not a recognizable Japanese word. Reiko’s pronunciation also did not make this word an obvious variant of the English word, “mommy.” The ambiguity of this word for both English and Japanese listeners highlights its bivalent quality. On the one hand, “Ma-mi” could be considered Japanese because it is used by Reiko to refer to her mother in Japanese. On the other hand, “Ma-mi” could be considered English because this word is nonexistent in Japanese and could be approximated to the English word, “mommy.” Again, without considering the view of the speaker, Reiko, I cannot classify this word as either Japanese or English. It is a word whose meaning exists only through Reiko and Ms. R. I can only interpret the meaning of this word given the context and artifacts I had—the video clip and the questionnaire.

5.2.4 *Negotiating meaning through translanguaging*

Like Karen and Ms. K, Reiko and Ms. R also encountered the challenge of translating the word, “burden.”

***Excerpt 5.17* Reiko and Ms. R try to translate “burden” into Japanese. (English translation)**

1	Reiko and Ms. R Task 14:59 – 15:29 (Underline indicates translated from Japanese, dotted underline indicates bivalency)
2	
3	<i>(Ms. R is reading and writing down her answer. Reiko is watching her.)</i>
4	Ms. R: I think my child knows our heritage culture better because translating for my
5	family— <u>That’s probably true.</u> I feel that I’m a burden. <i>(points to the word)</i> What’s
6	burden?
7	Reiko: Burden is-- <u>hmm, how can I explain it?</u>
8	Ms. R: <i>(points at the statement and re-reads it to herself very quietly)</i> I am burden.
9	Reiko: <u>What’s “burden” in Japanese?</u> <i>(looks down at the page)</i>
10	Ms. R: <u>Can I look it up?</u>
11	Reiko: <u>No, you don’t need to. I’ll--</u>
12	Ms. R: <u>Something you have to do?</u>
13	Reiko: <u>Yeah, for my study. “Burden” is when like, for example, (chuckle) (looks over at</u>
14	<u>Ms. R) you think I’m kind of annoying. Not just annoying, but when I’m being</u>
15	<u>bothersome?</u>
16	Ms. R: <u>So, when I’m making you do something?</u>
17	Reiko: <u>Yeah.</u>

Excerpt 5.18 Reiko and Ms. R try to translate “burden” into Japanese. (Original transcript)

Reiko and Ms. R Task 14:59 – 15:29

Ms. R: I think my child knows our heritage culture better because translating for my family-- そりゃそうかも。I feel that I'm a burden. What's burden?

Reiko: Burden は、何て言うんだろう。

Ms. R: (inaudible) I am burden.

Reiko: Burden って何だろう？日本語で。

Ms. R: 調べても良いかな？

Reiko: ううん。調べなくて、私が。

Ms. R: しなきゃいけない？

Reiko: うん。Study がそういうものだから。Burden っていうの、例えば私がちょっと Annoying だと思ってるってこと。Annoying だけじゃないけど、大変な思いをしてるってこと？

Ms. R: させてるってこと？

Reiko: うん。

Similar to Karen, Reiko was unable to translate “burden” directly into her heritage language. As Reiko tried to think of the Japanese word for “burden,” Ms. R tried to help her by describing a possible definition—“Something you have to do” (line 12). Reiko initially agreed, saying “Yeah, for my study,” as in schoolwork (line 13). However, Reiko then reframed the definition to focus on herself and her mother’s interactions, relying on the English word, “annoying” (line 14) and the Japanese word for “bothersome” (line 15) to convey the meaning and feeling of “burden.” Ms. R seemed to understand the gist of Reiko’s definition, rephrasing what she said—“So, when I’m making you do something?” in line 16. While the two of them never fully translated the word, “burden,” they negotiate the meaning of the English word in Japanese together by drawing on their linguistic repertoires. Reiko’s strategies included translanguaging by codemixing the word, “annoying,” and resemiotizing the entire sentence as she offered hypothetical examples of herself as a “burden” that is “annoying” and “bothersome.” Likewise, Ms. R’s main strategy was to resemiotize Reiko’s explanation to convey a sense of imposing on someone, making Reiko “do something” (line 16). On the one hand, it can be interpreted from a deficit view that because they never arrive at an accurate translation of

“burden,” Reiko’s language brokering was unsuccessful. However, from a translanguaging perspective, Reiko and Ms. R successfully negotiate the approximate meaning of “burden” together to the extent that Ms. R was able to answer the question on her own and accomplish the questionnaire task.

Other instances of translanguaging occurred during our post task interview when Reiko would ask her mother to clarify or elaborate when it seemed as if her mother had misunderstood the question. An example of this situation can be seen in Excerpt 5.19.

Excerpt 5.19 Reiko and Ms. R use gestures to communicate. (English translation)

1	Reiko and Ms. R Post Task Interview 15:58 – 17:24 (Underline indicates translated from Japanese, dotted underline indicates bivalency)
2	
3	<i>(Jessica starts by looking down at her interview guide, then looks at Ms. R.)</i>
4	Jessica: When you are looking—I guess I was wondering when you have documents that
5	you need help with, what is the biggest challenge of these documents that you
6	need help with in English?
7	<i>(Reiko looks at Ms. R.)</i>
8	Ms. R: <i>(looks down at the table pensively)</i> Uh...big challenge? It’s a a... <i>(looks up at</i>
9	<i>Jessica)</i> yeah, government document? It’s a most...uh, yeah challenge.
10	<i>(Ms. R looks over at Reiko.)</i>
11	Reiko: But you’re asking about like, what’s challenging about the document, right?
12	Jessica: Yeah
13	Ms. R: Oh! What’s a part of the document?
14	Reiko: <u>The document’s content.</u> <i>(gestures document and writing)</i> <u>Where’s the most</u>
15	<u>difficult to understand.</u>
16	Ms. R: Oh... Hm...
17	Reiko: <u>and you need the most help? Like a specific word, or</u>
18	<u>something—</u>
19	Ms. R: Maybe uh, the word? <i>(looks over at Jessica)</i>
20	So, so many difficult word, <i>(gestures document on the table)</i> it’s in a sentence.
21	<i>(Reiko nods)</i>
22	So, that’s why. So, if I understand the word? So maybe I can read, and I can
23	understand. <i>(nods)</i>
24	<i>(Jessica nods)</i>
25	Reiko: I think also like <i>(looks over at Ms. R; Ms. R looks over at Reiko)</i> government
26	documents, like the way <i>(gestures writing)</i> it’s written could be kind of—it’s not
27	easy
28	Ms. R: Hm...
29	Reiko: to understand them?
30	Ms. R: Not really. It’s more simple than the Japanese. <i>(looks over at Reiko)</i>
31	Reiko: Oh, that’s true! <i>(chuckles)</i>
32	Ms. R: <i>(looks over at Jessica)</i> Japanese document is more complicated. <i>(nods)</i>
33	<i>(Jessica nods)</i>

Excerpt 5.20 Reiko and Ms. R use gestures to communicate. (Original transcript)

Reiko and Ms. R Post Task Interview 15:58 – 17:24

Jessica: When you are looking—I guess I was wondering when you have documents that you need help with, what is the biggest challenge of these documents that you need help with in English?

Ms. R: Uh...big challenge? It's a...yeah, government document? It's a most...uh, yeah challenge.

Reiko: But you're asking about like, what's challenging about the document, right?

Jessica: Yeah

Ms. R: Oh! What's a part of the document?

Reiko: Document のその内容。どこが一番分かりにくいっていうか、

Ms. R: Oh... Hm...

Reiko: ヘルプが要る? 例

えば単語なのかとか、なんか--

Ms. R: Maybe uh, the word? So, so many difficult word. It's in the sentence. So, that's why. So, if I understand the word? So maybe I can read, and I can understand.

Reiko: I think also like government documents, like the way it's written could be kind of—it's not easy

Ms. R: Hm...

Reiko: to understand them?

Ms. R: Not really. It's more simple than the Japanese.

Reiko: Oh, that's true!

Ms. R: Japanese document is more complicated.

Here, Reiko paraphrased my question to clarify the question for her mother (line 11). Reiko also seemed to engage in translanguaging by using “document” as a bivalent word for her mother (line 14). At the same time, Reiko deployed additional semiotic resources, using gestures to show her mother that my question was asking her to specify the most difficult aspect of reading through an English document (line 14). Reiko then stepped in to elaborate on her mother's answer in lines 25 to 29, drawing on her semiotic resources again by gesturing writing (line 26) and making eye contact with her mother to make sure she understood what she was saying in English. These instances of semiotic expressions from Reiko echo Pennycook's (2017) and Kusters et al.'s (2017) finding that translanguaging can also be viewed from a multimodal or semiotic lens.

5.2.5 Negotiating through resemiotization

In addition to translanguaging, Reiko also used resemiotization when her mother addressed her directly in Japanese, asking her to clarify or explain the question.

Excerpt 5.21 Reiko and Ms. R draw on linguistic and semiotic resources as part of their resemiotization process. (English translation)

1	Reiko and Ms. R Post Task Interview 20:37 – 21:34 (Underline indicates translated from Japanese, dotted underline indicates bivalency)
2	
3	<i>(Jessica is looking at Ms. R)</i>
4	Jessica: Were you ever concerned if they were accurately translating and interpreting for
5	you? When they were children, I guess. I mean right now, it's different. When
6	they were younger, were you ever worried about <i>(gestures back and forth)</i> if it's
7	correct or not correct when they were translating or interpreting?
8	Ms. R: <i>(looks over at Reiko and points at herself.)</i> Like “did I worry”?
9	Reiko: Yeah, whether we <i>(points at herself)</i> translated correctly. Especially because
10	we're kids. Like <i>(points at Ms. R)</i> “did Ma-mi ever worry?”, like that.
11	Ms. R: <i>(still looking at Reiko)</i> Yeah. Then I checked <i>(points at Reiko)</i> their translate
12	form. <i>(gestures document)</i>
13	Reiko: What's that?
14	Ms. R: I'll check it after you translate. <i>(gestures at herself)</i>
15	Reiko: Oh, okay. (chuckle)
16	Ms. R: <i>(looks down at the table and laughs at herself)</i>
17	Reiko: So, if it's a document? <i>(gestures at the table)</i>
18	Ms. R: Yes, a document. <i>(looks back up at Reiko)</i>
19	Reiko: So like, <i>(looks at Jessica)</i> she'll proofread, I guess. <i>(points</i>
20	<i>at Ms. R)</i> In a way. She'll like make sure— <i>(gestures at the table)</i> she'll like
21	reread what we wrote to make sure—cause she understands enough <i>(gestures by</i>
22	<i>flipping one hand back and forth)</i> that if we translated it for her, like if it's correct
23	or not.
24	Ms. R: <i>(looking at Reiko)</i> Yeah. <i>(nods)</i> Right, right.

Excerpt 5.22 Reiko and Ms. R draw on linguistic and semiotic resources as part of their resemiotization process. (Original transcript)

Reiko and Ms. R Post Task Interview 20:37 – 21:34	
Jessica: Were you ever concerned if they were accurately translating and interpreting for you?	
When they were children, I guess. I mean right now, it's different. When they were	
younger, were you ever worried about if it's correct or not correct when they were	
translating or interpreting?	
Ms. R:	私が心配したかっていうこと?
Reiko:	そう。私達がちゃんと正しく translate してる。特に子供だったから。それでママ
	が心配したか? って。それを。
Ms. R:	Yeah. Then I checked their translate form.
Reiko:	何それ?
Ms. R:	Translate した後のをまた私がチェックする。
Reiko:	Oh, okay.
Ms. R:	(laughs)
Reiko:	So, if it's a document?
Ms. R:	Yes, a document.
Reiko:	So like, she'll proofread, I guess. In a way. She'll like make sure—she'll like reread what
	we wrote to make sure—cause she understands enough that if we translated it for her, like
	if it's correct or not.
Ms. R:	Yeah. Right, right.

To confirm whether she had understood my question correctly, Ms. R immediately looked over to Reiko to deictically resemiotize my question, pointing at herself for emphasis (line 8). Reiko then resemiotized my question for her mother in Japanese, incorporating the bivalent words, “Ma-mi” and “translate” to illustrate the question (lines 9 – 10). Reiko also deictically resemiotizes my question by referring to her mother in the third person to clarify whom the question is directed towards. Here, both Reiko and Ms. R continue to collaborate and answer my question together through resemiotization, such that in lines 19 to 23, Reiko completely transforms her mother’s response with her linguistic and semiotic resources. In these lines, Reiko resemiotizes Ms. R’s response in line 14 to a more elaborated answer, gesturing and explaining how and why her mother “checked their translate form.” The way Reiko continuously looks at her mother while speaking on her behalf suggests that Reiko is checking whether the way she is resemiotizing her mother’s utterance is in fact the way her mother wishes to express herself.

The following excerpt shows another example of when Reiko interceded and elaborated on her mother’s answer using resemiotization.

Excerpt 5.23 Reiko elaborates on Ms. R's answer and adds her own point of view about how language brokering has affected their relationship. (English translation)

1	Reiko and Ms. R Post Task Interview 24:52 – 26:05 (Underline indicates translated
2	from Japanese, dotted underline indicates bivalency)
3	<i>(Jessica starts by looking at the interview guide and looks at Ms. R)</i>
4	Jessica: How do you think asking your children to help you translate and interpret—how
5	do you think that has affected your relationship with them?
6	Ms. R: <i>(looks over at Reiko)</i> Hm? Relationship <u>what?</u>
7	Reiko: <i>(looks back at Ms. R)</i> <u>Like, “how does it affect our relationship?” Ours. Or like,</u>
8	<u>with me or my brother</u>
9	Ms. R: Hm, relationship
10	Reiko: Yeah, like “how does it affect the relationship with <u>Ma-mi.</u> ” <i>(gestures at Ms. R)</i>]
11	Ms. R: <u>Because you translated for me?</u>
12	Reiko: Mmhm
13	Ms. R: Um...maybe... <i>(looks at Jessica)</i> I feel family more close. <i>(nods)</i>
14	<i>(Jessica nods back)</i>
15	<i>(Ms. R looks at Reiko)</i>
16	Reiko: <i>(nods)</i> Yeah. It's true.
17	Ms. R: Yeah. <i>(nods)</i>
18	<i>(Ms. R looks at Reiko, Reiko looks at Jessica)</i>
19	Reiko: And I also know more about what's going on because she needs us to be there. So,
20	I'm like, “Okay,” like she is going to the doctor. Whereas like, if she was much
21	more like, I guess, independent in the sense of like speaking and her language,
22	English, then I don't think she would tell us, like every time she's like, needs to
23	go to the hospital, or like needs to deal with like an insurance document. So, it
24	kind of keeps us in the loop. <i>(looks at Ms. R)</i> Yeah.
25	<i>(Ms. R nods and looks back at Jessica)</i>
26	Jessica: <i>(nods)</i> Yeah, I guess, that definitely makes a relationship a little different, I think
27	Reiko: Yeah <i>(nods)</i>
28	<i>(Ms. R nods)</i>
29	Jessica: Than if she didn't need that.
30	Reiko: Yeah <i>(nods)</i>
31	Ms. R: Right. <i>(nods)</i>

Excerpt 5.24 Reiko elaborates on Ms. R's answer and adds her own point of view about how language brokering has affected their relationship. (Original transcript)

<p>Reiko and Ms. R Post Task Interview 24:52 – 26:05</p> <p>Jessica: How do you think asking your children to help you translate and interpret? How do you think that has affected your relationship with them?</p> <p>Ms. R: ん？ Relationship が？</p> <p>Reiko: どういう風に関係に影響してるか？って。私達の。私達のっていうか、私というかケイの。</p> <p>Ms. R: Hm, relationship</p> <p>Reiko: うん。マミとの関係にどういう風に影響してるか？って。</p> <p>Ms. R: Translateしてもらったら？</p> <p>Reiko: うん。</p> <p>Ms. R: Um...maybe... I feel family more close.</p> <p>Reiko: Yeah. It's true.</p> <p>Ms. R: Yeah</p> <p>Reiko: And I also know more about what's going on because she needs us to be there. So, I'm like, "Okay," like she is going to the doctor. Whereas like, if she was much more like, I guess, independent in the sense of like speaking and her language, English, then I don't think she would tell us, like every time she's like, needs to go to the hospital, or like needs to deal with like an insurance document. So, it kind of keeps us in the loop. Yeah.</p> <p>Jessica: eah, I guess, that definitely makes a relationship a little different, I think.</p> <p>Reiko: Yeah</p> <p>Jessica: Than if she didn't need that.</p> <p>Reiko: Yeah</p> <p>Ms. R: Right.</p>
--

Similar to Excerpt 5.21, Ms. R looked over to Reiko for clarification after I asked my question. Reiko employed the same strategy of paraphrasing and translating—resemiotizing my question into a form that helped her mother understand my question better (line 10). After Ms. R answered the question—“I feel family more close” (line 13)—Reiko added her own perspective as well, maintaining eye contact with me until the end when she looked back at her mother (lines 19 – 24). At this point, Reiko seemed to be confirming with her mother what she had just said, saying “Yeah” after it seemed clear that her mother did in fact, agree with her (line 24). Here, Reiko's response can be viewed as a form of resemiotization where she takes her mother's response and transforms it into her own. In other words, though Reiko herself did not describe

her relationship with her mother as “more close,” her elaborate response helps illustrate her mother’s answer in line 13.

5.2.6 Summary

Reiko’s approach to language brokering is collaborative as she seems to view herself as an LB resource for her mother. At the same time, Reiko’s desire to maintain her heritage language seems to also be driving her collaborative behavior—after all, language brokering is, in fact, an opportunity for her to speak Japanese. Both Reiko and Ms. R also see language brokering as an opportunity for connection and basis for their feelings of closeness as a family. This is evident in the way Reiko seems to align to her mother’s pronunciation of English, often creating bivalent words or expressions that are not easily distinguishable to an outsider like myself. The ways in which Reiko and Ms. R utilize translanguaging and resemiotization to make meaning out of unfamiliar words also highlight their collaborative language brokering.

5.3 David

While David employed a collaborative approach in a similar manner as Reiko, he expressed a slightly different ideology towards language brokering. Like Reiko, he seemed to view language brokering as a resource; however, David also seemed to focus more on accuracy. Throughout the questionnaire task and interview, David interpreted and translated for his mother even when she seemed to understand the English in front of her. Even when his mother seemed to exhibit evidence of understanding English, i.e. receptive bilingualism, David would automatically interpret for her. It seemed that David’s preconceived notions about translators and interpreters—that they must be accurate—drove David to interpret and translate for his mother because he wanted to ensure she received accurate information. In instances where few words

were spoken between David and his mother, this mutual understanding seemed to be facilitated by non-linguistic, semiotic cues.

5.3.1 Background

David was born and raised in California but had spent his early years in a part of the state with a large Korean community. His earliest memories of language brokering were in middle school, when he had moved to another part of California where Korean-speaking professional services were unavailable. Because his father had pursued a college degree in the United States, David grew up with at least one parent who spoke English. However, because his father often worked long hours, David and his sister shouldered the responsibility of language brokering for his mother. Although David was initially uncertain about claiming himself as a bilingual speaker of English and Korean, our interview revealed that much of his uncertainty stemmed from his lower literacy in Korean. Furthermore, his post-graduate training in the healthcare industry had made him wary of interpreting in medical contexts, which he admitted, may have colored his perception of his Korean proficiency.

David's mother, Ms. D, was born in South Korea, but had lived in the United States for over thirty years. She had graduated college in South Korea and spent years learning English in both high school and college. This prior classroom experience may have contributed to her higher level of proficiency reading and writing English; however, Ms. D reported her listening and speaking abilities in English to be much lower. With her husband's ability to handle English communication for her, Ms. D did not encounter many situations where she needed translation or interpretation services. However, now in her fifties, Ms. D is encountering medical situations a bit more frequently where she needs some language services.

5.3.2 Collaborative language brokering for accuracy

Similar to Reiko, the dynamic between David and Ms. D was also highly collaborative. However, unlike Reiko, David was highly involved from the very beginning of the task, explaining and translating for his mother without being prompted. Even as Ms. D was filling out the form without needing his translation help, David would intercede to ensure that she was completing the task correctly. This was evident in an instance when David suggested that his mother be more specific about her country of birth.

Excerpt 5.25 David advises Ms. D to specify “South” Korea on the questionnaire “just in case.” (English translation)

1	David and Ms. D Task 01:30 – 01:47 (Underline indicates translated from Korean)
2	<i>(Ms. D is reading the question aloud as David looks at the questionnaire with her.)</i>
3	Ms. D: What is your country of birth. Your country—it’s Korea.
4	David: <i>(interrupts Ms. D before she starts to write)</i> <u>Country</u>
5	Ms. D: <u>What?</u>
6	David: <u>Country</u>
7	Ms. D: <i>(writes her answer)</i> Korea, <u>wrote too</u>
8	David: <i>(points at the page)</i> South, south, south.
9	Ms. D: South?
10	David: (chuckle) Just in case.
11	Ms. D: <i>(writes her answer)</i> South Korea.

Excerpt 5.26 David advises Ms. D to specify “South” Korea on the questionnaire “just in case.” (Original transcript)

<p>David and Ms. D Task 01:30 – 01:47 Ms. D: What is your country of birth. Your country—it’s Korea. David: 나라. Ms. D: 응? David: 나라, 응. Ms. D: Korea, 너무 띄어 썼다. David: South, south, south. Ms. D: South? David: Just in case. Ms. D: South Korea.</p>
--

2. Gender (please circle): Male Female

3. What is your highest education level? (please check one box)

Some primary or elementary school

Some secondary or high school

High School graduate

Some college

College graduate

Post-graduate degree

4. What is your country of birth? South Korea

5. How many years have you lived in the United States? 31 years

6. What are the languages that you speak?

Korean, English

7. What are the languages that you read and write?

Korean, English

Figure 5.2 Ms. D's written response after David's suggestion to add "South."

