# Mexican-Origin Circumstantial Bilingual: 

The Child, The Parent, The Advocate
by
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#### Abstract

In order to adapt to a new culture and new language, children of immigrant families are faced daily with the responsibility of being the intermediaries between the family and the host culture through their language proficiency (Weisskirch \& Alva, 2002). This thesis looks into the experiences of English-Spanish bilingual children as they bridge the gap between the family and the non-Spanish speaking community through their interpreting/translating skills. With an emphasis on children of Mexican-origin, the goal is to further understand and illuminate how these children manage this communication in an adult society, their feelings and thoughts about their experiences, and the child's perceptions about the influence that this experience may or may not have on their future.

A sample of seventeen children agreed to participate in a semi-structured face-toface interview to share their experiences. The data from these interviews were analyzed using a thematic analysis approach (Braun \& Clarke, 2006). A priori themes of circumstantial bilingual and adaptive parentification were the initial focus of the research while being open to emerging themes.

The children's accounts of their experiences indicated primarily that the Mexicanorigin values of familism and respeto (respect) were a significant influence on them when they interpreted/translated for their family. With these traditional cultural values and norms as the groundwork, the sub-themes of normalcy and stress emerged as supportive elements of the circumstantial bilingual experience. Furthermore, the theme of adaptive parentification and the sub-themes of choice, expectation/responsibility to assist, and equality to parents offered further insight on how adaptive parentification can result as


the roles of these children change. There was an emergent theme, identity negotiation, which increases our understanding of what the circumstantial bilingual child encounters as the attempt is made to negotiate his identity as an individual who has to mediate language between two opposing cultures.

Due to the language brokering responsibility that are bestowed upon these children, it is concluded that communicative support by the parents is a necessary component of the parent-child relationship in order to nurture and develop these children as they negotiate and create their identity to become the successful leaders of tomorrow.

## DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this work to my brother, Ramon Jr., who left me four years ago and is no longer with me to witness what he always knew that I could achievemy college education. I know you are watching me from up above dear brother of mine. I also would like to dedicate this to my husband, Pedro Jr., and to my children, Pedro III and Carolina, who without their love and support I would have not been able to achieve throughout the years, any of my "crazy adventures" that have required countless hours of work, sacrifice, and determination. Pedro Jr., gracias por siempre ser mi apoyo y el gran hombre que siempre me hace brillar. Pedro III and Carolina, thanks for always being that driving force behind me to achieve my dreams and for always inspiring me to do the best that I can. ¡Los amo con todo mi corazón mis bebes hermosos! Lastly to my father, Ramon Sr., who throughout my life has been and will always be my mentor, my guide, and my conscience. Your experiences and wisdom have been inscribed in my heart and have contributed to the woman I have become. Sus experiencias y sabiduría han sido inscritas en mi corazón y han contribuido en hacerme la mujer que soy. ;Lo amo mucho padre!

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## CHAPTER 1

## Introduction

"In the early 1970s, I came to the United States in search of the ... my American dream. I don't know what I was looking for, but what I knew is I was looking for something different. I wanted to leave behind the poverty that I had been a part of since birth in my country, Mexico. When I arrived to Long Beach, California, which at the time there were hardly any "Mexicanos" as they were called, I found myself in a place where I was pushed forcefully to either forget who I was and where I was from or I had to negotiate a way to fit in. It wasn't hard to adapt to a new way of life when it came to my exterior through my clothing and my light skin complexion, but who was I going to fool? I didn't speak English. That would give me away as soon as I made the attempt to communicate with others. The local hamburger joint owner realized this and to lessen the frustration, he had a stick which I and many others in my situation who could not speak the language, used to point to pictures of the food that we wanted to order. Lost in a country that had opened itself up to my family and I for discovery, the stick is what helped us not go hungry at the time until a better solution would come-our children."
R.C. Aguirre, personal communication, May 28, 2013

This story depicts the struggles of not just one immigrant individual, but it speaks of the lives of many families that made the decision to leave their country in search of a better life. A better life that even if the hardships faced to achieve the American dream required or seemed so heavy, these individuals somehow found it within themselves to feel that it will never compare to what they left behind and should keep pushing forward.

This idea is what provides the motivation within many families to yearn and achieve success as they overcome the obstacles of adapting to a new cultural and political system in their new life within the United States. This idea which begins with the attempt to weave two identities through language becomes the focus of this work.

Since the early 1980s the push to have the official language of the United States be English has been constantly placed in debate through the creation of legislation that aims to support the idea that all government business must be conducted in English and not in another language (U.S. English, 2012). Spanish-speaking is currently seen as the biggest threat by those wanting English-only because of the numbers of Spanish speakers and how these large numbers have impacted the status of the majority language in some areas of the United States. Those who support English-only ideas think that it creates solidarity and national pride, while it also saves the country money when you have individuals unable to access social services such as welfare and healthcare due to a language barrier. Those who do not support these English-only initiatives believe that it not only violates the rights of individuals and challenges the foundation of the country's beginnings and multi-culturalism, but also creates a hostile discriminatory environment.

Though the debate of its constitutionality and its implications is an ongoing issue, what can't be ignored is that many minority groups who have made the United States their new home and who most likely have the desire and expectation to learn the majority language have been affected and continue to be affected by these linguistic movements.

Many of these groups have been forced to find ways to accelerate the acculturation process, even if it means going to extreme measures of utilizing homework interactions with their children in order to learn English rather than attending a formal class (Duran, 2003).

## The Mexican and/or Mexican-American

According to the United States Census Bureau (2011), Mexicans and/or MexicanAmericans today are one of the fastest growing minority groups in the United States that have experienced a large numeric change in its population of $54 \%$ between the years of 2000 and 2010, assisting in making the Hispanic community into one of the largest minority groups in the country. As this population continues to grow, it is of upmost importance to not only share through research the stories of those Mexican and/or Mexican-Americans who make the attempt to counterbalance the racial and poverty stereotypes through their hard work, but also showcase the struggles of the many generations who made the effort to adapt in the United States. Stories that depict how families adapt to new traditions and societal norms, to the complexity of a language, and of the fight to keep the family together as the United States is characterized as being all about each individual and not the group. The experiences of this group need to be voiced and heard to gain a better understanding of this group with an effort to facilitate acculturation success.

Just as the opening story ends with the immigrant's hopes set on bridging the communication gap with the birth of his or her children in the 70s, today many children are doing just that-taking on the responsibility of helping their families in the acquisition of resources (e.g. when seeking medical attention, connecting household utilities, parent-
teacher conferences, etc.) by assuming the role of language broker and mediators of culture due to their parents not being able to learn English because they have to make ends meet or have a family to take care of and, or have to therefore make the choice to wait for the help of their children. In turn, these children maneuver in the adult world at a young age as they contribute to their families by providing the solution through language that can disconnect their family from the rest of society. Engaging in this activity means that it can bring about a mixture of emotions within the individual who assumes the role and within those who are observing the child engaging in this behavior.

As a child who was introduced to language brokering at age five, I can say that the emotions that I felt ranged from fear to embarrassment. I recall one of my many experiences as I helped my dad by interpreting at the phone company when he wanted to add an additional phone line to our home. I remember this instance clearly because I could remember how I could not see over the counter and the sick, nervous feeling that swirled inside me as I waited with my dad in line for our turn. When I arrived at the counter, my dad lifted me up and I said, "My dad wants to connect a phone, can you help us?" The way the lady looked at me that day I will never forget. She came from behind the counter and began to speak with me as she took notes. She nodded her head and spoke to me as a child, not as an adult, while smiling throughout our conversation even when I didn't know what word to use. As I reflect back on that day, I could see my dad beaming with excitement. Many years later, I asked my father what he felt that day and he told me that he knew that I and our entire family would have a better future because of my help. As he said this, tears rolled down his face. I then knew that each time I had to step in to help, it was the hardest thing that he ever had to let me do.

## The Statement of the Problem

The bridging of two cultures becomes a very stressful event for immigrants and their families. Along with securing housing, attaining employment, entering the educational system and navigating cultural norms, the most stressful and difficult task of all is the acquisition of language (Weisskirch, 2010). For many Mexican-origin families, their inability to speak English in conjunction with the stresses aforementioned, has led them to place their children in the situation of assuming a language brokering role. This term is often used by the literature in this area of interpreting/translating to refer to children of immigrant families who become mediators between two cultures.

In hopes of making the language barrier less, and since children acquire the language first before most other family members due to their attendance in school, Mexican-origin children begin to assist their parents in everyday task such as when ordering in restaurants, shopping, among other ordinary things. As the child becomes more proficient in the language, the more $s /$ he are looked upon by the entire family to be the spokesperson for the group which results at times in the child actively participating in adult situations well beyond his or her years. These situations may include interpreting for parents when encountering law enforcement officials, during medical appointments, or when having the home phone or internet connected.

Though many of the children have not given much thought to this type of contribution to their family, it is of importance to not only increase the awareness of these children on the important role that is played within the family dynamics, but of how each of these situations or experiences can shape their identity as they encounter and acquire knowledge on adult scenarios that are not common among many children. Awareness in
parents also is important due to the masked appearance of language brokering implied in culture and as it will be referenced ahead, as an activity that teaches the values of responsibility and help towards the family. However, there are also negative implications for the child's future especially when it comes to the possibilities of having the child assume more of a parental role within the family because of the exposure to adult situations. These children can feel forced to assume the role of a mini-parent because they began to feel that it is their responsibility to take care of these specific tasks that the parent cannot participate in because of the language barrier. Thus awareness of what language brokering entails is necessary for parents in order to provide support to the child when language brokering becomes difficult to achieve.

Before focusing specifically on how language obstacles are overcome as the children become the key to many of the family successes, it is necessary to address three of the main issues that the Mexican community in the U.S. faces: immigration and politics, socioeconomic difficulties, and cultural collectivism. The consideration of these three issues is essential to provide insight and groundwork for understanding what this community continues to experience and the ways in which these can both support and hinder the identity negotiation and the acculturation process that Mexican-origin individuals undergo.

It is important to note that throughout this work the term "Mexican-Origin" will be used for ease of referencing when speaking about either the "Mexican" or "MexicanAmerican" group or individual. This term will also encompass those individuals who are both immigrants whose country of origin is Mexico and those individuals who are U.S. Citizens, but of Mexican descent. Also, as this group sometimes has a preference to be
categorized by its own members and systematically by official governmental entities as "Hispanic" or "Latino," these terms will be used restrictively so as to avoid any confusion or possible generalizations within the research that may include other ethnic groups who categorize themselves under these ethnicities.

## The Mexican-Origin Immigrant.

Mexican immigrants in the United States continue to be an important part of the diversity in American society regardless of when they arrived in the U.S. (Garcia, 2002). An estimated 33.5 million Hispanics of Mexican-origin reside in the United States accounting for nearly $64.6 \%$ of the U. S. Hispanic population. Though it is difficult to say how many immigrants there are at any given time because of how the census is conducted, at the turn of the $21^{\text {st }}$ century experts had agreed upon one idea-that the United States was undergoing a massive immigration wave due to the increased numbers of Hispanic immigrants especially of Mexican-Origin that was equivalent to that of the Great Migration, which happened within the United States in the early 1900s when 6 million African Americans were relocated throughout the United States from the South (Rumbaut \& Portes, 2001; Gonzalez, 2009).

The data in Table 1 illustrates how the Mexican-Origin population numbers account significantly for the overall Hispanic population through a condensed survey conducted by the Census Bureau which is used to streamline the information gathered in the actual census taken. As this table breaks it down through gender, nativity (where they were born), and their age, the number that needs to be focused on is the number in the Hispanics of Mexican-Origin column. When we compare this number with the Hispanics column alone, the Mexican-origin population accounted for $64.6 \%$ of the total Hispanic
population, making it the largest group followed by Puerto Ricans with 9.5\%. These figures not only indicate a substantive difference between both of these Hispanic populations, but also influence and strengthen the immigration concern with this number that tends to be based on the geographical proximity of Mexico.

## Table 1

U. S. Population by Ethnicity and Mexican Origin, 2011

Census Bureau 2011 American Community Survey (ACS)

|  | All | Hispanics | Hispanics of Mexican <br> Origin |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 311,592 | 51,927 | 33,539 |
| Gender |  |  |  |
| Male | 153,248 | 26,336 | 17,209 |
| Female | 158,344 | 25,591 | 16,330 |
| Nativity |  |  |  |
| Native Born | 271,210 | 33,139 | 21,888 |
| Foreign Born | 40,382 | 18,788 | 11,651 |
| Age (Median in years) | 37 | 27 | 25 |

For those individuals of Mexican-origin who have been constructing their vision of society through their daily cultural practices in efforts to create their voice in America's political landscape, it has been the ideal situation because of the increased presence of Mexican-origin communities throughout the entire United States allowing for a stronger presence (Zambrana, 2011). Just as in the Great Migration of the 1900s when African Americans actively built and created a new culture for themselves by confronting political and social challenges in new cities, for the Mexican-origin community this growth has become the chance to receive political attention due to the great force that this community could exercise. This increased power in numbers finally means the door of opportunities has opened for those who had been hidden for many decades as immigrants (legal or illegal), to come out of the shadows to be seen, heard, and continue the fight that
had begun through the Aztlan and Chicano movements in the 60s and 70s, which focused on achieving Mexican empowerment and ethnic solidarity through political activism (Gonzales, 2009).

Unfortunately, even though there has been an increase in the Mexican-origin population and an increase in voters eligible to vote, political involvement in elections still lags in comparison with other Hispanic groups. In comparison to $67 \%$ of Hispanics of Cuban Origin who vote and $57.1 \%$ of Hispanics of Central and South American origin who vote, the Mexican-origin population had only 42.2 \% participation in the 2012 election (Pew Hispanic Center, 2012). Figure 1 shows data that though there was an increase in the population which impacted the number of eligible voters (between 20082012 there was an increase of $19 \%$ eligibility), the voter turnout rate declined even though there was a record turnout between 2008 and 2012 (Pew Hispanic Center, 2013). Only $48 \%$ of Hispanic eligible voters turned out in the 2012 elections, which was down from $49.9 \%$ in 2008 (Pew Hispanic Center, 2013). Though this decline is reflective of the overall Hispanic population, it can be argued that because the Mexican-origin population holds the highest population and lowest voting participation, they are heavily impacting the numbers of the Hispanic population. This lack of participation can be attributed to levels of education, age, structural obstacles of political systems, or sociocultural obstacles that prevent this community from engaging in a more participatory role that will allow for their voices to be heard (Rumbaut \& Portes, 2001).

Figure 1
Latino Participation in Presidential Elections, 1988-2012 (in millions)


Source: Pew Research Center (2013).

On the other hand, for the non-Hispanic U.S. citizen this increase in population has brought up not only political force concerns, but also a set of assimilation concerns involving ethnicity, appearance, and language that serve as the starting point for nativist sentiments of racial prejudice; i.e. policies or beliefs that protect or favor the interest of the native population of a country over the interest of the immigrants (Gonzalez, 2009). To these individuals immigration is viewed as an invasion of the United States by foreigners who are different and who are here to take away resources that they do not
deserve to have. These ideas have manifested themselves in legislative propositions in different states (e.g. California's Proposition 187, Arizona's Proposition 1070, Georgia's HB 87, etc.) that target Hispanics as they propel an anti-immigrant sentiment within the United States to silence this community's voice.

## Income and Poverty.

In many respects new immigrants encounter many struggles as they navigate through the systems of the United States. However, for some families financial issues and poverty are common struggles which have been influenced by education levels, occupation, income, and unemployment (Garcia, 2002; Zambrana, 2011). According to Pew Hispanic Center (2011), the median annual personal earnings for Mexicans-origin individuals is $\$ 20,000$ in comparison with the median earnings for the U.S. population of $\$ 29,000$ (see Table 2 below). Table 2 compares the earnings and poverty numbers for the U.S. Population, the Hispanic, and Hispanics of Mexican-origin population. Within these numbers, $28 \%$ percent of Mexican-origin families live in poverty in comparison to the general U.S. Population of $16 \%$. Characterized as individuals who are unskilled or semiskilled workers and with low levels of education in comparison to the overall Hispanic population, Mexican-origin individuals find themselves for the most part faced with low paying jobs that will not help them achieve the monetary benefits that are correlated with higher education attainment (Rosenblum, Kandel, Ribando, \& Clare-Wasem, 2012). However, while lack of skills prevents many from finding better opportunities that offer higher wages, language is one of the major contributors of poverty as it directly impacts employability and the opportunity to compete for even unskilled jobs. Furthermore, this language incompetency is a central issue not only to the acquisition of a better job, but
becomes inextricable in other issues that intersect with the Mexican-origin family. It can be concluded that the Mexican-origin individuals still find themselves struggling to keep up with the population.

## Table 2

## U. S. Population by Ethnicity and Mexican Origin, 2011 <br> Earnings and Poverty

Census Bureau 2011 American Community Survey (ACS)

|  | All | Hispanics | Hispanics of Mexican <br> Origin |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Total | 311,592 | 51,927 | 33,539 |
| Median Annual <br> Personal Earnings (in <br> dollars) |  |  |  |
| All (ages 16 and older <br> with earnings? | $\$ 29,000$ | $\$ 20,000$ | $\$ 20,000$ |
| Full time year round <br> workers | $\$ 40,000$ | $\$ 30,000$ | $\$ 28,000$ |
| Persons in Poverty |  |  |  |
| Younger than 18 | 16,493 | 5,894 | 4,330 |
| $18-64$ | 28,212 | 6,755 | 4,477 |
| 65 and older | 3,737 | 556 | 282 |

Many of the jobs that they currently hold, based on a study completed in seven major cities, highlights the industries of agriculture, hospitality, construction, and manufacturing which play a central role in the U.S. economy, as the areas in which Mexican-origin workers are concentrated (Pew Hispanic Center, 2005).

The influence of having proper documentation to work did not have an impact on the industries where work was found further supporting the unskilled labor that these individuals are seeking.

Researchers who study social stratification and its effects have viewed "wealth" as key to understanding socioeconomic inequality within the United States (Zambrana, 2011). For an individual and his family to have economic resources it means
inclusiveness within a particular social class. Influencing not only how he perceives himself in society, this material wealth provides access to other resources that enhance the quality of life. Meaning that not only will the individual be set up economically, but will have access to social capital to achieve upward mobility within society (Zambrana, 2011). This social capital is comprised of networks available to the individual to find employment or educational funds designated by previous generations to make higher education accessible. For Mexican-origin individuals the existent income gap continues to have a great influence on not being able to achieve such social capital to assist the individual and any future generations. This economic exclusion results in diminishing the hopes of being heard within the individual and the wider group as they are left behind the rest of the population because s/he do not fit in the American culture and are not set up for success (Zambrana, 2011).

## A Culture of Collectivism.

One of the foundations of Mexican culture is collectivism and a simple definition defines "collectivism" as being based on the implicit values of connection to family, orientation to the larger group (e.g. community), and respect and obedience that promote relatedness and interdependence among members of a group (Tamis-LaMonda, Way, Hughes, Yoshikawa, Kalman, \& Niwa, 2007). These values not only help create and maintain relationships that are equal, but also help maintain those relationships that require respect and obedience from their members. Skodriani \& Gibbons (1995) exemplified collectivism as solidarity, concern for others, and integration with other people. In contrast to this, an "individualistic" culture tends to emphasize the autonomy of the individual by allowing the individual to have personal choice, intrinsic
motivations, self-esteem, and self-maximization (Tamis-LaMonda et al., 2007). For the Mexican-origin community, the individualistic culture that is dominant in the United States or what is known as "mainstream America" poses problems due to the emphasis that it places on nurturing individuals to be independent when attempting to reach their goals. Personal choice becomes an important component for the individual as the individual is taught to grow and be successful without having the influence of the family or collectivist group.

With these ideas of both individualistic and collectivist thought, family integrity is of importance to the Mexican community because individuals are encouraged to have successful relationships between those who are part of their family. These close relationships include the extended family (e.g. grandparents, aunts, uncles, etc.) and any other individuals like friends or other immigrant families that may share the ideals of the family. There are certain practices and behavior patterns that are engaged in which strengthen the ties within families. For example, when immigrant families find themselves in emotional distress, they may seek the help of those who arrived before them to ease the process. When there is financial hardship, Mexican-origin families stick together to make ends meet for those who need the help instead of turning to banks (Garcia, 2002). Family members encourage each other to have unconditional friendships without individual gratification. From a young age, children are taught the value that this behavior brings to an individual when they take care and help those in their group along with their parents. These values are reflected in the eagerness of many children to language broker for their parents and extended family members as discussed later in this work.

Though there are positive outcomes in assuming such behavior (such as experiencing close attachment and support from the family), there are times when an individual needs to pull themselves away from their immediate and extended family. Such separations which result because of the acculturation process of the individual tend to be seen when an individual leaves for school for the first time, new job promotions that require individuals to relocate to other cities or states, or even the growth of one's own family. These separations cause a strain on familial relationships that tend to be held together by cultivated collectivist bonds that can only be nurtured when placed before anything or anyone else. There are such sayings as "blood is thicker than water" or "family first" which are used by other groups who share collectivist thought and are often viewed as "traditional" in order to describe the importance of family. For the Mexicanorigin family it is la familia viene primero. Though some of these sayings might be created by different principles found within groups such as religion as is the case for "family first" used by the Mormon/LDS community, the common thread amongst all three expressions is the emphasis placed on the family and its importance for the success of the individual. All these thoughts also implicitly state that loyalty and respect need to be present at all times within each individual that is a part of the family because every action or decision made will be not only reflective of the group, but can affect the relational bonds between its members.

## Definition of Terms

Due to the use of many terms that have specific usage in this thesis, a list of terms has been provided in order to assist in the understanding of the concepts that will be discussed throughout the work (see Appendix A). The list begins with the concept of
bilingualism and the ability of an individual to speak two languages. It is then followed by the terms elective bilingualism, circumstantial bilingualism, and language broker, which are terms that mark the evolution of the original term bilingualism through the work of other scholars. Lastly, this section lists the terms used in the field of psychology beginning with parentification and its different phases-adaptive and destructive which are pertinent to the issue and topic of this study. The last terms, role reversal and enmeshment, assist in the understanding of the concept of parentification.

## CHAPTER 2

## Review of Literature

Orellana (2003) suggests that because immigration brings families into contact with other cultures, which at times shift the beliefs of the children as they influence and challenge the existing beliefs of the family. As such, an emphasis should be placed on understanding the influential role that these children play within the family and the influences of these experiences on the children themselves. Orellana (2003) further mentions that,
"Probing the meanings that these experiences have for youth and their families is particularly important for understanding developmental outcomes, because the values and beliefs that are taken up in and through these engagements [of interpreting and/or translating for parents and others] may shape pathways in consequential ways (p. 27)."

In order to usefully understand the interpreting/ translating experience of these children, this chapter has been divided into three sections: bilingualism, language brokering, and parentification. However, the issues addressed in these sections interconnect and they should not be understood as existing in isolation of each other and other factors that have been discussed previously in chapter one. In the first section the values of familism and respeto within Mexican-origin families is described, alongside their importance to the family. In the second section, the literature on bilingualism and language brokering and how bilingualism has changed to encompass different types of bilingualism (i.e. elective, circumstantial, language broker) are discussed. Particular emphasis will be placed on the characteristics of a language broker, their feelings towards
this experience, and the impact these experiences have on these bilingual children with the goal of laying the foundation for the analysis and discussion of this work. Lastly, the third section will present a brief overview on the existing literature of parentification, its varieties, and how the existing literature on language brokering has made a connection to this concept.

## Mexican-origin family: The values and acculturation

As immigrants settle in a new land, the hardships faced while making the attempt to adapt to the culture and language are extensive. Many families maintain the cultural ties and values of their home country to soften the impact of change (Reese, 2002; Garcia, 2002). This is the case for many Mexican-origin families who have found that in order to survive and raise their children in the United States with success, the traditional core values of familism and respeto or respect (as it translates in English), need to be maintained particularly given the difference between these family values and those of mainstream American culture.

Berry (1980) suggests that the acculturation process can be viewed as a flowing exchange of contact by each of the groups (the dominant and non-dominant), which at times can result in conflict that is resolved with the adaptation of one or both of the groups. Since the non-dominant group typically succumbs to the strong influence of the dominant cultures norms, values, and behaviors and children acculturate at a faster rate than the adults, many immigrant families make the effort to make their external boundaries rigid as to preserve their culture while simultaneously undergoing the acculturation process (Bacallao \& Smokowski, 2007). Parents in these families find themselves unable at times to be with their children as much because of their jobs and in
order to counteract the potential environmental risks (i.e. drug use, pulling away from the family, having too much freedom, and questioning parental decisions) that the "Americanized" way of life poses, strict parenting becomes the solution (Bacallao \& Smokowski, 2007). Familism and respect are viewed by the Mexican-origin parent as not part of the American culture and thus strict parenting will also uphold these important values. Allowing for acculturation to be operationalized from a bi-dimensional perspective where the values and practices of the both countries become separated, this perspective as it is suggested by Schwartz, Zamboanga, and Jarvis (2007) and Reese (2002) assumes a parental protective strategy with the purpose of focusing and shaping the individual's cultural identity towards academic and moral success.

Although this action on behalf of the parent appears to be positive for the child, the relationship between parent and child can face problems as the child tries to understand the reasons behind the creation of such boundaries that prevent them from exploring the outside world. As such, Bacallao and Smokowski (2007) found that the influence of familism and respect on adolescents led to mixed emotions in regards to their parent's decisions to make the external boundaries to the outside world stronger because these values make it difficult for children to challenge parents. So to avoid any problems, it was easier for them to put their own feelings aside and not question their parents at all.

## Familism.

Familism or family solidarity is a central value manifested specifically as "obligations towards family" that has been found to be more prevalent in families who identify with the Mexican culture and less with mainstream American culture (Rumbaut \& Portes, 2001; Blocklin, Crouter, Updegraff, \& McHale, 2011). Indeed this central
value has become one of the most well-known characteristics of the Mexican-origin family and its importance has been well documented in the works of Keefe (1984), Mindel (1980), Ramirez (1998) Sabogal, Marin, Otero-Sabogal, Marin \& Perez-Stable (1987), and Vega (1990) whose work has focused on familism and levels of acculturation within Mexican-origin families (Rodrigues, Bingham-Mira, Paez, \& Myers, 2007).When strong familism is present within families, emphasis is placed on maintaining relational bonds not only with their immediate or nuclear families but also their extended families. By fulfilling family responsibilities and maintaining loyalty, individuals feel that they are doing what is expected of them for the well-being of the family. Individuals also expect to receive support from the family in times of need due to the connective ties with the group.

For immigrant families, this familism assists greatly in the various stages of the immigration process as immigrant families aim to create a strong support network within a family. Garcia (2002) suggests that there are four types of familism present within this supportive network which allow cohesion to surface enabling a successful acculturation for the immigrant family. These are: (1) Demographic familism which focuses on the number of individuals in a household; (2) Structural familism which refers to the multigenerational dimension of families; (3) Normative familism which involves the degree of value placed on loyalty and unity; (4) Behavioral familism which is the degree of interactions between the individual and his immediate and/or extended family. Each one of these categories of familism, where families can share more or less of these, play an important role within the Mexican-origin family as each one influences the behaviors
of the individuals as they serve as a reminder that those who are in proximity of the individual, may they be young or old, require a certain degree of loyalty and unity.

Even though there is no consensus in regards to the progress of acculturation when familism is a part of the immigrant family, Bacallao and Smokowski (2007) suggests that those families that reported familism experience less of an acculturation gap because they maintain the differences between the new culture and their own culture to a minimum to avoid stress. Therefore, children of immigrant families are motivated to learn familism at a very young age and effectively combine it with the new culture as a way of assisting the family as they ease into the new culture. The adults in the family encourage the values of the family through the many of activities which are organized with the goal of not just including the nuclear family, but the extended family to increase loyalty and unity within the group. Taylor, Larsen-Rife, Conger, and Widaman (2012) argue that families who make familism a priority are less likely to have familial conflicts amongst themselves and they raise children who avoid conflict as well as they age. In order to promote this value, children are expected to observe and notice the engagement undertaken by the family and commitment given to the family. Through consejos or advice, that is given from the adults, children are reminded that they need to be hermanables (to get along well with their brothers and sisters) because to steer away from such advice would bring negative consequences to the individual that would be felt later when support was needed from the family (Valdes, 1996). For the Mexican-origin individual, family is the center of one's life as one is constantly reminded through the values of familism and respect, which will be discussed next, that success needs to be achieved through the support of the extended family to the individual.

## Respeto.

Another key cultural value in the Mexican-origin family which helps guide the daily interaction between individuals and their families is respeto or respect (Valdes, 1996). Just as familism encourages unity within the group, respeto sets the expectation of how familism needs to be carried out including the level of decorum and courtesy that is required in a particular situation. Respeto manifests itself through the obedience and deference that is provided by the younger generations to persons who are of higher authority, power, and recognition (Yu, Lucero-Liu, Gamble, Taylor, HendricksenChristensen, \& Modry-Mandell, 2008). By giving respeto, the individual is not only making the effort to maintain a harmonious environment among those he or she comes into contact with, but also supports a set of rules set by the family.

Roles and role obligations, which form an integral part of the dynamics of a family, become important as they influence how respeto is put into action. For the younger generations, respeto entails obedience while dictating that children should be highly considerate of adults and should not interrupt parents and the extended family during conversations or cause any grief or worry to these authority figures (Calzada, Fernandez, \& Cortes, 2010). Children learn early that they have to be obedient, doing what is asked of them, and be buenos hijos or good children. In contrast with the role of parents, which is more defined to be one of authority, the role of children is vague and less defined and respeto provides and delineates the boundaries of appropriate behavior (Calzada, et al., 2010). To be a buen hijo(a) for the Mexican-origin child consists of having the obligation to be considerate, obedient, and appreciative of their parents along with assisting those who are a part of the extended family (Valdes, 1996). This also
includes respecting their parents' child-rearing practices and decisions. A child cannot question what is asked or decided by the parent because it is disrespectful to question those who are seen as authority figures. What the parents say should be followed with no questions asked. Also at no time is it appropriate for a child to behave or rebel against the parents. Furthermore, anger and assertiveness is discouraged against the parents, the extended family, and /or anyone of authority (Yu et al., 2008). If a child chooses to engage in such practices, the consequences that follow can be disastrous to the individual. The child can experience not only punishment, but they can be ostracized from the family as their falta de respeto or lack of respect is viewed as a deliberate act with the intention to destroy the family. For the parents and family of the Mexican-origin child, this is unacceptable because these adults feel that they have taught those younger generations to show respect by always having to do the right thing.

## Bilingualism and the Mexican Culture

## Who is a bilingual?

Due to the influential factor of collectivism on the Mexican-origin community as well as in other communities that share collectivist thought, which emphasize the achievement of group goals above those of the individual, the need for individuals who are bilingual is necessary in order to assist in connecting the family to the rest of society. One of the first institutions that immigrant parents encounter is their child's school. In general, to have their child acquire the English language while maintaining their home language of Spanish is one of the main goals immigrant parents have because the parents need the assistance of the children to function in society (Acoach \& Webb, 2004). For those who conduct research on bilingualism, this goal has been at the center of their
work, which has led to a better understanding of how to develop supportive programs for these bilingual children in order to provide more equitable education for these children with backgrounds that differ from monolinguals (Freeman, 1998; Garcia \& Kleifgen, 2010; Baker, 2011). The development of such programs as the dual language program, the heritage language program, and the two-way bilingual immersion program are some of the most prevalent programs that have surfaced from this research that have helped children who are seen as bilingual in order for them to be successful individuals in the academic world (Freeman, 1998).

What are the characteristics that make an individual a bilingual? To define bilingualism or who is bilingual has become a very difficult task to the extent that it may be even impossible to achieve according to some researchers (Angelelli, 2010). For many families, bilingual is the term that is used to note that the child speaks two languages. But as research has progressed, a variety of dimensions have surfaced that have expanded the characterization, and thus has broadened the definition of bilingualism for those who study bilingualism. These changes have brought forth a widespread concern within some scholars that too much emphasis was being placed on understanding how the individual exercised their bilingualism in the number of languages that they spoke and not so much on how these individuals adjusted to the context that they found themselves in when translating or interpreting.

So along with the dimensions of age, ability, balance, language development, and contexts of language use, Valdes and Figueroa (1994) added another dimension which involved elective and circumstantial bilinguals. These dimensions focused for the first time on how and why an individual becomes bilingual. This was a big shift for bilingual
research because it shifted focus to the causes of second language acquisition (Duran, 2003). For so long it was thought that if a child spoke another language in the home and then attended school and learned English then this is how a bilingual was born. But when children began to only speak one language mostly or continued to speak both English and their primary language, it became of interest to try to understand the reasons that influenced such behavior within these bilinguals. This served as what was to become a major turning point in bilingual research as it gave birth and exposed a growing phenomenon that had not been looked into before-the circumstantial bilingual or the bilingual who has no choice over being bilingual.

Heinz (2001) cites the work of Giles to argue that the decision made by bilingual individuals to speak a particular language is achieved based on the concepts of linguistic convergence and divergence stemming out of the Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT). Suggesting that the individual has the choice of either achieving social integration or creating social distance through language, Heinz uses this theory to note that self identity needs to influence the production of communication behaviors. For bilinguals of the Mexican-origin community, cultural collectivism would suggest linguistic convergence among both language communities-English and Spanish speaking, in order to put into action the set goal and responsibility that the community has given to the individual of establishing unity through language. As such, culture, identity, and language are key identity markers that indicate assimilation (i.e., when a minority group adopts the customs and attitudes of the dominant culture) as it exposes the degree to which an individual has assumed the dominant culture and their ethnic identity with each communicative interaction (Delgado, 1994; Heinz, 2001). Identity then becomes an
essential component in the decision to either uphold the cultural values of familism and respeto by maintaining the native language or sticking to the language of the host culture, in this case English. Furthermore, Heinz also states that Marley (1993) found that "affective values, such as attachment to one's first or native culture and tradition, were the primary reasons for maintenance of a non-dominant language in a bilingual setting" (2001, p. 89). The more an individual identifies with the ideals of the group, the more this individual will feel compelled into being bilingual. However, culture can have an impact on the decision of becoming bilingual. These feeling of being forced into becoming a bilingual individual can also be the result of changes in these individuals lives in which they find that their first language is no longer sufficient to meet their linguistic communicative needs or those of their family (Angelelli, 2010).

## The Circumstantial Bilingual.

The extensive work of Angelleli describes people as "circumstantial bilinguals" who must become bilinguals in order to participate in the society around them. Their bilingualism is not a matter of choice, rather it is a result of life changing circumstances far out of their control, which is motivated by survival and hunger for success. Life changing circumstances are related to having witnessed the discrimination based on language and/or the unsuccessful efforts of their family members in receiving services (i.e., medical services, government assistance, and retirement pensions) needed to survive thus giving no choice to these types of bilinguals.

Most of these circumstances are a result of changes in the family dynamics of these individuals where the normative family experience becomes disrupted and the structure of the family needs to change (Weisskirch, 2010). These structural changes
become more evident when an immigrant family is undergoing the process of acculturation. A study conducted by Valenzuela (1999) with Mexican-origin immigrant families revealed that subtle changes in the family, such as when the parents don't speak the dominant language, cause the children of these families to become circumstantial bilinguals in order to assist their parents in maintaining or achieving equilibrium within the family. These children assume the roles of tutors, advocates, and at times surrogate parents in order to assist their parents in the daily functions of the family (Orellana, Dorner, \& Pulido, 2003). Within the family these circumstantial bilinguals not only help modulate the contact between the family system and the outside systems of society, but they are pushed to assume duties that correspond to the parents in order for the family to achieve success (Weisskirch, 2010). When a child becomes a circumstantial bilingual and begins to interpret or translate for the parents, the next responsibility that is given to the child is to figure out a way or how to mediate between two cultures. That is, how to language broker instead of just speaking a language.

## The Language Broker.

Children assuming the role of interpreting or translating has been a common practice among immigrant families, but it has not been until recent years attention has been given to this phenomenon that is prevalent within immigrant communities in the United States (Weisskirch \& Alva, 2002; Morales, Yakusko, \& Castro, 2012). With the aim of understanding the prevalence of what some might view as a controversial topic due to the fact that children are being involved in communicating in adult environments, researchers have made the attempt to conduct rigorous research in order to add to the body of literature of this understudied topic.

Language brokers are defined as children who belong to immigrant families who alternately use two languages at the same time and in the same place to broker linguistic and cultural communication for their parents, family members, friends, teachers or other adults (McQuillan \& Tse, 1995; Dorner, Orellana, \& Pulido, 2003; Morales \& Hanson, 2005). In other words, these children are required to mediate for their families with the goal of bridging two cultures (Buriel, Perez, deMent, Chavez, \& Moran, 1998; Valdes \& Angelelli, 2003). These language brokers become more than interpreters or translators because they are interposers who influence the content that they deliver to mainstream agents on behalf of their parents by exercising cognitive, linguistic, and social abilities required in the adult social world (Love \& Buriel, 2007). The work of Tse (1995), which focused on Spanish-speaking Hispanic students, was one of the first studies to expose the prevalence, context, attitudes, and overall effect of the brokering experience on these children. The study exposed the troubled communication between the school and the parents of a bilingual child leading to research with an emphasis on the process of language brokering. Which revealed the different dimensions of language brokering that involved cognitive, linguistic, and social abilities beyond the initial bilingual characteristics of just speaking another language. These dimensions would then become the center of a debate between those who view language brokering in children as a positive experience and those who view it as negative with the potential to be abusive.

It is important to remember that regardless of what the effects might be on the child, either positive or negative, it can be said that as Mexican-origin children assume the role of language broker, they are influenced by their traditional cultural values. Within the Mexican-origin family these would be-familism and respeto. Consequently,
for these families, it is firmly suggested that being a language broker not only gives an individual a medium to be able to discuss cultural matters within their culture, but also it will strengthen feelings of loyalty towards the family by speaking the Spanish language (Hurtado \& Gurin, 1987). Masked by feelings of pride and responsibility, children of these families are then placed in the position to view this as a major obligation that needs to be fulfilled. The responsibility driven by the overall survival and success of the family becomes the priority even if it means that they don't have the training to be successful or they feel stressed when they are placed at the forefront of the adult communication interactions that their parents cannot engage in (Orellana et al., 2003; Kam, 2011). Although these characteristics of language brokering are mainly separated by the literature, they can be experienced simultaneously and not at different times within the individual.

## Language Brokering: General characteristics and feelings.

Feelings about language brokering vary and are influenced by age, gender, and family size. Traditional values are also influential as the individual considers his position as language broker for his family. In Mexican-origin families children are expected to work in conjunction with the adults who surround them and/or they come into contact with. With their research revealing the idea that this is just one of those things you do to help the family, Dorner et al., (2008) examined how immigrant adolescent development is shaped by the practices of language brokering. In this study the language brokering experiences began as early as age eight years and in a variety of context including doctor's offices, banks, pharmacies, in the filling out of applications, and speaking for friends or extended family. From this research Dorner, Orellana, and Jimenez (2008)
concluded that the relational aspects of language brokering have been overlooked. The existing literature notes that in order to accomplish social goals for families children are required to have considerable amounts of knowledge in arithmetic, linguistics, and sociocultural aspects (Dorner, Orellana, \& Li-Grining, 2007). Keeping in mind that these children have no professional training to interpret or translate, and at times are too young to participate in adult social interactions, these children make the effort to resolve problems of understanding by replacing terms that are complex with much simpler ones. Reynolds and Orellana (2003) used the term paraphraser in order to describe the process that these children engage in as they use their social and linguistics knowledge to rephrase in their talk and actions in order to achieve the family communicative goal.

The work on language brokering has produced a mixture of emotions on the effects of these language brokering experiences on these children. The studies conducted by Tse (1995), Weisskirch, (2005) and Buriel et al. (1998) reveal positive emotions on behalf of those children who are entrusted with such responsibility. The majority of Hispanics students reported liking language brokering, while expressing feelings of pride and maturity. Weisskirch (2005) and Buriel et al. (1998) showed that Hispanic students also reported feelings of positivity and self-efficacy. Also, such studies have illustrated that these children experience an increase in confidence and maturity levels (Tse, 1995), develop metalinguistics and interpersonal skills (Valdes, 2003), academic self-efficacy (Buriel et al, 1998) and pride at being able to help their families (Tse, 1995; Valdes, Chavez, \& Angelelli, 2003) because of the different interactions that they have to engage in to bridge the language and cultural gap. In addition some of these skills connect to cultural values of either the collectivist or individualistic culture; pride and maturity are
attached to the collectivist values of familism and respect while feelings of self-efficacy and interpersonal skills are connected to the individualistic culture. The literature on language brokering also classifies these child language brokers as gifted children because of the different professional interpreting strategies that are put to use by them in order to problem-solve and make connections with others successfully (Valdes, 2003). These children translate knowing that there is the possibility that they might make mistakes, but the evidence suggests that engaging in the activity will provide skill development and problem solving.

On the other hand, due the Mexican-origin child often conforming to the traditional childhood roles bestowed upon them since early childhood involving deference, respect, and obedience many children experience this challenge with frustration because they are obligated to comply (Villanueva \& Buriel, 2010). Unlike those children who view language brokering as an opportunity to learn and expand their skills in both of their languages, there are children who feel uncomfortable and frustrated because they have to assume a role that they are not prepared for. Research suggests that the simple fact that these children have been placed in an in-between culture and are assuming adult responsibilities is enough to cause some children to be overcome with the burden of stress manifested by feeling nervous, scared, embarrassed, and worried about what others think about them and their skill (Weisskirch \& Alva, 2002, Weisskirch, 2007).

Dement and Buriel (1999) reported that these children had a desire to help their parents, but at the same time they felt inadequate and upset when language brokering.

This is commonly found in children who are in the early stages of learning how to mediate for their parents as they deal with issues of limited vocabulary, society's communication rules and roles, and positions of power (Weisskirch, 2007).

The parent and child language broker relationship and family dynamic.
Since children mostly language broker for their parents and other family members, their experiences of language brokering may influence the dynamics of the family. Many language brokers have made it their responsibility to helping their parents and family members because there is no one else to assist. Among the effects that have surfaced within language brokering children is not only their circumstance, but also the increased levels of maturity in individuals who engage in brokering. These changes that children undergo to somewhat fit into adult social interactions is what differentiates them from their siblings and/or other children who may have the skills to interpret for their parents.

Chao (2002) found that the oldest child in Vietnamese families was more often selected to become the language broker for the family by their parents in a study completed on Vietnamese families (cited by Morales \& Hanson, 2005). Although these findings were reflective of the Vietnamese population, this culture shares similar collectivist views with the Mexican-origin community, so it gives some insight that there are certain qualities that parents look for when selecting children to assist them. Being the first born is a common quality that is used to designate the responsibility of language brokering for the family especially since interpreting/translating is viewed as requiring responsibility and maturity which are qualities acquired by most children of collectivist cultures. There is also a significant focus placed on the ability to interpret/translate the information in a conversation effectively and without error. Therefore, proficiency
becomes a deciding factor especially when there are other children present. Size of the family then becomes an influential factor on the selection of who gets to assist the parents because the larger the family, the more opportunities that younger children can get, even if s/he are not the eldest to assist the parents. Each opportunity given to a child, as will be discussed later in this section translates, into developing the parent-child relationship.

Martinez, McClure, and Eddy (2009) cite the work of Patterson and his colleagues on social interaction learning theory where it is suggested that the behavior of individual family members is influenced by all members of the family. It is further suggested that the relationship between the parent and child or child and parent is influenced by the practices within this relationship that can be of negative or positive impact. Research has recognized that the values and norms of the Mexican-origin community, which emphasize interdependence, are very influential and affect the acculturation levels that can be reached within these immigrant families. The ideas of collectivism, which emphasize that family comes first and that relationships need to be maintained out of respect, impact the family by creating an acculturation gap within the parent-child relationship that could lead to stress for the language broker.

In order to cope with the struggles of not knowing the English language, parents have assumed a role reversal where the children are socializing the parents in order to relieve some of the stress that the parents feel in the acculturation process (Weisskirch, 2007). This may require that the child become participant in situations in which his or her high cognitive skills needs to be exercised in order to makes decisions for their parents. But before they can engage in making decisions properly, children need to feel a sense of
closeness to the parents accompanied with feelings of respect in order to create a partnership relationship with these emotional connections (Weisskirch, 2007). This emotional parental bonding or enmeshment within the Mexican-origin family nurtures and provides comfort to the child as it allows him or her to feel valued and connected (Love \& Buriel, 2007).

The more language brokering that the selected child becomes involved in, the more the partnership that is created strengthens because of the experiences the child is gaining. The partnership then assumes a role of normalcy where the acts of the child are made to feel as part of their chores or family contributions. Orellana et al. (2003) further suggest that when parents were interviewed in their research in regards to viewing their language broker child as exercising a power that parents only exercise with decision making, it was mentioned by the parents that they did not view it in that fashion. To the parents these language brokering experiences form a part of normal family life, indicating that the perception of the language brokering experiences is somewhat fogged by how the parents and other adult family members view the actual activity as part of a family responsibility (Valdes, 2003; Weisskirch, 2007). These constructs of language brokering are viewed differently than in the individualistic context where this activity can be viewed as a power shift and as something that is done to assist the family. These family obligations can become a source of stress for the child which leads to parentification.

## Parentification of the child.

Parentification in the family entails a functional and emotional role reversal in which the child sacrifices his or her own needs for attention, comfort, and guidance in order to accommodate and care for logistical or emotional needs of the parent (Chase,
1999). Research on parentification makes use of the term role-reversal to indicate when the child is acting as parent to their parent as generational boundaries which consist of implicit and explicit rules and expectations set by family relations are diminished (Earley \& Cushway, 2002; Kerig, 2005). Within parent-child relationships there is also an existential interdependence within family members. This interdependence within this relationship surfaces questions about mutual concern, accountabilities, responsibilities, and loyalties and how each one needs to be taken care of by parent and child. As such, parentification is seen by some as an unethical act of a parent as they abdicate their parental responsibilities either through emotional parentification of a child (e.g. child giving the parent advice, comfort, reassurance, etc.) or instrumental parentification (e.g. child cooking, cleaning, looking after siblings, etc.) without having any consideration of the previously mentioned concerns involving the child's well-being (Hooper, 2007). Unlike parents who exercise parentification of their children, ethical parents accept the fact that their contributions to the family should be greater than their offspring and not the other way around (Jurkovic, 1997).

Most of the literature on parentification comes from a relational perspective with the purpose of providing counseling or therapy to families where one of or both parents suffer either drug and/or alcohol addiction, or other health problems, which require a child to assume a caretaker role. The literature also has focused on sexual and physical abuse within families in which the unfilled needs of a parent are cared for by a child. There are also other areas in which research on parentification has focused not only on the cases above and what they look like, but also on the effects of parentification from an attachment theory perspective using the work of Bowlby (1980). This perspective has
allowed for research to increase the understanding of why children assume a caretaking stance in order to maintain a degree or level of closeness with the parent who is in need of their assistance (Mayseless, Bartholomew, Henderson, \& Trinke, 2004).

The dissolution of boundaries within these parent-child relations is another area of parentification. Minuchin (1974) discussed the role of the parental child who crosses the boundary to the parental subsystem causing an enmeshment and blurring of such boundaries. This boundary crossing can be viewed as something that is natural within the structure of the family because it is related to the values of a family or it could hide a wider problem within the family which involves the parentification of a child (Byng-Hall, 2008). These boundaries according to Chase (1999) are represented by implicit emotional and/or psychological limits that are defined by the family. When the child crosses these boundaries, they are identifying their actions as acts that will develop their caring skills. It is when the assumed roles are extended, that the child becomes keenly sensitive to the needs of others and intuits or anticipates others needs and then assumes a parentified status that limits the child (Chase, 1999).

Even though the research remains comparatively unclear about what in parentification is advantageous or disadvantageous for a child to endure, Barnett and Parker (1998) suggest that an intense, prolonged occupation of an inappropriate age role may not only limit the individual child's development but also adversely affect the next generation through repetition of this family pattern. Furthermore they note that, even when a child is not the main carer or in constant parental mode, the issue of who the child can turn to when he or she wishes to discuss their own feelings becomes relevant and significant. If children don't have a parent that will or can listen, they may feel or learn
that their own feelings don't matter and are forced to grow up because their own wishes of care and guidance cannot be met (Brown, 1989). Experiences of parentification have been associated with having the negative impact of becoming peer-like role that equalizes the parent and the child relationship (Kerig, 2005; Schaffer \& Egeland, 2011). Sooner or later these children begin to take on an excessive caregiver role throughout their life that seems normal to them because they have always taken care of others (Mayseless et al, 2004).

As such, the experience that a child gains as they assume certain parental roles can be empowering because of the caring ability that it involves. Not to mention that children are like sponges and any appraisal that is given to an individual uplifts and encourages the continuous engagement in certain types of behavior whether they be positive or negative (Winton, 2003). When a child is parentified, the role that is undertaken is not just of long term duration, but it is one in which the traditional boundaries of adult/child are crossed and the child is given adult like abilities (Byng-Hall, 2008). When the child assume a more instrumental form of parentification in which he or she is delegated tasks that enable the family to be successful, the child is then viewed as being parentified in adaptive form.

## Adaptive Parentification.

The work of Jurkovic (1997) on parentified children discusses four different prototypes within the area of parentification. The first prototype involves treatments that consists of not allowing the child to be involved or take up any responsibilities and are underchallenged developmentally. The second prototype is called non-parentification, which involves children who lead normal childhoods and who are expected to engage in
moderate levels of instrumental and expressive caretaking in accordance to their culture and developmental stage. The activities of these children are acknowledged, reciprocated, and supervised. The third prototype is destructive parentification. This is a more severe type of parentification in which the child's development has been disrupted because of excessive burdens or tasks that are inappropriate for their age. The individual tends to experience feelings of shame, guilt, anger, resentment, accompanied by stress because s/he don't have the maturity, knowledge, or power to achieve adult tasks adequately (Jurkovic, 1997). These feelings are felt even if there is evidence of high competency within the child. Socio-cultural norms can also promote destructive parentification especially if they support unethical or exploitive parenting.

Adaptive parentification is the fourth prototype, which entails a less severe form of parentification and usually is the first step before the burdens begin for the child that may lead to destructive parentification. In the adaptive parentification the child is not captivated by the role that s/he have been selected or have been circumstantially been placed to achieve. Since the tasks that are assigned tend to be more in accordance to the individual's age and are viewed by the culture to be appropriate, the child may feel that there is no burden and he or she is acting under obedience. In the Mexican-origin family this can be the case as much of the activities that children engage in are as a result of the values of familism and respeto. Children of collectivist cultures tend to feel that they are meeting a responsibility that will contribute to the overall group. This view also provides support and a perceived fairness in which even the siblings of the child will respect the newly assigned role. Though this type of parenting is more transient, it allows for a delineating of boundaries in which the child is reminded that he or she is still a child even
though they are assuming the responsibilities that a parent might. This sharing of responsibilities possibly enables the child to view these experiences as a way of adding to his or her skills in order to increase their abilities for the family. Byng-Hall (2008) warns that even though individuals are developing skills that will increase their self-esteem because they are receiving familial support and encouragement, they can still experience adverse effects.

## Parentification and Language Brokering.

Even though parentification was documented first in the context of disrupted families, the inability of a parent to assume the parental role because $s /$ he is preoccupied with problems instead of focusing on being supportive to the children (young or adolescents) can be seen and may not be classified as situations of harm. This is the case in immigrant families where it has been observed that parents cannot fulfill their full parental roles because of a lack of sociocultural skills for dealing with acculturation in the new environment. When and if parents cannot communicate with others through the English language, children are asked to take over the responsibilities of their parents even when they are not old enough to interact successfully (Titzmann, 2012).

Some work has been done on the relationship between language brokering and parentification, but it is still fairly limited and has consisted of taking the negative aspects of language brokering with the literature of parentification to make the connection between both concepts. The current literature on language brokering suggests that when young brokers assist family members, it is possible that their cultural background leads them to perceive brokering as practical and appropriate to engage in (Kam, 2011). As a normal act of interdependence, language brokering is said to benefit the individual and
the family instead of causing harm. Those who do not agree say that this act is a premature act of interdependence and that these children are being pushed into growing up too fast (Kam, 2011).

In regards to language brokering, Orellana's work (2003) has focused on highlighting the language brokering experience in Mexican-origin families as an act of helping. Her study, conducted in 2003 with Mexican immigrants in a community in Chicago, revealed that participants were given other responsibilities like household chores or sibling caretaking as a result of the language brokering in the home. The study also surfaced the role that gender played when engaging in language brokering, as girls, who were more likely to be trained to assume caretaking responsibilities, were also the ones engaging in these language practices.

Orellana (2001) also focused on highlighting the language brokering experience of these children as "work," and not as a contribution as other scholars have termed it, arguing the children who are engaging in this work are doing more than gathering experiences that will prepare them for the future. Stressing that at times the activities that children engage in are framed in ways that devalue the effort of these children, she posits that the active engagement of these children constructs and changes the way communication happens in the different environments in which these children participate. Furthermore, to use the terms civic contributor, character developer, and learning opportunity is to interpret the work that these children do as simply helping without bringing attention to the more visible and valuable issues present of the language
brokering experience. It is imperative to understand language brokering from the perspective of what the child is possibly losing and ask if it is okay to view them as "little parents" or adults because of the language brokering they do.

McQuillan and Tse (1995) conducted some of the early work that focused on examining the development of culture, cognition, and language within immigrant communities who have their children language brokering. In their work, language brokering was reported to increase independence and maturity among children. This growth further reflected itself in entrusting the child to more language brokering experiences that enabled the child to learn more English in order to understand the different adult scenarios. In the work of Valdes, Chavez, and Angelleli (2003) trust was a major reason why parents used their children to interpret or translate. This is significant because trust allowed the parents to feel reassured and confident that the family was going to be taken care of because it was another family member that was working in the best interest of the family. This is an idea that is shared by the Mexican-origin community and is usually the reason that parentification can be masked under the values embedded within the family. In adaptive parentification trust allows the parent to continue to use and place the child in adult situations, but also situations that require a protective stance when dealing with issues pertaining to the family. As language proficiency increases, these children most likely will continue to participate in language brokering. Through their skills these children make the effort to present their family in the best way possible, as they take pride in upholding the Mexican-origin cultural values that strongly connect them with their parents and extended family.

## The Study

The present study aims to provide additional insight to the language brokering and the parentification literature with an emphasis on the Mexican-origin family and bring forth the experiences and views of these young language brokers to enlighten others about these experiences. Driven by the strong cultural values and norms of familism and respeto, this study aims to reflect how circumstantial bilingualism manifests itself in the lives of the Mexican-origin family and how these values have come to influence the bilingual individual. These circumstantial bilinguals, who have been placed by circumstance to speak two languages, are motivated by their culture, which may lead to a blurring of boundaries within the parent-child relationship where adaptive parentification may occur. The study addressed the following research questions:

RQ 1: How do Mexican-origin circumstantial bilinguals view their experience as language brokers?

