

# Acknowledgments

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Seinäjoki, 9 September, 2016

*Sari Hokkanen*

# ABSTRACT

This dissertation reports on an autoethnographic study focusing on simultaneous interpreting in church, exploring how the religious setting of Pentecostalism affects this interpreting practice. More specifically, the study discusses the ways in which the concepts of Christian service and personal religious experience are reflected on the social understanding and subjective experience of simultaneous interpreting in two Pentecostal churches in Finland. In addition, the study sets out to examine the use of autoethnography as a methodology within Translation and Interpreting Studies. Autoethnography can be understood as ethnography of one's own group or as first-person research with an ethnographic focus. In this article-based dissertation, both of these understandings of autoethnography are used; the first articles represent complete-member ethnography, whereas the latter articles move into first-person research. Thus, throughout the study, cultural analysis and introspection are combined, even though the weight given to each element changes from the beginning of the study to its finish. The overarching aim of the study is nevertheless to explore and describe church interpreting from an emic perspective.

The study examines the simultaneous interpreting of weekly services that are held in the Tampere Pentecostal Church and the Pentecostal Church of Seinäjoki. Both churches hold their main services in Finnish but also offer simultaneous interpreting into English for members and visitors who may need it – usually exchange students, recent migrants, or guests. The interpreting is carried out in built-in booths with conference interpreting equipment by volunteer church members, most of whom do not have training in or professional experience of interpreting outside of the church.

The conceptual framework of this interdisciplinary study mainly draws on prior research into church interpreting as well as on literature in the fields of religious studies, theology, sociology, and anthropology. The main theoretical concepts are church interpreters' involvement, service, and religious experience. Moreover, the way in which these central concepts are used in the study is largely based on the local understanding prevalent within Pentecostalism and the churches studied. Thus, interpreter involvement is understood as personal engagement with the religious community, with the interpreted interaction, and with the interpreted message;

service is understood as a “God-regarding” attitude and activity that aims to benefit other people; and religious experience is understood as an encounter with God.

Autoethnography is a relatively novel methodology within Translation and Interpreting Studies. It is rooted in the ethnographic tradition and uses the personal experience of the researcher as a main source of research material. I have been a church interpreter in both of the churches studied prior to and during the research process. In addition, I am a member in one of the churches, while also being a professional freelance translator and interpreter. Membership in these and other social worlds naturally affect all levels of the study. Indeed, the research materials collected through fieldwork and other means, the ways in which I have interpreted them, and the conclusions I have drawn necessarily produce situated knowledge – knowledge based on the setting and the time of the study as well as on myself as the main research instrument. Therefore, this autoethnographic study is guided by the principle of reflexivity; it aims to make transparent the influences of the researcher’s person on the study and its conclusions.

The research materials used in the study were collected in two Pentecostal churches in Finland, one in Tampere (fieldwork conducted during the winter of 2009–2010) and one in Seinäjoki (fieldwork conducted from 2011 to 2014). The main bulk of the research material consists of fieldnotes gathered when observing other church interpreters’ work (mainly in the church of Tampere) and when practicing church interpreting myself (in Seinäjoki). In addition, the research materials include documents (a church website and course material from a relevant church course, both from Tampere), portions of my personal journals, and audio and video recordings of my interpreting in church. These materials were analyzed thematically and the emerging interpretations were processed narratively, by writing in genres such as reflective notes, poetry, and creative non-fiction.

The main results of the study indicate that in these churches, simultaneous interpreting is understood as service to God; that a main function of interpreting is to allow the listeners to encounter God (have religious experiences); that an interpreter’s commitment to the beliefs of the church is valued above their training or prior experience in interpreting; and that the interpreter is attuned to having personal religious experiences also when interpreting. The findings thus point to important differences in the meanings attributed to church interpreting as opposed to professional interpreting, which has been at the focus of most Translation and Interpreting Studies research to date. The study also indicates the opportunities in studying emotions and embodiment related to interpreting with first-person research designs.

# TIIVISTELMÄ

Tämä autoetnografinen tutkielma käsittelee simultaanitulkkausta seurakunnassa, ja sen tarkoituksena on selvittää, miten helluntaiseurakunnan uskonnollinen konteksti vaikuttaa tulkkaukseen. Millä tavoin kristillisen palvelemisen käsite ja henkilökohtainen uskonnollinen kokemus heijastuvat siihen, miten simultaanitulkkaus ymmärretään kulttuurisesti ja koetaan subjektiivisesti kahdessa suomalaisessa helluntaiseurakunnassa? Tutkielman tavoite on lisäksi perehtyä autoetnografiaan kääntämisen ja tulkkauksen tutkimuksen metodologiana. Autoetnografia voidaan nähdä joko etnografiana, jota tehdään oman yhteisön parissa, tai tutkijan oman kokemuksen etnografisena tarkasteluna. Tässä artikkeliväitöskirjassa käytetään molempia näkökulmia: ensimmäiset artikkelit edustavat perinteisempää oman yhteisön parissa tehtyä etnografiaa, ja jälkimmäiset siirtyvät tarkastelemaan vahvemmin tutkijan omaa kokemusta yhteisön jäsenenä. Tutkimuksen läpi kulkee siten sekä kulttuurinen analyysi että introspektio, vaikkakin näiden elementtien painotus muuttuu tutkielman edetessä. Päätavoitteena on silti kuvata seurakuntatulkkausta toimijoiden omasta näkökulmasta.

Tutkimus tarkastelee Tampereen ja Seinäjoen helluntaiseurakuntien jokaviikkoisten tilaisuuksien simultaanitulkkausta englanniksi. Molempien seurakuntien päätilaisuudet pidetään suomeksi, mutta niissä on järjestetty myös englanninkielinen simultaanitulkkaus, jota kuuntelemassa on useimmiten vaihtopiskelijoita, maahanmuuttajia tai ulkomaisia vieraita. Tulkkausta varten seurakuntiin on rakennettu tulkkipöydät, ja niissä on käytössä konferenssitulkkauslaitteet. Tulkkeina toimii vapaaehtoisia seurakuntalaisia, joista useilla ei ole alan koulutusta tai tulkkauskokemusta seurakunnan ulkopuolelta.

Tutkielman teoreettinen viitekehys heijastelee tutkimuksen tieteidenvälisestä luonnetta, sillä se perustuu enimmäkseen aiempaan seurakuntatulkkausta käsittelevään tutkimukseen sekä uskontotieteelliseen, teologiseen, sosiologiseen ja antropologiseen kirjallisuuteen. Työn pääasialliset teoreettiset käsitteet ovat seurakuntatulkinnon osallistuminen, palvelu ja uskonnollinen kokemus. Näiden käsitteiden tulkintaan työssä on vaikuttanut merkittävästi myös helluntaiseurakuntien oma käsitys. Niinpä seurakuntatulkinnon osallistuminen viittaa hänen osallistumiseensa yhteisön toimintaan, tulkattuun vuorovaikutukseen sekä itse tulkattuun sanomaan.

Palvelu puolestaan viittaa henkilökohtaisesta Jumala-suhteesta kumpuavaan ja toisten parasta etsivään asenteeseen ja toimintaan. Uskonnollinen kokemus taas viittaa henkilökohtaiseen Jumalan kohtaamiseen.

Autoetnografia on toistaiseksi melko vähän käytetty metodologia käännöstieteessä. Se pohjautuu etnografiseen perinteeseen ja käyttää tutkijan omaa kokemusta pääasiallisena tutkimusaineiston lähteenä. Olen itse toiminut tulkkina molemmissa tutkimissani seurakunnissa ennen tutkimusta ja sen aikana. Olen toisen tutkitun seurakunnan jäsen, mutta myös koulutettu freelance-kääntäjä ja -tulkki. Osallisuuteni näihin ja muihin sosiaalisiin maailmoihin luonnollisesti vaikuttaa kaikkiin tutkimuksen tasoihin. Niinpä joko kenttätyössä tai muilla tavoin keräämäni aineistot, niiden tulkinta sekä tekemäni johtopäätökset tuottavat paikantunutta tietoa – tietoa, joka riippuu tutkimuksen konteksteista ja ajankohdasta sekä minusta itsestäni pääasiallisena tutkimusvälineenä. Sen vuoksi tutkimusta on ohjannut refleksiivisyyden periaate: tutkijan vaikutus työhön ja sen päätelmiin on pyritty tekemään mahdollisimman näkyväksi.

Työssä käytetyt aineistot kerättiin kahdessa suomalaisessa helluntaiseurakunnassa: Tampereella (kenttätyö talvella 2009–2010) ja Seinäjoella (kenttätyö vuosina 2011–2014). Työn keskeisenä aineistona on kenttämuistiinpanot, joita keräsin havainnoidessani toisten seurakuntatulkkien työtä (lähinnä Tampereella) ja tulkatessani itse seurakunnassa (Seinäjoella). Aineistoina käytettiin lisäksi asiakirjoja (seurakunnan internetsivusto ja kurssimateriaalia, molemmat Tampereelta), henkilökohtaisten päiväkirjojen osia sekä ääni- ja videonauhoituksia omasta tulkkauksestani seurakunnassa. Aineistoja analysoitiin teemoittain ja niistä syntyviä tulkintoja prosessoitiin narratiivisilla menetelmillä, kirjoittamalla reflektiivisiä muistiinpanoja, runoja ja kaunokirjallisia asiatekstejä.

Tutkimuksen päätulokset viittaavat siihen, että tutkituissa seurakunnissa simultaanitulkkaukseen ymmärretään Jumalan palvelemisena, että yksi tulkkauksen päätavoitteista on mahdollistaa kuulijoiden kohtaaminen Jumalan kanssa (uskonnollinen kokemus), että tulkki on itse virittynyt saamaan henkilökohtaisia uskonnollisia kokemuksia tulkatessaan. Tulokset siis viittaavat siihen, että seurakuntatulkkaukseen liitetyt kulttuuriset merkitykset poikkeavat merkittävästi ammattitulkkauksesta, joka on ollut tähänastisen käännöstieteellisen tulkkauksen tutkimuksen keskiössä. Tutkielma viittaa myös omakohtaisten tutkimusmenetelmien antiin tutkittaessa tulkkaukseen liittyviä tunteita ja kehollisuutta.

# List of Original Articles

This dissertation is composed of a summary and the following original publications, reproduced here by permission. The original publications will be referred to as Articles I to IV in the summary. An English translation of Article II is provided in addition to the original publication.

- I Hokkanen, S. (2012). Simultaneous church interpreting as service. *The Translator*, 18(2), 291–309.

This is the author's accepted manuscript of an article published as the version of record in *The Translator*, 2012. <http://www.tandfonline.com/doi/abs/10.1080/13556509.2012.10799512#.VXgJzo1wZ9M>

- II Hokkanen, S. (2013). Tulkki keskellä hengellistä kokemusta: Simultaanitulkkaus Tampereen helluntaiseurakunnan kokouksessa [The interpreter amidst religious experience: Simultaneous interpreting in the Tampere Pentecostal Church]. In K. Koskinen (Ed.), *Tulkattu Tampere* (pp. 263–284). Tampere: Tampere University Press.

- III Hokkanen, S. (forthcoming a). Simultaneous interpreting and religious experience: Volunteer interpreting in a Finnish Pentecostal church. In R. Antonini, L. Cirillo, L. Rossato, & I. Torresi (Eds.), *Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation in Institutional Settings*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

- IV Hokkanen, S. (forthcoming b). Autoethnography as a reflexive methodology: First-person research on the embodied experience of translation and interpreting. In Ş. Bahadır and D. Dizdar (Eds.), *Reflexive Translation Studies*, Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

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# To the Reader

Dear reader,

May I open for you the door of the interpreting booth in the Pentecostal Church of Seinäjoki? You can see that the booth is fairly small, but if you've ever visited a professional conference interpreting booth, you're not in for any surprises. Come on in. You can take a seat on that spare chair next to mine. Sorry, that one isn't as comfortable as the interpreter's chair; we interpret the church services alone, so we usually only need one good chair in the booth.

Okay, let's see. I'll be needing a bottle of water at hand and of course my smartphone, because it has this Bible app that I always use when I interpret here. It's a lot faster than the print version. You see, we don't always get all the references that the preachers intend to use in their sermons, so we have to look for all those passages of Scripture on the fly. And sometimes we just have to come up with a paraphrase or quote from memory, so that's one of the reasons I find it so important to study the Bible in both my working languages, Finnish and English. There are other reasons, too, of course.