In this example, Ms. D clearly understood the question, having read and answered it aloud (line 3). However, David interrupted his mother as she was about to write her answer and translated "country" for her (line 4). Ms. D then confirmed she understood him and proceeded to write down her answer as she had intended. However, as soon as she finished writing, David advised her to specify "South Korea" in her response, "just in case" (line 9). Here, David expresses his ideologies about the importance of accuracy in translation, which was evident from our earlier interview when he described the pitfalls of family interpreters in medical settings.

I mean, I guess in a way, I could still be considered bilingual. I think it's the healthcare training that really hinders me from saying that. Cause it was kind of drilled into my head, you know? And we had case studies of like, how terribly things can go wrong by innocent, like, a sibling or a son or a daughter, [with] best intentions for their parents, but they just translate wrong and something catastrophically bad happens because they make a decision based on the incorrect translation. So, yeah, I just, yeah. That kind of worried me. (Interview with David from second stage)

This concern about accurate translation seemed to underpin David's active involvement during the questionnaire task. Yet, at the same time, David strove to maintain his distance to

allow his mother to answer the questions on her own. This strive for balance was apparent even when David was suggesting an alternative answer for his mother.

Excerpt 5.27 David and Ms. D negotiate her self-ratings for her English language proficiency. (English translation)

- 1 **David and Ms. D Task 03:03 – 03:57 (Underline indicates translated from Korean)**
 2 *(Both David and Ms. D are looking at the questionnaire.)*
 3 Ms. D: *(reads question aloud quietly to herself)* For speaking *(chuckles)*
 4 David: *(points to the page)* One is very poor and seven is very good.
 5 Ms. D: *(looks at David)* Let's just do three.
 6 David: Four? Okay.
 7 *(Ms. D starts to write)*
 8 David: Speaking
 9 Ms. D: Speaking
 10 David: *(points to the page)* This is for speaking
 11 Ms. D: Mmhm, speaking level.
 12 David: Four?
 13 Ms. D: Three?
 14 David: Three. *(chuckles)* Okay.
 15 Ms. D: Okay? *(writes her answer)* How about listening?
 16 David: Listening, understanding, when people talk to you
 17 Ms. D: Maybe four
 18 David: *(points to the page)* That's higher than this. Definitely.
 19 Ms. D: *(looks over at David)* Right, reading is good.
 20 David: Reading
 21 Ms. D: I can read. Should I put six?
 22 David: Yes, six.
 23 *(Ms. D writes down her answer.)*
 24 Writing
 25 Ms. D: I can write well. Six?
 26 David: As good as you read?
 27 *(Ms. D pauses)*
 28 Ms. D: Yes. *(looks over at David)*
 29 David: Really?
 30 Ms. D: Why? *(chuckles)*
 31 David: *(shrugs)* No, as you wish.
 32 Ms. D: Writing...you might not know the meaning, but you read as it sounds. You read
 33 and write.
 34 David: *(laughs)* Okay, as you please, mom.

Excerpt 5.28 David and Ms. D negotiate her self-ratings for her English language proficiency. (Original transcript)

David and Ms. D Task 03:03 – 03:57

Ms. D: 스피킹은—(laughs)

David: 1 번이 제일 못하는 거고 7 번은 아주 잘하는 거.

Ms. D: 그냥 3 번까진 하죠.

David: 4 번? Okay. 말하는 거.

Ms. D: 말하는 거.

David: 이거는 말하는 거.

Ms. D: 응, 말하는 거야.

David: 4 번?

Ms. D: 3 번?

David: 3 번. (laughs) Okay.

Ms. D: Okay? Listening 은?

David: 듣는 거, 이해하는 거, 사람이 말할 때.

Ms. D: 한 4 번 해.

David: 그거는 더, 이거보다 더 높지 확실히.

Ms. D: Right, reading 엄청 잘

David: 읽는 거는

Ms. D: 읽을 수 있는데 그냥 6 번 할까?

David: 예, 6 번. 쓰는 거.

Ms. D: 쓰는 것도 잘 쓰잖아. 6?

David: 근데 읽는 거랑 똑같이 잘해?

Ms. D: 그렇지.

David: 정말?

Ms. D: 왜? (laughs)

David: 아니 엄마가, 엄마 맘대로-

Ms. D:엄만 Writing 뜻은 몰라도 이렇게 소리 나는 데론 다 읽잖아. 읽고 쓰고 하잖아.

David: Okay, 엄마, 엄마가 생각하는 대로 해.

In this excerpt, we can see that David anticipated his mother's translation needs by explaining the seven-point scale to her in line 4, even though she never asked him for a translation. Though the question was asking Ms. D about her self-perceived English proficiency, she still conferred with David about her answer, looking over at him as if to confirm her answer with him (line 5). Initially, David seemed to disagree, suggesting she rate herself at a higher number and reminding her that this is for her English-speaking proficiency (lines 6). When Ms. D politely pushed back, David accepted her decision to keep her original answer (lines 13 – 14). When Ms. D consulted David about rating her English writing proficiency in line 25, David

indirectly disagreed with her answer, asking her if she considered her writing to be as good as her reading proficiency (line 26). Though David clearly disagreed with her response, he nevertheless accepted her answer, saying, “As you please” (lines 31 and 34).

In this excerpt, David and Ms. D sustain a collaborative approach to the questionnaire task. Even though David appears to be very involved in this task as he anticipates his mother’s need for translation and provides his own opinion, he nevertheless defers to his mother’s answers. This action is consistent with an ideology emphasizing accuracy in language brokering, which David had expressed concern about in our earlier interview. David seems to want to ensure that his mother understood the questions. This concern for accuracy is projected onto Ms. D such that even for subjective questions, David wants to ensure his mother answers as accurately as possible.

David’s collaborative approach to language brokering was also seen in his pattern of LB interaction. During our interview, the primary pattern of interaction occurred in the following manner:

- I asked Ms. D a question in English.
- David interpreted my question in Korean for Ms. D.
- Ms. D discussed her response with David in Korean.
- David interpreted Ms. D’s response in English for me.

This pattern was fairly consistent throughout our interview, though it was unclear when Ms. D actually needed David to interpret for her. Most of the time, David seemed to anticipate his mother’s need for translation in a way that was not discernible to me. Other times, even if it seemed like Ms. D understood my question, David would automatically step in to interpret for her as if to ensure she understood the question.

Excerpt 5.29 Ms. D describes the resources she used to communicate during her children's doctor's visits. (English translation)

1	David and Ms. D Post Task Interview 06:28 – 07:43 (Underline indicates translated
2	from Korean)
3	Jessica: So then, what did you do in those situations like at Kaiser?
4	David: Um, she used us—oh before? <i>(looks at Ms. D)</i> Before I guess it was, she had a
5	Korean doctor... <i>(gestures before and after)</i> <u>But after we stopped seeing the</u>
6	<u>Korean</u> doctor, <u>did we help or were there some gaps between?</u>
7	Ms. D: <i>(looking at David)</i> <u>I would search dictionary and speak for myself and you guys</u>
8	<u>would</u> describe <u>your symptoms to the doctor.</u>
9	David: <i>(looking at Jessica)</i> She just used a dictionary like, for herself. Before we started
10	helping,
11	<i>(Ms. D nods along)</i>
12	David: And for us, she just let us describe our own symptoms.
13	<i>(Ms. D and Jessica nods)</i>
14	Jessica: <i>(looking at Ms. D)</i> So for yourself <i>(points at Ms. D)</i> you had to like, translate it
15	yourself?
16	Ms. D: <i>(gestures flipping through a dictionary and nods)</i> Yeah <i>(unintelligible)</i>
17	David: She looked it up in
18	advance, like how she was going to describe her symptoms
19	Jessica: Okay <i>(nods)</i>
20	David: Before she went to the hospital.
21	Jessica: <i>(shakes head, looking at Ms. D)</i> And nobody went with you to help?
22	Ms. D: <i>(shaking head, looking at Jessica)</i> No <i>(looks at David)</i>
23	David: <i>(looks at Ms. D)</i> <u>Did anyone go with you? Did you go alone?</u>
24	Ms. D: <u>Yes, alone.</u>
25	David: <i>(looks at Jessica)</i> Yeah, she went by herself.
26	<i>(David looks at Ms. D as she speaks)</i>
27	Ms. D: <i>(looking at Jessica)</i> <u>I always went by myself.</u>
28	David: <i>(looks at Jessica)</i> Always <i>(chuckles)</i>
29	Jessica: Oh, wow! <i>(nods)</i>
30	<i>(Ms. D and David laugh)</i>
31	Jessica: <i>(looking at Ms. D)</i> How did you feel about that?
32	Ms. D: <i>(shaking head)</i> <u>Well... it wasn't too bad.</u> <i>(looks at David)</i>
33	<i>(Ms. D nods along as David interprets.)</i>
34	David: <i>(shaking head)</i> She didn't really feel <i>(looks at Jessica)</i> anyway or the other about
35	it.
36	Ms. D: <u>I suppose I was brave.</u> <i>(chuckles)</i>
37	David: Back then I was brave. <i>(chuckles)</i>

Excerpt 5.30 Ms. D describes the resources she used to communicate during her children's doctor's visits. (Original transcript)

David and Ms. D Post Task Interview 06:28 – 07:43

Jessica: So then, what did you do in those situations like at Kaiser?

David: Umm, she used us—oh before? Before I guess it was, she had Korean doctor... 근데 한국 doctor 끝난 다음에 우리가 바로 도와줬어 아니면 좀 무슨 순간 있었어?

Ms. D: 엄마가 이렇게 저기 사전같은거 찾아서 엄마가 말하고, 니네가 이제 아픈거는 니네가 describe 는 니네가 했지.

David: She just used a dictionary like, for herself. Before we started helping. And for us she just let us describe our own symptoms.

Jessica: So for yourself you had to like, translate it yourself?

Ms. D: Yeah

David: She looked it up in advance, like how she was going to describe her symptoms

Jessica: Okay

David: Before she went to the hospital.

Jessica: And nobody went with you to help?

Ms. D: No

David: 같이 간 사람 없어? 혼자갔어?

Ms. D: 응 혼자갔어.

David: Yeah, she went by herself.

Ms. D: 항상 혼자갔어.

David: Always

Jessica: Oh, wow! How did you feel about that?

Ms. D: 음 뭐... 그렇게 저기 하진 않았는데.

David: She didn't really feel anyway or the other about it.

Ms. D: 그때는 용감했었나봐.

David: Back then I was brave.

In this excerpt, I learned about Ms. D's system of communicating with doctors during her own doctor appointments. Rather than rely on her children, she relied on a Korean-English dictionary, preparing for her doctor appointment by practicing what she needed to say in English. Similar to what David had told me in our earlier interview, Ms. D would allow her children to describe their own symptoms during their visits to the doctor. To clarify, I then asked Ms. D if she would have to translate for herself (lines 14 – 15), to which she responded by gesturing the motion of flipping through a pocket dictionary and saying, "Yeah" (line 16). However, before she was able to finish what she was saying in Korean, David chimed in automatically to reiterate how she would use a dictionary to look up the words to describe her symptoms (lines 17 – 18). Though it seemed like Ms. D had understood my questions perfectly fine (lines 16 and 22),

David still interpreted my question for her (lines 17 and 23). One possibility for David's reaction might have come from Ms. D turning to look at him in line 22, which could have prompted David to interpret for her. However, it is also possible that David had interpreted my questions for her as an automatic reaction—after all, he had been interpreting my questions and her answers for the majority of our interview up to that point. Having been positioned as the language broker, David seemed to be fulfilling his role regardless of whether his mother actually needed his assistance in that moment, anticipating her interpretation needs with every question I asked. In other words, David's identity as a language broker seemed to drive him to interpret and translate at every instance. At the same time, he felt responsible for making sure his mother received accurate information, which also likely drove him to interpret automatically for Ms. D regardless of whether she needed his help.

5.3.3 Translanguaging and semiotics

David and his mother drew on both linguistic and semiotic resources to negotiate meanings of not only English words, but also Korean words unfamiliar to David.

Excerpt 5.31 David helps his mother answer a question and learns the Korean word for “symptom.” (English translation)

1 **David and Ms. D Task 06:03 – 06:57 (Underline indicates translated from Korean)**
 2 *(Ms. D re-reads the open-ended question to herself. David is looking at the same page.)*
 3 Ms. D: In the past *(reading to herself quietly and flips the page)* Should I describe here?
 4 *(flips the page back)*
 5 *(David leans in, puts his hand on the page, and looks more closely at the question.)*
 6 David: Yes, the translation you most often ask for. *(looks at Ms. D)*
 7 Ms. D: Hospital, again. *(looks at David)*
 8 David: Hospital. *(nods)*
 9 *(Ms. D starts writing)*
 10 David: Then, just write hospital.
 11 Ms. D: Hospi...tal?
 12 David: Mmhm. T-A-L.
 13 *(Ms. D lifts her pen off the page.)*
 14 David: Could you describe more about hospital? *(looks at Ms. D)*
 15 Ms. D: *(looking at the page and gestures)* Describing symptoms.
 16 David: *(looks at Ms. D, slightly confused)* Symptoms?
 17 Ms. D: *(looks at David)* Telling the doctor about your symptoms.
 18 David: *(looks at Ms. D)* Oh, like symptoms?
 19 Ms. D: Mmhm
 20 David: Just put, *(points at the page)* describing symptoms?
 21 *(Ms. D starts writing her answer)*
 22 Ms. D: I have to put this down here.
 23 David: *(points at the page)* Okay, just write it on the right side.
 24 *(Ms. D continues writing. David watches her.)*
 25 David: *(watching Ms. D write)* Describing... *(chuckles)* Symptoms, S-Y-M-P—P! T-O-
 26 M-S. Et cetera, E-T-C, E-T-C.

Excerpt 5.32 David helps his mother answer a question and learns the Korean word for “symptom.” (Original transcript)

David and Ms. D Task 06:03 – 06:57
 Ms. D: In the past (inaudible) 그럼 여기다 describe 하라고?
 David: 응, 옛날부터 제일 자주 translation 부탁하는 거, 제일 자주 하는 거.
 Ms. D: 병원이야, 또.
 David: 병원, 그냥 병원 써 그럼.
 Ms. D: Hospi...tal?
 David: Mmhm. T-A-L. Hospital 에서 더 설명할 수 있어 그거보다?
 Ms. D: 증상을 설명하는 거.
 David: 증상?
 Ms. D: 닥터한테 어디가 아프다 뭐 그런 거.
 David: Oh, like symptoms?
 Ms. D: Mmhm
 David: Describing symptoms 그럼?
 Ms. D: 이따가 해야 되는데.
 David: 아니, 그러니까 그냥 오른쪽에다 써. Describing...symptoms. S-Y-M-P...P. T-O-M-S.
 Et cetera, E-T-C, E-T-C.

The beginning of this excerpt is an example of how both David and Ms. D engage in translanguaging even with mundane words. This is particularly interesting to see for Ms. D, who did not actually codemix English and Korean very often at all during the task and our interview. It is unclear why Ms. D uses the English word, “describe” in line 3, but switches to the Korean word for the remainder of this exchange with David. For this open-ended question in the survey, David helped his mother spell out her answers in English, and similar to Reiko’s approach, he encourages his mother to elaborate on her written response (line 14). Ms. D then looked to David to help her translate what she wanted to say (line 15). Initially, David did not comprehend his mother’s answer, repeating her Korean word, “symptom,” with a quizzical look (line 16). Ms. D immediately realized he did not recognize that word, so she proceeded to rephrase her response to help him understand her (line 17). Once David figured out the word in English as “symptom,” he directed his mother to write the phrase, “describing symptoms,” helping her spell out the words as needed (lines 20 – 26). In this exchange from lines 15 to 19, David and Ms. D negotiate the meaning of a Korean word unfamiliar to David using semiotic resources that are quite subtle to an observer. Though David does not explicitly express his confusion at that word, Ms. D recognizes his confusion by drawing on non-linguistic, semiotic cues, such as his facial expression and his tone. These unspoken ways of making meaning occurred throughout their interaction during the questionnaire task, which to an outsider like me, are difficult to interpret but nevertheless, illustrate one of many possibilities of language brokering.

5.3.4 Receptive bilingualism

Though David interpreted almost every question for his mother, there were a few instances where Ms. D would answer my question directly in English or indirectly through

David. In other words, Ms. D understood my question but would respond in Korean and defer to David to interpret for us.

Excerpt 5.33 Ms. D understands the English question and responds in Korean but defers to David to interpret for her. (English translation)

1	David and Ms. D Post Task Interview 12:07 – 13:18 (Underline indicates translated from Korean)
2	
3	<i>(Jessica is looking at Ms. D. David is looking down at the table.)</i>
4	Jessica: Umm.. right now, how often do you ask your children to help you with
5	interpreting or translating for English?
6	Ms. D: <i>(looks at Jessica then at David)</i> <u>Now you guys don't live together with us. I ask</u>
7	<u>my husband mostly.</u>
8	David: Now we don't live together, she asks the
9	<i>(Ms. D nods along)</i>
10	David: the dad a lot—my dad a lot.
11	Jessica: <i>(nods along)</i> Okay.
12	David: Yeah.
13	Jessica: Yeah. Is it um... <i>(looks at David)</i> is it just cause it's more convenient then that
14	he's there? Or, why not ask, <i>(gestures at David)</i> like you or your sister?
15	David: <i>(looks at Ms. D)</i> <u>Why do you ask dad? Just because it's easier?</u>
16	Ms. D: <i>(looks at David)</i> <u>Because it's easier...</u>
17	David: <i>(looks at Jessica)</i> Just because it's easier, cause they live together.
18	Ms. D: <i>(looks at David)</i> <u>But these days, I don't really need to</u>
19	<u>speak English. You guys all grew up, and I am not even working. I really don't</u>
20	<u>have opportunities to use English.</u>
21	David: Oh okay. <u>Just the hospital?</u>
22	Ms. D: <u>Yes, just the hospital.</u> <i>(nods)</i>
23	David: So, like now, <i>(looks at Jessica)</i>
24	<i>(Ms. D is nodding)</i>
25	there isn't really that many things she needs translated. Like, we're
26	not there, there's no school documents. It's mostly just hospital stuff. There's not
27	that many uh, need, I guess for translation...help.

Excerpt 5.34 Ms. D understands the English question and responds in Korean but defers to David to interpret for her. (Original transcript)

David and Ms. D Post Task Interview 12:07 – 13:18

Jessica: Umm.. right now, how often do you ask your children to help you with interpreting or translating for English?

Ms. D: 이제는 니네 같이 안사니까.. 아빠한테 많이 저기 하지.

David: Now we don't live together, she asked the, the dad a lot—my dad a lot.

Jessica: Okay

David: Yeah.

Jessica: Yeah. Is it um... is it just it's cause more convenient then that he's there? Or, why not ask, like you or your sister?

David: 왜 아빠한테 그러는거야? 그냥 더 쉬워서?

Ms. D: 쉬우니까..

David: Just because it's easier, cause they live together.

Ms. D: 근데 요즘은, English 할 일이 없잖아 니네도 다 크고.. 뭐 어디가서 엄마 일하는 것도 아니고.. 뭐 그래서 진짜 저기 할 일이 별로 없어.

David: Oh okay. 병원만?

Ms. D: 응 병원만 있지.

David: So, like now, there isn't really that many things she needs translated. Like, we're not there, there's no school documents. It's mostly just hospital stuff. There's not that many uh, need, I guess for translation...help.

When I asked my question, Ms. D immediately responded in Korean, looking at me first before directing her eyes to David (lines 6 – 7). Though I didn't understand what she was saying, it was very clear to me that she had understood my question because she was looking at me first. This instantiation of receptive bilingualism demonstrates one of many ways that multilinguals draw on their entire linguistic repertoire to communicate. When seen from the view of translanguaging, Ms. D's receptive bilingualism in English indicates a much wider range of English proficiency that serves as an asset in her linguistic repertoire.

5.3.5 Resemiotization and elaboration

As with any conversation mediated by an interpreter or translator, there comes a risk of information being misinterpreted or lost along the way. However, another way of examining these instances is to see such information as being transformed semiotically—resemiotized—

from one situation to another. In my interview with David and Ms. D, these instances of resemiotization sometimes led to more elaborated responses.

Excerpt 5.35 David elaborates in his translation and elicits a more detailed answer from Ms. D. (English translation)

1	David and Ms. D Post Task Interview 17:38 – 18:34 (Underline indicates translated from Korean)
2	from Korean)
3	<i>(Jessica is looking at Ms. D)</i>
4	Jessica: Was the translator good?
5	Ms. D: <i>(looks at Jessica and nods)</i> Yeah
6	David: <i>(looks at Ms. D)</i> <u>Did he do well?</u>
7	Ms. D: <i>(looks at David and nods)</i> <u>Yes, they are professional translators. They would</u>
8	<u>come and do everything for me. Including getting a signature from the doctor.</u>
9	<i>(gestures signing a page)</i>
10	David: It was professional.
11	Ms. D: <i>(nods)</i> Mmhm, professional.
12	David: <i>(looks at Jessica)</i> It seemed very professional, it seemed good, they were like,
13	<i>(gestures signing a page)</i> getting signatures from the doctor and stuff, so it all
14	seemed very official.
15	<i>(Ms. D nods along)</i>
16	David: So, she thinks it was good.
17	Jessica: <i>(looks at Ms. D)</i> Would you prefer to have like one of your children to go with
18	you to your doctor visits?
19	David: <i>(looks at Ms. D)</i> <u>Would you prefer to have us to go with you? Or is it more</u>
20	<u>convenient to use professional translator?</u>
21	Ms. D: <i>(looks at Jessica and David)</i> <u>You guys are too busy now. It's more convenient for</u>
22	<u>me to use professional translator.</u>
23	David: <i>(looks at Jessica)</i> Because we don't—she feels like we don't have time as much
24	anymore, me and my sister. She'd rather use a professional. <i>(looks back at Ms. D</i>
25	<i>and nods)</i>

Excerpt 5.36 David elaborates in his translation and elicits a more detailed answer from Ms. D. (Original transcript)

David and Ms. D Post Task Interview 17:38 – 18:34
Jessica: Was the translator good?
Ms. D: Yeah
David: 잘했어 진짜?
Ms. D: 응 잘했어. 이렇게 뭐.. 그리고 자격증 있는 애들이야. 그래가지고 자기가 이렇게 와서 이렇게 다 하더라구. 하고, 닥터한테도 싸인받아 가고 그러더라고.
David: It was professional.
Ms. D: Mmhm, professional
David: It seemed very professional, it seemed good, they were like, getting signatures from the doctor and stuff, so it all seemed very official. So, she thinks it was good.
Jessica: Would you prefer to have like one of your children to go with you to your doctor visits?
David: 우리가 갔으면 더 좋겠어? 아니면 그 professional 쓰는게 더 좋았어?
Ms. D: 니네들은 이제 시간이 없잖아. 그러니까 professional 그냥 쓰는게 엄마한테는 편해.
David: Because we don't—she feels like we don't have time as much anymore, me and my sister. She'd rather use a professional.