RQ 2: What are the perceived qualities based on this research of these language brokers?

RQ 3: Does parentification occur with circumstantial bilinguals when language brokering?

## CHAPTER 3

## Methodology

In order to understand the experiences of the circumstantial bilingual population, this research utilized a cross-sectional, semi-structured interview process. This qualitative approach allowed for not only rich data collection, but also would enable the researcher to isolate and define phenomena/categories to comprehend and learn about human experience (Fink, 2000). This facilitated the identification of and themes raised by the participants and their underlining meanings/understandings. Semi-structured interviews also gave flexibility to the researcher to explore key questions while explaining each participants experience and keeping the interviews conversational (Charmaz, 2006). The Role and Impact of the Researcher

The potential influence of the researcher when using qualitative methods needs to be acknowledged (Pickl, 2011). In this study, the researcher was a child that shared the same experiences as those participating not only because of the shared background of being a child of Mexican-origin parents who emigrated from Mexico, but because the researcher also engaged in language brokering from a very young age. The many questions and feelings towards this experience on behalf of the researcher have in some ways influenced the research, both as the foreground for conducting research and in the generating of questions and themes for the interview (Corbin \& Strauss, 2008). Through the process of self reflection on the many experiences acquired throughout the years which encompass a mixture of emotions from pride and responsibility to frustration and anger, the researcher aimed to provide a comfortable space for the participant to share
their experiences on this phenomenon while not assuming their experience, emotions, and understandings were the same. As such, the benefits of shared community as the person "interrogating" the topic, recruiting and interviewing the participants, and talking to the parents proved helpful to increase the comfort of not only the child, but of the parents. The researcher being a bilingual speaker helps intimacy too and gives the participant the option in speaking in Mexican Spanish or American English. Of course this potentially has other potential impacts on study, but given the young age of participants and the benefits outweighing, the researcher worked hard to look for alternative interpretations in the study to avoid guiding interviews.

## Ethical and Identification Considerations

Since the research involved the participation of children on a topic that might produce emotional stress upon the individual, ethical guidelines involving research with these children were followed (see appendix B). Risks of emotional nature were reduced by making sure that the participants only discussed experiences they chose to recall and that did not cause discomfort. The researcher also took considerations to ensure that all participants and their parents felt safe and comfortable by determining that the interview at any signs of discomfort would be brought to natural close. None of the participants experienced any discomfort during the interview process. On the contrary, most of the participants enjoyed speaking about their experiences and expressed that it was something new and interesting.

Anonymity was also of importance and a participant identification number was assigned to each child upon the completion of the consent and assent forms (see appendix B). Further, all identifying data and information was removed from all data on transcriptions.

Lastly, understanding that the parents' presence might have an impact on the child's answers, the researcher gave the child the opportunity to speak as an individual apart from his/her parents even though the parents were at close distance. So to uphold safety and comfort for parents and children, parents were present but at a distance that ensured the interview could not be overheard by them. The possibility that the participants may feel uncomfortable to speak about certain experiences involving their family which could reveal other issues that are not related to the research, were also considered and extra care was placed in observing their non-verbal behavior during the interview process.

## Participants

Potential participants were contacted through a local grass-root non-profit organization located in the Phoenix Metropolitan area with a mission to spread awareness on the importance of children achieving higher education. This organization was selected to reach potential participants for two key reasons. First, the organization serves the group targeted for inclusion in the study in the form of youth leadership club meetings for 12 to14 year old children from different ethnic backgrounds who are in middle school or in $6^{\text {th }}$ through $8^{\text {th }}$ grade in a particular school district. Second, the researcher already had an established partnership with this organization as a result of a research project that focused on the organization itself and its advocacy efforts.

Since the scope of the study was limited to a particular ethnic group and the foundation has its goal of helping students achieve college success within the neighboring inner-city schools regardless of their ethnicity, the following parameters were set for the study to qualify for participation: (1) Child could be either male or female; (2) Be of Mexican-origin; (3) Child must be bilingual; (4) Language spoken in home must be Spanish; (5) Both or one of the parents did not speak English.

Due to the participants being children, the recruitment process began with a recruitment meeting conducted by the researcher with the parents of potential participants to inform them about the purpose of the research and if they would be interested in having their child participate (see appendix B). The recruitment meetings were held on two separate dates and were held in a bilingual format to better inform those parents who were not English proficient or prefer to communicate in Spanish. It is important to note that the researcher who managed each of the meetings is bilingual and a member of the Mexican-origin community which facilitated the bilingual format of these recruitment meetings in a more naturalized way. The established partnership with the organization also assisted in making it a non-threatening and benevolent recruitment invitation because the researcher had developed a relationship with the organization. At the end of the meeting, the parents were asked to approach the researcher with their child to have a pre-screening conversation if they were interested in being a part of the research.

The pre-screening process led to twenty participants, of which seventeen ( $\mathrm{N}=17$ ) qualitative, semi-structured interviews were completed. For added convenience and comfort, interview locations were chosen by the children and their parents; fourteen of these interviews were conducted in the homes of the participants, two interviews were
conducted in a local library, and one of the interviews was conducted on the grounds of the Roosevelt school district. Three children, who agreed with their parents during the prescreening process to participate, declined days prior to their interview. A total of seventeen interviews seemed appropriate for the final analysis and analysis indicated saturation was achieved (Corbin \& Strauss, 2008). It was recognized that if the data collection required it due to not achieving thematic saturation, more interviews would be conducted. Table 3 Participant Demographics list the number of male and female participants and their place of birth.

Table 3
Participant Demographics

| Gender | Place of Birth |
| :---: | :---: |
| Male 3 | United States=3 <br> Mexico $=0$ |
| Female 14 | United States $=10$ <br> Mexico=4 |

There were fourteen female $(\mathrm{n}=14)$ and three were male $(\mathrm{n}=3)$. The age of the participants ranged from 12 to 14 years of age (mean age was 13 ), 6 were 12 years, 5 were 13 years, and 6 were 14 years at the time of the interview. Thirteen of the participants were born in the United States and four of them were born in Mexico. The mean age for arrival for those who were foreign-born was four years of age. Out of the seventeen participants interviewed, eight were the eldest from their siblings, three were the youngest, meaning five were in the middle since one participant was an only child.

All of the participants expressed that they interpreted and/or translated for their parents at some point because their parents did not understand English and they agreed that they would be interviewed about these experiences.

## Materials and Interviews

Before the beginning of the interview process, a consent form was given to the parent (see Appendix D) and an assent form was given to the child (see Appendix E) for completion. Each of these forms described the purpose of the research, how it would be conducted, and how confidentiality would be maintained. For better comfort in understanding the details of the research and to protect the rights and privacy of this population, this form was available to the participants and their parents in Spanish and English. The consent and assent forms also informed the parent and child that they could discontinue their participation in the study at any time and that the interview process would be audio recorded for precision and increased validity in the research.

With the goal of the research to have each of the respondents feel at ease and comfortable, the interview was designed with a series of open ended questions to provide an environment that would stimulate a conversation with increased participation from the child. The interview guide (see Appendix C) was created by the researcher with a focus on two a priori themes to guide the conversations to explore the circumstantial bilingual experience and parentification but allow for emergent themes. The interview guide began with a brief demographic conversation with questions that centered on the participant's age, their country of birth, the language they speak at home, the number of siblings they have, and who speaks English and/or Spanish in their home. This portion of the interview allowed the child participant to relax and become comfortable with the context,
environment, and interviewer. During this time participants were also encouraged to answer with as much detail as possible and to avoid answering with yes and no answers to better capture their experiences and encourage them to be conversational and provide elaborate responses.

The second section of the interview guide introduced the theme of circumstantial bilingualism. The focus of this portion of the interview was to have the child begin to think about their experiences in language brokering and to describe the first instance in which they engaged in this activity and the conditions surrounding it. Being a language broker was not a pre-requisite for participation in the research but it was found that only ten out of the seventeen participants indicated behaviors that indicated language broker activity. Further questions were asked in regards to the circumstances faced that allowed for them to engage in such behavior, where were their parents, the child's thoughts on their parents feeling as they engaged in this activity, and how they were viewed by others in that particular situation.

The next set of questions focused on creating conversation about key themes in language brokering based not only on their first time experience, but on all the other subsequent times in which they had to interpret/translate. The conversation included discussing with the researcher if this experience caused them stress and what this stress consisted of. Probing questions centered on their views about interpreting/translating as a confidence builder, the development of skills and if they perceived any changes over time. The last portion of the conversation then focused on the theme of parentification. Based on the information that was shared when the parents became the topic of
conversation, these probing questions were utilized to have the child share more about their parent/child relationship and of any changes with other family members as a result of their experiences with interpreting/translating.

All seventeen interviews were digitally audio recorded and fully transcribed by the researcher/author with the exception of identifying information. The initial transcription on each interview was completed on transcribing software Xpress Scribe that allowed for easier typing of the conversations. The researcher then converted them to Word files for each of the interviews which would allow for the initial files on Xpress Scribe to be switched into a word document that would allow the researcher to add information relevant to the interview, such as nonverbal communication, when interviews were listened to for the second time. After the second transcription, each interview was uploaded to the NVivo 10 program that is used for qualitative research organization in preparation for the first round of data analysis and coding.

## Data Analysis

After all seventeen interviews were transcribed by the researcher the data were analyzed using Braun and Clarkes' (2006) thematic analysis approach to guide the process. This method consists of six phases (1) Familiarization with the data; (2) Generation of initial codes; (3) Searching for themes; (4) Reviewing themes; (5) Defining and naming themes; (6) Producing the report. Since the intention of the analysis is not to follow a linear path and it has more of an intention to be a recursive one, these phases are not rigidly prescriptive (Braun \& Clarke, 2006). One of the goals of the research was to
maintain the voice given by the participants to their experiences and independent from theories, this qualitative approach seemed appropriate due to the flexibility it provides when thematizing meanings in smaller samples while still allowing interpretation of the data.

Each of the seventeen interviews were transcribed personally which, in addition to the interviewing, the researcher's immersion and familiarity with the content/data allowed during the interviews and transcription for research notes to be taken that would assist in the coding later. Two a priori themes (i.e. circumstantial bilingual experience and parentification) were selected based on the literature and the experiences of the researcher.

Initial thematic coding yielded 110 codes with data extracts across both themes, focused was placed on creating/renaming codes within each of these two themes for the data that was divided into them. Step three which consists of a deeper analysis of the codes and their data extracts and a comparison of notes, was condensed into fifty-two codes comprising eight sub-themes (first experience, individual feelings, stress, parentification, normalcy, parent reactions and feelings, siblings, future).

A thematic map created at the end of the second coding was used to assist in the third and final phase of coding with the goal of having it reflect the meanings in whole data set since the coding process was completed in NVivo 10. This thematic map, upon placement of the eight sub themes and its data, gave way to the final themes of Normalcy and Stress, which are elements related to the overall theme of Circumstantial Bilingual, Choice, Expectation/Responsibility to assist and Equality to Parents, which are elements that support the theme of Parentification, and the emergence of a new theme, Identity

Negotiation, an underlying theme that expands the understanding as it gives insight on the relationship between the two a priori themes of circumstantial bilingual and parentification.

## Chapter 4

## Results

In this chapter the analysis conducted on the transcribed data based on the a priori themes of circumstantial bilingual and parentification will be discussed along with their sub-categories (i.e. normalcy, stress, adaptive parentification) that illuminate these themes. The analysis will end with one emergent third theme-identity negotiation. It is also of importance to mention that throughout the analysis it was of importance to maintain the child's voice when extracting supportive data. In this section, the researcher has done her best to correct any disfluencies found in their speech without altering the meaning of what the child was attempting to say.

Before discussing the results of themes and their connection with the circumstantial bilingual though, it is of importance to illustrate the experience of these children in order to have a clearer understanding of the analysis. During one of the conversations with the participants, there was an opportunity to view one of these children as they interpreted for their parents. Though the analysis that will be discussed is based on the data gathered from the conversations of these individuals, the memo written by the researcher/interviewer recording this activity gives insight on the experiences of these children and thus sets itself as the backdrop for the analysis. Below is the memo completed by the researcher/interviewer.

Even though this moment took place in the participant's home, the environment formalized itself automatically through the language, the behaviors, and the grownups that were involved. As the thirteen year old, who was in seventh grade became the advocate for the family, the child stood on the side of the parent, looked at the mom, and
slowly began to speak softly and shyly to the cable technician. The man who spoke with an accent, answered her, and right away she looked puzzled. She tried to explain to her mother what he said. The mother just looked at the daughter and indicated to her in Spanish to tell him that the computer needs to be in this room. The little girl then looked at the man and with a soft voice said that she wanted her Wi-Fi setup in her room. The cable technician just stared in frustration at the mother and I, as if he was thinking why aren't these adults speaking. The conversation then got more complex as the technician explained how Wi-Fi works. The little girl looked even more puzzled because she couldn't explain to her mother how Wi-Fi loses it strength in Spanish. Finally, after hoping that the parent would ask me to help them, the mother asked for my help. I spoke to the technician and communicated the needs of the family. Right away I saw the little girls face light up as if I had saved her not from feeling frustrated, but from a scenario that was indeed hard for her to participate in. Surprising the little girl throughout the process maintained her smile. Her mother appeared to be understanding, but I kept thinking what if I had never been there? This opened my eyes to the reality that these kids face. A reality that if there's no one else to do it no matter how hard it is, they have to do it.

In this scenario, the big question that results is how can children be prepared or trained for these types of events. Most of these children are placed in this situation at a very young age and to these children it has become part of their routine. They haven't had the opportunity to interact in adult situations in order to learn and become proficient in language and social interactions. Studies have shown that children feel that they are not prepared for language brokering, which has become a significant contributing factor to the stressful feelings that these children express when language brokering. Some of
this stress was expressed in this research and will be discussed in the analysis beginning with the context and situations that contribute to these feelings. Table 4 gives common types of language brokering experiences that were mentioned by the children. This information is relevant to the results as it indicates the different adult scenarios that the participants of this research have been involved in when interpreting/translating at doctor appointments, during school conferences, and in banks.

Table 4
Common Types of Language Brokering Experiences of Participants

| Face to Face Conversation <br> for parents | Translating of written | Speaking for Others |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Dr. appointments | Bills | Parent Teacher <br> Conferences for other <br> students |
| Stores | Bank Account <br> Statements | Phone Calls for teachers |
| Restaurants | Medical forms | Public places who don't <br> have interpreters |
| Bank | Legal paperwork | New students at school |
| School |  |  |

Tied to the Mexican-origin traditional values of familism and respect, circumstantial bilinguals find themselves attached to these values in such a significant way that it has an impact on why they assume the role for their family. In this research, it was found that most of the children participated in language brokering under the assumption that they were being of support to their family. Overshadowed by these values, the circumstantial bilingual experience can reach a point of normalcy to where the child can switch or assume a parental role without even knowing. Though stress might be
felt, to take care and look out for the family surpasses any negative feelings or emotions that the individual might feel when language brokering which eventually can become a problem for the child as he learns to suppress his or her emotions.

Gender norms, which are prevalent within the Mexican-origin community, also contribute with these values, to smooth out the stress and normalize the process of language brokering as the child is accustomed to seeing his or her parents and family members assume very structured roles within the family centered on unity and caretaking. This was the case for many of the female participants and for those who had sisters. In some way, these female participants were all expected to assume the language broker role because within their families, females assume the role of caretaking for the family. As a result of these gendered expectations, Participants $14 \mathrm{~F}, 15 \mathrm{~F}$, and 16 F who were all sisters shared the responsibility of language brokering. Indeed, there were boys in this family who were younger, but they did not have to carry the responsibility of interpreting for the family because their sisters were responsible for the task. It was the oldest daughters who took care of this and were expected to learn and become fluent in both Spanish and English in order to help the family. Even Participant 16F, who was the youngest of the three contributed in some way at twelve years old. Though she desired to do more, she felt it was quite difficult to achieve this because of her older sisters; she always wanted to try even if it was stressful because it would bring her closer to her parents and became useful for her parents. Curiously enough, the sisters indicated that the boys were only expected to learn English. This is typical within this community and other collectivist cultures where girls tend to be socialized into taking care of their siblings and other family members as to prepare them to care for their future families.

## Theme One: Circumstantial Bilingual

As noted in the literature previously discussed, not all bilinguals are identical as the term bilingual has undergone changes from its original term. There are some bilingual children who are considered elective bilinguals because they choose to learn and speak a second language, and then there are the circumstantial bilinguals who need to learn a new language in order to participate fully in the new society they live in (Valdes \& Figueroa, 1994). The differences in these two definitions are the words choose and need. Though both of these bilingual types seem so clean cut, the conditions of acquisition are not the only reason that makes them different. It is the relationship between the bilingual and the society that he or she finds himself a part of which become an influential factor. Unlike those who elect to speak another language out of an individual decision, the circumstantial bilingual becomes bilingual not by individual choice, but by the demands or needs of the collectivist culture that he or she is a part of while in the U. S. (Angelelli, 2010). These demands usually entail the values and norms of a particular cultural group. For the Mexican-origin children who were interviewed, this means that they are not only driven to speak another language because of their parents' incapacity to speak English, but their values of familism and respeto have become a great influence in making language brokering normal as the individual and the parent uphold these values along with those who surround them like family members. Even though they may just smile or make indirect comments as Participant 1F mentioned that when she language brokers, her extended family looks at her smiling and saying good job on the side, this positive reinforcement enables the child to feel good when helping her parents and is of influence to continue to do so whenever possible.

## Normalcy.

For children of immigrant families' part of their "normal" daily experiences includes not only acquiring language proficiency in English, but also in assisting their parents in the acculturation process as they interpret or translate for their parents (Martinez, et al., 2009). Part of what the Mexican-origin child is taught is through the value of familism and respeto to use these along with language to bridge the language gap. Positive reinforcement, as was mentioned previously with Participant 1F whose family says "good job," in the background, reinforces these behaviors. Participant 5F commented that her extended family expected her to help them with the translating of mail. This was interesting because there was a routine already built around her visits to their home. She said that when she visits her relatives, "they just come out and say can you translate all this?" She further mentions that she isn't "caught off guard because she was used to it already." This was so normal for her that, when she arrived she would already know that she had to assume the role of interpreter/ translator because her family had conditioned her to know that if there was mail on the table it was for her. Now these relatives had children who could help, but they had designated her because their own children were in college and not available.

For the children who participated in this research, normalcy in language brokering was defined through their conversation as an act that was done regularly or with prevalence to help their parents and family, to the extent that it has become somewhat of a routine event that they can't even remember when they started engaging in it. Participant 1F mentioned "Hmmm...It was like a long time ago. I think it was my first day of middle school" and Participant 4M did not remember his first experience. He said
that he was "really young." These examples illustrate an interesting pattern of "normalcy" in which even though these children are only between 12-14 years of age, they have no recollection of how they got involved in the language brokering process.

Interviewer: Do you remember the first time that you interpreted for your mom and your dad?

## Participant 9F: I really don't know, but I remember some of my experiences.

It can be inferred through the data that this activity has become a routine for them and since it started when they were young, language brokering has become unnoticeable and it is something that they just do like anything else. But, as the conversation progressed, the participants were able to recall and share more details with the interviewer about their first experience as they explained the connection that interpreting/translating has with something that they did to assist their parents. Participant 3F mentioned that it was something that she "didn't even think about" when she was helping her parents. This comment and the examples below exemplify that the child has learned to recognize the needs that the family is facing and therefore uses language brokering in what Dorner et al (2008) calls as a way to assist. This recognition of needs is a characteristic that is shared and learned by members of collectivist families and is prevalent in circumstantial bilinguals just like with Participant 5F who learned that every trip to her aunt's house meant that she would have to interpret/translate for her. Participant 12M even speaks about noticing this "normal" activity with other children that he knows who are bilingual, bringing more normalcy to the experience because their local community also upholds these collectivist ideals.

Participant 4M: Yeah, normal child just helping their parents out. That's how I felt.

Participant 12M: I think it is normal. Most kids that I know do it too. The ones that speak Spanish and English, they help their parents.

The roles of the mother and father are well defined in the Mexican-origin family and are understood by every member (Valdes, 1996). Part of their responsibility is to provide guidance and give direction, organize the household, and raise their children to abide by the values of respect and familism. Pride generally is shown when parents are approving of the behaviors that encompass these values. So the parents of these children therefore, play an important role in their lives as the data revealed that the parents were proud of their children as they assisted them in language brokering. This was a recurring emotion with all seventeen participants as they noticed that their parents were "proud" as they watched them engaging in a conversation and uphold the collectivist values.

Participant 13 F said that her parents felt good when she interpreted because they saw her "helping somebody that needed help." This is typical of circumstantial bilinguals because they learn to recognize not only the need for someone to help make the connection through language, but that help needs to be given to those who share a similar condition.

As praise and acknowledgement are given to these children, for upholding their values, cultural pride becomes stronger because they are not just being a good person, but they are also being obedient and respectful to their parents who taught them to behave in such way. Participant 17F mentioned that there was an instance where she found herself at the store with her aunt and there was a mother who needed assistance and her daughter would not translate for her because the daughter told the mother that "it was stupid and she didn't want to speak another language." Though Participant 17F wanted to help, she
did mention that her thinking in regards to helping her mother language broker had changed when she saw this incident. This became a motivation to continue to speak two languages and to help her mother along with teaching her the valuable lesson of cultural pride. She also mentioned that there is a retelling of this story within her family as a reminder to always have pride in the values that have been taught.

For six of the children, it was found that the children have become the only resource available to their parents and family to be successful when it comes to bridging the language gap. Just as Participant 5F stated in her response as she grabbed her head, if she was not there "Oh, my gosh! There would be problems." This was interesting because the child was not told that there would be problems, but the child implicitly understood that if she didn't assist them, no one would, which is what was expressed by the others. Participant 6F tries to place herself in her parents' shoes each time she knows that she has to interpret.

Participant 6F: I do translate when she [mom] tells me. I try my best 'cause I can imagine how they feel if they didn't know or they have someone telling them something in English and they have no idea what she telling them.
Family is expected to help in the collectivistic culture and as values are passed down just as 9F mentioned that " 'Cause people depend on me, so that I can help them on something they can't understand." The children begin to develop this critical thinking of future consequences as normalcy then overshadows interpreting/translating in the family. She expresses this afterwards: "Yeah cause most of the times it's us [children] helping them translating [pauses] So I think we help them a lot when it comes to English parts."

Though all the children felt that their parents felt pride and six of them felt that they were the only help that their parents could have to help them maneuver in the

English speaking world, there was a loss of verbal communication between seven of the participants and their parents. These children expressed that there was no conversation on behalf of the parents with them in regards to the experience just undergone or to any of the past experiences which indicates the normalcy that language brokering had assumed within the family.

Interviewer: Ok, have you or your parents ever sat down and talked about the experiences that you've had translating or interpreting for them?
Participant 7F: No
Interviewer: No you've never had a formal conversation about it? So it just kind of, the translating just happens naturally?
Participant 7F: Yeah.
Interviewer: ...Um have you and your parents ever sat down and talked about your experience when you interpret or translate for them?
Participant 10M: No.
Interviewer: No, so it just kind of happens and everyone kind of expects it to kind of happen?
Participant 10M: Yeah.
Interviewer: Ok. Have you ever sat down and spoken about that experience or those experiences when you interpret?
Participant 14F: No.
Even if the parents of these children did not have any conversations with them in order to provide some type of emotional support to the children, what the children did express was that the parents did react to any shortcomings or difficulties when the child language brokered and did not do their job well. This is important because even though the parents are not proficient in English, the expectation to assist the family appropriately is placed upon the child. Seven of the seventeen participants did say that their parents spoke to them. The responses ranged from parents getting frustrated and mad and to the parents simply saying that since they know English the process of interpreting should be easy for them. The following examples illustrate what the parent tells the child and the
implicit message that it sends that any mistake can lead to consequences that may affect others and they need to keep up with their proficiency. Participant 10 M is expected to keep up with his skill, while Participant 6F in her wording may sound disrespectful, she tries to make her case that it is difficult task to achieve.

## Participant 10M:

'Sometimes I might not know the words like bigger terms, but like I don't understand it and they say you're supposed to know it. You speak English and stuff yeah."

Participant 6F: She gets a light bill that when I need to translate and sometimes she even gets frustrated because I can't translate for her.
Interviewer: And she tells you?
Participant 6F: Yeah.
Interviewer: What does she say?
Participant 6F: I can't believe you can't translate the word is so easy like...
Interviewer: That's what she tells you? That it's so easy? How do you perceive that when she tells you that?
Participant 6F: Well if it's so easy why can't you translate it then? But it's not easy, like in easy, like in, like it's a little paragraph not like that kind of easy.

The key functions that familism and respeto play in the Mexican-origin family enable the family in some way to maintain the balance necessary as they acculturate to the American culture. Let us recall the work done by Bacallao \& Smokowski (2007) where it is suggested that since the non-dominant group typically succumbs to the strong influence of the dominant cultures norms, values, and behaviors and many immigrant families make the effort to make their external boundaries rigid as a way to protect their family and maintain things in a state of normalcy within the family. As the analysis has revealed (see Appendix F), the Mexican-origin family through its values of familism and respect, have made the effort to teach the younger generations about the act of helping and thinking about the good of the collective group and have through these values,
assigned roles and responsibilities. For the circumstantial bilingual, these responsibilities are mainly assuming the role of language broker because of the influence that these values have had in the behavior that is enacted. If one is respectful and obedient, the parent and/or extended family will praise the individual. Right away, it brings up the comments of "Oh, your parents taught you right" or "So young and helping others," which positively reinforce the behavior that this child is engaging in. Eventually, language brokering becomes normal to the child because after hearing all the positives, even though there are times when there is feedback given on proficiency, the Mexicanorigin child's goal is to please the parents through obedience.

## Stress.

Much of the literature on language brokering explains that there is some type of stress involved with language brokering. For the circumstantial bilingual, it becomes even more of a struggle or stress because there is a responsibility where interpreting or translating has to be done correctly. Though Valdes et al. (2003) in their work on language brokers discussed that children were chosen to assume this role because their parents felt that they had certain characteristics (i.e. social skills, good listeners, able to communicate feelings and emotions, payed attention) along with language proficiency, in this research the data illustrated differently. Proficiency in language was the biggest stress for the children. From not having an extensive English and Spanish vocabulary to having people looking at them in strange ways as they examined what they said and how they said it, made them feel uncomfortable. There were moments in which the children indicated that they were annoyed with their parents because they had to interpret/translate
for them. Though these feelings were strong, what held them back from reacting or questioning their parents were their values of familism and respeto.

## Proficiency in language.

In order to maintain their native culture identity while joining the dominant society (Acoach \& Webb, 2004) these children have to maintain their Spanish language as they acquire English. For most of the participants, language brokering posed a problem for them because of the limited vocabulary that they have to communicate with the society at large. Also the children expressed their fear of making a mistake that would lead to major consequences within their family.

When the children were asked about what was so stressful about interpreting, the responses ranged from figuring out what the word said in English was in Spanish and vice versa to just to getting completely stuck and not knowing what to say. This is significant because the children were now speaking as if they were just talking about language and its words, which is different than language brokering where it requires the proficiency of cognitive, linguistic, and social abilities required in the adult social world.

Participant 15F: Cause like sometimes they use phrases and big words and you don't know how to put those phrases in the other language.

Participant 1F: Oh, at first it was a little complicated since they used a lot of like words that I didn't even know.

Participant 2F: Sometimes when I am not sure how to explain it and my parents want to know something and I just feel like oh my gosh I don't know how to say some I don't know how to say this and then I just like tell them.

Participant 9F: Not pressured when I don't understand it, I get like, when I don't understand what, what the passage is trying to say, I get like I don't know what to do.

Participant 12M: Yeah, especially when they're saying a lot of complicated things that I don't really understand what they're saying and I have a hard time translating.

If we recall the definition for language brokering provided by Valdes and Angelleli (2003) a "language broker" refers to an individual who serves as the mediator for the interaction between members of communities that have come into cultural contact through language. The above data say nothing about stress due to the different language that is required in different context. It is not until the two "worlds" or cultures intersect that the realization comes to the individual even though age and vocabulary are also viewed as stressful. Participant 12M speaks about how his parents didn't realize his proficiency in English until they saw him interpret for them. Up to that point, he had only spoken Spanish at home.

Interviewer: Yeah? So how do you think your parents felt that first time when you had to help them?
Participant 12M: I don't know.
Interviewer: You don't know...
Participant 12M: I think that they were surprised,
Interviewer: They were surprised?
Participant 12M: I mostly didn't speak English here [in the home]. Only with my sisters.
Interviewer: And so when they watched you, and you spoke in Spanish and
English, they were like shocked?
Participant 12M: Yeah, I think they were a little.
Three children expressed that they attended schools in which the curriculum is done in both Spanish and English so that they can become proficient in both languages. But even then, these children still mentioned that it was a struggle for them to become proficient because they felt they needed to know more and the school environment didn't provide it. They only provided vocabulary words and information on why it was a good idea to speak two languages, but didn't offer anything else. This circles back to the previous
section where it was discussed that different context require different languages and ways of interacting. This was the case for participant 13F who mentioned having to increase her knowledge of both languages due to the stress and pressure that she feels.

## Participant 13F:

I feel like I have pressure because I have to know more things in both languages and I have to learn both of them and I focus on both languages and not just one.

Much of this stress led many of the children to share during the conversation that they felt feelings of frustration and anger at times because of their inability to responsibly assume their role as language brokers and to assume the expectations of their family. The thoughts went as far as to question why their parents don't learn English so that they don't have to assist them. Participants 6F and 4M openly shared their feelings with the researcher.

Interviewer: Do you feel like you're responsible for translating, like your responsible?
Participant 6F: Well in some ways yeah and in other ways like 'cause yeah! (Raises voice) Because they don't understand it! I guess they count on me to tell them and sometimes I just I can't! And well yeah.
Interviewer: How do you feel when you can 't?
Participant 6F: Frustrated (stern voice).
Interviewer: Frustrated?
Participant 6F: Yeah 'cause I get mad! 'Cause sometimes they get mad cause I tell them why can't she learn English because it's really hard for me to translate. But like when we are at the store and stuff I will translate stuff. I will try my best to translate (Calmly).

Participant 4M: I was like mom you need to go to English classes please?
Interviewer: And what did she tell you?
Participant 4M: She was like yeah I want to. She's thinking of going to the college over there to take English classes and so ...
Interviewer: Did you feel embarrassed? Did you feel uncomfortable?
Participant 4M: Yeah.
Interviewer: Why did you feel uncomfortable or embarrassed?

Participant 4M: 'Cause umm I don't know. Just to see that my other friend's mom talks English all perfect and everyone around me also talks English. And then my mom not understanding something that they're telling her(pauses) and asking me to tell it for her and then what they tell me, I have to tell her, like that that's why I felt like that(shyly).

Lastly two of the participants ( 10 M and 17 F ) mentioned that it had crossed their minds to refuse to interpret for them when things got too hard. The responses they gave indicated that if they did, they would be suffering the consequences later for taking such a stance. Below is participant 17 F response.

Interviewer: What if you refuse to translate, what would she say?
Participant 17F: She'll be like," wait till we get home" and she'll probably yell at me.

It is important to note that this type of response gives a clearer understanding that not only can these children benefit from this experience that is categorized by the values of their culture as an enhancement to their individual self and the group, but that there is that possibility that the children can feel negative emotions towards the experience. This is the struggle that the circumstantial bilingual faces-Should I see it as good and ignore the bad or should I try to deal with both my Mexican-origin identity and my American identity?

## Proficiency in social interactions.

Society rules and norms of conversation and interaction with others was another contributing factor to the stress that these children feel when interpreting for their parents. The adult social world is something that the children were not accustomed to especially the reactions from those that surrounded them during their interpreting. For many of the children, these situations that they were placed in to engage in a conversation were new and something that was never practiced or taught in the home or in school. The adult
setting raised the standards of communication requiring that the child to increase their vocabulary, comprehension, and pronunciation along with understanding the rules of conversation (Buriel, et al., 1998). In the conversations, the participants expressed that the longer the conversation, the more stressful that it became for them because of how they were viewed by others and how they were expected to act and speak. It almost felt like a spotlight turned on for them as it indicated to them that it was their moment to get involved because their parent could not understand.

One participant stated that she was baby talked during a phone conversation when she was trying to make an appointment for her mother. Apparently the adult did not realize and assumed that because of the child appeared young in age and because of the context of the situation, that she might not have a large vocabulary that would allow her to understand what was being told to her. Even though this was only one instance, when one compares it to the stress example of not knowing vocabulary words previously discussed, it shows how these circumstantial bilinguals can experience proficiency in language in negative and positive ways.

## Participant 1F:

Yeah, in the beginning they start like using those like simple phrases and then they um ... like I remember like a very good vocabulary word and they're like uh, ok we should talk to her professionally and then they kind of change it back [says it proudly].

Along the same lines, other adults express impatience and rudeness towards these children as Participant 5F mentioned when she was interpreting in one occasion where the person was hurrying her up with her eyes to finish what she was saying.

## Participant 5F:

Sometimes people are rude and others have patience and others just keep talking and I'm trying to translate everything back. And then she tells me and I tell them
and they tell me long stories but some people give me time to tell them everything and others are not patient.

Some of the participants also expressed being looked at weird, strange, and even surprised by adults who they have to interact with when they are interpreting at the store or at restaurants. This was an interesting point brought up specifically the staring that these children caused upon themselves during the interactions they had. Participant 9F said that it was probably because they "haven't seen it that much," but in his voice and choice of words it almost appears as if he is annoyed.

## Participant 12M:

Because I'm like "why are they staring at me?" and I don't understand why (shakes head). I know that they're surprised that I speak both languages, but like I don't know why they stare at me (annoyed).

Participant 2F expressed that people look at her in surprise. This almost indicates that the child is perceived during these interactions as if he or she is unable to fulfill a job. There have been studies done on the viewpoints of adults who speak about the surprise and untrust that these interactions cause.

## Participant 2F:

Once I was at the store at [] and there was this other lady I didn't know her. She was trying to tell the worker there something like if she had this kind of brand and the worker didn't know Spanish and I translated it from the lady to the worker and she was like a little surprised, like her expression.

The children further said that when they are interpreting at parent-teacher conferences, the teachers are also looking at them with distrust in what they are saying to the parent about the conversation.

Interviewer: You had to. How did that feel being in front of the teachers and having them look at you and you're interpreting and do you think that the teacher was looking at you weird?
Participant 1F: No like he was... they were just like staring at me. I hope she's saying it right to them saying that she's in trouble and she's saying doing good.

There were some children who were upfront and said that they had to at some point interpret a bad message during the parent-teacher conference. For instance, Participant 13F had to inform her parents during the conference that her behavior was bad. This was interesting because she said that "it was weird because I'm telling my parents that I'm being bad and not my teacher." The difficulty of relaying messages that are possibly hurtful to the parents is stressful and is influenced by the value of familism and respeto (Tse, 1995; Valdes et al., 2003). Though Participant 13F told the truth to her parents, Participant 6F made the attempt to lie to her parents that she was doing well in school and was actually caught. Her parents were really upset and told her to not do that. She maintained her parents trust even after getting caught.

As mentioned in the introduction of this section, the child language brokers were very concerned about making a mistake and also the consequences that it may bring to their parents and the family as a whole as they are driven by their cultural ideals. They have become aware that their parents are in need of support and that they need to provide it because it is what they have been taught to do. When there is a mistake made just like Participant 12M shared that right away he says "Oh, snap!" then he tries his best to fix it, this indicates the implicit responsibility that these values have imposed on these children. Though the parents find themselves assisting the child and giving guidance and direction, the circumstantial child, is still left alone to deal with the hardships of vocabulary, interaction norms, and most importantly with the big task of bridging two cultures together. As they learn from mistakes and try finding meanings through context clues, the circumstantial bilingual runs the risk of becoming too responsible that it may lead to some form of parentification.

## Theme 2 Adaptive Parentification

In the analysis, the theme of adaptive parentification surfaced when the participants were asked to share their feelings about having a choice to interpret in contrast to examples where the child experienced feelings of irritation. Let's recall that adaptive parentification is the process of assigning children responsibilities that belong to the parent as a response to some change in the family (Winton, 2003). These responsibilities are appreciated and complimented through external support from others which enable children to get breaks from their adult responsibilities (Winton, 2003). There is a more severe form of destructive parentification in which the child feels overburdened and suffers psychological harm.

For the participants, the stress that language brokering causes was not the only feeling that they encountered. Though none of them shared feeling that they were overburdened, there were feelings of responsibility caused by the worry that they have over their parents and their non-proficiency in the English language. The main driving force once again became the ideal and norms of the individual when engaging in interpreting/ translating. Having a choice masked the reality of the ideals and norms of collectivism within the theme of parentification. In this section, choice will set the foundation for the responsibility to help and the setting of expectations for the circumstantial bilingual child on behalf of the parent.

## Choice.

During the conversation, the children were asked if they had a choice in assisting their parents as language brokers within the family. Participants mentioned that they did feel that they had a choice. For one of the children interviewed, language brokering was a
choice motivated by rules and authority. She felt that if her parents asked her, she had to listen to them. This not only exposes the presence of familism and respeto as she brings up the point of compliance to authority figures, but it also shows how adaptive parentification can surface when choice is not present because they agree to help, even if they disagree.

## Participant 6F:

Sometimes cause I have to listen to her [Mom] if she tells me to.
Even though seven of the eleven who were asked this question felt that they had a choice, there were times in which a choice was not possible due to the situation where they are concerned their parents are not going to understand. Participant 8 F and 6 F shared their viewpoint that supports a study conducted by Valdez et al. (2003) in which a major finding was that the child language broker used their position as a way to positively support and even protect their family. The child also suggest that she cannot let her parents down, which also correlates with Dement et al and their study conducted in 1999 which focused on the experiences of language brokers and the need to fulfill the parents expectations.

## Participant 8F:

No, I feel like sometimes when there is someone else to help, but when there is no one else to speak Spanish, I have to.

## Participant 6F:

Well, I thought if I really can't then I don't have to, but I do translate when she tells me. I try my best cause I can imagine how they feel if they didn't know or they have someone telling them something in English and they have no idea what she telling them.

There were four children who expressed that they felt they had no choice. The responses ranged from their parents trying and not being successful and seeking their assistance to
simply just feeling that there is no one else who speaks both Spanish and English whenever they are with their parents. Involved were also the elements of trust and disciplined that influenced the choice that these children perceive to have or not have.

## Participant 10M:

He says you better interpret this or I'll take your iPod away.
There was one participant (Participant 10M) who was upfront about his choice to language broker being taken away by his father. He mentions to the interviewer that if he doesn't interpret for his parents, there will be consequences for him such as not being able to use his IPod. These are the consequences that a language broker can undergo if they choose not to perform under familism and respeto. Implying that his father had given him an order to follow reveals how respeto is important in this particular family almost as if the parent were to be taking advantage of the position he holds. Hierarchy plays an important role in the collectivist family and within the bilingual individual; this can become a source of conflict especially if interpreting tends to be viewed as a way of becoming independent and mature (McQuillan \& Tse, 1995).

## Responsibility and expectation to assist.

Regardless of their feelings towards having a choice, the participants all showed in some way or another that they had a responsibility to assist their parents. This was very important to them because as stated in the previous section, parental rules and norms needed to be followed by some of the participants either explicitly or implicitly. The children expressed a desire to feel needed and useful in their home. This was also important for those who were younger and also had a grasp on both of the languages. They could contribute just as much as their older siblings when they weren't around.

Language brokering gave these participants the opportunity to achieve the responsibility of a Mexican-origin child who needs to help their parents which supports the cultural ideals of this group.

## Participant 12M:

Umm sometimes they [my parents] do [try to speak English], but most of the time no because my sisters they can help. But sometimes I feel I have the responsibility to translate, but sometimes I don't because my sisters help my parents and me.

## Participant 15F:

Yeah, in a way because like what if they like if they only have me and my sisters are not there to translate? I'm going to have the responsibility to translate what the other person is saying.

## Participant 9F:

Because it's my responsibility to help them if they don't understand something... so I can help them when someone else is trying to tell them or what a paper says.

As the child felt the responsibility to assist the parents, the child also experienced that they were being valued and trusted with doing a task that at times proved challenging to them (McQuillan \& Tse, 1995). These feelings furthermore led the participants to feel as if they had become partners with one or both parents. Participant 17 F felt that her relationship with her mom had transformed into a team effort when asked to elaborate about the relationship. Participant 8 F said that now that she interprets for her parents she feels that she is closer to her parents because they have her accompany them to many places. Participant 16F also mentioned that if she was allowed to interpret with more frequency that she would be there with them more.

## Participant 8F:

Yeah, because when I go somewhere they always bring me along just in case they need help with something. Like when my mom is going to the store, she tells me to go with her so like I can help.

Since choice tends to be correlated with either questioning the parents or becoming rebellious against the values of the Mexican-origin culture, children are expected to be responsible and with the expectation to assist their parents and the extended family if possible. Age becomes a significant factor for responsibility because as was expressed they were old enough to take on responsibilities within the family.

## Participant 8F:

Like now they ask me to go somewhere, but when I was smaller it was okay for me not know something, but now since I'm older they expect me to be able to do more for them.

As a result of knowing that eventually they had to assist, the children said that they were always ready for the moment when their assistance was going to be needed. This leads responsibility to becoming an expectation. The interviewer asked them if it felt as if all of a sudden the spotlight went on and they said that this was one of the reasons why they needed to be ready. They didn't know when they would have to switch from being the child to becoming an advocate (Valenzuela, 1999). When the interviewer asked Participant 15 F to explain how ready for the moment looked like, she said that she had to listen closely when she was with her parents or around people who didn't speak English and be focused. The child almost felt as if they were just snooping around.

## Interviewer:

So do you find yourself, do you pay attention when the conversation is going when you are with someone who doesn't speak English? Do you pay attention to what is being told to that person so that you know ahead of time that they might need your assistance or you just kind of like ignore?

## Participant 15F:

No, I pay attention. I'm a nosey type of person.
Interviewer:
But are you nosey because you...maybe they might need your help or you're just nosey because you're nosey?
Participant 15F:
No because they might need my help.

This readiness can also be viewed as an indirect aspect of the Mexican-origin culture where it is expected for a child to understand and know the needs of the family. The interviewer also asked if there were any uncomfortable feelings present because of how she was just hanging around and she responded that she did feel in that way. Even though it required for her to look nosey, she went on to say that it was something she had to do because she didn't want to be caught off guard. It was necessary to be on the lookout even at a distance because as Participant 4M said, "You never knew when your parents would tell you and it was kind of like a surprise, but you were ready." This also is relevant to how this culture expects the circumstantial bilingual to know and understand the needs of others in order to assist the parent without having the parent lose their authority.

## Participant 1F:

Like when their talking to my parents and I um well, their talking, their talking to them. But, I mean I'm listening to it and I'm trying to think of how to like say the words to like make it simpler for them. But, when I see that their understanding, I'm like ok. I'll just be prepared if they don't know how to respond.

This instant assistance needed can also be further illustrated with the story that was told by Participant 2F in which her father was pulled over by a police officer on their way to California. She had to interpret for her father and it made her feel scared because she had never spoken to a person of authority such as a police officer. This completely was something that she wasn't expecting.

## Participant 2F:

I was trying hard not to mess up and translate it perfectly and I think I did. Interviewer:
And how did the police officer look at you?

## Participant2F:

Well he was looking directly at me because I was the one speaking for my parents and well, yeah he was looking at me like I was more mature and stuff. Like I felt mature.

This example besides supporting the idea that these children hold the responsibility and are expected to speak for parents almost assuming a parental identity, illustrates a couple of points. First, if we recall the theme of the circumstantial bilingual and the sub-theme of stress, this a clear example of how stressful an adult situation can be for a child. Adults at times may find themselves unable to deal with situations like this at times and this child, who has never committed a crime or doesn't even have the age to drive yet, has to answer questions from a law enforcement officer who is an authority figure. The analysis surfaced the element of trust as it is put into question with how well the child can interpret/translate the truth in the situation. Indeed she felt mature, but this leads to another point, the equalization of the child with the parent, where the circumstantial bilingual becomes the surrogate parent for the parent because the parent is unable to be the solution for their lack of proficiency in language. In order to become the parent and equalize one's self some trust in the relationship needs to be found.

## Equality to the parents.

One of the characteristics of parentification in a child is the equality that these children experience as the boundaries between parent and child dissolve allowing for an easier shift of roles. When speaking about children involved in language brokering, the boundaries between parent and child are dissolved when the child steps in to assume the role of the parent, even if it is just for a conversation, after the parent feels comfortable with having the child assist. This could be because the child has demonstrated proficiency
or because they seem trustworthy. And even though conversation appears simple, what is required from the individuals who are engaged in it, is extensive. As discussed early, there is language for certain context and this includes body language and the following of interaction norms in order to have effective communication. So when a child engages in language brokering, and this term will be used because it is not just about speaking any longer, the issue involves a bridging of cultures, their cognitive and maturity levels increase making them equal to the parent. Participant 2 F could not have had an effective conversation with the police officer if she would have spoken to him as a child. She said it herself that she felt more mature as the officer spoke to her. Even the simplest of conversations that serve the purpose of advocating for the family are an equalizer for the child.

On this topic, the interviewer asked the children if they felt mature for their age because they had these experiences and all seventeen expressed that they did. For many of them, they felt that they had matured extensively in comparison to other children. They not only had the opportunity of interpreting because they could speak two languages, but also they had the chance to know and worry about things that at times other children their age don't have to worry about. Participant11F mentioned that interpreting is something that many children don't experience and that she feels lucky to have this experience. She then adds that she is always concerned about her father losing her job because he doesn't speak English.

Participant 11F:
That I have an opportunity that many children don't have and that I should feel lucky. I worry because in my dad's job, they talk English and if he says something that ...they might get mad and he might lose his job [lowers her voice].

This comment by child 11F was very touching because it reveals how these children worry about their parents. Indeed, she feels that her interpreting will bring her to a better future as she mentions in the later part of the conversation, but she is concerned about her parents. For her it can be inferred that it is not so much about the individual, it is about the well-being of the family in its entirety. If her father loses her job, then her family will probably struggle financially and the family needs may not be covered. For this child, since her father can't speak English at work and she knows that she can't be there, it adds stress as she feels helpless to be there for him when he can't communicate properly with others. Children, whom have English speaking parents, don't really have to think about this.

In regards to behavior changes, during the conversation there were four participants out of ten who were asked if they were expected to change their behaviors because they had engaged in language brokering for their parents and family. These examples further support the confusion that the term "mature" brings.

## Participant 10M:

'Cause they say that I have to be more mature cause other people are more mature that interpret and that I have to know the other language good. So like if we go somewhere and we have to talk Spanish and write it, so I know, I have to know the [English] language.

## Participant 13F:

Yes because sometimes when I'm being weird or crazy I have to stop being weird or crazy. I have to look mature enough to translate for people.

## Participant 14F:

Because when you grow up you help each other. I don't know. Like when you're grown up, you look for help where or you could look for a friend. You need a lot of help and you always help others with everyone and they expect me to do that.

It was interesting to find that sixteen out of the seventeen participants felt that they were not grown up. Many of them did respond though that they felt mature or that in some way they were viewed by others as mature by their behaviors. The interviewer even asked them a second time by saying their age and giving them a hypothetical older age and they still said no. This is very significant because this can be the result of not having the independence to have or make choices in one's life yet as these children feel that their decisions are not made alone and still require the last word of their mother and father. The collectivist culture, as it does not embrace individual achievement and opts to have all its members including the children to grow successfully together with responsibilities and expectations, causes such fogginess in the minds of these groups. In a way this contradicts the customary thought in society of responsibility being correlated to a grown up action and allowing individuals to make their own choices in which children are also socialized into. There was only one participant, Participant 13F, who did say that she felt grown up because she language brokers for her parents and it was of interest to see that she was one of the few who expressed the most guilt if she made a mistake.

## Theme 3: Identity Negotiation

Identity negotiation was a theme that surfaced during the last portion of the analysis when the thematic map (see Appendix F) was utilized to search for cohesiveness and understanding of the themes of circumstantial bilingual and parentification. This underlying theme centered on the comments made by the participants on how engaging in interpreting/translating has contributed to a cultural identity or a totality of one's cultural self-definition (Schartz et al., 2007). This identity finds itself in constant negotiation as
individuals proceed from one situation to another. How and when these cultural practices need to be maintained without leaving them behind then becomes the process of identity negotiation.

For the language broker the point of departure for identity negotiation becomes evident when the Mexican-origin culture clashes with the American culture as they are engaging in interpreting/translating and certain aspects during the social interaction like eye contact become a discomfort. These children at this point know that there is something that is wrong and that something needs to be done. The work of Tajfel (1982) helps us further understand this "clash" as social identity or self-categorization is affected by the social interactions that an individual engages in. If the child is introduced or placed in the position to bridge these cultures, he or she also needs to have made that bridge within them. The more these children socially interact, the easier it becomes for them to understand and figure out ways to negotiate their identity.

The data surfaced that negotiations of cultural identity were being correlated to success found in academics and pro-collectivist behaviors that allowed for not only the parent, but also the bilingual child to assess their success now and in the future. Academic success was shown when Participant 9F mentions that because of her versatility in academics and extracurricular activities that she also can be a role model for her sister: "Cause like all the different things I do. I do many things like at school I'm a straight A student and I play two instruments. I play the piano and the guitar and just..I'm a very busy person maybe she sees up to me.'"This success is also became evident when Participant 2F felt that she was more informed than others as she mentioned that she thought that "it [interpreting] is something to be proud of and I'm happy being
bilingual. I think it'll help me more and I feel like I'm, like unique because I know a lot more than a lot of other people do and I'm more informed." Since this appears to be an objective fact that has been constructed by society where bilingual children are constantly reminded by school teachers and their parents that bilingualism will bring them success as Participant 10M also mentioned that his mom encourages him to be bilingual because "he can get payed more [money]" allowing such advice to become the bridge that helps them negotiate their identity as they relate it to success in academic or future employment. When the child embraces this understanding that a brighter future is in store, they are also embracing the advisement that their elders are giving, thus leading to some type of respect and upholding of cultural ideals. Language broker children then feel that they are being faithful to the family values by engaging in interpreting/translating and, at the same time, the English language connects them to the American culture. This slotting into categories by society then helps construct the identity of individuals.

As much as these children have grown up in the United States, these children feel that their ethnicity is of Mexican-origin, which invokes pride in each one of them.

Participant 15 F indicates that it doesn't matter who you are, she will always be proud.

## Participant 15F:

Umm the fact that you're Hispanic or whatever you are, like I don't know how to put it, um, like saying I'm proud of who I am and what I got and no matter what happens I'm still gonna be that one person.

We can't forget participant 17 F and her story about the child who did not want to interpret for her parents and how they couldn't understand why. They have a clear understanding that who they are and where they come from makes them who they are and
always will be. This is acknowledged each time the child continues to advocate for the family whether by circumstance or choice.

## Participant 17F:

the most important thing I've learned is that you shouldn't be ashamed if you speak like Spanish or two languages and that you should love your culture and help other people translate and stuff.

In collectivist families, the parents are of great influence as they give advice to their children on how to grow up to be responsible respectful individuals. Unconsciously though, the parents with their advice of future success in some way contradict the values that they have worked hard to maintain. When they compare their children to others who are not bilingual or they mention that they should maintain their bilingualism, they are is some way pushing and persuading their child away from the group ideals of the collectivist culture as the child is persuaded to achieve what the parents didn't have or to reach individual success as illustrated below with Participant 11F.

## Participant 11F:

Because my parents don't know how to speak English, they only know how to speak Spanish and like I know how to speak both... Mostly my parents say that if I speak both, "They'll pay you better and you'll get a better job" and like they say that I'll have "the capacity that they didn't have." Like, I would get like, when they were like younger, they didn't have what I had and they want us, me and my brother not to go through all those things.

There were other children who expressed that their parents encouraged them to speak Spanish because it would have great future benefits for the child and because it is something that they wish they could achieve as parents.

The data revealed that none of the parents said to their children, "It's important for you to learn two languages because it will help the family" or "it will get you a better job so that we can all be successful." The parents' advisory comments focused on the
individual child or children, but individually. This can make it difficult for the child to negotiate his or her identity as he or she are directed to think of their own interest and not the interest of those of who they have always thought of.

These children do not deny the fact that they belong to both cultures and it is evident that pride for their origin is of importance to them. They do not see their values as obstacles for their future or view the English language as a threat. On the contrary, they see this skill as an advantage over others because it will bring and keep them close to their roots.

## Summary

Sixteen out of the seventeen participants after sharing their experiences mentioned that if they had to do it over again and be bilingual, they would and it would be by choice. The situations that bilingual children have been placed in appeared to have no effect on their decision. The stress cause by the lack of language proficiency in certain context was not mentioned. Driven by the value of familism, their responses indicated their sincere desire to help others which has become a defining characteristic for these children. Thus far it has been discussed that language brokering or the bridging of cultures only becomes evident when the two cultures are placed face to face as it has assumed a normalcy within this culture. This normalcy which consists of what is at the inner core of the Mexican-origin family and its members, is further revealed as it is put to the test as the circumstantial bilingual undergoes an identity negotiation. This identity negotiation is what determines if the child successfully deals with the problems of acculturation or succumbs to the parentification that this culture offers as an option to make the individual only a circumstantial bilingual. It takes a lot more than spoken words
as the data has revealed, and it is evident that the parents are doing their best to guide these children. It can only be concluded that because the parents finds themselves in the same identity negotiation process as their children, that it is very difficult for them to give deeper advice than the occasional reprimand or praise, due to the fact that they are confused as well.

## Chapter 5

## Discussion

Children who language broker regardless of the circumstances that lead them to be a part of the adult social world are uniquely equipped with skills that help them achieve success when interacting in both of the worlds they are a part of (Morales, 2005). It is easy to forget at times though that these "little adults," as they are sometimes called, are children who for a moment have been asked to forget about their childhood and assume an adult role in order to connect their family to mainstream America.

In this study, with an emphasis on children of the Mexican-origin population, the purpose was to understand the experiences of these children and the way communication is managed in an adult society, their feelings towards their experiences, and their thoughts about their advocate role for their family and its influence on their future. Through the conversations of seventeen children, three sub-themes surfaced: normalcy, stress, adaptive parentification, which were related to the a priori themes of circumstantial bilingualism and parentification. An overarching theme of identity negotiation, surfaced after an in-depth analysis of the conversations using thematic analysis, depicting how this identity negotiation can affect the future of these children. The central question that this thesis aimed to answer was how Mexican-origin circumstantial bilinguals are affected by their role as language brokers for their families.

