THE INTERPRETER'S INVOLVEMENT IN A TRANSLATED INSTITUTION: A CASE STUDY OF SERMON INTERPRETING

Alev Balci Tison

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ALEV BALCI TISON

THE INTERPRETER'S INVOLVEMENT IN A TRANSLATED INSTITUTION: A CASE STUDY OF SERMON INTERPRETING

DOCTORAL THESIS

Supervised by Dr Franz Pöchhacker and Dr Ebru Diriker

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Abstract

This thesis examines the sermon interpreter's involvement in an institutional religious setting, using an interdisciplinary and multi-method approach. Notions such as institution, ideology, norm and context are discussed in relation to a multi-level analytical framework, drawing on perspectives from sociology, sociolinguistics, translation studies and homiletics. A particular church is investigated as a case study of a translated and translating institution which is being established in a new linguistic and cultural context, with a focus on the role of interpreters and interpreting practices. Although there has been no prior research on the topic, notions of involvement in various contexts of community interpreting shed valuable light on it.

Recognizing that interpreting can never occur in a social vacuum and that interpreters are bound by the context in which they function, a descriptive analysis of the micro- and macro-level contexts is provided as a foundation for the data analysis to follow. The study discusses the sermon as genre for a deeper understanding of the interpreter-mediated communicative events under study. Ethnography and a degree of autoethnography are employed to conduct fieldwork and to collect data for both qualitative and quantitative analyses. These facilitate the investigation of role perceptions and expectancy norms regarding issues such as the interpreter's motivation, eligibility, the degree of authority granted to them, and ideological influences on interpreting strategies.

The findings are triangulated by discourse analysis of naturally-occurring interpreter-mediated sermons to discover evidence of interpreter involvement in the communicative event. The church's interpreters are shown to be an integral part in the process of institutionalization through the sermonic communication they mediate, which highlights their role at the level of translating the institution. Both their role and interpreting per se are crucial in terms of the cultural negotiations required for "translating" the institution along with its ideology into a new culture. Here, "translating" is taken as a concept beyond its immediate meaning of transfer between languages; it is the translation of an entire entity into a different culture at the institutional level, with all of its aspects. The act of sermon interpreting is thus both constrained by the institution's ideology and norms for interpreting, and at the same time, it is a factor in the translation of the institution itself.

Keywords: interpreter involvement, translating ideology, translating institutions, translated institution, norms of preaching, norms of interpreting, interpreting in religious settings, church interpreting, institutional interpreting, multicultural homiletics

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I hereby certify that the present study, "**The Interpreter's Involvement in a Translated Institution: A Case Study of Sermon Interpreting**", presented by **Alev Balci-Tison** for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under the supervision of myself at the Center for Translation Studies of the University of Vienna and that it fulfills all the requirements for the award of Doctor.

Vienna, 30 October 2015

(Ao.Univ.Prof.Dr. Franz Pöchhacker)

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October 20, 2015

I hereby certify that the present study "The Interpreter's Involvement in a Translated Institutions: A Case Study of Sermon Interpreting", presented by Alev Balci-Tison for the award of the degree of Doctor, has been carried out under the supervision of myself at the Department of Translation and Interpreting Studies of Bogazici University and that it fulfills all the requirements for the award of Doctor.

Istanbul, 20 October 2015

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THE INTERPRETER'S INVOLVEMENT IN A TRANSLATED INSTITUTION: A CASE STUDY OF SERMON INTERPRETING
Alev Balci Tison

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1. Introduction

1.1. Historical and contemporary perspectives

When the professionalization of interpreting gained momentum more than half a century ago, initially to meet the need for interpreters in international conferences, a profile of the "neutral" interpreter was created ─ working between the primary parties to facilitate communication, but taking little more than a conduit role, not involved or aligned with either of the primary parties. This still largely coincides with the self-image of the interpreting profession, but the role of interpreters has actually been far more diverse. History has witnessed "involved" interpreters working not just *between*, but also *for* some primary communicating parties. Franz Pöchhacker (2006a: 196) questions the idea that "an interpreter is by definition non-involved and occupies a neutral position 'in between,'" pointing in particular to interpreters influenced by particular ideologies. He suggests that such interpreters ultimately work "within" a given ideological sphere rather than merely "between" different sides. This study examines how this may apply to interpreting in a particular religious setting.

Throughout history, interpreters have played a part in communicating sacred text and the teachings given on it, from the earliest times of Judaism to the present. Jewish history reports that the Israelites were frequently forced to migrate, which caused their language use to diversify; for this reason, the Jewish faith was to a great extent dependent on interpreters for centuries (Bowen *et al.* 1995: 253). Interpreters were needed to mediate between Aramaic and Hebrew speakers and "were employed by the synagogues to re-express the sermons and teachings of the rabbi" (*ibid.*). Following the precedent set in Judaism, interpreters were widely used in the early church, due to its multilingual setting in the eastern Mediterranean (Metzger 1977). In the same vein, wherever religion has crossed borders, interpreters have been the means of carrying the teachings to other language groups. Niang notes that as the Islamic faith spread, interpreters translated "preachers' speeches orally into the local languages" after the 8th century (in Bowen *et al.* 1995: 254). Similarly, as Christianity was taken to new regions, its proponents sought out local people who could interpret for them from a language of wider communication (LWC), and in some cases even trained members of their own

group to speak the LWC to facilitate communication (cf. Frederiks 2003, with reference to the 19th century).

The current era allows and encourages more and more global mobility. In the modern world, people readily reside in countries other than their native ones and carry on with their lives in new cultures. The transposition resulting from greater freedom to choose one's country of residence has increased the demand for interpreting in every area of life (Angelelli 2004: 98; Boxer 2002: 125; Davidson 2000: 380). On the other hand, some are forced to leave their homelands for various reasons and take refuge in other countries, where they can escape the problems that caused them to depart their native lands (see Barsky 1996). They, too, need to adapt to new cultures, most likely under more difficult conditions than those who migrate either temporarily or voluntarily. In various cross-linguistic and cross-cultural situations, there is thus a need for interpreting services, whether one is living in another country willingly or unwillingly. This applies to the areas of health care, education, justice, law enforcement, economics, politics, science – basically all domains of society. Among these social and communal needs is the ability to practice one's beliefs and participate in worship services, which may also require the services of an interpreter.

While people belonging to some religious groups are persecuted in their native countries because of their faith, and must flee as refugees in order to survive, other religious adherents leave their own country to take their religion to others, a phenomenon commonly seen throughout the history of the world religions. The history of translation reveals that Christian missionaries have been influential actors in translation work (Pym 2000). However, although Bible translation and the linguistic activities of missionaries hold great research interest in translation studies (Smalley 1991), interpreting activities carried out for religious reasons have not been extensively investigated until the last decade.

Research in the various settings of community interpreting (see 2.2.3 and 3.3) notably medical, court and social services, has examined the role of the interpreter as co-participant within the cross-cultural and cross-linguistic event and conjectured that interpreters play an active role in the realization of communication, whether or not they see themselves as an unbiased, objective and passive party translating just what is said (Angelelli 2004; Metzger 1999; Roy 2000; Wadensjö 1998). In particular, the presumption of neutrality and non-involvement has been put under investigation in tripartite interaction within these settings. Cynthia Roy (2000) suggests that, although in

some situations and fields an interpreter might be required by both primary parties to adopt a neutral position, in other situations, neutrality on the part of an interpreter is neither possible nor expected. Roy (2000) specifically excludes monologic one-to-many contexts, where the interpreter interprets for a single speaker, extrapolating that in such events "an interpreter's role appears conduit like, passive, and noninvolved" (2000: 101). However, there is, in fact, generally some dialogic element in an address to an audience, even if not overtly and verbally realized, since it calls for a response from listeners.

1.2. The phenomenon

Understanding complex social phenomena necessitates a well-defined context. Practices are constrained by the institution in which they take place and the institution itself is embedded in a social context. To develop this discussion with reference to a specific one-to-many religious setting, my personal observations in Protestant churches in Turkey led me to investigate the notion of "involvement" (among other factors) through an interdisciplinary empirical study of consecutive sermon interpreting in a particular church within this wider context. Against the background of a multi-level description of the context, and looking in particular at the sermon, the study explores how the institution views the interpreters, what expectations it holds for them, how the interpreters position themselves, and the nature of the interpreter-mediated communication. It thus investigates the role that sermon interpreters play and are expected to play within this church setting, considering the church as a whole institution and seeking to unveil how the particular institutional context impacts the interpreting practice(s) and the interpreter's agency. Furthermore, it asks what part the interpreting activities play in the process of institutionalization of the church in question.

1.3. The research questions

Sermon interpreting in the particular church setting is investigated within a three-level analytical framework: at the level of the performed text product; in relation to the whole communicative event (hypertextual level); and also at the institutional level, i.e., the

church as an institution, which is described within the wider social context in which it is situated. Thus, interpreting at church is approached as a social practice. With this aim in mind, the following research questions are asked:

1. What role(s) do the sermon interpreters in this setting play in constructing the church as an institution?
2. How does institutional ideology influence the sermon interpreting activity?
3. What constrains the sermon interpreters in this church setting?

1.4. Interdisciplinary and multi-method approach

The research questions are answered through a multi-method ethnographic approach, which encompasses interviews with the interpreters in the specific church setting, surveys with the stakeholders in that setting, and interviews with commissioners in the wider Turkish Protestant Church context. The text of five naturally-occurring consecutively-interpreted sermons is then analyzed in relation to the immediate context (a church service) in order to discover what constrains the interpreters at the level of performance (of the target text) and at the hypertextual level of the event. Perspectives from various disciplines are integrated to shed light on the data at the different levels, including sociolinguistics, sociology, translation and interpreting studies, and homiletics.

At the institutional level, Kaisa Koskinen's approach (2008) to the European Commission (EC) as both a translating and a translated institution provides a model for analysis of the interpreting practices in relation to the church as translated institution.

Drawing on sociologist Richard Scott's (2008: 48) notion of institutions as comprising three elements or "pillars" – regulative, normative and cognitive-cultural – Koskinen (2008: 35) explores how the translators in the EC's Finnish translation unit see themselves and what they do daily, with a focus on their professional identity within the institutional framework. In the same vein, the alignment of translators or interpreters with the institution for which they work is noted by Brian Mossop (1990), investigating the influence of the institution on translation in the context of the Canadian Government's translation service, and by Yvan Leanza (2007) examining the role of interpreters working in healthcare services in Switzerland. Morven Beaton (2007) takes a similar approach to interpreters' ideological involvement in an institutional context in

the case of the European Parliament. In all these cases, the translators and interpreters are professionals aligned with the institution by reason of their employment.

By contrast, the present study looks at the issues in a completely different context, in which the interpreters (including myself) are volunteers working from within an institution of which they are members. There is accordingly a prior supposition of some level of involvement on their part, rather than neutrality. The interpreters and the primary parties (preachers and audience/congregation) see themselves as having the same ideological alignment in terms of religious beliefs; they are aligned with the institution because of personal, not professional, commitment, having the same alignment ideologically. To this extent, the interpreter's alignment is with both sides.

An adaptation of Pöchhacker's (2012: 51) multilevel analytical framework of context and norms in interpreting, in which I incorporate notions from both Koskinen and Scott, is applied to discover how norms operating at the textual (performance) and hypertextual (event) levels are related to aspects of ideology at the macro level of the church as institution (see Figure 1 at 3.4.1).

1.5. Structure of the thesis

This chapter presents some historical and contemporary perspectives on interpreting and the notion of involvement, noting that there is a long history of interpreting in religious settings but little research on the topic until the last decade. It introduces the context of the church interpreting practices which are under scrutiny and the research questions, which are designed to examine the interpreter's involvement in the institutional context of the particular church setting. Some notions relevant to institutionalization and institutional translation, which illumine the study, are cited, and the interdisciplinary and multi-method approach adopted is briefly outlined.

Following this, Chapter 2 introduces key terms and definitions relevant to the particular context of this study and a conceptual discussion on their use in it. It provides an overview of important relevant literature, in particular of research on church interpreting in both signed and spoken languages.

Chapter 3 then lays conceptual foundations, drawing on sociological and sociolinguistic approaches. It is framed by notions such as institution, ideology, norms and context since the study attempts to analyze interpreting as an ideologically-charged

activity in an institutional context. For that purpose, Koskinen's approach (2008), suggesting that a translating institution may itself be a translated institution, is adopted as a model. Accordingly, the church is investigated in this study as a translated and translating institution while being established in a new linguistic and cultural context, with a focus on the role of interpreters and the interpreting practice itself. With regard to the issue of role, the notion of involvement is discussed in relation to other concepts used to describe the role of the interpreter. With that aim, seminal studies are reviewed, in particular the works of Claudia Angelelli (2004) and Ebru Diriker (2004), which to a large extent supersede the traditional perception found especially in professional discourse, that interpreters are neutral agents. These studies demonstrate that interpreting can never occur in a social vacuum and that interpreters are bound by the context they mediate in.

Chapter 4 presents the research methodology. Ethnography and a degree of autoethnography were used to conduct fieldwork and to collect data. Both qualitative and quantitative data based on surveys and interviews serve as a rich source for analysis. Also, discourse analysis of the naturally-occurring interpreted sermons is employed for triangulation of the analyses of the surveys and interviews.

Recognizing that interpreting is a context-bound activity, Chapter 5 provides a descriptive analysis of the micro- and macro-level contexts of the research as a foundation for the data analysis to follow. Interpreting at church is approached as a social practice embedded in a social institution and described in detail with its components relevant to this study. It also analyzes the sermon as genre, for a deeper understanding of the interpreter-mediated communicative events under study. While research in church interpreting has recently been a flourishing field of study, the interpreted sermon has not been analyzed as a communicative event in its own right, which is an innovative element in this study.

Chapter 6 culminates in an in-depth analysis of the involvement of the interpreter in sermon interpreting in Turkish churches where interpreters are usually volunteers who are informally required to be members of the group. This is quite the contrary of the professional context, in which the interpreter is not necessarily from within the organization or group requiring the interpreting service, even if they work solely for the institution. Qualitative analysis is based on two sets of interviews: with commissioners who assign interpreters to interpret sermons and with sermon interpreters themselves. Questionnaires were given to the primary participants in the communication at church,

comprising preachers, interpreters and congregants, for quantitative analysis. In both qualitative and quantitative analyses, issues such as the interpreter's motivation, eligibility, interpreting strategies, the degree of authority granted to them, their ideology-bound decisions, expectancy norms and institutional norms are investigated.

Chapter 7 then analyzes naturally-occurring sermons to triangulate the data presented in Chapter 6. After a detailed description of the setting, based on a video recording, discourse analysis of four randomly selected interpreter-mediated recorded sermons from the church archive, and one videotaped for this project deepens the understanding of the role of interpreters within this institutional context. In the analysis, interpreter strategies, various degrees of their involvement in the communicative event, and their ideology-bound lexical choices are traced through excerpts from these five sermons.

Chapter 8 summarizes the conclusions and offers suggestions for further research.

2. Interpreting in religious settings

This chapter presents notions arising in both religion and interpreting which help to explain the setting and practices under investigation in this study. The religious setting is discussed first (2.1), followed by concepts, settings and modes in interpreting (2.2). The third section discusses (non)-professional interpreters in comparison with volunteers (2.3), while the final section reviews research and practices in church interpreting (2.4).

2.1. The religious setting

In the *Dictionary of Religion*, of all its multifaceted aspects, religion is described based on its "intellectual, ideological or cognitive dimension" embedded in a system of beliefs (von Stuckrad 2006: 1611). Often these beliefs are centered on a supreme being of some sort and lead to a certain lifestyle of obedience and worship. Religions subdivide into denominations or communities on the basis of doctrinal or practical distinctions which are "common conceptions of value and reciprocal incumbency of duties" (von Stuckrad 2006: 505). Whether formally or informally institutionalized, religion thus has rules, norms, values and patterns of behavior which constitute its dimension of social ethics (*ibid.*: 1612). The third research question of this study (see 4.1) addresses these in relation to interpreting in the particular religious setting under investigation.

Christianity is a religion centered on trust in Jesus Christ and obedience to his teachings and those of the apostles as outlined in the Bible, especially the New Testament. According to this teaching, all humans are created in God's divine image, so they have a natural capacity to know God. Paden (2005: 211) describes Christianity as "revealed religion" in contrast to natural religion: "While all humans have access to a basic knowledge of God, 'revealed' knowledge was God's full revelation through Christ to the biblical communities." Christianity is a world religion, able to be translated into other cultures both linguistically and in terms of life-style. The forms of Christianity differ in terms of worship style or focus in the various locations and representations, but the core of Christianity (the person and work/teachings of Christ) is the same (Park 2005: 447-8). Common to almost all of them, as in other text-based religions, is the

practice of delivering persuasively-phrased teaching on the sacred text in the form of *sermons* during regular events of communal worship and in periodic public celebrations of births, weddings, etc. The sermon may be seen as the main vehicle through which the church's hermeneutical understanding of the sacred texts (in terms of faith and lifestyle) is conveyed to adherents. It is reinforced by teachings given in settings such as Bible studies and counseling.

The church can be described in its broadest and most abstract sense as a religious institution. However, the literal and intended meaning of the term *ekklesia* in the ancient Greek texts (translated into English as "church") is a community or an assembly. The Greek term *ekklesia* occurs in the Gospels twice, in Matthew 16:18[1] and 18:17[2]. In the Greek Old Testament (the Septuagint), the word *ekklesia* is used to refer to Israel's assembly or congregation on Mount Sinai (cf. Deuteronomy 9:10[3] or Psalm 22:22[4]), specifically the assembly during which God gave the Israelites the Law and set the people apart as his holy and chosen people.

By referring to themselves as the *ekklesia* (church), the first Christian believers claimed to be heirs to that original Israelite assembly. Just as Israel was God's chosen people in the Old Testament, the church is God's chosen people during this New Testament time. Israel was one nation called by God, but the church is multinational, called by God from every nation around the world. The local church is submitted to their God-given leadership, practices baptism and the Lord's Supper and then goes out into the world to proclaim and live out the claims of the gospel through a lifestyle of good works (von Stuckrad 2006: 408-9). The term church is used in this study to refer to both the worldwide and the locally established institution, and congregation to refer to adherents of the local church, particularly in relation to events in which they meet for worship.

Among the major branches (termed denominations) of Christianity are Catholicism, Orthodoxy, Protestantism and Anglicanism (sometimes subsumed under Protestantism). The Catholic Church sees itself as the continuation of the early Christian community established by Jesus and his apostles in the first century. Christianity spread

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[1] And I tell you that you are Peter, and on this rock I will build my *church*, and the gates of Hades will not overcome it. (Mathew 16:18, NIV, emphasis added)

[2] If they still refuse to listen, tell it to the *church*; and if they refuse to listen even to the church, treat them as you would a pagan or a tax collector. (Mathew 18:17, NIV, emphasis added)

[3] The Lord gave me two stone tablets inscribed by the finger of God. On them were all the commandments the Lord proclaimed to you on the mountain out of the fire, on the day of the *assembly*. (Deuteronomy 9:10, NIV, emphasis added)

[4] I will declare your name to my people; in the *assembly* I will praise you. (Psalms 22:22, NIV, emphasis added)

throughout the early Roman Empire despite imperial opposition until the Emperor Constantine legitimized it in 313. The Catholic Church within the Roman Empire divided into the Greek East and the Latin West in the 11th century. The Patriarch of Constantinople in the Eastern Church rejected Roman sacraments as instruments of divine grace in 1755 and officially breached with Rome (von Stuckrad 2006: 1389). Catholicism came to be used as a synonym for the Roman Catholic Church while the Eastern Church was called the Orthodox Church (*ibid.*: 391).

Protestantism sprang from the Protestant reformation in the 16th century in Europe (Park 2005: 448). The distinctive features of Protestant vs. Catholic or Orthodox doctrine are several but can be summed up in the *soli* (only) statements of what determines one's salvation: "only by divine grace, Christ, faith, scripture" (von Stuckrad 2006: 1533). The reformation churches gradually began to form Protestant denominations but Protestantism never had a central governing authority over its many branches.

The *Evangelical* movement includes various biblically-based revival movements among the Protestant churches, which started in the 18th and 19th centuries in several countries. Evangelical Christians believe in salvation through Christ and the obligation of spreading the gospel of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection, by which atonement was made for the sins of humanity. They emphasize accepting Jesus as Savior, which results in being "'born again' through an experience of the Holy Spirit" (Munson 2005: 342). The term "Evangelical" may be applied to churches of any denomination or their members to describe their biblical beliefs. However, in the Turkish context, it is most commonly applied to local independent churches which have no central governing body linking them, although they have close affiliation with other similar churches at the community level. Their distinctive features are the Evangelical theological stance and the community spirit between members.

It is an Evangelical church of this local type which constitutes the setting in which this study investigates the sermon interpreting activity, the sermon being the main communication instrument for teaching and applying the sacred text and the local hermeneutic on it. In terms of forms of worship, such churches are more attuned to the present culture and time than traditional churches which are committed to a form of worship and order that is historically based and characterized by one priest or minister presiding over religious liturgies (or rituals). Though the structure of church leadership and the terms used for the leaders vary among these churches, their worship services

generally have more of an informal atmosphere, as a gathering of believers. They are led by a leader or leaders, called "pastors" or "elders" (cf. Yates 2007: 40-42).

2.2. Interpreting: Definition, settings and modalities

Interpreting is a complex phenomenon. Research in interpreting has examined a wide range of factors that the phenomenon involves. While it is not the purpose of this section to give an exhaustive description of interpreting with all its linguistic, cognitive, cultural, and social dimensions, it addresses notions relevant to the interpreting practices investigated in this study and the terminology used.

Attempts by various scholars have been made to formulate a comprehensive definition for interpreting. Taking account of many different parameters, Pöchhacker formulated the following definition,[5] which fits well with the data in this study: "Interpreting is a form of Translation in which a **first and final rendition in another language** is produced on the basis of a **one-time presentation** of an utterance in a source language" (Pöchhacker 2004: 11, original emphasis). This definition highlights two unique characteristics of interpreting: immediacy (no replay of the source message), and time pressure (no revision of the target message or very little chance thereof), while accommodating the full range of modes in which it occurs (see Pöchhacker 2010: 154).

2.2.1. Interpreting settings: Inter- vs. intra-social scenarios

In terms of interpreting settings, a distinction can be made between inter-social (often international) settings and intra-social settings. Inter-social settings encompass multilateral and multilingual conference(-like) scenarios in which participants of generally equal and homogenous status (for example, businessmen, politicians, academics, experts, etc.) are typically involved in the communication that the interpreter is mediating. Interpreting in this type of setting is generally termed *conference interpreting*.

[5] Based on Otto Kade's (1968) definition of interpreting as "a form of translation in which the source-language text is presented only once and thus cannot be reviewed or replayed, and the target-language text is produced under time pressure, with little chance for correction and revision." (Pöchhacker's translation from the original German 2004: 10)

On the other hand, intra-social interpreting occurs in all kinds of communication scenarios at the community level. The term "community interpreting" was suggested when interpreting researchers turned their attention to the interpreting activity which occurs at the intra-social level when residents of a society need the services provided by either central or local governments or private institutions but do not have competence in the language of the service providers (Hertog 2010: 49; cf. Pöchhacker 1999: 126-7). The phenomenon became an object of research in the 1990's, the milestone event being the first Critical Link Conference held in 1995 in Canada (Mikkelson 2013: 389-90). Because of its institutional nature, it is also termed "public service interpreting." However, the term "community interpreting" is adopted here as a more comprehensive term, embracing interpreting in all kinds of scenarios which may occur at the intra-social level, in any mode, including those of local religious events.

Regardless of which religion, what is usually common in religious settings is the spiritual domain of the communication and association with specific sacred texts (e.g., the Old and New Testament, the Qur'an, etc.), doctrine and belief systems. Religious settings at the community level may require interpreting during worship services, retreats, confession, Scripture studies, counseling, tours, pilgrimages and ceremonies like weddings and funerals, whether held in venues such as churches, synagogues, temples or mosques, or in a secular venue, as mentioned in the 2000 report of the Professional Standards Committee of the Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. (henceforth, RID).

Interpreting settings may also be classified according to directionality, as dialogic or monologic, according to the type of communication taking place between the primary parties. Both may occur at either inter-social or intra-social level. Communication in monologic form takes place when the interaction is not mutual between the audience and the speaker but rather in the form of the speaker's "one-to-many utterances" (Viezzi 2013: 377), which typifies the setting in which inter-social conference interpreting mostly occurs. On the other hand, dialogic communication occurs typically in "face-to-face encounters where the form of communication is conversation" (*ibid.*). This becomes triadic with the involvement of an interpreter.

Dialogic (or dialogue) interpreting may occur, for instance, in immigration offices, police stations, refugee offices, hospitals and so on. It frequently takes place in institutional contexts in which the status of participants is unequal, viz. interaction between an individual (usually less advantaged) and the officials of the institution.

According to Corsellis (2008: 4), this factor can be traced back to when the immigration phenomenon first started. As well as the bilateral characteristic, community interpreting research has thus explored the issue of power disparities between interlocutors for whom the interpreter is mediating, which raises issues as to how the interpreter positions her/himself between these unequal parties; that is, whether s/he aligns with either of them.

Dialogue interpreting also occurs at the inter-social level, though less typically, during meetings which take place alongside the major one-to-many conference events. Power relations in this case may be presented to appear more balanced, for instance between business representatives or government officials. Even so, there is frequently a tacit awareness of an imbalance. This factor may also be present in one-to-many conference events. However, in the church setting, this is less likely, as the institution (church) and the parties involved in the communication are all on the same side, including the interpreters. In that sense, church interpreters can be regarded as voluntary in-house interpreters who serve within a multilingual institution.

While conference interpreting research has generally focused on the one-to-many setting, research on community interpreting has focused more on dialogic settings. Nevertheless, there are many types of one-to-many communication settings at the intra-social level. Much church interpreting – not least the worship services in which sermons (the object of the present study) are embedded – takes place in one-to-many settings. To this extent, it bears similarities to conference interpreting, although occurring at an intra-social level. There has consequently been some debate as to how church interpreting should be classified in a taxonomy of interpreting practices (cf. Hokkanen 2012; Shin 2013; Hild 2015).

Further, although the service provider in this case is a social institution and the receivers are individuals living in the same society, there are also occurrences of interpreting when a visiting preacher from abroad is invited to preach, which introduces an inter-social factor into the communicative event. However, the interpreting in such an event is still intra-institutional, as the preacher is part of the same belief system at large despite not being a resident member of the community; it may thus still be regarded as occurring at the intra-social level, which research studies in community interpreting have addressed. It is accordingly research into community interpreting which has been found most productive in illuminating issues arising both in sermon interpreting in particular and in church interpreting in general.

As Diriker (2013: 369) notes, a wide array of issues has been addressed in community interpreting research. Of particular relevance to the present study are issues relating to role, such as (im)partiality and visibility of interpreters, and their involvement in the communication process by assisting the parties, especially the less advantaged ones. Such roles as "advocate," "linguistic and cultural assistant," "communication-facilitator," "mediator," "bilingual, bicultural specialist" and so on have been identified (Mikkelson 2013: 392). More detailed discussions can be found in Roberts *et al*. (2000), Niska (2002), Wadensjö (1998), Metzger (1999), Roy (2000), Angelelli (2003), Hale (2007) and Pöchhacker (2015).

Professionalization of the role has also been analyzed in studies of community interpreting, as the interpreting in such situations is sometimes performed by *ad hoc* interpreters (such as well-meaning individuals, friends or family members) and at other times by interpreters employed by governmental institutions, either in-house or by out-sourcing. However, the professional status of community interpreting is established only in a few countries, including Sweden, Canada and Australia, while in many countries it is still performed without a clearly defined professional profile. There have been efforts in the last decade to establish a code of conduct and ethics for community interpreting, as well as placing emphasis on the necessity of training programs for its professionalization (see Mikkelson 1996; Wadensjö 1998: Chapter 3). Issues relating to (non-)professionalization are further addressed below at 2.2.3.

2.2.2. Interpreting modalities

The most frequent classification of interpreting is based on the mode of production of the source message in relation to its delivery in the target language. With reference to "the synchronous or asynchronous delivery of source text and target text" (Viezzi 2013: 377), the two main modes of interpreting are distinguished as *simultaneous* and *consecutive* interpreting. Simultaneous mode is practiced typically through a system which was developed in its primitive version in the 1920's, and by the 1970's had come to be used predominantly at international conferences (Dam 2010: 75). The simultaneous interpreting system now involves headsets, microphones and a fixed or portable booth. When no such equipment is available, simultaneous interpreting between spoken languages can still be performed by whispering (also termed *chuchotage*) into the ear of the listener(s), or sometimes simpler equipment termed

bidule is used, which includes a headphone/microphone but no booths (Diriker 2013: 364).

On the other hand, the consecutive mode does not require any equipment and is thus less costly. However, because the speaker pauses for the interpreter to communicate what s/he has said, it is more costly in terms of time. The length of the speech segment before the speaker pauses varies. As used in major conference settings, consecutive interpreting has long segments to be interpreted at a time, for which the interpreter performs systematic note-taking. This is sometimes termed *long consecutive* or *classic consecutive*, to distinguish it from *short consecutive*, where length may be from one word up to a sentence or two and note-taking is unnecessary (Viezzi 2013: 378; Dam 2010: 76). The different modes are in use in various settings, depending on the need, availability of equipment, time or money, preference and so on. All except classic consecutive occur in the setting under consideration in this study.

Other modalities in which interpreting may occur have less relevance to this study, but mention of them facilitates an overall look at the interpreting practices which are under scrutiny. If the source text is written, *sight interpreting* (also termed sight translation) is an option. This is "a hybrid mode" that involves oral translation of written texts (Mikkelson and Jourdenais 2015: 3). For instance, sight interpreting may be required at a court hearing when a document needs to be read out or in public service settings where the clients are presented with a form to fill out or document to sign. Sight interpreting is commonly needed in combination with other modes, rather than being an exclusive mode *per se* in a communicative event. Therefore, when used in communication events which mainly involve interpretation from spoken source texts, sight interpreting can be considered as an ancillary mode to perform in case of need. A real-time presentation of the content of a written text in another language may be required at a conference when the speaker reads from hand-outs or power point slides during the course of an event which is either consecutively or simultaneously interpreted as a whole. Interpreters in the churches in this study may be called upon to do this at times. Or they may be called upon to interpret from a source text which is delivered in read-aloud mode, if the speaker reads from the slide, or from some other written text.

Interpreting from or into a sign language necessarily entails a change of modality, from or into the visual-spatial mode of the sign language. *Sign language interpreting* is widely used in all kinds of settings which include the Deaf or hard of hearing. It always

takes place face-to-face and is generally in simultaneous mode, since there is no conflict between the oral and visual-spatial modalities. Sight interpreting does not normally occur with interpreting into a sign language because the nature of the target language requires full facial involvement; a written source text would be read aloud for interpreting.

Based on these definitions, the phenomenon analyzed in the present study is interpreter-mediated communication in short consecutive mode, delivered orally in mainly monologic form in a one-to-many church setting.

2.3. (Non-)Professional vs. volunteer interpreting

Although community interpreting has been proceeding with professionalization, non-professional practices have been, and still are, ubiquitous in numerous contexts. However, defining non-professional interpreting is rather difficult, as the term may denote many things, *inter alia* "voluntary," "*ad hoc*," "lay," "untrained," "amateur," or "self-taught" interpreters, thus producing a vague area which is difficult to distinguish (Martínez-Gómez 2015: 211).

The first attempt to describe non-professional interpreting came in the late 1970's by Harris (1977), who coined the term "natural translation," defined in Harris and Sherwood (1978: 155) as "the translating done in everyday circumstances by people who have had no special training for it." This study of familial interpreting by pre-literate children brings forward the notion "that all humans share an intuitive capacity to translate which is co-extensive with bilingualism at any age, regardless of language proficiency" (Blasco Mayor and Jimenez Ivars 2011: Book synopsis). *Natural interpreters* are thus regarded as those who are innately capable of performing mediation between the languages in which they are competent, a practice surely as old as communication between people of different languages. However, what makes the natural interpreter professional or non-professional should be further distinguished. Both natural interpreters and professional interpreters may have training or may be self-taught. Either may offer their services free of charge or for financial remuneration. In fact, remuneration could be the determining factor. If it is not remunerated, whether professional or non-professional, natural or self-taught, then it is voluntary work (cf.

Antonini 2011), which is the approach adopted to describe the position of interpreters in the context of this study.

Although voluntary interpreting is usually subsumed under the non-professional umbrella, it can be distinguished from other forms of non-professional interpreting in a few ways. Voluntary interpreting can be offered by literally anyone who has some degree of understanding in two languages. Yet it can also be at a professional standard, since someone who is a practicing professional with recognized training can offer his or her services *pro bono*, if s/he wishes. Such volunteers emphasize that although this is voluntary work in the sense of fulfilling a social need, it does not mean that their professional standards are compromised. Further, the phenomenon of finding trained voluntary (unpaid) interpreters working alongside untrained interpreters who charge a fee for their services is a reality of community interpreting (Pöchhacker 1999: 128). Examples include medical interpreters who have no formal qualification in interpreting or translation, but are paid as interpreters in Northern California (see Davidson 2000: 385-6, 400), and court interpreters in Austria, who are not required to have formal education in order to be certified (see Pöllabauer 2004: 145). However, most voluntary translators and interpreters are neither trained nor practicing elsewhere in paid situations.

As well as individuals interpreting in a voluntary capacity, there are also networks of voluntary professional interpreters who offer their services for various causes and purposes. These tend to see their work "in the context of necessary collaboration with similar volunteer organisations" (de Manuel Jerez *et al*. 2015). Quite a few networks of voluntary translation and interpreting are collaborating for subtitling (by fansubbing), web service providing, and translating technical documentation and news (Folaron 2010; Malmkjær 2013; O'Brien 2011). Others work for social causes and a fairer world, such as Babels helping the anti-neoliberalism movement in the context of the World Social Forum, ECOS (1998) for NGOs, social forums and other non-profit organizations, Traduttori per la Pace (1999) helping an anti-war movement, Traductores sen Fronteiras (2005) providing free translations for NGOs, and Tlaxcala (2005) promoting linguistic diversity and alter-globalization (Brownlie 2010: 46). A survey by Lannoy and van Gucht (2006), investigating the role of professional and volunteer interpreters in integrating ethnic and cultural minorities in society, points to the importance of volunteer interpreters due to their flexibility and ability to directly work for the foreign client group.

While these terms are still being juggled in interpreting research, the issue remains understudied. Meanwhile, the term currently used within interpreting studies is "non-professional interpreting." This is viewed as an "emerging specialty" by Martínez-Gómez (2015: 205). Her bibliometric study provides an overview of the research conducted specifically in this field from 1973 to 2013. She found 390 scholars who have contributed to this avenue of research during the period studied (Martínez-Gómez 2015: 211). So far, the most comprehensive efforts to gather such research have been a special issue of the journal *The Translator*, entitled "Non-professionals translating and interpreting – Participatory and engaged perspectives," and two conferences: the First International Conference on Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation (NPIT) was held in 2012 in Forli, Italy; the Second NPIT followed in 2014 in Germersheim, Germany, which included a special panel dedicated to church interpreting. The third NPIT will be held in May, 2016 in Zurich, also with a panel on church interpreting. The conference organizers have announced the field of non-professional interpreting and translation as encompassing "a dynamic, under-researched field that is not necessarily subject to the norms and expectations that guide and constrain the interpreting and translation profession."

In their study of non-professional translators and interpreters, Pérez-González and Susam-Saraeva describe them as not "indoctrinated" into professional norms, which gives them more liberty to be creative and inventive, to render a message in a way that they feel is likely to be understood, rather than focusing on sticking closely to the original text. Since at other times they may themselves be part of the audience in the same context, they feel more empowered to reformulate the material to better serve the needs and objectives of the group (2012: 158). I suggest that church interpreters may be recognized as a particular group of voluntary interpreters that functions in this way.

In the church settings described here, we may thus recognize two classes of volunteer interpreters: those who are professionally trained, who may interpret for remuneration in other settings but serve in the churches without remuneration; and those who are untrained, but experienced as volunteers within the church context. In either case, an aspect that distinguishes church interpreters from volunteers in other domains is the spiritual dimension. Sari Hokkanen (2012) sees a difference between the current trend in volunteerism and the sense of calling to Christian service which motivates church interpreting volunteers (see 2.4.2). Volunteerism of any kind in the church is considered service, or more precisely a ministry to God first of all and then to the

spiritual family one adopts (the congregation). Hokkanen (2012: 306) describes this kind of service as a commitment to the ideology of the community that the interpreter is part of. Therefore, church interpreters view their service as a mission to fulfill rather than a commission (Balcı 2008: 43).

To sum up, church-interpreting, like interpreting in other kinds of religious settings, commonly takes place mainly in an institutional intra-social setting, providing a "service" to meet the (spiritual) needs of individuals attending events within that social context. As such, it shares some features of other intra-social settings researched in the field of community interpreting, and may be illumined by their findings. The interpreters act in a voluntary capacity, whether they are professionally qualified or not. However, since sermon interpreting is practiced in one-to-many settings, and may have inter-social dimensions, it bears some of the characteristics of conference interpreting.

2.4. Interpreting in church settings

The present study explores the role and performance of volunteer church interpreters within an institutional framework with a focus on the main communication instrument, i.e., the sermons. Therefore, although "church interpreter" will be the broad term used for the role in the setting as a whole, "sermon interpreter" will be the specific term for the interpreter acting in the particular type of interpreted event analyzed. Also, the sermon as a type of speech is discussed in its own right (3.4.2). In what follows, a brief review is presented to take a look at the relevant previous literature in interpreter-mediated communication in church settings.

While a broad range of interpreting phenomena have been introduced (see 2.1, 2.2), without claiming to have covered them all, no matter how comprehensive the scope, it is always possible to find a form of interpreting that cannot be categorized easily or that fits into multiple categories. Moreover, boundaries between all the distinctions still remain fuzzy at times. Interpreting in religious settings is one of those forms of interpreting that is hard to fit into any of the above categories. The religious settings themselves are also difficult to characterize, with their wide range of facets depending on the religion, denomination or country.

Under religious settings in general, sermon interpreting is the focal point in this study. Its distinct aspects are discussed in comparison with the categories of interpreting

described in the previous sections. When a church service needs interpreting, either because it has a multilingual congregation or has a guest speaker who does not speak the language spoken in that church, typically a member of the congregation is asked to interpret on a voluntary basis. These voluntary interpreters could either be trained professionals who practice interpreting for a living or non-professionals who are "natural" or self-taught interpreters.

Secular professionals who offer voluntary interpreting for a cause they believe in, or simply for benevolence to others, do so typically without being part of the organization they are helping. For example, they interpret for civil society as long as they know that the organization does not have any budget for interpreting; otherwise the voluntary work would undermine the professional interpreting market. Their voluntary interpreting meets the same quality standards as when they interpret professionally on a paid basis. To illustrate this point, volunteer doctors can be considered: doctors who are giving voluntary medical services to underdeveloped countries need to be real doctors. Having someone who is not a doctor meeting medical needs does not make any sense, even if it is unpaid work.

However, in the church context, recent research has shown that the interpreters offer their services as part of the organization (*inter alia* Karlik 2010; Hild 2012; Hokkanen 2012; Downie 2014), rather than as volunteers who offer free service from outside to organizations that cannot afford interpreters. Interpreters in this context are not outsourced but instead provided from within the institution.

2.4.1. Research in sign language interpreting

The earliest writings about church interpreting are found in sign language interpreting, in particular in the *Views* magazine published since 1965 by RID. The first essay to mention interpreting in church appeared in 1998 and a few others followed, which are not accounted for here, as they are not research but rather prescriptive treatises by practitioners of sign language interpreting in church settings.

One of the first scholarly works was presented by Mary Ann Richey (2003) who investigated sign language interpreters in the church context within the scope of interpreting studies. She concluded that interpreting at church is offered for the sake of everyone's participation, including the Deaf (which, used in uppercase in her study, describes "a community of deaf people who are users of ASL [American Sign

Language] and members of a distinctive culture"). She describes the nature and function of preaching and religious interpreting, based on empirical data consisting of an authentic video recording of a sermon interpreted into sign language for the Deaf, investigating the possible functions of the question-answer adjacency pairs in an ASL sermon at "revival services." By adjacency pairs she means the questions the preacher asks and the responses he receives through the interpreter during a sermon, whereby interaction occurs more often than it usually does in a sermon for hearing people.

As for the methodology, Richey undertakes an analysis of ASL monologic discourse based on the transcription of a pre-existing authentic video recording of a Deaf church service. Her data illustrates that questions addressed by the preachers serve three functions: "verification of lexical information, requests for other kinds of information, or questions to establish solidarity or rapport with the audience" (Richey 2003: 89). She also posits the paramount importance of the qualified interpreter in such religious settings where divine truths are presented that influence people's lives. She bases this on the fact that qualified interpreting is considered crucial to minimize misunderstandings in a medical situation so that the patient's health will not be adversely affected, and in a legal setting so that the person's rights or freedom will not be negatively affected; for instance, misunderstandings resulting from interpreting "in the worst case scenario, are tantamount to a death sentence" (Pöllabauer 2004: 144). In the same vein, it is crucial in the religious setting to prevent any misunderstanding that can stem from inaccurate/unfaithful interpreting, because such errors may have "eternal consequences," e.g., they may result in the person believing that s/he has not been fully forgiven and may have to pay for his or her sins (Richey 2003: 91).

Sign language interpreting in the church context has also been investigated by Rayman (2007) with a focus on power dynamics between Deaf and hearing congregations, which together make up a church. The communicative event she investigates takes place in the dedication service of a new church building in California, USA, in which the signed source text is simultaneously interpreted into English for the hearing audience. Drawing attention to conflicting ideologies within the institution between signed and hearing congregations, Rayman focuses on one particular interpreter's efforts to be a "hearing ally" of the Deaf community. The interpreter exhibited a high degree of alignment with the Deaf community, reflected in her linguistic choices during her interpretation and also in her efforts to include the Deaf congregation in the social organization of the church. For example, the church

distinguished two services by labeling them “the Deaf worship service” and “the English worship service.” The interpreter made several attempts to change this indexing into more inclusive approaches in the church. In Rayman’s analysis, the interpreter’s own views – at the level of both social ideology (equality between the hearing and non-hearing) and theology (unity in the Bible) – impacted on her rendition to the extent of changing the impact of the message in the sermonette, through her use of rhetorical constructions, indexing and labeling.

Yates’ guidebook *Interpreting at Church* is more of an instruction book on the practice of signed-language interpreting in Christian venues. However, he discusses the role of the interpreter in church settings and indicates that the religious interpreter “helps to fill a fundamental human need and enables seekers to develop their faith further in their faith communities” (2007: vi). He notes that the service given by an interpreter “involves consultation, preparation, delivery of services, and follow-up in the setting where the interpreter works” and that “it assists in the spiritual transformation of a congregation and provides inclusion in a populated religious setting” (2007: v). He also introduces professional standards and ethical codes of institutions such as RID.

Andrew Owen similarly engages with standards to be applied, with reference specifically to church interpreting and his own work in British Sign Language (BSL) both in professional contexts and within the large London church in which he carries (voluntary) responsibility for pastoral care of the Deaf fellowship as well as coordination of interpreting in a number of other languages. His works (2012; 2014) offer guidance for those interpreting in church in any language with a focus on what the Bible itself says about interpreting, gleaning insights on appropriate method and comportment throughout the Old and New Testaments; he makes particular reference to the interpreting of Scripture in BSL, in which the interpreter has no written form of Scripture to call upon.

2.4.2. Research in spoken language interpreting

There is ample research in the field of Bible translation and the literature one can find in this area is extensive since Bible translation has constituted a cornerstone of the history of translation. Whereas the written translation of sacred texts in Judaism and Islam was typically discouraged and not deemed to represent the originals, “Christianity, perhaps more than any other religion, has enthusiastically embraced translation as a means of

disseminating its sacred writings" (Simon *et al.* 1995: 166). That said, Maria Tymoczko (1990) emphasizes how translation theory has neglected the oral text or oral culture and focused intensively on written text. She notes, "Biblical translation has … served as a standard for translation theory as a whole in Western culture as oral literature has become marginalized and written literature has determined the dominant centre of the literary system." According to her, this is explained by the cultural dominance of the West without representing "any theoretical absolute about literary translation" (1990: 54). A similar point is made by Michael Cronin, who points to the history, mainly non-textual, of interpreting from the times of missionary activities "in the post-independence period in Anglophone West Africa," as a neglected history that still waits to be written (2003: 79).

Pöchhacker (1999: 127) mentions religious institutions as some of the "most common generic fields" where cross-cultural communication may be needed. In a survey by Malgorzata Tryuk (2007), churches of different denominations are listed among the settings where interpreting takes place in Poland. Although interpreting has always been widely practiced in the formation of many churches around the world and also in contemporary existing churches, it was an untapped and understudied setting for research within interpreting studies until recently; the field was basically dormant until the early 2000's. Research on interpreting into spoken languages in church started with sporadic efforts: articles by Karlik (2002; 2003[6]) on interpreting of Bible readings in churches in Guinea-Bissau where she had noted a perception of the interpreter as "co-preacher"; conference papers by Karlik (2005; 2007) on audience design in interpreter-mediated Bible readings in a Gambian church and one by Zawada and Nkwe (2007) analyzing church interpreting in a social meta-context; a minor dissertation by the present author in 2008, investigating the notion of the interpreter as "co-preacher";[7] and a chapter on church interpreters included in a guide to the use of Scripture (Hill and Hill 2008). There followed a number of conference papers on church interpreting, e.g., Giannoutsou (2009), Karlik (2011), and two panels of papers on the topic at the 7th Conference of the European Society for Translation Studies (2013) and the 2nd International Conference on Non-Professional Translating and Interpreting (2014); as well as Downie, Hokkanen and Karlik, who gave presentations in both panels. Papers

[6] Made available in private correspondence. Some of the findings were incorporated into Hill & Hill (2008).
[7] Having received a copy of Karlik's 2007 conference paper.

were also given by Owen (2013) and Shin (2014). Through the receipt of conference papers and private correspondence, I have been able to engage with works-in-progress.

In the meantime, several more journal articles appeared: de Campos (2009), Vigouroux (2010), Karlik (2010; 2012), Hokkanen (2012), Odhiambo, Musyoka and Matu (2013), Downie (2014), and Musyoka and Karanja (2014). The first monographs on the topic are by Owen (2012) and Giannoutsou (2014a in German). Recently, researchers in the field of church interpreting were able to engage in-depth with Bible Translation researchers specializing in such areas as "Orality and Embodied Performance" at a seminar of the Nida Institute in 2015 at Misano Adriatico (report forthcoming). The first three doctoral level projects were completed in different languages and without any knowledge of each other's work: Shin (2013 in Korean), Karlik (2013b in English), and Giannoutsou (2013 in German); most recent doctoral studies include Downie (2015), Hokkanen[8] and the present work, all in English.

These studies represent a variety of geographical locations from Europe to Africa and Asia, different languages, and a number of different Christian denominational settings; they also take different approaches, but a range of recurring themes has emerged. Thus, interpreting in church settings is becoming established as a productive area of research, and the few researchers have been able to profit from sharing and discussing their work. Relevant findings of this small body of research are presented below.

Jill Karlik, a pioneer in church interpreting research, carried out an empirical study of the interpreter-mediation of Scripture for non-English-speaking congregations in a group of Methodist churches in The Gambia. The Bible readings she examines are performed in short-consecutive mode or sight interpreting from English into Manjaku in Sunday services and in Bible study groups in members' homes. She posits that interpreters are instruments for oral communication of biblical discourse, which is of special value in cultures of low literacy, where an oral method may be preferred, or even necessary if there is no access to a written translation. One of her findings is that becoming an interpreter of sermons or Bible readings in these African churches requires being a committed member of the congregation or of another congregation adhering to similar precepts. The interpreters are in some cases also preachers themselves or leaders

[8] Hokkanen, Sari. *To Serve and to Experience: An Autoethnographic Study of Simultaneous Church Interpreting.* PhD Thesis (to be defended). University of Tampere.

in Bible study groups, which strengthens a perception among all participants that they function as "co-preachers" (Karlik 2005; 2010: 167).

These volunteer interpreters have no special training but they have language skills and a certain amount of biblical knowledge; they observe and learn from each other. The motivation of these natural interpreters appears to be the desire to serve others, viewing interpreting as a spiritual ministry; and the end-users express a need and appreciation of them. The congregation's assessment of what constitutes good interpreting is intuitive according to norms operating within the institution and end-user community, and the interpreter's fidelity is measured by his or her integrity in the eyes of the audience (Karlik 2005; 2010). In her doctoral dissertation, Karlik concludes that

> … the acceptability of the TTs [target texts] to the congregations arises largely from the presence of performance features, the use of which forms an essential part of the interpreters' armoury of skills. These include voice modulation which evokes emotion, and textural features such as inclusion, explicitation, ostension and purely phatic items, which contribute to production of a voluble TT in comparison with the ST [source text]. (2013b: 242)

This presentational norm, constrained by church culture, requires Bible readings to be delivered "in a communicative, lively manner;" at the same time, an ideological norm of "high respect for, and fidelity to, the source texts," is evidenced by "the formulaic openings and closings setting them apart as special" (*ibid.:* 241) and an endeavor to relay the source-text meanings accurately, the many explicitations being to this end. Her empirical study focusing on the audience design and participation framework (Karlik 2010; 2013b) finds that the position of interpreters in this setting arises from their awareness of and compliance with these norms. Karlik further ventures into the sociology of interpreting and the social effect of organizational (i.e., institutional) gatekeeping in other congregations where there is a choice not to interpret (2011; 2013b: 113-120; 2013a: 19).

Britta Zawada and Tsakane Nkwe also deal with interpreter involvement in their unpublished conference paper. They examine South African churches, attributing a unique role to the interpreter in a religious setting where interpreting practices seem to cut across various types and modes of interpreting. With data consisting of field notes and three recorded sermons, they investigate the phenomenon within a "social meta-

context" using a descriptive approach. They make a linguistic analysis of the interpreted text, taking a closer look at the involvement of the interpreter in the congregation. It is concluded that many aspects of an interpreting event, including the social, cognitive, physical, linguistic and spiritual, "play a role in constituting a church interpreting event" (Zawada and Nkwe 2007). Eunice Musyoka and Peter Karanja (2014) find that interpreters have a similar role in two Pentecostal churches in Kenya. They investigate the communicative strategies of interpreters rendering sermons (five sermons from each church), with a focus on ways by which they cope with indeterminate source language input and inadequate time for reformulation (cf. Odhiambo *et al*. 2013).

Similarly, Elisabeth De Campos (2009) explores the role issues of the interpreter in two other African contexts, namely in Nigeria and Niger Republic. She investigates the role of bilingual interpreters in Pentecostal churches in those countries due to the flow of Anglo-Saxon preachers into Francophone West Africa. The contribution of the interpreters to the identity of the church is her focal point. The interpreters lack training and the congregation is of low education; if end-users do not understand something in the interpreter-mediated sermon, they meet the interpreter after the service for clarification. Interpreters in the churches she investigates thus become agents of transformation. Similar to the assumptions in this present study, Pentecostal identity is built through interpreters in these two different language groups that came together through transnational migration and other social ties (De Campos 2009).

All these studies find some degree of involvement on the part of the church interpreters. However, their level of spiritual involvement in particular is more closely examined by Adelina Hild (2012) and Sari Hokkanen (2012; 2014). Hild's conference paper looks into the role of natural (untrained) interpreters in church services in Switzerland, especially in the prophesying and healing sessions. Her study addresses interactional frameworks in these settings with a focus on audience design that includes not only mediation between the speaker and the audience, but also between the audience and God. Her data consists of recordings of those sessions (for a linguistic analysis), retrospective interviews with the natural interpreters (to explore their habitus) and a survey (to determine audience expectations).

Both Hild and Hokkanen adopt an ethnographic approach, but Hokkanen's (2013) is partially autoethnographic, positioning herself as both the object of research and the researcher at two Finnish Pentecostal churches. Her study focuses particularly on the church interpreter's identity – how s/he actually experiences being an interpreter

– by placing it in a theoretical framework of service and religious experience. Like Hild, Hokkanen views simultaneous interpreting in Pentecostal churches as a voluntary service to the congregation and to God. The interpreting activity is a service both for the benefit of the church and also performed in an attitude of serving God. Volunteers in church see themselves as called to serve God and therefore, just like ordained preachers or pastors, the service of interpreting is a long-term and organized "ministry" that believers commit themselves to (Hokkanen 2012: 302-303).

Hokkanen finds that, as well as serving with this understanding of the role as service, the interpreter also participates in the event as a religious experience as both a subjective and social phenomenon, and as an "encounter" with God through the Holy Spirit, with both the mind and the body of the believer involved (Hokkanen 2014). The interpreters co-experience the sermon even while they are interpreting it, because they are also the receivers of the message as church members who are committed to the Pentecostal ideology (Hokkanen 2012: 306). With these two aspects, i.e., service and co-experience, church interpreting stands out as differing from professional interpreting practice. The meaning and values that Pentecostalism attaches to Christian service and the religious experience define interpreting in that context. These factors, unique to church interpreting, shape the interpreting practice, rather than the professional norms established in formal training.

In contrast to Hokkanen's (2012) focused analysis of the interpreter's personal perception of his or her role as a church interpreter, Hayne Shin (2013) provides a general understanding of sermon interpreting in both consecutive and simultaneous mode through extensive macro-level research that included surveys of churches, congregations, and sermon interpreters. The surveys were conducted in Korea's large Protestant churches (including some with thousands or even tens of thousands of worshippers). Her analysis draws a comprehensive depiction of the interpreting activity and the characteristics of both consecutive and simultaneous interpreters in formal Sunday worship services. According to her findings, 42 out of 247 churches surveyed had foreign-language sermons by visiting preachers interpreted consecutively into Korean during the previous three years. Consecutive interpreters (functioning on the platform alongside the preacher) were predominantly male and drawn from among the leaders of the church, which indicated strict eligibility criteria for consecutive interpreters. However, they did not have any such requirement in relation to the simultaneous interpreting they provided for non-Korean speaking listeners.

Shin's questionnaire-based surveys (with 530 Korean users of consecutive interpreting and 54 non-Korean-speaking users of SI) showed that out of nine criteria, the respondents' top three requirements of church interpreters were "interpreting skills," "faith and spirituality," and "language competence." These were ranked almost equally in importance, with "faith and spirituality" slightly higher (29.1%), while "interpreting skills" (28.5%) and "language competence" (28.3%) were close behind. Regarding both verbal and non-verbal communication, the speaker and interpreter were expected to become one and deliver the message in total unity. Such delivery is only possible through a high degree of involvement in the communicative act. Indeed, in one-on-one in-depth interviews, interpreters reflected that they viewed themselves "as co-preacher and emphasized preaching skill, as well as a sense of calling and ownership in order to communicate God's message accurately and effectively" (Shin 2013: abstract in English).

Similar church settings were researched in Germany by Margarita Giannoutsou (2014b; 2014c), analyzing short-consecutive church interpreting with a focus on altar calls as a social and ritual practice at Evangelical services. Two different events were used as case studies: Billy Graham's first mass evangelization in post-war Germany in the Olympic Arena of Berlin in 1954 and a home service of a small, but aspiring American-initiated Pentecostal Church in Hamburg in 2009. Giannoutsou explored the role of the interpreter in altar calls, which are the culmination of those services, calling for a verbal and/or physical response (such as raising hands or moving to the altar area) from the congregation. This aspect creates more interaction than monologic sermons. With an interactionist approach, she demonstrates how the interpreter's interventions facilitate the unfolding rhetoric and ritualized compulsiveness of the message (Giannoutsou 2014c). In those religious settings, she also reflects on the interpreter's role as a co-preacher arising from cooperation between the preacher and the interpreter in such rhetorical and ritual functions.

This intriguing issue of co-preaching in church settings is approached from a different angle by Jonathan Downie. In the light of the studies of Vigouroux (2010) and Karlik (2010), Downie (2014) analyzes the interpreter's work on stage alongside a preacher as co-performance rather than as the creation of a parallel target language sermon. To end the tension, Downie suggests a paradigm shift, that the interpreter's performance can be seen as a vital part of the sermon visible on stage, based on cooperation between the preacher and the interpreter. Depending on the audience's level

of understanding of the other language, "the visual and aural cues supplied by the two performers will come together to form one single sermon performance" (2014: 64). This would mean preaching *with* interpreters rather than preaching *through* interpreters, treating interpreters as partners. Hild (2015) suggests that this partner-model of the interpreter constitutes a new interpreter profile.

Using a multi-site, multi-method approach, Downie conducted his doctoral research (2015) on the expectations placed on the church interpreter by stakeholders in two different multilingual church organizations. Drawing on *skopos* theory and on the basis of data from a survey and interviews with stakeholders, plus participant observations of services where interpreting took place, his study finds limited evidence of a direct relationship between hypertext *skopos* and stakeholder expectations of interpreters. What better explains the expectations of stakeholders are organizational attitudes to interpreting. In terms of the role perception of the interpreter in church settings, he argues that the relationship between the source and target texts of interpreted sermons and indeed between interpreters and preachers depends on the extent to which interpreting is deemed to be both necessary and valuable; these may be viewed as twin axes in a matrix of need and value.

Downie's insight sheds light on the case of interpreting investigated by Cécile Vigouroux (2010) in South Africa, where sermons delivered in French in a church serving an immigrant Congolese community are interpreted into English. The use of English makes a political statement as to value, although there is no linguistic need for English in the service. When she investigated this at a Congolese Pentecostal church in Cape Town, she found that the practice of interpreting sermons in the absence of a linguistic communicative need is not purposeless but rather "a powerful interactional device that helps shape the pastor's sermon and convey the spirit to the audience" (Vigouroux 2010: 365). What is unique about her investigation is that although the members of this particular church understand both French and English, sermons are performed in both languages jointly by the preacher and the interpreter. She hypothesizes that what she calls pastor-interpreter performance should be approached as a performing genre. The grounds for this hypothesis hinge on the particular context in her study, in which the sermon is interpreted despite a lack of an apparent end-user need, contrary to the assumption that interpreting is conventionally offered when the audience needs it to be able to understand. For this reason, she contends that rather than two separate or alternating performances, the sermon and its interpreted rendition can be

considered "as speech acts that are interwoven into a joint performance and are constantly (re)shaping each other" (*ibid.*: 343). Here the interpreter is not assigned only because of his or her language skills, but also because of his or her biblical knowledge and commitment to God. These interpreters also have other significant positions in the church, like worship leader or leadership board member.

These factors shed light on why the interpreter is actively involved in the sermon performance. Furthermore, his or her active participation is required by the commissioner, namely the church concerned, and the evaluation of his or her performance is based primarily on his or her engagement in the sermon on the same level as the pastor's, rather than on linguistic competency, to the extent that the interpreter is to shadow the preacher's gestures. These interpreting activities, at first glance, may mirror the same interpreting activities employed in the past by American Pentecostal pastors engaged in spreading the gospel into areas where there was, in fact, a language barrier. However, the current interpreting activity in the church in Vigouroux's study, unlike in the original missionary context, serves to reinforce both the message and the authority of the speaking pastor (*ibid.*: 365).

A similar case is interpreting in certain Pentecostal church services in Ghana (Dapila 2015), where everyone in the congregations understands both the source language, English, and the target language, Akan (each being widely spoken in Ghana); interpreters nevertheless deliver the sermon in a richly affective manner reflecting high sociocultural/ritual value, although there is no actual linguistic need for interpreting.

Most of the research in church interpreting accounted for above was not conducted by well-known scholars, but rather by new researchers. Yet it seems that interest in researching church interpreting is increasing, with studies touching a wide range of aspects of this religious field. For instance, Brian Harris, a senior scholar in translation studies reflects this growing interest with a number of posts in his blog entitled *Unprofessional Translation* (see Harris 2009). In the recent research studies, the recurring themes appear to be involvement of interpreters at an organizational and spiritual level as well as the eligibility of the interpreter, and the voluntary aspect of church interpreting. In all the aforementioned research, churches typically use interpreters from within their congregation, making membership a tacitly recognized requirement for eligibility (Karlik 2010: 166–7; Hokkanen 2012: 291). They all have some degree of expectation for the interpreter to be involved in communicating the sermon message not only at an interlingual or cross-cultural level, but also at a spiritual

level. Another common finding in many of these studies places the interpreter as an active participant in the communicative (worship) event, both receiving (co-experiencing) the message personally, and co-performing by interpreting the sermon.

In situations where such expectations arise, the interpreter is regarded as responsible for taking into account the needs of the audience and making the preacher's message suitable for them. In doing this, the interpreters are ideologically involved as social agents in the communication, which then impacts on their lexical choices and communicative decisions. That Downie (2015: 183) found evidence of a church where such expectations were not present, simply reinforces the need for research to account for the relationship between church interpreting and the individual contexts in which it takes place. Lastly, the volunteer church interpreters in these studies are not all required to receive training; nor are they screened for language aptitude (Hokkanen 2012: 306; Shin 2013). Due to its voluntary nature, no remuneration is in question. In addition to these aspects distinguishing church interpreting from professional norms, there is typically no text given beforehand; and as opposed to professional standards, in some cases the activity of interpreting is performed by one interpreter throughout the 90-minute service, giving the interpreter no respite (Hokkanen 2012: 295; Karlik 2013b: 167).

Most of these characteristics explored by this growing body of researchers are summarized in the following excerpt from Owen's book *"One Among a Thousand": Interpreting in Christian Settings:*

> … Church interpreters have a duty to be personally affected by the themes being interpreted; they are required to be Christians first and interpreters second; they are natural interpreters, people who have rarely received training in how to interpret; they are voluntarily stepping up to the mark and are serving the Lord with spiritual commitment and enthusiasm. (Owen 2014: Kindle Locations 37-39)

The above-mentioned studies present a range of topics, some of which coincide with aspects which the present study explores. This study investigates the involvement of the interpreter in a spiritual dimension as well as at a physical and linguistic level as part of the communicative act. It also explores the expectations of stakeholders, as Downie terms them in his study, or service providers and users, as Shin terms them in her survey,

yet in a completely different context and under different constraints. What is especially distinctive in this study is the holistic approach to church, with a focus on the role that interpreting activity plays in its process of institutionalization where it did not exist before.

3. Conceptual framework

Because of the complex nature of both the domain of religion and the interpreting practices which occur within it, an interdisciplinary approach is used, drawing on concepts from sociology, sociolinguistics and homiletics, as well as translation and interpreting studies, to form a theoretical framework. In this chapter, special attention is paid to the different characteristics of social settings and the fact that interpreted events should be studied within the setting in which they are embedded, subject to specific social factors, constraints and limitations.

To elucidate this framework, notions of institution(alization), ideology, norms, interpreter involvement, text, and context are discussed under the following headings: Institution and ideology (3.1), with subsections on Institution and translation (3.1.1), Translation and institutional ideology (3.1.2), and Church as institution (3.1.3). This is followed by sections on Translational norms (3.2), Interpreter involvement and ethics (3.3), and Text in context (3.4), which includes subsections on the sermon as genre (3.4.2) and types of sermons (3.4.3).

3.1. Institution and ideology

Institution is an intricate concept in the social sciences. Among the wide range of entities designated as institutions are educational, medical, political, economic, legal, criminal, industrial, marital, military, media, civil, and religious institutions. Moberg considers that what they all have in common are traits such as "being well established, enduring, and in most instances fully sanctioned in their respective societal settings" (1984: 18-9). In his view, institutionalization is a process whereby an institution gains certain universal characteristics, including stability in terms of social traits and patterns of culture, systematization of positions and roles, and interrelation with other institutions (Moberg 1984: 20), each of which are considered in this study (5.1.2).

Looking at institutionalization in a specific setting in her multi-level approach to analyzing the EC as a translated and translating institution, Koskinen draws on Scott's notion of institutions as comprising three main stabilizing elements, or "pillars," which he describes as "regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive elements that, together

with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life" (Scott 2008: 48). Scott suggests that the balance between these three elements is crucial to the establishment and maintenance of institutions. Although not expressly stated by Koskinen, in her model we may see these pillars as intersecting her various levels, creating a matrix (see Figure 1). Pöchhacker's multilevel framework of interpreting contexts, Koskinen's three-level model of institutions and Scott's notion of three elements ("pillars") supporting institutions are combined in the conceptual framework of this study.

In Scott's view, the regulative pillar is the mechanism by which "[i]nstitutions constrain and regularize behavior" (2008: 52). Within this mechanism, rules of behavior are determined; compliance is monitored and behavior by the members is ensured through sanctions (*ibid.*). In regard to the regulative pillar, this study does not explore this level in any depth in the institution in question, except to note that the church has its own regulatory framework as a legally constituted entity, and is subject to Turkish law as interpreted by local and national legal institutions (see, for instance, 5.1.2). This institution, being subject to regulative forces, does, however, give rise to certain norms of interpreting behavior rather strongly in respect of some sensitive issues.

The normative pillar, described by Scott as "normative rules that introduce a prescriptive, evaluative, and obligatory dimension into social life" constitutes a crucial element in this study (Scott 2008: 54). Norms are not written and are not sanctioned formally or legally, but are learned informally through interpersonal interaction based on shared values. Compliance is not imposed but taken-for-granted. As Koskinen notes: "Like rules, norms impose constraints on social behaviour, but norm compliance is morally governed and obliged, not coerced" (Koskinen 2008: 18). In this study, certain norms of interpreter behavior may be seen as stemming from elements within the regulatory framework and wider context, but not because there is any legal or direct regulatory sanction involved (see 5.1.2).

While imposing constraints on social behavior, normative systems also typically provide positive sanctions: "They confer rights as well as responsibilities; privileges as well as duties; licenses as well as mandates" (Scott 2008: 55). Norms may thus be seen as the expression of values through behavior, and can therefore be a means of explaining interpreter behavior at the levels of both text and event (hypertext) within the particular church institution (see 3.2). Through this social endorsement of normative

systems, institutions become "embedded in the society that endows them with legitimacy and authority" (Koskinen 2008: 17).