In this excerpt, Ms. D elaborated on her answer by explaining her positive impression of the professional translators she encountered at her doctor's office. Perhaps to emphasize the professionalism of those translators, she gestured as she spoke, waving her right hand as if signing a sheet of paper. David then interpreted his mother's response, but he also seemed to mimic her gesture for emphasis. Here, David resemiotized his mother's response to highlight the professionalism of the translators, adding that "it all seemed very official" (lines 13 – 14)—something his mother did not actually say. Later, David resemiotized my question for his mother in lines 19 to 20, transforming my question about her preference for having her children present at her doctor visits to one about convenience of available translators. Though these instances of resemiotization were subtle, they drove the conversation toward a response from Ms. D that I had not thought to ask her (lines 21 – 22). In other words, by transforming my original question in lines 17 to 18 to focus on convenience, David had elicited a response from his mother that gave me a glimpse into her reasoning for using a professional translator—Ms. D does not wish to bother her children when she needs translation and interpretation assistance.

5.3.6 Summary

David's collaborative approach to language brokering differed from that of Reiko's because he was focused on accuracy of translations. Beyond being a linguistic resource for his mother, David seemed to prioritize accuracy to ensure his mother received the correct information. This was seen in how he would interpret and translate for her even when unprompted and even when his mother seemed to already understand what I was saying. Both David and Ms. D also drew on their linguistic and semiotic repertoires in ways that were not easy to interpret or observe; nevertheless, they seemed to understand each other without many linguistic cues.

5.4 Chloe

Chloe's LB approach was directive like Karen's; however, she was the most involved in her LB interaction among the language brokers in my study. Chloe not only translated and interpreted everything for her father, but she also wrote out her father's responses to the questions on the questionnaire. Chloe primarily utilized her linguistic resources to interpret for her father, acting as a literacy broker for him as well. As she describes later on in our post task interview, Chloe's LB strategy consisted of framing her translations in a way that she thought her father would understand, which meant she resemiotized the questions for him. However, as I show later in this section, her attempts at resemiotization occasionally generated misunderstanding in her language brokering.

5.4.1 *Background*

Chloe was born and raised in a large Chinese community in the Bay Area in California. As an only child, she was the only language broker for her parents; however, Chloe did not recall many significant instances of language brokering. This was partly due to their proximity to Cantonese- and Mandarin-speaking professional services, which allowed Chloe's parents to navigate many situations on their own. Chloe's earliest memories of language brokering were around age six or seven when she was asked to accompany family members during their hospital visits. Specifically, she remembered accompanying her grandmother to the hospital for a test and later accompanying her father to his physical therapy sessions after school for a few weeks. As an adult, Chloe continues to occasionally assist her father with medical situations, but she described feeling "less compelled to go now, unless it's for more serious matters." Because her father has access to Cantonese-speaking medical professionals, the purpose of Chloe's presence is not necessarily for language brokering; rather, she is there to support him as a family member.

Chloe explained to me, “But I do feel that sense of relief, like, when I know an interpreter is there and I don't have to interpret every single thing, and I can focus on just being a daughter.” In her current professional role as a social worker, Chloe has experience conducting her therapy sessions in Cantonese and Mandarin. While she is not necessarily interpreting or translating for her job, her ability to utilize her bilingualism reflects her high proficiency in those languages. In fact, Chloe’s proficiency in her heritage language is perhaps the highest among my language brokering participants for this stage of my study.

Mr. C has been in the United States for forty-five years. He speaks Cantonese, Mandarin, and “another Chinese dialect” spoken in Guangdong Province in southern China. Because he only attended a few years of primary school in China, he reported he is only able to read and write a little bit of Chinese. During his time in the United States, Mr. C had worked various jobs that did not require him to communicate in English, and he considers himself to have very low proficiency in English overall. However, he has had access to Chinese-speaking professional services during his time in the United States, which has allowed him to navigate various situations without the need for English communication. Now that he is in his seventies, Mr. C has been encountering more medical situations; yet with the increasingly available Chinese language services in hospitals and doctor offices, Mr. C has been able to navigate these situations just fine on his own.

5.4.2 Directive language brokering as a form of advocacy

From the beginning of the questionnaire task, Chloe was very involved, explaining the questionnaire to her father and informing him that she would write for him. Throughout the task, Chloe took a directive approach by translating each questionnaire item for her father due to his low English proficiency, which he explained later in our post task interview. While Chloe was

able to translate most of the questionnaire, there were a few instances when Mr. C needed more clarification.

Excerpt 5.37 Chloe clarifies her translation for Mr. C and directs him to answer the question. (English translation)

1	Chloe and Mr. C Task 07:53 – 08:34 (Underline indicates translated from Cantonese)
2	<i>(Both Chloe and Mr. C are looking at the questionnaire.)</i>
3	Chloe: <i>(pointing at the words with her pen)</i> <u>You think that I</u> <i>(points to herself)</i> <u>at home...</u> <i>(pauses and scratches her head)</i>
4	
5	<u>You think that I can continue to speak Chinese well at home, because I had helped you</u>
6	<u>translate.</u> <i>(points at herself then at Mr. C)</i>
7	Mr. C: <i>(looking at the page)</i> <u>Hm...</u>
8	Chloe: <i>(points at two parts of the page)</i> <u>Disagree? Agree?</u>
9	Mr. C: <i>(points at the page)</i> <u>What? What does this mean?</u>
10	Chloe: <i>(looks up at him and gestures on the table)</i> <u>That is, I can maintain speaking Chinese at</u>
11	<u>home,</u>
12	Mr. C: <u>Mmhm</u> <i>(nods along while looking at the page)</i>
13	Chloe: <u>because I...</u> <i>(gestures hand flip)</i> <u>I help you, I had helped you translate.</u>
14	Mr. C: <u>Mmhm</u> <i>(nods along and points to the page)</i> <u>So then I need to say what</u>
15	<u>number?</u>
16	Chloe: <u>That is these</u> <i>(pointing at the page with her pen),</i> <u>these are saying,</u> <u>to what</u>
17	<u>extent you don't agree or agree?</u>
18	Mr. C: <u>Fully agree.</u> <i>(points at the page)</i> <u>Seven.</u>
19	<i>(Chloe marks the page)</i>

Excerpt 5.38 Chloe clarifies her translation for Mr. C and directs him to answer the question. (Original transcript)

	Chloe and Mr. C Task 07:53 – 08:34
	Chloe: 你覺得, 我就喺屋企... 你覺得我喺屋企中文係繼續可以講得好, 因為係我係幫過你翻譯。
	Mr. C: 唔...
	Chloe: 唔同意? 同意?
	Mr. C: 點咩, 點咩, 點咩?
	Chloe: 就係我喺屋企可以堅持講中文,
	Mr. C: 唔...
	Chloe: 因為我幫過你翻譯。
	Mr. C: 唔... 咁係我要講幾多號?
	Chloe: 即係呢個, 呢個 話你唔同意到完全同意, 有幾咁同意?
	Mr. C: 完全同意。Seven。

In this excerpt, Mr. C asked Chloe for clarification (line 9), to which Chloe responded by rephrasing her statement (line 10 – 13). However, from Mr. C's response in lines 14 to 15, it is unclear whether or not he understood Chloe's translation. Rather than checking to see if her

father understood, Chloe proceeded to direct her father to answer the question on the seven-point scale, pointing at the page as she asked him to choose a number. Here, we see Chloe's approach as much more involved than Karen, Reiko, or David. Though earlier she had instructed her father that this questionnaire was for him to answer, Chloe seemed to be driving the completion of this questionnaire as she directed him to choose an answer to questions even when it remained unclear if he had fully understood his choices.

Chloe's directive, heavily involved approach is seen from how she literally writes the answers for her father to how she interprets and translates everything for him. It was later in our interview that I understood her LB approach was partly out of necessity because Mr. C was unable to write much English for himself, but also because they found it more efficient to have Chloe write on her father's behalf. From the outsider perspective, it appears that Chloe is answering on her father's behalf such that Mr. C seems to exercise very little agency during this task. However, as I found out later during our interview, Chloe's directive approach was largely driven by her desire to ensure that her father understood the questions and task—an ideology of language brokering that resembled that of David's. However, unlike David, Chloe was much more heavily involved in the process of answering and filling out the questionnaire to the extent that she would paraphrase her translations in a way that would elicit an answer from her father. I elaborate on this later when I discuss Chloe's resemiotization processes in Section 5.4.5.

5.4.3 Negotiating meanings with linguistic resources

In the few instances where Chloe struggled to translate something, Mr. C would try to help her find the Cantonese word she needed. During these interactions, both Chloe and Mr. C relied heavily on their linguistic resources to make meaning out of the English words. In other words, the negotiation of meaning rested on language and not any other semiotic resources. This

was particularly clear when Chloe often would remain fixated on the questionnaire as she searched for the correct translation.

Excerpt 5.39 Chloe relies on her linguistic resources to translate the word “nervous” into Cantonese while Mr. C tries to help her. (English translation)

1	Chloe and Mr. C Task 11:46 – 12:30 (Underline indicates translated from Cantonese)
2	<i>(Chloe is reading the questionnaire quietly to herself. Mr. C is also looking at the page.</i>
3	Chloe: Um... <i>(reading, eyes remain fixed on the page)</i> <u>Do you think um, do you think when I</u>
4	<u>was translating for you I was feeling uh...like feeling...uh scared um...how do I say this</u>
5	Mr. C: <i>(looks up at Chloe)</i> <u>Like, not rest assured/at ease?</u>
6	Chloe: <i>(looking at the page)</i> <u>It's not like that. It's like...uh...</u>
7	Mr. C: <i>(looking at Chloe)</i> <u>Like upset?</u>
8	Chloe: <i>(looking at the page)</i> No... <u>Like feeling scared or embarrassed, like that.</u>
9	Mr. C: <i>(looking at Chloe)</i> <u>You don't feel embarrassed if you know how. If you don't know how,</u>
10	<u>that's when you'd feel embarrassed.</u>
11	Chloe: <u>But do you, okay.</u> <i>(points at the page with her pen)</i> <u>So, for this one, do you agree</u>
12	Mr. C: <i>(looks at the page)</i> <u>How about</u>
13	<u>three?</u>
14	Chloe: <i>(points at the page with her pen)</i> <u>Disagree or agree?</u>
15	Mr. C: <i>(looks at the page and shakes his head)</i>
16	Chloe: <i>(moving her pen back and forth across the page)</i> <u>Here. Three?</u>
17	Mr. C: <u>Three.</u>

Chloe draws on her linguistic resources to translate the word “nervous” into Cantonese. (Original transcript)

Chloe and Mr. C Task 11:46 – 12:30	
Chloe:	你有冇感覺我幫你翻譯嗰陣時我會覺得...即係覺得好...好驚呀...或者好... 點講呀
Mr. C:	即係唔放心?
Chloe:	唔係唔放心, 係好...
Mr. C:	好難過?
Chloe:	No... 即係好驚呀或者好怕羞呀咁樣。
Mr. C:	你識就唔怕醜, 你唔識才怕醜呀。
Chloe:	但係 okay. 咁你係對呢個係同意
Mr. C:	第三哩?
Chloe:	唔同意, 係同意?
Mr. C:	...
Chloe:	係呢度. 三呀?
Mr. C:	三啦。

During this exchange, Chloe did not look up at her father as they searched for the correct translation of “nervous.” Instead, Chloe kept her gaze on the questionnaire as she spoke and

thought aloud to herself (lines 2 – 4). In contrast, Mr. C immediately looked at Chloe once he realized she was struggling to translate and tried to help her find the word she needed by suggesting some words (lines 5 and 7). Here, Mr. C was clearly trying to work with Chloe by giving her suggestions to help her figure out what she needed to say. Uncertain about her translation (line 8), Mr. C proceeded to try to discuss the translation with Chloe by elaborating on what “embarrassed” would mean in this context (line 9). However, before he could finish what he was saying, Chloe interrupted him, pointing at the page and directing him to answer the question. Rather than collaborate with him, Chloe maintains her directive stance by instructing her father to answer the question even though they had not found the exact Cantonese word for “nervous” (line 11). It is unclear whether or not Mr. C had fully understood this question when Chloe directed him to answer the question, but it is conceivable from Chloe’s perspective, Mr. C’s reasoning in lines 9 to 10 was evidence of his understanding. At the same time, it is also possible from Chloe’s tone of voice that she was frustrated with this translation problem and that in response to her frustration, Chloe decided her father should answer the question and move on to the next one.

While neither of them utilized additional semiotic resources to arrive at their Cantonese translation, it seems that at the very least, Mr. C had attempted to collaborate with Chloe beyond relying on their linguistic resources. Whereas Chloe was only drawing on her linguistic resources to translate for her father, Mr. C seemed to be trying to read Chloe’s face and body language as she was contemplating her translation. This was evident in how Chloe kept her eyes fixated on the questionnaire while Mr. C concentrated his eyes on Chloe. One reason for this reliance on linguistic resources may be the difficulty of translating abstract words like “nervous.” Another reason might be Chloe’s ideologies about language brokering as a form of advocacy where she

felt solely responsible for translating for her father. As a result, perhaps it did not occur to Chloe that she could also make meaning of the word “nervous” with her father through other semiotic means. While it remains unclear why Chloe did not look up at her father during this interaction, nevertheless, Chloe’s actions reflect her tendency to take a directive approach in her language brokering.

5.4.4 Literacy brokering

As I was observing Chloe and Mr. C during the questionnaire task, it was initially unclear why Chloe had decided to write on her father’s behalf. When I asked Chloe and Mr. C about this decision during our interview, they explained that Chloe needed to write for her father due to his lack of English literacy. In other words, Mr. C’s lack of English literacy meant that Chloe needed to be literally hands-on with this questionnaire task.

Excerpt 5.40 Chloe and Mr. C explain that their LB dynamic is due to his lack of English literacy. (English translation)

1	Chloe and Mr. C Post Task Interview 01:10 – 02:27 (Underline indicates translated from
2	Cantonese)
3	<i>(Mr. C looks at Jessica then at Chloe. Jessica asks Chloe the question.)</i>
4	Jessica: So, before we started, you asked me <i>(points at Chloe and gestures writing)</i> if you could
5	fill it out for your father.
6	Chloe: <i>(nods)</i> Mmhm
7	Jessica: Is that the normal procedure for you guys in these situations, that you would typically fill
8	it out for him? <i>(gestures writing)</i>
9	Chloe: Mmhm. <i>(nods)</i>
10	Jessica: <i>(nods along)</i>
11	Chloe: Do you want me to ask him? <i>(gestures at Mr. C)</i>
12	Jessica: Yeah! <i>(looks over at Mr. C)</i>
13	Chloe: <i>(points at Mr. C)</i> <u>You—<i>(picks up the questionnaire)</i> is it usually the case that with forms,</u>
14	<u><i>(points to herself)</i> I'm the one to help you fill out the forms?</u>
15	Mr. C: <u>Yes.</u> <i>(nods)</i>
16	Chloe: <i>(nods along)</i>
17	Jessica: <i>(nods along, then looks at Chloe)</i> So you literally <i>(gestures with pen)</i> hold the pen while
18	he's—while you're going through it with him? <i>(looks briefly over at Mr. C)</i>
19	Chloe: <u>Like, I literally hold the pen <i>(gestures with pen)</i> while I explain for you?</u>
20	Mr. C: <i>(nods)</i> <u>Mmhm</u>
21	Jessica: Yeah. Is there a reason for that? <i>(looks at both Chloe and Mr. C)</i> Or how did you guys
22	develop that system?
23	Chloe: <i>(looks at Mr. C)</i> <u>Why is it like this?</u>
24	Mr. C: <i>(looks at Chloe and shakes his head)</i> <u>Because I don't know, I don't know English. I don't</u>
25	<u>know it at all, I don't know how to write it.</u>
26	Chloe: Because he doesn't know how to write.
27	<i>(Mr. C looks over at Jessica)</i>
28	Jessica: <i>(nods)</i> Okay.
29	Mr. C: <i>(looks at Chloe)</i> <u>I can only speak a little.</u>
30	Chloe: So he just knows how to speak a few sentences, but that's it.
31	<i>(Mr. C looks over at Jessica and back at Chloe, chuckling. Jessica and Chloe nod.)</i>
32	Mr. C: <i>(chuckles and points to the questionnaire)</i> <u>That's what I just said in my answers for this.</u>
33	<i>(looks over at Jessica)</i>
34	Chloe: <i>(flips the questionnaire pages)</i> “So I just, I.” He said that earlier too as I was filling this
35	out. <i>(nods)</i>
36	<i>(Mr. C looks at Jessica, then looks back at Chloe.)</i>
37	Jessica: <i>(looks at Chloe)</i> What about with forms in Chinese? Is that also a situation where he
38	<i>(looks at Mr. C then back at Chloe)</i> asks you to help him to fill it out? Or?
39	Chloe: <i>(looks at Mr. C)</i> <u>What about those forms in Chinese? Will you ask me to help you to fill</u>
40	<u>out the forms if they are in Chinese?</u>
41	Mr. C: <i>(looks at Chloe and nods)</i> <u>If I can, I will do it myself.</u>
42	Chloe: <i>(Mr. C keeps looking at Chloe)</i> So he, if he knows, he won't ask me.
43	<i>(Jessica nods)</i>
44	<i>(Mr. C looks over at Jessica)</i>

Excerpt 5.41 Chloe and Mr. C explain that their LB dynamic is due to his lack of English literacy. (Original transcript)

Chloe and Mr. C Post Task Interview 01:10 – 02:27

Jessica: So before we started, you asked me if you could fill it out for your father.

Chloe: Mmhm

Jessica: Is that the normal procedure for you guys in these situations, that you would typically fill it out for him?

Chloe: Mmhm. Do you want me to ask him?

Jessica: Yeah!

Chloe: 你--平時我幫你填野哩係唔係通常係我幫你填㗎?

Mr. C: 係。

Jessica: So you literally hold the pen while he's—while you're going through it with him?

Chloe: 即係我一路講比你知, 我拎著紙筆我自己填?

Mr. C: [Mm]

Jessica: Yeah. Is there a reason for that? Or how did you guys develop that system?

Chloe: 點解會咁樣嘅?

Mr. C: 即我唔識, 唔識英文, 唔識哩, 唔識写。

Chloe: Because he doesn't know how to write.

Jessica: Okay

Mr. C: 我識講幾句。

Chloe: So it's just knows how to speak a few sentences, but that's it.

Mr. C: 頭先我就咁答。

Chloe: “So I just, I.” He said that earlier too as I was filling this out.

Jessica: What about with forms in Chinese? Is that also a situation where he asks you to help him to fill it out? Or?

Chloe: 咁中文嗰啲表達哩? 如果嗰啲表達有中文哩, 你會唔會都依賴我幫你填㗎?

Mr. C: 我識嘅我自己填。

Chloe: So he, if he knows, he won't ask me.

In this excerpt, Chloe and Mr. C describe their strategy with English writing. When I asked them why they had decided to have Chloe write on Mr. C's behalf, Mr. C gave a very practical response, explaining that because he does not know English, he cannot write in English either (lines 24 – 25). Here, Chloe holds a dual role as language broker and literacy broker for her father. In other words, in addition to interpreting and translating for her father, Chloe must also read and write on his behalf.

Having observed Chloe writing for her father, I then assumed that Chloe would speak on her father's behalf. Though I may not have been aware of this initially, the way I positioned myself through my gestures and eye contact demonstrated this assumption. This is seen from the

beginning of this excerpt from the manner I asked my question. Although I had initially directed my question to Chloe (lines 4 – 5), it was Chloe who offered to repeat my question to her father. This was a stark reminder that I needed to direct my questions clearly to my intended audience, and that because Chloe was interpreting for her father, I would also need to make sure she knew when I wanted her to interpret for us. However, my tendency to direct questions to Chloe dominated the first half of our interview such that I had unintentionally excluded Mr. C from our conversation. As seen in Excerpt 5.4.3, I neglected to turn toward Mr. C during this part of our interview, directing all of my questions at Chloe when they were meant for him. In my reflection after carrying out this task and interview, I wrote about my struggle to direct my questions to Mr. C and make eye contact with him during our interview:

Chloe's father looked to her every time I asked a question, which also made me gravitate towards asking Chloe questions that were meant to be directed at her father. I realized that I had to try much harder to remember to make eye contact with her father and ask him questions, rather than ask Chloe those questions that were meant for her father. In other words, I felt that I had to be much more intentional in the way I was interviewing them, and I had to try harder to make my intentions clear so that her father would be included, rather than overlooked in the conversation, which is something I've found with my own parents during these types of interactions. I worry that by not making more effort to direct my questions to Chloe's father, I was unintentionally excluding him from the conversation, or deferring to Chloe as if she were answering on his behalf, when in reality, from what I understood as they were speaking, she was always making sure he understood the question and was interpreting for him as accurately as she could. (Field notes, January 27, 2019)

As someone who understands Cantonese, I was able to comprehend the conversations between Chloe and Mr. C. However, because I was conducting this interview in English and because Mr. C had made clear in the beginning that he was not proficient in English, I found myself defaulting to Chloe during our interview. My behavior and assumptions were likely reinforced by my observation of Chloe writing for her father during the questionnaire task. As a result, I found myself actively being intentional about communicating directly with Mr. C

throughout the interview. This was seen in the way I later changed my pronoun use and positioned myself toward Mr. C later in the interview, as seen in line 3 in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 5.42 An example of how I consciously shifted my body language towards Mr. C to direct my question clearly to him. (English translation)

1 **Chloe and Mr. C Post Task Interview 03:20 – 03:50 (Underline indicates translated**
 2 **from Cantonese)**
 3 Jessica: And then for your dad, (*turns to Mr. C and gestures towards him*) did you
 4 understand everything? (*looks over to Chloe*)
 5 Chloe: (*looks at Mr. C and points to the questionnaire*) Do you think you...
 6 (*looks at Jessica*) understand the questionnaire (*points to herself*) or what I said?
 7 Jessica: (*gestures at the questionnaire*) The questionnaire in general.
 8 Chloe: (*looks at Mr. C*) So like, for these questions, how much of them do you feel you
 9 like you understood? To what extent?
 10 Mr. C: (*looks at Chloe*) About eighty to ninety percent.
 11 Chloe: (*looks at Jessica*) Eighty to ninety percent
 12 (*Jessica nods at both Mr. C and Chloe. Mr. C looks at Jessica and nods.*)
 13 Jessica: Okay. (*looks down at interview guide*)
 14 Mr. C: (*looks at Chloe*) Not a hundred percent.
 15 Chloe: (*looks at Jessica*) Not a hundred percent.

