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口譯在教會中的角色:

以美國華人移民教會口譯為例

The Role of Interpreting in a Church Setting:

Case Study of Ethnic Chinese Immigrant Churches in the USA

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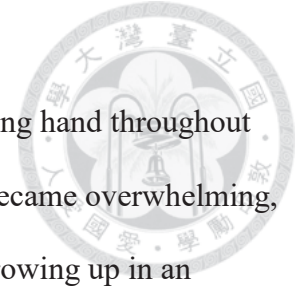指導教授：范家銘博士

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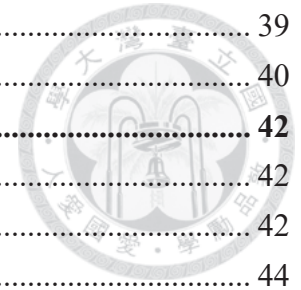
A special thankyou to the NTU GPTI department office staff, namely Vicky Yu-ting Li, for answering my barrage of questions and ensuring that I met every deadline and handed in every form. I also owe debts of gratitude to the brothers and sisters, pastors, preachers, and interpreters from churches in the USA and Taiwan for taking part in this study. Without their participation, I would have not been able to finish this thesis.

Last but not least, a most heartfelt thanks to my parents for their unflagging support of my academic pursuits here in Taiwan. I hope I have made you both proud.
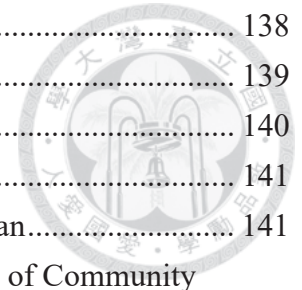
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Abstract

This research aims to investigate the role of the interpreter within the setting of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA. In this study, "ethnic Chinese immigrant church" refers to Christian church communities situated outside of China, Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macau and founded by immigrants from Chinese-speaking countries and areas.

Interpreting most likely appeared in the immigrant church setting as a way to address the widening "acculturation gap" (Birman & Poff, 2011) between the Chinese-speaking first generation (i.e. immigrant members) and the English-speaking second generation (i.e. teenage and adult children of first generation members). Though there is currently scant research on the role interpreters and interpreting itself plays in this distinct interpreting setting. Thus, this study aims to answer the following questions: (1) what is the role of the interpreter in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA; and (2) what is the role of interpreting itself in this setting?

To address the first question, the researcher administered online questionnaires to church interpreters, users of interpreting (e.g. audience members), and commissioners of church interpreting (e.g. church leaders, pastors, speakers). Survey items juxtapose role perceptions and expectations of professional interpreters that work in non-church settings (e.g. hospitals, conferences, courtrooms) with that of interpreters in the church setting in an attempt to isolate distinct expectations and perceptions ascribed to the role of the church interpreter. Semi-structured interviews were conducted with interpreters and pastors from ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA to get a better understanding of the role of interpreting itself in this setting.

Questionnaire results validate previous research on church interpreting and show that immigrant church interpreters are expected to be believing Christians who perform their role out of altruistic love for God and their fellow Christians; they are also believed to be spiritually empowered and enabled by God to reach their goal of edifying the congregation. Roles such as *co-performer*, *co-communicator*, *servant*, *volunteer* and *advocate for Christianity* were found to be the most prominent role descriptors for immigrant church interpreters. Data collected from semi-structured interviews with pastors, interpreters and users of church interpreting added an additional dimension to the role of the immigrant church interpreter. They are a bridge between not only differing speech communities within the church but also with potential members from outside the immigrant ethnic community.

Keywords: church interpreting, immigrant church, interpreter roles, ethnic Chinese immigrants

中文摘要

　　本研究的主題是口譯員在美國「華人移民教會」中所扮演的角色。文中的「華人移民」所指的是從中國、台灣、香港及澳門等地遷移至美國的華人族群；「華人移民教會」是在上述等地之外由華人移民基督徒所建立的教會組織。

　　本文作者猜想，口譯在華人移民教會的功能可能是縮減移民教會中的第一代華人移民與第二代在美國出生的華裔之間「文化差距」"acculturation gap"（ Birman & Poff, 2011）的橋樑。除此之外，華人移民教會口譯員的其他角色尚未被深入探究。本研究探討的問題是：（一）口譯員在美國華人移民教會中所扮演的角色、（二）口譯本身在美國華人移民教會中所扮演的角色。

　　為了理解美國華人移民教會的成員如何解讀口譯員在教會中的角色，本研究透過網路問卷的方式，蒐集來自教會中三類人群的意見，其包括教會口譯的聽眾、教會口譯的委託者（如：教會領導人、牧師、宣導師、講道人）以及教會口譯員。網路問卷設計的主要方式為對比評價。受試者根據自身對專業口譯員（在非教會環境中的專業口譯員）與教會口譯員的角色認知，表達他們對問卷中各個調查項目的贊同度。本文作者試圖透過該方式歸納出華人移民教會口譯員與專業口譯員的角色差異。本文作者亦透過與教會的牧師、口譯員以及口譯聽眾的訪談，試圖理解華人移民教會口譯員所扮演的角色以及口譯本身在華人移民教會中的功能。

　　問卷調查的結果顯示，受試者對於教會口譯的觀點與評價，與以往的相關研究的結果一致：（一）所有的實驗對象普遍認為美國華人移民教會的口譯員必定是基督徒，並且認為口譯員是以充滿「利他精神」的態度服務教會。（二）實驗對象相信教會中所有的服務提供者（包括口譯員）是藉由神的「恩賜」（也就是神所給聖徒的能力）才得以完成他們的主要任務，以「造就」（edify）並加強教會成員的信仰。（三）除了作為溝通的橋樑之外，實驗對象認為口譯員在華人移民教會中的主要角色為「共同表演者」、「共同溝通者」、「義工」以及「基督教的提倡者」。除此之外，本文作者從訪談中分析並總結得出：受訪者認為教會口譯有助於讓更多非華人族群融入華人移民教會。因此，華人移民教會口譯員不僅是打破語言隔閡的橋樑，更是促進華人移民教會與外界互動的媒介。

關鍵字：教會口譯、移民教會、口譯員的角色、華人移民

Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Research Background and Statement of the Problem

The researcher was born in the state of New Jersey in the United States to ethnic Chinese immigrant parents who emigrated from Taiwan in 1984. Growing up in a community of Chinese-speaking immigrants in New Jersey, the researcher had frequent interactions with both ethnic Chinese immigrants and the English-speaking second-generation. Throughout the researcher's childhood and early adulthood, the researcher attended an assembly of Christian believers (hereinafter referred to as NJCA)—an immigrant church founded and attended predominantly by immigrants from Chinese-speaking countries and their children who were mostly born and raised in the United States. Over time, interpreter-facilitated church services became the norm at NJCA where bilingual members who were born overseas or in the United States began serving as interpreters for the church. This study gauges the attitudes and perspectives of members of NJCA and other ethnic Chinese immigrant churches like it in the USA on the roles of their interpreters and interpreting itself in the ethnic Chinese immigrant church setting.

The motivation behind this study comes from the researcher's personal experiences as both a user and provider of interpreting for NJCA. The researcher desires to investigate the nature of church interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches and uncover the roles and functions of both the practice of interpreting and the practitioner in the immigrant church setting. The researcher hopes that the results of the study will contribute to the still scarce but growing literature on interpreting in the church and serve as a helpful reference for those interested in the subject of interpreting in the church setting.

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1.1.1 NJCA's Church Background

The scope of this study includes multiple ethnic Chinese immigrant churches across the United States. Like many ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in their nascent years, all services at the aforementioned church of NJCA were initially conducted monolingually in Mandarin Chinese or another Chinese dialect, including children's programs (e.g. Bible lessons, singing class, arts and crafts). In the first decade of NJCA's founding, children's programs were geared towards those who either immigrated to USA with their parents at a young age or those born in the USA to immigrant parents. With Mandarin Chinese being the common language for these children at the time, children's programs were all conducted in Mandarin Chinese as well. But as more and more children entered the American school system, English slowly replaced the language of choice in their daily lives and in their interactions with other children at NJCA.

After entering middle school and high school, the American-born members eventually moved onto church meetings with their parents, which entailed listening to sermons and prayers given in Mandarin Chinese via NJCA's first manifestation of an interpreting in the church. In NJCA's early years, interpreting took on less visible formats (e.g. whispering) but gradually shifted as NJCA leaders experimented with other formats (e.g. simultaneous interpreting using handheld transmitters and receivers, consecutive interpreting, whispering). Eventually, the group of English-speaking members of NJCA were sizable enough to warrant their own sub-group within the church, informally referred to as the "youth group" which operated semi-independently from the Chinese-speaking membership. But even with the clear language divide between the two groups, the majority of church functions were still conducted jointly, which further substantiated the need for formalized interpreting services. By the time the researcher joined the youth group, consecutive interpreting for sermons, prayers and announcements at NJCA was a normalized

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church service.

1.1.2 Interpreting at NJCA

Interpreters at NJCA have been predominantly members of the first generation, comprising Overseas-born Chinese (OBC)—ethnic Chinese who were born in a Chinese-speaking country or region (e.g. China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau) but who currently reside in a non-Chinese-speaking country (Carlson, 2008). The majority of NJCA interpreters interpret from English into Mandarin Chinese with only a minority deemed capable by church leadership to render Chinese sermons into English. Within the last 15 years, however, more and more English-speaking young adults have been taking up the mantle in many areas in NJCA, one of which is the role of interpreter. NJCA has also been interacting more with other ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA as well as other churches from outside the ethnic group, resulting in an increased frequency of preachers visiting from other churches, some of which come from outside the ethnic group and preach in English. More recently, some of the native Chinese-speaking preachers at NJCA have started to shift towards preaching in English. All of these recent shifts together have increased the need for interpreters in both language directions at NJCA, making research on the role of the church interpreter in the immigrant church setting more integral than ever to future development of the immigrant church.

1.1.3 Statement of the Problem
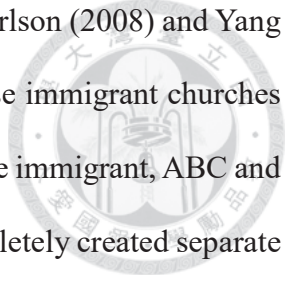
For many immigrant churches, the role of the interpreter is not a permanent one. The church interpreter in many immigrant churches may only be temporary placeholders that act as a kind of social adhesive to bridge disjointed groups within the church until a more viable and sustainable option can be found. In many cases like the Chinese Christian Church (CCC) of Greater Washington (Yang, 1999) or the ethnic Chinese churches in Carlson's (2008) research, interpreting

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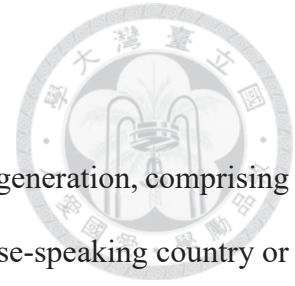
did little to stem the tide of frustrated ABC's leaving the church. Contrary to these findings, immigrant churches like NJCA have been conducting services using interpreters for more than two decades. Although membership (both Chinese-speaking and English-speaking members) has waxed and waned over the years, there remains a relatively steady rate of attendance of Overseas-born members and ABC members as well as non-ethnic Chinese members (e.g. Caucasians, Indians, Koreans). Rather than seeing a need to discontinue interpreting in the church, there is arguably a growing need for it.

Currently, there have not been any extensive studies conducted on interpreting in immigrant churches in the United States. Thus, questions on the frequency of use and how long interpreting has been a part of immigrant churches are difficult to answer in definite terms. Studies on interpreting in the church (e.g. Tison, 2016; Tseng, 2009; Hokkanen, 2012; Downie, 2014) have been done, though none have explored church interpreting specifically in the immigrant church context in the United States. The studies that have focused on the immigrant church experience (Carlson, 2008; Yang, 1999, 2002; Ley, 2008; Woods, 2006) allot scarce attention to interpreting's impact on the church community's dynamic and future development. From all the literature gleaned in this study, church interpreting is usually treated as a fleeting phenomenon that will inevitably decline and fall out of disuse as part of the natural progression of immigrant churches. The aspires in this study to challenge this perception and expectation that interpreting in the church will not last, and hopes to find evidence for effective continued use of interpreting in the later stages of immigrant church development, especially the ethnic Chinese immigrant church in the USA.

There are many ethnic churches in New Jersey that began as monolingual immigrant churches but have since gone through many changes as a result of the notable rifts between its

immigrant and ABC members. Taking into account the research done by Carlson (2008) and Yang (1999) as well as the researcher's own personal experiences, ethnic Chinese immigrant churches have each taken varying approaches to deal with the disharmony between the immigrant, ABC and even non-ethnic Chinese members of immigrant churches. Some have completely created separate and independent Chinese and English ministries whose members have little to no exposure to church interpreting, save for special events (e.g. Christmas, Easter) or once-a-month joint meetings. Other immigrant churches such as NJCA have opted to make interpreter-mediated church services the norm, making every effort to minimize causes for separation to the best of their ability and unite members across languages, cultures and generations through the medium of interpreting. In light of these divergent attitudes and policies on the usage of interpreting between immigrant churches, the researcher endeavors to find the answer to what exactly drives the need for interpreting via investigations of the roles of the interpreter and interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA like NJCA.

1.2 Research Questions

In an attempt to better understand the circumstances that create the need for interpreting and the factors that perpetuate or eliminate the need for interpreting in the immigrant church, this study explores the role of interpreting in the ethnic Chinese immigrant church setting and the expectations and perceptions ascribed to church interpreters by church members, which include the commissioners of interpreting (i.e. preachers, pastors), the users of interpreting, and the interpreters themselves. In short, this study aims to answer the following two research questions:

(1) What is the role of the interpreter in the immigrant church in terms of the perceptions and expectations ascribed to the church interpreter?

(2) What is the role of interpreting itself in the immigrant church?

1.3 Conceptual Framework

The most basic perception and expectation of the interpreter's role in any setting is to serve as a bridge of communication between speakers of mutually unintelligible languages, or at the very least, languages different enough that require a bilingual or multilingual intermediary to facilitate successful communication. The stereotypical perception of the interpreter may be that the interpreter simply needs to render a unit of communication in one language into its equivalent in another language. This mechanical perception of the interpreter's role is predicated on the assumption that all units of communication in one language have their equivalents in another language, which overlooks the complexity of language as a human invention and ignores the impact of the setting on the interpreter's mentality and performance of their role(s).

Previous studies on the role of the interpreter in Translation and Interpreting Studies (hereinafter referred to as T&I Studies) have further fleshed out the role of the interpreter as encompassing more than just linguistic facilitation. T&I Studies scholars like Claudia Angelelli (2004) and Sandra Hale (2007) have refuted, or at the very least questioned, the one-dimensional perception of the interpreter as a mechanical language converter who is expected to be immune or otherwise responsible to remain unaffected by external factors. Their studies have provided ample evidence that bolster the notion that the role of an interpreter is multidimensional and varies depending on the setting.

The church is a unique setting that presents a distinct set of pressures that affect how the interpreter performs and how their role is perceived by the church members. Alev Balci Tison (2016) posits that the church is a *social institution*, replete with its own normative, regulatory and cultural norms, and isolated to certain degree from the society in which it is embedded. This type of paradigm depicts church interpreting as a special form of interpreting that is exclusive to

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members of the church or even confined within the Christian faith. In contrast to church interpreters, a professional interpreter's ability to interpret is not immediately called into question if they do not subscribe to a certain ideology or set of beliefs. In fact, Sandra Hale's (2007) compilation of interpreter's codes of ethics shows an expectation that any ideological differences or disagreements held by the interpreter must be kept in check, or even suppressed, during the interpreting process.

As evidenced in literature on church interpreting, church interpreters are held to religious or faith-based standards and are required to have a genuine spiritual connection with what is being interpreted. On an institutional level, the church interpreter is not only translating linguistic communication but also the church institution itself (Tison, 2016). While each verbal communication event can be considered an isolated and temporal production (Pöchhacker, 2016), the interpreter is not solely rendering what is being said in that time frame but is also channeling the church's institutional norms and reflecting the church's beliefs and ideology (Tison, 2016).

When it comes to the immigrant church, however, the church is more than just a religious institution. The immigrant church can also be a cultural hub (Ley, 2008) where immigrants can receive not only spiritual support but also social, financial and mental support from the church community. The conceptual framework of this study incorporates the facets of immigrant churches brought to light by Ley (2008), Tison (2016), Carlson (2008) and Yang (1999) to investigate the roles of the interpreter and the interpreting in the church, which is considered as a cultural service hub, a social institution, and a distinct community embedded in a larger society.

1.4 Research Scope

The subject of church interpreting has a myriad of factors and aspects that can be examined (see Figure 3 in Section 2.1.3). One potentially impactful factor is a church's denomination, which

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refers to an ideological affiliation with "groupings of congregations with at least a modicum of centralized authority that share some combination of a common tradition, viewpoint, organizational style, practice, and culture with regards to religion" (Fuist et. Al, 2011). However, today there are a large number of Christian denominations, each set apart from each other by distinct set of viewpoints, organization styles, practice, and culture in regards to how Christianity should be practiced in the church.

Thus, due to certain research limitations, this study focuses exclusively on ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA, which generally belong to the Protestant denomination of Christianity. This means, the scope of this study does not include input from members of churches in other denominations (e.g. Roman Catholic, Eastern Orthodox). As a result, this also means that many factors that arise from a church's denominational affiliation are not taken into account in this study. Therefore, the research results of this study only reflect the viewpoints of those selected to participate in the study and are thus not necessarily applicable to all church communities. The third chapter in this paper provides further details on the selection process of participants in this study..

For comparison purposes, a small group of members attending bilingual Protestant churches in Taiwan was also included in the study, though the primary focus remains on ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States. In order to better reflect the ethnic Chinese immigrant church community while attempting to minimize the number of variables arising from denominational and ideological differences, other ethnic Chinese immigrant churches that are loosely affiliated with NJCA are also included in this study.

This study also does not take into account the impact of the mode of church interpreting (e.g. consecutive interpreting, simultaneous interpreting, chuchotage) might have on how the role

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of the interpreter is perceived nor is the researcher denying that there is an impact. However, this study does not incorporate analyses on the differences between the roles of church interpreting by different modes of interpreting, and focuses primarily on the general perceptions and expectations of the interpreter's role in relation to the church institution.
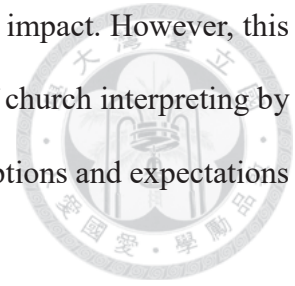
1.5 Contributions

Some immigrant churches may outright disqualify interpreting's value in the church while others may staunchly swear by its high utility and effectiveness. Many churches are most likely caught somewhere in between and are unsure of how much time and effort to invest in developing their interpreting talent. Therefore, it is the researcher's hope that the results of this study will help immigrant church communities to better gauge the level of significance of and need for interpreting their churches. The results of this study could also potentially be a source of reference for those interested in expanding on church interpreting studies which is currently still relatively sparse.

Despite what appears to be a lack of interest in church interpreting research, the amount of literature on church interpreting reviewed in this study suggests that interest in this niche aspect of interpreting studies may be growing. The data results from this project will hopefully add to existing research efforts and spur others to investigate interpreting in church settings. The researcher also hopes that this study will give current church interpreters a reflexive glimpse of their own role in the church, and possibly even raise awareness of the significance of their interpreting in the church community.
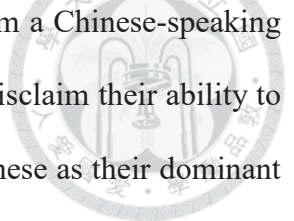
1.6 Definition of Key Terms

- **American-born Chinese (ABC)**: ethnic Chinese who were born, raised and educated in the United States; may also include individuals who immigrated to the United States with their parents at a young age (i.e. before middle school or the age of 12)
- **Bilingual church**: refers to a church that regularly conducts its services and functions in

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two more languages

- **Brothers and sisters**: referring to both male and female members of the church; broadly refers to male and female Christians

- **Christian:** a person who confesses belief in Jesus Christ as the Son of God and as their Lord and Savior, and that God raised Him from the dead

- **Church**: refers to a body or organization of Christians; in this study, "church" refers only to those of the Protestant denomination

- **Church interpreter**: an interpreter who interprets regularly for a Christian church

- **Denomination**: a sub-group of the general Christian community whose congregations are united in their adherence to a set of beliefs and practices that are distinct from those of other sub-groups yet generally sharing a common foundation in the basic tenets of Christianity

- **Ethnic group**: a community or population made up of people who share a common cultural and historical background and share the same language

- **Ethnic church:** refers to a church with a majority of members belonging to a single, specific ethnic group

- **First-generation immigrant**: see Overseas-born Chinese

- **Immigrant:** a person who takes up permanent residence in a country different from their place of birth

- **Immigrant church**: refers to a church founded and led by immigrants; in this study "immigrant church" may or may not be actively catering to other immigrants

- **Non-ethnic**: a person that does not belong to the ethnic group in question

- **Overseas Chinese**: those of ethnic Chinese descent who live in countries or regions other than China, Taiwan, Hong Kong or Macau

- **Overseas-born Chinese (OBC)**: ethnic Chinese who were born in a Chinese-speaking country or region (e.g. China, Taiwan, Hong Kong, Macau) but who currently reside in a non-Chinese-speaking country (Carlson, 2008)

- **Professional interpreter**: an interpreter who interprets as a profession in various settings (e.g. conferences, courtrooms, hospitals, business meetings) and receives financial compensation for interpreting services rendered

- **Second generation immigrant:** see American-born Chinese

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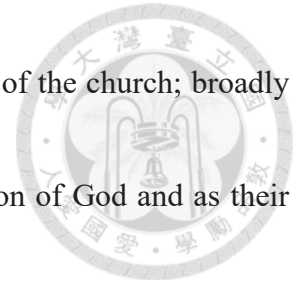
In this study, "Chinese-speaking" denotes those who emigrated from a Chinese-speaking country or region (e.g. Taiwan, China, Hong Kong, Macau) and does not disclaim their ability to speak English. "Chinese-speaking" solely refers to those who identify Chinese as their dominant language. "English-speaking" in this study refers to those who are born and/or raised in the United States and identify English as their dominant language. This term is not intended to insinuate a lack of the ability to speak Chinese.

Chapter 2: Literature Review
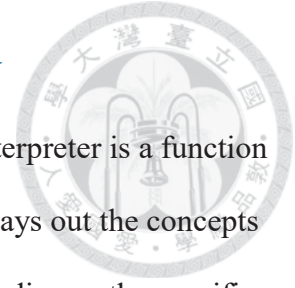
This study is based on the assumption that the role of the church interpreter is a function of its setting—the church. The research literature reviewed in this chapter lays out the concepts that led to this assumption. Key findings and discussions from previous studies on the specific roles of the church interpreter are also presented in this chapter. Chapter 2 is organized by the following themes: (2.1) interpreting by setting and the role of the interpreter, (2.2) the general church setting, (2.3) specific roles of the interpreter in the church setting, and (2.4) interpreting in an ethnic Chinese immigrant church setting.

Section 2.1 aims to highlight how the role of the interpreter is linked to the setting in which interpreting occurs. Sub-section 2.1.1 gives an overview of how other researchers have classified the various types of interpreting by their setting. A simple classification would be the dichotomy between community and conference interpreting. On a more granular level, community and conference interpreting can be further broken down into spheres of interaction and mapped along a spectrum ranging from inter- to intra-social settings. Sub-sections 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 present findings and discussions from research literature that establish linkage between the role of the interpreter seen in some interpreting codes of ethics with the role of the interpreter in relation to setting. Sub-section 2.1.4 presents literature on how the quality of interpreting is partially defined by the setting in which it occurs.

Section 2.2 fleshes out the argument that the setting, specifically the church setting, necessarily impacts the role of the church interpreter. The first sub-section 2.2.1 presents how one researcher attempts to classify church interpreting according to how the role of the church interpreter is perceived by commissioners and users of church interpreting. Subsequent sub-sections 2.2.2 through 2.2.4 present literature that supports the notion that perceptions, as well as

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expectations and norms, of the role of the church interpreter are a functions of the "church institution".
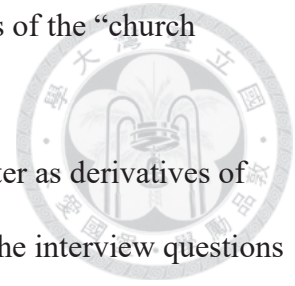
Section 2.3 hones in specifically on the roles of the church interpreter as derivatives of the church setting as identified and explored in previous studies. Some of the interview questions and items on the questionnaire used in this study were derived from these roles. Section 2.4 presents research literature on interpreting in the setting of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA. This section serves to bridge research presented in sections 2.1 to 2.3 with the objectives of this study, which is the investigation of the role of the interpreter and the role of interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant church settings in the USA.

2.1 Interpreting by Setting & the Interpreter's Roles

Bente Jacobsen (2009) points out that interpreting research for the most part has centered on either conference or community interpreting whereby both areas focused on the "visible interpreter" rather than the more abstract role of interpreting. According to Jacobsen, the research on conference interpreting focuses more on cognitive, neurophysiological, neurolinguistics and performance-related issues with the interpreter while research on community interpreting is more concerned with the "role perceptions and expectations among users of interpreting services and interpreting practitioners" (ibid., p.156). The reason for this categorical preference for certain issues is due to the differing characteristics of conference and community interpreting as summarized in Jacobsen's table of essential characteristics for each type of communication (Table 1):

Community interpreting	Conference interpreting
Dialogue (typically, but not always, two primary speakers)	Monologue
Spontaneous speech (some speech may be pre-planned)	Pre-planned speech (often scripted source material)
(Relatively) short turns	Sustained turns
Bi-directional interpreting	Uni-directional interpreting

Table 1. The essential characteristics of community interpreting and conference interpreting

Source: Jacobsen, 2009

Maurizio Viezzi (2013) states that if the "interaction format" of a communication event is adopted as the criterion for classification, then interpreting can be classified as either monologic or dialogic interpreting. Viezzi defines monologic communication as utterances being expressed from one person to many, occurring when "the interaction is not mutual between the audience and the speaker", and dialogic communication as "face-to-face encounters where the form of communication is conversation" (ibid., p. 377). When applying Jacobsen's dichotomy and Viezzi's definitions to the types of communication events that take place within a church setting, one might come to the conclusion that church interpreting is a form of "conference interpreting", given that sermons are predominantly monologic, pre-planned, and interpreted uni-directionally. Hwa-chin Tseng (2009), however, argues that church interpreting is in fact more akin to "community interpreting", though it is difficult to see the validity of this claim based on just the aforementioned definitions and criteria.

Viezzi (2013) and Jacobsen (2009) also understand the insufficiency of solely using these criteria in classifying interpreting, as both bring up the significance of setting in the classification of interpreting activities. Viezzi points out that distinguishing interpreting events along the lines of setting gives way to setting-related categorizations, such as court interpreting, media

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interpreting, business interpreting, parliamentary interpreting and so on (ibid., p. 377), while Jacobsen brings up Pöchhacker (2016) and his mapping of a conceptual spectrum of interpreting to flesh out interpreting classifications.
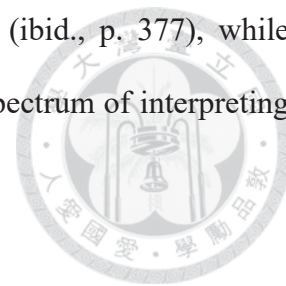
2.1.1 Inter-social and Intra-social Interpreting

Pöchhacker (2016) mapped out a variety of interpreting activities along a spectrum from inter- to intra-social spheres of interaction, or what could otherwise be generally referred to as interpreting settings. Pöchhacker explained that the evolution of interpreting activity occurred with the increase in the number of settings requiring interpreting, ranging from inter-social dealings between communities to intra-social relations within a heterolingual and multicultural community. In Figure 1, settings are grouped under catchwords that encapsulate the general type of interaction and contact through which interpreting is performed (ibid., 2004). Unlike the more fixed settings such as "military", "public services" and "law and justice", religious settings such as "missionary work" and "religious services" are placed on both sides of the spectrum, suggesting the varied nature of interpreting in the broader category of "religious settings".
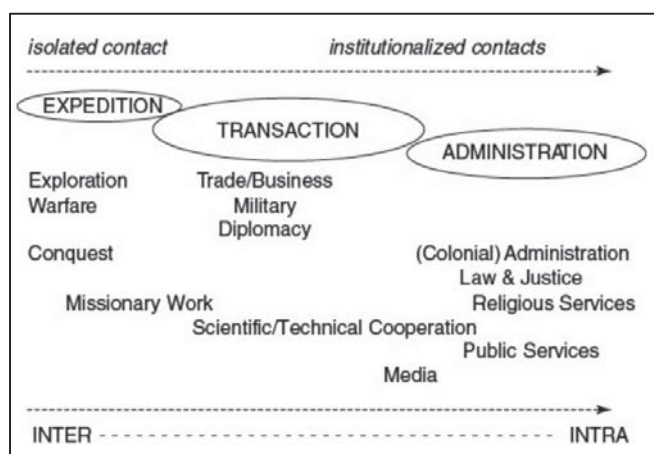
Figure 1. Interpreting in different spheres of interaction
Source: Pöchhacker, 2016

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Pöchhacker (2016) points out that this spectrum featuring spheres of social interaction could be further refined by installing the constellations, or formats, of interaction, which can arguably better account for social interactions that extend across spheres of interaction, such as religious services and missionary work. The result is a spectrum that spans from the "international conference interpreting" sphere of interaction to the" intra-social community" interpreting sphere, which incorporates not only the interaction formats (i.e. conference and dialogue) but also features usually found in each type of interpreting (see Figure 2).
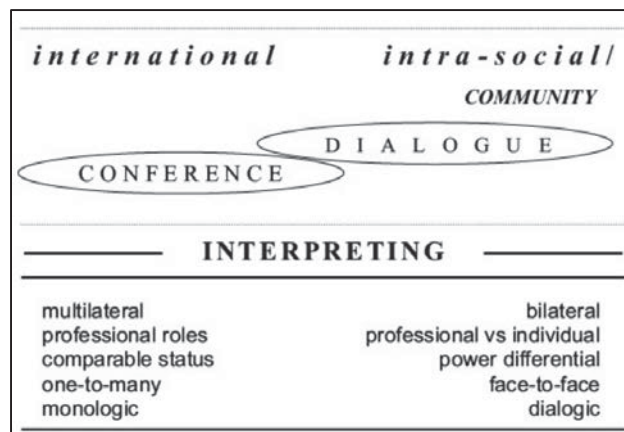
Figure 2. Conceptual Spectrum of Interpreting
Source: Pöchhacker, 2016

In Pöchhacker's initial mapping of interpreting in different spheres of interaction, "religious services" and "missionary work" were placed at opposite ends of the spectrum due to the nature of each activity conforming to a certain type of setting. However, Pöchhacker (2016) also acknowledges the fact that categorizing interpreting settings is not always clear cut, and cautions against using a fixed dichotomy when categorizing interpreting interactions (Pöchhacker, 2016). Thus, Pöchhacker's conceptual spectrum of interpreting in Figure 2 is designed to classify interpreting activities such as church interpreting, which falls somewhere between international and intra-social communication, intersects monologic conference and dialogic community interaction formats, and straddles the line between conference and community interpreting.

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2.1.2 Role of the Interpreter by Code of Ethics

Based on Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2 above, it is clear that interpreting can occur and does occur in wide variety of settings. The question now is whether these settings play any part in forming the interpreter's role, assuming that the interpreter is more than just a "translation machine". In an attempt to connect the interpreting setting with the interpreter's role, the researcher first turned to Sandra Hale (2007) and her tabulated compilation of role descriptions taken from professional associations and other programs (e.g. health services). These descriptions highlight the general consensus on what role or roles the community interpreter ought to take on. For the most part, the role descriptions spoke less on the actual role of the interpreter and more on the code of ethics for interpreting, prescribing interpreters to refrain from advocacy, counseling, interjection of personal opinions and actions of the like. However, these do's and don'ts in these codes of ethics may not always be feasible depending on the various kinds of demands (e.g. social, cultural, physical) imposed on interpreters from the different settings in which they interpret.

Hale (2007) made another compilation of role descriptions provided by various practicing interpreters, and found that despite none openly contradicting the general interpreter's code of ethics to remain impartial and neutral, "most agreed that the practical application of the role differed due to the limitations or demands of the setting," with some even suggesting that different settings require different codes of ethics (ibid., p. 129). Rather than focusing on whether the interpreter is able to adhere to a specific code of ethics when interpreting, the focus of this study is placed on the notion that the setting itself plays a part in how interpreters are expected to carry out their duties.

2.1.3 Role of the Interpreter by Setting

Claudia V. Angelelli (2004) further develops this idea of setting-based interpreter roles. She posits that interpreting does not happen in a social vacuum, and that interpreters are not immune to ever-present social factors, which make maintain neutrality as outlined in interpreter's codes of ethics virtually impossible. Impartiality and neutrality are valued because such qualities absolve the interpreter from certain responsibilities related to the content of the communication; however, interpreters do play a role in co-constructing the conversation, especially in dialogic interpreting (Hale, 2007). Thus, if the interpreter has a level of participation in the interaction, then social factors (e.g. race, ethnicity, gender, age, status) may have some bearing on how the interpreter presents information (Hale, 2007).