The sub-theme, normalcy, was prevalent in the conversations and the analysis of the data. As the children discussed their experiences, they mentioned that they did not feel special or unique when they were interpreting for their parents. Since the values of familism and respeto are prevalent within the families of these children, language
brokering was viewed as something normal that they did to help their family and that no special recognition should be given or expected to be received. Therefore, normalcy was defined by these children as an act that is done regularly or with prevalence, to the extent that is becomes incorporated in to the family routine. The cultural values of familism and respect played an intricate role in making interpreting/translating normal for the child and the parents as these elements are often used by collectivist families like the Mexicanorigin family to signify that this activity is part of any activity that is done by the family. As discussed in the analysis and Appendix F, the element of normalcy surfaces when there is a blurring of the roles, responsibilities, and expectations set by the family through cultural values and norms for these children. Any minimal praise or recognition on behalf of the parents, friends, and community, nurtures language brokering to assume a state of normalcy as it is reinforced. These feelings of normalcy within the children in this research were evident as they were accompanied by a look of confusion in regards to their perception of why anybody wanted to discuss this thing that I just do which was also expressed in the work of Dorner, Orellana, \& Jimenez (2008).

Hurtado and Gurin (1987), in their discussion about ethnic identity and attitudes towards bilingualism, say that the normalcy of speaking Spanish and English is a result of childhood socialization that involves the ethnic identity realization as the individual identifies with their national origin, culture and language, race and color, and minority status.

For these participants, the collective environment that they have been a part of has socialized them into gaining the perspective that any activity which is conducted with the thought of helping the family in mind is part of the pride that makes a Mexican-origin individual.

As a result of this collectivist thought, the number of children in a family was one of the supporting factors of who was to be selected to be the language broker for the family. The work of Valenzuela (1999) found that the daughters of Mexican immigrant families were the ones who engaged in language brokering especially if they were the oldest, bringing forth the argument that those children who were the eldest often were assuming the role of language broker. In this study, the number of female participants exceeded that of the male and 5 out of the 14 females interviewed were the eldest daughters. Though the research did not focus on the impact that siblings had on the circumstantial bilingual, it is worth mentioning briefly that the number of siblings in a particular household have an influence if they were to engage in interpreting for their parents. Twelve out of the 17 participants were the main language brokers for the family regardless of their birth order. The siblings assumed from a collectivist perspective it wasn't the responsibility of just one person doing the helping, it was a responsibility that they all shared in order to help the family. The conversation with Participant 1F substantiates this when she mentions that now that her older brother is in college, she has to assume the responsibility of helping her parents interpret/translate.

Due to the prevalence of the perspective of a shared responsibility, it can be then concluded that it was something that was done by everyone and there was no uniqueness to the act of language brokering or for the individual.

The role that parents play in maintaining this collective thought through the acculturation process is critical because, at the end of it all, the children are assisting and negotiating with the parents in the achievement of goals for the families (Orellana, Reynolds, Dorner, \& Meza, 2003). The children are not acting alone and taking it upon themselves to engage in these adult interactions. It is the parents who are introducing them to the adult social world and the different situations because they need assistance with the language. Since childhood socialization is required in order to maintain the collectivist values and ideas of the Mexican-origin culture, the parents and the extended community through praise and acknowledgement help shape the act of interpreting or translating as something that is a routine. These children felt supported and loved because their parents praised them when they achieved the goal of interpreting for them. There were times that they were reprimanded or corrected as they interpreted, but the children appeared to not hold that against them. They had been asked to do a job for their family and felt that needed to be as efficient as they could be even if it was an annoyance at times.

Stress was another sub-theme which supported the a priori theme of circumstantial bilingual. All of the children expressed that in some way they felt that language brokering caused them some type of stress. Though they tried to cover it up somewhat with the idea that they were helping their parents or family members out, it was visible in their faces that it was a point of concern for them since they desired to do a good job. The causes for stress that were expressed included language use, social norms for interactions, and the expectations that the parents had in regards to interpreting. The children made it also known that it was disturbing to them that their parents were not able
to speak English. Participant 4M shared his experience about how he compared his mother to his friends' mothers who were fluent in English.

The stress of speaking two languages was one of three most common stresses expressed. This included having trouble with vocabulary, pronunciation, and comprehension in adult interpreting and/or translating contexts. Morales et al (2012) have illustrated that children feel that they are expected to know all the vocabulary that is required to interpret successfully, which indicates that the level of language proficiency needs to be at high levels. These expectations cause great pressure upon the children because it almost felt as if they couldn't make a mistake and if they did, they knew that consequences that could follow would be great. While making a mistake was one of the stressors, the second stressors entail the adult situations that these children had to engage in.

Indeed, the children viewed each of their experiences as normal, but what actually happened in the environment stressed them out. To find themselves in an adult situation implied that the length of the conversation would be longer and that was a cause of worry for some of the participants. They felt that the more that the conversation lengthened, the more that they were required to speak and engage in the social interaction norms. They knew they were trying their best in communicating, but there were times where the grownups did not understand. Weisskirch (2007) conducted a quantitative study in which it was suggested that emotions on behalf of the child were influenced based on the magnitude of the problem that the family was facing. The heavier or more complex the problem that the child was mediating for, the more angry, ashamed, or anxious the child felt which are feelings correlated with pressure. Now the adults that were interacting with
these children in this study were found to be understood until the issue that the child was going to interpret about held highly sensitive content. Those who were asked in research studies, mainly in the medical professional, how they felt when they had to speak to one of the children of their patient in regards to an illness, their responses were that they preferred not to interact with the child. They felt that health issues are adult issues especially if it involved communicating a terminal illness. Participant 2F during her interaction with the police officer experienced an intense pressure during this situation. Though she shared that her stress had to do with being language proficient, she felt intimidated by the fact that this was a police officer. Also since she did not reveal what was the cause of the stop, one can assume that even if it was just a traffic violation, she did not know what to do or say.

This brings forward the issues that the children are expressing that this situation is stressful. Vocabulary and mannerism used in these interactions were something that they are normally not involved in and it was difficult for these language brokers. What if they had to deliver a message that is tough or is normally done by adults? In some of the interviews it was found that even with parent-teacher conferences where the child language broker was asked if they would interpret the truth when it involved speaking about their behavior, some of them said that there were moments where they didn't want to be truthful and would not mention certain things that would cause pain or anger to their parent. This only proves that delivering tough messages, especially if they are brought up to take care of their family, is very difficult for them to do.

Being stared at during a conversation is uncomfortable especially for the child language brokers who are not accustomed to either speaking to others in a public place or
are shy. One thing that these children conversed about was how they didn't understand why they were being looked at. In collectivist cultures, to stare at somebody in the eye is a sign of disrespect even when engaging in a conversation. Most children are taught to place their head down or at least avoid direct eye contact when speaking to adults as a way of showing respect to those who are older. There were some children who expressed that it felt like someone was turning the spotlight on them as the conversation shifted from the parent to the child. This proved to be uncomfortable for them because they felt that even though they were speaking for their parent who didn't speak English, they believed that their parent should be included in the conversation since they were actively listening.

There is also literature that indicates that one of the environments in which children assist their parent is at the parent-teacher conferences at school. Within this study, it was found that children are also used by teachers to interpret when they need to speak to other parents who cannot speak English. This was stressful for those who shared this experience because they felt uncomfortable because now someone foreign was going to critique their interpreting. None of the children in this study expressed that their teachers ever prepared them for this moment or offered any development assistance. The research shows that these individuals become professionals at what they do on their own account because no one prepares and develops them to ease the stress. This means that schools are not doing their part in highlighting these experiences as extraordinary.

Adaptive Parentification was found in the data as it manifested itself hidden deep within the traditional values of familism and respect. The work of Jurkovic, Kuperminc, Perilla, Murphy, Ibanez, \& Casey (2004) highlights the concepts of filial responsibility
and the protective processes within the Hispanic community as it suggest its responsibility of the positive and negative outcomes of adolescent development. In their research it was found that some of these parents have no choice when it comes to having their children assume a language brokering role as well as any other adult role. The goal was to utilize their children in order to make the family successful. As a result these parents often had no idea that their children were experiencing stress and feelings of overburdening.

In this work, this was the reason why so many children accepted the responsibility of interpreting for their parents. The worry that was caused as a result of knowing that their parents could not communicate when needed became the starting point to engaging in these adult roles. The children expressed that they wanted their parents to learn English and there were some instances in which the parents commented on wanting to learn English, but nothing ever happened. As the children carried the burden of worry, these children hung on to being responsible and loyal in order to carry out their contribution through language brokering. As they were held back by the principles and values of their family, they never denied their parents help.

In this research, the children felt that their contributions were valuable to the family's success. There were times in which they also expressed that without them, their parents would find themselves in very difficult situations. This supports some of the literature that indicates that children who are in language brokering roles are full participants of the negotiation process that sometimes adults undergo in the real world.

One of the main characteristics that make a relationship into a partnership is trust. Without trust, a relationship cannot advance, but within language brokering self-efficacy is also a major component. The ability to solve problems at a young age allowed for this relationship to strengthen especially since these children were more comfortable with the social norms of the United States. Likewise Titzmann (2012) concluded that instrumental parentification was more prevalent in language brokering because children outperform parents. Through self-efficacy language brokering children equalize the relationship with the parents as the child finds themselves adapting to the parents deficiencies, which eventually increases engagement in adult situations and simultaneously affecting the maturity levels of these children. At the end, the parents feel a sense of satisfaction, without even noticing the changes that these children had to undergo to adapt to the adult social world.

The third and last theme, identity negotiation, depicted the underlying situation that the circumstantial bilingual faces especially when he/she becomes the language broker that mediates between the host culture and its language and his own family (Valdes \& Angelelli, 2003). This constant struggle has been a focus for much research on language brokering especially to see if cultural identity is connected to acculturation success. As cultural identity finds itself marked by number of factors (i.e. race, ethnicity, gender, and class), the language that one speaks becomes one of those identifying markers since it also assists in projecting the identity of the individual. This personal cultural identity which in Goffman refers to as being a person's biography which envelopes the unique person inside and makes the individual among others, is what becomes exposed when it finds itself amidst others during a conversation (Clarke, 2008).

Language brokering brings forth the questions that tend be avoided because they are difficult to find a solution for. Who we are and what we should identify with are some of the questions that were answered implicitly by the data as the children spoke about the pride of being who they are and speaking two languages. It is impossible to think that pride then becomes in some way the point of departure for self-identification within these children. Delgado (1994) mentions that self-identification "is more closely tied to cultural knowledge rather than ethnic identity" as he cites Keefe and Padilla (1987) while suggesting that there is complexity within the identity of the Mexican-origin individual. For these children, without knowing it, they identified through cultural knowledge that they were of Mexican-origin as they embraced the values and ideals of their families. But as they find themselves face to face with the American culture and its individualistic cultural customs, they can't help but to notice that in some way they have been tainted by the American values as they find themselves able to engage in certain communicative actions that are different than what their family has taught them. This is why identity negotiation makes its presence in language brokering and not so much when the child is simply a bilingual speaking two languages. When language brokering, the individual is not only connecting his or her family to the English speaking society, the individual is mediating cultures and bridging them through cultural communication which requires an understanding of linguistic and social capabilities pertinent to the American culture (McQuillan, et al., 1995; Dorner et al., 2003; Morales et al., 2005). A decision of what to keep and what to disregard in these interactions causes an implicit stress that these children have not learned to recognize.

## Communication missing: The future of the circumstantial bilingual

The future of the circumstantial child bilingual is no different than the future of any other child who has dreams and aspires to be the best that they can be. But what distinguishes these individuals from their everyday friends who don't speak another language is the many opportunities that are encountered through language brokering that will make an imprint influencing who they can become in the future. Thus far, the discussion has steered itself into discussing the basic framework that describes the experiences of these children, the normalcy of language brokering and its connection to the concept of adaptive parentification and how stress surfaces within each experience. Ending with the identity negotiation and its relationship to language brokering, as the last section, has further opened the door to one last element in the discussion that is worth mentioning: parental communication.

Jurkovic et al (2004) suggested it best when it was mentioned that there are times in which parents can become deaf or blind to what the child is trying to express. For the Mexican-origin family, the parents are the ones expected to provide support through their consejos or advice as previously mentioned in order for the child to grow up to be a successful individual. In this research the focus was not placed on investigating the perspectives and roles of the parents so it cannot be inferred in each of the interviews that the parent was disconnected or not communicating with the child. What can be pointed out though is that the children felt lost, worried, and frustrated because what they were experiencing was something that simply was too hard at times and they couldn't communicate it to anybody. Their inability to communicate these feelings and thoughts to others allowed for these experiences to be lost in their unconscious mind. The data
indicated that they never spoke with their parents about those feelings before speaking to the interviewer. Indeed parents praised them and gave them constructive feedback so that in their next experience they would not make a mistake, but these children were possibly not given the opportunity to discuss as they expressed their struggles with language to their parents, the ideals of both of their cultures, and the negotiating that they constantly have to engage in due to the protective family they belong to. Some of the children did comment about speaking to their siblings and some of their friends about their language brokering difficulties and though for some children their siblings gave them advice, for others it was not an impactful conversation. If self-reflection moments are said to be positive when an individual engages in them because it allows for the individual to process each one of their experiences in order to discard or keep as they construct themselves as a better person, it would perhaps help if parents were more aware of the pressures and stresses that language brokering entails to assist them.

The literature on language brokering clearly depicts a mixture of results in regards to positive and negative effects and this work has supported the literature. Language brokering can be a positive for an individual because of how an individual can develop different skills that are beneficial as they grow into adulthood and on the other hand, stress and forced maturity can lead to parentification especially if it is masked underneath the cultural values that the Mexican-origin families cherish greatly. As parents praise and recognize the acts of their children by confirming that language brokering is helping the family, especially the parent, the values of familism and respeto are upheld because the child is motivated to continue to assist out of obedience and family togetherness. Each of these elements can go unnoticed if not fixed, which lead to negative effects if they are not
spoken about as the child unselfishly believes he is doing what is best for his parents and family. While his emotions become secondary because the child does not want to question his parents, communication becomes less valuable for the family and its individuals because the goal is to avoid conflict. The path of an individual's success is clearly defined by the communication that happens with the child in regards to language brokering. The Mexican-origin values uphold this through the advice that is given to children, but in some way it allows the communication to disappear as obedience to parental authority diminishes it. Braithwaite and Baxter (2006) tell us children who grow up in these families tend to see little value in conversations because their parents did not promote this within the family. If a parent does not engage in deep conversations and listens to their language brokering child, this child is left to find other ways to deal with the overburdening of destructive parentification while running the risk of getting lost on the way because of the frustration the language broker child feels.

In this work an ethical issue surfaced when some of the children expressed that they didn't understand the magnitude of what they were doing until these interviews. Figure 2 illustrates the communication pattern between the circumstantial bilingual and their parent when communication is present as they negotiate together their cultural identities. This figure, which was derived from the Family Communication Pattern Theory (McLeod \& Chafee, 1972, 1973) and the Revised Family Communication Patterns (Ritchie \& Fitzpatrick, 1990) whose focus was to describe how families develop stable and predictable ways of communicating while socially conforming to avoid family problems, provides a way to not only understand why communication is avoided in families of Mexican-origin, but it serves as a starting point to counteract the absence of

## Figure 2

## Parent and the circumstantial bilingual Communication Pattern for identity negotiation



Choice becomes available


> Enables the

Release of Stress


Open Communication between parent and child
communication (Braithwaite \& Baxter, 2006). This smooth, simplistic pattern which begins with having a conversation happen between the parent and child gives the opportunity for parent and child to not only understand the language brokering, but due to its supportive nature can provide a way to strengthen the parent-child bond through communication. As this decision is made, the cloud of normalcy which has overshadowed the action of language brokering will be removed as language brokering is exposed as not being an ordinary child-family task driven by the collectivist ideals. The adult context of the experience which are the cause of concern or stress for the child will be expressed. The parent then after listening to the child should respond by clarifying the expectations and responsibilities for the child. This portion of the conversation would open the door for the question to be asked "Do you mean I have a choice?"Though this conversation appears to be linear, it is not expected to go in that way because the more prevalent these conversations become different areas will surface that will take precedence over others.

The findings suggest that this type of communication pattern can assist the parent in making the child make sense of his or her own feelings and thoughts on language brokering since the parent and child are both faced with identity negotiation and both share similar qualities that are found within individuals who are undergoing the acculturation process. The only difference is that the child has the language that places him at an advantage in comparison to his parents. But when the child and parent engage in a discussion after their experience, communication is not only giving the child an opportunity to vent and learn from these conversations, but also the parent is becoming aware of the child's feelings and thoughts as the parent too finds him or herself in that
situation. The more conversations that these children have with their parents, the more opportunities they will be given to understand the activity that they are engaging in and the impact that each one of these experiences is having on their self which is one of the goals of Family Communication Patterns Theory (Braithwaite \& Baxter, 2006). Their eyes along with the parents will be opened in regards to the giftedness that has resulted because of the language brokering experiences he or she have acquired and better ways of family functioning will be reached with this understanding.

There are some benefits and limitations that must be noted in regards to this thesis study. The first is to recognize that the sample used was small. The study was conducted with members of the Mexican-origin population thus the responses in the interviews may not be reflective of the general population. It also needs to be noted that the sampling involved children who formed a part of a program in which academic excellence was a major characteristic that allowed them to be participants within the foundation. This is an important limitation because these children are already on the path to academic success through the information that is given to them by the program. The program is ideally set up to help manage and address language brokering support for these children. Generalization therefore cannot be made based on this data to other immigrant families in which language brokering is a part of their daily activities because the children may have been influenced by this particular outreach program and possibly already have good communicative skills.

The age of the study participants was a benefit and a limitation for the study. The study participants were children between the ages of 12-14 years of age. As research in general for children poses a concern because of various reasons such as comprehension,
vocabulary, and risks, these children articulated their responses in a very genuine and natural way, which made it enjoyable to listen to the story the children wanted to share. Due to their young age, there were times that they could not understand the questions being asked or they had trouble articulating their thoughts. An effort was made to rephrase some of the questions during the conversation which is a natural part of communication and this could have also influenced many of their responses. There were also times in which the children had a difficult time remembering their language brokering experiences when they were asked about them indicating selective memory, but they had all the best intention to answer as best as they could.

Also, one of the topics that were discussed involved their feelings towards language brokering which lead to the participants commenting at times about their parents. The presence of the parent, even if they were standing at a distance or were in the next room, posed as a limitation for these children when speaking about instances involving their parents. Making eye contact with the parents limited the responses of the participants who at times chose to not answer at all. As raised earlier in analysis, no answers were telling as they evidenced the difficulties and discomfort for these children. These moments of silence not only reflect the stress that is encountered during language brokering but how the elements of responsibility and expectation are bestowed upon the circumstantial bilingual child when the parent is present. Clearly respect is at the inner core of how this child will react in situations.

## Implications for future research

As immigrant families construct their moral and ethnic identity in the United States, which is consistent with the cultural and moral values of their country of origin,
children are cast into roles that will help the family acculturation process. The mixture of feelings that is prevalent towards the effects of language brokering needs to serve as the starting point for more rigorous research to be conducted on the language brokering experience with an emphasis on the Mexican-origin population with the hopes of deriving theories to represent and better explain the language brokering experience. More research is needed in understanding from a longitudinal perspective how social and moral identities are influenced because of the complex socialization process that these individuals undergo as children. Special emphasis needs to be placed on exploring the perceptions of the parents of these children and the roles that they assume. Exploring the perceptions of the parents can possibly lead to an emerging of reasons other than acculturation to why children continue to language broker or not.

Research also indicates that there are some effects on other siblings within a given family when primary and secondary language brokers are selected by the parents. These selections on behalf of the parent need to be further looked into as they may influence and change the relationships between the siblings in a positive or negative fashion. In this research study, there were some instances where the children mentioned feeling powerful over others and it would be of interest to focus on the topic of power within the sibling relation under this context.

In this study as in others, it was found that language brokering tends to happen for the mothers and not as much for the fathers indicating traditional gendered home and workplace effects. Some of the participants in this study expressed that their fathers have more interactions with others who speak English and as a result this is why they didn't
assist them as often as their mothers. Therefore, it is of importance to highlight the experiences of the fathers and their views about their children assisting the family and how their language brokering experiences are different than with the mother.

## Conclusion

In everyday life sometimes individuals in their interactions with others are asked to behave in ways that may be calculating in order to evoke from those that surround them a particular response (Goffman, 1959), suggesting that how an individual presents him or herself influences the outcome of what they are trying to achieve. As such in this study the circumstantial bilingual makes the attempt to assume their role in the adult social world in this manner through language proficiency and identity negotiation. The expectations of success that their parents and society have imposed on them have pushed many of these children to leave aside their toy cars and dolls and take on the responsibility of becoming the parent and the advocate for their families. Though there is a mixture of perspectives on what the effects may be on the children, the one key issue of concern is the lack of communication that exists in regards to the experiences of these children on behalf of the parents and all who interact with them, which at times may put the child at risk of forgetting their childhood as they assume the adult-like roles. It is apparent that there is a lack of parental addressing of the task that the children will be participating in and it could be attributed to how parents may view their lack of English proficiency as an embarrassing limitation or based on their views of community where it is known implicitly that help needs to be given to the family. Although praise and gratitude may serve as positive reinforcement for these children in the moment and may alleviate some of the stress that is felt, to deeply talk and make the effort to understand
and address the maturity and complexities of language brokering is to reinforce them for the future. It is imperative that research continues to work on trying to give exposure to this issue and to create programs that focus on providing support to these particular children in order for them to have a bright, unique future like their skill of language brokering.

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## APPENDIX A

GLOSSARY

## Glossary

Bilingualism has been defined in different ways based on the acquisition of language. The definition provided by Merriam-Webster.com (2013) defines it as the ability to speak two languages.

Bilingual refers to an individual that is using or able to use two languages especially with equal fluency (Merriam-Webster.com, 2013).

Elective bilingualism is an individual who acquires a language through formal education or courses or through elective exposure to places where the language is spoken (Angelleli, 2010).

Circumstantial bilingualism involves individuals who are forced to become bilinguals due to their life circumstances where their first language is no longer sufficient to meet their communicative needs (Angelelli, 2010).

Language broker refers to an individual who serves as the mediator for the interaction between members of communities that have come into cultural contact through language (Valdes \& Angelelli, 2003). Unlike the circumstantial bilingual who is forced to become a bilingual to connect the members of his community with another language, a language broker becomes the negotiator between cultures along with speaking both languages. Interpreting is a professional term used to refer to only spoken or oral messages communicated by speakers (Valdes \& Angelelli, 2003).

Translation is a term used to refer to the communication involving written text (Valdes \& Angelelli, 2003).

Integrative motivation consists of individuals who have the wish to identify with or join another language group or community through learning a second language (Baker, 2011). Instrumental motivation is used to acquire a second language to find a job and earn more money, further career prospects, or help fulfill the demands of a job (Baker, 2011). Parentification is a term used to reference a child who has left the sibling system to become a parental figure to their own parents.

Adaptive Parentification is a concept by Gregory Jurkovic signifying the process of giving children caregiving responsibilities that are a response to some change in the family. These responsibilities are appreciated and complimented, are recipients of external support from others, or they get breaks from their adult responsibilities (Winton, 2003).

Destructive parentification is a more severe form of parentification where the child is overburdened and suffers psychological harm (Winton, 2003).

Role reversal involves a reversal of the dependency role between the parent and child (Jurkovic, 1997).

Enmeshment is a concept developed by family therapist Salvador Minuchin meaning over involvement with another and it arises as a result of diffused boundaries or boundaries which have disappeared due to role changes (Winton, 2003).

## APPENDIX B

INSTITUTIONAL REVIEW BOARD APPROVAL FORM

| Arizona State University |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: |
| Office of Research Integrity and Assurance |  |  |
| 660 S. Mill Avenue Suite 315 <br> Arizona State University <br> Tempe AZ 85287-6111 <br> (Mail Code 6111) <br> Email: research.integrity@asu.edu <br> Phone: 480-965-6788 <br> Fax: (480) $965-7772$ | Date Received: | HS Number: |

## SOCIAL BEHAVIORAL APPLICATION HUMAN SUBJECTS

## PROTOCOL INFORMATION

Protocol Title:

Circumstantial Bilinguals: The child, the parent, the advocate

## PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR (PI)

Please note that the PI's CV and human subject's protection training certification must be attached with this application.

Name and Degree(s):

Lindsey Mean, PhD

Department/Center:

## Mailing Address:

4701 West Thunderbird Rd. Phoenix, AZ 85069

| Email: | Phone: | Fax: |
| :--- | ---: | :--- |
| Lmean@asu.edu | $(602) 543-6682$ |  |

University Affiliation:
Professor
Associate Professor

## Assistant Professor

Instructor$\square$ Other: Please specify. ("Other" categories may require prior approval. Students cannot serve as the PI )

## CO-INVESTIGATORS (CO-I)

- A Co-I is anyone who has responsibility for the project's design, implementation, data collection, data analysis, or who has contact with study participants.
- If the project involves medical procedures or patient care that the PI is not certified or licensed to conduct, a responsible physician or other certified or licensed professional must be included as a Co-I. The application must include a copy of supporting documentation for this individual (CV, license, board certification etc).

|  | Name | Study Role | Affiliation | Department |
| :---: | :--- | :--- | :--- | :--- | Email/Tel/Fax

## PROJECT FUNDING

1a) How is the research project funded? (A copy of the grant application must be provided prior to IRB approval)
$\boxtimes$ Research is not funded (Go to question 2)
$\square$ Funding decision is pendingResearch is funded
b) What is the source of funding or potential funding? (Check all that apply)FederalPrivate FoundationDepartment FundsSubcontract $\square$ Fellowship
c) Please list the name(s) of the sponsor(s):
d) What is the grant number and title?
e) What is the ASU account number/project number?
f) Identify the institution(s) administering the grant(s):

## PROJECT SUMMARY

2. Provide a brief description of the background, purpose, and design of your research. Avoid using technical terms and jargon. Describe all interactions with potential study participants (e.g., how identified, how recruited) including all of the means you will use to collect data (e.g. instruments, measures, tests, questionnaires, surveys, interview schedules, focus group questions, observations). Provide a short description of the tests, instruments, or measures. (If you need more than a few paragraphs, please attach additional sheets.) Attach copies of all instruments and questionnaires. FOR ALL OF THE QUESTIONS, WRITE YOUR ANSWERS ON THE APPLICATION RATHER THAN SAYING "SEE ATTACHED".

## Background/Purpose:

This study will examine the experiences of English-Spanish bilingual children who have to engage in the process of translating or interpreting for their families to bridge the language gap between the family and the wider non-Spanish speaking community and society. This study seeks to understand the experiences of these children and how they manage this communication in an adult society, and their feelings about the important role they come to play in their family. In particular, we are interested in these children's experiences of advocating on the behalf of the parents and/or family for the achievement of many goals and in official or formal contexts. Due to the Hispanic community becoming one of the biggest minority groups in the country and the Mexican population contributing in large to that shift, it is of importance to understand and illuminate such experiences at the intersection of language, family life, and the wider social world (given that these involve positives and negatives, physical and emotional labor, and social and linguistic skill development, etc).

## Design:

The data will be collected through a semi-structured, face-to-face interview at a location of the participant and their parent choice (they will be given options of West Campus, a community location of their choice, the non-profit organization, or their home). The interview will begin by asking them demographic questions that are aimed to put them at ease, develop rapport and establish their family language dynamic (see Interview document). The interviewer will then use open-ended questions to explore the child's experiences of translating or interpreting for their parents, grandparents, guardians, or other family members. Participants and their parents will be fully informed of the purpose and methods that pertain to this study and will be also notified that this interview will be recorded with their permission. Their ability to withdraw without consequence at any time, or to choose not to answer a question, will be emphasized. The interviews will be stopped if any participant shows any signs of heightened anxiety or distress.

## Recruiting and Sampling:

Participants will be recruited through a presentation at a non-profit organization parental meeting. The organization was accessed through a Formal Agency recruitment letter with an attached recruitment script (see documents provided: Agency Recruitment, Parent/Child Recruitment Script-English). The organization has agreed to host three presentations. The use recruitment script is provided (see Parent/Child Script) and will be presented in both English and Spanish (see Back Translation Parent/Child Script). No incentive will be offered for the participation in this study. This meeting is aimed to obtain parent's consent to recruit the children as participants. The children's assent and agreement to participate will be obtained prior to the interview. For the child assent and recruitment scripts please refer to documents Child Assent, Parent/Child Script.

## Participant Protection:

Participants will be assigned unique numerical identifiers and all information that links with these identifiers will be kept in a secure location (see below). This number will serve the purpose of being the primary means of identification throughout their participation in the study. All gathered data will be stored
in a password protected electronic file on an ASU secure server and/or locked cabinet in the Principal Investigator's office at ASU and only accessible to the P-I and Co-I. Interview recordings will be transcribed and all identifying data or information removed from the transcribed copies. All data will be held in these secure locations until 5 years after completion when it will all be destroyed. Data will not be collected and no questions about immigration status will be asked.

## STUDY DURATION

3a) What is the expected duration of the study through data analysis? (Include a timeline, if applicable). The study will occur from February 2013 to December 2013. The study will begin upon approval (approximately mid- February) with the recruitment process in a non-profit organization parental ideal meeting on February 23, 2013 extending until March 9, 2013. Interviews will be scheduled beginning March 11, 2013 until April 5, 2013 and will be held during the week and on weekends if necessary to accommodate the participants. Data analysis will begin on April 15, 2013 and will extend through May 17, 2013. The final write up the thesis project will be ready for submittal and review by committee on August 30, 2013.
b) When is the expected date that you wish to begin research? (MM/DD/YY) 02/20/2013(must be after submission date) Note: Protocols are approved for a maximum of 1 year. If a project is intended to last beyond the approval period, continuing review and reapproval are necessary. Research cannot begin until you have received an approval letter.

## IRB APPROVAL

4a) Has this project been reviewed by another IRB? $\square$ Yes $\triangle$ No (If yes, please complete the information below and attach a copy of the IRB approval materials).
b) What is the name of the institution?
c) What is the current IRB approval date/status of IRB application?

## STUDY SITES

5. Where will the study be conducted? (Check all that apply)
$\boxtimes$ On campus (Please indicate building(s) and room number (s) when known) Interviews may be conducted in a classroom in the SANDS building at the ASU West Campus
$\boxtimes$ Off campus (Please provide location and letter of permission, where applicable) Interviews may be conducted in the homes of participants or an agreed upon public space or Non-profit location.

## SAMPLE SIZE/DURATION

6a) What is the expected number of individuals to be screened for enrollment?
Researcher will continue to invite participation until the desired sample is reached of 20 participants.
b) What is the MAXIMUM number of subjects that you plan to enroll in the study? 20
c) What is the approximate number of: 10 Males 10 Females
d) Indicate the age range of the participants that you plan to enroll in your study. 12 to 14 years
e) What is the expected duration of participation for each subject? (at each contact session and total) The interviews are expected to last between 30-60 minutes. If necessary, the interviewer will bring the interview to a natural close to ensure a maximum duration of 60 minutes.

## SUBJECTS

7a) Will the study involve any of the following participants? (Please check all that apply if your study specifically targets these populations)

$\boxtimes$ Non-English speakers (Include copy of all materials in language of participants and certification of the translation and back-translation: http://researchintegrity.asu.edu/humans/forms )
b) If any of the above categories have been checked, please state how you will protect the rights and privacy of these individuals.
This study will involve the participation of children under the age of 18 years and with parents who may only speak Spanish and do not speak the English language. The research will protect the rights and privacy of these individuals through making all materials necessary for the execution of the research in the Spanish language beginning with the recruitment process. Recruiting will be conducted in both the languages using a script that will allow parents to understand what the study is about. Parental consent forms and child assent forms will be provided in Spanish and English to achieve further protection of the participant's rights because some participants may feel more comfortable in their native language. (See attached forms). All data and identities of the participants and their families will be protected and confidentiality ensured through ensuring all names and identifying information is removed from data and/or kept in separate secure locations accessible only to the researchers.
c) Please provide the rationale for the choice of the subjects including any inclusion criteria.

The rationale for the choice of these participants is due to the fact that most of the research in regards to bilingualism has not only just been focused in the realm of education, but has focused on the experiences of the adult population as they reflect back to their experiences. Though their experiences are still rich in information, the younger generations have a different perspective to share because they have not yet
finished or been able to apply an adult perspective to their experiences translating or interpreting for their family. The inclusion criteria of having participants be between 12-14 years of age becomes an important factor in the research because these individuals find themselves in an age in which they have been given some of the tools to be a part of society but not in its entirety and are in the age of shifting from being viewed as children to becoming adolescents, yet they might be playing a ventral role in adult contexts that they would otherwise not be directly included.
d) Will any ethnic/racial or gender groups be excluded from this study? If so, provide the rationale for the exclusion criteria.

The research study has the focus of understanding the experiences of bilingual children who are of Mexican descent thus excluding other participants who may share the bilingual characteristic. The rationale for the exclusion criteria is to limit the scope of the research to just a particular ethnic group. Though many ethnic groups share the same experiences as is the case when it comes to language, the way that groups deal with this social phenomena is very different and can be exclusive to a particular group because of political, cultural, and economic factors. Given this and the innovative focus of the research, the researchers chose to focus on this particular population. .

## RECRUITMENT

8a) Describe the process(es) you will use to recruit participants and inform them about their role in the study. (Attach copies of any recruitment materials.) The researchers will conduct a presentation at a non-profit organization parental meeting for the recruitment of participants. The organization was accessed through a Formal Agency recruitment letter with an attached recruitment script. The organization agreed to have a total of three presentations conducted within the organization by the researchers. Recruitment will be done through the use of a scripted recruitment speech that has been translated into the Spanish language from the English language. No incentive will be offered for the participation in this study. (See attached materials).
b) Will any of the following be used? (Check all that apply and attach copies)
$\square$ Internet/Email
$\square$ Newspapers/radio/television advertising
Posters/brochures/letters
Other Recruitment presentation for parents at a nonprofit organization utilizing the recruitment script translated into Spanish. (See attached).
c) Does any member of the research team have a relationship (i.e., teacher, coach, physician, therapist, service provider, etc) with individuals who will be recruited for this study or with institutions that will be used to recruit for this study? No there is no relationship between the research team and the individuals who will be recruited for this study.
If yes, describe this relationship in detail and explain how the research process will avoid any potential problems (e .g, coercion or appearance of possible coercion in recruiting) or conflicts of interest arising from this investigator's dual roles.

## DECEPTION

9a) Does the proposed research require that you deceive participants in any way?
b) If your response is "yes," describe the type of deception you will use, indicate why it is necessary for this study, and provide a copy of the debriefing script.

## COMPENSATION

10a) Will any type of compensation be used? (e.g. money, gift, raffle, extra credit, etc)Yes (Please describe what the compensation is) $\boxtimes$ No (go to question 11)
b) Explain why the compensation is reasonable in relation to the experiences of and burden on participants.
c) Is compensation for participation in a study or completion of the study? (Note: participants must be free to quit at any time without penalty including loss of benefits).
$\square$ Participation
Completion
d) If any of the participants are economically disadvantaged, describe the manner of compensation and explain why it is fair and not coercive.

## INFORMED CONSENT

11. Describe the procedures you will use to obtain and document informed consent and assent. Attach copies of the forms that you will use. In the case of secondary data, please attach original informed consent or describe below why it has not been included. Fully justify a request for a waiver of written consent or parental consent for minors.
(The ASU IRB website has additional information and sample consent and assent forms.)

For this study which involves minors, parental consent will be obtained along with the assent of the minor at the beginning of the interview. Both of these forms will be given to the parent and child participant to read and sign. There will be a forms available not only in English, but in Spanish for the parent and the child participant. (See attached forms).

## RISKS

12a) What are the potential risks of the research? (Check all that apply)
$\square$ Physical harm
$\boxtimes$ Psychological harm
$\square$ Release of confidential information
$\square$ Other
b) Describe any potential risks to human subjects and the steps that will be taken to reduce the risks. Include any risks to the subject's well-being, privacy, emotions, employability, criminal, and legal status. The child may face a risk of psychological discomfort since the child will be asked to remember an event that may be a source of emotional distress due to their age. The research tried to reduce these risks by having the participant only discuss experiences they choose to recall and assuring them that they do not have to answer any questions they choose not to or that make them feel uncomfortable. The interview will be stopped if any participant shows signs of distress or discomfort.

## BENEFITS

13a) What are the potential benefits to the individual subject, if any, as a result of being in the study? Participants will benefit greatly from this study as they share their experience of translating or interpreting for their parents and the important benefits that this has brought to their family. As they describe this experience they will also have the opportunity to reflect upon how this experience has impacted their own lives and to view themselves as an important piece of the success in their family. Furthermore this will allow each of the participants to feel a sense of uniqueness due to the ability of being able to speak two languages proficiently and at the same time make an impact in the lives of others.
b) What are the potential benefits, if any, to others from the study?

The potential benefits of this study are great for the population at large. In a country that is comprised of many immigrant populations whose family and in home language may not be English, the awareness of the experiences of those who are most of the time seen as not having a voice but often provide the voice of the family as translators or interpreters, the children, need to be taken account. The sharing of these experiences by those who encounter this challenge on a daily basis, will allow us to better understand the lives and experiences of these children and their families. Other children, parents, medical personnel, teachers, social workers, political leaders, and academic researchers would be some of the many that would benefit from this study especially as it pertains to the educational, psychological and social support of such young people..

## DATA USE

14. How will the data be used? (Check all that apply)
$\square$ Dissertation Q Thesis

## Results released to participants/parents

Results released to agency or organizationPublication/journal article $\square$ Undergraduate honors project Results released to employer or school

Other (please describe):

## PROTECTION OF CONFIDENTIALITY

15a) Describe the steps you will take to ensure the confidentiality of the participants and data.
Unique numerical identification codes will be assigned to the participating child and this will identify their data throughout the study. All gathered data will be stored in password protected electronic file only accessible to the P-I and Co-I. Transcription and audiotapes will be stored in a locked location in an secure office at ASU's West campus. All data and records will be destroyed 5 years after the completion of the study.
b) Indicate how you will safeguard data that includes identifying or potentially identifying information (e.g. coding).
Participants will be assigned a unique numerical identifier that will be used throughout the study followed by either Male or Female (e.g. M-1; M-2;F-3;F-4). Through the utilization of this coding process, the confidentiality of the participant's information will be ensured to separate their identifying information from the data throughout their participation in the study. All identifying information will be removed from transcribed data.
c) Indicate when identifiers will be separated or removed from the data.

On consent to participate, participants will be assigned a unique numerical identifier. This number will serve the purpose of being the primary means of identification throughout their participation in the study. Unique numerical identifiers will not be linked to individual names. Numerical identifiers will not be connected to consent documentation to protect confidentiality. Identifying information in the audiotapes of interviews will not be transcribed. As a second level of security, completed transcripts will be checked for identifying information which will be removed.
d) Will the study have a master list linking participants' identifying information with study ID codes, and thereby, their data? If so, provide a justification for having a master list. (Note: In many cases, the existence of a master list is the only part of a study that raises it above minimal risk, that is, places participants at risk.) No master list will be utilized in study.
e)If you have a master list and/or data with identifiers, where on campus will the list and/or data be kept? (Data sets with identifiers and master lists, whether electronic or in hard copy, should be securely stored on an ASU campus except in unusual circumstances (e.g., research conducted out of the state or country).)
No master list will be utilized in study.
f) If you have a master list, when will it be destroyed?

No master list will be utilized in study.
g) How long do you plan to retain the data?

The data will be maintained for five years.
h) How will you dispose of the data?

Data will be destroyed by shredding, erasing audio recordings, and erasing computer files.
i) Where on campus will you store the signed consent, assent, and parental permission forms (If applicable)? (Consent, assent, and parent permission forms should be securely stored on an ASU campus)

Parental Consent and the Minor Assent Forms will be kept in the office of P-I located at Arizona State University at West Campus.

## INVESTIGATOR INTERESTS

16a) Has the Principal Investigator filed a current annual conflict of interest questionnaire with the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance? It is the COEUS module at: http://researchintegrity.asu.edu/coi $\square$ Yes $\boxtimes$ No
b) Do any of the researchers or their family members, have a financial interest in a business which owns a technology to be studied and/or is sponsoring the research? $\square$ Yes $\boxtimes$ No (If yes, please describe and disclose in the consent form.)
c) Are there any plans for commercial development related to the findings of this study?Yes (If yes, please describe.)
d) Will the investigator or a member of the investigator's family financially benefit if the findings are commercialized?
$\square$ Yes (If yes, please describe.)
X No
e) Will participants financially benefit if the findings are commercialized?Yes (If yes, please describe.)
® No

## BIOLOGICAL MATERIALS

17a) Will biological materials be collected from subjects or given to subjects? $\square$ Yes X No (If no, please skip to question 18)
b) Provide a description of the material (blood, tissue, vectors, antibodies, etc.) that will be used:
c) If the study involves human blood, do you have the required ASU Biosafety disclosure on file? $\qquad$ YesNo(If yes, what is the Biosafety Disclosure number.)
d) Will any of the material being used in the study come from a third party? $\square$ Yes $\square$ No (If yes, attach copy of the Material Transfer Agreement if required.)
e) Does this study involve transfer of genetic material of animal tissue into humans? Yes $\square$ No
(If yes, please cite the ASU Institutional Biosafety Disclosure number).

## TRAINING

18) The research team must verify completion of human subjects training within the last 3 years. (http://researchintegrity.asu.edu/training/humans)

CITI training - Provide the date that the PI and Co-l's completed the training: PI completed 12.21.11 Co-I completed training on $1 / 2012$

If you completed NIH training prior to $9 / 15 / 10$ this will be accepted. Provide a copy of the certificate.

## PRINCIPAL INVESTIGATOR

In making this application, I certify that I have read and understand the ASU Procedures for the Review of Human Subjects Research and that I intend to comply with the letter and spirit of the University Policy. Changes in to the study will be submitted to the IRB for written approval prior to these changes being put into practice. I also agree and understand that informed consent/assent records of the participants will be kept for at least three (3) years after the completion of the research. Attach a copy of the PI's CV unless one is already on file with the Office of Research Integrity and Assurance. Name (first, middle initial, last):

## Lindsey J. Meân



## APPENDIX C

## INTERVIEW GUIDE

# Protocol Title: Circumstantial Bilingual: The Child, The Parent, The Advocate Lindsey Meân and Catalina Cayetano Interview Guide: Questions and Themes 

The interviews will be unstructured and conversational in style and content. Key themes are identified below but questions and prompts will be guided by and responsive to childparticipant talk. Simple demographic questions will be used at the start to give time for the child-participant to relax and become more familiar with the context, environment and interviewer.

## Demographic questions

I would like to begin our interview with some questions about you and your family.

1. How old are you?
2. Were you born in Arizona?

2a. If not, explore where from (including non-US) and how old came to AZ and/or USA?
3. How many brothers and/or sisters do you have? How many?
4. What language do you mainly speak at home? Why?
5. Which members of your family that live with you only speak Spanish and which speak both English and Spanish?

## Language brokering questions and themes

6. Are you ever asked to translate or interpret for members of your family? Prompts who, how often, etc.
At this time, interviewer will start asking about specific experiences child-participant translated or interpreted for parents or other family members.
Key themes:
First time that you had to translate or interpret for your parent?
Why? How old? How do you think your parents felt? How do you think others viewed you as you translated or interpreted for your parent(s)?
Experiences and impacts of first time and subsequent:
Feeling and experiences translating or interpreting?
Pressure to translate?
Stressful?
Confidence-building?
Skill development?
Changes over time?
Resentment?
Impact and changes in family dynamics? E.g. Siblings - how did they react, etc?
Other family members? In what ways and why? Etc.
Ways these experiences have influenced who they are today?

## APPENDIX D

## PARENTAL CONSENT FORM

# Protocol Title: Circumstantial Bilingual: The Child, The Parent, The Advocate Lindsey Meân and Catalina Cayetano 

## PARENTAL LETTER OF PERMISSION

## Dear Parent:

I am Catalina Cayetano. I volunteer at Be A Leader Foundation and I am also a graduate student at Arizona State University in the Master of Arts in Communication Studies program working with Dr. Lindsey Meân. We are conducting a research study to develop a greater understanding about the experiences of children bilingual in English and Spanish who provide assistance interpreting or translating for parents, grandparents or guardians who do not speak English or are not confident English speakers.

I am inviting your child's participation, which will involve taking part in an informal interview with me, Catalina. In this interview they will be asked about their experiences translating and interpreting for their family. The interview will be between 30-60 minutes and will be audio recorded for accuracy.

Your child's participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to have your child participate or to withdraw your child from the study at any time, there will be no penalty or repercussions to saying no or loss of benefits to which you might otherwise be entitled to, or affect your child's treatment or care. Likewise, if your child chooses not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. The results of the research study may be published, but your child's name will not be used.

Although there may be no direct benefit to your child, the possible benefit of your child's participation in the research is as he or she will be given the opportunity to reflect upon and share particular experiences that are unique to them. This can create a sense of satisfaction and positive self-esteem as they are given the opportunity to talk about ways in which they assisted their family and demonstrated their language and social skills. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your child's participation.

The results of this research study may be used in reports, presentations, and publications, but the researchers will not identify you or your child. In order to maintain confidentiality of your records only Dr Lindsey Meân and Catalina Cayetano will have access to your information. The investigators will assign a numerical identification number to each participant. Responses will be confidential. All information will be maintained locked up and secured in Lindsey Meân's office. All data and recordings from the research will destroyed after 5 years.


If you have any questions concerning the research study or your child's participation in this study, please contact Dr.Lindsey Meân, Associate Professor, Arizona State University, West Campus, 4701 W. Thunderbird Rd, Phoenix, 85069, (602) 543-6682, email:lmean@asu.edu. or you can also contact the Co-Investigator, Catalina Cayetano, Graduate Student, (480)251-8641, email: ccayetan@asu.edu.

Sincerely,

## Catalina Cayetano

Dr. Lindsey Mean
By signing below, you are giving consent for your child $\qquad$ (Child's name) to participate in the above study. (Release statement for videotaping or relinquishing confidentiality must be inserted here if applicable.)
$\overline{\text { Signature }} \overline{\text { Printed Name }}$ Date

If you have any questions about you or your child's rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you or your child have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

## APPENDIX E

## ASSENT FORM FOR A CHILD

# Aitle: Circumstantial Bilingual: The Child, The Parent, The Advocate Lindsey Meân and Catalina Cayetano 


#### Abstract

Assent Form $\therefore$ is Catalina Cayetano. I volunteer at Be A Leader Foundation and I am also a graduate . at Arizona State University in the Master of Arts in Communication Studies program nng with Dr. Lindsey Meân. e are interested in learning about the experiences of children who are bilingual in English and spanish who provide English language assistance to their parents, grandparents or guardians. This means we are interested in talking to children who often interpret or translate for other members of their family who do not speak English or are not confident speaking in English.


If you are one of the children who does this for your family members, we would really like to talk to you as part of our research study.

If you agree, you will be asked to take part in a casual interview with me, Catalina. I will ask you about your experiences translating or interpreting for your family. I will also ask you how you felt about these experiences and how what you think about helping your family in this way. But you do not have to answer all my questions. You can choose not to answer questions that you don't like or make you feel uncomfortable. The interview will not take longer than 30-60 minutes, it just depends on how much you want to tell me about. For accuracy, I would like to record our conversation, but you can choose not to be recorded if you prefer.

You do not have to be in this study, if you desire. No one will be angry at you if you decide not to do this study. Even if you begin the study, you can stop at any time if you want. You may ask questions at any time about the study.

If you decide to be in the study, I will not tell anyone else what you told me or how you behaved. Even if your parents ask, I will not tell them about what you say or do in the study. Nobody other than your parents will even know you spoke to me, unless you choose to tell them yourself.

Signing here means that you have read the information above, or have had it read to you, and that you are willing to be in this study.

Signature of Subject

Subject's Printed Name $\qquad$

Signature of Investigator

Date $\qquad$ | Sign SM Asproved |
| :--- |
| Date $216 / 13-215 / 74$ |

## APPENDIX F

RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN NORMALCY AND THE CIRCUMSTANTIAL BILINGUAL

## Relationship between Normalcy and the Circumstantial Bilingual



## APPENDIX G

INTERVIEW TRANSCRIPTIONS

## Interview for participant 1F

## Beginning of the conversation.

## Interviewer:

So, okay, so I just want to let you know my name is Catalina. You can call me Cathy and under the direction of my professor or my teacher, Dr. Lindsey mean we are conducting a research study on bilingual children and we are interested in finding out and understanding a little bit more about the experiences that children as yourself who are bilingual in English and Spanish, how they interpret or translate for their parents or any other family members. Ok so that's kind of like the purpose of our research study. We want to make sure that we we kind of just want to give a little bit more exposure so we felt like speaking to individuals as yourself you know that have experienced that. So we can kind of you know, give a little bit more of an understanding of what happens in the, with these young people who do this for their parents. Okay, I will be, I will start off by just asking some questions and like I said earlier if you have anything, if you need a question clarified or you don't understand it just let me know and I will be happy to kind of explain it in a different way that its more, you know, cause sometimes it's a little, it's a little difficult. So how old are you?

## Participant 1F:

I'm fourteen.
Interviewer:
You're fourteen years old. Great! Oh and by the way I'm going to be writing some stuff down ok, so that way just in case this fails, I have some notes. I forgot about this [the recorder]. I'm like why do I have this for? I'm, I'm telling you. Oh my gosh! Okay, so were you born in Arizona?

## Participant 1F:

Umm, I was born in Texas.
Interviewer:
You were born in Texas? How interesting. How old did you come to Arizona? Did they bring you when you were little or?
Participant 1F:
Yes, they brought me after I was born.
Interviewer:
After you were born? Oh how interesting. Do you feel like you are more from Arizona than Texas?

## Participant 1F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, I bet I would probably be the same. Like uh Texas? I'm just from Texas, but not from Texas. Great okay. Okay, let see so how many brothers and/or sisters do you have?

## Participant 1F:

I have one brother and one sister.
Interviewer:
One brother and one sister. Let see. What language do you mainly speak in at home?

## Participant 1F:

Spanish.
Interviewer:
You speak Spanish is that like the dominant language. Like English comes secondary, you kind of at times speak it?

## Participant 1F:

Yes.
Interviewer:
Ok. Which members of your family that live with you only speak Spanish?
Participant 1F:
My mom and my dad.
Interviewer:
Your mom and your dad, and which of them, which of the members of your family speak both English and Spanish?
Participant 1F:
My uncle, aunt, my cousins, me, and my siblings.
Interviewer:
Okay, are you ever asked to translate or interpret for members of your family?
Participant 1F:
Yes I am.
Interviewer:
Yes you are? Ok who?

## Participant 1F:

Um for my parents mostly.
Interviewer:
How often do you do it? Do you do it a lot or do you...?

## Participant 1F:

Um not a lot, but sometimes when they really don't understand what they are saying.

## Interviewer:

Ok so under like what circumstance? Is it like for reading a letter maybe or is it when you go out somewhere?

## Participant 1F:

Um when they have to talk back is when they ask me to translate what they're saying to them.
Interviewer:
Okay so basically they can understand what they're saying. They don't feel...

## Participant 1F:

Comfortable.

## Interviewer:

Oh comfortable in answering back. So then they kind of, what do they do? How do you know that, that it's, it's your turn to talk for them?
Participant 1F:
When I see like that their look on their face like what, like what.
Interviewer:
Help me out here? Wow, that is interesting, but do you do it often? Do you do it once in a while?
Participant 1F:
Um once in a while.
Interviewer:
Once in a while. Okay um, what about your extended family. You said that you know that your uncle and your aunt, your cousins, they speak, you know, English and Spanish. Are you ever like asked to translate or interpret for them or is it just for your parents?

## Participant 1F:

Um just for my parents.
Interviewer:
Okay. Anybody else like maybe friends or people that you might, you know they might ask you to do that for them?
Participant 1F:
Hmmm, no.
Interviewer:
No. So it's just at home that you, that you do it for your parents. Ok, let's see. Do you remember the first time that you translated or interpreted for your parents?

## Participant 1F:

Hmmm it was like a very long time ago. I think it was my first day of middle school.

## Interviewer:

Your first day of middle school. So you were how old?

## Participant 1F:

I think, uh, I'd be like about twelve years old, eleven.
Interviewer:
About eleven, twelve years old and what were you translating for or where were you?

## Participant 1F:

We were at home and I believe my mother was talking on the phone for an appointment and they were only speaking English and I had to, um translate.

## Interviewer:

And you had to translate for her? What kind of an appointment was that?

## Participant 1F:

A doctor's appointment.

## Interviewer:

A doctor's appointment. Ok and so that was your first time. How did you feel at that time?

## Participant 1F:

Oh at first it was a little complicated since they used a lot of, like words that I didn't even know.

## Interviewer:

That you didn't even know? Wow and so you, it was, it was complicated because of the words or was it because it was the first time or?
Participant 1F:
Umm I really, for the words.
Interviewer:
For the words?
Participant 1F:
My vocabulary wasn't very big back then.
Interviewer:
Back then... Awesome. So how do you think your mom felt?
Participant 1F:
Ummm.

## Interviewer:

When she was seeing you translate?

## Participant 1F:

I think she felt, um grateful that she had, um someone for her to translate for her since she um, she couldn't do it and I guess she thought she, we would not be able to get that appointment if it weren't for me.
Interviewer:
If it weren't for you. And I know that you were talking on the phone, um how do you think or how do you think that other person felt? Cause obviously she was talking or he was talking to, I don't know if it was a he or she, they were talking to your mom first and then now here you come and your eleven, twelve years old and you're and you start talking to them. So how do think they like felt or they perceived or saw you?

## Participant 1F:

Umm, I guess they thought, um like she left or something and then umm.

## Interviewer:

And she just handed the phone?
Participant 1F:
Yeah, they just handed the phone to bail from it or something.
Interviewer:
That's interesting! Wow! So what do you think that maybe they thought, that they kind of just gave you the phone, here?
Participant 1F:
Because it mostly happens like I start talking and I guess they start thinking it's a little girl, oh okay then they start talking to me.
Interviewer:
Ok. Ok, do they, does their language change? Do they start using different words with you when they start talking? When they know that this is, you know, this is a little girl now so do they...?

## Participant 1F:

Yeah, in the beginning. They start like using those like simple phrases and then they um, like I remember like a very good vocabulary word and they're like uh, ok we should talk to her professionally and then they kind of change it back.

## Interviewer:

So they change it back. Wow that's interesting. That's interesting that someone can, you know like ok, first they start, ok let's talk not necessarily baby talk but ok little simple stuff and then you surprise them with this big word and oh, ok she understands. Let's use these big you know big words because she'll understand what is going on. That's great and what do they tell you after the conversation is over?