Scott's third element is the cultural-cognitive pillar, which he envisages as encompassing "the shared conceptions that constitute the nature of social reality and the frames through which meaning is made" (Scott 2008: 57). Meaning attributed to objects and activities is shaped by words, signs, and gestures that we use. Scott's focal point here is that meanings emerge from, and are maintained through interaction. Actors align themselves with the institution by embracing established cultural beliefs which represent the ideology of the institution, using the term here in its broadest sense to mean any shared conceptions about the world and how things should be done. In complying with the institutional norms, actors tend to feel competent and connected. Thus the "shared conceptions" and the norms of behavior are inter-dependent. Action becomes so ingrained that acting in another way becomes inconceivable.

In this we may see ideology operating across the various levels of analysis, from the institutional level, to the event, and to the text and interaction (see 3.4.1). The institutional actors have shared conceptions of reality or what they believe about reality. Through the interaction between these actors, the socially mediated construction of a common framework of meaning plays a central role in the cultural-cognitive pillar. As a natural result, "differentiated roles can and do develop in localized contexts as repetitive patterns of action gradually become habitualized and objectified" (Scott 2008: 59; cf. Moberg 1984: 20). This insight is particularly relevant to a church service, as a communicative event recurring regularly with the same purpose and largely the same "constellation of interactants" (Pöchhacker's term; see 3.4, where the concept is developed in relation to interpreting; also see 5.2.2).

The term "ideology" was coined at the beginning of the 19th century by the French philosopher Destutt de Tracy to mean "the science of ideas" (Gee 1996: 1). Only after Marx and Engels' publication of *The German Ideology* in 1927 did the term gain wider usage. Since then the most common perception of the term has been a somewhat pejorative one with political connotations implying a "distortion of reality." However, the term ideology has also been approached from broader perspectives. It is defined by Rush (1992: 181) as "the belief system shared by members of a collectivity" or "as one of a number of cultural symbol systems." Noting that "ideologies may range from the mundane to the messianic" in terms of the extent to which they reflect reality, he posits

four interrelated characteristics of ideology (*ibid*.: 182-3), which can be summarized as follows:

1. Ideas or beliefs are correlative with other relevant ideas and beliefs rather than existing in isolation.
2. Ideology constituted of such ideas or beliefs may hold some false premises but these beliefs are still held in a logical and consistent relationship at least in the mind of the believer.
3. These ideas and beliefs are often about the nature of the human race.
4. Such beliefs will probably be related to a particular "social situation" or "set of arrangements" that should be acquired and preserved by human endeavor.

These general characteristics of ideologies serve to illumine the nature and function of ideology within institutions in general. In this sense, the notion is closely aligned with what Scott terms the cognitive-cultural pillar, supporting and sustaining an institution. By freeing the concept from the somewhat loaded term, "ideology," Scott applies it to any shared belief or value, which may give rise to norms of behavior at any level. Koskinen applies it to the political vision of cooperation and mutual accountability within the EU and shows, firstly, how it pervades the activity norms of the Finnish translation division which she investigates and the texts emanating from it; and secondly, how the translational activity contributes to construction of the institution in the target languaculture.

When an ideology concerns a commonality of deeply held religious/spiritual beliefs, as in the institution (church) in focus in this study, it exercises a particularly powerful influence on associated norms at all levels. The following section discusses the relationship between ideology and translation in such an institution.

3.1.1. Ideology and translation

Translation studies has a lot to say about ideological phenomena in relation to translation and the translator's behavior. Translation of texts conveying ideology (cognitive-cultural beliefs) requires a degree of sensitivity on the part of the translator. Because of the nature of the subject matter being translated, the translator's own knowledge and beliefs might blend into the processing of the text during the transfer process (Hatim and Mason 1997: 147). In the same vein, with reference to the interpreting of ideological texts, Beaton-Thome (2015: 187) discusses "how the

interpreter reacts to specific ideological stimuli in the source text when producing the target text."

On the other hand, the norms governing the translation task may be influenced by an underlying orientation adopted by the translator operating within a particular social and cultural context, to the extent that this may amount to an ideology of translation (Hatim and Munday 2004: 103). It is thus useful to distinguish between the translation of ideology, that is, the translation of "the set of values and beliefs that govern a community by virtue of being regarded as the norm," and the ideology of translation – the set of ideas which surround the translation task itself (Calzada Pérez 2003: 5-6). Both the translation (or interpreting) of ideology and the ideology of translation (or interpreting) are areas of interest for this study. The text of an interpreted sermon is ideological by nature. At the same time, the notion of the ideology of translation is relevant to the analysis of the text product and institutionalization, e.g., in relation to explicitation of unfamiliar stories, domesticating, avoiding sensitive material and the use of normative lexicon, whether deliberate or subconscious.

Over and over again, descriptive studies of translation have demonstrated the connection between all facets of translation – from text choice to translation strategy to publication – with *ideology*, and they have established how translations are grounded in the politics of particular places and times … [t]ranslators are *engaged, actively involved*, and affiliated with cultural movements (Tymoczko 2003: 200, emphasis added). On the other hand, Beaton-Thome (2015: 187) notes the ideological effects that the provision of interpreting could have on "the specific interaction or even (historical) context, via the collective or individual choices made by interpreters."

In many sub-fields of translation studies such as postcolonial translation research, gender studies, and literary translation studies, the influence of ideology on translation activities has been comprehensively investigated (see Lefevere 1992; Simon 1996; Karadağ 2003 and Leonardi 2007). As a result, it is now widely accepted among translation scholars that translation is an activity realized in a particular situation and culture (Schäffner 1998: 83). So text-based linguistic analysis is not sufficient in itself to understand translation; additional factors such as situation and culture, which surround and affect the translational act, should also be taken into account. Among these factors are dominant values that reflect the power relationships in the culture, and this implies that "translation can never be value-free. Translations as cultural and

historical phenomena are characterized by opaqueness, and *lack of* transparency and *neutrality*" (Hermans in Schäffner 1999: 7, emphasis added). As Calzada Pérez argues:

> Translations have been ideological simply by existing; … by being subjected to various forms of (religious) creeds, which ultimately took translators to be burnt at the stake or to be threatened (and killed) by notorious *fatwas*; or by echoing all sorts of value-related messages such as Marxism. (2003: 2)

In an in-depth discussion on the position(ality) of the translator, Tymoczko draws on the previous perception of scholars that the translator is found commonly from within the receptor culture, and sometimes from within the source culture or else from a third culture. Widening the scope of the notion of ideology, Tymoczko places both source and target texts within an ideological context. She supports the idea that translators are not immune to the ideology these texts represent. According to her, the translator should be conceptualized as operating either in one language or another, or more properly, in a system encompassing both source and target languages, but not as operating between languages (Tymoczko 2003: 196). She further suggests that "there can be no *in between*, no free space that exists outside systems altogether, separate from a more encompassing system," considering languages as formal systems within cultural frameworks (*ibid.*: 197).

Tahir-Gürçağlar's work (2003) exemplifies this insight very well. Looking at the history of Turkey, she demonstrates how an institution, namely the Translation Bureau (1940-66), was instrumental in ideological purposes such as the secularization of a newly established republic with an Islamic past. The translators working with the Translation Bureau were bound to comply with its ideology of culture planning. Her case study forms one of the best examples of ideological shifts in a culture through translation activities.

Cheung claims that ideology aims at exerting "power over the individual through the fashioning of a particular mindset" (2002: 144). She associates ideology with the notion of subservience. Through the analysis of three pieces of translated work published in Chinese, including features of their historical context, she calls into question whether translation could "acquire meaning as a cultural act with full ideological legitimacy in history" (2002: 150-1). She proposes the purpose of translation research in the cases she investigated as "the ideological empowerment of translation";

the mission of translation is seen as an "expansion of literary horizons, cultivation of the mind, and ultimately, cultural revitalization and literary regeneration" (*ibid.*). Her examples demonstrate that translation research can serve "ideological purposes different from those endorsed by the dominant ideology" and can intervene in the power politics and/or cultural politics of the time (Cheung 2002: 161). This instance from China is in interesting contrast to the one in Turkey. In Tahir-Gürçağlar's case, translation became an important tool to serve the dominant ideology, whereas the case in Cheung's paper illustrates how translation research can play an instrumental role for the purpose of changing the dominant ideology.

Based on the approach that "all language use is ideological," ideology should also be a greater concern for research in interpreting (Calzada Pérez 2003: 2). If cross-cultural ideological phenomena are directly related to the field of translation studies, they should undoubtedly be an area of interest for interpreting studies as well. Interpreters are also positioned in one or the other culture. It is not uncommon to view this as a naturally-occurring alignment with one or the other of the communicating parties (i.e., cultures); in which case the supposed neutrality of the interpreter is undermined.

Pöchhacker (2006a) aptly illustrates this with historic(al) instances where the interpreter, operating in two languages, works for one particular side representing one or the other language. He highlights that the person mediating between two texts or two co-participants cannot be an impartial arbitrator between them but actively gets involved and is thus influenced by the ideological stand of one of the cultures. As much as professionals tend to describe themselves as being in between cultures, Pöchhacker challenges this "in between" position of the interpreter. He covers a range of interpreting settings over a long span of history from wartime to today's politically oriented voluntary interpreting, concluding that ideological involvement must be viewed both at the institutional and individual level. According to his investigation, even though cases of the interpreter's personal or institutional level of involvement abound, the phenomenon of involvement often goes unrecognized (2006a: 196). He suggests that before we readily accept interpreters as ideology-free instruments occupying a place only "between," we should "remember" that certain cases in the past (especially in times of war or political conflict) demonstrate that the interpreter may not necessarily act in an ideology-free fashion. The fact that interpreting, like translation, is a context-bound activity strengthens this argument.

If translators produce translation, as Calzada Pérez suggests, "according to the ideological settings in which they learn and perform their task," it would be reasonable to say that the interpreter who is physically present in the setting is subject to and expected to act in the light of the ideology exerted by that particular setting (2003: 7). The interpreter's behavior is also influenced by the background ideology, as Katan suggests: "It is when political and religious ideology is not the subject of discussion, but part of the general background environment, that it can create tensions for the translator and interpreter" (2004: 66). Tymoczko concludes, "Loyal to dissident ideologies internal to a culture, or to affiliations and agendas external to a culture, the translator can easily become the traitor from within or the agent from without" (Tymoczko 2003: 201). Instances cited by Pöchhacker (2006a: 194, 196) exemplify this quite substantially, as in the examples of Paul Schmidt as Hitler's interpreter, and UN Secretary-General Kurt Waldheim, who simultaneously worked as an interpreter and as a member of the military during the Nazi era. On the other hand, Pöchhacker takes the discussion further with the mention of interpreters who admittedly work in and/or for an ideology (e.g., interpreters working with a Marxist ideology vs. those "impartial" professionals working within the capitalist ideology).

As outlined above, interpreters can be ideology-bound in the same way that translators can be. Knowing that the interpreter, who is a subjective social being, plays a crucial role as a co-constructer of the communication, s/he is not immune to personal and social factors inherent within communication. Furthermore, the power s/he holds should always be taken into consideration. For this reason, the importance of the interpreter cannot be downplayed. This study addresses the role of ideology in interpreting in an institutional context, in order to widen our perspective of interpreting as a cognitive, textual activity "towards a view of interpreting as co-constructed social interaction" (Pöchhacker 2006a: 205). In this respect, the present study examines the relationship between the interpreter and ideology in a religious institution and uncovers the implications of this in the interpreter's (expected) performance.

3.1.2. Translation and institution

Though the spectrum of research in translation studies has been expanding incrementally in recent decades, the part played by translation or interpreting at the institutional level still merits greater attention. One of the initial investigations in this

area is Mossop's analysis (1988; 1990), in which he contends that institutions almost always have an impact on translation, even in types of the texts we would not consider likely to be affected by the relevant institution. According to Mossop (1990), translation theory asks why something has been translated in one way or another, then finds either an underlying institutional effect or a sociological reason. He views translators as acting as agents of the institutions (1990: 342). On the other hand, Brad Davidson (2000) points out the interpreter's role as an institutional gatekeeper in his empirical study of cross-linguistic medical interviews in Californian hospitals. According to Davidson's findings, the hospital staff interpreters act beyond the scope of the linguistic and cultural task to the extent that they act as co-diagnosticians, thus becoming institutional gatekeepers. This indicates that when the interpreter is from within the "institution," neutrality and visibility in the role taken on by the interpreter or attributed by the institution should be discussed in different terms from when the interpreter is a professional hired for special occasions.

In a similar vein, Beaton's dissertation (2007) presents the concept of EU institutional hegemony while pursuing an interdisciplinary approach in a corpus-based analysis of simultaneous interpreter-mediated institutional communication. While defining ideology as "the temporarily stable implicit social assumptions that shifting group members take for granted in their everyday social practices" (2007: 196), she views institutional hegemony as a particular form of dominant ideology in the European Parliament, representative of a (temporary) hegemonic alliance. Her data analysis concludes that the English target text strengthens the EU institutional hegemony when compared to the German source text, which might indicate that "the very activity of SI strengthens EU institutional hegemony in this particular institution" (2007: 200).

Although the data and methods of analysis are completely different, this present study is similar to hers in the sense that the purpose of this study is to investigate whether interpreter-mediated communication and the interpreters themselves contribute to the ideology of the institution. Her study has laid a very appropriate foundation and been one of the rare predecessors for this research by making the connection between ideology and interpreting in an institutional setting.

These studies usefully apply institutional approaches to translation and interpreting, focusing on *institutional mediated communication* (Beaton 2007), *institutional impact on translation* (Mossop 1990) and *interpreters acting from within the institution* (Davidson 2000). While drawing insights from these approaches, the

model adopted here is that of Koskinen (2008; see 1.4). In her book *Translating Institutions*, she approaches this issue as an ethnographer. Using the Finnish translation group at the European Commission as a case study, she has created a structure for studying translation specifically within institutional settings. According to her research, the various institutions within the European Union are inherently multilingual, meaning they could be categorized both as translating and translated institutions. Almost two thousand translators are employed at the European Commission in Luxembourg alone, and it is these translators who are responsible for writing the drafts of most of the outgoing EU messages. Interestingly, this group, despite its large size and indispensability to the institution, has largely remained in the background and unresearched.

Koskinen's study investigates these cultural mediators' professional characteristics and role within the organization. First, she distinguishes Mossop's concept of institution from her own. She sees Mossop's as a view of the institution as providing "the norms and values for the professional translation activity as a whole," and translators acting as institutional agents to serve the institutional goals (Koskinen 2008: 21). While agreeing with this approach to institution in principle, she offers some amendments. According to Koskinen, translators do not always make their choices consciously and the level and degree of institutionalization changes even if it is rare to encounter translations produced entirely outside of institutional settings (Koskinen 2008: 21).

Along with the concrete notion of translating institutions, Koskinen suggests a differing concept of institutional translation to explain a qualitatively different translation genre that exists. This institutional translation occurs if an official body "speaks" to a particular audience through translation. That way, what is heard becomes the voice of the translating institution. Consequently, "in a constructivist sense, the institution itself gets translated" (2008: 22). However, it does not mean that all translating institutions carry out institutional translation. While it is not always straightforward to distinguish one from the other, translations can be placed on a spectrum from institutional at one end to non-institutional at the other end. More clearly, "institutionality … is a function of texts, not of the institutional setting *per se*" (2008: 23). It is not a function of translators either: institutionality is not determined based on whether the translation is produced by "institutionalized" in-house translators or

outsourced. Institutional translation is distinct from non-institutional in the sense that the institution places constraints on the translation.

To support this assumption, based on her own personal experience as an in-house EU translator, Koskinen concludes, "language is not individual but quite heavily controlled, and translation is not a personal act but a collective process …" (2008: 23-24); thus translation in this context does not belong to the individual translator, but to the institution. The translator's responsibility is limited and it is the institution's trustworthiness that will be either strengthened or damaged by the translator's translation. The institution speaks through the translator. In other words, if the translation translates the institution itself, then it is institutional translation. With that, the double meaning of her title is explained: *Translating Institutions* meaning institutional translation, not merely producing translations for a translating institution (2008: 26).[9]

3.1.3. Church as institution

Studies that examine institutions as a social phenomenon regard religion as one of the main institutions in society. Pieter de Haas (1972) in his comprehensive volume entitled *The Church as an Institution,* inquires about the institutionalization of religions and that of the church in particular, both historically and sociologically. According to him, certain social conditions are required for institutionalization to occur. Firstly, *frequent interaction* must occur between the persons, not random interaction nor interaction for an ephemeral cause. Secondly, *coordination of interaction* must happen so that the interaction is not messy; a religious institution requires order. Then the community needs an urgent problem to solve together, and in order to accomplish this, they need to have a common culture. Finally, leaders are needed to organize all of this (de Haas 1972: 14-15).

While de Haas accepts the church as an institution, Robert M. Kingdon (1981: 86) criticizes some church historians for viewing the church as being either an ideology or an institution, rather than both. Looking at how the church has been defined historically by different denominations, he finds that the church is not one or the other, because any ideology, to have influence and to endure, must be institutionalized; and

[9] This approach to institutions has been adapted in so many different ways since then that Koskinen revisited the concept of institutional translation with more elaborate clarification (see Koskinen 2014).

that in order to understand the history of the church, both its ideas and its institutions should be studied. He comments that "institution without ideology is sterile" while "ideology without institution is futile" (Kingdon 1981: 97).

Koskinen posits that institutions operate on three levels, using religion as an example: religion evolves to be an institution on the abstract level; then the church is composed on the more formal level; and lastly it is further split into more concrete institutions such as local parishes (Koskinen 2008: 17). Thus, the church as a religious organization is embedded in society and the Christian community is a segment of society which legitimizes and authorizes this institution. Operating within the institution are regulative, normative and cognitive-cultural (ideological) constraints (the three "pillars"), by which members set rules, norms and values which they express in language and interaction. Local churches undergo a process of institutionalization in which these social functions, relationships and values become crystallized, formalized, or stabilized over time. Moberg (1984: 18-22) suggests that, as a natural result of this process, these human institutions yield to relatively uniform behavior among members, and further, that there is a universality about the types of institutions which occur in societies and the way they are constructed and sustained.

Church history shows that as a way of promoting the desired behavior, denominations have always had language-related policies in keeping with their ideology (or belief system), ranging from the selection of Bible version to the choice of sacred language for rituals and liturgies. In the Middle Ages, for example, Latin was considered the only language for communicating with God, which raised social and theological issues because only priests were educated to use it and therefore qualified to mediate between God and laymen. Whether vernacular languages are appropriate for worship and for the use of ordinary people depends on the theological orientation of each denomination and its language ideology. Examining the role of language in religion, Anya Woods (2004) formulates the triadic matrix of "language-religion-ideology" (LRI) to denote the implications that determine the language choices of church denominations. She posits that the language used in religion gives many indications concerning denominational ideology, in terms of "a denomination's actions, attitudes, traditions and official/unofficial policies which pertain to language" (Woods 2004: 41). According to her findings as a result of analyzing the language ideology of eight different denominations, the application of LRI can be explained on a continuum from the strongest to the weakest. At one extreme of the continuum, God is so special

that only a special language can be used to communicate with or about him, while at the other extreme, there are denominations that allow vernacular languages to be used in one's spiritual life so that it is the person's responsibility to access God personally (Woods 2004: 41-2, 51). Therefore, on the latter end of the spectrum, everyone should be able to understand the gospel in his or her own language, either while reading the Bible or praying to and worshipping God. The language policy of a religion depends on the position of the denomination on this continuum based on its ideology.

It almost goes without saying that the ideology of a group reverberates in the language it uses: style, register, special terminology and jargon; all of these contribute to a group's ideological identity (Boxer 2002: 3). Common linguistic devices give group members a sense of security and solidarity. In the church context, it also creates a sense that all are part of a special interaction with each other and most importantly with their God. When language has such a crucial function for a group or institution and for the maintenance of the institutional ideology, as in the context of the church in the case study here where the interaction is cross-cultural and also carried out sometimes through interpreting, the impact of interpreters is worth re-thinking (cf. Inghilleri 2004: 73). In this case, it appears that norms of interaction are co-constructed by the interpreters as well as by the group members. On the other hand, some guest preachers never have the chance to learn the language. In the event that a preacher is unable to communicate clearly in Turkish, the church typically uses an interpreter, who is encouraged to employ language compatible with the institutional ideology. In this context, interpreters are embedded in the social and "spiritual" process of communication in the emergent Turkish churches.

In the governance of an institution as a regulatory organizational system (cf. regulative pillar) in a multilingual environment, one of the key strategic options is governing by translation. In the church context being analyzed here, it is not only oral communication through which the institutional system can be constructed. Written sources are also crucial in the formation of a new entity in a different language. Publications have been one of the primary tools in both colonial and post-colonial activities (cf. Ashcroft *et al*. 1989; Robinson 1997). The translation of the Scriptures has enjoyed a long tradition, as Bible translation has played a key role in the spread of Christendom. It is now recognized that different Bible translations are suitable for different target audiences. According to Bible translating institutions, three different reader groups can be defined requiring different versions of the Bible: one for

theologians, another for readers for whom the Bible is a literary heritage, and another for readers who are potential groups for evangelism (Mossop 1990: 346; cf. Nida and Taber 2003).

Although Koskinen's research focuses on translation phenomena, she posits that institutional aspects are also crucial in interpreting, especially community interpreting (2008: 3). Church is a social organization in that oral communication is a *sine qua non* in order to shape its socio-institutional frame. At the interpreting end of the institutionalization of the multilingual church come interpreter-mediated sermons. Drawing on Koskinen's approach discussed above, the church is one of the translating institutions producing institutional translation. It is the institution, namely the church that is responsible for the interpretation of sermons in the target language since the interpreter performs for the institution. The interpreter is tacitly obliged to use the accepted lexicon of the church, the vocabulary found in the Bible as the authoritative text and most importantly to render sermons in line with the church's ideology.

One of the objectives of this study is to discover what roles interpreters play through interpreter-mediated communication in accomplishing the construction of the identity of this church as a religious institution. As the church is being established in a different culture, some elements such as written material, songs and sermons are translated and interpreted, while at the same time, the institution *translates* itself into a whole new system and culture with its distinct *interpretation* in that culture. The role of interpreting and the interpreter her/himself in terms of cultural negotiations required for "translating" and presenting a religion to a new culture is investigated in this empirical research. Here the concept of "translating" goes beyond its immediate meaning of transfer between languages. Rather, it is the translation of an entity with all of its aspects into a different culture. The entity, here being the church, is "translated" at the institutional level. It is neither the translation of individual books or versions of the Bible, nor the interpreting of a sermon to new language group. Each of these is a part of the whole and they together make up the institution. As Moberg says, "religions cannot be transplanted from one culture to another without being changed in at least minor respects. (1962: 230). The "institution" here undergoes a process of re-construction in a new culture with its set of ideas, values, beliefs, norms, rules, and shared knowledge and thereby the interpreter becomes one of the co-constructors in this process. The church investigated here, as a religious institution in a multilingual context, predominantly relies on translation and interpreting activities in this process.

Koskinen suggests that institutional translation as such can lead to various translation strategies and norms as well as translation cultures and professional roles. "Understanding institutional translation (or interpreting) thus requires 'local explanation,' that is, detailed case studies of different institutional contexts" (Koskinen 2011: 7). The case study here attempts to explore this "local explanation." In order to understand the role the interpreters play in translating the church into a new culture, norms are traced at the institutional level specifically in relation to interpreting.

3.2. Translational norms

As outlined above (see 3.1), institutions are generally formed and sustained by the operation of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive processes – Scott's three pillars - that result in rules, norms and shared ideological conceptions. Ideology is discussed above within the scope of shared beliefs embedded in the cultural-cognitive pillar. Here the concept of norms is explored as a determining factor in interpreting activity in the institution under investigation.

In sociology, norms are considered to be general values or ideas shared by a community as to what is right and wrong, good or bad, or acceptable and unacceptable. If there are active norms in a situation, an individual can find "regularity of behavior in recurrent situations of the same type," and these regularities then become a main source for studying the norms themselves (Toury 1995: 54-5). Norms are essential to social interaction because their existence and the wide range of situations to which they apply ensure the establishment and retention of social order. That also explains why norms are considered to be one of the main pillars of institutions, which are embedded social entities that have their own order. Even though behavior outside the norms of the social group or institution is quite possible, it does not invalidate the fact that the norms exist (*ibid.*).

Translation is essentially a sociocultural and hence norm-governed activity (Toury 1995). Social behavior can be explained on a spectrum of two extreme ends, with legitimized rules at one end and an individual's idiosyncrasies at the other. It is norms in the middle of this spectrum which have generally been found to constrain translator behavior (Schjoldager 1995: 66-7). If norms explain the translator's behavior in some measure, we can then safely assume that norms also govern the interpreter's

activity to some extent (*ibid.:* 67). That is, among other factors such as his or her competence, the situational dynamics, and the cognitive conditions, the interpreter's behavior is constrained by norms for the activity. In this study, the regularities found in users' expectations and interpreters' perceptions in the institutional context are analyzed in comparison with the interpreter's performance to discover norms for the practice and how institutional ideology influences them.

Translational norms have been widely recognized in translation studies since Gideon Toury introduced the notion in the late 1970's to refer to regularities in translation behavior within a given sociocultural context. Regarding translational activities as culturally significant, Toury posits that translators are attributed a social role to play in order to fulfill a function allotted by the community, rather than merely transferring linguistic items from one language to another. His concept of translation norms assumes that the translator is engaged in a *decision making process* and helps explain what translation behavior is, rather than what it should be. The same points may be applied to interpreters, who also fulfill a role allotted by a community or institution. Both translators and interpreters thus need to acquire a set of norms in order to achieve what is considered appropriate in the community or institution and the know-how to maneuver within the factors that constrain those norms (Toury 1995: 53).

Translators and interpreters work under constraints that go beyond those arising from their own limitations, the source text and the differences between the two languages. These are sociocultural constraints that entail different strategies and a different end-product delivered by translators and interpreters working under different conditions (Toury 1995: 54).

Toury categorizes norms as preliminary, initial or operational norms (1995: 56-61). Although originally applied to translation, these norms are discussed here in relation to interpreting. **Preliminary norms** include those which arise from translation policy and from the directness of translation; the former govern the choice of what type of texts are translated into a culture at a particular point in time (e.g., which authors and which source languages), while the latter deal with the amount of tolerance given for translating from languages other than the original source language (Toury 1995: 58). In interpreting, policy involves the decision to provide interpreting for a situation and then which mode or medium of interpreting is chosen for that particular situation (Garzone 2015: 282), while the issue of directness corresponds to relay interpreting in which interpreting is provided through a third language. In this study, preliminary norms are

discussed in terms of interpreting policies in the context of the institutionalization process of the particular church as a case (see 5.3).

The **initial norm** is the first step of the decision making process of the translator either to subject her/himself to the norms of the culture of the original text or to the norms of the target culture. The former is considered the pursuit of merely *adequate translation,* often resulting in incompatibilities with the target language and culture. If the latter stance is taken, then the translator aligns her/himself with the target language and culture, and a shift away from the source text becomes inevitable. It is then the pursuit of *acceptable translation* (Toury 1995: 56). This overall strategy between adequacy and acceptability is reflected in the distinction made in interpreting studies "between transcoding and 'interpreting proper,' or form-based and meaning-based interpreting" (Garzone 2015: 282)

Operational norms comprise an area that requires extensive analysis in a corpus study in terms of the decisions made during the translation/interpreting process. During the "operation," the extent to which omissions, additions and changes occur determines the *matricial norms* governing the existence of the target language material as a substitute for the source text, its location in the text, as well as textual segmentation. *Textual linguistic norms*, in turn, govern the selection of material to formulate the target text or replace some segments of the original material (Baker 1998: 164).

Chesterman (1997) usefully extended the approach to norms from translator's decision making to interaction between the translator and the reader and to other fellow translators (Hermans 1999: 77). This approach markedly applies to interpreting, due to the visibility of interaction between interpreters and other parties in communication. Chesterman (1997) broadened Toury's operational and initial norms pertaining to product and process. Dwelling especially on what he calls product norms, he puts forward **expectancy norms**, which refer to the expectations of the readers as to what translation should be like, i.e., what qualifies as good legitimate translation by a particular community (Hermans 2012: 4264). These expectations arise from either translation tradition in a target culture or parallel texts, and are sometimes influenced by ideological factors (Chesterman 1997: 64). Similarly, users of interpreting have expectations as to what proper interpreting should be. In translation, readers' expectations are sometimes validated by authorities, for example, literary critics, teachers or a publisher's readers. The authorities are certain recognized experts in society and they sometimes merely confirm the existence of such expectancy norms and

no more (*ibid.*: 66). While the audience's opinions in interpreting determine expectancy norms, commissioners' or professional organizations' discourse may function as authorities for norms in interpreting.

Professional or process norms pertaining to text production are subordinate to expectancy norms in Chesterman's classification in the sense that they are shaped by the nature of the end product that the expectancy norms induce. If the expectancy norms are fulfilled, then that makes one a professional and competent translator or interpreter (Chesterman 1997: 67). The competent translators or interpreters in turn establish the process norms. This interdependence between expectancy and professional norms is depicted by Garzone as "two sides of the same coin," mutually reinforcing each other (2002: 116).

It is difficult to directly observe norms. They can rather be inferred from remarks or narratives about them or from behavior itself (Hermans 2012: 4262). Therefore, sources for investigation of norms are firstly textual, viz. translated texts, and secondly, extratextual, such as theoretical, critical, evaluative and prescriptive statements made by translators, editors and trainers about translation in general or about a specific piece of translation (Baker 1998: 164). In the same vein, for interpreting research on norms, the textual sources are evidently the interpreted product, while the extra-textual sources are the opinions of interpreters and users about interpreting as well as professional codes of conduct (Garzone 2015: 282).

While these approaches to norms have been widely influential in translation studies for decades, the usefulness of norms for the study of interpreting came to be recognized only in the 1990's, following Miriam Shlesinger's study (1989). She pointed to the challenges involved in studying norms in interpreting, such as accessing interpreting performances in order to design a corpus for discovery of norms and the representativeness of that corpus. Whereas translated texts are generally available, it can be a challenge for researchers of interpreting to gain access to a suitable corpus. This difficulty, however, is not an issue for this study since naturally-occurring data was recorded for other use and made available for this research.

While pinpointing these methodological challenges, Shlesinger's study acknowledged the applicability of norms in interpreting studies: that interpreters' translatorial behavior can be explained by factors other than cognitive constraints, such as norms. This was reflected by Harris (1990) who took the discussion of norms further by offering solutions to some methodological issues. Despite the challenges specific to

interpreting activity, more studies of norms in interpreting followed. The first researcher to study norms in a text corpus was Anne Schjoldager (1995), who collected data from a simulated/didactic situation with two subject groups. Pointing to the difficulty of explaining interpreters' behavior between the cognitive limitations or conformity to norms, she suggests that there should be a recognition of norms peculiar to simultaneous interpreting that govern "what the interpreter ought to do - or is allowed to do - when the task becomes difficult or impossible" (Schjoldager 1995: 69). Her study, while not arriving at discovering such norms, served to show the applicability of the theory of translational norms for interpreting research.

On the application of norms in interpreting, Daniel Gile suggests that rather than large speech corpora, research about norms could be more efficient through the analysis of "extra-textual" sources such as perceptions of interpreters and users as well as material written about interpreting (1999: 101). Garzone, describing norms as "internalized behavioral constraints which govern interpreters' choices in relation to the different contexts where they are called upon to operate," uses the concept of norms as a "heuristic instrument" to explain variability in quality criteria and standards (Garzone 2002: 110). According to her study, while interpreters aim at meeting quality standards, they are constrained by various factors; thus their compliance with norms results in developing some emergency strategies leading up to matricial norms. These strategies in return contribute to the quality of the interpreter's performance.

In the above-mentioned studies as well as others not cited here, the concept of norms is used to account for interpreter behavior in their choice of strategies and what shapes interpreting activities. The next direction suggested in the field is to take up the application of norms in "specific domains and institutions" (Garzone 2015: 283). Marzocchi refers to "institutions and the way they shape the norms interpreters are supposed to abide by" as key actors (2005: 97). In the same vein, this study examines interpreting activity in the religious domain within an institutional context to uncover the regularities in the interpreter's behavior. For this endeavor, three of the norms accounted for are suitable: First, Toury's **preliminary norms** are sought in the description of institutionalization of the church with a specific focus on the institutional interpreting policy in Chapter 5. Then, in Chapter 6, Chesterman's **expectancy norms** are extrapolated through interviews with commissioners and interpreters, and questionnaires for preachers, interpreters and congregants. During their interviews, the interpreters were asked to assess their product and strategies and comment on their

performance (cf. Gile 1999: 101), indicating what they believe is expected of them. Lastly, Chesterman's **process** (professional) **norms** are explored through a corpus of five real-life recordings of interpreted speeches in Chapter 7. "Process norms" is the term used henceforth instead of professional norms (as also used by Chesterman 1997: 67), in order not to confuse them with the discussion of (non-)professional versus voluntary interpreters in religious settings (see 2.3). By tracing the preliminary, expectancy and process norms, the study will potentially answer the third research question as to what constrains the sermon interpreters in the institutional setting in the case study.

On the other hand, finding regularities of behavior may lead to norms but not necessarily explain what induced those regularities (cf. Brownlie 1999: 18). While clues to the three types of norms are sought (the normative pillar), this study attempts also to investigate the underlying influence of ideology (the cultural-cognitive pillar) on the regularities found in the interpreter behavior. Thus, it aims to answer the second research question as to how institutional ideology influences the sermon interpreting activity.

Working within the norms that constrain them, interpreters constantly make decisions which require some degree of involvement in the communication they undertake to provide. As one of the salient notions of this study, the concept of "interpreter involvement" is discussed with special attention to ethics in the following section.

3.3. Interpreter involvement and ethics

Many different facets of interpreters' *involvement* in various settings have been the topic of research within interpreting studies. Nonetheless, involvement has not been markedly conceptualized in its own right to describe various levels of participation of the interpreter in communication. Scholars and researchers have opted for several different terms that are described below. This study examines the notion of involvement not only in the communicative event but also at the macro level as a crucial part of the process of institutionalization. Whereas involvement to some degree might be inevitable, even if unintended, it is likely to be more pronounced where the interpreter becomes an agent for the institution, aligning her/himself with its objectives, and especially so where it

concerns the translation of the institution into a new culture. Furthermore, involvement is even more pronounced when the institution depends on the interpreter to enable it to go beyond simply translating itself into a foreign culture to adapting itself to that culture. In that sense, the interpreter goes beyond aligning her/himself with one side to being an agent for both sides, entrusted to implement the institution's objectives, not simply as an agent, but as an expert insider.

Involvement connotes participation and collaboration by becoming part of or engaging in something. In the scope of interpersonal relationships, the concept of involvement was described as a language orientation by Scollon *et al*. (2012), who contend that involvement in communication begins as soon as the parties speak. Involvement varies in degree, and the discourse strategies of interactants indicate the degree of involvement in a communicative act. Involvement occurs by someone "taking the point of view of other participants" in communication "by supporting them in the views they take, and by any other means that demonstrates that the speaker wishes to uphold a commonly created view of the world" (Scollon *et al*. 2012: 48-49). The person involved in communication tends to act in accordance with the expectations of the group based on their shared knowledge and symbolic system. This already indicates "to some degree an expression of involvement" (*ibid*.: 50). However, not all behavior is the result of acting in line with the group's imposition or institutional values or norms. At the other end of the language orientation spectrum is independence. Silence is described as "independence" and non-communication, not necessarily non-involvement (*ibid*.). Parties to communication have their own individual sphere, which is not the topic of this study. This study rather examines the compliance with expectations at the institutional level, the degree of involvement with the institutional norms and the degree of authority given to the interpreter. According to Scollon *et al*. the degree of involvement of the speaker and the hearer is less when the communication is mediated by an interpreter, which denotes that the interpreter's degree of involvement is higher since the interpreter speaks the language of both the speaker and hearer (2012: 50). The interpreter's involvement is expressly enabled by the empowerment of the institution. Mason (2012) observes institutional representatives encouraging or empowering interpreters to coordinate the communicative act. Similarly, the interpreter's role at the institutional level described above is empirically examined in this study by expanding predominantly upon the notion of involvement.

A few studies with special focus on the interpreter's involvement have been carried out in research into medical encounters. Helen Tebble analyzed the notion of involvement from the perspective of discourse semantics, particularly as naming and lexis that reflect (in)formality and distance or intimacy between the patient and the doctor in interpreted medical consultations (1999: 186). Similarly, Galina Bolden investigated the interpreter's involvement specifically in the taking of medical histories (2000). In her study, interpreters are involved in the communication between patients and doctors by gleaning information they deem necessary for the medical objectives of the doctor. They interpret selectively, based on their perception of what could be useful information for the doctor. However, this kind of involvement is presented as a risk in the study because the interpreter is not viewed as an expert in the medical field to make such judgments and may omit relevant information that the doctor might make sense of, and thus negatively influence the health of the patient.

As mentioned earlier, most research on role issues has utilized other notions besides *involvement* to explain the participatory role of the interpreter. It would require a study in its own right to undertake a further epistemological analysis of these terms. Concepts which describe the (non-)participation of the interpreter are briefly presented and relevant literature dealing with these concepts is reviewed here for a deeper understanding. One of these widely used concepts is *impartiality,* which is principally the preferred term in interpreters' codes of ethics (Prunc and Setton 2015: 273). According to the definition given by Frishberg, for example, impartiality implies "that the interpreter will not attempt to advise or lead either party, will resist being sought for advice, and will otherwise avoid expressing opinions about the content of the communication or procedures" (1990: 66). Pöchhacker also discusses impartiality and defines it as "having no part in the intentions or actions of either communicating party" (2006a: 193).

Setting out to detect the degree of the interpreter's involvement in interaction, Angelelli challenges the notion of *invisibility* and points to the (mis)perception of an invisible interpreter portrayed as "a mere conduit or channel between two speakers who do not share a common language," in which case s/he "is seen as a language modem" (2004: 20). Another common concept is *neutrality*. A neutral party to a communicative event is "one who does not take sides, offer opinions, or show bias" (Roy 2000: 105; cf. Metzger 1999).

All these terms suggesting (non-)involvement on the part of the interpreter characterize the complexity and diversity of the role of the interpreter within the interaction or communication. The focus of the present study is to analyze the extent to which the interpreter is, or is expected to become, involved. Involvement is less specific than the notions mentioned above. Therefore, the notion of involvement as a broader term is the most pertinent expression for the specified purpose. This study traces the involvement of the interpreter through monologic events, whereas it has previously been generally investigated in dialogic communication as reviewed below.

A number of researchers have undertaken projects to explore role issues from many different angles in diverse settings. There has been a shift to considering interpreted communicative events as a tripartite interaction rather than something occurring between two parties through a mechanical language transferor. The same shift has been witnessed "in the perception of the interpreter's role, from a language conduit to an essential partner in a cross-cultural conversation or a co-constructor to the interaction, to a participant with agency" (Angelelli 2004: 13-14). Further contributions to the literature on role issues, particularly in community interpreting, can be found not least in the volumes published from the Critical Link conference series (see Carr *et al.* 1997; Roberts *et al.* 2000; Brunette *et al.* 2003; Wadensjö *et al.* 2007; Hale *et al.* 2009 and Schäffner *et al.* 2013).

A pioneering contribution to the study of the interpreter's role was made by Bruce Anderson, who touched upon the issue from a sociological aspect well over 30 years ago. He explored the scope of the role of the interpreter, its limits and the extent to which the interpreter remains impartial or neutral. With respect to this, Anderson coined the term "nonpartisan interpreter" and suggests that an interpreter may choose to be nonpartisan, though this is only possible under the best conditions. S/he may have an actual image of her/himself as neutral or s/he can give the impression that s/he is neutral although in reality s/he consciously or unconsciously is not. The interpreter who plays an impartial role under such a *façade* will actually ensure smooth communication that is in harmony and make both communicative parties believe that they gain maximum benefit from this interaction; or in the case of personal detachment from the situation, the interpreter "can either function as a fair, but covert manipulator, utilizing the power inherent in his monopoly of the means of communication, or he can remain a passive element in the interaction network" (Anderson 1976/2002: 213). Although at that time there was not much empirical research in interpreting studies that put forward the

likelihood of the partiality of an interpreter, Anderson dared to raise this sensitive issue of partiality with evidence from sociological approaches.

Whether explicitly expressed or not, the issue of neutrality has been either briefly touched upon or examined in-depth in various contexts. The expansion of the interpreter's role in practice is shown in a number of studies which indicate that interpreters are not just acting as language mediators, but as communication facilitators, which means that the interpreter assumes the role that is required for the setting under the circumstances. For instance, regarding a legal setting, Susan Berk-Seligson's *The Bilingual Courtroom* (1990) is considered the first study to observe and describe the interpreter's role not as someone who transfers others' words but as an individual actively participating in a speech event. Similarly, an extensive analysis was carried out by Robert Barsky on asylum hearings (1996). Based on interviews with asylum seekers in Canada, he explores the influential role and the varied and complex function an interpreter can assume in the process of a hearing between disadvantaged claimants and the adjudicating institution. It is usually an interpreter that a refugee is able to communicate with in the host country upon arrival, to whom s/he can express her/himself and from whom s/he can expect help for his or her court case. This "help" can be through interpreters who can allow them "to articulate their claims and negotiate their 'difference'" or "they can fill in cultural gaps and compensate for tactical errors to ensure that genuine stories of suffering and persecution are properly 'heard'" (Barsky 1996: 61). He suggests that interpreters would have a major impact on the decision whether or not the asylum seeker would be given refugee status if they were allowed to function as intercessors, and that they should be recognized for what they are, namely agents of culture rather than transmitters of words (*ibid.*: 45-46). Examining the role of the interpreter in a similar context, Pöllabauer cites "role conflicts, discrepant role expectations [and] the asymmetrical power distribution in asylum hearings," and questions the validity of existing norm systems in such situations (2004: 153). She points to the contradiction between (1) the role attributed to the interpreter by relevant publications, as well as by practitioners themselves, as that of a mere language transferor (who "translate, but not interpret"), and (2) the more initiative-taking role they actually assume and are often urged to play. It is observed that interpreters in such asylum hearings appear to have to align themselves with the police officers and literally assist them, which again demonstrates involvement and functionality on the interpreter's part.

Wadensjö (1998), whose work has proved highly influential for research on community-based interpreting, explores the interpreter's role through the analysis of data collected by recording interpreter-mediated events from various settings such as medical, social and legal settings. Drawing on Goffman's notions of social organization, she not only focuses on the interpreter and the end-product, but also takes account of the interaction as a whole, with the interpreter as a part of it. Alongside the translating activity of the interpreter, she also points to his or her coordinating role within an interaction and suggests a two-fold talk that interpreters potentially generate: "relaying by displaying," and "relaying by replaying," by which she means respectively paying less attention to the expressiveness of the speaker and imitating all sorts of the interlocutor's features in his or her speech. (Wadensjö 1998: 247).

Taking advantage of videotaped data from interpreter-mediated doctor-patient interviews through sign language interpreting, Metzger (1999) itemizes the problematic notion of neutrality on both linguistic and relational levels, that is, the extent to which the interpreter achieves neutrality concerning the form and content, and furthermore, neutrality with the participants in the interaction. Her data illustrates that "some interpreter-generated contributions are an essential part of the interpretation of interactional equivalence" (Metzger 1999: 199). On the other hand, rather than contributing to the flow of talk, interpreters may limit themselves as a strategy to conform to "the professional goal of not influencing discourse." The paradox she pinpoints lies in the question of whether interpreters should seek full participation or seek to minimize their influence within the interaction (Metzger 1999: 204).

Davidson, who examined the sociolinguistic role of interpreters in the medical setting, analyzes institutional discourse because "the majority of interpreted discourses in the U.S. take place within the context of state-sponsored or state-run institutions" (Davidson 2000: 382). He deals with the notion of neutrality within these institutional interactions and addresses the question of the role of the interpreter, mentioning the "interpretive habit," and how it affects the interaction if the interpreter is not neutral. After examining the data drawn from the interpreted medical interviews, Davidson concludes that interpreters appear to be acting as "informational gatekeepers" making sure that those interviews are carried out properly and that they interpret the utterances selectively, but "in a patterned (non-random) fashion" (Davidson 2000: 400). As members of the institutions they work for, these interpreters perform their job as insiders and "ally themselves as such" (*ibid.*: 401). He utterly denies the neutrality of

the interpreter for two specific reasons: the linguistic systems s/he mediates between are different in the way information is contextually rendered, and the interpreter is a social agent and participant in the communication. This empirical research argues that interpreters are virtually different actors during the actual interpreted event from what is described or idealized as their role.

Roy analyzes interpreting within the framework of discourse studies. She describes interpreting as "the process by which people whose discourse systems are different communicate with each other in face-to-face interactions" (2000: 21). In this view, interpreting is inherently a part of a discourse process and can be accounted for through the analytical model of discourse analysis and the theoretical principles of discourse. As a part of the interaction, the interpreter actively "participates in the process by creating and resolving turn phenomena, such as silence, pauses, and simultaneous talk" (2000: 4). The types of interpreted events are divided into two categories as single-speaker and conversational interpreted events. She suggests that in the latter the interpreter "*must* take an active role in the exchange of talk" through interaction within the conversation, and bases her empirical data on a conversation between a professor and a student, mediated by an interpreter (Roy 2000: 46, emphasis added). It appears that the presence of an interpreter manifestly changes the speech event and influences the primary parties in one way or another (it could be either positively or negatively). The moment that interpretation is needed at an event, it is the interpreter who shapes the conversation and makes it possible. Contrary to the idea that the interpreter is unnoticed, in reality, his or her presence is undeniable, as Roy has described and analyzed within this conversation which she videotaped herself.

Swedish researcher Helge Niska (2002) addresses training issues for community interpreters, and notes opposing principles relating to the role of the interpreter, such as "the neutral translator" or "linguistic interpreter" versus the "advocate" or "cultural interpreter." He suggests that interpreting can be an activity embodying all these approaches, depending on the situation. In order to explain this, he uses a pyramid model to illustrate four levels of roles for the interpreter, starting with the *conduit* role at the bottom as basic interpreting at the linguistic level. Above the conduit role is the *clarifier* role, which leads the interpreter to explicate technical or culture-specific terms. The top two levels are the roles of *culture broker* and *advocate,* that respectively refer to the interpreter who feels it necessary to interrupt and add explanations for the sake of preventing a controversy, and the interpreter who "acts on behalf of the service user" in

order to protect his or her rights during and after the interpreted sessions (Niska 2002: 138-9).

Among the researchers who challenge the traditional understanding that the interpreter is or should be *invisible* and *neutral* is Angelelli (2004), as mentioned above. She dwells on the issues of neutrality and invisibility extensively from various points of view including social, sociological, socio-linguistic and historical. Within this interdisciplinary framework she confronts the myth of neutrality by demonstrating the differences between the idealized and "prescribed" role of the interpreter and his or her actual role, i.e., how s/he functions in reality. One of the reasons why this "alleged" visibility issue is so deeply immersed in the interpreter's perception of his or her role, she speculates, is that it is a way in which the interpreter can avoid responsibility over the outcomes of the interaction, though s/he has great impact on those outcomes. Her other speculation relates to the trust that is built through the interpreter's supposed invisibility. Their job is considered well done when the message is delivered faithfully and this gives them a sense of safety (Angelelli 2004: 22, 25). Then again, this perception is nothing but an illusion because interpreters "all bring to the interactions their deeply held views and values, prejudices, and biases. It would be unwise to assume that interpreters are immune to this interplay of social factors" (Angelleli 2004: 28).

She eloquently argues that the degree to which the interpreter acts in an interventionist manner stems from the following social factors: affect, age, ethnicity, gender, nationality, race, socio-economic status and solidarity. In the face of the interplay of such social factors, respondents admit that neutrality, though being plausible, does not always come naturally but "it is something that one must work hard to achieve" (Angelleli 2004: 78). As a result of her survey research based on questionnaires, Angelelli finds that practitioners are under the influence of the dominant professional ideology, unfamiliar with the scientific research concerning their job in the field and under the fallacy that they do not interact with their clients (Angelleli 2004: 80).

On interpreters' own perceptions of their interpersonal role, particularly the visibility of the interpreter, Angelelli (2003) concludes that interpreters – being visible – are present, bringing the *self* into the interaction and playing "a role in building trust, facilitating mutual respect, communicating affect as well as message, explaining cultural gaps, controlling the communication flow and *aligning with one of the parties in interaction*" (Angelelli 2003: 26, emphasis added). There are always some beliefs,

norms and rules within the society we live in, and we constantly make choices as to which ones we will opt for, which ones to accept, and which ones to ignore. “This may cause us to *align more with some social groups than with others*.” Similarly, the interpreter is also subject to such choices and is apt to forge alliances (Angelelli 2004: 38, 51, 82).

One of the interesting results of her survey research is that respondents add in the questionnaires that neutrality is possible and that they fulfill the requirements of neutrality in their interpreting performance. Some even find the questions concerning their involvement in the interaction non-applicable since they do not have any relationship with the clients and do not consider themselves a part of the communicative event. Furthermore, they express how awkward it is even to be asked about neutrality, which demonstrates how the prevalent professional ideology influences the practitioners. Hence, Angelelli’s survey has revealed some striking results in terms of the interpreter’s self-perception.

Angelelli (2000) also compares community interpreting and conference interpreting as communicative events, using a Hymesian approach. She points out that, in the U.S., interpreting standards from one setting are invariably transferred to other settings, disregarding the fact that every setting has its own peculiar features and constraints. In her view, it should be considered inappropriate to use the same standard for every interpreting situation as each one has substantial differences within the situated practice in which they occur (Angelelli 2004: 87). She basically suggests that a better understanding of the demands and requirements for interpreters calls for a re-definition of the interpreting situation and the context of the communicative event; community interpreters should adopt standards of their own based on their own needs rather than the standards of conference interpreting, since these two have different complexities.

In her salient work *De-/Re-Contextualizing Conference Interpreting,* Diriker explores “the relationship between the presence and the performance of simultaneous conference interpreters and the socio-cultural and interactional context(s)” (2004: 4). She analyzes discourses put forward by reference books, codes of ethics, professional organizations, academia, media and interpreters themselves on simultaneous interpreting (SI) and on the role of interpreters. According to her findings, these (meta)discourses appear on two main levels as general/de-contextualized discourse and specific/contextualized discourse on SI. The former, especially found “in the discourse

of the professional associations, ethical codes, general reference books, and to some extent in the academic literature" (Diriker 2004: 132), regards SI as a task which is independent of the context and attributes implausible or unrealistic roles to the interpreter. On the other hand, the latter (specific/contextualized discourse) portrays a personally involved, interventionist interpreter with examples and anecdotes from real-life situations. She addresses the relations between concepts like identification with the speaker, fidelity, precision, transfer of content and ideas. What is relevant for the present study is the comparison between different descriptions of the interpreter role in professional organizations and codes of ethics and what her data from actual settings has demonstrated:

> … while adopting the strictest rules on impartiality, objectivity, confidentiality, accuracy and completeness, the Codes also attach considerable importance to the provision of an effective communication through interpreting and consider as desirable the involvement of the interpreter in ensuring an easier, more effective and complete communication. While doing so, the Codes do not problematize how the requirement of complete detachment of the interpreter and strict fidelity to the original message fit with the concomitant demand of cultural mediation and gatekeeping of effective communication. In that sense, by imposing, or rather juxtaposing, the strictest rules on impartiality and objectivity together with demands for an interpreter-improved communication, the Codes draw fuzzy, if not paradoxical, borders between the "ethical" and "unethical" involvement of the interpreter in the interpreting process. (Diriker 2004: 32)

Nearly all the studies cited above take a critical stance concerning the codes, offering a comparative analysis of the codes and the actual practice of the interpreter in real-life situations. They underscore the discrepancy between what the professional codes ideally require and how interpreters actually perform and even are expected to perform by their clients. The idealized principles defining the interpreter as neutral, unbiased and non-interventionist have been found in codes of ethics since the mid-1960's (Janzen and Korpiniski 2005: 188). All the codes analyzed by Sandra Hale (2007) also state that interpreters must be impartial without inserting their opinion and being influenced by their own ideology (2007: 126). Whereas the codes of professional interpreter organizations such as AIIC (*Association Internationale des Interprétes de Conférence*),

the American Association of Language Specialists (TAALS), the Institute of Translation and Interpreting (ITI), and the US National Association of Judicial Interpreters (NAJIT) label and expect the interpreter to be "neutral" and attribute an idealized role to him or her, the detailed analyses reviewed above provide concrete and empirical evidence that in actual practice, the task of interpreting in various settings (medical, asylum hearings, war zones, etc.) and in various countries (Austria, Canada, Germany, Sweden, USA, Turkey, etc.) goes beyond merely conveying words and taking a neutral position. On the contrary, this task can include active involvement to the extent that the interpreter becomes the one coordinating the talk, facilitating the communication, helping build trust and mutual respect, bridging cultural gaps, arranging the turns, intervening when s/he believes it to be necessary, taking sides when needed, initiating and carrying out the action itself and even taking over the function of the primary participants (Pöllabauer 2004: 154; Rosenberg 2002: 222; Angelelli 2004: 16, 82, 98).

This is also stressed by Roy: "We cannot understand how an interpreter's role emerges in actual interaction by simply hypothesizing what that role should be. The reality of practice does not conform to the ideology" (2000: 111). This quote echoes Metzger's point that "The reality of the interpreters' influences is at odds with professionally defined goals," and that more research should be conducted "to investigate the impacts of this divergence between the ideal and reality" (1999: 199). In the same vein, Pöllabauer concludes that "traditional codes of ethics may only be valid on paper" (2004: 175).

In the same way, according to the findings of Tryuk's empirical research, an ideal perception of the non-involved and invisible interpreter is inculcated in simultaneous interpreting, with the interpreters hidden in booths and physically kept away from seeing eyes. In the practice of community interpreting, however, the interpreter is present in the communicative event and an active participant in the interaction. Therefore, what is ideal in theory turns out to be diametrically opposite in practice. She further claims that the interpreter is expected to actively involve her/himself in such settings if s/he desires a successful interaction between the parties. With this aim, the interpreter initiates mediation in conflicting situations, providing cultural and linguistic understanding between the communicative parties (Tryuk 2007: 103). Tryuk concludes that "impartial and faithful translation" is both difficult to achieve in the community setting and even falls short of attaining "the desired effect" (*ibid.*).

Kent (2007) examined sign language interpreting practice as a case in point, dealing with the institutionalization and power relations for the profession of community interpreting and suggests that "the thorny issue of impartiality" should be argued out at the institutional level in order to attribute accountability to a macro social structure. Similarly, Turner underscores the view that the interpreter is a co-participant in the three-way interaction, while acknowledging that this view still calls for more in-depth research to understand "how triadic, multilayered, interpreted interactions work" (2007: 184).

The research studies cited above demonstrate that codes of ethics create a restrictive view of the interpreter's behavior and provide empirical evidence that, on the contrary, the interpreter is an involved participant and an engaged party in a communicative event. These studies, as well as many others not cited here due to limited space, changed the understanding of the complex phenomena of interpreting from the perception of a neutral, invisible, impartial interpreter to an interpreter whose role goes beyond merely transmitting words in an interaction in which s/he is an outsider.

With groundwork laid by these seminal studies that demonstrate a deeper understanding of interpreting studies, this study moves into an area ripe for further research. Interpreting research no longer examines whether the interpreter is or should be visible, but rather investigates the degree or the implications of the interpreter's involvement. Pöchhacker reflects on what could be the next steps for the trajectory of research:

> Maybe, though at a more limited social scale, one might envisage an 'interpreting turn' in the study of social processes within increasingly multicultural societies – that is, a keener awareness and theoretical treatment of the role of interpreter mediation in the key arenas of institutional interaction. (2013: 70)

It is the hope of this study to contribute to the understanding of the complex reality of interpreting in a meaningful way by adopting that "keener awareness" of the role of interpreter mediation in an institutional framework.

3.4. Text in context

Context is an important element in understanding interpreting practice of all kinds. It is especially necessary in this present study, which aims to investigate the role of interpreters in an institution that is being established in a new physical environment and new culture. In order to examine and contextualize the interpreting phenomenon, it is quintessential to recognize both macro and micro contexts including the pervading institutional ideology influencing the kind of communication under investigation. This section presents a brief review of approaches to understanding context in order to trace how it impacts interpretation in this case.

Context is a notion that has received increasing attention in the humanities and social sciences. While, according to van Dijk, this attention was late coming, the humanities and social sciences started showing proper attention to socially or contextually sensitive approaches between the 1960's and 1980's. This developed as an expansion of the previous formal study of sentences, discourses, speech acts, interaction, and communicative events of mental processing. Since the 1990's, "context" and "contextualization" have become key concepts in most contemporary discourse studies and a useful tool alongside formal linguistics for interdisciplinary studies in areas such as pragmatics, psycholinguistics, social psychology, sociolinguistics, and the ethnography of speaking. Other disciplines, such as philosophy, history and the natural sciences, have also been influenced by various forms of "contextualism" (van Dijk 2008: 13).

In sociolinguistics, however, it has long since been established that communication does not take place in a vacuum, but rather takes "place" in a specific context. Acclaimed sociolinguists like Dell Hymes and John Gumperz (Hymes and Gumperz 1964; Hymes 1972; 1989; and Gumperz 1992) argue that speech should be studied and understood in the light of cultural and sociological elements that contribute to shaping language and the meaning(s) it conveys. "When the meanings of speech styles are analyzed, we realize that they entail dimensions of participant, setting, channel, and the like, which partly govern their meanings" (Hymes 1989: 444). As Hymes emphasizes, language should be considered within the social sphere in which it is embedded, not in isolation. Hence, sociolinguists deal with situated meaning mediated in communication rather than dictionary meanings of discourse. Situated meaning is a reflection of the utterers' attitudes towards each other regarding what they

are talking about (Hymes 1972: 37). Participant-constructed context is therefore subjective and requires that all relevant information of the participants and their discourse should be re-negotiated in every context in a socio-cognitive framework (van Dijk 2008: x).

These approaches in sociolinguistics have found various applications in translation studies, particularly in interpreting research, since "interpreting involves such a complex array of language and social behavior" (Roy and Metzger 2014: 159). Interpreting should therefore be evaluated within its relevant context; a contextual approach is not only useful but a necessity to truly understand interpreter-mediated communication.

3.4.1. Levels of context

Recognizing that every communicative interaction is unique in its function, Pöchhacker called two decades ago for "a product-oriented approach to an interpreter's output as text-in-situation-and-culture" (1995: 33). Christiane Nord similarly noted a need for more research on the "historical and cultural dimensions that condition the agents' verbal and non-verbal behavior, their knowledge and expectations of each other, their appraisal of the situation, and the standpoint from which they look at each other and at the world" (Nord 1997: 16). Works cited at 3.3 above have gone some way to fill this gap and have produced a better understanding of the situational and socio-cultural contexts in which interpreters operate.

According to Aaron Cicourel, there are two kinds of context: a micro context (referring to the particular situation) and a macro context (referring to the larger context in which the situation occurs). However, as he notes, it is not plausible for a researcher to describe all aspects of a context, but rather, it is expected that the aspects s/he chooses to describe are well justified and suitable for the research objectives (1992: 294-5). Van Dijk also notes that social or communicative situations are found at various levels of generality or granularity, thus context models can vary. He comments that "on the one hand models may represent situated, momentary, ongoing, face-to-face interactions at the micro level … and on the other, overall social or historical situations, that is, social structure, at the macro level" (2008: 19). Both are described for this study (see below and Chapter 5).

Angelelli (2004), Wadensjö (1998) and Diriker (2004) all emphasize the situatedness of the interpreted event. The interpreted communication does not occur in a void or "social vacuum," nor does it have meaning in isolation. Rather, it is constrained by the institution in which it takes place. Angelelli (2004: 29) posits that the practice of interpreting occurs within a setting affected by forces at three levels: "at the level of the interaction itself, the institution in which it takes place, the society at large, or the interplay of all three levels at the same time." Pöchhacker sees interpreter-mediated communicative events that take place in an institution as situated between micro and macro contexts. His multi-level analytical model places the particular "text-in-situation" at the micro (textual) level, while the event occurs at a hypertextual level – which could, I suggest, include recurring events – embedded in an organizational framework which is itself subject to influences in the macro social context. He views the whole as a dynamic framework in which the communicative event shapes and is shaped by interaction. "Situation" is construed as the shifting constellation of roles by which norms are created through interaction, based on shared knowledge and orientation (Pöchhacker 2012: 51).

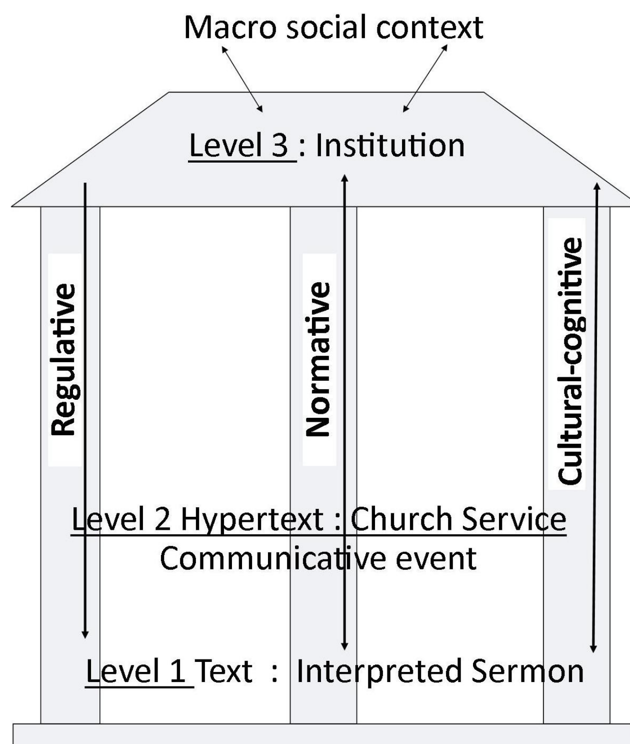

Figure 1. Multi-level framework with the three pillars of an institution

Figure 1 represents how this study adapts Pöchhacker's multi-level framework for contextual analysis of interpreting with the three "pillars" of institution adapted from

Koskinen (2008) and Scott (2008) explained above (3.1). While the church in the case study is analyzed within the frame of these "pillars," focusing on the normative and cultural-cognitive in particular, the interpreting activity is analyzed at the levels of text, hypertext, institution and macro context. In this structure, interpreted sermons are analyzed at the textual level occurring in a hypertext of the church service in the institution of the church with reference to norms that govern the interpreter behavior and what is expected of him or her as well as the underlying institutional ideology inducing such norms.

With this framework, context is approached as a fixed set of situational constraints as well as a dynamic set of participant assumptions. To this end, Chapter 5 describes both macro and micro levels of the context in which this study has been conducted. Its setting in Turkey as a cultural environment and Christianity as a belief system (or ideology) are presented there as a socio-cultural macro context, while church as an institutional context is explored with a special focus on the interpreting practices. After contextualizing the communicative event at the hypertextual level, its relation to ideology in the religious domain at the macro level of the particular church institution is analyzed: in particular, the ways in which the interpreter functions under the influence of the institutional ideology (see Chapters 6 and 7).

The sermon is discussed below in terms of its function at the text and hypertext levels of the "multi-level analytical framework" as determined by the overall communicative context (cf. Pöchhacker 1995: 37).

3.4.2. Sermon as genre

The Merriam-Webster dictionary defines a sermon as "a religious discourse delivered in public usually by a clergyman as a part of a worship service" or "a speech on conduct or duty." It is the former which this study specifically addresses, but a sermon preached during a worship service usually includes an application relating to conduct and duty anyway. The precise format and definition of sermon varies according to the particular religion or denomination, so one must first ask who is defining it.

Haddon Robinson, a professor of homiletics, describes an ideal sermon as "the explanation, interpretation, or application of a single dominant idea supported by other ideas, all drawn from one passage or several passages of Scripture" (1980: 33). Frances

L. Smith suggests a definition which includes the component of modification of conduct:

> The sermon is a complex, highly ritualized discourse genre made up of the specialized performance tasks of exegeting a fixed sacred text, illustrating it with narratives or poems, and exhorting the audience to change their behavior on the basis of its message. (1992: 147)

On the other hand, Martyn Lloyd-Jones, a mid-20th century London preacher whose recorded expository sermons are held in high regard among Evangelical churches, focuses on the spiritual purpose of the sermon in relation to the hearers. He asserts that "any true definition of preaching must say that that man is there to deliver the message of God, a message from God to those people" (1971: 53). In this study, for conceptual clarity, the term "sermon" refers to a (source) text in which this aspect of a "message from God to those people" is prominent, or as Richey puts it, a "divine connection" (2003: 56). This is the institutionally validated understanding of the nature of the sermon in the particular church in this study.

John Stott, a later 20th century preacher and author (also held in high regard in Evangelical churches) similarly emphasizes the recipients of the sermon. He sees a profound empathy between preacher and congregation, arising from their common faith and the church's recognition of the preacher's calling to preach: "God's people assembled in God's presence to hear God's word from God's minister" (1982: 82). This total context makes preaching unique as a form of communication in Stott's view: "… although preaching as a means of communication conforms to all other means, it is nevertheless *sui generis*" (1982: 80-81).

Bakhtin argues that genres exist in communication, not just in language (1986: 61-63). Similarly, Fairclough, taking genre in the social context, defines genre as "the specifically discoursal aspect of ways of acting and interacting in the course of social events" (2003: 65). Bhatia applies genre theory to "all aspects of socio-cognitive knowledge situated in disciplinary cultures in order to analyze construction, interpretation and use of linguistic communication to achieve non-linguistic goals" (1997: 205). Swales' widely accepted definition of genre, on the other hand, is "a class of communicative events, the members of which share a set of communicative purposes" (Swales 1990: 58). Following Swales, Bhatia also concludes that "each genre

is an instance of a successful achievement of a specific communicative purpose using conventionalized knowledge of linguistic and discoursal resources" (Bhatia 1993: 16). Amy Devitt (2004) theorizes that the rhetorical situation, the culture of a given group, and the existence, knowledge, and influence of other genres should be incorporated in the definition of genre. According to Swales, genre functions "to mediate between social situations and the texts that respond strategically to the exigencies of those situations" (2009: 14).