As seen in Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2, different domains of interpreting tend to be accompanied by certain interaction formats (i.e. monologic or dialogic) and modes of interpreting (i.e. consecutive interpreting, simultaneous interpreting) depending on the context or setting in which interpreting takes place. Angelelli's Visible Interpreter Model (see Figure 3) pinpoint specific factors that act upon the interpreter. As seen in Figure 3, the entire communication event, interpreting, and the interlocutors are situated in nested spheres, each with its own set of social constraints acting upon the interlocutors and interpreter. In the church context, there may be additional factors not listed by Angelelli that may be acting upon the interpreter, including pressures from the church institution, religious ideology, and faith.
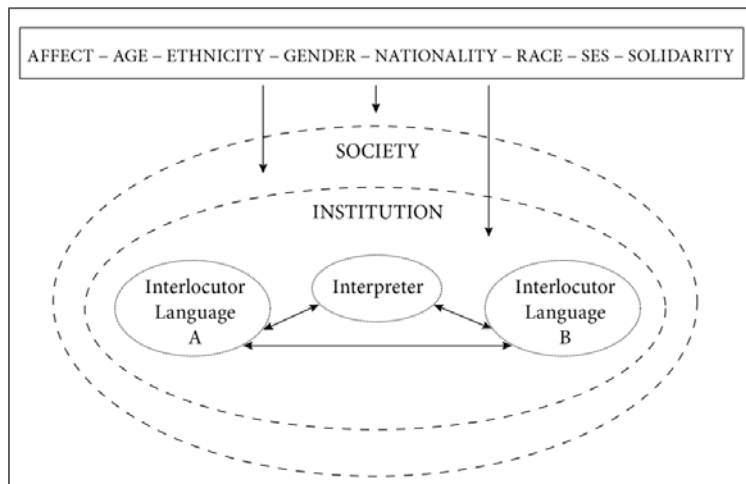
Figure 3. Visible Interpreter Model
Source: Angelelli, 2004

Angelelli (2004) designed a tool—the Interpreter's Interpersonal Role Inventory (IPRI)—to study the interpersonal role of the interpreter by looking at interpreters' perceptions of their roles in various settings (e.g. medical, court, conference) in hopes that differences in the competencies involved in each kind of interpreting event could be further clarified. The results of her study presented evidence showing that interpreters perceive themselves as visible to varying degrees that differ from setting to setting. Moreover, their roles are not restricted to bridging communication but may extend to advocacy, cultural mediation, trust-building and other roles not in line with the traditional notion of an invisible and neutral interpreter (Angelelli, 2004). The reason for the variability is due to the variance in setting and interaction formats.

Angelelli's (2004) study brings to light the reality that interpreters as social creatures cannot possibly operate within a social vacuum, and will rather behave based on their perceptions of themselves, the interlocutors and the situation. Given that interpreters can never fully live up to the expectation of being impartial and invisible, interpreters can only focus on playing their respective roles in accordance to the code of conduct specific to each setting while relying on their own moral code to make the judgement calls for each situation.

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2.1.4 Role of the Interpreter by Quality

How well an interpreter is playing their role is measured by the interpreting "quality". But what elements constitute "quality" was also found to vary from setting to setting in the following study by Franz Pöchhacker and Cornelia Zwischenberger (2010). In their study, AIIC members were asked to participate in a survey regarding role perceptions. The study, in part, extends the scope of Hildegund Bühler who conducted a study in 1986 on the quality criteria used to assess candidates for AIIC membership, and draws parallels with Claudia Angelelli's (2004) study on role perceptions among interpreters in various settings. Based on their findings, Pöchhacker and Zwischenberger's concluded that the interpreter's function and role is "inherently linked with the issue of quality, since conference interpreters' perceptions of the nature of their task will ultimately shape their performance" (Pöchhacker and Zwischenberg, 2010). The objective of the survey is stated as follows:

> *The survey focused exclusively on simultaneous conference interpreting. It sought to find out how AIIC members judge the importance of 11 output-related quality criteria (including fluency of delivery, correct grammar, lively intonation, logical cohesion, completeness, native accent, pleasant voice, and sense consistency with the original) and whether the relative importance of these criteria varied depending on the type of meeting or assignment.*
> (Pöchhacker and Zwischenberg, 2010)
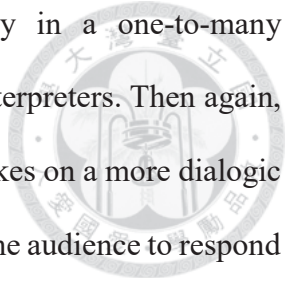
The results of the study show that interpreters generally focus on language and delivery-related criteria to evaluate the quality of interpreting. However, when particular meeting types or domains are considered, the quality criteria that are generally considered less important are then rated as more important. The level of significance "attributed to various quality criteria thus varies in relation to the meeting (e.g. type of event, degree of formality, duration and size) and the domain (e.g. political, diplomatic, business, legal, medical) in which the event takes place" (Pöchhacker and Zwischenberg, 2010).

2.2 Research on Interpreting in the Church Setting

The previous section presented literature supporting the notion that setting is at the very least one of the major factors that impacts how the role of the interpreter is defined, perceived and carried out. With this concept in mind, this section focuses on delving into the intricacies of the church setting and presents literature on the various elements within the church setting that may act upon the role of the church interpreter, starting with an overview of the general church setting followed by more specific literature on the church as an institutional setting, which means it has its own language policy and faith-based code of conduct, all of which may be factors in how the role of the church interpreter is formed.

2.2.1 General Overview of the Church Setting

Tseng's (2009) pilot study on church interpreting in Taiwan reaffirmed the reality of the church's multifaceted environment. The results from her research showed that interpreting in the church does not fit exclusively into a binary classification (e.g. community or conference, intra-social or inter-social) but falls somewhere between two poles, as church interpreting can happen in many forms and settings (Tseng, 2009). The church setting is a hodge-podge of inter-social and intra-social elements and is where communication events can occur both monologically and

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dialogically. For instance, sermons are generally given monologically in a one-to-many communication event, making sermon interpreters more like conference interpreters. Then again, there are times where the one-to-many communication in church settings takes on a more dialogic dynamic, whereby the preacher poses a question or comment and waits for the audience to respond before moving on in their preaching. However, within the church institution, "everyone in the church is on the same side, so the interpreter in this type of dialogic one-to-many situation need not take on advocacy, defendant or mediation roles as community interpreters often do in one-on-one settings" (Tison, 2016, p. 14).

There are also individual-level interactions in the church between a church "professional" (i.e. pastors) and laymen members where a power differential may be perceived. The differential between these two types of interlocutors in the church may become apparent when one of the interlocutors is a new convert or an immigrant who is struggling to start a new life in a strange land. The interpreter and pastor may be on the same side, though the new convert or non-believing immigrant who is looking to join the church could be seen as being in a less informed or "disadvantaged" position. In this type of intra-cultural dialogic situation, the interpreter may need to decide how to position themselves between the two interlocutors. In this regard, the church interpreting may take on more features from intra-social community interpreting.

Whether dialogic or monologic, inter-social or intra-social, conference or community, the church is a dynamic setting where many situations can occur, making the role of the church interpreter ever more complex. While it is worth noting that church interpreters perform their duties in a variety of settings and interaction formats, given the time and resource constraints, this study focuses primarily on monologic church interpreting and does not explore the role of the church interpreter in dialogic one-to-one, one-to-few settings. In other words, the role of the

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immigrant church interpreter in this study primarily focuses on their role when interpreting sermons in the church.
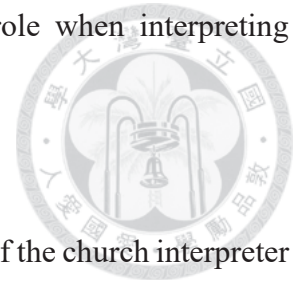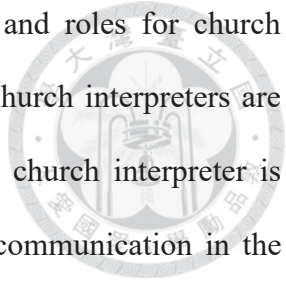
2.2.2 Interpreting in the Church Institution

To reiterate, this study is predicated on the assumption that the role of the church interpreter is, at least in part, a function of the church setting. However, this is only possible if the church interpreter is seen as a formalized role in the church rather than just an individual interpreting in physical church setting. In other words, for the role of church interpreter to incorporate the church itself, it must become a formalized part of the church institution.

Koskinen (2008), as cited by Tison (2016), states that the institutionalization of a church first forms at the abstract, metaphysical level. The church then forms on the more formal level, gaining recognition and becoming legitimized by society and even the government; lastly this formal recognition allows for the church to further split into localized institutions like parishes, which are supervised by a central body, but not all churches reach this final stage. Some churches do not function under the jurisdiction of a centralized church authority but rather coexist as a group of independent churches that interact within a decentralized and loosely affiliated network of "sister churches" linked by similar ideologies and engaging in inter-institutional interactions (e.g. pastors and preachers visit other churches in the network and give sermons or hold special conferences). This is the case of the ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in this study. Throughout the institutionalization process, a church's norms and expectations eventually become concretized and regularly enforced, which ultimately become part of the church's identity. A formalized church interpreter role in this type of institutionalized setting would necessarily be impacted by these norms and expectations.

Tison (2016) frames the issues of settings, norms, expectations and roles for church interpreters as part of the "church institution" which she argues is what church interpreters are concurrently being influenced by and perpetuating. Tison posits that the church interpreter is involved in translating not just the textual and hyper-textual content of communication in the church but is also translating the institution of the church (i.e. the church setting), perpetuating and even shaping its ideology, norms and culture. The church interpreter primarily deals with sermons which is "constrained by the institution's ideology and norms for interpreting and, at the same time, […] is a factor in the translation of the institution itself" (Tison, 2016). But at the same time, the church institution is imposing its ideology, norms and culture onto the church interpreter, thereby forming a reciprocal relationship between church institution and church interpreter.

Thus, it goes to reason that the *immigrant* church institution also exerts pressures on its members from not only religious sources but also cultural, social, linguistic ones. These factors can be generalized as part of the church institution's ideology. As a member of the immigrant church, the church interpreter is subject to the church's ideological pressures. This study draws from this notion when investigating the role of interpreting itself in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches.

2.2.3 The Church Institution's Ideology

Given the distinct speech communities (i.e. Chinese-speaking and English-speaking) within the ethnic Chinese immigrant church, the language policy of the immigrant church institution is thus an important piece in the investigation of the role of the immigrant church interpreter. Tison (2016) notes that an institution's language policy is a particularly impactful medium through which an institution's ideology, cultural beliefs and norms are transmitted and enforced. Given the church interpreter's direct connection to church's language policy, the church

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interpreter naturally plays a role in the translation and enforcement of the church institution's ideology. Linguistically, as part of the church institution, the church 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" (Tison, 2016). Failure to do so may detract from the maintenance of the church institution's ideology:

> *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, [….] the impact of interpreters is worth re-thinking.* (Inghilleri, 2004 as cited by Tison, 2016).

Church interpreters must also take denominational ideologies into account when interpreting in a given church. Although all denominations are loosely situated under the umbrella term "Christian" and generally claim to hold and defend the core tenets of Christianity, different denominations assert certain doctrines and practices more than others. In other words, not all churches see eye to eye despite belonging to the same faith. Thus, aside from language, other factors that shape a church's ideology include each church's interpretation of God's word, God's will, and how things ought to be conducted in the church to please God. The plethora of Christian denominations around the world is a testament to the ideological diversity within the Christian faith.

Tying denominational differences back to the church institution's language policy, "church history shows that as a way of promoting the desired behavior, denominations have always had

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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" (Tison, 2016, p. 46). However, this study does not look at factors arising from denominational affiliations and their impact on the roles of the interpreter and interpreting in the church setting. Rather, the denominational ideological beliefs among research participants are assumed to be consistent or at least very similar. Nevertheless, it is still important to remember that the church's ideology may be heavily shaped by their denominational affiliation, which by extension shapes the roles of the interpreter and interpreting in the church setting. However, due to research limitations and complexities of dissecting Christian denominations, the impact of a participant's denominational affiliation is not considered in the analysis.

For the church interpreter who is both part of the institution and partly a dispenser of the institution's ideology through language, the church institution's ideological factors (e.g. language, denomination, doctrine, culture) may all have an impact on the role of the church interpreter, especially in the eligibility department. For instance, interpreters who interpret for churches that believe outward expressions of emotion, spontaneity, and an energetic atmosphere are conducive to worshipping God must themselves reflect that same ideology in the way they interpret. In contrast, interpreters who interpret for churches that believe that strict order, passive contemplation and more reserved styles of worship are the ways to commune with God may be pressured to reflect that culture in how they interpret.

Some items on the online questionnaire in this study address the church interpreter's obligations during the interpreting process. These items are derived from the notion that church interpreters must use a certain lexicon as per the church's language policy, be it religion-based or culture-based. Other questionnaire items addressing interpreter obligations are derived from the

notion that church interpreter's must observe a certain decorum in accordance with the church's its denominational ideology, which governs how interpreter's should act or react when interpreting on stage, how interpreters should think and perceive their roles, and how to discern what is or is not appropriate when interpreting. Overall, these questionnaire items are based on the assumption that the role of the church interpreter is a function of the church institution, with all of its norms, expectations and ideology.

2.2.4 Interpreter eligibility in a church setting

Interpreters that fail to reflect the church institution's ideology may come off as awkward and disconnected from the source text, but this would not necessarily deem them unfit to interpret in that particular church. In terms of eligibility, there may be more basic requirements in place. This study dedicates a section of the questionnaire to address the issue of eligibility of the church interpreter in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches. Questions are based on the study done by Tison (2016) who also tackled the question of eligibility for interpreting in the church via a series of interviews, specifically focusing on whether non-Christians were allowed to interpret sermons. The results from these interviews clearly showed that the general consensus was 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" (Tison, 2016), specifically referring to non-Christian interpreters. The underlying concern is that even if a non-Christian possesses all the mental and linguistic faculties to interpret well, they would still lack the spiritual faculties to convey the spiritual dimensions of what is being preached from the pulpit. Tison identifies this as a "trust" issue.

Qualms about whether the interpreter can be trusted to advocate the Christian ideology come up when the interpreter is functioning "in-between" instead of from "within" the church's

ideology (Tison, 2016). Tison delineates two caveats that would mitigate issues with trust when considering whether to let non-Christians interpret in the church: (1) if the speaker personally knows the interpreter and trusts that they will not distort the sermon's message; (2) some kind of control mechanism, such as going over the sermon in detail with the interpreter beforehand, must be in place (Tison, 2016).

The issue of loyalty is another major point of concern when it comes to the eligibility of a church interpreter. Interviews conducted by Tison (2016) revealed that preachers or pastors worry that non-Christian interpreters, which include those of other faiths, may interpret in line with their own theological views and may distort or change what is being said if they find the message to be incongruent with their own beliefs. Thus, there are certain reservations among commissioners of church interpreting that "would cause them to avoid using an interpreter who does not share the ideology ingrained in their context" (ibid., 2016). This could also happen between Christians from different denominations, though if given a choice between a non-Christian and a Christian from a different denomination, the latter would most likely be preferred.

Andrew Owen (2014) also cautioned against using non-Christian interpreters and warned of the adverse impact incongruous beliefs between the speaker and the interpreter would have on the audience, specifically the spirituality of listeners. Owen discusses the role of the church interpreter from a more spiritual aspect and emphasizes the interpreter's spiritual responsibility to their listeners to nourish their spiritual growth. Church interpreters who hold opposing beliefs or hold ideology that is incompatible with the speaker may ultimately interpret in a way that will "undermine the target language group and lead to potential spiritual downfall" to which God will hold them accountable; thus church interpreters cannot be detached from the speaker's message and must have a "heart-belief and a spiritual desire to search out the truth of what the Scriptures

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teach" (Owen, 2014). On Owen's terms, eligibility to interpret in the church has less to do with skills and qualifications and more to do with "orientation of mind and heart" (ibid., 2014).
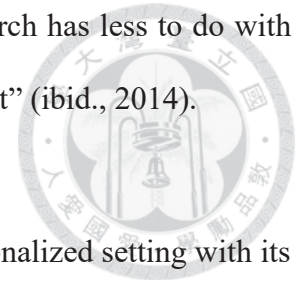
2.2.5 Church Institution's Code of Conduct

This section has thus far presented the church as a unique institutionalized setting with its own ideology, norms and expectations, which all arguably impact the role of the church interpreter. These norms and expectations set unwritten boundaries and guidelines for what the church interpreter ought to aim for and avoid, much like a code of ethics. As mentioned in the first section of this chapter, turning to existing interpreting code of ethics from professional associations and governmental programs to look for the role of the interpreter yielded limited findings. But in light of the church institution's much more specific demands on its church interpreters, perhaps looking into the church interpreter's code of ethics, or in this case code of conduct, would provide further insight into the role of the church interpreter. Andrew Owen (2014) refers to the Holy Bible as the holistic source for a code of ethics for anyone in the service of the church and God:

Indeed, in God's Word we have a wealth of information to equip us at every stage of the process: we have a command to perform the act of interpreting in church, a model to inform us what a church interpreter looks like, an interpreter's code of ethics, a methodological framework for interpreting in church, a case-study on the attitudes and moral fortitude required of a church interpreter, and a code of practice for church interpreting. (Owen, 2014)

In the above excerpt, Owen (2014) is referring to Moses' Ten Commandments, all the instances of interpreting that were recorded in the Biblical texts, and something he refers to as the "Corinthian Code of Conduct": (1) No confusion, but rather, peace; (2) spiritual edification; (3) interpreting all the worship; (4) interpreters from within the local church; (5) the interpreter's motive; (6) prayer (Owen, 2014).

"No confusion, but rather, peace" (Owen, 2014). This speaks the church interpreter's obligation to facilitate orderly communication for the sake of peace amongst the church's members. Owen (2014) most likely derives this code from a passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians (i.e. First Corinthians) in the Bible: "If anyone speaks in a tongue, it should be by two or at the most three, and each in turn, and one must interpret; but if there is no interpreter, he must keep silent in the church" (1 Corinthians 14:27-28, NASB). The author of First Corinthians, the Apostle Paul, urges members of the church to speak in turn so that what is being said can be properly heard and interpreted. Much like consecutive interpreting, if both speaker and interpreter talk at the same time, the resulting output is garbled noise, benefitting no one. However, in addition to being able to interpret coherently, there is an underlying purpose to having order and clarity—spiritual edification.

"Spiritual edification" is a running theme in the discussion of how members of the church should use their "gifts" (e.g. talents, abilities) in the church. "Edify" is defined by Merriam-Webster as "to instruct and improve especially in moral and religious knowledge", and includes synonyms such as "uplift", "enlighten" and "inform". Based on this Corinthian Code, the goal of the church interpreter is not just to convey information but to also aim for the edification of those listening. There are a number of places where Owen (2014) could have derived this Corinthian Code, but the below passage in First Corinthians explicates the ultimate purpose of interpreting,

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or any gift, performed in the church:

There are, perhaps, a great many kinds of languages in the world, and no kind is without

meaning. If then I do not know the meaning of the language, I will be to the one who speaks

a barbarian, and the one who speaks will be a barbarian to me. So also you, since you are

zealous of spiritual gifts, seek to abound for the edification of the church. (1 Corinthians

14:10-12, NASB)

"Interpreting all the worship" speaks to the interpreter's obligation to "provide access to all facets of the act of worship, including prayers, hymns etc." (Owen, 2014). This is not unlike the expectation for professional interpreters to aim for completeness in their interpreting. However, the key difference is that the church interpreter is also expected to create an atmosphere of inclusiveness for all through their interpreting, aiming to allow as many church members as possible to participate in all aspects of church activity without being barred by language. Actions like listening to a sermon, singing songs of worship, and praying to God, while one-directional in nature, are all collective acts of participation. Church members are not merely receiving information but are active participants, responding to sermons, songs or prayers silently in their hearts, vocally or through body gestures. Thus, removing the obstruction to participation in a church activity is arguably as important a goal for the church interpreter as removing the obstruction to communication.

In the Christian community, requiring interpreters to *be from within the local church* is less of an explicit Biblical mandate and more of an unwritten guideline expected to be followed. Moreover, the Bible does not explicitly instruct churches to ban non-members from serving in the

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church and seems to assume that readers are aware that those outside the church community are not spiritually equipped to serve. Owen (2014) does not cite a specific command or Bible verse for this notion but instead draws attention to instances of interpreting in the First Corinthians text. He highlights the fact that all interpreters were from within the group of believers, and that they were all "home-grown unprofessional interpreters who have achieved a moderate level of skill, performing within one church, regularly in one place" (Owen, 2014).

"Prayer" is a practice commonly found in many religions and faiths. The act of praying serves as a way for the faithful to petition a greater power for their guidance, protection, blessing or other requests, usually for one's own benefit. In the Christian faith, prayer can serve the same purpose, though the Bible encourages Christians to pray for more than just one's own needs. Prayer also serves to edify. Continuing from the Bible verse in the previous paragraph, the passage instructs church interpreters as follows: "since you are zealous of spiritual gifts, seek to abound for the edification of the church. Therefore, let one who speaks in a tongue pray that he may interpret" (1 Corinthians 14:12-13, NASB). On the matter of prayer, Owen (2014) states that "interpreters must pray that the interpretation is clear and orderly, that the church may be edified, and that heart-searching is done in order to comply with the church interpreter's code of ethics enshrined in the Holy Bible.

Owen's (2014) Corinthian Code of Conduct compilation adds weight to the notion that interpreters cannot maintain perfect neutrality due to the demands of their setting. Specifically in the church setting, interpreters may even be called to be connected or convicted by what is being interpreted. As mentioned previously, Tison (2016) points out that the preacher, church interpreter and audience members are all "on the same side". In essence, every member of the church is working towards the same goal of living out their lives in line with their Christian faith (e.g.

glorifying God, spreading the gospel). Church functions including sermons, worship time, prayer meetings, and Bible studies are all in place to help the believer along their walk of faith. Thus, when the church interpreter is involved in any of these church settings, they are operating within the church institution's ideology and translating this ideology through their interpreting; being also a member of the church institution, the church interpreter is also actively being shaped by what they hear and say.

2.3 Roles of the Church Interpreter

Sections 2.1 laid out the conceptual groundwork for discussing the interpreter's role in relation to a specific setting, which is further explored in Section 2.2. Section 2.3 unpacks various church interpreting-related issues brought up in previous research on church interpreting, which sets up the primary discussion in this section on the specific roles of the church interpreter. Tseng (2009) briefly touches upon the role of the church interpreter in her study, and ultimately concludes based on her questionnaire data that the role of the church interpreter is that of a "helper" which adds weight to her hypothesis that church interpreting is a unique form of community interpreting. Tseng ultimately concludes the following:

The Christian speech community is a distinct speech community with its own norms and language features, while church interpreters, like community interpreters, are primarily untrained and unpaid volunteers who interpret mostly in the short CI mode. Quality-wise and role-wise […] church interpreting shares some fundamental characteristics of community interpreting. Both the church interpreters and congregation respondents in this research highly value a church interpreter's reliability and his/her role as a helper. (Tseng, 2009, p. 108)

But unlike Tseng's research which leverages role perceptions to strengthen her classification of church interpreting, this study focuses on role perceptions and expectations of church interpreters and interpreting irrespective of where church interpreting may fall along Pöchhacker's conceptual spectrum of interpreting (see Figure 2 in section 2.1.1). However, this does not mean that the setting in which interpreting takes places is disregarded but rather that the church interpreting's classification is not a hypothetical but an assumption. This study assumes that church interpreting takes place in a hybridized conference-community setting in which pressures from the church as a whole is acting upon the church interpreter. In the following sub-sections, the researcher has extracted concrete roles that have been delineated in past research.

2.3.1 The interpreter as a co-preacher/co-communicator

Tison (2016) and Jonathan Downie (2014) both touch on the role of "co-preacher" in their investigation of church interpreter. Jonathan Downie cites Vigouroux's (2010) "single performance hypothesis" and posits that the preacher and interpreter belong to a collective singular performance whereby the sermon and its interpretation coalesce into one communication activity. Both Tison and Downie use the term "co-preacher" when referring to church interpreters, especially when they are standing alongside the preacher on stage. By dubbing the interpreter an equal and co-communicator with the preacher, it gives way to the notion that church interpreters do more than just passive relay the preacher's words but play an active role in shaping the sermon and its subsequent impact on the church community (Downie, 2014).

2.3.2 The interpreter as a performer/actor

Similar to actors, the church interpreter dons different hats while interpreting depending on the personality, disposition and style of the speaker. The interpreter's role as an actor is apparently a shared expectation in the secular world of interpreting. As stated in an AIIC webzine

article titled "Practical guide for professional conference interpreters" (1999), a quality interpreter is one that fulfills the following criteria:
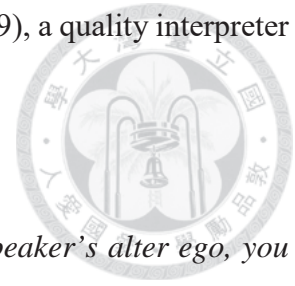
In a number of respects, good interpreting is like acting. As the speaker's alter ego, you must strive to convey both the substance and the emphasis, tone, and nuance of what is said, so as to allow your delegates to comprehend the speaker's messages just as clearly and effectively as those who are listening to the original. Watch the delegates listening to you for their reactions and hold their attention by being not only accurate but convincing. Make them forget they are hearing the speaker through an interpreter. (AIIC, 1999)

2.3.3 The interpreter as a servant/volunteer

Sari Hokkanen's (2012) discussed church interpreting as a service to God, making the church interpreter a volunteer interpreter in the secular sense and a servant to God and the church in a religious sense. Hokkanen's conclusions served to reassert Angelelli's (2004) argument that an interpreter maintaining neutrality is impractical, unattainable and, at times, even undesirable. Hokkanen posits that "the volunteer interpreting that takes place in communities with a particular ideological commitment thus challenges the traditional notion of interpreters as neutral mediators," so taking a more active role of helping the institution promote their ideology can possibly be valued more highly than having received formal interpreter training or the quality of the interpreter (Hokkanen, 2012).

As previously mentioned, everyone in the church is generally "on the same side", so the idea of neutrality for church interpreters exists only in terms of informational and linguistic accuracy. On one hand, the church interpreter must not interpolate their own ideology into the

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speaker's words and distort the message in anyway. On the other hand, the church interpreter cannot remain detached from what is being said and may even need to actively co-work with the preacher in advocating Christian values, as the ultimate goal of the preacher, and by extension the interpreter, is to benefit the congregation and serve God.
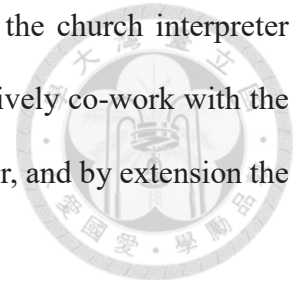
> *The interpreting activity is a service both for the benefit of the church and also performed in an attitude of serving God. Volunteers in church see themselves as called to serve God and therefore, just like ordained preachers or pastors, the service of interpreting is a long-term and organized 'ministry' that believers commit themselves to.* (Hokkanen, 2012)

2.3.4 The interpreter as a spiritual edifier

Andrew Owen (2014) argues that the work of the church interpreter goes beyond advocacy and promotion of the church's ideology and extends into being a source of inspiration and "spiritual edification" for members who rely on the interpreting. Every church interpreter "should embrace the cardinal aim of edifying the church" (Owen, 2014). This role is connected with the church interpreter's role as a servant to God and to the congregation in that church interpreters must always prioritize interpreting for the spiritual benefit of others over themselves, and must actively aim to make their interpreting not only understandable but also morally and spiritually fortifying.

Owen (2014) also touches on the notion of the interpreter's visibility in a church setting which he believes should be set up in a way to minimize the interpreter's visibility. The church setting should be designed in a way to promote every member's participation in corporate worship without elevating a single individual in order to draw attention to the message itself rather than the

interpreter (Owen, 2014). Drawing from biblical support, Owen asserts that the church interpreter is charged with the task of supporting members of the church to participate fully in church functions in one mind and spirit as stated in the following bible verse: "I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also" (1 Corinthians 14:15, NASB).

However, as mentioned before, Tison (2016) posits that the interpreter is not simply being forced to act in away conforming to the church institution but is also playing an active role in shaping and translating the church's norms and beliefs (Tison, 2016). Jonathan Downie (2014) presents sermon interpreting as temporally and spatially isolated communicative event:

> *Distant though interpreters might sometimes be spatially from the pulpit, their work is therefore bound inseparably to it. Theirs is the role of taking what is proclaimed through the preacher and preaching it again, producing something that, for all its power and all its potential, is as temporary and locally-oriented as the sermon on which it is based.* (Downie, 2014)

Downie (2014) also affirms that sermons are an expression of the church as a whole and suggests that sermon interpreting is not only a conveyance of information to members of the church but is also an attempt to establish an interactional and bi-directional connection with those outside the church. Downie cites Cécile Vigouroux's 2010 study of interpreting at a South African church, which caters to a language that few speak in the church, to illustrate a purpose of church interpreting that exists outside that of communication:

[Vigouroux's] proposed solution involved widening the focus from the interpreter's place in church services to the place of interpreting in the church as a whole. In interviews with the senior pastor, she discovered that the church had a vision to reach more African communities than simply those who shared their languages. The church had also struggled with recognition in their local community, as it was classified as an 'immigrant church'. Providing interpreting in this case served as a performance of both the church's ultimate vision and its openness to English-speakers in the surrounding community. (Downie, 2014)

2.4 The Immigrant Church and Interpreting

Sections 2.1 to 2.3 discuss research on the roles of the interpreter by setting, general church interpreting, and the roles of the church interpreter. This section aims to apply the conceptual groundwork laid out from the previous sections and to the immigrant church context, since the primary goal and defining feature of this study is the investigation of the role of the interpreter and the role of interpreting itself in the ethnic Chinese immigrant church setting.

Immigrant churches have existed in the United States for as long as there have been immigrants. David Ley (2008) described the immigrant church as an immigrant "service hub" or de facto cultural center, providing both formalized and in-formalized services and programs to facilitate acculturation of immigrant families, usually in same ethnic group, into the local culture and society. Dina Birman and Meredith Poff (2011) posit that the process of acculturation begins when "immigrants enter a new country, and involves changes in language, behavior, attitudes and values" (Birman & Poff, 2011, p.1). At the acculturation stage, Ley (2008) explains that members of immigrant churches will focus on accumulating "bonding capital" through co-ethnic bonding,

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which serves to aid them in acculturating and settling into the local community.

However, as the American-born children of immigrant parents assimilate into the local American culture, they become estranged from their Chinese heritage culture. This estrangement is called the "acculturation gap" (Birman & Poff, 2011) and inevitably occurs within immigrant churches. As this gap widens, the immigrant parents and their increasingly Americanized children become increasingly alienated from each other. Under the threat of a widening acculturation gap, some immigrant churches may begin amassing "bridging capital", which is accrued through attempts to connect with the American-born English-speaking members and others from outside the ethnic group. One practical way to do so is through providing formalized interpreting services.

2.4.1 Interpreting in the Immigrant Church

Yang (1999) briefly mentioned "oral translation" as one of the tactics used to cater to the needs of the increasing demand for English from the children of immigrant members. However, Yang reported that translated services at the Chinese Christian Church of Greater Washington (CCC), the church observed in his study, proved ineffective in retaining the English-speaking second-generation members who grew frustrated enough to call for a separate English ministry. Though hesitant at first, the CCC's leadership ultimately became resigned to the reality that interpreting was insufficient to meet the needs of the English-speaking members. In the spirit of unity, however, Yang reported that CCC held joint meetings once a month with the Chinese and English ministries where an interpreter facilitates the sermons and prayers.

Kenneth P. Carlson (2008) was more upfront about his qualms with relying on interpreting to maintain unity between English-speaking and Chinese-speaking members in the immigrant church. Carlson reports that many immigrant churches initially turn to interpreting to manage the increasing number of English-speaking members who outgrow the children's ministry and begin

transitioning into the "adult's group". Although he concedes that this is a necessary first step, he ultimately deems the practice unsustainable if retention of the English-speaking members is a priority, as the "changing self-identity" (Carlson, 2008) contributes to the estrangement of American-born Chinese (ABC) members in the ethnic Chinese immigrant church.
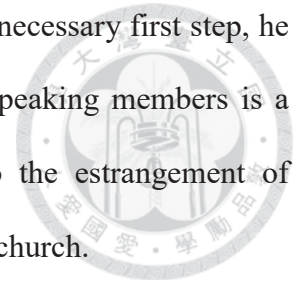
Carlson (2008) emphasizes the fact that English-speaking ABC members are situated in a culture that is superficially familiar yet deeply foreign, and where there are constant pressures to identify with cultural vestiges from the parent culture (e.g. the Chinese language). Such pressures coupled with frustration and resentment at the Chinese-speaking members' inability to heed silent cries for change from the ABC members ultimately results in a "silent exodus"—a gradual but steady outflow of English-speaking members from the immigrant church (Lee, 1996). Carlson describes church interpreting is at best temporary solution that is unsustainable, especially if the church hopes to retain its ABC members or even expand outside of the ethnic group.

Acknowledging the difficulties that come with relying on interpreting to maintain unity in the immigrant church community is the first step in answering this study's second research question on the role of interpreting in the immigrant church. The following section will delve into the complexities of why interpreting is so difficult to sustain in an immigrant church in the United States.

2.4.2 The Role of Interpreting in the Immigrant Church

Going by the points presented in Carlson's thesis (2008), the natural conclusion would be that the role of the church interpreter is nothing more than an interim solution to an inevitable generational, cultural and linguistic gap problem in the immigrant church. The role of interpreting in immigrant churches are thus relegated to being a temporary stopgap measure between Chinese and English-speaking groups until a more sustainable solution can be found, which Carlson affirms

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is the establishment of an independent English ministry whose leaders are recognized and accepted as part of the church's overall leadership along with Chinese-speaking members.

The researcher, however, is unwilling to accept that the establishment of an English ministry necessarily means that interpreter-mediated services become obsolete and lose their utility in an immigrant church setting. The researcher believes that the form, style and application of interpreting are able to change along with the immigrant church as it undergoes shifts in its demographic and language usage. The assumption that church interpreting is static and unable to change along with the needs of the church is unsubstantiated and requires further research. But before that can happen, the role of the interpreting and interpreting itself in the immigrant church must be fully fleshed out, which is the objective of this study.