I hope you don't mind, but since there's still a minute or two before the service starts, I'd like to take a moment to pray. I usually do that before interpreting in church. I want to invite the Holy Spirit in, so that He would guide me in my interpreting and work through me to touch the people who are listening. If you stick around and listen to my performance towards the end of the sermon, about an hour and fifteen minutes from now, you'll notice that I may get a little stuck on words or leave a sentence unfinished. It's a little embarrassing for me to let you hear that – you know, because of my training in professional interpreting and everything – but, honestly, I'm okay with it as long as I'm able to move in the presence of the Holy Spirit and somehow help my listeners to meet Jesus tonight.

This right here, doing simultaneous interpreting at this church, is my place in the universe. Maybe it started as a way to get more experience in interpreting (I was still a Master's student of English translation and interpreting back then), but it's kind of turned the other way around. Now, I don't think that interpreting at church would help me develop professionally, but I actually see my training and professional

experience as something that has prepared me to serve God and this church better. You see the church platform and the pews through the booth window? See all those people chatting and finding their seats, and the band getting their sheets of music ready? This is my home, and those people are my family. Why wouldn't I do this?

There's something else I wanted to run by you before we start. If you see me starting to cry during the service, don't worry; it's perfectly normal. It's not that I'm sad or feel overwhelmed or anything. You see, even when I'm interpreting, I believe that God wants to speak to me and touch my heart. So I often feel that the message I'm interpreting is also meant for me, and sometimes that kind of spills over into my emotions. But that's one of the perks of serving God; give and you'll receive.

Okay, the host is walking up to the platform now, so it's time to switch on the microphone and get started. If you have any comments or questions after the thing, I'd love to talk later.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "Sari". The signature is written in black ink on a light-colored, textured background.

# PART I

# 1 Introduction

This dissertation is an autoethnographic study examining the social meaning and subjective experience of volunteer simultaneous interpreting in church. It therefore attempts to break new ground on two fronts. First, it examines an interpreting practice that has only recently received scholarly interest within Translation and Interpreting Studies: interpreting in religious settings. Second, the study employs a fairly seldom employed methodology within the discipline: autoethnography. While fieldwork or the meticulous study of the social contexts of translation and interpreting practices are by no means new inventions within our field, they have rarely been combined with a reflexive scrutiny of the researcher as one of the social agents under study. This combination is at the heart of autoethnography. The present study, then, investigates the social contexts of a simultaneous church interpreting practice and the social meanings that is attributed to this practice, on the one hand, and the ways in which those social meanings are infused into my subjective experience as a church interpreter, on the other.

This study is based on participant fieldwork that I conducted over the span of five years in two Pentecostal churches in Finland, from 2009 to 2010 in Tampere, and from 2011 to 2014 in Seinäjoki. Both churches hold their main services in Finnish but also offer simultaneous interpreting into English for members and visitors who may need it – usually exchange students, recent migrants, or guests. The interpreting is carried out by volunteer church members, most of whom do not have training in or professional experience of interpreting outside of the church. I started church interpreting in Tampere in 2007, while I was studying English translation and interpreting at the University of Tampere. After I moved to Seinäjoki, in 2009, I took up simultaneous interpreting in the church there, as well, and continue to interpret at church to this day. Because I no longer lived in Tampere when I did fieldwork there, my focus was more on other church interpreters' experiences than on my own. Conversely, in Seinäjoki, my fieldwork mainly consisted of keeping a field journal on my own experiences of interpreting at church.

The present study can be situated within the sociology of translation. Thus, I approach church interpreting as a social practice and see it as necessarily “bound up within social contexts” (Wolf, 2012, p. 132; see also Wolf, 2011; Pöchhacker, 2006a).

This sociological approach to interpreting also follows in the footsteps of such influential works in interpreting research as Cecilia Wadensjö's study (1998) on community interpreting, which highlighted the context-dependency of (interpreted) verbal actions. Similarly to Wadensjö, the work of Claudia Angelelli (2004a) on medical interpreting in North America and Ebru Diriker (2004) on conference interpreting in Turkey have established how interpreting can never occur in a social vacuum. Rather, interpreters bring their self into the interaction (Angelelli, 2004a, p. 10) and, despite the persistent discourse on (professional conference) interpreters' neutrality, they cannot detach themselves from "the verbal and social interaction they interpret" (Diriker, 2011, p. 27). As a result, interpreters as social agents cannot disentangle themselves from the ideologies at work in the social context, but are forced to take a stance not only with their lexical choices (Beaton-Thome, 2013; Shlesinger, 2011) but also with their choice to work or volunteer for certain organizations (Boéri, 2008; Pöchhacker, 2006b).

Furthermore, the present study has drawn influence from both the sociology of translation and from existing trends in interpreting research, in terms of its interdisciplinary research design (Wolf, 2012, pp. 133–134; Gile, 2015; Ehrensberger-Dow, Göpferich & O'Brien, 2015). Many of the theoretical constructs used in the study derive from sources outside of Translation and Interpreting Studies, drawing on disciplines such as religious studies, theology, sociology, and anthropology. In addition, the methodology of the study, autoethnography, has roots in anthropology and the social studies. Indeed, the study exhibits the kind of "disciplinary nomadism" that has been said to mark not only the study of translation as "an open field with connections to many other academic disciplines" (Tymoczko, 2007, p. 141), but also the intellectual orientation required in ethnography (Cerwonka & Malkki, 2007; Geertz, 1983/2000, p. 21).

The dissertation consists of four previously published research articles (reprinted in Part III) and the present summary, which contains an introduction (Part I) as well as a summary of the results and a discussion (Part II). This first chapter describes the motivation to study church interpreting in Section 1.1, before moving on to presenting the study's research design in Section 1.2. This introductory chapter concludes with an overview of the structure of the dissertation in Section 1.3.

## 1.1 Motivation

Even though religions and multilingual practices share a long history (Delisle & Woodsworth, 1995; Kaufmann, 2005), interpreting in religious settings has not been given much scholarly attention in the field of Translation and Interpreting Studies until recently (Harris 2012). Among the first to take up the subject, from a historical perspective, was Francine Kaufmann (2005), who examined the functions of the consecutive interpreter in the synagogues of Ancient Judaism. Contemporary church interpreting practices have been examined in a handful of research articles and doctoral dissertations, most of them published over the course of the past decade (see Section 2.1). Research into church interpreting within Translation and Interpreting Studies is, therefore, a relatively new and emerging field.

Interpreting research has tended to focus more on professional interpreting practices (see e.g. Cronin, 2002; Angelelli, 2004b) than those located somewhat on the margins of the profession, such as in churches. However, ever since Brian Harris' early call (e.g. 1976) to study interpreting at grassroots level – focusing on “natural” interpreters whose interpreting practice is molded by their multilingualism, not by professional training – researchers within our field have begun to examine also those interpreting practices that are embedded in people's every-day experiences.<sup>1</sup> Church interpreting is one promising area of this field of research, because it is often conducted by volunteer church members. This allows for the interpreting practices to be shaped, not according to professional norms established in formal training, but according to the beliefs and practices prevalent in the social context.

Nevertheless, the present study approaches church interpreting through a social agent who is not only an “insider” to the church context but also a professionally trained translator and interpreter. Parallel with the present research project, which began in 2009 in my Master's thesis, I have worked as a freelance translator and interpreter. Recently, however, I have not been able to accept very many assignments

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<sup>1</sup> The topic has been the focus of a recent conference series (International Conference on Non-Professional Interpreting and Translation), which has been held in 2012, 2014, and 2016. In addition, two special issues have been devoted to the topic of non-professional practices in translation and interpreting (Pérez-González & Susam-Sarajeva, 2012; Evrin & Meyer, 2016), and two collected volumes to the topic of natural interpreting (Blasco Mayor & Jiménez Ivars, 2011; Jiménez Ivars & Blasco Mayor, 2012). Furthermore, a related phenomenon of child language brokering has been discussed by scholars such as Orellana (2009) and Valdes, Chavez, and Angelelli (2003). See also Martínez-Gómez (2015).

due to full-time research work and (equally full-time) parenthood. Therefore, and given my status as a freelancer, mostly working alone, I feel my enculturation into the social world of professional translators and interpreters is only partial. In contrast, I have been quite deeply involved in the social world of Pentecostalism. I raised my hand to say yes to God in an altar call in a large Pentecostal meeting when I was sixteen. My denominational background was similar to the majority of Finns: I had been an Evangelical Lutheran, but not a very active one. Soon after my “conversion experience” I was baptized and joined the local Pentecostal church in Seinäjoki, where I also met my future husband. A few months after that, I was involved in the church’s music and children’s ministries, and as the years progressed, I continued to volunteer in church in a variety of tasks ranging from worship leading to giving sermons, in addition to interpreting.

The coexistence of these two social selves and the fundamental differences in the ways the two social worlds viewed interpreting gave rise to an inner conflict that motivated me to begin the research project. For example, I had learned during my university studies that simultaneous interpreting is so demanding that it requires extensive training, and yet, at church, training was not inquired, let alone required, from the volunteer interpreters. Furthermore, I had learned at the university that simultaneous interpreting should only be conducted in pairs or teams of interpreters, each person interpreting simultaneously no longer than 20 minutes at a time in order to ensure consistent quality. However, in church it was customary to interpret alone for an entire service, generally lasting from 90 minutes to two hours, with only minimal pauses. These points of dissonance in interpreting practices as well as in the underlying values and notions of interpreting motivated me to begin the present study.

## 1.2 Research Design

Being an active social agent in the context I studied and taking personal experiences as research material proved, unsurprisingly, to be a complex research design. Therefore, as the research process evolved, I found myself ethically compelled to engage in a level of reflexivity that I was not used to seeing in studies of translation and interpreting (see, however, Bahadır, 2004; Tymoczko, 2007; Koskinen, 2004). I found that a mere identification as a “practisearcher” (Gile, 1992) or the attempt to “control” subjective biases, which may be adequate for other ethnographic research designs (Angelelli, 2015) did not provide sufficient transparency to the processes of

knowledge production in this study. Therefore, the research design of the study has drawn a great deal of influence from anthropology and social studies and, specifically, from previous autoethnographic studies in these disciplines. As an autoethnographic study, then, the study aims at exploring and explaining a church interpreting practice from the perspective of both social meanings and subjective experiences. In the following, I present the research questions the study aims to answer to, as well as the conceptual framework and the methodology of the study.

### 1.2.1 Research Questions

Typically to ethnographers, I began the research process, not with a clearly defined research question, but with a “foreshadowed problem” in mind (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 31). As explained above, I was keenly aware of a dissonance in assumptions and ideals between church interpreting and professional interpreting, which led me to consider the influence of the social context to interpreting practice. Thus, my foreshadowed problem, albeit in the form of a question, was as follows:

*How does the religious setting of Finnish Pentecostalism influence the simultaneous interpreting carried out in the two churches (Tampere and Seinäjoki)?*

With accumulating field experiences and their analysis, my focus was increasingly drawn to two specific characteristics of the social setting: the concept of Christian service and the central place given to religious experience. In addition, as my methodological understanding of autoethnography increased, I focused on the interplay of the self and the social by scrutinizing the social meanings attached to and my subjective experiences of church interpreting. Therefore, my foreshadowed problem was later refined into the following two research questions:

- 1a) How is the concept of Christian service reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism?*
- 1b) How is the prevalent role of religious experience reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism?*

The concepts of “social meaning” and “subjective experience” are intertwined in my use of the terms, which is why the two are included in both research questions. The concept of meaning includes “cognition, affect, intentions, and anything else that can be encompassed in what qualitative researchers often refer to as the ‘participants’ perspective” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 22). The focus is not solely on the reported

understandings of participants, but also on the way in which the social meanings internalized and circulated by the participants construct their reality, as they employ these meanings in making sense of events and experiences, and as these meanings guide their further actions (p. 22). By “subjective experience,” in turn, I refer to lived experience (Van Manen, 1990) – the material and subjective “being in the world,” which always entails a relationship of meaning between the subject and the object of the experience (Perttula, 2008; Dilthey, 1985). In other words, lived experience co-exists with processes of meaning-making.

In addition to exploring social meaning and subjective experience in connection to simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism, the study aims to explore the use of autoethnography, which is a relatively novel methodology in our field.<sup>2</sup> Therefore, the study also aims to answer a secondary research question:

2) *How does autoethnography function as a methodology (in Translation and Interpreting Studies)?*

I refer to autoethnography as a methodology instead of a method in order to differentiate the philosophical and ethical underpinnings of the approach from methods, the actual tools and techniques used in the study (such as fieldwork) (see also Blommaert & Jie, 2010; Delamont, 2004).