All these principal approaches to genre emphasize how genre has a substantial social aspect by which it functions to fulfill a communicative purpose. As Devitt contends, "the heart of genre's social nature is its embeddedness in groups and hence social structures" (2004: 36). In accord with this view of genre, we may say that sermons bear characteristics fulfilling a communicative purpose in a very specific social context. In simplest terms, sermons happen in a religious meeting for the members of a specific group who share common beliefs, goals, values, and identities. Specifically, the group is a church congregation composed of people who come together typically every week on a certain day at a certain time in the same place in order to fulfill a specific goal in a certain way. In this framework, somebody with authority recognized by the members of the congregation takes the floor to contribute to the realization of the common communicative purpose. The tool that this authorized person, "the preacher," employs is primarily a "sermon." To that end, sermons correspond to what is described as genre by Devitt, i.e., "existing genres reinforce institutional and cultural norms and ideologies" (2009: 342) and thus should be viewed in terms of their social structures and groups (see 6.1.3.1).

3.4.3. Sermonic discourse: Oral or written

Sermons have sometimes been considered a mixed or hybrid form, since sometimes they are written but delivered orally. Some preachers write a sermon before preaching it and either read it as a script or use it for reference during the delivery. When a sermon is written and then preached from a script, it is not really spoken but, as Goffman (1981:145) terms it, "read aloud," which is a different cognitive activity and different for the listener. A read-aloud sermon never comes across the same as one which is spoken with or without notes.

Whether a preacher writes his sermon in advance depends partly on his personality, and partly on the preaching norms in the particular church denomination. Some denominations believe that the preacher should be led by God's Spirit during the sermon so that they preach whatever God leads them to say instantaneously, without having a drafted version. However, it is not the main concern for this section to contrast sermons which are written in advance and those that are not. On the whole, the norm for sermon preparation in the specific church setting is to draft it in note form and preach extemporaneously from the notes, while leaving oneself open to new inspiration by the Holy Spirit.

3.4.4. Types of sermons

There are a number of classifications of sermons depending on their subject matter, their intended audience or their linguistic features. Some sermons focus on a particular character in the Bible, others on the gospel to either convince doubters or bring those who fell away back to faith through an evangelistic message. Other sermons contextualize a given record in the Bible within the wider redemptive history of God's people. John Broadus, in his seminal work *On The Preparation and Delivery of Sermons,* classifies them by homiletical structure, by subject, and by pattern (1870/1979). Three main types of sermons are generally accepted in the structural classification (see also Braga 2005). Any of them can proceed either deductively or inductively. In the deductive mode of preaching, the thinking moves from the general to the specific: the deductive sermon begins with a conclusion and determines arguments or advice based on that conclusion. However, in the inductive mode, the sermon begins with specific human experience and moves toward the conclusion in Scripture. In the inductive method, the audience members are encouraged to actively move along with the preacher and eventually draw their own conclusions. Congregations become used to hearing the various types of sermons, and interpreters too.

3.4.4.1. Expository sermons

This kind of sermon seeks to explicate a passage of Scripture to the congregation. It has been increasingly used since the early 19th century (Broadus 1870/1979). According to Robinson (1980: 20), this type of preaching aims to communicate a particular biblical concept discovered as a result of exegesis of the text. Preparation for such a sermon

begins first with the leading of the Holy Spirit in a detailed study of the passage in its original historical, grammatical and literary context. In this way, the preacher submits to the Scripture rather than trying to make the Scripture fit a point he is trying to make (*ibid*.).

3.4.4.2. Textual sermons

A textual sermon is similar to an expository one. However, the text is shorter and provides its own divisions. From the text, the preacher will find a specific subject. The goal is to seek for exact divisions and follow the most logical order. There is no need for the text to be used in its entirety (Broadus 1870/1979). Essentially a miniature expository sermon, the textual sermon, as its name implies, covers a few verses, a verse, or part of a verse, but not a whole paragraph. The preacher confines himself to expounding the selected portion of Scripture to his hearers. After the theme or subject of the verse or verses has been discovered and stated in the preacher’s own words, it is analyzed, divided, and expounded in the light of its context and the present context of the hearers.

3.4.4.3. Topical sermons

This is a commonly used but also much-criticized type of sermon. In topical preaching, the topic can be chosen from a passage in the Bible but the divisions are derived from the subject (Broadus 1870/1979: 55). As opposed to expository and textual sermons, which adhere to a certain chapter or passage in a book of the Bible, topical sermons focus on a certain topic, supported by a number of verses throughout the Bible. Some theologians criticize this method because topical preaching carries the risk of becoming a tool to follow an agenda.

Broadus distinguishes these three types of sermons according to how far the preacher draws from the sacred text. In topical sermons, only the subject is derived from the text. In textual sermons, the subject and main divisions are derived from the text, whereas in expository sermons the subject, main divisions and most of the details are derived from the text (Broadus 1870/1979). Sometimes there are blends of several different types, in which prototypical characteristics can combine and co-occur in various ways in actual sermons.

3.4.4.4. Classification by subject or occasion

Other than by structure, sermons can be categorized by subject and by purpose. Broadus (1870/1979) suggests (a) the theological sermon, based on both general and denominational doctrine, (b) the ethical sermon, in which importance is placed on the moral preaching of Jesus, the apostles, and other figures in the Bible and (c) the church program sermon, designed for events in the church year, such as Easter and Christmas, or occasions such as weddings and baptisms. Depending on the occasion and purpose, the preacher drafts his sermon in terms of the focus, the duration, Scripture, and other factors.

3.4.5. Length of a sermon

As for the length of a sermon, there are no set rules. It depends on the type of church, the denomination, the country's traditions, and so on. In the church in which sermons are analyzed in this study, a typical sermon takes about an hour with its interpretation, whereas if it is monolingual, then about 30-40 minutes. Stott says, "No hard and fast rules can be laid down about the length of sermons, except perhaps that ten minutes are too short and forty minutes are too long" and "every sermon should 'seem like twenty minutes', even if it is actually longer" (1982: 294).

3.4.6. Persuasion in sermons

Persuasion is often mentioned and studied in the political, religious and advertising context, yet in reality, persuasion exists in all areas of life, to the extent that any use of language involves the possibility or even likelihood of persuasion (cf. Kinneavy 1971/80: 212; Halmari and Virtanen 2005: 3)**.** In our age, the media predominantly uses persuasive discourse tools, particularly seen in the language of advertising. Persuasion has also been analyzed under many different terms in the literature such as rhetoric, oratory, eloquence, manipulation and propaganda. More often than not, when persuasion is referred to, the classical division in terms of the ways, means or modes of persuasion is listed as *logos, pathos* and *ethos* based on Aristotle's appeals of persuasion in which *logos* appeals to reason, *pathos* appeals to emotion, and *ethos* represents the persuasive appeal of one's character. These three appeals that work either

separately or together in combination toward persuasive ends are what Aristotle calls "artistic" or "intrinsic" proofs.

In everyday life, wittingly or unwittingly, these ways of persuasion are applied in various interactions. As Jan-Ola Östman describes it, people unconsciously use ready-made word combinations that form in their minds. These combinations usually carry traces of culture or have a certain ideology attached, linking to their implicit views about the world, the other parties in communication or about themselves. “And if this is so, such implicit collocations can naturally also be strategically exploited – e.g., for persuasive purposes” (Östman 2005: 202).

James Kinneavy describes religious preaching as one of the more obvious forms of persuasive discourse (1971/80: 211). The preacher prepares a sermon with a message in mind and with a sense of duty to convince his audience/congregation to believe that what he says is true, right, or good, and thus to persuade or dissuade them about his message. However, it is up to the hearer whether to believe it or not. Mary Morrissey, analyzing the 17th century English theories of preaching, concludes, “… although the preacher had a duty to try to persuade his hearers, actually moving them to fully accept and follow his teachings was beyond him” (Morrissey 2002: 690). According to the doctrine of the period, people needed God’s help in order to understand the Scripture; otherwise they would not be capable of doing so even with the preacher explaining it. However, preachers of the era were still encouraged to use the rhetorical techniques in order to persuade and exhort the audience (Morrissey 2002: 690, 694). James T. Ford from the Christian reformed tradition agrees that the use of oratory was seen as a means to an end. Preachers of the period (16th century) utilized some rhetorical devices even though they were in favor of the “plain style” as a pastoral concern to keep sermons simple enough for the audience to concentrate solely on the Scripture (2001: 74).

It is not only in the distant past that preachers relied on divine assistance rather than on their own persuasive techniques to convince their congregations of the truth of their message. The same approach prevails today among many preachers in churches like the one in this study, who advocate relying solely on divine assistance for preaching. Talking about today’s homiletics, Duane Litfin (1985) argues that the use of persuasive techniques for the true purpose of preaching cannot be biblical, but arose when Christian preaching came under the influence of ancient Greek rhetoric after the time of the Apostles, when Christianity expanded across Europe. Greek rhetoric was quite different from the Jewish tradition from which Christianity was born (Litfin 1985:

unpaginated). While the debate as to whether persuasive preaching is biblical or not still goes on, some theologians (of reformed theology in particular) argue that God is the ultimate authority for his work, exemplifying this with the following verses: He "works out everything in conformity with the purpose of his will" (Ephesians 1:11, New International Version – NIV henceforth); he sustains "all things by his powerful word" (Hebrews 1:3, NIV); and "in him all things hold together" (Colossians 1:17, NIV). In the same vein, the Apostle Paul, writing to the Corinthians in Greece said, "My message and my preaching were not with *wise* and *persuasive words*, but with a demonstration of the Spirit's power, so that your faith might not rest on *human wisdom*, but on *God's power*." (I. Corinthians 2:4-5, NIV, emphasis added). So, this approach stands against resorting to the tools of persuasion for what it aims to achieve, because the desired response in preaching is not the response of the mind but of the spirit.

Though many others, alongside Litfin (1985), lean heavily on that one verse from I. Corinthians 2:4-5, there are some sound counterarguments. For example, as an advocate of persuasive preaching, Larry Overstreet puts forward that "the goal of preaching is ultimately to effect change in the listeners to bring them into conformity with the will and Word of God, to persuade the listeners" (2004: 8). On the basis that persuasiveness is appropriate and biblical as long as it is not manipulative, he challenges those who take a stand against persuasive methods, contending that they fail to distinguish between persuasion and manipulation (*ibid.*: 12). In fact, the Bible itself supports the importance of persuasive communication as well in another chapter: "Paul entered the synagogue and spoke boldly there for three months, arguing persuasively about the kingdom of God" (Acts 19:8, NIV). So the use of persuasion is legitimized in the Bible; but ultimately the preacher views himself as a tool used by God, and the work of changing others' minds should be left to him.

While no agreement exists on the issue of persuasion among theologians and preachers, many books have been written about how to preach effectively or how to persuade a congregation of the truth and application of a biblical passage. Such books can help a preacher prepare a sermon, but the key point remains that he (less often she) ultimately relies on God himself to touch hearts, not on his own wisdom or technique. Consequently, whichever approach a preacher adopts concerning the use of persuasive tools for his sermons between the two ends of the spectrum, there will still be an element of persuasion in it, since the desire and purpose to persuade is there. Every

preacher intends for his audience to be convinced of what he communicates, whether he resorts to persuasive tools or relies wholly on a divine persuasion.

One of the obvious and common tools of persuasion is the use of rhetorical questions, namely questions answered by the speaker himself or left for the receiver to answer, on the assumption that the receiver's frame of reference is the same as the speaker's. Since ancient times in both Jewish and Greek traditions, asking rhetorical questions has been a popular strategy, inducing agreement by involving the audience member in a thinking process," making him believe that the answer provided by the speaker is a product of a mutual agreement between them (Halmari and Virtanen 2005: 117). Assuming acquiescence on the part of the recipient, the speaker builds toward a persuasive culmination by posing rhetorical questions. Such questions are characteristic of sermons, especially in the conclusion, when the speaker draws out applications from the whole topic. The following excerpts from the corpus of recordings (Sermon 5) demonstrate a call for assent from the audience for the speaker's argument:

1. "If Jesus promised to pour out his Spirit, why would you not want to receive the gift?"
2. "We all want to receive everything that God wants to give us. Is that right?"
3. "Do you want to receive everything that God wants to give you?"

The primary purpose of these questions is not to extract a verbalized response, but to create an impact on the listeners, and thereby bring about a response in terms of faith and life.

3.4.7. Reception in sermons

Linguistic processes usually include four factors, namely speaker, listener, the thing referred to and the linguistic material (Trosborg 1997: 13). The previous brief analysis of persuasion was discussed from the speaker's point of view. What about the role of the listener-receiver? When a speaker is persuasive enough, does true persuasion happen? Obviously persuasion does not depend solely on a convincing speaker. On the contrary, many other factors can be listed, such as the personal background(s) of the individual audience members, their mood at the moment, their previous perception about the topic and their relation to the speaker. The list could easily be extended. Is the audience passive or active? The speaker renders a message, but s/he is not the only constructor of that message as it involves the participants as well. Discourse participants co-construct the communicative intention and the effect of the message (Östman 2005:

200). Thus persuasion has a dialogic nature, which only comes about as long as all the interlocutors concur.

When a congregation (a special type of audience) is presented with a sermon, does hearing it bring along a responsibility to practice what is heard? Taylor (2001: 81) suggests that there is a lacuna in the literature about audience response in historical sermons, while there are ample resources on preachers and preaching. This is interesting because sermons are primarily preached to reach a certain audience with a certain message. However, little information is available concerning audience response to the message. Research in analyzing the audience reception is lacking, especially for historical investigations in terms of considering how the past sermons, homiletics and theology of a certain time period were perceived by laypeople. Since what has been preached, the spoken word, is not documented, the chances of evaluating the reception are slim (Taylor 2001: 81). By contrast, modern research in homiletics includes a vast area of investigation with the aim of understanding the sermon as a social event with all of its aspects, including the receiver.

Sermons generally occur monologically, although now and then the congregation has a chance to give a response to the preacher, though not in the form of an answer to a real question. Richey, who investigates the interaction between the preacher and the audience in an ASL sermon, argues that in such a setting and mode, question and answer adjacency pairs have certain functions and are manageable because of the visual nature of sign language, whereas the hearing congregation is generally described as a non-responsive audience because “hearing pastors are reluctant to ask the congregation questions during a sermon, which is perceived as strictly a monologic event” (Richey 2003: 80). She speculates that one reason for that might be that hearing audiences are generally larger; or there might be the risk of taking too much time away from the sermon in order to address an incorrect answer that an audience member could give in response to a question. However, this does not mean that it is a one-way communication. Richey may have underestimated the extent to which a sermon in an oral language can be dialogic. Though overt verbal response may not be sought by the preacher, there is an expectation of back-channeling by non-verbal means in term of eye contact, facial expression and side glances to other members of the congregation.

Within this framework of audience reception, what is the nature of the immediate response to a sermon in today’s world? In a church context, we find an audience/congregation that is mainly present because of an already existing conviction

about their faith, which is why they come regularly each week. It is common to observe a congregation's visible approval during the sermon especially in certain church traditions or denominations. For instance, Wharry (2003) talks about African-American congregations responding to the preacher when they agree or feel convinced by shouting *amen* or *hallelujah*. In the same way, Green reports the strategies applied in African-American church services for audience interaction based on call and response between the minister and the congregation while interaction occurs also through non-verbal communication with hand waves, clapping, head nodding and gestures (2002: 147, 150).

In Evangelical churches of the type in the case study, the dialogic aspect comes to the forefront, as involvement of the congregation in the sermon is encouraged. Most of the preachers are eager to use illustrations and some even bring props and pick a few volunteers to dramatize a lesson or story from the Bible during the sermon, to help the visual learners. Of course, the size of the church must permit the latter. In the church analyzed here as a case study, the congregation is about 150 people, and participation in the sermon is a frequent activity. It suggests effective persuasion of those who participate, while also working as a tool to persuade others; when some members of a congregation display persuasion with active responses, it may stimulate others to agree as well. According to my field observations as a researcher, the preachers in this church elicit responses from the congregation whenever rhetorically necessary; maybe not long answers but quick interactions that indicate that the message has been understood or that the congregation has been encouraged by what was said. Religious responses such as *amen* and *hallelujah* are widely used, as well as short responses like "yes" or "no," but lengthier responses than these are often given within this church congregation.

3.5. Summary

This chapter has discussed the notions of institution(alization), ideology, norms, interpreter involvement, text, and context, which undergird the conceptual framework of this study. Sociological approaches to institutionalization were presented, focusing in particular on Scott's (2008: 48) notion of regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive processes as "pillars" sustaining any institution, which may be applied to the local church in the case study.

Approaches from translation studies then illuminated the translation and interpreting activities which occur within institutions, in particular, Koskinen's (2008) insight into the role of such activities in the process of institutionalization, and interpreter involvement, which may be seen as personally motivated and both-sided in the case of the church in question. Taking insights from Calzada Pérez (2003), the notion of ideology was explored in relation to both the belief system which is the topic of the interpreting activity (that is, interpreting the ideology), and the institutional view of how the interpreting activity itself should be performed (ideology of interpreting).

Pöchhacker's (1994; 2012) multi-level analytical framework for interpreting activity, like many other studies, reveals the paramount importance of context at every level of analysis, from the micro level of text, through the hypertextual level of the event, to the macro level of the institutional context and the wider sociocultural context in which the institution is embedded. The interpreting activity both shapes and is shaped by institutional norms for it. In relation to the textual level, the presence of a strong element of persuasion is noted in the sermonic source texts, regardless of differences in rhetorical structure and manner of delivery.

These notions provide a framework for exploring the role of interpreting in the institutionalization of the church in a new context (Chapter 5) in the empirical analysis which follows (Chapters 6 and 7). Chapter 4, following, provides a summary of the methodology, explaining the methods of data collection and analysis.

4. Research questions and methodology

4.1. Aims and research questions

Since the "social turn" in interpreting studies (Pöchhacker 2006b), the interpreter's involvement has been investigated from various angles in various settings (see 3.3). However, "ideology," a very crucial factor that influences social behavior, has not received the attention it deserves in the body of research, in an institutional context in particular. On the other hand, translation studies has long scrutinized the translator's behavior in light of the influence of ideology upon him or her (see Lefevere 1992; Simon 1996; Fawcett 1998; Tymoczko and Gentzler 2002; Calzada Pérez 2003; Karadağ 2003 and Leonardi 2007).

This study attempts to problematize the interpreter's involvement in an institutional context in which the interpreter seems to have more room to maneuver than is generally recognized or expected. For this endeavor, the church setting, where intense religious ideology is prevalent, constitutes a particularly suitable context, and one that has, until recently, been largely unexplored. As reviewed (2.4), church interpreting has been researched during the past decade from a number of perspectives in a few widely differing contexts and geographical areas. However, an example of the newly establishing Evangelical churches in Turkey has not previously been described in any academic discipline, let alone in interpreting studies. The interpreting activity in the setting of an emerging Evangelical church in Turkey is investigated in various distinctive aspects. As a point of departure, the following research questions are asked:

1. What role(s) do the sermon interpreters in this setting play in constructing the church as an institution?
2. How does institutional ideology influence the sermon interpreting activity?
3. What constrains the sermon interpreters in this church setting?

These questions are addressed with the data collected in order to pinpoint where and how the interpreter's involvement manifests itself within both the institutional discourse and interpreting performances. For this reason, the study provides a detailed description of the immediate context in which the sermon occurs, and a description of the institutional and socio-cultural setting.

The sermon as a particular genre has been presented (see 3.4.2 and 3.4.3), since discourse analysis of sermons has not yet been empirically undertaken in interpreting studies, but interpreters in church settings are required to cope with this special type of spoken text. The data collected in fieldwork is analyzed for a more in-depth examination of interpreter involvement (Chapters 6-7). The focus of analysis is on how the institution sees the interpreters and what they do and on how the interpreters position themselves, in order to answer the research questions and thereby contribute to our overall understanding of the interpreter's involvement in the church setting, and probably other types of communicative events as well.

4.2. Methodological approach and research design

In order to answer the research questions, this study employs fieldwork and (auto)ethnography in a multi-method case study involving the triangulation of findings from different sets of data.

4.2.1. Fieldwork and involvement

This study has been undertaken primarily in order to focus attention on interpreting activities in an ideological framework and to investigate the factors and constraints surrounding the behavior of the interpreter in a religious institution and the expectations placed upon him or her. With that intention, a fieldwork approach is adopted, which "consists in collecting data on people or occurrences in their real-life context, often by studying a single 'case,' which may be an institution, an event or indeed an individual person" (Pöchhacker 2011: 19). The church as an institution is the case study with a special focus on the interpreter-mediated communication.

Since I have been part of the institutional setting in question before and during this research project, it is necessary to touch upon my position from a methodological perspective. Although an ethnographic approach is taken in this study, there are elements of autoethnography as well, which needs to be clarified here.

The autoethnographic model constitutes an extension of ethnography. The difference between the two is not in essence but in degree of involvement (cf. Hokkanen 2013). Both autoethnography and ethnography rely on the "self" of the researcher, but

autoethnography draws more on the personal experience and self-reflection of the researcher. Ethnographers study a particular setting pursuing an understanding of what constitutes social action while autoethnography stretches ethnography in order to study "the intersection of self and others, self and culture" (Ellingson and Ellis 2008: 446). What distinguishes one from the other is that while ethnography is conducted by social research methods which an outsider may use to analyze social phenomena from the perspective of those who experience it first hand, autoethnography embraces the researcher as a primary participant with all his or her subjectivity and views this characteristic as an advantage, not as a constraint.

In order to better position myself between these two overlapping methods, an account of my personal involvement should help. Soon after I started attending Smyrna Church, the pastor asked me to help with interpreting, rotating with other volunteers. I was an undergraduate student at the time with no training in interpreting. Eight years later, when I started my PhD research, I undertook participant-observation fieldwork and collected prior-existing sermon recordings for my analysis, which included my own performances. However, since all the recordings were made prior to this study, no interpreter performed with the knowledge of being recorded for research purposes. While it is appropriate to use my own sermon interpreting for analysis at the utterance level (Chapter 7), this is not the case for the other data collection methods, such as questionnaires and interviews. I have accordingly excluded myself from them. I took the further precaution of conducting the interpreter interviews in a written format over email in order to distance myself from them and minimize any impact I might have had on them. That is how I became a primary subject as well as an observer.

Carolyn Ellis postulates that autoethnography is "part auto or self and part *ethno* or culture" and "something different from both of them, greater than its parts" (2004: 31-2). In other words, one becomes a part of the culture under study integrating one's own relational and intrinsic experiences, embodying the "I" into research and writing, while scrutinizing self as if scrutinizing an "other" (Ellingson and Ellis 2008: 448).

Such a position provides some benefits as well as some drawbacks. First of all, an ethnographer needs to have the consent of the members of the group that will be investigated. In this case, there will always be a risk that s/he will somehow change, distract or spoil the atmosphere with his or her presence. My position as an insider eliminates this risk. I neither had to persuade them to let me in nor did my presence impact the natural course of social actions. Due to my interpersonal relationships, I have

been in a position to collect subjects' natural/impromptu comments on sermons, languages, interpreting, and interpreters during situations of "chat" and conducted informal as well as formal interviews. I have a shared culture with the participants of the social event I am investigating, which allows me to undertake self-reflection in relation to it. In addition, I performed one of the audio-recorded sermons analyzed in Chapter 7 as part of the corpus of five sermon recordings. This aspect brings this study closer to autoethnography. On the other hand, all the other empirical data I collected was obtained from primary participants, such as interpreters, (end-)users, and preachers, excluding myself as the researcher.

Koskinen's ethnographic study has been a source of inspiration. However, since I never left the "field," I have not been the "double agent" that Koskinen was. According to her account, after she quit working for the EC, she later returned as a researcher. Although she was welcomed, her researcher role was obvious and impacted her interactions; her queries were tolerated only up to a point (2008: 54). Unlike her situation, my position has always been as a participant in the institution so I had unlimited access. Rather than a double agent, I see my position as "a dual agent."

On the other hand, there are some drawbacks to the autoethnographic approach. The *ethno* (culture) can be so ingrained that the autoethnographer may not recall how s/he came to know or discover some phenomena. Silverman likens this to a child learning his or her first language and not remembering how s/he figured it out (2001: 58). In the same way, the autoethnographer may struggle to express the rationale behind social phenomena. The other major critique of authoethnography as method is the risk it poses to objectivity. However, while it is a fair concern that the insider observer could be biased and partial, maybe too personal and emotional, the outsider also bears the risk of being "passionless" (Ellingson and Ellis 2008: 450).

I aimed to be as objective as a social being can be to the best of my ability, but I also admit that the fact that I am an insider might have affected the study in some ways that I am not aware of. Being an insider brings both a sense of confidence in what I have to say and the possibility of a certain degree of bias. However, one of the gains of postmodernity is the almost universally accepted view that pure objectivity is a myth. The concept of social research as objective and unbiased knowledge generated by scientific methods has been challenged by autoethnographers because it can only be accomplished by detachment from the researched (Ellingson and Ellis 2008: 450).

With all its advantages and drawbacks, the study uses an autoethnographic approach to some degree, as well as a broader ethnographic approach. Employing such an approach bears some similarities to Hokkanen's research (2013) in terms of methodology, but at the same time differs in that I position myself as an outsider researcher in the collection and analysis of data while still relying on my insider understanding as a source of research material.

Based on all these aspects of (auto)ethnography, in agreement with Koskinen, I acknowledge that "[e]thnography can never be conclusive; its data never gets saturated" (2008: 11). Keeping this in mind, with all its limitations, the aspiration in this study is to connect what I explored through personal involvement to a wider cultural and social understanding of interpreting phenomena.

4.2.2. Multi-method case study

A multi-method approach benefits from both qualitative and quantitative analyses, providing explanations from different angles and a holistic investigation of a given phenomenon (Hale and Napier 2013). This approach is adopted in this study because a single methodological approach would not suffice to understand the role of interpreting practices in the institutionalization of a church, nor the implications of institutional ideology on interpreter behavior. To implement such multi-method designs, case studies in a fieldwork setting are proposed as a "powerful" strategy (Pöchhacker 2011: 20). A case study focuses on exploring the dynamics of a single setting, allowing a deeper understanding of specific instances of a phenomenon. Using a case study approach with multiple sources of data brings out important details that could be sometimes overlooked if using a single means of data collection. Therefore, a combined set of methods is employed to provide quantitative and qualitative analyses of data obtained from surveys and interviews designed to investigate the ways institutions constrain interpreters, and to provide discourse analysis to analyze interpreter behavior in naturally-occurring text data. All these dynamics are analyzed in a single institutional setting as a case study aimed at emphasizing depth rather than breadth.

4.2.3. Triangulation

Triangulation of data refers to different methods of analysis and data collection used to apply to the same data, strengthening the validity and reliability of the research (Creswell *et al*. 2003: 210). In case studies, this can be done by using multiple sources of data in a combination of qualitative and quantitative approaches (Hale and Napier 2013). Triangulation ensures the study captures the necessary nuances of the phenomenon under investigation by qualitative analysis of two sets of interviews and quantitative analysis of questionnaires triangulated with discourse analysis of real-life occurrences.

4.3. Methods

As ethnomethodologist Cicourel (1981: 52) contends, "[t]he routine activities of an organization or group normally include the integration of micro- and macro-data and theory because all daily-life settings reflect several levels of cultural complexity." As a "routine activity," the phenomenon under scrutiny, namely the interpreting activity of a church organization, requires the integration of both micro- and macro-level analysis. It would be too simplistic to reach conclusions by only looking at the phenomenon independent of surrounding social factors. Nothing has meaning in isolation after all (Alvarez and Vidal 1996: 3). Again in Cicourel's words, "the perception of and characteristics attributed to others, and broader and local organizational conditions become imperative for an understanding of linguistic and non-linguistic aspects of communicative events" (1992: 294). For this reason, it is necessary to contextualize sermon interpreting at both micro and macro levels, identifying the surrounding social and sociolinguistic factors. In order to do that, a combination of methods, such as ethnography, surveys, interviews and discourse analysis, has been applied with the purpose of shedding more light on the investigation of this phenomenon.

4.3.1. Ethnographic methods

Principally, ethnography, which is a widely employed approach in interpreting research, is one of the main methods used in this study to discover factors and constraints

influencing the sermon interpreter's behavior, norms that these factors and constraints point to, and the expectations placed upon the interpreter by the members of the community as well as their perceptions of him or her within this religious context. Based on the ethnographic background information, a descriptive approach is applied within the natural context in which the interpreted interaction occurs. The concern here is not only discourse but also all features of the interaction, including sociolinguistic and ideological aspects, and the micro and macro contexts in which this interaction is embedded.

Within this ethnographic methodology, the researcher becomes a participant observer and collects data which is typically constituted of audio-taped interactions and field notes on these interactions, as well as in-depth interviews with participants from a particular community (Boxer 2002: 14). Accordingly, this observational and non-experimental study takes advantage of personal field observations and field notes, as well as data collection through interviews and questionnaires.

Permission and consent of the institutional authorities of the church and the participants of the surveys were obtained in respect of all the data collected. In an informal interview, the founding pastor expressed the view that the church did not have anything to hide, that any of my observations and data could be written without pseudonymity; he would be interested in reading my work after completion, but not necessarily before submission of it. He expressed a trust that I would not reveal anything that would harm the church. However, due to the sensitive position of Christian churches in Turkey and because Christian believers have experienced some persecution in the past, the names of the churches, pastors, preachers and interpreters who are given questionnaires and interviews are anonymized with fictitious names when necessary.

A challenge commonly faced by researchers in interpreting studies is obtaining authentic recordings of interpreted events. This is due either to sensitivities of the participants or to the privacy of the content in an interpreted meeting. Researchers usually have to rely on personal contacts and relationships with primary parties in order to obtain recorded data. Conversely, in this case, pre-existing recordings of interpreted sermons were readily obtainable with the consent of all parties, including the interpreters, the speakers, and the commissioners. The sermons were recorded for the purpose of use by members absent during the sermon, namely for personal edification, not for empirical research. The recordings provide a corpus of 282 sermons for

discourse analysis of the interpreter-mediated texts, with a sample of four randomly selected recordings, plus an interpreter-mediated sermon in a video-recording made specifically for this study.

4.3.2. Interviews and questionnaires

Two series of semi-structured interviews were used to elicit data for qualitative analyses of opinions. The first series was with 16 commissioners of interpreting from Evangelical churches in the principal cities of Turkey, plus two visiting preachers. The data collected from these recorded and transcribed interviews was qualitatively analyzed to gain a general portrait of their expectations for and perceptions of interpreters' behavior in church settings (6.1). Expressions of opinion by commissioners/clients (viz. pastors and preachers) were used for this analysis, and the respondents were coded as R (1-18).

The second series of interviews was with sermon interpreters at the particular church setting in the case study (6.2). They were administered in written form by email to explore how they view their involvement in the communicative event and within the institution, and whether the institutional ideology impacts their involvement. The respondents were coded as INT 1 - INT 8. Qualitative analysis of their responses provides clues to the institutional ideology and norms for interpreting, as well as interviewees' own expectations and perceptions of the interpreting activities.

Questionnaires as instruments for gathering information from a particular group are utilized in order to make inferences about a phenomenon. One of the main survey strategies employed in this study is questionnaires aiming to identify norms that govern the interpreting activity in the institution, with the question of interpreter involvement as a primary focus.

Questionnaires were given to all the participants of the analyzed communicative event in that church, including audience members (congregants), commissioners and clients (pastors), speakers (both resident and guest preachers, coded as PR 1-7) and interpreters (of sermons). The quantitative analysis of data from these questionnaires given to these (end-)users attempts to identify their expectations of the sermon interpreter in that particular institutional context and their perceptions concerning the role of interpreting and interpreters, as well as the interpreter's own perceptions.

The qualitative analysis of the data collected from semi-structured interviews, complemented by quantifiable data collected from questionnaires to gather their opinions of the interpreting practices, is triangulated by discourse analysis of transcribed recordings of interpreted sermons. Both the expressions of opinion and the interpreted sermons are investigated for evidence of interpreter involvement as insider in an institutional context.

4.3.3. Discourse analysis

Discourse comprises utterances of people who are engaged in social interaction to accomplish a goal (Roy 2000: 9). Analyzing discourse varies in different fields and involves a wide range of aspects such as how participants make sense of reality within the sociocultural context of face-to-face interaction and how they construct meaning and understand others' meanings (*ibid.*). Discourse analysis is an approach used in linguistics to analyze text in relation to its whole context. This study applied discourse analysis to the transcriptions of the pre-existing tape recordings of authentic sermons as well as a video recording made for this project. The interpreter's involvement is traced within the communicative event at the linguistic level; the extent to which s/he fulfills the expectations inferred in the surveys and interviews is analyzed based on naturally-occurring communication. For discourse analysis in a case study methodology, selecting the units of analysis is critical and those units are explained in detail below.

4.3.3.1. Explicitation

Among various definitions in linguistics and translation studies, Vinay and Darbelnet's early definition of explicitation is still the most useful for this study. Explicitation is "a stylistic translation technique which consists of making explicit in the target language what remains implicit in the source language because it is apparent from either the context or the situation (1958/1995: 342). There are various factors in which explicitation can be described. However, regardless of how it is defined, explicitation is a reality of translation. Any translator or interpreter who feels that their rendition is not sufficient to communicate the message may resort to explicitation. It is an effort, whether consciously or subconsciously, to make something explicit if its translated version sounds too implicit in the target text. Kalinichenko, referring to Pápai's work on the issue in Polish, notes "Explicitation is a difference that is created deliberately or

instinctively between a source text (ST) and a target text (TT)" (Pápai 2002 in Kalinichenko 2012: 3).

According to Blum-Kulka's frequently referenced "explicitation hypothesis":

> The process of interpretations performed by the translator on the source text might lead to a TL text which is more redundant than the SL text. This redundancy can be expressed by a rise in the level of cohesive explicitness in the TL text. This argument may be stated as "the explicitation hypothesis," which postulates an observed cohesive explicitness from SL to TL texts regardless of the increase traceable to differences between the two linguistic and textual systems involved. It follows that explicitation is viewed here as inherent in the process of translation. (1986: 19)

Klaudy suggests that this hypothesis can be tested empirically in all kinds of interlingual products in a large-scale corpus or by introspective data (1998: 84). Research into explicitation in translation and in the different modes of interpreting is available at various levels. Koskinen, in her analysis of translated European Commission texts, finds instances of explicitation resulting from a concern for readability. Referring to Blum-Kulka's hypothesis, she cites explicitation "as one potential translation universal, i.e., as a likely feature of all translations, regardless of their context and content" (Koskinen 2008: 131).

The nature of explicitation varies between translation and interpreting and also between different modes of interpreting. Obviously translators have time to revise their translation and make explicitations as they feel necessary. However, interpreters have little opportunity for revision, especially in simultaneous mode, though the situation can be different in consecutive mode.

Ewa Gumul (2006) investigates the types of explicitation in simultaneous interpreting, and whether it is a conscious strategy or a by-product of the activity. Her analysis points heavily to explicitation being a subconscious effort rather than a strategy. Fang Tang (2014), comparing cases of explicitation in consecutive interpreting between professional and novice interpreters, uses a broader definition of explicitation, regardless of whether it is conscious (i.e., strategic) or subconscious. Her approach to explicitation comprises any additional information which can be inferred from the context (i.e., the co-text, the situation, and the culture) as a translational shift. In her

analysis, she is interested in the motivations behind explicitation as well as in its forms. The present study is more concerned with the motivational aspect, since the reason for explicitation is more critical than its forms for the purpose of this analysis that is specifically investigating the influence of institutional ideology on interpreters. The interpreter's distinctive role in serving the church with a sense of mission rather than commission can be seen as the source of his or her motivation to resort to explicitation, whether subconsciously or as an intentional strategy.

Anthony Pym, attempting to explain why a translator might choose explicitation, suggests a dual role for the translator or interpreter, with the former being both the reader and writer, and the latter being both the hearer and speaker (2005: 38). The translator is accepted as the first receiver of the target text and the "bi-cultural expert" (Vermeer 1998: 50). Pym notes that this dual role of being the first receiver (reader) and also the writer leads to three conclusions. First, due to being both sender and receiver of a message, translators are aware of the difficulty in meaning construction. Secondly, they find themselves in a position of solving these problems and having the potential to make the meaning explicit for the receivers. Lastly, they have this process of making sense out of the source text fresh in their minds. This position of being both reader/hearer and the translator/interpreter simply makes them want to help their readers/hearers (Pym 2005: 38).

Such an interpreter is able to recognize an element which may be easily understood using the linguistic and cultural lenses of the source-language receiver, but may be more difficult to understand for the target-language receiver, with their presuppositions resulting from their own language and culture. Thus, the interpreter may be inclined to make that element explicit in the target language, either when s/he realizes that it is vague or ambiguous in the source speech, or when s/he believes that its rendition requires explicitation for the target audience. The data available for this study from recordings of interpreted sermons is analyzed to look for such instances.

4.3.3.1.1. Explicitation by lexical addition: One of the manifestations of explicitation is insertion of lexical elements that add meaning in target texts. Such extra lexical elements create explicitation provided that they are semantically more informative than lexical elements in the source text. On the other hand, Séguinot proposes that explicitation should be reserved for "additions in a translated text which cannot be explained by structural, stylistic or rhetorical differences between the two languages"

(1988: 108). She regards as explicitation not just additions, but anything in the target language that was not expressed in the source language. As such, explicitation by lexical addition is taken in its broadest sense in this analysis.

4.3.3.1.2. Explicitation by repetition: Repetition in interpreting is sometimes considered amateurish, carrying a negative connotation of being something redundant. The assumption is that when an interpreter repeats his or her words, it must be because s/he is stumbling (not sure what to say next), has forgotten the source text, or poorly formulated his or her rendition the first time and needs to improve or repair it. Such "mishaps," the thinking goes, would only be performed by novice or amateur interpreters. The question is whether this is true or whether repetition actually serves some valid purpose and could be an intentional or even unintentional strategy of the interpreter to convey the intended message or maybe reinforce it.

Francesco Straniero Sergio, analyzing repetition in dialogue interpreting, suggests that "repetition does not amount simply to saying the same thing over and over again. Each time a word or phrase is repeated, its meaning is changed" (2012: 28). In other words, repeating the same word does not mean repeating the identical meaning. Each time something is uttered, there is a new meaning attributed to the utterance. Cook (in Straniero Sergio 2012: 28) echoes that even in the instance of exact repetition, when the same word is repeated in a sequence, it takes on a new meaning each time, in light of the words spoken before it. Straniero Sergio also refers to Bazzanella, who views the speech act performed by the original utterance differently than the speech act performed by the repeated utterance (*ibid.*). Deborah Tannen makes the same point, that "… each time a word or phrase is repeated, its meaning is altered. The audience reinterprets the meaning of the word or phrase in light of the accretion, juxtaposition, or expansion" (2007: 62).

If the repetition of an utterance changes its meaning, then the function of repetition should be probed. In linguistics, the analysis of repetition includes two groups: "self-repetition" and "other-repetition" (Tannen 2007; Johnstone 1994). In this analysis, only self-repetition is addressed, as the communicative event under investigation is predominantly monologic rather than dialogic. However, it is useful to review the use of repetition in both dialogues and in monologues.

Tannen, who has done extensive research on repetition, investigated repetition as a "meaning-making strategy," especially in dialogic exchanges (2007: 17). She lists

detailed functions of repetition in this joint sensemaking effort under four categories: *production*, *comprehension*, *connection*, and *interaction*. In *production*, the utterer gains time and thinks about what s/he will say next while repeating previous words. In *comprehension*, the listener, in the same way, takes advantage of the repetition to understand the utterer better. Repetition helps increase comprehension. While the utterer gains time to build his or her next discourse (production) and the listener gains time to understand (comprehension), a bridge is built between the discourses that contributes to coherence. That bridge is *connection*. The repetition of some elements of the previous sentence links it to the next one. For example, the interpreter might repeat the subject of the previous sentence (Tannen 2007: 60). The fourth category is *interaction*, where repetition creates a social affinity between the interlocutors by reinforcing the interactional nature of the conversation. Repetition "not only ties parts of discourse to other parts, but it bonds participants to the discourse and to each other" (*ibid.*: 61). These four aspects of repetition contribute to creating interpersonal involvement.

On the other hand, repetition has undeniable functions in monologues as well, which is a concern in this study. Throughout their sermons, preachers repeat their main ideas as a rhetorical device. Judicious repetition, especially of key expressions, is known to be very effective in all forms of public speaking. Even when a speaker with expertise on the topic views it as redundant, repetition is beneficial to an audience encountering the subject for the first time since it helps them to understand and remember the material. By the same token, intentional use of repetition in a sermon has value in facilitating understanding in the target audience. When a preacher uses repetition creatively, he provides a tool for the audience to recognize and retain the main points of the sermon.

In both dialogical and monological cases, repetition is a powerful rhetorical device, especially when it includes word patterns in the form of rhyme, alliteration, anaphora and parallelism "producing emphasis, intensity, clarity, exaggeration and/or making a deeper impression on the audience" (Straniero Sergio 2012: 28). Tannen also concludes that "repetition works both to communicate ideas and to move audiences in oratorical discourse" (Tannen 2007: 90).

The concept of repetition has also been studied in the field of interpreting. Beaton, in her doctoral thesis, used repetition as a unit of analysis. However, in contrast to this present study, her analysis treated lexical repetition as equivalent to reiteration and the collocation of key EU terms, with the aim of illustrating the ideological coherence of

this recurrence in the source texts and how simultaneous interpreters responded to those repetitions (Beaton 2007: 52-3, 110).

4.3.3.1.3. Explicitation by rewording: According to Roman Jakobsón's well-known distinction, rewording is intralingual translation, meaning an interpretation of verbal signs by means of other signs in the same language (Jakobson 1959/2000: 114). Although this study concerns interlingual interpreting, rewording still applies when the interpreter expresses source-text meaning a second time using the same (target) language. From a linguistic perspective, Fairclough's (2003: 89) categorization of semantic relations between sentences and clauses includes "rewording," which is also termed elaboration or exemplification. He notes that while other semantic relations have conjunctions like "because," "in order to," or "if," elaboration does not have to have conjunctions because these semantic relations are not always explicitly marked. Fairclough contends, "the rewording draws upon and evokes the way of structuring the world associated with this discourse, rather than setting up a new relation" (2003: 130). Roda Roberts cites P. Diane Schneider, who describes rewording as an additional skill needed when interpreting in situations of conflict. An interpreter who takes up the role of a conciliator must have the ability to "reword or soften positions taken by parties in conflict when necessary to avoid a breakdown in communication" (Schneider 1992 in Roberts 1997: 14).

In this study, "rewording" is used to describe the interpreter's second expression, spoken to reinforce the meaning of his or her first expression in effort of making it more explicit. It is regarded as a restatement or a rephrasing rather than a paraphrasing, since it does not explain the original utterance but rather expresses it again with different word choices.

4.3.3.2. The interpreter's involvement as an insider

In addition to the strategies of explicitation, utterances that indicate the interpreter's active involvement as an insider are highlighted in the second part of the analysis. This involvement is revealed particularly in the occurrences of non-mediated interaction between the interpreter and one of the primary participants (viz. the speaker or the audience/congregation) and also in the occurrences in which the interpreter assumes roles outside that of an interpreter.

In interpreter-mediated interaction, when the interpreter hears a change in the way a primary participant speaks, s/he may change his or her alignment to adjust to that of the speaker, which is termed a shift of footing (Goffman 1981: 128). When addressed directly by a primary participant, the interpreter departs from speaking in the first person as if s/he were the speaker (a generally accepted norm in interpreting practice) and resorts to a footing shift including her/himself in what is said rather than maintaining the first person singular, voicing the speaker. Interpreters thus change footing during spontaneous interaction that occurs between themselves and the primary parties.

Shifting between footings, the interpreter becomes the voice of the speaker, his or her own voice, and at other times, the voice of the audience, switching linguistic codes in each footing (Mason 2009: 53). Sometimes the interpreter also initiates changes of footing in order to manage the event. Such role shifts are found to be a mark of insidership.

Based on these role shifts, the interpreter's partnering with the preacher is investigated in non-mediated interaction. Furthermore, instances in which institutional language policy is revealed are exemplified. Lastly, utterances that demonstrate the interpreter acting from within and as a co-preacher are analyzed. From all these different angles, the interpreter's involvement is closely investigated.

5. Sermon interpreting in context

In this chapter, special attention is paid to the different characteristics of social settings and the fact that interpreted events should be studied within the setting in which they are embedded and subject to specific social factors, constraints and limitations that affect the act of interpreting and the interpersonal role of the interpreter. In what follows, the practice of sermon interpreting (at the text level) is accounted for as part of a larger communicative event (hypertext) within the institutional setting of the church, which is in turn embedded in a sociocultural context (Pöchhacker 2004: 57, 138).

5.1. Protestant church in Turkey

The description of both the macro and micro contexts is an important aspect of this study. The macro context of Evangelical Protestant churches like the one in focus is set in the socio-political environment of Turkey, which is briefly presented below. The recent history of churches in Turkey is a useful element in understanding the process of institutionalization of the church and Bible translations as a factor influencing this process.

5.1.1. Socio-political environment

Describing the recent historical context of Turkey in relation to the topic of this study allows a better understanding of the larger context. Turkey is a secular, unitary, constitutional republic, with a democratic political system that was established in 1923 under the leadership of Mustafa Kemal Atatürk following the fall of the Ottoman Empire in the aftermath of World War I. The only official language is Turkish, but there are also unofficial minority language groups and ethnic groups, the largest of which is Kurdish.

Turkey is a bridge between Europe and Asia, with most of it lying in Anatolia (in Asia Minor) but the northwest corner lying in the Balkans. Its largest city, Istanbul, straddles the two continents, with the Bosphorus Strait dividing the two. The Black Sea, Aegean Sea, and Mediterranean Sea define its north, west, and southwest borders. Its

European neighbors to the northwest are Greece and Bulgaria, and its Asian neighbors to the east and southeast are Georgia, Armenia, Iran, Iraq, and Syria.

The city of Izmir, Turkey's third largest city with a population of about three million, lies on the west coast along the Aegean Sea. The gateway to the fertile Aegean region, Izmir is one of Turkey's most important manufacturing and port cities. It is also a center of tourism, with its abundance of archeological sites and beach resorts popular among European vacationers. The seven ancient churches written about in the book of Revelation in the Bible are located in the Aegean region.

Concerning religious beliefs, Turkey is the one of the most homogeneous Islamic countries in the world. The Turkish government estimates that 99% of the population is Muslim, including both practicing and nominal Muslims (International Religious Freedom Report for 2013), although other reported estimates vary slightly. The Muslim population consists mostly of Sunnis and Alevis, and those in the East are generally more conservative and traditional while those in the West are more secular and modern. The government officially recognizes only three minority religious communities: Greek Orthodox Christians, Armenian Orthodox Christians, and Jews, although there are a number of other smaller religious minorities.

Turkey is constitutionally a secular country according to Article 2[10] of the 1982 *Constitution*. In a similar vein, according to Article 24,[11] freedom of religion is explicitly guaranteed and everyone is granted the right to practice his or her own belief and conduct acts of worship, religious services, and ceremonies freely. However, while the constitution ensures religious freedom on paper, this is not always upheld in practice. For example, despite the provision in Article 24 that no one shall be forced to reveal his or her religious beliefs, national identity cards denote religious affiliation. Additionally, believers from minority faiths, including Christians, experience persecution such as severe social pressure and even at times physical threats to their safety. According to the "International Religious Freedom Report for 2013" released by the United States Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor, religious minority groups face threats, societal suspicion and discrimination, with Christians (particularly from a Muslim

[10] ARTICLE 2. The Republic of Turkey is a democratic, *secular* and social state governed by the rule of law; bearing in mind the concepts of public peace, national solidarity and justice; respecting human rights; loyal to the nationalism of Atatürk, and based on the fundamental tenets set forth in the Preamble.
[11] ARTICLE 24. Everyone has the right to ***freedom of conscience, religious belief and conviction***. Acts of worship, religious services, and ceremonies shall be conducted freely, provided that they do not violate the provisions of Article 14. No one shall be compelled to worship, or to participate in religious ceremonies and rites, to reveal religious beliefs and convictions, or be blamed or accused because of his religious beliefs and convictions.
Source: http://www.byegm.gov.tr/mevzuat/anayasa/anayasa-ing.htm

background) experiencing harassment and violence from relatives and neighbors. Evangelical churches have also reported significant government interference, including surveillance and arbitrary police action, when engaged in public activities.

The 2014 Human Rights Violation Report, submitted by the Association of Protestant Churches to the Turkish Parliament's Human Rights Commission on the state of religious minorities in Turkey, states that the Protestant community in Turkey has faced discrimination, threats and even hate crimes directed both at church buildings and at individuals (Human Rights Violation Report 2014). The most notable example of physical violence is the 2007 murders of three Protestant Christians in the city of Malatya. To this day, more than eight years after the murders, the court case of the five suspects who were caught at the scene has still not been closed. More recently, the Association of Protestant Churches released a statement in September 2015 that Protestant churches throughout Turkey have been threatened with massacre.[12] These threats were sent to 15 churches within a short period of time using similar text messages, indicating that they were probably systematic threats coming from the same source.

5.1.2. Churches in Turkey

There are a number of historical churches in Turkey, such as Catholic, Orthodox, and Anglican churches. However, in the past few decades, there has been a growth of independent, loosely-affiliated Protestant churches that identify with each other, viewing themselves as part of the same community. In Izmir for example, the pastors of these churches regularly meet together and the churches periodically have special joint prayer and worship services. As mentioned at 2.1, a term used to describe these churches is "Evangelical." The historical churches in Turkey have generally consisted of only expatriates or ethnic minorities living in Turkey, and have been accepted in society as belonging to the non-Turkish communities. However, these newer Evangelical Protestant churches desire to share their message with the wider local population as well. Most of them were started by churches from other countries, but some have also been started by Turkish pastors.

[12] See the report at http://www.protestankiliseler.org/?p=807.

The first of these Evangelical Protestant churches started in Istanbul in the 1960's. In the late 1980's, the pastors of these churches began getting together, and in 2009, they formed an association to represent their common interests, the Association of Protestant Churches, still informally known as "TeK," from its original Turkish name. There are currently 47 churches in TeK, but it is estimated that roughly another 120 churches consider themselves to be part of the same Evangelical community, including those that are not official members. Many of the churches are quite small, with just a handful of believers meeting informally, and 97% were started after the 1980's. TeK estimates that there are approximately 10,000 Christian believers in these churches, which is about 0.01% of the population of Turkey, and about 60% of them are from the indigenous population (webpage of *Protestan Kiliseler Derneği*).

In Izmir, the first of these churches started in the 1970's, and there are currently around a dozen such churches in the city. They have varying theological views and styles of worship, but despite their differences, there is remarkable cooperation and cohesion between them. The pastors meet monthly, and volunteers organize a city-wide prayer meeting or worship service each month for all the churches. They often let other churches use their facilities when needed (e.g., for baptisms or weddings). When one church invites a well-known preacher from another country, they usually invite the other congregations. Although each church holds its own annual conference, they normally join together to organize conferences for particular groups, such as for women, college students, or children. The congregants also see each other at social events such as weddings, and they even have their own annual soccer league, where several churches form teams and compete against each other.

5.1.3. Turkish Bible translation

Both translation and interpreting play important roles in "translating" the Evangelical Protestant church into Turkey. Although the focus of this study is the interpreter's role, a brief account of translation activities is a useful component of the Christian context. A vast amount of Christian material has been translated mostly from English into Turkish, and the Bible, the most important of this translated material, has been translated from Hebrew and Greek.

The first Turkish Bible translation dates back to the Ottoman times, before the Turkish republic. According to the historical account published in *Açıklamalı Kutsal*

Kitap (Turkish Study Bible 2010: x), Sultan Mehmet IV's head translator, Ali Bey, was responsible for the first translation, which was completed in 1666. Although it was never actually printed, it became the basis for subsequent translations, and it is the lineal ancestor of today's Turkish Bible (Privratsky 2013: 17). Ali Bey's translation was written in the Ottoman script, which resembles the Arabic script, although there were also communities in the Ottoman Empire who spoke Turkish but used either the Armenian script or the Greek alphabet. In the 19th century, the Bible was printed in these three different scripts based on Ali Bey's translation.

When the language revolution took place in Turkey (1929), it was necessary to translate the Bible again using the new Turkish alphabet. The work that took place between 1929 and 1941 resulted in the translation that is used today by almost all the churches. In 1987, a special committee (set up by Yeni Yaşam Publications and The Translation Trust) issued a translation of the New Testament under the title *Müjde* ("Good News"), employing modern Turkish. In 2001, the complete Bible (both the Old Testament and New Testament) was printed in modern Turkish for the first time (Privratsky 2013: 88).

As mentioned above, a lot more material than just the Bible has been translated within the institutional context of the church in Turkey. Among this material are books, booklets, leaflets, tracts, and hymns. According to one of the translating institutions that supports and promotes Christian publications in Europe and central Asia, the number of Christian books translated into Turkish is disproportionate to the number of Christians in the country. The large number of titles ranges from theological treatises to Bible studies, from scientific series to daily devotionals, all dealing with biblical issues.

Since the first complete version of the Bible was published by the Bible Society in 2001, there have been several attempts by other translating organizations to produce different versions, launching projects to produce retranslations of the Bible for different reader groups. For example, the United States based World Bible Translation Center (WBTC), which has its own institutional goals and predetermined method of translation, aims to produce "Easy-to-Read Versions" of the Bible for the common reader in the 100 most-spoken languages of the world. These are intended for less literate non-Christians who might be interested in reading the Bible. With these considerations in mind, WBTC published a second version of the New Testament (*Halk Dilinde Incil* 2012) and plans to publish the entire Turkish Bible. This will contribute greatly to these churches being

translated as a whole, since the congregations typically differ in their social makeup, having members from all strata of society, from the uneducated to the well-educated.

5.2. Church service as communicative event

Based on a combination of participant observation, field notes, and informal interviews, the investigated church setting is described here according to Pöchhacker's (1995) "multi-level analytical framework" (3.4.1) in an effort to explore the various aspects of the church service as a communicative event.

5.2.1. Prototypical structure

These churches conduct their Sunday services and various ministry activities either bilingually in English and Turkish or solely in the indigenous language (i.e., Turkish). Most of them have a leadership team whose members take turns preaching.

Some churches that are multilingual, consisting of a mix of locals and foreigners, conduct the service in both Turkish and English with consecutive interpretation from the opening to the closing prayers, including the sermon. Even the hymns are sung in both languages. In these "international" churches, as they are typically referred to, the pastor is generally non-Turkish and prefers leading the service and preaching in English with an interpreter. Other churches conduct their services exclusively monolingually in the local language, either with a local pastor or a non-local who has become competent in Turkish. Some of those churches regularly provide simultaneous interpreting for any non-Turkish speakers, either in whispering mode or often using *bidule* rather than a booth.

In all of these language practices, it is common at most of these churches to have visiting preachers from within or outside the country. These guest speakers preach a sermon in a foreign language, usually English, and a pre-arranged volunteer interprets from English into Turkish, usually consecutively from the pulpit, for non-English speaking congregants. This creates a kind of hypertext for the setting in which the speaker and the audience are not from within the same community but rather where the speaker operates in a conference-like setting.

People may misunderstand each other even when they speak the same language. In an interpreted communicative event, there is a bigger potential for misunderstandings as the two parties have both linguistic and cultural gaps that the interpreter is expected to fill and bridge (Angelelli 2004: 47). In sermon interpreting, the potential gap between the parties, namely the foreign preacher and a mixed local audience, is even greater because it consists of such diverse cultural and linguistic elements as well as diverse religious backgrounds. In addition, sermon interpreters often have to cope with challenging source material. The Bible is replete with allegorical language, and religious discourse consists of concepts that can be experienced and explained on multiple levels (cf. Richey 2003: 56). These make the task of the interpreter highly complex. When the preacher refers to an Old Testament story, and the interpreter knows that the local audience is not familiar with it, s/he may take the initiative to quickly give a brief account of the Old Testament story. For example, if the preacher makes mention of Potiphar's wife, the interpreter might quickly explain the story of Joseph the patriarch in the Old Testament (Genesis 39).

In contrast to preachers from traditional churches, preachers at these newer Evangelical churches rarely utilize written texts (see 3.4.3). Some may employ written notes, but they aim to deliver them in a preaching style (cf. Pöchhacker 2004: 138). The underlying reason for this norm appears to be their theological orientation. Specifically, instead of rigidly following a prepared sermon, they wish to remain open to the movement of the Holy Spirit in case God would lead them to preach something other than what they had prepared in advance. This outward manifestation of the preacher's ideology influences the sociolinguistic norms of these particular communities. Since the intended effect and function of a sermon is to convince the audience, the preacher typically employs various linguistic devices to this end, such as lexical repetition or affective intonation. As previously mentioned (2.2.2), the sermon is delivered in short segments for interpretation, typically ranging from a phrase up to two sentences. Interpreting a sermon is thus done in short consecutive mode, which presumably serves to hold the audience's interest and enthusiasm, keeping them engaged in the speaker's discourse.

The interpreter functions within the expectation of abiding by the norms of preaching, in order to deliver the same spiritual impact on the target audience as that intended by the preacher with his English source text (6.1.3.1). Therefore, the

interpreter never takes notes, so as not to negatively impact the sermon's delivery, which s/he shares with the preacher.

Although sermons typically occur monologically, from time to time the congregation is given the opportunity to respond to the preacher. However, these responses generally do not take the form of answering real questions. Sometimes during consecutively interpreted sermons, when the speaker addresses questions to the audience, some overlaps inevitably occur because the English speakers eagerly answer in English, not remembering first to wait for the interpreter to convey the question in Turkish or vice versa. This is a typical situation for monolingual conversational events, but if the communicative event is being interpreted and primary interlocutors all speak at the same time, it makes the interpreter's job even more difficult. Roy describes these turn-taking problems and explains that overlaps should be viewed as a natural flow of talk rather than interruptions (2000: 83-4). What is different here is that although this is not a conversational situation, source language speakers (both the speaker and the English speaking audience) interact with each other forgetting the interpreter and the target culture audience. A very typical example would be applauding an idea or thought before it is interpreted, in which case the interpreter has to pause since his or her voice cannot be heard above the noise, and the target culture audience is confused trying to make sense of all the clapping and cheering. A similar effect is noted by Musyoka and Karanja in sermons interpreted from Kamba to English in a Kenyan Pentecostal church (2014: 203).

5.2.2. Constellation of interaction

Typically, the same minister does not preach every Sunday. There are other preachers from within the congregation; these may be church elders or members who feel called to or have a gift for preaching. Also, as mentioned above, guest preachers from different traditions and cultures preach as keynote speakers, particularly for special events. For example, well-known international preachers such as Heidi Baker, Mark Driscoll, and Ravi Zacharias have preached in Turkey with consecutive interpretation.

According to Roy's classification, in such a single-speaker discourse event, the preacher chooses the topic(s), does most of the speaking within the time frame given, and decides whose and what questions, if any, will be answered (2000: 44). Therefore, this type of interpreted event is defined as a single-speaker interpreted event, contrary to

conversational events, which are reciprocal interactions where an exchange of talk occurs between co-interlocutors through an interpreter. In this particular type of single-speaker interpreted event, the speaker is a preacher who delivers a divine message within a sermon as a particular genre of discourse (3.4.3). Unless there is an interpreter to stand and work alongside the preacher, his sermon cannot get across to the entire congregation, but just to a few English-speaking foreigners and locals in the congregation who would be able to understand his message without interpretation.

According to Holz-Mänttäri's distinction between initiator and commissioner of translation services, in this event the commissioner is the church leader who requests the interpreter to produce a target text for the addressees, while the preacher is the initiator who "actually needs the target text" in order to convey his message (in Nord 1997: 20). One of these two agents, either the church leader or the preacher, commissions the interpreter.

Generally speaking, the interpreter is given details about "the purpose, addressees, time, place, occasion, and medium of the intended communication and the function the text is intended to have" (Nord 1997: 30). In the church setting, the volunteer interpreter is not informed about those details every time because s/he is assumed to know the *communicative purpose* of the sermon both from previous experience and accepted norms. However, sometimes shortly before the sermon, the interpreter receives practical information such as the identity of the preacher, where he comes from if he is a guest speaker, and what Bible passages he will be using.

In these settings, the interpreters typically volunteer without charging for their service, viewing it as their "ministry" to the church body of which they are congregational participants. For some special occasions with long consecutive interpreting sessions, the interpreters are offered monetary gratuities in recognition of their service.

As participant members of the church community, church interpreters typically work on a rotating schedule, but sometimes are also asked to serve without advance notice. As explained above, if the preacher is a guest speaker, the interpreter is introduced to him by the church leader shortly before the service begins. At other times, the interpreter might receive a draft text or an outline of the sermon to be interpreted, if available at all, just a few minutes before the actual performance. However, it sometimes happens that the interpreters are expected to interpret on the spot with no advance preparation or source text at all (for a similar practice in Gambian churches cf.

Karlik 2010: 170). The interpreter volunteers her/himself to aid the delivery of the "message" because it is of importance for his or her own belief system, i.e., his or her ideology. This is a mission more than a commission for these self-committed interpreters.

The interpreters, just like the regular audience and the speaker, are all insiders. Normally, in professional contexts, an interpreter walks into a conference event or an organization. The first day of every interpreting job is like the first day at a work place. It takes time to adapt, get to know the environment, identify with the identity of the institution. This happens to only a limited extent, because freelance assignments are typically short, lasting from one day to a couple of days, or at most a couple of weeks. In the context of the church, interpreters are working with people with whom they share a common unique identity, much like in-house interpreters within large corporations or international organizations like the UN or EU.

At a typical church service the regular and guest attendees have a variety of backgrounds and interests, resulting in a non-homogenous audience. Even when looking only at regular attendees in the congregation of a church service in a Muslim country like Turkey, there is an extremely wide range of nationalities, with both expatriate Christians and local believers gathering to worship together. Among the expatriate community *per se* there is a great variety of nationalities, and among local believers a dual ethnicity also exists with both Turkish and Kurdish backgrounds present, in addition to some other smaller ethnic groups. Additionally there are varying levels of social positions; meaning that essentially the only shared commonality among the members of the community is their faith. Lastly, the audience is not comprised solely of Evangelical Christians, as non-Christian visitors also attend.

Neither the source culture nor the target culture in this context is easy to describe. There is hardly any parallelism between the source and target cultures since Christian culture is quite different from Islamic culture. It is difficult to talk about either a source or a target paraculture. This kind of mixed group, which has norms, rules, and conventions in common that are valid only within that group, in a society may be termed a diaculture (Nord 1997: 24). In the situation described above, Christianity would be a meta-culture for both the source and target cultures in which Americans, Europeans, Latin Americans, Middle and Far Easterners are involved alongside the indigenous Turkish majority.

At a church service, the audience's role outwardly seems passive even though the speaker may actively aim to elicit verbal or non-verbal responses to his (non-)rhetorical questions. On one hand, the interpreter's role could also be viewed as non-active/passive since s/he is not responding to the message either. On the other hand, the interpreter in fact plays quite an active role in that s/he makes sense of the message, processes it and then re-expresses the meaning in the target language according to the target cultural norms, in order to include the audience in the communicative event (Roy 2000: 45). Therefore, all participants within this communicative act, including the interpreter and the audience as well as the preacher himself, co-construct the message through the interaction as propounded by Wadensjö (1998) on the basis of Bakhtin's theory of dialogism in communication (Diriker 2004: 23).

According to Richey, preaching across denominational lines most likely leads to "the cross-pollination of ideologies and to greater cohesion as a society from a religious perspective" (2003: 59). The manner in which these churches accept people from all types of backgrounds confirms her claim. In these churches, individuals come from various social classes, education levels, and professions, encompass all age groups, and have a range of political ideologies. In spite of the disparities between the members, the biblical principle of acceptance and tolerance taught in most of the sermons prevails upon them to accept each other no matter how different they all are. For this reason, membership in this community overrides other status markers (Boxer 2002: 132).

Turkish Evangelical churches comprise a speech community characterized by unique interaction and exhibiting some distinctive aspects that distinguish them from other communities. One of these defining aspects is that the interactions generally occur "in the form of one-many dialogue, or *face*-to-*faces* rather than face-to-face" (Boxer 2002: 132). In a religious community, where communication predominantly consists of spiritual messages, participants co-construct the interaction based on shared norms of interaction in that domain. Boxer suggests that these speech behaviors are not interactional, but rather "transactional, characterized by one speaker speaking to either the congregation or, as in prayer, speaking directly to a higher power" (2002: 131-2). The permission to address the audience depends again on the ideological norms of each denomination, ranging from less structured to more liturgical churches. In non-traditional churches like the ones under study here, while pastors preach sermons to a congregation, members of the congregation are also encouraged to be open for divine revelations. In that way, they can also contribute to both human and divine

communication, bringing a spiritual message across to the congregation, thus serving as co-constructors of the interaction. This is done through various linguistic devices; for example, a congregant can state that s/he has a strong feeling or has been led to share something, or it could be a prophetic word or a vision that one feels compelled to share during a meeting. These are instances in which an interpreter should be available to interpret on the spot without prior notice in a multi-cultural and multi-lingual congregation. Such spontaneous "spirit-led" situations "indicate divine agency to the group," including the interpreter as a participant of it (Boxer 2002: 128).

Following this description of the communicative event as a situated social practice within the broader socio-political context, a specific setting is introduced below so as to take a closer look at the dynamics of the interpreting practice in this context.