Chapter 3: Research Methods

3.1 Mixed Methods Approach

The researcher has opted to use a mixed methods approach to investigate the roles of the interpreter and interpreting itself in the ethnic Chinese immigrant churches. As the name suggests, this methodology uses both qualitative and quantitative methods, specifically online questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. Data is collected from users, commissioners, and practitioners of church interpreting. Online questionnaires and semi-structured interviews aim to gauge how these three groups of respondents perceive the role of the interpreter and interpreting in the church. Due to the scarcity of literature on interpreting in immigrant church settings, the researcher believes that a mixed methods approach allows for flexibility in investigating the generally unexplored subject of interpreters and interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant church settings in the USA.

3.2 Participants

Participants in this study were primarily selected based on two criteria: (1) identification with the Christian faith, and (2) attendance at one of the selected ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA. As defined in Chapter 1, an immigration church refers to a church founded and led by a majority of immigrant members. Thus, the term "immigrant church" does not refer to a church that caters exclusively to immigrants. But depending on where the immigrant church is in terms of their development, some immigrant churches may solely have immigrant members while others may have more diverse memberships coming from the local community or other ethnic communities. For more information on the questionnaire respondents and interview participants, please refer to Tables 2 and 3 in Sections 3.5 and 3.7, respectively.

Participants in this study can be divided into four groups. The first group of participants are from the researcher's home church NJCA. The researcher was already on familiar terms with these participants and knew of their responsibilities in the church, making them easy to find and approach. The second group of participants comprise people from other ethnic Chinese immigrant churches, and are direct acquaintances of the researcher and not members of NJCA but members of other ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA. The third group of participants comprise people who the researcher was not acquainted with directly but who participants from the first two groups introduced to the researcher. The fourth and final group of participants are members of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA or bilingual churches in Taiwan who were first contacted via "cold calling" (e.g. phone numbers or emails on church websites) and subsequently followed-up by the researcher.

The researcher contacted most of the participants via email, LINE messenger, and Facebook messenger. The link for the online questionnaire was sent to participants through email, while requests for interviews were made through email or in person. Consent forms for the interview portion of the research were either signed in person by the participants, emailed to the researcher after being signed and scanned, or confirmed via email response.

Members of the researcher's church in New Jersey, USA (i.e. NJCA) served as the baseline for selecting other ethnic Chinese immigrant churches. Members from churches similar to NJCA in terms of history and development, or churches with which NJCA maintains active contact or loose affiliation, were also included into the study. A more detailed list of participants is included in Table 3 in Section 3.7.

In order to draw connections as well as comparisons between ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States and ethnic Chinese bilingual churches in Taiwan, the researcher

interviewed members of bilingual or international churches in Taiwan. Given that immigrant churches in the USA and bilingual churches in Taiwan are both religious organizations catering to a linguistically and culturally diverse congregation, the researcher believes it would be insightful, or at the very least intriguing, to compare responses of members from both types of churches and see how their perception and expectation of the church interpreter's role converge or diverge.

3.3 Instruments & Procedures

This study primarily utilized questionnaires and semi-structured interviews to collect data. For a more detailed explanation of the online questionnaire's design, see Section 3.4. Data collection was carried out in two phases. The first phase involves the online questionnaire which was distributed out to members of select ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA. In the second phase, the researcher arranged interviews with pastors, preachers, church interpreters and other church members. Many interview questions were derived from online questionnaire results. But unlike the online questionnaire which focuses mainly on the role perceptions and expectations of church interpreters, the interviews delved into the attitudes and expectations for the role of interpreting itself in the immigrant church.

3.3.1 Pilot Study

A pilot study was conducted to test and confirm the clarity and validity of the online questionnaire as well as iron out any inconsistencies and superfluous elements. A total of four rounds of pilot questionnaires were administered to friends, classmates and acquaintances of the researcher. For the sake of reserving the already limited number of potential research participants (i.e. church members) for the actual questionnaire, the majority of the participants in the pilot study were mainly non-Christians with the exception of a small group. With each round of questionnaires, the researcher, faculty advisor and peers discussed and tweaked the questionnaire's design and

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content, including things like wording, number of questions, order of questions, categorization, labeling and so on. From the first to fourth pilot questionnaire, there were 11, 6, 5 and 8 respondents respectively. Although responses collected from pilot studies were not sufficient for conducting any sort of viable statistical analyses, the raw data did provide some initial face-value insights which were later used to refine items on the actual questionnaire. Feedback from respondents, advisors and peers helped to further hone and shape the questionnaire design to reach its final rendition.

3.4 Online Questionnaire Design

The online questionnaire was designed with the cloud-based online survey developer Survey Monkey. The questionnaire's initial conceptual design and initial pilot test, however, were done via Google Forms, which was useful for creating simple surveys but proved to be insufficient in meeting the needs of this study in terms of survey design, functionality, user friendliness, data exporting, and revision capabilities. Thus, Survey Monkey was ultimately chosen as it was the more reliable medium. The questionnaire is divided into three major sections: primary, secondary and background.

The primary section contains core items pertinent to addressing the study's primary research question of what the general role perceptions and expectations are for church interpreters. These role perceptions and expectations can be further broken down into three aspects which are reflected on the questionnaire in three sub-sections: (1) interpreter eligibility and qualifications; (2) interpreter's active roles; (3) interpreter's passive roles. Each section contains pairs of items addressing a specific aspect of the interpreter's role. Respondents are prompted to rate on a five-point Likert scale ranging from "Strongly Disagree" to "Strongly Agree" for each pair of questions. Each rating is weighted from 1 to 5 respectively to allow for statistical analysis afterwards.

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Each pair of items prompts the respondents to rate their level of agreement with a pair of statements identical in aspect but differing in subjects. More specifically, one item in the pair prompts the respondent to consider a statement regarding the role of the *professional interpreter* followed by the same statement regarding the *church* interpreter (see Figure 4 below). The researcher hopes that by juxtaposing the role aspects for the church interpreter (i.e. the variable) and professional interpreter (i.e. the control), respondents will be prompted to think critically about whether the roles of the church interpreter are in line with or differ from that of the professional interpreter.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. **Professional interpreters** must identify with the industry or field in which they are interpreting. *(e.g. interpreters at a science conference must be a scientist)*	○	○	○	○	○
2. **Church interpreters** must identify with the industry or field in which they are interpreting. *(e.g. church interpreters must be Christian)*	○	○	○	○	○

Figure 4. Juxtaposed questionnaire items
Source: Researcher's Survey Monkey Questionnaire

3.4.1 Primary Section: Interpreter's Eligibility and Obligations

Questionnaire items under this section were derived from survey data reported in studies done by Alev Balci Tison (2016) and Hwa-chin Tseng (2009). The questionnaire items that were derived from their data were converted into statements in which respondents were prompted to rate on a scale from 1 to 5 (1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree or Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree). There is a total of ten items in this section which can be divided into five pairs of statements which can be generally categorized into the following categories: identification with the field or industry, subject-matter knowledgeability, degree of commitment, formal training, and years of experience.

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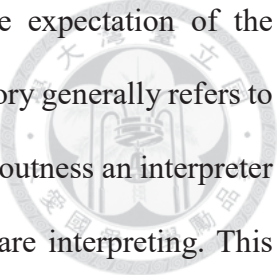
"Identification with the field or industry" refers to whether the interpreter is expected to identify with the field or industry in which they are interpreting. For professional interpreters, this refers to whether they are expected to claim identities related to the field or industry in addition to their position as interpreter. For example, are interpreters at science conferences expected to be scientists themselves? For church interpreters, this corresponds with the question of whether church interpreters are expected to identify as Christian—a member of the faith. This pair of questions were derived from following from Tison's findings:

> *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.* (Tison, 2016).

"Subject-matter knowledgeability" refers to the expectation that interpreters in a certain field or industry must themselves possess thorough knowledge and understanding at or near an expert level. Are professional interpreters at a physics conference expected to be a physics subject-matter expert? Are church interpreters expected to possess the same amount of understanding and knowledge as the preachers they are interpreting for? Items pertaining to this category were also derived from Tison's findings:

> *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.* (Tison, 2016)

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The two above excerpts from Tison (2016) both touched on the expectation of the interpreter being a devout believer. Thus, the "degree of commitment" category generally refers to the following: the level of advocacy; the degree of commitment; and the devoutness an interpreter is expected to have towards the subject, field or industry for which they are interpreting. This indirectly touches on the notion of interpreter neutrality and asks the question of whether interpreters should be devout believers and/or advocates for what they are interpreting? For professional interpreters, maintaining neutrality seems to be an assumed imperative and is often cited in interpreter codes of conduct, though T&I academics like Claudia Angelleli (2004) and Sandra Hale (2007) have challenged the necessity or even the feasibility of being neutral when interpreting in certain settings (e.g. legal courts, hospitals). For church interpreters, being a devout believer in Christianity has certainly been suggested from Tison (2016) and Tseng's (2009) survey results as being crucial and even required, perhaps arising from issues with trust:

All of the respondents are professed Christians, half of which have been in the faith for 11 years or more. The result is in keeping with the prevalent belief that serving on-stage is a solemn task which should be trusted to Christians who are more experienced in the journey of faith (Huang, 1988 cited in Tseng, 2009)

Lastly, "formal training" may seem like an obvious component for interpreting eligibility regardless of the setting, especially if there is financial compensation for such services rendered. However, this requirement is not necessarily applicable to church interpreters who often interpret as a service (Hokkanen, 2012). Items related to these questions about the expectation for interpreters to have been formally trained in interpreting are derived from Tison's survey results:

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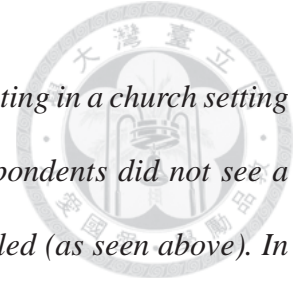
The overall results from this criterion reinforce the idea that interpreting in a church setting is quite different from interpreting in most other settings. The respondents did not see a need for interpreters to be formally trained as long as they are skilled (as seen above). In a church setting, other factors are more important than the interpreter's professional qualification. (Tison, 2016)

3.4.2 Primary Section: Interpreter's Active Roles

Interpreter obligations and responsibilities speak to the active roles of interpreter, that is, what should interpreters strive to do or not do during the act of interpreting. The design for this segment of the questionnaire is identical to that of the previous section where respondents rate their level of agreement from 1 to 5 (1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree or Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree) with pairs of statements regarding the interpreter's active roles. There is a total of ten items in this section which can be further divided into five pairs of statements that can be generally categorized into the following categories: jargon user, performer, co-constructor of message, mediator/filter, and spiritual edifier.

Every organization, institution, academic field or industry has their own set of terminology, vocabulary and expressions. "Jargon user" here generally refers to the expectation or requirement that interpreters use the terminology, nomenclature, vocabulary and/or expressions distinct to the field or industry in which they interpret. Simply put, are interpreters expected or required to use specific language, and do they lose credibility if they fail to do so? Some church interpreters believe that "the Scriptures should be in the bloodstream, so that, whenever the interpreter is pricked, the Scriptures flow out" (Owen, 2014). In Tison's study (2016), the church is considered

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as an independent institution in which the interpreter performs their duties and is thus "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" (Tison, 2016).
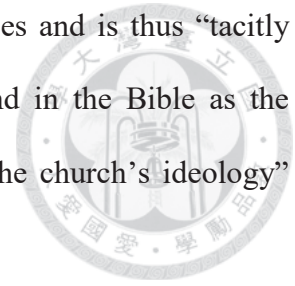
"Performer" refers to the role an interpreter may take when addressing an audience in person while standing next to the speaker. Throughout the process of interpreting, the interpreter may be inclined to imitate the speaker's various non-verbal communicative acts, including things like facial expressions, body movements, hand gestures, singing, volume of voice, posture and other behaviors. In C′ecile B. Vigouroux's (2010) ethnographic study on interpreting in a Congolese Pentecostal Church in South Africa, she posited that "the pastor-interpreter co-performance of the sermon should be approached as a performing genre rather than as a mere interpreting activity intended to bridge a communicative gap between the pastor and the congregants" (Vigouroux, 2010). One of Tison's interview respondents—a Bible teacher—mentioned that the church interpreter should "reflect both in terms of speech and in terms of their body language" and aim to convey the speaker's meaning conceptually rather than verbatim (Tison, 2016). Jonathan Downie's (2014) publication on sermon interpreting also reiterated that "having an interpreter on stage also offers scope for preachers to use interpreters as fellow performers or even to act out parts of their sermon with them" (Downie, 2014). Thus, questionnaire items related to the role of "performer" aim to prompt the respondent to rate their agreement with requiring the professional interpreter or church interpreter to co-perform, in a sense, with the speaker.

The "co-constructor of message" role is derived from Tison's findings suggesting that church interpreters perceive their role as being almost equally responsible as the speaker in crafting the message, viewing themselves as "authorized to make decisions about the material

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(un)acceptable for the communication, or to make changes to the message when they deem it necessary" (Tison, 2016). Thus, one pair of items prompts respondents to think about whether interpreters, professional and/or church, are allowed to omit, add or substitute information if they deem it helpful in conveying the speaker's intended meaning. In the same vein, while interpreters may be allowed to omit, add or substitute information for the sake of improving communication, what should interpreters do, or what are they allowed to do, when they hear information they deem controversial, prejudicial or even heretical? A second pair of items aims to prompt respondents to consider if professional, church or both types of interpreters should remain neutral when it comes to dealing with information that they feel may mislead or even harm the audience in some way.

Lastly, the role of "source of inspiration" refers to the expectation that interpreters acting as a bridge of communication should not only convey the information being spoken but must themselves aim to connect with and edify the audience. Andrew Owen (2014) argued that interpreters mentioned in the Bible followed a "three-fold process" whereby they aimed not only to (1) enunciate the religious texts and (2) deliver a sense behind what was written or said but also aimed to (3) "cause" the audience to understand the text (Owen, 2014). Owen further writes the following:

Interpreters working in contemporary church settings should take this [three-fold process] as a template. Whilst it is true that linguistically competent interpreting should be the aim, the overarching goal is for the heart to feel the meaning. (Owen, 2014)

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Thus, questionnaire items related to this role prompt respondents to consider whether professional, church or both types of interpreters are obligated to cause the "heart" of the audiences to feel the meaning from their interpreting.
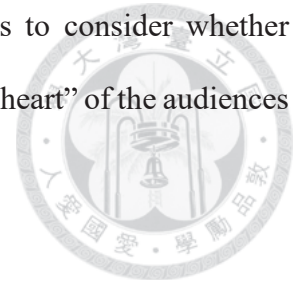
3.4.3 Primary Section: Passive Roles

Items under this section address the passive roles of the interpreter and prompts respondents to consider roles that interpreters embody rather than actively aim to perform. The design of this segment of the questionnaire is nearly identical to that of the previous two sections where respondents rate their level of agreement from 1 to 5 (1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree or Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree) with pairs of statements regarding the obligations and responsibilities of professional and church interpreters, respectively. Out of the seven items in this section, two pairs of questions follow the aforementioned format while the last three items are unpaired, as they are exclusively addressing church interpreters.

The first pair of items in this section prompt respondents to consider the interpreter's role as a co-communicator alongside the speaker. The co-communicator role is the counterpart of the "co-constructor of message" role in the "active roles" section but addresses the perceived role of the interpreter. In a church setting, the co-communicator role is linked with the preacher, and thus "co-preacher" would be the more apt appellation. The term "co-preacher" first appeared in academic literature in a description from one of Jill Karlik's interviews in her 2010 study as pointed out by Downie (2014) and Tison (2016) who further fleshed out the perception of the interpreter as a co-preacher in their respective studies. The church interpreter "partners with the preacher in the performance of the sermon" and participates in shaping the sermon alongside the preacher (Downie, 2014). Tison used the "co-preacher" appellation in her interviews with users of church interpreting to which a majority of the interviewees affirmed the role of the church interpreter as,

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at the very least, a "partner alongside the speaker" who work to reproduce the information, sense, and effect of the speaker's message. Thus, questionnaire items related to this role prompt respondents to rate their level of agreement with whether the professional, church or both types of interpreters are an extension of or a co-communicator alongside the speaker.

The second pair of items touches on whether interpreters are responsible for answering or clarifying questions when the speaker themselves are not present. Tison cites Elisabeth De Campos' 2009 explorative research into the role issues of interpreters in African churches to highlight how the interpreter is sometimes asked to clarify the meaning of the speaker when the users of interpreting do not understand (as cited by Tison, 2016). Owen (2014) also posits that when discussion follows an interpreter-mediated sermon, "people are more likely to ask the interpreter than the master". Thus, the pair of statements related to this role prompts respondents to consider whether the interpreter ought to bear this responsibility.

The final three items in this section are unpaired and specifically address role issues distinct to the church interpreter. The first of these three items prompts the respondents to weigh the importance between the interpreter's linguistic aptitude and their level of faith. There is no doubt that an interpreter's core ability is heavily dependent on their linguistic aptitude, but in the church setting, there may be other requirements that take precedence over language ability. For church interpreters, their identity as a Christian and professed belief in God, the Bible and spiritual nature of their work may outweigh all other requirements. Owen (2014) asserts that being Christian comes before being an interpreter in the church and that an atheist interpreter cannot even hope to fulfill the role of conveying the spiritual meaning behind the preacher's words (Owen, 2014). The second unpaired item in this section follows the previous item closely in that it prompts the respondent to consider whether it is even possible, let alone acceptable, for a non-Christian to

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comprehend and interpret on matters of the Christian faith.

The final unpaired item addresses the issue of financial compensation for the church interpreter. Professional interpreters by definition are financially compensated for their interpreting services. However, service in the church in any form is often seen as a form of volunteer work which is by definition unpaid service. Hokkanen (2012) lists unpaid work as one of the criteria for classifying work as volunteer work and relates church interpreting to such a classification. Thus, this item prompts respondents to consider whether it is reasonable for church interpreters to request financial compensation for their interpreting services in the church.

3.4.4 Secondary & Background Sections

This section of the online questionnaire asks respondents to provide more information about their church and whether they have any responsibilities in the church. This section can roughly be divided into three sub-categories: general church background, church interpreting experience, and professional interpreting experience.

The first sub-section asks respondents to check off boxes next to descriptions of various types of churches (e.g. immigrant church, international church, bilingual church). This is partly to gauge how respondents view their own church. There may be cases where the researcher's objective definition of the respondent's church clashes with the respondent's subjective perception of their own church. For example, a church may technically be an immigrant church according to the researcher's definition, though the respondent may have never perceived or felt that their church was an "immigrant" church and may thus not check the "immigrant church" box. Other items in this section ask respondents to clarify how long they have been attending their current church, and whether they serve in any capacity in the church community.

The second and third sub-sections ask respondents whether they have ever worked as a church and/or professional interpreter. The items in both sections are virtually identical with the only difference being the type of interpreting addressed. Items include things like the mode of interpreting used, the motivation behind becoming an interpreter, and the length of time spent in the field of interpreting. The final section asks demographic questions related to the respondents' gender and age. It also provides a comment box for respondents to leave their email address if they are interested in being interviewed.

3.5 Interview Participant Profiles

In order to supplement the exploration of the roles of the interpreter and interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches, interviews with churchgoers, semi-structured interviews were conducted with pastors, preachers and church interpreters primarily via SKYPE, LINE and Facebook Messenger. Consent forms were administered and signed either in person or via email. Interview participants comprise members of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches that are loosely affiliated with each other and/or share characteristics of an ethnic Chinese immigrant church: founded by Chinese-speaking immigrants, lingua franca set as Mandarin Chinese or other dialects, immigrant demographic majority. Four out of the 13 people interviewed are members of bilingual churches in Taiwan. Table 2 on the next page shows the number of interview participants by church, location and their primary role or roles in their respective church:

Code	Location	Church Affiliation	Role(s) in the Church	Identity	Direction	Yrs. of Exp.
R1	New Jersey	NJCA	Preacher/ Interpreter	Immigrant	C-E/E-C	10+
R2	New Jersey	NJCA	Interpreter	Immigrant	C-E/E-C	10+
R3	New Jersey	NJCA	Interpreter	Immigrant	C-E	1 – 2
R4	New Jersey	NJ-2	Pastor/Preacher/ Interpreter	Immigrant	E-C	10+
R5	Texas	TX-1	Member/Other	American-born	N/A	N/A
R6	Washington	WA-1	Interpreter	American-born	C-E	5+
R7	Washington	WA-1	Interpreter	American-born	C-E	5+
R8	Washington	WA-1	Interpreter	Immigrant	C-E	5+
R9	California	CA-1	Pastor/Preacher/ Interpreter	Immigrant	E-C/C-E	10+
T1	Taipei, TW	TPE-1	Pastor/Preacher/ Interpreter	Taiwanese	E-C/C-E	10+
T2	Taipei, TW	TPE-1	Interpreter	Taiwanese	C-E	5+
T3	Taipei, TW	TPE-1	Member/Other	Taiwanese	N/A	N/A
T4*	Kaohsiung, TW	KH-1	Pastor/Preacher/ Interpreter	Taiwanese	E-C/C-E	10+

Table 2. Interview Participants
*Professionally trained conference interpreter

3.5.1 Preachers and/or Pastors

A total of 5 preachers (i.e. R1, R4, R9, T1, T4) were interviewed, each from different churches. All preacher or pastor respondents have had prior experience interpreting as well. However, interview questions drew predominantly from their experiences and perspectives as pastor or preacher. Respondent R1 has been attending NJCA since its founding in 1983 in New Jersey, USA. Over the years, R1 has taken on various service roles in the church community, which include preaching, interpreting and youth pastoring, which entails assisting in the creation of programs geared towards the English-speaking second-generation in the church (i.e. the youth group). R1 is a member of the founding generation at NJCA and experienced first-hand all the changes and transitions the church has gone through, including the development of an interpreting ministry for the English-speaking members of the church.

Respondent R4 has a similar background with respondent R1 in that R4 was also part of the founding generation of his church NJ-2 in the early 1980's. R4's main role in church NJ-2 is that of pastor and preacher. R4 also has considerable experience interpreting in the pulpit as well, most notably at large-scale church conferences where speakers preach in English to a predominantly Chinese-speaking audience. R4 also oversees the English ministry at NJ-2 which meets once or twice a month in joint interpreter-mediated sessions with the Chinese ministry.

Respondent R9 serves mainly as the pastor of church CA-1, an ethnic Chinese immigrant church in California. R9 explains that church CA-1 was originally a part of another larger church in California which initially catered to only Cantonese and Mandarin Chinese-speaking congregants. Curious enough, the need for interpreting in this larger church initially arose to meet language gaps between the two Chinese dialects rather than with English. However, CA-1 eventually branched off due in part to the rise of the English-speaking generation. Currently, CA-1 congregants comprise mainly English-speaking and Mandarin Chinese-speaking congregants with Cantonese speakers in the minority. CA-1 still maintains close ties with its origin church.

Respondents T1 and T4 are both pastors at Chinese-English bilingual churches in Taiwan. The former is situated in Taipei while the latter is situated in Kaohsiung. Respondent T1 is the pastor of TPE-1, an English-speaking branch of a larger Chinese-speaking "mother church" in Taipei. T1 explains that church TPE-1 started off seven or so years ago as an English-speaking church which aimed to cater to the needs of English-speakers residing in Taipei but has since grown into an internationally minded congregation, offering both English-only and bilingual interpreter-mediated services to both foreigners and locals alike.

Respondent T4 is a pastor of Chinese-English bilingual ministry at a local Taiwanese church KH-1 situated in the southern city of Kaohsiung. Church KH-1 was founded in the late 1970's as a branch church of another local Taiwanese church which had a mission to reach out to different communities by "planting" churches in various locales. It was not until 2011 that the Chinese-English bilingual ministry was created with respondent T4 at the helm. The bilingual ministry set its central goal on providing a spiritual enclave for foreigners and English-speakers in the area. Services in the bilingual ministry are mediated by interpreters.

3.5.2 Church Interpreters

A total of six church interpreters were interviewed (i.e. R2, R3, R6, R7, R8, T2). Church interpreter respondents R2 and R3 are both from church NJCA. Despite being Chinese native speakers and immigrants in the United States, both interpreters R2 and R3 predominantly handle Chinese-to-English interpreting. Church interpreter R2 is the senior interpreter out of the two with over 15 years of church interpreting experience at NJCA. Church interpreter R3 is a relatively new member of church NJCA, having joined the church within the last two years.

Church interpreters R6, R7 and R8 are all members of church WA-1 in the State of Washington. Respondents R6 and R7 are members of the church's English-speaking generation while respondent R8 is a Chinese native-speaker who emigrated from Taiwan to the USA at a young age. Church interpreter T2 is an English-Chinese bilingual Taiwanese citizen who provides interpreting for church sermons and conferences at church TPE-1 located in Taipei City. Interpreter T2 has been interpreting at TPE-1 for at least five or so years.

3.5.3 Church Members

Respondents R5 and T3 are both members of churches that hold interpreted-mediated services. Respondent R5 is an English-speaking member of non-Chinese descent who attends church TX-1, located in Texas, which comprises predominantly Chinese-speaking members and

conducts church services and meetings via Chinese and with an interpreter. Respondent T3 is a foreigner living and working Taiwan, and is a member of church TPE-1, the aforementioned bilingual church in Taipei.
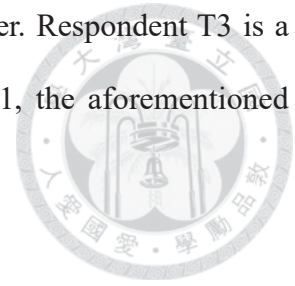
3.6 Data Collection

As previously mentioned, online questionnaires were sent to willing respondents via email and instant messengers (e.g. LINE, Facebook). All links were specially generated by Survey Monkey. To encourage completion of questionnaires, respondents were allowed to save midway and complete the questionnaire at a later date. After submissions exceeded 50 and it became evident that no more would be submitted, the questionnaire was closed. The raw data was exported in excel format directly from Survey Monkey using the website's various filter and formatting functions. The researcher then organized and formatted the data to better conduct statistical tests and analyses.

Participants for the interview portion of the research were contacted either in person, over instant messaging or email. Due to geographic constraints, all interviews were conducted via SKYPE or LINE messenger's video conferencing function and recorded for transcription after obtaining the participant's consent. Responses were typed out into transcripts. Interviews were semi-structured and did not follow a strict list of items of discussion. However, there was a prepared list of questions (see Appendix 1) organized by categories similar to how the online questionnaire is organized (e.g. eligibility, active roles, passive roles). Instead of going through each question item by item, the researcher asked open-ended feeder questions to allow interviewees to respond freely. Generally, the researcher refrained from interrupting while the interviewee was speaking and let the conversation run its natural course. Interviews were conducted predominantly in English, though there was some code-switching. However, all

excerpts that were analyzed and discussed in this study were transcribed directly from English responses. No translation of Mandarin Chinese text was needed.

3.7 Data Analysis

The data from the online questionnaire designed and generated through Survey Monkey incorporates responses from a total of 46 respondents. Respondents comprise members of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches around the United States, including the states of New Jersey, Washington, California, Texas and New York. The highest number of respondents are members of the researcher's home church NJCA (15 respondents) followed by members of loosely affiliated "sister church" in the same state, NJ-2 (10 respondents). See Table 3 below.

Location	Affiliation Code	# of Respondents
New Jersey	NJCA	15
New Jersey	NJ-2	10
New Jersey	NJ-3	3
New York	NY-1	1
Washington	WA-1	3
California	CA-1	7
California	CA-2	5
Texas	TX-2	2
	Total	46

Table 3. Online Questionnaire Participants by location and church code

Given that questionnaire items compare responses to paired items (i.e. church interpreters versus professional interpreters), hypothesis testing was conducted to determine whether differences in ratings for church interpreters and professional interpreters were statistically significant. The below statements are the null and alternative hypotheses used for the testing. If μ_p = *mean of the ratings for professional interpreters* and μ_c = *mean of the ratings for church interpreters*, then:

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H₀: There is no difference between how church and professional interpreters are rated

$(\mu_p = \mu_c)$

H₁: There is a difference between how church and professional interpreters are rated

$(\mu_p \neq \mu_c)$

The hypotheses assume a normal distribution. A t-test was conducted to see if there were statistically significant differences, regardless of direction (i.e. positive or negative differences), between how respondents from the same population rated two separate but corresponding items. Thus, a two-tailed paired t-test was conducted for each pair of responses.

The mean, standard deviation, and p-value for all 46 ratings for each item on the questionnaire were calculated via excel formulas. The p-values calculated from the 46 independent ratings were functions of the excel formula for statistical t-test of significance. P-values less than 0.05 were deemed significant, and p-values less than 0.01 were deemed highly significant, both prompting the rejection of the null hypothesis that there were no differences between how respondents rated professional and church interpreters for a certain item.

In addition to looking at t-test results, analyses and discussions of the data were also supplemented with bar charts showing the frequency of responses for each pair of items. The bar charts help address the potential impact of outliers on the mean or other less conspicuous trends not reflected in the means. Bar charts are inserted into throughout the discussion section as appropriate, though all bar charts can be found together in Appendix 3. Appendix 4 offers additional charts showing various types of averages (e.g. mean, mode, median) side-by-side for further comparisons.

For the sake of comparison, ratings from Christian respondents who indicated prior experience interpreting in the church (28 out of 46 respondents) were isolated and compared with the seven responses from non-Christian professional interpreters. The same excel formula for a t-test of significance was used to determine where Christian and non-Christian interpreters rated differently for each item of the questionnaire.

Questionnaire responses that yielded either statistically significant or inconclusive results were addressed in open-ended questions on the semi-structured interview protocol. The thinking behind this strategy was that asking similar questions in the questionnaire in an interview format could allow respondents to freely expound on their reasons behind their responses. In interviews, the researcher is also able to ask follow up questions not included on the questionnaire. Interview responses were recorded and transcribed for analysis. Textualized responses were parsed and categorized by topic (i.e. co-speaker role, eligibility, Christian identity, financial compensation, prayer).

Chapter 4: Results & Discussion
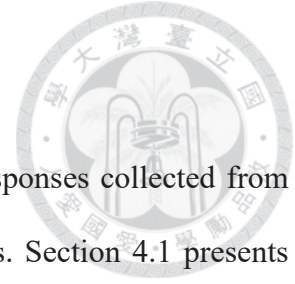
This chapter covers the results of the online questionnaire and responses collected from semi-structured interviews. The chapter is divided into three sub-sections. Section 4.1 presents tables showing the results of the main questionnaire which was administered to 46 members of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA. Section 4.2 delves into responses given by interview participants and, if directly related, links discussions of interview findings with those from the questionnaire. The last section 4.3 is a discussion on a possible application of some of the results in this study in the research and application of "church interpreter training".

4.1 Online Questionnaire Results

As mentioned in the methodology section, respondents were prompted to rate their level of agreement for each pair of statements using a five-point Likert scale ranging from 1 to 5 (1 = Strongly Disagree, 2 = Disagree, 3 = Neither Agree or Disagree, 4 = Agree, 5 = Strongly Agree). Responses were weighted and represented numerically, rounded to the nearest tenth decimal place. Tabulated data containing the standard deviations, rating means, and the calculated p-values from the t-tests of significance for the differences between mean ratings for each pair of items on the questionnaire are also presented in the following sub-sections. Table 4 contains data results regarding interpreter eligibility (i.e. Section 1 of the questionnaire) while Tables 5 and 6 contain data results regarding active and passive roles of interpreters (i.e. Sections 2 and 3 of the questionnaire), respectively. A copy of the Survey Monkey online questionnaire is included in Appendix 2.