These questions orient all four articles that constitute the empirical part of the study, in Part III. Table 1 presents the connections between the questions and the articles.

RESEARCH QUESTION		ARTICLE
1a)	How is the concept of Christian service reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism?	I
1b)	How is the prevalent role of religious experience reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism?	II, III, IV
2)	How does autoethnography function as a methodology (in Translation and Interpreting Studies)?	III, IV

**Table 1.** The connections between the research questions and Articles I to IV.

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<sup>2</sup> Autoethnography is presented in more detail in Section 1.2.3 and in Chapter 5.

## 1.2.2 Conceptual Framework

The conceptual framework of the study is constructed in accordance with the general ethnographic aim of building understandings from the viewpoint of the participants. Thus, the conceptual framework is drawn from the research material, and it represents the ideational context or the universe of meaning within which the specific church interpreting practice under study is embedded. The framework consists of three interrelated concepts: church interpreters' involvement, service, and religious experience. In this sub-section, I define and explain each concept briefly. A more thorough discussion of the conceptual framework can be found in Chapter 2.

Here, *church interpreters' involvement* refers to church interpreters' active and personal engagement with the religious community for which they interpret, with the verbal interaction which they interpret, and with the content of the message which they interpret. Interpreter involvement has been a recurring theme in many of the studies conducted on church interpreting to date, and it was the main focus of a recent doctoral study by Alev Balcı Tison (2016). As Balcı Tison (p. 54–65) argues in a thorough discussion on interpreter involvement and role, there is a robust body of work pointing to (professional) interpreters' involvement in the interaction they interpret, despite the prevalence of the opposite ideals of non-involvement or neutrality (see also Diriker, 2011; Bontempo & Malcolm, 2012). In addition, Balcı Tison (2016) draws attention to the spiritual involvement of church interpreters, or what I have called here the involvement with the interpreted message, which arguably differs from other, professional interpreting practices.

The second main element in the present study's conceptual framework is *service*, which can be defined as a "God-regarding" attitude and activity, which aims to benefit other people. As is elaborated in Section 2.2, I wish to distinguish between service and altruism, which, in turn, can be defined as "other-regard." In this study, service is not only seen as a religious motivation for engaging in a volunteer interpreting activity, but also, and more importantly, as a cluster of meanings that give shape to the experience of interpreting and as a conceptual foundation that enables and encourages the interpreter's personal involvement.

The final element in the study's conceptual framework is *religious experience*, which, for many, is a defining characteristic of Pentecostalism (see Sections 2.3, 3.1, and 3.2). Here, religious experience is defined as an "encounter" with God through the Holy Spirit, involving both the mind and the body of the believer. Furthermore, religious experience is not confined into private individualism, but it is seen as simultaneously subjective and social; not only can religious experiences have a level

of collectivity, as in joint worship, they are always informed by collective belief systems. The emphasis placed on experientiality in Pentecostalism can be seen to, again, further encourage church interpreters' involvement; conversely, church interpreters' involvement may enable personal religious experiences also for the interpreter.

### 1.2.3 Methodology

As mentioned above, the present study uses autoethnography to examine the social meanings and subjective experiences related to simultaneous church interpreting. Autoethnography can be defined in two ways:

- (1) as ethnographic research being conducted among a group of which the researcher is a member, or
- (2) as research combining the researcher's personal experience (autobiography) with an ethnographic interest in the social context in which he or she operates (Reed-Danahay, 1997; see Chapter 5 of the dissertation).

This study employs both of these definitions. When conducting fieldwork in the Tampere Pentecostal Church, I was an "ex-member" (cf. Koskinen, 2008) of the church and its interpreting practice, having recently moved elsewhere but returning to the setting to do fieldwork. However, when conducting fieldwork in Seinäjoki, I was a practicing church interpreter in the church. In addition to field journals gathered in the two churches (from 2009 to 2010 in Tampere, and from 2011 to 2014 in Seinäjoki), the research material analyzed in the study also includes document sources (a website and course material) as well as audio and video recordings of my church interpreting.

Autoethnography can be described as a postmodern methodology, in that it refrains from trying to provide irrefutable "truths" or "objective" facts about its object of study (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Furthermore, autoethnography does not aim to produce generalizations that would apply across different social contexts. Rather, as with qualitative research in general, it gives the generalizability of its findings to the hands of its readers who may judge whether or not they can identify with the descriptions provided and are able to transfer the findings into their own contexts (Tracy, 2010). Moreover, autoethnography rests upon an understanding of the self and the social according to which the two cannot be separated (Chang, 2008;

Ellis et al., 2008). Being a reflexive methodology, it acknowledges that researchers are constructed by their social contexts even as they help construct these very contexts (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009, p. 269; see Chapter 5). Furthermore, autoethnography does not treat the researcher's subjectivity as a source of bias, but as a source of research material that can be examined in order to trace the workings of cultural themes in an individual life (Spry, 2001; Ellis & Bochner, 2000).

### 1.3 Structure of the Dissertation

In the remainder of Part I of the dissertation, I explain the background of the four original publications that form the empirical part of the study, given in Part III. In Chapter 2, I present the conceptual framework of the study in more detail. Chapter 3 provides a description of the “field” of this autoethnographic study, that is, Pentecostalism as the denominational setting and the Pentecostal churches of Tampere and Seinäjoki as the physical settings where fieldwork was conducted. Chapter 4 describes the dissertation's object of study: the interpreting practices in the two churches, specifically focusing on the simultaneous interpreting of services from Finnish into English. Chapter 5 concludes the first, introductory part of the dissertation with a discussion of the study's methodology. Part II begins in Chapter 6 with a summary of the main findings of the study. Chapter 7 provides a discussion of the theoretical and methodological contributions and limitations of the study together with a discussion of possible avenues for future research. The original publications are reprinted in Part III of the dissertation.

## 2 Conceptual Framework

In this chapter, I describe the study's conceptual framework, which portrays the universe of meaning surrounding the practice of simultaneous church interpreting examined in later parts of the dissertation. This conceptual framework is constructed around three main concepts: the church interpreter's involvement, Christian service, and religious experience. Section 2.1 discusses the first of these, drawing mainly on the work done so far on interpreting in church. Then, in Section 2.2, I move on to the fields of religious studies, theology, sociology, and anthropology, as I describe the second main concept of the framework: Christian service. The third concept, religious experience, is discussed in Section 2.3, drawing similarly on fields such as religious studies and theology. The intertwined relationship between the concepts of service and religious experience is explicated in Section 2.4, while Section 2.5 summarizes the conceptual framework as a whole and clarifies the relationships between the main concepts.

### 2.1 Church Interpreters' Involvement

Research into church interpreting within Translation and Interpreting Studies is a new and budding field. Some earlier writings on interpreting in religious settings – more specifically, in historical Judaism – include Delisle and Woodsworth (1995, Ch. 9) and Kaufmann (2005)<sup>3</sup>. However, during the past few years, several researchers, most of them in their PhD stage, have undertaken to study this area of interpreting practice, which has been previously neglected (Harris, 2012). Thus, most of the studies in church interpreting have not been conducted by established scholars of interpreting but by a new generation of researchers. The work they have

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<sup>3</sup> In addition, there have been several papers published on sign language church interpreting in *Views*, the publication of The Registry of Interpreters for the Deaf, Inc. However, these could not be accessed in time for the present dissertation. I am grateful for Irina Peremota and the Google group 'Church Interpreting/Biblical Performance Criticism Research,' established by Jonathan Downie, for bringing these publications to my knowledge.

conducted to date encompass a wide variety of religious and socio-cultural contexts in different parts of the world.

In the growing body of literature on church interpreting, one recurring theme is a depiction of church interpreters as directly and deeply involved participants in the community in which they interpret (Rayman, 2007; Balcı Tison, 2016; Vigouroux, 2010; Karlik, 2010; Shin, 2013; see also Tipton & Furmanek, 2016). For example, the most trusted church interpreters in a group of Gambian churches studied by Jill Karlik (2010) either were preachers themselves or led their own Bible study group and, furthermore, were in “multiple social and kinship relationships” with their listeners (p. 166). By the same token, in Hayne Shin’s doctoral study (2013) on large Korean Protestant churches, the consecutive church interpreters were usually pastors. A similarity in the interpreter’s involvement may be detected also in Francine Kaufmann’s (2005) portrait of the *meturgeman* in ancient Judaism; there, the consecutive interpreter was closely familiar with the synagogue where he interpreted as well as with the primary speaker, since the interpreter had usually studied under the rabbi whom he interpreted.

The church interpreter’s involvement in the community is also figured prominently in Jennifer Rayman’s article (2007), which focuses on one sign language interpreter, “Natalie.” She is described as “a hearing ally” for the deaf congregation (p. 85) in a church with both deaf and hearing members in California, USA. However, in a ten-minute sermonette given by the church’s deaf pastor, interpreted into English by Natalie, and analyzed by Rayman, Natalie’s personal and cultural values were seen to influence the interpreted message. In an attempt to avoid labels such as “the deaf” or “the hearing,” which to her fostered exclusivity and were, therefore, unbiblical, Natalie’s rendering ended up de-emphasizing deaf people’s agency and, at points, highlighting the role played by the hearing congregation in the success of the church. Rayman concludes, however, that in Natalie’s case actions may speak louder; that her long-standing work for the deaf congregation should be considered to outweigh her interpreting performance in this one, short event. Furthermore, as Rayman stresses, Natalie does not claim to be an interpreter, but helps in this role only occasionally. In addition, the source text is described as a rhetorically rich performance, which would presumably not have been a straightforward task even for an experienced professional to interpret (p. 94, fn. 6).

Furthermore, the church interpreter has been depicted as not only being involved in the community for which he or she interprets, but also in the interpreted interaction (Rayman, 2007; Balcı Tison, 2016; Vigouroux, 2010; Giannoutsou, 2014). In this sense, church interpreters’ involvement is similar to earlier descriptions of

interpreter involvement in classic works such as Roy (2000), Wadensjö (1998), and Diriker (2004) (see also Balcı Tison, 2016). For example, Margarita Giannoutsou (2014) examined church interpreting in several different communicative events (such as sermons and press conferences) and in several religious contexts (such as Pentecostalism and Mormonism). One of the speech events analyzed by Giannoutsou was what is known as the altar-call in a large meeting held by Billy Graham in the Olympic Stadium in Berlin, Germany, in 1954. Using a combination of conversation analysis and grounded theory, Giannoutsou came to the conclusion that interpreting the altar-call in the short-consecutive mode fulfilled a rhetoric as well as a pragmatic function, for example by adding to the dramatic tone of the invitation (p. 304). Thus, as also maintained by Jonathan Downie (2014, 2015) in connection to consecutive sermon interpreting, the interpreted message is not a different message, but the interpreter's rendering and the original together form one, jointly performed message.

Finally, the church interpreter has been shown to be involved also in the actual message interpreted. According to Alev Balcı Tison (2016, p. 124), for example, "the interpreter is expected to reflect the message with who s/he is, just as a preacher should reflect with his life what he preaches." Or, in the words of one of the preachers in Turkish Protestant churches interviewed by Balcı Tison (p. 123): "there is a translation of heart, not just ideas." The interpreted originals, whether sermons or biblical scriptures, are perceived to function not only on an informative or cognitive level, but also on the emotional or affective level (Balcı Tison, 2016; Karlik, 2010), as well as on the spiritual level, involving the work of God (Hild, 2012). For this reason, the interpreters are expected to give their entire person to the task of church interpreting (Balcı Tison, 2016; cf. Angelelli, 2004a, p. 10–11).

The church interpreter's involvement with the interpreted message has been frequently conceptualized in terms of seeing the interpreter's role as a "co-preacher" (Balcı Tison, 2016; Karlik, 2010, 2013; Shin, 2013) and the interpreter's task as one of producing a "co-performance" together with the preacher (Vigouroux, 2010; Downie 2014, 2015). The notion of co-performance is brought forth mostly in studies examining consecutive (sermon) interpreting. For example, Cecil B. Vigouroux, in the field of sociolinguistics, approached sermon interpreting in a Congolese Pentecostal Church in Cape Town, South Africa, as a "multilingual display," or a performance genre (Vigouroux 2010, p. 341). In this church, interpreting did not have, first and foremost, a communicative goal, since all the members of the church understood the source-language sermon, and since the interpreter's rendering was "often barely intelligible independent of the original" (p.