Excerpt 5.43 An example of how I consciously shifted my body language towards Mr. C to direct my question clearly to him. (Original transcript)

Chloe and Mr. C Post Task Interview 03:20 – 03:50
 Jessica: And then for your dad, did you understand everything?
 Chloe: 你覺得呢個問卷你... understand the questionnaire or what I said?
 Jessica: The questionnaire in general.
 Chloe: 即係佢呢度問嗰啲嘢你覺得你明白啲幾多呀? 了解啲幾多呀?
 Mr. C: 八到九成。
 Chloe: Eighty to ninety percent.
 Jessica: Okay.
 Mr. C: 唔係百分百。
 Chloe: Not a hundred percent.

However, I was not consistent with directing my questions to Mr. C, which likely affected the LB dynamic such that both Chloe and I unintentionally undercut Mr. C's autonomy in our conversation.

5.4.5 *Miscommunication from resemiotization*

During the questionnaire task, I had noticed that Chloe vacillated between directly translating and paraphrasing the questions and seven-point statements. Though I did not ask her about this directly, Chloe did share with me the reasons for this behavior.

Jessica: So, what are some difficulties did you face when you're translating and interpreting documents for your father?

Chloe: I think for this, it was like...it was trying to translate as I go. So then, sometimes the grammar is different, so then I kind of have to pause and go back and sort of reformulate the sentences. But also vocabulary—trying to, I think, balance between translating word for word versus like, you know, paraphrasing the main idea or getting—knowing what I know about him, getting him to provide the answer that fits the question. So like, phrasing it in a way where he would answer the question. And I would be less confusing for him.

Chloe's LB strategy can be viewed as an active process of resemiotization where she actively decides how to "reformulate" English into Cantonese for her father. For Chloe, her objective as a language broker is not to simply convey information to her father, but to communicate information to him in a way that facilitates his understanding. In other words, Chloe's decision about the word choice and phrasing of her translations is driven by her assumptions about her father's ability to comprehend her. Ironically, there were a couple of instances when Chloe's LB strategy appeared to be impeding her father's comprehension, as seen in the following excerpt.

Excerpt 5.44 Chloe and Mr. C encounter confusion as Chloe gestures towards the questionnaire while interpreting for him. (English translation)

- 1 **Chloe and Mr. C Post Task Interview 13:15 – 15:14 (Underline indicates translated from**
 2 **Cantonese)**
 3 (*Mr. C and Chloe are looking at Jessica.*)
 4 Jessica: (*looking at the table then at Chloe*) So, specifically with the survey (*gestures at the*
 5 *questionnaire; Mr. C glances at the questionnaire*), what were some—any specific
 6 difficulties that either (*gestures at Chloe*) you or your father (*looks and gestures at Mr.*
 7 *C*) encountered? (*looks back at Chloe*)
 8 Chloe: (*looking at Mr. C and pointing to the questionnaire with her pen*) With this survey, what
 9 do you think is the most difficult part, (*Mr. C glances at the questionnaire then looks*
 10 *back at Chloe*) like the most difficult to understand or the most um... yeah, the most
 11 difficult to understand?
 12 Mr. C: (*points at the questionnaire*) You're talking where to where?
 13 Chloe: (*turns a page in the questionnaire*) From the first page to the
 14 last page, which part do you think is the most difficult one to understand? (*gestures at*
 15 *herself*) When I was talking to you about them? What did you feel was most difficult to
 16 understand or most difficult to comprehend?
 17 Mr. C: (*gestures at the questionnaire*) You mean all of it?
 18 Chloe: (*nods*) All of it
 19 Mr. C: (*points to the page*) The most difficult was listening.
 20 Chloe: Huh? (*starts to flip the page*)
 21 Mr. C: (*points to the page*) The most difficult part. You were speaking English, but I couldn't
 22 hear.
 23 Chloe: So just...
 24 Mr. C: It's too fast to understand.
 25 Chloe: The listening's hard. No, no! (*flipping the page*) But the question she's asking
 26 is, like, (*Mr. C leans in to look at the questionnaire*)
 27 from question one to here question twenty (*Chloe points to the questionnaire*)
 28 which—I'm asking what part—when I translate for you, which part do you think is the
 29 most...most complicated, most difficult to understand? Do you remember?
 30 Mr. C: (*sits back in his seat and mumbles something*)
 31 Chloe: Uh, so I have to like, review with him what I asked him.
 32 Jessica: (*chuckles and nods*) Oh...
 33 (*Mr. C leans in to look at the questionnaire and mumbles something to Chloe.*)
 34 Chloe: Because he probably doesn't remember. Cause I'm asking him which part, right?
 35 Jessica: (*looking at the questionnaire*) Right—or just anything that was hard to understand
 36 Chloe: (*one hand holding the questionnaire pages as if to flip the page, the other hand gesturing*)
 37 But was there anything you didn't understand that you now feel—like not what was
 38 asked but you felt was... (*flipping her hands in a rolling motion*) When we were filling it
 39 out, that you felt was difficult or not that easy?
 40 Mr. C: (*looks down at the questionnaire*) Well no, you asked me the question what's the hardest
 41 of all of these, right? (*moves the questionnaire closer*) So, there are so many questions.
 42 Chloe: (*flipping her hands in a rolling motion*) Okay, but you said aside from these questions,
 43 you feel that the most difficult, most complicated thing is listening to me, is listening to
 44 what I'm translating for you, right? You said that listening is difficult.
 45 Mr. C: (*nods*) Yes, I can't understand because you're speaking too fast.
 46 Chloe: So just the speaking, like whenever I spoke too

47	Mr. C:	<i>(nods and points to questionnaire)</i> <u>When you talk too fast, I can't</u>
48		<u>understand.</u>
49	Chloe:	quickly, it would be really hard for him to
50		understand.
51	Jessica:	Okay.
52		<i>(Mr. C looks over at Jessica then back at Chloe)</i>
53	Jessica:	It seems like speed is the main concern. <i>(chuckles)</i>
54	Chloe:	Yeah, yeah.
55	Jessica:	Yeah. <i>(looks down at interview guide)</i>
56	Mr. C:	<i>(looks at Chloe)</i> <u>It's the same for you, it's the same for anyone. If you speak too fast, no</u>
57		<u>one can understand.</u>
58	Chloe:	Yeah, so he said everyone's like that. If you talk really fast, then it's hard to understand it.

Excerpt 5.45 Chloe and Mr. C encounter confusion as Chloe gestures towards the questionnaire while interpreting for him. (Original transcript)

Chloe and Mr. C Post Task Interview 13:15 – 15:14	
Jessica:	So, specifically with the survey, what were some—any specific difficulties that either you or your father encountered?
Chloe:	你呢一份問卷, 你覺得最難嘅係邊一部分, 即係最難明白呀, 或者最...yeah, 最難明白嘅係邊一部分呀?
Mr. C:	你講邊度到邊度?
Chloe:	一至第一頁到最後一頁, 邊一部分係覺得最難嘅? 我同你講嗰陣時, 你覺得最難明白呀或者難理解呀?
Mr. C:	即係全部?
Chloe:	全部。
Mr. C:	最難係聽。
Chloe:	Huh?
Mr. C:	最難係, 你講英文係聽咁嘛, 聽唔到。
Chloe:	So just...
Mr. C:	快過頭聽唔到。
Chloe:	The listening's hard. No, no! 但佢問你好似, 第一題到第呢度二十題, 邊--我問你邊樣嘢--我同你講邊樣嘢, 你覺得邊一部分係最...最複雜, 係最難明白呀? 你記唔記得呀?
Mr. C:	...
Chloe:	Uh, so I have to like, review with him what I asked him.
Jessica:	Oh...
Chloe:	Because he probably doesn't remember. Cause I'm asking him which part, right?
Jessica:	Right—or just anything that was hard to understand.
Chloe:	但係或者冇乜嘢你而家諗到係, 即係或者唔係內容啦, 但係你覺得係, 我地填緊嗰陣時你覺得難啲呀, 或者唔係咁容易呀?
Mr. C:	唔係咩, 你咁樣問咩全部最難, 呢個唔係問題咩嘛。咁我咁多我點答到你呀。
Chloe:	Okay, 咁但係你話除咗呢啲問題咁樣, 你覺得最難嘅, 最複雜嘅係聽我--聽我翻譯俾你? 係唔係呀? 你話聽嗰方面。
Mr. C:	係呀, 即係講得快我聽唔到囉。
Chloe:	So just the speaking like whenever I spoke too
Mr. C:	就係你講得快聽唔到。
Chloe:	quickly, it would be really hard for him to
	understand.
Jessica:	Okay. It seems like speed is the main concern.
Chloe:	Yeah.
Jessica:	Yeah.
Mr. C:	即係, 你語言一樣嘍, 個個語言都係一樣嘍啫, 講得快無人聽到嘍。
Chloe:	Yeah, so he said everyone's like that. If you talk really fast, then it's hard to understand it.

In this excerpt, the confusion from my question set off a longer dialogue between Chloe and Mr. C. At first, Chloe resemiotizes my question about difficulties they “encountered” (line 7) to “difficult parts” to “understand” (lines 9 – 11). After this first translation attempt (lines 8 – 11), it seemed that Mr. C had not understood Chloe. To clarify, Chloe attempted to translate a second time by resemiotizing her question to focus on the “first to the last page” (lines 13 – 14) of the questionnaire. Mr. C answered the question by saying that the hardest part of this questionnaire for him was simply listening and further clarified his answer in lines 21 to 24 for Chloe. However, perhaps because Mr. C pointed specifically to the questionnaire (line 19), Chloe appears to have believed he had misunderstood the question. As a result, she made a third attempt to translate (lines 25 – 29), resemiotizing the focus of her question from the “first to the last page” to “question one to question twenty” of the questionnaire. By this point, Chloe’s multiple translation attempts have generated more confusion, prompting her to clarify the question with me (lines 34 – 36). Chloe then translated my question a fourth and final time for her father (lines 37 – 40). Here, Chloe resemiotizes my question into one about time, asking about his *current* feelings toward what he *previously* did not understand about the questionnaire.

Indeed, this excerpt indicates that perhaps my question was not easy to translate into Cantonese and that my phrasing of the question may have impeded Chloe’s language brokering attempts. Yet, this excerpt also illustrates the challenges of language brokering when translations are resemiotized in conjunction with gestures and other semiotic modes of communication. Perhaps my initial gestures towards the questionnaire caused Chloe and Mr. C to interpret my question as one about the specific questions and contents of the questionnaire. Chloe’s subsequent repetitive gestures towards the questionnaire may have added to the confusion of my

question. It seemed that Chloe's use of resemiotization in her language brokering did not necessarily ease communication for her father.

5.4.6 Summary

Chloe's directive approach to language brokering differed from Karen's case because she seemed to view language brokering as a form of advocacy for her father. This was seen in how Chloe took the lead from the very beginning when she explained the purpose of the task to her father and wrote down his answers for him as his literacy broker. At the same time, this ideology about language brokering as advocacy may have hindered Chloe from utilizing her semiotic repertoire and collaborating with her father to make meaning together. This is because Chloe may have felt fully responsible for her father and therefore, solely responsible for translating the task. Yet, as I described in the previous section, even semiotic means of communication may not yield understanding and even introduce confusion in the interaction. Chloe's interaction with Mr. C in that instance suggests that resemiotization can also result in a completely different understanding of language.

5.5 Discussion

The findings from this chapter primarily address my second and fourth research questions:

2. What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?
 - a. In particular, what are the language ideologies that U.S. language brokers express as they draw on their linguistic and semiotic resources during LB interactions?
4. What are the linguistic and semiotic resources that U.S. language brokers utilize in their LB interactions?

- a. What are the most salient linguistic features of LB interactions?
- b. What are the most salient semiotic features of LB interactions?

In this section, I address these questions with a discussion of my findings across all four pairs of participants from the third stage of my study. I first discuss the language ideologies I observed from my participants' interactions during the questionnaire task and our post task interview. Specifically, I describe the styles of language brokering I observed and how these approaches to language brokering reflect my participants' ideologies towards language brokering. I then discuss the linguistic and semiotic features I observed among my participants from the lenses of translanguaging and resemiotization. I conclude with a brief summary of the overarching themes that emerged across all four pairs of participants.

5.5.1 What are the language ideologies among U.S. language brokers themselves?

Across my four pairs of participants, I observed different approaches to language brokering during the questionnaire task that reflected the language brokers' ideologies about language brokering and its additional functions. A summary of these LB approaches is presented in Table 5.3 below.

Table 5.3 *Summary of ideological approaches to language brokering and its functions observed during the questionnaire task.*

Participant Pair	Language Brokering Approach and Function
Karen and Ms. K	Directive (language brokering as language learning)
Reiko and Ms. R	Collaborative (language brokering as a resource)
David and Ms. D	Collaborative (language brokering for accuracy)
Chloe and Mr. C	Directive (language brokering as advocacy)

These descriptors that I have chosen capture different aspects of language brokering I observed from the language brokers in each pair. The language brokers tended to express either a collaborative or directive attitude towards language brokering for their parents. In instances where I observed a collaborative approach, the language broker tended to remain in a supportive role, interceding only when prompted by their parents. In instances where I observed a directive approach, the language broker tended to take the lead in the conversation by instructing their parents or intervening on their behalf. These two different approaches reflect how these LB participants view their roles as language brokers—whereas a collaborative approach reflects a supportive role, a directive approach reflects a more dominant role.

Both Karen and Chloe exhibited a more directive approach during the questionnaire task, taking the lead and giving directions to their parents as they completed the task. However, their ideological reasonings for their approach differed. Karen explicitly stated that she wanted her mother to be more self-sufficient in English and seemed to view language brokering as a language learning opportunity. Even though Karen actively tried to mitigate her tendency to lead her mother, her repetitive reminders and instructions to her mother actually made her appear much more directive. Chloe instructed and led her father through the questionnaire task, explaining and translating each question for him because she felt responsible for him. For Chloe, language brokering is a form of advocacy where she is responsible for her father's interactions with English.

However, Chloe's and Karen's directive approach does not necessarily mean their parents were passive recipients of their directions. In Karen's case, Ms. K was often quite collaborative, actively negotiating translations with her daughter whenever they encountered unfamiliar words in Mandarin and English. Likewise, Mr. C was often collaborative with Chloe during moments

when Chloe struggled to translate a word from English to Cantonese. Yet, because both Karen and Chloe tended to lead their parents through the task and interview, they did not reciprocate these attempts to collaborate and make meaning together.

In contrast, Reiko and David exhibited a more collaborative approach during the questionnaire task, working together with their parents to complete the task. Both Reiko and David responded to their mothers only when prompted, occasionally anticipating their mothers' language questions when they interceded. One possible reason for this dynamic is their parents' higher English proficiency level, which may have led Reiko and David to avoid dominating the questionnaire task. However, it is equally possible that their collaborative approach reflects their ideologies about language brokering and how they view their roles as language brokers. Perhaps for Reiko and David, being a language broker means staying in a supportive role to allow their parents to take the lead. In Reiko's case, her view of language brokering as a resource for her mother and herself could have motivated her to collaborate with her mother. As a result, she may have drawn a wider range of her linguistic and semiotic repertoire because of her ideologies about language brokering as a resource. For David, his ideologies about the accuracy of language brokering seems to have driven his tendency to be more involved as a language broker. In other words, David remained vigilant about his mother's understanding of English even though he valued her autonomy in LB situations.

To be clear, these descriptors that I have applied to my participants reflect my broad observation of their language brokering patterns in those specific moments in time—that is to say, I do not mean to imply that these terms are generalizable to language brokers in the United States. However, these approaches to language brokering do seem to reflect some of the

language brokering ideologies expressed by my LB participants, i.e. Karen, Reiko, David, and Chloe, during our earlier one-on-one interviews.

Karen's case is quite interesting given that her directive approach to language brokering did in fact echo what she had described to me earlier in our interview and later during our post task interview. Karen admitted that she had made her mother feel like a child during their language brokering interactions—a reflection of Karen's tendency to take a directive approach when she is asked to interpret or translate for her mother. This was especially salient during our post task interview when Karen shared her anecdote about her friend's ten-year-old child. Another instantiation of this directive approach includes Karen's refusal to translate for her mother directly and instead, instructing her mother to try to understand the question herself. In other words, rather than immediately help her mother by translating, Karen directed her mother to figure out the translation by herself before translating for her. At the same time, Karen declared multiple times throughout the questionnaire task that she could not fill out the questionnaire for her mother—even though her mother never actually asked her to fill out the form for her. These instances reflect Karen's ideologies about language brokering as an opportunity for her mother to learn English and strive for self-sufficiency in the language.

Reiko, on the other hand, adopted a collaborative approach to language brokering for her mother. Unlike Karen's directive demeanor, Reiko maintained a very collaborative dynamic with her mother throughout the questionnaire task and our post task interview. Whereas Karen avoided directly translating for her mother, Reiko immediately translated for her mother when prompted. In our earlier interview, Reiko described how she had recently shifted her language brokering strategy from translating her mother's written communication to encouraging her mother to write in English on her own. This approach to written communication was clearly seen

in Reiko's interaction with her mother during the questionnaire task when Reiko would only assist her mother when asked, helping her mother with spelling and vocabulary when prompted. It seems that Reiko's ideologies about language brokering resembles that of Karen's to the extent that both of them view their LB roles as ways to help their mothers be more self-reliant in English. Yet, unlike Karen, Reiko seems to prioritize her mother's autonomy as she refrains from interceding on her mother's behalf.

David took a collaborative approach to language brokering for his mother because of his ideologies about language brokering as a means of ensuring accuracy. During the questionnaire task, David remained very involved by anticipating his mother's language needs and translating most of the questions for her. At the same time, David collaborated with his mother to negotiate the meaning of unfamiliar words. This approach reflected his ideologies about language brokering and translation and interpretation in general. As he described to me during our earlier interview, David valued accuracy and precision in translation and interpretation. Though he did not explicitly describe his own language brokering practices in this manner, his actions during the questionnaire task and our post task interview reflected this tendency to focus on accuracy of translation. By maintaining a collaborative approach and staying very involved, David was ensuring that his mother understood everything accurately, going so far as to interpret for her even when she did not seem to need his help.

Chloe's approach to language brokering was directive like Karen, but it was from her ideologies about language brokering as a form of advocacy. While this approach may have been largely due to her father's lower English proficiency, it also reflects Chloe's ideologies about language brokering that she expressed during our earlier one-on-one interview. During our one-on-one interview, she mentioned accompanying her father to some of his medical appointments

to ensure that he is receiving the information he needs and that he is communicating everything to his doctor. For Chloe, being directive during the questionnaire task was likely out of necessity due to her father's lack of English literacy. At the same time, her view of language brokering as a form of advocacy for her father drives her directive approach and her tendency to be very hands-on in her language brokering interactions.

Though my original research question focused on language ideologies, the way in which my participants expressed themselves led me to examine language *brokering* ideologies, which I had not considered prior to embarking on this dissertation journey. However, I find that by examining these ideologies specifically about language brokering, I was able to better understand why my participants have internalized other ideologies about language—namely their deficit view of their heritage language proficiency. For Karen, her adamant belief that her mother may need to struggle in order to improve her English proficiency helps explain why Karen is reluctant to identify as a native speaker of Mandarin. Given that Karen herself struggles through Mandarin, she may consider herself as not proficient in Mandarin the same way her mother considers herself not proficient in English. Karen's insistence that her mother be self-sufficient in English also reflects her tendency to subscribe to monolingual notions of proficiency where one's proficiency in a language is reflected in their ability to do everything in that language. Because Reiko viewed her heritage language proficiency as vulnerable to decline, she welcomed opportunities to use Japanese with her mother. This may have propelled her to collaborate with her mother, welcoming her mother's suggestions as they searched for the Japanese translation of an English word. For Reiko, every opportunity to interact with her mother is an opportunity to maintain her Japanese proficiency. Likewise, David similarly welcomes his mother's suggestions as they search for the Korean translation of English terms. However, David's collaborative

approach was likely driven by his concern that about his mother receiving accurate translations. Because David had also expressed a deficit view of his Korean proficiency, perhaps his collaborative approach reflected his lack of confidence in directing his mother. In other words, his awareness of his own limitations in Korean might have driven him to work with his mother to make meaning together when they both encountered unfamiliar words. Unlike the other three language brokers, Chloe did not express a deficit view of her heritage language proficiency in our one-on-one interview during the second stage of my study. Instead, Chloe's directive approach seemed to be driven by her confidence in her heritage language proficiency. Though these approaches to language brokering reflect different aspects of my participants' language ideologies, the intersections of these ideologies provide a fuller picture of the phenomenon of language brokering.