## Participant 1F:

Umm, they um, they thank me and they um they hang up.
Interviewer:
And they hang up. Ok. Have you ever like done anything else besides the phone, like face to face?

## Participant 1F:

Um, yes um again it would be like doctor's appointments or something and when my parents understand what their saying but they don't want to like express, like say what they um want to say cause they are not confident in pronouncing it right, they look at me and they tell me what they want to say and I say it for them.

## Interviewer:

Hmmm and at that time, since obviously like the other, the first one you did was over the phone like um, when you do it face to face, what kind of reaction do they have? Like what do you notice that once you take over and you start talking what or how do they look at you, how do they look at you?

## Participant 1F:

Umm, well they look at my parents first expecting them to answer and then they see that um a little girl is answering for them. I don't
know. I guess their surprised.
Interviewer:
They're surprised. You can see it in their face? They are just like huh? Wow, ok. Let's see. How do you feel um about translating and interpreting? How does that make you feel?

## Participant 1F:

Um it doesn't really like make me feel anything. I mean like I understand that my parents don't feel confident in speaking. Even though they understand it, so I want to help them pronounce it. So like when they don't have someone there to speak for them, they know how to do it without being scared.

## Interviewer:

Without being scared. So you kind of help them feel more confident? Do you kind of try give them lessons afterwards?

## Participant 1F:

Yes, when we are in the car and like were ordering something from um a restaurant or something and um I hear them trying to pronounce it and but they like back away from it saying wait I didn't say it right. I say it louder for them to the waiter or someone and they like um ask me how do you say it and I would pronounce it for them.

## Interviewer:

That's interesting that you mention the restaurant. Like, like when you guys go out to eat and have like, I guess for dinner or something, do you find yourself like you are pretty much the one that is leading the conversation when it is in a place where everyone speaks English or do they always or do your parents start and then you kind of?

## Participant 1F:

Um, they start and when I see them backing away from that conversation like not feeling confident, I try to push them to um like, like have guts to say it. Say it.

## Interviewer:

How do you push them?

## Participant 1F:

Like when I see them, like when they start saying um a phrase or like even a word and they start like getting like um shy or something, um I look at the waiter and tell them what they wanted or I ask them and then I say oh that's this and then um they then say it.
Interviewer:
Do they ever like, do your parents like ever when the waiter walks away, do they ask you, how do you say this?

## Participant 1F:

Yes sometimes um they say, did I say it right or how do you say this and then they say oh that's easy.

## Interviewer:

Oh that's good. So you don't feel anything. So you kind of feel like that it's basically something that, um since your parents don't feel confident that you have to do? You feel like you have to do it or do you just?

## Participant 1F:

No, it's not like something I have to do. It's like something I chose to do since not many like want to do it because they'll feel embarrassed, oh my god my parents can't even understand this simple phrase, but I want to have them be able to say it. So like how they say when they don't have their children who are bilingual and they need to like speak it, like they'll be able to do it with no problems.

## Interviewer:

Have you had friends that like feel embarrassed that maybe their parents don't do that?

## Participant 1F:

I feel I've seen some kids that do um that and like when they see me their parents always like try to speak English for some reason and I see that their having trouble, so I speak Spanish for them. And then like they I don't know, like they lighten up. They're like oh, they feel like relieved. They're like oh ok she speaks Spanish there someone that can talk Spanish to me.

## Interviewer:

That's interesting. That's good. Ok, so at any moment like in the times when you have translated do you feel like you are pressured? Do you feel a lot of pressure or stress?

## Participant 1F:

Um I guess when I was younger since I didn't really understand what they were saying and I was like ugh I might say something wrong or I might get something bad. They might get the wrong appointment or might change the date or something.

## Interviewer:

So you felt like you had a big responsibility in trying to make sure that you said the right thing or else it would have like um, it could complicate things later. They wouldn't get the appointment at a restaurant, they wouldn't order, they wouldn't get the right food. I ordered a steak, no you get spaghetti instead. Wow, ok and then like when you like um when you speak Spanish, do you like or do you like feel pressured in speaking Spanish? Like when you speak Spanish, since you, when you are, basically when, since you most of the time, you are speaking English except like when you are in the home, when you encounter people like that, do you feel that pressure?
Like you have to speak Spanish to them?

## Participant 1F:

No, I actually like feel like more comfortable speaking Spanish to people who speak Spanish or English to people who speak only English. And um, cause I think that is the way they will understand me more. I don't want them to like be confused in something that I would be saying to them.

## Interviewer:

Ok, um do you feel like um interpreting or translating has built your confidence as an individual? I mean being so young?

## Participant 1F:

Um yes it has. Um like I would go to um when were in a hospital or something or even a restaurant, they see that my parents don't speak English or Spanish and they try like to baby talk them. I'm like oh no I'm here I can talk for them.

## Interviewer:

So you kind of just, kind of take over? You, you, you've become very protective over your family even though they don't feel confident?

## Participant 1F:

Like, ok I'm here.
Interviewer:
I'm here. Has that kind of influenced, kind of at school how you are like with your teachers?

## Participant 1F:

It influences me to um be more um precise at the grammar I'm using. So that every time I go to my language arts class, I'm like very
focused on the new vocabulary words that we are going to be learning so that someday I'll be using those in um our conversations.

## Interviewer:

Our conversations like with your friends? Has that like changed things with your friends because you can speak to languages very well?

## Participant 1F:

Yes cause I have some friends that um they can't pronounce some English words very good. And um when we are in lunch, we speak a little Spanish um and then when were in class we speak English. Um we are learning about English words, but in our free time we speak Spanish.

## Interviewer:

You speak Spanish in your free time. Um have you noticed yourself change over time? Like from that first time that you, that you were introduced to interpreting for your parents, have you seen like yourself change as an individual?

## Participant 1F:

Um, I think so since, um now that they ask me for like a phone call or like to order something, I've um I just say it like I don't really care. Like I know I will do it right this time. Not like the first time where I was like oh what if I say something wrong. No this time I know what they'll be saying.

## Interviewer:

Have you ever said anything wrong like to where you like messed up?

## Participant 1F:

Yes. I remember that so good. I think, yes we were outside and they were asking for my grandma's appointment, um like to speak to her and I was like right there. Since nobody else was there, so I started um answering their questions. And then they're all like um so I can speak with your grandmother and my mom was like tell them that she's in the hospital um and she is like being in the surgery. And I was thinking quickly, she's being operated and I was like wait that didn't sound good. She's being operated.

## Interviewer:

But you realize that some people would say that she's being operated. But you, how old were you at that time?

## Participant 1F:

I was about um thirteen years old.

## Interviewer:

About thirteen years.

## Participant 1F:

It was last year.

## Interviewer:

Your mom didn't know that you messed up? You kind of did you change, did you right away say no surgery or did you just like leave it at that?
Participant 1F:
Yeah, I just left it at that.

## Interviewer:

And you didn't tell anybody that you had messed up in the language?

## Participant 1F:

No, but like I started laughing. So they said oh she probably said something wrong. My brother was like, he came in when I said that. And like he explained it to her by saying oh she said it like not wrong but like that's not the way you suppose to say it.

## Interviewer:

Has there been another time where your parents have realized that you messed up?

## Participant 1F:

Um, I think we were in a restaurant. I think we were at []. My mom and me and my sister we were ordering food and they wanted to order by themselves and I'm like oh ok. So and I'm like ok you can order it. I said I'm ordering this like I said the whole phrase and they said ok I'll ordering that too. And then they like ordered something else and it was totally different from what I ordered and I gave them my plate and I started eating theirs and I'm all like, but she told us you ordered it. No, I did not order this.

## Interviewer:

So it's been like minor instances, I guess where you have gotten the language mixed up or you haven't interpreted correctly you know, but it hasn't been something where you've been in trouble for or it has affected an appointment like you said. Ok let see um do you feel like, you have your older brother and then you have your younger sister, how do you think your older brother when he sees you interpreting and translating, what does, what does he think about, about you and as you do that? As he sees you do that?

## Participant 1F:

I guess he feels relieved since um he's very busy with work and um he knows he's the oldest and they'll be usually, they ask the oldest to translate and everything for them. But since he doesn't really have time he feels like, I guess he feels like he's abandoning his family and so that where I come like the backup. When he sees that, well when I don't have time I can use her or like when I do have time then I'll use me and then.

## Interviewer:

Did he like, when he was younger, was he the interpreter for the family?
Participant 1F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So he kind of understands where you are now in this situation?
Participant 1F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
So it's kind of he see's a reflections of himself in you then?

## Participant 1F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Does he give you any tips, um, since he's more I guess your mom says he's 21 ?
Participant 1F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So he's a lot older than you. So does he, I'm assuming he might give you some tips on how to do it better?
Participant 1F:
Yeah he says when you are like speaking to them face to face like look at them in the eyes to say I got this.

## Interviewer:

That's so good. You know because like sometimes people forget about the confidence you know and sometimes you have to look at people in the eye. And it's so funny that he, that, that he tells you that and you're so young. And it's like ok look at them in the eye. When you first tried that out do you did you feel like anybody was like thinking like gosh why is this little girl looking at me?

## Participant 1F:

Umm at first I couldn't look at them in the eye. It was like oh the shy one. I would just say and or look down and say it to them um very quietly, now I look at them and say it like louder not that louder.

## Interviewer:

Any other tips that he gave you besides that and um looking at people in the eye?

## Participant 1F:

He just says like to speak a little louder and have them like be able to hear you. Like too quiet and like have them like confused and not trusting you into being the translator and having to like have someone call for translator and this mess.

## Interviewer:

What do you think he feels when he sees you inaction, like oh I trained her right?
Participant 1F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Does he look at you like oh no she's missing this?
Participant 1F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
He probably feels more like proud?
Participant 1F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Seeing that he has somebody that is backing him up, does he live here at home?
Participant 1F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
But he can't be here all time?
Participant 1F:
No.
Interviewer:
Obviously because he's an adult now, what about your little sister how does, um how do you think she sees you?
Participant 1F:
I guess she sees me as a role model. Since um I know she's been here her whole life, but since she has autism like sometimes her grammar isn't as great as it should be at her grade level and her age and since she sees me like communicating with so many adults when I'm not communicating with that many children my age. She says oh I want to be like her and be like having people see me like that like how they see her and so she's just like me. She even like tries to talk fluently like me.

## Interviewer:

Has she ever experienced interpreting for your parents or have you like just like your brother has done with you? Have you liked tried to help her has she done that before?

## Participants 1F:

Umm, when we take her to the doctors or to her therapy. Um a lot of them ask her a lot of questions and she sometimes um understands what they're saying, but she doesn't know how to say it to them. And she feels a little scared. So I try to umm like change what their trying to ask her and I tell her and she like oh this, this, this, and this.

## Interviewer:

Wow interesting that she wants to be like you. She's like I want to be like my big sister when I grow up. Do you think as you get older like she probably going to have to take your place? Cause how old is she?

## Participant 1F:

She's twelve.
Interviewer:
Do you think that she gonna have to take your place when it comes to interpreting or translating maybe like you did with your brother?
Participant 1F:
I guess and um, I won't be here all the time also like my brother. I'll be like in college or at work.
Interviewer:
Does that make you feel good that you are kind of being her role model?
Participant1F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
That's awesome. What about your extended family, how do they perceive, see you?
Participant 1F:
Umm (thinking).
Interviewer:
Obviously like you said they speak English you know, so you probably don't translate for them at all?
Participant 1F:
No, I do not translate for them.
Interviewer:
Have they seen you like translate for your parents?
Participant 1F:
They have.
Interviewee:
What do they tell you?

## Participant 1F:

They are looking at me smiling saying good job
Interviewer:
Good job. They just say good job. They don't like um you know, they don't um, their not amazed or they tell your mom hey wow?
Participant 1F:
Yeah they do like um...

## Interviewer:

Look at her she's interpreting for her. You don't need her older brother anymore

## Participant 1F:

I know.
Interviewer:
Do they say stuff like that or do they kind of keep it to themselves and they just say good job?

## Participant 1F:

I don't know. I just hear them like smiling.
Interviewer:
What about your cousins, what do they think?

## Participant 1F:

Umm (thinking).

## Interviewer:

Cause I'm assuming your cousins are about your age. Do they do that at their house, they probably not huh?

## Participant 1F:

Umm, they probably do it for um my grandparents. Um for my grandma since she couldn't hear and like she doesn't know what they're saying and so they say what they're asking her. They translate it to her.

## Interviewer:

When they see you doing it, what do, what do they tell you? Anything or do you guys talk about it together?

## Participant 1F:

When we are right here together, yeah we talk about it.

## Interviewer:

What do you guys says to each other, do you guys talk about how hard it was?

## Participant 1F:

No.
Interviewer:
How like entertaining it us or good it is or how great you feel?

## Participant 1F:

We'll be like we just say this [and] they understand.
Interviewer:
So you guys kind of like tell each other what you guys experience and kind of give each other ideas? No we should have said it this way instead or that or that kind of stuff?

## Participant 1F:

Yeah
Interviewer:
Ok um well once again, I want to thank you. I don't have any other questions to ask you or um but I think it is a very unique experience. I mean being able to help your family in this way is something to be proud of um because not a lot kids are able to be or able to experience this within their families. Especially when your your parents speak English you know, or your relatives they all speak English and everyone just surrounds themselves with English. And uh to be able to have you know be a bilingual and speak Spanish and English and still be able to use that as a child and its fascinating. I think when you said, you know, when the first time on the phone they start talking with little words because they're thinking this is a little girl and then you surprise them with a big word, you know and then they change their tone. I think that it is the most interesting thing because you you are doing something like I said that not a lot of people can do. You know, feel proud and I know that your parents are very proud and of what, what you do for them. And it's it's really cool that your um little sister looks up to you and that she you know she sees you as her role model and I think that it has a lot to do with you. Do you feel like you're more mature than your other friends that maybe don't do that?

## Participant 1F:

Um I guess yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah like you said you have confidence. Do you see things differently than everybody else? I know that I wasn't going to ask you anything else, but that just came up right now in my head.

## Participant 1F:

Um, yes um like I see like many families um with very young children like about toddler and they don't speak Spanish, I mean English sorry. And I see them having trouble communicating with someone and um who does speak English only and I say um like I wish I could do something for all those families but like (saddened).
Interviewer:
Your only you.
Participant 1F:
I know.
Interviewer:
What do you want to be when you grow up?
Participant 1F:
Oh I wanted to be a novelist.
Interviewer:
A novelist wow writing. I love writing. That is awesome wow. Yeah you kind of see things in a different light because you encounter, I think, do you feel like you encounter different experiences than the rest of the kids like in your school that maybe don't do that like your being placed in a situation that their not?

## Participant 1F:

Um well um, when their trying to speak with the teacher and I don't see like the kids speaking to them and I just see the parents just looking at them like when they absolutely don't know anything about English and um they don't know how their children are doing in school and um yeah so...

## Interviewer:

That leads me to another question. Wow I'm like just coming up with stuff. Um like how do you translate? How do do you like do you like when someone talks to you, do before you like, do you then translate it to your parents and then wait for the response and then it goes, then you go back and translate or how do you how do you how do you do it?

## Participant 1F:

Like when their talking to my parents and I um well their talking their talking to them. But I mean I'm listening to it and I'm trying to think of how to like words to like make it simpler for them, but when I see that their understanding, I'm like ok. I'll just be prepared if they don't know how to respond.

## Interviewer:

So you are listening more. You are developing more of a listening skill cause even though they might understand you know that maybe they won't and you have to be prepared?

## Participant 1F:

Yeah.

## Interviewer:

That's interesting. Do you think when your translating, do you think of the stuff, what language are you thinking in?
Participant 1F:
Umm, umm, I'm thinking in English and trying to make it into Spanish.

## Interviewer:

And when you are talking, when you're talking um in English, do you think in Spanish?

## Participant 1F:

Yes, like while I'm speaking I'm like um ok I know this Spanish is like reversed word. First I'll be like trying to move the words around to make it simpler and like just saying to them.

## Interviewer:

You mentioned other kids like how they don't interpret and their parents are kind of there. Not to say that you get in trouble but if you were to get in trouble, is it just as I don't know, if it is easy or more difficult but like those kids if they do get in trouble, do you think they say the truth or they kind of change it?

## Participant 1F:

We'll their like getting in trouble like the parents don't know anything about it and their all talking, but they see that their children all happy and they are faking that smile to say or as long I'm smiling she won't know I'm in trouble. The teachers are like, your child is this, this, this, and once they leave and they [parent] ask well what was she saying, Oh nothing, I'm doing good in school. That's not right.
Interviewer:
What do you think about that? Would you ever do that?
Participant 1F:
I can't, no.
Interviewer:
You wouldn't do that? You would just face the music and cause yeah, I was thinking about that I'm like the other kids, what if their getting in trouble would they say the truth? Would they not say the truth? Would they like find another word that would make it a little bit less I guess in trouble, than bigger trouble.

## Participant 1F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
But you say the truth. You'll just be like I did this wrong and I'm sorry.

## Participant 1F:

Yeah, I guess it was like I guess now I don't have that problem now. But back then I was very talkative in class and every time the teachers would say oh she's very talkative and I try to move her and she's less talkative and I give her back her seat, she's talkative. Like my parents always had that problem. I would even tell them I don't talk, but I do talk. I don't talk about like socially but I talk about my work, but I guess like not in the way they want me to talk about it since it is very loud and now I'm not talking that much. That's like one worry I give them away and like they don't have to worry about that anymore and so any other problems, I will be like I don't have any other problems.

## Interviewer:

When you were little, your brother was the translator for your family when you were little. When did that stop like parent teacher conference when did you start taking over?

## Participant 1F:

When he wasn't able to be there, to be the translator and I had to sit there next to my parents and explain what they were saying.

## Interviewer:

So how old were you at that like when did that start happening?

## Participant 1F:

In middle school.

## Interviewer:

In middle school. He was a little bit less involved you said your brother?

## Participant 1F:

Since he was doing school, he had less time.

## Interviewer:

You had to, how did that feel being in front of the teachers and having them look at you and your interpreting and do you think that the teacher was looking at you weird?
Participant 1F:
No like he was, they were just be like staring at me, I hope she's saying it right to them. Saying she's in trouble and she's doing good. Interviewer:
That first time, they probably didn't trust you?
Participant 1F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
But then did you get a chance to do it again with that same teacher?
Participant 1F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
And how did they, did you see a change in how they saw you?
Participant 1F:
Um yes because I was telling them, yes I do talk a lot and like the next meeting they asked me to ask them is she still talking and they were like oh she did tell them.
Interviewer:
Oh so it changed things there. Wow. So then that changed their mind. So she did tell, tell them what we said the last time. That's interesting. Cool. Thank you very much.
End of interview 1F.

## Participant 2F

## Beginning of conversation

Interviewer:
So I'm gonna go ahead and start off by asking you just some basic questions about you and your family. Ok, how old are you?
Participant 2F:
I'm fourteen.
Interviewer:
You're fourteen. Were you born in Arizona?

## Participant 2F:

No, I was born in Mexico.

## Interviewer:

You were born in Mexico, what part of Mexico?

## Participant 2F:

## Sonora.

Interviewer:
Sonora, oh my family is from Jalisco. How old were you when you came from Sonora?
Participant 2F:
Um, I think I was like four.
Interviewer:
Four.
Participant 2F:
Cause I started kindergarten here.
Interviewer:
Started kindergarten, wow! You've been here your whole life basically,

## Participant 2F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
How many brothers or sisters do you have?
Participant 2F:
I have two sisters.
Interviewer:
Ok, two sisters and what language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 2F:
At home, well I speak both languages because I have to speak Spanish to my parents and to my other family members. And with my sisters I can speak English. And I have a lot of cousins who like come here too and I can speak English to them.

## Interviewer

Ok, great. So you said that basically, like are your sisters fluent in Spanish and English too?
Participant 2F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, just like yourself. And then your mom and your dad just speak Spanish?
Participant:
Mostly Spanish.
Interviewer:
Do they understand at least some English or?
Participant 2F:
Yeah, my dad can kind of understand some English and can speak some English.
Interviewer:
Ok great. Ok, are you ever asked to translate or interpret for your family?
Participant 2F:
Yeah a lot.
Interviewer:
A lot. What is a lot?
Participant 2F:
Like when we go to the store or something. My mom wants me translate for her what they are telling her or if she wants to ask something she wants me to tell them, or when like people are just asking her something in English and she doesn't understand it, she like wants me to translate it for her.

## Interviewer:

Does it normally happen when you go to the store or is it during other times that you, you have to interpret or translate for her? Is it just when you go to the store or is it other times
Participant 2F:
I think it is in other times too. It's not just in the store.
Interviewer:
So would you say it happens a lot or you do it a lot, often?
Participant 2F:
Kind of often.

## Interviewer:

Ok, do you remember the, the first time that you translated?
Participant 2F:
No.
Interviewer:
You don't remember?

## Participant 2F:

Well, I think I was in like first grade.

## Interviewer:

You were in first grade.

## Participant 2F:

Cause I had a teacher who spoke only English and I had to tell my mom was she was saying in parent teacher conferences.

## Interviewer:

Wow! How did that make you feel? Do you remember how you felt?

## Participant 2F:

Umm, well I think, I felt like good cause I can tell my mom what my teacher was saying. But at times I wasn't sure how to say something in Spanish, and I was like a little embarrassed.

## Interviewer:

Wow! Ok, did you feel like it was difficult to communicate like because you didn't know the words or?
Participant 2F:
Yeah, well I'm mostly, I know how, but it was just like in some words that I got stuck on.

## Interviewer:

And how did the teacher look at you when you, when you know, were translating for your mom?

## Participant 2F:

Well, she, I think she looked at me normal. She was just looking at both of us talking normal.

## Interviewer:

Just talking normal? So you don't remember her looking at you funny? Like "Wow, she's. I didn't know she could do that!".

## Participant 2F:

Hmmm, I don't really remember because it was so long ago.

## Interviewer:

But like now, even when you do it now, do people look at you funny or do they, do you see an expression in them when they see you translating for your mom?

## Participant 2F:

Once I was at the store at [] and there was this other lady. I didn't know her. She was trying to tell the worker there something like if she had this kind of brand and the worker didn't know Spanish. And I translated it from the lady to the worker and she was like a little surprised. Like her expression.

## Interviewer:

The worker was surprised?

## Participant 2F:

Yeah, cause I could-she didn't know how, but I was able to tell the lady.

## Interviewer:

And you were able to help her and you just kind of jumped in and I see her that she needs help, let me just jump in and do it.

## Participant 2F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Wow, that's interesting you know! So, so I guess you can say that you interpret aside from your mom, you interpret for other people in your family.
Participant 2F:
If it's needed.
Interviewer:
If it's needed. Have you done that before like?
Participant 2F:
Yeah like sometimes when my cousins come from Mexico, they want me to tell them how to say something in English like translate something that was on TV or something.
Interviewer:
Hmmm, have you ever had to translate stuff like for bills?
Participant 2F:
Yeah, when like if there is a paper that comes in English, my parents would like me, for me to translate it for them, so they know exactly what it says.

## Interviewer:

Is it easy for you or is it hard?

## Participant 2F:

In some its easy and some its hard cause it's like, well, I don't know. It's just kind of difficult sometimes because some words are like big words. I'm not sure how to say them in Spanish or I'm not sure how to explain it to them.
Interviewer:
So what do you wind up doing when you, when you find a word you don't know how to explain? What do you do? Do you like use a resource or like a dictionary or you look it up on your phone to see what it translates to?

## Participant 2F:

I tell them to ask my older sister.

## Interviewer:

So you kind of tell them, "Go find my older sister she'll let you know."
Participant 2F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What do they say?
Participant 2F:
They're like, "You should know this. You speak both languages." Just like that.

## Interviewer:

Have you ever like translated something and like you've messed up or you messed up?
Participant 2F:
Well, I'm not sure. I think I probably have, but I just don't recall it.

## Interviewer:

My next question is did anyone catch it? Did your parents know that you messed up?
Participant 2F:
Ummm.
Interviewer:
Or was it something that you probably just knew that you messed up and you just like oh, oh?
Participant 2F:
Oh wait! Yeah, I think because we had like I have a class in Spanish at my school and I, there was this word, but it was explotacion and I think it looked like it was exploited in English. So I thought maybe child labor and stuff, it was like getting stuff out.
Interviewer:
Yes, explotar es hacer algo como quien dice que se espume o explote come quien dice una manera explotar. Wow that's interesting. Did you ever tell anybody that you just...

## Participant 2F:

No, I just kind of erase.
Interviewer: Erase the word. Ok, so how do you think your parents feel when they see you translate?

## Participant 2F:

I think that they might feel proud because I can do that and some other people can't. And and they think that maybe I will be, I can get better chances in life because I have more options.

## Interviewer:

You have more options. What about your extended family? What do they think about you when, you know, if they do see you in action, you know interpreting or translating for your mom and your dad? Have you ever noticed how they react to it?

## Participant 2F:

Umm, I think that maybe they think it's cool. Like my cousins cause sometimes they say something and but it's not correct and I can catch it.

## Interviewer:

You can catch it and help them. Nice. So how do you feel, when you are translating? How does that make you feel?
Participant 2F:
Well I feel good because I like to like help people and [silence], and I don’t know. I just like to help people.

## Interviewer:

You just like to help people?

## Participant 2F:

Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Yeah and in some way you feel that you're helping your family when you're doing that when you're translating for them?

## Participant 2F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like any pressures when you are translating?

## Participant 2F:

Sometimes. When I am not sure how to explain it and my parents want to know something and I just feel like, "oh my gosh, I don't know how to say some... I don't know how to say this" and then I just like tell them.

## Interviewer:

And what is their reaction? Do they see that you are stressed or your pressured?

## Participant 2F:

Sometimes, I think they do, but they just tell me that I should like learn more Spanish so that I can translate it for them. So that I can get better at it.
Interviewer:
So do you feel that, you know, your confidence has, being able to translate or speaking two languages has that built your confidence in a lot of situations?

## Participant 2F:

Yeah because in class since we are taking class in Spanish, I see that other students they don't, that only speak English or that don't feel comfortable in speaking Spanish. They are kind of just like not participating much or not like wanting to speak as much as they do in English. And I feel that I can speak in front of a class in Spanish and not feel like I'm not and not feel like I'm not confident.

## Interviewer:

So you said that there are students that don't want to speak Spanish? Like they.

## Participant 2F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
What are your thoughts on that?

## Participant 2F:

I don't think it's good or like I think they should at least try it because they can get more options. Like they can work two jobs or they get a better pay because they can speak two languages and speak to more people freely. And I feel like kind of sad for them, because I don't, I don't think that it's something [hesitates to say it]. It's cause some of them like don't want to speak it and they feel kind of like embarrassed, but I don't think it's anything to be embarrassed about.

## Interviewer:

Why?
Participant 2F:
I think you should be proud instead of embarrassed because there's some, because we know more than other people know.

## Interviewer:

So that sets you apart from others?
Participant 2F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

So that's something to be proud of. Great! How did you feel when you were little when you translated in front of like the public? Like having someone see you translating for your parents at the store or a difficult situation like a more grown up situation?
Participant 2F:
Yeah, like when we went to California. My dad was stopped by a police and I had to translate what the police officer was telling him.
Interviewer:
How old were you at the time?
Participant 2F:
I was thirteen. Yeah, I was thirteen.
Interviewer:
Thirteen and how did you feel?
Participant 2F:
I was scared.
Interviewer:
You were scared. What made it so scary?
Participant 2F:
That I was talking to a police officer.
Interviewer:
It was because you were speaking to a person in a position?
Participant 2F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Did you feel at anytime that you didn't know what to say?
Participant 2F:
No, it was, I was trying hard not to mess up and translate it perfectly. And I think I did.
Interviewer:
And how did the police officer look at you?

## Participant2F:

Well, he was looking directly at me because I was the one speaking for my parents and well, yeah he was looking at me. Like I was more mature and stuff like, I felt mature.
Interviewer:
You felt mature?
Participant 2F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Wow! Being exposed to talking to a police officer at thirteen and so now when you get older and you drive and you get a ticket, you'll
know how to do it.
Participant 2F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
You have already experienced it. Wow! That's interesting. How did your parents react like as they saw you? Or afterwards after like the policeman left probably, they talked to you about it? What did they tell you?

## Participant 2F:

Umm [thinks about it] they really didn't say anything because they are like used to it. But they were pretty shaken up about it because of the police officer.
Interviewer:
Ok. They didn't even question you if les dijistes todo bien? They didn't question that?

## Participant 2F:

No.
Interviewer:
Wow that's very interesting to be given that opportunity to speak to someone like that it is like wow! It's like I could just imagine the pressure. I better not mess up this is the cop.

## Participant 2F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
What is this cop thinking of me? Yeah, you know it's incredible! Wow! Have you noticed that like because you have engaged in interpreting or translating like that has changed you as an individual in your family or even at school or you're different?

## Participant 2F:

Can you rephrase it?
Interviewer:
So have you noticed that there's a change in you? Do you see the world differently than maybe people, other people that don't interpret for their parents or for their extended family or that you feel like that makes you different?

## Participant 2F:

Yeah, umm, well [thinking]. I feel different because I feel that I am more experienced in it and like I'm more educated because I can watch the news in Spanish and I know what is going on around me. But some other people only watch the news in English and it's not the same news that they put and I can watch both of them and just see what's going on around me.

## Interviewer:

So you are more informed than everyone else?

## Participant 2F:

## Yeah

## Interviewer:

That's, wow, yeah because you see it in both versus somebody else that sees it from an English perspective.

## Participant 2F:

Yeah because they have the two. Like the two news, they have different perspectives. The English one might angle it, the news like in a different way than the Spanish one. Like they might say like this is, interpret it like something bad, but the Spanish might interpret like it is something good, but the same topic. So I'm seeing both perspectives.

## Interviewer:

How does that help you as an individual in your thinking?

## Participant 2F:

It helps me think on my own. Like what I think is better.
Interviewer:
What's better for you as an individual?
Participant 2F:
Yeah like, um like of the topic. Like what I think on it after seeing both perspectives.
Interviewer:
You mentioned that you had to translate for parent teacher conference?
Participant 2F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Did at anytime did you feel like that the teacher thought you were not going to say the truth about what she was telling you to tell your mom or your dad?

## Participant 2F:

Umm, no I think I was pretty trusted because they know me and I'm not like that. And it's not like there was nothing I needed to lie about.
Interviewer:
You were a good...
Participant 2F:
I am a good student.
Interviewer:
I'm intrigued about that question because I think sometimes people look at us like, like since they don't understand what were saying and maybe we are sugarcoating the truth and maybe we are not saying a whole lot if we are in trouble. Or kind of if were in this much in trouble, we are saying we are this much in trouble and we are making it much smaller than what it is, so that we don't get in big trouble by our parents. That's very interesting. Have there been times where you thought your parents were going to ask you to interpret for them and they didn't?

## Participant 2F:

Umm sometimes. With my dad like cause he works and like he has to engage with people who talk English. And one day I went with him and I thought that maybe he was going to ask me, but he was able to do it himself.
Interviewer:
How did that make you feel?
Participant 2F:
I was proud of him because now he knows more than he did before.
Interviewer:
Than he did before. What did you do to prepare yourself just in case he asked you?

## Participant 2F:

I was listening to the conversation and I was thinking of what to say just in case he did ask me.

## Interviewer:

I'm always curious about people who are bilingual. Are they when you speak English are you thinking in Spanish and when they are speaking Spanish are you thinking in English. Does that happen to you?

## Participant 2F:

Umm sometimes. Cause like I think of something in English and I end up saying it in Spanish or I start speaking Spanglish and I mix the two together.

## Interviewer:

Ok, let's see. You have two other sisters. You have an older sister and then a younger sister.
Participant 2f:
Yeah, older sister and younger sister.
Interviewer:
I'm assuming that the older sister how old is she?

## Participant 2F:

Nineteen.
Interviewer:
Nineteen, does she still live here?
Participant 2F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
I'm assuming that she was the first one to translate or interpret for your parents, am I right?
Participant 2F:
Umm. [thinking]
Interviewer:
Or was it you?
Participant 2F:
I'm not sure if it was me or her because she was older when we came here. And so it was harder for her to learn English, but when I came here I was young and I could, like I got the language quick. It wasn't really hard for me, but um like maybe when we were in school. I think that maybe it was harder for her and they had to call someone in so that they can interpret. But for me I already knew it better, so I didn't really have to. I could just do it myself.

## Interviewer:

Is she able to translate and interpret now?
Participant 2F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah. Have you helped her in a way with that?
Participant 2F:
Umm.
Interviewer:
Or has she learned on her own at this point?
Participant:
Yeah she learned on her own.
Interviewer:
What about your younger sister, does she engage in any interpreting or translating?
Participant 2F:
Yeah, sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes. Ok cool and how do like, when either of them see you translate, um I think that we can say probably like your older sister because she didn't have or didn't grasp the language really fast, when she saw you interpret how do you think she felt?
Participant 2F:
Umm.
Interviewer:
Or did she look at you different?
Participant 2F:
I don't know maybe she was just happy that she didn't have to do it.
Interviewer:
Oh let her do it. Ok do you think that maybe you influenced her to learn the, try to learn English so that...
Participant 2F:
We'll I think she kind of had to because we were here now and everywhere she went it was just English. So she had to learn more.
Interviewer:
So overall, do you like, if you had to be bilingual again would you be a bilingual?
Participant 2F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You would, why?
Participant 2F:

Well because I think that it is something to be proud of and I'm happy being bilingual. I think it'll help me more and I feel like I'm, like a unique because I know a lot more than a lot of other people do and I'm more informed.
Interviewer:
Great! Let me think if I have anything else to ask you. Ok um, I think that's pretty much it. Do you have any questions for me?
Participant 2F:
I don't think so.
End of conversation Participant 2F

## Participant 3F

## Beginning of conversation

Interviewer:
Okay, so I'm going to start off by asking you just some questions about you and your family okay? Nothing like outrageous. So how old are you?
Participant 3F:
Twelve.
Interviewer:
Ok twelve. Oh and I'm going to write stuff down so don't feel intimidated or like I'm writing something bad or anything. Just in case this fails [the recorder], I have some notes written down. Ok um were you born in Arizona?

## Participant 3F:

No.
Interviewer:
No. Where were you born?
Participant 3F:
Mexico.
Interviewer:
Mexico and where?
Participant 3F:
Sonora.
Interviewer:
Sonora. How old were you when you came?
Participant 3F:
Like about three, um about to be four
Interviewer:
About to be four, three and half you would say. Ok, how many sisters do you have?
Participant 3F:
Two older sisters, yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, let's see and what language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 3F:
At home I speak Spanish mainly.
Interviewer:
Ok and which members of your family that live with you only speak Spanish?
Participant 3F:
My mom and my dad.
Interviewer:
Your mom and your dad and then which speak both English and Spanish?
Participant 3F:
Umm my two bigger sisters.
Interviewer:
Ok, are you ever asked to translate or interpret for members of your family?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Imterviewer:
Yeah, um who are they?
Participant 3F:
My mom and my dad.
Interviewer:
Your mom and your dad. Do you ever get asked to interpret for anybody else aside from your mom and your dad?
Participant 3F:
No.
Interviewer:
Just them two?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah um, what like, how do you interpret for them? Like is it when you go to a particular place or they um get something in the mail or how do you, how does it look like?
Participant 3F:
Um, sometimes it's in the mail. They get a letter that's in English, sometimes they get a call that's in English I translate sometimes. Interviewer:
Okay so um, what kind of letters do they get, bills?
Participant 3F:
Bills and like, like I don't know from like stuff that they have to pay sometimes or the internet

## Interviewer:

Or the internet?

[^0]
## Participant 3F:

Cause like I'm not sure its correct what I'm telling my mom. Like I don't know how to translate very good. I don't know how to tell her in the words.
Interviewer:
Oh so finding the right words to say it.
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So umm how do you think your mom feels?
Participant 3F:
She gets mad.
Interviewer:
She gets mad?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So and how do you feel when she gets mad?
Participant 3F:
I don't know.[hesitates to answer]
Interviewer:
You don't know. So um have you ever translated for them like for your mom and your dad out in like in a public area?
Participant 3F:
No.

## Interviewer:

No, so it's always here at home?

## Participant 3F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
So um who translate for them when they or you guys are outside?
Participant 3F:
I don't know.
Interviewer:
Not you?
Participant 3F:
No.
Interviewer:
No. Do you happen to always have your other sister or one of your older sisters with you all the time when you guys are going out together?
Participant 3F:
We mainly stay at home and my mom and dad go.

## Interviewer:

Umm ok umm, let's see. So do you feel pressure when you translate?

## Participant 3F:

Yeah.

## Interviewer:

A lot of pressure why?

## Participant 3F:

Because I don't know how to. Like I don't know. I just feel pressured [looked frustrated].
Interviewer:
Okay um so like at school, have you ever translated at school for your parents?

## Participant 3F:

At school, well parent teacher conferences. I talk to my mom in Spanish.
Interviewer:
You talk to your mom in Spanish. How does your teacher look at you? Does she look at you in awe like "Oh wow! Look she's
translating" or does she look at you "My gosh is she telling the truth"?
Participant 3F:
No, no she just like is, cause my school is bilingual, and we have to speak for one semester we have to speak Spanish and the next semester we have to speak English, so they make us speak Spanish and she, the teacher, makes us do stuff like in Spanish.
Interviewer:
So you, you have to like be able do both languages. Do you like that?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah you do, why?
Participant 3F:
Because I read this article that bilingual students can do like more, they could take in information more than monolinguals.

## Interviewer:

Wow, so that makes you unique, huh?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Wow you can take in a lot more information, give her all this information?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you think that, like when you are given that chance, like your saying you don't really do it a whole lot like in public, you don't do it, if you do it's here at home, umm or maybe at parent teacher conference, do you feel that you are gaining some type of skill?

## Participant 3F:

## No.

Interviewer:
You're not gaining a skill?

## Participant 3F:

No I don't really think about it.
Interviewer:
You don't really think about it? Ok so do you feel different than those that don't speak? To all of the people you go to school with, do they all speak English and Spanish or are there people that are monolinguals?
Participant 3F:
There's mostly people that speak Spanish and English. There's a little bit of monolinguals.
Interviewer:
Do you feel different than the monolinguals, you feel the same?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, even though you can speak Spanish and English, you still feel the same?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok. Like have you spoken Spanish and English at the same time with someone that doesn't speak English right next to you like a
friend?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What do they think or have they told you anything?
Participant 3F:
Umm no.
Interviewer:
No, so there kind of like just, just, they listen to you but they just, just, don't say anything?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah.
Participant 3F:
Yeah cause some of them are in the English/Spanish programs and they are learning Spanish too. My friends that speak, they're
learning,

## Interviewer:

Even though they just are consider monolinguals, they're still learning how to speak Spanish and what and what do they think? Do they think it's a good idea to learn how to speak Spanish or they just have to cause, do they just, they tell you that it's hard?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And what do you tell them?
Participant 3F:
Nothing.
Interviewer:
You're just like no, no, it's not hard?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
It's easy. Ok umm, let's see, let's see do you feel that um maybe, you know, maybe like you mentioned, maybe you really haven't thought about it? You know, do you think that being able to speak two languages will that help you as you get older?

## Participant 3F:

Umm, yeah.
Interviewer:

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Yeah, why?
Participant 3F:
Umm because umm when I get a job I will be able to speak to people who only speak Spanish and people who only speak English,
and translate.
Interviewer:
Ok so, um how are you, you feel like you are going to better help your family too?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, ok umm, you have your older sisters um and they're bilingual too?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Um, do they give you any tips on how to be better at, at translating or interpreting?
Participant 3F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, do you see them as a role model possibly?
Participant 3F:
Umm, my bigger sister.
Interviewer:
Your bigger sister, what makes her your role model?
Participant 3F:
I don't know, she's cool.
Interviewer:
But like when have you seen her like interpret or translate and um, is there anything that you like to follow that she's does?
Participant 3F:
In translating?
Interviewer:
Yes.
Participant 3F:
Yeah, she does it clearly.
Interviewer:
She does it clearly. Ok um, let see the like the rest of your family members, the extended family do they ever come and visit?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
They do. Do they speak English or Spanish?
Participant 3F:
Spanish.
Interviewer:
Do you ever have to translate for them?
Participant 3F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, so you communicate with them in Spanish?
Participant 3F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, do you have any questions for me or anything?
Participant 3F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, ok great.
Ending of conversation participant 3F
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## Participant 4M

## Beginning conversation

Interviewer:
So I'm just going to start off by asking you some questions about you and your family. Some very generic questions um, how old are you?
Participant 4M:
I'm twelve.
Interviewer
Twelve, ok um were you born in Arizona?
Participant 4M:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes, ok how many brothers um and or sisters do you have?
Participant 4M:
I have two sisters.
Interviewer:
Two sisters, are they older than you or younger than you?
Participant 4M:
Older.
Interviewer:
Older, what are their ages?
Participant 4M:
One of them is thirteen and the other one is eighteen.
Interviewer:
Eighteen. What language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 4M:
Spanish but I communicate with my sisters in English.
Interviewer:
You communicate in English with them. Which members of your family that live with you only speak Spanish and which speak English?
Participant 4M:
My mom and my dad and my two sisters talk both Spanish and English.
Interviewer:
So they're, so they're all, of them are bilingual, basically they speak English?
Participant 4M:
My mom and my dad don't speak English, they speak Spanish.
Interviewer:
They only speak Spanish and then your sisters are the ones that speak both English and Spanish?
Participant 4M:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Ok, have you ever been asked to translate or interpret?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, um can you tell me about that experience?

## Participant 4M:

Sometimes we are at you know shopping. Sometimes when the clerks talk to my mom, she doesn't really understand what their saying. So she's like "what they say []" and I tell her what they said in Spanish.
Interviewer:
Does it only happen when you guys go shopping or do you have to do it during other times like Dr. Appointments or other important stuff?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Other important stuff, like what kind of important stuff?
Participant 4M:
Sometimes the Drs., not so many because they also have bilingual people that translate
Interviewer:
That help there?
Participant 4M:
And sometimes I do help her and hmmm.
Interviewer:
Do you ever help her during the phone, like phone conversations or if she gets a phone call that she doesn't understand?
Participant 4M:
No, not really.

## Interviewer:

Not really. Ok or online does she know how to use the internet?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, do you help her online no, she just jumps on and does it?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok awesome. Ok um how old were you when you had your first experience do you remember that?

## Participant 4M:

No, I was really young.
Interviewer:
You don't, you were really young?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, but I guess you were young enough to what five, six, seven?
Participant 4M:
Oh when I learned English?
Interviewer:
No, the first time that you ever helped her translate.
Participant 4M:
Oh, that was like about hmmm a year or two ago.
Interviewer:
A year, two ago, you probably, your twelve right now, you were about ten?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
About ten years old. How did you feel that first time?
Participant 4M:
I was like "mom you need to go to English classes please!"
Interviewer:
And what did she tell you?

## Participant 4M:

She was like "Yeah I want to." She's thinking of going to the college over there to take English classes and she was telling me that. I don't know when it's her first class is though.
Interviewer:
Did you feel embarrassed? Did you feel uncomfortable?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why did you feel uncomfortable or embarrassed?

## Participant 4M:

Cause umm, I don't know. Just to see that my other friends' mom talk English all perfect. And everyone around me also talks English and then my mom not understanding something that they're telling her and asking me to tell it for her, and then what they tell me I have to tell her. Like that that's why I felt like that.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that sometimes like maybe, do you like, it's because you have to use certain words that you don't know or is that why it kind of gets a little...

## Participant 4M:

No.
Interviewer:
No, ok so you never have you ever messed up when you translated for her?
Participant 4M:
Hmmm sometimes, not often.
Interviewer:
Sometimes, does she know that you messed up?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, how does she know?
Participant 4M:
Cause I'm like "aw that's not the word" and I have to ask what the word is again and try to figure out what word it is in Spanish to tell it to her.

## Interviewer:

Do you find yourself, that you sometimes you're thinking in English to speak in Spanish and then to speak in English you're thinking in Spanish?
Participant 4M:
Umm, yeah sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes. Ok um, how do you think like, look back at all those times you have helped your mom out or your dad or um because
those are the only people you help?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You don't help anybody else like your relatives like your aunts or uncles?

## Participant 4M:

No, not really.
Interviewer:
Not really. Um in those times when you did it like in public, how did you feel? Like the other people like looked at you, like did they look at you funny or did they like or were they like "wow, that kid"?

## Participant 4M:

No.
Interviewer:
No. You didn't notice anything like they were looking at you even the person that you were speaking to, we're they just was there any emotion from their behalf no?

## Participant 4M:

Not really.
Interviewer:
Not really, you didn't notice anything?
Participant 4M:
No.
Interviewer:
Nothing, ok um let's see. Have you ever spoken to, with your mom or your dad about how you translate and have they ever said anything like "Hey you're doing a good job"?

## Participant 4M:

No.
Interviewer:
They've never said anything, no. So do you feel like you have to translate at times?
Participant 4M:
Yeah, yeah.
Interviewer:
Like is it forced, do you have a choice or you don't?
Participant 4M:
I have a choice.
Interviewer:
You have a choice?
Participant 4M:
They don't force me.
Interviewer:
They don't force you?
Participant 4M:
And my parents already know how to talk a little bit of English, but not a lot.
Interviewer:
So it's more like they don't feel confident and that is when you step in?
Participant 4M:
Yeah and help them.
Interviewer:
Ok, so um what do you do, do you let them talk sometimes first?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And then what do you do in the meantime, are you, is there something, are you paying attention or are you listening?

## Participant 4M:

Yeah, I'm listening to what she's saying. If she's saying the word correctly or not. If she's not, well that's where I help her.

## Interviewer:

That is where you jump in. So you find yourself that you are developing that listening skill too?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Because you have to pay attention just in case she gets stuck?

## Participant 4M:

Uhum.
Interviewer:
Cool, ok um, let's see. What would happen do you think if, if there was, if your parents didn't have anybody that would help them um in translating or interpreting for them? What do you think they would, would they try to find somebody or?

## Participant 4M:

They'll probably would want to go to the English classes even more happily if they had no one to translate for them. They should of probably know how to talk English better.

## Interviewer:

They would probably push themselves to learn more of the language?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Because they would find themselves that there is no one to help them. Ok, um, um, how do you feel when you translate? What emotions do you feel when you're doing it? Is there something that you feel when you're doing it?

## Participant 4M:

Nothing.

## Interviewer:

There's no emotion. You don't feel happy? You don't feel sad? You don't feel nervous or angry?

## Participant 4M:

When I first started translating, I felt a little embarrassed, angry because I was like "mom just go learn the English so that I don't have to keep translating for you, so that you can do it by yourself." That is how I felt when I was younger, but now I don't really feel like that no more. I feel just normal.

## Interviewer:

You feel normal.

## Participant 4M:

Yeah, normal child just helping their parents out. That's how I felt.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel different than the rest of your friends? Do your other friends translate or interpret too?

## Participant 4M:

Some of them, not most of them.
Interviewer:
Some of them?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So do you feel that you are unique in some way or your?
Participant 4M:
Not really.
Interviewer:
You're experiencing something different than other people don't have the ability to experience?

## Participant 4M:

Yeah, kind of.
Interviewer:
Kind of why?
Participant 4M:
Because for example, I have a friend that lives like right there and he doesn't talk Spanish. So they, he has never translated for anybody and out of all my friends, I only think two of them translate for their parents. I feel unique in a way. Having the ability to help my peers out.
Interviewer:
Your peers, um has, has, your friend ever told you, has he seen you in action like translating and interpreting no?
Participant 4M:
(shakes head)

## Interviewer:

Ok, um do you feel like its stressful?

## Participant 4M:

No.

## Interviewer:

You don't feel stress when you're translating? In the beginning did you feel stressed?

## Participant 4M:

Yeah, cause I didn't know the words that they were telling me in the English and how to translate it into Spanish, and I was like what does that word mean and I had to think and sometimes I even ask my sisters to help me.

## Interviewer:

Did they... so do when you like were younger, did they tell you, did your mom tell you "Hey tomorrow were going to the doctor and I may need your help?"

## Participant 4M:

No.
Interviewer:
No, they never told you? Was it something like ok here help me?

## Participant 4M:

No, only sometimes. They were going somewhere and I went with them and they got stuck trying to say something. That's when I would help them.
Interviewer:
You would help them?
Participant 4M:
But they never told me "oh lets go to help."
Interviewer:
It was kind of like, you were surprised, like when they would tell you? In a way it was kind of a surprise you would say or you already
knew that it was going to happen?
Participant 4M:
It was kind of like a surprise.
Interviewer:
It was a surprise, but you were ready for the surprise?
Participant 4M:
Yeah, I was ready.
Interviewer:
You were already ready because you were listening?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok um, do you feel like in some way this has built your confidence as someone you that can speak two languages and being placed in a situation like that?

## Participant 4M:

Yeah, confidence.
Interviewer:
Do you know what confidence means yeah? (Gave a blank look)
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok um do you feel like you're ahead of the game from all of your friends who don't speak English, I mean that don't speak Spanish?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 4M:
Because I'm developing the ability to talk Spanish even more fluently by helping them. And my friends don't really know much
Spanish, so I'm more advanced than them because I've been speaking Spanish for as long as I can remember and yeah that's how I
feel.
Interviewer:
Ok um, do you feel like developing this skill will help you when you get older?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How will it help you?
Participant 4M:
Cause well, what I have heard people that are dual language have more opportunity in getting a good job and, yeah.

## Interviewer:

And that is one of the reason why you want to continue to learn Spanish and speak it fluently. Um have you noticed that anything like because you've been doing this that, um you have seen something change in you? Maybe you see things differently than other people that don't do it or you experience life a little bit differently than others do at your age?

## Participant 4M:

Not really.
Interviewer:
Not really, ok. So um parent teacher conferences, who translates?

## Participant 4M:

The teacher.

## Interviewer:

So they talk in Spanish to your parents?

## Participant 4M:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Has there ever been a teacher where they didn't speak Spanish?

## Participant 4M:

Yeah, my science teacher.

## Interviewer:

Your science teacher. Did you have to interpret what she said to your parents?

## Participant 4M:

No, cause most recently my parents are learning to understand it better. So they kind of know what they're talking about and then they rephrase it to them like in Spanish. And yeah, they'll be like that, this, or no, that's not it and that's where I come in and help them.

## Interviewer:

When you help them, how do your teachers see you? Do they see you like you know um "oh so and so is helping them, wow that's a
good skill?"
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do they tell you anything afterwards like when they see you in class the next day like great job or?

## Participant 4M:

No, sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes.
Participant 4M:
Not really.
Interviewer:
Or do they tell you "did you tell the truth when you translated"? I don't think you get in trouble probably?
Participant 4M:
No.
Interviewer:
You're like no, I'm a good student.
Participant 4M:
They tell me that.
Interviewer:
Ok um, let see, so you said you had two older sisters. So um, do they both speak Spanish and English, I'm assuming that the oldest one before your parents spoke or understood a lot of English, she was the one that was probably doing a lot of the translating?

## Participant 4M:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Did you like, do you consider her kind of a role model for translating or interpreting? Did you learn something from her?
Participant 4M:
Cause she stopped translating, she doesn't translate so often anymore, I haven't seen her translate that much anymore.
Interviewer:
Does she give you any pointers?
Participant 4M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, nothing has she seen you translate?
Participant 4M:
No, no, sometimes when we go to the store and she is with us.
Interviewer:
Does she ever tell you hey this is the word?
Participant 4M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, does she at least say hey great job no?

## Participant 4M:

No.
Interviewer:
Ok let's see, so um, do you feel like, um like when you saw your sister translate, you obviously saw her cause she's eighteen and your right now twelve, do you feel like she had a special position in the family at that time?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What kind of position did you see her? As more unique?

## Participant 4M:

More unique cause she when I was little, I didn't use to help them. I felt like they probably like her better than I do because she helps them more often, but now that I help them translating, I feel even with her.

## Interviewer:

Now you're even because you're doing the same thing she did?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Wow that's very interesting! What about the middle sister, does she give you like any tips?
Participant 4M:
No.
Interviewer:
Do you kind of help each other out at times?
Participant 4M:
No.
Interviewer:
Do you see her as you're even as well?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Because she does it, she translates too. Ok let's see, how do you think, like that being able to translate has influenced who you are today? Just compare it to, if you didn't have to do it, what would you say to somebody? My experience has changed me in this way.
What would you say?
Participant 4M:
Influencing the Spanish, I know how to talk it better now.
Interviewer:
And then you said you're listening?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you find yourself that you are a better listener than most people?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
When you're in class, are you more of a paying, you know, how to pay more close attention than other kids probably? And then is your mind constantly thinking are you always thinking?

## Participant 4M:

Not all the time but, yeah.
Interviewer:
Like when you're in class and you're listening...

## Participant 4M:

I'm catching it!
Interviewer:
Are you catching?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Everything in and having things process in your thinking about it?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So you participate a lot in class?
Participant 4M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You do, do, you raise your hand and talk or are you the silent one?
Participant 4M:
I raise my hand.
Interviewer:
You like to talk. Ok let see do you have a specific way of translating?

## Participant 4M:

## No.

Interviewer:
No, do you there's no specific way you just kind of jump in?

## Participant 4M:

Sometimes my mom asks me for help, that's when I jump in to help her. When someone is telling her something and she doesn't understand, she tells me to her help and I help her.
Interviewer:
How do you feel when you are at the store maybe or another, in a public place and there is someone that doesn't know how to speak English? How do you react to that? How do you feel? Do you feel like you need to help them or do you jump in and help if you see someone that doesn't speak English?
Participant 4M:
It really rare for me to see someone without someone translating for them. I don't really see people like that.
Interviewer:

Ok, do you have any questions for me?
Participant 4M:
No.
End of conversation Participant 4M

## Participant 5F

## Beginning of conversation.

Interviewer:
Okay so we are going to go ahead and start with some basic questions about you and your family.
Participant 5F:
Okay.
Interviewer:
And then we are just going to go ahead after that we are just kind of going to the conversation about your experience translating.
Participant 5F:
Ok.
Interviewer:
Ok, how old are you?
Participant 5F:
I am thirteen.
Interviewer:
Thirteen, were you born in Arizona?
Participant 5F:
Yes I was.
Interviewer:
Ok umm, how many brothers and/or sisters do you have?
Participant 5F:
I have two a brother and a sister.
Interviewer:
Ok so...
Participant 5F:
Middle child.
Interviewer:
You're the middle child?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
That's interesting. They always do a lot of research on the middle child. Let's see, what language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 5F:
Spanish
Interviewer:
And which members of your family that live with you only speak Spanish?
Participant 5F:
Umm, only speak Spanish?
Interviewer:
Yeah.
Participant 5F:
My parents.
Interviewer:
Your parents and which of umm the other I'm assuming the other members speak English and Spanish?
Participant 5F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Ok, let's see, have you ever been asked to translate or interpret?
Participant 5F:
Yes, many times.
Interviewer:
Many times?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How many times can you, too many times?
Participant 5F:
Yeah it's either by phone calls or by papers cards or in the stores asking questions to other people in their language, instead of my parents in Spanish
Interviewer:
Wow um, so basically you know, it's all the time like you said and it's through the phone as well?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah, sometimes.
Interviewer:
Like what kind of like phone calls, appointments?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Like appointment call?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah translating what they say to my parents and then my parents say to them. So yeah translating even through the phone and yeah. Or when we are like there helping her out with the English and translating back to her and then she tells me what to say to them. It's like a little triangle.