4.1.1 Results for Interpreter's Eligibility

SECTION 1: ELIGIBILITY (46 Respondents)		PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETER	CHURCH INTERPRETER	P-VALUE
Q1/Q2: Interpreters must identify with the industry or field in which they are interpreting.	**MEAN**	3.43	4.59	≤ **0.01***
	SD	1.04673	1.04511	
Q3/Q4: Interpreters must have thorough knowledge or near expert-level understanding of the subject matter.	**MEAN**	3.98	4.41	≤ **0.01***
	SD	0.93069	0.74762	
Q5/Q6: Interpreters must be formally trained as an interpreter before accepting interpreting assignments.	**MEAN**	3.89	2.96	≤ **0.01***
	SD	0.98216	1.11468	
Q7/Q8: Interpreters must be devout believers in the ideology of what they are interpreting.	**MEAN**	2.83	4.33	≤ **0.01***
	SD	1.12159	0.8528	
Q9/Q10: Interpreters must have many years of experience in a certain field or industry before they can interpret in that field or industry.	**MEAN**	2.74	3.22	≤ **0.05***
	SD	1.0421	1.190948	

Table 4. Professional versus Church Interpreters on Eligibility
*statistically significant p-values

The first pair of items in Section 1 of the questionnaire (Q1 and Q2) addresses the interpreter's identification with the industry or field as a prerequisite for being an interpreter. Ratings given by Christian respondents yielded a mean of 3.43 for *professional interpreters* and 4.61 for *church interpreters*. The p-value calculated from a paired two-tailed t-test came out to less than 0.01, signifying substantial support in rejecting the null hypothesis. The low p-value suggests a significant difference between how Christian respondents rate professional interpreters and church interpreters in regards to this criterion. While ratings for requiring professional interpreters to identify with the industry or field was relatively neutral, ratings for church interpreters for the same item was clearly leaning towards "Strongly Agree", suggesting that Christian respondents

see identification with the respective field or industry as a significantly more important criterion for church interpreters than it is for professional interpreters. Figure 5 below shows a significantly higher frequency of "Strongly Agree" ratings for church interpreters than professional interpreters, which fortifies the notion that church interpreters are expected to be believers themselves.
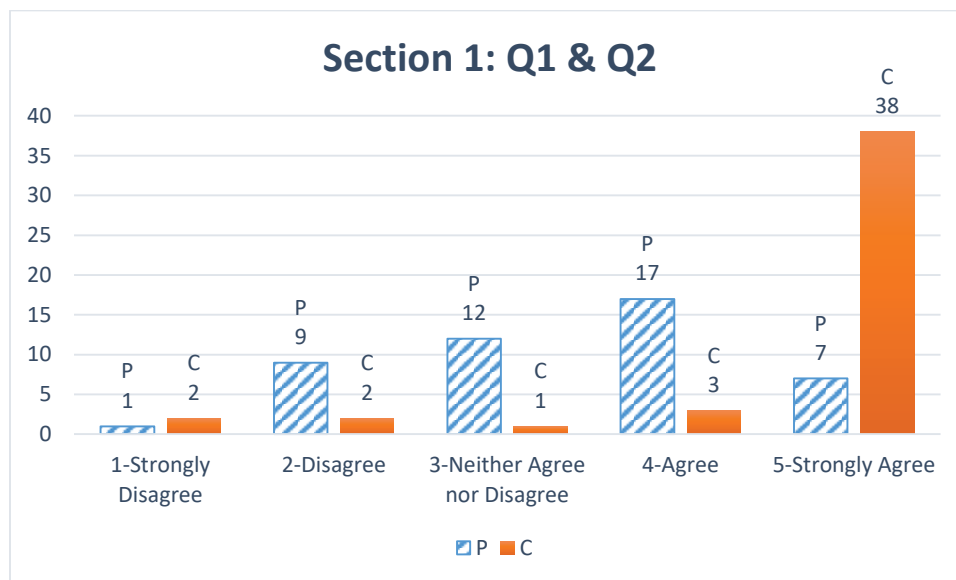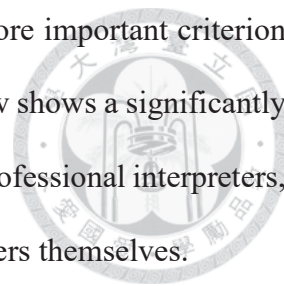

Figure 5. Number of Responses for Q1 and Q2 in Section 1

These results echo the findings in Tison's study in which she reported that her Christian respondents "view being a Christian as an absolute requirement" (Tison, 2016). The lower rating for professional interpreters for this item suggests that respondents hold professional interpreters less accountable, if at all, for identifying the field, industry or institution in which they are interpreting. Hale's (2007) compilation of interpreter's code of ethics and self-descriptions do not explicitly require interpreters to self-identify with any ideology or belief apart from being an impartial and ethic interpreter. Courtroom interpreters are not required to be legal practitioners nor are medical interpreters expected to be themselves medical professionals. The church interpreter, however, is expected to be exclusively Christian.

The ratings for the second pair of questions (Q3 and Q4) addresses interpreters needing to possess thorough knowledge or expert-level understanding of the subject matter prior to

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interpreting. *Professional interpreters* received a mean rating of 3.98 while *church interpreters* received a mean rating of 4.41. The calculated p-value is less than 0.01, signifying substantial support in rejecting the null hypothesis and that the difference between the ratings for professional and church interpreters is statistically significant in regards to this eligibility criterion. Although both ratings fair on the "Agree" to "Strongly Agree" side of the scale, the higher mean rating for church interpreters suggest that the Christians surveyed feel that a church interpreter has a higher imperative to know the content they are interpreting thoroughly. Figure 6 below also shows "Strongly Agree" as the most frequent response for church interpreters followed by "Agree". In contrast, ratings for professional interpreters are slightly more spread out, which may be what resulted in their lower mean.
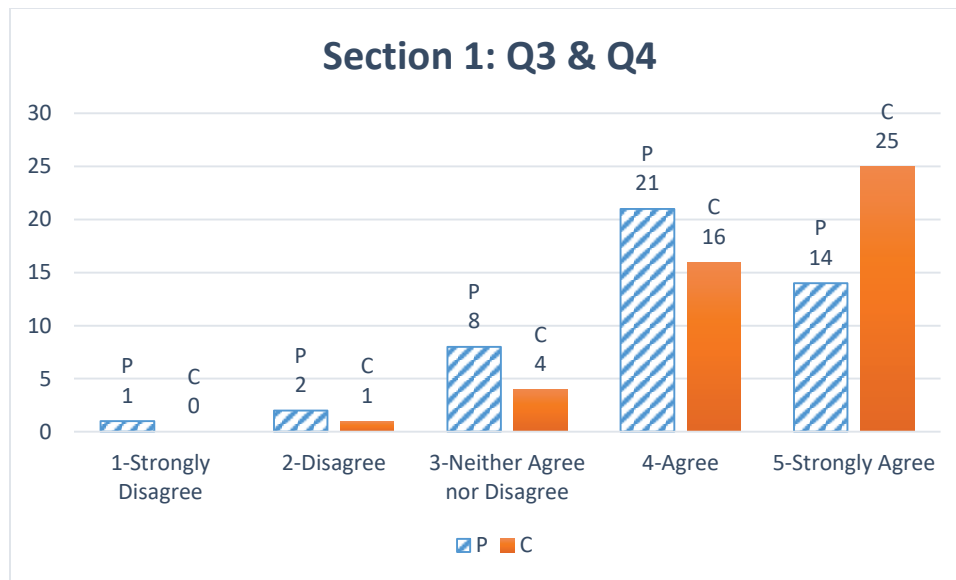

Figure 6. Number of Responses for Q3 and Q4 in Section 1

Tison's study (2016) also showed that over 80% of her respondents indicated that "being a devout Christian and being a mature Christian with a thorough knowledge of the Bible and understanding of Christian doctrine" was "required", "important" or "very important". The mean ratings given to church interpreters in this study's questionnaire do not refute this notion. In fact,

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both professional and church interpreters received on mean ratings between "agree" and "strongly agree". However, even with a low p-value, it is unclear why Christian respondents on mean hold church interpreters to a higher standard than professional interpreters, unless they concur with Owen's (2014) sentiment that "the Scriptures should be in the bloodstream [of the interpreter], so that whenever the interpreter is pricked, the Scriptures flow out". The general expectation is that any Christian should have a substantial understanding of the basic tenets of the Christian faith, which come primarily from the Holy Bible. A church interpreter, who is expected to be Christian as seen in the previous two items, is no exception.

As for formal training as a prerequisite for interpreting (Q5 and Q6), *professional interpreters* received a mean rating of 3.89 while *church interpreters* received a mean rating of 2.96. The calculated p-value is less than 0.01, signifying substantial support in rejecting the null hypothesis and that the difference between the rating for professional and church interpreters is statistically significant in regards to this eligibility criterion. The Christian respondents surveyed rated higher on mean for professional interpreters. Figure 7 below shows a unimodal distribution of ratings for professional interpreters with "Agree" having the highest frequency followed by "Strongly Agree" and "Neither Agree nor Disagree". In contrast, the distribution of ratings for church interpreters in regards to formal training appears to be bimodal, which suggests a general attitude of ambivalence towards requiring church interpreters to be formally trained.
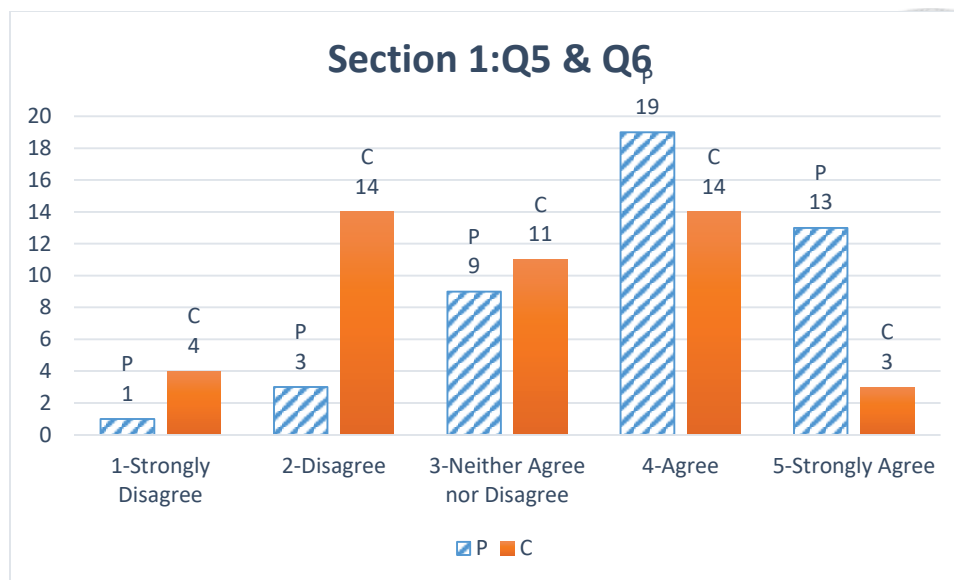
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Figure 7. Number of Responses for Q5 and Q6 in Section 1

These results echo Tseng's (2009) findings that interpreting in a church setting differs from that of most other settings in that formal training is not seen as a requirement as long as the interpreter is skilled; the general consensus within the church community is that there are other factors more important than the church interpreter's professional qualifications, such as being devout and committed to serving in the church. The church context is more forgiving of what is perceived as unsatisfactory interpreting given the prevalent notion that one serves in the church based on their relationship with God and their desire to serve in the church. In Sari Hokkanen's dissertation (2016), she concludes the following:

> *"What seems to be important in church interpreting in this context is not formal training or producing consistently good quality interpreting from the start. Rather, it is that the person doing the interpreting has established a personal relationship with God."* (Hokkanen, 2016).
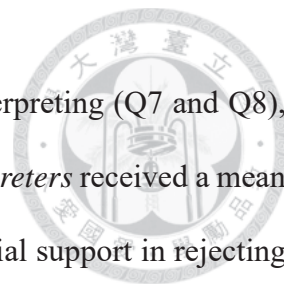
In regards to devout believers in the ideology of what they are interpreting (Q7 and Q8), *professional interpreters* received a mean rating of 2.83 while *church interpreters* received a mean rating of 4.33. The calculated p-value is less than 0.01, signifying substantial support in rejecting the null hypothesis and that the difference between the ratings for professional and church interpreters is statistically significant in regards to this eligibility criterion. Figure 8 below shows a clear positive-skewed distribution of ratings concentrated around "Agree" and "Strongly Agree" for church interpreters. The distribution of ratings for professional interpreters appears slightly negative-skewed.
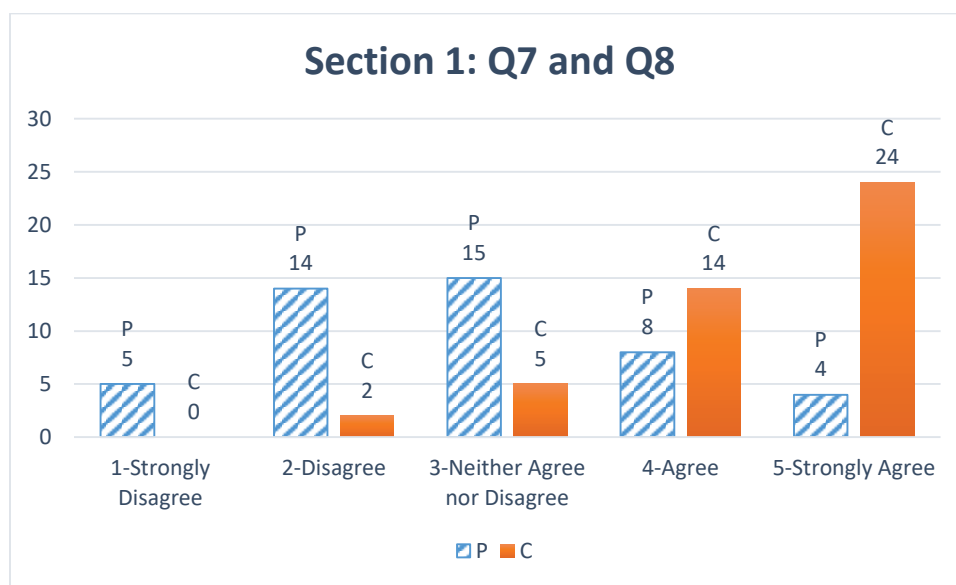

Figure 8. Number of Responses for Q7 and Q8 in Section 1

Being "devout" in the professional sense seems to toe the line of neutrality, as it would call for the professional interpreter to be deeply and personally invested in what is being communicated. In contrast, church interpreters have "a duty to be personally affected by the themes being interpreted; they are required to be Christians first and interpreters second" (Owen, 2014). Hokkanen (2016) also points out that her ethnographic study of her own church showed that

"interpreting, as realized in the religious context of the Tampere Pentecostal Church, seems to require that the interpreter fully and actively share and commit to the ideology of the community in which they perform their service" (ibid. p. 306).
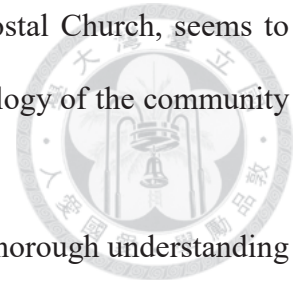
The results in Tison's study also show that in addition to having a thorough understanding of the Bible, her respondents also indicated that "being a devout and mature Christian" (Tison, 2016), as quoted before in the discussion of items 1 and 2, was high on the priority list. However, in Tison's study, her findings showed 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" (Tison, 2016). The researcher attempted to verify these findings by using the data sets from this study. A t-test was used to check if the differences between mean ratings for item 2 (i.e. Christian identification) and item 8 (i.e. being devout) were statistically significant. While item 2 does have a slightly higher mean rating (4.59) than item 8 (4.33), the high p-value from the t-test failed to show that the difference is statistically significant.

For items regarding the number of years interpreters need to have spent in the related field or industry before they can interpret in that field or industry (Q 9 and Q10), *professional interpreters* received a mean rating of 2.74 while *church interpreters* received a mean rating of 3.22. The calculated p-value is less than 0.05, signifying substantial support in rejecting the null hypothesis and that the difference between the ratings for professional and church interpreters is statistically significant in regards to this eligibility criterion. The distribution of ratings for church interpreters in Figure 9 below is almost bimodal with the top two highest frequency of ratings on "Agree" and "Disagree", respectively. This explains the ambivalent mean 3.22 for church interpreters.
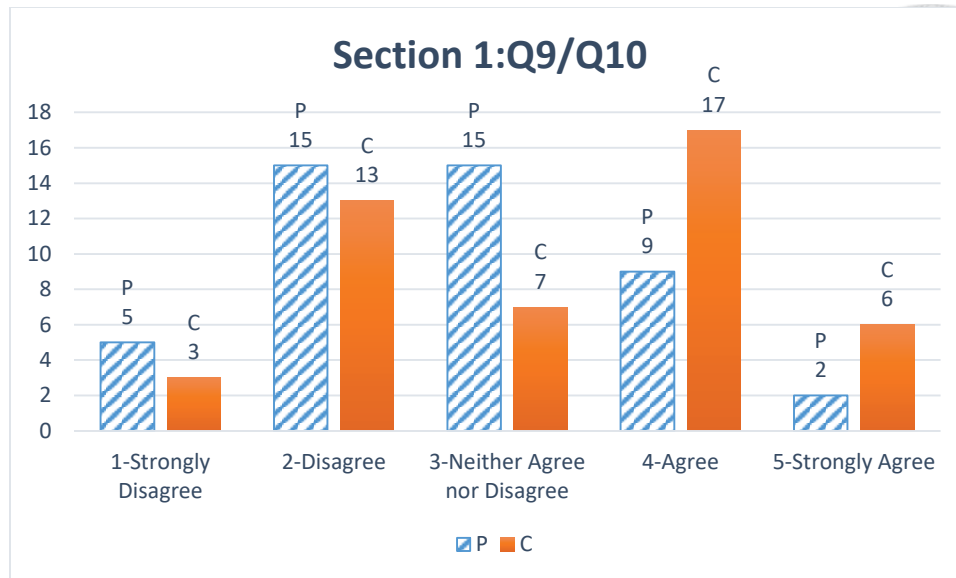
Figure 9. Number of Responses for Q9 and Q10 in Section 1

Tseng (2009) indicated that over half of her church interpreter respondents were professed Christians who have been active in the faith for more than a decade, and cites a prevalent belief that "serving on-stage is a solemn task which should be trusted to Christian who are more experienced in the journey of faith" (Huang, 1988 as cited by Tison, 2009). Although both ratings hover around the "Neither Agree or Disagree" part of the scale, the significant disparity further adds weight to the notion that the years spent in the field or industry is more important for church interpreters than professional interpreters. The questionnaires in this study were administered irrespective of the respondent's number of years in the faith, though it is worth noting that out of the church interpreter's interviewed those with more experience interpreting in the church tended to have more to share.

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4.1.2 Results for Interpreter's Active Roles

SECTION 2: ACTIVE ROLES (46 Respondents)		PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETER	CHURCH INTERPRETER	P-VALUE
Q1/Q2: The interpreter loses credibility if they fail to use field or industry-specific language when interpreting.	**MEAN**	4.02	3.91	0.417
	SD	0.774285	0.914721	
Q3/Q4: The interpreter must replicate the facial expressions, body movements, speaking style and/or hand gestures made by the speaker.	**MEAN**	3.07	3.3	**≤ 0.05***
	SD	0.928611	0.865886	
Q5/Q6: The interpreter is allowed to omit, add or substitute information if they deem it helpful or necessary for conveying the speaker's intended meaning.	**MEAN**	3.02	2.83	0.141
	SD	1.220002	1.234762	
Q7/Q8: The interpreter must remain neutral when interpreting, even when they find the speaker's words to be prejudicial, controversial and/or heretical.	**MEAN**	3.89	3.11	**≤ 0.01***
	SD	1.016055	1.196815	
Q9/Q10: The interpreter must aim to be edifying to the audience in addition to conveying the linguistic meaning of the speaker's words.	**MEAN**	3.37	4.11	**≤ 0.01***
	SD	0.903295	0.900081	

Table 5. Professional versus Church Interpreters on Active Roles
*statistically significant p-values

Section 2 of the questionnaire addresses the interpreter's active roles during the process of interpreting. Items in this section specifically target the conscious decisions made by interpreters while they are interpreting, and prompts Christian respondents to rate the level of importance for both professional and church interpreters.

As seen in Table 5 above, mean ratings for items gauging the loss or gain of credibility when using field or industry-specific language when interpreting (Q1 and Q2) showed the

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following: professional interpreters received a mean rating of 4.02 while church interpreters received a mean rating of 3.91. By comparing the two means at face value, it seems that Christian respondents see this particular obligation of the interpreter as consistent across both professional and church spheres. The apparent negligible difference between the two mean ratings is confirmed by the high p-value 0.417. Thus, based on these results, the church interpreter's role appears to be indistinct from the professional interpreter in terms of using field or industry specific language when interpreting. Figure 10 below also shows near identical distributions of ratings for professional and church interpreters.
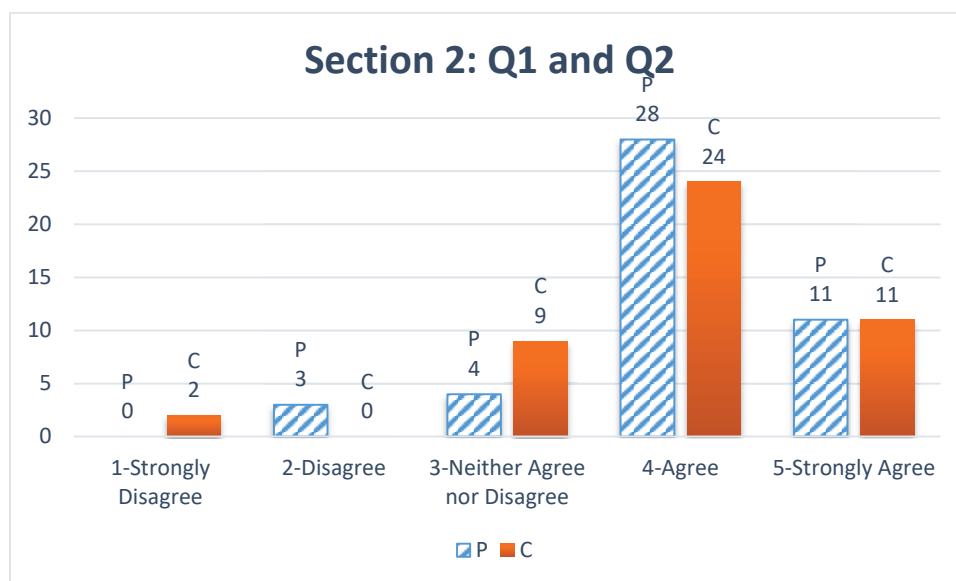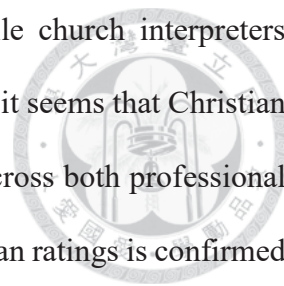

Figure 10. Number of Responses for Q1 and Q2 in Section 2

Tseng (2009) defines the necessity for church interpreters to use "Christian jargons" even in the face of non-Christians, as failure to do so may result in doubt in the church interpreter's reliability as well as cause interpersonal tension or disruption of the communicative event (Mao, 1994 as cited in Tseng, 2009). Apparently, the Christian respondents in this study felt that both professional and church interpreters are held to the same standard, suggesting that this expectation is not exclusive to church interpreters. Then again, the respondents may have perceived

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"professional interpreter" in the context of a concrete specialized setting. A survey conducted by Pöchhacker and Zwischenberg (2010) showed that the criterion "correct terminology" were "spontaneously mentioned as top priorities or of high importance when associated with concrete interpreting situations," such as seminars and workshops. Nevertheless, usage of correct terminology is an overall important criterion for fulfilling the role of interpreter.

For items regarding the need for interpreters to replicate facial expressions, body movements, and speaking style (Q3 and Q4) professional interpreters received a mean rating of 3.07 while church interpreters received a mean rating of 3.30, both of which suggest that Christian respondents felt indifferent about this particular performance-type obligation for the interpreter. However, even though the calculated p-value is less than 0.05, signifying that the slightly higher rating for church interpreters is statistically significant, the means and the distributions in Figure 11 reflects general indifference towards this performative aspect of the interpreter's role. Interview responses in regard to this role (see sub-section 4.2.1.2) were also a mixed bag.
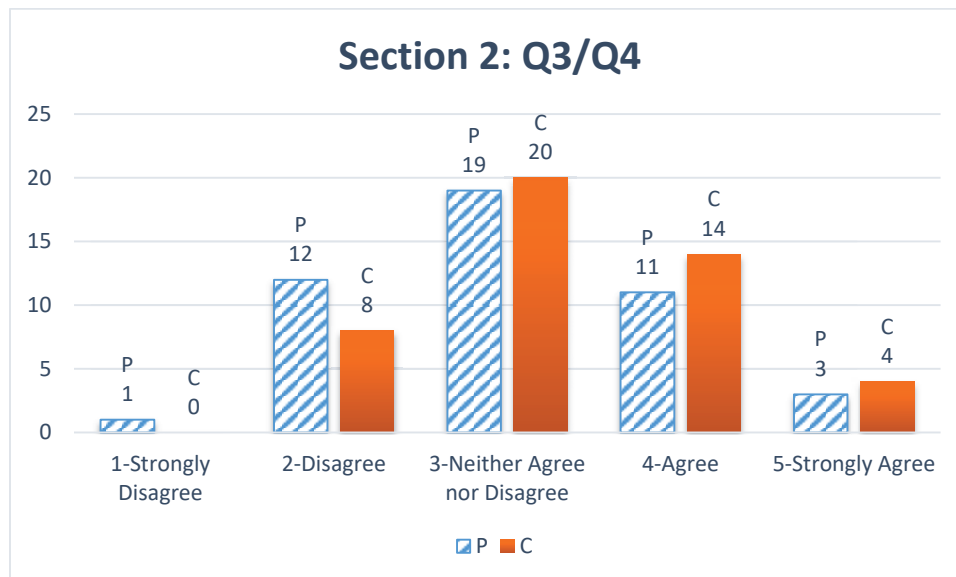

Figure 11. Number of Responses for Q3 and Q4 in Section 2

The results go against Vigoroux's (2010) argument that "the pastor-interpreter co-performance of the sermon should be approached as a performing genre rather than as a mere interpreting activity intended to bridge a communicative gap between the pastor and the congregants" (Vigouroux, 2010). The results in this study's questionnaire failed to reflect this. Tison (2016), as reported in her findings, indicated that the Christians she surveyed put "a strong emphasis 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" (ibid., p. 130). However, it does not appear to be the case for Christian respondents surveyed in this study. The researcher believes that the disparity between the findings in this study with previous research could be chalked up to culture and denominational affiliation.

Regarding items related to whether interpreter can omit, add or substitute information if they feel it will better convey the speaker's intended meaning (Q5 and Q6), professional interpreters received a mean rating of 3.02 while church interpreters received a mean rating of 2.83. The calculated p-value is greater than 0.05, which supports acceptance of the null hypothesis—the difference between ratings for professional and church interpreters regarding this interpreter obligation is not statistically significant. Thus, based on these means, Christian respondents generally feel neutral about the church interpreter's authority to omit, add or substitute information. However, when looking at the distributions of ratings in Figure 12 below, attitudes towards professional and church interpreters in regards to this active role no longer appear neutral but controversial. The sum of the number of "Strongly Agree" and "Agree" ratings are roughly equal to the sum of "Disagree" and "Strongly Disagree" ratings. Interviews failed to reveal why this is a controversy. Perhaps this is an issue of principle versus practice. Interview participants may not

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have felt comfortable openly condoning omitting, adding or substituting information for any reason. However, what actually occurs during interpreting may be different from these answers. Unfortunately, this study's lack of observational data of church interpreting in practice, which may have shed light on this controversial interpreter role.
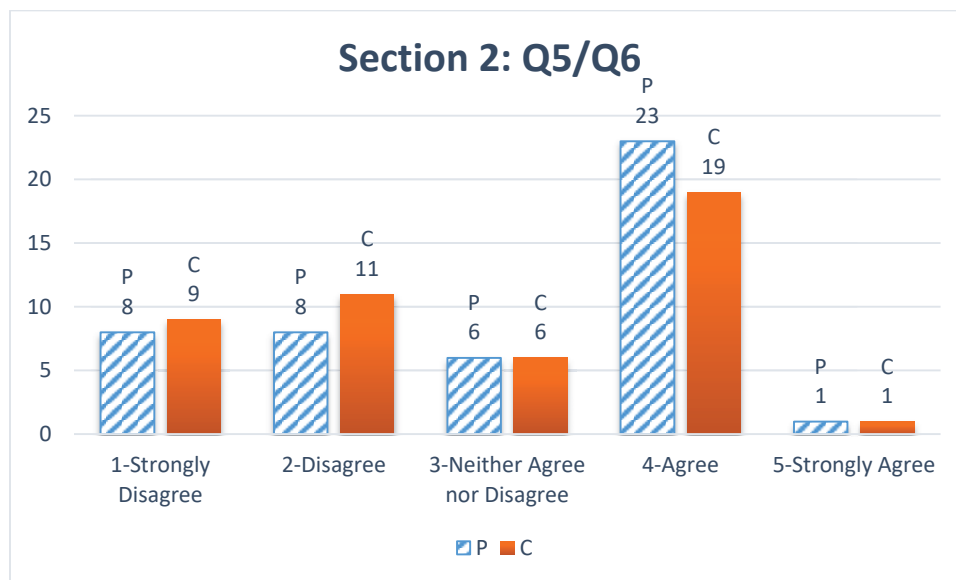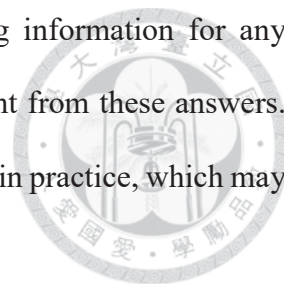

Figure 12. Number of Responses for Q5 and Q6 in Section 2

The findings here go against what Owen (2004) posited in his book that church interpreters "have a mandate to embroider around (but not deviate from) the strict interpretation of the source message and amongst other strategies, seek to requisition an illustration, an example, a parable, a question, in an attempt to verify understanding". However, perhaps Owen was speaking more from the perspective of sign language interpreting, which may carry a different dynamic than spoken interpreting. Owen specifically states in his book that British Sign language interpreters "must pick out the sense or the intrinsic meaning and should have freedom to and confidence to embroider around the message in order for the meaning to become clear, and properly give the sense (ibid., 2004).

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Tison (2016) also found in her study that in interpreters in the church 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" as opposed to secular interpreters who do not align themselves with the speaker and take on a more noninterventionist and even neutral standing (Tison, 2016). While the Christian respondents in this study verified the latter claim for secular interpreters, their ratings for church interpreters do not reflect Tison's findings nor do they validate Owen's arguments that church interpreters are perceived to have such authority.

As for items gauging the importance of maintaining neutrality in the face of prejudicial, controversial or even heretical statements (Q7 and Q8) from the speaker, professional interpreters received a mean rating of 3.89 while church interpreters received a mean rating of 3.11. The calculated p-value is significantly less than 0.01, which substantially supports rejection of the null hypothesis. Thus, it can be inferred from the mean ratings and p-value that Christian respondents uphold professional interpreters to higher scrutiny when it comes to maintaining neutrality. However, the nearly bimodal distribution of ratings for church interpreters in Figure 13 suggests that the general attitude among the respondents is that of uncertainty and not necessarily of lower agreement.
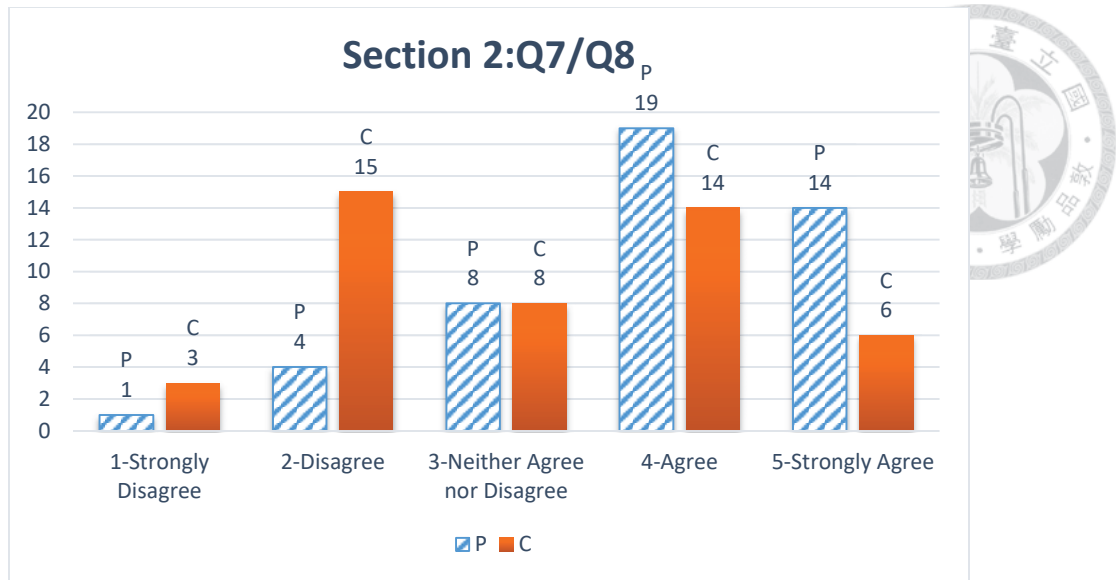
Figure 13. Number of Responses for Q7 and Q8 in Section 2

For items gauging the level of importance for aiming to be edifying to the audience in addition to conveying the linguistic meaning of the speaker's words (Q9 and Q10), professional interpreters received a mean rating of 3.37 while church interpreters received a mean rating of 4.11. The calculated p-value is significantly less than 0.01, which substantially supports rejection of the null hypothesis and signifies that the difference between the ratings for professional and church interpreters is statistically significant in regards to this interpreter role. Both distributions of ratings for professional and church interpreters in regards to this role in Figure 14 below are generally unimodal, but the distribution of ratings for church interpreters in regards to this active role is significantly more positive-skewed, which corroborates the findings from the t-test.

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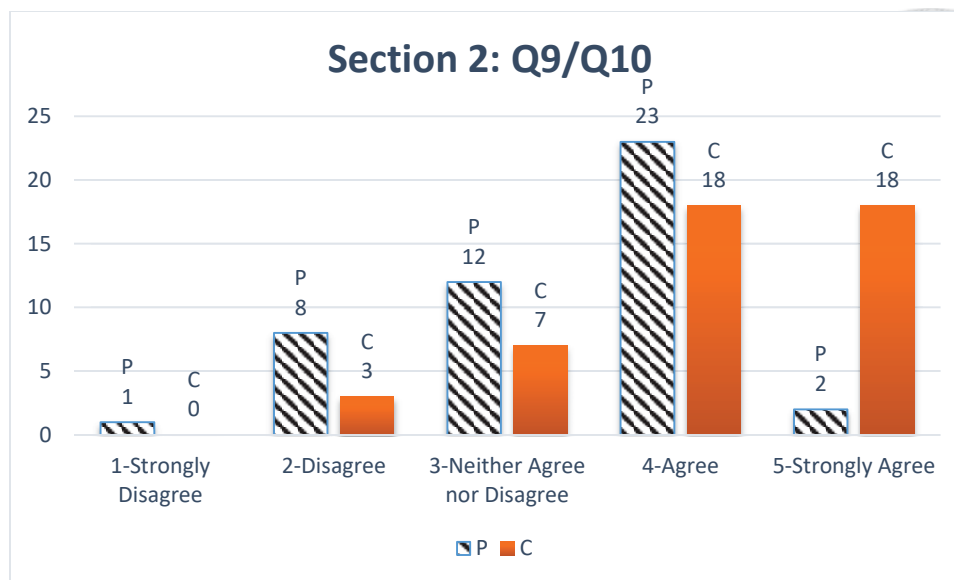
Figure 14. Number of Responses for Q9 and Q10 in Section 2

This echoes Andrew Owen's point that although linguistically competent interpreting is important the church interpreter's cardinal aim is to edify the church by letting the hearts of the audience feel the meaning (Owen, 2014). Tison's open-ended questionnaire also yielded similar results. In her interviews with various church interpreters, Tison (2016) reported multiple responses that emphasized church interpreting as not only passing on information but imparting the divine into the heart's the church members, from God to man, spirit-to-spirit (ibid., p. 141-142). The results in this study further verify Owen's argument and Tison's findings, and clearly show a higher expectation for church interpreters than professional interpreters to be edifying in their interpretation.