5.5.2 What are the linguistic and semiotic resources that U.S. language brokers utilize in their LB interactions?

Throughout the questionnaire task and post task interview, the language brokers in my study drew on an array of linguistic and semiotic resources in their LB interactions. They generally relied on their linguistic resources more than other semiotic resources, drawing on their linguistic repertoire to facilitate their language brokering. Occasionally, participants pointed at the questionnaire to clarify or emphasize certain points in their translations. However, these nonverbal strategies were infrequent during both the questionnaire task and post task interview.

Karen largely relied on her linguistic resources when she was language brokering, occasionally paraphrasing—resemiotizing—my questions for her mother. Instead of directly translating my questions, Karen resemiotized my question by paraphrasing it into a statement or adding examples to explain my question to her mother. Though once in a while, Karen also

pointed at the questionnaire to clarify what she was saying, rarely did she employ other semiotic resources during our post task interview. One possible reason for this heavy reliance on linguistic resources is Karen's insistence that her mother strive for self-sufficiency in English. With the expectation that her mother rely on her own linguistic resources to communicate in English, Karen may have similarly relied on her own linguistic resources to language broker as well. This was particularly evident in Karen's persistent use of a Socratic method in her language brokering approach, asking her mother to decode English on her own. Drawing on their linguistic repertoire, both Karen and Ms. K shared moments of translanguaging when they negotiated the meanings of words like "burden" and "method" in their LB interactions.

Reiko also primarily relied on her linguistic resources as she was language brokering, but her collaborative approach seemed to be sufficient for her mother's language needs. In instances where Reiko's mother needed her to interpret my question, Reiko often resemiotized my question using her linguistic knowledge of Japanese, deictically reframing my question. In addition, Reiko aligned herself with her mother's use of bivalent words in a way that leaves an outside audience like myself uncertain about how to categorize those words. It is possible that Reiko's alignment with her mother's pronunciation of English was a deliberate strategy to communicate more clearly with her mother. At the same time, it is also possible that for Reiko and Ms. R, certain bivalent words, like "Ma-mi," are simply words that are part of their home language or linguistic repertoire. From a translanguaging lens, these instances of bivalency also highlight Reiko's adept use of linguistic resources in her language brokering.

David seemed to rely on his linguistic resources in his language brokering, but he also seemed to occasionally rely on unspoken semiotic resources with his mother. These instances of unspoken understanding seemed to come from facial expressions and tone of voice. Furthermore,

given the fact that David seems to consider accuracy to be important in language brokering, his preference for linguistic means of communication rather than semiotic resources is not surprising. Perhaps David's focus on accuracy in language brokering drove him to focus on the accuracy and precision of his word choice rather than other semiotic means of communication. Nevertheless, David still engaged in processes of resemiotization when he elaborated in his interpreting.

Chloe gestured rather frequently throughout her language brokering, but these gestures did not seem to contribute to facilitating the LB interaction. Instead, even when her father seemed to be searching for semiotic cues from her, Chloe persisted in only drawing on her linguistic resources. This was evident when Chloe struggled to translate the word, "nervous," into Cantonese. In this exchange, Chloe did not even look up at her father, staring at the questionnaire as her father tried to help her find right word. The one time when Chloe used more semiotic resources was during our post task interview when I asked Mr. C about the difficulties he encountered in the questionnaire. Yet in this instance when Chloe decided to point at the questionnaire to illustrate her translation, her semiotic choices appeared to add more confusion rather than clarification for her father.

While all of the language brokers in my study seemed to utilize the full range of their linguistic repertoire in their LB interactions, I found it surprising that other semiotic resources were not used as frequently. One potential reason for this is the difficulty of interpreting and translating abstract concepts. For example, in the questionnaire, it is likely that words like "burden" and "nervous" were difficult for my participants to translate into their heritage languages because these words are rather abstract. In Karen's attempt to use a more tangible, concrete translation of "burden" to convey its meaning in Mandarin, this endeavor to transform

and resemiotize an abstract term into a concrete one could have been done using other semiotic means. However, any additional semiotic representation of her endeavor would not necessarily guarantee clearer communication for her mother. For example, Chloe's attempt to interpret and explain my question to her father about the difficulties of the questionnaire was not made clearer with her use of semiotic expressions. In fact, it seemed that her additional gestures pointing at the questionnaire pages might have added confusion in that interaction.

Another possibility is the fact that language brokering itself is not necessarily a multimodal phenomenon. After all, when someone seeks translation and interpretation assistance, they expect linguistic rather than other semiotic means of communication. This is likely the case for high stakes LB situations, such as Reiko interpreting for her mother at the Social Security Office or Chloe accompanying her father to his hospital visits. In these instances where language brokering is often spontaneous and full of abstract language, a language broker may not look to their semiotic repertoire to communicate on their parents' behalf. As my study has shown, it is challenging enough to translate abstract words like "burden," let alone concepts like "social security."

Perhaps the most likely reason for the minimal use of semiotic resources comes from the constraints of my study context. As I said earlier, my study captures only one moment in the lives of my participants, one that does not represent all of their language brokering interactions. Instead, my study provides merely a glimpse into what language brokering looks like to an outsider who happens to be researching this phenomenon. Perhaps given a different set of tasks and conditions, my participants would have relied more on other semiotic resources. Even then, I do not expect to be able to fully comprehend how my participants utilized these semiotic resources without further investigation in their LB interactions. Therefore, I can only infer that

my participants' tendency to mainly utilize linguistic resources in their LB interactions is simply an instantiation of language brokering in this specific moment in time.

6 CONCLUSION

In this chapter, I describe how my research findings invite us to consider new ways of viewing and researching heritage language speakers, language brokering in particular, and multilingualism overall. Across these three sections, I discuss the epistemological implications of my research and offer suggestions for how applied linguistics might reimagine its approach to studying heritage speakers and language brokers. I conclude this chapter with a brief discussion about future directions for research.

6.1 Reimagining heritage language speakers

Heritage language speakers present both an opportunity and a challenge for applied linguistics research depending on how we choose to view this group of multilinguals. On the one hand, the lived experiences of heritage speakers offer an opportunity to understand the phenomenon of multilingualism acquired naturalistically (cf. Rothman & Treffers-Daller, 2014). On the other hand, focusing on the linguistic development of heritage speakers tends to present more of a challenge given the diverse range of heritage language proficiency encountered in the “wild” (cf. Polinsky & Kagan, 2007). While both areas of research contribute to our understanding of heritage speakers, my study seeks to reimagine heritage language research from the lens of heritage speakers themselves.

Studies that focus on the linguistic development and features of heritage speakers seek to understand the linguistic patterns of this group of multilinguals; however, these studies tend to take a deficit perspective of heritage speakers which privileges monolingual speakers and classroom language learners. Instead of seeking to understand heritage speakers as they are,

these studies aim to uncover why heritage speakers *are not* like their monolingual and non-native counterparts. Hence, these studies examine linguistic outcomes of heritage speakers in comparison to monolingual speakers and classroom language learners, i.e. non-native speakers. While these studies further our understanding of languages and their acquired features, they do not deepen our understanding of heritage language speakers themselves. As Rothman and Treffers-Daller (2014) point out, the focus on *outcomes* in heritage language proficiency tends to neglect the *process* of heritage language acquisition—the lived experiences—of heritage speakers. More problematically, these studies tend to apply a deficit lens to heritage speakers from the perspective of *incomplete acquisition* compared to monolingual speakers (Benmamoun et al., 2013b; S. A. Montrul, 2008).

My study reimagines heritage language speakers as legitimate multilingual speakers in their own right by examining their language experiences—and specifically language brokering experiences—from their perspective. Through in-depth interviews with LB heritage speakers, I have pieced together a different picture of how heritage speakers perceive their own linguistic abilities and identities. In section 4.2, I discussed the language ideologies expressed (and internalized) by heritage speakers when they described their language abilities. Although almost all of them described themselves as native speakers of English, the majority of interview participants characterized their heritage language proficiency as in a state of decline. These participants did not view their LB ability as evidence of their heritage language proficiency, at least not until I had raised that possibility with them during our conversation. This deficit view of their heritage language abilities may be attributed to their internalization of standard language ideology. As Lippi-Green (2012) notes, standard language ideology not only assumes the existence of a standard variety of a language, but also equates that standard variety with the

language of the educated. Given that all of my participants were well-educated in English in the United States, it is not surprising that they would assess their heritage language proficiency against some imagined standard variety, the same way their English proficiency has been assessed throughout their education. At the same time, the fact that these languages other than English are labeled as “heritage languages” inherently implies that they are not “the standard variety” of those languages. This sentiment was reflected in the way my participants often described their heritage language as a “home language,” suggesting that their heritage language occupied a less prominent status in their linguistic repertoire.

The powerful effect of standard language ideology on my participants’ self-perceptions also emerged in how they identified with their heritage language. As I discussed in section 4.2.4, the majority of both survey and interview participants identified as native English speakers but denied English as their first language. This finding has two important implications for applied linguistics research. First, as my interviews further revealed, heritage speakers do not necessarily equate “native language” with “first language (L1).” Some participants interpreted “first language” quite literally, explaining that their first words were likely in their heritage language. Yet, when I asked these participants if they considered themselves to be native speakers of their heritage language, most of them were ambivalent or even reluctant to claim a heritage native speaker identity. Second, the tendency in applied linguistics research to use native language and first language interchangeably presents serious limitations to research on heritage speakers and other multilinguals with complex language histories. Even the few participants in my study who did interpret “native language” to mean “first language” unintentionally excluded crucial information about their language profiles. In Karen’s case, she reported herself as a native English speaker and English as her first language because she identifies more comfortably as an

English speaker. Yet, as she elaborated in our interview, the first ten years of her life were spent in China without any knowledge of English. In Isabel's case, she reported herself as a non-native English speaker and English not as her first language because she identified strongly as a Spanish speaker. Yet, as she elaborated in our interview, she had attended kindergarten and received all of her formal education in English in the United States. Both Karen's and Isabel's responses illustrate the limitations of constructs like "native speaker" and "first language" particularly when these two terms are viewed as equivalents. Whereas Karen unintentionally erased Mandarin from her language biography, Isabel unintentionally erased English from hers.

The presumption in applied linguistics research that native language and L1 are interchangeable erases the complexity of heritage language speakers. Even descriptors like "dominant language" ignore the reality of heritage speakers and multilinguals, whose language abilities vary across time and whose linguistic identities vary across spaces. As the stories from my participants demonstrate, heritage language proficiency does not remain static. Some heritage speakers—like Linh and Cindy—do experience attrition in their heritage language proficiency simply because they no longer communicate as often in their heritage language now that they no longer live with their parents. Other heritage speakers—like Trang and Chloe—experienced advancing their heritage language proficiency as adults because they made an intentional effort to maintain their heritage language. Likewise, as I discussed in section 4.3, the linguistic identities of heritage speakers remain in a fluid state. Some participants—like Karen and Adriane—described themselves as native speakers of their heritage language when they were children but not currently as adults. Others—like Reiko and Chloe—felt ambivalent about identifying as a native speaker of their heritage language overall but considered taking up this identity in certain situations. Yet, even as my participants expressed these varying degrees of

affinity with their heritage language and identities, they frequently positioned themselves relative to other speakers of their heritage language. For applied linguistics research, this finding reminds us the necessity of situating and contextualizing studies of heritage language speakers. At the same time, these findings echo earlier discussions in the field (Ortega, 2013a; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016) about the dynamic nature of language learning. Perhaps further research from the perspective of heritage speakers would enhance our understanding of the dynamic nature of language proficiency as well.

6.2 Reimagining language brokering

Of the many facets of the heritage speaker experience, language brokering offers a particularly rich area of research for applied linguistics. Like heritage speakers who occupy a liminal space in applied linguistics research, so too does language brokering in the field of translation and interpretation. Yet, because language brokering is primarily experienced by heritage speakers like myself, I decided to narrow my research focus to this specific population of multilingual speakers. By exploring the role of language brokering in the lives of heritage speakers, we can deepen our understanding of how heritage speakers actually use their heritage languages in their daily lives. In other words, language brokering shifts the focus from the ontological questions about heritage languages to the applied questions about heritage languages and their speakers.

As I discussed in Chapter 2, language brokering studies have largely been absent from applied linguistics research. Most of these studies have come from the fields of education and social psychology, which have largely focused on the emotional and acculturative effects of LB experiences on children and adolescents (e.g. Love & Buriel, 2007; Weisskirch, 2006; Weisskirch & Alva, 2002). The few existing LB studies in applied linguistics have similarly

focused on these areas of research in adults (e.g. Guan et al., 2016; Sherman & Homoláč, 2017). Likewise, my study also examined these aspects of adult language brokers in the second and third stages of research through in-depth interviews. Echoing the themes from Guan et al. (2016), my participants also shared a deep understanding of their parents' immigrant experiences and a sense of self-awareness about their linguistic identities and heritage culture. Similar to the findings from Sherman and Homoláč (2017), my participants also expressed a feeling of ease with language brokering that has come with years of experience.

However, my study goes beyond the emotional and acculturative implications of language brokering by examining the instantiations of language brokering between adult language brokers and their parents. As I described in Chapter 5, these LB interactions provided a glimpse into the linguistic and semiotic manifestations of language brokering. The salient linguistic features of language brokering in my study resembled that of Reynolds and Orellana (2014), whose study of adolescents performing hypothetical LB situations revealed their adept use of codeswitching and bivalency. The semiotic features of language brokering in my study were less salient to the extent that these were not easily interpretable for me as an outside observer. One reason for this could have been the design of the questionnaire task, which physically constrained my participants to tables and chairs. However, it seemed that overall, my adult language broker (LB adult) participants generally relied more on their linguistic resources rather than other semiotic resources. This was corroborated by my interviews with other adult language brokers in the second stage of my study when the majority of them reported relying on verbally describing concepts and words they did not know and using modern translation technologies such as Google Translate. As I posited in section 5.5, it seems reasonable that language brokers might rely on linguistic resources more than semiotic resources given that they

have been tasked with a linguistic challenge. After all, a language broker is called upon specifically for their language skills, not their overall communication skills.

At the same time, my study also uncovered different ideologies about language brokering from the perspective of language brokers themselves. Understanding these language brokering ideologies provides a window into how language brokers perceive their communicative practices in their heritage language. As I discuss in Chapter 5, the ways in which my LB adult participants approached language brokering with their parents seemed to reflect their own ideologies about language brokering and language itself. Karen's directive and hands-off approach underlines her view of language brokering as a way to help her mother practice English. At the same time, Karen seems to conflate her ideological notions about language learning and language brokering as necessary forms of struggle to achieve communicative self-sufficiency in a language. Having described her own challenges of maintaining Mandarin, Karen seemed to impose her ideological notions of language proficiency on her mother through language brokering. Reiko's collaborative and hands-off approach reflects her ideologies about language brokering as a familial obligation. For Reiko, being a language broker means playing a supportive role for her mother, whose autonomy should be respected in LB interactions. Reiko's LB approach also exhibits her ideologies about the fluidity of language and native speaker identity. Just as she adapts Japanese and English to communicate with her mother using bivalent words, Reiko also adapts her linguistic identities to her contexts such as claiming Japanese native speaker status for her job applications in the U.S. but not when she is visiting family in Japan. David's collaborative and hands-on approach reflects his ideologies about language brokering as an insufficient form of translation and interpretation service. Because he was so entrenched in his ideologies about professional medical translators and interpreters, David seemed to project this ideology onto his

own language brokering practices by prioritizing accuracy in his translations. This was similarly reflected in his language ideologies about bilingualism where he questioned the accuracy of identifying himself as a Korean-English bilingual due to his limited Korean literacy. Chloe's directive and hands-on approach reflects her ideologies about language brokering as a form of advocacy for her father. For Chloe, her role extended beyond accurately conveying information for her father to ensuring accuracy in his responses to questions.

These different ideologies and ideas of language brokering present multiple lenses through which we can view and study this phenomenon. Beyond simply an act of mediating and even beyond "influencing the contents and natures" (Tse, 1995, p. 180) of communication between two linguistically different parties, language brokering is a multi-faceted, multilingual phenomenon experienced by heritage language speakers who interpret this experience in multiple ways. Their ideologies and identities performed through language brokering offer much to be explored in applied linguistics research as it seeks to understand the ontological questions about multilingualism in its many forms.

6.3 Reimagining multilingualism

Reimagining the ontology of multilingualism requires a fundamental shift from viewing multilingual individuals as an exception to the monolingual norm. This idea has been referred to in recent years as the "multilingual turn" in applied linguistics research (Meier, 2017; Ortega, 2013a, 2013b; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016). In particular, translanguaging has expanded this area of research by reconceptualizing multilingualism as a communicative practice enacted by individual multilingual speakers who draw upon their entire linguistic repertoire. In other words, translanguaging has shifted the focus of multilingualism from the language to the individual by examining the communicative practices of multilingual speakers. Instead of comparing

multilinguals to monolinguals or analyzing multilingualism as a series of monolingualisms, a translanguaging approach treats multilingual speakers as inherently distinct from monolingual speakers. In this sense, translanguaging is a direct response to Piller's (2016) call to move away from a monolingual lens of multilingualism.

In light of this multilingual turn in applied linguistics, my study attempts to reimagine multilingualism from the lens of multilingual speakers who have acquired their languages naturalistically (namely heritage language speakers) and who use these languages in real-life multilingual situations (namely language brokering interactions). By applying a translanguaging lens to my study, I have attempted to illustrate the communicative practices of individuals who have lived most, if not all of their lives in a multilingual reality. By focusing on language brokering specifically, I have attempted to present an example of multilingual interactions encountered by multilingual individuals in a naturalistic setting. Together, the three stages of my study illustrate the possibilities of multilingualism from the voices of multilingual speakers.

In Chapter 5, I presented my findings of the possible manifestations of multilingualism through the communicative practice of language brokering. For example, all of my participants—both LB adults and LB parents—code-switched and code-mixed to communicate with each other. On the one hand, these instances of code-switching/-mixing demonstrate my participants' linguistic resourcefulness as they negotiated the meanings of unfamiliar words. On the other hand, these instances also exemplify the fluidity of language in multilingual households. At first glance, an outside observer like myself might interpret these instances as simply code-switching or code-mixing. However, from a translanguaging lens, it is conceivable that for a multilingual household, such blending of language varieties has morphed into the very "home language" described by language brokers in my study. In other words, "home language"

embodies the entire linguistic repertoire of a heritage speaker's family. This was particularly salient from the instantiations of bivalency between Reiko and her mother. From my perspective as an outsider, words that sounded like familiar English to my ears may not have been interpreted the same way by Reiko and Ms. R.; rather, these bivalent words may not have been consciously identified as either English or Japanese for Reiko and Ms. R. From the lens of translanguaging, the language of Reiko and Ms. R's home, like an idiolect (Otheguy et al., 2015), is unique to their communicative practice occupying a liminal space that is neither strictly Japanese nor English.

These instantiations of bivalency exemplify the creativity that emerges among heritage speakers who are perpetually navigating liminal spaces that render them as minorities and "other." Translanguaging is a powerful framework that not only acknowledges but celebrates this creativity among multilingual, heritage speakers in diasporic communities whose languages occupy a peripheral status in society. To reimagine and reconceptualize multilingualism as a distinct phenomenon from monolingualism demands that we reject any deficit views of multilinguals. For language brokers, this means shifting from the deficit view of heritage speakers as incomplete acquirers of their heritage language to an asset view that sees them as legitimate multilingual speakers with language experiences distinctly different from their monolingual counterparts.

While translanguaging offers one framework through which we can reconceptualize multilingualism, there remains much to be debated about the ontology of multilingualism. Through my study, I have attempted to contribute to this debate by examining the multilingual phenomenon of language brokering. Yet, language brokering is just one area of multilingualism that can generate additional paths of research from a multilingual lens.

The inspiration for research often comes from some personal encounter or experience that compels an individual to seek an answer to their deep-seated question. The inspiration for my research questions in this study emerged from my personal experience as a heritage language speaker, a language broker, and a multilingual individual. As reflected in the title of this study, reimagining multilingualism from the perspective of multilinguals is the ultimate aim of my dissertation. I embarked on this research topic partly in response to the recent calls for a more critical reflection of multilingual research (Meier, 2017; Ortega, 2013b; The Douglas Fir Group, 2016), but also out of my own personal interest in how heritage language speakers like myself fit into this field. After reading research article after research article in applied linguistics, I found myself realizing that for the vast majority of these studies, I did not fit into any of their participant profiles. Having never been a monolingual or rather, no recollection of being a monolingual, I am unable to identify a first language or L1. Moreover, the primary language of my parents and maternal grandparents—my primary caretakers—is considered a dialect of Mandarin without a written form. Though I identify myself as a native speaker of Mandarin for the sake of simplicity, Mandarin is not the native language nor first language of my parents or any family member with whom I interacted during the “critical period of language acquisition” of my childhood. In fact, I had “acquired” Mandarin from watching Taiwanese television and interacting with other Mandarin/Putonghua speakers in my church community. My experiences with acquiring Mandarin naturalistically typically do not fit the profile of L1 acquisition, which encompasses an L1 environment in the home. As for English, I do have some recollection of being unable to express myself in kindergarten—partly due to a lack of vocabulary, but also mostly out of fear of conversing with teachers who did not look like me. However, by most measures, I am considered a native speaker of English, having been born, raised, and educated in

the de facto English society of the United States. With this language background, I do not fit neatly into the linguistic profiles of most applied linguistics studies.

Perhaps one might respond to my story by classifying me as an outlier—after all, if I am not the target of a research question, there is little reason to include participants with my language background. Others might respond by grouping me with other heritage language speakers and focus on the linguistic outcomes of my Mandarin proficiency—a language variety that is an approximation of my actual heritage language that happens to have a convenient written and so-called standard form for linguistic analysis. However, as my study has illustrated, my story is not unique among heritage speakers in the United States, particularly for those such as Vivian and Casey, whose home languages similarly do not inhabit the privileged status of an official language. These shared stories among my participants and I highlight the ways in which our multilingual experiences collectively remain distinct from our monolingual counterparts and classroom language learners. Our stories as heritage speakers contribute to Ortega's (2019) suggestion to revisit how we conduct second language acquisition (SLA) research, that perhaps we should reconceptualize individuals who acquire a language later in life as a distinct experience from other multilinguals. Though my study offers only a small sample of heritage speakers, the similarities among our stories and experiences suggests there remains much to be explored in this area of research.