## Interviewer:

It's like a little triangle? Ok umm, legal papers, do you translate legal papers?

## Participant 5F:

At times, but my older sister...

## Interviewer:

Your older sister takes care of that?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you not feel comfortable dealing with the legal, no?

## Participant 5F:

No, what if I do something incorrect or make a mistake or I just let my older sister take care of those kind of papers. If it's not a big deal I will take care.

## Interviewer:

You will, ok. Can you remember the first time that you translated?

## Participant 5F:

No.

## Interviewer:

You don't remember?

## Participant 5F:

No umm, probably like in fourth grade usually the easy stuff.

## Interviewer:

Like what kind of easy stuff?

## Participant 5F:

Little notes they would leave in mails or they would leave outside the doors hanging, I would translate it because by then I was learning English so they would make me like practice and translate to them and yeah.

## Interviewer:

So they would make you practice?
Participant 5F:
Yeah, I had to practice cause um I didn't know my home language is Spanish and then I started speaking in dual language classes since kinder and then I wasn't very fluent in English. I had a hard time learning it. Kind of once I got used to it, then I really did help.

## Interviewer:

So your parents' kind of, they used the translating to kind of help you learn English, is that what you are trying to tell me?

## Participant 5F:

No, not kind of, I would use what I learned and then I would put that together and then I would translate that and if I got something incorrect my older sister would probably help me cause my parents are not that good.

## Interviewer:

So unconsciously you were probably practicing?

## Participant5F:

Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Practicing without making it official and without you knowing yeah?

## Participant 5F:

I will use what I know and I will help out.
Interviewer:
Yes, let's see how do you think your parents feel when they see you translating? Have they ever told you how they feel or do you notice how they feel?
Participant 5F:
Yeah, yeah, they feel proud.
Interviewer:
They feel proud?
Participant 5F:
Yes because they're not the ones speaking the language and then me helping them. I think it makes them feel proud of me and they really thank me for translating so that's a big thing also.
Interviewer:
Really? Wow! Do you see it in their faces?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Like do they light up, smile?

## Participant 5F:

## Yeah

Interviewer:
Do you ever feel like you are forced to translate, do you have an option?

## Participant 5F:

Hmm, yeah I have an option.

## Interviewer:

You have an option?
Participant 5F:
Most of the time I do it because I don't like being mean.
Interviewer:
You don't like being mean?
Participant 5F:
I help, I like helping my parents and other people.
Interviewer:
What do you think your parents would do if they didn't have you or even like your older sister or your brother to translate?
Participant 5F:
Oh my gosh! There would be problems.
Interviewer:
There would be problems?
Participant 5F:
Yeah cause most of the times it's us helping them translating or maybe they just wouldn't understand something correctly. So I think we help them alot when it comes to English parts.

## Interviewer:

Do you think maybe or have they expressed that they want to learn how to speak English?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah, my mom because she has a book that translates like you read a word and it says it in English and then in Spanish and how to pronounce it. So yeah, I think they would try to learn because my mom has said she wants to go and learn it, but I don't know what's going on.

## Interviewer:

Could it be or part of the reason that she wants to learn is because you guys help her so much or because she wants to feel...
Participant 5F:
Yeah she wants to feel because she has friends that only speak English. And then I just think it's a better way to communicate since most of the people in the businesses are not like double language, so I think that's a big part of why she wants to learn it.
Interviewer:
Because you can't always be there?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

She kind of wants to be independent?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
That's good. How about your dad?
Participant 5F:
My dad he tries.
Interviewer:
He tries...
Participant 5F:
Yeah, umm he's kind of better at understanding it. If he reads something, he'll tell us what he read and its pretty accurate.

## Interviewer:

But when it comes to speaking?
Participant 5F:
He's kind of there. He's trying...
Interviewer:
Doesn't feel confident?
Participant 5F:
No, not really. Probably because he doesn't have an option.
Interviewer:
How do you think like other people think or perceive you when you are translating for your parents? Have you ever noticed like when they talk to your mom first and then you come in and start?

## Participant 5F:

Sometimes people are rude and others have patience and others just keep talking and I'm trying to translate everything back and then she tells me and I tell them and they tell me long stories. But some people give me time to tell them everything and others are not
patient.
Interviewer:
Do they give you dirty looks or?

## Participant 5F:

Their faces are kind of like scared. They give me these weird faces.

## Interviewer:

So they are not "aww or like this little girl is translating"? They are kind of like just hurry up.

## Participant 5F:

Yeah. They give me that look that is pressuring me hurry up and say everything and so we can get moving especially when there are long lines their faces are not that pretty so...
Interviewer:
That leads into pressure to translate, you say that you feel pressured?
Participant 5F:
At times, not most of the time, it's like ok I will help you do this and then take it slow so she understands everything correctly and I make sure to tell her everything that I can tell her. And then pressure, pressure only at times like I said there are some people that are not very patient when it comes to translating but most of the time they are.

## Interviewer:

How do you feel when you're translating? What emotions do you feel?

## Participant 5F:

Sometimes I feel really happy to know that I was born here and I learned to both languages at an early age and I can help others.
Because not only do I help with my parents, but I help my aunts, uncles, grandma and sometimes even help my friends.

## Interviewer:

Oh so you do help your extending family? How do they like come and ask you or do you or how does that work?

## Participant 5F:

When I'm around them and they don't understand something, I help them. Sometimes they just come and say can you translate all this, uh I guess so.

## Interviewer:

Do they catch you off guard? You are on a visit and they just come out and with the papers?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah, sometimes they will be "will you help me translate this?" and I would be "yeah I guess."

## Interviewer:

Do you feel uncomfortable when they catch you off guard?

## Participant 5F:

No, not really I'm kind of used to it already.
Interviewer:
You're kind of used to already?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So it happens more often, let's say you go to your aunts house, do you expect to find that maybe she is going to tell you?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah sometimes. Sometimes I'm already expecting it when I see mail on the table...
Interviewer:
Do they just have the stack waiting for you?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do they have any children that are bilingual themselves or...
Participant 5F:
Yeah mostly my cousins are older already so they're like in college or university and then some of them won't just help.
Interviewer:
How do you feel towards those that don't want to help?
Participant 5F:
It sad because it's for their parents and if it wasn't for their parents they wouldn't know English. So it's sad and upsetting.
Interviewer:
Do you tell them anything?
Participant 5F:
Yeah why won't you help your mom or your dad they are doing this for you? Why don't you help?
Interviewer:
What do they say?
Participant 5F:
They just look at me like what's wrong with you, you are only an eighth grader.
Interviewer:
I could understand the college students maybe they live on campus or they're not at home...

## Participant 5F:

They're busy...

## Interviewer:

I could understand that, but they live at home and they won't help. I think it's interesting because I would probably say "Hey why don't you help your parents I'm here to visit you not to translate."

## Participant 5F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that you have gained special skills?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah, yeah, um when it comes to translating it has become way much easier now like to read everything through, process it, and tell them everything like most of the information and just go back. Like for example if its dates they have to know, I just go back and pull that out and tell them or I help by reading it through with them. That makes them feel safer that all the information they are receiving is accurate in the paper
Interviewer:
So do you find yourself sometimes when you're speaking in Spanish thinking in English?
Participant 5F:
Yeah when it goes through my mind I say something to them like I try some times I mess up and say it English and they just look at me like ok and then I just like say it in Spanish all embarrassed.

## Interviewer:

So have you developed any other skills from translating?
Participant 5F:
Yeah when it comes to writing cards in Spanish or writing essays. Now we are in the Spanish section at my school it's like there's alot of Spanish. So I guess that has helped me reading it through and then writing it. I guess that helps.

## Interviewer:

Do you have to write it with accents and all that?

## Participant 5F:

Right now the teachers are not big focusing on that because my teachers said that you will never know where the accent goes. It's better to look up the word in the dictionary and then just get the accents from there. So no, they haven't really taught me. There some words I do know based on what I read but they haven't taught me.

## Interviewer:

Oh.
Participant 5F:
Yeah there are some words I know in English but I don't know how to say in Spanish, so I have to think it through and try to see what it means to them and try to find the word in Spanish but other than that.

## Interviewer:

Interesting, School the first semester is in English the other half in Spanish. What happens when there are kids who only speak in English? do you think those classes have helped you expand your vocabulary, to assist you?

## Participant 5F:

They sit us with different members, so they rotate our tables so that we all get the chance to be with someone different and there's several students in my homeroom personally that only speak English but I guess based off their background they have Spanish members that speak it but they don't speak it. So they put them in dual language. Like my teachers makes us dual language people help them read. Like right now I'm sitting with a girl they makes us read book altogether in teams of four and there's three of us that are dual language and if there is a word that she doesn't understand, we help her you know, it means this and this is how you pronounce. Sometimes we get people that kind of speak English and this means that we have to help them read English books and help them how to read them.

## Interviewer:

Wow, you are interpreting or translating like at school, as well as in the home too.

## Participant 5F:

Yeah it becomes natural for me to translate.
Interviewer:
So do your friends come over and ask you to translate for them too or friends of the family?

## Participant 5F:

No mostly at school and the family.

## Interviewer:

That's interesting because you're doing it at school unconsciously but you're doing it at school.
Participant 5F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Have you noticed if you have changed over time because of these experiences?

## Participant 5F:

I think it has helped me develop as a person and who I am because um I guess because I'm more comfortable around people that speak the same language as I do or that are bilingual as well. And when we are together, we can actually speak any language without us having to feel left out that we don't know what others are saying about us. And I guess it has helped me as a person learning both languages.

## Interviewer:

Maybe sometimes, do you expect to help all the time when you go out with your, let's say shopping or to a restaurant. Do you expect to like assume the interpreting role or do you just wait for it?

## Participant 5F:

I wait for it.
Interviewer:
And how do you wait for it?

## Participant 5F:

I just get near to where they talk and then if they need help I m just like this and I go and help.

## Interviewer:

Does that mean that you pay close attention?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah to what their saying yeah. I'm mostly around them when they're talking and then I go in and help.

## Interviewer:

Does it come natural that when you go to places that you are always paying attention to what the conversation is?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah in case they need help.
Interviewer:
Do you find yourself developing a listening skill and has that helped you in your school?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah around my teacher when she speaks on accident in Spanish like in my math in my algebra class I have to translate it to people that don't know it or they are some words that I don't understand that others help me it just helps.

## Interviewer:

So do you find yourself participating more through listening because you know that at some point you will have to like translate so
you listen attentively?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you participate more by listening or vocally?
Participant 5F:
Vocally yeah, sometimes because if the words sometimes they are really hard. When I'm at home since my siblings, we mostly speak
English with one another.

## Interviewer:

You're the middle child you were saying obviously your sister did the translating before you were ready?

## Participant 5F:

Yes.
Interviewer:
Has she ever watched you in action?
Participant 5F:
Yes
Interviewer:
Does she ever tell you anything?

## Participant 5F:

Yes she will be like "that's not it, it's this" and then she helps me and I'm "okay I'm sorry." Yeah most of the time when she is near me she does she like here but sometimes I outsmart her.

## Interviewer:

Does she give you any tips?
Participant 5F:
she says read one paragraph translate that one read another paragraph and translate that one because if you do it all together you might forget something so I guess just read one paragraph at a time and I guess that really does help.

## Interviewer:

Does she tell you anything else, maybe like nonverbal behavior what to do with yourself when translating like look at them in the eye or...

## Participant 5F:

No not really. I guess it's just a natural thing.

## Interviewer:

Do you see her as a role model?
Participant 5F:
Yes I guess she influences me alot when it comes to being dual language speaker because she is my older sister. Because most of the stuff I know I get it from her. I guess I do see her as a role model towards me when it comes to speaking or doing something around the house.
Interviewer:
If you get stuck you know that you can go to her as well.
Participant 5F:
Yeah and that she'll really help me.
Interviewer:
What about your brother? He's younger. Do you see yourself as a role model for him?
Participant 5F:
Yes if he wants to.
Interviewer:
Do you translate more than he does?
Participant 5F:
Yes, way more yes I guess because I'm more around my parents and he's more individual. My parents pick on me more to translate more than he does.

## Interviewer:

Do you think maybe that it's because you're next in line?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah because when my sister is not around, they pick me and there's sometimes that I don't want to translate, that he helps. He thinks that he can do it.
Interviewer:
You don't like to translate?
Participant 5F:
No if it's an important card I don't want to translate because what if the whole thing goes wrong. I rather stick to small papers and not big or long ones.
Interviewer:
Have you ever messed up?
Participant 5F:
Yeah and I go back and wait it's not that.
Interviewer:
Does anyone else notice?
Participant 5F:
No, just me because then I look at the paper and I see that I said something wrong then I'll reread it.
Interviewer:
You'll acknowledge that you did wrong?
Participant 5F:
Yeah I'm confident when it comes to doing translations for them. I'm confident.
Interviewer:
So your open to I mess up sometimes.
Participant 5F:
Yeah I don't try to hide. I know that I messed up so.
Interviewer:
Like in your family there's three of you, do you feel that you are in a special spot or in special position?
Participant 5F:
Yeah since I'm the middle child I sometimes get spoiled that's real special thing.
Interviewer:
When your sister was around, did you feel that she had a special spot because she interpreted or translated?
Participant 5F:
Yeah and if I tried to help she wouldn't let me.
Interviewer:
Why do you think she didn't let you?
Participant 5F:
Because I was young but...

## Interviewer:

Did you see it because you were young or is it now because you think I was young or how did you see it back then?

## Participant 5F:

I don't know I guess because I was not that good at speak, translating, speaking English and now I see it oh yes because I was young I could have messed up easily I guess it was that basically.

## Interviewer:

Did she assume the role of your parent at times because she interpreted?
Participant 5F:
Yeah, she did. Yeah she thought she was all this I guess she thinked that she had more power.
Interviewer:
Cause she was the oldest and interpreting for them?
Participant 5F:
Yes but then I came along and I made a miracle cause I helped around more than she does now.
Interviewer:
Wow, you surpassed the limits of interpreting?
Participant 5F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Now you want that power?
Participant 5F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like you have that power right now?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah because of translating I like translating. It's pretty fun to translate. There's days that I don't feel like translating, but I enjoy speaking both languages.
Interviewer:
Do you think that when you move away and go to college do you think your brother, you will have to give the power to him?

## Participant 5F:

Yes it will be pretty upsetting.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 5F:
I don't know I guess now they will rely on him more now.
Interviewer:
And that makes you feel sad that they won't rely on you anymore?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why cause you like helping?
Participant 5F:
Yeah its fun. When I move I guess he'll have the power.
Interviewer:
Or they will have to leave the stacks like at your aunts and you will have to.
Participant 5F:
Yeah I will come over. Don't you worry. Ill be back on the weekends.
Interviewer:
How do you think these experiences has influenced who you are today?
Participant 5F:
Yeah I think that it has made me a better person um not only because they say there are some people who pick on others because their home language like Spanish. Cause I notice there are Anglo-Saxons that pick on Mexicans because some just speak Spanish and I guess it's just nice to know that I'm able to help them without them getting hurt in their special language. I think it has made me a better person. I guess I'm more open towards helping others instead or just to myself. I was really independent. I don't really like
helping or getting help from others, but I now see it in a better place that I get to help. Nice to know that I can help others.
Interviewer:
You can help others. So when you see people that don't understand or speak English what do you do?
Participant 5F:
I ask them if they need help or if they need help translating.
Interviewer:
Do they look at you weird?
Participant 5F:
Yeah like where did you come from yeah I guess.
Interviewer:
Do they let you help them?
Participant 5F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

How do your parents feel about that? Have they seen you do that?

## Participant 5F:

Not really because she somewhere in the store and I'm somewhere else. She'll walk by and look at me like what are you doing there. I guess it's nice.
Interviewer:
It's nice to be able to help others.
Participant 5F:
Yeah without them getting hurt or picked on.
Interviewer:
If you had to do it again would you be a bilingual?
Participant 5F:
Yes, I like my both languages especially because I can be here and if I go out I can speak English or if I go to visit family in México I know that I can speak only Spanish to them. And just knowing two languages is a fun thing. I heard there are more opportunities when you are bilinguals and jobs so I want to learn another language.

## Interviewer:

You want to learn another language? So you want to be trilingual? What other language?

## Participant 5F:

French. I signed up for it in high school, so I'm looking forward to it next year.
Interviewer:
So you have a fascination with languages you can say?

## Participant 5F:

Yeah I want to learn sign language too.
End of conversation Participant 5F.

## Participant 6F

## Beginning of conversation.

Interviewer:
I'm going to go ahead and start by asking you some questions about your family and yourself. Nothing like out of the ordinary. How
old are you?
Participant 6F:
Twelve.
Interviewer:
Twelve. Were you born in Arizona?
Participant 6F:
No, I was born in Mexico.
Interviewer:
Where in Mexico?
Participant 6F:
Chihuahua.
Interviewer:
Chihuahua. At what age did they bring you to the United States?
Participant 6F:
Um, I was, I turned three when I came here.
Interviewer:
Oh three.
Participant 6F:
I was little.

## Interviewer:

Wow, you were probably too little to understand.

## Participant 6F:

Yeah like around two or three. I've been in school and everything.

## Interviewer:

Cool and how many brothers do you have?

## Participant 6F:

I have one brother and my mom is pregnant

## Interviewer:

And your mom is pregnant, wow. I was going to ask her about how far along is she?
Participant 6F:
She's four months, on March 12 they tell her what it is.
Interviewer:
How nice. How old is your brother again?
Participant 6F:
He's eight years old.
Interviewer:
Oh just like my daughter, who's eight. Ok what language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 6F:
At home I only speak Spanish because my mom and dad don't understand English, so just Spanish. Well my brother and I speak
English but with my mom I speak Spanish.

## Interviewer:

So both of them speak Spanish?

## Participant 6F:

Both of them speak Spanish.

## Interviewer:

When you guys came from Chihuahua, was there any other relatives here already or was it just you guys?

## Participant 6F:

No there was my dad's sister, mi tia
Interviewer:
Ok and that's it?
Participant 6F:
My dad's family, my mom has alot of friends.
Interviewer:
She has a lot friends. Cool. Let's see, so now I want you to kind of, we are going into your experience. And the point of this whole conversation is around, about your experience interpreting or translating for your parents. So do you remember when it was your first time when you interpreted or translated for your parents?
Participant 6F:
No I don't remember, not really.
Interviewer:
Were you little?

## Participant 6F:

Well no because I didn't know English until I started school. So it had to be when I started to understand Spanish really good. And it's still hard to translate because I get confused with some of the words. So I don't translate every single thing like, but I do cause my mom when she sometimes when they send us stuff from school and stuff, like I'll tell her like sometimes it's too hard to translate. So she'll just look over it and she'll understand some of the stuff though. Like I don't have to translate like all the paper, she understands some of it.

## Interviewer:

She understands some of it?

## Participant6F:

Like when, when she reads it, if I talk to her then she has no idea what I'm telling her.

## Interviewer:

So you started school probably at age five?

## Participant 6F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
I'm assuming, so were you expected maybe at age six, seven or even like your brother, were you already like maybe helping them out at age eight would you say?

## Participant 6F:

Probably not because it was more easier for him to translate. It's much easier for him to translate because he already knew some English when he started school and I didn't when I started off as nothing.
Interviewer:
As nothing?
Participant 6F:
I didn't know anything, so I had to learn.
Interviewer:
So you were kind of like almost like your parents? If they would give you a paper it was still difficult for you to still understand what was being told to you?

## Participant 6F:

Yeah it was hard in kinder because I didn't really understand anything. Like in first grade I understood, yeah.

## Interviewer:

When you had your parent teacher conferences, do you remember that, when your parents would go and talk to the teacher? Who would translate for them?

## Participant 6F:

She would ask for someone to come and translate. Some of the teachers has assistants there or some of my teachers speak Spanish but in kinder my teacher speaks Spanish and in first and second she was African American, so she didn't understand anything Spanish. So she would have assistants and like in first and second grade I could translate some of the stuff.

## Interviewer:

You could translate some of the stuff?

## Participant 6F:

But my mom didn't trust me when she would ask the teacher how did I act in class, that I would tell her another thing.

## Interviewer:

So your mom wouldn't trust that you would say the real thing I guess you can say? I don't want to say that you were going to lie.

## Participant 6F:

Cause I used to get in trouble because I used to talk too much when I was little, so she told me that once I told her she told my mom how I was doing and then my mom said what did she say and then I told her that I was doing good and it wasn't.
Interviewer:
And it wasn't true?
Participant 6F:
Not that I had bad grades but...
Interviewer:
That you were talking but you didn't tell her that the teacher said that you were talking a lot? You just told her that you were doing good? Did she ever find out?

## Participant 6F:

Yeah, she did. I don't remember that. She probably got me in trouble.
Interviewer:
But your mom didn't tell you anything like she didn't get angry or anything like that?
Participant 6F:
She got angry because I lied to her but yeah...
Interviewer:
Then she kind of was like ok?
Participant 6F:
Yeah, like just don't do that.
Interviewer:
Does she still trust you or how long did it take for her to trust you again to translate?
Participant 6F:
No, it didn't take long.

## Interviewer:

Ok.

## Participant 6F:

It was just a mistake.
Interviewer:
It was just a mistake?
Participant 6F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, so that funny. Let's see. How do you think your parents feel when you translate for them?

## Participant 6F:

Ummm, I think sometimes my mom gets like not angry but like frustrated because she, cause I can't translate everything. And I get frustrated too because sometimes I get mad when she tells me to translate. And then I think about it and that it's hard for them cause they don't know English. So I try to translate my best but I don't know like every single thing and it's hard. It's easier for my brother. I don't know how it's so easy.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel like you're responsible for translating like your responsible?
Participant 6F:
Well in some ways yeah and in other ways like cause yea because they don't understand it. I guess they count on me to tell them and sometimes I just, I can't and well yeah [her voice fades].
Interviewer:
How do you feel when you can't?
Participant 6F:
Frustrated.
Interviewer:
Frustrated?
Participant 6F:
Yeah cause I get mad. Cause sometimes they get mad cause I tell them why can't she learn English because it's really hard for me to translate, but like when we are at the store and stuff. I will translate stuff. I will try my best to translate.

## Interviewer:

So you translate like at school, you translate like at stores. Do you translate for like for important stuff? Important stuff maybe stuff like bills you know? Looking at bills or getting like um like your telephone or cell phone hooked up or um a light bill or electricity? Participant 6F:
Sometimes when they send bills yeah I translate it for her. Sometimes she says that she doesn't understand me and when I read it, it's just confusing for me. I know how to translate some stuff, but sometimes she has to call it to understand. And then like when we were trying to put internet, I had internet, but we didn't have Wi-Fi and my mom bought the router.

## Interviewer:

The router?

## Participant 6F:

And my mom wanted me to install it and it was hard for me because there were alot of words that I had no idea how to say them in Spanish. So and ${ }^{* * *}$ had to help me because I needed someone to explain it to her. So she had to explain it her.

## Interviewer:

So basically if you can't answer or explain it to her, your mom goes elsewhere to find the solution to help her. How does that make you feel when she has to go somewhere else?

## Participant 6F:

It makes me feel like um like you can't hold me accountable cause I can't do that and she has to look for another option. So it makes me feel like I have to learn how to translate because it hard for them.

## Interviewer:

So you kind of feel pressured at that point?
Participant 6F:
Sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes, um would you say that you feel that you have a choice to translate then?

## Participant 6F:

Sometimes. Cause I have to listen to her if he tells me to.

## Interviewer:

Sometimes you feel that you are forced to translate?

## Participant 6F:

Well I thought if I really can't, then I don't have to, but I do translate when she tells me. I try my best cause I can imagine how they feel if they didn't know or they have someone telling them something in English and they have no idea what she telling them.
Interviewer:
Have you ever spoken together like you and your parents about your experience about your translating?

## Participant 6F:

Not really, but yeah. When she tells me what's so hard for me to translate I tell her that it's just hard for me to cause I know the words in English and I know what they mean in Spanish, but it's just like at the time I have to translate it, it's just hard.

## Interviewer:

It's just hard.

## Participant 6F:

And its worst when I have to read something. Like it, like I can't you know. Like in the light bills and stuff...
Interviewer:
Yeah.
Participant 6F:
They put alot of hard words in it so I can't translate it. At the store it's easy for me to translate everything they tell me I can translate. It's just much harder when I have to read stuff from school.
Interviewer:
The legal stuff or stuff that has like, when she goes to the doctor they used different, do you translate for her when she goes to the doctor or something like that? Or does she go to a place that?

## Participant 6F:

At the doctor they speak Spanish.
Interviewer:
They speak Spanish?
Participant 6F:
But if anything if she needs someone to translate or help her to tell her what they are telling her, I would have to ask the assistant or something Cause I can't...

## Interviewer:

Cause of the words?
Participant 6F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

You feel like the words are too difficult?

## Participant 6F:

Some words are big and like I know what they mean in English, but I just don't know how to say them in Spanish.

## Interviewer:

When the times that you have translated, how do you think other people view you? Like when you're talking to somebody. Your young, you're twelve years old, how do you think... have you ever noticed if they look at you in a way like 'they're wow look at this little girl she's translating for her parents!' or if you notice do they treat you different?

## Participant 6F:

Not really.
Interviewer:
Not really, so they kind of expect you to know what to do?
Participant 6F:
No they don't expect me. Well sometimes they don't know that my mom doesn't like, when at the store when she's paying for something, they don't expect her not to talk. They think that she can talk, when she talks then, then my mom will ask what did they say and then.
Interviewer:
The person right away turns to you then once they see your mom can't talk?
Participant 6F:
Yeah when my mom turns around and tells me.
Interviewer:
Then they look at you and how do you feel that the light shifts to you?
Participant 6F:

## Umm...

Interviewer:
Does that make you feel a certain way?
Participant 6F:
Well umm I get embarrassed for everything. Not embarrassed for like that she doesn't speak English. I'm not open to alot of people.
Interviewer:
Cause your shy?
Participant 6F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You're shy so then all of a sudden you're like ok you have to speak for mom and you're like hold on so I'm shy wait?

## Participant 6F:

Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Um do you feel more grown up because you translate or interpret?
Participant 6F:

## No.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel the same like your other friends that do it or don't do it as much?

## Participant 6F:

Well I don't really talk to them about it. All my friends speak Spanish and all of my friends and their moms speak Spanish too. So at some point they have to translate to so.

## Interviewer:

But do you feel as an individual, as yourself, do you feel like you've matured? Do you see things differently maybe from a girl that maybe just speak English and doesn't have this experience that you have? Like maybe you see things differently. Think about things in a different way, or you're more understanding or maybe you're um, you are um, don't really think like a normal twelve year old because of this experience?

## Participant 6F:

I don't feel different. I feel the same because is I've been translating for a long time. So it doesn't make me feel different than the other kids.

## Interviewer:

Ok. Do you worry about your family if you're not there to translate? Let's say they go on a trip do you feel like you get worried?

## Participant 6F:

I don't really get worried. Sometimes I get worried, I figure that my mom is going to figure out a way to understand or my brother or yeah. Like that sometimes I would get worried when my brother was little. Like who's going to translate for her? How she is going to understand and sometimes I worry that she is going to get embarrassed because she doesn't know anything that they are telling her so.

## Interviewer:

When your brother was smaller you felt a little worried about them?

## Participant 6F:

Because they wouldn't know anything that they were telling them about them and they are saying one thing.

## Interviewer:

And it turns out to be they're saying something else and you're not there to help them...

## Participant 6F:

Yeah then they make a mistake or something.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like you are very valuable to them would you say that then?
Participant 6F:
Well not just because their daughter yeah because what would they do if I didn't know English. And how to translate then how would they know what they are telling them? Well my dad I'm guessing.

## Interviewer:

Does he understand more English than your mom?

## Participant 6F:

He understands more because he works. So like when I don't know how to translate he'll talk back to them. But like he doesn't have the English like...

## Interviewer:

Like the fluency like you and I right now have enough to like maybe even beconfident to like...

## Participant 6F:

He understands what they are saying. me and my mom mostly go to the store he doesn't, but when he does and someone ask my mom something or ask him something he understands it and then he can answer yes or no or whatever.

## Interviewer:

Who would you say that you translate more for your mom or your dad?
Participant 6F:
My mom.
Interviewer:
Your mom more and your dad probably because he goes to work like you said is probably the one has a little more of an
understanding of English.

## Participant 6F:

They probably talks to people that don't speak Spanish at work to them. Like he can't have a conversation in English.

## Interviewer:

But it's enough for someone to understand what he probably is saying you probably would say that?

## Participant 6F:

But it's rare I haven't heard him talk alot of English. I have seen him at the store a couple of times when they tell him something and he answers or he'll know what we're talking about but my mom she completely doesn't know.

## Interviewer:

Has your mom expressed wanting to go to school?
Participant 6F:
Umm sometimes I guess. Well my dad tells her cause at school they were giving free classes, my dad tells her to go because like they're going to teach you but she never tried out because she says she has stuff to do.
Interviewer:
She too busy, she has you guys, to take care of you?
Participant 6F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah that's a valid reason kids need to be taken care of. So um do you feel like you're being pushed to grow up maybe when you translate for them?

## Participant 6F:

No.
Interviewer:
You just feel like you're twelve years old and I'm just translating for my parents who need my help?

## Participant 6F:

Yah.

## Interviewer:

Would you say that um like when there is major things they need to plan out do they include you in those things? Now like now that you started translating a little bit more, the older that you got like if there is a trip or something like are they including you more into those decisions that normally mom and dad have?

## Participant 6F:

Well if it's like, well not really not stuff like. If they, if it's involving me like yes. Well if it has something to do with me. We don't really like go on vacation or something, We don't go, we go to places here but not other states...
Interviewer:
But even like economics in the house like planning we need to buy this planning? Something that is really expensive do they ask you or do they kind of decided it upon themselves?

## Participant 6F:

If I need something or if I want something then yeah but if it's something like sometimes like for Christmas for what my brother wanted she ask me because my brother tells me.

## Interviewer:

Does it sometimes get really frustrating that you feel like they should go to somebody else and not you?

## Participant 6F:

Yeah cause sometimes, I'm not annoying but like like when we're, I don't know, when we go to alot stores in that same day and they keep on asking me, well my mom, it gets like tiring to keep on translating. And sometimes I do get mad but I mean...
Interviewer:
Do you tell her don't ask me anymore or?
Participant 6F:
I tell them to ask my brother.
Interviewer:
You send him to your brother?
Participant 6F:
Ask him or sometimes she'll understand what they are saying. She doesn't understand it all, so sometimes she asks me. I think she sometimes does understand and she still ask me just to make sure like what she is thinking. She asks me to make sure and she doesn't tell me or explains it to me.
Interviewer:
So you think that maybe do you feel taken advantage of?

## Participant 6F:

No.
Interviewer:
At times no?
Participant 6F:
Well she doesn't ask me like every five minutes because she is mostly at home, but when we do like she gets a light bill that when I need to translate and sometimes she even gets frustrated because I can't translate for her.
Interviewer:
And she tells you?
Participant 6F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What does she say?
Participant 6F:
I can't believe you can't translate. The word is so easy like...
Interviewer:
That what she tells you? That it's so easy? How do you perceive that when she tells you that?

## Participant 6F:

Well if it's so easy why can't you translate it then. But like not easy, like in easy, like in, like it's a little paragraph not like that kind of easy. If it's easy you just have to translate, that it's not a big letter.

## Interviewer:

Yeah do you have to translate for any other members of your family or do they have like children of their own that speak that help them?
Participant 6F:
Well we don't really go out like we are not out every day.

## Interviewer:

You don't visit them?

## Participant 6F:

We visit them on the weekends because on Monday through Friday we have the baby so it doesn't gives us alot of times.

## Interviewer:

But when you go out to visit do they ask you?

## Participant 6F:

No because we are at their house and there's nothing. She's old and she has her kids and she's a grandmother and all of them understand English so they translate for her.

## Interviewer:

So do you feel like you are a partner for your parents at times? Like um in the success of your family do you feel like you are a partner with them? Like if your family is successful you have helped them in some way?

## Participant 6F:

Yeah, some of the stuff like some of the companies just or like to set up TV or computer like it's hard for me to set it up as Spanish, so I will set it up as English and if mom is on the computer and something pops up, I have to translate it for her or the light bill if they are going to shut it off.

## Interviewer:

You have to tell her
Participant 6F:
Yeah so we don't get them shut off.
Interviewer:
So you play an important role as a partner in alot of the stuff they have to achieve to make the family successful. Even in the littlest things as maybe getting a computer hooked, to making sure that the light bill, that the light doesn't get shut off and you are left in the dark. So have you guys ever bought a car or gone to a car dealership and you have had to translate?

## Participant 6F:

It's too much information.

## Interviewer:

Do they bring somebody else at that point?
Participant 6F:
Car dealer?

## Interviewer:

Or if they buy something really big that you can't translate for?

## Participant 6F:

Um like I have never went to a car dealer where they don't speak Spanish.

## Interviewer:

So they go where they speak Spanish?

## Participant 6F:

She only bought a car like two or three times not alot.

## Interviewer:

It's not something that you buy all of the time...

## Participant 6F:

Like important stuff like like when she is going to buy like let's just say a living room. When she wants to put it on layaway, then I will ask them and she'll tell me to ask them and then I will explain to her. It's not that kind of stuff, is not hard for me translate but like letters with big words.
Interviewer:
Does she ever ask you when you go out and buy couches your input?

## Participant 6F:

Yeah she does. Are they ugly or like do you like them, are they comfortable. Cause sometimes she doesn't get convinced with herself and she says they are ugly.

## Interviewer:

So um on that note, do you, you think that having that experience of interpreting that has brought you closer to your parents?

## Participant 6F:

## Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel like you have a special relationship with them?

## Participant 6F:

Yeah, what would they do if I didn't translate for them. They wouldn't understand anything.

## Interviewer:

Have they ever told you that? Or do you think they feel the same way about, just like you said that maybe there is a special relationship? Do you think they feel the same way?

## Participant 6F:

My mom, my dad it's, I don't he works and then he's here when he gets back from work and he takes care of horses so he is not here all day. On Sunday he's here. On Sundays and that's when we go out because my mom doesn't drive far, but my mom is the one I mostly have to explain. My dad doesn't ask me for him. He pretty much understands what they are telling him, so he doesn't ask me that much. But sometimes he needs my help, but not all the time like my mom.
Interviewer:
So you have a little brother? How do you think he feels when he sees you translate?

## Participant 6F:

Umm he makes fun of me.
Interviewer:
He makes fun of you?
Participant 6F:
He's says he can translate better and I get mad when he tells me that because I try my best to translate. I get mad.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like he probably sees you in a higher position?

## Participant 6F:

Probably because he can't do all the things that I do. I don't think he feels that way in terms of translating cause, because I think my mom doesn't ask him to translate because he just doesn't... like...
Interviewer:
He's too little probably that what she thinks?
Participant 6F:
Yes he's little.
Interviewer:
Maybe if he taunts you with it, when he says that he can translate better do you think that maybe he wishes that he was you and that he would translate instead of you?

## Participant 6F:

I don't think he would like to translate. He looks nice, he looks good, but he's bad!

## Interviewer:

He looks nice but he's bad?
Participant 6F:
But I don't... maybe he like when I don't really understand something, he'll try to act like he knows and he'll try to tell my mom what it means and I'll tell her.

## Interviewer:

Does he push you away? It's like move over I know what it means?

## Participant 6F:

Like push me out me like that, he takes over basically thinking maybe my sister doesn't know but I do, but really when he does that he doesn't know what he's talking about
Interviewer:
He doesn't know it either?
Participant 6F:
Because he thinks he knows, but he doesn't, he knows to translate but he doesn't have the experience that I have because he's little. Interviewer:
Do you see yourself as a role model for him in some way?
Participant 6F:
Yeah because maybe when he gets to my age, he'll know how to translate better than I know how because he started earlier. And if he knows how to translate some stuff now I bet when he's older he'll know more.
Interviewer:
Do you plan on giving him tips or pointers later when he starts translating? Or how to translate better or would you rather keep your secrets?

## Participant 6F:

No I'll tell him but I doubt he'll ask me for help he's really smart.

## Interviewer:

He's really smart cool um let's see do you think you have gained special skills from doing the translating for your parents?

## Participant 6F:

Like what do you mean special skills?

## Interviewer:

Maybe you are more organized, maybe you listen alot better, maybe you are able to pay attention more closely...

## Participant 6F:

Well I think I have speaking two languages. I'm not saying I'm better than anyone, but it's like, imagine if I didn't speak English or if I didn't speak Spanish at my school? It is bilingual so the classes I take for right now two quarters it was all English so these two last quarter's it was all Spanish in class. There are like five kids that don't know how to speak Spanish. I think it's hard for them in class for me it's easy because I do know both of them I know how to do.

## Interviewer:

Do you find yourself listening more attentively than other kids? Probably do you feel like you have to listen a little bit more when you're in class more closely because it has become a habit?

## Participant 6F:

Not really I'm not jumping out of my seat not listening but I listen.
Interviewer:
You listen...do you think if you listen closely it's because you have listened, you have learned to listen because you have to be ready for that moment when you have to help your mom out?

## Participant 6F:

Well yeah I have to listen because if I don't listen how am I going to know what I have to do and how will I know what they tell my mom and translate for her, it's connected to school.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like you have any resentment towards your parents? Do you know what resentment means no?
Participant 6F:
No.
Interviewer:
Do you feel, feelings of hurt or like?
Participant 6F:
Like mad at them?

## Interviewer:

Because they have you translate and interpret?

## Participant 6F:

No because well that like I have to help them not because I have to, have to. I don't think it would be nice to let them be there and not translate for them and not tell them anything. I think it's not nice and disrespectful to your parents because you can't just tell them I'm not going to translate.

## Interviewer:

Do you think in your future, your future is going to be alot better because of this experience?

## Participant 6F:

Yes because alot of works require to have people that translate and there's alot of jobs that pay more and that there's not alot of jobs that like. Most of the big jobs require for people to know two languages and know how to translate. Cause if like if I work at somewhere big and someone comes in that doesn't speak one of the two languages, they need someone to translate they are not going to buy anything or do business with them. So alot of companies need bilingual people.

## Interviewer:

If you had to tell me what would be the most important things that you have learned so far by interpreting for your parents? It could just be one thing.

## Participant 6F:

I think it helps me learn both languages better because translating from language to another in order to translate you have to know what both words means and what both words are to translates. It helps you learn both languages more.

## Interviewer:

You are able to communicate alot better?

## Participant 6F:

In my math class, they translate to Spanish and our teacher was telling us and he gives us this paper on why bilinguals are smarter and he said it's because not trying to offend people that don't speak both languages, but they have the ability to change languages faster in their mind just like it's, like a puzzle. You're able to do puzzles faster. Even babies that are one year older if you speak to them in both languages, they are going to know what to do.
End of Conversation Participant 6F.

## Participant 7F

## Beginning of Conversation

Interviewer:
I'm going to start off by asking you a couple of questions pertaining to you and your family nothing outrageous. So how old are you?
Participant 7F:
Thirteen.
Interviewer:
Where were you born?
Participant 7F:
In Mexico.
Interviewer:
Mexico, I guess what state would it be?
Participant 7F:
Guanajuato.
Interviewer:
At what age did you come to the U.S.?
Participant 7F:
I'm not sure like five or four around there.
Interviewer:
Between four and five... let's see how many brothers or sisters do you have?
Participant 7F:
One brother and one sister.
Interviewer:
Are they older or younger, younger how old is your brother?

## Participant 7F:

Has four.
Interviewer:
And your sister?
Participant 7F:
She's eight.
Interviewer:
She's eight. What language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 7F:
Spanish.
Interviewer:
Mainly Spanish, um your parents what language do they speak?
Participant 7F:
Mainly speak Spanish.
Interviewer:
Do they understand English at all?
Participant 7F:
Only something
Interviewer:
Something's and then your little brother does he speak English too or just Spanish?
Participant 7F:
He tries to speak English but he's still too young.
Interviewer:
He's still too young?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok so it's mostly Spanish for him, and then your sister?
Participant 7F:
Mainly English
Interviewer:
Mainly English and when you speak to your sister you mainly speak to her English and then your brother do you mix it so he can try to learn?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok so now I just want you to kind of think back at all those times that you have interpreted for your parents. Do you remember the first time that you did it?
Participant 7F:
No not really.
Interviewer:
Not really. Do you think that it was between six, seven, eight?

## Participant 7F:

Around that age.
Interviewer:
Yeah, do you recall what you were helping them with?

## Participant 7F:

I think, I was at a store and I was helping my mom. She was like asking for help and so I had to translate what she wanted.

## Interviewer:

And how did that happen? Did your mom just pull you and said here just start talking or did you do it without anyone telling you or how did that happen?
Participant 7F:
No, she told me to help her out in translating for her and like so I just translated.
Interviewer:
How did you feel then?
Participant 7F:
I don't know I was like happy.
Interviewer:
Happy...did you kind of feel scared at some point?
Participant 7F:
Yeah a little.
Interviewer:
When did you start feeling scared?
Participant 7F:
When I had to start telling.
Interviewer:
When you had to start talking what made it scary?

## Participant 7F:

Umm, I don't know what if I mess up.

## Interviewer:

If you mess up... did you mess up?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
No you didn't mess up when you interpret for your parents? Do you interpret just when you go to the store or are there different scenarios that you do it?
Participant 7F:
Yeah like different places or maybe like it is in a magazine something they want to know and they don't understand I translate it for them.
Interviewer:
Ummm do you translate like legal stuff like legal papers? What kind of legal stuff do you do?
Participant 7F:
Yes I don't know they just give me letters that's it.
Interviewer:
Ok. pay bills do you help them do that?
Participant 7F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yeah...do your parents know how to use the computer?
Participant 7F:
They don't.
Interviewer:
They don't. Have they ever even tried it?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
They have and what happens?
Participant 7F:
They like they just don't know where to click.
Interviewer:
Do they right away call you? Hey I don't know where to click?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Or does something show up and they don't know what to say or do?
Participant 7F:
Yeah they usually have me sitting right next to them so that I can help them out.

[^1]
## Participant 7F:

Because I get to help my parents out.

## Interviewer:

You get to help your parents out and that brings joy to you. You don't feel uncomfortable like all of a sudden?
Participant 7F:
No, not really.
Interviewer:
Ok, have you or your parents ever sat down and talked about the experiences that you've had translating or interpreting for them?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, you've never had a formal conversation about it? So it just kind of, the translating just happens naturally?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah...ok what would happen do you think if your parents didn't have you to translate?
Participant 7F:
Well they wouldn't know what to say.
Interviewer:
They wouldn't know what to say. Do you think that you guys would be as successful as you are?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, not really.
Participant 7F:
No because they wouldn't be able to find what they need like at the store.
Interviewer:
Hmm do you help them find other stuff besides the store?
Participant 7F:
No, not really
Interviewer:
No, not really. So you mostly don't help them with that stuff, but you said that you help them with the bills?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So you read the bills to them, do you think that you have some type of impact on that as well?

## Participant 7F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?
Participant 7F:
Because I'm helping them out to tell them what it is.

## Interviewer:

An avoiding something like getting it turned off cause you didn't translate for them.

## Participant 7F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, how would you feel if they asked someone else to translate?
Participant 7F:
I don't know I wouldn't really care as long as someone is helping them.
Interviewer:
The whole point is getting someone to help them? So it wouldn't bother you if, I don't know, they found the neighbor...
Participant 7F:
No it wouldn't bother me.
Interviewer:
Or some lady that your mom may have met at school and here translate this for me, you wouldn't mind that?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
So you feel you have a choice to translate?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why do you say that?
Participant 7F:
Because if I didn't translate for them, they wouldn't know what the bills would say or something like that.

## Interviewer:

At no time do you feel like they're forcing you?
Participant 7F:
No.

## Interviewer:

No, do you kind of worry about your family when you're not around because you're the oldest your probably the only one that is
doing all the translating? Because I'm assuming that your sister who is eight is probably too young to translate, so you're probably
doing all the translating. So um do you worry about them?

## Participant 7F:

Only sometimes cause my sister she like tries and she really doesn't know that much Spanish so yeah.

## Interviewer:

So do you feel that at times they just like, you feel like they go to you and maybe they should go to somebody else?
Participant 7F:
No, I think that it's alright.
Interviewer:
That it's alright why?
Participant 7F:
Because I'm the oldest and I'm their daughter.
Interviewer:
You're their daughter...have you ever made a mistake?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
No you've never made a mistake, you've translated very well. What do you think would happen if you would make a mistake?
Participant 7F:
They wouldn't like be sure what the letter says and stuff like that.
Interviewer:
How would your parents react if you made a mistake?
Participant 7F:
They would be kind of mad I guess.
Interviewer:
Do you translate for any other members of your family like your extended family?
Participant 7F:
Sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes who are they?
Participant 7F:
My uncles and aunts.

## Interviewer:

You say it in plural like there are alot of them?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
It's a big family I'm assuming. Do they have children or they don't have children?
Participant 7F:
Yes.

## Interviewer:

Some of them do. Do the one that come and ask for your help translating do they have children of their own?

## Participant 7F:

No.
Interviewer:
No. So it's mostly the people that don't have their own kids? How does that make you feel when they come and ask for help?

## Participant 7F:

I feel glad because I'm helping them as well.
Interviewer:
So um, so how does that look like? I'm curious do you go and visit them and then they tell you or they come and find you here? Or do you or how does that look like when your extended family needs help?
Participant 7F:
Well I'm already at their house with my cousins. So when they need help they just ask me.

## Interviewer:

So they just come out with the paper and say here read this?

## Participant 7F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Can you help me with this?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

And do you feel awkward?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
How do you feel?
Participant 7F:
Нарру.
Interviewer:
Happy, cool. Do you feel like you're somewhat like a partner for your parents like a partner?
Participant 7F:
Yeah kind of.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 7F:
Because I'm always helping them out when they need it.
Interviewer:
Because you've become a partner, does that mean that you have other responsibilities that you take care of or other things that you take care of through the interpreting?
Participant 7F:
Yeah I still.

## Interviewer:

You do have other responsibilities?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Like what kind?
Participant 7F:
I have to do chores and take care of my siblings

## Interviewer:

So you kind of help them out with that as well?
Participant 7F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
How do you think your siblings view you when you are talking English and Spanish and interpreting for your parents?
Participant 7F:
Um, they really don't pay attention.
Interviewer:
They don't pay attention, they are probably too little to notice. Do you feel that you can be a role model for them how?
Participant 7F:
Because they see me helping out my parents and they will want to do the same.
Interviewer:
Obviously you are going to be leaving for college alot sooner than the eight year old, so are you gonna give her any tips on what to do that will make her a successful interpreter for her parents, your parents, or for both of your parents?

## Participant 7F:

Yeah probably.
Interviewer:
What would you tell her if you were leaving now? And what would you tell her?

## Participant 7F:

I would tell her to help them out whenever they need it and to try to learn more Spanish to help them out more.

## Interviewer:

Ok and how did you learn Spanish and English to be able to interpret? Is it just because of the experience you were just kind of placed to do it or was it that school helped you out?

## Participant 7F:

School.
Interviewer:
What kind of school do you go to?
Participant 7F:
Right now or before?
Interviewer:
Right now.
Participant 7F:
Middle school.

## Interviewer:

Middle school, so you don't have like a mix of classes where they do English and Spanish each semester?

## Participant 7F:

No they don't do that.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel that interpreting or translating has brought you closer to your parents?

## Participant 7F:

Yeah kind of because I'm always helping them and they are proud of me.

## Interviewer:

And you kind of feel that connection in some way?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like you've grown up too fast?
Participant 7F:
Yeah kind of...
Interviewer:
So kind of why, tell me more I'm interested in that.
Participant 7F:
Because they would always tell me that I needed to translate ever since I was little. Ever since I could speak English. So yeah to like learn more learn more English and stuff to be able to translate to help them.

## Interviewer:

Do you think that has changed your way of thinking? The way you do things? The way you are?
Participant 7F:
No, not really.

## Interviewer:

Not really? Even if you feel that you've grown up faster?

## Participant 7F:

Um no.
Interviewer:
You don't feel like you've grown up faster?

## Participant 7F:

Kind of but not so much.

## Interviewer:

Yeah, so you still feel that you're still thirteen, you don't feel like you're fifteen, fourteen?
you still think like a thirteen year old. Do you feel like you're valuable to your parents?
Participant 7F:
Yeah, because I always have to translate and interpret things.
Interviewer:
Um yeah, hum just because of that you feel valuable to them?
Participant 7F:
I always help them out with chores and stuff.

## Interviewer:

So do they like tell you that your valuable to them or do you just kind of understand it in that way that you are valuable to them?

## Participant 7F:

Yeah kind of understand it.

## Interviewer:

Yeah ok. So like in the major planning of the family, are you involved in those decision like maybe when you are going to buy
something very expensive or um if they are going to do something normally like parents would be the ones that make the decisions by
themselves. Do they ask for your opinion or your input on it?

## Participant 7F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
They do? What kind of stuff do they ask your input on?

## Participant 7F:

Like when we are going to by new couches or a flat screen TV.
Interviewer:
Not in regards to economics or financial reason or...
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
Or we got to pay this bill this month or not that ok?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
Do you think that you're um expected to behave differently than other kids your age?
Participant 7F:
No, not really.
Interviewer:
No so they expect you to act like your thirteen?

## Participant 7F:

## Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Yeah, what about your teachers at school, do they expect you to behave a little different because you kind seem like maybe you are a little grown up? Not so much because your thirteen, do they expect you to behave differently?
Participant 7F:
Like a little more mature.
Interviewer:
Like a little more mature do they tell you like that or?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like a hero when you translate for your parents?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You do why?
Participant 7F:
Because it makes me happy that I'm helping them out with whatever they need.
Interviewer:
Do at any time do you feel pressure when you're translating?
Participant 7F:
Yeah sometimes when I don't know what to say.

## Interviewer:

When you don't know what say. Like can you explain to me when you don't know what to say?

## Participant 7F:

Like when I kind of can't say an English word in Spanish.

## Interviewer:

And that kind of stresses you out and that puts a little more stress on you?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
At any time do you feel frustrated?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
With who?
Participant 7F:
With my parents.
Interviewer:
With your parents? Um how has, have you ever told them about that?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
No you've never told them that you feel frustrated? What is so frustrating about the situation?
Participant 7F:
They always ask me and they never ask or try to ask my sister or anything.
Interviewer:
So do you think that at any point, have you thought about or have they expressed a want to learn to speak English?
Participant 7F:
Yeah they do.
Interviewer:
Yeah, um you have your little sister and I know they're too little, maybe do you think that maybe your eight year old sister, um,so you
think that they see you like at a different level than they are?
Participant 7F:
Yeah because I'm I am helping out my parents and I'm taking care of them.
Interviewer:
So um do they see you as an equal like mom and dad?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah how?
Participant 7F:
Because they always see me helping out like you know around the house and everything.
Interviewer:
So you're assuming more roles that they do, only chores and because you have to take care of them as you said earlier.

## Participant 7F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
Do you think your little sister when she grows up she wants to be like you?
Participant 7F:
Yeah probably.
Interviewer:
Has she ever told you that?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, but you think so.
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 7F:
Because whenever I'm translating she just like stands there and watches what I do.
Interviewer:
Does she pay like close attention?
Participant 7F:
Yeah kind of.
Interviewer:
Yeah...um...like your other family members when they see you translating, have they ever expressed anything to you, how, do they tell
you anything or...

## Participant 7F:

No they really don't tell me anything. They just ask me to translate for them.

## Interviewer:

Yeah, and that's pretty much it as long as you get the job, that's it they really don't say much.
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do your cousins say anything?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
Not really either. Do you have any resentment you know maybe towards your parents because you have to translate for them?
Participant 7F:
No.
Interviewer:
Do you know what resentment means?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah ok. Um, so what do you think you have gained of this experience of being able to interpret because not alot of people can do that? obviously, you probably go to a school where some kids are monolingual, you know... they only speak English, so what do you think you... what skills you have probably gained even though you are just thirteen? What do you think you have gained from this
experience?

## Participant 7F:

Um I don't know... like I guess that like I know other things, more mature things like helping out and stuff.
Interviewer:
Do you think that you're more informed maybe,?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How? In what way you would say that you're more informed?
Participant 7F:
Like the types of words.
Interviewer:
Ok have you noticed yourself change over time since you started interpreting for your parents do you see that you're different?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah how?
Participant 7F:
Because I used to not know that much how to translate, but not I'm more experienced in it.

## Interviewer:

You're more experienced in it so I want you to think about the future. I know that you're thirteen, but do you think because of this experience do you think that it will influence your future?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And if it does, how will it influence it? How do you picture yourself in ten years?
Participant 7F:
I don't know it will help me get a better job.
Interviewer:
A better job? Do you plan on going to college?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, do you feel like life will be easier for you than for your parents?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Is it because you have the two languages and you were exposed to this experience?
Participant 7F:
Yeah because I can help other people at my job when they need help.

## Interviewer:

So I'm curious at this point now, when you are at in a restaurant, store, or with your mom paying a bill, um you see someone that is struggling that there's no one that speaks Spanish, what do you feel?

## Participant 7F:

I kind of feel that I have to help them. Since I already help my parents, I might as well help them too.
Interviewer:
Have you ever done?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And how does that person react?
Participant 7F:
They are like happy and glad.
Interviewer:
Happy and glad that you were there, but you're thirteen, do they mention your age at all or does it bother them?
Participant 7F:
It doesn't bother them.

## Interviewer:

No they kind of see it as maybe like its natural.
Participant 7F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Ok, the last question that I have is basically, I know that you're only thirteen and if you had to look back at everything you've done when it comes to interpreting for your parents, what would be the biggest, I guess or the most important thing that you have learned out of all those times that you have done it? Let's say they were to do an interview and they would ask you, what would you say?

## Participant 7F:

That I learned like different words because when I translate a little there might be words that I don't understand and then I could find out more, experience like that.

## Interviewer:

So like you mention understanding words do you have a special process that you use when you're translating? When you don't know certain words, how do you maneuver or manage around not know ing sometimes the words?