5.3. Institutionalization: The case of Smyrna Church

Smyrna Church is an Evangelical Protestant church in Izmir, Turkey. It was launched in 1994 by two pastors – an American and a German, both of whom spoke English, and little Turkish. The services were conducted in English for about the first two years. In an informal interview, the founding pastor of the church said that it was called "International Church" then because it was easier to begin that way with resident non-Turkish Christians, since there were only a few Turkish Christians in the city in the early 1990's. Then, in 1997, the church started conducting its Sunday services with consecutive interpretation from the front, with English being the L1 language for a number of years. In 2007, the church switched to services in Turkish as the L1 language with simultaneous interpreting into English. The congregation has always consisted of both English and Turkish speakers, and there are now about the same number of each. Most of the non-Turkish members, including all the non-Turkish church leaders, have acquired a good command of Turkish over time as they have lived in Turkey. Some of them, such as some Brazilian and Korean members, do not speak English at all. The church always intended to use Turkish as its primary language. For eight years now, the services have been conducted entirely in Turkish, either by Turkish-speaking foreigners or by Turkish leaders. Consequently, the services are no longer regularly consecutively interpreted from the front; instead, they are simultaneously interpreted into English for the few English speakers who do not understand Turkish. The equipment used (*bidule*)

is very basic, with the interpreter speaking into a microphone while the non-Turkish speaking audience listens through headsets that are connected to the microphone by cables. The interpreter has no headset for audio input but rather sits in one of the regular seats and hears the preacher as the audience does directly from the loudspeakers that transmit the sound to the congregation. There is no booth for simultaneous interpreting in the building.

The exception to this system is when there is a visiting, English-speaking preacher, in which case consecutive interpreting is still practiced from the front. In the consecutive mode, the source speech segments are generally short, and the interpreters never use note-taking. My observation is that since these voluntary interpreters are neither trained nor professional, they are not acquainted with the concept of note-taking, let alone its techniques. The short consecutive mode does not necessitate it anyway.

This short description of Smyrna Church indicates that it is an evolving institution. Many endeavors compose the elements that together make the church one large social institution. While there are various factors impacting the process, the emphasis here is on how translation and especially interpreting have impacted the construction of the church as an institution in a new physical environment and an unfamiliar culture. The language and interpreting policy explained above and summarized in Figure 2 is indicative of some preliminary translational norms. The progression of the policies regarding which part of the event is interpreted, when it is interpreted, and the choice of interpreting modes reveals the institutional authorities. What governed these decisions is significant in understanding the role of interpreters in the institutionalization of the church.

<table>
<tr><th>Year</th><th>Language of Service</th></tr>
<tr><td>1994
1995
1996</td><td>The church launch,
in English</td></tr>
<tr><td>1997
1998
1999
2000
2001
2002
2003
2004
2005
2006</td><td>A bilingual service
in English and Turkish,
with consecutive mode</td></tr>
<tr><td>2007
2008
2009
2010
2011
2012
2013
2014
2015</td><td>Service in Turkish
with simultaneous
intepreting into English
(occasional guest speakers
preaching in English with
consecutive interpreting)</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 2. Chronology of Smyrna Church's language policy

The founding pastor confirmed that the goal and vision of the church has never been to be an international church, but rather to be a local church open for all residents. The church grew from about 10 percent local and 90 percent non-Turkish members at the beginning to its current balanced composition. The goal has always been to establish a multicultural yet predominantly and distinctively Turkish church under local leadership – to remove the cultural barriers between the church and the local Turkish population – and conducting services in Turkish was a big part of that. Consequently, interpreters had a vital role not only in transitioning to the use of Turkish, but also in bridging the cultural differences.

With the aim of establishing a new set of beliefs in a foreign environment, these two pastors started with the language available to them (English). The American pastor and the English-speaking German pastor came together with a few English-speaking expatriate Christians on an ideological basis. However, as soon as non-English-speaking members started to join, the language policy was altered to accommodate the need, since this was within the scope of the overall objective of the institution. As more members joined them, both from abroad and from the local population, the service was conducted bilingually using consecutive interpreting to meet the needs of the congregation and to lay the foundation for the transition of the institution.

In 2007, recognizing that the institution was ready to move forward after 13 years of continued growth in Turkish membership, it switched from a bilingual service with consecutive interpreting to a service only in Turkish as the L1 language, while still offering simultaneous interpreting into English so as not to disregard the needs of the non-Turkish members. By conducting the service in Turkish, it took on a distinctively Turkish character. Turkish members felt more at home and could engage in the service at a deeper level without the segmenting of the communications between a foreign language and Turkish. This served the leaders' vision of establishing a local Turkish church.

The church continued to use simultaneous interpreting into English for two reasons. First, some of the English-speaking foreigners came to Turkey specifically to join in the vision of establishing a Turkish church, but they needed interpreting while learning Turkish. In that sense, offering English interpretation actually contributed to the vision. Second, providing simultaneous interpreting allowed the church to realize its vision of becoming a truly multi-cultural local community. Rather than disregarding its foreign members (i.e., non-Turkish-speaking residents who are typically immigrants, refugees or students), the church values them and views them as an important part of the congregation. Indeed, the same Christian ideology that claims the church should transcend cultural barriers, which first compelled the pastors to plant a church in a foreign culture, also compels the local Turkish church to embrace expatriates among them.

However, moving away from consecutive interpreting to simultaneous interpreting was a strategic policy shift, which contributed to the institutional objective. In doing so, Turkish-speaking locals could more comfortably and naturally attend the church because it would not feel as inherently "foreign" to them. In other words, the church became an essentially Turkish institution, friendly to foreigners, instead of a foreign, expatriate institution that welcomed Turks.

The ideological implication of the church's primary language policy is more noticeable when the church invites guest speakers who preach in English rather than Turkish. On such occasions, the interpreting mode changes from simultaneous to consecutive mainly for two reasons. First, it serves the prevailing church policy to be self-sustaining and to prioritize the needs of local attendees. Turkish remains the primary language of the service, while ensuring that everyone has access to the English-language sermon without requiring headsets. Second, and again in line with the

language policy, there are not even enough headsets for all those who would require Turkish interpretation. Because Turkish is prioritized over English, additional headsets have not been acquired. Clearly, interpreting has been designed to maintain Turkish as the primary language.

As can be seen in Figure 2, the language and interpreting policy follows a progression reflecting the institutionalization process of the church, which seems to contain four stages. In the first stage, the church service is an international environment with non-local participants. In stage two, the setting becomes an intra-social community with the participation of local members, during which interpreting is provided in consecutive mode. The church is currently in stage three, where the service is conducted predominantly in the local language with interpreting for non-local members in simultaneous mode. The goal is to progress to the final stage, where the church can function with no need for interpreting. This entire progression constitutes the complete translation of the institution.

5.4. A typical Sunday church service

Smyrna Church, like most churches, meets on Sundays. A typical Sunday starts in the morning with a pastor-led Bible study at the ministry center (a nearby office building) for whoever would like to attend. Once a month, the members of the church gather before the main service to have breakfast together. An hour before the service begins, there is a short prayer meeting, open to all. The service begins at 2:00 pm.

Church members take turns serving in various voluntary capacities before and during the service, arriving about an hour early to prepare. Some set up the sound system, projector, and interpreting system; a music group practices the worship songs and some prepare refreshments and greet and serve people as they arrive.

A moderator opens the service in prayer and greets the congregation. The moderator also manages the transitions between various parts of the service. S/he welcomes first-time visitors and invites them to fill out visitors' cards located on the back of the pews with their contact information, if they would like the church to contact them later. The service consists of two main parts: a time of worship (singing songs and hymns to God) and a sermon. After the moderator opens the service, the worship team (musicians and singers led by a designated worship leader) leads the congregation in

singing spiritual songs for about 30-45 minutes. Typical instruments include guitars, a piano, drums and sometimes a violin. Lyrics are projected on a screen so that the congregation can sing along. The songs are either English songs (both traditional and modern) that have been translated into Turkish or original Turkish songs composed by local believers. Many of the songs have lyrics taken directly from the Bible, especially from the book of Psalms. The worship leader usually introduces each song. Sometimes, between songs, a worship team member or a person in the congregation prays out loud for everyone to hear. If the prayer is not audible, someone takes a microphone to that person so the congregation (including the interpreter) can hear. When this happens, the worship leader waits for the prayer to finish before resuming the worship service. The interpreter normally interprets such prayers in simultaneous mode, but does not interpret the songs.

After the worship service, the moderator makes announcements and calls on two designated volunteers to take the offering (donations). The moderator explains that the offering is an opportunity for members of the church to voluntarily donate and that visitors are not expected to give. One of the volunteers then prays for the offering, and they pass around two small wooden boxes for donations.

The moderator then introduces the preacher, who is usually one of the pastors, but is sometimes a visiting preacher or another trusted member of the church, including local believers trained to preach by the church leaders. The length of the sermon varies depending on who is preaching, whether he is a visiting preacher (special guest), and whether the sermon is interpreted consecutively or not. Simultaneously, volunteers lead Sunday School (Bible lessons for the children) in a different room. Finally, the moderator closes the service with a prayer and invites whoever wants to receive personal prayer to come to the front, where designated members (the prayer team) will pray for them while the pianist plays softly.

After the service, volunteers serve tea and refreshments, and people typically linger for “fellowship” – a term used for socializing or interacting with each other, with the connotation of deep interaction resulting from sharing the same spiritual identity. After that, many people go out to a local restaurant to spend more time together.

Once a month during the church service, the congregation observes the sacrament (a physical representation of a spiritual reality) of the Lord’s Supper (sometimes called “holy communion”), a ritual also practiced in the early church. Christians remember Jesus’ death by eating bread and drinking wine together. The bread and the wine

represent Jesus' body and blood, and the practice symbolizes believers' willingness to identify with Jesus' suffering and the unity among the members of the church.

Occasionally, after someone becomes a new Christian, the church holds a baptism service at a different location where water is available. Baptism is another sacrament recorded in the Bible where new believers are immersed in water as an expression and symbol of their new faith.

This description of a typical Sunday service at Smyrna Church completes the comprehensive account of the context in which the sermon interpreting is embedded. This context comprises the macrostructural level of the larger socio-political context as well as the institutional level of Evangelical churches in which the communicative event occurs. At the textual level, the context comprises the microstructure of the constellation of interaction at the hypertextual level of the church service as a communicative event.

This account of the multi-layered context allows an analysis of the communicative event with its "institutional constraints and functional concerns at the hypertext level that shape the interpreter's task and actions" (Pöchhacker 2005: 690). Based on this description which provided specific preliminary norms (5.3), the following part of this study explores the ways in which the interpreter plays or is expected to play his or her role under the influence of institutional ideology, specifically expectancy norms (Chapters 6) and how the interpreter fulfills his or her role, specifically process norms, i.e., whether the interpreter takes account of those expectancy norms (Chapter 7).

6. Expectations and role perceptions

Following the in-depth description of the context, based on ethnographic research consisting of participant observation, field notes and informal interviews, this chapter now explores the issues regarding the interpreter's role in this particular religious context. This includes expectancy norms relating to both the degree of the interpreter's involvement in institutional interpreter-mediated communication and how interpreters in this institution position themselves. To this end, a rich set of data includes formal interviews with commissioners and preachers (6.1) and with sermon interpreters (6.2), supplemented by questionnaires given to church leaders, long-term church members, and the interpreters themselves (6.3). Each data collection method is described regarding its purpose, design and participants, followed by discussions of the results. The findings of each set of data in this chapter are triangulated in the next chapter with the analysis of transcribed texts of audio and video recorded sermons.

6.1. Interviews with pastors and preachers

6.1.1. Purpose and design

The purpose of these semi-structured interviews was to ascertain the institutional expectancy norms surrounding the interpreter's performance in interpreting a sermon.[13] In relation to expectancy norms in such repeated events, van Dijk shows that opinions are not derived just from a particular instance, but from a cumulative experience:

> Particular personal opinions applying to one event will, however, often be derived from, or be applied relative to general and socially shared opinions. As soon as social communication and interaction is at stake, such social opinions become crucial for reasonable and acceptable discourses and actions displaying such opinions: these may make our personal opinions valid and legitimate. (van Dijk 1995: 122-3)

[13] These interviews were conducted as a pilot study and the results were reported in Balcı (2008).

For these qualitative interviews, 18 participants were selected for their expertise and experience. All except two were church leaders in Turkey who could be considered institutional commissioners of interpreting in their churches. The other two were church leaders in their own countries who regularly visited Turkish churches and had extensive preaching experience in Turkey. The 16 were thought to be the most informative participants because they represented the largest Evangelical churches in the country. All these interviewees are fluent or native English speakers, which allowed me to conduct the interviews in English.

Although quantitative analysis is not applied due to the descriptive and exploratory nature of this method, the number of interviews, based on the researcher's judgment, turns out to be almost sufficient for a quantitative study. This provides the study with rich material for the unexplored church context under investigation. Out of these, the most important and meaningful parts are extracted. Patterns and general tendencies that lead to expectancy norms in particular are sought. The interviewees were asked mainly the following questions, but opportunities were given for spontaneous comments on the issues which came out during the conversation.

1. What is your role at church?
2. How long have you been a pastor/preacher?
3. (If they were foreigners) Do you preach / Have you ever preached in English to be interpreted from the pulpit?
4. (If they were locals) Do you have preachers come and preach in English to be interpreted from the pulpit at your church?
5. What has your experience been working with interpreters?
6. What qualities do you look for in your interpreters?
7. Would you allow a non-Christian to interpret a sermon?
8. (If the answer was no) Why not?
9. Would you still not allow a non-Christian to interpret a sermon in the event that there is no Christian interpreter capable of doing it properly?
10. Would you prefer a non-Christian interpreter with good language skills (English and Turkish) or a Christian who has poor language skills?
11. What would your reservations be if you were to use a non-Christian interpreter?
12. Is there a role that can be attributed to the interpreter apart from just linguistically conveying what is said?

13. Based on your description of the interpreter, do you think interpreters can be thought of co-preaching / co-preachers?

6.1.2. Administration and participants

The corpus consists of 18 interviews in total. All the interviewees were male, including 6 Americans, 2 Britons, 1 Canadian, 1 Latin American, 1 German, 1 Austrian, and 6 native Turks. Amongst them there are 7 pastors, 6 preachers, 3 Bible teachers, and 2 non-resident guest preachers (one from Austria and one from the U.S.). Their ages vary between 31 and 65. The 16 interviewees who may be regarded as commissioners are from various churches in Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir: the three biggest cities where the majority of Protestant churches are located in Turkey. In addition, nine of them function as interpreters as well.

All interviews were audio recorded and fully transcribed orthographically for analysis. They will be referred to as R1 - R18 (Respondents 1-18). The interviews took approximately 15 minutes each. The first two of them were shorter than 10 minutes and served as pilots. Only one of them lasted 24 minutes due to the interviewee's extensive experience and engagement as a pastor for 24 years in Turkey; he had both interpreted himself on many different occasions as well as witnessed many interpretations of sermons in his church.

6.1.3. Data analysis

By asking the interviewees what qualities they look for in interpreters, the questions sought to identify some expectancy norms comprised by the expectations of commissioners of interpreting who are also users as preachers. As a component of expectancy norms, a translation should meet the expectations of the commissioner (in this case, the church as an institution), receivers (end-users in the congregation, i.e., congregants), and also other parties involved, among whom a guest preacher may be viewed as a client. In this case, the interviewees are both commissioners (except the two guest preachers) and source-text producers, and 6 of them (the native speakers of Turkish) are also interpreters.

Two categories of expectancy norms emerged from the respondents' answers: expectations placed on the preachers and expectations placed on interpreters.

Interestingly R4 stated that “the qualities that you look for in a preacher, you would also kind of look for in an interpreter.”

This being the case, the data from the interviews is used to shed light on institutional expectancy norms in relation to the preacher’s production of the sermon source text, since the expectations on the interpreter can only be understood in relation to that.

6.1.3.1. Expectancy norms in relation to preaching

Factors mentioned in the interviews relevant to preaching norms emerge from the interviews, as seen below in 6.1.3.2 in quotations. This may be compared with what we have seen in relation to sermons as a genre. On the whole, the views of preaching expressed during these interviews closely echo those expressed by the highly regarded Evangelical preachers, Dr. Martyn Lloyd-Jones and Rev. John Stott (see 3.4.2).

Additional expectations placed on preachers in this particular setting reflect the sensitive nature of the cross-cultural communication they are involved in. For this reason, the expectations placed on the preacher are of direct and particular relevance to the investigation of the role of the interpreter in this setting. Both Turkish and expatriate pastors who are planting or leading a church are very sensitive to local issues such as the security of Christians in a Muslim country, as well as the presence of believers from other faiths, having lifestyle and mores influenced by other faiths, such that it amounts to an institutional preaching norm. However, the churches are open to receiving guest speakers from other churches or countries. These speakers are expected to be similarly sensitive to the context of the congregation-audience in terms of the theological orientation of the church and any sensitive issues, but occasionally something said by a visiting preacher may sound strange or even offensive, especially to a non-Christian present in the audience. This kind of misunderstanding can have significant consequences, especially in a country where security is an issue. R17 states, “Normally the preacher should be aware of the culture when he comes to a culture, at least a little bit, but I know there are very strange cultural differences which sometimes are very big.” In instances like these, the interpreter can intervene for the sake of preventing awkwardness and misunderstanding, and they can justify this intervention since it is a matter of protecting the institutional ideology of preaching and not just because of their personal preference. Such intervention by the interpreter to maintain the preaching norm of cultural sensitivity when it is broken by the preacher is dealt with below (6.1.3.10).

6.1.3.2. Expectancy norms in relation to sermon interpreting

All the respondents pointed to language skills such as fluency in both the source and target languages, and stated that they preferred interpreters to interpret into their mother tongue, keeping a good pace with the speaker without spoiling the flow of an enthusiastic preacher. Also, as one would expect, faithfulness to the source text, thoroughness in rendering the text and clarity in presentation were among the qualities expected of an interpreter, just as in other settings.

However, this section deals in particular with the distinctive expectancy norms that were extracted from the statements in the interviews. What is meant by distinctive norms is the norms peculiar to the church setting; that is, the context-bound norms stemming from the ideology embedded in this context and the repeated nature of the events. Based on the transcribed interviews, the following issues are identified below: Christian terminology (6.1.3.3), the interpreters from within (6.1.3.4), and the functionality of a sermon and its interpreter-mediated counterpart (6.1.3.5). The issue of using non-Christian interpreters (eligibility) is addressed further (6.1.3.6) as well as the issue of trust (6.1.3.7) and control mechanism (6.1.3.8) followed by a discussion on ideology-bound reservations over a non-Christian interpreter (6.1.3.9). The last discussion is on whether sermon interpreters are regarded as co-preachers (6.1.3.10). Based on the interviewees' answers, thematic connections are made in line with the research questions.

The term *norm* is considered entirely appropriate here, because this group of interpreting commissioners (plus the two visiting preachers) is found to share similar ideas about the qualities required of interpreters working in a church setting, and their preferences in selecting interpreters for sermons were very much guided by these ideas. As a component of expectancy norms, a translation should meet the expectations of commissioners and also of the client (if different from the commissioner), as well as end-users. In this case, the interviewees are both commissioners and the source-text producers.

R17, who is also an interpreter, said that he looks also for communication skills in an interpreter. He advocates the interpreters' echoing or emulating the speaker, to the extent of appearing to be the speaker:

> As an interpreter, I do not disturb the flow of the message by putting comments on it or anything, but I would speak as if I would be him or her who is speaking originally. So I am speaking on his behalf. When I am interpreting, I am not myself.

6.1.3.3. Christian terminology

One of the main qualities on which all the respondents put special emphasis is a good knowledge of Christian terminology and spiritual concepts as well as a working knowledge of the Bible. This is almost the first thing that all the respondents listed in terms of the qualities of a sermon interpreter.

R3 believes that it is very hard for a non-Christian to master Christian terminology unless they are exposed to the Bible and a Christian community for an extensive period of time. Without this experience, even if s/he studies the terminology, s/he would miss something. If a non-believer interprets, then something will be lacking and nuances will be lost. "There almost has to be an element of participation and belief involved. You have to be connecting to what is being said to communicate it with any degree of enthusiasm." R5 also believes that non-Christians are not likely to know Christian terminology: "They would at least not know it accurately."

All the respondents share very similar opinions about a specialized field knowledge of Christian terminology: that it is a quality of paramount importance for the interpreter to acquire. This does not come as a surprise because the interpreter is expected to know the special terminology of any field they will be interpreting in. However, the expectations by the respondents concerning the manner in which the interpreter should acquire this knowledge are of interest for this study. In what follows, the responses regarding the explicit preferences of interviewees for interpreters who would meet the above-described expectations are discussed.

6.1.3.4. The interpreter from "within"

As previously depicted, in church settings where sermons are interpreted, volunteer interpreters are typically church members. The commissioners of interpreting and preachers interviewed were asked if they would allow non-Christians to interpret sermons. Their responses given below demonstrate how their expectations concerning the interpreter's performance and their perception of his or her role are under the influence of their ideology, namely their belief system.

Interpreting from "within" is explained by one of the Bible teachers (R6) in this way: what he looks for is that interpreters get "in the zone." He states:

> It doesn't go through their brain, they're just in tune with what the person is saying and really are able to get what I would call "in the zone" with what they're saying. They really reflect both in terms of their speech and in terms of their body language … communicating what the speaker is trying to get across. So we're looking at a dynamic equivalent really. Interpreters should not interpret everything word-for-word but conceptually.

When asked if a non-Christian could achieve this, he further elaborated:

> I mean in theory it would be possible. I think it's difficult for a non-Christian to catch certain concepts; certain concepts are just very strange. They're hard to understand, there's a special terminology involved that doesn't necessarily translate. And if you're talking, even, I think theological terms don't necessarily translate from a Christian worldview to a Muslim worldview, a Buddhist worldview or some other worldview. Some concepts or even the word "salvation." Salvation from what? Atonement, what does that mean? Does that even exist in the other worldview? I think a non-Christian would have a hard time coming up with the appropriate terminology in their mother tongue, if the terminology even exists in that language. If it doesn't exist in that language, they have to give an explanation. And that's very hard to do when you're not working out of the worldview yourself.

R14 put forward as a prerequisite that the person has to be a Christian and have a good understanding of the Bible in order to interpret a sermon. He said it is a key factor in delivering a good translation to the audience. According to him, the interpreter needs not only the right terminology but also a Christian mindset or way of thinking, otherwise it is impossible to interpret all the Christian concepts that are understood only from the inside.

R9 contends that non-Christians do not understand the correct Christian terminology. R5 coins the term "biblically literate" to explain that one needs to be literate in modern Turkish biblical terminology, which is not the case even with

interpreters from amongst new believers. For this reason, it is difficult to expect a non-Christian interpreter to be biblically literate and have the necessary knowledge of this very specialized terminology.

These examples demonstrate that the tendency of users is towards preferring interpreters who would work from within their own religious ideology. The users who seemed to have many expectations on the interpreters realize that only those who work from their ideological perspective can fulfill those expectations. Below, more elements influencing their expectations and how a sermon functions under this influence are presented.

6.1.3.5. Functionality of sermons and of an interpreter-mediated sermon

Apart from Christian terminology and concepts, the users are concerned with the functionality of the worship service. As a very important part of that service, a sermon's function is to encourage believers, to convince non-believers and to teach the word of God. To ensure these factors, the interviewees put a very strong emphasis on the spiritual aspect of the sermon since it can only function under divine authority. The preacher is considered to be a mediator between God and the believers of that congregation.

Sermons, functioning at the spiritual level, have emotional as well as biblical and pastoral dimensions. According to R12, "a spiritual message is more than just … words, and so the atmosphere that you create or the spirit in which you operate is important."

Most of the respondents described sermons as a "heart-to-heart" issue. R17 defines the gospel as "a heart-to-heart communication more than mind-to-mind," and he says, "a sermon is not a speech. A sermon is communicating a message and there you have to also know the things from your heart." Due to the highly appreciated spiritual dimension of the sermon, interpreters are also attributed a spiritual duty as well as an intellectual one. R17 describes the role of the interpreter in a sermon as "involvement not only with the head and the mind but also with the heart." He continues:

> It's involving mind and heart. And as we say, if a preacher is a communicator, he will always give some reasons for the **mind** and some pictures for the **heart**, and somebody who does not understand the Christian message from within can translate and transport the reasons for the mind but will never be able to communicate the picture for the **heart**.

In the same vein, R18 describes interpreting a sermon as follows:

> It facilitates the ability for God to speak to a person's **heart** and that message to be carried to a whole new group of people that otherwise would not have that opportunity. I think, although interpreting is a skill that can be developed, I believe that God had supernaturally through the gift of language or tongues [*sic*] in the Book of Acts he knew that interpreters were needed and I don't know if people had studied or were prepared but he made it possible for the interpretation of the message that Peter preached for everyone to hear the message in their own words. So God knows that people need to hear a message in their **heart** language in their mother tongue, and even if they know a second language, it doesn't reach the heart like hearing in your mother language. So that is a huge and critical ministry that multiplies the effectiveness of preachers and the learning and the spiritual growth of other people.

Like R17 and R18, R11 agrees that a sermon is a matter of the heart and what is expected of the interpreter is co-constructing the message not just socially and linguistically but also spiritually: "*There's a translation of heart, not just ideas*." This approach indicates that in the said context, the interpreter is called to a high degree of involvement. Similarly, R4 articulated that, "It's also important for the translator to share with his heart and to act and to be involved in the preaching," and, "The interpreter needs to be **fully involved**, and identify with the message, and so it's a heart-to-heart sharing of the message to the listener." In order for him or her to function as desired in this communicative event, another aspect of the interpreter's involvement is that the interpreter should be convinced her/himself of the message. According to R5, communicating the message is not good enough. The interpreter should be able to communicate the spirit of the message. A non-Christian interpreter cannot communicate the Christian message just like a salesman who is not convinced that his product is worth selling cannot persuade others to buy it. Like these respondents, R12 also thinks that interpreting is a heart issue. By this, he indicates that the heart of the interpreter should be soft so that if the preacher is convicting [a Christian term meaning convincing someone of sin] the believer, the interpreter should also have the same heart that the believer will not feel judged. More strongly put, according to R4, the interpreter should

also stand with his life behind the message. S/he should not just give a literal translation of the message, but a translation proceeding from his or her life and experiences. If s/he does not believe in it, s/he cannot speak it from his or her heart. As can be inferred from this perspective, involvement during the interaction is not enough; the interpreter is expected to reflect the message with who s/he is, just as a preacher should reflect with his life what he preaches.

6.1.3.6. Eligibility

All the interviews included an in-depth discussion about allowing a non-Christian to interpret a sermon. The above analysis has already evidenced that interpreters who are not from within the ideology of the church cannot function as expected in terms of both terminology and communicating the spirit of the message. In this section, the criteria on which the commissioners decide on eligibility of a (non)-Christian interpreter are analyzed.

Meanwhile, it should be noted that what is meant here by a non-Christian does not only indicate a person who does not believe in Christianity but in this context, it denotes a person who is from an Islamic culture, not from a Christian culture. This means that a non-Christian interpreter is very unfamiliar with the biblical context as well as its terminology.

When asked whether they would allow a non-Christian to interpret a sermon in the event that there is no Christian interpreter who can do it, the majority of the respondents (10 out of 18, or 55.5%) answered negatively, that under hardly any condition would they allow a non-Christian to interpret a sermon. R12 said that:

> [t]here's some things … that are spiritually perceived or understood, they may well miss, you know I've experienced this and they've actually missed the points even though the wording was OK, and conversely somebody who may not actually have the words but because they understand where I'm going with the message, they've actually been able to get the essence, the issue across, even though the words have not been very good.

R4 would rather work with a Christian interpreter even if s/he does not have a high level of English proficiency, in which case he would preach in simpler English but make sure

that the interpreter is in the same spirit with him. Otherwise he feels that the interpreted sermon would not affect the audience.

When asked what he would do in case there was an urgent need for an interpreter but there was no Christian interpreter available or capable of interpreting properly, R18 said he would probably assume that God did not want anything said at that time. He is even willing to wait and not preach until he has a Christian interpreter rather than working with a non-believer, and the reason he gives is that the Bible says, "the natural man or the non-Christian man cannot understand the things of God. So if they can't understand them, they can't translate them."[14]

R3 states that there is a spiritual component and an anointing[15] to a sermon, so if the interpreter does not have these, then the interpreting will be lacking:

> It will be deficient because they will not be able to communicate the life or the anointing that goes with that, and so it would be a very mechanical, robotic translation. They would be missing the spiritual aspect, so for that reason I think that the translator should be a believer.

R7, who has worked as a Bible translator for many years, describes the ideal situation for Bible translation. According to him, it should be done by a Christian translator who loves Jesus, has a deep faith as well as a fine spiritual life and who is excellent at language. In the absence of this ideal translator, he would prefer somebody who has good language skills even if the other qualities are not possessed by the person. However, translation has many conveniences in that the written text can be revised and theologically checked whereas the interpreted text gives no chance to go back and change something that has already been uttered. R9 confirms this by saying that even when Christian translators had longer time to think and sources to translate biblical texts, key terms were not always used correctly in the translation of biblical texts. So, in an interpreting situation the non-Christian interpreter will be much less likely to find the correct term. R16 claims that some things are always going to be misunderstood by a non-Christian. In this case, as R17 pointed out, the pastor could have a difficult time

[14] 1 Corinthians 2:14 (NIV)
[15] A Christian term that has many connotations; here anointing "symbolyzed equipment for service, and is associated with the outpouring of the Spirit of God." (Douglas *et al*. 1982: 50)

solving problems that might arise in his congregation if something far out or even heretical were to be spoken by either a guest preacher or an interpreter.

Another large group of respondents consists of those who would allow a non-Christian to interpret only in the event that they prepare beforehand, going over the text to be preached together with the interpreter or in the event that they personally know and trust the interpreter in question. R2 stated:

> If I had to share a sermon and I had one of two choices: a non-Christian who I did not know anything about or a Christian that I knew something about but whose skills were less than adequate I would probably opt for the Christian whose skills were less than adequate and try to fill in the blanks or make my sermon simpler.

6.1.3.7. The issue of trust

When the interpreter is seen as working from "in-between" instead of from "within," it creates a trust issue as to whether the interpreter will work for the Christian ideology or not. For this reason, if there is no Christian interpreter available, then the commissioners are willing to use a non-Christian based on two conditions. They will let him interpret if they personally know the person and trust that s/he will not distort the message purposefully or if they can have some kind of control mechanism.

It seems crucial for the preachers to have some sort of previous communication with the interpreter if they do not trust that s/he will be able to understand their message, which is most likely the case if they are to work with a non-Christian interpreter. R1 and R2 say that they would not have a problem working with a non-Christian interpreter as long as s/he can understand and interpret the content of their messages. When asked how he would ensure this, R2 suggests that he should sit down and go over his sermon with the interpreter beforehand.

Another pastor (R13) underscores the particular nature of the spiritual message and states that he would not let a non-Christian interpreter offer service on the spot without first going over the text with him or her. Then the non-Christian cannot be considered fully qualified for church interpreting because, due to the ideological value placed on being open to God's leading, the nature of the church setting sometimes includes extemporaneous occasions where an interpreter is needed without notice. R11 would ask a non-Christian to interpret only in a crisis. R14 says he would not use a non-believer. If he had to, he would need to know the person very well, how well they knew

the Bible and what they believed. Similarly, R9 would accept service from a non-Christian interpreter only if he trusted him or her, if the interpreter were a friend, but he would not do it with someone he did not know, someone from a professional agency. This would be a last resort.

The only respondent who is more flexible concerning the use of a non-Christian interpreter is R16. This flexibility stems from his overall perception of an interpreter as an actor, playing the role of the speaker, the preacher in our case. He agrees that he needs to trust the non-Christian interpreter whether s/he is a professional or not. Their integrity is important. If R16 trusts the person who has enough language skills to interpret a sermon and if this person is a good actor, then he believes the person could bring across the spirit of the message by acting, even though he is not a Christian. He also takes into account that the acting interpreter could potentially be touched by the sermon and could interpret with feeling because the interpreter is also human with emotions after all.

6.1.3.8. Control mechanism

The respondents who would be inclined to use a non-Christian interpreter if they really had to (particularly R16) would like to have some type of control mechanism. It could work in one of two ways. If the preacher himself is able to understand the target language sufficiently, he could intervene when necessary. Otherwise, if the preacher is non-Turkish-speaking, the respondents would like to have either the pastor or another mature member of the congregation who is be able to linguistically and, most importantly, theologically check the interpreting and intervene when necessary.

Nevertheless, almost all of the interviewees made it clear that they would always prefer a Christian interpreter if there were one with language proficiency and the right personal character traits available. R16 would use a non-Christian interpreter if he had absolutely no other choice. However, he is the only one who would select the interpreter by personal character, not just religious beliefs. He values a humble, trustworthy interpreter over a Christian who is perceived to be arrogant and haughty.

6.1.3.9. Ideology-bound reservations over a non-Christian interpreter

There are considerable differences between people and this difference gets bigger if the participants in communication are from different ages, gender, ethnic or cultural groups, educational backgrounds and nationalities (Scollon *et al.* 2012: 21). For this reason,

communication will be smoother when co-communicators predicate their beliefs, knowledge and ideological assumptions on the same source. R18 clarifies this in the following quote:

> The goal in preaching is not to communicate information. The goal in preaching is to communicate a message from God. And a non-Christian does not have the spirit of God in them so he … does not understand the spiritual concepts. Most of the time they don't have the right vocabulary and even if they have the right vocabulary their explanation and use of the terms … would not be accurate. Also if the interpreter says something that is doctrinally wrong, they [the listeners] think I taught it, and then it ruins the ability … it causes doubt or even rejection of my future messages. When they read the Scripture, they see what it says, they hear what X (himself) said, and it's contradictory, when in fact the problem was not me, the problem was the interpreter. I would avoid that. I highly recommend and would avoid it at all cost. There would be rare exceptions.

Likewise, R11 is afraid that if non-Christian interpreters disagreed with the preacher theologically, they might actually translate according to their own theological beliefs, which would undermine the church ideology. Here comes the issue of loyalty. Both R5 and R10 emphasize its importance, affirming that "the translator needs to be committed to honest translation, meaning to really translate what the person is saying, even if they don't agree with it" (R5).

Guided by their religious ideology, the respondents clearly have distinct expectations of their interpreters as well as reservations that would cause them to avoid using an interpreter who does not share the ideology ingrained in their context. Below, responses to the last question in the interview are discussed as to how far the limits of interpreter involvement can be extended.

6.1.3.10. Interpreter as a co-preacher

Co-preaching is a term conventionally used to denote two or more preachers preaching a sermon collectively, taking turns. Different from this use, in the church interpreting research, the term came to be used to describe the role of the interpreter who is mediating a sermon into another language. It was first introduced by Karlik (2005; see 2.4.2) based on a pastor's description of the interpreter as "my co-preacher." Since then,

the term has been adopted in the subsequent research (Balcı 2008; Shin 2013; Giannoutsou 2014b) into the role of the interpreters in mediating sermons in the church context. After talking in detail about their expectations of the interpreter, the interviewees were asked if they would view the interpreter as a co-preacher. The definition of this concept was left to the respondent so that their responses would also reflect their further perception of interpreters.

R4, R5, R8, R11, R12, R13, R14, R15, and R17 agreed almost immediately that the interpreter could be seen as a co-preacher. R12 said that he considers the interpreter to be equally as important as the preacher and thinks sometimes the interpreter does a better job. R4 also indicates, "We're looking for somebody that [*sic*] his heart will also translate a message to the people. It's like a pastor. If he doesn't believe what he's preaching about, then how can the message affect the people who are listening?" R7, who is also a Bible translator, accepts interpreters as co-preachers because "it's a thing when you're trying to translate the Bible, what you're trying to do is reproduce the effect that Paul had, or Peter had, or Mark or Luke had. You're trying to reproduce that." By the same token, R14 states:

> It is the harder job definitely. Interpreting is not passing knowledge. A sermon is a life-giving message. Interpreters should put that potential into his or her own words with the right intonations, gestures, etc. The preacher can just preach in his own language and then like, you know, pass on what's in his heart and what God gave to him and then you put another person in between, that's why, yes, they are in a sense a co-preacher.

Likewise, R5, while taking it from another perspective:

> My understanding of Christian life is that there is a spiritual dimension to it which only God can give, a certain amount of understanding, you're talking about enlightening people, and enlightening includes the ability to understand it in a different way than, say, an academic person out there might be able to understand the terminology, but they don't understand it at … they don't agree with it, or don't understand it at the heart level. And if a person doesn't agree with it, it's very hard to communicate it. It's a different kind of thing from translating a business message. And there a translator would also have to be somehow able to

> communicate that same enthusiasm and persuasion. The same thing is true, or far more so, with a sermon because it's something, you know, "I believe, and therefore, I speak." So if you don't believe it, and you're trying to translate it, you might be able to say the same words in the language, but there's something lost.

Apart from this, a strong emphasis is put on the expressive style of the sermon as a performance, including the preacher's excitement, passion, enthusiasm, intonation, body language and gestures. The non-verbal expression of a sermon is expected from the interpreter as well. R7 says that:

> A Christian message is not bound to be words only, it's got to be spirit … if the preacher is excited, and full of passion, and … you translate like this, like a robot, standing beside him, this is not going to help the preacher. You have to enter into the spirit of the sermon that is being given.

Another aspect of expectancy norms mentioned above was biblical literacy. Respondents require some degree of expertise in terms of biblical knowledge. R12 points to the biblical references given or cited during a sermon and states that a very quick summary should be given by the interpreter to the audience unfamiliar with the references. This is again suggestive of the interpreter's role as a co-preacher. The interpreter is expected to know which Bible passages are familiar for the audience and to squeeze in an explanation based on his or her biblical knowledge if he judges it necessary. This view of interpreters as co-preachers expressed by some of the interviewees echoes the role of "auxiliary police officers" attributed to the interpreters working in asylum hearing settings (see Pöllabauer 2004: 149-50).

However, it seems reasonable to ask here how these interpreters can be seen as co-preachers without being ordained or having been trained as preachers at a seminary. A possible explanation is that interpreters are like co-preachers in that they preach the primary party's (i.e., the preacher's) sermon in cooperation with him. In many cases, however, pastors themselves interpret for guest preachers; as previously mentioned, the majority of pastors are cross-culturally involved and linguistically competent. Nine of the interviewees who are pastors and preachers also interpret when necessary, which makes them ordained preacher-interpreters fully qualified to be co-preachers!

On the other hand, less than half of the interviewees hesitated to call interpreters co-preachers. Their concern was the definition of the word. They preferred to see an interpreter rather as a partner of the preacher, as a co-communicator, or as a mirror or an echo of the preacher. Still, despite their problem with the definition, they seemed to want to make sure the interpreter is preaching the same sermon as the primary preacher. This perception echoes the proposal of Downie (2014) that the preacher and the interpreter be viewed as co-performing on the platform to preach the same sermon. What he suggests is preaching with interpreters rather than preaching through interpreters, treating interpreters as partners. This is taken up by Hild to suggest that this partner-model of the interpreter constitutes a new interpreter profile (Hild 2015: 345).

6.1.3.11. Expectations when interpreting for guest preachers

R16 and R17 indicated that the interpreter might need to make some alterations during a sermon because of the sensitive environment in Turkey.

Intervention related to the doctrine that the guest preacher brings along is considered to be the pastor's responsibilities because he is the one who invites him. So the interpreter need not worry normally about doctrinal issues. As an extreme example, however, if the visiting preacher says something considered heretical in terms of the ideology of the church as an institution (which would seldom happen) or something that would offend the audience, the pastor would later have a hard time putting things back into balance. In such cases, if the interpreter works from "within" the church ideology, s/he can save a lot of trouble. However, if it is the pastor or a leader who is interpreting for a guest preacher, then they have the authority to step in and intervene if necessary.

Another expectation placed on the visiting preacher is that he be sensitive to the language he uses in terms of idioms, illustrations that might be irrelevant to the target culture (especially the eastern culture) and culturally inappropriate jokes. His ability to demonstrate sensitivity is an important factor in making the interpreted communication smoother. Otherwise, it becomes the interpreter's responsibility to make his message relevant for the congregation, i.e., to domesticate it. For example, R10 strongly emphasized that contextualization is "the first and foremost job of the preacher." He states:

> Even if the preacher, let's say, comes from England, or the United States, and is preaching in Turkey, he should understand the local context as much as possible,

> and should try to … use more local examples, local metaphors … more understandable for the local hearers.

R5 points to the difficulty of interpreting idioms and humor, again complaining about the visiting preacher from other countries using culturally irrelevant or inappropriate illustrations. R12 exemplifies this with a real experience:

> We sometimes had preachers from other countries, Europe, abroad, who came with jokes and stories that were totally inappropriate and actually offensive to the Turkish culture, and my wife was actually doing … translating a lot in those days and sometimes she would just leave out the story or modify it, simply because she realized that the preacher didn't understand his audience. He meant it well and it would have gone down well in America or England but it was going to be like a lead balloon in Turkey.

The same problem comes up in regards to concepts and Christian jargon as well. R14, addressing the issue from another angle, says that "it is important not to assume." He means especially people who come from outside into the foreign culture, that:

> they say things assuming that everyone knows, but quite often the concept … completely … hangs in the air, and I believe it is the interpreter's responsibility to put it into context very quickly … I believe the interpreter should step in and do something, not necessarily changing the message.

Being a foreigner in Turkey himself, R12 thinks that preachers coming from countries of largely Christian culture do not realize that they are not preaching to a congregation like their regular Christian audience, but to a congregation in which more than half are of Muslim background. At this point, the Christian interpreter who knows what the target audience is familiar with will be sensitive to "what can be translated, what needs to be translated and where it needs to be amplified." In the same way, R4 encountered many occasions where the preacher did not understand the context in which he was preaching, but the interpreter realized when people could not relate to him and offered explanations.

According to such user expectations, it appears that it is incumbent on the interpreter to bridge cultural gaps in case the preacher is not careful enough to contextualize the culture-specific elements in his sermon. It can be inferred from this that the expectancy norms related to the preacher affect expectations placed on the interpreters and that the interpreter is expected to make up for the preacher's deficiencies in meeting the normal expectations of this kind in the preaching. The expectancy norms related to the interpreter, as emphasized by the interviewees, are discussed below.

6.1.4. Discussion

To supply tentative answers to the research questions from this series of interviews, a strategy of analytic induction identified recurrent themes for analysis and discussion of overall institutional expectancy norms, as represented by the opinions of the commissioners. Although examples could be multiplied, the instances suffice to indicate that expectations placed upon the interpreter by commissioners are far greater than the traditional definition of the interpreter's role. As evidenced by the data of these opinions, these users described a highly involved interpreter. The function of an interpreter in their mind is shown to be greatly shaped by the ideological framework they engage themselves in.

From these interviews, context-bound and ideology-bound norms in a church setting can be extrapolated. One of the norms that can be inferred appears to be the certain preference towards an interpreter from "within" the ideology of the users. As demonstrated by the quotes, all the subjects indicated that they would be reluctant to work with a non-Christian interpreter. They can be divided into two main groups. The first group consists of the respondents who would avoid working with a non-Christian interpreter under any circumstances. The second group consists of the preachers and pastors who would use non-Christian interpreters *if* they felt they really had to.

Based on field observation and the profile analysis of the interviewees, it seems that respondents who are proficient in the target language (Turkish) and others who sometimes serve as interpreters/translators themselves are more inclined to let a non-Christian interpret a sermon in the event that there is not a Christian interpreter with good language skills available. Apparently, under these circumstances the control mechanism can automatically operate. As long as they can monitor the interpreting,

especially in terms of theology, then they do not avoid working with someone who does not profess Christianity. On the other hand, respondents with less or no knowledge of the target language prefer to avoid working with a non-believer because they do not feel secure enough in their ability to monitor the interpreting of somebody who does not have the same ideology as themselves.

Pastors expect spiritual credibility from Christian interpreters as well as linguistic skills. The interpreter who conforms to their expectancy norms seems to possess a certain power to get involved in the interaction, stepping in to make corrections, suggestions and explanations. One of the respondents (R6) says that “the interpreter can make a sermon come alive or s/he can kill it!” Concerning the role of co-preaching, it took most of these interviewees a while to think aloud before answering the question. On the other hand, more than half of the respondents came to a quick conclusion that the interpreter is like a co-preacher when one considers all the elements of involvement within the communicative event.

The expectations that fall on the speaker in terms of cross-cultural sensitivity are paralleled in the responsibilities attributed to the interpreter. According to R6, “the foreigner comes in, speaks with foreign idioms, foreign examples, foreign illustrations, and a good translator can grasp what’s being said, turn that around, create a local dynamic equivalent of it and make it come alive.” The interpreter seemed to be viewed as a “bi-cultural” expert who can prevent misunderstandings, or smooth them (cf. Vermeer 1998).

These initial findings were certainly a step towards developing a clearer understanding of the role issues in interpreting. They would indicate that it is crucial to re-define the role of the interpreter for each context, with its surrounding macro social factors, and to rethink the degree to which the interpreter is responsible or expected to be involved in that context. As a social practice, interpreting – and therefore the role of the interpreter, who is a social actor in this practice – cannot be examined in isolation from its immediate social context as well as the broader context in which it is situated. As previously mentioned, the immediate context refers to the setting where interpreting occurs. Within each setting there are forces affecting the interpreting practice at all levels – textual (interpreted sermon), hypertextual (the communicative event), and the macro level of institution in which it takes place and the wider society in which the institution is embedded. Usually forces commingle at all of these levels. (Angelelli

2004: 29; Pöchhacker 2004: 138). Hence, it is crucial to take these factors into account in re-defining the role and rethinking the involvement of the interpreter.

Following this analysis of the interviews with commissioners from the larger context of Turkey, the rest of the analyses are based on information gathered from the primary participants in the communicative event in the specific micro context of this study: sermons at Smyrna Church. Interviews were conducted with interpreters, and questionnaires were given to preachers, interpreters, and long-term members of the church congregation.

6.2. Interviews with interpreters

To supplement the findings from the interviews with commissioners, interpreters were also interviewed for a more in-depth understanding of how they view their role and how they position themselves in the communication they mediate. These interviews are analyzed by comparing the findings with expectancy norms obtained from the interviews conducted with commissioners in terms of implications for their institutional role. This comparison also seeks indications of "process norms," to discover whether the interpreter takes account of these expectancy norms (Chesterman 1997: 92). Each part below describes the respondents' answers and then analyzes the group of questions relevant to one aspect of their roles. A discussion of the findings is presented at the end of the section.

6.2.1. Purpose and design

Interviews were conducted with interpreters to elicit information about themselves, their perceptions of their roles in the communication they mediate, and the qualifications they believe sermon interpreters should have. These interviews serve to complement the previous findings and contribute to the overall understanding of the role of interpreters in the institutionalization process of the church.

The interviews were semi-structured (standardized) interviews with open-ended questions, asked in the same order in a written format via email. As explained at 4.2.1, the reason the interviews were sent through email, besides the fact that five of the seven interpreters were in different countries at the time, was to reduce my influence on the

interpreters' answers. Unlike with the commissioners, I am a peer of the interpreters, and in some sense, function as a more senior and experienced interpreter, since I am one of the longest-serving and most frequently used interpreters (see Table 7 at 7.2.1) and am the only one who is formally trained. Because of our interpersonal relationship and collegiality, a conversational-style interview could have impacted their responses due to my own involvement. I was posing questions to respondents whose experiences are very similar to mine, and I have opinions about each question that could have affected their answers. By using email, I aimed to keep a certain distance from the interpreters, to make it easier for their opinions and reflections to be heard.

The interviews were designed with two major parts. The first part asked nine questions about their personal backgrounds as Christians and interpreters as well as their views regarding the eligibility of sermon interpreters. The second part asked questions relating to the interpreters' experiences and interpreting strategies. All the questions were in English, but interpreters were given the liberty to answer them in either English or Turkish. Only one of them (INT 3) answered in Turkish, which I translated into English. Her quotations below are my translations. All the others answered in English, and some of their typos and grammatical errors were corrected to enhance readability.

The questions were:

Part 1:

1. For how many years have you been a Christian?
2. For how many years did you interpret sermons at Smyrna Church?
3. What was your motivation for volunteering to interpret?
4. Do you have any formal training in interpreting? If not, how did you learn to interpret?
5. Have you ever worked as an interpreter outside the church?
6. Do you have any preaching experience?
7. Do you consider yourself to be a devout Christian?
8. How would you describe your knowledge of the Bible?
9. Do you think a sermon interpreter needs to be a Christian? If yes, why?

Part 2:

1. While interpreting a sermon, have you ever felt like you were preaching alongside the preacher? Could you elaborate on that?
2. Have you ever had a preacher talk about something culturally irrelevant during a sermon? What did you do?

(For example, what if the preacher gives an example from baseball, and you know that nobody in your church understands it?)

3. What would you do if the preacher says something culturally inappropriate?

(For example, what if the preacher talks about warfare, and you know they mean it spiritually but you realize that the church might misunderstand it to mean physical warfare?)

4. Can you provide an example of an incident when a preacher said something culturally irrelevant or inappropriate?

5. What would you do if you know the preacher is saying something against the theology of the church? Why?

6. Please write any additional thoughts you have regarding sermon interpreting which were not addressed in this interview.

6.2.2. Administration and participants

Information about the professional and religious backgrounds of the participating interpreters is provided below, along with some basic demographic details. Later, their answers will be discussed under several related headings. The important phrases in the excerpts relevant to the analysis are highlighted in bold for the reader's convenience.

The interpreters were selected from volunteer interpreters at Smyrna Church. Of the interpreters that could have participated in this study, seven were selected on the basis of having interpreted at church services for more than five years, indicating their experience and dedication as interpreters. They will be referred to as INT 2 - INT 8 (Interpreters 2-8). Three of the interview participants were Turkish (of Muslim background) and four were non-Turkish (two Americans and two Britons). There was also a mix of genders, with five female and two male interpreters. All of them had the language combination of English (with four of them being native English speakers) and Turkish (with three of them being native Turkish speakers). Their mean age was 55.6, and they had been believers for an average of 43.0 years, ranging from 17 to 65 years (see Table 1 at 6.3.2).

These seven interviewees, along with me (INT 1), have been the main interpreters at Smyrna church. Most of the sermons in the corpus of recordings (see Table 7 at 7.2.1) were interpreted by us. However, for the discourse analysis in Chapter 7, only sermons interpreted by the four Turkish interpreters (including me) were selected.

When asked whether they consider themselves to be devout Christians, they all answered "yes." Regarding their knowledge of the Bible, six interpreters said they had good Bible knowledge, and one said she had thorough knowledge. As for experience in preaching, six of them had direct preaching experience, and only one female interpreter did not have any. These aspects of the interpreters' personal backgrounds correlate to the expectancy norms discussed above, that commissioners select interpreters who are not only Christians, but also mature, devout believers with a good knowledge of the Bible. This issue is discussed more extensively below.

In terms of professional background, two of the interpreters are retired nurses (INT 6 and INT 7). Four are language teachers (INT 2, INT 3, INT 5, INT 8) and one is an engineer (INT 4). None of those interviewed had received formal training in interpreting. They all indicated that they learned how to interpret by "doing" it on the job. Two participants (INT 2 and INT 3) reflected that interpreting requires an interest in languages, which they have (both of them speak other foreign languages), but they also felt that interpreting is a gift. Consistent with this view, participant INT 4 said:

> I learned it by doing it. No doubt, my skills improved over the years; the more I interpreted, I got better. I believe studying the Bible on my own and giving sermons in Turkish helped greatly developing my interpreting skills. I often read the Scriptures in English and Turkish which helps me with terms and concepts.

They all expressed a natural interest in languages and a talent for interpreting. As for their experience in translation and interpreting, in addition to volunteering at church, all of them have some involvement in voluntary translation and interpreting outside of the context of a church worship service at other Christian functions. Three participants indicated that they worked professionally as interpreters in secular settings for a certain period of time or occasionally. One of them worked in Germany in the past interpreting from Turkish to German for visits to doctor's surgeries or government offices.

6.2.3. Data analysis

6.2.3.1. Motivation to volunteer

When asked why they volunteer to interpret at church, all the interpreters expressed willingness to help others as the need arose. They wanted to help people who otherwise

would not be able to understand. Three of the interpreters (INT 2, INT 3, and INT 4) indicated that they were themselves spiritually blessed while interpreting for others. INT 3 reflected:

> To impart the blessing I receive to others. I believe God gives everyone different gifts and he gives them for a purpose. With the **language gift he has given me**, I am aware that he wants to bless others. For this reason, the most interesting and exciting part is that **I am blessed more** that they are. Just like Jesus promised.

In the last question (Part 3, Q-6), when they were asked if there was anything they would like to add, INT 2 wrote:

> When the preacher preaches, he is preaching not only for the audience, he is preaching for the interpreter, too. **You are serving to** [*sic*] **God** and learning from the Bible at the same time. You **are blessed and being a blessing** at the same time.

The nature of involvement and motivation expressed by the participants indicate that there is a personal blessing at the spiritual level that they experience. As Hokkanen (2012; 2014) also emphasized, while the interpreter may serve for the benefit of the others, s/he also benefits from the communicative act her/himself, as s/he is also one of the addressees of the communication (primary participants). Here, comparing professional interpreting with church interpreting, Hokkanen notes that in both situations, the interpreter's emotions are involved in the interpreting practice; the self is part of the communication. However, the level of involvement in church interpreting differs. The professional interpreter "coexperiences" the emotions present in an interpreted event due to the nature of interpreting, using the first-person voice while conveying the speaker's emotions (Hokkanen 2014). The involvement of the church interpreter, in that sense, indicates a spiritual, emotional dimension and a sense of being on the same side with both the speaker and the audience in order to collectively experience a shared institutional goal: "being blessed," as the interpreters in the interview called it.

Another perspective is given by INT 4 who also agreed that he benefitted from the sermon for himself, explaining why he chooses to volunteer to interpret at church:

> It is important and biblical to use one's **God-given gifts** for the benefits of others. Our church has many visitors who have good Bible knowledge and someone needs to interpret their teachings so that the **rest of the congregation can also benefit** from them. When you look at a house from outside, you can get a rough idea about the inside. However, the only way to know what is exactly in it, you need to go in and discover yourself. We are like houses, reflecting who we are by our body language, what we wear etc. Only when we start speaking, others can learn more of "what is inside." When someone speaks in a foreign language, the audience gets a glimpse, but through interpretation the personality is revealed. In a way my gift creates a **bridge** between the speaker and the congregation. Because I love the Bible and the teachings in it, while interpreting I also learn more about the Bible, which was another motivation.

Again we see that his motivation is for his fellow believers to take advantage of the opportunity that the church presents by having a visiting preacher. This is in parallel with Hokkanen's propositions that interpreting is viewed as a way of serving the church (2012: 302). INT 2's response reinforces this idea (while answering another question, Part 2, Q-1): "It is not just a volunteer work but it is also a precious way to serve to [*sic*] our God and to his dear church people. When you translate the Bible or the sermons, it is a great **responsibility** in the presence of God and his church congregation." In addition, Hokkanen argues that this voluntary service or "ministry" offered to the church (institution) has another dimension. A church interpreter offers his or her services not only to the fellow believers but also ultimately to God. Interpreters in this interview concur that it is "serving God" with God-given gifts, or as INT 2 described above, "a precious way to serve our God." This dimension of their service is also expressed by INT 6 in the last question (if there is anything they would like to add):

> An interpreter is, in a sense, a servant of the preacher. But he/she is **primarily a servant of God**. Seeking to communicate as well as possible **what God wants to say** through the preacher should be the aim of the interpreter. Good language, Bible knowledge, cultural awareness and passion all play an important part but all **these will be inadequate if the heart of the interpreter is out of tune with what God wants to say**. But God's grace is greater than our hearts!

The interpreter's work is described as directed towards God, which is considered above their service directed merely towards the primary speakers and listeners, or even toward the church as a "commissioner" (cf. Hokkanen 2012). This attitude seems to be prevalent in these remarks of the interpreters interviewed in Smyrna Church.

6.2.3.2. Eligibility

When asked whether the sermon interpreter should be a Christian, all the interpreters agreed that only a Christian is able to interpret in this context. Upon asking why, five of them gave elaborate answers, in line with the commissioners' responses, concluding it to be a non-issue. All the responses by interpreters provided clear, first-hand expressions of how they viewed their role with its distinct spiritual or religious requirements and dimensions. For example, INT 5 noted a special focus on the spiritual aspect of the communication and ownership of the message. According to her, mediation of the sermon should be at the spiritual level which is not possible unless the interpreter has the same spiritual understanding. The following is how she articulates it:

> I think someone needs to believe in the Christian message in order to communicate it effectively. **Spiritual truths** are a subjective area, so **the messenger needs to own and understand them** to be part of the communication cycle of speaker-interpreter-audience. You can't mediate a message you don't understand.

Similarly, INT 4 also believed that the sermon is a message addressed both to the mind and heart. Therefore, only a Christian interpreter can achieve the heart dimension of this kind of mediation. He said that a non-Christian cannot convey the essence of the message; however a non-Christian can be used to interpret but that would only be acceptable as a last resort:

> I believe the starting point should be the speaker himself/herself. If he/she is a Christian, then it is imperative that the interpreter should also be one. Because their message is not only passing on information but **imparting something of God into the congregation's heart** and mind. If I am allowed to put it bluntly, a non-Christian interpreter will not be able to convey the essence of the sermon.

> However, I also believe God can use anyone. So with my professional hat on, I would say "yes, Christian interpreter please" but depending on the circumstances I wouldn't say no to a good non-Christian interpreter, if there is no other choice.

INT 6 makes almost the same point with an emphasis on the heart, and how interpreting sermons is not about the accuracy of the words:

> A sermon is not just the impartation of knowledge about God, but is a way that God uses to speak to our **hearts**. It is therefore vital that the interpreter understands this and seeks to communicate the essence of the message not just give an accurate translation of the words.

INT 7 explains that “the aim of the preacher is to transmit his or her message **spirit to spirit**.” This same point is also emphasized by INT 8 who reflected, “Because the Christian message is more than carefully translated thoughts and words; it is communicated **via the Holy Spirit**.” INT 7 adds elsewhere that, while interpreting “I always need the Holy Spirit to help, often finding he gives the meaning to words I don’t know.”

On the same issue, INT 2 expressed a strong viewpoint that she was clearly very passionate about. While her response is explored in other parts of the analysis, it is important for this discussion to note her opinion:

> Because the Bible is the living word of the living God, Jehovah. If the sermon interpreter is not a Christian, s/he won't be able to grasp the deepness of the Bible in his or her soul and bring the deep message to the audience. … If you are not a Christian it means you don't have **the Holy Spirit** living within you which means you can't really reflect the meaning of the sermon to the audience since you never had the same **spiritual Christian experience** as much as a **devout** Christian interpreter could have. Unfortunately the land that we are living in is so unaware of the word of God, we could call it a "dry land." So for the benefit of the church people, it is very important that the message of the Bible is understood and lived by the interpreter.

INT 2 also raised the issues previously discussed: how sermon interpreting is a spiritual practice which requires spiritual involvement (through the Holy Spirit), personal religious experience (cf. Hokkanen 2013), biblical knowledge, and devotion to God. However, she also included the aspect of responsibility to the church, and ownership of the message that the church needs for its context – in this case, a message about being in spiritually dry ground.

Of all the interpreters interviewed, it is revealing that only INT 3 brought up the issue of knowing and understanding religious terminology and biblical knowledge, which may not be known by a non-Christian interpreter. She wrote:

> The language that Christians use (terms, words, expressions) is sometimes different. That's why we can say that it is **a spiritual language**. If the person who is interpreting is not a Christian, s/he would have a hard time understanding this language. In addition, since sermons are based on the Bible, s/he needs to know the Bible very well too.

Other than the last comment, what seems to be a common theme in six out of seven responses as to why a church interpreter should be a Christian is the idea of imparting something from God, rather than a message solely from the speaker. In that sense, while the interpreters view their involvement as more than just intellectual, but somehow also engaging the heart and spirit level, their assumption is that this is a *quadripartite* (God-preacher-interpreter-congregation) rather than tripartite communicative act (cf. Angelelli 2004; Hild 2012).

6.2.3.3. Interpreter as a co-preacher

After asking questions about the interpreter's views on sermon interpreting, Part 2 explores whether interpreters self-identify as co-preachers. Question 1 in Part 2 asked, "While interpreting a sermon, have you ever felt like you were preaching alongside the preacher? Could you elaborate on that?" In response to this question, six out of seven interpreters answered "yes" with various degrees of elaboration. Some interpreters (INT 5, 7, 8) put a special emphasis on being impacted by the sermon's message and entering into its flow, resulting in preaching it along with the preacher. INT 5 wrote:

> Yes, sometimes when I feel like I really "own" the message and am impacted by it myself, then I feel more excited about communicating the message, and I **naturally** fall into **a preaching mode** myself. I feel I'm **an important part of communicating an important message**.

Her remarks highlight some important points. First, the fact that she takes up an ownership for the message signifies acting from within as an insider; this denotes an institutional mediation on the part of the interpreter. In a way, she is expressing being part of the institution that makes her the owner of the message and as a natural result of it, she finds herself preaching with a sense of being an important part of the communication.

On the other hand, INT 7 focuses on the flow of the sermon: "Yes, especially when the preacher is flowing in the Spirit I find myself entering into the flow of the message **as if I were myself preaching**. This does not always happen."

It seems here that "entering into the flow" depends on whether the preacher is "flowing in the Spirit," that is, connecting with the spiritual dimension of the sermon event. If the preacher of the sermon has this spiritual dimension, then the interpreter is able to tune in to the same dimension as the speaker. On a similar note, INT 8 viewed co-preaching in terms of tuning in, or being harmonious with the preacher's delivery style: "Sometimes, I totally understand the aims of the preacher and **I enter into their delivery style**. Other times I merely interpret."

Interestingly, INT 4 has a different or nuanced perspective as to how he felt like he was preaching alongside the preacher while interpreting his sermon.

> Yes. I have a lively personality and work best alongside similar personalities. I really enjoy interpreting Daniel Abednego [one of the frequent visiting preachers]. Over the years I got to know him as a friend and this really helps interpreting him. At times I can guess accurately what's coming up next. After all, **the biblical truths are unchanging** and one way or another you end up saying the same things with different words and expressions.

This interpreter surmises that he and the preacher have the shared knowledge (truths) based on the institution's authoritative text (the Bible); for this reason they can preach together since the sermon stems from the one source with which both the preacher and

the interpreter are well-*versed*. Probably because of a similar perspective, INT 6 stresses oneness between the preacher and the interpreter: "Yes. With some preachers I felt at one with them and their message." On that note, INT 2 explains it in the most elaborate way:

> Yes, sometimes I have. Sometimes the preacher reaches a **passionate peak** of his sermon and the deepness of **God's word reveals itself** more and more, the preacher's voice and his passion for God just gush out so beautifully that they **spread on the interpreter** too, the preacher and the interpreter almost **become one voice** at that moment. I believe that the congregation deserves to hear those kinds of sermons with those kinds of interpretations more and more. I can't imagine a preacher preaching so devoutly and passionately but his interpreter sounding so dull and indifferent despite of the atmosphere rising from the passionate message of God.

This interpreter draws attention to how the preacher's homiletic practices should be carried on by the interpreter so that the same depth and passion can be accessible by the entire congregation, i.e., both the source and the target audience. She also reflected in an earlier response how the interpreter becomes the preacher, which was an unsolicited answer to the first question in Part two (why the sermon interpreter should be a Christian):

> It would be so sad that the sermons are translated by someone who doesn't understand what he/she is talking about but just translating the text. Sometimes **the interpreter almost becomes the preacher** while interpreting the sermon. That is why someone who doesn't have the Christian faith shouldn't **even dare to do it**.

Contrary to this strong opinion about how only a Christian interpreter should interpret sermons and s/he should interpret in tune with the preacher in terms of homiletic style, INT 3 is the only interpreter who did not see herself as a co-preacher. She commented:

> They normally say that, but I don't think it's like that. Maybe there is some truth to that, but not exactly. The message he is sharing is given to him. My job is to

> convey that message thoroughly. Perhaps listeners might see me like that even if I don't, but you can get more accurate information from them.

However, she admits that people say that the interpreter preaches along with the preacher and that there is some truth in that, which indicates the prevalence of such a perception in the church context by other stakeholders. This reaffirms the conclusion drawn from the commissioners' interviews that, in this context, the involvement of the interpreter in the sermon as a communicative event is not only inevitable but also desired, as opposed to the expectancy norms of canonical role perceptions (cf. Baker and Pérez-González 2011: 43-4).

Following the question about co-preaching, a few questions were aimed to determine their strategies in some unexpected situations. Even though these answers are not necessarily extrapolated as the norms governing interpreting in real circumstances, they reveal decisions the interpreter makes during the actual practice and point to process norms.

6.2.3.4. Strategies

6.2.3.4.1. Cultural irrelevance: First of all, the interpreters were presented with the case of a preacher talking about something culturally irrelevant during a sermon. All the interpreters said that they have experienced interpreting some preachers who talked about a culturally irrelevant topic or used a culturally irrelevant example. They all commented on their strategy in such cases and noted that they would make an explanation in such situations. For example, INT 6 said in that circumstance, "I briefly explained or tried to find a relevant equivalent in their culture (e.g., football) instead of baseball! The important point was **to communicate the message** behind the illustration." Similarly, INT 5 said:

> If I could think off the top of my head, I gave another example, but I rarely could think that quickly. I would usually give his example and try to explain his context to the audience. In a few cases I asked for more clarification or another example if I sensed the audience was really not getting it.

However, what was common to the responses was the possible need for some level of intervention. INT 2 said:

> Even a good interpreter is not a miracle performer. The interpreter should try his or her best to make it understood by giving some **side explanations**. If it doesn't work, I think the interpreter should just move on, but it also depends on **how important point it is** compared to the whole message of the sermon. That can determine how quickly the interpreter should move on the next sentence or idea.

Even the fact that this interpreter said her intervention depended on how important the culturally irrelevant element was for the message of the sermon suggests that she placed herself in the position of making a judgment call. In a way, she holds authority over what is important and what is not for communication.

6.2.3.4.2. Cultural inappropriateness: Following the question of strategies dealing with culturally irrelevant material, the interpreters were asked what they would do in situations when the preachers were speaking in ways considered culturally inappropriate. All the interpreters stated that they would change the terminology/vocabulary, modify it, or make an explanation in order to avoid inappropriate or offensive communication. INT 5 stated:

> I would change or modify his message and try to give a more appropriate example. If I could, I would quickly, but politely, tell the preacher this is not appropriate because I would not want English speaking Turks to receive an inappropriate message either.