4.1.3 Results for Interpreter's Passive Roles

SECTION 3: PASSIVE ROLES (46 Respondents)		PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETER	CHURCH INTERPRETER	P-VALUE
Q1/Q2: The interpreter is a co-communicator and equal alongside the speaker.	MEAN	3.15	3.65	**≤ 0.01***
	SD	1.134654	0.9937	
Q3/Q4: The interpreter is responsible for answering questions or clearing up misconceptions when the speaker is not present.	MEAN	2.22	2.22	1
	SD	0.940757	0.98687	
Q5: When interpreting in a church setting, being a Bible-believing Christian is more important than being a skilled interpreter with a high proficiency in language.	MEAN	--	4.22	--
	SD	--	0.940757	
Q6: In a church setting, it is not possible to interpret on matters of the Christian faith without first being a believer in the faith.	MEAN	--	4.30	--
	SD	--	1.008179	
Q7: Asking to be financially compensated for interpreting in a church is a reasonable request.	MEAN	--	2.59	--
	SD	--	1.045117	

Table 6. Professional versus Church Interpreters on Passive Roles
*statistically significant p-values

As presented in Table 6 above, mean ratings for items gauging how respondents felt about the professional interpreter as co-communicators and equal alongside the speaker showed the following: professional interpreters received a mean rating of 3.15 while church interpreters received a mean rating of 3.65. The calculated p-value is less than 0.01, which supports rejection of the null hypothesis and signifies that the difference between the ratings for professional and church interpreters is statistically significant. The higher rating given to church interpreters might

be related to a certain preacher-church dynamic that was mentioned by some of the interview respondents (refer to Section 4.2.2), who described the dynamic as a single unit or team comprised of two complementary parts of a whole, both of which aim to carry out the same goal of edifying the church. But even though the slightly higher rating for church interpreters is statistically significant, the means of the ratings for both types of interpreters still appear generally neutral or indifferent.

Figure 15 below provides a clearer picture on respondents' attitudes towards the speaker and interpreter being co-communicators. As shown in Figure 15, the mean of ratings for church interpreters were dragged down by eight respondents who rated "Disagree". The majority of ratings were actually agree-leaning. In contrast, ratings for professional interpreters in regards to the interpreter-preacher co-communicator role were much more varied with nearly a split of 19 respondents who rated "Disagree" or "Strongly Disagree" versus 22 respondents who rated "Agree" or "Strongly Agree", leaving five respondents in the "Neither Agree nor Disagree" camp. The seemingly controversial attitudes towards professional interpreters in regards to the interpreter's co-communicator role is indeed intriguing, but since this study is only concerned with attitudes towards church interpreters, these attitudes were not investigated further. The graphical representation in Figure 15 shows higher solidarity in respondents' attitudes towards the church interpreter as having a co-communicator role of some sort.
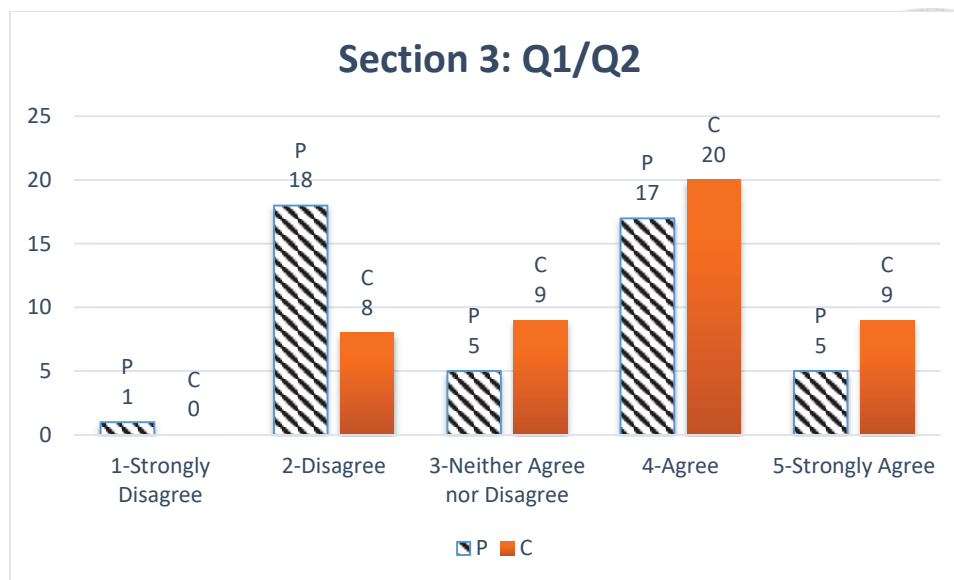
Figure 15. Number of Responses for Q1 and Q2 in Section 3

The results of the t-test as well as the graphic representation in Figure 15 above echoes Vigouroux's (2010) "single performance hypothesis" which considers the actions of the preacher and interpreter as belonging to a collective singular performance whereby the sermon and its interpretation coalesce into one communication activity. Both interpreter and preacher act as co-constructors of the message (Tison, 2016), a dynamic in which both roles impact each other in shaping the message. Perhaps this dynamic is most evident when consecutive interpreting is used as the mode of interpreting in the church setting:

> *The need for regular pauses to allow the interpreter to work and the ever present possibility that parts of sentences might be missed or require clarification mean that preachers must remain attentive to the needs of their first and closest listener. Having an interpreter on stage also offers scope for preachers to use interpreters as fellow performers or even to act out parts of their sermon with them.* (Downie, 2014).

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Based on this notion, Downie (2014) argues that church interpreters should be encouraged to embrace their roles as co-speakers or co-preachers, and receive the same kind of support and training most preachers get. In addition, preachers should be encouraged to treat interpreters as "partners in preaching, rather than as conduits through which the sermon gets mysteriously transferred into another language", shifting from preaching *through* interpreters to preaching *with* the interpreter (ibid., 2014).

For items addressing whether interpreters are responsible for answering questions or clearing up misconceptions when the speaker is not present, professional interpreters and church interpreters received identical mean ratings of 2.22. The calculated p-value is significantly greater than 0.05, which substantially supports acceptance of the null hypothesis—the difference between ratings for professional and church interpreters regarding this interpreter obligation is not statistically significant. Ratings show clear disagreement with placing the onus of answering questions on behalf of the speaker on the interpreter. Figure 16 also shows little ambiguity in respondents' general disagreement with ascribing this role to either professional or church interpreter.
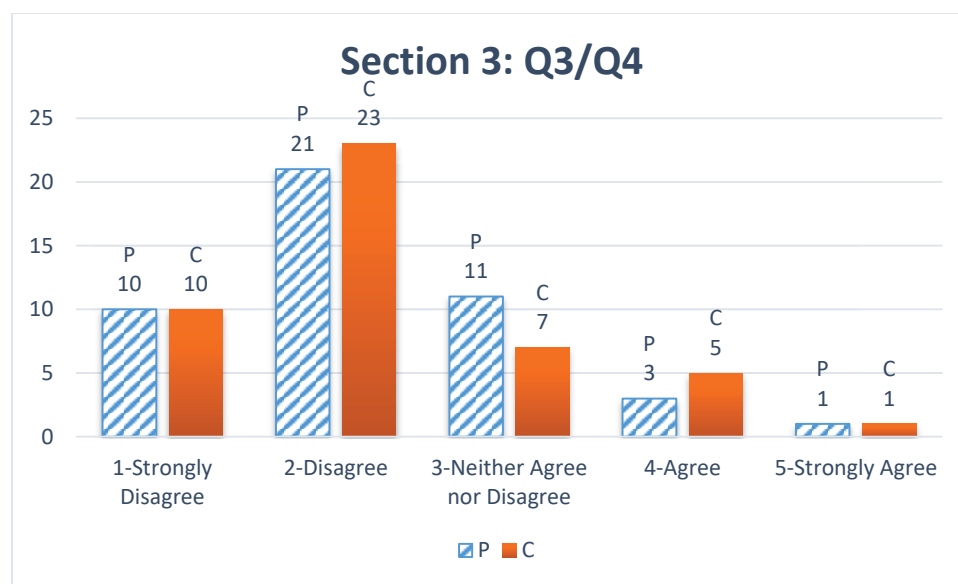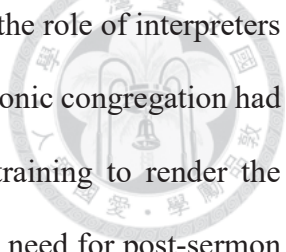

*Figure 16.* Number of Responses for Q3 and Q4 in Section 3

Tison (2016) cites a study done by Elisabeth De Campos (2009) on the role of interpreters in some West African Pentecostal churches where members of the Francophonic congregation had generally low levels of education, and their interpreters lacked formal training to render the sermons of predominantly Anglophonic preachers. This context created the need for post-sermon discussion sessions where the interpreters were asked to clarify on the interpreter-mediated sermon (Campos, 2009 as summarized by Tison, 2016). The immigrant churches surveyed in this study have experienced church interpreters and relatively educated congregations. Perhaps these are the reasons for why the need for post-sermon clarification sessions with the interpreter are not seen as necessary, as reflected in ratings. Nevertheless, this would be something in-person observations in church settings might have been able to shed more light on.

The last three items (5, 6 and 7) are the only items in the questionnaire not presented in pairs, as the issues they address pertain only to the church setting and do not have a professional interpreter counterpart.

Item 5 prompts respondents to rate their agreement with a statement weighing the importance of being a believer in the faith against that of language proficiency. The mean rating for this item is 4.20, suggesting that being a Bible-believing Christian is considerably important to Christian respondents when it comes to church interpreting. Moreover, the high level of agreement reaffirms the notion that eligibility to interpret in the church has less to do with skills and qualifications and more to do with "orientation of mind and heart" towards the faith (Owen, 2014).

> *Bible interpreting and translation should be undertaken by genuine Christian people, who have a heart-belief and a spiritual desire to search out the truth of what the Scriptures teach.* (Owen, 2014).

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As mentioned in the previous section regarding devoutness and commitment to ideology, Hokkanen (2012) also emphasized the fact that church interpreting is less concerned about producing consistently good quality from the start than it is about whether the interpreter has an established personal relationship with God (i.e. being Christian).
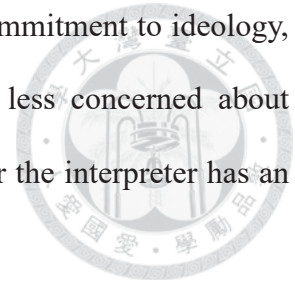
Item 6 prompts whether being a believer precludes the ability to interpret on matters related to the Christian faith. Is there a metaphysical aspect of church interpreting that can only be accessed by believers? This item received a mean rating of 4.31. This echoes Andrew Owen's (2014) assertion that "being Christian comes before being an interpreter in the church and that an atheist interpreter cannot even hope to fulfill the role of conveying the spiritual meaning behind the preacher's words". On the other hand, Owen also presents comments from a chaplain of a deaf church community who expressed the opposite opinion on the matter, saying how he would rather speak through an atheist interpreter, or one from another faith, who was well-informed on the subject matter than a "believing interpreter who filtered the message through their own beliefs and cognitive framework" (as cited by Owen, 2014). Owen ultimately maintains his stance that the church interpreter must be a Christian first and foremost, though he acknowledges the frustration in the chaplain's comments; when interpreters from other denominations, or even other churches within the same denomination, attempt to interpret in a context outside of what they are used to, interpreting can become more disruptive than edifying if the church interpreter is not sensitive to the subtleties and nuances with each church community.

This scope of this study does look at the role of church interpreters in immigrant churches by denominational affiliation. However, interviews with members from immigrant churches in the USA and bilingual churches in Taiwan do indicate divergent viewpoints on some of these items (see 4.2 Interviews).

Item 7 addresses church interpreting as a type of altruistic service which can most times be considered a form of volunteer work, which Hokkanen (2012) defines as being unpaid work. Hokkanen further differentiates between volunteer work and altruistic service along the lines of faith-based motivation:
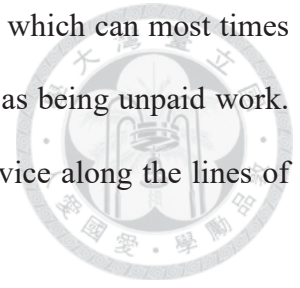
> *The altruist's love for God and God's love for the altruist come first, and this leads to altruistic behavior towards other people […] The main motivation for serving is said to come from a personal love relationship with God"* (Hokkanen, 2012).

Based on this definition, those who serve in the church could technically be paid but still be regarded as serving in the church. Thus, asking respondents whether the church interpreter should be paid or not would not prove or disprove the church interpreter's role as a form of altruistic service. For this reason, item 7 in Figure 16 specifically asks whether it is reasonable for church interpreters themselves to request financial compensation for services rendered in the church. This item is based on the assumption that interpreters who are altruistically motivated to serve in the church would not themselves ask to be financially compensated. This is not to say that the Christian respondents are of the mindset that those who serve in the church ought to do so without pay. The mean rating of 2.87 for item 7 only suggests that those who serve in the church, specifically church interpreters, would not ask to be financially compensated if they truly have a heart of service. The low mean rating seems to suggest that the Christians surveyed view the church interpreter's role as altruistic service.

4.2 Interviews

This section presents findings from the semi-structured interviews with church pastors, preachers, interpreters and some church members. As presented in the interview participant table in 3.5 (see Table 2), the majority of the interview participants are from ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States and mainly comprise church interpreters and church interpreters who double as pastors and preachers in their respective churches. Only a few of the participants are from bilingual churches in Taiwan. This section will first present discussions on various role-related topics, some of which expand on findings in the questionnaire, followed by discussions on the role of interpreting in bilingual churches in Taipei in comparison with interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA. The final section will present pastoral accounts of the origins of interpreting in their churches.

4.2.1 Discussion on the Roles of the Church Interpreter at Immigrant Churches

Excluding interview questions about the origins of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches, many interview questions addressing the role of the interpreter were derived from items on the questionnaire. Compared to items on the questionnaire, similarly but not identically worded questions were posed to interview participants with the aim of gaining deeper insight into the reasoning behind some of the findings from the questionnaire. In contrast to the questionnaire which could only gauge sentiments on a Likert scale, the semi-structured interviews gave free reign to respondents to elaborate their answers. The topical order of discussion in this section will loosely take after the questionnaire format: eligibility, active roles, passive roles. Quotes will be gleaned from pastors, preachers, church interpreters, and regular church members (see Section 3.5 for table of participants).

4.2.1.1 Church Interpreter Eligibility: Identification with the Christian Faith

Responses from the questionnaire revealed that the Christians surveyed generally view the church interpreter's identity with the faith as an important eligibility requirement as seen in high mean ratings in the questionnaire for church interpreters to "identify with their field" (i.e. the church setting) and "devoutness in the ideology (i.e. Christianity) of what is being interpreted", which were also statistically speaking significantly higher than ratings for professional interpreters. In Section 3 of the questionnaire, responses revealed a high mean rating in agreement with "identity in the faith as being more important than language aptitude" (see Table 6 in Section 4.1.3). While the questionnaire was unable to provide detailed reasons for these high ratings towards identity in the faith and devoutness in ideology, interview data provided further insight into why having a Christian identity is so important for church interpreters and how the Christian identity can possibly take precedent over language ability.

First, church interpreting is considered to be a "service". More specifically, Pastor R1 frames the role of the church interpreter as a form of "altruistic service" which is rendered to God first, echoing Hokkanen (2012). Below is an excerpt from the interview with R1:

> *Interpretation is considered as a service. Service in the church we believe is a service to God first, so it's considered as a service to God. Of course, the direct beneficiaries are the brothers and sisters. But primarily, it's a service to God. Secondly, we believe that God will give us spiritual gifts of interpretation when the need arises. God will use His power to give the certain individual with the gift of interpretation* (R1).

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In the last line, R1 mentions his belief that believers who may be lacking in skill are empowered by God to carry out their role in the church. Owen (2014) mentions that his belief has been around since the time the First Epistle to the Corinthians in the Holy Bible was written:
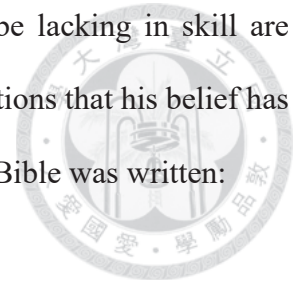
> *Interpreting lies within a collection of gifts given by the Holy Spirit to the early church before the New Testament canon was complete, in order to edify the church* (Owen, 2014)

Pastor R4 also echoes a similar sentiment, but leaves room for the possibility of allowing those outside the church or even outside the faith to interpret:

> *From the church perspective, interpreting is part of church ministry. Because it's a church ministry, we want to offer that opportunity to church members because it is considered as a service to God and to fellow brothers and sisters* (R4).

As seen in the excerpt from pastor R1, there seems to be a spiritual element in church interpreter eligibility. The belief is that only Christians have the spiritual capacity to receive spiritual endowments that allow them to work towards the edification of the church. Owen (2014) refers to the First Epistle to the Corinthians as the basis for the belief that only believers who serve in the church, including interpreters, are empowered by God's Spirit to fulfill their roles. Thus, non-believer interpreters, no matter how skilled, lack the spiritual capacity to serve God in this regard.

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When it comes to serving God, the beneficiaries may be the people but the mindset and the efforts exerted by the church interpreter must be centered on pleasing God, and only believers can please God. The faith-based model for altruism is a vertical one, where love for God motivates love for others (Hokkanen, 2012). Thus, the church interpreter is not simply providing a service to the speaker and the audience. Church interpreters are ultimately acting out of a desire to serve and please God, which requires them to be Christian. When presented with a choice between a mediocre interpreter who is a believer and an outstanding interpreter who is a non-believer, pastor R9 emphatically and without hesitation chose the former and elaborated his reasons in the excerpt below:

> *Interpreting in the church is not really work but is a ministry. It's a service to God. So that has some basic requirements. You need to have the life of Christ in you before you can serve. There are not only requirements on the practical end but from the spiritual end also. And that's something that cannot be compromised* (R9).

The same question was asked of a church interpreter from NJCA, respondent R2, who gives a more concrete elaboration on why being a believer is of such utmost importance in the church setting:
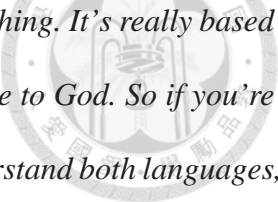
> *Church interpretation is different from regular interpretation. It's spiritual. You can interpret the sermons well, and it still would not carry the power, that kind of influence that you're supposed to be able to convey* (R2).

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Respondent R2 touches on the issue of influence and the conveyance of some level of power through the interpreting. This is an allusion to the edifying factor of church interpreting which is another item addressed on the questionnaire and in this research. Tison (2016) affirms that church interpreters are motivated by a "desire to serve others, viewing interpreting as a spiritual ministry" (ibid., p. 26) and that churches 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" (ibid., p. 31).

Church interpreters must also aim to mentally and spiritually fortify their listeners, though not by relying on their own efforts but on the power of God. For this to be possible, R2 emphasizes the need for the church interpreter to believe in what the speaker is saying to the audience. Below is an excerpt from R2:

> *Say I'm interpreting for a business speaker. I'm mainly repeating or making note of whatever the speaker says. But with church interpreting, **I have to believe in what the speaker is saying in order for me to really convey the idea to the audience.** I guess that's the biggest difference between spiritual and secular interpreting* (R2).

R2's response echoes Owen's description of church interpreters, that they "have a duty to be personally affected by the themes being interpreted" (Owen, 2014). Respondent R7 is a church interpreter from church WA-1 and adds to the conversation of church interpreter eligibility by linking the Christian identity with being unified in spirit with the speaker:

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Service is not like a job or an opportunity for you to do something. It's really based off of the life of Christ within us. It's based off of your service to God. So if you're not a Christian, sure you'll be able to translate well and understand both languages, but I think there's an aspect of the Spirit that's missing. And a lot of times with translation, it depends on the unity and moving of the spirit between the speaker and translator. If there's no unity or connection, at times it's difficult to have a smooth flow of things (R7).

R7 mentions "the Spirit", which gives a degree of personification to the concept of how being a believer in the faith enables an interpreter in the church to carry out their job. "The Spirit" here refers to a member of the holy trinity—the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit (Matthew 28:19). The Holy Spirit is believed by Christians to be the spirit of God and the medium through which God administers spiritual gifts and empowerments to those serving Him and to those seeking to know him. In an interpreter-mediated church event, the Holy Spirit works through both speaker and interpreter in conveying the message, and also causes understanding within the hearts of the congregation (see Figure 17). Thus, serving in the church is not merely a job or technical function but is a role that carries spiritual weight in a metaphysical relationship between speaker, interpreter, audience and God.
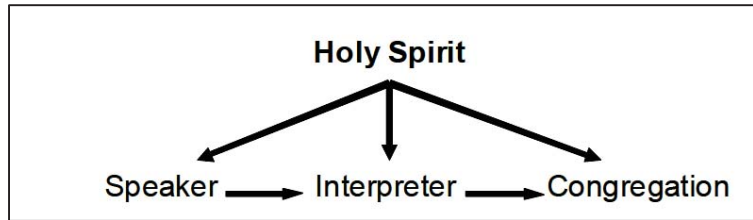
Figure 17. Relationships in a Church Interpreter-mediated Event
Source: Hwa-chin Tseng, 2009, p. 41

As seen in responses from R1, R2, R4, R7, and R9, the Christian identity affords the church interpreter a set of faith-based qualifications which are seen as generally required by the Christians surveyed and interviewed. But on the surface, there seems to be a conflict between a church interpreter's spiritual and practical qualifications. Is it their heart of service to God that qualifies them, or is it their language and interpreting abilities? When asked to pick one or the other, most respondents said they would pick the former, as having a non-Christian serve in the church would the defeat the whole purpose of serving in the church. Respondent R4, however, said they would choose the latter since a non-Christian could still technically get the job done without having a heart of service to God, albeit the arrangement would not be ideal. This respondent did clarify that they were speaking purely hypothetically, as they have yet to encounter a situation that required such a choice to be made. Nevertheless, responses from both questionnaires and interviews strongly suggest that identifying with the Christian faith and being a believer is on equal or greater importance with language skills when it comes to interpreting in a church setting.

Overall, interview responses in regards to the church interpreter's eligibility were in line with findings by Hokkanen (2012) and Tison (2016) in that church interpreters are expected to be Christian not solely for ideological reasons but also because of the belief that only Christians can be empowered by God to serve altruistically and spiritually in the church. Interpreting in the church is seen as an altruistic service where interpreters are driven by a spiritually fueled desire to serve
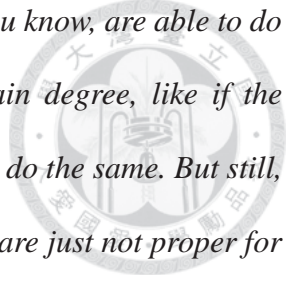
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God through serving others. This spiritual source stems from God's spirit--Holy Spirit, which is what empowers interpreters and preachers to convey God's word to rest of the church. The Holy Spirit interconnects the preacher and interpreter (Tseng, 2009) with the audience. In light of this, it makes sense why some respondents are willing to accept church interpreters who may be lacking in language skills but are qualified by their spiritual conviction to serve God and the church.

4.2.1.2 Church Interpreter's Active Roles: Co-performer Role & Non-verbal Communication

Questionnaire results regarding the church interpreter's role in conveying the speaker's non-verbal communication (e.g. facial expressions, hand gestures) showed that respondents were generally indifferent about this role for both church and professional interpreters. Interview responses were also a mixed bag. Some respondents dismissed the action of actively mimicking the speaker's non-verbal communication as negligible while others felt that it was paramount in conveying not only the information but also the dynamic of a preacher's message. Respondents R1 and R9 generally disagreed with making mimicking facial expressions, hand gestures and other non-verbal expressions as a priority for church interpreters. Both emphasized that the church interpreter's focus should be placed on the information being conveyed, and that matching the speaker's facial expressions, hand gestures and body movements was optional.

Church interpreters R2 and R7 were not as quick to discount the importance of conveying non-verbal communication and acknowledged that in some cases it could be very helpful. R2 interestingly brought up the issue of gender and having the correct corresponding decorum while in the pulpit:

> *Imitating the speaker's hand gestures or facial expressions is not required but it's*
>
> *preferable to a certain degree. But in our church, speakers are male, so there are*

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certain acts or movements I don't think a sister should or, you know, are able to do without looking strange. So it's important only to a certain degree, like if the speaker's voice becomes louder, I think the interpreter could do the same. But still, because there is a difference between gender, certain things are just not proper for sisters to do (R2).

The concern with propriety according to gender, a factor that was unable to be considered in this study due to limitations, may stem from R2's cultural upbringing in Taiwan or generational differences in regards to how members of each gender should behave. It may also be may be the church's conservative culture that makes R2 sensitive to the differences in the male-female dynamic in the pulpit. R7 is also a female interpreter, but unlike R2, she grew up in the United States and is a member of the younger English-speaking generation at her church. R7's comments made no mention of gender but focused more on personal preferences and differences in linguistic expression (e.g. sentence-final particles in Chinese):

I think I'm a little more passive and focused on translating so I don't do as much. Some simple hand gestures I'll try to mimic, but I don't really go full out. That's just a personal thing. I know that some people do, because I feel like it does help sometimes to get across the urgency or the fervency or certain feelings. Also, the Chinese like to make certain noises when they speak or when trying to get a point across. Most of the time, I won't make the same noises (R7).

Only R4, the pastor for church NJ-2, appraised the conveyance of non-verbal communication crucial in the church interpreter's goal of conveying the full meaning of what is

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being said by the speaker:
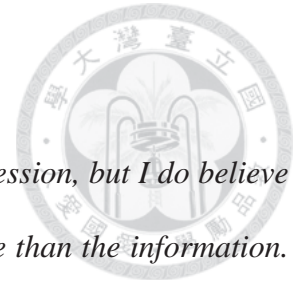
> *I think it is very important. Maybe not the exact facial expression, but I do believe the interpreter needs to interpret dynamic as well. It's more than the information. It's also the dynamic the speaker wants to convey. The interpreter needs to convey that as well. Sometimes it means using the same gestures. I do that as well, though not identically. When the speaker waves their right hand, I try to do that too. I think it's very, very important to translate that dynamic as well* (R4).

According to Vigouroux (2010), the interpreter-mediated sermons should be seen as a performance genre in which two alternating performances between speaker and interpreter coalesce into a joint performance and are constantly shaping and re-shaping each other. To some degree, the immigrant church pastors and interpreters that were interviewed acknowledge the importance of conveying the dynamic in addition information, though they stop short of explicitly calling their dynamic with the speaker a "performance". In contrast to Vigouroux's findings that preachers actively allow interaction between themselves and their interpreters, it seems that the immigrant church preachers and interpreters interviewed in this study see their roles as interconnected yet distinctly separate and confined to clearly defined roles. These roles convey the dynamic of a message through both verbal and non-verbal communication but is not considered a "performance" as suggested by Vigouroux.

Edification & Goal of Church Interpreting

Questionnaire results showed that responses for whether interpreter should aim to be edifying in their interpreting in addition to conveying the meaning interpretation showed a higher

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mean rating for church interpreters than for professional interpreters. When interview respondents were prompted on whether they felt edifying the audience took precedent over conveying the meaning, respondent R1 remarked that the two tasks were not mutually exclusive:
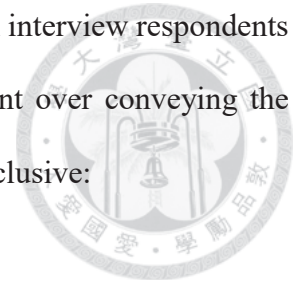
I believe that interpretation/translation is itself a service to God, and ultimately, both speaker and translator are used by God to edify this church. That's our goal. That's our purpose of serving whether you are speaker or translator. Thus, I don't see a conflict between the two. I don't see at all they are conflicting. You can get both. You can be faithful in your interpretation while edifying brothers and sisters (R1).

Respondent R4 spoke from his experiences as both a preacher and interpreter to offer insight into the goal of church interpreters in relation to the goal of preachers. To R4, both the preacher and interpreter are aiming for the same goal of edification but differ in how they achieve that goal:

As a preacher, my goal is to edify the church. I want to convey the sense of the presence of God, through the word of God. I want to be able to faithfully interpret the word of God, and bring out the presence of God to the congregation, and really be transformed by God. As an interpreter, my goal is the same, but the instrument I adopt is interpretation. I'm not trying to generate new meaning. In the position of preaching is what I want to convey. As an interpreter, I want to convey what the

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preacher is saying and through that I want to achieve the same goal (R4).
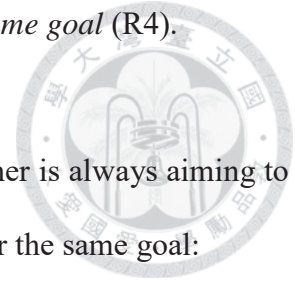
Respondent R2 brings up issue of trust. R2 assumes that the preacher is always aiming to be edifying with his sermon, and the interpreter is, by extension, aiming for the same goal:

> *I believe that the speaker already has this mind of edifying the brothers and sisters. The interpreter just has to faithfully translate and interpret the message. It's not about which one I should be focusing on. Interpreting and being edifying are actually linked. This is the goal of any speaker in church, so if the interpreter is faithful to what the speaker is saying, the goal should be reached, so the brothers and sisters could be edified. I think the interpreter just has to trust in the Lord and do the best they can in preparing themselves in terms of knowing the Bible in both languages. If brothers and sisters don't feel edified, it could then because the message itself is not edifying for some reason, be it doctrinal or due to lack of focus. I believe it greatly affects the interpretation* (R2).

Regardless of the situation, the end-goal of church interpreters is to ensure that the God's word preached through the speaker reaches the hearts of the listeners; though linguistic competence is necessary, the overarching goal is for the hearts of the congregation to receive, internalize and benefit from what is being preached or interpreted (Owen, 2014). Contributing to the discussion "edification" in the questionnaire results, the interview responses add weight to the claim that church interpreting is not only the passing of information but also the imparting of the divine into the hearts of church members, from God to man, spirit-to-spirit (Tison, 2016).

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When prompted on the church interpreter as a co-speaker or co-communicator alongside the preacher, none of the respondents immediately agreed with the classification. Most respondents elaborated on their answer without being prompted, often giving a multi-layered breakdown of the church interpreter's duel role as both helper and co-speaker. Respondent R1, a pastor from the church NJCA, sees the church interpreter and the preacher as one functional unit, both working towards the same goal:

> *When the speaker and interpreter each fulfill their functions, they are working as one for one goal, one purpose, and in one spirit, so-to-speak. When they are performing their function, a service, they are at the time acting as one. But their titles are different. One is a pastor and the other is not. So in that sense they are not one* (R1)

The description given by respondent R4, the pastor from church NJ-2, coincides with idea of the interpreter and speaker working together as one unit, but R4 goes into more detail in his description of the separate but complimentary roles of the preacher and interpreter:

> *You could talk about individual responsibility, but more often than not, they function as a unit. In that sense, therefore the interpreter is the co-communicator because the message and the dynamic is transmitted through the interpreter. Now, at the same time, in this unit, in this functional unit, consider the speaker and interpreter as one. In this one unit, there are different roles, different functions, almost like the*

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trinity. One of them is the one who creates the information. He gives the information meaning, context and dynamic. In this function, the interpreter is the facilitator because the interpreter is not generating new meaning, new interpretation or new dynamic. The interpreter simply facilitates that communication with the intended purpose of the speaker and with all that dynamic to the congregation. Insofar as they function as a unit of communication, they are co-communicators because without the interpreter, whatever needs to be communicated cannot be communicated. But at the same time, the role in that unit is different. The interpreter is not initiating the meaning of communication (R4).

Respondent R9, the pastor for church CA-1, was more vocal with his reservations towards calling the interpreter a co-speaker, and suggested alternative appellations:

He or she is not the speaker. He or she is a voice. This voice must have a good understanding of the scripture as well as the maturity on a spiritual level, so he or she won't be a hindrance but a true partner with the speaker (R9).

From the pastoral perspectives of respondents R1, R4 and R9, it seems that ascribing "co-speaker" or "co-communicator" to the church interpreter is insufficient at face value and requires complimentary role descriptors such as "partner", "helper", "voice" and "facilitator". However, when viewed in the context of the communication activity's overarching goal, the church interpreter's role of as co-communicator can then be reconciled as a component of a singular functioning unit where all participants in the unit operate in "one spirit" and work towards "one

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goal". These responses are consistent with those regarding the church interpreter's co-performer role in that the church interpreters and performers are component parts of a whole but do not act in parallel to each other as "co-performer" and "co-speaker". Tseng (2009) reported from her study's findings that most of her respondents perceived the church interpreter as a "helper" to the speaker, which is consistent with interview responses in this study. However, Tison (2016), Downie (2014) and Vigouroux (2010) all affirm that the church interpreter's role could very well extend to that of a co-speaker, co-performer or even co-preacher.