342). Nevertheless, the task of the interpreter was crucial, not in enabling communication, but in engaging with the pastor's sermon emotionally and spiritually in order to "shape the pastor's sermon and convey the Holy Spirit to the audience" (p. 342).

If and when the church interpreter is expected to be multiply involved – with the church community, with the interpreted event, and with the interpreted message – it raises the question of what requirements are placed on the interpreter. Who can or is allowed to function as one? This question has been addressed, among others, by Alev Balcı Tison (2016). In her doctoral study, Balcı Tison used a multi-method approach to examine the sermon interpreter's involvement in an Evangelical Protestant Church in Turkey. In addition to ethnography, (a level of) autoethnography, and discourse analysis of recorded sermons, Balcı Tison surveyed the expectations of preachers, interpreters, and congregants regarding the consecutive interpreting of sermons. The respondents clearly preferred an interpreter from "within," that is, a volunteer member of the church, over a non-Christian professional. The surveyed preachers explained their view by highlighting the importance of trust and the interpreters' ability to understand Christian concepts and terminology correctly. Moreover, the respondents in Balcı Tison's study also emphasized the function of the interpreted event. For them, the sermon's spiritual aspect was paramount, and they found it difficult for a non-believer to function as a sermon interpreter, because the (interpreted) sermon could only fulfill its purpose of conveying a message from God when conducted "under divine authority" (p. 122). Thus, the interpreters in the churches studied by Balcı Tison were seen as having "a spiritual duty as well as an intellectual one" (p. 122; see also Salawu, 2010; Hild, 2012; Karlik, 2013; Giannoutsou, 2014).

To conclude, it is worth noting that whether or not seen as a hypothetical option, none of the studies conducted so far report churches actually employing "outside" interpreters. Some do report there being professional interpreters in addition to untrained volunteers (Balcı Tison, 2016; Shin, 2013), but even these are not recruited from outside the religious community in question. Rather, they work and/or are trained as professional interpreters, but in the church, they volunteer to work for little or no remuneration. This preference to use "inside interpreters" indicates that the church interpreter is at least ideally seen as an involved interpreter.

## 2.2 Service

The second main concept in the conceptual framework of the study is that of Christian service, which is discussed in the present section with the help of empirical studies conducted in the fields of religious studies and the sociology of religion. Moreover, in accordance with the ethnographic tradition, the discussion provided here is founded upon the local understanding of service. Thus, those aspects of service that are emphasized in the churches I have studied feature more prominently also in this discussion, possibly portraying an understanding of the concept that may differ from that of other churches and denominations (see Kärkkäinen, 1998).

I use the term *service* in a decidedly religious manner, in contrast to its common usage. In its more mundane denotation, service can be defined as an “activity by individuals, done often but not necessarily as members of a group, and intended to improve for one or more other people their objective situation or subjective satisfaction or both” (Smith et al., 2006, s.v. *service*). While this definition is congruent with Christian service in that it includes both formal and informal activity (that is, done either as a member of a group or privately) aimed at benefiting others, it does not account for the spiritual meaning of the activity.

Similarly, the related concept of altruism does not account for the spiritual denotations related to service. As suggested by Andrew Flescher and Daniel L. Worthen (2007, p. 205), faith-based models of altruism differ from their secular counterparts in that they encompass a vertical dimension (between humans and a divine agent). Therefore, while both altruism and service are other-regarding and seek the benefit of someone other than the servant/altruist (Post, 2008, p. 57), altruism only entails a horizontal dimension. This horizontality entails that altruism presupposes a relationship between two human participants: the altruist and the “other” being regarded, excluding any divine influence as a core component of the relationship. Indeed, *altruism* was originally coined as a secular term within nineteenth-century scientific positivism, which held that science would “eventually replace religion by substituting empirical reason for faith and superstition” (Post 2008, pp. 57–58). Be that as it may, the concept of service is anything but secular, in that at its core is God and the believer’s relationship with Him. Thus, service functions primarily in the vertical dimension, meaning that God is seen as the source of and reason for the kindness extended to others by the altruist (Flescher & Worthen, 2007, p. 205). Therefore, while altruism equals other-regard, service might be best understood as “God-regard.”

In its Christian sense, service is understood as both an internal(ized) attitude and observable activity (Unruh & Sider, 2005, p. 75); this notion is explicitly expressed also in the research materials used in this study.<sup>4</sup> Service as observable activity can encompass both organized volunteer work and private acts of kindness, that is, altruistic behavior that is not formal or public in nature. Furthermore, believers might regard their paid work as service to God (Miller, 2007). Whether regarded as attitude or activity, the concept of service invokes a number of notions, values, and beliefs, which together constitute the “universe of meaning” related to service. Some of these meanings are explained in the following.

Service, especially when carried out in the church context, often relates to a certain notion of the purpose and structure of the community of believers. According to this notion, derived from the Bible, the church is a living organism, “the Body of Christ,” and as such, analogous to a human body. According to this view, the body functions only when all the members work in their place, using the “gifts” given to them by God for their specific task (Miller & Yamamori, 2007, pp. 189–191). The spiritual meaning believers attribute to their service, be it paid or unpaid work, includes a sense of being called by God to perform that job, giving them also a sense of divine purpose (Miller, 2007; Miller & Yamamori, 2007, p. 41). The notion of the church as a living organism often coexists with a less hierarchical congregational structure (Miller & Yamamori, 2007), which has been shown to increase the likelihood of churchgoers engaging in volunteer work (Ruiter & De Graaf, 2006).

When service is seen to primarily originate in God, as discussed above, also the means with which individuals are expected to serve are believed to originate in Him. These means include individual “gifts” or talents, mentioned above, as well as an empowerment that enables individuals to “carry out ministry in ways above and beyond their own natural competency” (Unruh & Sider, 2005, p. 73). Here, empowerment refers to the perception that God is active in the world and works in and through believers so that they become His “co-workers.” For example, one ministry leader interviewed in Heidi Rolland Unruh’s and Ronald J. Sider’s study attested: “The Spirit within us is what and how we were able to get as far as we have come” (p. 74). This view has also been influential in the Pentecostal movement, in general. According to the scholar of Pentecostal Studies Allan Anderson (2007,

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<sup>4</sup> “Service is an internal attitude that shows in external activity” (course material, my translation). See Section 5.2 for a description of the research materials.

p. 10), already in the early years of the movement, it was able to “*empower* the marginalized and oppressed *for service*” (emphasis added).

Service provides believers with a way to express their identity as Christians and to “live out their faith” (Miller & Yamamori, 2007, p. 34; Ridings, 2015). Other-regarding acts are often described by believers to be inseparable from their faith, since service allows them to demonstrate faith in concrete ways (Miller & Yamamori, 2007, p. 34; Unruh & Sider, 2005; Tangenberg 2004, pp. 19–20). For some Christians, this is, in fact, the preferred way of evangelism, especially in connection to organized social ministry (Tangenberg, 2004, p. 16). For others, service may aim to provide both spiritual and material benefits (Unruh & Sider, 2005, p. 77), and often the two goals are not seen as mutually exclusive (Miller & Yamamori, 2007).

For the purposes of this dissertation and based on the above discussion and the empirical findings of the present study, service is defined as a “God-regarding” attitude and activity, which aims to benefit other people. Service-as-activity entails a sense of being “called” by God to perform a certain activity, and by performing the specific activities to which believers are called, they are fulfilling their intended function in the Body of Christ.<sup>5</sup> The implications of understanding simultaneous church interpreting as a form of this kind of service are detailed in Chapter 6.

## 2.3 Religious Experience

Religious experience is widely accepted as a defining feature of Pentecostalism across history and worldwide (see Chapter 3). Religious experience is often conceptualized in terms of an “encounter.” For instance, in the field of the sociology of religion, Rodney Stark and Charles Y. Glock (1968, p. 126) maintained that all religious experiences “constitute occasions defined by those undergoing them as an *encounter* – some sense of contact – between themselves and some supernatural consciousness” (emphasis added). Also according to the theologian David Brown (2007a, p. 171), religious experience can be understood as “God being encountered in Himself” (see also James, 1902/1981; Geertz, 1973/1993).

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<sup>5</sup> “We are dependent on one another and on our differences! Just like a living body needs all of its members to be different and is dependent on them. . . . You don’t have to be the same as someone else. On the contrary, it’s your difference and your different talents that make the Body of Jesus function.” (Course material, my translation.)

For sociologist of religion Timothy J. Nelson (2005), who conducted an ethnographic study in an African American Charismatic church in Charleston, South Carolina, USA, religious experience entails not only *direct* but also *indirect* encounters with the supernatural. Thus, a direct encounter with God, in the church studied by Nelson, can encompass either the mind or the body of the believer – resulting in experiences such as receiving insight or speaking in tongues, respectively (p. 199). These direct experiences of God would often be “characterized by extraordinary cognitive, emotional, or bodily states” (p. 194). Direct religious experiences include, in the words of Pentecostal theologian Terry L. Cross (2009, p. 19), an experience of “God’s presence in ways that feel like God is filling us to overflowing.” Conversely, an indirect encounter with God refers to “ordinary” events in the lives of believers, which they attribute to the workings of God (Nelson, 2005, p. 195). While other scholars disagree on whether this kind of indirect encounter should be called a religious experience at all (e.g. Brown, 2007a, p. 171), Nelson argues that taking these indirect experiences of God into account is important because they can widen “our understanding of the ways in which religion may radically transform everyday life experiences” (Nelson, 2005, p. 194). This wider definition, offered by Nelson, is adopted in the present study. Thus, my use of the term religious experience is not based on a postulation of the source of the experience; rather, it is based on the socially-conditioned subjective interpretation of the experience.

Indeed, at its core, religious experience is both subjective and social – it involves both “an internal narrative and an external performance” (Bowie, 2003, p. 56). Religious experience is subjective, first, in the sense that it engages the individual’s mind and/or body, as mentioned above (Nelson, 2005, p. 199). Second, religious experience is subjective in the sense that certain emotions, insights, events, and the like are subjectively interpreted as involving an encounter with the divine, whether or not an outside observer would agree on there being anything “supernatural” taking place (James, 1902/1981, p. 30; Stark & Glock, 1968, p. 126, fn. 6; Nelson, 2005). However, religious experience is also a social phenomenon, similarly, in two respects. First, there is an observable, cultural level in religious experience (Bowie, 2003, p. 56), or the outward manifestations of religious experience that may be observed by an outsider. Thus, it may also be part of a collective gathering of believers, where the participants perceive to be sharing an experience of God (Hornsby-Smith, 1998; Bowie, 2003; Miller & Yamamori, 2007, p. 143). Second, religious experience is social also in the sense that individual believers’ interpretation of an emotion or event as involving the supernatural is dependent on their social context and the belief system they have adopted (Nelson, 2005, p. 54; Geertz,

1973/1993, pp. 123–124; Hornsby-Smith, 1998). Thus, what may be interpreted as a trick of the senses by one person, may be a God-given vision to another, depending on the beliefs they have adopted.

As has been implied in the discussion so far, there is a wide variety of phenomena that may fall under the rubric of religious experience. Importantly, in the Pentecostal context, religious experience does not merely denote the conversion experience, which has often been in the focus of research (James, 1902/1981; Wynn, 2012), or the first experience of the Holy Spirit, that is, the baptism in the Spirit, although it is seen as an important and even normative experience (Nelson, 2005; see also Chapter 3 of this dissertation). Pentecostals “confess a radical openness to the invasion and intervention of God’s Spirit in [their] *daily lives*” (Cross, 2009, p. 6, emphasis added), whether in the form of answered prayer, moved emotions, healing, or prophesying. Thus, religious experiences, understood as encounters with the Holy Spirit, are seen as a normal but important part of both individual spiritual life and communal worship in Pentecostalism.