This demonstrates that the interpreter is concerned not only with the interpretation of the inappropriate material but also for the English speaking local congregation; to ensure they were not offended, she would intervene and interact with the preacher. INT 4 similarly states, “I would continue translating with necessary explanations to prevent any confusion. I would talk to the speaker afterwards and explain what and why I did.”

Another aspect put forward by INT 2 and INT 3 is that if the “inappropriate” material is offensive to the locals because it is a truth from the Bible, then they do not

want to avoid offending anyone with the truth. If the truth offends people, then they are not concerned. INT 2 stated:

> Those things always happen. If there are terms or concepts like that, they should still be translated. We can't run away from the truth. We can't keep hiding it. The interpreter should take the risk to name those terms or concepts boldly. It is worth taking those risks for the sake of conveying the message from the Bible properly and fully. Sometimes it becomes an art to interpret some risky issues without leading people to any kind of misunderstandings. Not everybody in the church listening to the sermon is a Christian person. There are guests all the time and it is their lifetime chance to hear about the truth, maybe for the first and the last time. If we fear to express the truth, how will they ever know about the truth? If they can't hear the truth from the original place which is church, from what source will they learn it correctly and boldly? When I translate, I would still translate the risky parts making sure they are not misunderstood. Similar inappropriate things will appear for those people who are not Christians but want to read and learn about Christianity, even when they read from the Bible by themselves. Jesus says some spiritual things that sound like dangerous stuff. In fact, those are not dangerous words but truthful facts that need to be understood in the light of the Holy Spirit. For example, Jesus said, "I am the Way, and the Truth, and the Life. No one comes to the Father but through Me." And this means of course Jesus is the only name for everybody's salvation to heaven. It will immediately offend people at the church who are not Christians. I would still translate it since God's word is for everybody's benefit. God's word is to bless everybody. God loves people and he wants his words to be known by everybody. So as a sermon interpreter, I try not to be ashamed of God's word.

This demonstrates that what is culturally inappropriate was perceived in two different ways by the interpreters. First, some of them identified inappropriate material pertaining to the differences between Western and Turkish culture. In this case, they all agreed that they would avoid inappropriate material through a number of strategies, such as explanation, modification and forewarning. Second, two of the interpreters identified possibly inappropriate material due to the cultural differences between a Christian believer and a non-Christian (or Muslim). In this case, they would choose to interpret

the material without any intervention. This attitude indicates an alignment with the institution, even when it conflicts with their own cultural background. They choose to act as an insider/agent in an institution into which they originally came as outsiders from a Muslim or non-Christian background. This demonstrates that their primary loyalty is to the ideology (what they believe to be the truth), as well as to the speaker and the audience, who are all insiders, even when the truth would be considered inappropriate to any outsider that might be present.

These two questions relating to issues of culturally inappropriate or irrelevant material were followed by a request to recount their experiences pertaining to these issues. INT 2 had an example about the sensitive issue of discrimination against Kurds, Armenians, or other minorities in Turkey:

> God is love. God cannot endure to see people mock other people. He cannot approve people who hate other people. It is that simple. No nation is better than the other nation. Actually we are all sinners. Since this subject is very normal to talk about and preach about, I guess at least at one sermon, the preacher had mentioned directly the situation in our country. Ethnic majorities hating the ethnic minorities. Majorities should embrace and love the minorities. Since the church majority is from that ethnic majority, it was a very sensitive issue to talk about without making anybody angry, without causing resentment and offense. God is a just God and he is not necessarily on any ethnic group's side. He created the whole humanity, everyone is his dear creation. His heart aches to see the hatred among the nations and among the ethnic groups and lots of excuses to feed that hatred. Of course we should bring the love and peace message of Jesus to those who hate each other. The problem is, can we honestly admit that we hate and don't accept some certain ethnic groups, minorities in our land? It was challenging for me to interpret what the preacher said without hiding his point that he was trying to make, without causing any irritation among the audience.

This was an example of culturally inappropriate material in the first category, not in the second category of inappropriate instances related to the truth in the Bible. In her example, the interpreter believed she should be sensitive to the ongoing conflict between Turkish and Kurdish people. The same interpreter (INT 2) gave another example in the same category about a taboo issue in the Turkish culture – virginity:

> Another incident was when the preacher was talking about virginity, and the blood that comes from it when you are not a virgin girl/woman anymore because of sexual intercourse. Oh my. I remember I was looking down I guess, and most of the audience was men. Oh no. That topic was brand new to me. I just wanted to disappear at that moment. The preacher had a biblical point of course. His point was, whenever God has a deal, an agreement with his people, the symbol for that agreement showing that it was complete, was blood! God had a great salvation plan, to save his people, and the symbol that the agreement was provided and fulfilled by God was Jesus's blood that was shed on the cross. The wedding agreement created by God and the symbol for it, showing that it is complete, was the blood shed on the first night. Well, if I knew there was going to be a detail about that wedding night, would I ever have volunteered that day?

A similar issue was experienced by INT 6 who also believed that the Turkish culture was too conservative for a topic to be interpreted exactly as the preacher presented it: "One preacher used an illustration of a man laying hands on a woman and praying for her. I **referred to the woman as "someone"** and quickly stressed the importance of not laying hands on someone of the opposite sex!"

INT 8 had an experience when he thought the preacher was not sensitive enough to the lower standard of living in the congregation and chose to change it using the strategy of amending the material:

> … preacher was talking about his hobby of choosing one of his racing cars to drive on a Saturday. He was speaking to the poorest of the poor who didn't even own a bicycle. I was so indignant in my spirit I **simply could not interpret** what he was saying and **changed** it to something else.

INT 7 recalled experiencing having to interpret culturally irrelevant customs from the preacher's own country, in particular, food. INT 5 noted "The most common one is when a preacher mentions a well-known public figure from his country or cites a well-known book that no one in Turkey knows."

6.2.3.4.3. Theological conflict: Another question was aimed at determining the interpreters' strategy in a situation when a preacher says something in contradiction to the theology (ideology) of the church. This was a somewhat provocative question as it is not something that happens frequently, since the preachers are usually the pastors and leaders within the church or the larger denomination with which the church is affiliated. In addition, church authorities typically invite guest speakers whom they know and trust to be theologically consistent with the church. However, even if it rarely happens, most of the interpreters have either encountered such a situation, or had an opinion as to what should be done if they were to encounter this situation. Six out of seven interpreters expressed readiness to do something, that is, to apply a strategy. Only one of them said it was not for them to judge. INT 4 said:

> I would continue translating **as long as it is a biblical concept** but maybe controversial subject (e.g., speaking in tongues), because it is not my responsibility to judge that. If the leaders feel to say something immediately or later, I would interpret what's been said to the speaker.

Even though this interpreter says he would continue in such cases without interference, he put a condition on it: "as long as it is a biblical concept." This demonstrates an attitude of ownership for what he believes is true and that he would defend it if it were misrepresented by the speaker. On the issue of responsibility INT 3 said:

> It's hard for me to answer this question, since I've never found myself in that position. In general, as just the interpreter (and not the preacher), if the difference were not too significant, I would **find common ground and explain that**, so as not to create confusion in the congregation at that moment, and address it later. If the preacher says something really **striking and unacceptable**, I would ask the pastor or the person in charge there **to step in**.

Though this interpreter also feels responsible for minor issues, when it comes to more critical cases, she prefers to hand the issue over to the authority of the institution she serves. However, she still views herself as able to make the assessment as to whether something the preacher says is acceptable, and if she deems it is not, she is willing to interrupt the preacher and ask the authority to step in. What we see here is that when the

preacher is an outsider, the interpreter aligns herself with the commissioner that represents the institution as a whole, rather than the speaker.

Similarly, INT 6 also based his intervention strategy on how important the issue was:

> It would depend how it was being communicated …. If he/she was declaring unknowingly something that was against the theology of the church, I would express it as his or her opinion but **add that others see things differently**. If it was **a deliberate challenge to the theology on an important issue**, I would express that to the preacher and say that **I must make it clear** to the congregation. What a preacher declares is important. It is important for people to know that on some issues there are differences of opinion BUT **a deliberate undermining of a church's theology should not be ignored or it will bring confusion**. This can be talked over at length afterwards – with the preacher and with the congregation – a possibility for growth for all!

INT 6 demonstrated a strong stand in the face of a "deliberate undermining" of the ideology she embraced as a part of the institution. Such a response again shows the ownership of and alignment with the prevalent institutional ideology, which is beyond the typical role of an interpreted-mediated communication.

Other interpreters also displayed an assertive position. INT 7 said she "would **'water down'** what the preacher was saying, or say something like, 'in the preacher's church they believe that ….'" INT 8 said he "would probably **tone it down** a bit!" Similarly, INT 5 said:

> I would try to **modify it slightly** if I could, so as **not to cause controversy or confusion** for Turkish believers. Or sometimes I would clarify by saying something like, "some people believe this …," "this brother believes this …." This has rarely been an issue. Generally churches invite speakers that have similar viewpoints to theirs. I would characterize Smyrna Church as a fairly open church, open to different ideas, so I never felt "locked into strict doctrine" as an interpreter there.

As can be seen, this interpreter is concerned about the audience (i.e., the fellow "believers"). This stand suggests her being both protective of the ideology she embraces and protective of the institution and its members. INT 2 said:

> First of all, I don't think a preacher with a different theology would be invited to preach at that church anyway. To detect the preacher's theology is not the task of the interpreter; it is the task of that church. However, **it is important to discern** how different, how far away his point is from that church's theology. I think I would check if **my conscience** is at peace with the point the preacher is making. What he says might be against the theology of that church but **not against what the Bible is really teaching us**. The interpreter should be **wise enough and be with good enough Biblical truth** so he/she wouldn't become a tool **to convey a wrong message to the people of God**. Personally I would hate if it ever happened to me. If what the preacher is saying against what the Bible is teaching, **I would refuse to translate it**. I **would definitely step back and stop it there.** Before I do that, I would just check it if I ever misunderstood what he is saying. Although it is not the interpreter's place to judge the different theology, it **is perfectly his or her place to defend God's word**, the biblical principles and truth since he/she is a Christian too.

A similar approach was discussed above in the analysis of interviews with commissioners (6.1.3.11). Like the commissioners, the interpreters generally agreed that any intervention related to the theology espoused by the guest preacher was the pastor's responsibility. INT 2, like INT's 3, 4, 5 considered this to lie outside of their task. However, she still left room for interpreters to use discretion to intervene over matters of conscience. To her, the role of the sermon interpreter requires wisdom and knowledge of the Bible. If the guest preacher, however unlikely, were to make a theological statement so clearly opposed to her core theological beliefs (i.e., the institutional ideology), she immediately assumes authority to defend and protect her institutional ideology. In this sense, she acts like an agent of God, if not of the institution. She wants to make sure that false doctrine is not conveyed. While she understands that it is not her role to correct doctrinal differences, and while she does not want to change the preacher's text, she will not tolerate it if it crosses the line into *false doctrine*, harmful to the institution.

Doctrine, a Christian concept based on the Scriptures, is typically considered on two levels. First, there are essential, absolute doctrines. Second, there are disputable matters in Christian teaching. Some issues are critical while others are not. The very fact that these interpreters make distinctions concerning doctrine is indicative of the authority they inherently hold and are tacitly granted. As the commissioners previously confirmed, the interpreter is a trusted agent. These interpreters view themselves as being in the position to make judgment calls regarding whether something is heretical or not.

6.2.4. Discussion

This qualitative data obtained through the interviews provided significant in-depth discovery of the interpreters' perceptions regarding sermon interpreting. Based on their responses, the following conclusions can be drawn.

Church interpreters offer their services voluntarily, which may be viewed in two ways. First, they are needed by the church, which is generally run by volunteers. They help "others" by mediating between them and a speaker because they believe all the audience should benefit from what the speaker will teach. It is defined in the institutional language of Smyrna Church as "ministry." While it is ministry to others, it does also include receiving personal benefit from the message they are mediating, through participation in the communication as a personal spiritual experience. Hence, the speaker, the interpreter, and the audience co-experience the communication collectively. While ministering to others, the "minister" is also blessed as an involved participant, and beyond that, receives the blessing accrued to the service-giver, as mentioned above at 2.3. The second layer is offering their gift of interpreting as a ministry to God (cf. Hokkanen 2012; 2013).

Concerning the specific issue of whether the church interpreter should be a Christian or could be a non-Christian, all the interpreters in this study were in consensus. As was already concluded in the analysis of interviews with commissioners/preachers, churches prefer an interpreter from within: a church member who is almost as biblically literate as the preacher. Interpreters themselves strongly agree with this orientation for two main reasons. First, the communicative act occurring in the church (especially during a sermon) has a spiritual dimension. According to these church interpreters, a non-Christian interpreter cannot be involved in the communication at that level since s/he does not share the same spirit as the preacher and the congregation. S/he can

interpret only at the intellectual level, which would not meet the communicative purposes of the sermon. Second, they take up an institutional role that gives them certain responsibilities and authority. This institution (i.e., the church) is being established in a new context as a new entity, as outlined in the theoretical framework. Within its scope, there is a source culture (non-Turkish, Christian culture) and a target culture (local Turkish culture). As a result of mixing these two, a new Turkish Christian culture is being formed. The Turkish interpreters are insiders in Turkish culture by being Turkish, but not part of the Turkish Christian culture if they are not Christians. By the time they become interpreters, they are insiders in both the Turkish Christian culture and the culture and ideology of the Church. In this case, all the interpreters, non-Turkish and Turkish alike, first enter into this new culture as outsiders. They become part of it through an enculturation process, joining in the ideology (institutional beliefs and knowledge). They eventually become insiders and forge an alliance with the institution in its entirety. As a natural result of this, they voluntarily become involved in the ongoing institutionalization process. The situation differs slightly for non-Turkish interpreters and Turkish interpreters that are new to Christianity. The foreigners who join in this institution are already familiar with its belief system. They know the Christian source culture, but in this new context they go through an enculturation process, by language learning and/or familiarizing themselves with local traditions and customs. On the other hand, local interpreters who are new to Christianity also come in as outsiders. They know the local (target) culture very well, although they do not thoroughly know the source culture, because they are not yet sufficiently familiar with Christian ideology. If they decide to become a part of the institution, then they go through an enculturation process as well, by learning the Bible and Christian conventions etc. They eventually become insiders and volunteer to serve in the ongoing process of institutionalization. Thus, it is a bidirectional enculturation process that applies to both the non-Turkish and Turkish interpreters.

This enculturation essentially introduces members into the institution and into the community as well. That is why all members of the church (preachers, congregation, and interpreters) prefer having a Christian interpreter working from within the church ideology. This is exemplified by a recent incident in the church. Smyrna Church recently experienced a shortage of available simultaneous interpreters (for the few non-Turkish speaking members of the congregation). Some had moved away while others were inconsistent in their involvement in the church. In the meantime, a new Turkish

person started coming to church regularly with a sincere interest in Christianity to the point of adopting it as her own faith. She happened to be an English teacher with a great interest in interpreting. Though she was not working professionally in the interpreting market, she taught herself how to interpret through occasional *ad hoc* interpreting. However, when the pastors considered whether she should be asked to help with interpreting or not, they decided not to include her in "the interpreting ministry" at that point. They were aware of her linguistic ability to do the job and that she knew both the source culture and target culture well. She expressed that she was happy to help, but the leaders decided that she was not ready for two reasons: (1) As a new believer, she was not yet well-versed in biblical knowledge nor in Christian terminology; that is, she was not familiar enough with the spiritual language and vocabulary of the institution (church). (2) The leaders were not sure yet how serious she was in her new faith. They preferred to wait until she got baptized, which would fulfill an important initial criterion for demonstration of a total Christian commitment, and until she grew in her knowledge of Christian doctrine. There are actually no criteria given in the Bible for allowing people to interpret sermons at church, but there are written criteria in the Bible for selecting leaders of the church in terms of character or commitment (among other things, a leader must not be a new believer).[16] According to the authority of the church, interpreters are in leadership positions, and if they allow someone who does not meet these criteria to interpret, they would be condoning that person as a leader. In essence, based on the assessment of the decision-makers, this new believer's enculturation was not complete. Hence, she was not considered eligible to interpret for the church.

On the other hand, visiting preachers who come to share a sermon with the church are not automatically functioning from within the institution either. They aim to provide some kind of benefit for the church with what they have to share. However, these preachers do not always realize that their utterances may offend the people, because although they are insiders in terms of knowledge of general ideology, they are foreign to the target culture. The interpreter who is from within the institution is a better judge in discerning those offensive issues. That is why interpreters were further asked about their strategies on the issues of cultural and theological conflict.

In a case of conflicting issues such as culturally irrelevant or inappropriate utterances, interpreters have two main strategies or courses of action. First, if the issue

[16] [An overseer] must not be a recent convert. (1 Timothy 3:6a, NIV)

stems from the correct teaching of the Bible, then they believe it should be interpreted as it is, even if it offends someone. The Bible is treated like a constitution, which refers to the regulative pillar of the institution. It is untouchable; not to be amended in any way. In the second course of action, if the issue is due to the preacher's unawareness or insensitivity, then the interpreters generally see it as their task to step in and intervene to provide smooth communication for the institution. They see themselves as authorities to judge whether something is critical to the institutional ideology and whether it should be interpreted at the cost of offending people. When this is not the case, these interpreters claim authority for intervention.

In the instances of theological incompatibility within the institution, the interpreters exhibited two inclinations. First, they would like the institutional control mechanism to be responsible for such issues (since the church as an institution holds the power to decide who can preach). Second, they appear to be ready to evaluate whether statements made by a preacher are biblical or not. If they deem statements to be contradictory to the central doctrines of the Bible, then they either act on their own or ask the institutional authority to intervene. However, the very fact that they see their role to include making such a judgment conveys the impression that they view themselves as being as authoritative as the preacher, which brings this discussion to its last point.

The above-mentioned remarks by the interpreters indicate that the interpreters intuitively assume for themselves a degree of co-preaching, whether or not they think it is appropriate to label it as such. However, even if the institution gives them power to intervene when necessary, as the commissioners' responses indicated, the interpreters' responses demonstrate that they are not eager to insert or impose their own agenda; they are merely acting from a sense of duty. Interpreters are thus not seeking a position of co-preacher; they simply want to do their job. They regard the message so highly that, first of all, they do not have any intention of changing it because they want the message to be delivered accurately. However, *if* the message is not coming across, then they assume responsibility to intervene because they take it so seriously. They revere the message. They will make changes if they deem them necessary to more effectively communicate what they consider to be a divine message.

6.3. Surveys of preachers, interpreters, and congregants

6.3.1. Purpose and design

Surveys were conducted with preachers, interpreters and non-English-speaking congregants at Smyrna Church. The purpose of the surveys was to obtain quantitative data in the micro setting to compare with the qualitative results presented above. The questions were designed to assess the participants' perspectives on the eligibility of sermon interpreters, the role they are expected to play in the mediation of sermons, and how interpreter-mediated sermons contribute to the institutionalization of the church.

The questionnaire-based surveys consisted of 23 questions on the qualifications, role, task, and position of the interpreter as well as their preferences regarding interpreting and interpreters. Fifteen questions were based on a five-point scale, six had multiple answers from which the participants could choose, one had the participants rank five qualities of an interpreter, and the final one was open-ended, soliciting further comments. (For the complete questionnaire, see Appendix A.)

6.3.2. Administration and participants

6.3.2.1. The survey respondents

The questionnaire-based surveys were conducted with three groups: preachers, interpreters, and congregants. The first group consisted of seven preachers who have been in leadership at Smyrna Church at some point, all of whom have extensive experience preaching with interpreters. They will be referred to as PR 1 - PR 7 (Preacher 1-7). One of them (PR 2) was one of the founding pastors and is currently starting a new church. Two of them are the current pastors (PR 5 and PR 6). Two of them are retired pastors who still have connections to Smyrna church (PR 4 and PR 7). They live part of the year in their home countries and part of the year in Turkey. The last two are frequent visiting preachers who oversee the pastors and have lived in Turkey for short periods (PR 1 and PR 3). I submitted the questionnaires via email in English, and all of them responded.

The second group consisted of the same seven interpreters introduced in section 6.2, who participated in the interpreter interviews (INT 1-7). I also sent these

questionnaires electronically (along with the interview questions) in English, and all of them responded.

The third group consisted of 45 members of the congregation. I selected congregants who were members of the church for at least two years and who had to rely on Turkish interpreting at some point in the past, although not all of them are current members and many of them understand English much better now. Although there are around 150 members, only about half of them are Turkish, and only about 50 are non-English-speaking. Some of the respondents are foreigners who do not understand English, who listen to the sermons in Turkish. The questionnaire was not given to congregants who have come to church for less than two years, since they have not had enough experience with interpreter-mediated sermons to be able to make adequate judgments about the questions. The questionnaire for end-users was given in Turkish, and I administered it face-to-face with as many as I could, although I sent six of them via email.

6.3.2.2. The respondents' demographics

The same questionnaire was used with all three groups so as to be able to compare their responses, but a couple of the demographic questions were specific for each group. All three groups were asked their age, sex, and how many years they have been Christians. These results are listed in Table 1.

Table 1. Demographics of respondents

	Preachers	Interpreters	Congregants
Average age (years)	60.7	55.6	38.4
Sex (percent male)	100.0	28.6	51.1
Average years a Christian	48.6	43.0	10.5

In addition, the preachers were asked how many years they have been preaching (an average of 35.4 years), and how many years they have been preaching at Smyrna Church (an average of 11.3 years). The interpreters were asked their occupations and how many years they have been interpreting at Smyrna Church (an average of 8.4 years). The interpreters' occupations were discussed above with the interpreter interviews. The congregants were also asked their occupations and English proficiency. They were asked how well they understand sermons in English without needing an interpreter, given four choices: "not at all," "somewhat," "mostly," and "completely." The vast

majority of them (82.3%) said they understand English only "somewhat" or "not at all." Their responses are listed in Table 2.

Table 2. Congregants' English proficiency

	Percent
Not at all	46.7
Somewhat	35.6
Mostly	11.1
Completely	6.7

The congregants were a diverse group of people, both in their ages (ranging from 18 to 62) and their occupations, reflecting the diversity of the church in general. What they share in common is their Christian faith and the fact that they all come from Muslim backgrounds, except for three non-Turkish Christians who moved to Turkey.

6.3.2.3. The survey questions

The questions asked of all three groups are as follows:

1. Do you think a sermon interpreter needs to be a Christian?

(Only those respondents who said that being a Christian is required were asked to answer Questions 2-6.)

How important do you think it is for a sermon interpreter …

2. … to be a devout Christian?
3. … to be a mature Christian, with a thorough knowledge of the Bible and understanding of Christian doctrine?
4. … to also have preaching experience?
5. … to attend Smyrna Church (as opposed to a different church)?
6. … to believe the same theology as Smyrna Church (as opposed to different, Christian theology)?
7. … to use correct Christian terminology?
8. … to be skilled at interpreting?
9. … to be formally trained in interpreting?

A sermon interpreter at Smyrna Church should …

10. … replicate the preacher's emotions and voice inflections (with his or her voice).
11. … replicate the preacher's facial expressions and hand gestures.
12. … remain unanimated and interpret seriously, even if the preacher is enthusiastic.

13. … always say exactly what the preacher says, without adding, omitting or changing anything.
14. … correct any mistakes the preacher makes (for example, if the preacher misspeaks).
15. … clarify any misunderstandings that arise (for example, due to language differences).
16. … change anything the preacher says that is culturally inappropriate (for example, if the preacher unintentionally says something foreign or offensive to the audience's culture).
17. If a sermon interpreter significantly changes something the preacher says, should s/he inform the preacher?
18. Is it more important for a sermon interpreter to be a Christian or a skilled interpreter?
19. When the preacher refers to a story in the Bible which the interpreter realizes not everyone knows, which of the following should s/he do?
20. Which of the following describes the task of a sermon interpreter?
21. Which of the following describes the role of a sermon interpreter?
22. Please rank the following five qualities of a sermon interpreter from the most important to the least important, where 1 is the most important, and 5 is the least important:

Complete transfer of information
Making the information understandable
Speaking Turkish fluently and correctly
Using the correct biblical terms
Interpreting as passionately as the preacher

23. Please write any additional thoughts you have regarding sermon interpreting which were not addressed in the survey.

6.3.3. Data analysis

The results of the surveys are presented first, followed by a discussion analyzing their implications for this study. For simplicity, the questions are grouped according to common themes. The two major themes are the eligibility of interpreters (Questions 1-9 and 18) and the institutional norms for interpreters (Questions 10-16, 20, and 22), including norms regarding interpreters' delivery and their empowerment. Those two

major themes are followed by three short topics: trust and control (Question 17), the interpreter as an insider (Question 19), and the interpreter as a co-preacher (Question 21).

The results of the surveys of preachers, interpreters, and end-users are presented together, but significant differences are highlighted.

6.3.3.1. Eligibility: From within

The first group of questions deals with the interpreter's eligibility, or qualifications (Questions 1-9 and 18). This major theme was discussed at length in the interviews with commissioners and interpreters for the qualitative analysis. Both groups clearly expressed an expectation that sermons should be interpreted by a Christian interpreter. This issue of eligibility was addressed in the questionnaires as well for quantitative verification.

Question 1 asked the respondents whether they thought a sermon interpreter **needs to be a Christian** with two options: "yes, being a Christian is required" and "not necessarily." An overwhelming majority of respondents (91.5% overall, and 100% of the preachers and interpreters) said that being a Christian is "required" (see Table 3).

Table 3. Question 1, responses to the criterion of being a Christian (in percent)

	Preachers	Interpreters	Congregants	Total
Required	100	100	88.9	91.5
Not necessarily	0	0	11.1	8.5

Only 5 out of 45 congregants said "not necessarily," and two of them no longer attend any church.

To further delineate the type of Christian who is eligible, the 91.5% who responded that being a Christian is required were asked an additional five questions regarding specific attributes of a Christian (Questions 2-6). Questions 7-9 asked about additional criteria for an interpreter that were not related to being a Christian. Questions 2-9 asked the respondents, "How important do you think it is for a sermon interpreter …" to meet certain criteria on a 5-point scale as follows: "it doesn't matter," "it's a consideration," "important," "very important," and "required."

When asked how important it is for a sermon interpreter to be **a devout Christian** (Question 2), the respondents clearly indicated they think it is important, but their insistence was much less strong. The vast majority indicated it was significant,

with 86.8% saying it was "required," "very important," or "important." However, only 18.9% went so far as to say it was "required" (see Figure 3).

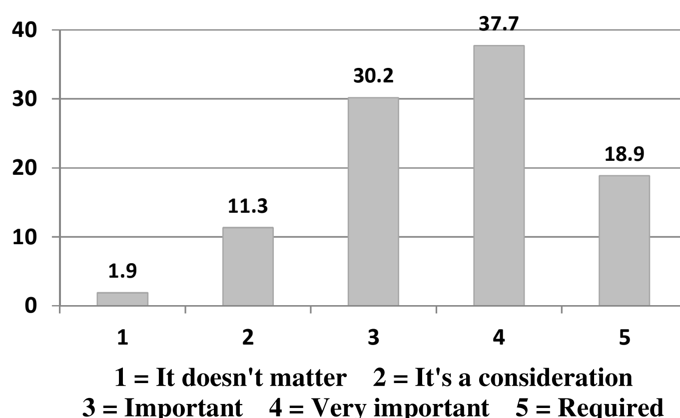

Figure 3. Question 2, responses to the criterion of being a devout Christian (in percent)

It is interesting that 57.1% of preachers said it was "required," indicating that they place a higher emphasis on this criterion than the other groups (see Appendix B for complete survey data).

To take this further, they were asked in Question 3 how important it is for the sermon interpreter to be **a mature Christian**, with a thorough knowledge of the Bible and understanding of Christian doctrine. Their responses were similar: they viewed it as important but not required. Only 7.5% said it was "required," but 92.4% said it was "required," "very important," or "important" (see Figure 4).

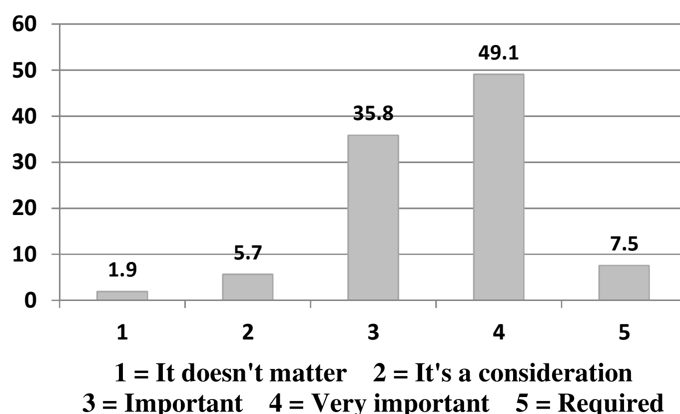

Figure 4. Question 3, responses to the criterion of being a mature Christian (in percent)

This shows that whereas people view being a Christian as an absolute requirement, like a minimum standard, they do not view being a devout or mature Christian as an absolute requirement. It is likely that they think there is a minimum standard, and anything beyond that is not required, albeit unequivocally desired.

Notice that this data clearly shows that very few respondents see being devout or mature as insignificant. Only 13.2% said that being devout either "doesn't matter" or is just "a consideration," and 7.6% said the same things about being mature. These two questions show that respondents value additional criteria for sermon interpreters, beyond just being a Christian without any commitment to grow in his or her faith. So both the institutional norm authority and the members desire the interpreter to be serious in his or her faith and to strongly hold the ideology of the institution.

On the other hand, the respondents did not view having **preaching experience** as being important at all (Question 4). None of the respondents said it was "required" or "very important," and only 14.8% said it was "important" (see Figure 5).

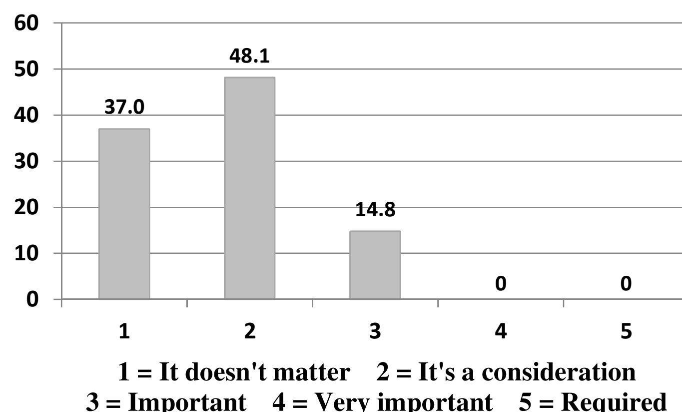

Figure 5. Question 4, responses to the criterion of having preaching experience (in percent)

In Question 5, the respondents indicated that **attending Smyrna Church** (as opposed to a different church) is even less important. The majority (59.3%) said "it doesn't matter" (see Figure 6).

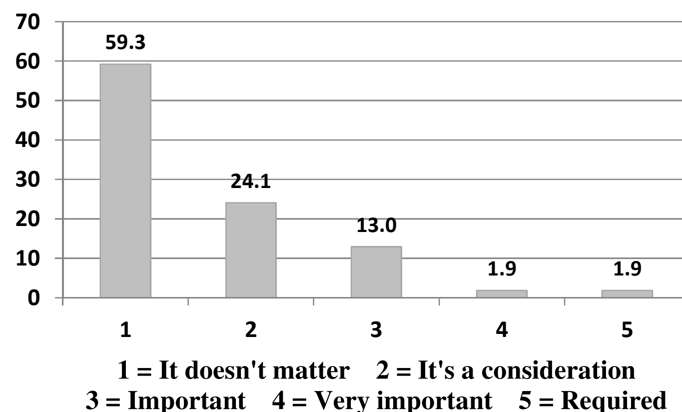

Figure 6. Question 5, responses to the criterion of attending Smyrna Church (in percent)

As mentioned at 5.1.2, the Evangelical churches in Izmir have a very close relationship with each other, and congregants from one church often know congregants from another. This reinforces the idea that respondents view interpreters who attend other churches as being part of the same broader institution. This implies that as long as the interpreter holds the same ideology, it is acceptable for them not to attend Smyrna Church.

The preachers' responses to Question 5 were different from the other groups. Although about the same percent (57.1%) said "it doesn't matter," 42.9% of them said it is "important." That was much higher than the other groups (see Appendix B). This indicates that there is a stronger desire for interpreters to attend Smyrna Church among the authority of the institution, although they still do not view it as a requirement as long as the interpreter is aligned with the broader ideology.

The responses to Question 6 were much more mixed. When asked how important it is for interpreters to **believe the same theology as Smyrna Church** (as opposed to different, Christian theology), 35.2% said that it either "doesn't matter" or is just "a consideration," yet 40.7% said it is "important" and 16.7% said it is "required" (see Figure 7).

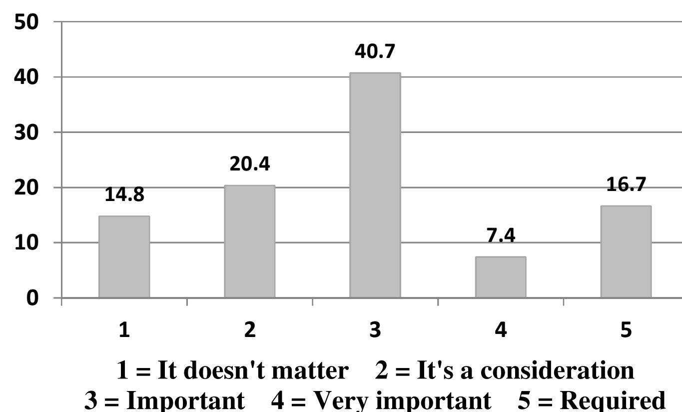

Figure 7. Question 6, responses to the criterion of believing the same theology (in percent)

Part of the reason for the variance could be that the question did not specify the level of theological differences. There is a spectrum of theological differences within Christian theology from minor differences to major differences. Indeed, we saw this in the preacher and interpreter interviews above (see 6.1.3.11 and 6.2.3.4.3). It is possible that the respondents had different levels of theological differences in mind when answering this question. Note that although this question did not ask about non-Christian theology, the respondents' expectation for an interpreter to be a Christian implies that they would not accept interpreters with non-Christian theology.

However, the variance can also be explained by the remarkable difference between the congregants' responses compared to the preachers' and interpreters' responses (see Figure 8).

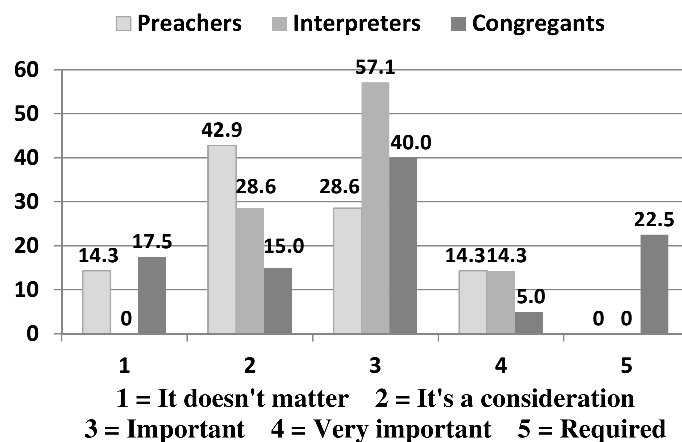

Figure 8. Question 6, responses of specific groups to the criterion of believing the same theology (in percent)

Almost a quarter of the congregants said it was "required," whereas none of the preachers or interpreters did. For many of the questions, the congregants' responses tended to be more widely distributed whereas the preachers' and interpreters' responses tended to be much more homogeneous. This question was one of the more striking examples. This could mean that the congregants may not appreciate the minor theological differences between churches as much as the preachers and interpreters do. Or perhaps some of the congregants are more skeptical and want to ensure that the interpreters can be trusted to convey the preacher's theology correctly. On the other hand, perhaps the preachers and interpreters are less concerned about interpreters believing the same theology because they are either considering more insignificant theological differences, or they trust the interpreters' capacity to convey the preacher's theology correctly even if they disagree.

Regardless, the respondents clearly value holding the same ideology of the church (Question 6) above attending Smyrna Church (Question 5). The results from Question 6 show that many of the respondents desire the interpreters to go beyond just holding common Christian ideology to holding the specific ideology of Smyrna Church.

It should be kept in mind that Questions 2-6 only reflect the responses of the 91.5% of respondents who said being a Christian is required. If the remaining few respondents had answered these questions, the averages would presumably have been shifted slightly to the left.

Question 7 asked how important it is for a sermon interpreter to **use correct Christian terminology** and Question 8 asked how important it is for them to be **skilled at interpreting**. While the respondents viewed both as important, more respondents said it is "required" or "very important" to use correct Christian terminology (70.0%) than to be skilled at interpreting (56.9%, see Figures 9 and 10).

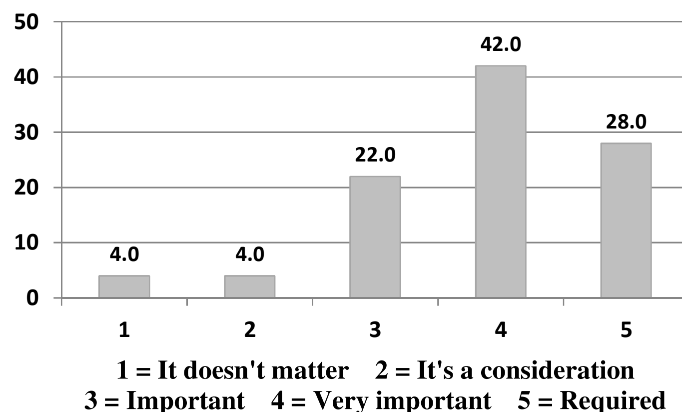

Figure 9. Question 7, responses to the criterion of using correct Christian terminology (in percent)

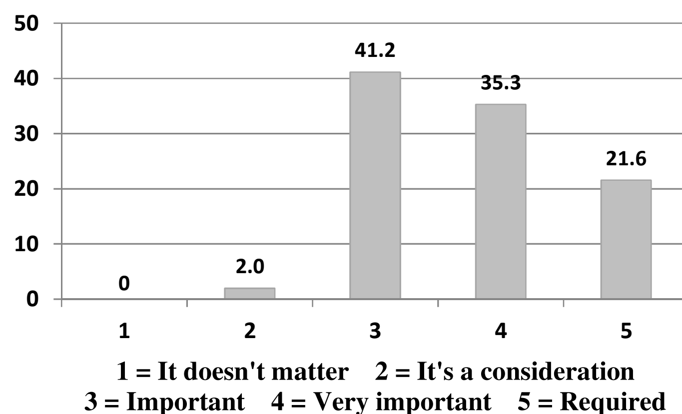

Figure 10. Question 8, responses to the criterion of being skilled at interpreting (in percent)

This is a remarkable result. The fact that any of them would say there is something more important for an interpreter than being skilled at interpreting is significant, let alone a higher percentage of them. This is not to say that the respondents do not view being skilled at interpreting as important. Only 2.0% said "it doesn't matter" or it is just "a consideration." However, this clearly shows that the respondents have additional, unique criteria which they view as more important in the context of sermon interpreting. It seems as if the respondents think that, as long as the interpreter has a certain level of competence, being able to communicate the Christian message is more important than being especially skilled at interpreting.

Of course, other institutions could also place an emphasis on using their own particular terminology, and certainly non-Christian "outsiders" could learn and use correct Christian terminology. However, the lower relative importance of being skilled

at interpreting is even more striking when compared to the requirement to be a Christian. Only 21.6% of respondents said being skilled at interpreting is required (in Question 8), whereas 91.5% said being a Christian is required (in Question 1).

In Question 9, the respondents placed very little importance on whether or not the interpreter is **formally trained**. The vast majority (66.7%) said "it doesn't matter" or it is just "a consideration," and only 15.8% said it is "required" or "very important" (see Figure 11). However, none of the preachers or interpreters said that formal training is "required," "very important," or even "important," again showing a much wider distribution in the congregants' responses (see Figure 12).

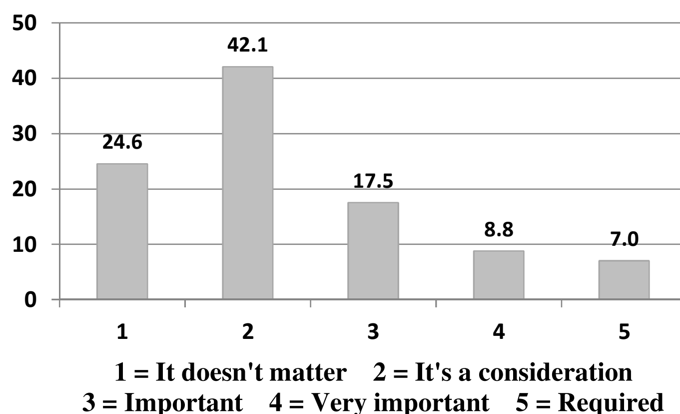

Figure 11. Question 9, responses to the criterion of being formally trained in interpreting (in percent)

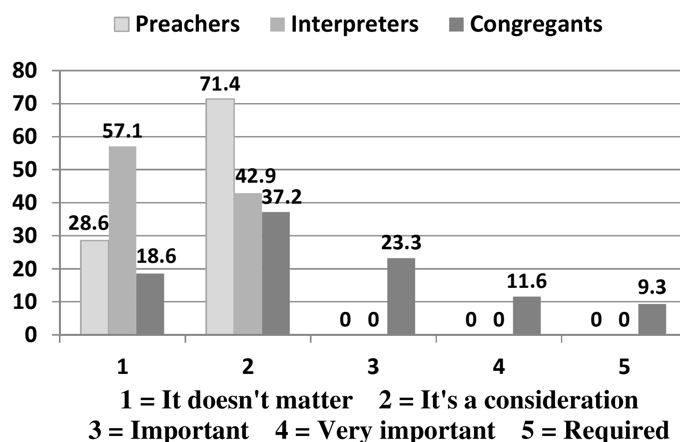

Figure 12. Question 9, responses of specific groups to the criterion of being formally trained in interpreting (in percent)

This is not to say the respondents do not think formal training is beneficial. 42.1% of them said it is "a consideration" as opposed to only 24.6% who said "it doesn't matter." However, it is certainly not a priority for them (especially for the preachers and interpreters), so they deemphasize it in deference to other qualities. Notice that the respondents placed a higher value on being skilled at interpreting (in Question 8) than on having formal training. So as long as the interpreter is skilled, the respondents do not view formal training as being important for sermon interpreting.

As previously seen, the respondents have a strong expectation for a sermon interpreter to be a Christian. However, there are almost no Christians who are formally-trained interpreters, so it makes sense that the respondents would view this as a choice between the two, even though they are not mutually exclusive. In their minds, requiring interpreters to be formally-trained would also require them to be "outsiders" who are not Christians. Furthermore, they are able to objectively assess the quality of the interpreting by non-formally-trained interpreters, since that is their regular experience. When faced with a choice in their minds, their choice is clear: they prefer to have a Christian interpreter rather than a formally-trained interpreter. They in essence validated the church's current system of using Christians over formally-trained interpreters, not finding it lacking. The bottom line is that respondents view formal training as beneficial, but not as important as other criteria.

This emphasis even extends to being skilled at interpreting. Whereas Questions 1 and 8 asked about the criteria of being a Christian and being skilled at interpreting independently, Question 18 compared the two directly, asking respondents to choose which one is more important. The question asked, "Is it more important for a sermon interpreter to be a **Christian** or a **skilled interpreter**?" An overwhelming majority of respondents (100% of preachers, all but one interpreter, and 83.1% overall) chose being a Christian over being a skilled interpreter (see Table 4).

Table 4. Question 18, responses to the choice between the criteria of being a Christian and being a skilled interpreter (in percent)

	Preachers	Interpreters	Congregants	Total
Christian	100	85.7	80.0	83.1
Skilled interpreter	0	14.3	20.0	16.9

Again, these results are quite extraordinary. The job of an interpreter is to interpret, so the fact that even some respondents would say another factor is more important than interpreting skills is significant, let alone such a large number of respondents. This

reinforces the previous conclusion that respondents have additional criteria for sermon interpreters.

In fact, the one interpreter who chose being skilled at interpreting over being a Christian (INT 4) qualified his response, saying he would choose both if he could. He said, “This is really hard to answer. I'd say both. However, a non-Christian interpreter can do a better job than a Christian interpreter with good biblical knowledge but [who is] not fluent in English.” So he indicated he was thinking of a scenario where the interpreter was not even really fluent in English instead of one where they were not skilled in interpreting. Even then, he said it was hard to choose.

This strong preference for having less-skilled Christian interpreters over more-skilled non-Christian interpreters clearly demonstrates that the churches’ selection of only Christian interpreters is a deliberate choice.

When it comes to the eligibility of a sermon interpreter, being a Christian is undoubtedly required.

6.3.3.2. Expectancy norms

The next main group of questions concerns the expectancy norms. In this study, the term “norm” has been regarded as shared ideas about the preferred qualities of interpreters working in a church setting. Norms, as the expression of values through behavior, are informally learned as the standards of behavior of a group. In these questionnaires, expectancy norms were explored through Questions 10-16, 20, and 22. First, we look at norms regarding the interpreter’s delivery of the sermon (Questions 10-12 and 22) and then the norms regarding the empowerment of the sermon interpreter (Questions 13-16 and 20).

6.3.3.2.1. Delivery: The first category of norms deals with the respondents’ expectations regarding the interpreter’s delivery of the sermon (Questions 10-12 and 22).

The first three questions (Questions 10-12) asked the respondents how they expect interpreters to respond to the preacher’s verbal and non-verbal forms of communication. That is, should they replicate the preacher’s emotions and voice inflections with his or her voice (Question 10) and his facial expressions and hand gestures (Question 11), or should they remain unanimated and interpret seriously, even if the preacher is enthusiastic (Question 12)? These questions were also asked on a 5-point scale, but the choices were different. The questions asked, “A sermon interpreter

at Smyrna Church should …" with five options: "definitely should not," "should not," "it doesn't matter," "should," and "definitely should." The purpose of using this scale was to determine whether some respondents thought interpreters should *not* do these things, in addition to seeing how important they thought it was for interpreters to do them.

Not surprisingly, the vast majority of respondents expected interpreters to replicate the preacher's **emotions and voice inflections** (Question 10). 79.7% said that interpreters "should" or "definitely should" do this, while only 6.8% (and all of them congregants) said interpreters "should not" or "definitely should not" do it (see Figure 13).

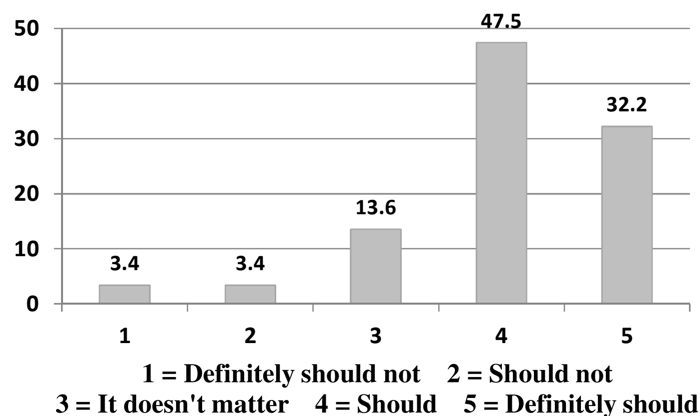

Figure 13. Question 10, responses to the norm of replicating the preacher's emotions and voice inflections (in percent)

This indicates that almost all respondents view this behavior as being important to communicating the preacher's message.

The majority of respondents also thought interpreters should replicate the preacher's **facial expressions and hand gestures** (Question 11), although they viewed it as less important than replicating the preacher's emotions and voice inflections (Question 10). 56.0% said interpreters "should" or "definitely should" do this while 13.6% said they "should not" or "definitely should not" (see Figure 14).

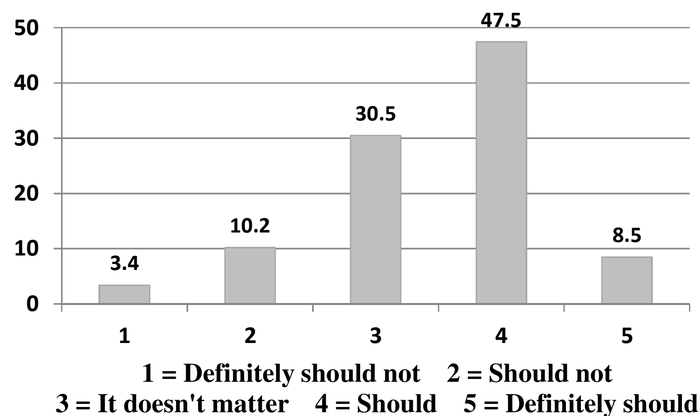

Figure 14. Question 11, responses to the norm of replicating the preacher's facial expressions and hand gestures (in percent)

Again, there was a difference between the congregants' responses and the preachers' and interpreters' responses. 71.4% of preachers and 85.7% of interpreters responded "should" or "definitely" should, compared to only 48.9% of congregants, indicating that the preachers and interpreters view replicating the preacher's facial expressions and hand gestures as more important to conveying the message than the congregants do (see Figure 15).

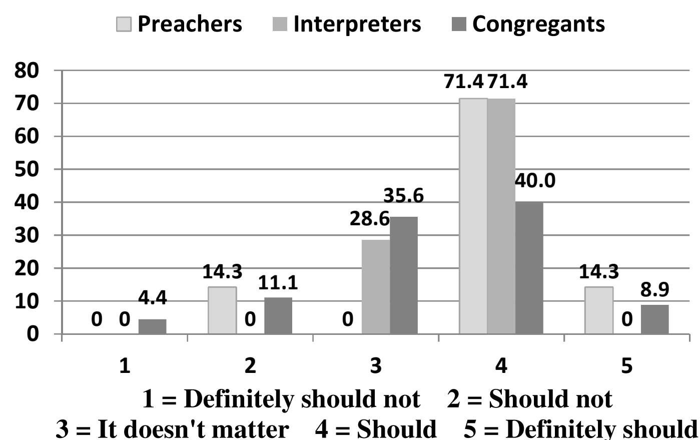

Figure 15. Question 11, responses of specific groups to the norm of replicating the preacher's facial expressions and hand gestures (in percent)

In contrast to Questions 10 and 11, Question 12 asked whether or not the interpreter should **remain unanimated and interpret seriously**, even if the preacher is enthusiastic. As expected, the results were on the opposite end of the spectrum. 74.6% of respondents (including all but one of the preachers and interpreters, and 68.9% of

congregants) said interpreters "should not" or "definitely should not" remain unanimated (see Figure 16).

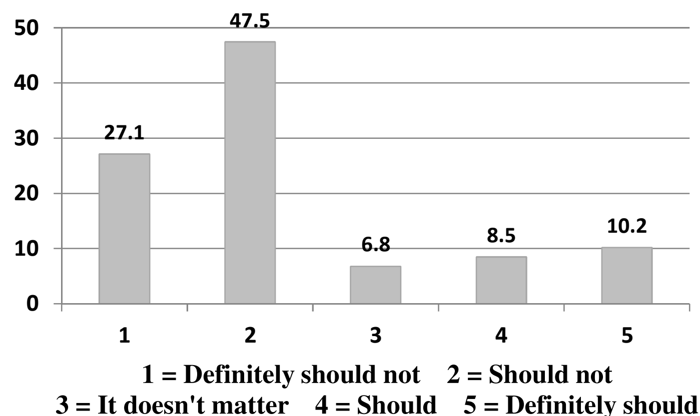

Figure 16. Question 12, responses to the norm of remaining unanimated and interpreting seriously (in percent)

According to these results, respondents clearly do not want interpreters to remain unanimated and interpret seriously.

To reinforce these norms, INT 5 added a comment at the end of her interview:

> I think that an interpreter is more effective if he somewhat mirrors or expresses the speaker's tone of voice and gestures. I think "definitely should" is too strong of a term, but I think that generally speaking it makes for a more effective presentation if the interpreter somewhat mirrors the intent of the speaker by expressing it through a similar use of voice and gestures.

The last question regarding the delivery of sermons (Question 22) asked the respondents to **rank five qualities of a sermon interpreter** from the most important to the least important, where 1 is the most important, and 5 is the least important:

1. Complete transfer of information
2. Making the information understandable
3. Speaking Turkish fluently and correctly
4. Using the correct biblical terms
5. Interpreting as passionately as the preacher

The intent was to compare these responses to previous responses from similar questions, and to see how respondents would rank these qualities among each other instead of rating them individually.

By applying a scoring system to the respondents' rankings, assigning four points to each respondent's highest rank, three points to their second rank and so on down to zero points for their last rank, we can calculate the respondents' average rating for each interpreter quality. This allows us to evaluate the relative importance the respondents placed on each trait, where 4.0 is the most important and 0.0 is the least. These results are shown in Figures 17 and 18.

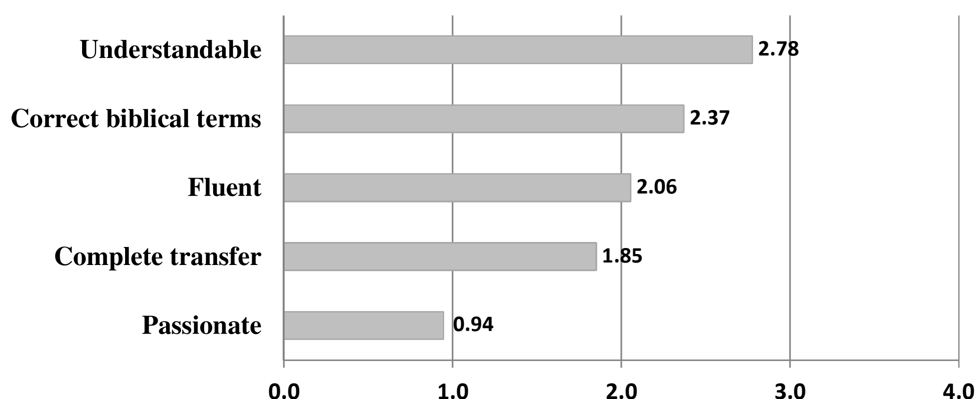

Figure 17. Question 22, respondents' average ratings of the five interpreter qualities, where 4.0 is the highest rating and 0.0 is the lowest

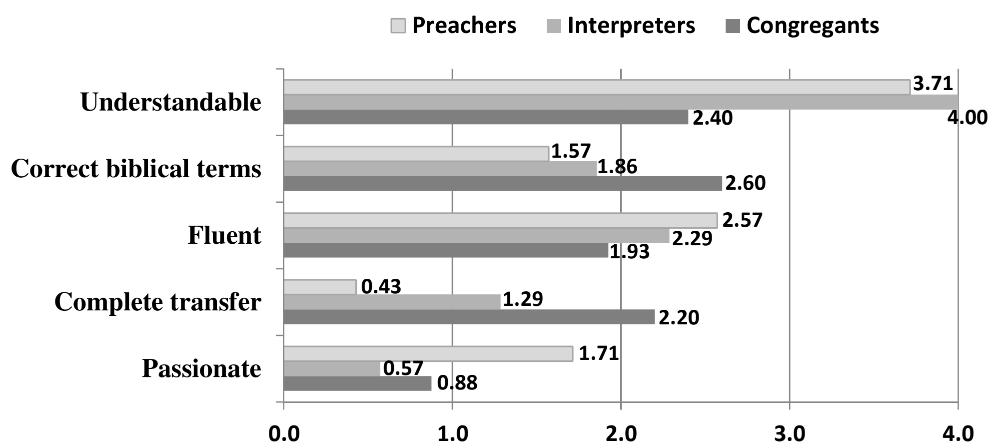

Figure 18. Question 22, specific groups' average ratings of the five interpreter qualities, where 4.0 is the highest rating and 0.0 is the lowest

Using the average ratings above, we can determine the respondents' overall rankings of the five interpreter qualities (see Table 5).

Table 5. Question 22, respondents' overall rankings of the five interpreter qualities

	Preachers	Interpreters	Congregants	Total
Complete transfer of information	5	4	3	4
Making the information understandable	1	1	2	1
Speaking Turkish fluently and correctly	2	2	4	3
Using the correct biblical terms	4	3	1	2
Interpreting as passionately as the preacher	3	5	5	5

Overall, making the information understandable was ranked first, and interpreting as passionately as the preacher was ranked last by far. Complete transfer of information was second to last (with preachers ranking it last), and using the correct biblical terms and speaking Turkish fluently and correctly were ranked second and third respectively.

Complete transfer of information was ranked fourth overall, with preachers ranking it last. None of the preachers and interpreters selected this as their first priority, and only 2 out of 14 put it among their top three priorities. The remarkable thing was how much lower the preachers and interpreters rated this below making the information understandable. The preachers' average rating was 0.43 compared to 3.71 for making it understandable – a difference of 3.28 on a scale from 0 to 4. The difference in average ratings for the interpreters was also high (2.71). So the preachers and interpreters clearly value making the information understandable much more than complete transfer of information. The congregants rated them much closer, with a difference of only 0.20. However, the congregants' ratings were again widely distributed, rating their first four choices about the same, all within a difference of only 0.67 (between 2.60 for their first choice and 1.93 for their fourth).

Making the information understandable was very clearly the respondents' top priority. It was ranked first overall, with the preachers and interpreters ranking it first and the congregants ranking it second. In fact, 12 out of the 14 preachers and interpreters (85.7%) put this as their top priority, and the remaining two put it as their second priority. 100% of the interpreters ranked it as their first priority, showing that the interpreters universally see making the information understandable as their primary duty.

Speaking Turkish fluently and correctly was ranked third overall, but both the preachers and interpreters ranked it second, behind making the information understandable. The congregants ranked it fourth, although again, their top four choices

were all relatively close. So the preachers and interpreters view this as more important to communicating the message than the congregants do. Perhaps the preachers and interpreters think the interpreter's Turkish needs to be fluent for the congregation to be able to understand them, but the congregants feel they can understand well enough even if the interpreter's Turkish is not perfect.

Using the correct biblical terms was ranked second overall, although the individual groups' responses were mixed. The preachers and interpreters ranked it fourth and third respectively. Perhaps the preachers and interpreters are not that concerned about the specific words the interpreter uses, as long as the idea or the meaning gets across (as long as it is understandable). However, it is also possible that they could think this in principle, but not in practice. Preachers might find it quite challenging if the interpreter keeps stumbling over basic Christian terminology. Even though preachers and interpreters ranked this relatively low, they still ranked it higher than complete transfer of information. The congregants ranked it first, close to their other top four choices.

Interpreting as passionately as the preacher was unequivocally ranked last. It was ranked almost as far below the fourth-ranked quality (with a difference in average ratings of 0.91) as the fourth-ranked quality was ranked below the first one (0.93, see Figure 17). The only caveat was that the preachers ranked this third. Although the preachers did not rank it particularly high, they apparently view this as more important for getting their message across than the other groups do.

To summarize the rankings in Question 22, making the information understandable was clearly ranked first, and it was ranked much higher than complete transfer of information (ranked fourth), especially by the preachers and interpreters. Interpreting as passionately as the preacher was ranked last by far, although the preachers ranked it third. Speaking Turkish fluently and correctly was ranked third overall, although the preachers and interpreters both ranked it second. Finally, using the correct biblical terms was ranked second overall, although the results were mixed, with preachers and interpreters ranking it fourth and third, and congregants ranking it first.

6.3.3.2.2. Empowerment: The next category of expectancy norms deals with the empowerment of the sermon interpreter. Questions 13-16 and 20 endeavored to find out how far the respondents think the interpreters should be empowered to use various strategies. Questions 13-16 used the same 5-point scale as Questions 10-12. The

questions asked, "A sermon interpreter at Smyrna Church should …" with five options: "definitely should not," "should not," "it doesn't matter," "should," and "definitely should."

Question 13 asked whether the sermon interpreter should **always say exactly what the preacher says**, without adding, omitting or changing anything. Naturally, none of the respondents said the interpreter "definitely should not" say exactly what the preacher says. Most of the respondents (69.5%) said interpreters "should" or "definitely should" say exactly what the preacher says (see Figure 19), which is quite interesting in light of how they answered later questions. There was also a wide disparity between what the congregants said and what the preachers and interpreters said, with 42.2% of congregants saying that interpreters "definitely should" do this, as compared to only 7.1% of preachers and interpreters (see Figure 20).

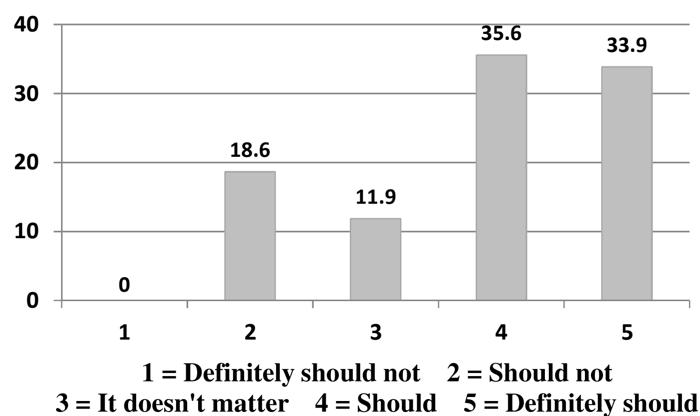

Figure 19. Question 13, responses to the norm of always saying exactly what the preacher says (in percent)

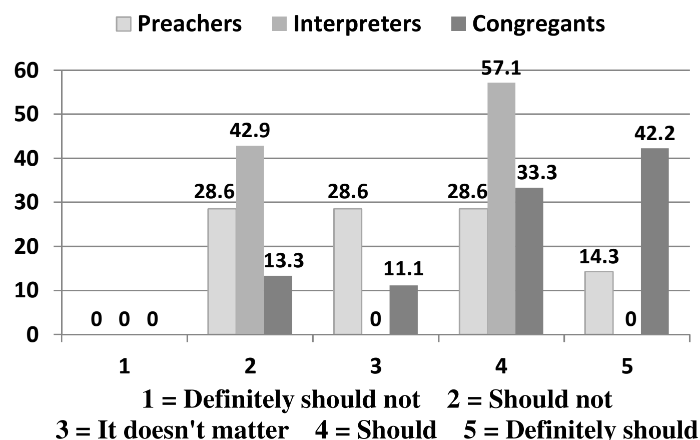

Figure 20. Question 13, responses of specific groups to the norm of always saying exactly what the preacher says (in percent)

It is interesting how weak the preachers' and interpreters' opinions were. Very few of them said "definitely should" or "definitely should not" (only 1 out of 14). In addition, very few said "it doesn't matter" (only 2 out of 14). So it is not that they had no opinion, but that most of them had "weak opinions," selecting "should" or "should not" (11 out of 14, with slightly more choosing "should"). So their opinions were weak (not extreme) and also polarized, split between whether interpreters should or should not make any changes.

This was certainly a tricky question. This question reveals the respondents' ideals, that the interpreter should say exactly what the preacher says without adding, omitting or changing anything. However, this is only a theoretical assumption (cf. Diriker 2004). Therefore, when presented with the real-life situations, as was the case in the subsequent three questions, the respondents changed their direction. One would expect that people who said interpreters "should" say exactly what the preacher says without changing anything would later say interpreters "should not" change specific things. However, that certainly was not the case.

Question 14 asked whether the interpreter should **correct any mistakes the preacher makes** (for example, if the preacher misspeaks). An overwhelming majority of respondents (81.3%) said that they "should" or "definitely should," with more of them saying "should" than "definitely should" (57.6% compared to 23.7%, see Figure 21). Only 6.8% (and none of them preachers or interpreters) said they "definitely should not."

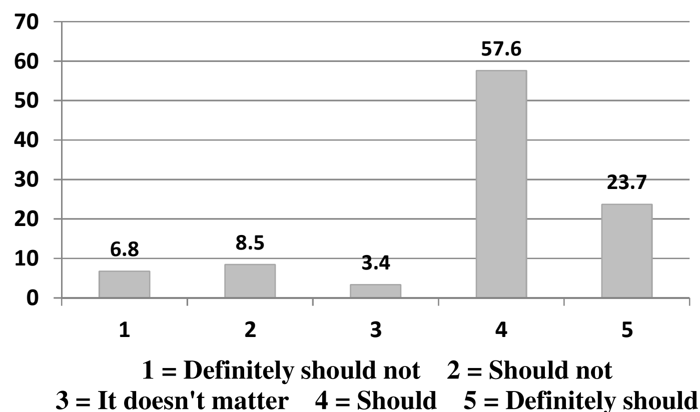

Figure 21. Question 14, responses to the norm of correcting any mistakes the preacher makes (in percent)

Question 15 asked whether the interpreter should **clarify any misunderstandings that arise** (for example, due to language differences). This time, an even larger number (96.6%) said they "should" or "definitely should," with about the same number saying they "should" and "definitely should" (50.8% and 45.8%, see Figure 22).

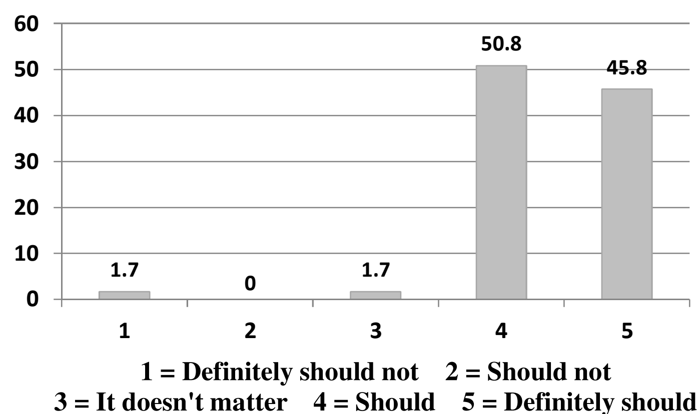

Figure 22. Question 15, responses to the norm of clarifying misunderstandings that arise (in percent)

Finally, Question 16 asked whether the interpreter should **change anything the preacher says that is culturally inappropriate** (for example, if the preacher unintentionally says something foreign or offensive to the audience's culture). Again, an overwhelming majority (89.8%) said interpreters "should" or "definitely should" do this (see Figure 23). This time, even more said they "definitely should" do it (52.5%) compared to "should" (37.3%).