## Participant 7F:

I read it to myself and try to translate it for them and the words that I don't know, I try to use context clues so that I can see what they mean>
Interviewer:
Context clues, interesting...ok and so most of the time it's right?

## Participant 7F:

Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Yeah, interesting do you find yourself thinking in English when your speaking in Spanish and thinking in Spanish when your speaking in English?
Participant 7F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, does that make it...do you feel like that's awkward or do you just think anything of it?

Participant 7F:
No, not really
Interviewer:
Ok.
End of conversation Participant 7F

## Participant 8F

## Beginning of conversation

Interviewer:
I'm going to go ahead and start with a few simple questions about you and your family
there's a long pause due to a representative of the cable company showing up and the child needed to step off to interpret for the parent I believe that they are getting their cable connected or their Wi-Fi system for the computer so that is why we have a pause at
the moment right now.
resume
Interviewer:
That was interesting...so here we go. So just some basics from you and your family. How old are you?
Participant 8F:
I'm thirteen.
Interviewer:
Thirteen, were you born in Arizona?
Participant 8F:
Yep.
Interviewer:
Yes do you have any brothers or sisters?
Participant 8F:
I have one brother.
Interviewer:
One brother, how old is he?
Participant 8F:
Twenty three.
Interviewer:
Twenty three? Does he live here with you guys? No?
Participant 8F:
No.
Interviewer:
Somewhere else? Ok, does he speak English and Spanish?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yes, so he's bilingual. Ok, so what language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 8F:
Spanish.
Interviewer:
Spanish, ok. So does your mom and your dad speak English or they just speak Spanish?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
They just speak Spanish. Ok here's the interesting part especially since we just did it. It's always interesting. So I know that you have probably done it many times, do you remember the first time that you translated for your parents?
Participant 8F:
Um no.
Interviewer:
No you don't remember. It was a long time ago?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah how old do you think you were?
Participant 8F:
I don't know like nine
Interviewer:
About nine years old, wow! And why did you have to translate for them? What were you guys doing or what did they need?
Participant 8F:
I think we were, um at the store trying to buy something.
Interviewer:
Trying to buy something. How'd you feel? Do you remember how you felt that day?
Participant 8F:
Umm I felt um weird.
Interviewer:
Weird?

## Participant 8F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Weird, why?
Participant 8F:
I don't know cause I hadn't done that before and I also felt happy cause I was helping them.
Interviewer:
Cause you were helping them. Now that you do it, how do you feel?
Participant 8F:
Normal.
Interviewer:
Normal.
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
It's just feels normal something natural that you do?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, um let's see how do you think you're parents felt as they watched you that first time? How do you think they felt?
Participant 8F:
Um...I think they felt proud maybe.
Interviewer:
They felt proud why?
Participant 8F:
Cause I was doing something to help, um yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah did they tell you anything?
Participant 8F:
Yeah they were like thanks for helping us and like yeah, they told me that you helped alot.
Interviewer:
That you helped alot, wow! how do you think, like you were talking to a grown up obviously, you probably talk to many grownups, even probably right now in this instance, how do you think they view you when you are interpreting for your parents?

## Participant 8F:

Um I don't know...
Interviewer:
You don't know or you feel like they look at you funny?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah?
Participant 8F;
Cause they be like, they weren't expecting that.
Interviewer:
So they start talking to your parents first and all of sudden your parents don't say anything and all of a sudden the spot light is on you?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Like things just shift and now everyone has to look at you?
Participant 8F:
Hum.
Interviewer:
Do you think at times they think that you don't know what you're saying? Do you think they think that?
Participant 8F:
Yeah because sometimes they say something and like I don't know how to explain it and I want to tell them something and I don't
know how to say?
Interviewer:
How to say it?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And sometimes when you don't know how to say it how do you feel?
Participant 8F:
Hmmm I don't know sad cause I'm trying to help and I can't.
Interviewer:
Do you feel frustrated or angry or something like that?
Participant 8F:
Yeah, frustrated.

[^2]
## Interviewer:

What happens when you don't and you get stuck?

## Participant 8F:

Um...[pauses to think]
Interviewer:
What is their reaction?
Participant 8F:
They ask if there is someone else that can help cause they say that I'm not able to interpret everything.
Interviewer:
Do they get angry with you or frustrated with you?
Participant 8F:
No.
Interviewer:
Do you translate for any extended members of your family, aunts, uncles?
Participant 8F:
No.
Interviewer:
Just here for your parents. Has it ever happened that you have made a mistake when translating?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Can you tell me a little about that?
Participant 8F:
Um they were asking me to tell them something, I don't remember what, but I couldn't interpret it, but my brother was there and he
helped me.
Interviewer:
He liked jumped in and helped you?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Did he tell you anything at that time?
Participant 8F:
No.
Interviewer:
Did he tell you this is what it means or did he give you any pointers.

## Participant 8F:

After like he was done yeah.
Interviewer:
What did he tell you?
Participant 8F:
He's like he told me what it meant.
Interviewer:
Yeah, does he ever give you pointers on how to interpret better?
Participant 8F:
Normally when I interpret he is not there, so, yeah.
Interviewer:
So he doesn't really get to see you in action only once in a while?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah ok. How do you feel if they ask someone else, like right now how did you feel?
Participant 8F:
Umm kind of relieved, yeah cause I have someone else helping me not just like everything is on me so.
Interviewer:
So in a way, you do feel like you have a big responsibility for translating?
Participant 8F:
Uhuh.
Interviewer:
That it's your responsibility you feel like it is?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah...um. What do you think would happen if your parents did not have anyone or had you to help them?
Participant 8F:
Um I think it would be harder for them.
Interviewer:
In what way?

## Participant 8F:

Cause they would have to find someone else to help them or they would have to call my brother to help them and yeah it would be harder for them.
Interviewer:
Be harder for them. Does it sometimes worry you?
Participant 8F:
Umm yeah a little...[look at me concerned]
Interviewer:
A little why?
Participant 8F:
Cause um I try to help them as much I can, but sometimes they don't really understand much. Um so I get a little worried cause of
that.
Interviewer:
Do you get more worried when you're not around?

## Participant 8F:

Yeah, cause I can't be there to help them.
Interviewer:
Do you find that, you're obviously at school, do you find yourself thinking at times about them?
Participant 8F:
Sometimes...when they tell me that they're going to go somewhere, so I'm at school thinking on what they might be doing.
Interviewer:
They might be doing?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Any other thoughts that come to your mind?
Participant 8F:
Um if they have someone to help them there and like maybe I could be there, but cant cause I'm in school.
Interviewer:
Ok, so you do feel that your mom and dad, do you feel that you are the only one your mom and dad have to turn to basically?
Participant 8F:
When I'm the only one there yeah?
Interviewer:
Yeah, how far away does your brother live?
Participant 8F:
Um I don't know.
Interviewer:
You don't know. Does he come by often?
Participant 8F:
Sometimes, when he doesn't work.
Interviewer:
When he doesn't work?
Participant 8F:
Like in the weekends.
Interviewer:
Like when you translate or interpret, like what kind of things do you do aside from like helping them like we did right now? But...do you do other stuff like paperwork?

## Participant 8F:

Yeah, when they tell them to sign something. I have to read it to them or when like mail comes and they don't know what it's about, they ask me to read and translate it for them.
Interviewer:
Do you do legal documents too? Like legal stuff?
Participant 8F:
Sometimes like if they don't understand it, but they ask my brother normally because he knows more.
Interviewer:
He knows more...so the harder stuff, they get somebody else that is bigger?
Participant 8F:
Uhum...
Interviewer:
Ok that's good. Let's see like does your mom know how to use the computer?
Participant 8F:
No.
Interviewer:
Has she ever tried?
Participant 8F:
Yeah, she like knows how to write in English, but not speak it. But to open windows and all that I have to help her.
Interviewer:
You have to help her...so when something pops up on the screen, she right away calls you and you have to help her?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So ok. Does your dad know how to use the computer? No it's just your mom?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you sometimes feel that they just go to you and they should go to someone else maybe to help them?
Participant 8F:Umm yeah sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes. When do you feel like that?
Participant 8F:Cause sometimes we are at the store and like I'm right there and they go right away to me, but I might not know that and there maybesomeone else to help them and they just go straight to me.
Interviewer:
And how does that make you feel?
Participant 8F:
I don't know like... um yeah I don't know...
Interviewer:
You don't know how that makes you feel?
Participant 8F:
No [shyly].
Interviewer:
Would you prefer for them to go to somebody else?
Participant 8F:
Yeah cause they could get help more.
Interviewer:
Yeah cause sometimes you feel you don thelp them as much as you should?
Participant 8F:
Uhum...
Interviewer:
Do you feel that you are valuable to your parents because you interpret and translate?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?
Participant 8F:
Cause someti
Interviewer:
That's cool. Do you feel like in some way you've become a partner for your parents as a result of this experience?
Participant 8F:
Yeah, cause when I go somewhere they always bring me along just in case they need help with something. Like when my mom isInterviewer:
So who translate when... does she go to the doctor ever?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, who translates for her when she goes to the doctor?
Participant 8F:
Normally there's someone there.
Interviewer:
So you kind of don't have to go?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah you smiled, is it a relief?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?
Participant 8F:
Cause I don't really know about that stuff.

## Interviewer:

You don't really know about that stuff... is it scary?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 8F:
Cause they want to tell her something and I don't know, how to tell her. And maybe they get frustrated because they don't know how to tell her. So I feel like the person that wants to tell her something else is counting on me to tell her everything.
Interviewer:
So you got double pressure?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You got your mom on one hand and then you got the person that is telling on the other hand and both got pressure?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that interpreting and translating has brought you closer to your parents or do you feel like it's changed your relationship since you started doing that?
Participant 8F:
Umm I don't really know.
Interviewer:
You don't know...do you think that maybe if they spoke English and they could talk and speak for themselves and they didn't have to use you, do you think your relationship would be different with them?

## Participant 8F:

Umm yeah...
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?

## Participant 8F:

Cause I wouldn't have to go with them anywhere and I wouldn't have to help them alot. So I wouldn't be with them everywhere and I would just tag along and not really help them.

## Interviewer:

Not because you have to do something for them maybe...
Participant 8F:
Yes.

## Interviewer:

Yeah, how does that make you feel? If it would have been different and you wouldn't have a reason to go, but to like you said just to tag along? How would you feel? Would you rather feel like you are right now feeling or just the other way?
Participant 8F:
Umm... I don't know cause um... if I didn't like really help, I wouldn't have the pressure, but then I would feel like I wouldn't be doing anything the other way also.

## Interviewer:

Ok... because you translate and interpret for them, do they ask you to assist them in other duties or responsibilities because they feel that you are more mature, more responsible to handle it? Do you think that happens?

## Participant 8F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
What are the extra responsibilities that you may have?

## Participant 8F:

Like now they ask me to go somewhere, but when I was smaller it was okay for me not know something, but now since I'm older they expect me to be able to do more for them. So sometimes when I'm there, they tell me like that I should know more things,

## Interviewer:

Ok... so it's mostly they expect you to know more things, so they don't give you extra stuff to do because they feel that you have shown to be more responsible and mature to them?

## Participant 8F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, ok. Do you feel more grown up because of these experiences?
Participant 8F:
Um no.
Interviewer:
You feel your age thirteen?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah... what if you didn't translate, would you feel the same?

## Participant 8F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
You don't feel like you've grown up?

## Participant 8F:

No.

## Interviewer:

No, um...has anyone ever told you that you are mature for your age?

## Participant 8F:

Sometimes cause when I go to places I'm not really playing around and I'm just sitting there being quiet and they tell my mom that I'm really like um I don't play around like other kids yeah.
Interviewer:
So when you're sitting there what are you mainly doing? Do you kind of sit there or are you listening or are you paying attention when
there's a conversation going?
Participant:
I'm just like looking around listening.
Interviewer:
So you're listening even though they might be speaking, speaking Spanish you are there listening.
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah um...like any of your teachers have told you that maybe you're mature?
Participant 8F:
Umm, no.
Interviewer:
No, do you feel that maybe interpreting or translating has maybe pushed you to grow up faster and experience some things that other children maybe haven't experienced?

## Participant 8F:

Little cause other kids that their parents speak English they don't have to help alot.
Interviewer:
They don't have to help alot.

## Participant 8F:

And I have to help with almost everything.
Interviewer:
Almost everything. Do you feel that because you translate or interpret for your parents you are giving up something or sacrificing
something that you wished you had?

## Participant 8F:

No.

## Interviewer:

No, cool do you think because you interpret you're expected to behave differently?

## Participant 8F:

No, no like they know that I'm still a kid so.

## Interviewer:

They know that you're a kid so you can run around and go crazy... do you translate at school?
Participant 8F:
When my parents go.

## Interviewer:

When your parents go like parent teacher conference?

## Participant 8F:

Yeah, I have to go.
Interviewer:
When was the first time you did that?
Participant 8F:
I don't know third.
Interviewer:
Third grade... for the grade, how did your teacher see you when she saw you were going to be the translator or did they bring someone else in?
Participant 8F:
Well I started translating a little but then they brought someone else in.

## Interviewer:

Then they brought someone else in. Did your teacher tell you anything afterwards or the next day on you trying to translate for your parents?
Participant 8F:
No.
Interviewer:
No now do you still translate for your parents?

## Participant 8F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do your teachers wonder if you're telling the truth at times?
Participant 8F:
I think.
Interviewer:
You think yeah, why?
Participant 8F:
I don't know because I'm telling them something and they're just looking at you.
Interviewer:
Just looking at you?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like um interpreting has helped you in some way to be the person that you are?
Participant 8F;
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, in what way?
Participant 8F:
Cause maybe if I didn't interpret um I wouldn't know how to speak Spanish.
Interviewer:
You wouldn't have the skill to speak Spanish huh?
Participant 8F:
Like I would know, but not that much.
Interviewer:
Do you present at school or have like presentations like when you have to stand up in front of the class?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you think interpreting or translating has helped you? Are you shy when you go up there?
Participant 8F:
A little, yeah not that much though cause I get used to it cause I talk to alot of people when they need help so yeah.
Interviewer:
You're probably like well I have to give this book report I feel nervous but like a normal nervous huh.
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Because you are always talking to different people like adults, grownups talking to kids, friends, it's kind of easier...
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So you have confidence? You can say do you think that you have confidence?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, do you feel any type of resentment? Do you know what resentment means?
Participant 8F:
Like regret.
Interviewer:
Yeah...
Participant 8F:
Um...[pauses]
Interviewer:
Cause you're interpreting and...
Participant 8F:
No.
Interviewer:
Would you do it again, let's say that you were born again, would you be happy to do it again?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah? You would be happy to translate and interpret for your parents?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Yeah how do you think this experience has influenced who you are today?

## Participant 8F:

Umm I don't know.

## Interviewer:

Would you be different do you think? You would be different if you had your parents who spoke English and you didn't have to do interpreting for them would you be different?

## Participant 8F:

Maybe like I wouldn't be as confident.
Interviewer:
You wouldn't be confident?
Participant 8F:
Yes and...
Interviewer:
You think you wouldn't probably be as mature maybe like people say that you are?

## Participant 8F:

No.

## Interviewer:

No you probably still sit and not run around. Ok think into the future. I know you're only thirteen so you are not that old, but if you could look into the future do you think your life is going to be easier because you have had these experiences happen to you?

## Participant 8F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why or how?
Participant 8F:
Cause in jobs normally they look for people that know more than one language so that they can translate to people that don't know the language.

## Interviewer:

So in regards to the job it's going to be much easier for you. What about doing stuff for yourself do you think this experience is going to help you?
Participant 8F:
Um maybe yeah.
Interviewer:
Maybe yeah why or are you not sure?
Participant 8F:
Not sure...
Interviewer:
Not sure ok. If you had to select one thing that you have learned from this experience of interpreting and translating for your parents what would you tell them?
Participant 8F:
Um I think I have learned to help people.
Interviewer:
You have learned to help people, in what way?
Participant 8F:
Um I don't know. Like translating and like if they need help I'll just like help them so.
Interviewer:
Do you feel unique to other children?
Participant 8F:
Yeah, sometimes cause normally in my school sometimes the kids know only English so yeah.
Interviewer:
Do your friends ever say anything about you interpreting for your parents?
Participant 8F:
No, no they just kind of see it as something natural, yeah.
Interviewer:
But you do feel unique?
Participant 8F:
Yeah.
End of Conversation Participant 8F

## Participant 9F

## Beginning conversation

Interviewer:
So I'm just going to start off by asking you a couple questions in regards to you and your family. How old are you?
Participant 9F:
I'm fourteen.
Interviewer:
Fourteen, where were you born?
Participant 9F:
Here in Phoenix.
Interviewer:
In phoenix, ok. How many brothers or sisters do you have?
Participant 9F:
I have one younger sibling.
Interviewer:
Is it the little girl? How old is she?
Participant 9F:
She's eight years old.
Interviewer:
She's eight years old, um...what language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 9F:
Spanish.
Interviewer:
Spanish, which members of your family that live with you only speak Spanish?
Participant 9F:
Um they can speak a little bit of both, but they speak better Spanish like they ask me for help for English.
Interviewer:
So your mom and dad they speak some English?
Participant 9F:
But they ask for help most of the time.
Interviewer:
But they're more comfortable in Spanish you would say?
Participant 9F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Does your little sister speak English?
Participant 9F:
Yeah she speaks English better than Spanish.

## Interviewer:

So now I'm going to ask you to think back to all the experiences that you've had translating. Do you remember the first time you translated for your mom and your dad?
Participant 9F:
I really don't know, but I remember some of my experiences.
Interviewer:
Some of your experiences...ok can you describe me one of your experiences?

## Participant 9F:

So we went to the um the ${ }^{* * * * *}$ to rent some movies and the cash register ask my dad a question, so I guess he didn't understand, so he asked me to translate, and then when I told him what she said, he understood.
Interviewer:
When do you find yourself translating more? Like what kind of things do you translate in?
Participant 9F:
Like information on...I don't know like...
Interviewer:
Is it more when you go to the store? In public places?
Participant 9F:
In public spaces, some random people just come up to me and ask me if I can translate for them.
Interviewer:
Oh really? Wow! How does that make you feel?
Participant 9F:
That makes me feel special cause like I have an advantage of speaking two languages I could help more people.
Interviewer:
That's interesting... you're in a public place and they are kind of struggling and they come up and say hey you speak Spanish and
English and then can you help me and they kind of pull you?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Wow, that's interesting!

## Participant 9F:

Cause we went to like make my new passports, like they expired and so like I guess this married couple was filling out these papers and they asked me if I could help them because they could only speak Spanish and so they asked me for help.
Interviewer:
That's interesting...at any moment did you feel fearful?
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, you were just comfortable with it?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah you've done it enough times that you're comfortable like the first couple of times were you nervous?
Participant 9F:
Yeah because I wasn't really that good in Spanish, but it improved.
Interviewer:
It improved with time...
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah so I guess you would say, right now you're fourteen, at eight years old was when they started you?

## Participant 9F:

Yeah around there
Interviewer:
Around there, you were probably a second grader?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Did you translate at that time for your parents for parent teacher conferences?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah you did?
Participant 9F:
At the conferences, my teachers only speak English and sometimes my teachers when they make a phone call to students for their parents they ask me to translate for them.
Interviewer:
Oh...so they have confidence in you that you can help them out and how does that make you feel?
Participant 9F:
I feel like honored
Interviewer:
Honored...wow! And then when you talk to the parent and they hear you speaking, they know probably that it's a kid?

## Participant 9F:

Yeah, a student.
Interviewer:
How do they react?

## Participant 9F:

I guess they are surprised cause they really don't, haven't seen it that much yeah.
Interviewer:
Wow, that's very interesting! Lot of good experiences you have, wow!

## Participant 9F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
How do you, you think your parents feel when they see you translating?
Participant 9F:
I think they feel proud cause like all the things they do for me. So like I'm not from Mexico and I go very often and yeah.
Interviewer:
And so you like almost seem like you're from Mexico almost too because you are able to speak both languages?
Participant 9F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
Like the other people, like when you're talking in a public place have you ever gone with your parents to pay a bill or to get something connected like internet or stuff like that?

## Participant 9F:

Umm, the bank.
Interviewer:
The bank and how do you think those people view you as your talking to them and you're helping your parents out?

## Participant 9F:

I think they think that I have a good future if I applicate for my job and I put on my resume that I can speak more than one language they think that's an advantage because I can help more people.
Interviewer:
Have they ever told you that?
Participant 9F:
No I just...
Interviewer:
You kind of assume cause they look at you like 'oh wow what a bright young lady.'
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you always feel like you have a choice to translator interpret for your parents?
Participant 9F:
No sometimes they can do it their selves not most of the times, but when they really need my help or they're struggling they come to me.
Interviewer:
So you do have a choice?
Participant 9F:
Uhuh.
Interviewer:
You are not pushed to like doing it?
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
Do you ever sit down with your parents and talk about those experiences?
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, so it's something that just kind of happens naturally?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel your parents are understanding when you can't interpret for them?
Participant 9F:
I think they do cause I help, I kind of explain it like, like if they ask me what does this mean, I like explain with the best definition. They get the easiest way for them.
Interviewer:
Do you have like a certain process that you use, as your translating, you kind of do? Especially I assume that some of the words are much more difficult?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How do you go about in translating a word that is much more difficult for you?

## Participant 9F:

Like most words that are in Spanish sounds similar to the ones in English, so I use like the background information. I use the context clues and it helps me.
Interviewer:
Most of the time you translate right?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Have you ever messed up?
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
Not that you know of? Have your parents ever noticed that you messed up?

## Participant 9F:

I don't think so.

## Interviewer:

You don't think so? Do you say you translate like when you are in a public space, do you translate for any other family members like extended family like your aunts, uncles?
Participant 9F:
My grandma sometimes.
Interviewer:
Your grandma sometimes. What kind of translating do you do for her?

## Participant 9F:

Well, she's more comfortable speaking Spanish. She knows a little bit of English like when someone ask her something in English, she asked me what that means or maybe answer for them because she doesn't understand.
Interviewer:
Do you translate like any paperwork for her or?
Participant 9F:
Sometimes, when she's signing some papers she's like what does this mean like.
Interviewer:
Then you have to explain it to her?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do your parents use the internet online?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Can they do it proficiently by themselves?
Participant 9F:
Yeah they both have accounts on Facebook.
Interviewer:
Did you set them up yourself or did they do it by themselves?
Participant 9F:
Well I was the first one to make it in my family. My mom did it by herself and then my mom helped by dad.

## Interviewer:

So and they probably...do they call you over to help them when something just pops up on the screen or are... they have acquired the skill they can do it on their own?

## Participant 9F:

I think my mom has acquired, she knows how to do it. It's my dad that needs help. He came from Mexico and he doesn't have that much English experience.

## Interviewer:

So you help him alot more probably than your mom?
Participant 9F:
Yeah, she knows more.
Interviewer:
She knows more...cool. So for bigger situations do you translate or do your parents find someone else to translate for them?

## Participant 9F:

Umm...I think they find someone else if it's a serious one if they don't want me to find out what it says...I don't know.
Interviewer:
So they get somebody else?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So what has been the most serious things that you have interpreted for?
Participant 9F:
Umm...I don't really think they're serious they're simple questions.
Interviewer:
They're simple...
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Nothing like really.
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that you are responsible for translating?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 9F:
Cause like people depend on me, so that I can help them on something they can't understand.

## Interviewer:

How would you feel if they asked somebody else to translate and didn't ask you anymore?

## Participant 9F:

Um I really wouldn't mind.
Interviewer:
You wouldn't. Why wouldn't you mind?

## Participant 9F:

Cause there are alot of other children who do the same thing I do and so yeah.

## Interviewer:

So if they went to another child is that what you're saying or would it be ok if they went to a grown up?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Would you mind if they went to another child?
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
No. What would happen do you think if your parents didn't have anyone to help them?
Participant 9F:
I think they'll be very confused and lost and wouldn't know what to do. So I think it's a privilege like that I speak to languages so that
I can help them.
Interviewer:
So you can help them in some way?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you worry at times about your family when you're not there like to translate?
Participant 9F:
No, cause my mom is pretty good at English. She's been a teacher's assistant, I think yeah.

## Interviewer:

But when your dad goes out do you ever think about your dad?
Participant 9F:
Yeah, sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes...

## Participant 9F:

Yeah when his boss text messages him, he tells me to reply for him. He tells me what to say, but I write what he says.

## Interviewer:

Interesting...so he hands you the phone and says oh a text message here look and see what it says.
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Then he tells you and then you reply back?
Participant 9F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that your mom and dad only have you to turn to?
Participant 9F:
No cause my mom has a brother who speaks English too and my sister is pretty good at English too. We have alot of family here in
Phoenix who talks in English.

## Interviewer:

So everyone can kind of help each other out so not just you?
Participant 9F:
No, there's alot more.
Interviewer:
Do you sometimes feel like they just go to you and maybe they should go to somebody else?
Participant 9F:
Well I don't have a problem if they keep asking me, but sometimes they ask me...
Interviewer:
Sometimes they ask you?
Participant 9F:
Yeah most of the time they ask me. I don't mind that they ask me all the time.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that you are valuable to your parents because you translate for your parents?
Participant 9F:
I think yeah.
Interviewer:
How or why do you say that? Why do you feel valuable?
Participant 9F:
Cause they didn't, when they were my age they didn't know how to speak English as well as I do. So I think that I have a good advantage.

## Interviewer:

You have a good advantage and then in the sense even if your mom is a little bit more confident in speaking you feel that if she gets stuck if you are there you can help her?
Participant 9F:
She usually asks for help for big vocabulary words.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like in some way you have become a partner with your parents?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
That you're almost like a mini them?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 9F:
Because I'm mostly like my dad cause we have basically the same personalities and I help him and I help my mom too, but my sister is more like my mom and I'm more like my dad.
Interviewer:
So you get along better with your dad?
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
No or is it just because...
Participant 9F:
I usually argue more with my dad than with my mom.
Interviewer:
Oh, ok but you're similar to your dad, so you kind of more inclined to help him then?
Participant 9F:
I guess, I help both of them.
Interviewer:
So do you feel that interpreting or translating, has it brought you closer to your parents?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 9F:
Cause like I think its brought me closer because [thinking].

## Interviewer:

Just think about if you didn't have to translate/ interpret for them, that you just kind of...where if both spoke English, would it be different?
Participant 9F:
I think it would be different because then they would not need my help.
Interviewer:
Yeah.
Participant 9F:
So then they.
Interviewer:
They're independent? They would be independent because you translate or interpret for them. Do they ask you to assist them in other duties or responsibilities because they feel you are possibly more mature or responsible to handle it?

## Participant 9F:

No, I just help them with translations.
Interviewer:
You just help with translating...cool. Do you feel maybe that you are more grown up because you have had this experience?
Participant 9F:
Yeah. I feel like I've matured yeah.
Interviewer:
That you have matured in what sense?
Participant 9F:
Like in responsibility.
Interviewer:
Can you kind of tell me a little bit more about responsibility?
Participant 9F:
Cause it's my responsibility to help them if they don't understand something. So I can help them with someone else is trying to tell
them or what a paper says.
Interviewer:
Ok. Have you ever been told that you're mature for your age?

## Participant 9F:

No.

## Interviewer:

No, do you feel that interpreting or translating has pushed you to grow up faster maybe and to think differently or worry about things that most kids your age don't?
Participant 9F:
I think yeah cause like I have to worry about my parents if they go out and they don't understand what someone is telling them and
I'm not there to help them.

## Interviewer:

So maybe other kids don't have that worry?

## Participant 9F:

Yeah cause both their parents speak English, they don't have nothing to worry about.

## Interviewer:

So do you feel that because you translate or interpret for your parents or having had this experience you are giving up something or sacrificing something or maybe you're doing too many things?

## Participant 9F:

I don't think I'm sacrificing anything. It's just helping them out.

## Interviewer:

You're just helping them out? Do you think because you have had this experience and maybe, do people expect you to behave
differently because compared to other children your age?
Participant 9F:
I don't think so.
Interviewer:
You don't think so...ok. You said you translate at school beside the phone calls, do you translate for other classmates?
Participant 9F:
Yeah, cause recently this girl came from Hermosillo and she spoke Spanish and I helped her around with what the teacher was saying and what classes she had to go.

## Interviewer:

And how did that make you feel?

## Participant 9F:

I felt like she had someone to turn to, so I felt like special.
Interviewer:
Special...good. How does your little sister react when she sees you translating?

## Participant 9F:

She's like surprised and shocked cause like she struggles alot with Spanish and sometimes I help her with the Spanish.
Interviewer:
Do you kind of see yourself as a role model for her in the future?
Participant 9F:
Nods head.
Interviewer:
You do, how?

## Participant 9F:

Cause like all the different things I do. I do many things like at school I'm a straight A student and I play two instruments. I play the piano and the guitar and just...I'm a very busy person maybe she sees up to me.

## Interviewer:

And you have that skill of speaking two languages?

## Participant 9F:

Uhum.
Interviewer:
So do you, when she tries to help your mom, do you try to give her pointers or something?
Participant 9F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah? What do you tell her?
Participant 9F:
For Spanish or English?
Interviewer:
When she tries to help your mom in Spanish, cause you said she speaks English alot better. So obviously she probably is when she trying to talk to your mom and translating, she has to translate it into Spanish.

## Participant 9F:

## Yeah.

## Interviewer:

So do you give her any tips?

## Participant 9F:

I tell her how to say the words and what it means like little words and it helps her.

## Interviewer:

And it helps...do you think she sees you in a special position?

## Participant 9F:

Umm no I don't think so.
Interviewer:
Because you translate or interpret she says, 'oh wow look my bigger sister she is translating.'
Participant 9F:
I think in some way cause most of my cousins who live here cannot speak well Spanish and so my aunts and uncles ask me to translate
for them too.
Interviewer:
Oh really? And what do your cousins say?
Participant 9F:
They say you need to teach me how.
Interviewer:
You need to teach me how. Do you feel embarrassed when your aunts and uncles come and ask you, no?
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
Do you want to tell them 'hey why don't you go ask my cousin?'
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
No. When you translate do you feel pressured at any moment?

## Participant 9F:

Not pressured. When I don't understand it, I get like, when I don't understand what, what the passage is trying to say, I get like. (pauses) I don't know what to do.

## Interviewer:

You don't know what to do? Do you ever get frustrated?
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
No you don't get frustrated when you interpret? What skills do you think you've developed because of this experience?
Participant 9F:
Um when I went to church school I was forced to be in a Spanish class, so I didn't know anything in Spanish and it was a very hard challenge for me, but that's where I learned to read and write in Spanish. So now I know how to read and write in Spanish and that helped me out alot.
Interviewer:
That's good. Do feel like you developed any other skills aside from reading and writing in Spanish?

## Participant 9F:

Yeah, I think that's it.

## Interviewer:

That's it, ok. When you have to give a presentation in school, do you feel like you are more comfortable like when you have to stand up in front of your classmates, in front to talk to them? Do you feel comfortable?
Participant 9F:
No, not really. I'm really one of those shy people that can't go up in front of the classroom and talk freely. I'm very shy. I get
embarrassed, yeah.

## Interviewer:

So when you translate in front of people that you don't know, so the shyness comes out or are you totally different?
Participant 9F:
Different.
Interviewer:
It's talking in front of a group?
Participant 9F:
It's different.
Interviewer:
Different... if you, have this experience again would you say yes let me translate and interpret?
Participant 9F:
Uhum.
Interviewer:
Yes, why?
Participant 9F:
Cause I'm glad to help whenever its needed.
Interviewer:
Do you ever resent your parents because they are not fluent in English and you have to translate or interpret for them in English?
Participant 9F:
No, I like helping them. Making their lives easier.
Interviewer:
Easier. How do you think this experience has influenced you today who you are today?

## Participant 9F:

Um, well I never realized how good this is to speak more than one language. I didn't realize I helped my parents alot and other people in public.
Interviewer:
When did you come to this realization?
Participant 9F:
Like right now.
Interviewer:
Right now? what is it about now?
Participant 9F:
Cause no one has asked me these type of questions.
Interviewer:
They've never asked you these types of questions?
Participant 9F:
No.
Interviewer:
So you never really thought about what you were doing to help your parents? So you were just kind of doing it naturally?

## Participant 9F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you think that because of these experiences you will be able to have an easier life for yourself than your parents?
Participant 9F:
I think so cause I could speak a whole other language and maybe yeah I could help another group of people that don't speak English.

## Interviewer:

What do you want to be when you grow up?

## Participant 9F:

I'm really not sure but something in the medical field.

## Interviewer:

Something in the medical field, good. So if I had a mic and we were doing a news story and they would ask you tell me one thing that you have learned from this experience, one thing that has stuck out from this experience, I know you're only fourteen so it's not and you could only remember so far back, what would you tell the world?
Participant 9F:
I learned that, um, I'm glad to help anyone who needs help. That they can turn to me if they have any problems with the languages.
Interviewer:
Why can they turn to you?
Participant 9F:
Cause I have alot of experience speaking English from all the school and my friends, yeah.
End of conversation Participant 9F

## Participant 10M

## Beginning of Conversation <br> Interviewer: <br> I'm going to start off by asking you just some generics questions about you and your family. How old are you? <br> Participant 10M: <br> Fourteen. <br> Interviewer: <br> Fourteen, were you born in Arizona? <br> Participant 10M: <br> Yes. <br> Interviewer: <br> Yes. How many brothers or sisters do you have? <br> Participant 10M: <br> One. <br> Interviewer: <br> One, is it a sister? <br> Participant 10M: <br> Yes. <br> Interviewer: <br> How old is she? <br> Participant 10M: <br> Ten. <br> Interviewer: <br> What language do you mainly speak at home? <br> Participant 10M: <br> Spanish. <br> Interviewer: <br> Spanish. Which members of your family that live with you only speak Spanish? <br> Participant 10M: <br> My grandpa, my mom and my dad. <br> Interviewer: <br> Do they understand a little bit of it or are they...don't speak it at all? <br> Participant 10M: <br> They understand a little bit of English <br> Interviewer: <br> A little bit...yeah. Ok your sister, does she speak both English and Spanish? <br> Participant 10M: <br> Yeah. <br> Interviewer: <br> Ok. Are you ever asked to interpret for your family? <br> Participant 10M: <br> Yeah. <br> Interviewer: <br> Ok, who do you interpret for? <br> Participant 10M: <br> My dad and my mom. <br> Interviewer: <br> Any other family members that you do that for? <br> Participant 10M: <br> No. <br> Interviewer: <br> No, do you do it often? <br> Participant 10M: <br> Yes. <br> Interviewer: <br> Yes, ok. Do you remember the first time that you interpreted or translated for your parents? <br> Participant 10M: <br> Yeah. <br> Interviewer: <br> Yeah? How old were you? <br> Participant 10M: <br> Eleven. <br> Interviewer: <br> Eleven...how did you feel? <br> Participant 10M: <br> I don't remember.

## Interviewer:

You don't remember? How you felt did you feel scared nervous?
Participant 10M:
Nervous.
Interviewer:
Why would you say nervous?
Participant 10M:
Cause I might mess something up and they might get mad.

## Interviewer:

They might get mad? Ok. What do you normally interpret? What environments, stores or doctors?
Participant 10M:
Bills.
Interviewer:
For bills...ok like when the mail, mail?
Participant 10M:
Yes.
Interviewer:
And then when you guys go to the store, you also interpret at the store?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, at the restaurant?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
Um...do your parents know how to use the computer?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, do you have to help them with that or do they do it on their own?
Participant 10M:
Sometimes.
Interviewer:
When do you have to help them? When it breaks down and signs pop up and they need a helper and they panic oh my gosh don't
know what that is?
Participant 10M:
No, they just get mad a little bit.
Interviewer:
They get mad alitttle bit because they can't understand?
Participant 10M:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Ok. Um, let's see when you translated how do you think your parents feel?
Participant 10M:
Good.
Interviewer:
Why do say good?
Participant 10M:
Cause they know that I will be able to speak both languages when I grow.
Interviewer:
Uhuh, I want you to think about an instance when you had to interpret. Did you ever notice anything funny or weird like the other person looked at you funny or weird when you were translating?

## Participant 10M:

No.
Interviewer:
No. Do they expect you to know how to translate once they start talking to your dad or your mom if they see that there is a blank look, they right away turn to you?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, how does that make you feel?
Participant 10M:
Like not nervous, but ok because they know that I might be able to interpret what they're saying.

## Interviewer:

Ok, do you always feel you have a choice to translate or interpret?
Participant 10M:
No.

## Interviewer:

No, you don't have a choice. No? Why?
Participant 10M:
He says you better interpret this or I'll take your iPod away.
Interviewer:
Oh.
Participant 10M:
Whenever I don't want to interpret something.
Interviewer:
And why don't you want to interpret for them sometimes?
Participant 10M:
Cause sometimes I'm doing something else and like doing homework or something that I need to get done for school and like she tells me to interpret and I don't want to because I'm doing something at the moment.
Interviewer:
Cause your doing something?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So um what if it's something important? Do you stop right away or you tell them 'no I don't want to'?
Participant 10M:
Sometimes I just go over there and interpret and then I go back to what I was doing.

## Interviewer:

What you were doing. Um have you and your parents ever sat down and talked about your experience when you interpret or translate for them?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, so it just kind of happens and everyone kind of expects it to kind of happen?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, do you feel your parents are understanding when you can't translate or interpret?
Participant 10M:
Sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes? Why do you say sometimes?

## Participant 10M:

Sometimes I might not know the words like bigger terms, but like I don't understand it and they say 'You're suppose to know it. You speak English' and stuff yeah.
Interviewer:
How does that make you feel when they tell you that?
Participant 10M:
A little mad.
Interviewer:
A little mad?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you tell them anything back?
Participant 10M:

## No.

Interviewer:
No, you're just like keep it to yourself. Ok um do you translate for others, other extended family members? You mentioned your grandpa lives with you. Does he live with you guys?
Participant 10M:
Yeah, he lives with us
Interviewer:
Do you translate for him?
Participant 10M:
No, cause he tries to learn English and so he most gets everything, but not like, he sometimes gets confused, but no.
Interviewer:
And when he gets confused, do you help him?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah and does he tell you anything? Gives you any praise in regards to that?

## Participant 10M:

No.
Interviewer:
No, ok has it ever happened to you that you haven't translated something correctly?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, do you remember what it was?
Participant 10M:
I think it was a letter from the bank.
Interviewer:
And you made a mistake?
Participant 10M:
Yeah and my mom thought that they're going to raise money and so she had to pay more and it turned out that she had to pay less.
Interviewer:
She had to pay less, did they get angry?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
Were you upset because you messed up?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, you kind of brushed it off and kept going. Ok for bigger situations do you translate or do your parents find someone else to translate?
Participant 10M:
Um like at school, in the doctors like at the doctors they call someone to translate, but like at school I translate.

## Interviewer:

So you translate the parent teacher conference?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How do your teachers view you when you're doing it?
Participant 10M:
Um.
Interviewer:
Do they have any thoughts?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, do they think that your gonna tell the truth? Tell your parents the truth?
Participant 10M:
Yes maybe.
Interviewer:
Maybe, have they told you 'hey are you telling them what I'm telling you?'
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, but I bet you tell them the truth?
Participant 10M:

## Sometimes.

Interviewer:
Sometimes...oh? Ok, but at the end the next day, what do your teachers say to you when they've seen you already translate for them?
Do you remember one time when they probably commented?

## Participant 10M:

No.
Interviewer:
No...Do they say 'hey great job' or even the first time that you did it did they say 'wow I didn't know you could do that'?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No. Do you feel like you're responsible for translating and interpreting for your family?
Participant 10M:
Sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes, why?

## Participant 10M:

Cause like my sister is too small to be able to translate that good and like I'm the only oldest person there that can translate. Like yeah. Interviewer:
Ok, how would you feel if they asked someone else to translate for them?
Participant 10M:
I wouldn't really care.

## Interviewer

You wouldn't really care, why?

## Participant 10M:

Cause sometimes I really don't want to translate and when I'm not in the mood to translate then I'm like yeah I won't do it.
Interviewer:
So you go through moods?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
That you want to translate and sometimes you don't want to translate, is it because sometimes you're busy like you said earlier and your stuff is more important?

## Participant 10M:

Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes? You're nodding your head let's see um, what would happen do you think if your parents didn't have anyone to help them in their translating or their interpreting?

## Participant 10M:

Think that they might like I don't know how to explain it. But they would lose a lot of money cause like lots of things pop up on the computer and like if you don't know what its saying and you might click it then you get robbed by money. And like if you can't read the letters that the people send, then you are not going to know how much money you have and stuff.
Interviewer:
Yeah that's true does this worry you at times? Do you worry about your family?
Participant 10M:
Oh yeah.
Interviewer:
You do when do you worry about them?
Participant 10M:
Whenever were low on money and like they might need help on something

## Interviewer

Do you worry when you're not around to translate/interpret for them? Do you worry about them?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, you don't worry about them. Ok, do you sometimes feel like they just go to you and they should go to someone else in translating and interpreting?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, do you feel like you are valuable to your parents because you translate and interpret for them?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?
Participant 10M:
Cause like if no one was there then, how I explained before they might lose their job and stuff and run out of money
Interviewer:
Ok, how do the other members of your family that you sometimes help feel about you helping them?
Participant 10F:
That it's good that they have someone helping them to be able to tell them what to do and what everything says.
Interviewer:
Have they ever expressed that that they're happy to have you helping them?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, um do you feel like in some way you've become a partner for your parents as a result of this experience of always kind of translating and interpreting for them?

## Participant 10M:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, how do you see yourself as their partner?

## Participant 10M:

Cause whenever they need help they just tell me like to interpret the letter and the bill that they need help in.
Interviewer:
Are you ever involved in major decisions?

## Participant 10M:

No.
Interviewer:
No, so they just basically want you to help them understand something? Ok, do you feel that interpreting or translating has brought you closer to your parents or do you feel like your relationships has changed because of these experiences?
Participant 10M:
I don't know.
Interviewer:
I don't know so picture yourself if you didn't have to translate for them would your relationship be the same?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, ok. Because you help them in this responsibility of translating and interpreting for them, do they ask you to assist them in other duties or responsibilities because they feel you are more mature and responsible?
Participant 10M:
For just interpreting or other stuff?
Interviewer:
Other stuff because you interpret and translate, do they have you help them with other stuff because they think you're responsible and mature?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, what kind of other stuff?

## Participant 10M:

Like putting the clothes on the clothesline and putting the clothes to wash, washing the dishes.
Interviewer:
Do you feel more grown up because of these experiences?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No. Compare to other children your age that don't have to translate or interpret, do you feel that you are different than they are?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, how so?
Participant 10M:
Cause when I'm going to go high school I won't have to take that language no more because I already know it and other people don't.
Interviewer:
So you can focus on other things?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yes. Have you've ever been told you are mature for your age?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, what have they said to you?
Participant 10M:
They say like, like when they were in Mexico, they used to sell stuff and have their own jobs like when they were like nine or twelve because they needed to help their family.
Interviewer:
So they see you mature like them too?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, do you think that in interpreting or translating has pushed you to grow up faster and to think differently and worry about things that most of kids don't?

## Participant 10M:

No.

## Interviewer:

No, so you feel like you know, you're fourteen ok?

## Participant 10M:

Yes.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel that because you are translating interpreting for your parents that you are giving up or sacrificing something?
Participant 10M:
Sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes?
Participant 10M:
When I'm doing something important.

## Interviewer:

And what do you do that so important?

## Participant 10M:

Homework or like taking the dogs outside so they can go to the restroom but like just playing on my iPod.
Interviewer:
Do you think that maybe sometimes you're doing too many things?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why do you say that?
Participant 10M:
Cause like on a normal day I go to school, I go to soccer practice and come back five or six and do my homework. After that and I don't have much time to do stuff that I want to.

## Interviewer:

So you have to be a lot more organized to get your stuff done. Do you think because you interpret or translate you are asked or expected to behave differently than other children your age?

## Participant 10M:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?
Participant 10M:
Cause they say that I have to be more mature cause other people are more mature that interpret. And that I have to know the other language good so like if we go somewhere, we have to talk Spanish and write it so I know I have to know the language.

## Interviewer:

Hmmm. Ok, have you ever translated at school?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, tell me a little about that.

## Participant 10M:

Like whenever the teachers, some only talk English and others talk both and there not always around, I have to tell my mom what the teacher is saying and she doesn't understand much so she tells me to tell her what she is saying.

## Interviewer:

Ok. You said you have one sister so when she sees you interpret or translate how does she react to that?

## Participant 10M:

She gets mad.

## Interviewer:

She gets mad, why does she get mad?

## Participant 10M:

She wants to do it and she does not know how to and then she says I don't know. And then when she interprets bad she says it's my brothers fault and I wasn't here.

## Interviewer:

Does she look at you as a role model maybe?
Participant 10M:

## No.

Interviewer:
Do you see yourself as a role model for her?

## Participant 10M:

No.
Interviewer:
No. Would you ever share with her tips for interpret or translate?

## Participant 10M:

I'll try.
Interviewer:
You'll try. If you had the chance to tell her what would you tell her? What kind of tips would you give her?

## Participant 10M:

It would depend on whatever she's going through.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like you have a special position in your house?

## Participant 10B:

No.
Interviewer:
That maybe you know you're not equal to her, yeah how is that?

## Participant 10M:

Cause she says 'oh I'm always the smallest so I don't have to do the chores' and I have to do the chores instead.

## Interviewer:

Because of the chores? Cause you have to do the chores?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Does she ever mention that she wants to be like you when you're interpreting or translating?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
When you're interpreting or translating do you feel pressure?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
No, no pressure. Are you stressed out maybe sometimes?
Participant 10M:
No.
Interviewer:
Um, what skills do you think that you've developed because of this experience?
Participant 10M:
Learning another language.
Interviewer:
Anything else that you may have noticed that you've learned how to do because you interpret or translate?
Participant 10M:

## No.

Interviewer:
No. Do you find yourself listening a little bit closer or you're listening better than most kids maybe, yeah, why?
Participant 10M:
Cause sometimes I hear something that other kids don't hear it and they say you must be crazy because I don't hear anything. And
I'm like I hear something like whenever a cell phone rings or something or when someone talks bad about me, I hear that and I tell
them I heard what you guys said.

## Interviewer:

So your attention is a little bit better than most people because, is it cause you interpret or translate?

## Participant 10M:

## Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Have they ever caught you off guard when you are with your parents and they talk to your parents and you pay attention or not pay attention?

## Participant 10M:

[Nods head saying no]
Interviewer:
No, you're always paying attention when you're with your parents?
Participant 10M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, do you feel any resentment because of this experience?
Participant 10M:
[shakes head no]
Interviewer:
No? If you were to be born again would you like to interpret or translate for your parents once again?

## Participant 10M:

Yes, cause its learning another language and like I said before you could do more stuff and get payed more.

## Interviewer:

Ok. How do you think this experience has influenced who you are today?

## Participant 10M:

I don't know.

## Interviewer:

You don't know. If you didn't have to interpret or even if you just knew English, do you think your life would be the same or would it be different?

## Participant 10M:

Different cause if I never knew Spanish I would never be able to communicate with them. Cause I would be saying stuff in English and they would be 'what are you saying' and I would be asking for something normally and they would be confused.

## Interviewer:

Do you have friends where they only speak English and they're parents speak Spanish?
Participant 10M:
No yeah I do have some.
Interviewer:
Have you ever wondered how they feel?
Participant 10M:
Well their mom says that she has to learn English because the kids don't want to learn Spanish.

## Interviewer:

Ok, do you think because of these experiences you will be able to have an easier life when you grow up, how would that be?

## Participant 10M:

Cause my mom always tells me that a person that knows more than one language gets a higher pay than other people. And she told us an example of this guy that there was two people who put in their application at the same time, but one only put that he talked two languages and the other one just put that he talked English and he was complaining a month later that why he was getting a lower pay if they started at the same time. And it was because he only put English on his application.

## Interviewer:

Wow, that's interesting! If you had to tell me one thing that you have learned and I know that you're only fourteen and you could only remember so much far back, what would you tell me was the most important things you've learned so far?
Participant 10M:
About interpreting?
Interviewer:
Yes.
Participant 10M:
Like that it's better to learn more than one language so life is easier later on.
End of conversation Participant 10M

## Participant 11F

## Beginning of Conversation

Interviewer:
So we are going to start off with some simple questions. Ok, how old are you?

## Participant 11F:

Twelve.
Interviewer:
Were you born in Arizona?
Participant 11F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes, how many brothers or sisters you have?
Participant 11F:
One.
Interviewer:
Just one, how old is he?
Participant 11F:
He's fourteen.
Interviewer:
Fourteen, what language do you speak at home?
Participant 11F:
Spanish.
Interviewer:
Spanish, why?
Participant 11F:
Because my parents don't understand English and um, they um, they might not know what we are talking about. And they might ask us when we're talking in English what we are talking about

## Interviewer:

Oh ok, so which members of your family that you live with only speak Spanish?
Participant 11F:
Well my mom and my dad kind of speak English and my grandpa kind of speaks English.
Interviewer:
Ok. Are you ever asked to translate or interpret for your parents?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yes um...when are you asked to help them out?
Participant 11F:
When we are in the, in a meeting with our teachers. like they always ask me to translate because they talk English and my mom talks
Spanish.
Interviewer:
Ok.
Participant 11F:
They have a hard time understanding each other.
Interviewer:
When was the first time that you translated, do you remember?
Participant 11F:
Yeah, when I was in second grade.
Interviewer:
When you were in second grade? Wow! How did that make you feel?
Participant 11F:
Mature.
Interviewer:
Mature?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 11F:
Because it was the first time that I had ever translated something. Like some people like they they're too small to translate and I was small and I still did.

## Interviewer:

Did you surprise your teacher?
Participant 11F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, did she think that you knew how to translate?

## Participant 11F:

Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes, did she tell you anything on the next day?
Participant 11F:
No.

## Interviewer:

No, ok. So when you help your parents out do you help them read or what kind of stuff do you help them translate?

## Participant 11F:

Like how I'm doing in school because like or when we get our report card and the teacher ask if they have any questions and she mostly asks questions to the teacher.
Interviewer:
So they ever have you translate bills or like mail, like stuff that comes in the mail?
Participant 11 F :
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, do you ever help them on the computer?
Participant 11F:
Yeah, when she is trying to read something and she doesn't know a word, I help her. Like I tell her the word and what it means.
Interviewer:
And what it means, ok. When your parents see you translating how do you think they feel?
Participant 11F:
Proud.
Interviewer:
Proud.
Participant 11F:
Because not most kids can like translate both languages.
Interviewer:
Both languages...do they ever tell you that they are proud?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah...like when you translate for your parents, do you translate at stores too or at restaurants?

## Participant 11F:

Well, sometimes when you're in the grocery store and they have something like to pay and they say the articles are more than it cost and you're like what article, they need someone to translate and tell them what articles and how much it costs.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel that you always have a choice to translate and interpret?
Participant 11F:
Yes.

## Interviewer:

Yes, um...have your parents and you ever sat down and talked about you when you are translating and interpreting like do you sit down and talk about it?
Participant 11F:
Like sit and talk about what I'm going to translate?
Interviewer:
Afterwards after you've translated already?
Participant 11F:
No.
Interviewer:
No. Ok do you feel that your parents are understanding when you can't translate?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, do you translate for any other members of your family?
Participant 11F:
Yeah for my dad.
Interviewer:
For your dad...for bigger situations, do you translate or do they find someone that's older or somebody else to help them?

## Participant 11F:

Um...sometimes I translate and sometimes they get an adult.
Interviewer:
Get an adult...ok. Do you feel that you're responsible for translating?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?

## Participant 11F:

Because I'm old, not old, but like I'm getting older and more mature and I'm getting mature.

## Interviewer:

You said you're getting more responsible, yeah?

## Participant 11F:

Yeah.

## Interviewer:

How does translating make you responsible?

## Participant 11F:

Like some kids, some other kids are like they don't like, um some kids they, I can't explain.
Interviewer:
You can't explain it, that's fine. Do you feel that your mom and dad only have you to turn to for translating and interpreting?
Participant 11F:
No.
Interviewer:
No. Do you feel that you are valuable to your parents because you translate?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?

## Participant 11F:

Because sometimes if they didn't have, like sometimes my brother is not in the house and someone calls on the phone and they talk English, and it something very important and my parents don't understand what they're being told, I tell them what the person is saying and like answer back to the person.
Interviewer:
Ok...do you feel that interpreting or translating has brought you closer to your parents?
Participant 11F:
Hmm...yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, do you feel more grown up because of these experiences of translating or do you feel the same?
Participant 11F:
Well I kind of feel more grown up because like um, like I it's like a little bit of both. It's not like sometimes I do and sometimes and don't it's like I can't...

## Interviewer:

You can't...
Participant 11F:
Explain it.
Interviewer:
Ok, what would happen do you think if your parents didn't have anyone to help them in translating or interpreting?
Participant 11F:
What do I think?
Interviewer:
What do you think if your parents didn't have anyone to help them?
Participant 11F:
Well, like they wouldn't be able to understand each other, the person they are speaking with and they might say something else and the person might understand it as something else and they might say something bad or like get mixed with words.

## Interviewer:

Ok does that worry you sometimes? It does?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How does it worry you?
Participant 11F:
Because in my dad's job they talk English and if he says something that, they might get mad and he might lose his job.
Interviewer:
Oh and if he doesn't understand...oh, ok.
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Have you ever been told that you're mature?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, by whom?
Participant 11F:
My mom.

## Interviewer:

Your mom, anybody else like maybe a teacher? No, ok. What does your mom tell you?
Participant 11F:
Like about...
Interviewer:
Being mature...
Participant 11F:
That I have an opportunity that many children don't have and that I should be lucky and I'm getting bigger and smarter.

## Interviewer:

Bigger and smarter...oh that's nice. Do you think that interpreting or translating has pushed you to grow up faster or to think of things that maybe your friends don't think about?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, how?
Participant 11F:
Like I think about when I grow and I speak both languages, I could get maybe a better job and my friends don't think that. They just don't care.
Interviewer:
They just don't care, they just speak the languages that's it?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that because you translate and interpret for your parents that you are giving up something or you're sacrificing something?
Participant 11F:
No.
Interviewer:
Do you think that maybe you're doing to many things?
Participant 11F:

## No.

Interviewer:
No, do you think because you interpret for your parents that they expect you to behave differently?
Participant 11F:
Hmm...no.
Interviewer:
To act different?
Participant 11F:
No, I don't think so.

## Interviewer:

You don't think so...ok. Do you ever translate at your school aside from the parent teacher conference?