Although language brokering is only one specific type of multilingual interaction, it is nevertheless a significant one for heritage language speakers because it is an experience that begins in childhood. Future research in language brokering would benefit from a longitudinal study design that examines how a heritage language speaker evolves in their language brokering approaches and strategies from childhood until adolescence or even adulthood. These studies

may also consider exploring the language experiences of heritage speakers and multilingual individuals in diasporic communities in other parts of the globe. As the field of applied linguistics continues to move towards a multilingual turn in research, it is my hope that this multilingual turn will include those like myself, whose linguistic profiles do not conform neatly to binary categories like native/non-native, and whose linguistic repertoires occupy liminal spaces that are neither one language nor another but some other unexplored variety worthy of its own study.

REFERENCES

- Alvarez, S. (2014). Translanguaging Tareas: Emergent Bilingual Youth as Language Brokers for Homework in Immigrant Families. *Language Arts, 91*(5), 326–339.
- Angelelli, C. V. (2010). A professional ideology in the making: Bilingual youngsters interpreting for their communities and the notion of (no) choice. *Translation and Interpreting Studies, 5*(1), 94–108. <https://doi.org/10.1075/tis.5.1.06ang>
- Angelelli, C. V. (2016). Looking back: A study of (ad-hoc) family interpreters. *European Journal of Applied Linguistics, 4*(1), 5–31. <https://doi.org/10.1515/eujal-2015-0029>
- Angermeyer, P. S. (2010). Interpreter-mediated interaction as bilingual speech: Bridging macro- and micro-sociolinguistics in codeswitching research. *International Journal of Bilingualism, 14*(4), 466–489. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006910370914>
- Antia, B. E. (2017). Shh, hushed multilingualism! Accounting for the discreet genre of translanguaged siding in lecture halls at a South African university. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language, 243*, 183–198. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2016-0052>
- Antonini, R. (2016). Caught in the middle: child language brokering as a form of unrecognised language service. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development, 37*(7), 710–725. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2015.1127931>
- Bauer, E. (2013). Reconstructing Moral Identities in Memories of Childhood Language Brokering Experiences. *International Migration, 51*(5), 205–218. <https://doi.org/10.1111/imig.12030>
- Bauer, E. B., Presiado, V., & Colomer, S. (2017). Writing Through Partnership. *Journal of Literacy Research, 49*(1), 10–37. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1086296X16683417>
- Benmamoun, E., Montrul, S., & Polinsky, M. (2013a). Defining an “ideal” heritage speaker:

- Theoretical and methodological challenges Reply to peer commentaries. *Theoretical Linguistics*, 39(3–4), 259–294. <https://doi.org/10.1515/tl-2013-0018>
- Benmamoun, E., Montrul, S., & Polinsky, M. (2013b). Heritage languages and their speakers: Opportunities and challenges for linguistics. *Theoretical Linguistics*, 39(3–4), 129–181. <https://doi.org/10.1515/tl-2013-0009>
- Blackledge, A., & Creese, A. (2017). Translanguaging and the body. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 14(3), 1–19. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2017.1315809>
- Blair, A. (2016). Academic uses of language (re)defined: A case of emergent bilinguals engaging in languages and literacies in and outside of school. *Linguistics and Education*, 35, 109–119. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.linged.2016.07.003>
- Blommaert, J. (2010). *The sociolinguistics of globalization. The Sociolinguistics of Globalization*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/CBO9780511845307>
- Bolden, G. B. (2012). Across languages and cultures: Brokering problems of understanding in conversational repair. *Language in Society*, 41(01), 97–121. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404511000923>
- Briggs, C. L. (2007). Anthropology, Interviewing, and Communicability in Contemporary Society. *Current Anthropology*, 48(4), 551–580. <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev.anthro.34.081804.120618>
- Buchstaller, I., & Khattab, G. (2013). Population samples. In R. J. Podesva & D. Sharma (Eds.), *Research Methods in Linguistics* (1st ed., pp. 74–95). Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Buriel, R., Perez, W., de Ment, T. L., Chavez, D. V., & Moran, V. R. (1998). The Relationship of Language Brokering to Academic Performance, Biculturalism, and Self-Efficacy among

- Latino Adolescents. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 20(3), 283–297.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/07399863980203001>
- Busch, B. (2012). The linguistic repertoire revisited. *Applied Linguistics*, 33(5), 503–523.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/ams056>
- Busch, B. (2017). Expanding the notion of the linguistic repertoire: On the concept of Spracherleben - The lived experience of language. *Applied Linguistics*, 38(3), 340–358.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amv030>
- Busch, B., Jardine, A., & Tjoutuku, A. (2006). Language biographies for multilingual learning. *PRAESA Occasional Papers*, 24. Retrieved from <http://www.praesa.org.za/wp-content/uploads/2017/01/Paper24.pdf>
- Cabo, D. P. Y., & Rothman, J. (2012). The (IL)logical problem of heritage speaker bilingualism and incomplete acquisition. *Applied Linguistics*, 33(4), 450–455.
<https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/ams037>
- Canagarajah, S. (2011a). Codemeshing in academic writing: Identifying teachable strategies of translanguaging. *Modern Language Journal*, 95(3), 401–417.
<https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01207.x>
- Canagarajah, S. (2011b). Translanguaging in the classroom: Emerging issues for research and pedagogy. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 2, 1–28. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110239331.1>
- Canagarajah, S. (2013). *Translingual Practice: Global Englishes and Cosmopolitan Relations*. London: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203073889>
- Carstens, A. (2016). Translanguaging as a vehicle for L2 acquisition and L1 development: students' perceptions. *Language Matters*, 47(2), 203–222.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/10228195.2016.1153135>

- Cenoz, J. (2013). Defining Multilingualism. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 33, 3–18.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S026719051300007X>
- Cline, T., Crafter, S., O'Dell, L., & de Guida, A. (2011). Young people's representations of language brokering. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 32(3), 207–220. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2011.558901>
- Comanaru, R., & Noels, K. A. (2009). Self-determination, motivation, and the learning of chinese as a heritage language. *Canadian Modern Language Review*.
<https://doi.org/10.3138/cmlr.66.1.131>
- Corona, R., Stevens, L. F., Halfond, R. W., Shaffer, C. M., Reid-Quñones, K., & Gonzalez, T. (2012). A Qualitative Analysis of What Latino Parents and Adolescents Think and Feel About Language Brokering. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 21(5), 788–798.
<https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-011-9536-2>
- Coyoca, A. M., & Lee, J. S. (2009). A Typology of Language-Brokering Events in Dual-Language Immersion Classrooms. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 32(3), 260–279.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15235880903372837>
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2010). Translanguaging in the bilingual classroom: A pedagogy for learning and teaching? *The Modern Language Journal*, 94(1), 103–115.
- Creese, A., & Blackledge, A. (2015). Translanguaging and Identity in Educational Settings. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35, 20–35.
<https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190514000233>
- Creswell, J. W. (2013). *Qualitative inquiry and research design: Choosing among five approaches*. SAGE Publications (Vol. 3rd). <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9299.00177>
- Creswell, J. W., Plano Clark, V. L., Gutmann, M. L., & Hanson, W. E. (2003). Advanced Mixed

- Methods Research Designs. In A. Tashakkori & C. Teddlie (Eds.), *Handbook of Mixed Methods in Social and Behavioral Research* (1st ed., pp. 209–240). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Del Torto, L. M. (2008). Once a broker, always a broker: Non-professional interpreting as identity accomplishment in multigenerational Italian-English bilingual family interactions. *Multilingua*, 27(1–2), 77–97.
- Dorner, L. M., Orellana, M. F., & Li-Grining, C. P. (2007). “ I Helped My Mom ,” and It Helped Me : Translating the Skills of Language Brokers into Improved Standardized Test Scores. *American Journal of Education*, 113, 451–478.
- Fishman, J. A. (2001). 300-Plus years of heritage language education in the US. In *Heritage Language in America. Preserving a National Resource*.
- García, O. (2009a). Bilingual Education in the 21st Century: A global perspective. In *Blackwell*.
- García, O. (2009b). Education, Multilingualism and Translanguaging in the 21st Century. In A. Mohanty, M. Panda, R. Phillipson, & T. Skutnabb-Kangas (Eds.), *Multilingual education for social justice: Globalising the local* (pp. 140–158). New Delhi: Orient Blackswan.
- García, O. (2009c). Emergent bilinguals and TESOL: What’s in a name? *TESOL Quarterly*.
<https://doi.org/10.1002/j.1545-7249.2009.tb00172.x>
- García, O. (2017). Problematizing linguistic integration of migrants: the role of translanguaging and language teachers. *The Linguistic Integration of Adult Migrants / L'intégration Linguistique Des Migrants Adultes*, 11–26. <https://doi.org/10.1515/9783110477498-005>
- García, O., & Leiva, C. (2014). Heteroglossia as Practice and Pedagogy. In A. Blackledge & A. Creese (Eds.), *Heteroglossia as Practice and Pedagogy* (pp. 199–216).
<https://doi.org/10.1007/978-94-007-7856-6>

- García, O., & Li, W. (2013). *Translanguaging: Language, bilingualism and education*. Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137385765>
- García, O., & Otheguy, R. (2017). Interrogating the Language Gap of Young Bilingual and Bidialectal Students. *International Multilingual Research Journal*, *11*(1), 52–65. <https://doi.org/10.1080/19313152.2016.1258190>
- García, O., & Sylvan, C. E. (2011). Pedagogies and practices in multilingual classrooms: Singularities in pluralities. *Modern Language Journal*, *95*(3), 385–400. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2011.01208.x>
- Goodwin, C. (2000). Action and embodiment within situated human interaction. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *32*(10), 1489–1522. [https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166\(99\)00096-X](https://doi.org/10.1016/S0378-2166(99)00096-X)
- Gorter, D., & Cenoz, J. (2015). Translanguaging and linguistic landscapes. *Linguistic Landscape*, *1*(12), 54–74. <https://doi.org/10.1075/ll.1.1-2.04gor>
- Grin, F. (2017). Translation and language policy in the dynamics of multilingualism. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *2017*(243), 155–181. <https://doi.org/10.1515/ijsl-2016-0051>
- Grosjean, F. (1985). The bilingual as a competent but specific speaker-hearer. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.1985.9994221>
- Grosjean, F. (1989). Neurolinguists, beware! The bilingual is not two monolinguals in one person. *Brain and Language*. [https://doi.org/10.1016/0093-934X\(89\)90048-5](https://doi.org/10.1016/0093-934X(89)90048-5)
- Guan, S. S. A., Nash, A., & Orellana, M. F. (2016). Cultural and social processes of language brokering among Arab, Asian, and Latin immigrants. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, *37*(2), 150–166.

<https://doi.org/10.1080/01434632.2015.1044997>

Gumperz, J. J. (1964). Linguistic and social interaction in two communities. *American Anthropologist*, 66(6), 137–153. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1525/aa.1964.66.suppl_3.02a00100

Gutiérrez, K. D., Baquedano-López, P., & Tejeda, C. (1999). Rethinking diversity: Hybridity and hybrid language practices in the third space. *Mind, Culture, and Activity*, 6(4), 286–303. <https://doi.org/10.1080/10749039909524733>

Guzula, X., McKinney, C., & Tyler, R. (2016). Languaging-for-learning: Legitimising translanguaging and enabling multimodal practices in third spaces. *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, 34(3), 211–226. <https://doi.org/10.2989/16073614.2016.1250360>

Hall, N., & Sham, S. (2007). Language Brokering as Young People's Work: Evidence from Chinese Adolescents in England. *Language and Education*, 21(1), 16–30. <https://doi.org/10.2167/le645.0>

He, A. W. (2010). The heart of heritage: Sociocultural dimensions of heritage language learning. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 30, 66–82. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190510000073>

Hlavac, J. (2014). Participation roles of a language broker and the discourse of brokering: An analysis of English-Macedonian interactions. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 70, 52–67. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2014.06.003>

Holstein, J., & Gubrium, J. (1995). Chapter 5. The Active Interview. In *Qualitative research Methods*. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781412986120>

Hua, J. M., & Costigan, C. L. (2012). The Familial Context of Adolescent Language Brokering

- Within Immigrant Chinese Families in Canada. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 41(7), 894–906. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-011-9682-2>
- Iedema, R. (2001). Resemiotization. *Semiotica*, 137(1–4), 23–39.
- Iedema, R. (2003). Multimodality, resemiotization: extending the analysis of discourse as multi-semiotic practice. *Visual Communication*, 2(1), 29–57.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/1470357203002001751>
- Ivankova, N. V., & Creswell, J. W. (2009). Mixed methods. In J. Heigham & R. A. Croker (Eds.), *Qualitative research in applied linguistics: A practical introduction* (pp. 135–161). New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jakobson, R. (1959). On linguistic aspects of translation. *On Translation*, 232–239. Retrieved from <http://www.stanford.edu/~eckert/PDF/jakobson.pdf>
- Jernudd, B. H. (1989). The texture of language purism: An introduction. In B. H. Jernudd & M. J. Shapiro (Eds.), *The politics of language purism* (1st ed., pp. 1–20). Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Jonsson, C. (2013). Translanguaging and multilingual literacies: Diary-based case studies of adolescents in an international school. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, 224, 85–117.
- Jørgensen, J. N. (2008). Polylingual languaging around and among children and adolescents. *International Journal of Multilingualism*. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790710802387562>
- Jørgensen, J. N., Karrebæk, M., Madsen, L. M., & Møller, J. S. (2011). Polylinguaging in superdiversity. *Diversities*.
- Kamwangamalu, N. M. (1989). Code-mixing and modernization. *World Englishes*, 8(3), 321–332.

- Katz, V. (2014). Children as Brokers of Their Immigrant Families' Health-Care Connections. *Social Problems*, 61(2), 194–215. <https://doi.org/10.1525/sp.2014.12026>.This
- Kellman, S. G. (2000). *The Translingual Imagination*. Lincoln, NE: University of Nebraska Press.
- Kubota, R. (2016). The Multi/Plural Turn, Postcolonial Theory, and Neoliberal Multiculturalism: Complicities and Implications for Applied Linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, 37(4), 474–494. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amu045>
- Kupisch, T., & Rothman, J. (2018). Terminology matters! Why difference is not incompleteness and how early child bilinguals are heritage speakers. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 22(5), 564–582. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006916654355>
- Kusters, A., Spotti, M., Swanwick, R., & Tapio, E. (2017). Beyond languages, beyond modalities: Transforming the study of semiotic repertoires. *Translation and Translanguaging in Multilingual Contexts*, 14(3), 219–232. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2017.1321651>
- Lee, J. S., Hill-Bonnet, L., & Raley, J. (2011). Examining the Effects of Language Brokering on Student Identities and Learning Opportunities in Dual Immersion Classrooms. *Journal of Language, Identity and Education*, 10(5), 306–326. <https://doi.org/10.1080/15348458.2011.614544>
- Leeman, J. (2015). Heritage language education and identity in the United States. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 35(2015), 100–119. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190514000245>
- Lewis, G., Jones, B., & Baker, C. (2012). Translanguaging: developing its conceptualisation and contextualisation. *Educational Research and Evaluation*, 18(7), 655–670. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13803611.2012.718490>

- Li, W. (2011). Moment Analysis and translanguaging space: Discursive construction of identities by multilingual Chinese youth in Britain. *Journal of Pragmatics*, 43(5), 1222–1235.
<https://doi.org/10.1016/j.pragma.2010.07.035>
- Li, W., & Zhu, H. (2013). Translanguaging Identities and Ideologies: Creating Transnational Space Through Flexible Multilingual Practices Amongst Chinese University Students in the UK. *Applied Linguistics*, 34(5), 516–535. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amt022>
- Lippi-Green, R. (1994). Accent, standard language ideology, and discriminatory pretext in the courts. *Language in Society*, 23(2), 163–198.
- Lippi-Green, R. (2012). *English with an accent: Language, ideology and discrimination in the United States. English with an Accent* (2nd ed.). New York: Routledge.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203348802>
- Love, J. A., & 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.
- Makalela, L. (2015). Moving out of linguistic boxes: the effects of translanguaging strategies for multilingual classrooms. *Language and Education*, 29(3), 200–217.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2014.994524>
- Mann, S. (2011). A Critical Review of Qualitative Interviews in Applied Linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*, 32(1), 6–24. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amq043>
- Mann, S. (2016). *The research interview: Reflective practice and reflexivity in research processes. The Research Interview: Reflective Practice and Reflexivity in Research Processes*. <https://doi.org/10.1057/9781137353368>
- Martinet, H. (1985). Why do we know how to translate what? *Semiotica*, 55(1–2), 19–42.

- May, S. (2013). *The multilingual turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and bilingual education*.
The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and Bilingual Education.
<https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203113493>
- McQuillan, J., & Tse, L. (1995). Child language brokering in linguistic minority communities: Effects on cultural interaction, cognition, and literacy. *Language and Education*, 9(3), 195–215. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500789509541413>
- Mehan, H. (1993). Beneath the skin and between the ears: A case study in the politics of representation. In *Understanding practice: Perspectives on activity and context* (pp. 241–268).
- Meier, G. S. (2017). The multilingual turn as a critical movement in education: Assumptions, challenges and a need for reflection. *Applied Linguistics Review*.
<https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2016-2010>
- Miles, M. B., Huberman, M. A., & Saldaña, J. (2014). *Qualitative data analysis: A methods Sourcebook (3rd Edition)*. SAGE Publications, Inc.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/239700221402800402>
- Milroy, J. (2001). Language ideologies and the consequences of standardization. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 5(4), 530–555. <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9481.00163>
- Mondada, L. (2016). Challenges of multimodality: Language and the body in social interaction. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 20(3), 336–366. https://doi.org/10.1111/josl.1_12177
- Montrul, S. (2010). Dominant language transfer in adult second language learners and heritage speakers. *Second Language Research*. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0267658310365768>
- Montrul, S. (2013). How “native” are heritage speakers? *Heritage Language Journal*, 10(2), 153–177. <https://doi.org/10.1192/bjp.111.479.1009-a>

- Montrul, S. A. (2008). *Incomplete acquisition in bilingualism: Re-examining the age factor*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Montrul, S., Foote, R., & Perpiñán, S. (2008). Gender agreement in adult second language learners and Spanish heritage speakers: The effects of age and context of acquisition. *Language Learning*. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9922.2008.00449.x>
- Morales, A. (2008). *Language brokering in Mexican immigrant families living in the midwest: A multiple case study*. University of Nebraska.
- Morales, A., & Hanson, W. (2005). Language Brokering: An Integrative Review of the Literature. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 27(4), 471–503. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986305281333>
- Morales, A., Yakushko, O. F., & Castro, A. J. (2012). Language Brokering Among Mexican-Immigrant Families in the Midwest: A Multiple Case Study. *The Counseling Psychologist*, 40(4), 520–553. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0011000011417312>
- Nekvapil, J. (2001). From the biographical narratives of Czech Germans: Language biographies in the family of Mr and Mrs S. *Journal of Asian Pacific Communication*, 11(200 1), 77–99. <https://doi.org/10.1075/japc.11.1.08nek>
- Ortega, L. (2013a). SLA for the 21st Century: Disciplinary Progress, Transdisciplinary Relevance, and the Bi/multilingual Turn. *Language Learning*, 63(s1), 1–24. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9922.2012.00735.x>
- Ortega, L. (2013b). *Ways forward for a bi/multilingual turn in SLA*. (S. May, Ed.), *The Multilingual Turn: Implications for SLA, TESOL and Bilingual Education* (1st ed.). New York: Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203113493>
- Ortega, L. (2019). SLA and the study of equitable multilingualism. *The Modern Language*

- Journal*, 103, 23–38. <https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12525>
- Otheguy, R., García, O., & Reid, W. (2015). Clarifying translanguaging and deconstructing named languages: A perspective from linguistics. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 6(3), 281–307. <https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2015-0014>
- Otsuji, E., & Pennycook, A. (2010). Metrolingualism: Fixity, fluidity and language in flux. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 7(3), 240–254. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790710903414331>
- Pavlenko, A. (2007). Autobiographic narratives as data in applied linguistics. *Applied Linguistics*. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amm008>
- Pennycook, A. (2017). Translanguaging and semiotic assemblages. *International Journal of Multilingualism*, 14(3), 269–282. <https://doi.org/10.1080/14790718.2017.1315810>
- Pennycook, A., & Otsuji, E. (2016). Lingoing, language labels and metrolingual practices. *Applied Linguistics Review*, 7(3), 259–277. <https://doi.org/10.1515/applirev-2016-0011>
- Pike, K. L. (2015). *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior (2nd rev. ed.)*. *Language in relation to a unified theory of the structure of human behavior (2nd rev. ed.)*. <https://doi.org/10.1037/14786-000>
- Piller, I. (2016). Monolingual ways of seeing multilingualism. *Journal of Multicultural Discourses*, 11(1), 25–33. <https://doi.org/10.1080/17447143.2015.1102921>
- Polinsky, M. (2018). Bilingual children and adult heritage speakers: The range of comparison. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 22(5), 547–563. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006916656048>
- Polinsky, M., & Kagan, O. (2007). Heritage languages: In the “wild” and in the classroom. *Language and Linguistics Compass*, 1(5), 368–395. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1749->