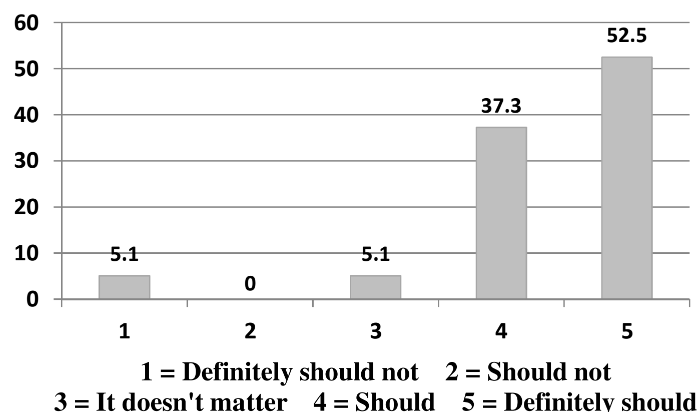

Figure 23. Question 16, responses to the norm of changing anything culturally inappropriate the preacher says (in percent)

These results clearly show that the respondents' responses to Questions 14-16 were not consistent with their responses to Question 13.

The responses to these four questions (Questions 13-16) indicate that the respondents *initially* perceived the role of the interpreter as a normative role in Goffman's model, that is, the common perception of interpreters and users as to how interpreters should perform during the interpreting activity, disregarding real-life experience (Wadensjö 1998: 83; Eraslan 2011: 45). In question 13, the respondents strongly preferred interpreters to say exactly what the preacher says. However, when they were later presented with real-life scenarios and asked how much latitude the interpreters should have to make changes, their responses were the opposite. As mentioned, an overwhelming majority of respondents answered Questions 14-16 "should" or "definitely should."

In fact, looking at the individual respondents' answers, 20 respondents said interpreters "definitely should" say exactly what the preacher says in Questions 13, and only one of them answered Questions 14-16 consistently with that answer (choosing "definitely should not" for all three questions). In addition, 69.5% of respondents answered Question 13 "should" or "definitely should," and all but one of them (97.6%) answered "should" or "definitely should" for some of the following three specific scenarios.

We will see that towards the end of the questionnaire, the respondents tended to qualify their initial ideology, after considering these specific scenarios. In fact, I questioned one of the preachers (PR 1) about this inconsistency after he had taken the

survey, and he said that he would have answered Question 13 differently if it were asked after the subsequent three questions (Questions 14-16).

Aside from that inconsistency, the responses to Questions 14-16 should have followed a progression when viewed from the standpoint of *empowerment*, or "what changes an interpreter should be *allowed* to make." That is, one would expect almost all respondents to say that interpreters should be allowed to correct *basic mistakes* (Question 14), but fewer respondents to say that interpreters should be allowed to clarify misunderstandings due to *language differences*, and even fewer to say that interpreters should be allowed to change things as *significant* as being *culturally inappropriate*. One would expect their answers to indicate how "far down" that progression of acceptable changes an interpreter should be *allowed* to go.

However, that was not the case. In fact, it was exactly the opposite. Although the number of respondents answering "should" or "definitely should" was about the same for all three questions, the number answering just "definitely should" was remarkably different. Only 23.7% of respondents said interpreters "definitely should" correct mistakes, while 45.8% said they "definitely should" clarify misunderstandings, and 52.5% said they "definitely should" change something culturally inappropriate. Although the percentages for the last two questions were fairly close, the general trend still holds. Remarkably, this trend was true for all the groups (except that one more interpreter said they should clarify misunderstandings than said they should change something culturally inappropriate, see Appendix B). In fact, more respondents answered, "definitely should" (52.5%) than "should" (37.3%) for Question 16, unlike Questions 14 and 15, which shows that the respondents emphasized changing culturally inappropriate things more than clarifying misunderstandings or correcting mistakes when the preacher misspeaks.

The reason the respondents' answers did not follow that logical progression of how far an interpreter should be allowed to go to make changes could be because they understood the question differently. Instead of understanding the questions to be asking about the empowerment of the interpreters, or what the interpreters should be *allowed* to change, they could have understood the question to be asking about what is *important* for the interpreters to change. In other words, the respondents were likely saying that something culturally inappropriate is much more important to correct than simply misspeaking. For example, the preachers might be saying, "I actually don't care that much whether you correct my mistakes or clarify misunderstandings due to language

differences. Those issues are minor for me and not as important. But I want to be sure to avoid saying anything that's culturally inappropriate!" If it is correct that the respondents were thinking that "should" in these questions was referring to what is *important* for interpreters to change instead of what interpreters should be *allowed* to change, it implies that the respondents were *assuming* that the interpreters are empowered to make the changes. When assessing whether an interpreter should *prioritize* making certain changes, it appears that their assumption was that the interpreters are and should be empowered to do so, revealing their expectancy norm.

Two more observations worth noting, from the individual groups' responses, are that the interpreters tended to emphasize clarifying misunderstandings arising from language differences (Question 15) and the congregants tended to emphasize changing something culturally inappropriate (Question 16). They both answered "definitely should" for those questions more than the other groups (see Appendix B). It is not surprising that the interpreters would emphasize clarifying interlingual misunderstandings and the congregants would be more sensitive to cultural issues.

Question 20 asked almost exactly the same thing as Question 13 (about empowering the interpreter to make changes), but the results were quite different. The respondents were asked "Which of the following describes the **task of a sermon interpreter**?" with three options:

1. Always interpret what the preacher says exactly, without adding any clarification.
2. Add explanations only when necessary, to prevent confusion.
3. Add explanations freely, to help the listeners better understand the preacher's intended meaning.

Notice the similarity in wording between the first answer and Question 13. Only 5.1% of respondents said that interpreters should **always interpret what the preacher says exactly** (see Figure 24), even though 69.5% of them said interpreters "should" or "definitely should" **say exactly what the preacher says** in Question 13.

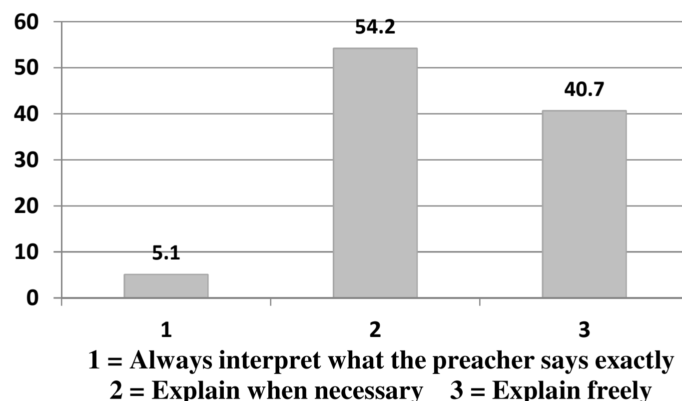

Figure 24. Question 20, responses to the task of a sermon interpreter (in percent)

The total responses were about the same for the second and third answers, but once again, the congregants' responses were quite different from the preachers' and interpreters' responses (see Figure 25).

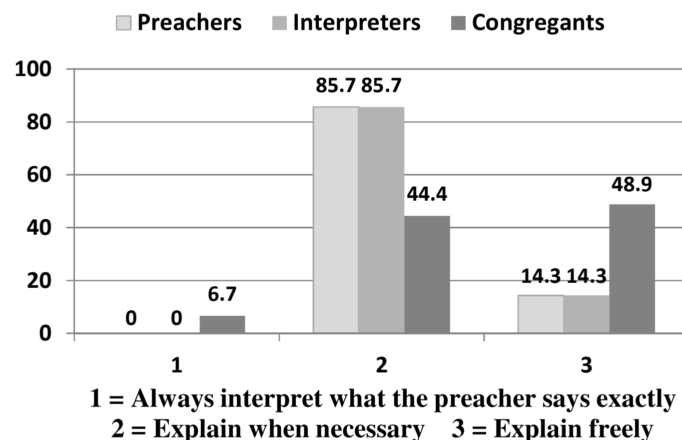

Figure 25. Question 20, responses of specific groups to the task of a sermon interpreter (in percent)

Almost all the preachers and interpreters (85.7%) gave a balanced response to this question, selecting the middle answer as opposed to one of the two extremes. However, more of the congregants selected "add explanations freely" (48.9%) than "add explanations only when necessary" (44.4%). This reveals the polarized views of the congregants. The responses to several questions indicate that there are two different "camps" among the congregants, with one saying, "Explain things to me to help me understand," and the other saying, "I don't want the interpreter to distort what the preacher is saying."

It is quite remarkable that only 5.1% (and *none* of the preachers or interpreters) said that interpreters should "always interpret what the preacher says exactly, without adding any clarification." First of all, this is significant because it indicates an almost *universal* expectation for interpreters to add clarifications to what the preacher says, at least sometimes. However, it is also in stark contrast to the 69.5% of respondents who said that interpreters should or definitely should always say exactly what the preacher says (in Question 13). As mentioned, this indicates a "settling" of their views after considering some specific examples, causing them to qualify their previous responses, which were presumably informed by idealized norms.

The respondents' responses to this question indicate a clear expectancy norm for interpreters to add explanations to what the preacher says. Almost all the respondents (94.9%) wanted the interpreters to do more than just "stick to the text," and about half the congregants (48.9%) said interpreters should go so far as to add explanations freely. Granted, the responses were somewhat qualified, with 54.2% of respondents saying interpreters should only add explanations when necessary (probably reflecting the high value they place on preserving the integrity of the spiritual message). However, they were still granting interpreters the freedom to add explanations, albeit under certain circumstances.

6.3.3.3. Trust and control

Whereas several questions asked how much authority should be granted to the interpreter to make changes, Question 17 asked what the interpreter should do if s/he *does* make significant changes. It asked, "If a sermon interpreter **significantly changes something** the preacher says, should s/he inform the preacher?" with four options:

1. A sermon interpreter should never significantly change anything the preacher says.
2. Yes, the interpreter should check with the preacher first to get approval before significantly changing anything.
3. Yes, the interpreter should notify the preacher that s/he significantly changed something.
4. No, the interpreter does not need to inform the preacher. The preacher should trust the interpreter.

Once again, the respondents gave a balanced response to this question, avoiding the extremes. Only 8.5% said an interpreter should never significantly change anything,

and only 13.6% said the interpreter can act independently, without even needing to inform the preacher (see Figure 26).

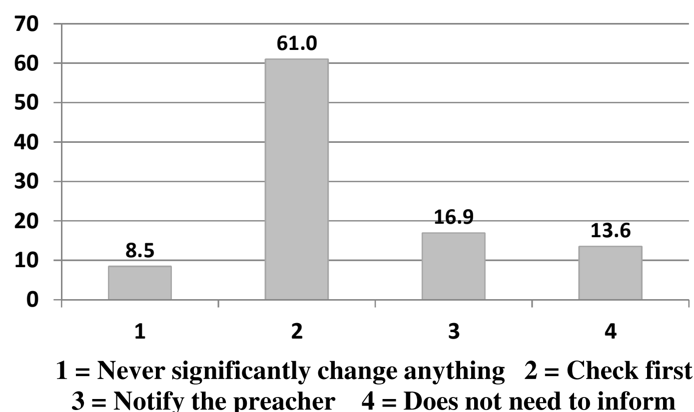

Figure 26. Question 17, responses to the expectation for an interpreter to inform the preacher of significant changes (in percent)

The respondents *trust* the interpreters, but they also want to *control* them, not giving them unlimited autonomy. The respondents were quite restrictive. 61.0% (most of them congregants) said interpreters should check with the preacher first. However, it is important to recognize that this question was asking about "*significant* changes." It was not asking about minor changes an interpreter might make. It was asking about a scenario where the interpreter intentionally alters something the preacher says. The respondents' answers might be very restrictive, requiring interpreters to coordinate with the preacher, but that is to be expected for "significant changes." The remarkable finding here is that they were not *more* restrictive, that only 8.5% said interpreters should never make changes, even if they are *significant*. This indicates that the vast majority of respondents were giving at least some latitude to interpreters to make significant changes. The fact that the respondents expect the interpreters to coordinate with the preacher does not mean that they do not expect those changes to be made. That is, even though they give latitude to interpreters to make significant changes, they expect them not to act unilaterally. There still needs to be coordination between the preacher and the interpreter.

It is also interesting that the preachers were the least concerned about interpreters making significant changes. The institutional authority "trusts" their interpreters. None of the preachers said an interpreter should never significantly change anything, and

28.6% said interpreters could freely make significant changes without even informing the preacher (see Figure 27).

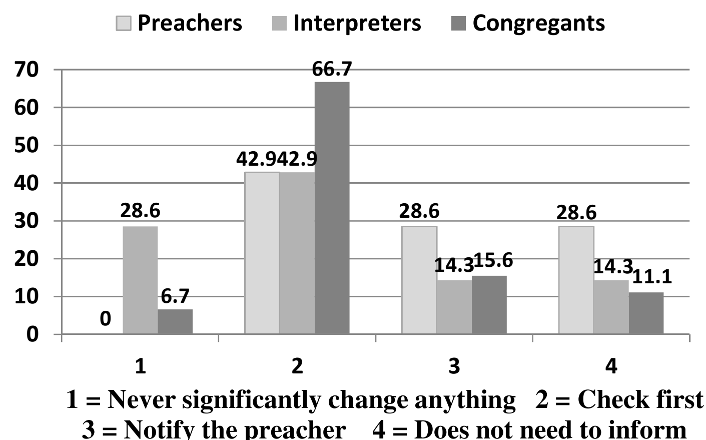

Figure 27. Question 17, responses of specific groups to the expectation for an interpreter to inform the preacher of significant changes (in percent)

Finally, we see once again that the congregants' responses were significantly different from those of the preachers and interpreters. 66.7% of them said interpreters should check with the preacher first compared to only 42.9% of preachers and interpreters, indicating that more of the congregants lean towards being more restrictive.

6.3.3.4. Interpreter as an insider

There are aspects of the congregation that only an interpreter from within the institution can know, due to his or her shared knowledge, shared culture and interpersonal relationships with them. The purpose of Question 19 was to determine whether respondents prefer the interpreter to act from within. It asked, "When the preacher refers to a story in the Bible which **the interpreter realizes not everyone knows**, which of the following should s/he do?" with two options:

1. S/he should briefly recount the story for the benefit of those who don't know it.

2. S/he should simply interpret whatever the preacher says without any additional explanation.

The results are presented in Table 6.

Table 6. Question 19, responses to the way an interpreter should handle a Bible story unfamiliar to the congregants (in percent)

	Preachers	Interpreters	Congregants	Total
Briefly recount the story	85.7	100	71.1	76.3
Offer no additional explanation	14.3	0	28.9	23.7

All but one of the preachers and interpreters (92.9%) said interpreters should recount the story, along with the majority of congregants (71.1%). This is significant because it shows that most respondents think the interpreter should have some degree of autonomy or empowerment to add to what the preacher says. This is not merely an issue of the interpreter's understanding of terminology but of personal involvement and commitment to the communication the institution aims to achieve. It is also interesting, once again, to see the difference between the congregants' responses and the preachers' and interpreters' responses, with a significant number of congregants saying interpreters should offer no explanation (28.9%). It again reveals the two "camps" among the congregants, with one camp saying, "tell me exactly what the preacher says."

This question has two assumptions. First of all, it assumes that the interpreter knows the Bible stories when a preacher refers to them, requiring the interpreter to have a thorough knowledge of the Bible and the institution. Secondly, it assumes that the interpreter knows whether the congregants are familiar with a particular Bible story, which requires "insider knowledge." Although this could be a hypothetical question, the respondents answered it in stride without questioning these assumptions or the validity of the question. It seemed normal to them for the interpreter to know the Bible and the congregation.

6.3.3.5. Interpreter as a co-preacher

Question 21 explored the role of an interpreter by asking, "Which of the following describes the **role of a sermon interpreter**?" with four options:

1. Someone who actively preaches, along with the preacher (who is a "co-preacher").
2. Someone who participates with the preacher in communicating God's word, whom the preacher trusts to understand and convey biblical truths correctly (who is a "trusted agent" of the preacher).
3. A neutral agent who simply conveys the words of the preacher.
4. Other (providing an opportunity for respondents to write in an answer).

The respondents almost universally chose option 2 (see Figure 28).

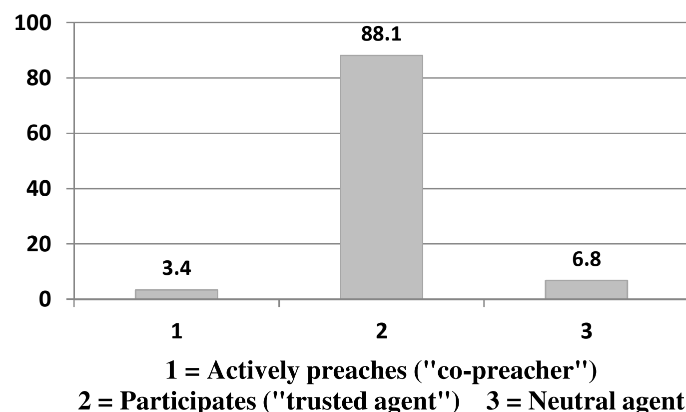

Figure 28. Question 21, responses to the role of a sermon interpreter (in percent)

An overwhelming majority (88.1%) responded with the middle option, saying the interpreter is a participant with the preacher in communicating God's word. Only 3.4% said interpreters are actual co-preachers, and 6.8% said they are neutral agents. Only one respondent (an end-user) selected "other" and wrote "the person who conveys the preacher himself and what he says in an understandable way" (translated from Turkish).

This indicates a clear expectation for interpreters to participate with the preacher to communicate God's word. None of the preachers or interpreters said an interpreter should just be a neutral agent, so all of them view sermon interpreters as having at least some additional role beyond that. Their response was qualified, with very few of them saying a sermon interpreter acts fully as a co-preacher (acknowledging the special position of a preacher). However, granting interpreters qualified freedom to participate in preaching the sermon is granting them freedom nonetheless.

There is a clear tendency for the respondents to refrain from labeling the interpreter as a co-preacher, since preaching is revered as a divinely-ordained task, while still giving the interpreter a much higher degree of latitude and a much less restricted role than in many secular conference-like settings (cf. Eraslan 2011; Diriker 2004). The expectation for the interpreter is involvement in the sermon at a physical, emotional, spiritual and theological level.

6.3.4. Discussion

The data from these surveys has been analyzed in relation to the overarching topics in this study, grouping questions according to these categories. Significant findings in each category are highlighted in the discussion below.

The first category is **eligibility criteria**. While the responses to Questions 1 (the requirement to be a *Christian*) and 18 (choosing between a *Christian* and a *skilled interpreter*) yield the unequivocal conclusion that being a Christian is an institutional requirement for sermon interpreting, their eligibility is further restricted by the respondents with additional criteria. These additional eligibility criteria, laid out in Questions 2-9, indicate that not just any volunteer within the institution (even if s/he is a Christian) should be allowed to interpret sermons.

Two of the additional criteria laid out by the respondents which were particularly strong were being a *devout* Christian and being a *mature* Christian with a thorough knowledge of the Bible and understanding of Christian doctrine. 86.8% of respondents said being devout was “required,” “very important,” or “important,” with the preachers rating it the highest (57.1% of them rated it as “required”). This result shows that all the stakeholders involved in the communicative event, especially the institutional authority, have stricter spiritual eligibility criteria for being a sermon interpreter than just being a Christian. The second additional strict criterion placed on sermon interpreters, being a mature Christian, followed a similar trend, with 92.4% of respondents saying it was “required,” “very important,” or “important,” although fewer of them said this was “required” than expected interpreters to be devout.

The other two particularly strong additional criteria were using correct *Christian terminology* and being *skilled* at interpreting, as would be expected in any institutional context. 92.0% said that using correct Christian terminology is “required,” “very important,” or “important,” and 98.1% said the same about being skilled at interpreting. However, it is interesting how the respondents distributed their answers within those three options. Just over half of respondents (56.9%) said being skilled at interpreting is “required” or “very important,” whereas 70.0% said the same about using correct Christian terminology. This indicates that respondents view being skilled at interpreting as important but not critical, and they actually place a slightly higher emphasis on using correct Christian terminology. In addition, when comparing being skilled at interpreting

directly to being a Christian (in Question 18), an overwhelming majority of respondents (83.1%, including 92.9% of preachers and interpreters) chose being a Christian.

Having the same *theology* as Smyrna Church was also seen as relatively important, with the majority of respondents (64.8%) saying it is “required,” “very important,” or “important,” although the results for this criterion were much more mixed. This shows that the respondents prefer interpreters to believe the same specific theology as Smyrna church, although they are not as concerned about it, as long as the interpreter believes other Christian theology.

Three qualifications which are clearly *not* viewed as strong criteria are having preaching experience, attending Smyrna Church, and being formally trained in interpreting.

Although we will later see that respondents view the interpreter’s role as participating with the preacher, they clearly do not view having actual *preaching experience* as a criterion for interpreting. 85.1% said that it either “doesn’t matter” or is just “a consideration,” and *none* of them said it is “required” or “very important.”

Attending Smyrna Church was also overwhelmingly viewed as unimportant. 83.4% said it either “doesn’t matter” or is just “a consideration,” with the majority (59.3%) saying it “doesn’t matter.” This question asked about attending Smyrna Church in particular, not about attending church in general. Given the respondents’ requirement for an interpreter to be a Christian, it makes sense that they would also expect an interpreter to attend some church, since Christians (especially devout or mature ones) would naturally attend church. Therefore, the respondents seem to be saying that it is not important for interpreters to attend Smyrna Church, as long as they attend another church. As mentioned above, it is common practice among churches in town to help each other with their resources. Just like a preacher occasionally visits other churches to preach as a guest speaker, interpreters also serve other churches in times of need. The respondents apparently view this as an acceptable practice.

Being formally trained was also viewed as unimportant. The majority of respondents (66.7%) said it either “doesn’t matter” or is just “a consideration.” It is interesting, however, to see the stark contrast in the congregants’ responses compared to the preachers and interpreters’ responses. *None* of the preachers and interpreters said being formally trained is “required,” “very important,” or “important,” compared to 44.2% of congregants. This is likely because the congregants did not have a very clear understanding of what it means to be formally trained in interpreting. While taking the

survey, some of the congregants remarked that they thought all the interpreters in the church were already trained (when, in fact, only one is). Even so, the majority of congregants (55.8%) said formal training either "doesn't matter" or is just "a consideration," and the overall results from this criterion reinforce the idea that interpreting in a church setting is quite different from interpreting in most other settings. The respondents did not see a need for interpreters to be formally trained as long as they are skilled (as seen above). In a church setting, other factors are more important than the interpreter's professional qualifications.

The next category is **expectancy norms**, both in terms of delivery and empowerment. Questions 10-12 and 22 revealed the expectations respondents placed on the interpreter in terms of **delivery**. Not surprisingly, 79.7% of respondents thought the interpreter either "should" or "definitely should" replicate the preacher's *emotions and voice inflections*, 56.0% said they "should" or "definitely should" replicate the preacher's *facial expressions and hand gestures*, and 74.6% said they "should not" or "definitely should not" remain *unanimated*. These results seem to suggest that a high degree of involvement of the interpreter is expected, with the respondents placing greater emphasis on replicating the emotions and voice inflections than the facial expressions and hand gestures. Preachers usually do not convey these expectations to the interpreter. In the church context, there is no official commissioning or mediating agency providing a translation brief before the sermon. Instead, the interpreter (a volunteer from the congregation or from another church) knows these expectations intuitively. It is a tacit agreement between the preacher and the interpreter. However, the interpreters sometimes have informal conversations with preachers who tell them to feel free to imitate their motions, encouraging them to be animated and not shy away from interpreting as if they were preaching.

Although the respondents clearly expected the interpreter to replicate the preacher's expressions, they seemed to place more importance on other aspects of delivery. When asked to *rank five qualities* of an interpreter in Question 22, they ranked interpreting as passionately as the preacher last. They ranked making the information understandable first, followed by using the correct biblical terms and speaking Turkish fluently and correctly. Complete transfer of information was ranked second to last.

Questions 13-16 and 20 dealt with the issue of **empowerment**. In Question 13, the respondents initially had a very restrictive response to whether the interpreter should *say exactly what the preacher says*. Most of the respondents (69.5%) said interpreters

"should" or "definitely should" say exactly what the preacher says. This conveys that they hold the conventional "neutral" interpreter view (or normative role in Wadensjö 1998 and Eraslan 2011). However, the three subsequent questions revealed the degree of empowerment they grant the interpreter to make changes for the sake of effective communication and preserving the institutional ideology. The vast majority of respondents said interpreters "should" or "definitely should" *correct mistakes* (81.3%), *clarify misunderstandings* (96.6%), and *change something culturally inappropriate* (89.8%). This inconsistency in their responses (that they both *want* interpreters to make changes and *do not want* interpreters to make changes) resembles the tension revealed in the interpreter interviews – that there are two different forces compelling them, both stemming from their reverence for the message. Along with their "sense of duty" to preserve the original message, they expressed an accompanying passion to convey the message in a way that makes it understandable to the hearers. Although they believe they should not change things in principle due to their reverence for the message, they find themselves taking the liberty to change things in practice also out of their reverence for the message, to ensure the message gets across clearly.

Question 20, regarding the *task* of the interpreter later in the survey, reveals the development of the respondents' views on empowering the interpreter even more clearly. Only 5.1% of respondents said the interpreter should *always interpret what the preacher says exactly*, even though 69.5% said interpreters "should" or "definitely should" say exactly what the preacher says in Question 13. The responses to Question 20 were somewhat qualified, with more respondents saying interpreters should only add explanations "when necessary" (54.2%) instead of "freely" (40.7%); but granting interpreters limited freedom to make changes when necessary is granting them freedom nonetheless.

It is important to note that even if respondents limit the interpreter's freedom to make changes only when necessary, they are still empowering the interpreter to *determine when* it is necessary to step in and change something. It shows that they *trust* the interpreter to "make the call." In providing limited authority to interpreters to change things, the respondents are not diminishing the interpreter's role in communicating the message, but increasing it. They expect interpreters to be active participants with the preacher, who have the latitude both to change things and to determine when things need to be changed.

The responses to Question 22 (discussed above) reinforce this idea. The respondents ranked *making the information understandable* first and *complete transfer of information* next to last. Making the information understandable implies taking the liberty to clarify – or change – confusing parts, while complete transfer of information implies "sticking to the script." The respondents clearly prefer the former over the latter, so they grant interpreters the authority to use their discretion regarding what to change and what not to change. This is quite a distinctive expectancy norm compared to interpreting in most other settings.

The last three questions, Questions 17, 19, and 21, are also related to the empowerment of the interpreter. Question 17 addressed the issue of *trust and control*, asking whether the interpreter should inform the preacher if s/he does *significantly change something* the preacher says. One of the options asked whether the interpreter should *never* significantly change anything the preacher says. Only 8.5% of respondents selected that option, granting interpreters liberty to significantly change things under certain circumstances. This suggests that the respondents trust the interpreter to only make changes beneficial to the institution. Their empowerment of the interpreter to make significant changes was qualified, with 61.0% requiring the interpreter to check with the preacher first (showing that they both trust and want to control the interpreter); but it is important to note that this question was specifically asking about *significant* changes.

Question 19 dealt with the empowerment of the interpreter to act as an *insider*. The vast majority of respondents (92.9% of preachers and interpreters and 76.3% overall) said the interpreter should *briefly recount a Bible story* unfamiliar to the congregants. This shows that the interpreter is trusted both to have sufficient knowledge of the Bible to be able to expound on a story when the preacher does not sufficiently explain it and to recognize that the Bible story needs to be explained because some congregants are not familiar with it. These expectations can clearly only be fulfilled by an interpreter from within the institution.

Question 21, regarding the *role* of the interpreter, shows that interpreters are empowered to be *participants* with the preacher. The overwhelming majority of respondents (88.1%) said the interpreter is someone who participates with the preacher in communicating God's word, whom the preacher trusts to understand and convey biblical truths correctly (who is a "trusted agent" of the preacher). This describes a much higher degree of involvement than is expected of interpreters in other settings.

Surprisingly, very few respondents said an interpreter is someone who actively preaches along with the preacher, who is a “co-preacher.” This indicates that they were hesitant to actually label interpreters as “co-preachers,” perhaps due to their reverence for the special position and authority a preacher holds. However, as we saw in the interviews, commissioners and interpreters were much more at ease about using the term “co-preacher” to describe the degree of the interpreter’s involvement. Therefore, another explanation could be the way the answers were worded. The “participant” option was a much more thorough description, perhaps making respondents more likely to select that answer. Regardless, almost no respondents (6.8%) said an interpreter is merely a neutral agent, indicating that they expect the interpreter to play an active role in communicating the message.

These findings (that interpreters are empowered to make certain changes) parallel what the commissioners said in their interviews (see 6.1.3.11). The commissioners (**R 16** and **R 17** in particular) commented that visiting preachers can sometimes be culturally insensitive and, as a result, offensive to the congregation or to non-Christian visitors. In those cases, they expect and trust the interpreter to intervene to prevent any negative consequences in order to protect the institution, not to impose their personal views. Furthermore, a preacher who is not from the local culture can make assumptions and articulate concepts that do not make sense in the Turkish context, especially some Christian concepts that are not yet established in the newly emerging Turkish church. In those instances, the expectation is placed on the interpreter to modify it in a way that makes it comprehensible to a Christian audience of Muslim background.

This quantitative data reveals the perceptions of all parties regarding the role of the interpreter in mediated communication. The analysis provides useful insight into the degree of the interpreter’s involvement in the institutionalization of the church. The next chapter delves into the interpreter-mediated sermons in order to gain a more specific understanding of the interpreter’s involvement in this institutional context.

UNIVERSITAT ROVIRA I VIRGILI
THE INTERPRETER'S INVOLVEMENT IN A TRANSLATED INSTITUTION: A CASE STUDY OF SERMON INTERPRETING
Alev Balci Tison

7. Interpreter-mediated sermons

Having established the expectations on the interpreter of the commissioners, preachers and congregants and the way interpreters position themselves in the communicative event (described in the qualitative and quantitative analyses in Chapter 6), this chapter delves into what happens in real-life occurrences, first by describing the immediate setting in detail based on a video recording of a sample event representative of the corpus and then by analysis of transcripts of the interpreted sermons. The theoretical framework on institutionalization established in Chapter 3 underlies the investigation of the interpreter's role in this process.

7.1. Setting

A communication practice should be defined within a specific setting. After describing the scope of the context in Chapter 5, this section describes the qualities of the immediate setting in which the issue at hand is investigated, from more general to more specific. With this aim in mind, an actual interpreting event representative of a typical Sunday service was videotaped. Through the detailed description of the event below, the reader will have a more complete picture of the event.

7.1.1. Description of the sample event

The video was recorded with the permission of church leaders but without the knowledge of the British guest speaker or the Turkish consecutive interpreter, a member of the congregation. Recording videos was a regular practice of the church to keep a record of Sunday services such as this one (see Figure 29 at 7.2.1). Therefore, the preacher and interpreter knew they were being recorded, but they were not informed that the recording would be used for research purposes. Because the visiting preacher did not know much Turkish, he preached in English, and the sermon was consecutively interpreted into Turkish from the front. Other than the sermon, the service was going to be interpreted from Turkish into English in simultaneous mode. However, due to problems with the equipment that day, the church transitioned from simultaneous to

consecutive interpretation from Turkish into English prior to the sermon. Here is the sequence of events for a typical Sunday church service at Smyrna Church, based on the video recording of the service on February 21, 2010.

7.1.2. Sequence of events on the recorded video

14:00 – The church service begins with the worship team singing one song.

14:04 – The pastor prays in Turkish using a microphone in the front row on the right where he is standing among the audience. Interpreter A is very quietly simultaneously interpreting into English, sitting in the left front seat using a microphone that transmits his voice to members of the audience who are wearing headsets.

14:05 – The pastor prays in English.

14:05 – A worship team member prays in Turkish using a microphone, which is interpreted simultaneously into English (by Interpreter A).

14:06 – A member of the congregation reads out a passage from the Bible in Turkish, and Interpreter A interprets it into English (not reading from the Bible as the reference is not specified).

14:07 – Another member of the congregation reads out another passage from the Bible in Turkish, and Interpreter A interprets it into English (not reading from the Bible as the reference is not specified).

14:08 – The worship music continues with five more songs, which are not interpreted.

14:37 – The worship leader announces the end of the worship service by saying that the congregation may be seated.

14:37 – The pastor prays in Turkish with his eyes closed (while the worship team members walk back to their seats). His wife is standing next to him and praying quietly as well. Then he opens his eyes and greets everyone. (In the meantime, the simultaneous interpreter, Interpreter A, keeps interpreting quietly in the background.)

14:39 – The pastor announces that they do not have enough headsets for everyone. His wife (Interpreter B) interprets what he said into English consecutively (apparently for the benefit of those who might be futilely looking for a headset). Interpreter A continues to interpret simultaneously.

14:40 – The pastor invites a new believer who will get baptized to give her testimony of how she became a Christian, in Turkish.

14:40 – The pastor interviews her; she gives her testimony. The pastor comments on her testimony (which is simultaneously interpreted into English).

14:43 – The audience applauds.

14:43 – The pastor introduces the next part of the service and specially welcomes the visiting preacher who will soon preach.

14:45 – The simultaneous interpreter (Interpreter A) interrupts and says that the interpreting system is not working. They switch to consecutive mode with Interpreter B interpreting, standing next to the pastor.

14:45 – The pastor makes a few announcements while Interpreter B interprets consecutively.

14:47 – Interpreter B makes some additional announcements in English while the pastor consecutively interprets into Turkish.

14:50 – The pastor continues in Turkish and invites two members in charge of the offering box to come to the front and prays for the offering. Interpreter B continues to consecutively interpret.

14:51 – The pastor invites the preacher to come forward in English (code-switching from Turkish to English because the preacher is an English speaker).

14:51 – The pastor also invites the sermon interpreter (Interpreter C) to the front, while Interpreter B returns to her seat.

14:51 – Interpreter C takes over.

14:51 – The pastor introduces the preacher, during which time Interpreter C sets up his own pulpit beside the preacher, and there is no interpretation.

14:53 – The preacher starts his sermon and Interpreter C consecutively interprets.

15:43 – The preacher ends his sermon with a prayer.

15:47 – The preacher gives an altar call, inviting people to respond to God.

15:54 – The preacher stops speaking.

15:54 – The pastor closes the service by calling the prayer team forward.

15:55 – The recording ends.

Even though the sequence of events is outlined above, further details are provided here to help the reader visualize this event more clearly. Regarding the setting, the event took place in a historical church building which is architecturally arranged in the shape

of a Christian cross, with the pews where the congregants sit in the longest part and an altar area where the speakers stand at the intersection. Although there is a traditional elevated marble pulpit as part of the historical building, Smyrna Church does not use it and places a portable screen for the projector there instead. Songs, announcements and Bible verses during the sermon are projected on this screen, operated by someone sitting on the second row with a computer. The worship music is led from the altar area as well with a small piano situated on the right side from the congregation's viewpoint.

The service was conducted from the altar area by the pastor in Turkish. Typically, the whole service was interpreted simultaneously from the left front seat by whispering into a microphone. On that Sunday, the interpreter assigned for this task was an American interpreter (Interpreter A). However, because the church had a guest speaker who would preach in English, they had appointed another interpreter who was Turkish (Interpreter C) to consecutively interpret the sermon. Interestingly, there were not enough headsets for all the English speakers that day (for the portion of the service interpreted simultaneously into English). However, they still continued to interpreting simultaneously (leaving some English speakers without any interpretation) until the simultaneous interpreting system broke and the Pastor's wife spontaneously became the *ad hoc* consecutive interpreter (Interpreter B) until the sermon began. When the sermon started, both the preacher and the assigned consecutive interpreter (Interpreter C) were invited to the front. The preacher and the interpreter came forward to the altar area and stood in front of the audience with a metal music stand for each to hold their Bibles and notes. The pastor and his wife walked back to their seats. The preacher and the interpreter carried through the 50-minute sermon in tandem-like fashion. If the audio were turned off, one could hardly infer which one was preaching and which one was interpreting. Even most of their body language was in harmony with each other, e.g., when the preacher's left arm is raised with his hand pointing up, so is the interpreter's (cf. Harris 2009). The only difference was that the preacher had a hands-free microphone attached to his ear (only the preachers wear the hands-free microphones throughout the whole service), while the interpreter was holding a wired microphone. They were both positioned in order to face the audience in the same direction from a parallel angle, indicating a kind of equality granted by the institution.

7.2. Analysis of sermon recordings

Following the detailed description of the setting for a sample event, this section attempts to explore the interpreting practices, based on the transcriptions of four audio recordings and one video-recording of naturally-occurring sermons that were interpreted in short consecutive mode. This discourse analysis sets out to address primarily the first research question as to what role(s) interpreters play in the church setting in constructing the church as an institution through interpreter-based communication. It also seeks regularities in the underlying interpreters' behaviors in situations of the same type in order to extrapolate process norms at the institutional level, aiming to answer the third research question. Furthermore, this close examination of the text production aims to examine the influence of institutional ideology on the interpreter in order to answer the second research question. The recurrent strategies and decisions to cope with problems that reveal such influence are traced during the interpreting production process.

7.2.1. Description of data

For approximately 20 years, Smyrna Church has been recording every sermon so that people could listen to the sermons again or so that members who missed the service could hear the message later at their convenience. Since it has been common practice for years, preachers and interpreters knew they were being recorded, but they did not know the recordings would be subsequently analyzed for a doctoral thesis. When this research project was launched in 2007, having obtained permission from the church leaders to access the church archives, 213 cassette tapes of sermons preached and consecutively interpreted between English and Turkish were located in the storage area of the church. Church authorities also provided 69 digitally recorded sermons, all of which are English sermons interpreted into Turkish. Currently a total of 282 recordings are available for this study, 221 of which were interpreted from English into Turkish (see Table 7).

Table 7. Corpus of recordings

Interpreting Category	Cassette Recordings	Digital Recordings	Total
English to Turkish			
INT 1	51	20	71
INT 2	36	14	50
INT 3	23	1	24
INT 4	7	16	23
Other Turkish Interpreters	11	-	11
Non-Turkish Interpreters	24	18	42
Turkish to English	61	-	61
Total	**213**	**69**	**282**

Smyrna Church has continued its recording practice to this day. Between 2007 and 2011, the entire service was video-recorded. However, only the sermons have been recorded since 2011, when their video recorder broke. As stated earlier, the service is currently in Turkish and simultaneously interpreted into English. In those cases, the interpreter is not recorded. If a visiting preacher is consecutively interpreted from English into Turkish from the front, only the interpreter is recorded (to capture the Turkish), although the recording device usually picks up the preacher's voice as well, albeit less distinctly.

<table>
<tr><th>Year</th><th>Sermon Recordings</th></tr>
<tr><td>1994</td><td rowspan="7">No Recordings</td></tr>
<tr><td>1995</td></tr>
<tr><td>1996</td></tr>
<tr><td>1997</td></tr>
<tr><td>1998</td></tr>
<tr><td>1999</td></tr>
<tr><td>2000</td></tr>
<tr><td>2001</td><td rowspan="5">Audio Cassette Recordings</td></tr>
<tr><td>2002</td></tr>
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<tr><td>2005</td></tr>
<tr><td>2006</td><td>Digital Audio Recordings</td></tr>
<tr><td>2007</td><td rowspan="4">Video Recordings</td></tr>
<tr><td>2008</td></tr>
<tr><td>2009</td></tr>
<tr><td>2010</td></tr>
<tr><td>2011</td><td rowspan="5">Digital Audio Recordings</td></tr>
<tr><td>2012</td></tr>
<tr><td>2013</td></tr>
<tr><td>2014</td></tr>
<tr><td>2015</td></tr>
</table>

Figure 29. Chronology of Smyrna Church's recording policy

7.2.2. Corpus design

Based on John Sinclair's definition of corpus, "a collection of naturally-occurring language text, chosen to characterize a state or variety of a language," a corpus-based approach has been adopted for this analysis (1991: 171). The 213 cassette and 69 digital interpreter-mediated recordings constitute the corpus of 282 naturally-occurring talks. These recordings were numbered and categorized based on lingual directionality: sermons interpreted from English into Turkish and sermons from Turkish into English (see Table 7 above). The English-to-Turkish sermons were then categorized according to the preachers and interpreters by name.

32 speakers preached these audio-recorded sermons. The lead pastor preached the most (41 sermons). Other frequent preachers were nine members of the church and eight travelling preachers, with one of the guest speakers preaching 26 times. The mean duration of the sermons was about one hour, and most of them were interpreted by the eight main interpreters at the church (the seven interpreters who were interviewed and me).

7.2.3. Sampling

Five recordings of interpreter-mediated sermons were used as a sampling for this discourse analysis. Four of them were audio recordings and one was the video recording described at 7.1.

The four audio recordings were selected from the corpus of 282 audio-recorded sermons. Only sermons interpreted by Turkish interpreters were selected. One sermon was selected from each interpreter's collection (the three Turkish interpreters who were interviewed and me) using random sampling.

In addition to these audio recordings, the video recording made in 2010 for the description of the setting was incorporated into the data for this analysis at the utterance level. The sample selection was designed to provide well-balanced data, with each interpreter being represented one time during a typical Sunday service. One of the interpreters was represented a second time during the video-recorded sermon. The five interpreter-mediated sermons were each between 45-90 minutes in length for a total of 4 hours 45 minutes (see Table 8). Three preachers were represented in this sample. One

was the lead pastor, another was one of the elders (leaders) of the church, and the last one was a guest preacher who has visited the church periodically for over 10 years.

No preacher or interpreter (including me, as one of the interpreters) was aware that the sermon and its interpretation would be used for research. First of all, the four audio sermons were recorded before this study was launched. Only the sermon in the videotape was recorded specifically for this study, and that was also recorded without the knowledge of the preacher or the interpreter because it was routine practice, as mentioned above. Therefore, when the service was filmed using the church's video equipment and operator for this research, no one questioned why it was being recorded.

Table 8. Characterization of the corpus sampling

	Sermon 1 06/01/2002	**Sermon 2** 21/04/2002	**Sermon 3** 06/03/2005	**Sermon 4** 04/02/2007	**Sermon 5*** 21/02/2010	**Total**
Preacher	PR 2	PR 2	PR 3	PR 1	PR 3	
Interpreter	INT 3	INT 1	INT 2	INT 4	INT 4	
Start of sermon (in recording)	0:00:09	0:01:09	0:03:26	0:09:35	0:21:13	
End of sermon (in recording)	0:41:42	0:40:40	1:06:41	1:40:40	1:11:21	
Duration	41m 33s	39m 31s	1h 03m 15s	1h 31m 05s	50m 08s	4h 45m 32s
Number of words	4,861	5,114	8,357	10,669	6,196	35,197

* Video recording

7.2.4. Transcripts

The analog cassette recordings were converted to a digital format and saved on CDs, and the five sample sermons were transcribed using Windows Media Player and Microsoft Word. The transcriptions were created orthographically rather than phonetically according to conventions adopted from Du Bois *et. al.* (1993), for the purposes of this study (see Appendix C). The fillers and hesitations are not reflected in detail but only in the instances where it was very distinct (indicated only with "uhh"). The transcriptions of the sermons were divided according to the turns taken by the speaker and interpreter, with the preachers' turns prefaced with the abbreviation "PR" and the interpreters' turns prefaced with "INT." A 30-minute transcript is included as a sample in Appendix D. The transcripts of all five sermons consist of 35197 words, including both source and target texts.

7.2.5. Units of analysis

The following analysis, based on the five transcribed sermon recordings in the sampling, is conducted under two sets of categories established specifically to look for process norms. Accordingly, the prevailing strategies that interpreters resorted to are illustrated through relevant excerpts, focusing in particular on three explicitation strategies: by lexical addition, by repetition and by rewording. Each of these strategies is separately analyzed, recognizing that the borders between them are not clear-cut; thus, instances of two or three strategies can be found intertwined in some excerpts.

Regarding these process norms, which are governed by expectancy norms, instances that indicate interpreter's involvement in the sermon as an insider are dealt with, along with recurring patterns and indicators that evidence the co-constructing role of the interpreter during these interpreter-mediated sermons. In such instances, the interpreter is involved in the communication in four main aspects:

1. *Partnership in interaction*. Even though a sermon is conventionally a monolingual communication (in this case, interpreter-mediated), some interaction occurs to achieve a communicative goal. The preacher and the interpreter interact with each other as partners. When needed, the interpreter takes the initiative to act as a facilitator of the action that the preacher proposes.
2. *Institutional language policy revealed*. Instances when the church language policy is revealed are pinpointed through Bible readings or comments on translation and interpreting.
3. *Interpreter from within*. There is active intervention when the interpreter takes the liberty to complete some biblical and cultural gaps the preacher misses. In these cases, the interpreter provides background knowledge that s/he feels is necessary for the target audience to understand what the preacher is communicating. These are explained as instances of the interpreter acting from *within* rather than *between* the speaker and the audience.
4. *Interpreter as a co-preacher*. There are indications of the interpreter co-preaching through certain rhetorical devices.

Table 9 presents the numbers of occurrences of the above-mentioned units to help organize the data for each category (cf. Silverman 2001: 122-123). The segments of utterances exemplifying each specific category are marked in bold for the reader's convenience in the excerpts.

Table 9. Units of analysis

Interpreting strategies	
Explicitation by lexical addition	62
Explicitation by repetition	35
Explicitation by rewording	304
Interpreter's involvement as an insider	
Partnership in interaction	79
Institutional language policy revealed	10
Interpreter from within	41
Interpreter as a co-preacher	126

7.2.6. Interpreting strategies

Interpreting strategies are "ways of responding to norms" (Chesterman 1999: 96) and according to Gile, they are "at least partly norm-based just as translation strategies" (Gile 1999: 100). These strategies are examined as explicitations by lexical additions, repetition and rewording, and are explained and exemplified in actual occurrences in the analysis below.

7.2.6.1. Explicitation by lexical addition

One of the frequently occurring explicitation strategies observed in this corpus of sermons is lexical additions, by which interpreters aim to make sure the audience understands what the preacher says. Among the many ways of making something explicit are additions of connectives on the textual and extra-linguistic levels, such as conjunctions, adverbs and phrases to link the contents of two sequential sentences, and by making lexical additions that attempt to explicate and explain on both syntactic and semantic levels.

Excerpt 1 (Sermon 4, minutes 43:09 - 43:34)

1 PR 1: And now a new nation.

2 INT 4: Ve şimdi yepyeni bir ulus var.
*And now there is a **brand** new nation.*

3 PR 1: But inheriting all the promises that were there for Israel, because they were the new Israel.

4 INT 4: Ve **bu yeni ulus** o **hani** İsrail'e verilen vaatler vardı **ya**? O vaatlerin hepsini aynen miras olarak alıyor ve **sıfırdan başlıyorlar tekrar aynı vaatlerle**.

And ***you know,*** *the promises given to Israel****, remember? This new nation*** *is inheriting all those promises as they are and* ***start anew from scratch with the same promises****.*

The excerpt above seems to demonstrate the concern the interpreter bears for the audience to grasp the message. That is probably why he communicates the story in a narrative manner and provides an additional emphasis by reformulating a second rendition. He gives the impression that he has a genuine motivation to help the audience understand what he is trying to communicate. He is cognizant that the biblically literate congregation would mostly understand that God made promises to the people of Israel in the Old Testament[17] and that now everyone who believes in Jesus is called to be part of God's own people; yet not every member of the target audience may necessarily make that connection. Therefore, he makes explicit how this new nation inherits the same promises as old Israel. The interpreter inserts "you know … remember?" (*hani … ya*) as a linguistic structure that links the content of the sentence to previous sentences in order to draw the audience into the sermon (cf. Karlik 2010: 173).

In the next example below, the preacher is making a point about the parallelism between the first man, Adam in the Old Testament and Jesus in the New Testament. He builds up his point by contrasting the two.

<u>Excerpt 2 (Sermon 4, minutes 01:10:59 - 01:12:02)</u>

1 PR 1: Later in that chapter it says this:

2 INT 4: Ee, bölümün devamında şöyle bir şey söylüyor:
Uuh in the rest of the chapter, it says something like this:

3 PR 1: "All of you are now in Christ."

4 INT 4: "Şimdi hepiniz Mesih'tesiniz."
Now you are all in Christ.

…

5 PR 1: The old creation, the first creation,

6 INT 4: Eski yaratılış yani ilk yaratılıştan **<u>bahsediyoruz</u>**.
We are talking about *the old creation, namely the first creation.*

[17] I will surely bless you and make your descendants as numerous as the stars in the sky and as the sand on the seashore. Your descendants will take possession of the cities of their enemies, and through your offspring all nations on earth will be blessed, because you have obeyed me. (Genesis 22:17-18, NIV)

7 PR 1: was in, in Adam.

8 INT 4: Adem'deydi … **Adem [aracılığıyla oldu]**.
It was in Adam, ***it happened through Adam****.*

9 PR 1: [And you were] all born in Adam.

10 INT 4: Ya, ve hepiniz Adem'in **suretinde, Adem'in benzerliğinde** doğdunuz.
Yeah, and you were all born in ***the image of Adam, in the resemblance of*** *Adam.*

11 PR 1: When you came to believe in Jesus,

12 INT 4: Mesih'e iman ettiğiniz zaman,
When you believed in Christ,

13 PR 1: You were taken out of Adam.

14 INT 4: Adem'den alındınız.
You were taken from Adam.

15 PR 1: You are now in Christ.

16 INT 4: Artık Mesih'tesiniz. **Adem'de değilsiniz artık, Adem'den alınıp Mesih'e aktarıldınız.**
Now you are in Christ. ***You are not anymore in Adam, you have been taken from Adam and transferred into Christ.***

As can be seen, the preacher explains this concept of "being in Christ" by expounding on it through the Scripture. Right at the climax, the interpreter wants to make sure that the congregation really comprehends it. So he gives one more quick explanation, although he knows that his rendition of the short sentence was perfectly acceptable: *Artık Mesih'tesiniz* (You are now in Christ). In both the above, the interpreter appears to be making a concentrated effort to not leave anything implicit. There is great concern regarding his expressions, making them as explicit as possible.

Excerpt 3 (Sermon 4, minutes 02:07:50 - 02:09:00)

1 PR 1: When I, I was speaking in West Africa last year, [spent a month there].

2 INT 4: [Geçen yıl] ee geçen yıl Batı Afrika'da **bir ülkede** bir ay kadar kaldım.
Last year, uhh last year I stayed ***in a country*** *in West Africa for about a month.*

3 PR 1: And there, if you are born before somebody, even if it's only a few days, it gives you greater importance.

4 INT 4: **O ülkenin, eee, şeyine göre, geleneğine göre** eğer, birisinden birkaç gün bile büyük olsan, o **senden küçük olan üzerinde** çok büyük bir **yetki sahibi** kılıyor seni.

__According to the thing, uhh the tradition of that country__, if you are older than someone even for one day, it gives __you great authority over the one younger than you__.

5 PR 1: So the question "How old are you?" is very important.

6 INT 4: Onun için "kaç yaşındasın?" sorusu **son derece** önemli idi **o ülkede**.

That's why the question, "How old are you?" was __extremely__ important __in that country__.

7 PR 1: And if the person gives their age and he's younger than you,

8 INT 4: Eğer kişi yaşını söylediğinde eğer senden daha küçükse,

When the person tells his age, if he is younger than you,

9 PR 1: You've got nothing to learn from him.

10 INT 4: Onlardan öğreneceğin hiçbir şey yok **demektir**. **Küçük birisi sana bir şey öğretemez, senden küçük birisi bir şey oğretemez.**

__It means__ there is nothing you can learn from them. __Someone small cannot teach you a thing, someone younger than you cannot teach anything.__

11 PR 1: And that's the problem with some of our young pastors.

12 INT 4: Ve, ee, **bu gelenek maalesef ordaki** bazı genç çobanlarımız için **kilise çobanları için** biraz zor durum oluşturuyor.

And uhh __this tradition unfortunately__ poses a little bit of a difficult situation for some of our young pastors __there, for church pastors__.

In this excerpt, the interpreter again feels obliged to add an expression for clarity. First of all, he qualifies the indefinite pronoun "that" to be a definite pronoun *bu gelenek* (this tradition) although the preacher never said it was a tradition in West Africa, but he implied it. Then, in turn 3 where the preacher says, "… it gives you greater importance," he does not want to leave it abstract and explicitate it with "it gives you great authority" (*çok büyük bir* ***yetki sahibi*** *kılıyor seni*). Also, when the preacher talks about "young pastors," the exact equivalent would be *genç çoban* or *genç pastor* (young shepherd or young pastor) in Turkish. The interpreter chooses to use *çoban*. Although most of the

congregation would know that this term means pastor (i.e., the leader of the church) in church jargon, it does not mean that in standard Turkish, and the interpreter does not seem to want to leave any room for doubt that the preacher could mean literal young shepherds instead of young spiritual shepherds (i.e., pastors). Therefore, he explicates it and says "church shepherd/pastor." He takes something ambiguous and turns it into something obvious. The interpreter seems to understand that for the communicative act to be fulfilled, what matters is not the proper terminology but that laymen understand it whether through equivalence of certain biblical terms or through just a simple explanation in the target language. Christian concepts have not yet formed a consistent terminology within the target (dia)culture (Turkish Christian culture) up to the present (cf. Nord 1997: 8).

<u>Excerpt 4 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:57:26 - 00:57:31)</u>

1 PR 1: We haven't gotten to Revelation yet.

2 INT 4: Daha Esinleme, **Vahiy** bölümüne gelmedik,
*We haven't yet got to the chapter of revelation, **revelation**.*

Out of the two main available versions of the Bible in Turkish, the old translation of the New Testament title for Revelation (the last book of the New Testament) was *Esinleme*, but the new Turkish translation entitles it *Vahiy*. The interpreter here does not want to leave any implicitness and ensures that the readers of both translations will understand.

<u>Excerpt 5 (Sermon 4, minutes 01:04:17 - 01:04:25)</u>

1 PR 1: That's just a shadow!

2 INT 4: <u>**Oysa bu tapınak tek bir yerde inşa edilmiş bir bina, bir tapınak**</u>, bir gölgeden ibaret.
***In fact this temple is a building built in one single place, a temple**, merely a shadow.*

Again, here the preacher uses a metaphor and the interpreter makes it explicit with an interpretation of the metaphor's meaning. "Shadow" is interpreted both literally (*gölge*) as a metaphor and as "a temple" (*tapınak*), which is what the interpreter believes the metaphor represents.

Excerpt 6 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:47:57 - 00:48:28)

1 PR 1: Because when they came up to the feast, they, the feast of the Passover, the, all the other nations were excluded by a wall in the temple that said, "You mustn't come any further."

2 INT 4: Çünkü, eee, **hatırlayacaksınız** Fısıh kutlamalarına geliyordu **ya;** bütün başka uluslardan **yani Yeruşalim'de toplandıkları zaman**, ama o kutlamalara geldikleri zaman diğer uluslardan olanların tapınağa girmesi **bir, ee, perdeyle** sınırlanıyordu, **giremiyordu; diğer uluslardan gelenler giremiyordu**.

Because uhh ***you will remember that*** *those from other nations were coming to the Passover celebrations,* ***you know;*** ***when they gathered in Jerusalem*** *but* ***when they came to those celebrations****, the access was restricted uhh* ***with a curtain*** *for those from other nations to enter the temple.* ***They could not enter; those from other nations were not allowed to enter.***

In this example, since the issue again needs context for the audience not familiar with Christian or Jewish culture, the interpreter contextualizes it by adding that the non-Jewish people who celebrate the Passover come to Jerusalem. However, when the preacher talks about a physical barrier (a middle wall) that separated Gentiles and Jews at the Temple, which prohibited Gentiles from entering into the temple courts, the interpreter renders it as a curtain rather than a wall. He probably was thinking of the curtain[18] that separated the Holy Place from the Most Holy place, which signified that man is separated from God by sin. The curtain was torn apart when Jesus died on the cross,[19] which symbolized the way into the Most Holy Place was open for all people, for all time, both Jew and Gentile. So the interpreter, probably thinking that the preacher is talking about this, ignores that he said "a wall" and says "curtain" (*perde*) instead. Whether this assumption is right or not, this incident exemplifies the interpreter's zeal to help the audience, who are his fellow believers, understand the message of the preacher. In addition to the explicitation, it should be noted that the interpreter used the name *Yeruşalim* for the city Jerusalem, which is known as *Kudüs* in Turkish. Only in the

[18] Hang the curtain from the clasps and place the ark of the covenant law behind the curtain. The curtain will separate the Holy Place from the Most Holy Place. (Exodus 20:33, NIV)
[19] At that moment the curtain of the temple was torn in two from top to bottom. (Matthew 27:51a, NIV)

Bible is it *Yeruşalim* and only an interpreter familiar with its translation as such in the Bible would use it.

Excerpt 7 (Sermon 3, minutes 00:16:25 - 01:18:00)

1 PR 3: But above all these things, he has given us, as it says in the very last verse of that, what was read to us, he has given us the unspeakable gift of Jesus.

2 INT 2: Ama Tanrı'nın bize verdiği **armağanların armağanı olan** onların en ötesinde olan sözle tarif edilemez bir amağan daha var, o da İsa **Mesih'tir**.
But there is one more gift that God has given to us, the unspeakable gift most beyond everything else, which is the ***gift of all gifts*** *that is Jesus* ***Christ****.*

…

3 PR 3: But the question is, do we acknowledge, do we say, "Yes, these are given by God"?

4 INT 2: Ama, bunları söylüyor muyuz, **bunları ikrar ediyor muyuz ağzımızla** "Evet, bunlar Rab'den gelen **onun verdiği** armağanlardır" diye **belirtiyor muyuz**?
But do we say these things, do we ***profess these things with our mouth****?* ***Do we indicate****, "Yes, these are gifts* ***coming from the Lord****, the gifts that he has given?"*

This excerpt includes a lot of reiteration of the point rather than additional explanations. The interpreter seems to add an emphasis of emotion by urging the congregation to recognize that Jesus is a gift from God. She overlooks the biblical reference that the speaker has mentioned ("as it says in the very last verse of that"), accentuating the gift by its aggrandized rendition as "gift of gifts" (*armağanların armağanı olan*) and urges that they should appreciate this gift.

Excerpt 8 (Sermon 2, minutes 00:24:29 - 00:25:07)

1 PR 2: Why? He just started to walk with Jesus and go in God's way.

2 INT 1: Neden **sizce**? Tam da İsa'yla beraber yürümeye başlamıştı, **ona inanmıştı** ve Tanrı'nın yolundaydı.

Why ***do you think****? He had just started to walk with Jesus.* ***He had believed in him*** *and he was on God's way.*

…

3 PR 2: Are we deciding to go back to Egypt, to bondage? Or are we deciding, yes, Jesus is with us.

4 INT 1: **O zaman** biz böyle mi bir karar veriyoruz? Yani aslında Mısır'a dönüp **orada kalsam çok daha iyi miydi**, yoksa **hayır**, İsa benimle birlikte **ve bu durumdan kurtulacağım**.

Then *are we making such decisions? In other words,* ***would it be much better*** *if I returned to Egypt and* ***stayed there****, or* ***no****, Jesus is* ***together*** *with me* ***and I will be delivered from this situation****.*

The interpreter here possibly is not satisfied with the literal rendition, "He had just started to walk with Jesus," and explains what it represents: "He had believed in Jesus" (*ona inanmıştı*) to make a metaphoric expression an explicit one. Next, she seems to add another question in turn 4 to the preacher's rhetorical question and answers them perhaps in order to reinforce the message: "Are we making such decisions? Would it be much better if I returned to Egypt and stayed there? No!" She also adds "I will be delivered from this situation" to explain what the preacher probably meant by "Jesus is with us."

7.2.6.2. Explicitation by repetition

Another recurring strategy appears to be repetition, a rhetorical device used in preaching. Interpreters of sermons, whether consciously or unconsciously, are observed to be resorting to repetition even when the preacher has *not* made that repetition. Even at times when the interpreters interpret the utterance correctly, we frequently see an attempt to repeat parts or the whole of an original utterance, which seems to demonstrate an extra effort to make an emphasis as a rhetorical device.

Excerpt 9 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:17:07 - 00:17:13)

1 PR 1: He said, "You go fill the earth."

2 INT 4: Dedi ki, "Siz gidin ve dünyayı doldurun, **çoğalın ve dünyayı doldurun**."

He said, "You go and fill the earth, ***increase in number and fill the earth****."*

In this first excerpt, the interpreter gives the exact repetition of his first rendition: "fill the earth" (*dünyayı doldurun*). He resorts to explicitation also by lexical addition, "increase in number" to make explicit what is meant by "fill the earth," and the same verb "increase in number" (*çoğalın*) is the expression that precedes the phrase "fill the earth" (*dünyayı doldurun*) in the referred Bible verse.[20] There are three related commands in that verse: "Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth." The interpreter, knowing the verse by heart, recites it for the sake of flow for the audience familiar with it.

<u>Excerpt 10 (Sermon 4, minutes 01:14:51 - 01:15:00)</u>

1 PR 1: You are Abraham's seed.

2 INT 4: İbrahim'in soyu sizsiniz; <u>**İbrahim'in soyundan olanlar sizlersiniz.**</u>
You are Abraham's descent; you are those who are from Abraham's descent.

Here, the interpreter repeats "Abraham's seed" in Turkish with minor changes in the second repeated utterance: "… you are those who are from Abraham's descent" (*İbrahim'in soyundan olanlar sizlersiniz*). Thus, the interpreter resorts to both explicitation by lexical addition and repetition in this excerpt.

<u>Excerpt 11 (Sermon 2, minutes 00:07:00 - 00:11:47)</u>

1 PR 2: He is really the strongest, the most powerful, over everything.

2 INT 1: O gerçekten her şey üzerinde en büyük güce sahip olan, en güçlü olan <u>Tanrı'dır,</u> <u>**en güçlü olan O'dur.**</u>
He is really most powerful ***God****, who is above everything, who has the biggest power,* ***he is the strongest One.***

…

3 PR 2: All-powerful God.

4 INT 1: En güçlü olan, <u>en büyük güce sahip olan</u> Tanrı.
The strongest one, the God **who has the biggest power**.

…

[20] God blessed them and said to them, "Be fruitful and increase in number; fill the earth and subdue it. (Genesis 1:28, NIV)

5 PR 2: Jesus will be always with us if we go his way.

6 INT 1: **Evet düşünün ki** biz onun yolundaysak o her an, **her zaman daima** bizimle birlikte.

Yes, imagine that if we are on his way, he is with us each moment, always, at all times.

7 PR 2: So we see Jesus has authority and power in every situation.

8 INT 1: Görüyoruz ki İsa'nın bütün durumlarda, **her durumda** gücü ve yetkisi bulunmaktadır.

*We see that Jesus has power and authority in all situations, **in every situation.***

As can be seen in the excerpts above, two times when the preacher says, "the strongest," "the most powerful," or "almighty," the interpreter gives the first rendition with a following repetition, almost reiterating the "power" of God. She in fact adds "God" in line 4 to make the pronoun explicit, in a way to emphasize God. Then in order to interpret "always," she utters three different expressions, all of which are correct: "each moment," "always," and "at all times" (*her an, her zaman, daima*). In turn 8, when the preacher says in every "situation," the interpreter renders it twice: "in all situations," "in every situation" (*bütün durumlarda, her durumda*). As seen, although the interpreter's first rendition is perfectly accurate and acceptable in those instances, she repeats what she just said with minor changes to create an effect. It is clearly not self-repair.

Excerpt 12 (Sermon 2, minutes 00:27:30 - 00:27:44)

1 PR 2: God with us is the most powerful promises [*sic*] that we have.

2 INT 1: Tanrı'nın bizimle olduğu, **onun bizimle olacağı her zaman** bize verilmiş olan en büyük vaatlerden birisidir.

*The fact that God is with us, **that he will always be with us**, is one of the greatest promises given to us.*

In this short excerpt, the interpreter reiterates a promise in the Bible with a repetition of the utterance. The relative clause "The fact that God is with us" (*Tanrı'nın bizimle olduğu*) in Turkish designates either past or present. Maybe out of concern that it may not apply to the future as a promise at the linguistic level as it is, she adds the future tense version "that he will always be with us" (*onun bizimle olacağı her zaman*).

Excerpt 13 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:10:45 - 00:11:06)

1 PR 1: But actually, **it**'s a marvelous story book.

2 INT 4: Ama, eee, aslında **Kutsal Kitap** harikulâde **çok harika bir şekilde** kaleme alınmış bir hikaye kitabı.

But, uhh, actually, the Bible is a story book penned marvelously, ***wonderfully****.*

3 PR 1: Which tells the story from the beginning to the end.

4 INT 4: Ve hikâyenin **ta** başından **başlayıp** sonuna kadar **giden**, tam yani, eee **tam bir hikaye düzeninde bir kitap**.

And a book ***that starts*** *in the* ***very*** *beginning of the story and* ***goes*** *to the end,* ***I mean****, uhh* ***a book in an order just like a story book.***

Here the preacher is describing the Bible as a story book, and in turn 2, it seems that the interpreter feels the necessity to emphasize the greatness of the Bible. After making the indefinite subject definite, i.e., "it" – "*Kutsal Kitap*" (Bible), he renders "marvelous" (*harikulade*) and then repeats the idea with "very wonderful" (*çok harika*) for emphasis. The two words are not the exact wording but are of the same Arabic origin (*ḫāriḳ*). Furthermore, in the next turn, the interpreter explains more explicitly by lexical additions what it means for the Bible to be a story book: "a book in an order just like a story book" (*tam bir hikaye düzeninde bir kitap*). The interpreter himself seems very passionate about the Bible.

Excerpt 14 (Sermon 5, minutes 00:33:25 - 00:34:13)

1 PR 3: Did you deserve being given breath in the first place?

2 INT 4: Yaşam- bu, nefes al-, nefesinizi almayı hakettiniz mi? İyi **bir şey yaptınız mı o nefesi haketmeye**? **Hayır**!