## Participant 11F:

Yeah, like the teacher sometimes...um...she goes on the phone and she um I don't know why, but she asks different students to like translate because the parent mostly talks Spanish and it's not your parent its someone else's parent.
Interviewer:
It's someone else's parent?
Participant 11F;
You need to translate for them.
Interviewer:
Wow! How does that make you feel?
Participant 11F:
Strange because you're talking on the phone with someone you don't even know.
Interviewer:
You don't even know... what do you think the other parent, like when you're talking to the other parents how do they sound on the phone? Do they sound kind of ...what do you think they are thinking?
Participant 11F:
I don't know...
Interviewer:
Especially when they hear your voice, you're another kid?
Participant 11F:
Like who is this talking in my business...
Interviewer:
Does that make you feel uncomfortable?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah ok, but your teacher thinks, she likes to have you help her...ok. you have your older brother, when you see him translating do you feel that he has a special position in the family?

## Participant 11F:

No.
Interviewer:
No, why, why not?
Participant 11F:
Because I can translate too.

## Interviewer:

You can translate too? Who do you think is a better translator?
Participant 11F:
Me.
Interviewer:
You, not him? No, why are you better?
Participant 11F:
Because my mom...my brother used to get stuck like in saying some words wrong like what is this word and my mom would be like my brother he always whines because he translates. And he's like why do I have to do it like that and he gets like mad.
Interviewer:
You don't get mad?
Participant 11F:
No.
Interviewer:
No you like to translate?
Participant 11F:
It's fun.
Interviewer:
It's fun...so like do you enjoy taking his spot if he doesn't want to translate? You...do you feel like you like it?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Does it make you feel more powerful?
Participant 11F:
Yeah because he's bigger and I'm smaller and like I can do the same thing as him we're equal.
Interviewer:
You're equal...ah, at any time when you're translating do you feel pressure?
Participant 11F:
Hmm...sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes, why?
Participant 11F:
Because like sometimes I don't get what my mom is saying and the teachers are like what is she saying, what is she saying and I'm like I don't know and they say like how you don't know.

## Interviewer:

And that makes it more stress, stressful for you?

## Participant 11F:

Uhum...
Interviewer:
Do you think that interpreting/translating has made you more confident?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?
Participant 11F:
Because I get to communicate with other people maybe, I don't know. And maybe my parents do and I don't do nothing about it and I just talk to them like nothing.

## Interviewer:

Like you know them. At school do they ask you to talk in front of the class? Do you feel comfortable with that?
Participant 11F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, it's different?

## Participant 11F:

Yeah because everyone is looking at you.

## Interviewer:

How is it different from interpreting like when you are talking to somebody, like for your mom and then your class? Is it because there are more people?
Participant 11F:
Well it's because maybe that like it's my mom and somebody that I trust and they won't think anything bad of me or if I say
something else they might be like oh and there's more people that try to judge you.

## Interviewer:

So your parents are more understanding?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

So have you ever messed up when you translated?

## Participant 11F:

Uhum.
Interviewer:
Yeah...how does that make you feel?
Participant 11F:
Embarrassed.
Interviewer:
Embarrassed?
Participant 11F:
Yeah because I'm saying something and I mess up and I'm like sorry.
Interviewer:
Do you try to fix it right away?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Has your mom caught you, yeah and what does she say?
Participant 11F:
She doesn't get mad or nothing. She just tells me that's not how you say it?
Interviewer:
Oh, what kind of skills you think you've developed because you know how to translate or interpret for your parents?
Participant 11F:
Umm...maybe communicating with other people being more socialized
Interviewer:
More socialized I bet you have lots of friends?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You're very social...any other things you have learned to do because you've interpreted or translated for your parents?
Participant 11F:
Learned two languages.
Interviewer:
Do you find that you listen a little bit better than other people that don't?

## Participant 11F:

Yeah because you're spending time with a person and you really need to listen to them and like...

## Interviewer:

How do you feel that all of a sudden or has it ever happened that you weren't listening and somebody talks to your mom and you have to help her and you didn't listen?
Participant 11F:
Yeah I feel like embarrassed or something because I wasn't listening to the person and then I'm like oh I don't know what she said.
Interviewer:
Do you always have to listen when you're with your mom and dad?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that it's forced?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How would you feel if they asked somebody else to translate?
Participant 11F:
Kind of sad.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 11F:
Because like they're my parents, that has happened before and we were at church and there's this lady and she was translating instead of me and they're my parents, you're just like a stranger for them.
Interviewer:
Oh so you felt kind of...did you feel like you're taking my position?
Participant 11F:
Yeah like I'm here you know.

## Interviewer:

So how do you think this experience has, let me rephrase that, if you had to be born again would you want this experience again or would you say no I don't want this experience?

## Participant 11F:

I would.
Interviewer:
You would why?
Participant 11F:
Because it's fun and its cool to translate because most people can't and like you are better than some other people and like you might get a better job.
Interviewer:
Do you feel unique?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yes, how?
Participant 11F:
Because there's not much people that can translate both languages like more and some people really try to learn it and they speak so weird
Interviewer:
Ok. What...do your friends also translate or interpret for their parents?

## Participant 11F:

Um mostly kind of do some of them.

## Interviewer:

Some of them...
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And the ones that don't, do they see you differently because you do?
Participant 11F:
Well kind of they just tell me I'm kind of weird because you're just talking like a different thing, you talk Spanish so you're like different.
Interviewer:
Do you have friends that they speak both Spanish and English and they don $t$ have to interpret?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Yeah, have those people ever told you that they would like to interpret or they just like no?
Participant 11F:
No.
Interviewer:
Ok, how do you think this experience has influenced who you are now?
Participant 11F:
Hmm...
Interviewer:
I know you are very small...
Participant 11F:
Influence? I don't get that word.
Interviewer:
So would you be different if you didn't have this experience?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How would you be different?
Participant 11F:
Because I wouldn't be able to talk Spanish and English and I would only be able to talk English and wouldn't be able to meet all these people that I actually meet because of this experience. I would just be like any other ordinary person talking English.

## Interviewer:

I'm curious to find out ask you, how do you figure out when you don't know one of the words like right now you didn't understand the word influence... let's say someone was asking you to interpret and someone said influence how would you translate to your mom?
Participant 11F:
Like I just, I know the words but sometimes I don't know what they mean. That word means influence like I just forget sometimes and I do remember.
Interviewer:
Do you have a special trick?

## Participant 11F:

It really sounds similar to other words so sometimes the, because there is mostly a difference in the vowels and sometimes I remember the vowels what's the difference in between these two words?
Interviewer:
Do you find yourself thinking in English and speaking in Spanish and then you're thinking in Spanish and speaking in English that happens?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah do you think because of this experience or these experiences of translating or interpreting that when you get older your life will be a little bit easier than your parents?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?
Participant 11F:
Because my parents don't know how to speak English. They only know how to speak Spanish and like I know how to speak both and mostly my parents say that if I speak both they'll pay you better and you'll get a better job. And like they say that I'll have the capacity that they didn't have. like I would get like when they were like older they didn't have what I had and they want us me and my brother not to go through all that things.
Interviewer:
If you had to tell me what thing that you've learned from this experience. I know you're very young, what would you tell me would be the one thing you have learned that's the most important thing?

## Participant 11F:

Umm...like I think that my parents always tell me that no matter if you are different you can speak both languages like they always tell me to never forget both. They always say to remember both.
Interviewer:
You always want to remember that you have both languages?
Participant 11F:
Yeah.
End of conversation Participant 11F

## Participant 12M

Beginning of Conversation
Interviewer:
So I'm going to start off with some simple questions about you and your family, ok? How old are you?
Participant 12M:
Twelve.
Interviewer:
You're twelve, were you born in Arizona?
Participant 12M:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes, how many brothers or sisters do you have?
Participant 12M:
Two sisters.
Interviewer:
Two sisters, are you the oldest?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And what are your sisters' ages?
Participant 12M:
Eleven and seven.
Interviewer:
Ok, what language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 12M:
Spanish.
Interviewer:
Spanish, do your parents speak English?
Participant 12M:
A little.
Interviewer:
A little and what about your sisters?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Both of them speak English?
Participant 12M:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Ok. so now, I want you to think about your experience as someone who translates for your parent or interprets when they need you because they can't understand English. So do you remember the first time when you had to translate for them
Participant 12M:
No.
Interviewer:
You don't remember? Can you kind of think of an age? Were you that little that you can't remember or did it just happen recently or were you like your other sister or?

## Participant 12M:

It wasn't a long time ago, I was about nine.
Interviewer:
You were about nine? Ok. How did it feel like? Do you remember that first time?

## Participant 12M:

Felt like normal. I was just talking with, I was just saying telling my parents what they were saying or what was mostly important.
Interviewer:
Ok. You didn't think anything of it. You were like I was just helping my parents out?
Participant 12M:
No, I didn't think anything of it
Interviewer:
Yeah? So how do you think your parents felt that first time when you had to help them?
Participant 12M:
I don't know.
Interviewer:
You don't know.
Participant 12M:
I think that they were surprised,
Interviewer:
They were surprised?

## Participant 12M:

I mostly didn't speak English here, only with my sisters.

## Interviewer:

And so when they watched you, do you remember what you translated for them? Was it the store or...
Participant 12M:
Yeah I think it was the store, we were in a restaurant.

## Interviewer:

In a restaurant...

## Participant 12M:

They didn't speak Spanish, they spoke English.
Interviewer:
And you spoke in Spanish and English and they were like shocked?
Participant 12M:
Yeah, I think they were a little.
Interviewer:
A little shocked. Did they tell you anything? Did they say good job?
Participant 12M:
No.
Interviewer:
Nothing?
Participant 12M:
Yeah, they said good job.
Interviewer:
Ok, um when you translate when you're interpreting for your parents, like to other grownups cause your talking to other grownups I'm assuming, how do you think they think of you?

## Participant 12M:

Um, I think like, I don't know.
Interviewer:
You don't know? Do they look at you funny?
Participant 12M:
No.
Interviewer:
Do they think that maybe you don't, um know what you're doing?
Participant 12M:
No.
Interviewer:
Did they look shocked?
Participant 12M:
A little cause they just stare.
Interviewer:
They just stare at you...and how does that make you feel?
Participant 12M:
Uncomfortable.
Interviewer:
Uncomfortable, why?
Participant 12M:
Because I'm like 'why are they staring at me and I don't understand why.' I know that they're surprised that speak both languages but like I don't know why they stare at me.

## Interviewer:

Yeah...so how do you feel when all of a sudden they're talking to your parents and all of sudden, do you feel that the spotlight changes and goes to you?
Participant 12M:
Yeah cause I'm like, I'm doing something with my sisters and they tell me to do something and I'm surprised.
Interviewer:
You're surprised?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Have you ever found yourself paying closer attention to the conversation now that you translate more?

## Participant 12M:

Mostly when I see somebody that speaks English and where they were talking before, then I go to see because most of the time they do need my help.
Interviewer:
So you kind of get ready?
Participant 12m:
Yeah, cause its gonna happen, they're going to ask me and I need to be ready, yeah.

## Interviewer:

Cool...do you feel that you're responsible for translating for your family?

## Participant 12M:

Like I don't feel forced but I think I should help them because they support me and my education and everything.

## Interviewer:

So you feel that you owe that to them?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
That you need to help them. What would happen do you think if your parents didn't have anybody? If they didn't have you to help
them? What do you think would happen?
Participant 12M:
I think like my sisters are sometimes shy and they really don't know what to say and maybe they won't know what to tell my parents.

## Interviewer:

So do you feel at times that maybe you're the only one that your mom and dad have to turn to?
Participant 12M:
No, my older, the one that is eleven, she speaks English clearly too. She knows what they're saying.
Interviewer:
So you speak a lot more than she does?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah...so you are a little bit more skilled than her cause she is one year less than you yeah?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you worry about your family when you're not around to translate? I know that you're sister is around?

## Participant 12M:

Umm no I trust my sister.

## Interviewer:

You trust your sister. Let's say you were the only one let's say you're sisters were smaller...

## Participant 12M:

Umm I wouldn't feel any difference I would help them.

## Interviewer:

You would help them...would you worry at that point?

## Participant 12M:

Because I don't know what that somebody said then how do I explain it to them sometimes I know what a word means in English but I forget about how to translate in Spanish.

## Interviewer:

Yeah, do you sometimes feel like they just go to you and they should go to somebody else?
Participant 12M:
No.
Interviewer:
No. You feel comfortable in having them come to you?

## Participant 12M:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
And do you, so you translate in place like the store, at a restaurant, at the doctor?
Participant 12M:
Yeah, um.
Interviewer:
Do you translate the mail that comes in?
Participant 12M:
Sometimes like sometimes my dad can read it and there's words that he doesn't understand all of it so.
Interviewer:
That's when you jump in and help them?
Participant 12M:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
So like for more important papers, do they have somebody else help them or do you help them?
Participant 12M:
I help them.
Interviewer:
You help them? What kind of stuff have you done that is really important that you have helped them with?

## Participant 12M:

Umm applications that they fill out. papers from the doctor. Umm when we go to the doctor they give them a paper to sign and sometimes he doesn't understand what they are trying to say to him to write, so I help him with that.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel sometimes afraid that you might mess up?

## Participant 12M:

Yeah cause like I'm not sure of a word and then I'm like scared that I might tell them the wrong thing and they might put something wrong.
Interviewer:
Has that ever happened where you made a mistake?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah and how did you feel about that?
Participant 12M:
I feel like we're like oh snap.
Interviewer:
I just screwed up...have they noticed you screwed up?
Participant 12M:
Yeah, sometimes when they look it up on the internet, on a word that I'm not sure. If they look it up and they tell me what it means, so I know for the next time that word pops up again.
Interviewer:
Ok, so do your parents know how to use the internet?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah they use the computer and all that too?

## Participant 12M:

Our computer isn't working right now.
Interviewer:
But when it was working did they know how to use it?
Participant 12M:
My mom is scared of using it. She thinks that she is going to break it. My dad doesn't like it either.
Interviewer:
But the times that they have gone on, have you had to help them like when something pops up on the screen they scream your name? Participant 12M:
No, haven't used it. My mom uses at school. She goes to school so that she can learn to speak English. She goes on the program.
When she doesn't understand something, she goes to the teacher and when I'm there and she's doing something, she's like hey what happened cause it gets like stuck and its loading.

## Interviewer

Ok...so you still have to help her when they, they're on the computer. Do you feel like...going back to when you like make a mistake,
do you feel that your parents are understanding when you make a mistake?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Or do they feel that it is going to happen sometimes?
Participant 12M:
I think that they feel like it going to happen sometimes and that nobody is perfect and people mess up.
Interviewer:
People mess up...they've never gotten angry cause you've messed up, no?
Participant 12M:

## No.

Interviewer:
This is a big experience that you have. You know...for interpreting do you feel that in any way you are being pushed to grow up?
Participant 12M:
I think it is normal most kids that I know do it too. The ones that speak Spanish and English, they help their parents.

## Interviewer:

Do you think that maybe you see things a little bit different? Like you understand things a little bit different? You are more informed than most people because you translate and interpret for your parents?

## Participant 12M:

Sometimes cause, not all the time. Cause sometimes I know exactly, I know something and I can explain it, sometimes I don't.
Somebody else does, so they explain to me.

## Interviewer:

So you're kind of learning at the same time too?

## Participant 12M:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you translate for any other members of your family?
Participant 12M:
Sometimes for my uncles when my cousin doesn't know how to explain it to him.

## Interviewer:

How old is your cousin?

## Participant 12M:

She's my same age but sometimes she doesn't know what words to use. She has a sister and she's ten and she doesn't understand that well either.
Interviewer:
So do they call you up on the phone?
Participant 12M:
When they come to our house sometimes they come and they say something that they didn't understand.
Interviewer:
Do they bring their mail with them too maybe?
Participant 12M:
Um my uncle, I think he once brought an application for a job and he brought it to me because he didn't know what to write down.
Interviewer:
And you helped them out... how do you think your cousins felt?
Participant 12M:
Well my cousin, that uncle he only has my cousins, are only eight and three.

## Interviewer:

They're little...so you're not only helping your parents, but your helping your uncle too. How does that make you feel?

## Participant 12M:

I don't feel special.
Interviewer:
Why don't you feel special?

## Participant 12M:

I don't know because I think that other people have the same ability and I don't think that its...I think it's important, but not like important like...um when you do something. I don't feel like I'm the only one that can do it and many other people can too.
Interviewer:
Ok, but not that many people in your family, huh? Only you?
Participant 12M:
[nods]
Interviewer:
Do you feel a lot more grown up than other kids?
Participant 12M:
No, I think that some kids grow faster than others. I think I'm with people that are already mature. Some kids in my class are. Interviewer:
Why do you think that you are more mature?

## Participant 12M:

Because they just say something to the teacher and they think it's funny and they start laughing and they're the only ones laughing. And there's this kid who acts like a third grader. One time he was playing around with some little kids during a Christmas pageant and they put him to sing.

## Interviewer:

Do you think that your behavior is a lot more mature?

## Participant 12M:

Yeah, than some kids.
Interviewer:
Than some kids...would you say that your thinking is also mature too?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
If you had to say or pick a number what age do you think your thinking is at?
Participant 12M:
I don't know.
Interviewer:
Do you think you think like a twelve year old?
Participant 12M:
Yeah a twelve year old.
Interviewer:
A mature twelve year old?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do people ever tell you you're mature?
Participant 12M:
At schools sometimes the teachers.
Interviewer:
What do they tell you?

## Participant 12M:

Like the kid I was telling you about sometimes he sitting next to me annoying me and the teacher says I know that you can handle him, that's why I put him next to you.
Interviewer:
How do you handle him?
Participant 12M:
Just ignore him.
Interviewer:
You ignore him?
Participant 12M:
He starts saying stuff about people and everybody just ignores him.
Interviewer:
Are you kind of role model at school?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So what makes you a role model at school?
Participant 12M:
I also help at school. There is some kids at school they know how to speak both languages, but I had to interpret for a new kid that came from Sonora.
Interviewer:
And so you said I'll help him?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So you're helping interpret another classmate?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And how do you feel?
Participant 12M:
I don't feel anything in particular about it. It's just normal.
Interviewer:
I'm just helping this kid out who doesn't speak English very well
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Let's see do you think that because you have this experience of translating not only your parents, but other people expect you to behave differently?
Participant 12M:
Um sometimes they want me to do things that I'm older. I don't know how to explain it.
Interviewer:
You're not suppose to play or are you suppose to talk in a specific way?
Participant 12M:
No, like when I'm talking in some way with my friends sometimes and they expect me to be formal with them.
Interviewer:
Is this your parents that expect you to be formal?
Participant 12M:
Sometimes, mostly they don't say anything because they know that I'm still young and I'm a kid.
Interviewer:
So you don't feel like your pressured to translate at all?
Participant 12M:
No.
Interviewer:
Is it stressful?
Participant 12M:
Yeah especially when they're saying a lot of complicated things that I don't really understand what they're saying and I have a hard time translating.
Interviewer:
How do you feel?
Participant 12M:
I'm like I get like mad cause...I don't like get angry at someone, but I get frustrated.
Interviewer:
At yourself or at somebody else?
Participant 12M:
At myself.

## Interviewer:

What do you say to yourself?

## Participant 12M:

Come on I have to figure it out and my parents are just staring at me.

## Interviewer:

Your parents are just staring at you?
Participant 12M:
Like when I think really hard, they are staring at me and they are 'so what does it mean' and most of the time I figure it out but sometime I don't.

## Interviewer:

If it takes a little bit longer are your parents understanding or do they get angry at you?
Participant 12M:
They understand.
Interviewer:
They've never gotten angry or have gotten inpatient with you?

## Participant 12M:

No, they're always like sometimes I take longer than usually and they're like I tell them I don't understand and five minutes later I remember the word and I tell them and then they understand.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that you're very valuable to your parents?
Participant 12M:
No. I think that were all the same. Like my sisters no one is better than the other.
Interviewer:
So you don't feel valuable at all?
Participant 12M:
No.
Interviewer:
So if it was just your sisters they would still be ok?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
But then if you're sisters weren't around, would you feel valuable then?
Participant 12M:
Yeah because my sisters wouldn't be able to help, my parents wouldn't understand, they would be alone.
Interviewer:
Has it ever happened that they have to go outside and have somebody else help them?

## Participant 12M:

Um...yeah cause there was an application that they needed to fill out and I didn't understand the application and so we went to somebody else to help us.
Interviewer:
Because you translate or interpret for your parents do you think a lot more is expected of you like responsibilities?
Participant 12M:
Umm sometimes they do, but most of the time no because my sisters they can help. But sometimes I feel I have the responsibility to translate, but sometimes I don't because my sisters help my parents and me.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel that maybe because you've had that experience, they even give you more chores to do?

## Participant 12M;

No. Like sometimes when I have to do something that my sisters can't do, my sisters just come out like when I clean our car.

## Interviewer:

At any point do you feel that you are giving up something important, giving up your childhood?

## Participant 12M:

No because I only have to interpret a few times, not like all day. That would be more stressful.
Interviewer:
So you still get to do your normal stuff?
Participant 12M:
I get to play.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like you're a partner for your parents? Like normally we see mom and dad as partners and they do things together translate and interpret they see you as a partner too?

## Participant 12M:

Um they might see me as a partner, but I'm really not that involved. Sometimes for the most part they understand if they don't then I help them.
Interviewer:
So most of the stuff if it involves language then you are a partner to help them understand?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

And if it doesn't require language then they kind of decide on their own?

## Participant 12M:

Yeah sometimes I help them but most of the time I don't.
Interviewer:
Ok. Do you feel that translating or interpreting has brought you closer to your parents?

## Participant 12M:

No I don't think it has because even if I spoke one language we would still be like close.

## Interviewer:

So the relationship hasn't changed? You're still close?
Participant 12M:
We're still close.
Interviewer:
You're still close regardless if you spoke English or English and Spanish?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Cool... you have two sisters how do you think they perceive you, how do they see you?
Participant 12M:
I think they see me as an older brother and when they need help they can ask me for something like on homework or something they don't understand. Or something they are doing that's complicated for them, that's when I help them.

## Interviewer:

So when they see you translating or interpreting for your parents what do they think?

## Participant 12M:

I think that they want to do it too and help my parents too.

## Interviewer:

Do you think that they realize that you are better than they are at interpreting?

## Participant 12M:

No.
Interviewer:
No they probably think I can do it the same as him.
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah...do you think that they feel that you probably are at a higher status?
Participant 12M:
No.
Interviewer:
That you get special privileges or because you're the oldest one and you can interpret?

## Participant 12M:

Sometimes they do. Like when my mom lets me go with my friends or something, they don't let them they get mad so they start
wanting to go and my parents say no because they are girls and they need to have more care. And a boy can sometimes protect
themselves like if something happens like if they're about to fight I can stay out of it and sometimes they can't.
Interviewer:
So um do you think when you go off to college your sister will interpret?
Participant 12M:
Yeah. Yeah they might already know English because my mom is going to classes.
Interviewer:
Do you want them to learn English?
Participant 12M:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do they want to learn English?
Participant 12M:
Yeah my mom goes to school sometimes she sleeps during the day and then she goes to school and helps and she over there learning how to speak.
Interviewer:
How does that make you feel that she's learning how to speak?
Participant 12M:
I'll be glad that they'll be able to do it on their own because sometimes when I'm not around they can understand.
Interviewer:
So they will be able to do the stuff without you?
Participant 12M:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Because most of the times if they don't learn English when both of you go to college it's going to be a little difficult for them if they don't learn English and both of you are in college. Have you ever thought about that?

## Participant 12M:

No.
Interviewer:
No. So do you see yourself as a role model to your sisters?
Participant 12M:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes, do you plan on sharing your secrets of translating with your sister?
Participant 12M:
I don't have any secrets.
Interviewer:
You don't have any secrets or special way of translating?
Participant 12M:
No, I just like when something happens I try to compare it to something else that I've interpreted and then I understand more.
Interviewer:
So you do have a special secret...you do...so you try to compare it to something else. Can you give me an example?

## Participant 12M:

Like sometimes when they are talking about the same thing I try to compare it because sometimes I forget about words in Spanish cause they get difficult. And I think I try to make it into a simpler word in English and then that simpler word in English is easier to translate in Spanish.

## Interviewer:

So let's say the word omelet.
Participant 12 M :
I try to find the definition. I find the word like a synonym to translate it easier into Spanish.
Interviewer:
So do you tend to think in English when you speak Spanish and when you speak English you think Spanish.

## Participant 12M:

Yeah like in fourth there was this word 'mode' and I didn't know what it meant and I thought about the Spanish word 'moda' and it means most popular and I was doing a test and I thought it was the same thing so I looked at the most popular and I got it right.

## Interviewer:

Cool...do you feel that you've developed any special skills aside from what you've already told me?
Participant 12M:
Maybe but I may not know about it. This one I just noticed it that I was doing when I'm translating. I don't just kind of notice what I'm doing.
Interviewer:
You're in the moment and you're just doing it, so things don't come to you?

## Participant 12M:

Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Do you find yourself listening a lot more? You've learned how to listen?

## Participant 12M;

Sometimes my friends who speak Spanish they say a word wrong and I try to tell them what it is.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel that you've interpreting and translating has made you more confident?

## Participant 12M:

I think it has cause sometimes I'm like shy to say something to them but now I can say it.

## Interviewer:

So when you give a presentation in class are you shy?

## Participant 12M:

I used to be but not anymore. I just say oh well.

## Interviewer:

You're gonna do it...
Participant 12M:
I'm gonna do it...
Interviewer:
Do you think that because of this experience that you have to talk to grownups and people that you don't know and sometime use words that you don't know that this has helped you be more confident?

## Participant 12M:

## Yeah.

## Interviewer:

So think into the future how do you think this will help you in the future?

## Participant 12M:

Like since I want to be a doctor instead of having to make them wait and having to go and get somebody who can interpret I can interpret myself.

## Interviewer:

So not rely on other people and do your own stuff?

## Participant 12M:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
If I know you're only twelve and its hard like you said you really haven't thought about it when your interpreting or translating, you're just doing it, something that would you say is natural to you...

## Participant 12M:

Sometimes it is and sometimes I think it's weird. But sometimes then I'm like 'oh well I'm interpreting', but sometimes I feel weird because I do it for different people.

## Interviewer:

So if you had to select one thing what is the one most important thing that you have learned so far in your short age what have you learned out of this experience out of doing this for your parents.
Participant 12M:
I have learned that like sometimes it's difficult but then like when you're older that you understand that it might have been difficult like it was right for you to do it.
End of conversation Participant 12M

## Participant 13F

## Beginning of Conversation

Interviewer:
So how old are you?
Participant 13F:
Twelve.
Interviewer:
Twelve, ok. Were you born in Arizona?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
How many brothers or sisters do you have?
Participant 13F:
One brother.
Interviewer:
Is he younger or older than you?
Participant 13F:
Younger.
Interviewer:
How old is he?
Participant 13F:
Seven years old.
Interviewer:
Seven years old. What language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 13F:
Um...both English and Spanish.
Interviewer:
Both English and Spanish... is there one that you maybe speak more than the other?
Participant 13F:
Spanish.
Interviewer:
Spanish why is that?
Participant 13F:
Since my dad does not know that much English, I talk to him in Spanish and my mom she talks both languages but I mostly talk to her in Spanish so my dad can understand what we are talking about.
Interviewer:
Ok, so your dad is the one who doesn't speak English at all or does he kind of understand?
Participant 13F:
Kind of...
Interviewer:
Kind of and then mom speaks English and then your little brother does he speak English?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, are you ever asked to translate or interpret for your parents?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes, can you tell me a little bit about that?
Participant 13F:
Um...like with my grandma when she goes somewhere and somebody comes to tell her something and she doesn't know what they're saying or asking for, I translate for her what they say. And like I translate to other person what she says in English.
Interviewer:
In what type of environment do you normally translate or interpret for your family? What types of environments?
Participant 13F:
What do you mean by that?
Interviewer:
Um, different places so what types of places do you interpret?
Participant 13F:
Like sometimes at the store or sometimes like here.
Interviewer:
At home.
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Do you ever interpret at the doctor's office?

## Participant 13F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
Any other places that you can think of?

## Participant 13F:

Umm sometimes at school like at conferences.

## Interviewer:

Like parent teacher conferences too?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And how do those make you feel, the parent teacher conferences?
Participant 13F:
Like good.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like strange?
Participant 13F:
Yeah because I'm telling my parents that I'm being bad and not the teacher.
Interviewer:
Oh, sometimes when you're being bad you have to tell your parents and you feel bad? And so do you sometimes want to tell them something else and not tell them that you were bad?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Have you ever done that?
Participant 13F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, you've been honest. Do your teachers trust you that you will say the right thing? Have they ever asked you 'have you told them what I told?'
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah and what do you tell them?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Do they follow up like do they ask your parents later or send a note later?
Participant 13F:

## No.

## Interviewer:

No, that's very interesting. Do you help them translate or interpret on the computer? I see you have a laptop...so like does your dad use the computer?
Participant 13F:
Yep.
Interviewer:
Does he like need your help at times or is he ok?
Participant 13F:
No.
Interviewer:
He's ok by himself? Good... can you pick one time out of the many times that... and kind of describe to me what is it that you do when you interpret and how does that happen? Like from the beginning you can tell me you go somewhere and how does is it start?

## Participant 13F:

Like when I go the store with my grandma and my cousins, we go inside and my grandma, sometimes the people ask her questions and I have to tell her what they say and then I have to tell the other person what my grandma is saying and then yeah.
Interviewer:
Is there a particular way that you do things? Do you find that you have to listen a little bit closer when you're with someone who doesn't speak English?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?
Participant13F:
Cause you have to tell them every details at times so they can understand it in Spanish.

## Interviewer:

And then if you're not paying attention you won't be able to catch those details. How does the, the person you are probably talking to mostly grownups, am I right? When you're interpreting how do they look at you? Let's say your grandma and she doesn't understand or even your dad and he doesn't understand and their speaking to him and you all of a sudden jump in and speak for them, how do they look at you?
Participant 13F:
They look at me all weird.
Interviewer:
Weird, can you kind of describe the face?
Participant 13F:
Like I don't know...
Interviewer:
You don't know... do they look shocked? Do they look like, oh like that?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Now I need to talk to you...do you feel that the light just switches onto you like when your grandma is stuck and then, ok is show time and they turn on the lights?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Is that when you start feeling shy or you don't feel shy or until when do you feel shy?
Participant 13F:
When the conversation starts getting longer.
Interviewer:
When the conversation starts getting longer? So the smaller conversation is easier for you?
Participant 13F:
Yeah because I don't have to translate that much.
Interviewer:
So once it gets longer, what happens to you? How do you feel?
Participant 13F:
Weird cause I have to talk more and after I have to say words that I don't understand in Spanish.

## Interviewer:

And how do you deal with the words that you don't understand?
Participant 13F:
I just ask someone for help.
Interviewer:
Is it like the English words that you don't understand or is it not knowing what to say in Spanish?
Participant 13F:
Knowing what to say in Spanish.

## Interviewer:

So most of the time when you go to the doctor are you afraid of the language that they use?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes, why?
Participant 13F:
Because when they say like a medicine and I have to translate to my parents and sometimes they say something that you don't understand and you don't know what it is in Spanish and you don't know like what to say.
Interviewer:
And so do you tell them I don't know what it is
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you tell the doctor or...
Participant 13F:
Both of them.

## Interviewer:

Both the doctor and your parent and what does the doctor do after that?
Participant 13F:
They have somebody else.
Interviewer:
They have somebody else and how do you feel about that when they ask somebody else? You don't feel anything? You don't feel relieved?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Yeah, how relieved? In what way?

## Participant 13F:

Like oh thank god I didn't have to say that word.

## Interviewer:

Interesting...you're like oh my gosh I don't have to say that anymore. Good thing they found somebody else. Do you remember the first time that you translated?

## Participant 13F:

No.
Interviewer:
No, can you kind of guess how old you think you were or did it happen recently? I mean you're twelve so you're not that old?
Participant 13F:
When I was like in second or third grade I had to translate for my teacher. There was this parent and my teacher didn't know any
Spanish and then the teacher asked me translate what the parent was telling the teacher.

## Interviewer:

So for a teacher. it wasn't you, would probably think it wasn't even for your parents the first time you would say it was more your teacher?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

And for a parent that didn't know how to speak English, how did you feel because you were in second grade? I'm taking it you're probably eight years old so?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How did you feel? Were you...
Participant 13F:
I was scared because I wasn't going to be able to translate.
Interviewer:
And did you do it how?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How did you feel afterwards?
Participant 13F:
I felt good.
Interviewer:
Yes...I can translate. What did your teacher tell you?
Participant 13F:
She just gave me like a reward I think.
Interviewer:
She gave you a reward I'm curious about the other parents.
Participant 13F:
She looked at me weird.

## Interviewer:

She looked at you weird and their kid was in their class?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So did you ever wondered why didn't they ask their kid to translate?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You did wonder, but you didn't ask anybody?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
You just kind of did it?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yeah, ok. It's interesting how a teacher asking you to translate for me... and it's a classmate and you would expect that your classmate would translate for their parent... and so no, they found you. So the first time that your parents watched you translate, how do you think they felt?
Participant 13F:
Umm good.

## Interviewer:

Good, what makes you say that?

## Participant 13F:

Because they saw me helping somebody that needed help.

## Interviewer:

Did they tell you anything?

## Participant 13F:

No.
Interviewer:
No, do you guys ever sit down and talk about your experiences when you're interpreting?

## Participant 13F:

No.
Interviewer:
No, like after you guys go to the doctor or the store and you help them out do they ever come back home and say, "oh you know I wanted to tell you that you did a good job or let's talk about what happened today I know that you were surprised that you needed to translate" has a conversation like that happened before?

## Participant 13F:

No.
Interviewer:
No, you can't remember...cool. Do you always feel like you have a choice to translate or interpret?
Participant 13F:
Umm yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, you have a choice. So if you were to say no would that be ok?

## Participant 13F:

No that wouldn't be ok.
Interviewer:
No that wouldn't be ok? Can you tell me a little bit more about that?
Participant 13F:
It wouldn't be ok because what if somebody had to say something in English and it's something important and you don't want to translate for them it in Spanish and it was something important and your parents wouldn't know.

## Interviewer:

Wouldn't know...think back to a time when you were stuck when you were interpreting and you were stuck and you didn't know what the word was or you didn't know what to say or how to say it... are your parents pretty understanding when it happens?

## Participant 13F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Are you understanding with yourself or do you get frustrated?

## Participant 13F:

Sometimes I get frustrated.

## Interviewer:

Sometimes you get frustrated? What do you tell yourself?

## Participant 13F:

Think like think without really and figure it out in Spanish.

## Interviewer:

So you said you translate for your grandma what does she think about you when you translate for her?

## Participant 13F

Like what you mean?
Interviewer:
Does she expect you to help her out and translate?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, so she wants you to help her out?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah... has there been a time when things have gone wrong and you have translated wrong?
Participant 13F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, never? That's good. What do you think would happen if things went wrong?

## Participant 13F:

You would say something like wrong and then you tell your parent to do something and maybe it's wrong and they have to do or they do something else and not what they were suppose to do.

## Interviewer:

And then what do you think happens or is it your fault?

## Participant 13F:

I'd feel bad.

## Interviewer:

You would feel bad... for like bigger situations have you ever translated legal stuff? What's the most important thing that you have translated?
Participant 13F:
Umm...
Interviewer:
Could it be a light bill or telephone bill or something like that?
Participant 13F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, nothing like that. so most of the stuff or the translating that you do is when you're going to the store or if you are going with your grandma to the doctor's office or stuff like that? Nothing really big?
Participant 13F:
Uhum.
Interviewer:
So for that kind of big stuff your mom takes care of it?
Participant 13F:
Or my cousins.
Interviewer:
How old are your cousins?
Participant 13F:
One's fifteen and she knows about those things.
Interviewer:
So like if your mom doesn't understand it all the way then she seeks for help?
Participant 13F:
My cousin or my mom's sister.
Interviewer:
How does that make you feel?
Participant 13F:
It makes me feel good because I don't have to translate something big.
Interviewer:
Because you're afraid?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
That you might mess up? Yes, that's normally what you think? Find somebody else? Ok.
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that you are responsible for translating here at your house?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You feel responsible, why?
Participant 13F:
Cause when I'm not here and somebody comes I'm the one who's suppose to help him because my little brother doesn't know how to translate yet. I'm the one that is supposed to be helping my dad.
Interviewer:
Ok and how do you help your dad when he gets a text do you translate for him?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Do you respond for him back and do you tell him and then he tells you what to do and
you text the person back?
Participant 13F:
Yes sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes...what would happen do you think if your parents didn't have anyone to help them?
Participant 13F:
Uum I think they wouldn't understand anything and they would like they wouldn't be able to go to places or buy things that they need because sometimes things are in English and.

## Interviewer:

So do you help them buy bigger stuff?
Participant 13F:
Yes.

## Interviewer:

Like what kind of stuff give me an example?
Participant 13F:
Like when they buy... the like... the I think... it's like sometimes, when they buy food or so for they look at the back to see what it's for like the soap and sometimes I help them and I say what the things are in Spanish. like sometimes when my mom makes a cake I tell her like what it needs.

## Interviewer:

What the ingredients needed. Ok. Like when your parents went to buy the car did you have anything to do with that?

## Participant 13F:

No.
Interviewer:
Or like a TV or anything like that? No, so just basically like simple stuff once again. Do you worry about your family when you're not around to translate?
Participant 13F:
No.
Interviewer:
You don't worry about them, no? Cause your mom speaks some English. like your dad... do you worry about your dad?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What do you think when you worry?

## Participant 13F:

Like um just... feel like...

## Interviewer;

You can take your time...
Participant 13F:
It's just I can't find the words.

## Interviewer:

You can't find the words...
Participant 13F:
Like I feel worried because if somebody asked him something English then he wouldn't understand and he wouldn't know what to say, and like if he goes to the store and he buys something that he doesn't even know what it is and he just buys, but for no reason.

## Interviewer:

So do you feel like sometimes you're his hero? Why or how?
Participant 13F:
Cause when he buys something if he goes to the store, he doesn't have to buy something that he doesn't know what it is and since I'm there I'll tell him what it is, and he needs to buy, he does it.
Interviewer:
In some way you are kind of his bridge between even like the product, the stuff that he wants to buy to be able to understand what's being said on the box or even translated for him at the register when he's getting ready to pay.

## Participant 13F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
And so you kind of are his hero there because he doesn't understand. If you're there, you can help him?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that your mom and dad only have you to turn to?
Participant 13F:
Umm ummm...
Interviewer:
Or can they turn to somebody else for help?
Participant 13F:
They can turn to somebody else for help.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?
Participant 13F:
Because some of my cousins know both English and Spanish too and some of my cousins know more than me and how to translate.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that you're valuable to your parents because you interpret for them?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And to your grandma?
Participant 13F:
Yes.

## Interviewer:

You have a big smile every time you talk about your grandma, do you love her a lot?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes... do you feel that in a way you have become a partner for your parents as a result of experiencing this?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 13F:
Because when they go somewhere they take me with them to help them translate.
Interviewer:
Ok. So they do their best to always have you with them when you're able except when you're in school?
Participant13F:
Yes.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel that interpreting has brought you closer to your parents or do you feel that it has changed your relationship once you started translating for them did it bring you closer or did it change?
Participant 13F:
Closer because now like my dad needs me more to translate and like when he goes somewhere like I go with him now.

## Interviewer:

And before you didn't when you were younger?
Participant 13F:
No.

## Interviewer;

Who would go with him?
Participant 13F:
I think my cousin.
Interviewer:
When your cousin sees you translate, do they tell you anything?
Participant 13F:
Yes, they help me.
Interviewer:
They help you. Do they give you tips and pointers on how to translate better?
Participant 13F:
No.
Interviewer:
No they just try to help if they see that you're stuck.
Participant 13F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
Do you feel more grown up because of these experiences, yes why?
Participant 13F:
Because umm I feel like I know how to translate for people and I know the conversations that I have to translate in Spanish and then I have to translate another one in English. So I feel grownup.

## Interviewer:

You feel grownup because you are a part because the conversation pulls you into a grownup conversation? Do you think you've learned a lot more stuff because you interpret for your parents? You learned more like if you feel like you're part of the grown up conversation you've learned more?

## Participant 13F:

Yeah, cause like they make me say something like a word and maybe I don't know what it means and they would say the definition or something and I can a different word not like that one word, a different word.
Interviewer:
Has anyone told you that you are mature for your age?
Participant 13F:
No.

## Interviewer:

No do you feel that interpreting has pushed you to grow up faster and to worry about things that other kids maybe don't worry about?

## Participant 13F:

Yes, cause like I have to learn more things in English and sometimes I have to talk more in Spanish to understand things.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel pressure at times when you're interpreting?
Participant 13F:
Sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes what kind of pressure do you feel and why?

## Participant 13F:

I feel like I have pressure because I have to know more things in both languages and I have to learn both of them and I focus on both languages and not just one.
Interviewer:
So instead of just going to school to learn English you have to keep learning Spanish so that you can keep translating is that what I
understood?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, um do you feel that because you interpret for your parents that maybe you are giving up something or sacrificing something?

## Participant 13F:

Hmmm, no.
Interviewer:
No, do you think because you interpret you're asked or are expected to behave a little bit different?
Participant 13F:
Yes because sometimes when I'm being weird or crazy I have to stop being weird or crazy. I have to look mature enough to translate for people.
Interviewer:
So that's only when you translate, you have to be mature and behave differently or you behave differently all the time?
Participant 13F:
Only when I translate.
Interviewer:
Only when you translate. so you can still be yourself, be twelve, when you're not translating?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Ok your little brother is seven years old when he sees you translating, how does he look at you or how do you think he looks at you?

## Participant 13F:

I think he looks at me weird because I'm translating in Spanish and then I have to translate back in English. And I have to keep going back and forth and sometimes like when I'm translating back and forth he just looks at me because he doesn't understand what I'm saying.

## Interviewer:

So does he ever tell you you're weird?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
And how does that make you feel do you just smile?
Participant 13F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
Do you see yourself as a role model for him? Does he ever tell you he wants to interpret? No never says that? Have you ever told him you're going to have to interpret for my parents too?

## Participant 13F:

## No.

Interviewer:
No, why have you never told him that?

## Participant 13F:

I don't know.
Interviewer:
Do you want him to interpret?
Participant 13F:
Yeah, so my parents don't have to look at me when they need translating they can look at my little brother.

## Interviewer:

So sometimes when they just look at you does that make you sometimes like feel like ah cant you...
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Look at somebody else. So sometimes you wonder why they look at you? Do you sometimes think that maybe they should learn
English?

## Participant 13F:

Well my dad learns English when he's watching TV because he learns more about what they are saying in English at times.

## Interviewer:

Does that make you happy that he's trying to learn English? does that make you feel relieved?
Participant 13F:
Yeah because if he learns English I don't have to be there to translate. And he doesn't when I'm playing go and get me to translate for him and then I have to go back to what I was doing.

## Interviewer:

So that way you won't be interrupted and you could keep playing...do you feel at times that you are in as special position like you have a special position in your family?

## Participant 13F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you ever feel that if your brother translates that special position will go away or will it be both of you taking the position?
Participant 13F:
Both of us.
Interviewer:
Both of you, ok. Do you think that being able to interpret for your parents has that built your confidence when speaking?
Participant 13F:
Yes, I won't be shy that much anymore because I'm translating sometimes and I can't I have to listen more and it helps me in school too.
Interviewer:
It helps you in school too, so how does it help you in school?
Participant 13F:
If I give a presentation I'm not going to be shy, like sometimes languages arts teachers gives us we did one where we had to pick someone from the past that did an invention and e had to talk about an invention.
Interviewer:
So you had to stand up in front of the class and tell everybody, so because you interpret you already feel comfortable speaking in front of everybody.

## Participant 13F:

And then we had to go after school and give our presentation in front of people and you had to go up to one person and tell them about your invention and then sign and you would go to another.
Interviewer:
You weren't shy at all?
Participant 13F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
You mentioned listening so what other skills do you think that you have developed.
Participant 13F:
Umm confidence, like I don't know.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that maybe you are able to handle things a little better than kids your age like when they thinks it's really hard you feel that it's not that hard because you've interpreted maybe?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah so do your friends interpret for their parents?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah do you ever talk about those experiences together? no so it's just something that you do naturally and everyone knows that oh I
speak two languages?
Participant 13F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok do you feel any resentment because you interpret do you know what resentment means?
Participant 13F:
Uuum...
Interviewer:
Do you feel angry or frustrated with it?
Participant 13F:
No.
Interviewer:
No. If you had to do it again would you interpret for your parents? Let's say that you were born again and you had to choose to interpret or not would you choose interpreting?

## Participant 13F:

Yes because I would learn more and more in both languages and I would like to know more things.

## Interviewer:

Do you think this experience has influenced who you are today or would you be a different person?
Participant 13F:
Same person.
Interviewer:
Same person...you would think you would listen as well and have the same confidence?
Participant 13F:
No.
Interviewer:
No in a way you think it has made you a little bit different?
Participant 13F:
Yeah a little bit.
Interviewer:
Yeah do you think because of this experience interpreting you will have an easier life maybe in the future compared to your parents?

## Participant:

Yeah because I would know both languages and wouldn't need anyone to translate for me and maybe I can help more people when I grow up.
Interviewer:
So what do you want to be when you grow up?
Participant 13F:
I don't know yet.
Interviewer:
If I asked you name one thing that you have learned from this experience what would you say?
Participant 13F:
Learned how to say things in both languages and that I know both languages well.
Interviewer:
You have the ability to speak two languages and how does that make you feel?
Participant 13F:
Good.
End of conversation Participant 13F

## Participant 14F

## Beginning of Conversation

Interviewer:
I'm just going to start off by asking you some questions about you and your family. How old are you?
Participant 14F:
I'm fourteen.
Interviewer:
Fourteen, were you born in Arizona?
Participant 14F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes. How many brothers and sisters do you have?
Participant 14F:
I have two brothers and three sisters.
Interviewer:
Two brothers and three sisters. How old are your brothers?
Participant 14F:
One of them is six and one of them is eight.
Interviewer:
And then your sisters?
Participant 14F:
One of them is seventeen, the oldest, the other one is thirteen and the other one is twelve.
Interviewer:
Ok, what language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant14F:
Spanish.
Interviewer:
Spanish, why?
Participant 14F:
Because my mom and my dad they usually speak Spanish. So I want them to understand me better in Spanish.
Interviewer:
Ok. So do all your brothers and sisters speak English and Spanish?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah so they speak both languages in other words? Then your mom does she speak English and Spanish?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And then you said your step dad, does he speak English?
Participant 14F:
No.
Interviewer:
Just Spanish?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, have you ever been asked to translate or interpret for a family member or a friend or?
Participant 14F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes? For whom did you translate?
Participant 14F:
My aunts, my stepdad, my grandma.
Interviewer:
Ok, how often do you do that?
Participant 14F:
Um rarely not alot.
Interviewer:
Rarely not alot and when you do it, what is it in regards to? What are you translating for?
Participant 14F:
Like something in the hospital or them getting their right money back like change at the store or at the school when they go see my grades or something.

## Interviewer:

Parent teacher conferences?
Participant 14F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yeah... anywhere else that you help them translate?
Participant 14F:
No.
Interviewer:
Does everyone know how to use a computer?
Participant 14F:
My sisters yeah.
Interviewer:
But like does your step dad know how to use the computer?
Participant 14F:
Yeah, sort of like he's not good.
Interviewer:
But do you help him at any time interpreting?
Participant 14F:
Yeah. When he doesn't know some English words that come out, we translate it for him.
Interviewer:
Right away he's like can somebody help?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok...um...do you remember the first time that you had to interpret?
Participant 14F:
No.
Interviewer:
No you don't remember? Can you kind of try to remember?
Participant 14F:
Maybe when I was small.
Interviewer:
When you were small?
Participant 14F:
I don't remember who or anything.
Interviewer:
You don't remember who or anything..no? Ok. How do you think your parents feel when they see you translating right now?
Participant 14F:
Proud of me cause I know very good English.
Interviewer:
Ok. Have you ever sat down and spoken about that experience or those experiences when you interpret?
Participant 14F:
No.
Interviewer:
No...so um...obviously you are talking to grownups?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You're only fourteen..
Participant 14F:
Yeah and in school I talk to some students that come from Mexico that don't understand English. So like they need help, so I translate
for them in English.
Interviewer:
So sometimes you have to help your own classmates?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok. When you've had to translate and there is grownups involved how do you think those grownups view you? When all of a sudden
let's say your grandmother or your stepdad like they can't communicate with them and then all of a sudden everything shifts to you.
How do you think they view you?
Participant 14F:
They are thankful for having me to help them.
Interviewer:
Has anyone ever expressed that or told you?
Participant 14F:
They say thank you.
Interviewer:
They say thank you. They don't say great job or they think that you weren't going to be able to do it or?
Participant 14F:
No.

## Interviewer:

No, ok. Do you have any trouble translating at all?
Participant 14F:
Well it depends on the words like if they're really smart words like in the doctors I don't really understand them just those words. Interviewer:
Ok. How does that make you feel not knowing the words?
Participant 14F:
Yeah, I don't know...

## Interviewer:

Do you get frustrated maybe or...
Participant 14f:
No, I just feel kind of dumb for not knowing.
Interviewer:
Do you feel stressed out?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So could you say that it stresses you out when you don't know the words?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok. Do you tell yourself anything?
Participant 14F:
No.
Interviewer:
No you just say I'm stressed out?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok. Have you've ever messed up in translating?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And has anybody else caught it?
Participant 14F:
No.
Interviewer:
No. so only you know that you messed up?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah. What would happen if they did catch you that you messed up?
Participant 14F:
Oh, you got it wrong, but that's it.
Interviewer:
That's it. Do you think the people that you translate for are real understanding you think?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
They won't get angry if you made a mistake or?
Participant 14F:
No.
Interviewer:
So they kind of see it as something normal? Ok. For bigger situations so you say you translate, for like maybe parent teacher conferences, hospitals, is hospitals like the biggest thing that you've ever done?

## Participant 14F:

Not hospitals, but clinics.
Interviewer;
Like clinics.
Participant 14F:
Yeah I think.

## Interviewer:

Any mail or anything super important?

## Participant 14F:

No I think when I'm at the doctor's appointment and they tell me to fill something out and I go with my step dad and he's like, "oh do you know how to do this?" it's kind of confusing. But I really don't understand it.

## Interviewer:

You really don't understand it. Would you say that they probably find somebody else that is older to help them?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
When it gets really complicated, how does that make you feel? When you say I can't understand and then they go and find somebody
else?
Participant 14F:
I don't know. Like, like I didn't try or something.
Interviewer:
You feel like you didn't try?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, do you feel that you have a responsibility for translating then?
Participant 14F:
Hmm...I guess for my family maybe yeah.
Interviewer:
If it's for other people, you don't feel the responsibility?
Participant 14F:
Not all the time.
Interviewer:
Not all the time? So if you were to see somebody struggling like let's say at the store and someone...

## Participant 14F:

I would help them.

## Interviewer:

You would help them at that point...ok. so your mom speaks English, but what do you think would happen if your parents didn't have anyone to help them like for example your stepdad. Your grandmother does she live with you guys here?

## Participant 14F:

## No.

Interviewer:
No what do you think would happen?
Participant 14F:
It would be harder for them to get more stuff, to be able to know stuff.
Interviewer:
So do you worry at times about those family members?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How so?
Participant 14F:
What do you mean?

## Interviewer:

Like how do you worry? What do you think about them?

## Participant 14F:

Like putting something wrong on the paper and signing a paper that's in English and they don't know. Something bad or something... Interviewer:
And then something bad happens afterwards because they made a mistake.
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that sometimes they just go to you and maybe they need to go to somebody else when they are looking for someone to interpret for them?
Participant 14F:
No, because I have older cousins or sisters that know more than me and they are more experienced so they go more to them than me. Interviewer:
Ok. Do you feel like you're valuable to you parents because you translate or interpret for them?
Participant 14F:
I'm valuable yeah because I help them out alot and I just help them.
Interviewer:
What does your grandma say when you help her?
Participant 14F:
Thank you.
Interviewer:
Thank you. Do you think you are valuable to her?
Participant 14F:
[Silence].

## Interviewer:

Do you think that you have become a partner for your parents as a result of this experience?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, how so? Do they seek your assistance all the time?

## Participant 14F:

Not all the time.

## Interviewer:

Not all the time but if they really feel that it's important they try to find you?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah. Do you feel that maybe interpreting or translating has impacted the relationship between your parents or those particular people like your grandmother? Has it brought guys closer or you noticed a change once you started helping them out?
Participant 14F:
I haven't noticed anything.
Interviewer:
You haven't noticed anything? Ok. Do they ask you to assist them in other duties or responsibilities because they feel since you can handle interpreting for them that you're mature to handle it?
Participant 14F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, do they expect you to act differently more mature more grown up?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah is it because of interpreting or just because.
Participant 14F:
It's because I'm getting older and I should learn.
Interviewer:
You should learn. Do you feel more grown up because you've had these experiences of interpreting or translating?
Participant 14F:
Kind of yeah.
Interviewer:
Why do you feel more grown up?

## Participant 14F:

Because when you grow up you help each other. I don't know. Like when you're grown up, you look for help where or you could look for a friend. You need a lot of help and you always help others with everyone and they expect me to do that.
Interviewer:
Do you think that you might view the world differently than your friends that maybe don't translate and interpret as much or at all?
Participant 14F:
Well yeah...
Interviewer:
Why?
Participant 14F:
Now that I help them translate they teach me how to fill out papers and everything like for the doctors.
Interviewer:
Do you feel like you're ahead of the game?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Like you know how to fill out those types of papers and that for the most part they are legal and very important and you already know how to fill those out?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You don't need anybodies help. Have you ever been told that you're mature for your age?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah what have they said to you?
Participant 14F:
That I don't act like a little girl. That I act mature for my age.
Interviewer:
Who has told you that?

## Participant 14F:

My teacher, yeah.
Interviewer;
Does she give you like specifics behaviors that you do? Does she tell you things that you do that make you seem more mature?

## Participant 14F:

She says that I'm more mature that any of her students because I don't like messing around. I always stay on task.

## Interviewer:

So you're very focused? That's good. Do you feel that maybe interpreting or translating has pushed you to grow up faster and think differently or worry about things that other kids don't worry about?
Participant 14F:
Kind of yeah, cause I have to help out my parents, my grandma, my tios and anyone that can't speak Spanish.
Interviewer:
Little more conscious or aware...
Participant 14F:
Of what's going on.
Interviewer:
Of the others and what's going on. Um...do you feel that you are giving up or sacrificing something at times?
Participant 14F:
No.

## Interviewer:

No, so you say that you translate at school. So it's for other kids that come from another country or?

## Participant 14F:

Like another country.

## Interviewer:

Like they normally come from Mexico I'm assuming. What is it that you help them with? is it just while you're in class or do you take them around or are you assigned like a buddy for them?