Furthermore, the discussion so far has revealed the embodied aspects of religious experience: they involve not only the mind of the believer, but also the body; for example, the emotions. While there is a long tradition in Christianity and Christian theology that supports the mind–body dualism (Miles, 2012; Brown, 2007b; see also Robinson, 1991), the Pentecostal experience of the Holy Spirit has been described as decidedly embodied, connecting mind and body: “Pentecostal worship is not a matter . . . of mere cognitive assent to theological propositions. It is an experience of allowing oneself to *feel* the presence of God, and for this reason worship is a full-bodied expression” (Miller & Yamamori, 2007, p. 138, emphasis added). Communal worship in many Pentecostal churches may involve not only singing, but also dancing, touching (when praying for one another), “tears of joy, tears of sorrow, and tears of healing” (p. 142). This kind of emotionality may, to some outside observers, seem like a “reversion to primitivism” (p. 142), but Miller and Yamamori argue that it might actually be interpreted as a decidedly postmodern phenomenon. Pentecostalism “encourages people to merge mind and body into a unified expression that honors emotional and physical expressions as integral elements of worship” (p. 142).

To summarize, religious experience is both a subjective and a social phenomenon, and it is understood as an “encounter” with God through the Holy Spirit, which involves both the mind and the body of the believer. The implications of simultaneous church interpreting being embedded in religious experience are detailed in Chapter 6 below.

## 2.4 The Relationship between Religious Experience and Service

So, am I claiming now that Pentecostals are those Christians who hear voices? Well, yes and no. We are *open to hearing voices* – or speaking in tongues, or speaking on behalf of God’s voice here and now, or dancing before God with all of our might, or healing the sick at God’s urging and yes, hearing God’s voice as did Mother Theresa to “Come, come carry Me into the holes of the poor, come be My light!” (Cross, 2009, p. 7, emphasis in the original)

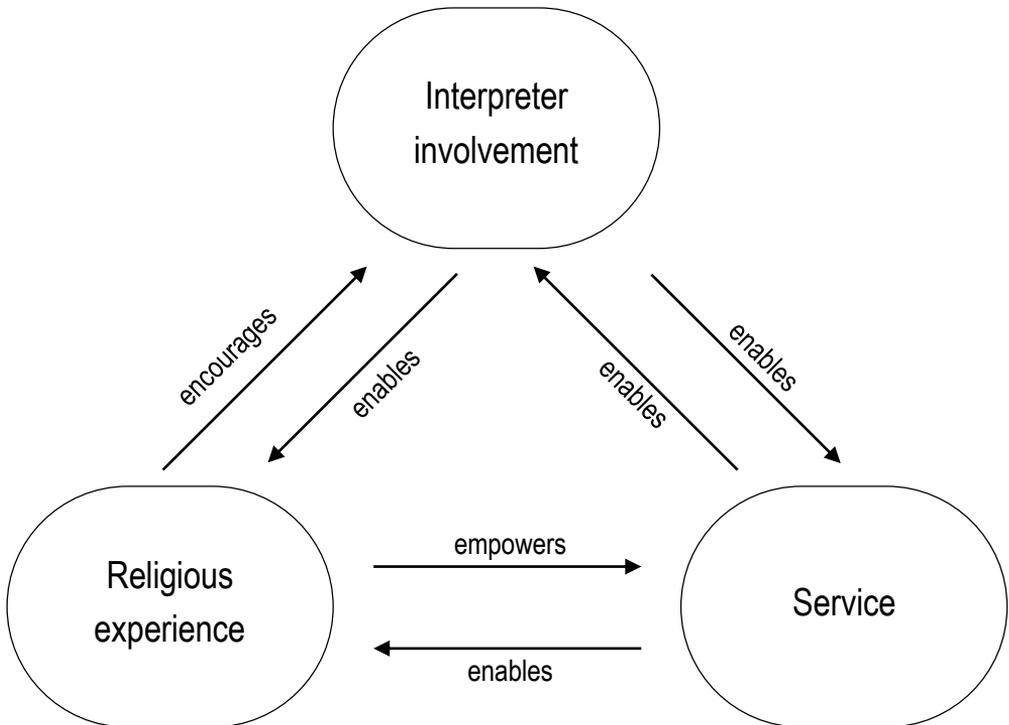
This quote from the Pentecostal theologian Terry L. Cross goes to exemplify how closely related the concepts of religious experience and service are in Pentecostalism. Personal, emotional, and even “supernatural” encounters with God are seen equally as part of the believer’s relationship with Him, as is the call to serve others.

The relationship between religious experience and service has been argued to be one of empowerment. According to Miller and Yamamori (2007, p. 134), it is the “divine-human encounter” in collective worship that is at the root of Pentecostals’ social engagement. When feeling to be in the presence of and in intimate fellowship with the God of the universe, believers feel humbled, which enables them to be the “servant of others” (p. 134). More importantly, according to Miller and Yamamori (p. 221), the “energizing experience” of collective worship is what empowers Progressive Pentecostals to engage in often very challenging and demanding social ministry (see also Unruh & Sider, 2005, pp. 73–74).

Believers’ service is not only empowered by religious experiences, giving them motivation and internal strength, but service may also provide them with opportunities for further and perhaps different varieties of religious experiences. When serving others, believers have reported that “compassionate acts open a sacred space where one may find God” (Unruh & Sider, 2005, p. 75; Tangenberg, 2004). According to this view, when serving another human being, the believer is in reality serving God Himself (see also Section 6.1). Service may constitute a meaningful part of believers’ relationship with God also in other ways, such as by becoming an expression of gratitude for the material and spiritual good God had provided them (Unruh & Sider, 2005).

## 2.5 Summary of the Conceptual Framework

In this section, I provide a summary of the conceptual framework of the study. As illustrated by Figure 1, the three main concepts discussed in the chapter interact in several ways.



**Figure 1.** The conceptual framework used in the study.

As suggested in the previous section, service and religious experience are interrelated concepts in the sense that acts of service may enable types of religious experience that may not be available otherwise (such as encountering God by showing compassion to others), as well as in the sense that emotional and energizing religious experiences may empower believers to perform acts of service.

The concept of service is also related to the third concept shown in Figure 1: interpreter involvement. Drawing on the discussion in Section 2.1, the current literature on church interpreting can be seen to depict three aspects of church interpreters' involvement:

- (1) involvement in the community (that is, the church),

- (2) involvement in the interpreted interaction (that is, “co-preaching”), and
- (3) involvement in the interpreted message (that is, giving a “translation of the heart”).

In order for the interpreters’ volunteer effort to be regarded as service, I argue, they must be involved in the church community – not necessarily through family relations, as was the case in Karlik’s study (2010), but by being members or otherwise by being seen as “people of faith,” who share the same ideology as the church community. In this sense, interpreter involvement is a prerequisite for viewing church interpreting as Christian service. However, when church interpreting *is* viewed as Christian service, it may render the task of interpreting personally relevant for the interpreter, giving further reason to become personally involved and engaging with the interpreted messages.

Interpreter involvement is, in addition, intertwined with religious experience, as illustrated in Figure 1. The central role given to religious experience in Pentecostalism may encourage church interpreters to take a more engaged stance regarding their task. In other words, when church gatherings aim at each attendant encountering God, this objective may influence the church interpreter who interprets in that gathering. Again, the relationship between interpreter involvement and religious experience can be seen also from the opposite angle: if and when church interpreters are engaged with the messages they interpret, their personal involvement enables them to seek and have personal religious experiences.

To conclude, the concepts of Christian service, religious experience, and interpreter involvement are seen as interrelated in this study. Even though presented here from a theoretical perspective with little reference to the research materials, this conceptual framework was not constructed prior to or independently of fieldwork. Rather, these concepts emerged in the course of fieldwork and were selected into the conceptual framework of the study as part of a continuous process of constructing and refining the research design (see Maxwell, 2005). The conceptual framework is complemented, with more reference to the research materials, in the summary of the empirical findings of the original publications in Chapter 6 of Part II.

### 3 Pentecostalism: The “Field”

This autoethnographic study is based on fieldwork that I conducted in two Finnish Pentecostal churches – one in Tampere and the other in Seinäjoki. I chose to incorporate both settings into the study, because these churches had had an important role in the formation of my spirituality and because I had a long and accumulating experience of volunteering as a church interpreter in them. Therefore, they play a crucial role in this study, which aims to examine the complicated interrelationships between social meanings and individual experiences. The purpose of the present chapter is to describe what kind of a “field” or research setting these two churches and the movement they represent create for the church interpreting practice being studied. According to Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (1995, p. 41), a setting refers to “a named context in which phenomena occur that might be studied from any number of angles.” Thus, the field is not the actual object of study. Furthermore, the field is not a naturally occurring phenomenon, but a construct (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 41; Delamont, 2004, p. 218). It is important to bear in mind, however, that in an autoethnographic study, the field is equally constructed with the position and person of the researcher, as it is with named and identifiable settings (Reed-Danahay, 2001, p. 418; see also Article IV).

In this dissertation, I construct the field with two layers of settings: the Pentecostal movement and the Pentecostal churches in Tampere and Seinäjoki. Both layers are described in the present chapter. Section 3.1 describes the first layer, the Pentecostal movement, from a historical perspective, while Section 3.2 sketches some of its more contemporary features. In Section 3.3, I present the second layer of the field of the study, by describing the Pentecostal churches in Tampere and Seinäjoki and the way they represent Finnish Pentecostalism.

### 3.1 Global and Local Beginnings

Pentecostalism is a Christian movement, its beginning situated in the United States in the early years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>6</sup> The narrative of the movement's birth often begins with an account of a Bible school held by Charles Parham, a preacher with a Methodist background, in Topeka, Kansas. Here, on the very first days of the new century, some the students and, eventually, Parham himself were baptized with the Holy Spirit and subsequently spoke in tongues of (Ruohomäki, 2014, p. 27; Miller, 2013, p. 4). Another important location usually mentioned in the history of the movement is the Azusa Street in Los Angeles, where the African-American preacher William Seymour held meetings, beginning in 1906, after having learned of Spirit-baptism in Parham's Bible school held in Houston, Texas, and having been filled with the Spirit himself (Ruohomäki, 2014, pp. 29–30; Miller, 2013, pp. 4–5). The meetings held in Azusa Street, in a warehouse that formerly functioned as the first church for African-Americans in Los Angeles, attracted thousands of people from all over the United States and abroad (Ruohomäki, 2014, pp. 30). The interracial gatherings held there and the accompanying works of the Spirit reported – speaking in tongues, healing of the sick, and prophesying – became known as the Azusa Street revival (Miller, 2013, pp. 4–5; Ruohomäki, 2014, pp. 30–31).

Rapidly, the movement spread elsewhere, including Scandinavia and Finland (Alvarsson, 2011, p. 19). Towards the end of year 1906 – the same year the Azusa Street revival began – the first eyewitnesses returned to the Nordic countries and started to organize similar meetings where similar phenomena were witnessed. The first Finnish contacts with Pentecostalism were established in 1907, when a few Finnish preachers visited the meetings held in Christiania (modern-day Oslo), Norway, by the English-Norwegian Methodist preacher Thomas B. Barratt (Ruohomäki, 2014, p. 49). In 1911, Barratt was invited to preach in Finland, which is often, mistakenly, mentioned as the year of birth for Finnish Pentecostalism, since contacts with the movement had already been established, and it had already found proponents among the Finns (Ruohomäki, 2014, p. 15).

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<sup>6</sup> According to some views, the birth of Pentecostalism cannot be situated in a single location, but in “spontaneous but connected interventions by God” in different parts of the world, or, according to others, in the first Pentecost described in the Bible in Acts 2 (Robeck Jr., 2013, p. 44) with the work of the Holy Spirit being present throughout Church history. Nevertheless, scholars of Pentecostalism seem to agree on the centrality of the locations and events mentioned here in the growth and expansion of Pentecostalism, if not in its conception (p. 45).

What seems to have awakened the interest of not only Christians but also secular newspapers was the phenomenon identified as speaking in tongues and the other religious experiences had by the people involved; some of them described as ecstatic (Ruohomäki, 2014, p. 32). However, these experiences and their theological explanation as manifestations of the baptism of the Holy Spirit were not entirely unprecedented. In fact, both the experiences and the underlying theology are described in the Bible, especially in Acts, Chapter 2. Furthermore, similar phenomena were familiar to Christians of the time from reports of former revivals (Ruohomäki, 2014, p. 16), and the Scandinavian countries, at least, already had in place a discourse of “baptism in the Holy Spirit” (Alvarsson, 2011, pp. 19–20). Therefore, the vocabulary used in explaining what was experienced by the early Pentecostals came from existing concepts in Christianity, and the theological understanding of the early Pentecostals drew a great deal from previous Wesleyan, Pietistic, Methodist, and Baptist traditions (Alvarsson, 2011, p. 36; Ruohomäki, 2014, p. 34).