Life – Did you deserve to take this breath? ***Did you do something good to deserve that breath****? No!*

…

3 PR 3: You see God, his very nature is that he is, he delights to give us good things.

4 INT 4: Oysa **şunu anlamalıyız ki**, Tanrı doğası gereği, bize iyi şeyler vermeyi seven bir Tanrı. **Tanrı'nın doğası bu, vermek.**

*Yet, **we need to understand this**: God, according to his nature, is a God who loves giving us good thing. **It is God's nature to give.***

In this excerpt, the preacher is speaking about God granting people things that they do not deserve. The interpreter becomes passionate about the topic and repeats the preacher's rhetorical question: "Did you do something good to deserve that breath?" *(Iyi bir şey yaptınız mı o nefesi hak etmeye?).* Furthermore, he answers the rhetorical question in order to make the answer very explicit ("No!"). Then in the last turn, he repeats his first utterance, which was altogether accurate. He seems to be interested in strengthening the meaning of this idea that "It is God's nature to give" (*Tanrı'nın doğası bu, vermek*).

Excerpt 15 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:19:47 - 00:20:11)

1 PR 1: But you get a list of nations there.

2 INT 4: Ama orda, eee, çeşitli ulusların listesiyle karşılaşıyoruz.
But there uhh we encounter a list of various nations.

3 PR 1: Now I wonder if any of the very experienced believers here have ever counted them?

4 INT 4: Acaba burda çok tecrübeli imânlılardan aramızda, **burdaki ulusların sayısını** sayan oldu mu **acaba? Bahsedilen ulusların sayısını?**
*I wonder, is there anyone among us, any of those very experienced believers, who counted **the number of the nations here, I wonder? The number of nations mentioned?***

In this instance, the interpreter repeats the object of the question that the preacher asked: "Now I wonder if any of the very experienced believers here have ever counted them?" The interpreter precisely interprets this question but then repeats what is being asked in particular: "The number of nations mentioned?" (*Bahsedilen ulusların sayısını?*). The intention of the repetition here could be simply to help the preacher elicit a response to his question, in other words, the interpreter's self-initiated assistance/facilitation. This indicates that the interpreter is positioning himself as an integral part of this communication.

Excerpt 16 (Sermon 2, minutes 00:06:31 - 00:06:48)

1 PR 2: But this is dualism. It's called both are st-, equal strong, and sometimes this wins and sometimes the other wins.

2 INT 1: İşte bu, eee, iki gücün de eşit olduğunu gösteriyor. Bazen birisi kazanıyor, bazen diğeri kazanıyor, **ama hep eşit durumdalar**.
So it shows uhh that both of these two powers are equal. Sometimes one of them wins, sometimes the other wins ***but they are always in the equal position****.*

The preacher, explaining the *yin* and *yang* symbol in Chinese philosophy, uses the term "dualism." This term is the same in Turkish (*dualizm*). However, the interpreter renders it as "two equal powers" (*iki gücün de eşit olduğu*) since the term *dualizm* would sound too scholarly for the audience. Then the interpreter, wanting to make sure that the meaning is clear, repeats her paraphrasing "they are always in the equal position" (*ama hep eşit durumdalar*). As Nord points out, "real life presents situations where equivalence is not possible and, in some cases, not desired" (Nord 1997: 9; cf. 1996: 85). Interpreters sometimes instinctively and sometimes consciously do much more than transferring between languages what is said but they facilitate the communication for the needs of the listeners.

Excerpt 17 (Sermon 3, minutes 00:04:52 - 00:05:10)

1 PR 3: They are all things that God has given us.

2 INT 2: Onların üçünün de o saydıklarımızın ortak noktası Tanrı'nın bize verdiği şeyler olmaları. **Nokta bu, ortak nokta**.
The common point of those three, what we listed is the fact that they are things that God gave us. ***This is the point, the common point****.*

3 PR 3: Time, money and talents.

4 INT 2: Tanrı'nın bize verdiği şeyler zaman, para ve yetenekler.
The things God gave us, *time, money and talents.*

The repetition happens here in turn 2, in which the interpreter first paraphrases the preacher's message and then repeats her own explicitation. "All things" is interpreted as "common point" of the three things that the preacher is talking about. Then the interpreter highlights that these three essential things a person has (time, money and

talents) come from God by repeating it three times: "The common point of those three" (turn 2), "This is the point, the common point" (turn 2) and "The things God gave us" (turn 4 repeats the line in turn 2).

In the above instances, interpreters seem to resort to repetition even when it is not intended by the speaker of the source language. They use their own linguistic strategies to communicate the message they receive from the speaker in the form of repetition as a linguistic strategy commonly employed in the sermons analyzed.

7.2.6.3. Explicitation by rewording

Rewording was also frequently encountered in the recordings. In order to reinforce meaning, interpreters resort to rewording as one of the stylistics features of preaching. They are not categorized under "repetitions" as the second wording of an utterance is not as exact as in repetitions examined above. Granted, the differences between these three strategies are subtle.

Excerpt 18 (Sermon 2, minutes 00:06:48 - 00:07:00)

1 PR 2: But that's, that's not so with God. God is the almighty God.

2 INT 1: Ama aslında Tanrı ile ilgili olan bu söylenen şeyler doğru değildir. Tanrı, en güçlü olan her şeye kadir olan Tanrı'dır.
But actually what was said about God is not correct. God is the most powerful God who is almighty.

The interpreter in this extract first paraphrases what the preacher says in her interpretation by rendering the first phrase as "actually what was said about God is not correct" (*aslında Tanrı ile ilgili olan bu söylenen şeyler doğru değildir*) and then reiterates the second point by wording it in two different ways. First, she says God is "the most powerful" (*en güçlü olan*) in a modern discourse and then rewords it with a more religious term, "the almighty" (*her şeye kadir olan*). This indicates a concern on the interpreter's part to address two particular types of target receiver within the congregation, on a spectrum: some of them are modern, liberal with a secular background and others come from a religious (Islamic) background; and of course there are people between these two ends of the spectrum. Therefore, the interpreter decides to address both types of target receiver rather than making a choice between the two discourse options.

Excerpt 19 (Sermon 1, minutes 00:06:16 - 00:06:36)

1 PR 2: We belong to God.

2 INT 3: Biz Tanrı'ya aitiz.
We belong to God.

3 PR 2: Even more, … we are saved out of the kingdom of darkness.

4 INT 3: Ve bundan daha fazla biz, ee, karanlığın şeytanın egemenliğinden kurtulduk, kurtarıldık.
And even more than this, we, uhh, are saved from the kingdom of darkness, Satan, we have been saved.

In this excerpt, the interpreter rewords her first rendition in Turkish: *kurtulduk – kurtarıldık* (we are saved - we have been saved), most likely out of a theological concern. The idea of salvation in reformed Protestant theology is that God elects and saves people and that it is not something people can decide or choose, nor can they contribute anything to their salvation. There is a nuance in Turkish between the first and second rendition: the verb "kurtulmak" in "*kurtulduk"* (we are saved) and *kurtarılmak in kurtarıldık* (we have been saved). The first one (kurtul-) is an active, intransitive and reflexive verb and has a focus on the state of being saved; the one who is doing the act of saving is a null subject, it is hidden; it is unknown or even significant, whereas the second rendition (*kurtarıl-*) is the passive form of the verb *kurtarmak* (to save) and refers to a doer (God in this case). It seems that the interpreter intended to reveal this slight difference for the sake of theological clarity. In addition, the interpreter rewords her rendition of "darkness" (*karanlığın*) with "Satan" (*şeytanın*) in turn 4, which functions as a form of explicitation. What is metaphoric here is explained in case the listeners miss it. The interpreter's knowledge of the Bible is reflected in this example that the darkness represents Satan.

Excerpt 20 (Sermon 4, minutes 02:08:30 - 02:08:48, part of Excerpt 3)

1 PR 1: And if the person gives their age and he's younger than you,

2 INT 4: Eğer kişi yaşını söylediğinde eğer senden daha küçükse,
When the person tells his age, if he is younger than you,

3 PR 1: you've got nothing to learn from him.

4 INT 4: Onlardan öğreneceğin hiçbir şey yok **demektir**. Küçük birisi sana bir şey öğretemez, **senden küçük birisi bir şey oğretemez**.
It means *there is nothing you can learn from them. Someone small cannot teach you anything,* ***someone younger than you cannot teach anything***.

In this excerpt, the interpreter in turn 4 first rewords his initial utterance and then repeats his rewording: "It means there is nothing you can learn from them. Someone small cannot teach you anything, someone younger than you cannot teach anything." He also makes an addition, "it means" *(demektir*). Here, the interpreter actually resorts to all three strategies dealt with here: explicitation by adding a complementary structure (it means), rewording his initial interpretation, and then repetition of his rewording.

Excerpt 21 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:11:23 - 00:11:59)

1 PR 1: So in the next hour we're going to look at the whole Bible.

2 INT 4: Onun için önümüzdeki bir saat içinde Kutsal Kitap'ın başından sonuna, **tamamına** bakacağız.
For this reason, within the next hour, we will look at, from the beginning to the end, ***the entire Bible***.

3 PR 1: Because it is a story with a common theme.

4 INT 4: Çünkü içinde, eee, ta **başından sonuna, ee, kadar** ortak bir konu var; **başlayan bir konu var ve bütün kitap boyunca işleniyor, devam ediyor.**
Because there is uhh a common theme in it uhh ***from the beginning till the end; there is a theme that begins and it is dealt with throughout the book and continues.***

5 PR 1: And towards the end of the story, you understand how you fit in.

6 INT 4: Ve hikâyenin sonlarına doğru geldiğinizde, **yaklaştığınızda** siz bu hikâyenin içine nasıl uyduğunuzu, **sizin rolünüzün ne olduğunu** kavrayıveriyorsunuz.
And when you come towards the end of the story, ***when you approached*** *(to the end), you immediately grasp how you fit in this story,* ***what your role is***.

The preacher is introducing the Bible and what it means for people in this excerpt. The first instance of rewording is in turn 2, which is the exact translation of the speaker's

utterance. While the interpreter's first rendition is a narrative style "from the beginning to the end" (*başından sonuna*), he rewords it to say more literally as what the preacher said: "the entire Bible" (*tamamına*). Then in turn 4, the interpreter goes on narrating by rewording even though what he said initially corresponded word-for-word to the source utterance with a repetition from the previous rendition "Because there is a common theme in it **from the beginning till the end**" (*Çünkü içinde* ***başından sonuna kadar*** *ortak bir konu var*). Then this is followed by rewording "there is a theme that begins and it is dealt with throughout the book and continues" (*başlayan bir konu var ve bütün kitap boyunca işleniyor, devam ediyor*). Lastly in turn 6, two more initial renditions are reworded. First, he says "when you approached (to the end)" *(yaklaştığınızda), which is* another version of what he said "when you come towards the end of the story." Secondly, the last sentence "how you fit in this story" is reworded by "**what's your role is"** (*siz bu hikâyenin içine nasıl uyduğunuzu,* ***sizin rolünüzün ne olduğunu***). All this rewording might seem redundant to the listener. It seems, however, the interpreter may have been wrapped up in the flow of preaching and subconsciously using the rhetoric devices of rewording and repetitions, as if he himself is preaching.

<u>Excerpt 22 (Sermon 2, minutes 00:21:39 - 00:22:20)</u>

1 PR 2: And, and especially if you're somebody who is a new believer, who follows Jesus just for a short while.

2 INT 1: Eee, özellikle de, eee, İsa'ya yeni inanmış <u>olanlar</u> <u>yani</u> <u>yeni</u> çok kısa süre önce iman etmiş olanlar.
Uhh especially uhh those who recently put their faith in Jesus, meaning, those who just believed a very short while ago.

3 PR 2: He tries everything to bring you back in bondage again.

4 INT 1: Bu, bu kişiler için, eee, **şeytan** devamlı **sürekli** olarak uğraşır ki onları tekrar, ııı, kendi bağımlılığında tutabilsin, **mahkumiyetinde tutabilsin diye**.
For those people, uhh ***Satan*** *continuously, constantly tries that he can again keep them in his own dependence,* ***keep them in his condemnation***.

5 PR 2: And he tries to press you in a corner, that there is no way out, and you would come back.

6 INT 1: Sizi bi- öyle bir köşede sıkıştırmak ister ki sanki geri dönüş-, geri dönüşünüz için hiç bir yol kalmamıştır, **hiçbir çare yoktur.**

He wants to press you in a corner so badly that there is no way left for your return, ***there is no other remedy.***

In this excerpt, the preacher is talking about spiritual warfare in which Satan tries to win back those who have decided to follow Jesus. The interpreter resorts to rewording on two occasions. First in turn 4, the interpreter specifies the subject of the sentence as a reminder for the audience Satan (*şeytan*) though the speaker had said "he." Then the interpreter rewords "continuously" (*devamlı*) with constantly (*sürekli*)**.** At the end of her rendition, she adds "keep them in his condemnation" (*mahkumiyetinde tutabilsin*) following her initially precise rendition "he can again keep them in his own dependence" (*tekrar kendi bağımlılığında tutabilsin*). Secondly, in turn 6, rewording is resorted to most likely to reinforce meaning: "that there is no way left for your return" (*geri dönüşünüz için hiç bir yol kalmamıştır*) is restated with "there is no other remedy" (*hiçbir çare yoktur*). These strategies the interpreter is employing seem to be an effort to persuade the audience rather than produce any self-repair.

<u>Excerpt 23 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:40:39 - 00:41:07)</u>

1 PR 1: What were these prophets saying?

2 INT 4: Ne diyorlardı <u>peygamberlik sözünde</u>?
What did they say in the prophetic word?

3 PR 1: This is the one that's coming.

4 INT 4: İşte <u>geleceği **vaat edilen**</u> budur.
Here is the one whose coming ***was promised.***

5 PR 1: Who's gonna bless the people of God and the nations and turn everything around.

6 INT 4: "Tanrı'nın halkını ve diğer ulusları bereketleyecek olan ve herşeyi <u>ters yüz edecek</u>, **alt üst edecek** olan kişi budur" <u>**diye peygamberlik ettiler**.</u>
"This is the person who will bless the people of God and other nations and who will reverse everything, ***who will turn upside down," they prophesized.***

7 PR 1: He will lift up the poor.

8 INT 4: Yoksullara yardım edecek, <u>**onları bereketleyecek**.</u>
He will help the poor, ***he will bless them.***

In this excerpt, the preacher is speaking about the Messiah who was promised to come as the Savior in the Old Testament. In turn 4, the interpreter makes a lexical addition "the one whose coming was promised" (*geleceği vaat edilen*) although it was not specified as such by the speaker. This was probably a form of explicitation to contextualize the theme. Then in turn 6, the interpreter resorts to both rewording and another lexical addition. The first rendition "who will reverse" (*ters yüz edecek*) was restated as "who will turn upside down" (*alt üst edecek*). Then another addition followed, "they prophesized" (*diye peygamberlik ettiler*), most likely to put it into a context for the audience to comprehend more easily. Lastly in turn 8, to interpret "lift up the poor" the interpreter looks for the best expression in Turkish, as the literal rendition of the verb "lift up" does not come across meaningfully. Probably because of that the interpreter first renders "He will help" (*yardım edecek*), then rewords it with a more religious expression "he will bless them" (*onları bereketleyecek*).

<u>Excerpt 24 (Sermon 5, minutes 00:56:52 - 00:57:31)</u>

1 PR 3: I think you'd expect, that the Spirit of God was at work amongst you, yes?

2 INT 4: Ve eee Tanrı'nın Ruhunun aranızda işlemekte olduğunu <u>kabul edersiniz</u>, <u>**mutlaka**</u>.
*And uhh you accept that the Spirit of God is being at work among you, **for sure**.*

3 PR 3: Unless you believe that none of this is for today.

4 INT 4: <u>Ama **belki bu tür armağanların**</u> bugün için olmadığına da inanıyor <u>olabilirsiniz</u>.
*But **maybe** you might also believe that **these kinds of gifts** are not for today.*

5 PR 3: I have to say that if you do believe that, then you are missing out on these wonderful gifts.

6 INT 4: <u>Eğer böyle olduğunu düşünüyorsanız</u>, ee, demem lazım ki, ee, <u>**Tanrı'nın verdiği**</u> harika armağanları <u>gerçekten</u> kaçırıyorsunuz. <u>Çok büyük bir bereket kaçırıyorsunuz demem gerekiyor size.</u>
*If you think this way, uhh I must say that uhh you are really missing out on the wonderful gifts **that God gives. I have to say to you that you are missing out on a great blessing.***

A controversial theological topic is discussed in this part of the sermon. There are gifts of the Spirit described in the Bible;[21] some churches believe that those gifts were available only for believers prior to the development of the canon of the Bible. Christians who believe that these gifts have ceased are called "cessationist." On the other hand, some churches believe that these gifts of the Spirit are still valid for today and should be actively used. Smyrna Church is theologically aligned with the latter. The preacher is teaching this theological view to the congregation. The interpreter, who seems very supportive of this theology, makes two lexical additions and rewording as if he is urging the audience to believe what the church and he believes. In turn 6, he first adds "that God gives" (*Tanrı'nın verdiği*) to reiterate that they are not just any gifts but God-given gifts making the meaning of those gifts more powerful. Then he rewords his first rendition, "I must say that you are really missing out on the wonderful gifts" (*demem lazım ki Tanrı'nın verdiği harika armağanları gerçekten kaçırıyorsunuz.*) with a second formulation by changing gifts into blessings: "I have to say to you that you are missing out on a great blessing" (*Çok büyük bir bereket kaçırıyorsunuz demem gerekiyor size*). The interpreter, by rewording his rendition and with lexical additions as a tool of persuasion, puts a strong emphasis on his utterances as if urging the congregation towards the institutional ideology (church theology).

<u>Excerpt 25 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:22:02 - 00:22:37)</u>

1 PR 1:	What was God's plan?
2 INT 4:	Tanrı'nın planı neydi?
	What was God's plan?
3 PR 1:	For them to be spread all over the earth.
4 INT 4:	<u>**Tanrı**</u> onların <u>bütün</u> dünyaya yayılmasını istedi.
	***God** wanted them to spread to the whole world.*
5 PR 1:	But they said, "No."
6 INT 4:	Ama <u>**insanlar**</u>, "hayır <u>**teşekkür ederiz**</u>" dediler.
	*But **people** said, "No **thank you**."*

[21] There are different kinds of gifts, but the same Spirit distributes them. There are different kinds of service, but the same Lord. There are different kinds of working, but in all of them and in everyone it is the same God at work. Now to each one the manifestation of the Spirit is given for the common good. To one there is given through the Spirit a message of wisdom, to another a message of knowledge by means of the same Spirit, to another faith by the same Spirit, to another gifts of healing by that one Spirit, to another miraculous powers, to another prophecy, to another distinguishing between spirits, to another speaking in different kinds of tongues, and to still another the interpretation of tongues. (1 Corinthians 12:4-10, NIV)

7 PR 1: "Let's all stay together."

8 INT 4: "Hep birlikte kalalım biz, **ayrılmayalım birbirimizden**,"

*"Let's all stay together, **let's not separate from each other**."*

9 PR 1: "and build a tower …"

10 INT 4: "ve bir kule kuralım,"

"and let's build a tower."

11 PR 1: "which shows how great we are …"

12 INT 4: "ne kadar büyük **ne kadar güçlü** olduğumuzu göstersin **bu kurduğumuz kule**."

*"May **this tower we build** show how great and **strong we are**."*

13 PR 1: "so we will not be scattered."

14 INT 4: "ve böylece **dünyanın dört bir köşesine** dağılmayalım."

*"and this way let's not be scattered **to the four corners of the world.**"*

15 PR 1: So they built this amazing tower.

16 INT 4: Ve böylece **işe koyuldular ve** muhteşem bir kule inşa ettiler.

And this way they set out to work and built a magnificent tower.

In this excerpt, the interpreter actually resorts to all three explicitation strategies: by adding a complementary structure, by rewording his initial interpretation, and then by repeating his rewording. The preacher is talking about the building of the Tower of Babel in the Bible.[22] In turn 4, the interpreter specifies the subject of the sentence (*Tanrı* - God) while it was implied in the preacher's utterance. In turn 6, he makes the subject explicit again by inserting "people" (*insanlar*) and then adds thank you (*teşekkür ederiz*) to preacher's "no" (*hayır*) as if he is narrating the story. In turn 8, the interpreter initially says, "Let's all stay together," to reword it with "let's not separate from each other" (*ayrılmayalım birbirimizden*). In turn 12, he repeats "how great" (*ne kadar büyük*) with "how strong" (*ne kadar güçlü*). He again in this line makes the subject specific as a reminder for the audience by adding, "this tower we build" (*bu kurduğumuz kule*). In turn 14, the interpreter adds "to the four corners of the world" (*dünyanın dört bir köşesine*). He is both quoting the wording in the Bible and also bringing a narrative character. In the Turkish Bible, the verse says "*RAB … onları* ***yeryüzünün dört bucağına*** *dağıttı*" (The LORD scattered them to **the four corners of the earth**). Then,

[22] Genesis 11:1-9

in the last sentence (turn 16), the interpreter adds another utterance, "they set out to work" (*işe koyuldular*), seemingly to make the narration flow better as if he is retelling the story in the Bible.

In these instances explained here, employing all three of these strategies, whether consciously or unconsciously, seems to indicate that the interpreter has a strong concern for completing his mission as an instrument of communicating a divine message to the congregation. While the three recurring strategies point to process norms that the interpreters conform to, what induced them in such behavior indicates their alignment with institutional ideology. Below this alignment is exemplified in the interpreter being involved in the communicative event as an insider, in which the above-mentioned strategies are observed to be overlapping in some of the instances analyzed.

7.2.7. The interpreter's involvement as an insider

In this subsection, institutional ideology is investigated through four different levels of involvement of the interpreter in the communicative event: (1) Partnership at the interaction level between the preacher and interpreter to smooth out some misunderstanding or confusion, or to comment on the translation of certain utterances to help each other as "partners." (2) Institutional language policy is revealed when the preacher and interpreter intuitively make the target language a priority in non-verbal interaction in accordance with the institutional ideology. (3) Interpreter acting from within as an integral party of the institution and (4) Interpreter co-preaching in a way that encapsulates all the strategies or levels detected throughout this analysis, assuming that role granted to him or her.

7.2.7.1. Partnership in interaction

Here the interpreter's involvement is traced through his or her interaction with the audience and the preacher. Although the communicative event is not primarily a triadic interaction like in dialogue interpreting but rather one-to-many, there are occasions of non-mediated interaction. In such interaction, when the interpreter listens to a primary participant and hears a change in the way s/he speaks, the interpreter changes his or her alignment to adjust to that of the speaker. Every change in his or her alignment is termed a shift of footing, which is described as "… a change in the alignment we take up to ourselves and the others present as expressed in the way we manage the

production or reception of an utterance" in Goffman's social interaction model (1981: 128). These shifts of footing as well as speaker roles that the interpreter takes up are investigated as indications of the interpreter's involvement in the sermon s/he mediates.

Excerpt 26 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:43:51 - 00:44:23)

1 PR 1: He then chose seventy.

2 INT 4: Onun ardından yetmiş ulus, yetmiş öğrenci seçti.
After that he chose seventy nations, seventy disciples.

3 PR 1: Now, just in case any of you have a problem with that, I don't know – does the Turkish Bible say seventy or seventy-two?

4 INT 4: ((TO THE SPEAKER)) I think it's seventy.
((TO THE AUDIENCE)) Yetmişler diyor, değil mi?
It says the seventy, right?
((AUDIENCE RESPONSES INAUDIBLE))
((BACK TO THE SPEAKER)) Seventy.

5 PR 1: Some translations say seventy-two.

6 INT 4: Yetmişler diye geçiyor. It's seventy.
It says the seventy.

7 PR 1: OK, so we're OK then.

8 INT 4: ((INTERPRETER OVERLAPS AND PRESSES ON)) Bazı çevirilerde o yetmişler yerine, yetmişikiler diyor ama zannediyorum Türkçe'de yetmişler diye geçiyor, değil mi?
In some versions, it says the seventy-two rather than the seventy but I think it is the seventy in Turkish, right?

In this extract, the interpreter resorts to a shift of footing in relation to what is uttered in his interaction with the speaker and clarifies some confusion in the translation of the Bible. They had to discuss, in the middle of the sermon, whether the number of disciples Jesus chose was translated as 70 or 72, as the preacher was aware that it varies in some Greek manuscripts.[23] He wants to follow with the Turkish version again because of the church being focused on the local culture and the target language as an institutional

[23] After this the Lord appointed seventy-(two) others and sent them two by two ahead of him to every town and place where he was about to go. He told them, "The harvest is plentiful, but the workers are few. Ask the Lord of the harvest, therefore, to send out workers into his harvest field." (Luke 10:1-2, NIV)

policy. This extra clarification made collectively indicates collaboration between parties who shared this particular event together in the span of their time at church.

Another instance in such one-to-one communication rather than mediated communication is the dialogic interaction occurring between the preacher and the interpreter. In the next excerpt, they discuss how much "one talent" is in American dollars (The parable of the Talents in Matthew 25: 14-30). The discussion goes as follows:

Excerpt 27 (Sermon 5, minutes 00:44:51 - 00:45:43)

1 PR 3: Now a talent in my Bible is supposed to be worth about a thousand dollars.[24]

2 INT 4: Bir talant benim Kutsal Kitap'taki açıklamaya göre bin dolar civarındaymış. Yani, beş bin dolar, iki bin dolar, bin dolar vermiş oluyor.
A talent, according to the explanation in my Bible is around a thousand dollars, ***which means, he gave them five thousand dollars, two thousand dollars and one thousand****.*

3 PR 3: Which is about twelve point five thousand lira, I guess something like that, yeah.
((THE INTERPRETER AND THE PREACHER DISCUSS AMONG THEMSELVES, UNINTELLIGIBLE))

4 INT 4: ((TO THE PREACHER)) It's seventy thousand five hundred.

5 PR 3: OK.

6 INT 4: ((TO THE PREACHER)) Is it pounds? Or was it dollars? ((LAUGHTER))

7 PR 3: It was dollars.

8 INT 4: Seventy thousand five hundred.

9 PR 3: Mine's an American Bible! ((MORE LAUGHTER))

10 INT 4: Tamam, çözdük. Yedi bin beş yüz lira falan birisine …
OK, we figured it out. To one of them, about seven thousand five hundred.

11 PR 3: Quite a lot of money.

12 INT 4: Siz idare edin.
You guys sort it out.

13 PR 3: A month's wages, I don't know.

[24] Matthew 25:14-30

14 INT 4: Bir ay, herhalde bir iki aylık, üç aylık gibi birşey, yani en çok verdiği kişi yedi bin beş yüz.
A month was probably something like one or two months, which means the person he gave the most had seven thousand five hundred.

In this interpersonal engagement, the preacher and the interpreter collaborated in order to determine the correct value in today's currency of the amount in the Bible passage. The point is to be able to give the audience a clear understanding of it in today's terms. With this aim, the interpreter's shift of footing and code-switching from Turkish into English enables him to discuss it with the preacher to come up with what is best for the target audience.

Excerpt 28 (Sermon 4, minutes 02:19:27 - 02:20:05)

1 PR 1: "Through grace and apostleship, he is bringing every nation to the obedience of faith."

2 INT 4: OK, diyor ki onun adı uğruna Tanrı lütfuna ve elçilik uğğ, elçilik görevi sayesinde bütün ulusları ee kendi egemenliği altına aldı, diyor.
OK, it says, for his name's sake, he brought all the nations uhh under his sovereignty thanks to God's grace and apostleship, it says.

3 PR 1: ((to INT 4)) Is that what it says in your version?

4 INT 4: ((to PR 1)) It's not exactly the same, but it's all there.

5 PR 1: ((to INT 4)) Has it got "grace" there?

6 INT 4: ((to PR 1)) Grace and it's two separate things.

7 PR 1: ((to INT 4)) And "apostleship?"

8 INT 4: ((to PR 1)) Yes.

9 PR 1: ((to INT 4)) OK.

10 INT 4: ((to PR 1)) Yes, it has this, it it talks about, we have the grace and the apostleship.

11 PR 1: ((to INT 4)) Yes, that's right.

12 INT 4: ((to PR 1)) OK.

This was a quick check by the preacher to see whether they were both following the same translation so that his point will come across based on that verse.[25] Although the verse is differently formulated in Turkish the interpreter quickly reformulates it in a way that the preacher's version in English said it. In their quick interaction, both of them changing footing, they discuss if the part the preacher wants to emphasize is in the Turkish version and the interpreter confirms: "It's not exactly the same, but it's all there." Partnering with the speaker, the interpreter acts as an agent of the institution to make the message clear to fulfill the communicative purpose.

Excerpt 29 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:28:38 - 00:29:20)

1 PR 1:	"Every clan on earth will be blessed."
2 INT 4:	"Yeryüzündeki her oymak, **her kabile** bereket bulacak." *"Every tribe, **every clan** on earth will find blessing."*
3 PR 1:	Now sometimes that's translated "nation."
4 INT 4:	Bazı çevirilerde oymak ifadesi "**kabile" ifadesi** ulus olarak [da çevrilebiliyor]. *In some translations, the phrase "clan," **the phrase "tribe,"** can also be translated as nation.*
5 PR 1:	[Small nation.]
6 INT 4:	**Ama yani, eee, orijinal dilde bahsettiği şey** ulustan daha küçük **bir topluluktan bahsediyor**. *But so, uhh, what it talks about in the original language, it talks about a community smaller than nation.*
7 PR 1:	Every clan.
8 INT 4:	Her oymak, her-- *Every clan, every--*
9 PR 1:	Every extended family, you might say.
10 INT 4:	Himm, **yani**, her aile, **nasıl diyelim, aynı soyadını taşıyan her**, aile o- o mahiyette. Süla- sülale, **her sülale. Evet.**

[25] *Her ulustan insanların iman edip söz dinlemesini sağlamak için Mesih'in aracılığıyla ve O'nun adı uğruna Tanrı'nın lütfuna ve elçilik görevine sahip olduk* (Romans 1:5, Turkish Bible). (We became the owners of God's grace and task of apostleship for his namesake and through Christ in order to ensure that people from every nation believe and obey.)

***Hmm, in other words**, every family, **how should we say**, every … **who bear the same last name**, something in that- that nature. Lineage, **every lineage**. Yes.*

This is another instance where the interpreter discusses the translation of a term in the Bible; but in this case, he does it without much interaction with the preacher. Since it is not plausible to discuss the translation of a Greek term into English and Turkish at the same time, the interpreter takes it upon himself to work out the translation on his own, in Turkish. In both turns 2 and 4, the interpreter rewords his rendition for "clan" (*kabile* and *oymak*) and then, especially in turns 6 and 10, the interpreter speaks as if he is looking for the right expression in Turkish for himself rather than speaking on the speaker's footing. The preacher tries to clarify the term in English, but the interpreter acts on his own to clarify it in Turkish, going beyond the source speech.

The interpreter's shifts of footing in all these instances seem to aim to facilitate communication or clarify some confusion, consulting the speaker (the preacher) or the commissioner present in the event (the pastor in charge of the service but not preaching), not merely as an interpreter but as a primary interlocutor. S/he either takes or is given initiative to facilitate what the preacher plans to do, as if the preacher abdicates control and the interpreter takes over as in the following.

Excerpt 30 (Sermon 3, minutes 01:06:47 - 01:06:57)

1 PR 3: Now as Felipe plays, I'm just going to invite you if you want prayer for any reason at all, just to come and receive.

2 INT 2: Kardeşimiz bu müziği çalarken sizleri davet etmek istiyorum, **sizlere açık bir davet vermek istiyorum**, herhangi bir konuda dua istiyorsanız lütfen ön tarafa gelin, Rab'den ne istiyorsanız, ne almak istiyorsanız bunu almak için ön tarafa gelin kardeşler.

*While our brother plays this music, I would like to invite you, **give you an open invitation**; please come forward if you would like prayers in any matter. Brothers and sisters come forward in order to find whatever you ask the Lord for, whatever you want to receive from him.*

This instance occurs at the end of a sermon. The preacher ends his sermon with an altar call (inviting people to go up to the front for prayer or to respond to what he has just

preached). As can be seen in the back-translation of the interpreter's rendition, she first skips the name of the musician (Felipe), who is actually visiting the church together with this preacher from England. Instead she calls him "our brother" as the congregation would not recognize this name. She also uses repetition by re-stating, "I would like to give you an open invitation" (*sizlere açık bir davet vermek istiyorum*). Then she is taking on a position of authority to facilitate the prayer time that follows the sermon while the preacher is finishing up. The involvement of the interpreter here exceeds the role of an interpreter and transforms into a primary interlocutor of the communicative event (i.e., the preacher).

Excerpt 31 (Sermon 4, minutes 02:31:41 - 02:32:35)

1 PR 1: This side of the room will pretend you're all in Adam.

2 INT 4: OK, bu taraftakiler siz Adem'desiniz, öyle olduğunuzu, öyle davranacaksınız, tamam mı?
OK, you on this side, you are in Adam, that you are, you will act that way, is it OK?

Audience: ((LAUGHTER)) ((INTERPRETER JOINS THE LAUGHTER))

3 PR 1: You're all in Adam. Come on.

4 INT 4: It proves that he is in Adam! ((INTERPRETER COMMENTS TO THE PREACHER IN ENGLISH))

5 PR 1: OK. This side of the room are those in Christ.

6 INT 4: Bu taraftakiler Mesih'tekileri canlandıracak, tamam?
Those on the other side will act like those in Christ, OK?

7 PR 1: Because everybody in the whole world is either in Adam or in Christ.

8 INT 4: Çünkü dünyadaki herkesin bulunabileceği iki konum söz konusu: ya Adem'desin, ya Mesih'tesin. İki seçenek var.
Because there are two positions in question in which everyone in the world can be found: you are either in Adam or in Christ. There are two choices.

Here, the preacher is trying to divide the audience into two groups in order to illustrate a theological point in the Bible.[26] The Bible describes people in the world as being either in Adam or in Christ, and to illustrate this, the audience is divided into two groups, each

[26] Romans 5:12-20

representing one of the categories. On this occasion, the interpreter again immediately assumes the role of a facilitator and starts giving instructions to the congregation. He does that by asking questions (e.g., "is it OK?"), indicating that he is directing this small task on behalf of the preacher, with the preacher's tacit approval. In addition, the interpreter changes footing and comments in English to the preacher about one of the participants (i.e., "It proves that he is in Adam!") as a joke, because the participant was apparently not complying, demonstrating the rebellious and defiant attitude characteristic of those who are in Adam. By this joke, it seems that the interpreter finds an instance in the middle of the interaction to reinforce the point the preacher is trying to make, which again indicates that the interpreter is collaborating with the preacher in constructing the communication.

Excerpt 32 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:25:54 - 00:26:20)

1 PR 1: We're now up to Genesis chapter eleven, so we're doing [quite well].

2 INT 4: [Şimdi] Yaratılış on birinci bölümdeyiz, **fena değiliz**. İyi gidiyoruz, bakalım.
*Now we are in Genesis chapter eleven, **we are not bad**. We are going well, let's see.*

3 PR 1: This is God's story.

4 INT 4: **Ama** bu Tanrı'nın hikayesi.
***But** this is God's story.*

5 PR 1: So,
((AUDIENCE ASKS A QUESTION))

6 INT 4: ((TO PR 1)) <L2 He's asking if you're going through the prophets as well. L2>

7 PR 1: ((TO INT 4)) Oh yes, we'll go through the prophets.

8 INT 4: Tabi, tabi. Atlamak yok, Abdullah. Kolay yok, kaçma. Bütün Kutsal Kitap'ın tamamına bakacağız.
Of course, of course, no skipping. Abdullah. Not the easy way, don't run away. We'll look at the entire Bible.

In this excerpt, as a result of a question by a member of the congregation, the interpreter interacts with the preacher and the audience separately. He is mediating between them but not necessarily as an interpreter only but also as himself. He becomes the primary

interlocutor and gives his own answer to the audience: "Of course, of course, **no skipping**. **Not the easy way, don't run away.** We'll look at the entire Bible." *(Tabi tabi. **Atlamak yok**. **Kolay yok, kaçma**. Bütün Kutsal Kitap'ın tamamına bakacağız.)*

In the last three excerpts (30, 31 and 32), the instances when the interpreter assumes complete authority in the interaction are analyzed to highlight the exceptional involvement of the interpreter in this communicative event. This authority is granted to the interpreter by the preacher, by the institution, or it might be argued, by God.

In all these examples, partnership is evident by the participatory role of the interpreter. All the interlocutors are on the same side as the members of the institution, working together to accomplish a shared goal. The interpreter allies her/himself with both parties, the speaker and the congregation, as they are one team. After the goal is achieved, the interpreter goes back to his former footing as interpreter, as he did not terminate it when he changed footing. S/he is free to re-enter the former participant roles (Goffman 1981: 155). Therefore, the role of the interpreter is not stagnant or stable, but rather migrant. S/he goes back and forth and keeps re-positioning her/himself (cf. Mason 2009: 71).

7.2.7.2. Institutional language policy revealed

As mentioned earlier, Smyrna Church's vision is to become a self-sustaining, multi-cultural local church under local leadership rather than depending on foreigners who established and have been supporting the church. One of the ways, in this process of church being institutionalized in this new context is their language policy, which involves interpreters. In all the following instances, the preacher lets the interpreter read the Bible verse in Turkish, giving only the Bible reference without citing it in English for the source language audience. This is a standard practice during sermons consecutively interpreted.

Excerpt 33 (Sermon 5, minutes 00:40:59 - 00:41:25)

1 PR 3: And to help us with that, let's go to First Corinthians twelve.

2 INT 4: Birinci Korintliler onikiye bakacağız bu konuda bize yardımcı olması için, **Tanrı sözünden.**

We'll look at First Corinthians twelve for that to help us on this subject, from the word of God.

3 PR 3: **I guess the words will be up there in a minute**, but, uhh, **if Murat** ((INT 4)) **could read it in Turkish, that'd be good.** So the first, one to eleven.

4 INT 4: **Birden onbire kadar okuyorum. Ekrandan takip edebilirsiniz siz de**.
I am reading from one to eleven, you can also follow on the screen.

Excerpt 34 (Sermon 4, minutes 02:54:50 - 02:55:47)

1 PR 1: ((to INT 4)) OK.

2 INT 4: ((to PR 1)) Shall I?

3 PR 1: ((to INT 4)) **Well just read that in Turkish**.

4 INT 4: **Okuyorum. Birden beşe kadar. İkinci Korintliler on**. Sizinle birlikteyken ürkek, ama aranızda değilken yiğit kesilen ben Pavlus, Mesih'teki alçakgönüllük ve yumuşaklıkla size rica ediyor, yalvarıyorum: Yanınıza geldiğim zaman, bizi olağan insanlar gibi yaşayanlardan sayan bazılarına karşı güvenle takınmak, güvenle takınmak niyetinde olduğum tavrı aynı cesaretle size takınm-, size karşı takınmaya zorlamayın beni. Olağan insanlar gibi yaşıyorsak da, insansal güce dayanarak savaşmıyoruz. Çünkü savaşımızın silahları insansal silahlar değil, kaleleri yıkan Tanrısal güce sahip silahlardır. Safsataları, Tanrı bilgisine karşı diklenen her engeli yıkıyor, her düşünceyi tutsak edip Mesih'e bağımlı kılıyoruz.
I am reading. From one to five. Second Corinthians ten. *"By the humility and gentleness of Christ, I appeal to you – I, Paul, who am "timid" when face to face with you, but "bold" toward you when away! I beg you that when I come I may not have to be as bold as I expect to be toward some people who think that we live by the standards of this world. For though we live in the world, we do not wage war as the world does. The weapons we fight with are not the weapons of the world. On the contrary, they have divine power to demolish strongholds. We demolish arguments and every pretension that sets itself up against the knowledge of God, and we take captive every thought to make it obedient to Christ." (NIV)*

Excerpt 35 (Sermon 1, minutes 00:20:20 - 00:21:50)

1 PR 2: Let's turn to Second Corinthians chapter three verse seventeen on.

2 INT 3: İkinci Korintliler üçüncü bölüme bakalım. … üçüncü bölüm onyedinci ayet.

Let's look at the Second Corinthians the third chapter. Third chapter, seventeenth verse.

3 PR 2: ((to INT 3)) Start reading it.

4 INT 3: "Rab Ruh'tur, Rab'bin Ruhu neredeyse orada özgürlük vardır."
The Lord is the Spirit, where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom there.

5 PR 2: ((to INT 3)) Till 4:2.

6 INT 3: Ve 4:2.
And 4:2

7 PR 2: ((to INT 3)) <L2 4:2'ye kadar. L2>
Till 4:2

8 INT 3: **Üçüncü bölüm on yedinci ayetten dördüncü bölüm ikinci ayete kadar okuyorum**. "Rab Ruh'tur. Rab'bin Ruhu neredeyse orada özgürlük vardır. Ve biz hepimiz geç-, peçesiz yüzle Rab'bin yüceliğini görerek yücelik üstüne yücelikle O'na benzer olmak üzere değiştiriliyoruz. Bu da Ruh olan Rab sayesinde oluyor. Bu hizmeti Tanrı'nın merhametiyle üstlendiğimiz için cesaretimizi yitir-, yitirmeyiz. Utanç verici gizli yolları reddettik. Hileye başvurmayız, Tanrı'nın sözünü de çarpıtmayız. Gerçeği ortaya koyarak kendimizi Tanrı'nın önünde her insanın vicdanına tavsiye ederiz."
I am reading from chapter three, verse seventeen till fourth chapter, the second verse*. "Now the Lord is the Spirit, and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is freedom. And we all, who with unveiled faces contemplate the Lord's glory, are being transformed into his image with ever-increasing glory, which comes from the Lord, who is the Spirit. Therefore, since through God's mercy we have this ministry, we do not lose heart. Rather, we have renounced secret and shameful ways; we do not use deception, nor do we distort the word of God. On the contrary, by setting forth the truth plainly we commend ourselves to everyone's conscience in the sight of God." (NIV)*

In the last three excerpts, the interpreter shifts footing when s/he is asked to read the Scripture in Turkish. Excerpt 33 turn 4: "I am reading from one to eleven, you can also follow on the screen." (*Birden onbire kadar okuyorum. Ekrandan takip edebilirsiniz siz de*.) Excerpt 34 turn 4: "I am reading. From one to five. Second Corinthians ten."

(*Okuyorum. Birden beşe kadar. Ikinci Korintiler on.*) Excerpt 35 turn 8: "I am reading from chapter three, verse seventeen till fourth chapter, the second verse." (*Üçüncü bölüm on yedinci ayetten dördüncü bölüm ikinci ayete kadar okuyorum.*) Each time the preacher and the interpreter agree that the verse will be read out only in Turkish and the interpreters announces the reference and that s/he is reading it. Both the preacher and interpreter seem to presume the local audience need help to understand what the reference is in detail and need to hear it in their language while the source audience can figure it out and read it for themselves in their own Bibles. In addition, in turn 3 of Excerpt 33, the preacher announces that the words will be projected on the screen assuming that they will be in Turkish.

This language policy of the church reveals the institutional ideology, making the local language (Turkish) the more central, more focal one, in order to establish a local Christian community in the target culture (see 5.3). In the short extracts above, this policy of prioritizing Turkish was clearly evidenced.

There are some other instances at the interactional level when either the preacher or the interpreter comments about how to translate something. The nature of these comments may differ in that they are out of an interest in the sermon coming across in the target language although there is both the English speaking audience and Turkish speaking audience. In the following two examples, the preacher or the interpreter express concern whether something can be translated properly or not. The first one is a joke and the second one is an idiom in English:

Excerpt 36 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:23:51 - 00:23:59)

1 PR 1: And then you get one of the jokes of the Bible.

2 INT 4: Kutsal Kitap'daki şakalardan, espirilerden bir tanesiyle karşılaşacakmışız **bakalım çevrilebilecek mi?**
It appears that we will encounter one of the jokes or witty sayings in the Bible. ***Let's see if it can be translated.***

Excerpt 37 (Sermon 4, minutes 02:15:56 - 02:16:11)

1 PR 1: Caesar is just a, I was going to say "Johnny-come-lately" but **I can't really translate that. I can't say that.** Caesar's, I mean, he only, he, his family only goes back two or three generations.

Although examples could be multiplied, these instances should suffice to conclude that interaction occurs smoothly between the preacher and the interpreter because of shared goals, that is, the church prioritizing the target audience and they are complying with it simply to uphold institutional ideology.

7.2.7.3. Interpreter from within

I scanned through the sermons in the corpus sampling to detect whether the expectation of the institutional members (that the interpreter should act from within the institutional ideology) is met or not and found plenty of instances that demonstrate conformity to such expectancy norms. In the following prime instances, when the preacher cites a verse from the Bible, the interpreter finds it immediately in the Turkish translation. When the preacher recites Scripture that is widely known without resorting to the biblical reference, the interpreter is able to do so in Turkish as well with the exact wording in the Turkish Bible, which seems to demonstrate that the interpreter is biblically literate. In other cases, the interpreter fills in the gaps where s/he believes the biblical reference is not clear enough.

<u>Excerpt 38 (Sermon 5, minutes 00:40:31 - 00:40:39)</u>

1 PR 3: Freely you have received, freely give.

2 INT 4: Karşılıksız aldınız, karşılıksız <u>verin o zaman.</u>
You received without charge, give without charge then.

Here, although no Bible reference was given, the interpreter utters the exact same wording as in the Turkish Bible.[27] Other instances are when the interpreter, knowing what Bible passages the preacher is talking about, inserts relevant expressions to make it more familiar or apparent for the target audience.

<u>Excerpt 39 (Sermon 4, minutes 02:04:50 - 02:05:03)</u>

1 PR 1: He got his oil ready to pour on the, on the new king's head.

2 INT 4: **Samuel <u>şeyin içinde o boynuzun içindeki</u>** yağı tutuyor elinde hazır. Eee, <u>yeni kralın başından aşağı dökecek,</u> <u>meshedecek</u>.

[27] *Hastaları iyileştirin, ölüleri diriltin, cüzamlıları temiz kılın, cinleri kovun. Karşılıksız aldınız, karşılıksız verin* (Matthew 10: 8, Turkish Bible). (Heal the sick, raise the dead, cleanse the leper, cast out deamons. You have received without charge, give without charge.)

***Samuel** is ready holding in his hand the oil **in the thing, in the horn**. Uhh he is going to pour it down on the new king's head; **he is going to anoint him**.*

In this excerpt, the preacher is talking about then Old Testament practice of prophets anointing kings with special oil. The interpreter here seemingly tries to provide some context for the preacher's message. For this purpose, he first of all reminds the audience that the prophet was Samuel and he holds the oil in a horn container. Only someone who is familiar enough with the Bible can add that the oil was kept in a horn in those times. Also, he prefers a non-religious term for the verb "to pour down" (*aşağı dökmek*) just like in the source utterance but then he also adds "to anoint" (*meshetmek* in Turkish) to have the appropriate biblical term in place for the Christian audience.

Excerpt 40 (Sermon 4, minutes 02:51:08 - 02:51:35)

1 PR 1: If the law didn't work for one thousand and five hundred years, why do we expect it to work now?

2 INT 4: Kutsal yasa binbeşyüz yıl boyunca bir işe yaramadıysa, neden şimdi işe yarayacağını düşünelim ki? **Onca zaman kullanıldı yasa, değiştirmedi insanları doğruluğa kavuşturmadı, neden şimdi işe yarasın?**
*If the holy law did not work throughout one thousand and five hundred years, why should we think that it would work now? **The law was used all those years, did not change people, nor justify them. Why would it work now?***

3 PR 1: The law shows you how sinful you are.

4 INT 4: **Kutsal** yasa size ne kadar günahkar olduğunuzu gösterir.
*The **holy** law shows you how sinful you are.*

In this excerpt, the interpreter adds "holy" to "the law" every time the preacher mentions it, knowing that such a term does not come across in Turkish by itself. "The law" refers to the Mosaic Law in the Old Testament given to the Jews. However, the word *yasa* (law) by itself refers to the system of rules and regulations in Turkish. The word for religious law in Islam is different from yasa (law), that is, *Şeriat* (Sharia) but the translation of the word law in the Turkish Bible is either *yasa* (law) or *kutsal yasa* (holy law). The interpreter seems to try to ensure that what the preacher is referring to is

the Law in the Bible so that no one will be confused. In addition to this clarification, the interpreter adds a sentence to reword his first rendition in a way that clarifies the concept. The preacher said, "If the law didn't work for one thousand and five hundred years, why do we expect it to work now?" The interpreter, after rendering this sentence word-for-word, which comes across suitably in Turkish, is not satisfied and adds "The law was used all those years, did not change people, nor justified them, why would it work now?" It appears that the interpreter attempts to convey the message as if he was preaching it himself.

Excerpt 41 (Sermon 2, minutes 00:28:40 - 00:29:02)

1 PR 2: Joshua. Joshua. He was with Moses all the time, but when Moses died, he had to lead on this big nation.

2 INT 1: Yeşu **peygamber**, eee, her zaman Musa'yla beraberdi ve **onun yanındayken her şeyi Musa hallediyordu.** Ama Musa öldükten sonra İsrail halkını yönetme işi ona kaldı.
Prophet *Joshua was uhh always with Moses* ***and when he was with him, Moses took care of everything.*** *But after Moses died, the job of leading the people of Israel was left to him.*

In this excerpt, the interpreter qualifies Joshua as a prophet but she does not do the same for Moses because everybody knows in the Muslim culture that Moses was a prophet, whereas Joshua is not known in the Turkish culture because Joshua is not mentioned in the Quran. The interpreter, with this shared knowledge with the target audience, adds this title "prophet" to Joshua for clarity, which indicates her position as an insider who knows what the audience might be familiar with or not for successful communication.

Excerpt 42 (Sermon 3, minutes 00:34:14 - 00:35:46)

1 PR 3: You know the amazing story that's recorded in, uhh, Mark twelve at the end of, uhh, twelve where the Lord Jesus is in the temple?

2 INT 2: Ee, Markos onikide bir, ee, bir olay vardı, İsa Mesih tapınaktayken.
Uhh there was uhh an incident in Mark 12, when Jesus was in the temple.

3 PR 3: And how rude was he? He was watching them give their money! Would you like us to watch you as you put your money into the offering this morning? ((TO THE INTERPRETER)) Watching, just he was looking and

seeing what they were doing. ((PASTOR INTERFERES FROM THE CONGREGATION AND ASKS THE PREACHER TO TELL THE STORY IN THE BIBLE)) It's not clear. OK. Let me, let me take you, I'll take you to the verse then.

4 INT 2: O bahsedeceğim olayı o zaman ayetlerden okuyalım, daha açık olsun.
Let's read the verses about the incident I am going to talk about then, so that it will be clearer.

5 PR 3: Mark.

6 INT 2: Markos'a bakacağız.
We'll look at Mark.

7 PR 3: And it's chapter twelve.

8 INT 2: On ikinci bölüm.
Twelfth chapter.

9 PR 3: Right at the end. Verse forty-one. Why don't you just, just read that down to, uh, just, just forty-one to forty-two.

10 INT 2: Markos on iki, kırk bir kırk iki. "İsa tapınakta bağış toplanan yerin karşısında oturmuş, kutulara para atan halkı seyrediyordu. Birçok zengin kişi kutuya bol para attı. Yoksul bir dul kadın da geldi, birkaç kuruş değerinde iki bakır para attı."
Mark twelve, forty-one to forty-two. "Jesus sat down opposite the place where the offerings were put and watched the crowd putting their money into the temple treasury. Many rich people threw in large amounts. But a poor widow came and put in two very small copper coins, worth only a few cents." (NIV)

This last instance is the opposite situation of what is expected of the interpreter. In this example, the interpreter was tacitly expected to explain the story in Turkish for the local audience who are not familiar with what the preacher was referring to. However, when the interpreter did not fulfill this expectation, the pastor interfered from amongst the congregation and asked the preacher to narrate or read the story in the Bible before talking about it. The preacher did not realize this story was not well-known in the target culture and the interpreter either did not remember the story or preferred not to make that explanation. As a result, the commissioner as the norm authority stepped in because

the interpreter's behavior was not conforming to the relevant expectancy norm (cf. Chesterman 1997: 67-68).

"The meanings of words are not fixed and settled once and for all in terms of definitions. They vary across contexts … And they are tied to cultural models (stories and theories that are meant to simplify and help us deal with complexity)" (Gee 1996: 10). As a specialty area in society, Christian culture has its own words (*ibid*.: 16). There are many stories or parables from the Bible that are familiar in the Christian cultures predominantly in the west. For example, this story that the preacher was referring to is known as "the widow's mite"[28] or as "the story of the widow who gave everything." Others are "the good Samaritan," "the prodigal son" or "the occupation of Jericho." None of these is familiar in the Turkish culture. When assumptions are shared between communicative parties on what the other mean, then the communication is successful (Scollon *et al*. 2012: 16). However, when the source and target audience do not share "the same amount of previous knowledge about the objects and phenomena referred to," problems like those related to references mentioned here tend to arise (Nord 1997: 41). In a multi-national community like this, the amount of knowledge in common would determine the degree of this kind of function. The speaker's and audience's value systems are assumed to be parallel in a monolingual communicative action.

In the case of interpreter-mediated communication, the value systems in the source and target cultures are likely to vary, as can be seen in the examples. For this reason, all the instances referred to above indicate that the interpreter is expected to take up the insider role, giving context for what is being said. In all the excerpts until the last one, examples were seen in which the interpreter fulfilled this expectation; and in the last one, when the interpreter failed to do so, the commissioner intervened to eliminate the problem. It is safe to say that the expectations expressed in the questionnaire-based surveys and interviews with commissioners and interpreters seem to be a matter of reality in sermon interpreting as far as interpreters being biblically literate Christians or acting from within. This role is exemplified even more clearly in the last category below, which identifies instances when the interpreter acts at this level to the extent of being a co-preacher.

[28] E.g., Actress Angelina Jolie referring to this story in a speech: http://www.sweetspeeches.com/s/1705-angelina-jolie-world-refugee-day-2009-address

7.2.7.4. Interpreter as a co-preacher

The term "co-preaching" was discussed earlier at 6.1.3.10. Here it is used to identify the overarching role of the interpreter, detected in the excerpts, in interpreting a sermon consecutively alongside a preacher. The interpreter's performance in this church reveals many implications regarding his or her assumption of the role of a co-preacher, which is extensively exemplified below. Specifically, recurring patterns are investigated, where the interpreter actually uses all of the above-mentioned aspects to function as a co-preacher and adopts sermonic practices into his or her mediation.

Excerpt 43 (Sermon 5, minutes 00:49:16 - 00:49:39)

1 PR 3:	In verse seven it says, "To each one the manifestation of the Spirit is given for the common good."
2 INT 4:	Yedinci ayette der ki "Herkesin ortak yararı için herkese Ruh'u belli eden bir yetenek veriliyor." **Herkesten bahsediyor, sadece yani kişisel bir şey değil.**
	It says in verse seven, "To each one the manifestation of the Spirit is given for the common good." ***It is talking about everyone; it is not just a personal thing*** *.*

In this example, as in many incidents throughout this sermon, the interpreter again seems to feel responsible to make sure that the local congregation comprehends the message thoroughly and thus makes exegetical rendering of Scripture that the preacher cited.

Excerpt 44 (Sermon 4, minutes 03:01:36 - 03:01:43)

1 PR 1:	So this is just an introduction.
2 INT 4:	Onun için bu sadece bir artık giriş mahiyetinde olacak**. Ona göre dinleyiniz.**
	That's why, this is going to have an introductory character. ***Please listen accordingly*** *.*

In this short excerpt, the interpreter is addressing the audience in a preaching manner, instructing them how they should listen carefully.

Excerpt 45 (Sermon 2, minutes 00:25:34 - 00:26:00)

1 PR 2: If we're under pressure, if we're under trial, if we are, if the Satan is, is raging against us, and we feel there's no way out, there's a way.

2 INT 1: Eğer biz de böyle **hissediyorsak** işte şeytan bizim hayatımızda büyük baskılar göstermekteyse ve hiç bir çıkış yolu kalmadığını hissediyorsak **kendimizi çok kötü hissediyorsak, İsa'nın bizimle birlikte olduğunu hatırlayabiliriz**. Bir çıkış noktası vardır **her zaman için onunla**.
If we also ***feel that way****, I mean, if the Satan is exerting great oppression in our life and if we feel like there is no way out left and* ***we feel very down, we can remember that Jesus is with us. There is always*** *a way out* ***with him.***

The rendition of the interpreter here sounds like an exhortation that normally a preacher would perform. The added utterances are "if we feel down," "we can remember that Jesus is with us," and "there is **always** a way out **with him**." She seems to empathize with the audience, expressing emotion and making sure that the audience understands that if they feel burdened or depressed, God has the answer to their problems.

Excerpt 46 (Sermon 4, minutes 03:35:13 - 03:35:17)

1 PR 1: Oh, I'm offended, everybody must know.

2 INT 4: Ben çok kızgınım **buna gerçekten tahammül etmem mümkün değil,** herkes de bilsin. Onun için kendimi evime kapatıyorum. … Hiç kimseyle görüşmüyorum.
*I am very angry****, it is really not possible for me to tolerate this****. Let everyone know this.* ***That's why I am shutting myself in my house. I am not meeting anyone.***

In this short instance, the interpreter is theatrically para-narrating the situation. Some preachers are very emotive and dramatize situations or sometimes they have some volunteers from among the audience to enact a situation. Although this preacher does not opt for such a style, it seems that the interpreter still wants the audience to experience what the preacher narrates in a dramatic form or even by using himself as an illustration.

Excerpt 47 (Sermon 4, minutes 02:56:13 - 02:56:26)

1 PR 1: And we looked at that Scripture that says, "The old has gone, the new has come."

2 INT 4: Eski şeyler geçti her şey yeni oldu diyen **o hani Korintliler'deki** ayete falan baktıydık.

Remember we looked at the verse in Corinthians that says the old things are gone; everything became new.

Excerpt 48 (Sermon 4, minutes 00:46:42 - 00:46:57)

1 PR 1: Because seventy nations were the world.

2 INT 4: Çünkü **neydi**? **Hani yeni an- Eski Antlaşma'da baktıydık ya** yetmiş ülke bütün dünyanın … şeyini **sembolize ediyordu Yahudilere göre**.

*Because **what was it**? **Remember we looked at it in the Old Testament** that seventy countries **symbolized the thing, the nations of the world, according to the Jews**.*

Excerpt 49 (Sermon 4, minutes 02:20:47 - 02:20:58)

1 PR 1: That's how he's doing it.

2 INT 4: Yani **bu kral** bu şekilde işliyor **onun işleme tarzı kan dökerek savaşla değil, lütuf ve elçilik görevi için yetki vermek sûretiyle.**

*Which means, **this king** works this way. **His style of work is not through bloodshed or war, but through giving authority with grace and apostleship**.*

In excerpts 47, 48 and 49, the interpreter reminds the audience what they were talking about, helping them to make the connection between what the preacher is saying and what he said earlier. In excerpt 46, he refers to the verse in the Bible, "Remember we looked at the verse in Corinthians" (*o hani Korintliler'deki ayete falan baktıydık*). In excerpt 47, in a preaching-like manner, he asks a rhetorical question "Because what was it?" (*Çünkü neydi?*). Then he reminds the audience of the context in which they earlier talked about the number seventy representing all the nations of the world. He also contextualizes it by adding "remember we looked at it in the Old Testament" (*Eski Antlaşma'da baktıydık ya*) and also "according to the Jews" (*Yahudilere göre*). Lastly in

excerpt 48, the interpreter elaborately explains what the preacher uttered as if he is preaching.

Excerpt 50 (Sermon 2, minutes 00:29:46 - 00:29:55)

1 PR 2: And the promise of God's presence with us is so powerful.

2 INT 1: Tanrı'nın varlığının bizimle olacağı vaadi çok çok çok güçlüdür gerçekten.
The promise that God's presence will be with us very ***very very*** *powerful* ***really***.

Minutes 00:18:04 - 00:18:17

3 PR 2: But eventually he said, "Go! I'll let you go." Because he was defeated.

4 INT 1: Ama en sonunda **firavun,** eee, onlara "Gidin" demek **zorunda kaldı** çünkü bu savaşta yenilmişti **ve başka çaresi kalmamıştı**.
But in the very end, ***pharaoh*** *uhh* ***had to*** *say to them "Go" because he was defeated in this war* ***and had no other choice left.***

Here the preacher is giving an exhortation that God is always with his people by using the story of exodus from Egypt and how the Egyptian King Pharaoh had to let go of the Israelites. In turn 2, the interpreter seems so keen on highlighting the message that she repeats the qualifiers of "powerful" with "very very very powerful really." Then in turn 4, the interpreter elucidating what happened in the story with additions. She renders "he said" as "pharaoh had to say" (*firavun … demek zorunda kaldı*) and then adds "he … had no other choice left" (*başka çaresi kalmamıştı*) to what she already interpreted as "he was defeated in this war" (*bu savaşta yenilmişti*).

Excerpt 51 (Sermon 5, minutes 00:51:31 - 00:52:31)

1 PR 3: Right, OK. Well that's what manifestation is, revealing, something like that.

2 INT 4: ((TO THE PREACHER)) To show?
Herkese ruhu belli eden bir yetenek veriliyor.
Everyone is given a talent that manifests the spirit.

3 PR 3: But I presume it refers to, to the work of the spirit.

4 INT 4: ((TO THE PREACHER)) Yes, it does.
Ruhu belli eden.
What manifests the spirit.

5 PR 3: OK, what's, my translation, what's it mean? A manifestation of the spirit is given to everyone.

6 INT 4: İngilizce çeviride kullanılan ifadeyi şey yapıyoruz da. Orada işte, burada, her- Ruh'u belli eden, gösteren, onun varlığını dışa vuran şey anlamında. Ruh'u belli eden bir yetenek.

We are doing the thing, the expression used in the English translation. There, or here, it means that what makes the Spirit obvious, visible, that expresses his presence. A gift that manifests the Spirit.

7 PR 3: The point behind this phrase "manifestation of the Spirit" is that it's obvious that God is at work.

8 INT 4: Ruh'u belli eden yetenek dediğin zaman, ifade ettiği şey, Tanrı'nın bir şeyler yapmakta olduğu apaçık bir şekilde, **bariz bir şekilde** ortada. Yani bunu gören kişi bunun Tanrı'dan birşeyler olduğunu anlıyordur. **Onu belli eden bir yetenek diyor.**

When you say a talent that manifests the spirit, what it means is that it is evident, ***obvious*** *that God is doing something.* ***I mean, the person who sees this will understand that this something from God. It says a talent that manifests him.***

The preacher and the interpreter discuss between themselves what the manifestation of the Spirit through gifts means. Then the interpreter reports to the audience what they concluded together in terms of the meaning of this biblical concept "manifestation of the Spirit." The interpreter is elaborating on the meaning on his own and enlightening the audience in a way as a co-preacher.

7.3. Discussion

The above discourse analysis based on the recorded sermons in the corpus of this study has demonstrated that interpreter-mediated communication in church settings tends to contribute to the process of institutionalization of a social entity. From the overall analysis, the following process norms can be extrapolated. A closer examination of the interpreting activity shows that the interpreters constantly fill in the gaps, possibly when they realize that the preacher has assumed that the congregation knows what he is

talking about, when they actually do not. When the interpreters discern that most of the congregation does not know the preacher's reference to the Bible or Christian traditions, they tend to fill in the gap by using one or more of the strategies described above. We see that the interpreters know the topic very well and are highly motivated to communicate the message to the audience out of the commitment to their faith (i.e., their ideology). It is also evident that they know the congregation/audience very well and recognize when they need help, eagerly taking every opportunity to help them understand.

The interpreters in this study appear to take ownership of the message much more than a professional interpreter would, because they hold shared beliefs with both the preacher and the audience. This is evidenced by the fact that they volunteer without any financial compensation. Professional interpreters intend to communicate the speaker's message, but their motivation is different from that of voluntary interpreters. The professional interpreter desires to maintain his or her professional reputation and continue to earn income, whereas the Christian interpreter views their task as a mission rather than a commission, to get this "divine" message across. It seems that this instinctive concern stems from their desire to be faithful to the authority of the church as well as to the divine authority, since they see this task as a "service" (more precisely, ministry) to God. That is, the interpreter is subordinate to his or her faith as much as to the institution.

One unique excerpt illustrates what can happen when the interpreter acts as described above. In the example below, the preacher notices the interpreter's endeavors and comments that he is preaching better than him.

<u>Excerpt 52 (Sermon 4, minute 00:31')</u>

PR 1: I'm sure Murat's ((INT 4)) preaching is better than me.

In this turn, the preacher sounds sincere and does not express sarcasm. Murat is the most preferred interpreter at the church. His English is almost as good as his native language Turkish, being married to a British woman and having lived in England on and off. He is also a very committed and mature Christian, involved in children's ministry and the translation of Christian material. That is why he is occasionally asked to preach at the church, even though he does not hold any pastoral position, does not have seminary training, and is not an ordained preacher. In fact, as can be seen from the

excerpts, most of the instances pinpointing involvement and ownership of the sermon come from sermons he interpreted. Whereas, as seen earlier, the expectation is for all the interpreters to function in that role, here is an example where the preacher directly acknowledges the interpreter's ability to do so.

This analysis made of interpreter-mediated sermons points to the fact that interpreter-based communication facilitates construction of the identity of this religious institution, with the sermon interpreter working from "within" their ideology acting at times as a co-preacher. In this context, the interpreters' identification with and knowledge of the target culture, along with their recognition of the gap between communicative parties, is evident form the strategies they use for mediating communication. With an interdisciplinary approach to the institution in the conceptual framework (Chapter 3) and analyzing the empirical data from interpreted sermons, one can say that this particular church is being translated into a society in which it has not existed before. There is a Christian ideology, which is being realized in an institutional context. While many other factors are effective in this effort, this study looked specifically at the interpreters' involvement in this. The whole interpreter-mediated communication through sermons shows that interpreters act from within an ideology by using strategies to reinforce the prevailing ideology in the sermons, by their efforts to interact with primary parties to realize the communication effectively, sometimes acting on their own initiative and sometimes in partnership with the preacher.