Church interpreters R2 and R7 offer more personal reflections of the roles they feel they embody when they are standing next to the preacher on the pulpit. The church interpreter for church NJCA, respondent R2, describes shifting identities throughout the process, starting from pre-sermon preparation through the act of interpreting while on the pulpit:

> *Before I get onto the pulpit, while I'm preparing the translation, I feel that I am just a helper. I feel like I'm just there to interpret the speaker's message, but once I am standing on the pulpit, I do feel I want to interpret as though I am the preacher because that's how the audience sees me. They don't understand Chinese. That's the kind of spirit I want to convey as an interpreter, but deep down I know that I am just a helper. It's a dual perspective* (R2).

The church interpreter for church WA-1, respondent R7, immediately commented on the complexity of the question and the difficult in responding straightforwardly. R7 linked the shift in the church interpreter's role based on vantage points:

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That question is a little tricky because the content and message comes from the speaker the interpreter is not adding anything of their own. For those who only understand English, the translator becomes their main speaker. The content is not coming from the translator, so they're still just a helper, but they have to be a good helper for those who understand the English get the message (R7).

R2 and R7 both mentioned that the church interpreter's role shifts. While R2 spoke about shifting identities that come from within the interpreter's mind, R7 focused more on how the audience might perceive the interpreter. Nevertheless, the role of co-communicator and co-speaker as affirmed by Tison (2016) and Downie (2014), and even the co-performer role suggested by Vigouroux (2010), do not seem to be facets of the immigrant church interpreter's role that has wide consensus among those interviewed. However, despite the respondents not heartily agreeing to the role labels of "co-communicator" or "co-speaker", they do spend time describing their roles using similar words (e.g. partner) or using similes (e.g. as if I were the preacher). Thus, despite the respondents' reluctance to accept the co-communicator and co-speaker appellations, the role of the church interpreter can still be roughly construed on some level as "co-communicator".

In contrast to interview results, the questionnaire results revealed stronger consensus for agreement of the church interpreter's co-speaker or co-communicator role. As discussed in this section, church pastors and interpreters from the ethnic Chinese churches were generally more hesitant towards agreeing with ascribing the co-communicator or co-preacher role to the church interpreter. The researcher believes that the discrepancy between questionnaire and interview results may be due to a couple reasons. Firstly, the majority of questionnaire respondents were users of interpreting (i.e. non-interpreter and non-preacher members of the church) rather than

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interpreters or pastors. Therefore, the discrepancy between questionnaire and interview results may be a reflection of different viewpoints between the users of church interpreting and the church pastors and interpreters. Unfortunately, due to research limitations, this study did not conduct interviews with users of interpreting. Secondly, not all of the church interpreters and pastors who took the questionnaire were interviewed. Thus, the discrepancy between questionnaire and interview results in regards to the church interpreter's co-communicator or co-preacher role may be a result of bias from the individuals that were interviewed.

Financial Compensation & Altruistic Service

All respondents were in general agreement about the church interpretation being a service in the church and that service in the church does not warrant financial compensation. Those who serve in the church are motivated by their altruistic love for God and by extension fellow believers Hokkanen, 2012). Those who serve in the church perceive their efforts as doing their part to serve God without expectation of financial remuneration; they aim only to work towards the goal of spiritual edification alongside the preacher (Owen, 2014). Having said that, there are indeed those who are financially supported for their service in the church, including church interpreters. However, according to respondent R9, the decision to financially compensate a serving member in the church depends on the church's administration and is not a doctrinal issue.

Prayer Interpreting

The questions on the online questionnaire and in the interviews were predominantly focused on church interpreting in the pulpit. All of the topics discussed thus far hone in on the church interpreter's role in relation to the preacher. As mentioned in previous responses, the goal of the preacher is to edify the audience and bring the presence of God into their midst. Thus, when preachers are speaking, they are addressing the audience. Naturally, the interpreter must follow

suit. However, one issue that the online questionnaire was not able to gauge was the role of the interpreter during corporate or public prayer, which is a form of communication spoken in the presence of an earthly audience but directed towards a divine one. While most sermons are monologues, prayers are more dynamic. Moreover, interpreters dealing with prayers are doing more than just conveying information but are providing linguistic access to the prayer (Hokkanen, 2016).

All interview respondents acknowledge that prayer is always directed towards God, though individual and corporate prayers have distinct dynamics. Individual prayer is done in private by oneself as opposed to corporate prayer, which is usually performed by one person who prays aloud while everyone else listens, nodding quietly or otherwise verbally expressing agreement to what the person is uttering in their prayer. Though both forms of prayer are directed towards God, the latter seems to incorporate the listeners as a kind of side-lined audience. Respondent R4 describes corporate prayer as such:

> *It's a representative prayer towards God through the one who's praying. It has bi-directional function. In one sense, corporate prayer represents the congregation in prayer to God. At the same time, the prayer is not only a representative but a guide leading the congregation to come to this prayer* (R4).

The church interpreters interviewed in this study often interpret corporate prayers, be it prayers from preachers or other members of the church. The question posed to the interviewees prompted their perspectives on their positioning in relation to the person praying and to God. Respondent R2 sees little difference between their role in interpreting sermons and interpreting
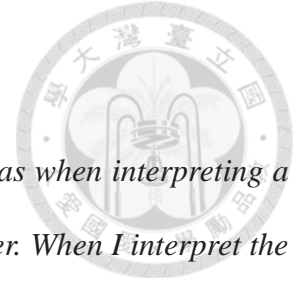
prayers:

> *I feel that I should pray as the person prays. It's the same as when interpreting a sermon. When I interpret, I speak as though I am the speaker. When I interpret the prayers, I speak as though I am praying. At the same time, I focus on what the speaker says. I try to speak the way he speaks, and the way he prays. If the speaker's words are directed towards the audience, I focus on the audience; if to God, then to God.* (R2).

Respondents R4 and R7 both specified their role as strictly interpreter when it comes to prayer interpreting, given that they are not the one who is giving the prayer:

> *I myself am focused more on conveying what is being prayed instead of praying myself. And then I bring myself into the spirit of praying. But my first objective is trying to convey the prayer, as faithfully as I can* (R4).

> *I'm focused more on interpreting. I feel like since it's not my prayer, so I'm there as more of a tool to help other brothers and sisters. So for me, I'm not praying to God because it's not my prayer* (R7).

These three responses reveal a gradient of sorts with regard to how interpreters perceive the dynamic of prayer interpreting. Respondent R2 explains that her attention is directed towards whomever the speaker directs their utterance. If the utterance is directed to the church audience,

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R2 will direct her attention to the church audience. When the utterance is directed towards God, R2 will direct her attention towards God. However, objectively speaking, even if prayer is directed towards God, the interpreting itself is always done for the sake of a human audience, as God would not require an interpreter to understand the prayer. Respondent R4 openly acknowledges the fact that he is more focused on interpreting the prayer to the church audience rather than praying himself, though he mentions trying to enter the "spirit of prayer" while doing so. Lastly, respondent R7 clearly draws a line between herself and the one who is praying, describing herself as more of a tool and having no active part in the prayer.

At the end of the day, the church interpreters have a choice on whether to participate to some degree in the sermon or prayer during the interpreting process; the interpreting "may tune in to hear what God wants to say to him or her personally" (Hokkanen, 2016). Hokkanen's interviews also present excerpts from interpreters at the Tampere Pentecostal Church who feel that there is a shift from interpreting speech to interpreting prayer, and may even end up joining in the prayer themselves, which means they allow themselves to receive and be impacted by the prayer. However, as respondents in this study's interview shows, church interpreters may still opt to stay out of the prayer and continue interpreting the prayer as any other speech.

4.2.2 Discussion on the Roles of the Church Interpreter at Bilingual Churches

Both Chinese-English bilingual churches in Taiwan and ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States cater to members in both Chinese and English languages and often turn to interpretation to bridge cultural and linguistic divides in their memberships. Given the similarities, the researcher interviewed four Christians who are each members of a Chinese-English bilingual church. Respondents T1, T2 and T3 are respectively a pastor, a church interpreter and a regular member who attend church TPE-1, a Chinese-English bilingual church in Taipei.

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Respondent T4 is a pastor of church TPE-2, a Chinese-English bilingual church in Kaohsiung.

Church Interpreter Eligibility: Christian Identity (Bilingual Church)

When prompted about the necessity of being Christian to serve as an interpreter in the church, the pastor for church TPE-1, respondent T1, spoke consistently with respondents from immigrant churches, saying that interpreting in the church is a type of service that requires a "heart of service" above all else. Respondent T1 cites both practical and ideological reasons for why the church interpreter needs to be a Christian:

> *Practically, there's a lot of lingo you wouldn't understand if you're not a Christian. Another reason is I think of the interpreter as not just a tool. I think of them as a partner, someone I'm ministering together with. For instance, we don't try to find the best musician to lead worship. We are looking for someone who has a heart of worship, who understands what worship is. They might not be the best musician but they understand that they're there to minister unto God and unto the people* (T1).

Respondent T1 is essentially placing attitude and commitment to service above proficiency in skillsets, since those who serve in the church are seen as ministering to God's people and are usually committed to the role out of devotion to God and members of the church. To T1, it is not about how capable someone is but rather how much passion they have for serving in the church. When prompted to choose between a skilled non-Christian interpreter and an unskilled Christian interpreter, T1 had no doubt in his mind about which was the preferable choice:

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Oh my goodness, 100% the second one! Because these are the people I'm going to be working with. We're not in the business of 現成 things, we're here to empower people, growing people, and it's great to see people flourish (T1).
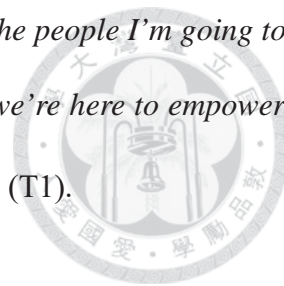
T1 would rather see an initially unskilled but service-minded Christian grow into the role through training and practice than have a highly-skilled but unbelieving interpreter take on the mantle of church interpreter from the get-go. Church interpreting is not about producing consistently good quality interpreting from the very beginning (Owen, 2014). T1's response shows that unlike professional interpreting, the commissioners of church interpreting qualifies interpreters based on their attitude and mentality before their language abilities.

The pastor for church KH-1, respondent T4, also echoes respondents from immigrant churches in the United States, in that the church interpreter and preacher work together in "one spirit" under God which is only possible if both are believing Christians:

> *There are spiritual requirements. The person has to be a Christian. They can't go up just because of the language. Of course, there's a linguistic part. They have to be familiar with the Bible and church jargon. But the spiritual aspect is even more important because the person has to be led by the same spirit. If you're a Christian, you would believe that you'll be led by the spirit as two people preaching to the congregation. So language is primary, but being Christian, born again, and having interest in serving through languages are the key requirements* (T4).

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In terms of eligibility, pastors from bilingual churches in Taiwan and pastors from ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States agree that church interpreter must first and foremost be Christian for similar reasons: united in one spirit, partnership, passion, and altruistic service. Language ability is still a primary requirement, as all respondents cited the technical requirement of being bilingual. When given a choice between someone who is bilingual and someone who is not, the obvious choice would be the former. However, when considering between two bilinguals, the language proficiency takes a back seat to belief in the Christian faith.

For the most part, responses for all pastors interviewed converged on this eligibility requirement. In contrast to pastors from immigrant churches, respondent T1 brought up the issue of denominational differences in the Christian faith:

> *But even with the Christian identity, there are different streams. We're more of a charismatic church. The language that we use may not be found in Evangelical churches. Translators from that background may not understand what we're saying. Even within Christianity, there are very specific lingo we have to know* (T1).

Just professing to be Christian may not be enough to qualify a bilingual individual to interpret at a specific church. Due to the various streams of Christian ideology within Christianity. For instance, an Evangelical Christian interpreter may not necessarily be qualified to interpret at a Charismatic church due to the vast differences in style of preaching, worship and even jargon. This is reminiscent of research done by Tison (2016) on the church interpreter being not only a translator of the spoken word but also a translator of the church institution, including its culture, values and

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particular ideology, which in this case are denominational ideologies. Owen (2014) also cited issues with allowing an interpreter from a church or denomination that differs from the church in which they are interpreting. Issues include differing language usage, doctrinal beliefs and cultural attitudes towards what is acceptable behavior in the pulpit, style of preaching, etc. Unlike church TPE-1, the immigrant churches investigated in this study are not charismatic and are conservative leaning. This effects the style of preaching and the atmosphere created from communication activities in the church.

Responses given by respondents from Taiwanese bilingual churches TPE-1 and KH-1 are consistent with those given by respondents from immigrant churches NJCA, NJ-2 and CA-1. All respondents agree that church interpreting is a service role that can only be undertaken by those with an altruistic heart of service for God and church members (Hokkanen, 2012), which is believed to be only found in believing Christians. In addition, all respondents agree that God's Spirit (see Figure 17) plays a crucial role in how church interpreters fulfill their goals, of which "edification" is first and foremost (Owen, 2014).

Church Interpreter's Active Roles: Performer

Respondents T1, T3 and T4 all mentioned the role the church interpreter plays in helping to create a certain type of atmosphere in the church which is often achieved through usage of performance-type or even theatrical techniques, such as mimicking the hand gestures, facial expressions, body movements on stage, and speaking style of the speaker. The concern for creating the right ambience for church members seems to be a distinctive concern amongst members of bilingual churches in Taiwan, as respondents from ethnic Chinese immigrant churches spoke little to nothing on the subject. Only respondent R4 commented on the importance of conveying not only the verbal information but also the non-verbal dynamic of a sermon. However, most of the

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immigrant church respondents expressed that things like hand gestures, facial expressions and body movements were not primary concerns for the church interpreter.

Based on accounts given by respondents T1 and T4, who are pastors of churches TPE-1 and KH1 respectively, bilingual churches seem to be geared more towards bridging connections between expatriate and local communities at large, unlike immigrant churches which predominantly cater to immigrant believers, at least initially. Having said that, pastors from ethnic Chinese immigrant churches were interviewed did express hope that their church memberships would expand to include both believers from within and outside the ethnic community, albeit a struggle for immigrant churches. In contrast, bilingual churches in Taiwan seem to build their church around reaching out to multiple groups outside of their current demographic, and view performance-related techniques in preaching and interpreting as beneficial to attracting and reaching out to potential church members:

> *First, we use bilingual service to reach out to expats. Second, it's for those who've had this experience overseas and they want the same type of feelings when they're back in Taiwan. Third, it's for those who want to practice English. There's always a need. It attracts these types of people. There is this factor. If the interpreting is such that it complements or even enhances the original speaker's performance, there's this attraction. People are attracted to that type of demonstration. I wouldn't rule out that there are people who want to come and be in this kind of atmosphere* (T4).

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Based on T4's response, it seems that the ambience created from bilingual sermons has a direct impact on the church membership, demography, and attendance. Thus, if the interpreter is able to successfully match and complement the performance of the preacher, the bilingual sermon would serve to attract and retain members. Respondent T3, who is one of the members of church TPE-1, described the interpreter-preacher dynamic as something akin to a subtitles for a foreign a movie:

> *If you really want to understand the sermon, stay entertained, put up a good show, the preacher and interpreter should stay in sync. It's kind of like watching a foreign movie with subtitles versus the dubbing. It's like watching a movie with really bad dubbing. It just destroys the experience. You see the actors having all of these emotions doing this and that, but when the voice doesn't work with that, it's really awkward and detracts from the overall enjoyment of the entire thing. So in a similar way, how much more so for the interpreting side. How much awkward would it be if the preacher is really getting into it and the interpreter is just standing there like a machine* (T3).

T3 is concerned about how the overall execution of the preaching and interpreting affects the experience of the listeners, as sermons as well as the interpretation are done for the sake of the audience. In the event the interpreter fails to synchronize with the speaker, T3's top concern is how newcomers and visitors to the church would perceive and experience the bilingual sermon. For T4, prioritizing delivery of both the message and the experience are a couple of things that separates church interpreting from professional interpreting:

I expect the interpreter to shadow what I do, my movements on the stage, my hand gestures, my diction, my intonation, my volume, everything because I really want to know that that person is also preaching. So it's not just conveying the message per se. It's really the whole person getting involved in the delivery. To me, that's the primary differentiation between church preaching and other types of professional interpreting. (T4)

In contrast to responses by immigrant church respondents, the responses from T1 and T4 have higher resonance with the "single performance hypothesis" (Vigouroux, 2010) which frames the actions of both the preacher and interpreter as one collective singular performance whereby the sermon and its interpretation coalesce into one communication activity. T1 previously mentioned the issue of denominational differences between "different streams" of Christianity. Specifically, T1 regards his church as leaning towards "Charismatic Christianity", which places more emphasis on personal, emotional experiences of the believer (Alcorn, 2010). The more emotional characteristics of TPE-1's church culture may be why T1 and a fellow church member T3 are more open than immigrant church respondents to accepting the interpreter's "co-performer" role. T4 put more emphasis on communicating the "dynamic" of the preaching through the interpreting, which he concedes may require more theatrical elements. After all, having an interpreter on stage offers scope for preachers to use interpreters as fellow performers or even to act out parts of their sermon with them (Downie, 2010).

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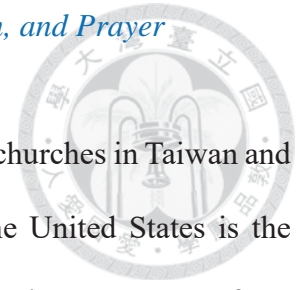
Co-preacher Role

A major contrast between the responses from members of bilingual churches in Taiwan and the response from members of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States is the attitudes towards viewing the church interpreter as a co-preacher or co-speaker. Responses from the immigrant church respondents reflected general aversion to calling church interpreters "co-preachers". Responses from members of bilingual churches in Taiwan, however, reflected general willingness and even earnestness in calling the church interpreter a "co-preacher".

Both T1 and T4 seemed to have no qualms with calling their interpreters "co-preachers". When asked to compare the preacher's goals in a sermon to the interpreter's goals, like the pastors and interpreters from immigrant churches, T4 indicated that there was much overlap, even encouraging his interpreter to embrace their co-preacher role:

> *When preaching, the goal is the spiritual impact you'd want to deliver to the audience. So I would expect the interpreter to have the same ability. I would have the same expectation for their performance. They should be able to deliver that like a preacher. I always tell my interpreter to regard themselves as a preacher as well instead of just an interpreter.* (T4)

The pastor for church TPE-1, respondent T1, even goes so far as to encourage his interpreter to begin interpreting even before he has finished speaking:

> *Because when people are listening, they are listening to her words and her voice, so I do think of her as a co-communicator. I tell her sometimes to cut right in at the*

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end of a sentence so there's a flow, make it seamless. Because a lot of translators are afraid to cut off the pastor, they wait until they're done so it creates a little gap. (T4)

As evidenced in T1 and T4's responses, their open acceptance and advocacy of the church interpreter's "co-communicator" or even "co-preacher" role is a stark contrast to responses from immigrant church respondents who were more reluctant to accepting these aspects of church interpreting. Accepting the church interpreter as an equal and co-communicator with the preacher depicts church interpreters as more than just passive conveyors of the preacher's words but as active players in shaping of the sermon and its impact on the church community (Downie, 2010). The differences between the immigrant church respondents' views and those of Taiwanese bilingual church respondents in regard to the interpreter's co-preacher and co-performer roles may stem from the different institutional goals of the church. As proposed by Tison (2016), the church interpreter is also a translator of the church institution, including its norms, culture and goals. Thus, if the church's main goal is to attract and reach out, the preacher and the interpreter will reflect that goal.

However, results from the interviews with pastors and interpreters from ethnic Chinese immigrant churches were surprisingly somewhat contrary to questionnaire results in regards to the co-preacher/co-communicator role of the church interpreter. While results from interviews with respondents from ethnic Chinese immigrant churches showed general hesitancy in affirming this as a role of the church interpreter, the questionnaire results showed general agreement with ascribing the co-communicator role to the church interpreter. The questionnaire's results reinforce Tison's findings that secular interpreters are usually expected to maintain noninterventionist and

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neutral standing whereas church interpreters are expected to be more personally invested as a co-constructor of the communication (Tison, 2016) while interviews with church pastors and interpreters from ethnic Chinese immigrant churches revealed more ambivalence.

When comparing results between interviews with church pastors from ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA and bilingual churches in Taiwan, it seemed that pastors from immigrant churches were more reluctant to affirm the church interpreter as a "co-speaker" or "co-preacher". In response, they offered alternative or modified descriptions for this type of role. In contrast, interviews with pastors from the bilingual churches in Taiwan openly agreed with the "co-speaker" and "co-preacher" role descriptors without hesitation. Answers given by bilingual church pastors in regards this role were more in sync with the questionnaire results which oddly enough only incorporated responses from members of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches. The researcher believes that the discrepancy between questionnaire and interview results in this study may be due in part to cultural and denominational factors. The bilingual churches in Taiwan seemed to be less conservative than ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in terms of organization, style of speaking, overall environment, and the content of sermons among a plethora of other factors.

Financial Compensation & Altruistic Service

Attitudes towards the church interpreter requesting financial compensation amongst those from bilingual churches in Taiwan were consistent with those amongst respondents from immigrant churches. Responses showed that requesting financial compensation for interpreting services is generally frowned upon, as service in the church is considered an action done out of one's devotion and commitment to serving God and ministering to spiritual needs of the congregation. T1 emphasized that his role as a pastor and preacher is to share the gospel, which he
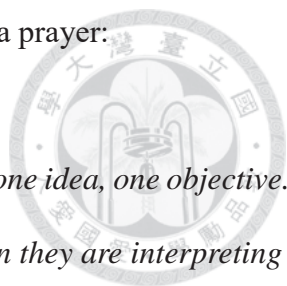
believes should be shared freely and without charge:
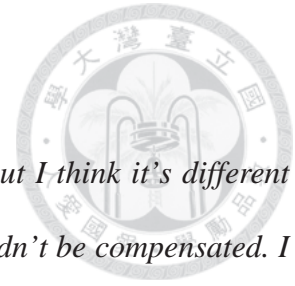
None of our interpreters have ever requested to be paid, but I think it's different from church to church. They see it as a service which shouldn't be compensated. I don't think we should have a sense of entitlement. I'd be happy to preach the gospel even if no one paid me. When people invite me to go speak, I never ask for how much the compensation is and decided whether to go on that. I always go assuming that I'm not getting an honorarium. If they do offer it, I take it gladly but I never ask for it. I don't assume I'm going to get it. That's the type of culture we want to set in our church where people are doing it because they have a heart for God and for people. I think generally that's what every church has. (T1)

However, both T1 and T4 clarified that their own respect church administrations do offer serving church interpreters honoraria for special church-related events or meetings (e.g. workshops, seminars, conferences). Nevertheless, the unwritten rule that those who serve in the church do it for free adds credence to the claim that church interpreting is a form of voluntary altruistic service (Hokkanen, 2012).

Lastly, questions on what role the interpreter takes when interpreting prayers, specifically corporate prayers, yielded mixed responses from bilingual church respondents. From the church interpreter's perspective, respondent T4 who also interprets at his church, felt that the objective of prayer interpreting is to be in agreement with the one who is praying. In doing so, the interpreter becomes a participant in the prayer and is no longer just a translator, not unlike comments presented in Hokkanen's dissertation (2016). Respondent T3, a regular member of church TPE-1,
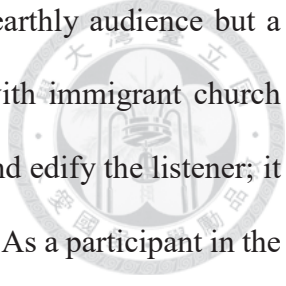
believes that the interpreter is no longer just interpreting when interpreting a prayer:

> *Praying together means you come together in agreement for one idea, one objective. You call together to God in one mind. So in that aspect, when they are interpreting a prayer, they aren't just interpreting anymore. They are praying together. It just so happens they are repeating what the pastor is saying, and facilitating the people in the congregation to also be in one mind. When a translator is translating a prayer from the preacher, he or she is also praying. They are no longer 100% focused on giving information. If you're praying together on something, you're agreeing and coming together on one point. The interpreter is also doing that. I would be thinking the same thing in the crowd. So is the interpreter.* (T3)

The responses from T3 and T4 suggest that they see the role of the interpreter coalescing, at least in part, with that of the one who is praying. Respondent T4 says that the goal of the interpreter when interpreting a prayer is to be in agreement with the one who is praying, effectively making the interpreted prayer the interpreter's own prayer. Respondent T3 further explains that the interpreter is no longer just focusing on translating linguistically when it comes to prayer interpreting, saying corporate prayer is when a group of like-minded believers come together in agreement on a certain point to implore God as a unified entity. Thus, when interpreting prayers, the interpreter takes on multiple roles simultaneously: linguistic mediator, participant in the prayer, and an enabler of others to participate in the prayer.

As a linguistic mediator, the interpreter ensures that the information being uttered in the prayer is made available in another language. Concurrently, the interpreter is enabling the listeners

to join in the prayer which, unlike a sermon, is not directed towards an earthly audience but a divine one—God. This is consistent with the findings from interviews with immigrant church members, that prayer interpreter does more than just convey information and edify the listener; it provides linguistic access and participation in the prayer (Hokkanen, 2012). As a participant in the prayer, the interpreter also takes part in imploring God alongside the one who is praying and the audience who is also listening to the prayer. The awkwardness of the interpreter's role when it comes to prayer interpreting is that the interpreter is technically interpreting for the audience but at the same time is directing their attention towards God who is the main audience. It is almost as if the church members who are listening to the prayer or interpreted prayer are observing on the side-lines. Though aware that the interpretation is for their benefit, the audience direct their attention towards God instead of the speaker or interpreter.

4.2.3 Origins of Church Interpreting & Future Development

One particular area that the questionnaire was unable to cover was the origin of church interpreting, or the primary driver that necessitated the role in the immigrant church. The semi-structured allowed the researcher to prompt members of church leadership or those who served in pastoral roles to elaborate on the histories of interpreting at their respective churches (both ethnic Chinese churches in the USA and bilingual churches in Taiwan). The researcher hoped that looking into what created the need for interpreting in the church in the first place would shed more light on the role or roles church interpreters are supposed to fill.
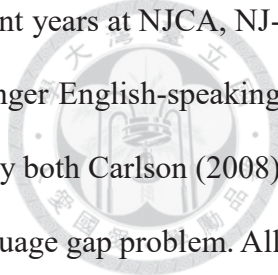
Pastoral Accounts of Origins of Church Interpreting

Respondents R1, R4 and R9 are all pastors currently serving in one of three ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States (i.e. churches NJCA, NJ-2 and CA-1). All three churches were founded between the late 1970s and early 1980s by Chinese-speaking immigrants mainly

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from Hong Kong and Taiwan. NJCA and NJ-2 are considered "sister churches" which spun off from a larger church in New Jersey and operate independently, though they do maintain loose connections with one another and often conduct joint meetings and conferences with their memberships. CA-1 is located on the west coast, so its membership has had very limited contact with members of NJCA and NJ-2. However, through the various Christian conferences held throughout the year and around the country, all of which are interpreter-mediated, pastoral staff from all three churches have met and interacted on a semi-regular basis. Below is a summary of their accounts of the origins of interpreting in their respective churches.

Interpreting at NJCA, NJ-2 and CA-1 initially appeared to address communication gaps between differing language groups in their memberships. Interpreting at NJCA and NJ-2 started as a way to integrate the first wave of coming-of-age English-speaking second-generation members who would have otherwise been excluded from church activities due to their insufficient Chinese language abilities. The beginnings of interpreting at CA-1 differ from NJCA and NJ-2 in that CA-1 was originally part of a larger congregation (hereinafter referred to as CA-0) which catered predominantly to Cantonese and Mandarin-speaking congregants. The pastor of CA-1 (i.e. respondent R9) mentioned that before CA-1 spun off into its own congregation, CA-0 originally started providing interpreting to mitigate linguistic gaps between two Chinese dialects rather than Chinese and English. But when the English-speaking population grew to considerable size, CA-1 spun off from CA-0 and became its own congregation. CA-1 currently offers interpreted-mediated services between Chinese and English and, like NJCA and NJ-2, has a sub-ministry catering to its English-speaking second-generation. Members of CA-1 and CA-0 maintain close connections with each other even more so than NJCA and NJ-1.

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In summary, the ostensible role of the church interpreter in its nascent years at NJCA, NJ-2 and CA-1 was simply to make Chinese sermons accessible to their younger English-speaking members. This same reasons were cited for the role of church interpreting by both Carlson (2008) and Yang (1999), who both saw interpreting as a natural solution to the language gap problem. All three churches have since created supplementary church programs to cater to the needs of English-speaking members, so to varying extents, English-speaking ministries at NJCA, NJ-2 and CA-1 now have certain levels of autonomy. According to Carlson (2008), this is when immigrant churches should begin shifting away from relying on interpreter-mediated services and move towards developing a semi-autonomous English-speaking congregation. Carlson believes that the role of the interpreter only satisfies a linguistic need, and forced interpreter-mediated sessions between Chinese-speaking and English-speaking members will ultimately drive away American-born second generation English-speaking members who are frustrated at being kept in an immigrant culture of which they have never been able to fully acclimate.
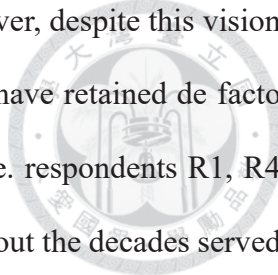
Thus, as mentioned in Chapter 1, this is why Carlson (2008) believes that interpreting in immigrant churches is at best a temporary measure that is ineffective at retaining English-speaking members. However, cases like NJCA and other ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in this study have been able to maintain a certain level of membership comprising both Chinese-speakers and English-speakers for nearly three decades despite continuing with interpreter-mediated services. This suggests that interpreting in immigrant churches may be more than just a temporary solution, or that for certain churches, the need for interpreting in the church may have shifted or will be shifting from bridging internal groups (i.e. first generation Chinese-speakers and second-generation English-speaking ABC's). The next section will go through each pastor's take on the purpose of interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches.

Pastoral Perspectives of the Purpose of Interpreting in Immigrant Churches

As pastors serving at ethnic Chinese immigrant churches, respondents R1, R4 and R9 were asked to expound on the reasons for the use of interpreting in their respective churches. Their responses generally portrayed a gradual shift in the role of interpreters in immigrant churches from being a reactive role to fill an internal need (i.e. American-born second generation) to becoming a proactive one where interpreting is seen as a tool to reach out beyond the ethnic Chinese community to the local community.

Immigrant churches begin as cultural hubs for members of the same ethnic group. Echoing Ley (2008), churches like NJCA, NJ-2 and CA-1 provide immigrants a rich environment to accumulate "social capital". While in a foreign land, immigrants can find a sense of belonging and community in immigrant churches. However, the dispensation of social capital to immigrants was never the main priority of the immigrant church. Instead of aiming to become a cultural center for immigrants and their progeny, respondents R1, R4 and R9 all mentioned that their visions for their churches is to be able to introduce the Christian faith (e.g. the gospel) to anyone, regardless of language, ethnicity or culture. Take NJCA for instance. When prompted about the original vision of the founders of NJCA, R1 gave this account:

> *We were trying to reach out to all people of all different languages in that locale. We had a vision to be inclusive in the very beginning, so we didn't have Chinese as a prefix to the name of our assembly, so we're just using the place we meet as part of our name. So we didn't put the ethnic name in front of our church name. The reason is that we want to reach out to all people who speak different languages. So that's how we started this assembly* (Respondent R1).

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Pastors at NJ-2 and CA-1 have expressed similar sentiments. However, despite this vision to expand outside the ethnic Chinese cricle, all three immigrant churches have retained de facto homogeneity since their founding 30 or so years ago. All three pastors (i.e. respondents R1, R4 and R9) mentioned that the influx of Chinese-speaking immigrants throughout the decades served as one of the primary drivers for this perpetual cultural and linguistic majority in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches. In other words, as long as there are Chinese-speaking immigrants coming into the United States, ethnic Chinese immigrant churches like NJCA, NJ-2 and CA-1 will continue to operate as de facto cultural enclaves and social hubs for immigrants.

These cultural enclaves and social hubs are perpetuated by the cosmopolitan makeup of immigrant church memberships, and is what enforces transnational ties between immigrant churches in the United States and those in Chinese-speaking regions (Yang, 2002). For example, Yang mentions that some immigrant churches are located near universities, and have large portions of their memberships comprising graduate students from Chinese-speaking regions (e.g. Taiwan, China, Hong Kong) in addition to members who are permanent residents, naturalized or American-born. Some of these members may move back to Asia where they will continue to meet in local churches while keeping in touch with the churches they attended abroad. Thus, these transnational ties serve to maintain the church's immigrant and cultural hub identity, slowing down or otherwise preventing immigrant churches from assimilating with the local American community.

As a result, the cultural milieu and values of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches would continue to be dictated by the immigrant majority. This explains why sermons at NJCA, NJ-2 and CA-1 are still given predominantly in Chinese and interpreted into English despite all three churches having sizeable English-speaking memberships. The demand for the English language in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches just does not warrant any definitive changes in the church's

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language policy from being Chinese-dominant to English-dominant. However, this may be gradually shifting. When asked about the future of church NJ-2, R4 spoke of the desire to give more opportunities for English usage to develop:
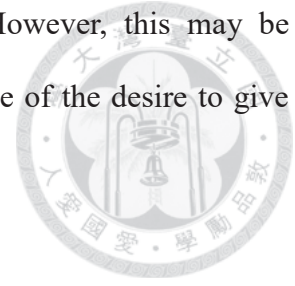
> *In our church, we are actually thinking of increasing English usage. We might have reverse translation more, translating from English to Chinese. Even now, we are starting to do that, but we still have more Chinese to English translation than Chinese to English. We want to see if we can increase the frequency of English to Chinese translation gradually* (R4).