818X.2007.00022.x

- Poplack, S. (1980). Sometimes I'll start a sentence in Spanish y termino en Espanol: Toward a typology of code-switching. *Linguistics*, 18, 581–618.
- Pritzker, S. E. (2012). Living translation in US Chinese medicine. *Language in Society*, 41(3), 343–363. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0047404512000280>
- Probyn, M. (2015). Pedagogical translanguaging: bridging discourses in South African science classrooms. *Language and Education*, 29(3), 218–234. <https://doi.org/10.1080/09500782.2014.994525>
- Reynolds, J. F., & Faulstich Orellana, M. (2014). Translanguaging within Enactments of Quotidian Interpreter-Mediated Interactions. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 24(3), 315–338. <https://doi.org/10.1111/jola.12057>
- Rothman, J. (2009). Understanding the nature and outcomes of early bilingualism: Romance languages as heritage languages. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 13(2), 155–163. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1367006909339814>
- Rothman, J., & Treffers-Daller, J. (2014). A prolegomenon to the construct of the native speaker: Heritage speaker Bilinguals are Natives Too! *Applied Linguistics*, 35(1), 93–98. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amt049>
- Rymes, B. (2010). Classroom discourse analysis: A focus on communicative repertoires. In N. H. Hornberger & S. L. McKay (Eds.), *Sociolinguistics and Language Education* (pp. 528–546). Buffalo, NY: Multilingual Matters.
- Sayer, P. (2013). Translanguaging, TexMex, and Bilingual Pedagogy: Emergent Bilinguals Learning Through the Vernacular. *TESOL Quarterly*, 47(1), 63–88. <https://doi.org/10.1002/tesq.53>

- Schäffner, C. (2012). Intercultural intertextuality as a translation phenomenon. *Perspectives*, 20(3), 345–364. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0907676X.2012.702402>
- Sherman, T., & Homoláč, J. (2017). “The older i got, it wasn’t a problem for me anymore”: Language brokering as a managed activity and a narrated experience among young Vietnamese immigrants in the Czech Republic. *Multilingua*, 36(1), 1–29. <https://doi.org/10.1515/multi-2015-0027>
- Sherman, T., & Homoláč, J. (2019). “My mom works in a restaurant here at the market, so she doesn’t need Czech”: managing the (non-)acquisition of the majority language in an ethnolinguistic minority community. *Language Policy*, (0123456789). <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10993-019-09520-5>
- Spradley, J. (1998). THE ETHNOGRAPHIC INTERVIEW (from Spradley, 1979). *Introduction to Qualitative Methods*.
- Talmy, S. (2010). Qualitative Interviews in Applied Linguistics: From Research Instrument to Social Practice. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 30, 128–148. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0267190510000085>
- Talmy, S. (2011). The interview as collaborative achievement: Interaction, identity, and ideology in a speech event. *Applied Linguistics*, 32(1), 25–42. <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amq027>
- The Douglas Fir Group. (2016). A transdisciplinary framework for SLA in a multilingual world. *The Modern Language Journal*, 100(S1), 19–47. <https://doi.org/10.1111/modl.12301>
- Thiery, C. (1978). True Bilingualism and Second-language Learning. In *Language Interpretation and Communication* (pp. 145–153). Boston, MA: Springer US. https://doi.org/10.1007/978-1-4615-9077-4_14
- Tse, L. (1995). Language brokering among Latino adolescents: Prevalence, attitudes, and school

- performance. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 17(2), 180–193.
- Tse, L. (1996). Language brokering in linguistic minority communities: the case of Chinese- and Vietnamese-American students. *Bilingual Research Journal*, 20(3–4), 485–498.
<https://doi.org/10.1080/15235882.1996.10668640>
- Umaña-Taylor, A. J. (2003). Language brokering as a stressor for immigrant children and their families. In *Points & counterpoints: Controversial relationship and family issues in the 21st century (an anthology)*.
- Valdés, G. (1992). Bilingual minorities and language issues in writing: Toward professionwide responses to a new challenge. *Written Communication*, 9(1), 85–136.
- Valdés, G. (2005). Bilingualism, heritage language learners, and SLA research: Opportunities lost or seized? *Modern Language Journal*, 89(3), 410–426. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1540-4781.2005.00314.x>
- Valdés, G., & Angelelli, C. V. (2003). Interpreters, interpreting, and the study of bilingualism. *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 23, 58–78.
- Valdés, G., & Figueroa, R. a. (1994). The measurement of bilingualism. *Bilingualism and Testing: A Special Case of Bias. Second Language Learning*.
https://doi.org/10.1007/SpringerReference_33583
- Weisskirch, R. S. (2006). Emotional aspects of language brokering among Mexican American adults. *Journal of Multilingual and Multicultural Development*, 27(4), 332 — 343.
<https://doi.org/10.2167/jmmd421.1>
- Weisskirch, R. S. (2013). Family Relationships, Self-esteem, and Self-efficacy Among Language Brokering Mexican American Emerging Adults. *Journal of Child and Family Studies*, 22(8), 1147–1155. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10826-012-9678-x>

- Weisskirch, R. S., & Alva, S. A. (2002). Language Brokering and the Acculturation of Latino Children. *Hispanic Journal of Behavioral Sciences*, 24(3), 369–378.
<https://doi.org/10.1177/0739986302024003007>
- Woolard, K. A. (1998). Simultaneity and Bivalency as Strategies in Bilingualism. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 8(1), 3–29. <https://doi.org/10.1525/jlin.1998.8.1.3>
- Wu, N. H., & Kim, S. Y. (2009). Chinese American adolescents' perceptions of the language brokering experience as a sense of burden and sense of efficacy. *Journal of Youth and Adolescence*, 38(5), 703–718. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s10964-008-9379-3>
- Zhang, H., & Chan, B. H.-S. (2017). Translanguaging in multimodal Macao posters: Flexible versus separate multilingualism. *International Journal of Bilingualism*, 21(1), 34–56.

APPENDICES

Appendix A First stage: Language brokering survey

Appendix A.1 Recruitment text for survey participants

This text was posted on Facebook and LinkedIn to recruit participants for the online survey for the first stage of the study.

Hi, everyone! I'm conducting a survey about bilingual speakers who have interpreted or translated for their family while living in the United States. If you grew up speaking a language other than English at home, and had to interpret or translate for your parents or relatives because they didn't speak English, please consider taking my survey! Your participation will help me complete this first phase of my dissertation research project. The entire survey should only take about 25 minutes. Thanks!
(https://gsu.qualtrics.com/jfe/form/SV_dnksjKH9JRGEKih)

Appendix A.2 Informed consent form for survey participants on Qualtrics



Georgia State University Informed Consent

Title: Reimagining Multilingualism in Language Brokering
Principal Investigator: Dr. Stephanie Lindemann
Student Principal Investigator: Jessica Lian

Procedures

We are conducting a survey about bilingual speakers who have interpreted or translated for their family while living in the United States. To qualify for this survey, you must meet the following criteria:

- You are at least 18 years old.
- You have attended high school in the United States.
- You grew up speaking a language other than English at home.
- You have interpreted and/or translated for your parents or relatives because they do not speak English.

You are being asked to take part in a research study. If you decide to take part, you will complete a survey about your language background, your parents' language background, and your experiences interpreting and translating for your family while living in the United States. You will complete an online survey that will take 25 minutes of your time.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

You do not have to be in this study. You may skip some questions. For questions you cannot skip, you may stop participating at any time.

Contact Information

Contact Jessica at jljan2@student.gsu.edu if you have any questions.

Consent

If you are willing to volunteer for this research, please start the survey.

Appendix A.3 Survey screener questions on Qualtrics



What is your age?

Did you attend high school in the United States?

- Yes
- No

Did you grow up speaking a language other than English at home?

- Yes
- No

As a child, did you ever interpret or translate for a family member who does not speak English?

- Yes
- No

Appendix A.4 Language brokering questionnaire

Gender

- Male
- Female

What is your highest education level?

- Some primary or elementary school
 - Some secondary or high school
 - High School graduate
 - Some college
 - College graduate
 - Post-graduate degree
-

What is your country of birth?

How many years have you lived in the United States?

What are the languages that you speak?

Do you consider English to be your first language?

- Yes
 - No
 - Not sure
-

Do you consider yourself to be a native English speaker?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

Please rate your level of fluency in English:

	Not fluent at all (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Fluent (7)
Speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

How many other languages did you speak at home?

- 1
- 2
- 3
- More than 3

Second language you speak at home?

Please rate your level of fluency in this language:

	Not fluent at all (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Fluent (7)
Speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Third language you speak at home?

Please rate your level of fluency in this language:

	Not fluent at all (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Fluent (7)
Speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

(For more than 3 languages)

Please list the languages you speak at home. For each language, please rate your skills from 1 (not fluent at all) to 7 (fluent):

Speaking

Listening

Reading

Writing

Anything else you'd like to share about your home language(s)?

Which home language did you use most often to interpret for your family?

Please rate your level of fluency in this language:

	Not fluent at all (1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	Fluent (7)
Speaking	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Listening	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Reading	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Writing	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Have you ever professionally interpreted or translated in this language?

Yes

No

Please explain:

Have you ever trained to be a professional interpreter or translator?

- Yes
- No

Please explain:

As a child, where did you interpret or translate for your family member? (Please choose all that apply)

- Airport
- Bank
- Government offices
- Home
- Hospital or doctor's office
- On the street
- Post office
- School
- Store
- Workplace
- Other: _____
-

As a child, what types of documents did you translate for your family member? (Please choose all that apply)

- Bank statements
- Bills (e.g. phone, utilities)
- Credit card statements
- Immigration forms
- Insurance documents
- Instruction manuals (e.g. electronics, appliances)
- Job applications
- Medical forms
- Rental agreements
- School documents (e.g. report cards, letters)
- Tax documents
- Workplace documents (e.g. company letters or memos)
- Other: _____

As a child, what were the most frequent situations when you interpreted or translated for your family?

As an adult, where do you interpret or translate for your family member? (Please choose all that apply)

- Airport
 - Bank
 - Government offices
 - Home
 - Hospital or doctor's office
 - On the street
 - Post office
 - School
 - Store
 - Workplace
 - Other: _____
-

As an adult, what types of documents do you translate for your family member? (Please choose all that apply)

- Bank statements
 - Bills (e.g. phone, utilities)
 - Credit card statements
 - Immigration forms
 - Insurance documents
 - Instruction manuals (e.g. electronics, appliances)
 - Job applications
 - Medical forms
 - Rental agreements
 - School documents (e.g. report cards, letters)
 - Tax documents
 - Workplace documents (e.g. company letters or memos)
 - Other: _____
-

As an adult, what are the most frequent situations when you interpret or translate for your family?

Please rate how much you agree with each statement.	Strongly agree	Agree	Somewhat agree	Neither agree nor disagree	Somewhat disagree	Disagree	Strongly disagree
Translating for my family helped me learn English.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Translating for my family helped me maintain my home language.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I enjoy translating for my family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I am proud of translating for my family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
Translating for my family as a child made me more mature.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I know American culture better because I translated for my family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I know my heritage culture better because I translated for my family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel that translating for my family is a burden.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I'm embarrassed whenever I am asked to translate for my family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I think my parents learned English slower because I translated for them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

I think my parents know less about American culture because I translated for them.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel nervous when I translate for my family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>
I feel good about myself when I translate for my family.	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>	<input type="radio"/>

Any comments?

Are you willing to be contacted for an interview with the researcher?

- Yes
- No

If yes, please leave your email address:

Appendix B Second stage: Composing language biographies through interviews

Appendix B.1 Recruitment text for interview participants

The following text was sent as an email to survey participants who had expressed an interest in participating in a follow-up interview for the second stage of the study.

Hello!

Thank you for participating in my survey about translating and interpreting for your family. I am contacting you because you have indicated in my survey that you are interested in participating in a follow-up interview. Are you still available for an interview?

If you are available, I would love to interview you to learn more about your experiences interpreting and translating for your family. We can have the interview online using Skype or Google Hangout. The interview will last no more than 1 hour.

Please let me know if you're interested in participating in my research, and we can get started. Thanks again for participating in my research! I look forward to hearing from you soon.

Sincerely,

Jessica Lian
PhD Candidate
Department of Applied Linguistics & ESL
Georgia State University
15th Floor, 25 Park Place
Atlanta, GA, 30303

Appendix B.2 Informed consent form for interview participants

Georgia State University
Department of Applied Linguistics & ESL
Informed Consent

Title: Reimagining Multilingualism in Language Brokering
Principal Investigator: Stephanie Lindemann
Student Principal Investigator: Jessica Lian

Purpose

The purpose of the study is to understand how bilingual individuals interpret and translate for their family and community, even though they have not been professionally trained as interpreters and translators. You are invited to take part in this research study because

- You are bilingual in English and at least one other language.
- You grew up in the United States speaking a language other than English at home.
- You have interpreted or translated for your family as a child.
- You may still be the interpreter and translator for your family.

A total of 26 people will be invited to take part in this study.

Procedures

If you decide to take part, you will be interviewed by a researcher. During the interview, you will be asked about:

- The languages you speak at home
- Your experience interpreting and translating for your family
- How you interpret and translate for your family

The interview will last about 1 hour. The interview will take place online through video chat using Skype or Google Hangout. The interview will be audio recorded by the researcher.

Future Research

The researchers will remove information that may identify you and may use your data for future research. If we do this, we will not ask for any additional consent for you.

Risks

In this study, you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life.

Benefits

This study is not designed to benefit you personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about bilingual individuals who grew up in the United States speaking a language other than English at home, and how they interpret and translate for their family.

Alternatives

The alternative to taking part in this study is to not take part in the study.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may skip questions any time during the interview. Skipping questions will not affect your compensation. You may refuse to take part in the study or stop at any time; this will not cause you to lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

Version Date: August 7, 2018

1

**GSU
APPROVED**

IRB NUMBER: H19019
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 08/15/2018
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 07/20/2019

Confidentiality

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. The following people and entities will have access to the information you provide:

- Dr. Stephanie Lindemann and Jessica Lian
- GSU Institutional Review Board
- Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)

We will use a pseudonym rather than your name on study records. Interview audio recordings will be stored offline in an external hard drive. These recordings will be deleted after 3 years from the time of the interview. The code sheet with your name and any other identifiable information about you will be stored separately from the interview audio recordings in a password- and firewall-protected laptop computer. This code sheet will be deleted upon completion of this study. When we present or publish the results of this study, we will not use your name or other information that may identify you.

Contact Information

Contact Dr. Stephanie Lindemann and Jessica Lian at jljan2@student.gsu.edu

- if you have questions about the study or your part in it.
- if you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study.

Contact the GSU Office of Human Research Protections at 404-413-3500 or irb@gsu.edu

- if you have questions about your rights as a research participant.
- if you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the research.

Consent

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this research, please continue with the interview.

Appendix B.3 Interview protocol

Guiding, i.e. “grand tour” (Spradley, 1998) questions for one-on-one, semi-structured remote interviews with survey participants who had volunteered for a follow-up interview about their language brokering experiences.

Semi-structured Interview Guiding Questions

*The word “translate” will be used instead of “language brokering” since “translate” is a more common term. It will be used interchangeably with “interpret.”

As a reminder, please do not reveal names of other people. Please use descriptors that describe your relationship to them, like “friend” or “relative” instead.

1. How old were you when you first interpreted or translated for someone?
 - a. Can you me more about that first memory?
 - b. How did you feel about that interaction?
2. Who are the family members that you translated for as a child most often?
 - a. How often did you translate for them?
 - b. What kinds of situations did you translate for them?
 - c. What kinds of documents and written things did you translate for them?
 - d. How did you feel about translating for them?
 - e. When was the last time you translated for them?
 - f. Do you still translate for them now?
 - i. What kinds of situations?
 - ii. What kinds of documents?
 - iii. How do you feel about translating for them now?
3. What kind of impact, if any, do you think you have made on the people that you have translated for in your family?
 - a. How do you think your role as a translator affected your relationship with them?
 - b. How do you think your role as a translator affected their ability to learn English?
 - c. How do you think your role as a translator affected your relationships with other family members?
4. How do you think your role as a translator and interpreter for your family affected your...
 - a. Language abilities?
 - i. Fluency in your home language(s)?
 - ii. Fluency in English?
 - iii. Ability to learn languages?
 - b. Identities?
 - i. Connection with your heritage?
 - ii. Connection with American culture?
 - iii. Connection with the world?

Appendix C Third stage: Video-recorded language brokering task and interview

Appendix C.1 Recruitment text for video-recorded task LB adult participant

The following text was sent as an email to interview participants from the second stage of the study and additional personal contacts.

Hello, friends!

I am writing to ask if you are willing to participate in the final stage of my dissertation research. The purpose of my research is to understand how bilingual adults translate for their families. For this last part of my study, I would like to video record bilingual adults translating documents for one of their family members, and then interview them both about it afterwards. There will be two types of translation documents: documents chosen by the participants, which can be anything from mailings to application forms, i.e. whatever you typically translate for your family members; the second will be a questionnaire that you will help your family member fill out. The entire activity should take no longer than 1 hour. We can conduct this study together at a private, quiet place of your choosing, such as your home.

I am inviting you to take part in this research study because you meet all the following criteria:

- You are bilingual in English and at least one other language.
- You grew up in the United States speaking a language other than English at home.
- You have translated for your family as a child.
- You still translate for your family.
- You are willing to be video recorded for this study.

I would also like to invite one of your family members to participate if they meet the following criteria:

- English is not their first language.
- They do not speak English at home.
- They asked you to translate English for them when you were a child.
- They still ask you to translate English for them now that you're an adult.
- They are willing to be video recorded for this study.

Although this study will not benefit you personally, your participation in my study will contribute to research about how bilingual adults translate for their families. Of course, I understand that this is a time-consuming task, and being video recorded is not something to be taken lightly. Therefore, I'd like to offer each participant a \$50 Amazon Gift Card as compensation for their time and help. In other words, this would be one \$50 gift card for you and another one for your family member.

If you're willing to help out, and your qualified family member is willing to help, would you let me know? I am looking to recruit 6 pairs of participants, which is a total of 12 participants. I plan to conduct the study in December/January, when I will be back in the Bay Area. Please call me at ###-###-####, and I can tell you more about my study and what will be involved.

If you can't help out as a participant, but you can think of someone else I could reach out to, please forward them my contact information (Jessica Lian, jljan2@student.gsu.edu, ###-###-####).

Thanks so much!

Jessica Lian
Ph.D. Candidate
Department of Applied Linguistics & ESL
Georgia State University
25 Park Place, 15th floor
Atlanta, GA, 30303
jljan2@student.gsu.edu

Appendix C.2 LB adult informed consent form

Georgia State University
Department of Applied Linguistics & ESL
Informed Consent

Title: Reimagining Multilingualism in Language Brokering
Principal Investigator: Stephanie Lindemann
Student Principal Investigator: Jessica Lian

Purpose

The purpose of the study is to understand how bilingual individuals translate for their family. You are invited to take part in this research study because you meet all the following criteria:

- You are bilingual in English and at least one other language.
- You grew up in the United States speaking a language other than English at home.
- You have translated for your family as a child.
- You still translate for your family.

A total of 12 people (6 pairs) will be invited to take part in this study.

Procedures

If you decide to take part, you will be audio and video recorded as you complete the following tasks:

- You will translate at least 1 English document for your family member.
- You will help your family member fill out an English questionnaire.
- After you complete these tasks, the researcher will ask you and your family member questions.

For both of these tasks, the researcher will take notes about your interactions. The researcher will ask you about the tasks. The researcher will also ask you about how you feel about translating. The study will last about 1 hour. The study will take place at a private, quiet place chosen by you and your family member, such as your home.

Future Research

The researchers will remove information that may identify you and may use your data for future research. If we do this, we will not ask for any additional consent from you.

Risks

In this study, you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life.

Benefits

This study is not designed to benefit you personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about how bilinguals translate for their families in the United States.

Alternatives

The alternative to taking part in this study is to not take part in the study.

Compensation

You will receive a \$50 Amazon Gift Card after you have completed the activities in this study.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may refuse to take part in the study or stop at any time, this will not cause you to lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. However, you will not be compensated if you do not complete the activities in this study. During the interview, you may skip questions or stop participating at any time. Skipping questions will not affect your compensation.

Version Date: October 2, 2018

1

GSU
APPROVED IRB NUMBER: H19162
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 09/30/2018
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 09/29/2019

Confidentiality

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. The following people and entities will have access to the information you provide:

- Dr. Stephanie Lindemann and Jessica Lian
- A certified transcriber
- A certified translator
- GSU Institutional Review Board
- Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)

We will use a pseudonym rather than your name on study records. The researchers will keep a copy of the audio and video data offline in an encrypted external hard drive. This data will be deleted after all reporting of the research and publications have been completed. The code sheet with your name and any other identifiable information about you will be stored separately from the video recordings in a password- and firewall-protected laptop computer. This code sheet will be deleted upon completion of this study. When we present or publish the results of this study, we will not use your name or other information that may identify you.

Contact Information

Contact Jessica Lian at jljan2@student.gsu.edu or Dr. Stephanie Lindemann at lindemann@gsu.edu

- If you have questions about the study or your part in it
- If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study

Contact the GSU Office of Human Research Protections at 404-413-3500 or irb@gsu.edu

- If you have questions about your rights as a research participant
- If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the research

Consent

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this research, please sign below.

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix C.3 LB parent original informed consent form in English

Georgia State University
Department of Applied Linguistics & ESL
Informed Consent

Title: Reimagining Multilingualism in Language Brokering
Principal Investigator: Stephanie Lindemann
Student Principal Investigator: Jessica Lian

Purpose

The purpose of the study is to understand how bilingual individuals translate for their family. You are invited to take part in this research study because you meet all the following criteria:

- You are bilingual in English and at least one other language.
- You grew up in the United States speaking a language other than English at home.
- You have translated for your family as a child.
- You still translate for your family.

A total of 12 people (6 pairs) will be invited to take part in this study.

Procedures

If you decide to take part, you will be audio and video recorded as you complete the following tasks:

- You will translate at least 1 English document for your family member.
- You will help your family member fill out an English questionnaire.
- After you complete these tasks, the researcher will ask you and your family member questions.

For both of these tasks, the researcher will take notes about your interactions. The researcher will ask you about the tasks. The researcher will also ask you about how you feel about translating. The study will last about 1 hour. The study will take place at a private, quiet place chosen by you and your family member, such as your home.