8. Discussion and conclusions

In this last chapter, a review of research objectives along with theoretical and methodological approaches adopted for this study is provided. Key results are presented, conclusions are drawn and discussed, limitations are acknowledged, and ideas for future research are suggested.

8.1. Review of research objectives

This study set out to explore the consecutive interpreting of sermons preached in a religious institution, the particular church described in Chapter 5, which aims to meet the interpreting needs of both local and expatriate members of the congregation. The role of the interpreters within the institution, the factors that constrain them and specifically the influence of institutional ideology on them have been investigated. In order to achieve these objectives, studies examining interpreting in church settings were reviewed, and attention was drawn to the scarcity of research in interpreting in the religious domain until the last decade and the recent growing interest (2.4). Despite this growth in interest, this study is still one of the first undertaken in terms of description of church interpreting within its institutional context and exploration of the norms constraining or, more precisely, liberating interpreters in such a setting.

The role of the interpreter is investigated from an ideological perspective as a rather newer approach to role investigation in the interpreting field. The data includes recordings of interpreted sermons and surveys of opinion in a single church setting, supported by field observations and interviews obtained from similar churches in the wider context of Turkey. These may bear the characteristics of both the micro and the immediate macro context, but the study's findings may be relevant to other socioculturally similar settings where churches are open to receiving expatriate or visiting preachers and use interpreting service for sermons delivered by them.

In order to theoretically and conceptually ground the empirical data, a combination of approaches from sociolinguistics, sociology, translation and interpreting studies, and homiletics was adopted (see Chapter 3). The notion of institution was analyzed from the perspective of the three distinct elements adopted from Scott (2008)

as regulative, normative and cultural-cognitive "pillars," intersecting multi-layered contextual analysis – text, hypertext and institution situated in its macro context – based on Pöchhacker's multi-level analytical framework. Defining the church as a social institution that places constraints on interpreting through norms arising at the institutional level and influenced by cultural-cognitive (particularly ideological) factors, the study investigates interpreting activity at the textual level of sermon, the latter occurring in the communicative event (hypertext) of the church service, embedded within the institution. Scott's three institutional "pillars" are seen as interdependent, mutually reinforcing each other and the institution in a dynamic structure, extending through the different contextual levels. The belief system of Christianity as an ideology was observed as a driving force on norms that regulate the interpreter's behavior. Since it is this behavior that is the focus in this study, the notion of interpreter involvement was adopted as a comprehensive term that describes the position of the interpreter acting from within the institution as an insider, regarded as a trusted agent empowered to take initiatives when necessary. The interpreter is seen here not in one single role, but rather in multiple roles in varying degrees of engagement in the communication. The interpreter is involved as an active party in the communication, i.e., "the sermon," which was construed as a special genre of spoken discourse, drawing on studies in linguistics and homiletics. Types of sermons were introduced, together with a discussion of sermonic elements such as persuasion and audience reception.

The thesis analyzes the interpreting activity in the church through these notions, taking as a model Koskinen's (2008) case study that explored the European Commission as a translating and translated institution. In her approach, the control exerted by an institution is what distinguishes institutional translation from non-institutional translation. It is understood as a translating institution, manifesting itself as such by selecting the interpreters and expecting them to convey the message of the institution by conforming to the norms imposed by the institution. At the same time, the activity of the interpreters is not only translating the institution's message, but also translating the institution itself. The result of these processes in the particular church institution investigated is that the church itself, as an institution, is translated into a socio-culture where there was none before.

For a thorough understanding of these institutional factors, context was given great attention in a multi-level analytical framework. At the macro level, the socio-political context was described with emphasis on the religious composition of Turkey

and socio-religious realities. On the other hand, Protestant Evangelical churches in the country were described as the micro-level context, while the prototypical structure of the church service was introduced as a communicative event along with the constellation of interactants. Based on this description, the preliminary norms were extrapolated by delineating the institutional language policy in a chronological overview.

Against this background, a multi-method approach was adopted using both qualitative and quantitative data collected through fieldwork. The descriptive account of the setting made the question of interpreter involvement its primary focus in relation to issues such as expectancy norms and role perceptions. For this purpose, a pilot study (prior to this project) was conducted which comprised a series of open-ended interviews carried out with commissioners of interpreting services, consisting of pastors and preachers from various churches in the three major cities of Turkey, in order to identify their expectations on the sermon interpreter in general.

The particular church setting was then investigated as a case study with consecutively interpreted sermons being the focal point in this immediate setting. All the participants involved in this particular communication were included in the data collection in order to determine expectancy norms that influence strategies and empowerment regarding the role of the interpreter in this social institution. For that purpose, first interpreters in this church were interviewed to determine how their role perceptions were shaped by their religious ideology to provide further qualitative analysis. Second, in order to corroborate the findings from these two qualitative analyses, a questionnaire-based survey was conducted with all three groups of members of the institution: the same church interpreters who were interviewed; various levels of church leaders; and monolingual congregants. Statistical analysis of responses to the questionnaires facilitated a quantitative analysis that verified the qualitative results from the interviews.

The data on opinions collected from the questionnaires and interviews was triangulated through the discourse analysis of audio recordings of four naturally-occurring historic sermons in the same church and the video recording of a more recent church service. The analysis of these recordings at the textual level provided a deeper understanding of interpreted mediation and solidified the results in terms of the interpreter's interpersonal engagement in the communication. Whether the interpreter's conformity to norms is ideology-bound was considered in these analyses for the purpose

of examining how the ideology found in a specific social setting influences both the interpreter and the (end-) users of interpreting.

8.2. Summary of findings

As the study analyzes interpreter-mediated sermons in a church context, key terms and concepts related to interpreting and Christianity were discussed in Chapter 2. This conceptual discussion demonstrated that while boundaries between the concepts in categorization of interpreting are still fuzzy, positioning church interpreting is even more intricate. In terms of setting, while church interpreting is more similar to community interpreting in the sense that both occur in an intra-social setting, in other senses it bears features of conference-like situations. The sermon, the primary communicative event in church settings, in whatever mode it is interpreted, is overtly monologic in nature as opposed to the generally dialogic nature of communication in community settings. In addition, the church receives guest speakers from abroad at times, which gives the impression that the setting shifts from intra-social to inter-social. However, since the guest preacher still represents the same ideological system at large, the interpreter-mediated communication occurs at an intra-institutional level and still bears the characteristics of intra-social settings even though the speaker is not a resident in that community.

(Non-)professionalism was identified as another topic of debate. As church interpreters are voluntary members of the church, they are not considered professional in the sense that they are not remunerated. However, the fact is that they are regularly practicing interpreting in an institutional framework like in-house professional interpreters. Training is not an issue for the institution or the end-users, though some of them happen to be trained interpreters who offer their services *gratis* on a voluntary basis, out of their personal commitment to the institution of the church. Regardless of their training, they are trusted more than professional interpreters to the point of the church choosing these voluntary interpreters from within the church over professionals from outside the institution. The church's interpreters view this voluntary practice as service to the divine authority and the congregation, or in Christian terminology, as "ministry," according to their belief system. Following the discussion of these concepts, the chapter reviewed relevant literature in church interpreting in both spoken and sign

language interpreting. A comprehensive summary of studies in church interpreting conducted by the small but growing body of researchers identified various angles from which they approach the topic. The summary demonstrated that the research in church interpreting has concentrated on some aspects of involvement of the interpreter in the sermon, either at the level of personal engagement in the sermon or of spiritual co-construction of the sermon message. Also, great attention was given to the expectations and perceptions of the users of church interpreting.

Because this study analyzes interpreter-mediated communication in a religious institution, the notion of institution was discussed in Chapter 3, focusing on the interpreter's involvement in the institution and the influence of institutional ideology on the norms for interpreting activity. Employing an interdisciplinary approach to institutionalization, the role of ideology in translation and interpreting was discussed to shed light on the issue in an institutional framework. It was found that this group of (interpreting) users shares similar ideas about the requisite qualities of interpreters working in a church setting, and their preference in selecting interpreters for sermons was very much guided by these ideas. For this, the study drew on the concept of norms in translation studies, discussing Toury's and Chesterman's notions of norms with a focus on their application in interpreting. For the scope of this study, preliminary norms in particular were given special attention since the interpreting policy of the institutionalization process of the church highlighted the role of the interpreting activity. When it comes to how the institution views this activity and interpreters, the expectancy and process norms (also termed product and professional norms) were emphasized to investigate the perceptions of the members of the institution along with their expectations as well as the real-life decisions of the interpreters in the communicative event in which they mediate.

Since the church investigated in this study has an international make-up and the community interacts with each other on a regular basis and most of this interaction happens through interpreting, special attention was paid to the role issues and the involvement of the interpreter, drawing on studies in interpreting studies along with sociology and sociolinguistics. These studies, recognizing interpreting activity as a social practice, especially in the 1990's and 2000's, established the role of the interpreter as an involved participant at varying levels, depending on the context. Scrutiny of the interpreters' role concludes that the interpreter as a social being plays a role that is active and involved, far from being a neutral mediator between the primary

interactants of a communicative act. With these findings, the studies also brought to light the discrepancy between the professionals' and users' perceptions of the idealized role of the interpreter (that the interpreter should be impartial) and the actual role the interpreter plays in real-life situations. In this body of relevant literature, the focus seems to be on differences between the prescribed role of the interpreter and his or her actual performance in diverse settings. Attempts have been made to explain the interpreter's role, touching on such concepts as neutrality, impartiality and involvement.

Chapter 4 explained the methodological approaches and presented the research questions. Adopting a fieldwork strategy, real-life contexts and naturally-occurring data were analyzed in combination with interviews and questionnaires in a multi-method study to discuss the interpreter's role in context based on both quantitative and qualitative data. My involvement as a researcher was explained in the scope of ethnography and autoethnography, and the advantages and limitations of my position were discussed. Expressions of opinion by commissioners (viz. pastors and preachers) in Evangelical churches in the three major cities were collected in semi-structured recorded interviews, while opinions of interpreters were collected by e-mail in order to distance myself as researcher, in view of my insider position as one of the interpreters. However, I was also able to note opinions in the course of informal "chat." Qualitative analysis of the responses in interviews and by email provided clues to the institutional ideology and norms for interpreting as well as interviewees' own expectations and perceptions of the interpreting activities. Questionnaires were administered to all participants to gather their opinions of the interpreting practices and the results were analyzed quantitatively. These and the findings from the interviews are triangulated with discourse analysis of transcribed recordings of interpreted sermons, including analysis of interpreter strategies of explicitation by lexical additions, by repetition, and by rewording. Both the expressions of opinion and the interpreted sermons are investigated for evidence of interpreter involvement as insider in an institutional context, reflected in various recurring patterns and strategies. The main categories of analysis were strategies and ideology that indicate the active involvement of the interpreter studied by close observation of the transcripts.

Chapter 5 constitutes a significant leg of the empirical research with a detailed description of the context. As highlighted in previous literature, interpreting cannot be evaluated in isolation from its surrounding environment, which constantly molds and is molded by the interaction happening as a dynamic structure. With that perspective, the

chapter delineated elements shaping the church as an institution at macro and micro levels, such as the socio-political environment and the evolution of Christianity and Bible translation in Turkey. The church setting in which the interpreter-mediated sermons are embedded was then detailed with all relevant interactants such as speakers, audience and interpreters in the prototypical structure. Such a description of the church as an interpreting setting in a predominantly Islamic country is the first description of the phenomenon. This description also helps explain the level in which the church is a translated institution.

The following two chapters, 6 and 7, analyzed the data collected through fieldwork. The first set of data, comprising two series of interviews and questionnaire-based surveys, was analyzed in three main sections in Chapter 6. The first section included interviews with commissioners of interpreting representing various churches in Turkey. Some distinctive expectancy norms were extracted from the statements in the interviews; the context-bound norms peculiar to the church setting, stemming from the ideology ingrained in this context. Based on these interviews, thematic connections are made and discussed in terms of Christian terminology, Christian vs. non-Christian interpreters, the function of a sermon and the expected function of an interpreted sermon.

After these initial findings of overall expectancy norms in church settings in Turkey, the focus was directed at the case study, i.e., Smyrna Church. The second section analyzed interviews with interpreters in this particular case setting, which provided findings identifying expectations placed on sermon interpreters, perceptions of their role, and how they position themselves within the communicative event in the institutional structure. Interpreters were specifically asked about how they respond to certain problems that they encounter in sermons and what their strategies would be. The findings on interpreting strategies were indicative of process norms pertaining to whether the interpreters take account of the expectancy norms. The third section discussed the questionnaires administered to interpreters, preachers and congregants in Smyrna Church, which allowed quantitative analysis to compare and contrast the different perceptions of the three groups of participants. The questionnaire posed 23 questions related to the participants' views on sermon interpreting and interpreters at church.

Survey results demonstrated that the institution expects the interpreter to be involved in the communication as a key instrument in the institutionalization of the

church. On the other hand, the degree to which these expectations were fulfilled and the extent to which perceptions reflected reality were tested through transcribed recordings of naturally-occurring sermons in the scope of process norms. The results of the data analysis in all three categories point towards a contribution of interpreters to institutional ideology in this particular church. The analysis of these sets of data resulted in some crucial findings, which are discussed within their relevant topics below.

The eligibility issue was brought to the attention of the preachers, interpreters and congregants in the particular church setting under study. All the respondents were in unison on this issue. They concurred that only an interpreter from the same ideology as that of the institution can meet these expectations and participate in fulfilling the function of an interpreted sermon. In this respect, commissioners as the institutional authority indicated that they would not allow a non-Christian to interpret a sermon unless there was no other choice, which suggests that the interpreter is neither expected nor desired to be ideology-free. Non-Christian interpreters are thought to be much less likely to achieve the desired effect because they cannot perform with a true spiritual involvement, which is one of the crucial requirements of a sermon and its interpreting. Opting for a Christian interpreter signifies an institutional policy on the part of the church. Biblically literate interpreters, who share the church's theological view, will contribute to getting the message across in the way desired within the institutional framework.

Just like voluntary interpreting organizations around the world, institutionalized practices of the church are entirely based on non-professional volunteers in all the services they provide. In the same vein, the interpreters are unpaid but committed to their work, viewing it as a ministry for which a personal commitment to the institutional ideology is a prerequisite. No one will offer his or her services for a cause that they do not believe in. This voluntary non-professional work also has traces of professionalism in the sense that this is organized and systematic work within the same institution, similar to the work of in-house interpreters in a big organization.

Moreover, the interpreter performing from the pulpit for and with a preacher is seen as a co-constructor of the sermon, and for this reason, great responsibility is attributed to him or her. While highlighting the spiritual aspect of a preacher's sermon, the respondents explicitly indicated that it is also the interpreter's responsibility to bring the divine message across during the sermon. Furthermore, the interpreter in a sermon situation is widely viewed among the respondents as a co-preacher who acts alongside

the primary preacher in most aspects of preaching. Although some respondents are more comfortable labeling it as co-preaching than others, a perception is found in the majority of the responses in all three groups surveyed that the interpreter is afforded latitude to act as a co-preacher to some degree. In that respect, the interpreter is expected to actively participate in this tripartite interaction (including God as one of the primary parties; see 6.2.3.2), not only at the social level, but also at the spiritual level to enhance the desired function of the sermon.

Another expectation placed upon interpreters of sermons appeared to be that they work from "within" the institutional ideology so as to act on behalf of the preacher. The authority of the church ensures institutional interpreting by selecting interpreters they trust from within the institution. The fulfillment of this institutional interpreting was traced in the analysis of interpreter-mediated sermons, based on recordings. Instances were identified in which the interpreter worked together with the preacher as members of the same institution on occasions when the interpreter was left with facilitating interaction during the sermon, reading Bible passages only in Turkish in a tacit agreement with the preacher (reflecting the institutional language policy), cooperating to find the right information in the Bible, all in all co-construction of the message.

The assumption with which this study started out – that involvement of interpreters is both inevitable and desired in a church setting where religious ideology is prevalent – seems to be valid. The socio-political reality of the delicate position of Christianity in Turkey is useful in explaining why interpreters are expected and granted to be involved to such great extent in mediating speakers who are unaware of the differences between the source and target cultures. Thus interpreters find themselves substantially engaged in and responsible for the communication they provide, being part of the institutional ideology through a personal commitment.

In terms of process norms, interpreters' strategies in mediation of sermons were identified through direct questions to interpreters as well as through recordings of their production in real-life sermons. In the interviews, interpreters agreed that they would assume authority if the preacher is not perceptive to the congregants' needs or vulnerabilities; they would adapt culturally irrelevant or inappropriate material in the sermonic discourse according to the congregants' needs. The way the interpreters expressed their strategies pointed towards their ideology-bound behavior in three unique ways. First, in situations when the preachers' blind utterances were unacceptable (due to being inappropriate, irrelevant or offensive), the interpreters would freely adapt them to

acceptable utterances so that the message (ideology-carrier) will not be undermined because of the preacher's unawareness. Second, if what the preacher utters is in coherence with the institutional ideology and even if the interpreter knows that it would be offensive to the audience, s/he chooses to retain it in his or her interpretation in an effort to protect the ideology at the risk of inconvenience. That way, the interpreter demonstrates primary commitment to the meta-culture (Christianity) rather than the source or target culture. Third, if the interpreter detects an utterance by the preacher that is not coherent with the institutional ideology, then the interpreter assumes authority to protect the ideology, in which case s/he either modifies it or asks the institutional authority to step in. They very frankly draw the line where they should interfere with the message or where they will allow it to be communicated.

Survey results demonstrated that respondents expect interpreters to be cross-culturally sensitive even when the speaker is not, and thus to intervene in order to make up for any insensitivity. Interpreters of a sermon are expected to be aware of the audience's needs and to make explanations, especially on the topics deemed unfamiliar for biblically less literate members of the audience.

Other than these more contentious issues, the interpreter makes implicit material explicit for his or her target culture as a result of their shared knowledge with the audience. The interpreter who is biblically literate claims to discern as to what is clear to the audience and what would require explicitation as the interpreter her/himself come from the same background as the audience. Instances of their explicitation efforts were detected in added words in the analysis of recordings. In addition, interpreters resorted to rewording as another explicitation strategy to make the message more accessible to the congregants. On the other hand, lexical repetition seemed to be a sermonic tool they used to create persuasion as one of the objectives of a sermon. The interpreters seem to resort to these strategies in compliance with institutional norms and conceptions, as are itemized below.

Between the three groups of respondents in the questionnaires given in Smyrna Church, both common and divergent responses were detected. The interviews with commissioners and interpreters reveal similar qualitative results. Commissioners and interpreters had a more realistic perception as to the degree of interpreters' involvement in the sermons. This commonality was also obvious in the questionnaire that preachers, interpreters and the congregants answered at Smyrna Church. Quantitative data showed similar trends in the responses of preachers and interpreters, compared to diversified

responses of the congregants who revealed perceptions of the interpreter ranging from a neutral agent to an influential interpreter authorized to make radical interventions. The latter might include, for instance, correcting a preacher's insensitive or inappropriate statements, or even explaining Bible passages when the preacher fails to recognize that his Bible reference does not come across for a congregation that has largely a Muslim background. In any case, some of the congregants remarked during the survey administration that they had not thought about these issues, but rather focused on the content of the sermon.

Another necessary point of discussion here is the comparison between perceptions and the degree of interpreter involvement in the church context and in the secular context. The study pointed to these differences through concrete examples. In the first place, interpreters' meta-discourse about their role and how they index themselves in the communicative act differs substantially. The church interpreters in this context view themselves as authorized to make decisions about the material (un)acceptable for the communication, or to make changes to the message when they deem it necessary. They position themselves in the communication as a co-constructor of the message almost as responsible as the preacher. Whereas research has shown that in secular interpreters' meta-discourse, they position themselves as non-aligned, non-interventionist, or even neutral. For example, some interpreters interviewed in Eraslan's research (2011: 103; cf. Diriker 2004) express that they would not want to take risks even to make minor changes or correct a minor mistake, thinking that it could be an intentional mistake by the speaker. They do not want to trust themselves to discern it, let alone expect that participants will trust the interpreters. Although secular interpreters also are involved participants of the communication and assume responsibility to achieve communication, they tend to be a lot more cautious. The church interpreters and other members in this study are in a striking contrast to this approach. The interpreters trust themselves and are trusted by the institution to make such discernments. They are granted greater latitude to make changes when necessary compared to those in secular contexts.

As the result of the description of the context at micro and macro levels and the data analysis, this study has demonstrated that members of the institution, including the interpreters themselves, have expectations that require a high level of involvement on the part of the interpreter, to the extent that the interpreter could be considered as a co-preacher.

The conclusion drawn from the surveys is that an overwhelming inclination to assign interpreters as insiders exists because commissioners (pastors and preachers) want to be able to trust the interpreter. They see them as their institutional agent working with and for the institution in what they want to achieve: institutionalization. The fact that it is not acceptable by the church to allow a non-Christian interpreter is suggestive of a rule beyond a norm; even if it not written, it is imposed by all members of the institution.

Conceptions in the cognitive-cultural pillar of an institution were conjectured as the ideology of the institution, in which the common framework of meaning establishes shared cultural beliefs that manifest themselves within this localized context. This was traced in part through the tacit assumptions observed between the preachers and interpreters as well as the strong conviction and ideological positioning of the interpreters as to what is acceptable in their institutional culture.

By comparing and contrasting results from qualitative and quantitative analysis it can be inferred that the interpreters are aware of and agree with the expectancy norms, but the extent to which they uphold those norms varies in degree. Some interpreters who have more experience in preaching and interpreting, with better command of both languages, show a higher degree of compliance, while the others make the effort to comply as much as they can. Regardless of the degree of their compliance, it seems that interpreting is an ideologically-charged act undertaken by these interpreters with substantial personal engagement.

Even though the norms canvassed on interpreters stemming from the influence of ideology appear to have a compelling effect on their behavior, the study recognizes that they are not the only determining factors. Acknowledging that there are other factors that shape the interpreter behavior, the study attempted to investigate it in terms of the influence of institutional ideology and did not venture to explain other factors that also impact the complex nature of interpreter behavior, which would be the topic of another project.

8.3. Implications

The starting point of this study was the point of view that institutionalization of the church is a conceptual and empirical locus in which to study ideology and translation.

The role that translation in general and interpreting in particular play in shaping the institutionalization of the Evangelical Protestant church in Turkey was the focal point. The interpreters in the church were revealed to be actors in the process of this institutionalization. They have an integral part in the institutionalization through the crucial sermonic communication they mediate. This aspect highlights the interpreter role in the church at the level of translating the institution.

The institution examined in this study constitutes a combination of a source and target culture forming a hybrid culture (a dia-culture) embedded in the wider society. This dia-culture then has some institutional rules, norms, and conceptions only valid within the church. The study attempted to draw some inferences through various levels of analysis mentioned above. However, of these three institutional pillars, i.e., regulative, normative and cognitive-cultural, the study focused on the underlying norms that directly govern interpreter behavior, particularly expectancy norms as to the way the institution expects the interpreter to act, following certain patterns of both verbal and non-verbal communication. These expectations can be described as a norm because non-compliance with them does not make the interpreter ineligible whereas rules require compliance such as being a trusted Christian who serves from within.

Since the church is still in the process of institutionalization, it is composed of an international community with non-Turkish members still involved in planting the church. In this case, communication is facilitated through interpreters to a large extent, at least until the non-local church leaders acquire a good command of the local language. Even then, the church still receives visiting preachers who preach in English to be interpreted into Turkish. Interpreters are usually volunteers who are informally required to be members of the group. This is quite contrary to professional contexts in which the interpreter is not necessarily from within the organization or group requiring the interpreting service. Within the context of an emergent church, the role of the interpreter and interpreting *per se* is crucial in terms of cultural negotiations required for "translating" and presenting a religion to a new culture. Here, "translating" is taken as a concept beyond its immediate meaning of transfer between languages; it is the translation of an entire entity into a different culture, with all of its aspects. The entity, the church in this case, is "translated" at the institutional level. It is not just the translation of the Bible and other books or the interpreting of sermons into a new language group; these components form just part of the whole, and all of these aspects together make up the institution. The same act of sermon interpreting is both

constrained by the norms established in the institution and a factor in the translation of the institution itself.

The translation of the institution partly entails its language policy as well. Preliminary norms regarding interpreting decisions were clearly detected by fieldwork in an ethnographic approach using observations and informal interviews. Although the church is currently a multilingual institution, its goal is to be established as a local church without depending on foreign members. This goal manifests itself in the language policy of the church. First, when the language of communication is in English (i.e., sermon preached by a non-Turkish speaking preacher), the institution makes certain that everyone has proper and primary access to it in Turkish; thus the sermon is consecutively interpreted. In the opposite case, when the communication is in Turkish (i.e., sermon in Turkish), which is the ideal preferred mode, then the interpreting is provided for non-Turkish speakers through a simple simultaneous system with insufficient headsets (if the system works at all). The songs are sung only in Turkish. The reading of Bible passages during interpreter-mediated sermons is monolingual in Turkish; the passage in English is left to the English readers to read for themselves from their own Bibles, while the passage in Turkish is both projected on the big screen and read out loud by the interpreter. So although it looks as if the institution is a multilingual one, only one language and culture is favored, local Turkish in this case, due to the ideological goals of the institution. In that sense, interpreting and use of English is a means to an end in the process of institutionalization; in which case, while this is a translating institution through the interpreting practice, it is the institution itself which is being translated.

Other than these preliminary norms, expectancy (product) norms were identified from surveys with the commissioners and end-users in the institution. According to this, commissioners, speakers and end-users expect the sermon interpreter to act as one of the co-participants within the communicative event and to function as a co-preacher to some extent as the interpreter is viewed responsible for communicating a divine message, working from "within" the institutional ideology.

The process norms that were investigated following the expectancy norms suggest that interpreters conform to the expectations of the institution and that this conformity clearly arises from the shared ideology. Interpreters are working from within the ideology of the institution, and all parties of the communicative event (the

interpreters, preachers, and congregants) are on the same side, being part of the same institution.

In regard to ideology examined in this study, three distinct considerations can be projected: There is an institutional ideology in terms of belief about God, life and faith, based on sacred text and the hermeneutical application of it. There is also an institutional ideology about preaching - that the preacher will preach on that institutional faith/ biblical ideology and will deliver it in a certain way, making a spiritual impact on the members of the institutions as well as outsiders present in the communication. There is also an institutional ideology of interpreting - that the interpreter will partner with the preacher (or sometimes even co-preach), using the appropriate terminology and making the same impact as that of the preacher, which can only be done if s/he has adopted the same understanding of the faith-ideology. Ideological involvement here then must be viewed at the institutional and individual level. Interpreting in the religious context requires that interpreters be fully committed to the ideology of the community in which they offer their service (Hokkanen 2012: 306; cf. Beaton-Thome 2015: 188).

8.4. Limitations and outlook

Some critical self-reflection is appropriate here in order to acknowledge the limitations of the study. They can be discussed particularly in terms of methodology and scope. First of all, due to the partial autoethnographic approach, a certain degree of subjectivity may be found. Being an active participant in the setting of the research may have impacted analysis (see 4.2.1).

Secondly, because I was one of the interpreters and because of my personal relationship with the interviewees, I felt obliged to administer the interviews by email in order not to impact the answers. If this were not so, a face-to-face interview might have revealed aspects that were constrained in a written interview. It also diminished the likelihood of spontaneous answers to questions, because they had time to reflect on them; and there was less follow-up to the answers.

The results of interviews and questionnaires administered to the pastors and guest preachers could have been kept separate and results compared between the two groups, which could have been more enlightening, as the status and perspectives of pastors and guest preachers may differ in regard to interpreting.

More importantly, the questionnaires and interviews were conducted several years after the church switched to holding the service in Turkish as L1 in 2007, which meant the congregation was no longer exposed to interpreter-mediated sermons in consecutive mode, except when guest preachers visit and preach in English, and the interpreters had less practice in it than before.

As for scale, the findings of this case study are very specific to the context of one Evangelical Protestant church in Turkey. Some of the factors discussed above may only be relevant to interpreters working in this specific context, and it is therefore difficult to generalize or extrapolate these findings to other contexts. It may well be that church interpreters in other countries or denominations occupy different positions within the institution. Nevertheless, as noted at 2.4, involvement on the part of the church interpreter has also emerged as a prominent feature in several recent studies of church interpreting in disparate settings.

While these self-critical observations recognize the limitations of this study, they also point to the need for future research on interpreting in religious settings. This study has just scratched the surface. The previously unexplored setting and the material are too rich to analyze in all aspects within the scope of one doctoral project. Hence, there remains much to explore in the research materials used in the study. As anticipated, there are various other aspects peculiar to this setting and to the role of the interpreter in such a context, on which additional research is warranted.

The research could be repeated in a different church setting within the same community, or usefully be replicated in diverse religious communities to obtain a broader picture. Especially, aspects of non-verbal communication and style hold potential to investigate the extent to which the interpreter reflects the preacher's style, body language, and intonation. Insights from homiletics could be incorporated in such studies and prosodic analysis could be useful. More fine-grained discourse analysis would be needed in this area to determine further trends.

Despite its limitations, this study thus contributes to the growing body of literature on church interpreting by going some way to fill an important gap in relation to institutional interpreting research. Hopefully it will stimulate further research, expanding the understanding we thus far have of the role of the interpreter in religious settings.

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Appendices

Appendix A. Survey questions (common to each group)

This survey is part of a research project on sermon interpreting and the interpreter's role.
Your answers will convey your expectations for sermon interpreting at Smyrna Church.

Age:
Sex: ☐ **Male** ☐ **Female**
For how many years have you been a Christian?

Please answer the following questions based on sermons that are preached in English and are interpreted into Turkish from the front at Smyrna Church.

1. Do you think a sermon interpreter needs to be a Christian?
☐ **Yes, being a Christian is required**
☐ **Not necessarily**

If you answered Question 1 "not necessarily," please skip to Question 7.

How important do you think it is for a sermon interpreter …	**It doesn't matter**	**It's a consideration**	**Important**	**Very Important**	**Required**
2. … to be a devout Christian?					
3. … to be a mature Christian, with a thorough knowledge of the Bible and understanding of Christian doctrine?					
4. … to also have preaching experience?					
5. … to attend Smyrna Church (as opposed to a different church)?					
6. … to believe the same theology as Smyrna Church (as opposed to different, Christian theology)?					
7. … to use correct Christian terminology?					
8. … to be skilled at interpreting?					
9. … to be formally trained in interpreting?					

A sermon interpreter at Smyrna Church should …	**Definitely should not**	**Should not**	**It doesn't matter**	**Should**	**Definitely should**
10. … replicate the preacher's emotions and voice inflections (with his or her voice).					
11. … replicate the preacher's facial expressions and hand gestures.					
12. … remain unanimated and interpret seriously, even if the preacher is enthusiastic.					
13. … always say exactly what the preacher says, without adding, omitting or changing anything.					
14. … correct any mistakes the preacher makes (for example, if the preacher misspeaks).					
15. … clarify any misunderstandings that arise (for example, due to language differences).					
16. … change anything the preacher says that is culturally inappropriate (for example, if the preacher unintentionally says something foreign or offensive to the audience's culture).					

17. If a sermon interpreter significantly changes something the preacher says, should s/he inform the preacher?

- ☐ A sermon interpreter should never significantly change anything the preacher says.
- ☐ Yes, the interpreter should check with the preacher first to get approval before significantly changing anything.
- ☐ Yes, the interpreter should notify the preacher that s/he significantly changed something.
- ☐ No, the interpreter does not need to inform the preacher. The preacher should trust the interpreter.

18. Is it more important for a sermon interpreter to be a Christian or a skilled interpreter?

- ☐ It is more important for a sermon interpreter to be a Christian.
- ☐ It is more important for a sermon interpreter to be a skilled interpreter.

19. When the preacher refers to a story in the Bible which the interpreter realizes not everyone knows, which of the following should s/he do?

- ☐ S/he should briefly recount the story for the benefit of those who don't know it.
- ☐ S/he should simply interpret whatever the preacher says without any additional explanation.

20. Which of the following describes the task of a sermon interpreter?

- ☐ Always interpret what the preacher says exactly, without adding any clarification.
- ☐ Add explanations only when necessary, to prevent confusion.
- ☐ Add explanations freely, to help the listeners better understand the preacher's intended meaning.

21. Which of the following describes the role of a sermon interpreter?

- ☐ Someone who actively preaches, along with the preacher (who is a "co-preacher").
- ☐ Someone who participates with the preacher in communicating God's word, whom the preacher trusts to understand and convey biblical truths correctly (who is a "trusted agent" of the preacher).
- ☐ A neutral agent who simply conveys the words of the preacher.
- ☐ Other: ______________________________

22. Please rank the following five qualities of a sermon interpreter from the most important to the least important, where 1 is the most important, and 5 is the least important:

	Write 1-5 below
Complete transfer of information	
Making the information understandable	
Speaking Turkish fluently and correctly	
Using the correct biblical terms	
Interpreting as passionately as the preacher	

23. Please write any additional thoughts you have regarding sermon interpreting which were not addressed in the survey.

Appendix B. Complete survey data (responses to each question, in percent)

Pr = Preachers Int = Interpreters Con = Congregants Tot = Total

	Answer																			
	1				2				3				4				5			
Question Description	Pr	Int	Con	Tot	Pr	Int	Con	Tot	Pr	Int	Con	Tot	Pr	Int	Con	Tot	Pr	Int	Con	Tot
1 Interpreter … Christian	100	100	88.9	91.5	0.0	0.0	11.1	8.5												
2 … devout	0.0	0.0	2.6	1.9	0.0	14.3	12.8	11.3	28.6	14.3	33.3	30.2	14.3	57.1	38.5	37.7	57.1	14.3	12.8	18.9
3 … mature	0.0	0.0	2.6	1.9	0.0	14.3	5.1	5.7	71.4	42.9	28.2	35.8	28.6	42.9	53.8	49.1	0.0	0.0	10.3	7.5
4 … preaching experience	28.6	71.4	32.5	37.0	57.1	28.6	50.0	48.1	14.3	0.0	17.5	14.8	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
5 … attend Smyrna	57.1	85.7	55.0	59.3	0.0	14.3	30.0	24.1	42.9	0.0	10.0	13.0	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.9	0.0	0.0	2.5	1.9
6 … same theology	14.3	0.0	17.5	14.8	42.9	28.6	15.0	20.4	28.6	57.1	40.0	40.7	14.3	14.3	5.0	7.4	0.0	0.0	22.5	16.7
7 … correct Christian terms	0.0	0.0	4.7	4.0	14.3	0.0	2.3	4.0	14.3	14.3	23.3	22.0	42.9	71.4	41.9	42.0	28.6	14.3	27.9	28.0
8 … skilled at interpreting	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	2.3	2.0	42.9	57.1	40.9	41.2	28.6	42.9	36.4	35.3	28.6	0.0	20.5	21.6
9 … formally trained	28.6	57.1	18.6	24.6	71.4	42.9	37.2	42.1	0.0	0.0	23.3	17.5	0.0	0.0	11.6	8.8	0.0	0.0	9.3	7.0
10 … replicate emotions	0.0	0.0	4.4	3.4	0.0	0.0	4.4	3.4	14.3	0.0	15.6	13.6	42.9	85.7	42.2	47.5	42.9	14.3	33.3	32.2
11 … replicate expressions	0.0	0.0	4.4	3.4	14.3	0.0	11.1	10.2	0.0	28.6	35.6	30.5	71.4	71.4	40.0	47.5	14.3	0.0	8.9	8.5
12 … remain unanimated	28.6	57.1	22.2	27.1	57.1	42.9	46.7	47.5	0.0	0.0	8.9	6.8	14.3	0.0	8.9	8.5	0.0	0.0	13.3	10.2
13 … say exactly	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	28.6	42.9	13.3	18.6	28.6	0.0	11.1	11.9	28.6	57.1	33.3	35.6	14.3	0.0	42.2	33.9
14 … correct mistakes	0.0	0.0	8.9	6.8	14.3	14.3	6.7	8.5	14.3	14.3	0.0	3.4	71.4	57.1	55.6	57.6	0.0	14.3	28.9	23.7
15 … misunderstandings	0.0	0.0	2.2	1.7	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	14.3	0.0	1.7	71.4	28.6	51.1	50.8	28.6	57.1	46.7	45.8
16 … culturally inappropriate	0.0	14.3	4.4	5.1	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0	6.7	5.1	57.1	42.9	33.3	37.3	42.9	42.9	55.6	52.5
17 Significantly change	0.0	28.6	6.7	8.5	42.9	42.9	66.7	61.0	28.6	14.3	15.6	16.9	28.6	14.3	11.1	13.6				
18 Christian vs. skilled	100	85.7	80.0	83.1	0.0	14.3	20.0	16.9												
19 Unfamiliar Bible story	85.7	100	71.1	76.3	14.3	0.0	28.9	23.7												
20 Task (exactly or explain)	0.0	0.0	6.7	5.1	85.7	85.7	44.4	54.2	14.3	14.3	48.9	40.7								
21 Role (copreacher or neutral)	14.3	14.3	0.0	3.4	85.7	85.7	88.9	88.1	0.0	0.0	8.9	6.8	0.0	0.0	2.2	1.7				
22a Rank … complete transfer	0.0	0.0	25.0	18.5	0.0	28.6	20.0	18.5	0.0	0.0	15.0	11.1	42.9	42.9	30.0	33.3	57.1	28.6	10.0	18.5
22b … make it understandable	71.4	100	17.5	35.2	28.6	0.0	32.5	27.8	0.0	0.0	30.0	22.2	0.0	0.0	12.5	9.3	0.0	0.0	7.5	5.6
22c … fluent Turkish	14.3	0.0	22.5	18.5	42.9	57.1	15.0	24.1	28.6	14.3	15.0	16.7	14.3	28.6	27.5	25.9	0.0	0.0	20.0	14.8
22d … correct biblical terms	0.0	0.0	30.0	22.2	14.3	14.3	27.5	24.1	42.9	71.4	20.0	29.6	28.6	0.0	17.5	16.7	14.3	14.3	5.0	7.4
22e … passionate	14.3	0.0	5.0	5.6	14.3	0.0	5.0	5.6	28.6	14.3	20.0	20.4	14.3	28.6	12.5	14.8	28.6	57.1	57.5	53.7

Appendix C. Transcription convention

(Adapted from Du Bois *et. al.* 1993: 45-89)

Symbol	Meaning
[ ]	Square brackets indicate overlapping speech.
-	A single hyphen indicates a truncated word, where the end of the predicted word is unuttered.
--	A double hyphen indicates a broken off intonation unit, where the predicted contour is incomplete.
…	A sequence of three dots represents pauses.
<X X>	A pair of angle brackets marked with capital X indicates a good guess at an unclear word or phrase.
X	Capital X represents inaudible passage.
<L2 L2>	A pair of angle brackets with L2 indicates the stretches in which there is a shift into the other language involved in the interaction.
(( ))	A pair of double parentheses contains the transcriber’s comment.
( )	A pair of parentheses contains words and phrases unuttered by the Turkish speaker(s), but inserted by the transcriber to give the exact meaning of what was said.
Italics	Word in italics represents the author’s translation of the utterances in Turkish.
<u>underlining</u>	Text underlined indicates a divergent rendition

Appendix D. Sample transcript (Sermon 4/ 17' 41'')

PR 1: I'm going to tell you this big story.

INT 4: Size böyle çok önemli çok büyük bir hikaye anlatacağım.
I will tell you a very big, very important story.

PR 1: And, and the big story that contains your name.

INT 4: Ve bu hikayenin içinde sizin adınız da geçiyor olacak. Kahramanlardan biri de siz olacaksınız.
And in this story your name will also be included. You're going to be one of the heroes.

PR 1: You know what this is?

INT 4: Bunun ne olduğunu biliyor musunuz, şu kitabın?
Do you know what this is, this book?

INT 4: ((TO PR 1)) <L2 It is the Bible. L2>

PR 1: This is, this is an amazing story book.

INT 4: Bu harikulâde bir kitap, hikaye kitabı.
It's a marvelous book, a story book.

PR 1: It's not just a collection of rules.

INT 4: Uyulması gereken kuralların bir araya getirildiği bir kitap değil bu.
It's not a book in which rules to be followed are compiled.

PR 1: That's not how God did it.

INT 4: Bizim Tanrımız bunu bu şekilde bir araya getirmedi.
Our God didn't put it together like that.

PR 1: It's not even just a collection of concepts and truths and ideas.

INT 4: Hatta, eh, sadece belli kavramlar, gerçeklerin bir araya getirilmesinden oluşan bir kitap da değil bu kitap.
This book is not even just a book made up of uhh a collection of certain ideas and truths.

PR 1: We often use it that way.

INT 4: Sık sık Kutsal Kitabı sanki öyleymiş yani gerçeklerin bir araya getirildiği şey gibi düşünüyoruz.
Often we think of the Bible as if it were like that, like a collection of truths.

PR 1: ((TALKING AT SAME TIME AS INT 4, INDISTINGUISHABLE))

INT 4: Ve alıyoruz açıyoruz bir bölümü okuyoruz ve o bölüm içinden, bir tek düşünceyi alıveriyoruz, kendi durumumuza uyguluyoruz.
And we take it, we open it, we read a chapter, and from that chapter we take one idea, and we apply it to our own situation.

PR 1: But actually, it's a marvelous story book.

INT 4: Ama, eee, aslında Kutsal Kitap harikulâde çok harika bir şekilde kaleme alınmış bir hikaye kitabı.
But, uhh, actually, the Bible is a story book penned marvelously, wonderfully.

PR 1: Which tells the story from the beginning to the end.

INT 4: Ve hikâyenin ta başından başlayıp sonuna kadar giden, tam yani, eee tam bir hikaye düzeninde bir kitap.
And a book that starts in the very beginning of the story and goes to the end, I mean, uhh a book in an order just like a story book.

PR 1: And we need to remember that. We need to sometimes not just look at one chapter, but look at the whole Bible.

INT 4: Onun için bazen bunu hatırlamamız kendimize hatırlatmamız çok önemli. Yani sadece tek bir bölüme bakmamalı ama Kutsal Kitap'ın tamamına bir bütün olarak bakmalıyız.
For that reason, it's important that we remember this, that we remind ourselves. I mean we shouldn't only look at one section, but we must look at the whole Bible as a unit.

PR 1: So in the next hour we're going to look at the whole Bible.

INT 4: Onun için önümüzdeki bir saat içinde Kutsal Kitap'ın başından sonuna, tamamına bakacağız.
For this reason, within the next hour, we will look at, from the beginning to the end, the entire Bible.

PR 1: Because it is a story with a common theme.

INT 4: Çünkü içinde, eee, ta başından sonuna, ee, kadar ortak bir konu var, başlayan bir konu var ve bütün kitap boyunca işleniyor, devam ediyor.
Because there is uhh a common theme in it uhh from the beginning till the end; there is a theme that begins and it is dealt with throughout the book and continues.

PR 1: And towards the end of the story, you understand how you fit in.

INT 4: Ve hikâyenin sonlarına doğru geldiğinizde, yaklaştığınızda siz bu hikâyenin içine nasıl uyduğunuzu, sizin rolünüzün ne olduğunu kavrayıveriyorsunuz.
And when you come towards the end of the story, when you approached (to the end), you immediately grasp how you fit in this story, what your role is.

PR 1: You are part of God’s story.

INT 4: Siz Tanrı’nın bu hikâyesinin bir parçasısınız.
You are a part of God’s story.

PR 1: <X Do you believe that? X>

INT 4: İnanıyor musunuz buna?
Do you believe that?

PR 1: Tell your neighbor they’re part of God’s story.

INT 4: Yanınızdakine söyleyin, “sen Tanrı’nın hikâyesinin bir parçasısın.”
Tell the person next to you, “You’re part of God’s story.”

Audience: ((TALKING TO EACH OTHER))

PR 1: You’re in God’s history book.

INT 4: Siz Tanrı’nın tarih, yazdığı tarih kitabının bir parçasısınız onun içindesiniz.
You’re part of God’s history, the history book he wrote. You’re in it.

PR 1: Amen?

INT 4: Amin?
Amen?

PR 1: All right. So, let’s, let’s tell the story.

INT 4: Haydi o zaman, hikâyeyi anlatmaya başlayalım şimdi.
All right in that case. Let’s start to tell the story now.

PR 1: In the beginning –

INT 4: Başlangıçta –
In the beginning –

PR 1: God created the heavens and the earth.

INT 4: Tanrı gökleri ve yeri yarattı.
God created the heavens and the earth.

PR 1: The heavens already spoke about his glory.

INT 4: Yarattığı gökler, eeh, şu anda baktığımızda zaten onun görkeminden, eeh işaret veriyor, görkeminden bahsediyor bizlere.

The heavens he created, uhh, if we look at them at this moment, uhh they're pointing to his glory, they're speaking to us of his glory.

PR 1: But God wanted one place

INT 4: Ama Tanrı tek bir yer yaratmak istedi.

But God wanted to create one single place.

PR 1: The earth

INT 4: Dünyayı

The earth

PR 1: <X Which would be filled with his glory. X>

INT 4: Ve dünya da, onun görkemiyle dolu olacaktı.

And the earth would also be filled with his glory.

PR 1: So that there would be a people all over the earth

INT 4: Ve dünyanın üzerinde, eh bir halk, insanlar topluluğu olacaktı.

And on the earth, there would be, uhh, a people, a community of people.

PR 1: Where God lived amongst those people.

INT 4: Ve Tanrı da o halkın içinde arasında yaşayacaktı.

And God would also live in among that people.

PR 1: So, God started in one place.

INT 4: Ve böylece Tanrı tek bir yerleşim alanı, bir bölgede başladı işlemeye.

And in that way, God started working in one settlement, in one region.

PR 1: God always does that.

INT 4: Tanrı bunu her zaman yapar, bu şekilde çalışır.

God always does that, he works that way.

PR 1: Starts with a few.

INT 4: Bir kaç kişiyle küçük bir şeyle başlar.

He starts something small with a few people.

PR 1: Then blesses many.

INT 4: Ondan sonra bereketlerini birçok kişiye yayar.

After that he spreads his blessings to a lot of people.

PR 1: If you read all this book through,

INT 4: Eğer bu kitabı baştan sona okuyacak olursanız,

If you were to read this book from beginning to end,

PR 1: That's what God keeps doing again and again and again.

INT 4: Tanrı'nın tekrar tekrar hep bunu yaptığını görürsünüz. Birkaç kişiyle başlıyor bir sürü insanı bereketliyor onun sonuncu olarak.
You'll see that God does this always, again and again. He starts with a few people and as a result of that he blesses a lot of people.

PR 1: Starts with a few,

INT 4: Bir kaç kişiyle başlıyor,
He starts with a few people,

PR 1: and uses them to bless many.

INT 4: ve onları kullanaraktan, o kişileri kullanaraktan, bir çok kişiye bereket kaynağı olmalarına neden oluyor.
And by using them, by using those people, he causes them to be a source of blessing to many people.

PR 1: You're already in this story.

INT 4: Siz onun için bu hikayenin bir parçasısınız zaten.
That's why you are already part of this story.

PR 1: Look around.

INT 4: Bakın etrafınıza bir,
Take a look around,

PR 1: Just a few.

INT 4: birkaç kişisiniz.
You're a few people.

PR 1: But God starts with a few

INT 4: Ama Tanrı birkaç kişiyle başlıyor,
But God starts with a few people,

PR 1: in order to bless many.

INT 4: bir çok kişiyi bereketlemek için.
in order to bless many people.

PR 1: And that's how he starts in the beginning.

INT 4: İşte başlangıçta da bu şekilde başlıyor.
See, in the beginning he starts this way.

PR 1: And he had a garden.

INT 4: Ve bir, eeh bir bahçesi var Tanrı'nın yarattığı.
And God had a, uhh, a garden he created.

PR 1: And that garden was something very special.

INT 4: Ama bu bahçede çok özel olan birşey vardı.
But in that garden there was something very special.

PR 1: It was also a temple.

INT 4: Bir tapınaktı aynı zamanda.
It was a temple at the same time.

PR 1: Now a temple isn't a building.

INT 4: Tapınak bina demek değildir.
Temple doesn't mean building.

PR 1: A temple is where God lives with man.

INT 4: Tapınak, Tanrı'nın insanla birlikte yaşadığı yerdir.
A temple is a place where God lives with man.

PR 1: Now, in the beginning,

INT 4: Yani başlangıçta,
So in the beginning,

PR 1: God created Adam and Eve.

INT 4: Tanrı Adem ve Havva'yı yarattı.
God created Adam and Eve.

PR 1: And his temple was there.

INT 4: Ve Tanrı'nın tapınağı da oradaydı aralarındaydı.
And God's temple was also there among them.

PR 1: Every day

INT 4: Her gün
Every day

PR 1: It says when the evening's got cool,

INT 4: Öyle diyor, ehh Yaratılış kitabında, akşam, akşamın serinliğinde,
It says it like this, uhh, in the book of Genesis, in the evening, in the cool of the evening,

PR 1: because it was in a very hot place,

INT 4: çünkü sıcak bir yerdi.
because it was a hot place.

PR 1: When the evening got cool, God met with man and woman.

INT 4: Akşamın serinliğinde, Tanrı, Adem ve Havva ile birlikte dolaşırdı diyor ayette.

In the cool of the evening, God would walk together with Adam and Eve, the verse says.

PR 1: God lived with man.

INT 4: Tanrı insanla birlikte yaşadı.

God lived together with man.

PR 1: His glory was seen in that whole place.

INT 4: O yarattığı o tek yerde o bahçe içinde Tanrı’nın görkemi görülebiliyordu.

In that unique place he created, in that garden, God’s glory was visible.

PR 1: <X And so he said to Adam and Eve, X>

INT 4: Ve Adem’le Havva’ya dedi ki,

And he said to Adam and Eve,

PR 1: **<**X “This is what I want you to do: X>

INT 4: “Yapmanızı istediğim şey şu:

“What I want you to do is this:

PR 1: **<X** “I want you to multiply X>

INT 4: “Çoğalın,

“Multiply,

PR 1: and go all over the earth.”

INT 4: ve bütün dünyaya dağılın.”

and spread out over the whole earth.”

PR 1: <X Because God wanted his temple to fill the whole earth. X>

INT 4: Çünkü Tanrı kendi tapınağının bütün dünyayı doldurmasını istedi.

Because God wanted his temple to fill the whole earth.

PR 1: So that his glory would fill the whole earth.

INT 4: ki böylece Tanrı’nın görkemi bütün dünyaya yayılsın.

So that in that way God’s glory would spread throughout the earth.

PR 1: So that he could live with people everywhere.

INT 4: Ve böylece Tanrı her yerdeki insanla birlikte yaşayabilsin.

So that way God could live with together people everywhere.

PR 1: So he said, Adam and Eve were the first people God sent with the good news.

INT 4: Adem ve Havva, eeh kendi iyi haberiyle, ilk olarak Adem ve Havva’yı gönderdi. “Git bu Müjde’yi her yere duyurun” diye.

Adam and Eve, uhh first he sent Adam and Eve with his good news, saying, "Go announce this news everywhere."

PR 1: Except they wouldn't go.

INT 4: Ama tek bir sorun vardı. Gitmedi Adem'le Havva bir yere.
But there was only one problem. Adam and Eve didn't go anywhere.

PR 1: He said, "You go fill the earth."

INT 4: Dedi ki, "Siz gidin ve dünyayı doldurun, çoğalın ve dünyayı doldurun."
He said, "You go and fill the earth, increase in number and fill the earth."

PR 1: The problem was,

INT 4: Bi sorun vardı,
There was a problem.

PR 1: they sinned.

INT 4: günah işlediler.
they sinned.

PR 1: They rebelled against God.

INT 4: Tanrı'ya karşı itaatsizlik ettiler.
They disobeyed God.

PR 1: Because they wanted, they thought they had a better idea to run their lives.

INT 4: Çünkü Adem ve Havva, eeh yaşamlarını nasıl sürdürmeleri gerektiği konusunda kendilerinin daha iyi bir fikri olduğunu düşünüyorlardı.
Because Adam and Eve, uhh, they thought they had a better idea about how they needed to lead their lives.

PR 1: And the result [was],

INT 4: [ve]

PR 1: it says a little later in Genesis,

INT 4: Ve sonuca baktığımızda, Yaratılış bölümünde görüyoruz ne olduğunu.
And if we look at the result, in the book of Genesis we see what happened.

PR 1: The earth was filled

INT 4: Dünya doluyor,
The earth fills

PR 1: <X with evil. X>

INT 4: kötülükle doluyor ama! Tanrı'nın görkemi yerine.
But it fills with evil! Instead of God's glory.

PR 1: <X The earth was created to be filled with God's glory. X>

INT 4: Oysa dünya Tanrı'nın görkemiyle dolmak üzere yaratılmıştı.
However the earth was created to be filled with God's glory.

PR 1: <X But it was filled with evil. X>

INT 4: Ama kötülükle doldu.
But it was filled with evil.

PR 1: ((INAUDIBLE))

INT 4: O zaman Tanrı yeni baştan başladı tekrar.
So God started anew all over again.

PR 1: ((INDAUDIBLE. MAYBE: HE STARTED WITH A FEW))

INT 4: Birkaç kişiyle başladı işe yine.
He started his work with a few again.

PR 1: ((INAUDIBLE, MAYBE: NOAH))

INT 4: Nuh'u seçti,
He chose Noah,

PR 1: his wife,

INT 4: onun hanımını,
his wife,

PR 1: his sons and their wives,

INT 4: oğullarını ve gelinlerini,
his sons and daughters-in-law,

PR 1: and after the flood,

INT 4: ve selden tufandan sonra
and after the torrent, the great flood

PR 1: He said to them

INT 4: Onlara dedi ki,
He said to them

PR 1: exactly what he said to Adam and Eve:

INT 4: Adem ve Havva'ya dediği şeyin aynısını söyledi.
He told them the same thing he said to Adam and Eve.

PR 1: <X "Go and fill the earth" X>

INT 4: "Gidin ve dünyayı doldurun, çoğalın."
"Go and fill the earth, multiply."

PR 1: <X Same thing. X>

INT 4: Aynı şey.
Same thing.

PR 1: God was living with Noah.

INT 4: Tanrı Nuh'la birlikte yaşıyordu aralarındaydı.
God was living with Noah, he was among them.

PR 1: And he says "Go and fill the earth."

INT 4: Ve ondan sonra dedi ki "gidin dünyayı doldurun."
And after that he said, "Go and fill the earth."

PR 1: And we get the story of how this started to spread in Genesis ten.

INT 4: Ve Yaratılış onuncu bölümden itibaren bu hikayenin nasıl geliştiğini okuyoruz nasıl yayılmaya başladıklarını.
And starting with Genesis ten, we read how this story develops, how they started spreading.

PR 1: And in Genesis chapter ten you get what the, what the uhh Old Test-, what the Jews saw as the symbols of all the nations of the world.

INT 4: Eeh, Yaratılış onuncu bölümde Yahudilerin, eeh, bi-, dünyadaki tüm ulusları sembolize eden, eeh sembolleri görüyoruz.
Uhh, in Genesis chapter ten, we see uhh the symbols of the Jews, uhh that symbolized all the nations of the world.

PR 1: Now if you've ever, how many of you have ever read Genesis chapter ten?

INT 4: Yaratılış onu okudunuz mu hiç?
Have you ever read Genesis ten?

PR 1: It's just a list of nations.

INT 4: Bütün ulusların, eeh, adları yazılı orada.
The names, uhh, of all the nations are written there.

PR 1: So uh we're not gonna read it now

INT 4: Okumayacağız şimdi ama.
But we're not going to read now.

PR 1: But you get a list of nations there.

INT 4: Ama orda, eee, çeşitli ulusların listesiyle karşılaşıyoruz.
But there uhh we encounter a list of various nations.

PR 1: Now I wonder if any of the very experienced believers here have ever counted them?

INT 4: Acaba burda çok tecrübeli imânlılardan aramızda, burdaki ulusların sayısını sayan oldu mu acaba? Bahsedilen ulusların sayısını?
I wonder, is there anyone among us, any of those very experienced believers, who counted the number of the nations here, I wonder? The number of nations mentioned?

PR 1: How many nations were there?

INT 4: Acaba kaç ulustan bahsediyor, Yaratılış on?
I wonder how many nations Genesis ten talks about?

PR 1: Jose, you counted?

INT 4: Jose, saydın mı?
Jose, did you count?

PR 1: Anybody else counted?

INT 4: Sayan var mı? Sayan yok mu?
Has anyone counted? Has no one counted?

Audience: ((INDISTINCT))

INT 4: ((TO PR 1)) <L2 George [counted it], but he’s not here. L2>

PR 1: [OK]

PR 1: OK, he’s not here. OK. Oh yeah, there were seventy.

INT 4: Yetmiş ulus var.
There are seventy nations.

PR 1: Seventy.

INT 4: Yetmiş.
Seventy.

PR 1: Now we know that that, that today there are many more nations in the world.

INT 4: Bugün biliyoruz ki dünyada çok daha fazla sayıda ülke var.
Today we know that in the world there are many more countries.

PR 1: But seventy became the symbol of all the nations of the world to the Jews.

INT 4: Ama Yahudiler için bu yetmiş ulus bütün dünyadaki ulusları sembolize eden sayı halini aldı.
But for the Jews these seventy nations came to symbolize the number of nations in the whole world.

PR 1: I want you to remember that for later in the story.

INT 4: Bunu hatırlamanızı istiyorum çünkü daha sonra hikayede lâzım olacak bunu, bu bilgi tamam?
I want you to remember this because later in this story this information will be necessary, OK?

PR 1: OK. Seventy.

INT 4: Yetmiş.
Seventy.

PR 1: But what happened?

INT 4: Peki ne oldu?
So what happened?

PR 1: God said, "Fill the earth."

INT 4: Tanrı dedi ki, gönderdi onları gidin ve "dünyayı doldurun."
God said, he sent them, "Go and fill the earth."

PR 1: What did the people say?

INT 4: İnsanlar ne dedi?
What did the people say?

PR 1: They said, "Look, let's build a city."

INT 4: Dediler ki, "gelin biz en iyisi bir araya toplanalım, bir kent kuralım kendimiz için."
They said, "Come, the best thing we can do is come together and build a city for ourselves."

PR 1: "Let's build a tower that reaches to heaven."

INT 4: Uuu, "göklere ulaşan kocaman bir kule yapalım."
Uh, "let's make a gigantic tower that reaches the heavens."

PR 1: And why?

INT 4: Ve niçin yaptılar bunu?
And why did they do this?

PR 1: You know why?

INT 4: Niçin?
Why?

PR 1: It says, "So that we won't be scattered across the, across the earth."

INT 4: "Dünyanın her yanına dağılmayalım diye. Kocaman bir kent yapalım bir kule yapalım" dediler.

"So we won't be scattered all over the earth. Let's build a huge city, a tower," they said.

PR 1: What was God's plan?

INT 4: Tanrı'nın planı neydi?
What was God's plan?

PR 1: For them to be spread all over the earth.

INT 4: <u>Tanrı</u> onların <u>bütün</u> dünyaya yayılmasını istedi.
God wanted them to spread to the whole world.

PR 1: But they said, "No."

INT 4: Ama <u>insanlar</u>, "hayır <u>teşekkür ederiz</u>" dediler.
But people said, "No thank you."

PR 1: "Let's all stay together."

INT 4: "Hep birlikte kalalım biz <u>ayrılmayalım birbirimizden</u>,"
"Let's all stay together, let's not separate from each other."

PR 1: "and build a tower …"

INT 4: "ve bir kule kuralım,"
"and let's build a tower."

PR 1: "which shows how great we are …"

INT 4: "ne kadar büyük <u>ne kadar güçlü</u> olduğumuzu göstersin <u>bu kurduğumuz kule</u>."
"May this tower we build show how great and strong we are."

PR 1: "so we will not be scattered."

INT 4: "ve böylece <u>dünyanın dört bir köşesine</u> dağlımayalım."
"and this way let's not be scattered to the four corners of the world."

PR 1: So they built this amazing tower.

INT 4: Ve böylece <u>işe koyuldular ve</u> muhteşem bir kule inşa ettiler.
And this way they set out to work and built a magnificent tower.

PR 1: I was recently in Dubai.

INT 4: Bu, yakın bir zamanda Dubai'deydim.
This, recently I was in Dubai.

PR 1: Now in Dubai they've got lots of big towers.

INT 4: Dubai'de bir sürü uzun uzun gökdelenler var.
In Dubai there are lots of tall, tall skyscrapers.

PR 1: And they're starting to build the biggest tower in the world.

INT 4: Ve, eeh dünyadaki en yüksek gökdeleni yapmaya başlamak üzereler.
And, uhh, they're about to start making the world's highest skyscraper.

PR 1: And they won't tell anybody whose, uhh how high it's going to be.

INT 4: Ve hiçkimseye bunun ne kadar yüksek olacağını söylemiyorlar.
And they won't tell anyone how high this is going to be.

PR 1: Because if they tell anybody, somebody else might plan a bigger one.

INT 4: Çünkü eğer söylerlerse ne yükseklikte olacağını bir başkası çıkıp onun daha yükseğini inşa etmeye onlardan önce başlayabilir.
Because if they tell what height it's going to be, someone else may show up and start building a taller one before them.

PR 1: So they're not telling us how high it's going to be.

INT 4: Onun için ne kadar yüksek olacağını söylemiyorlar.
For that reason, they're not telling how high it's going to be.

PR 1: In case you're going to build a higher one in Izmir.

INT 4: Yoksa gidersiniz İzmir'de kurarsınız daha yükseğini.
Otherwise you might go and build a taller one in Izmir.

PR 1: So … that's what they did, they built this tower.

INT 4: Ve böylece işte halk, eeh, bir araya geldiler ve kocaman yüksek bir kule [kurdular].
So there, in that way, the people, uhh, came together and built a huge, tall tower.

PR 1: [And] it's so high

INT 4: O kadar yüksekti ki;
It was so high that

PR 1: It said, they said, "We will reach heaven."

INT 4: dediler ki, "Biz göklere ulaşacağız."
They said, "We'll reach the heavens."

PR 1: And then you get one of the jokes of the Bible.

INT 4: Kutsal Kitap'taki şakalardan, espirilerden bir tanesiyle karşılaşacakmışız bakalım çevrilebilecek mi?
It appears that we will encounter one of the jokes or witty sayings in the Bible. Let's see if it can be translated.

PR 1: It says, "God looked from heaven."

INT 4: Tanrı göklerden aşağıya baktı,
God looked down from heavens,

PR 1: <X And he said, God said, “Let’s go down and see what it is they’re doing.” X>

INT 4: ve dedi ki “inelim bakalım aşağıya görelim ne yapıyorlar acaba burda.”
And he said, “Let’s go down, and see what they’re doing down there, I wonder.”

PR 1: “It’s so small we can’t quite see it.”

INT 4: “O kadar küçük ki bu yaptıkları şey pek uzaktan görülmüyor.”
“*That thing they’re making is so little that it’s not very visible from afar.”*

PR 1: “Let’s go down and have a look.”

INT 4: “İnelim bari aşağıda bakalım neler olup bitiyor.”
“We might as well go down there and see what’s going on.”

PR 1: <X And God said this: X>

INT 4: Ve Tanrı şöyle dedi:
And God said this:

PR 1: <X “I will bring judgment on them.” X>

INT 4: “Onları yargılayacağım bu yaptıklarından dolayı.”
“*I will judge them because of what they’ve done.”*

PR 1: <X “and confuse their language” X>

INT 4: “ve dillerini karıştıracağım”
“*and I’ll confuse their language”*

PR 1: “so they can’t understand each other.”

INT 4: “ve böylece birbirlerini anlayamasınlar diye.”
“*and in that way they won’t be able to understand each other.”*

PR 1: “Then they will be scattered across the earth.”

INT 4: “İşte o zaman bütün dünyaya dağılmak zorunda kalacaklar.”
“*So then they’ll have to spread across the whole earth.”*

PR 1: “Because they won’t understand each other.”

INT 4: “Birbirlerini anlamayacaklar.”
“*They won’t understand each other.”*

PR 1: “Because they don’t understand each other, they won’t like each other.”

INT 4: “Birbirlerini anlamadıkları için birbirlerinden hoşlanmayacaklar.”
“*Because they don’t understand each other, they won’t like each other.”*

PR 1: Do you understand that one?

INT 4: Anlıyorsunuz değil mi?
You understand, don't you?

PR 1: They'll be suspicious of one another.

INT 4: Birbirleri hakkında şüphe duymaya başlayacaklar "ne düşünüyor benim hakkımda ne konuşuyor" falan diye.
They start to feel suspicion about each other because they'll wonder, "What is he thinking; talking about me?"

PR 1: "Because they don't understand each other."

INT 4: Çünkü birbirlerini anlama- birbirinizi anlamadığınız zaman konuşmalarınızı, şüphe duymaya başlayacaksınız birbirinizden.
Because when they don't- you don't understand each other, what you're saying, you will begin to get suspicious of each other.

PR 1: And so God brought a curse on the language,

INT 4: Ve böylece Tanrı insanların dili üzerine bir lanet indirdi.
And so God brought a curse on people's language.

PR 1: As judgment.

INT 4: Bir yargı olarak, onların yaptıklarının yargıl- … yargısının sonucu olarak.
As a judgment. As the result of judgment on what they'd done.

PR 1: Now this is another very important thing to remember.

INT 4: Bu da çok önemli bir konu lütfen unutmayın bunu.
This also is a very important subject. Please don't forget it.

PR 1: We're just going from Genesis to Revelation.

INT 4: Yaratılış'tan Vahiy'e gidiyoruz tamam? Ya unutmayın bu başlıngaçtaki –
We're going from Genesis to Revelation, OK? Don't forget this, at the beginning –

PR 1: We're now up to Genesis chapter eleven, so we're doing [quite well].

INT 4: [Şimdi] Yaratılış on birinci bölümdeyiz, fena değiliz. İyi gidiyoruz, bakalım.
Now we are in Genesis chapter eleven, we are not bad. We are going well, let's see.

PR 1: This is God's story.

INT 4: Ama bu Tanrı'nın hikayesi.
But this is God's story.