The desire to move towards to more English usage, even during interpreting, may be more than just an attempt to cater to the American-born English-speaking second generation. As mentioned before by respondent R1, the vision of some ethnic immigrant churches is to eventually open their community to those outside of the ethnic community to those in the local community. The difficulty in accomplishing this lies in the inherent conflicts between cultural values and norms between the church's existing ethnic community and those outside of it. An immigrant church's cultural values and norms are naturally resistant to potential changes brought in by members who come from outside the ethnic group. Respondent R4 elaborates:

> *We are first generation Chinese immigrants. All of the immigrant churches that were founded by people from European countries like Sweden, Germany and what not have all used their native languages. But right now, you don't see them doing that anymore. It seems that that's unattainable. Secondly, it's the desire to serve a greater community.*

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We are still an ethnic church; we still serve Chinese. Even though we say we are open to everybody else, everyone has to be attuned to our Chinese way of thinking in order to partake (R4).
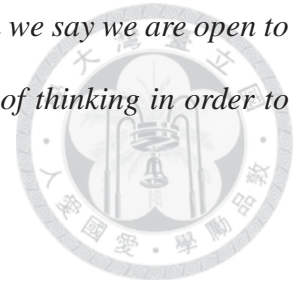
R4's comments here and right before echo what Ley (2008) found in his survey of Chinese, Korean and German immigrant churches in Canada, that immigrant churches that fail to accommodate the needs of their second generation, be it cultural or linguistic, will lose their future. In his survey, one Korean church recounted how they were able to purchase a church building that was once owned by a German immigrant church community because that younger members of that German church left due to the church's rigidity, which most likely refers to the church's cultural and language policies. Ley further elaborated on the success of some Chinese immigrant churches in Canada that have transitioned from being just ethnic to multiethnic via establishing parallel English-language ministries, thus limiting or even eliminating the need for interpreters.

In the interviews, pastors from all three churches expressed a genuine desire to see their churches' membership become more inclusive and diverse with fellow believers from other ethnic groups. However, Ley (2008), Yang (1999) and Carlson (2008) have all mentioned the immense challenge and difficulty for ethnic immigrant churches to transition. If the power of "transnational ties" (Yang, 2002) are considered, immigrant churches may take even longer to transition into multiethnic churches, which would extend the necessity of church interpreting.

The churches that R1, R4 and R9 currently pastor all have developing parallel English-only programs with a minority of non-Chinese members, though the interpreter-mediated service format and the need for church interpreters have remained relatively intact. R9 further elaborated that the presence of interpreting in the immigrant church is not only just to meet an internal need
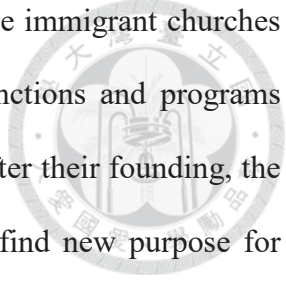
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but is related to a wider ideal:

> *We still need to have the English translation. That has something to do with what we believe. We think we are a testimony for Jesus Christ, not because we are Chinese. It's because we have the life of Christ. We should include all Christians if they want to come to meet with us. We should welcome them and they should have access to our meeting. We are in the US we need to always have English as part of our service* (R9).

Pastoral Accounts of Origins of Interpreting at Bilingual Churches in Taiwan

As mentioned in the interview participant profile section (4.4.2.1), respondents T1 and T4 both serve as pastors in bilingual ministries which are nested under a larger Chinese or even Taiwanese-speaking local "mother church". T1 serves as the pastor for the English and bilingual congregation denoted as church TPE-1 while T4 serves as the pastor for the English and bilingual congregation denoted as church KH-1. Despite the focus of this study being placed on church interpreting at ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States, the researcher sought to get a better understanding of the church interpreting situation at bilingual churches in Taiwan in hopes of finding parallels between the two types of churches.

The immediate overlap between ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United State and Chinese-English bilingual churches in Taiwan is that both types of churches cater to memberships that comprise Chinese-speaker and English-speakers, many of which are not bilingual and thus warrant interpreter-assistance to participate in church functions. However, the main differences lie in the origins and purpose of interpreting.

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As mentioned in the previous section, interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches arose out of an obligation to meet an internal need to make church functions and programs accessible to the second-generation English-speakers. Thirty or so years after their founding, the ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in this study may now be trying to find new purpose for interpreting as a tool for reaching out to not only their internal English-speaking members but also potential English-speaking or non-Chinese-speaking members from outside the ethnic community. Bilingual churches may or may not have developed to address the same issues. To investigate this issue, questions posed to respondents T1 and T4 from churches TPE-1 and KH-1, respectively, addressed the origins and purposes of interpreting at each of their churches.

When prompted on the origins of the bilingual church TPE-1, its pastor (i.e. respondent T1) divulged that the current bilingual church originally started off as an English-only group that branched off from the main Chinese-speaking church. When asked why an English-only group was even needed, T1 had this to say:

> *It's to provide a spiritual home for English-speakers in Chinese. There are English speakers who find it really hard to go into a Chinese church. Some Chinese church provide in-ear translation so you can just go and listen to the sermon. But just the whole culture and context and everything is different, so it's still hard to just put them in an all-Chinese environment. Another big reason why they started it was because [the main church] had a senior pastor who had a vision to do cross-culture missions. And by cross-culture missions, I meant Taiwanese people going overseas to do missions, but not just Chinese-speakers. They had a mind to reach the locals and non-Chinese-speakers* (T1).

Similar to immigrant churches in the United States, the English-only ministry at church TPE-1 started off as an open cultural enclave (Ley, 2008) for foreigners living in Taipei. But unlike the more insular and exclusive cultural enclave of immigrant churches in the US, the bilingual churches TPE-1 and KH-1 were quick to embrace members across ethnicity, nationality and even language with the help of interpreting via bilingual services. The decision to add Chinese-English bilingual services to the English-only ministry was an attempt to create a meeting place for both Chinese-speaking locals and non-Chinese-speaking foreigners. This was in line with T1's original dream and aspiration:

When I first came, I wanted to do a Chinese ministry, so when I talked to the church, I thought that I'd [pastor the English ministry] for a few years. But that fire to do Chinese ministry was always there, so I pushed for the church that I wanted. Can I do something to reach out to the locals? A lot of these English-speaking members, their friends, classmates, coworkers and family members are all Chinese speakers, when they want to invite them to church, they can't really invite them because it's an all-English environment. After talking with the church, we decided to start a bilingual service where we can still do it English and provide a Chinese translation (T1).

Respondent T4, the pastor of the bilingual church KH-1 in Kaohsiung CIty, provided a succinct explanation for the reason KH-1 was formed and why interpreting became a necessity:

It became a necessity because our church is thinking about internationals and expats in the city, as the city becomes more international. And that seems to be the trend for more

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urban areas. This is how we started as a church. When I came back from the States, we started English and Chinese bilingual service. And top of that, we want to serve the people who are able to come and need English interpretation (T4).
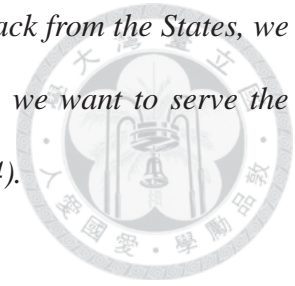
T1 and T4's responses depict a church community that is founded for the reason of reaching out and connecting to the greater community outside the church. This differs from immigrant churches which start off as closed cultural hubs for immigrants (Ley, 2008) which do not concern themselves with reaching out to other ethnic groups in the wider community until decades into their development. In addition, T1 and T4's bilingual churches are both affiliated with larger Taiwanese "mother" church. However, unlike immigrant churches' English programs, these bilingual churches do not seem to be attempts by church leadership to help the larger Taiwanese mother church transition (Carlson, 2008; Ley, 2008) into a multiethnic church. Thus, the origins of interpreting in bilingual churches in Taiwan seem to be more related to outreach rather than the immigrant church interpreter's role of bridging internal gaps between generations, cultures, and languages.

4.3 Development of Church Interpreter Training

Interviews and questionnaire data from this study both show that formal training is not a requirement for church interpreters to carry out their function in the church due to the prominent notion that one's identification in the faith and willingness to serve God take precedence. Although, researching ways to enable bilingual members (or even foreign language learners) in the church to hone their interpreting ability may still be a worthwhile endeavor, especially for ethnic Chinese immigrant churches that are aiming to transition into more inclusive communities catering to more than just one ethnic group. The following anecdotal examples and reflections

are presented in order illustrate the benefits, or even the need for, research on church interpreter training.

Roughly a decade ago, the researcher's home church NJCA y attempted an informal interpreter training program for its younger interpreters. However, training sessions consisted primarily of NJCA's senior level interpreters dictating Chinese Biblical text line by line to interpreters-in-training who were then prompted to recite the corresponding English text. As seen in the questionnaire results, having sufficient Biblical knowledge and terminology is essential for being a church interpreter. Nevertheless, as the researcher has learned in National Taiwan University's Graduate Program for Translation and Interpreting (GPTI), interpreting requires so much more than just knowing the correct terminology. Interpreters need to constantly reflect on their own performance and identify their own strengths and weaknesses in order to improve. This could be done individually without a formal training program.

However, interpreting training programs offers the opportunity to engage in a collective reflection and peer-to-peer discussion and sharing of various interpreting issues and challenges experienced by fellow church interpreters. At NJCA, interpreters usually receive feedback in a piecemeal fashion from audience members, other interpreters, or the speakers themselves. However, there was no mechanism in place that allowed for the mutual sharing of feedback received on each other's interpreting performances. Students studying in conference interpreting training programs have this benefit. They are often encouraged to openly talk about their frustrations and challenges with their peers and instructors who then reply with constructive suggestions or reciprocate with their own experiences. Immigrant churches who do not engage in such a practice could potentially take a page take a page from conference interpreting programs in this regard. For instance, church interpreting training could take the form of weekly group

sessions for discussing interpreting issues, practice sessions using sermon recordings or videos, or even mock interpreting sessions where the entire scenario of the interpreter standing on stage next to a speaker. A church interpreter training program that is modeled in this fashion could possibly create a more open, supportive and encouraging environment for interpreters in the church. In addition, such meetings would offer a productive setting for veteran church members to engage with the younger members of the church.

As mentioned before, immigrant churches could leverage the wealth of audio and video recordings for interpreting practice. Students of conference interpreting in NTU's GPTI often practice interpreting using video or audio recordings of speeches. Church interpreters who are looking for opportunities to practice could use the largely available and widely accessible recordings of church sermons or speakers at church conferences as practice materials. These types of practice sessions would afford church interpreter trainees the ability to practice at their own pace. In addition to honing interpreting skills, practicing with actual recorded sermons provides interpreter trainees additional opportunities to understand the core messages behind the sermons and be edified further in the faith. Taking it a step further, church interpreters could arrange mock interpreting sessions where a sermon is simulated with someone, preferably one of the interpreters-in-training, acting in the capacity of a preacher giving a sermon. This would also offer interpreters the added benefit of stepping into the shoes of the "preacher" and familiarizing themselves with the homiletical styles of communication, which could potentially enhance their own interpreting technique. However, there is currently scarce research and resources that offer detailed information on how to train a church interpreter.

Chapter 5: Conclusion
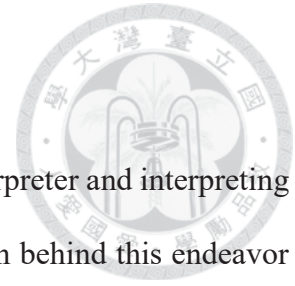
The researcher endeavored to better understand the roles of the interpreter and interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States. The motivation behind this endeavor came from a personal desire to contribute to the validation of the experiences of ethnic Chinese Christian immigrants, including their American-born children, in the church setting in the United States. The researcher took a two-step approach to tackle the two research questions. Online questionnaires were utilized to gauge expectations and attitudes on the eligibility, active and passive roles of the church interpreter, while online interviews were conducted to collect personal accounts and perspectives on the role of interpreting itself in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States. This section sums up the results and relates their findings back to the two research questions. Subsequent sections touch on the research limitations as well as suggestions for future research.

5.1 Summary of Findings

5.1.1 Answering the First Research Question: What is the role of the church interpreter?

The first research question asked what the role or roles the interpreter takes on in an ethnic Chinese immigrant church setting in the USA. The questionnaires and interviews that were used to prompt members from a select group of ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA about the various possible roles interpreters in this specific setting showed that attitudes, perceptions and expectations towards the eligibility and roles of the church interpreter were virtually the same as those for professional interpreters with the exception of a few key differences. The major ways that interpreting in the ethnic Chinese immigrant church setting differs from interpreting professionally include the church interpreter's identity in the faith, the service nature of church

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interpreting, the co-communicator role of the interpreter, the metaphysical component of interpreting. These differences are integral to identifying the distinctive roles of the church interpreter.
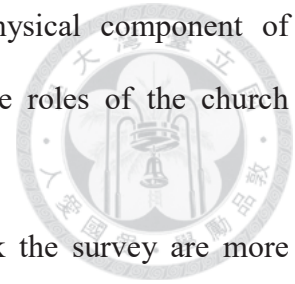
Ratings from the questionnaire showed that Christians who took the survey are more expectant of church interpreters to identify as Christians than they are of professional interpreters to identify with a specific industry or field. The results suggest that professional interpreters do not qualify to interpret in the church setting based on technical ability alone. As discussed in the Literature Review and Results & Discussion chapters, those who commission and listen to church interpreting believe the source text (e.g. sermons, prayers) originates from a divine source, so the non-believing secular interpreter lack the spiritual faculties to render the spiritual content of sermons and prayers. Therefore, professional interpreting skills without personal spiritual conviction would not qualify someone to interpret in the church, at least not in the eyes of the majority of the Christians surveyed in this study. This is not to say that non-Christian professional interpreters would necessarily do a poor job interpreting sermons or prayers in church, as secular interpreters could still technically succeed in rendering all the information if they are familiar enough with the subject matter. Nevertheless, the perception of what a church interpreter ought to be is what the questionnaire aimed to uncover. Thus, according to the results from the questionnaire and interviews, one clear aspect of the role of the interpreter in the ethnic Chinese immigrant church setting is inextricably tied with the interpreter's identity with the faith. In other words, one of roles of the interpreter in this setting is to be a believing Christian.

Based on the results in this study, another major expectation for church interpreters that differed from expectations for professional interpreters was that church interpreters are expected to perform their duties out of "altruistic love" without expectation of pay or material compensation.

Or as Hokkanen (2012) put it, church interpreting is a form of altruistic service. The responses from both the interviews and the questionnaires were overwhelmingly indicative of this perception, though it was revealed in the interviews that this is a tacit understanding among those in the church community, especially those who serve and work for the church institution. As discussed in the Literature Review with Hokkanen (2012) and Owen (2014), church interpreting is seen as a service done unto God without expectation of material compensation. The rewards for those who serve God are reaped spiritually rather than financially, though financially compensating a church interpreter (or anyone rendering services for church) varies from church to church depending on the church's leadership and culture. Thus, in response to the first research question, the results in this study corroborate altruistic service (or in religious terms "serving God") as an aspect of the role of the church interpreter that is distinct from the role of the professional interpreter.

Lastly, the results from this study suggest that the church interpreter does have a co-communicator or co-speaker role, though how this role is interpreted varies among the respondents in the study. In the interviews, those who unequivocally agreed with this role description for the church interpreter were members of bilingual churches in Taiwan. They fully endorsed the idea that church interpreters should think of themselves as a co-preacher alongside the preacher when interpreting. Respondents from ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA answered more conservatively when talking about whether the church interpreter had a co-communicator or co-speaker role. Those who generally agreed supplemented their responses with specific emphasis on how the interpreter differed from the church interpreter while respondents from bilingual churches in Taiwan focused more on the similarities between church interpreters and the preacher. Both groups of respondents intersect on the perspective that church interpreters are an integral part of communication activities (e.g. sermons, corporate prayers) in the church and act as one unit with
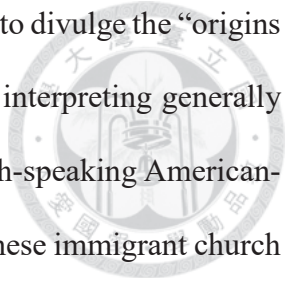
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the preacher/speaker when interpreting.

In summary, the results from the study answered the first research question, revealing that the church interpreter's role, insofar as the interpreters at the churches in the study are concerned, is multifaceted. The results generally corroborated certain church interpreter roles that were brought up in past studies while shedding more light on aspects of the church interpreter's role in contrast to that of the professional interpreter's role. As presented in the research results, church interpreters are expected to be devout believers in the Christian faith who are enabled and qualified to interpret in the church setting by their belief and spiritual identity with the faith and the church institution.

As confirmed in this study, an interpreter who interprets in the ethnic Chinese immigrant church settings are expected to carry out their role as a believing Christian whose goal is to edify the members of the church through their interpreting of both the textual context of the what is being said by the speaker as well as deliver the spiritual dynamic of the communication, especially during the interpreting of prayers; the church interpreter is expected to carry out their duties out as a "servant" of God and provide an unpaid service to the benefit of the members of the church; in addition, while striving to fulfill their roles, church interpreters may take on aspects of a performer (e.g. hand gestures, mimicking sounds or motions) or even become co-speakers or co-communicators to the speaker (i.e. preacher, pastor).

5.1.2 Answering the Second Research Question: What is the role of interpreting in the church?

While the questionnaire (and parts of the interview questions) was used to answer the first research question regarding the role of the interpreter, the interviews aimed to gauge perceptions and expectations of the role of interpreting itself in the ethnic Chinese immigrant church setting (i.e. the second research question). In the attempt to pinpoint the role of interpreting in ethnic

Chinese immigrant churches, the researcher prompted pastors and preachers to divulge the "origins of interpreting" in their respective churches. Their responses revealed that interpreting generally started out as an ad hoc service to meet a growing internal need, i.e. English-speaking American-born members. As time progressed, the role of interpreting in the ethnic Chinese immigrant church evolved from being an ad hoc service to being a formalized one, becoming an integral part of church operations due to a growing number of English-speaking members (e.g. American-born ethnic Chinese, non-ethnic Chinese members). Some pastors even indicated that the amount of English spoken in their churches has grown throughout the years, rivaling the amount of Chinese spoken in some cases. A couple pastors mentioned that as a result the directionality of the interpreting has begun to shift from being predominantly Chinese-to-English interpreting (e.g. preaching in Chinese) to English-to-Chinese interpreting (e.g. preaching in English). However, if the role of interpreting in immigrant churches began as a way to mitigate language and cultural barriers between its internal members, the question that needed to be addressed was whether interpreting would eventually become unnecessary if the immigrant church becomes predominantly English-speaking with a decreasing Chinese-speaking immigrant membership.

When prompted about the future of interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches, pastors responded optimistically, arguing that interpreting services have since become an integral part of the church's mission from the beginning to reach all people, regardless of their language, ethnicity, or cultural background. In summary, based on the interview responses in this study, the role of interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in USA is akin to an adhesive, used to "bandage" fractured cultural and linguistic cracks from within the church community and "fastening" memberships from outside the ethnic Chinese immigrant community.

The interview responses are not by any means representative of all ethnic Chinese

immigrant churches in the USA, but they do offer perspective on how interpreting can impact ethnic Chinese immigrant church development and operations in the USA. The researcher acknowledges that there may be many more perspectives on the role of interpreting in the immigrant church setting, some that may even run contrary to the perspectives documented in this study. However, as far as answering the second research question goes, this study was successful.

5.2 Research Limitations

5.2.1 Geographic and temporal constraints

Geographic and temporal constraints limited the depth and breadth of the research scope. Being physically situated in Taiwan, the researcher was constrained by time differences between Taiwan and the United States, which significantly limited accessibility to research subjects. All interviews had to be conducted via internet. Personal visits to the churches in the United States was unfeasible. In-person observations were unable to be carried out, making interviews and questionnaires the main source of data for this study. However, the researcher believes that the study would have been more holistic and robust had the researcher more time to incorporate additional inputs from audio, video and in-person observations.

Geographic location is another limitation imposed, granted self-imposed, on this study. Despite studying at an institution in Taiwan, the researcher chose to focus on churches in the USA. Although modern day telecommunications technology allows for such a trans-continental endeavor to be possible, the researcher is nevertheless unable to speak face to face with all the church members in the USA nor is he able to visit all of their churches in person. To mitigate this shortcoming, the research will visit the USA to conduct in-person interviews and observations, albeit for a limited time with a group of select churches.

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5.2.2 Denominational Constraints

Another significant challenge with conducting research on anything related to Christianity is the issue of denominational differences and defining the meaning of "church". Although predominantly associated with the Christianity, the term "church" does not exclusively apply to Christianity and may refer to a variety of non-Christian or irreligious institutions. Thus, "church interpreter" in this study exclusively refers to interpreters in Christian church settings. The term "Christian" is itself a term that requires further specification, as it is an umbrella term that could be referring to all or only particular variant branches within Christianity (e.g. the Church of the East, Oriental Orthodoxy, Eastern Orthodoxy, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism). All branches share common core beliefs but differ significantly in terms of practice of the faith and interpretation of the Biblical scripture. The churches in the sample are all Protestant churches. However, Protestant Christianity can be further divided into many denominations (e.g. Lutheran, Evangelical, Charismatic, Methodist, Baptist, Presbyterian), which like the branches of Christianity are further divided along ideological lines within the Christian faith. All of these are factors that may impact the roles of the interpreter and interpreting within a church setting.

However, due to temporal and geographic constraints, it was imperative that the scope of research be as specific as possible. By restricting the scope to only Protestant ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States, the study can be made more feasible and interference from unobserved variables such as differing denominational cultures and norms can be minimized. In this study, the sample of immigrant churches in the USA, with the exception of bilingual churches in Taiwan, were selected based on the following criteria: (1) generally Protestant churches, (2) churches founded in the United States by ethnic Chinese immigrants, and (3) churches referred by a pastor of the researcher's home church, and/or (4) churches with members

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that attend church conferences with members of the researcher's home church. All the churches in this small sample share similar profiles (e.g. denomination, style of service, demography, years since founding). The scope of this study also excludes immigrant churches from other ethnic groups (e.g. ethnic Korean immigrant churches, Hispanic immigrant churches).
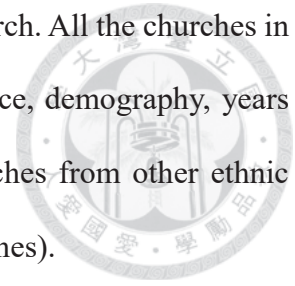
5.2.3 Limited Perspectives

During the brainstorming stages of this study, the researcher initially planned to investigate the role of the interpreter and interpreting in the church setting from a variety of perspectives. Originally, the researcher wanted to survey various groups of respondents based on their amount of experience with church interpreting, professional interpreting, and faith-based factors (i.e. religious beliefs, identity). Categorized responses from non-interpreter church members, church interpreters, Christian professional interpreters, and non-Christian professional interpreters would have each been analyzed separately and compared against each other. However, complications arising from respondents potentially fitting into multiple categories and difficulties with finding a sufficient number of respondents for the study prevented the researcher from investigating the two research questions from differing perspectives.

As a result of the aforementioned limitations, the researcher chose to restrict the questionnaire and interview respondents to members of a select group ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the USA. In order to progress in this study, the researcher had to make the major assumption that all respondents had enough understanding of what professional interpreting entailed to rate comparatively between church interpreters and professional interpreters. In doing so, the potential impact of factors related to the level of familiarity with the aforementioned items (i.e. professional interpreting, Christianity) on the results in the study were not investigated in depth. Thus, this study's findings do not reflect attitudes distinct to these perspectives.

5.2.4 Limited Number of Factors Considered

Lastly, the researcher must acknowledge that there a plethora of other factors with potentially large impacts on the data that were not explored or discussed in this study. Such factors are presented in Figure 3 in Section 2.1.3. This figure is Claudia Angelleli's Visible Interpreter Model (2004) which presents a variety of social and institutional factors that she argued were weighing down on how the interpreter thought and behaved, which ultimately shapes the role or roles the interpreter is expected to play. Such factors include but not limited to age, ethnicity, gender, nationality, and race. No doubt all of these factors influence the role of the interpreter to varying degrees. For instance, analyzing the data by the age of the respondent may have offered insight to differences in generational attitudes towards the role of the church interpreter.

Gender was also a major factor that was not considered in this study. One church interpreter mentioned in her interview that she felt a need to maintain a certain decorum while interpreting on stage due to her gender identity. Ethnicity and nationality may be the most conspicuous elements in this study on interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches, yet these factors were not singled out for analysis of their impact on the data. Unfortunately, due to temporal, geographic, and scope constraints, factors such as gender, age and ethnicity were unable to be fully explored.
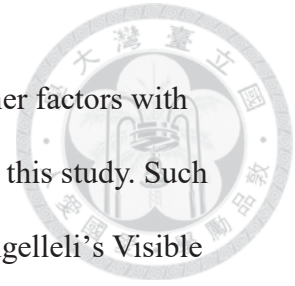
5.3 Suggestions for Future Research

Throughout the process of researching the role of the interpreter and interpreting in the ethnic Chinese immigrant church setting, there were many branch topics that had to be foregone due to research limitations. Thus, this section provides a summary of these branch topics and their potential value for future research. These topics include but not limited (1) church interpreter roles by denomination; (2) church interpreter roles versus roles for other related forms of interpreting (e.g. in-house interpreter, courtroom interpreter, medical interpreter); (3) comparisons of data from in-person and audio-visual observations to interview and questionnaire data; and (4) constructing a training manual for church interpreters in immigrant church settings.

5.3.1 Immigrant Churches in USA versus Bilingual Churches in Taiwan

A minor portion of the study included comparisons between church interpreting in ethnic Chinese immigrant churches in the United States and bilingual churches in Taiwan. Although each church's ideological leanings were not analyzed, the nearly diametrically opposed opinions of the church interpreter's "performer" and "co-preacher" roles between respondents from the immigrant churches in the USA and the bilingual churches in Taiwan suggest that there could be an ideological element at play. Perhaps the ideologically divergent responses are reflective of each church's denominational beliefs which are fundamental to the church's institutional norms. As mentioned in the introduction of this paper, a church is a social institution, replete with its own normative, regulatory and cultural norms (Tison, 2016). Moreover, the role of the interpreter, who is embedded in this social institution, is both a product and conduit of these institutional norms. Thus, researching the role of interpreters in different denominational settings may be a fruitful endeavor and beneficial for the advancement of research on church interpreting.

5.3.2 Comparative Research: Church Interpreting versus Other Forms of Community Interpreting

Comparative research on the role of interpreters in churches, community interpreting-type settings (e.g. hospitals, courtrooms) and firms may offer more concentrated and detailed insights into the intricacies of church interpreting. Technically, church interpreters are in-house interpreters of the church, and like in-house interpreters, church interpreters represent the interests of the institutions they "work" as a member of that institution. The only immediately discernable difference is the spiritual aspect of church interpreting, which prioritizes an interpreter's Christian identity above their interpreting skills. However, the researcher believes that a comparative study on the roles of in-house interpreters and church interpreters may yield valuable insights into how much being a member of an institution (e.g. church, firm) impacts the role of the interpreter, or whether "church interpreter" can be categorized as a form of "in-house interpreting".

Courtroom interpreting and church interpreting also share some similarities. Both courtroom interpreters and church interpreters aim to deliver the linguistic information as well as the complete dynamic of a communication (e.g. emotional elements of a communication, physical environment, power differential). In the study done by Alev Balci Tison (2016), Tison brought up the existence of "power differential" between members of a church institution. A power differential is a major element in dialogic interpreting where one interlocutor holds more "power" than the other which may cause the interpreter to straddle the line between being an advocate for the less powerful interlocutor and a neutral communicator. A disparity in power and authority seems to be more prevalent in community interpreting settings (e.g. courtrooms and hospitals) where dialogic communication is more common. As mentioned by Tseng (2009) and Tison (2016), interpreting in the church setting cane take place in both dialogic and monologic communications. Though this study was unable to explore interpreting in dialogic formats in the church setting, the researcher

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believes that a comparative study between interpreter roles in courtroom, hospitals, and church settings will further flesh out unexplored aspects of the church interpreter's role.
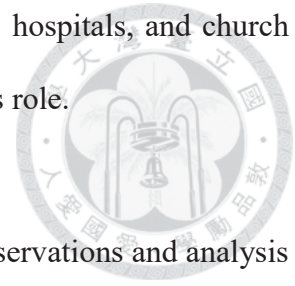
### 5.3.3 In-person observations and Analysis of Video/Audio Recordings

If the researcher had more time to continue this study, in-person observations and analysis of audiovisual recordings of church interpreting would have been incorporated into the study. The researcher believes that comparing observations of currently available audio and video recordings of church interpreting and in-person observations would offer additional points of discussion and analysis. For example, observational data from video and audio recordings of interpreter-mediated sermons could be used to verify questionnaire and interview responses to see if stated beliefs and attitudes are consistent with practice. Other applications of observational data from video and audio recordings could even unearth other unexplored aspects of interpreting.

5.3.4 Church Interpreting Training

. From the umbrella topic "church interpreter training" springs forth a variety of potential research topics, such as the following : (1) studies comparing existing church interpreting training programs with conference interpreter training or community interpreter training (e.g. medical interpreter, courtroom interpreter); (2) studies comparing church interpreter training programs between churches from different denominations; (3) or even studies gauging the effectiveness of implementing conference/community interpreting training practices in the church setting. These are only but a few suggestions for future research topics related to church interpreter training. The researcher believes that the results of these types of studies would not only benefit church interpreters (as mentioned in Section 4.3 in Chapter 4) but would also provide non-church interpreters and others who are unfamiliar with church culture further insight into this relatively unexplored sub-section of the field of translation and interpretation studies.

Evidently, there are many more aspects of church interpreting that have yet to be explored. Hopefully, this study contributed to laying out the groundwork for further research on church interpreting, especially in immigrant and bilingual church settings. Moreover, the researcher hopes that this study will help both Christians and non-Christians alike develop a deeper appreciation, or at least a better understanding, of the value of interpreting in the church setting.
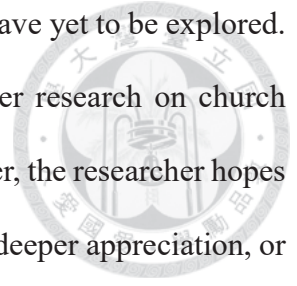
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Section 1 Questionnaire Items:
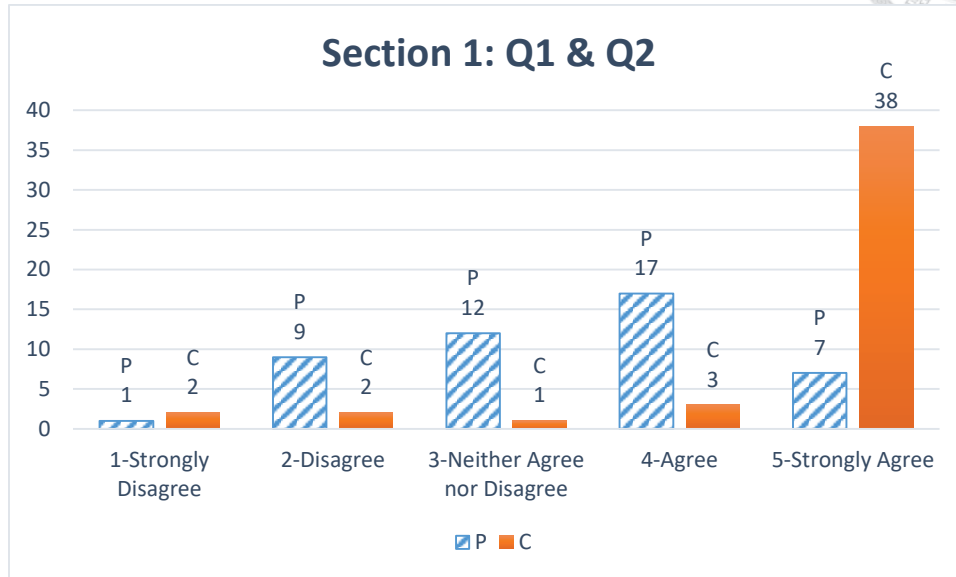
Section 1: Q1 & Q2

P 1, C 2 — 1-Strongly Disagree
P 9, C 2 — 2-Disagree
P 12, C 1 — 3-Neither Agree nor Disagree
P 17, C 3 — 4-Agree
P 7, C 38 — 5-Strongly Agree

Q1/Q2: Interpreters must identify with the industry or field in which they are interpreting.

Section 1: Q3 & Q4

P 1, C 0 — 1-Strongly Disagree
P 2, C 1 — 2-Disagree
P 8, C 4 — 3-Neither Agree nor Disagree
P 21, C 16 — 4-Agree
P 14, C 25 — 5-Strongly Agree

Q3/Q4: Interpreters must have thorough knowledge or near expert-level understanding of the subject

Section 1:Q5 & Q6

Q5/Q6: Interpreters must be formally trained as an interpreter before accepting interpreting assignments.

Section 1: Q7 and Q8
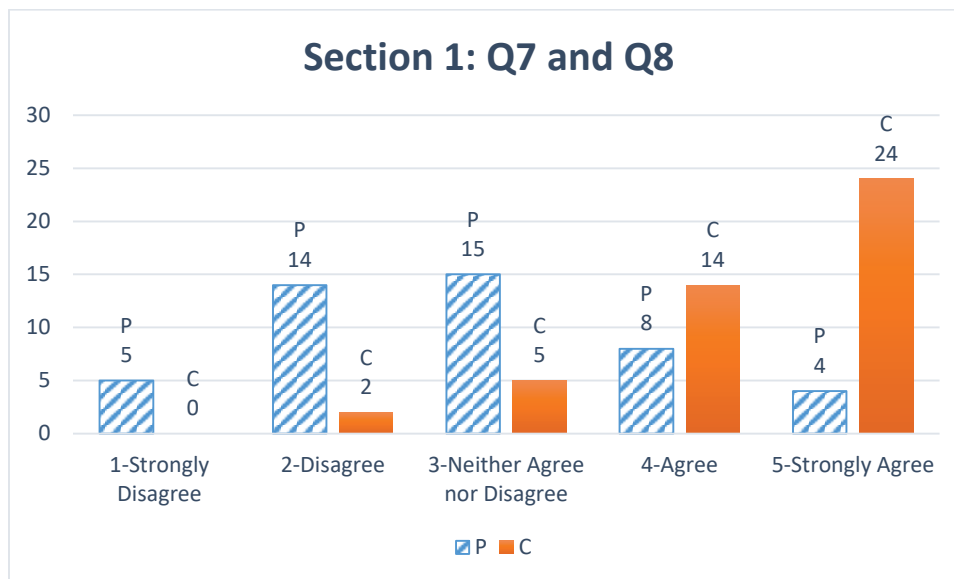
Q7/Q8: Interpreters must be devout believers in the ideology of what they are interpreting.