Originally, the leaders and adherents of the Pentecostal movement did not have in mind the founding of a new church or denomination. Instead, their wish was to see the new work of the Holy Spirit integrated into the entire Christendom (Ruohomäki, 2014, p. 16).<sup>7</sup> Fairly soon, however, many proponents of the movement were forced to leave their former churches, as disagreement arose on whether the experiences had by the early Pentecostals were biblical and “of God,” leading them to form congregations of their own (Alvarsson, 2011, p. 37). Nevertheless, Pentecostalism in Finland and Scandinavia has always been fairly loosely organized, united more through periodicals and conferences than any strong central organization (p. 37). In fact, for early and contemporary Pentecostals alike, organizational structure has tended to be devalued in relation to the work and “free moving” of the Holy Spirit (Ruohomäki, 2014, p. 16; Kärkkäinen, 2001).

It stands to reason that the Pentecostal movement employed interpreting from its beginning. From the start, Pentecostalism was an interracial and intercultural movement, and it strongly emphasized the evangelization of the world (Anderson, 2007). Indeed, with people traveling to Pentecostal “centers” and returning home with the new experience, and with missionaries quickly scattering across the globe, it has been estimated that the movement had spread from Azusa Street to twenty-

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<sup>7</sup> This wish has been, at least partly, realized with the Charismatic movement spreading in especially the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches in the 1960s and 1970s (Miller, 2013, p. 5).

five nations within two years (p. 9). Although reports from the mission fields often emphasized the Western missionaries' work and left out the contributions of the "native workers," as they were called, at least some information on the interpreters working within the early days of the movement has been preserved. Allan Anderson (2007), a researcher of mission and Pentecostal studies, mentions Mok Lai Chi, a Chinese–English interpreter who worked for an American missionary couple, Alfred G. and Lillian Garr, who had been baptized in the Spirit in the Azusa Street revival. Mok Lai Chi was reportedly a capable interpreter who was an English teacher and a former interpreter for the Chinese government. Together with the Garrs, they began having services in Hong Kong towards the end of the year 1907 in Mok Lai Chi's school building, and in six months, about one hundred South-Chinese people had become Pentecostals. This early Pentecostal interpreter eventually became a prominent figure within the movement in China. According to Anderson (2007, pp. 12–13), Mok Lai Chi

led the Hong Kong Pentecostal Mission, the first Pentecostal church in China and a thriving church that still exists today. Mok published the first Pentecostal periodical outside the Western world. . . . Mok's influence and that of his periodical extended far beyond the borders of Hong Kong, and he was instrumental in laying the foundations for many of the Chinese . . . independent churches that emerged before the Communist revolution.

The case of Mok Lai Chi serves as an example of interpreting in the early days of the Pentecostal movement. Indeed, I would surmise that the early Pentecostal missionaries may have been forced to rely on interpreters more often than they had anticipated. Part of the teaching of Charles Parham, one of the "fathers" of the movement, held that the tongues received through Spirit-baptism were, in fact, existing foreign languages, given as an aid in mission work (Hollenweger, 1997, p. 21). Although there are a few reports of this actually having taken place (Anderson, 2007, p. 10), more often than not, the missionaries were forced to cope with language barriers in a more earthly way: most likely through a combination of learning the local language and using interpreters. In addition to mission work, many of the early contacts with the movement came in the form of visiting preachers, such as the English-Norwegian Thomas B. Barratt in Finland, whose teaching most likely had to be interpreted into Finnish.

## 3.2 Pentecostalism Today

With over 500 million adherents globally, Pentecostalism currently comprises about a quarter of all 2.2 billion Christians worldwide, and it is widely recognized as the fastest growing form of Christianity, especially in the Southern Hemisphere (Miller, 2013, p. 9). However, the numbers include not only members of Pentecostal churches, but also those of “independent Pentecostal-like churches” (Anderson, 2007, p. 14), and Charismatic movements within other denominations that are organizationally part of other churches but follow the Pentecostal understanding of Spirit baptism (Burgess & Van der Maas, 2002, pp. xvii–xx; Miller, 2013). Indeed, Pentecostalism is certainly not a single, structured entity, but “a complex social movement with many different strains” (Miller & Yamamori, 2007, p. 1; see also Burgess & Van der Maas, 2002). What these groups usually share, however, is “an emphasis on the charismatic ‘gifts of the spirit,’ including any combination of healing, exorcism, prophesy, and speaking in tongues, as well as an emphasis on emotional and experiential expressions over and against discursive and doctrinal ones” (Casanova, 2001, p. 435; Hollenweger, 1997, p. 329).

Pentecostalism has been described as a global movement, not simply due to its presence in most parts of the world, but because of its ability to “make itself at home anywhere in the globe where the Spirit moves” (Casanova, 2001, p. 434). From the beginning, Pentecostalism adapted to and transformed the local religious and cultural context, for example by “empower[ing] the marginalized and oppressed for service” and by “bestow[ing] dignity on disadvantaged women” in the revival led by the famous social reformer Pandita Sarasvati Ramabai in Western India in the early 1900s (Anderson, 2007, p. 12). On a more contemporary note, one of the reasons attributed to the rapid growth of Pentecostalism is the movement’s ability to adapt to the culturally relevant styles of music for the purpose of worship (Miller, 2013). Being simultaneously global and local, Pentecostalism is said to be “truly the first global religion,” “a de-centered and de-territorialized global culture” (Casanova, 2001, p. 437).

In all the diversity and even “nebulosity” (Miller, 2013, p. 9) of the Pentecostal movement, there is one trait that is usually always mentioned as describing this global/local movement (e.g. Miller, 2013, p. 10; Hollenweger, 1997, p. 329; Kärkkäinen, 2001, p. 102; Cross, 2009) and, sometimes, even as explaining its rapid growth (Miller, 2013, p. 19): personal religious experience (see Section 2.3 above for a more detailed discussion of the concept). Indeed, Pentecostals’ continuing and persistent adherence to the centrality of personal religious experience is highlighted

both in research and in the churches studied here. Pentecostals across the globe share “a confidence that God through the Spirit is active, powerful, and moving in the world today” (Miller, 2013, p. 12) and “confess a radical openness to the invasion and intervention of God’s Spirit in [their] daily lives” (Cross, 2009, p. 6).

The emphasis placed on personal religious experience leaves its traces on various facets of church life within Pentecostalism. For example, the movement underscores the importance of a personal choice to accept Jesus as one’s Savior, for instance through the means of a simple “Sinner’s Prayer,” in order to be saved or “born-again” (Kärkkäinen, 2005, p. 287). Only those who are considered to be born-again are baptized, and only baptized Christians are accepted as members of the local church. In addition, the emphasis on personal religious experience is closely related to the concept of universal priesthood, which is also very prominent in Pentecostalism (Kärkkäinen, 2001, 2005). The concept of universal priesthood conveys the idea that every member of the church has equal access to a relationship with God – that every member is equally important and has been called by God to serve others (see also Section 2.2 above on the concept of service). This understanding of the value of each member has influenced the notions of equality within the movement (see also Anderson, 2007, p. 12). For example, a reporter witnessing the Azusa Street revival described how “the colour line was washed away in the blood [of Christ]” (Bartleman, 1986, quoted in Ruohomäki, 2014, p. 31). However, this understanding may also be the reason why Pentecostalism has so many splits and factions: “everyone thinks he or she has as much right to hear from God as the appointed leader” (Miller & Yamamori, 2007, p. 178). Indeed, Pentecostal ideology has been described as being “antiauthoritarian at its root” (p. 178).

### 3.3 The Pentecostal Churches in Tampere and Seinäjoki

Whereas the global Pentecostal movement is often characterized in terms of rapid growth (e.g. Miller, 2013; Miller & Yamamori, 2007; Hollenweger, 1997), the Pentecostal denomination<sup>8</sup> in Finland has had a fairly stable number of adherents

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<sup>8</sup> In this discussion, I limit my focus on the Pentecostal *denomination* in Finland, in contrast to the wider Pentecostal/Charismatic *movement*, mainly because members in independent Charismatic churches and/or the Charismatic movement in other denominations (such as in the Evangelical

for the last couple of decades; about 46,000 in altogether 240 local churches in the year 2014 (Seurakuntaopas, 2015, p. 33).<sup>9</sup> The Pentecostal churches in Tampere and Seinäjoki are among the five largest churches in the country, with over 2,300 and over 1,400 members, respectively (pp. 113, 119). Of the 240 local churches listed in the 2014 statistics, only seven have over 1,000 members. In contrast, over half (55.4 percent) of the Finnish Pentecostal churches have 100 members or less. However, these smaller churches comprise only 15.1 percent of the total number of adherents, whereas the largest churches with 1,000 or more members comprise over one-fourth (28.43 percent) of the total number of adherents. Thus, the field of Finnish Pentecostalism is quite diverse, with many small churches and a few larger ones mainly in the larger cities.

The Pentecostal churches in Tampere and Seinäjoki, thus, both represent the larger churches with over 1,000 members, but the local contexts in the two cities are, obviously, not identical. Tampere is the country's third largest municipality with over 220,000 inhabitants (Statistics Finland, 2014a) and a university city with approximately 15,000 students in two universities. In contrast, Seinäjoki is listed as the seventeenth largest city in the country with a little over 60,000 inhabitants (Statistics Finland, 2014a). While certainly smaller than Tampere, Seinäjoki is among the fastest growing cities in the country, with a growth rate equaling that of the capital area and Tampere (Statistics Finland, 2014a).

Also in terms of internationality, the cities of Tampere and Seinäjoki differ. In international comparison, the entire country does not have a very high percentage of people born abroad; only 5.6 percent of the population in 2013 (Statistics Finland, 2014b, p. 16). In Tampere, the number was somewhat higher, 6.4 percent, while in Seinäjoki, it was significantly lower; only 2.0 percent.<sup>10</sup> Therefore, probably at least

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Lutheran Church) are not publicly available, and because the accurate charting of this changing and often 'nebulous' field would constitute a research project in its own right.

<sup>9</sup> The numbers are derived from the annual statistics of the Finnish-speaking Pentecostal churches, published in the book *Seurakuntaopas 2015*. The information on four of the 240 churches listed does not include the number of church members. The data was gathered via the enterprise resource planning software used by the churches in cooperation with the publisher of the statistics and the software proprietor.

<sup>10</sup> The number of people with a foreign background in the two municipalities was acquired via the StatFin database of Statistics Finland ([http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/StatFin/databasetree\\_fi.asp](http://pxweb2.stat.fi/database/StatFin/databasetree_fi.asp)).

partly due to more versatile educational opportunities, Tampere has a significantly larger population of inhabitants with an international background than Seinäjoki. This is also the population which may be in need of interpreting services while attending church. However, despite the few years in between the fieldwork in the Pentecostal churches of Tampere and Seinäjoki, there did not seem to be any direct correlation with these numbers and the number of listeners of English interpreting in the services. In both churches, there were usually five to ten listeners in each service.

To conclude, the Pentecostal churches of Tampere and Seinäjoki are taken to represent the denomination of Finnish Pentecostalism in the present study. Clearly, Pentecostal churches elsewhere in Finland may differ greatly from these two, which are among the largest. Most likely, the local contexts especially in much smaller churches may have great impact also on their (possible) interpreting practices. Nevertheless, the local churches in different parts of Finland, even though organizationally independent entities, tend to maintain close contacts with each other, for example via the annual gatherings of pastors, a periodical, and an annual summer conference of the entire movement in Finland. Furthermore, even though the present study only focuses on the two churches I have personal, prolonged experience of, the combined membership of the churches amounts to well over 10 percent of the total number of the denomination's adherents.

## 4 Interpreting in the Pentecostal Churches

This chapter describes the interpreting practice that functions as the empirical foundation for the exploration of the social meaning and subjective experience of church interpreting undertaken in this study: the simultaneous interpreting of services in the Pentecostal churches of Tampere and Seinäjoki. Before providing a description of the simultaneous interpreting practice, however, the chapter first presents an overview of the various interpreting practices in these churches. Thus, Section 4.1 aims to demonstrate that church interpreting may involve different actors and differing working conditions, depending on the mode of interpreting employed even within the same church. Section 4.2, then, focuses on the practices of simultaneous interpreting of services from Finnish into English in the two churches.