## Participant 14F:

Like were sitting next to each other in class and they don't understand what the teacher is saying and I explain it to them and like I teach them.
Interviewer:
Does the teacher expect you to do that?
Participant 14F:
No.
Interviewer:
So you just kind of take it upon yourself to help them?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How does that make you feel?
Participant 14F:
Good because I'm helping out when I'm not asked to.
Interviewer:
So you have two brothers and three sisters, and they're all bilingual so when you're asked, how do the younger ones feel when you're asked for help...to help your stepdad interpret or?

## Participant 14F:

I don't know.
Interviewer:
You've never noticed anything? That they look at you weird? Have they ever told you anything?

## Participant 14F:

No.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that you are at higher position than they are at some point?
Participant 14F:
Yeah, because I could translate and they can't.
Interviewer:
Do you feel more powerful?
Participant 14F:

## No.

Interviewer:
No...have your siblings ever criticized you when you're translating? Translating in Spanish or when you're doing interpreting for your stepdad or your grandmother?
Participant 14F:
Yeah, like if they want me to translate something from English to Spanish, my Spanish isn't really good and they say, "that not how you say it" and they laugh.
Interviewer:
How does that make you feel? What do you tell them?

Participant 14F:
Nothing I just...
Interviewer:
You just stay quiet.
Participant 14F:
I don't really care.
Interviewer:
You don't really care. Ok you ignore them?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you see yourself as a role model for them?
Participant 14F:
For my parents?
Interviewer:
For your brothers and sisters...
Participant 14F:
Yeah because when they grow up they could do the same thing.
Interviewer:
So if you had to give them a tip what kind of tip would you give them so they could be better translators?
Participant 14F:
To always help out whoever they see not knowing their English and their Spanish.
Interviewer:
Ok... do you feel stressed when you translate or interpret?
Participant 14F:
Sometimes, I don't know. It's that sometimes I get stuck with some words and I don't know what to say.
Interviewer:
How do you figure out like when you get stuck or how do you unstuck yourself from being stuck? Is there something that you do to
help you out?
Participant 14F:
Not really I just tell them I don't know the word or whatever I'm stuck.
Interviewer:
So like when at the doctor's office and you don't know, do they go and find somebody else?
Participant 14F:
Yeah. So they just come and ask her.
Interviewer:
Ok. Do you see interpreting or translating as something that maybe built your confidence a little bit or alot,
Participant 14F:
Hmmm I don't know.
Interviewer:
You don't know? Do you ever have to give like presentations in front of your class?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel shy?
Participant 14F:
Yeah, it depends if I know everyone in the class I'm used to everyone in there.
Interviewer:
So do you feel shy when you interpret?
Participant 14F:
Sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes in the times that you don't feel shy, why don't you feel shy?
Participant 14F:
Maybe because it's an easy presentation or I'm already used to it.
Interviewer:
And so when it's something in a new place?
Participant 14F:
With new people...
Interviewer:
With new people you feel shy to interpret?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
But you still do it?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

But it takes you alot longer?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok, what's skills would you say that you have developed cause of this experience of interpreting or translating?

## Participant 14F:

Hmm...my Spanish I improved it better.
Interviewer:
You've improved your Spanish...ok, any other skills?

## Participant 14F:

The confidence in me, don't be shy.
Interviewer:
Anything else... no just that? Ok if you were to be born again, obviously you're only fourteen but if they were to tell you "ok you have a choice do you want to interpret or translate or you don't" what would you choose?

## Participant 14F:

To do it because it's not only helping me its helping someone else that really needs the help and so yeah.

## Interviewer:

And so by helping others how does that make you feel or how do you feel that is contributing to you?
Participant 14F:
It makes me feel good.

## Interviewer:

Has this experienced influenced who you are today?

## Participant 14F:

No one's ever talked to me about all these questions and they never told me about how I feel about translating or anything.

## Interviewer:

How do you really feel?
Participant 14F:
I feel good.
Interviewer:
Do you think because of these experiences of interpreting or translating even if you just rarely do them, do you think that you will have an easier life than maybe like your step dad, your grandmother in the future? That you're going to have a better life?
Participant 14F:
Yeah because I would be able to know everything because I wouldn't have to know them in Spanish or English.

## Interviewer:

You're ahead of the game. you know how to fill out stuff and you kind of have a better understanding of what is happening ok... if I
were to ask you tell me one thing that you have learned or what is the most important thing that you have learned from this experience of interpreting or translating what would it be?

## Participant 14F:

That I'm really useful. That my family needs us.

## Interviewer:

That your family needs you and you think that if you weren't able to do that, would be useful when it comes to making that bridge between society and the person that speak English? So if you couldn't be that bridge would you be useful?

## Participant 14F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
So you always feel good when you interpret or translate?
Participant 14F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Does it inspire you to do something else for other people to just continue to do good?
Participant 14F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What do you want to be when you grow up?

## Participant 14F:

A lawyer.
Interviewer:
Ah do you know what advocate means? You want to be the voice when they need you? That is what advocate kind of means.
Participant 14F:
Oh.
Interviewer:
Do you think this experience will help you in becoming a better lawyer?

## Participant 14F:

Yeah because I can help translate for people that need help with their problems in Spanish or English.

## Interviewer:

Have you seen yourself as a lawyer for your family when you're interpreting?

Participant 14F:
No, no never thought of it from that perspective.
End of conversation Participant 14F

## Participant 15F

## Beginning of conversation

Interviewer:
So we are going to start off with some basic questions. How old are you?
Participant 15F:
I'm thirteen.
Interviewer:
You're thirteen, were you born in Arizona?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yes. How many brothers and or sisters do you have?
Participant 15F:
I have three sisters and two little brothers.
Interviewer:
Three sisters and two brothers and the age of your sisters?
Participant 15F:
The oldest one is seventeen, fourteen, and twelve.
Interviewer:
And twelve and then your brothers how old are they?
Participant 15F:
Seven and six.
Interviewer:
Seven and six, what language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 15F:
English.
Interviewer:
English why?
Participant 15F:
Because I get used to speaking English like in school and then like since I have little brothers, I want them to speak fluent English.
Interviewer:
So you want them to speak fluent English?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you want them to speak Spanish at all?
Participant 15F:
Yeah but like...

## Interviewer:

You want them to learn English first?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And then the Spanish...oh...ok. Which family members speak Spanish?
Participant 15F:
My mom, my dad, and my old sister.
Interviewer:
Do you speak Spanish?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yes. everybody else doesn't speak Spanish.
Participant 15F:
We do but we usually...
Interviewer:
Like it's a mixture?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
It's not like pure Spanish, so Spanglish. Ok other siblings...Spanglish...ok let's see have you ever been asked to translate or interpret
for anybody?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
For whom?
Participant 15F:
For parents for my stepdad when he didn't speak or understood English for my parent teacher conference.

## Interviewer:

Was that the first time that you ever translated?

## Participant 15F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
How old were you?

## Participant 15F:

I was I think I was in fourth grade.

## Interviewer:

Fourth grade so you were about nine.
Participant 15F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Wow! That's young. How did that make you feel cause you're nine at that time?

## Participant 15F:

I felt like awkward cause I didn't speak well in Spanish so it was kind of difficult and like I would just stare like what.
Interviewer:
So here with you, you speak more English than Spanish is it correct to say that?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So when you're doing the parent teacher conference, you don't have trouble understanding English? It's being able to speak in
Spanish or translate it to Spanish?

## Participant 15F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
That where the difficult part is?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What makes it so difficult?
Participant 15F:
Like how they use big words are sound out how the words are having sounds.
Interviewer:
Can you give me an example of maybe something that your teacher said that you had trouble in saying in Spanish?
Participant 15F:
Well I have language arts teacher, she's like Mexican and she like is always saying big words in Spanish and like last time she said litura...
Interviewer:
literatura.
Participant 15F:
Yeah and that I was like what does that mean and she was like literature and I'm like oh and she's like it sounds, both of them are the same and they kind of look the same but they sound different.

## Interviewer:

So when you were translating in that parent teacher conference were you using something or what kind of skill were you using to like translate an English word into a Spanish word?

## Participant 15F:

Uum like.
Interviewer:
Is it that same idea that she told you it looks the same?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And just kind of switch it a little bit into Spanish...
Participant 15F:
Yeah, yeah and once I switched it and I tried to say it then she's like, "oh you're trying to say this word" and I'm like yeah.
Interviewer:
That's interesting because most of the time we think that bilinguals they'll speak Spanish really good so then it's like more of a trouble, it's a different type of trouble.

## Participant 15F:

Yeah.

## Interviewer:

But with you it's like you understand English very well and getting it to Spanish was the hard part. Any other times that you've translated aside from parent teacher conferences like any other places?

## Participant 15F:

No.

## Interviewer:

No, just parent teacher conferences maybe like classmates.
Participant 15F:
No.
Interviewer:
Everyone pretty much speaks English in your class?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Maybe for your step dad, do you go out with him? Does he speak English now?

## Participant 15F:

He understands it and everything, but he can't fluently speak it.
Interviewer:
You ever go out with him?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you ever have to translate for him?
Participant 15F:
No, no because we go to the store and he nods his head and once we walk out of the store then he says 'what did they say.'
Interviewer:
And so it's too late by that point?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So what do you tell him once you leave and he asks you that question? What do you say?
Participant 15F:
I'm like I will tell him what he said and he'd be like oh ok.
Interviewer:
Do you ever tell him why didn't you ask him why while we were there?
Participant 15F:

## No.

Interviewer:
So do you find yourself, do you pay attention when the conversation is going when you are with someone who doesn't speak English?
Do you pay attention to what is being told to that person so that you know ahead of time that they might need your assistance or you
just kind of like ignore?

## Participant 15F:

No, I pay attention. I'm a nosey type of person.

## Interviewer:

You're a nosey type of person?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

But are you nosey because you...maybe they might need your help or you're just nosey because you're nosey?

## Participant 15F:

No because they might need my help.
Interviewer:
That's what I thought...I don't think you would just be nosey. Ok, um how do you think your parents feel when they watch you interpret? Like that first time...what did your step dad thinks when you were trying to make that parent teacher conference?
Participant 15F:
He was probably making fun of me.
Interviewer:
Why do you say that?
Participant 15F:
Because I would turn around and look at my teacher and be like what, how do you say it and then I'd look at him and I'd try to tell him and see if he would understand me and like I felt awkward.
Interviewer:
Cause he was looking at you waiting?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Looking at you like come on?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And you were just like uh...

## Participant 15F:

## Yeah.

## Interviewer:

And when you can't find that word or that right word to say it, how does that make you feel?
Do you feel anything when you can't or you're looking at the teacher or?
Participant 15F:
Um, like I just stay quiet and that's when I have a neighbor next to me. They'll be this and this and I will be like oh and then I try to say it yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok do you always feel that you have a choice to translate or interpret? Do you always have a choice?

## Participant 15F:

No cause like um most of my family, well my mom and my stepdad understand so they could they're able to have a decent conversation with the other person that is speaking English.

## Interviewer:

Ok so you do have a choice?
Participant 15F:
Well um yeah.
Interviewer:
Or do you have to...do they say you have to translate for me because I'm stuck?
Participant 15F:
Um not always.

## Interviewer:

Not always...sometimes they tell you, you do have to help me?

## Participant 15F:

Yeah because last time we went to get my physical for soccer and then there's this big word and my mom said what does this say and I'm like I don't know cause like I don't really understand big words and yeah.

## Interviewer:

So your mom speaks somewhat English?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And your stepdad somewhat speaks English too?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So but the bigger stuff they don't understand?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Am I understanding correctly...
Participant 15F:
Yeah they get stuck.

## Interviewer:

Cause I want to understand that clearly... so they're... when there is something that has bigger words or like legal terms and stuff like that is more...
Participant 15F:
It's more difficult.
Interviewer:
It's more difficult for them. Have you and your parents ever discussed about the times that you have translated for them? Have you guys ever sat down and talked about those times?
Participant 15F:
Yeah like right when I try to translate they'll be like you need to learn to speak Spanish, how to write and I'm like oh I'll try. I always say that I'll try, I'll try but I can never get the hang of it.
Interviewer:
And why do you think you can never get the hang of it?
Participant 15F:
Cause like I use English more.
Interviewer;
You use English more? Does it make you feel in a certain way?
Participant 15F:
Left out cause my older sisters know how to speak fluent Spanish and fluent English and I only know how to speak fluent English.

## Interviewer:

And if they were to start using big words in Spanish then you would be lost?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Um do you feel that your parents are understanding when you can't translate or interpret?

## Participant 15F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
They are understanding why?

## Participant 15F:

Because like they help me, like they put papers in front of me and they'll say what does this say and then I try to pronounce it and they
help me pronounce it so I can say it right.
Interviewer:
Ok. Good. Let's see so for bigger situations then they go and find somebody else or do they go and find you?
Participant 15F:
No they go and find somebody else.
Interviewer:
They don't trust you with that one yet?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah and how does that make you feel that they don't trust you with that yet?

## Participant 15F:

Um it gives me like confidence like to keep on trying and trying and not to give up and forget like keep on trying to read Spanish so that they can be proud.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that you have a responsibility to help with interpreting and translating in a way?
Participant 15F:
Yeah, in a way because like what if they like if they only have me and my sisters are not there to translate? I'm going to have the responsibility to translate what the other person is saying.

## Interviewer:

And if you can't do it? You're like... how do you feel?

## Participant 15F:

I don't know how to put it into words.
Interviewer:
You feel frustrated?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok what would happen do you think if your parents did not have anyone to help them? Like let's say you couldn't help them, your sisters were just fluent in English too, what would happen? And obviously their confidence is not there to speak, you know like you said with the big words, what do you think would happen?
Participant 15F:
They'll be lost. They wouldn't know how to pay bills or yeah and any of those kinds of stuff.
Interviewer:
Does that ever worry you?
Participant 15F:
No.
Interviewer:
No. So you like you never find yourself at school maybe thinking about them and worrying about them that maybe they are not able to communicate with other people?

## Participant 15F:

Well this... one of my teacher, we are doing like a debate between our classmates and it's for the immigration reform and if we're against it and we're thinking what if my mom didn't speak or my stepdad wouldn't understand it like and she wouldn't have us, she'll be back in Mexico.

## Interviewer:

And so it makes you worry about things like that? So in a way do you feel that interpreting has changed your way of thinking about certain things?

## Participant 15F:

Um yeah, like what do you mean?

## Interviewer:

How or why has it changed or do you think that it has helped you change your way of thinking or how has it changed or maybe you've started thinking more about stuff like that? Where you notice people that maybe you know, when you go to the store and they don't speak English and then you think about what you're learning in class.

## Participant 15F:

Yeah cause I kind of feel bad that they are going to lose everything and go back to their home towns and like it's like I'm glad to be there for my mom so that they can understand.
Interviewer:
Do you think that you are valuable to your parents because you interpret for them at times?
Participant 15F:
Yeah cause like even though I can't say big words they are able to understand me and yeah.

## Interviewer:

Ok do you feel that interpreting or translating has brought you closer to your parents? Let's say that you didn't or think about those people that didn't have to do that, do you think that it has brought you closer to your parents because now you can help them or?

## Participant 15F:

Yeah cause like if I wasn't able to help them I wouldn't be like trying to find ways and give them examples on how to move on.
Interviewer:
Ok because you translate or you interpret for them, do they ask you to assist them in other duties or responsibilities because they feel that you are more mature or responsible to handle such things?

## Participant 15F:

Um I'm not really sure... cause I'm around the middle they probably have my older sisters and I'm getting there but not yet.
Interviewer:
Not yet. Do you feel more grown up because of these experiences?
Participant 15F:
Yeah like at school they know me as a mature girl cause they say I always know how to do stuff by just using words and like yeah.

## Interviewer:

So who calls you the mature girl?
Participant 15F:
All my friends.
Interviewer:
All your friends and your teachers do they see you in that?
Participant 15F:
Yeah cause in my first quarter I didn't do none of my homework until my mom and my teacher they had like a big speech. They gave me a big speech and that's when I was a need to grow up and then I started to do my work and my language arts teacher was like, you're growing up and she was like proud of me. and she said that I was going to be in the ceremony of promotion and like I'm really glad for that.

## Interviewer:

Do you think you would feel the same if you didn't translate mature or?

## Participant 15F:

Hmmm...
Interviewer:
Or would you feel different?
Participant 15F:
Umm I would feel different because I would've felt useless for my mom and for everybody else that speaks only Spanish.
Interviewer:
They would be useless or you would feel useless?
Participant 15F:
I...

Interviewer:
You would feel useless cause you're not helping them?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
In communicating...so do you feel that because maybe you are translating or interpreting at such a young age that you are giving up something or sacrificing something in exchange for that experience?

## Participant 15F:

No I think this is giving me more goals in life and making sure that I get to them and make sure that I achieve them.

## Interviewer:

It's kind of setting that path for goals... for you to set goals.
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you think that because you interpret you are asked or expected to behave differently than other children your age?
Participant 15F:
Um I don't really know about that.
Interviewer:
Don't know about that question, ok. So you have three sisters and two brothers?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So um when they see you interpreting, what do you think the little one, what do you think they think when they see you in action?
Participant 15F:
They probably don't even pay attention. They're probably oh she's just talking let's do whatever were doing.
Interviewer:
Have you ever brought that to their attention that you have the ability of speaking two languages?
Participant 15F:
No, now that I think of it no.

## Interviewer:

No do you think they view you in a higher position than them because you might interpret for your parents? Let's say when your sisters are not around and you have to translate do you think your brothers and sisters they look at you like oh now she thinks she's all that?
Participant 15F:
Probably my little sister she'll be like hating.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel like you're like in another or a position of power?

## Participant 15F:

Yeah cause when I told them when my older sisters are not around I tell them listen to me.

## Interviewer:

But like in regards to interpreting you said your little sister probably hates and why would when she hates why is she hating on you?

## Participant 15F:

Probably because I have the attention from my mom at least for five minutes.
Interviewer:
While you're doing the interpreting and she's kind of neglected?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Has she ever told you that?
Participant 15F:
No but I kind of...
Interviewer;
You sense it, that's interesting do you feel that maybe she wants to push you over hey that's me?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok so what would you say is the most stressful thing about interpreting or translating for you?
Participant 15F:
Cause like sometimes they use phrases and big words and you don't know how to put those phrases in the other language.
Interviewer:
In the English language they use phrases and you don't know how to put them into the Spanish language?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you think that interpreting or translating has built your confidence in any way?
Participant 15F:
Yeah it sets my confidence so that I can do greater things in life.
Interviewer:
How do you feel when you talk in front of people?
Participant 15F:
I feel nervous because what if they talk about how I speak and how my fluent Spanish is not really good.

## Interviewer:

So that kind of in a way stresses you out?

## Participant 15F:

Yeah.
Interviewer:
If you would have to make, you're only thirteen, but if you were to be born again and they would say or ask you would you like to interpret or translate would you say yes or no?
Participant 15F:
I'll say yes, cause like I don't know it's like, I like helping people like with things that they don't know, how to do or have the ability to know how to speak Spanish or English.
Interviewer:
Either language.
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you think these experiences have influenced who you are today or who you've become?
Participant 15F:
Yeah cause without my mom and my teachers teaching me how to speak both languages, I wouldn't be understanding that life is not fair.
Interviewer:
It's not as easy sometimes.
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you think that because of these experiences you will be having an easier life when you grow up?

## Participant 15F:

Umm yeah cause it'll show me that I like all the things bad that I did in the past not to do them in the future.
Interviewer:
And so some of the good things that you do in the past you want to do in the future?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So if you had to choose one thing that you have learned from this experience, of the experience of interpreting and translating for your parents what would it be?
Participant 15F:
Uumm the fact that you're Hispanic or whatever you are like I don't know how to put it um like saying I'm proud of who I am and what I got and no matter what happens I'm still gonna be that one person.

## Interviewer:

What do you want to be when you grow up?
Participat 15F:
I want to be a doctor.
Interviewer:
A doctor awesome. What kind of doctor?
Participant 15F:
I don't know what kind but for sure for sure I want to be a doctor.
Interviewer:
You don't know what kind of doctor but you want to be a doctor?
Participant 15F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Have you ever pictured yourself when your interpreting for your parents that you're the doctor already?
Participant 15F:
Yeah when I get my physical like we'll wait for the doctor I'll have a daydream of how I will be when I grow up and how my fluent
Spanish will be by then.
End of conversation Participant 15F

## Participant 16F

## Beginning of Conversation

Interviewer:
So I'm gonna start off by asking you some basic questions about you and your family. How old are you?

## Participant 16F:

Twelve.
Interviewer:
Twelve um were you born in Arizona?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How many brothers or sisters do you have?
Participant 16F:
I have three sisters and two brothers.
Interviewer:
Three sisters and two brothers, how old are your sisters?
Participant 16F:
Oldest one is seventeen, the other one is fourteen, and the other one is thirteen.
Interviewer:
And you're the twelve and your brothers?
Participant 16F:
Eight and seven.
Interviewer:
Eight and seven. ok, um what language do you mainly speak at home?
Participant 16F:
Spanish.
Interviewer:
Spanish, why?
Participant 16F:
Because when I talk to my mom she understands me and my sisters. I talk to them with English and Spanish.
Interviewer:
With your sisters, you do English and Spanish, what about with your brothers?
Participant 16F:
English so that they can learn more?
Interviewer:
Ok does um your mom speak Spanish and English or just Spanish?
Participant 16F:
Spanish and English.
Interviewer:
Anybody else live in your house besides your sisters and your brothers?
Participant 16F:
My mom and my stepdad.

## Interviewer:

What language does he speak?

## Participant 16F:

Spanish.
Interviewer:
Just Spanish, ok. Are you ever asked to translate or interpret for anyone in the family or a friend of the family or at school, yes for whom?
Participant 16F:
For my friend.
Interviewer:
For your friend?
Participant 16F:
For her conference.
Interviewer:
So it wasn't for your conference it was for hers?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How did that make you feel?

## Participant 16F:

Special because I could help her mother understands what the teacher was saying.
Interviewer:
Does she speak Spanish and English or why doesn't she translate?
Participant 16F:
Oh, because sometimes she lies so they wanted me to.
Interviewer:
So they wanted somebody else, oh I guess that sounds reasonable. Do you ever translate here at home? No? Who does the translating
here at home?
Participant 16F:
My sisters.
Interviewer:
Your sisters, so one of your sisters is always around to interpret?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Your never by yourself with mom and dad?
Participant 16F:
No.
Interviewer:
Ok so when you were translating at that parent teacher conference for your friend, how did the other parents see you? You were talking to them and what do you think they thought of you?
Participant 16F:
They...though I don't know...
Interviewer:
Did they look at you weird or funny?
Participant 16F:
No they said thank you.
Interviewer:
They said thank you. So they kind of expected you to kind of know Spanish and English. What about the teacher?
Participant 16F:
The teacher, she knows I speak Spanish like that.
Interviewer:
How did she ask you to help that friend out?
Participant 16F:
She told me after school if I could translate for a parent for her yeah.
Interviewer:
And so after the conference what did she say?
Participant 16F:
The teacher, she said thank you, that I did good.
Interviewer:
That you did great, wow! Ok so you never had translated here at home never. Ok. How does that make you feel?
Participant 16F:
I don't know...

## Interviewer:

You don't know how that makes you feel? Would you like for your parents to come and ask you to translate for them?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah sometimes or?
Participant 16F:
Sometimes not always but...
Interviewer:
You say not always, why?
Participant 16F:
I don't know.
Interviewer:
You don't know...is it because it feels better not to do it?
Participant 16F:
It feels ok.
Interviewer:
It feels ok or do you think it's too much of a responsibility?
Participant 16F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, ok do you feel like maybe you might be responsible for translating for your family?
Participant 16F:
Yeah sometimes.
Interviewer:
Sometimes why?
Participant 16F:
Because like my other sisters might not be here so like I could translate for them.

## Interviewer:

What would happen do you think if your parents didn't have anyone to help them? Let's say your sisters were not around what would
happen? You would translate for them? and how would that make you feel?
Participant 16F:
I guess.
Interviewer:
Good...would that make you feel important?
Participant 16F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes? You smile why?
Participant 16F:
I don't know.
Interviewer:
Do you see your sisters who translate or interpret like in a special position?
Participant 16F:
I guess.
Interviewer:
Yes do they like seem more powerful?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah why?
Participant 16F:
Because they are like older.
Interviewer:
They're older. Do they use that to their advantage like I interpret or translate and you don't?

## Participant 16F:

No.
Interviewer:
No, they don $t$ do that? Do they ever tell you that you should?
Participant 16F:
No.
Interviewer:
No do you ever tell them I want to?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah and what do they tell you?
Participant 16F:
Next time.
Interviewer:
The next time hasn't come...
Participant 16F:
No.
Interviewer:
No, do you want to find the next time?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah do you think about the next time?
Participant 16F:
Sometimes...
Interviewer:
What would you do differently than your sisters when they interpret?
Participant 16F:
I don't know...

## Interviewer:

You don't know...ok. Do you feel that sometimes they go to your sisters and don't come to you?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you like that or what are your feelings towards that?
Participant 16F:
I don't like that because I want to help out more.
Interviewer:
And you want to help out more...

## Participant 16F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
You feel like you're not helping them out because you are not helping them interpret and understand the language. So do you feel that interpreting or translating will bring you closer to your parents like change your relationship with them a little bit?
Participant 16F:
Yeah just a little...
Interviewer:
Just a little why?
Participant 16F:
Cause I will be there with them more.
Interviewer:
Because they need you for translating. right now you feel like they don't need you?
Participant 16F:
I still feel like they need me.
Interviewer:
But not in that sense not for language?
Participant 16F:
Yeah, cause my other sisters help.
Interviewer:
Do you want to push them over sometimes?
Participant 16F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes do you think that if you were to interpret or translate you would feel more grown up?
Participant 16F:
Yep.
Interviewer:
How?
Participant 16F:
Because like I'll be there like more and like I don't know.
Interviewer:
Maybe you would be with your parents a lot more because they would use you for that and you would grow up because it's a different experience?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And you would learn different things?
Participant 16F:
Uhum...
Interviewer:
Ok, so now that for example that your teacher knew when you translated for her, um did she expect you to behave differently?
Participant 16F:
I don't think so.
Interviewer:
Did she expect you to be more mature than the rest of your kids in your class because you had that experience with her?
Participant 16F:
I think, you think, why do you think?

## Participant 16F:

Because the other ones they don't listen in class. Well they do but they be talking when she's talking and I'm quiet and listening to her.
Interviewer:
Ok, do you feel like maybe do you see your sisters as a role model for you?
Participant:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, why?
Participant 16F:
Because they are older and they're suppose to teach me how to do it right or wrong?
Interviewer:
So have they tried to teach you how to interpret?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah what do they tell you what do they teach?
Participant 16F:
Listen to them what they say and then translate to them and then they teach me more Spanish.

## Interviewer:

They teach more Spanish whenever they're translating do they bring you and say, "here come over here try it".

## Participant 16F:

Yeah, sometimes.

## Interviewer:

And how does that make you feel?

## Participant 16F:

Like good because when I first tried it was good because it was my first time.
Interviewer:
And it felt good?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What about it felt good?
Participant 16F:
Like me translating and looking?
Interviewer:
And how did you feel about the other person looking at you?
Participant 16F:
Weird and good at the same time because they were looking at me good like when you're talking to another person when they looked at me it looked weird because I wasn't used to it.

## Interviewer:

Now like at school when you give a presentation does it still feel weird when you are up in front of your class?

## Participant 16F:

No cause I got used to it and at leader we present stuff and skits me and my team leads go up there and like, yeah my classes, we do debates and we present book reports.

## Interviewer:

And you think because of those times that your sisters have said here come here translate that it has helped you too?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Because you are talking to a stranger?
Participant 16F:
And I won't be embarrassed.
Interviewer:
You won't be embarrassed cause its somebody that you don't know and you're trying to talk to them. And it makes you feel little awkward but at the same time good, I'm getting practice.
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
So when you do translate, do you feel pressure or any pressures?
Participant 16F:
Sometimes when I don't know them.
Interviewer:
When you don't know the people that...about the language, do you feel pressures about the language?
Participant 16F:
I stutter when I get nervous.
Interviewer:
You get nervous...do you know a lot of Spanish words or you're still learning some?
Participant 16F:
Still learning some.
Interviewer:
Still learning some... when you are translating you get stuck on some of these words?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
How does that make you feel?
Participant 16F:
Bad because I don't know how to speak in Spanish and the other person might think she doesn't know how to translate yeah...

## Interviewer:

Do you think that interpreting builds confidence?
Participant 16F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
You said that you are comfortable when speaking in front of people now?
Participant 16F:
Cause I got used to it.
Interviewer:
You got used to it when you're interpreting, you're talking in front of people too. Would you say that you're more confident because of that?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
You're not as shy as the first...you are more used to. it so if we were to ask you, cause your little you're only twelve, if you were to be
born again and somebody asked you if you wanted to interpret and tell me yes or no what would you say?
Participant 16F:
I would say I don't know.
Interviewer:
You'll say I don't know why?
Participant 16F:
Because I would say no because I haven't gone through that and I won't have any experience.
Interviewer:
You would say no...ok. So um...you would prefer not to interpret for anyone?
Participant 16F:
No.
Interviewer:
Is it because it's really stressful?
Participant 16F:
Yeah.
End of conversation Participant 16F

## Participant 17F

|  |  |
| :---: | :---: |
| Beginning of ConversationInterviewer: |  |
| I'm going to start off by asking you a couple of questions about you and your family. How old are |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| Thirteen. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| Thirteen, were you born in the United States? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| Yes. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| Here in Arizona? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| Yes. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| Yes. how many brothers or sisters do you have? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| None. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| None, so you're just an only child? How cool is that? It's not that cool? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| No. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| Would you like a brother or sister, yes? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| Yes. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| What language do you mainly speak at home? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| Spanish. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| Spanish and why is that? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| Because my mom only speaks Spanish? |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| Ok. Do you have other family members that live with you or is it just you and your mom? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| Just me and my mom. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| Just you and your mom, ok. Have you ever been asked to translate or interpret for your mom? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| Yeah. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| Yeah can you tell me a little bit about or do you remember that first experience that you had? You don't remember the first time that you had to translate for her? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| Hmm... |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| No...can you kind of just describe an experience that you've had with her and how that looks like? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| When we go to the parent teacher conferences, I have to translate to my mom how my grades and stuff. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| So would you say that's the only time that you translate or do you translate for other things? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| Like sometimes we are at the store and she wonders where something is, I go and ask that person and I will translate for her.Interviewer: |  |
|  |  |
| Do you translate like legal papers for her or... |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| No. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| Or like bills like that may come in...the light bill, the phone bill? |  |
| Participant 17F: |  |
| No they come in Spanish for her. |  |
| Interviewer: |  |
| They come in Spanish for her. So you really don't have to help her out with that anymore. When she goes to the doctor, do you help her out when she goes to the doctor? |  |

Participant 17F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
Yeah, ok. Does she know how to use the computer?
Participant 17F:
Little bit.
Interviewer:
A little bit...are you helping her learn how to use it?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yes. How does that make you feel?
Participant 17F:
Good.
Interviewer:
Good, so like when you help her you're... basically everything is in English am I right?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Has she ever tried to do it on her own?
Participant 17F:
Yeah, she studies on the computer sometimes.
Interviewer:
She studies on the computer sometimes and when do you have to come in and help her?
Participant 17F:
When she's stuck on something or doesn't know what it means.
Interviewer:
Or when the screen pops up and she's like oh oh my gosh?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Ok. Do you translate for any other members of your extended family?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah, who are they?
Participant 17F:
My aunt, when she um has parent teacher conferences too or when we go to the store and she needs something.
Interviewer:
Does she have any children?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Are they younger than you?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Is your aunt the only one that you translate for?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
How do you think your mom feels when she's sees you translating for her?
Participant 17F:
She feels proud of me and then she thinks that she wishes that she could speak English too, so she can help other people.
Interviewer:
So you mainly translate for parent teacher conference. Do you remember that first time the grade?
Participant 17F:
I think it was fifth grade.
Interviewer:
Ok. Before fifth grade somebody else would help your mom?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
That first time that you had to do the parent teacher conference, how did you feel?
Participant 17F:
I felt a little bit nervous because I didn't know if I translated good or not.

## Interviewer:

So were you concerned about the words?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah and so how do you think you did for that first time?

## Participant 17F:

I think that I did good because my mom understood everything.

## Interviewer:

She understood everything...how did the teacher like react when she saw that you were going to be the translator?

## Participant 17F:

She said that she was proud me and that she would like to speak other languages too.
Interviewer:
Really? Did you ever feel that maybe they distrusted you? That you were not going to say the right thing or maybe that you were not going to say...
Participant 17F:
I think they did trust me.
Interviewer:
They did trust you, are you overall a good student?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.

## Interviewer:

Yeah so that is probably why they trusted you. I assume they weren't going to think, "oh she's going to lie". Ok, do you and your mom ever sit down and talk about your experience after? Let say you go and translate something that is very difficult for you and you go home and talk about it?

## Participant 17F:

Sometimes she says that she wish she could speak English that's all she says.

## Interviewer:

How does that make you feel when you hear her say that she wants to learn how to speak English?

## Participant 17F:

Um...then we go on the computer and I help her on her language learning tool and then I help her with that.

## Interviewer:

Does that actually work?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yeah does it actually help? I've heard of people mentioning it so I was wondering if it actually works. Do you feel that it's your responsibility to translate?

## Participant 17F:

Yeah cause sometimes she needs help with it and...

## Interviewer:

So what do you think if somebody else were or how do you feel when somebody else needs to translate for your mom and not you?

## Participant 17F:

I actually like it because I don't like translating and stuff.

## Interviewer:

So you actually like it if somebody else helps her?

## Participant 17F:

Yeah because I feel that I may say something that is wrong or I don't understand a word.

## Interviewer:

Have you ever said something wrong?
Participant 17F:
Not really.
Interviewer:
Not really, no? So you're always careful of not making a mistake?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Have you ever made a mistake?
Participant 17F:
No.
Interviewer:
Are you sure?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
You're like no. if you were to make a mistake what do you think would happen?

## Participant 17F:

I would probably learn from it and then find out what actually the word or something means.

## Interviewer:

How do you think your mom would react if you made a mistake?

## Participant 17F:

I think she would understand.

## Interviewer:

She would understand. Is she pretty much understanding when you don't know a specific word or you have trouble?
Participant 17F:
Yeah she...
Interviewer:
Yeah, how do you know that she understands?
Participant 17F:
Cause she she says that it's ok.
Interviewer:
So what do you think your mom would do if you weren't around to translate?
Participant 17F:
I think she would try to speak it for herself or find someone around.
Interviewer:
Does that sometimes worry you when you are not around?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you worry about her?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yeah. Um...do you sometimes feel pressured when you translate?
Participant 17F:
Not really because it's easy.
Interviewer:
It's easy...was it a lot difficult when you were a lot younger?
Participant 17F:
Umm not really.
Interviewer:
Not really, so it's always been a little bit easier for you ...ok do you feel any type of stress when you are translating?
Participant 17F:
No.
Interviewer:
No.
Participant 17F:
I think it's ok.

## Interviewer:

You think it's ok. So you're not stressed out at all or anything like that, ok. Um...do you feel that um if you have grown in a specific way due to this experience? You know being able to interpret for your mom?
Participant 17F:
Yeah because I could probably translate for other people.
Interviewer:
Ok. Um...do you think that kind of um...you feel that you'll have a better future than your mom because of these experiences of you
translating?
Participant 17F:
Yeah probably get a better job or something.
Interviewer:
Ok. Um do always feel that you have a choice to translate?
Participant 17F:
No not really.
Interviewer:
Not really. Why do you say that?
Participant 17F:
Because there's usually no one else around that speaks another language.
Interviewer:
Does that frustrate you at times?
Participant 17F:
No not really.
Interviewer:
So you're used to it and that it's kind of your responsibility to help her out and to translate for her?

## Participant 17F:

## Yeah.

Interviewer:
Do you feel that you are sacrificing anything, you know, in your life because you have to or that your life has changed compared to kids who don't translate? Do you feel that maybe it's different?

## Participant 17F:

I think it is a little different because sometimes other kids don't understand what other people are saying.
Interviewer:
So do you think that you have developed skills that maybe other kids don't have?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What kind of skills do you think that you have developed?
Participant 17F:
Various languages.
Interviewer:
So walk me through when you're translating. How do you do it? How does the situation start and let's say that you translate at the store or at the doctor's office, so how does it start?
Participant 17F:
My mom she like um...she doesn't know where they sell CD and stuff so then I go and ask the worker if they know where it's at...cause I don't normally know how to say it.

## Interviewer:

Has there ever been a time that they start speaking to your mom and all of sudden like they just...
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And then your mom just kind of looks at them...

## Participant 17F:

And then I have to figure out what they say.
Interviewer:
Do you find that you have to listen a little bit closely than most people would? When you're with your mom you have to be paying attention?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
To what's happening?
Participant 17F:
Yeah cause I can get distracted.
Interviewer:
Have you ever been caught off guard to where you were not listening and your mom is like hey?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
How does that make you feel?
Participant 17F:
That I should pay more attention.
Interviewer:
Ok as you're translating how does that work, like what would you say is the hardest thing? There has to be something hard about it.

## Participant 17F:

When there is words that you don't know how to translate in Spanish.

## Interviewer:

So those words, give me an example that you might have a hard time or that at some point it gave you a hard time to translate?
Participant 17F:
I don't have one.
Interviewer:
You really don't have one... I guess what I want to ask you is how you translate that hard word into something that...
Participant 17F:
I just find a word that has the same meaning or that has to do with it.
Interviewer:
Ok. So you kind of... the word in English try to find the word in Spanish?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Or how does it work?
Participant 17F:
I try to find like and I don't even know how to say it. I don't know how to explain it.
Interviewer:

Do you find yourself thinking in English and then trying to speak in Spanish and then thinking in Spanish when trying to speak in English?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Yeah like it kind of twists around and your thinking in one way and something else is coming out in another language?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
I take it that you probably use context clues?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes to figure it out. Have you ever when you can't find that word that...you give an explanation of what it might be?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
And then how does your mom feel about that when you give her a big explanation?
Participant 17F:
She tries to understand and then she gets it.
Interviewer:
Then she gets it. So you translate for your aunt you said? so um how when you first started to translate for her, do you remember when was the first time that you translated for her?

## Participant 17F:

It was this past Thursday.
Interviewer:
This past Thursday, first time?

## Participant 17F:

She had parent teacher conference and nobody was around to translate for them and she told me to go. So I went with her and there was a paper with the grades and the teacher would explain it and then I would tell her in Spanish.
Interviewer:
In Spanish and so you feel that she trusts you?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
And that's probably why she asked you to go?
Participant 17F:
Yes.

## Interviewer:

Yeah, what grade was the parent teacher conference for?
Participant 17F:
Kindergarten.

## Interviewer:

Kindergarten...is that like her oldest child?

## Participant 17F:

Yes.
Interviewer:
Yeah so is it a little boy or a little girl?
Participant 17F:
its two little girls.
Interviewer:
Oh wow! How cute! So how do they... I'm assuming they were there?
Participant 17F:
Yes and they were playing around.
Interviewer:
Oh they weren't paying attention to you? So has it ever happened?
Participant 17F:
No.
Interviewer:
Are those the only little kids that are around here that you interact with?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Have they ever looked at you and asked you how can you speak two languages?
Participant 17F:
No they try do that too and try to copy me.
Interviewer:
So they try to be 'I want to be like my cousin"?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Have they told you that?
Participant 17F:
Yes they always follow me and try to do what I do?
Interviewer:
How does that make you feel?
Participant 17F:
Proud but sometimes it does get a little annoying and there's a two year and he does the same thing.
Interviewer:
So do you feel like you're kind of a role model?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Would you like to teach them to interpret for their parents too?
Participant 17F:
That would help them out a lot.
Interviewer:
That would help them out a lot. Ok... do they see you?
Participant 17F:
They live next door.
Interviewer:
So you probably interact with them a lot. Do you see them like your little brother and little sisters?
Participant 17F:
Yeah there here all day, everyday they are like in here.
Interviewer:
They're almost like your siblings, so do you feel that they see you in some position of power like?
Participant 17F:
Yeah because they are sometimes fighting with each other. They are like she's hitting me like if I was their mom or something.
Interviewer:
Do you think because they see you that you're older or because you started helping their parents?
Participant 17F:
Because I'm older and I tell them lots of stuff and translate for her.

## Interviewer:

So do you feel that you would um that if you had a choice to be bilingual would you be bilingual?

## Participant 17F:

Yes, because it would help a lot of people. Later it would help me get a job or something, yeah and then right now I may study another language too.
Interviewer:
Hmm what language?
Participant 17F:
I think it's, I don't know yet.
Interviewer:
Do you feel that you've become your mom's partner?
Participant 17F:
Yeah because when she needs help I help her and when I need help she helps me.
Interviewer:
So you guys are like working as a team together. So it's part of helping her is being able to translate for her so...
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What if you refuse to translate what would she say?

## Participant 17F:

She'll be like wait till we get home and she'll probably yell at me.
Interviewer:
Has that ever happened?
Participant 17F:
No.
Interviewer:
So you feel that you have to, so you just do it?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
What happened if you didn't?

## Participant 17F:

She slaps her hand.

## Interviewer:

But you mentioned that sometimes it is a relief to not do it...to not translate for her so...

## Participant 17F:

Sometimes things are hard and I don't really get it.

## Interviewer:

So it's because things are hard. so if you had the choice to speak two languages you would...
Participant 17F:
Yep.
Interviewer:
Sometimes it gets hard speaking the two languages to help your mom out? And that's when you feel like why do I have to do this?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Have you ever thought why doesn't she go and find somebody else?
Participant 17F:
No not really.
Interviewer:
Not really why?
Participant 17F:
I don't know it's just like I do it so often that I do it like a routine.
Interviewer:
It's a routine... it's like something natural now?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
So um do you feel that you would be somebody different if you didn't have these experiences?
Participant 17F:
Yeah because then I wouldn't like know what that is and I would be angry at myself for not knowing another language that she needs help with.
Interviewer:
Have you ever thought about that... like I know there's some kids that their parents don't speak English and they don't speak Spanish, so have you thought about that?

## Participant 17F:

I would hate that cause I have a friend that her grandparents they speak Spanish and her mother, her parents speak English and her grandmother is trying to tell her something and she is like "what" cause she doesn't know how to speak Spanish.
Interviewer:
And so you don't like that?
Participant 17F:
No because what if she is trying to tell you something important and you don't know what she means or anything.
Interviewer:
Ok...do you feel unique? That your experiences are unique compared to other kids?
Participant 17F:
Not really cause there a lot of kids that do it too.
Interviewer:
You know of a lot of kids that do that?
Participant 17F:
In my school.
Interviewer:
In your school? Do you guys ever talk about your experiences of helping your parents out like that?
Participant 17F:
Only like once.
Interviewer:
What did you guys say?
Participant 17F:
Once when I told my friend that we were talking about that and I told her that once it was hard for me and I didn't understand cause I
didn't know a word.
Interviewer:
And what did she tell you?
Participant 17F:
That it happens to her a lot.
Interviewer:
That it happens to her a lot. So you guys were just like out of the blue just...
Participant 17F:
Talking about a random subject.

## Interviewer:

And then you were like "hey I have to help my mom the other day"... I'm assuming that you had to translate and that triggered the conversation?

## Participant 17F:

Yeah because I think my mom needed help with lotion I think and she wanted to know the price and everything and she didn't find those scanners and she said go find one of those workers and I had to translate.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel that because of this experience you don't feel embarrassed when you have to talk in front of people?

## Participant 17F:

No, I feel proud of myself for knowing.

## Interviewer:

So you don't feel you... feel that now you can talk to anybody like in front of your class and it's not hard?

## Participant 17F:

Yes because one day we were at the market and I helped this lady translate she told my mom that she should be really proud that she has a daughter that knows various languages.

## Interviewer:

How did that make you feel?
Participant 17F:
Proud.
Interviewer:
Proud...so you don't mind helping others?
Participant 17F:

## No.

Interviewer:
So when you see that others need help how does that make you feel like?

## Participant 17F:

Like I do it and they say thank you and that I should be proud of myself.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel that you might have an urge like when you see them struggling like ok let me go help them?
Participant 17F:
Yes.
Interviewer:
Yes. Have you ever done that like just randomly?
Participant 17F:
No I haven't done it.
Interviewer:
So either somebody asks your mom can we borrow her? Has someone ever said that?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you feel any type of resentment towards your mom because she doesn't speak any English and you have to do this?
Participant 17F:
No because I actually like to help her and then if I don't know something, I learn from it for later on. If someone asks for the same thing I know what it means.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel mature?

## Participant 17F:

Yes because like there's kids at my school that they speak both languages but since people around them only speak one language they want to be like them like they stop or don't want to speak that language. They don't help their mother and things and I do and that makes me feel mature enough.
Interviewer:
Do you think that you're expected to behave differently because you engage in interpreting for your mom?
Participant 17F:
I act more with manners and stuff.
Interviewer:
Who has told you that? Your mom told you that or you kind of just figured it?
Participant 17F:
Yeah just figured it.
Interviewer:
That's kind of your expectation that you have to behave differently?
Participant 17F:
Cause once when I was six years old and I went to the bakery with my tia and this woman went up to ask her about the cakes and she didn't really understand my tia, and the woman had a daughter who kind of spoke Spanish, but then she wouldn't translate for her mom. And she said that it was stupid like that and that she wouldn't want to speak another language.
Interviewer:
And so you...

## Participant 17F:

I didn't help but I think it was somebody else that helped and I saw that.
Interviewer:
So you saw that and it changed your way of thinking?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
When you heard that what did you think?
Participant 17F:
I don't remember it because I was small.
Interviewer:
But now that you are older and you think about it what do you think about people that act like that?
Participant 17F:
They are not mature, no.
Interviewer:
Someone saying...do you feel that she was embarrassed of who she was?
Participant 17F:
Yes because another person would actually help her mom and stuff instead of saying that it was dumb.
Interviewer:
Would you ever say anything like that?
Participant 17F:
No, I don't know my family is always have taught me to not be embarrassed of who I am because other people have worst situations and that I should be happy of who I am.

## Interviewer:

Good. I'm trying to picture what would I have thought... do you know a lot of people that may think like that?
Participant 17F:
No.
Interviewer:
That was probably the only time that you heard that?
Participant 17F:
My tia repeats that story a lot and that's why I remember it.
Interviewer:
Really? Who does she repeat it to?
Participant 17F:
My mom and then she says that you should be proud not like that one girl that said that and then she repeats the story and I was like yeah.
Interviewer:
Do you think that has influenced you to continue to interpret for your mom in some way?
Participant 17F:
In some way yeah because like I don't want to be like that girl that doesn't like helping people and saying that its dumb.

## Interviewer:

I know your aunt retells the story time and time again, do you playback that story in your mind at times?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
When does that happen?
Participant 17F:
When I'm translating for my mom and I like when I'm translating for my mom.
Interviewer:
So it pushes you to just do it?
Participant 17F:
Yeah.
Interviewer:
When your frustrated do you think about that story and what do you tell yourself?
Participant 17F:
That I have to do because I don't want to be like that one girl and make my mom disappointed at me.
Interviewer:
So would you say that these experiences have influenced who you are right now or would you be a different person if you didn't have these experiences?
Participant 17F:
I would be a different person cause I wouldn't be so proud of myself because I wouldn't know much stuff.

## Interviewer:

So do you think that you think about other things or you see life in a different perspective than other kids that don't have to translate for their parents?
Participant 17F:
Yeah because my mom always tells me that I can get a better job than other people. so that I can get a better career too.

## Interviewer:

Do you feel that you are better informed than other kids?
Participant 17F:
Yeah because they don't have the experiences and later on it won't help them. They won't have much experience in anything.
Interviewer:
So these experiences, do you fill out applications and stuff for your mom or fill out paperwork?
Participant 17F:
Like twice when I went to the doctor to get my physical she needed help. She was like what does this say and then I told her what it said and then I told her what she had to put.
Interviewer:
So only about twice did you have to fill out papers for her? the other times who fills out the papers for her?
Participant 17F:
Usually the doctors have them ready and stuff.
Interviewer:
So she really doesn't have to fill out. Do think that those two experiences have helped you understand how to fill out forms like that?
Participant 17F:
Yeah yes because now my mom may know what it means and she can learn and I can learn.
Interviewer:
Name the one thing that is the most important thing that you have learned. What would you tell them of this experience of interpreting for your mom and your aunt? What would be the most important thing you have learned?
Interviewer:
The most important thing I've learned is that you shouldn't be ashamed if you speak like Spanish or two languages and that you should love your culture and help other people translate and stuff.
End of conversation Participant 17F


[^0]:    Participant 3F:
    Yeah.
    Interviewer:
    Do you translate for them in the internet?
    Participant 3F:
    Um no.
    Interviewer:
    No just the letters, if they get something from, is it complicated for you?
    Participant 3F:
    It is.
    Interviewer:
    It is? Why?
    Participant 3F:
    Because I'm getting more used to English than Spanish.
    Interviewer:
    So you are getting more used to English than Spanish? Why do you say that?
    Participant 3F:
    Because I speak English at school, at home I speak English to my sister and I only speak Spanish to my mom and dad and some of my family that only speaks Spanish.

    ## Interviewer:

    But when you, so would say that you interact more with your sisters than with your parents or is it about the same?
    Participant 3F:
    It's about the same.
    Interviewer:
    But because you go to school?
    Participant 3F:
    Yeah.
    Interviewer:
    Then you are speaking more over there and you come here and you kind of have a balance?
    Participant 3F:
    Yeah.
    Interviewer:
    Okay, um so is it often that you interpret or translate or is it just sometimes?
    Participant 3F:
    Sometimes.
    Interviewer:
    Sometimes. Ok umm, do you remember the first time that you translated or interpreted?
    Participant 3F:
    No.
    Interviewer:
    You don't remember. Then just think about the most recent time.
    Participants 3F:
    Like two months ago.
    Interviewer:
    Two months ago. Who did you have to translate for?
    Participant 3F:
    Umm like, like, um, um on the phone this lady called my mom to tell her about work. Yeah.
    Interviewer:
    And how did then, did your mom just kind of give you the phone?
    Participant 3F:
    Yeah, she's, she's like I can't understand and she just gave me the phone.
    Interviewer:
    And so how do you prepare for those situations, when all of a sudden you know the phone rings and it's for your mom? Do you do, do
    they kind of catch you off guard?
    Participant 3F:
    Umm, sometimes like I don't really, I'm not very good at translating. Sometimes they give it to my sister.
    Interviewer:
    Oh, when your sister is not around?
    Participant 3F:
    Oh yeah.
    Interviewer:
    How does that make you feel?
    Participant 3F:
    Kind of nervous
    Interviewer:
    Kind of nervous, why?

[^1]:    Interviewer:
    And so in a way you are kind of translating the stuff that is in English into Spanish for them. so what kind of stuff do you access like in the internet?
    Participant 7F:
    They sometimes like to go on You Tube.
    Interviewer:
    They like to watch things?
    Participant 7F:
    Yeah.
    Interviewer:
    The videos. Interesting. That's cool you guys just watch you tube videos that are Spanish speaking? English? any type?
    Participant 7F:
    Any type.
    Interviewer:
    Any type any language?
    Participant 7F:
    Yeah.
    Interviewer:
    That's cool...um going back to that first time you translated, how do you think your parents felt?
    Participant 7F:
    Like proud.
    Interviewer:
    They felt proud...did they show that to you?
    Participant 7F:
    Yeah.
    Interviewer:
    How did you know that they were proud?
    Participant 7F:
    They were happy.
    Interviewer:
    They were happy...did they say something?
    Participant 7F:
    Yeah
    Interviewer:
    What did they say?
    Participant 7F:
    They were like... I can't remember though.
    Interviewer:
    You can't remember, but you know that they were proud. How do you think that other person viewed you? The one that you had to talk to?
    Participant 7F:
    Umm like I don't know.
    Interviewer:
    Even think now, you're young, you're thirteen, so it's not like your fifty or forty and you are having a conversation with an adult, as a thirteen year old when you're translating how do they look at you?
    Participant 7F:
    Like helpful.
    Interviewer:
    Do they at some point in the beginning, do you see that they are shocked?
    Participant 7F:
    Yeah kind of.
    Interviewer:
    Yeah... like have they told anything ever?
    Participant 7F:
    No, they just told on me what I need to tell my parents and I just translate for my parents.
    Interviewer:
    So like when they start talking to your parents, they start with them and as soon as they see that they can't express themselves, do they look at you right away and then you feel like the spotlight is on you?
    Participant 7F:
    Yeah.
    Interviewer:
    And how does that make you feel?
    Participant 7F:
    Special.
    Interviewer:
    Special why?

[^2]:    Interviewer:
    With yourself or anybody else?
    Participant 8F:
    Myself.
    Interviewer:
    With yourself, why?
    Participant 8F:
    Umm cause I can't like...I'm helping, but not that much and they expect me do something and I don't really do it well and they were expecting me to do it better
    Interviewer:
    Like earlier how did you feel?
    Participant 8F:
    Relieved.
    Interviewer:
    Yeah cause that kind of makes you feel frustrated. wow! Um, do you always feel that you have a choice to translate or interpret?
    Participant 8F:
    No I feel like sometimes when there is someone else to help, but when there is no one else to speak Spanish I have to.
    Interviewer:
    You have to?
    Participant 8F:
    Yeah.
    Interviewer:
    Do your parents expect you to do it then?
    Participant 8F:
    Yeah they ask me to help them just like go in there and help.
    Interviewer:
    You just take the initiative and just go in there and do it?
    Participant 8F:
    Yeah.
    Interviewer:
    What if you were to refuse and say no I don't want to help you?
    Participant 8F:
    Umm...I don't know.
    Interviewer:
    You don't know? You've never done that?
    Participant 8F:
    She shakes head no.
    Interviewer:
    Have you ever like spoken with your parents and sat down and discussed your experiences in translating? Have they ever talked about it or you talk with them and you discuss like?

    ## Participant 8F:

    No.

    ## Interviewer:

    Nothing, do they ever tell you this is what I expect from you or when you're translating, interpreting for me?

    ## Participant 8F:

    No.
    Interviewer:
    No, ok. Do they ever express their feelings towards you about you interpreting or translating?

    ## Participant 8F:

    No.
    Interviewer:
    No, they don't say much?
    Participant 8F:
    No.
    Interviewer:
    Do you feel like your parents are understanding when you can't translate or interpret?
    Participant 8F:
    No because they don't know what's happening.
    Interviewer:
    They don't know what's happening?
    Participant 8F:
    No.
    Interviewer:
    They don't understand that there might be times that you won't be able to translate?
    Participant 8F:
    Yeah they like they think like I'm might be able to say everything so yeah.