Section 1:Q9/Q10

Q9/Q10: Interpreters must have many years of experience in a certain field or industry before they can interpret in that field or industry.
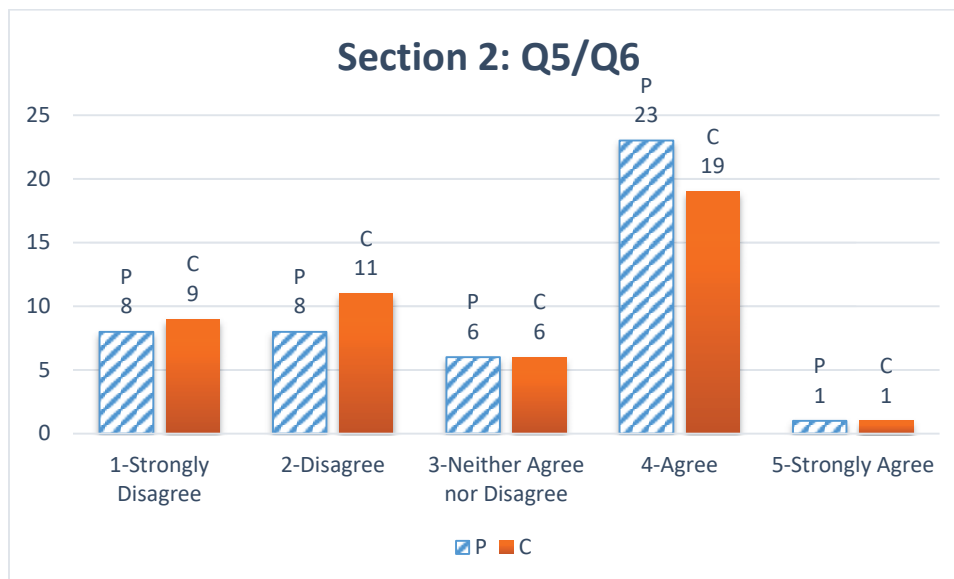
Section 2: Q1 and Q2

Q1/Q2: The interpreter loses credibility if they fail to use field or industry-specific language when interpreting.

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Section 2: Q3/Q4

Q3/Q4: The interpreter must replicate the facial expressions, body movements, speaking style and/or hand gestures made by the speaker.
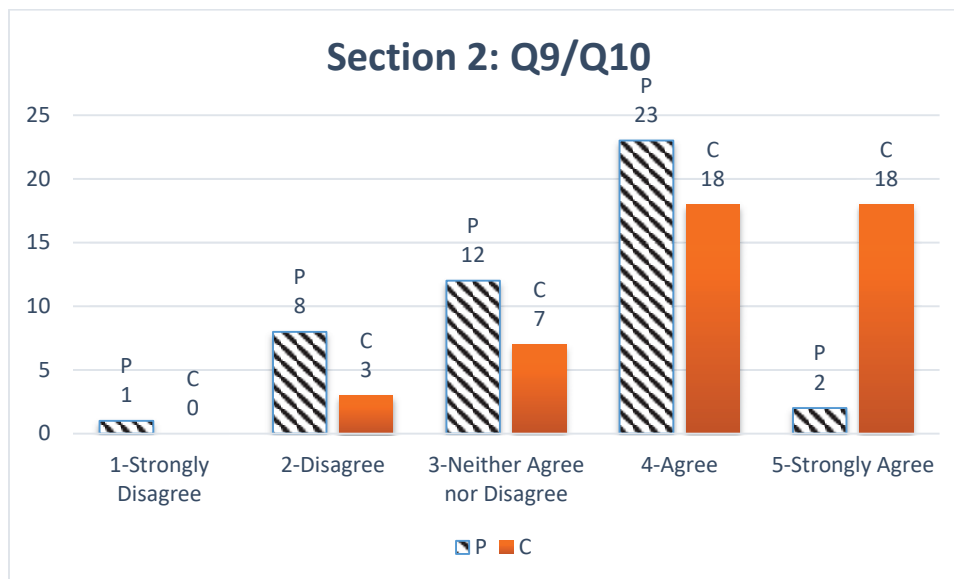

Section 2: Q5/Q6

Q5/Q6: The interpreter is allowed to omit, add or substitute information if they deem it helpful or necessary for conveying the speaker's intended meaning.
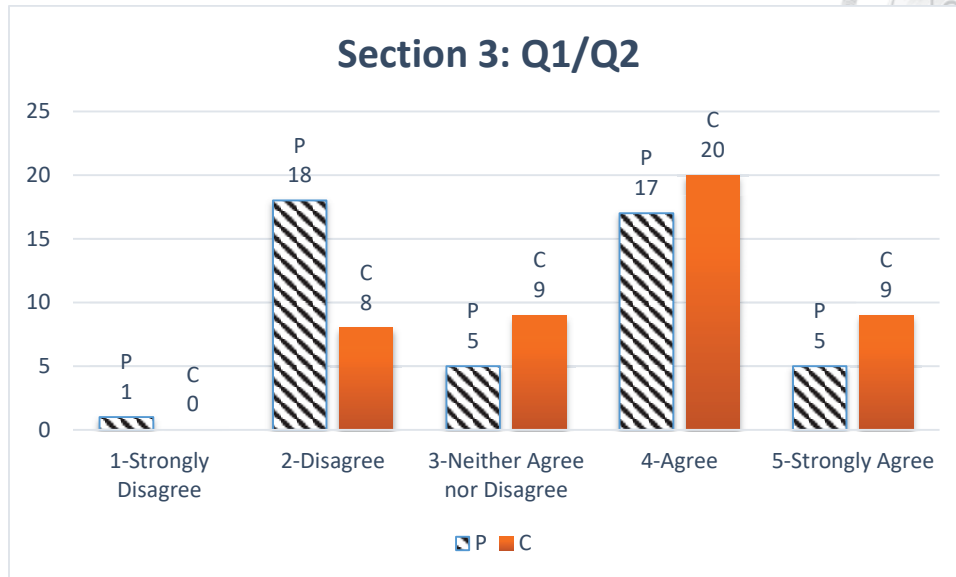
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Section 2:Q7/Q8

Q7/Q8: The interpreter must remain neutral when interpreting, even when they find the speaker's words to be prejudicial, controversial and/or heretical.
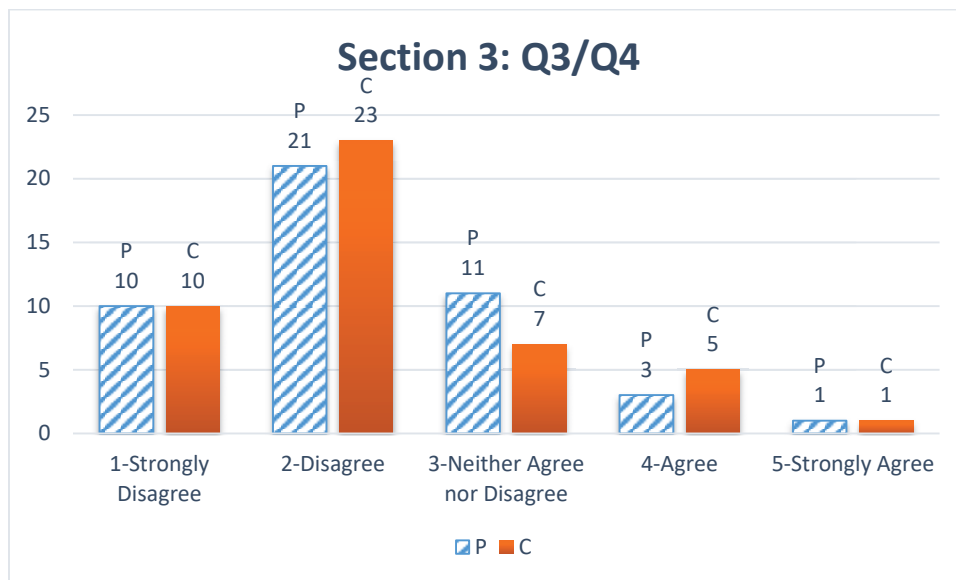

Section 2: Q9/Q10

Q9/Q10: The interpreter must aim to be edifying to the audience in addition to conveying the linguistic meaning of the speaker's words.

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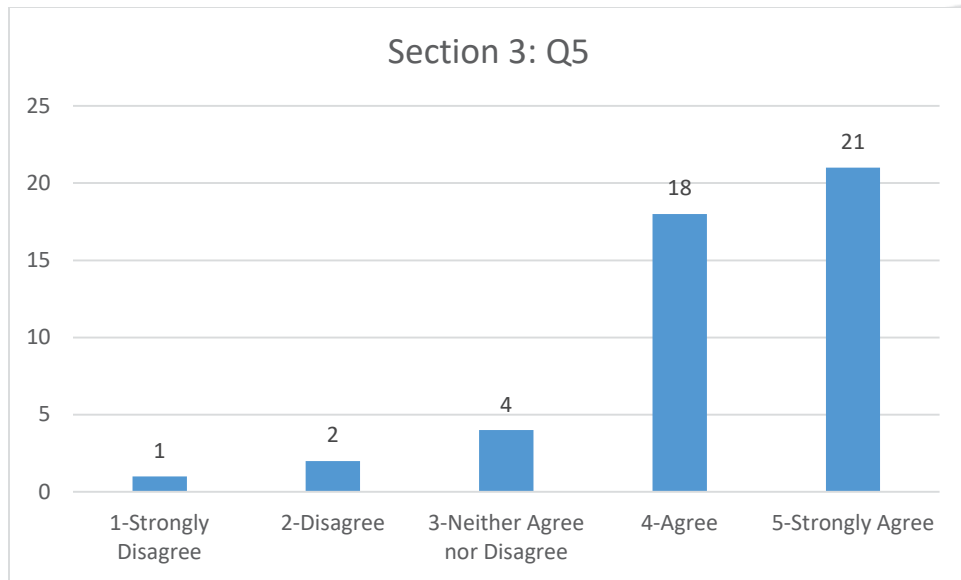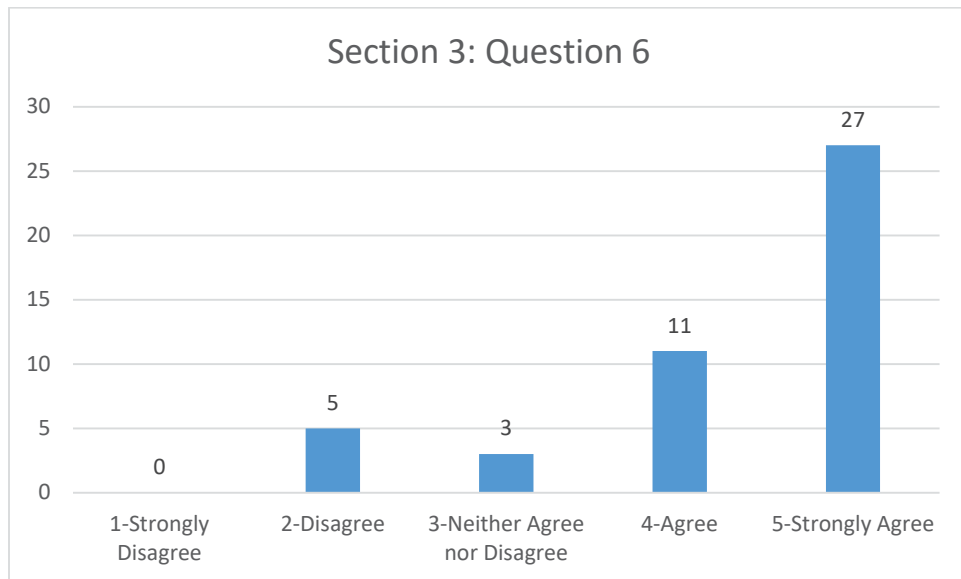Section 3 Questionnaire Items:

Section 3: Q1/Q2

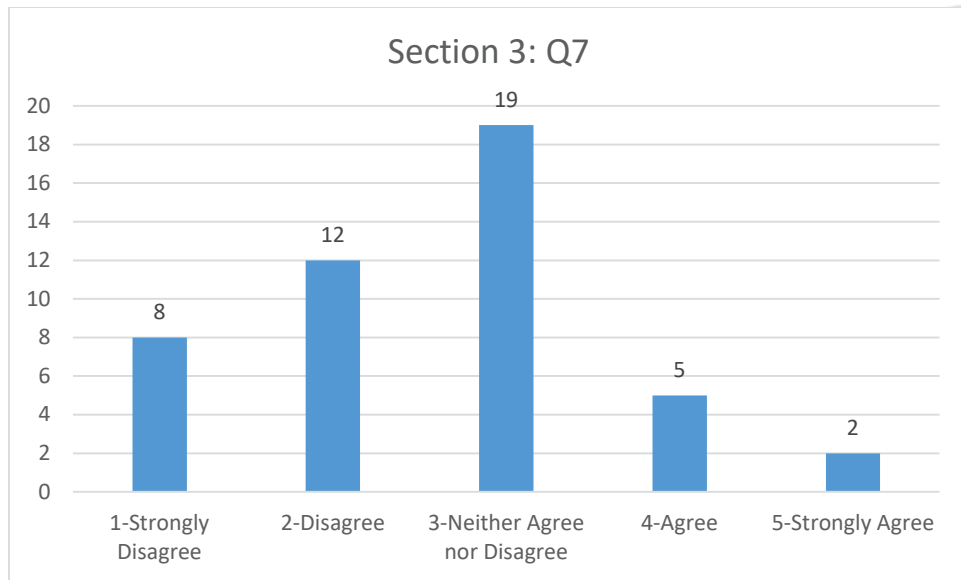**Q1/Q2:** The interpreter is a co-communicator and equal alongside the speaker.

Section 3: Q3/Q4

Q3/Q4: The interpreter is responsible for answering questions or clearing up misconceptions when the speaker is not present.

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Section 3: Q5

Q5: When interpreting in a church setting, being a Bible-believing Christian is more important than being a skilled interpreter with a high proficiency in language.

Section 3: Question 6

Q6: In a church setting, it is not possible to interpret on matters of the Christian faith without first being a believer in the faith.

Section 3: Q7

	1-Strongly Disagree	2-Disagree	3-Neither Agree nor Disagree	4-Agree	5-Strongly Agree
Count	8	12	19	5	2

Q7: Asking to be financially compensated for interpreting in a church is a reasonable request
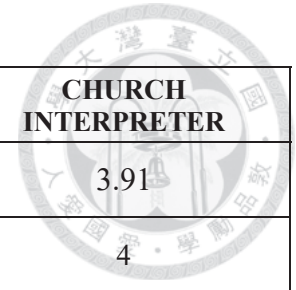
Appendix B: Mean, Median, and Mode of Questionnaire Results

Section 1: Eligibility

SECTION 1: ELIGIBILITY (46 Respondents)		PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETER	CHURCH INTERPRETER
Q1/Q2: Interpreters must identify with the industry or field in which they are interpreting.	MEAN	3.43	4.59
	MODE	4	5
	MDN	3.5	5
Q3/Q4: Interpreters must have thorough knowledge or near expert-level understanding of the subject matter.	MEAN	3.98	4.41
	MODE	4	5
	MDN	4	5
Q5/Q6: Interpreters must be formally trained as an interpreter before accepting interpreting assignments.	MEAN	3.89	2.96
	MODE	4	4
	MDN	4	3
Q7/Q8: Interpreters must be devout believers in the ideology of what they are interpreting.	MEAN	2.83	4.33
	MODE	3	5
	MDN	3	5
Q9/Q10: Interpreters must have many years of experience in a certain field or industry before they can interpret in that field or industry.	MEAN	2.74	3.22
	MODE	2	4
	MDN	3	3

Section 2: Active Roles

SECTION 2: ACTIVE ROLES (46 Respondents)		PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETER	CHURCH INTERPRETER
Q1/Q2: The interpreter loses credibility if they fail to use field or industry-specific language when interpreting.	**MEAN**	4.02	3.91
	MODE	4	4
	MDN	4	4
Q3/Q4: The interpreter must replicate the facial expressions, body movements, speaking style and/or hand gestures made by the speaker.	**MEAN**	3.07	3.30
	MODE	3	3
	MDN	3	3
Q5/Q6: The interpreter is allowed to omit, add or substitute information if they deem it helpful or necessary for conveying the speaker's intended meaning.	**MEAN**	3.02	2.83
	MODE	4	4
	MDN	4	3
Q7/Q8: The interpreter must remain neutral when interpreting, even when they find the speaker's words to be prejudicial, controversial and/or heretical.	**MEAN**	3.89	3.11
	MODE	4	2
	MDN	4	3
Q9/Q10: The interpreter must aim to be edifying to the audience in addition to conveying the linguistic meaning of the speaker's words	**MEAN**	3.37	4.11
	MODE	4	4
	MDN	4	4

Section 3: Passive Roles

SECTION 3: PASSIVE ROLES (46 Respondents)		PROFESSIONAL INTERPRETER	CHURCH INTERPRETER
Q1/Q2: The interpreter is a co-communicator and equal alongside the speaker.	**MEAN**	3.152174	3.652174
	MODE	2	4
	MDN	3	4
Q3/Q4: The interpreter is responsible for answering questions or clearing up misconceptions when the speaker is not present.	**MEAN**	2.217391	2.217391
	MODE	2	2
	MDN	2	2
Q5: When interpreting in a church setting, being a Bible-believing Christian is more important than being a skilled interpreter with a high proficiency in language.	**MEAN**	--	4.217391
	MODE	--	5
	MDN	--	4
Q6: In a church setting, it is not possible to interpret on matters of the Christian faith without first being a believer in the faith.	**MEAN**	--	4.304348
	MODE	--	5
	MDN	--	5
Q7: Asking to be financially compensated for interpreting in a church is a reasonable request.	**MEAN**	--	2.586957
	MODE	--	3
	MDN	--	3

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Appendix C: List of Semi-structured Interview Questions
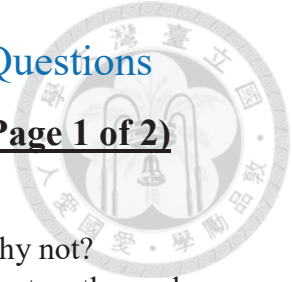
SECTION 1: ROLE OF THE CHURCH INTERPRETER (Page 1 of 2)

SECTION 1: ELIGIBILITY

1. Do church interpreters have to be Christians themselves? Why or why not?
2. How would you define a "devout Christian"? And do church interpreters themselves have to be "devout"?
3. To what level of familiarity do church interpreters need to have with the Bible, Christian doctrine, etc. to be qualified to interpret in the church?
4. How many church interpreters in your church have received formal interpreter training?
5. Do the number of years spent in the faith matter when it comes to interpreting in the church? Why or why not?

SECTION 2: ACTIVE ROLES

1. Should church interpreters try to replicate the facial expressions, body movements, speaking/style and hand gestures of the speaker? Why or why not?
2. Should a church interpreter be allowed to omit, add or substitute information if it will help to convey the speaker's intended meaning?
3. How important is maintaining neutrality when interpreting in the church?
4. What does "edifying the church" mean to you? And is this considered one of the responsibilities of the church interpreter?

SECTION 3: PASSIVE ROLES

1. Would you consider the interpreter as a co-speaker alongside the preacher or is the interpreter more of a communication facilitator for the preacher?
2. If you had question or misgiving about what the preacher said and he/she was not on site, would you ask another church leader or the interpreter for clarification?
3. Is asking for financial compensation for interpreting in the church reasonable? Why or why not?
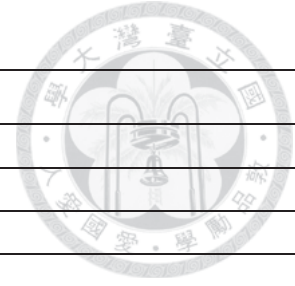
CHURCH PROFILE	
1. **Year Founded:**	
2. **Number of Members:**	
English-speaking Members:	
Chinese-speaking members:	
3. **Were the founding members immigrants/ex-pats?**	
4. **In what language(s) were church services conducted in the early years of the church?**	
Is this still the case today?	
5. **If there were changes, what prompted those changes to occur?**	
6. **Who makes up the leadership board (or leadership group) in your church?**	
7. **Are there any members on the leadership board (team) from the second or later generations of the church?**	
8. **Is there a separate English and Chinese ministry?**	
How closely do these ministries operate? *Frequency? Often? Occasional?*	
9. **When did interpreting services start in the church? Why?**	
10. **How would you describe the general impact of interpreting on the church community?**	
Pros & Cons?	
11. **What is the future vision of the church?**	
Will interpreting eventually be obsolete or is it a part of the church's vision for the future?	

"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)

Introduction

Greetings,

My name is Eric Lieu, and I am a Master's student studying in the Graduate Program for Translation & Interpreting at National Taiwan University (NTU) in Taipei, Taiwan. I am currently writing my Master's thesis on the role of the interpreter in a church community(with a focus on immigrant/bilingual church communities in the USA and Taiwan).

This questionnaire primarily aims to collect information regarding how the role of the church interpreter is perceived by church members. It is my hope that the responses will shed more light on the significance of the role interpreters play within the church community.

The questionnaire should take around 15 - 20 minutes to complete. There is no time limit, so please fill out the questionnaire at your leisure.

I truly appreciate your time in filling out this survey. Should you have any questions, concerns or comments, please direct them to my email: elieu17@gmail.com

Much appreciated,

Eric Lieu

"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)

Section 1A

Definitions:
1) In this study, the *church* refers to a religious body or congregation of Christians that hold meetings in pursuit of their faith; the term *church* serves as an umbrella term for other common synonyms, including *assembly, congregation,* and *fellowship.*
2) *Church interpreter* in this questionnaire refers to those who regularly interpret in and for a church or at church-related functions.
3) *Professional interpreter* in this questionnaire refers to those who identify interpreting as a profession and receive wages for their interpreting services in settings other than a church or church-related functions.

* 1. For each pair of questions below, please rate your level of agreement/disagreement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Professional interpreters must identify with the industry or field in which they are interpreting. *(e.g. interpreters at a science conference must be a scientist)*	○	○	○	○	○
2 Church interpreters must identify with the industry or field in which they are interpreting. *(e.g. church interpreters must be Christian)*	○	○	○	○	○
3. Professional interpreters must have thorough knowledge or near expert-level understanding of the subject matter *(e.g. interpreters for a physics conference should have thorough knowledge and understanding of physics)*	○	○	○	○	○
4. Church interpreters must have thorough knowledge or near expert-level understanding of the subject matter *(e.g. church interpreters should have a thorough knowledge of the Bible and understanding of Christian doctrines)*	○	○	○	○	○
5. Professional interpreters must be formally trained as an interpreter before accepting interpreting assignments.	○	○	○	○	○
6. Church interpreters must be formally trained as an interpreter before accepting interpreting assignments (in church settings).	○	○	○	○	○
7. Professional interpreters must be devout believers in the ideology of what they are interpreting. *(e.g. interpreters for Greenpeace must be devout environmentalists)*	○	○	○	○	○
8. Church interpreters must be devout believers in the ideology related to what they are interpreting. *(e.g. church interpreters must be devout Christians)*	○	○	○	○	○
9. Professional interpreters must have many years of experience in a certain field or industry before they can interpret in that field or industry *(e.g. interpreters for the government must have spent many years working for the government)*	○	○	○	○	○
10. Church interpreters must have many years of experience in a certain field or industry before they can interpret in that field or industry *(e.g. church interpreters must have spent many years in the faith)*	○	○	○	○	○

2. If you would like to further comment or elaborate on any of your answers in this section, please do so in the space below:

"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)

Section 1B

* 1. For the following pair of questions, please rate your level of agreement or disagreement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. Professional interpreters lose credibility if they fail to use field or industry-specific language when interpreting (e.g. industry jargon, field-specific vocabulary)	○	○	○	○	○
2. Church interpreters lose credibility if they fail to use field or industry-specific language when interpreting (e.g. Christian terms, Biblical vocabulary and names)	○	○	○	○	○
3. Professional interpreters must replicate the facial expressions, body movements, speaking style and/or hand gestures made by the speaker.	○	○	○	○	○
4. Church interpreters must replicate the facial expressions, body movements, speaking style and/or hand gestures made by the speaker.	○	○	○	○	○
5. Professional interpreters are allowed to omit, add or substitute information if they deem it helpful or necessary for conveying the speaker's intended meaning.	○	○	○	○	○
6. Church interpreters are allowed to omit, add or substitute information if they deem it helpful or necessary for conveying the speaker's intended meaning.	○	○	○	○	○
7. Professional interpreters must remain neutral when interpreting, even when they find the speaker's words to be prejudicial, controversial and/or heretical.	○	○	○	○	○
8. Church interpreters must remain neutral when interpreting, even when they find the speaker's words to be prejudicial, controversial and/or heretical.	○	○	○	○	○
9. A professional interpreter must aim to be edifying to the audience in addition to conveying the linguistic meaning of the speaker's words.	○	○	○	○	○
10. A church interpreter must aim to be edifying to the audience in addition to conveying the linguistic meaning of the speaker's words.	○	○	○	○	○

2. If you would like to further comment or elaborate on any of your answers in this section, please do so in the space below:

"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)

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* 1. For the following pair of questions, please rate your level of agreement.

	Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree
1. The professional interpreter is a co-communicator and equal alongside the speaker.	○	○	○	○	○
2. The church interpreter is a co-communicator and equal alongside the speaker.	○	○	○	○	○
3. The professional interpreter is responsible for answering questions or clearing up misconceptions when the speaker is not present.	○	○	○	○	○
4. The church interpreter is responsible for answering questions or clearing up misconceptions when the preacher is not present.	○	○	○	○	○
5. When interpreting in a church setting, being a Bible-believing Christian is more important than being a skilled interpreter with a high proficiency in language.	○	○	○	○	○
6. In a church setting, it is not possible to interpret on matters of the Christian faith without first being a believer in the faith.	○	○	○	○	○
7. Asking to be financially compensated for interpreting in a church is a reasonable request.	○	○	○	○	○

2. If you would like to further comment or elaborate on any of your answers in this section, please do so in the space below:

>

"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)

Section 2: Church Involvement

* 1. Which of the following descriptions describes the church you currently attend? (Check all that apply)

☐ **Immigrant church**: a church founded by immigrants and comprising predominantly immigrant members

☐ **Expatriate church**: a church founded by expatriates and comprising predominantly expatriate members

☐ **Bilingual church**: a church that conducts services and church functions in at least two languages

☐ **Ethnic church**: a church with dominant membership comprising those belonging to a particular ethnic group

☐ **Multi-cultural church**: a church comprising members from various cultural and/or ethnic groups

☐ **Separate Fellowship**: an affiliated and/or independent group operating alongside or within a larger church community

☐ **None of the above**. Please specify:

[   ]

* 2. How long have you been a member of your current church?

○ Less than 6 months

○ Less than 1 year

○ 1 - 2 years

○ 2 - 5 years

○ 5 - 10 years

○ Over 10 years

* 3. If you currently serve or have served before in this church, please check all that apply below.

☐ I have not served in the church before.

☐ Pastor

☐ Preacher

☐ Interpreter

☐ Sunday School Teacher/Bible Study leader

☐ Worship Team

☐ Welcome Team/Usher

☐ Other (please specify)

[   ]

4. If you would like to provide additional information on your involvement in the church, please do so in the space below.

[   ]

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5. If applicable, please specify the denomination your church is associated with.

[   ]

* 6. Have you ever identified as a member of another church before?

◯ Yes, I have.

◯ No, this is the only church of which I have identified as a member.

"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)

Section 2: Church Involvement (prior)

* 1. Which of the following descriptions describes the church you attended previously? (Check all that apply)

☐ **Immigrant church**: a church founded by immigrants and comprising predominantly immigrant members

☐ **Expatriate church**: a church founded by expatriates and comprising predominantly expatriate members

☐ **Bilingual church**: a church that conducts services and church functions in at least two languages

☐ **Ethnic church**: a church with dominant membership comprising those belonging to a particular ethnic group

☐ **Multi-cultural church**: a church comprising members from various cultural and/or ethnic groups

☐ **Separate Fellowship**: an affiliated and/or independent group operating alongside or within a larger church community

☐ **None of the above**. Please specify:

[   ]

* 2. How long were you a member of your previous church?

◯ Less than 6 months

◯ Less than 1 year

◯ 1 - 2 years

◯ 2 - 5 years

◯ 5 - 10 years

◯ More than 10 years

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* 3. If you have served before in that church, please check all that apply below.

☐ I have not served in the church before.

☐ Pastor

☐ Preacher

☐ Interpreter

☐ Sunday School Teacher/Bible Study leader

☐ Worship Team

☐ Welcome Team/Usher

☐ Other (please specify)

> [ ]

4. If applicable, please specify the denomination your previous church is associated with.

> [ ]

5. If you would like to provide any additional information on the background of your church involvement (e.g. past membership in other churches, other experiences, anecdotes), please do so in the space below.

> [ ]

"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)

Section 3: Church Interpreter's Background

* 1. Have you ever served as an interpreter in a church setting?

○ Yes, I have.

○ No, I have not.

"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)

Section 3: Church Interpreter's Background (continued)

Definitions:

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1. *Consecutive interpreting* refers to the action of interpreting right after the speaker stops talking. For example, the speaker may say a sentence or two before pausing to let the interpreter translate.
2. *Simultaneous interpreting* refers to the action of interpreting while the speaker is speaking by using a microphone that broadcasts to headsets worn by the listener. For example, while the speaker is speaking, the interpreter will interpret simultaneously into a microphone which then broadcasts the interpreter's voice to headsets worn by an audience member.
3. *Whispering* refers to the action of interpreting simultaneously to an individual or group of individuals <u>without</u> the use of microphones and headsets. For example, while the speaker is speaking, the interpreter whispers the interpretation to an individual or group of individuals nearby.

* 1. When interpreting, what mode do you use and for which language directionality? (Check all that apply)

☐ Consecutive Interpreting from English into Chinese

☐ Consecutive Interpreting from Chinese into English

☐ Simultaneous Interpreting from English into Chinese

☐ Simultaneous Interpreting from Chinese Into English

☐ Whispering from English into Chinese

☐ Whispering from Chinese into English

☐ Other (please specify)

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[                                        ]
[                                        ]
[                                        ]
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* 2. What motivated you to start interpreting for your church? (Please check the top 2 reasons)

☐ Out of interest

☐ Felt that interpreting was your calling

☐ Approached by figures of authority (e.g. mentors, leaders, teachers, church pastors)

☐ Encouraged by family and/or friends

☐ Saw the need for interpreting and rose to meet that need

Other (please specify)

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[                                        ]
[                                        ]
[                                        ]
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* 3. How long have (or did) you serve in the role of interpreter at the church you currently attend or formerly attended?

○ Less than 6 months

○ Less than a year

○ 1 - 2 years

○ 3 - 5 years

○ 5 - 10 years

○ More than 10 years

* 4. How often do you (or did you) interpret for Sunday Services (i.e. sermon, preaching, Sunday message)?

○ Every week

○ More than two times a week

○ Once a month

○ Once every couple months

5. If you interpret or have interpreted for any other church functions, please list which functions/events.

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* 6. Have you received interpreter training of any sort?

○ Yes, I have.

○ No, I have not.

7. If yes, please specify length of your training and the group, institution or organization that trained you.

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"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)
Section 4: Professional Interpreter's Background

Definitions:

Professional interpreter refers to those who identify interpreting as a profession and receive wages for their interpreting services, including but not limited to conference interpreters, court interpreters, hospital interpreters and business meeting interpreters.

* 1. Have you worked as a professional interpreter in non-church settings?

○ Yes, I have.

○ No, I have not.

"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)

Section 4: Professional Interpreter's Background (continued)

* 1. In what types of settings do you provide interpreting services? Check all that apply.

☐ Large scale conferences (international, academic, governmental, etc.)

☐ Small scale conferences (press conferences, book signings, etc.)

☐ Legal settings (court room, depositions, agencies, etc.)

☐ Medical settings (doctor's offices, hospitals, clinics, nursing homes, etc.)

☐ Business meetings

☐ Other (please specify)

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│                                             │
│                                             │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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* 2. How long have you been providing these interpreting services?

○ Less than 6 months

○ Less than a year

○ 1 - 2 years

○ 3 - 5 years

○ 6 - 10 years

○ More than 10 years

* 3. What motivated you to interpret as a profession? (Please check your top 2 answers)

☐ Out of interest

☐ Felt that interpreting was your calling

☐ Approached by figures of authority (e.g. mentors, leaders, teachers)

☐ Encouraged by family and/or friends

☐ Saw the need for interpreting and volunteered

☐ Other (please specify)

[ ]

4. Under what circumstances would you interpret pro-bono without financial compensation? Please specify below.

[ ]

"Role of the Church Interpreter" Questionnaire (2017)

Demographic Questions (optional)

1. Gender

○ Male

○ Female

2. Age

○ Under 18 years old

○ 18 - 25 years old

○ 26 - 35 years old

○ 36 - 45 years old

○ 46 - 55 years old

○ 56 - 65 years old

○ 65 or older

3. If you are willing to be interviewed, please leave your email or other contact information in the space provided.