Future Research

The researchers will remove information that may identify you and may use your data for future research. If we do this, we will not ask for any additional consent from you.

Risks

In this study, you will not have any more risks than you would in a normal day of life.

Benefits

This study is not designed to benefit you personally. Overall, we hope to gain information about how bilinguals translate for their families in the United States.

Alternatives

The alternative to taking part in this study is to not take part in the study.

Compensation

You will receive a \$50 Amazon Gift Card after you have completed the activities in this study.

Voluntary Participation and Withdrawal

You do not have to be in this study. If you decide to be in the study and change your mind, you have the right to drop out at any time. You may refuse to take part in the study or stop at any time, this will not cause you to lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled. However, you will not be compensated if you do not complete the activities in this study. During the interview, you may skip questions or stop participating at any time. Skipping questions will not affect your compensation.

Confidentiality

We will keep your records private to the extent allowed by law. The following people and entities will have access to the information you provide:

- Dr. Stephanie Lindemann and Jessica Lian
- A certified transcriber
- A certified translator
- GSU Institutional Review Board
- Office for Human Research Protection (OHRP)

We will use a pseudonym rather than your name on study records. The researchers will keep a copy of the audio and video data offline in an encrypted external hard drive. This data will be deleted after all reporting of the research and publications have been completed. The code sheet with your name and any other identifiable information about you will be stored separately from the video recordings in a password- and firewall-protected laptop computer. This code sheet will be deleted upon completion of this study. When we present or publish the results of this study, we will not use your name or other information that may identify you.

Contact Information

Contact Jessica Lian at jljian2@student.gsu.edu or Dr. Stephanie Lindemann at lindemann@gsu.edu

- If you have questions about the study or your part in it
- If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the study

Contact the GSU Office of Human Research Protections at 404-413-3500 or irb@gsu.edu

- If you have questions about your rights as a research participant
- If you have questions, concerns, or complaints about the research

Consent

We will give you a copy of this consent form to keep.

If you are willing to volunteer for this research, please sign below.

Printed Name of Participant

Signature of Participant

Date

Principal Investigator or Researcher Obtaining Consent

Date

Appendix C.4 Translated LB parent informed consent form in Chinese

乔治亚州立大学
应用语言学与英语二语习得学院 (Applied Linguistics & ESL)

知情同意书

标题: 重新审视多语制与语言中承人的关系 (Reimagining Multilingualism in Language Brokering)

项目负责人: 斯蒂芬妮 林德曼 (Stephanie Lindemann) 博士

项目负责学生: 连文晶 (Jessica Lian)

英中翻译: 任淑珊

研究目的

本项目的研究目的在于探究双语者与家人间的语言翻译活动。我们邀请您参与此项研究，因为您具有以下特质：

- 非英语母语者
- 在家庭生活中不运用英文进行沟通
- 您的某位家人在他/她期为您翻译过英文
- 您的这位家人现已成年并仍旧为您进行英文语言翻译

这项研究会一共邀请 12 位 (6 对) 参与者。

研究步骤

若您同意参与该项目，您需要被拍摄或录制以下活动：

- 您的家人会为您翻译至少一份英文资料
- 在您的家人的帮助下，您会填写一份英文问卷调查
- 研究员会在以上活动后向您提出一些问题。

在您参与以上活动的过程中，研究人员会笔记记录一些有关您交流的信息。研究人员还会向您提出一些问题，譬如您对家人翻译的感想。研究全程共约一小时，研究地点会根据您的意愿选择在安静以及个人的空间，譬如您家中。

未来研究

研究者会删除所有透露您个人身份的信息，但不排除在未来的研究中继续使用您的数据。届时，我们不会再请您填写新的知情同意书。

风险

在本研究中，您不会遇到日常生活风险之外的其他风险。

收益

这项研究结果不会对您产生直接的个人利益。我们希望通过此研究来深入探究在美国，双语者如何在家庭环境中为家人的翻译活动。

备选

您可以选择不参与此项研究

Version Date: October 2, 2018

报酬

参与此项研究，您可获得价值 50 美元的亚马逊礼卡。礼卡会在研究结束后以邮件的形式发送给您。

自愿参与与退出研究

您可以选择不参与此项研究。如果您在参加研究后改变主意，您有权在任何时候退出研究。您可以在任何时候拒绝或停止参与研究，这不会影响您在其他方面的利益。若您决定不参与或退出此项研究，您将不会收到上述的报酬。但若您参与了研究，但在接受采访时决定不回答某一些问题，您的报酬不会受到影响。

保密性

我们会依据法律保密您的记录。以下人士和单位能够接触和使用您的记录：

- 斯蒂芬妮 林德曼 (Stephanie Lindemann) 博士 以及 连文晶 (Jessica Lian) 女士
- 一位经认证的转录员
- 一位经认证的翻译员
- 乔治亚大学伦理审查委员会
- 人类研究保护办公室

我们会用假名代表您的记录。研究人员会将您的录音及影像以线下电子形式储存在一个密码保护的移动硬盘里。这些数据会在此项研究结束以及发表后删除。其它带有您真实姓名的文本资料会另外单独存储在一台有密码及防火墙保护的计算机里。这写文本资料会在研究结束后删除。我们在展示和发表研究结果时不会使用您的真实姓名，亦不会透露指向您个人身份的信息。

联系方式

如遇以下情形，请联系连文晶女士 (jlian2@student.gsu.edu)，或斯蒂芬妮林德曼博士 (lindemann@gsu.edu)

- 当您对该研究有疑问或您的参与研究
- 当您对该研究有疑问、顾虑或您想进行投诉

若遇以下情形，您可电话联系乔治亚大学伦理审查委员会 404-413-3500 或邮件 irb@gsu.edu

- 如果您对您作为研究参与者的权利有疑问
- 如果您如果您对该研究有疑问、顾虑或您想进行投诉

同意书

我们会给您提供一份该同意书的副本以便保存。

如果您自愿参与此项研究，请在下方签名。

正楷签名

手写签名

日期

项目负责人或同意书收集研究者签名 (这个太难翻了)

日期

Appendix C.5 Translated LB informed consent form in Japanese

ジョージア州立大学
 応用言語学 & 第2言語としての英語研究科 (Applied Linguistics & ESL)
 十分な説明を得た上での同意書

Title: Reimagining Multilingualism in Language Brokering
 研究代表者: ステファニー・リンダマン (Stephanie Lindemann)
 主任研究担当学生: Jessica Lian

目的

この研究の目的は、バイリンガルの人達がどのように自分の家族に通訳をしているのかを理解することにあります。あなたにこの研究への参加をお願いしているのは、あなたが以下の条件を全て満たしているからです。

- 英語はあなたの母国語ではありません。
- あなたは、家では英語を話していません。
- 家族のどなたかが子供の頃、あなたに英語の通訳をしてきていました。
- 大人になった現在も、この家族の方はあなたに英語の通訳をしています。

この研究に参加をお願いしているのは、2人一組の六組で合計12人の皆さんです。

具体的な参加方法

もしご参加いただけるなら、以下の課題に取り組む様子を音声と画像で記録します。

- あなたの家族の方が、あなたに、少なくとも一つの書類の通訳をします。
- あなたの家族の方が、あなたが英語での質問書に回答を記載する手伝いをします。
- これらの課題を終えたら、研究担当者が、あなたとあなたの家族の方に、いくつか質問をします。

あなたとあなたの家族の方がこの課題に取り組んでいる間、研究担当者は二人がどのように意思疎通しているかについて観察し、メモを取ります。研究担当者から、あなたとあなたの家族の方に、この課題について質問をします。研究担当者は、あなたの家族の方が通訳してくれることに関して、あなたがどのように受け止めているかについても質問します。全てのプロセスには一時間ほどの時間を要しますが、あなたとあなたの家族の方が、最も落ち着いて対応出来る場所(ご自宅等)で行います。

今後の研究

研究担当者は、あなたの名前等の個人情報を取り除いた上で、今回得られた情報を、今後の研究に使わせていただく可能性があります。その場合には、また改めて新たな同意書に署名していただくことはありません。

リスク

この研究において、あなたには、日常生活に普通に存在するリスク以上のものを想定していただく必要はありません。

恩恵

この研究は、あなたが、個人的に何かしらの恩恵を受けるという意味合いのものではありません。我々研究に携わる者が、アメリカに住むバイリンガルの人達が、どのように家族に通訳をしているかという実態を理解するため、参考になる情報を得る事が目的です。

選択の余地

この研究に参加しないという選択肢もあります。

報酬

ご参加いただいて、上記の課題を完了したら、\$50のアマゾンギフトカードを、メールにてお送りします。

任意参加と撤回

この研究への参加は強制的なものではありません。一度参加されることを決めても、途中で考えが変わったら、いつでも辞めることが可能です。参加しない、途中で辞める等の選択をされるのは自由ですが、\$50 アマゾンギフトカードは、課題が完了した場合のみにお送りします。

機密保持

あなたが提供してくれた情報は、法で認められている範囲で維持します。以下の人達があなたが提供してくれた情報にアクセスします。

- ステファニー・リンダマン博士、ジェシカ・リアン
- 認定記録者
- 認定通訳者
- ジョージア州立大学審査委員会
- 被験者保護局

我々は、研究結果をまとめる際、研究に参加された方々の本名ではなく、偽名を使います。研究者は、参加者の音声と画像の記録を暗号化された外付けハードドライブに保存し、コンピュータのネットワークには繋げない状態で保管します。さらに、研究結果の記録は、研究結果の報告と文献での発表が完了した時点で廃棄されます。研究に参加された方々の個人情報は、画像での記録とは別に、パスワードとファイアウォールで保護されているノートパソコンで保管され、研究完了時に破棄されます。この研究の報告や文献での発表の際に、研究に参加された方々の名前や他の個人情報が使われることはありません。

コンタクト情報

以下に関しては、ジェシカ・リアン (jlian2@student.gsu.edu)、ステファニー・リンダマン (lindemann@gsu.edu) に連絡してください。

- この研究または参加者としての関わりに関する質問
- この研究全般に関して、質問、懸念、苦情がある場合

以下に関しては、ジョージア州立大学被験者保護局 (404-413-3500, irb@gsu.edu) に連絡してください。

- リサーチへの参加者としての権利に関する質問
- このリサーチに関して、質問、懸念、苦情がある場合

同意

参加者ご自身の保存用として、同意書の写しをお渡しします。

もし、このリサーチにご参加いただけるようであれば、以下にご署名をお願いします。

ご氏名 (活字体)

ご署名

日付

主任研究担当者あるいは同意を受ける研究者

日付

Appendix C.6 Translated LB informed consent form in Korean

조지아 주립 대학교
Applied Linguistics & ESL 학과
연구 참가 동의서

제목: Reimagining Multilingualism in Language Brokering

주 연구자: Stephanie Lindemann

주 학생 연구자: Jessica Lian

목적

이 연구는 이중언어 사용자가 가족들을 위해 어떻게 통역을 하는지를 이해하는데 목적이 있습니다. 여러분이 아래의 연구 기준 조건을 모두 충족하기 때문에, 이 연구의 참여에 요청되었습니다:

- 영어는 당신의 모국어가 아닙니다.
- 당신은 집에서 영어를 사용하지 않습니다.
- 가족 구성원 중 한명은 그들이 어렸을 때, 당신을 위해 영어를 통역해 주었습니다
- 이 가족 구성원은, 현재 성인으로, 당신을 위해 여전히 영어를 통역합니다.

총 12 명 (6 명이 짝)은 이 연구에 참여에 요청될 것 입니다.

절차

만약 여러분이 이 연구에 참여하기로 결정하시면, 당신이 아래의 과제를 수행 내용은 오디오나 비디오 촬영될 예정입니다.

- 여러분의 가족 구성원은 적어도 1 개의 영어 문서를 당신을 위해 통역을 하게 됩니다.
- 당신의 가족 구성원은 당신이 영어 문항에 답을 하도록 도와줄 것입니다.
- 당신이 이러한 과제들을 전부 수행한 후에는, 연구자가 당신과 당신의 가족멤버들에게 질문을 할 것입니다.

이 두 과제를 위해, 연구자는 여러분들의 대화를 기록할 것 입니다. 연구자는 당신에게 과제에 대한 질문을 할 것 입니다. 또한 당신 가족이 당신을 위해 통역을 할 때, 당신이 어떤 기분이 드는지에 대한 질문도 할 것 입니다. 이 연구는 총 1 시간 정도 예상됩니다. 이 연구는 당신과 당신의 가족이 지정하는, 예를 들어 당신의 집처럼, 사적이고, 조용한 장소에서 이루어 질 예정입니다.

GSU IRB NUMBER: H19162
APPROVED IRB APPROVAL DATE: 12/14/2018
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 09/29/2019

추후 연구

연구자들은 여러분을 식별할 수 있는 정보는 삭제하고, 추후 연구를 위해 당신의 연구데이터를 사용할 수도 있습니다. 만약 그렇게 되면, 저희들은 여러분에게 추가적인 연구동의서를 요청하지 않을 것 입니다.

위험

이 연구에서, 여러분은 평상시 생활에서 생길 수 있는 그 이상의 위험부담은 없습니다.

이익

이 연구는 당신에게 개인적으로 이익을 부여하지 않도록 설계 되었습니다. 전반적으로, 저희는 이중언어자들이 어떻게 미국에서 그들의 가족들을 위해 통역을 하는지에 대한 정보를 얻기를 희망합니다.

대안

이 연구에 참여하는 대안 방안은 이 연구에 참여하지 않는 것입니다.

보상

당신이 이 연구를 위한 모든 과제를 수행 한 후에, 50 달러치의 아마존 기프트 카드를 받게 됩니다.

자발적 참여와 철회

당신은 이 연구에 참여할 필요는 없습니다. 만약 당신이 이 연구에 참여하기로 결정했다가, 결정을 바꾸게 되면, 당신은 이 연구의 어떤 시점에서든 그만 둘 수가 있습니다. 당신은 이 연구 참여를 거부하거나, 어떤 시점에서든 참여를 멈추실 수 있으며, 이는 당신에게 어떠한 불이익도 초래하지 않습니다. 인터뷰 동안, 당신은 질문을 건너뛰거나, 참여를 언제든지 그만 둘 수가 있습니다. 문제를 건너 뛰다고 해도, 당신이 받는 보상에 영향을 미치지 않습니다.

비밀보장

저희가 여러분의 기록을 누설하지 않도록 법으로 보장되어 있습니다. 아래에 나오는 관련사람들만 당신이 제공하는 정보에 접근 권한이 있습니다:

- Dr. Stephanie and Jessica Lian
- 자격증이 있는 기록자
- 자격증이 있는 번역사
- 조지아 주립대학의 연구심사위원회
- 사람 대상의 연구 보호 사무실

GSU
APPROVED IRB NUMBER: H19162
IRB APPROVAL DATE: 12/14/2018
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 09/29/2019

저희는 연구 기록시 당신의 이름 대신 가명을 사용할 것 입니다. 연구자들은 외장 하드드라이브에 오디오와 비디오 자료를 보관할 것 입니다. 이 데이터는 모든 보고와 논문 게재 후에는 삭제 될 것입니다. 여러분의 이름과 여러분을 식별할 수 있는 모든 자료들은 비밀번호가 있고, 보안시스템이 있는 컴퓨터에 따로 저장 될 것이고, 이는 연구가 종료된 이후에는 모두 삭제될 것입니다. 우리가 이 연구 결과를 발표하거나 게재할 때는, 여러분을 식별할 수 있는 어떠한 정보든 사용하지 않겠습니다.

연락정보

Jessica Lian 에게 jilan2@student.gsu.edu 로 연락하거나, 또는 Staphanie Lindemann 에게 lindemann@gsu.edu 로 연락하세요.

- 당신이 이 연구나 또는 관련 질문이 있을 경우
- 당신이 이 연구에 대해 질문이나, 걱정, 또는 불만사항이 있는 경우

조지아 주립대학의 사람 대상 연구 보호 사무실에 404-413-3500 으로 전화하거나 또는 irb@gsu.edu 로 연락주세요

- 당신의 연구 참여자로서의 권리에 대한 질문이 있을 경우
- 당신이 이 연구에 대해 질문이나, 걱정, 불만사항이 있는 경우

동의

이 동의서를 여러분께서 보관할 수 있도록 드리겠습니다.

만약 여러분이 이 연구에 자발적으로 참여할 의사가 있다면, 아래에 서명을 해주세요.

참여자 이름 표기

참여자의 싸인

주 연구자 또는 동의서를 받는 연구자의 싸인

날짜

날짜

GSU IRB NUMBER: H19162
APPROVED IRB APPROVAL DATE: 12/14/2018
IRB EXPIRATION DATE: 09/29/2019

Appendix C.7 Questionnaire given to LB parent to complete as a task with LB adult.

Language Brokering Family Questionnaire

The following survey will ask you about your language background and your language experiences while living in the United States. As you fill out this survey, please do not include information that may identify other people, such as their names. The entire questionnaire should take no more than 20 minutes.

1. Age: _____
2. Gender (please circle): Male | Female
3. What is your highest education level? (please check one box)
 - Some primary or elementary school
 - Some secondary or high school
 - High School graduate
 - Some college
 - College graduate
 - Post-graduate degree
4. What is your country of birth? _____
5. How many years have you lived in the United States? _____
6. What are the languages that you speak?

7. What are the languages that you read and write?

8. Do you consider English to be your first language?
 - Yes
 - No
 - Not sure

9. Do you consider yourself to be a native English speaker?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

10. Please rate your level of fluency in English: (please circle)

	Not fluent at all						Fluent
Speaking:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Listening:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Reading:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
Writing:	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

11. **In the past**, where did you ask your child to help you translate?

(Please check all that apply)

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Airport | <input type="checkbox"/> School |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bank | <input type="checkbox"/> Store |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Government offices | <input type="checkbox"/> Workplace |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Home | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hospital or doctor's office | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> On the street | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Post office | |

12. **In the past**, what types of documents did you ask your child to help you translate? (Please choose all that apply)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bank statements | <input type="checkbox"/> Rental agreements |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bills (e.g. phone, utilities) | <input type="checkbox"/> School documents (e.g. report cards, letters) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Credit card statements | <input type="checkbox"/> Tax documents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Immigration forms | <input type="checkbox"/> Workplace documents (e.g. company letters or memos) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Insurance documents | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Instruction manuals (e.g. electronics, appliances) | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Job applications | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Medical forms | |

13. **In the past**, what were the most frequent situations when you asked your child to translate for you? (Please describe)

14. **Nowadays**, where do you ask your child to help you translate?
(Please check all that apply)

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Airport | <input type="checkbox"/> School |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bank | <input type="checkbox"/> Store |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Government offices | <input type="checkbox"/> Workplace |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Home | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hospital or doctor's office | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> On the street | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Post office | |

15. **Nowadays**, what types of documents do you ask your child to help you translate? (Please choose all that apply)

- | | |
|---|--|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bank statements | <input type="checkbox"/> School documents (e.g. report cards, letters) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bills (e.g. phone, utilities) | <input type="checkbox"/> Tax documents |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Credit card statements | <input type="checkbox"/> Workplace documents (e.g. company letters or memos) |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Immigration forms | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Insurance documents | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Instruction manuals (e.g. electronics, appliances) | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Job applications | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Medical forms | |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Rental agreements | |

16. **Nowadays**, what were the most frequent situations when you ask your child to translate for you?

17. Have you ever used a professional translator?

- Yes
 No (skip to question 20)

18. If yes, what were situations when you used a professional translator? (Please check all that apply)

- | | |
|--|------------------------------------|
| <input type="checkbox"/> Airport | <input type="checkbox"/> School |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Bank | <input type="checkbox"/> Store |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Government offices | <input type="checkbox"/> Workplace |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Home | <input type="checkbox"/> Other: |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Hospital or doctor's office | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> On the street | _____ |
| <input type="checkbox"/> Post office | |

19. If yes, what types of documents were translated for you by a professional translator? (Please check all that apply)

- Bank statements
 - Bills (e.g. phone, utilities)
 - Credit card statements
 - Immigration forms
 - Insurance documents
 - Instruction manuals (e.g. electronics, appliances)
 - Job applications
 - Medical forms
 - Rental agreements
 - School documents (e.g. report cards, letters)
 - Tax documents
 - Workplace documents (e.g. company letters or memos)
 - Other:
- _____
- _____

20. Please rate how much you agree with each statement. (Please circle)

		Strongly disagree						Strongly Agree
a.	I think my child learned English better because he/she translated for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
b.	I think my child was able to maintain our home language because he/she translated for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
c.	I think my child enjoyed translating for our family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
d.	I think my child is proud of translating for our family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
e.	I think my child was more mature compared to his/her peers because he/she translated for our family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
f.	I know American culture better because my child translated for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
g.	I think my child knows our heritage culture better because he/she translated for our family.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
h.	I feel that I am a burden for my child when I ask him/her to translate for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
i.	I'm embarrassed whenever I asked my child to translate for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
j.	I think I learned English slower because my child translated for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
k.	I think I know less about American culture because my child translated for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
l.	I think my child felt nervous when he/she translated for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7
m.	I think my child feels good about him/herself when he/she translates for me.	1	2	3	4	5	6	7

Appendix C.8 Post task interview protocol

1. How did you feel about the tasks overall?
2. How did you feel about the first translation task?
 - a. For the LB adult: Do you feel like you were able to translate everything?
 - b. For the LB parent: Do you feel like you understood everything?
3. For the document that you translated, how often do you translate this type of document?
4. What are some difficulties you have faced with translating and understanding this type of document?
5. How did you feel about completing the survey together?
6. What were some difficulties that you encountered when you were completing the survey?
7. In the past, how do you feel about translating?
 - a. For the LB adult: How did you feel when you were asked to help translate for your relative?
 - b. For the LB relative: How did you feel about asking for help with translating?
8. Nowadays, how do you feel about translating?
 - a. For the LB adult: How do you feel when you're asked to help translate for your relative nowadays?
 - b. For the LB relative: How do you feel about asking for help with translating nowadays?
9. How do you think translating has affected your relationship?
10. How do you think translating has affected the languages spoken in your home?