### 4.1 Interpreting Practices in the Churches Studied

Like many of the other larger Pentecostal churches in Finland, the churches in Tampere and Seinäjoki are a home to a variety of interpreting practices. In both churches, the weekly services are interpreted simultaneously into English as well as into other languages. During the time the fieldwork was conducted, the Tampere Pentecostal Church offered simultaneous interpreting (SI) into English, Russian, Spanish, and Chinese, among other languages, either regularly every week, or as the need arose. In Seinäjoki, SI was offered into English and occasionally also into Russian. In addition, in the Seinäjoki church, whispered interpreting (or *chuchotage*) into Swahili was observed on a few occasions.

What is, perhaps, a more visible interpreting practice than SI to the congregations of the churches studied, even if less frequent, is the consecutive interpreting of the sermons of visiting speakers into Finnish. These visitors are interpreted – often from English, which may or may not be their native language – by members of the church or otherwise well-known and trusted Pentecostals who often have experience as preachers themselves. In other words, these consecutive interpreters are not professionally trained interpreters, but are usually familiar with the interpreted event from the viewpoint of the primary speaker.

The weekly-held services in the two churches studied are also sometimes interpreted into Finnish Sign Language. This practice differs significantly from the (spoken) simultaneous and consecutive modes mentioned above, because the sign language interpreters are professionals, commissioned by their church-going clients through the Social Insurance Institution of Finland. These professional interpreters, by definition, are not directly related to the churches in which they interpret, but can be assumed to relate to interpreting in church in much the same way as to any other interpreting assignment.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to the interpreting of weekly services – whether simultaneous or consecutive or SL – there are, presumably, a variety of other *ad hoc* interpreting practices within the church context, for example, in casual discussions between church members, in personal counseling, or in the cell groups<sup>12</sup> that often convene in members' homes.

## 4.2 Simultaneous Interpreting into English in the Churches Studied

The interpreting practice this study focuses on is the simultaneous interpreting (SI) of weekly services from Finnish into English. In what follows, I will shortly describe the SI practice in the two churches studied, also touching on a few of the differences between them. The SI practice in the Tampere Pentecostal Church is also described in Article I.

Both churches have built-in booths within the main church hall (two in Seinäjoki, four in Tampere) that, while not entirely sound-proof, have a lockable door to enable the interpreters to work relatively undisturbed. The booths also have glass windows

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<sup>11</sup> However, whether this truly is the case or whether professional SL interpreters see church interpreting assignments differing from other, non-religious ones that exhibit, for example, emotional or ritualistic characters, is an open question, the answer to which remains the task of further studies. Nevertheless, my assumption here rests on the heavy emphasis usually given to standards of neutrality and impartiality within professional interpreting circles – in whatever language. For a view of *volunteer* SL interpreting in a church environment, see, e.g. Rayman (2007).

<sup>12</sup> A cell group is similar to a Bible study group but its aim is equally on cultivating personal relationships between the members and mutual support in their Christian walk as it is on studying the Bible.

that give a view of the main hall and the stage. In Tampere, the interpreting equipment is similar to what is used in professional SI, with a microphone and headset for the interpreter, a simple operating console, and receiver-headsets for the listeners. In Seinäjoki, the interpreting is conducted with a regular mixing console. Thus, while the system in Seinäjoki has all the necessary components (a microphone, and headset for the interpreter, a console, and receiver-headsets for the listeners), it also has several functions that are superfluous for interpreting, making its use somewhat more complicated.

In addition to the equipment, during the time the fieldwork was conducted, the English booths in both churches provided some support material for the interpreting, such as dictionaries and an English translation of the Bible. In addition, the English booth in Tampere held translations of a few Bible passages often read in the services, such as the Lord's Prayer or the Priestly Blessing. The booth in Seinäjoki held a copy of the book of hymns used in the church – indicating that the interpreter could either sing along or interpret the lyrics with the aid of the hymn book.

The churches have several meetings<sup>13</sup> every week, two of which are regularly interpreted into English: the Sunday service at 11 am in both; in addition, in Tampere, the Saturday evening youth meeting at 7 pm, and in Seinäjoki, the Wednesday evening prayer and worship meeting at 7 pm. Despite the different times and names of these gatherings, they have similar structures, contents, and speech genres (discussed in Article II). Thus, they all contain prayer, the sermon, music, and announcements. What differs between these meetings is, usually, the style of music or, to a lesser extent, the register of speech. For example, the youth meetings in Tampere and the Wednesday meetings in Seinäjoki often have worship music that is close to contemporary popular music in style, including instruments such as drums, the bass, electric guitars, and synthesizers, whereas the music in Sunday services may be somewhat more subdued, only consisting, perhaps, of a piano accompaniment to hymns.

The interpreted services usually last from 90 minutes to two hours and are interpreted by a single interpreter. In both churches, the simultaneous interpreters are volunteers, usually either members of the church or otherwise closely connected to it and committed to its core beliefs – the most important of which would be a confession of being “born again” and filled with the Spirit. During fieldwork, neither

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<sup>13</sup> A meeting (*kokous*, in Finnish) is a general term used in the churches to refer to services and other church gatherings.

church held any explicit requirements for the interpreters in terms of language skills or prior education, training, or interpreting experience. The interpreters were selected solely on the basis of their having offered themselves as volunteers. However, implicitly, the worldview of the churches places several conditions on who is thought to be able to perform (successfully) as an interpreter. These conditions are discussed in detail in Article I and in Chapter 6 of this dissertation.

The people listening to simultaneous interpreting into English are usually migrants, exchange students, or other visitors to the church whose language skills in Finnish do not enable them to follow and participate in the services, which are normally held only in Finnish. However, few of the listeners were native speakers of English during the time fieldwork was conducted, and most could understand some Finnish. In fact, according to the interpreting coordinator in Tampere, one of the purposes of the English interpreting was to aid the listeners in their learning of Finnish. Some of them, in fact, took part in the low-cost Finnish language courses organized by the church.

To conclude, the material and practical setting of simultaneous church interpreting described in this section functions as the empirical ground upon which the exploration of the social meaning and subjective experience of church interpreting is carried out. As suggested in Section 4.1 above, such exploration may have produced different results, if conducted in relation to a different interpreting mode, for example to signed-language interpreting instead of simultaneous.

## 5 Methodology

This chapter explains the methodology employed in the dissertation. After a short contextualization of ethnography and autoethnography within Translation and Interpreting Studies, the chapter continues with a discussion on the differences between autoethnography and ethnography (Section 5.1) and moves on to detail the research materials used in the study (Section 5.2) as well as the process of their analysis and interpretation (Section 5.3) This methodological discussion concludes in Section 5.4 with an explanation of principles of autoethnographic research that have guided my research process, including situatedness, reflexivity, and ethics. Since one of the main objectives of the study was to explore autoethnography as a methodology, much of the discussion in the present chapter overlaps with Article IV.

Fieldwork-based methodologies, which are closely related to ethnography, have a long tradition in our field, especially in interpreting research (e.g. Pöchhacker & Shlesinger, 2002; Diriker, 2004). However, in recent years, ethnography, as such, has gained increasing acknowledgement as a useful methodological approach in the study of both translation and interpreting. For example, it has been discussed in two handbook articles (Flynn, 2010; Angelelli, 2015), as well as in two recent methods books: one in the study of translation (Saldanha & O'Brien, 2013) and one in interpreting (Hale & Napier, 2013). Ethnography has been identified as a useful concept with which to theorize on translation and translation research (e.g. Wolf, 2002; Bahadır, 2004; Buzelin, 2007), in addition to having been taken as a research methodology in empirical research. Among the works employing ethnography in empirical research of written translation are Kaisa Koskinen's (2008) study on Finnish EU translators, and Hanna Risku's (2009) study of project coordinators in a translation company in Austria. In Interpreting Studies, ethnography has been employed, for example, by Susan Berk-Seligson (1990) in the study of court interpreting in the United States, and by Claudia Angelelli (2004a) in a study of medical interpreters in California, USA. Furthermore, many studies in sign language interpreting have used ethnography, such as Cynthia B. Roy's study (2000) of an interpreted meeting between a hearing professor and a deaf student (see also Mather, 2005; Dickinson, 2010).

However, it should be noted that the applications of ethnography within Translation and Interpreting Studies vary, as does the understanding of what, in fact, ethnography entails. Sandra Hale and Jemina Napier (2013, p. 91) note that some researchers see ethnography as largely synonymous with other types of qualitative research and methods, especially those involving fieldwork, while others see it distinct from them in that it incorporates a more holistic perspective and an emphasis on cultural interpretation. This is not unique to our discipline, however. Writing within the social studies, Martyn Hammersley and Paul Atkinson (1995, pp. 1–2), for instance, do not wish to distinguish between ethnography and other qualitative methods. However, following researchers such as Jan Blommaert and Dong Jie (2010), I do not see ethnography primarily as a method (consisting of participant-observation, fieldwork, or unstructured interviews), but as a research paradigm, taking into account its roots in anthropology. Thus, my aim has been, for example, to acknowledge the developments in ethnographic representation (e.g. Clifford & Marcus, 1986) as well as discussions on the positionality of the researcher (e.g. Behar, 1996). Indeed, ethnography is hardly a “monolithic” research design, but has ranged from more positivistic applications to more postmodernist designs, which blur genres and may give more room the aesthetic in addition to the scientific (Atkinson et al., 2001). My application of autoethnography falls more to the interpretivist and aesthetic side, in contrast to some other applications within our discipline, such as Angelelli (2015).

## 5.1 Autoethnography and Ethnography

In this dissertation, I employ anthropologist Deborah Reed-Danahay’s (1997) definition of autoethnography. In the introduction to the seminal collected volume edited by Reed-Danahay, *Auto/ethnography: Rewriting the Self and the Social*, she uses the term autoethnography to denote two kinds of ethnography: (1) “the ethnography of one’s own group”, and (2) “autobiographical writing that has ethnographic interest” (p. 2). However, rather than seeing these two meanings of autoethnography as a dichotomy, she highlights the ways in which they are related. Thus, autoethnography challenges “the binary conventions of a self/society split, as well as the boundary between the objective and the subjective” (p. 2). Indeed, the entire autoethnographic research endeavor rests upon a notion of the self and the social as being fundamentally dependent upon and inseparable from one another (Chang & Boyd,

2011), “the self . . . always [being] constituted in our interactions with others” (Ellis et al., 2008, p. 324; see also Mead, 1937/1967; Holstein & Gubrium, 2000).

The present work represents both meanings of autoethnography as defined by Reed-Danahay. In Articles I and II, I studied “my own group”: the Tampere Pentecostal Church and its simultaneous interpreting practice, in which I had participated until a few months before starting fieldwork. Clearly, my position was not that of an “outsider.” During the fieldwork I conducted in Tampere, I was personally involved in simultaneous church interpreting in the Pentecostal Church of Seinäjoki. Then, in Articles III and IV, I included this accumulating experience in the Seinäjoki church in my research design, moving towards the second meaning of autoethnography given by Reed-Danahay: autobiographical writing that has ethnographic interest. However, it should be noted that many other authors understand only this second meaning given by Reed-Danahay as autoethnography (e.g. Davies, 1999/2002; Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Chang, 2008), and the study of one’s own group would be, for them, “native ethnography” (e.g. Chang, 2008), or, perhaps, a form of “complete-member research” (Ellis & Bochner, 2000, p. 740).

I have adopted Reed-Danahay’s definition in order to highlight the similarities between the two approaches. Thus, the two senses of autoethnography employed in the Articles do not stand in very stark contrast to one another. Instead, I conceptualize autoethnography as an extension of ethnography, distinguishing between the two, not in terms of a difference in nature, but in terms of a difference in gradation. Autoethnography and (reflexive or native) ethnography, in other words, both rely on the self of the researcher, but autoethnography more heavily and explicitly so. Therefore, while defined as ethnography in the actual papers, Articles I and II also exhibit self-reflexivity and rest upon my position as an ex-member of the practice I studied, even if including somewhat less autobiographical writing than Articles III and IV.

## 5.2 Research Materials

The main body of the research material used in the dissertation comprises the notes I have taken during the fieldwork (in the winter of 2009–2010 in Tampere, and from 2011 to 2014 in Seinäjoki). In addition to holding a record of observations of other church interpreters’ work and any (to me at the time) noteworthy occurrences related to church interpreting in the services, the field notes include reflections on my own church interpreting experiences and on doing fieldwork and its relationship with the

practice being studied (see also Article IV). Furthermore, the field notes describe the conversations I have had with other church interpreters, as well as emerging ideas on the analysis and interpretation of the interpreting practice. I generally kept “jotted notes” (Emerson et al., 1995) or “scratch notes” (Ottenberg, 1990, p. 148) by hand in a small notebook while observing “in the field” or while interpreting in the booth, writing them out into a more extensive narrative on computer either the following day or a few days later.

As is discussed in Article IV, my procedures of taking field notes evolved throughout the course of the research process. At first, my observations were more focused on the performance of other church interpreters and the way the service would progress, with detailed and, as it turned out in subsequent analyses, somewhat unnecessary time-taking. Later on, I tried being more succinct as to the progress of the service (although taking notes on the people speaking and the content of their speech, among other observations) and focusing more on the experience of simultaneous interpreting, as well as on religious experiences during interpreting and any factors that may have had influence on either. This development in my practice of writing field notes reflects my learning process in what might be needed in a useful field note for the purposes of this study, but it also reflects the iterative nature of the autoethnographic research process. Observations made and understandings built in the past guide subsequent field experiences, making some phenomena appear more prominent and others less important.

While the field notes functioned as the main research material, they were complemented by other sources, as well. These include a document from a church course<sup>14</sup>, a church website<sup>15</sup>, my personal journals written before the research began, and audio and video recordings of my church interpreting. All the materials and the articles in which I have used them are listed in Table 2. The materials are organized according to the Articles in which they were used in order to reflect the notion that the understanding gained from each source has acted as the foundation upon which subsequent understanding is built, even though all the materials were not explicitly (re-)analyzed for each Article. Furthermore, it should be noted, that the research

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<sup>14</sup> The course was titled *Kristityn elämä* (‘The Christian life’). The course material is undated, but came to my possession around 2008.

<sup>15</sup> The website described specifically the opportunities for service within the church and was entitled *Palvelupaikat* (‘Places of service’). The contents were retrieved in 2010, after which the church website has been modified.

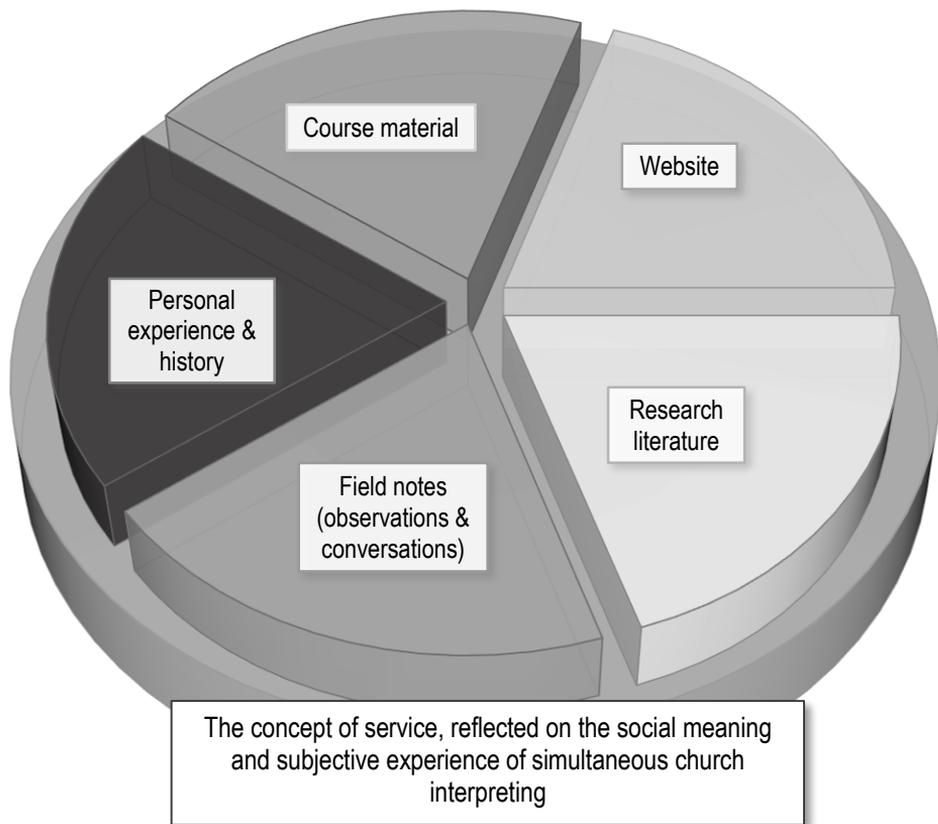
process has not progressed in a linear fashion, as ethnography seldom does, making the gathering of new materials and the analysis of older ones largely overlapping. In addition to listing the different materials used in this study, Table 2 also contours my journey from the first meaning of autoethnography to the second, discussed above, that is, from a more outward perspective to a more personal one.

	<b>MATERIAL</b>	<b>NOTE ON CONTENTS</b>	<b>TIME WHEN GATHERED</b>	<b>ARTICLE</b>
<b>Ethnography of my group</b>	Field notes (Tampere)	Notes on other church interpreters' performance, conversations, general observations etc.	11/2009 to 1/2010	I, II, III
	Course material	A portion of material used in a church course in Tampere; a chapter focusing on service	2008	I, III
	Website	Descriptions of the opportunities for service within the Tampere church	2010	I, III
<b>Autobiographical research with ethnographic interest</b>	Field notes (Seinäjäoki)	Notes on my church interpreting experiences, conversations with others, general observations etc.	4/2011 to 8/2014	II, III, IV
	Personal journals	Portions describing personal religious experience	2001 to 2014	III
	Video recordings	Recordings of my church interpreting	4/2012	IV
	Audio recordings	Recordings of my church interpreting	2/2014 to 8/2014	IV

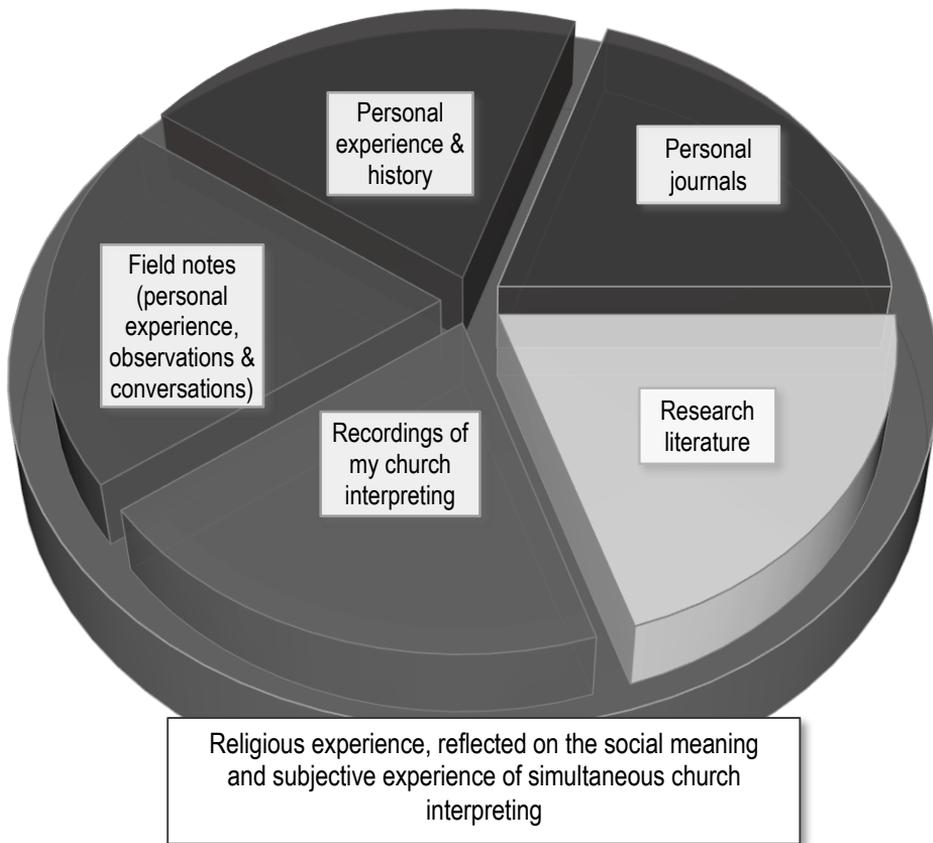
**Table 2.** A description of the materials analyzed in this dissertation organized chronologically in the order of the Articles they have been used in and divided according to the two meanings of autoethnography (Reed-Danahay, 1997, p. 2).

In addition to those listed in Table 2, an important source of material in the study, as in any autoethnographic research, is the personal history of the researcher. Thus, the experiences and memories I have of my life within Pentecostalism add depth and complexity to my understanding of the physical research materials. While this might be labeled as bias by some, it is actually at the crux of the methodology: it is exactly the personal and subjective experiences of the researcher, often accumulated over long periods of time, that are interrogated for their social meanings (Ellis & Bochner, 2000; Spry, 2001; Chang, 2008; Ellis et al., 2011).

To illustrate the influence of personal experience and history on the construction of knowledge, Figures 2 and 3 show the different sources I have used for research questions 1a) and 1b), respectively (see Section 1.2). Thus, Figure 2 explicates the sources that were used to explore how the concept of Christian service is reflected in the meaning and experience of simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism, while Figure 3 explicates those used in the exploration of the way the prominent role of religious experience is reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous church interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism.



**Figure 2.** The materials used to construct an understanding of the way the concept of Christian service is reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism (research question 1a, see Section 1.2).



**Figure 3.** The materials used to construct an understanding of the way the prominent role of religious experience is reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous church interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism (research question 1b, see Section 1.2).

Figures 2 and 3 show that in addition to the physical research materials listed in Table 2 (field notes, course material, and website), I have constructed an understanding of the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous church interpreting with the help of my personal experience of and history in Finnish Pentecostalism, including my experience of interpreting therein. Nevertheless, my personal experience and history pertain not only to my background in Pentecostalism, but also in professional translation and interpreting, which has naturally contributed to my meaning-making process in the study. As displayed in

Figures 2 and 3, an additional source used in the construction of understanding has been research literature.

The shades used in Figures 2 and 3 indicate the level of personality of the source and, subsequently, of the understanding constructed. The lighter shades indicate sources that are less personal, with the level of personality increasing towards the darker shades. Thus, for example, research literature, which provides a more outward perspective on the object of study, is shown in a very light shade of grey, whereas my (untexualized) personal experience and history as well as my personal journals are given in dark grey. The course material in Figure 2 is given in a slightly darker shade than the website, since I studied it personally as a church member before analyzing it as a researcher. Together, Figures 2 and 3 illustrate not only the different sources influencing my construction of knowledge in the study, but also the differences and similarities in the two approaches to autoethnography discussed in the present chapter. Both approaches make use of my personal experience and history of the researcher in addition to a variety of other sources, and the differences are mostly a matter of gradation; in the first, the approach, the sources, and the knowledge produced is somewhat less personal than in the second.

### 5.3 On the Analysis

The analysis of the research materials was continuous and iterative, and did not follow any predetermined procedure. Indeed, such predetermination would not only be difficult to generate but possibly counterproductive, because the nature of autoethnographic research makes “a ‘custom-tailored’ approach . . . absolutely necessary” in the analysis and interpretation of data (Chang, 2008, p. 130; cf. Maxwell, 2005 on qualitative research in general). Since the entire research design emerges through lived experience, in a continuous interaction between a researcher and his/her social contexts, autoethnography requires personal creativity and imagination from the researcher, and it warrants a creative mix of multiple approaches in order to gain a holistic understanding of the cultural case under study (Chang, 2008, p. 130; see also Willis, 2000). Therefore, the research process is equally “nebulous to describe” in autoethnography as in other types of ethnographic inquiry (Chang, 2008, p. 126).

Despite this inherent indefiniteness of data analysis and interpretation in autoethnography, the aim of the present section is, nevertheless, to describe the different methods with which I have processed my research material for the Articles.

In addition to reading and re-reading the written materials (field notes, the course material, website, and personal journals), in order to gain deep familiarity with them, I have identified in them recurring themes, keywords, and concepts using a simple method of hand-written notes and color-coding. Especially for Article I, I used these key concepts to compile mind-maps in order to visualize the relationships between the concepts. Later on in the research process, especially with the more personal materials, I found this simple coding procedure somewhat insufficient. When the analyzed materials began to feature more emotions and descriptions of other embodied experiences, it seemed difficult to find succinct verbal expressions, such as key words, to adequately explain parts of the material (see e.g. Uotinen, 2010 on the difficulty of verbalizing embodied experiences). Instead, I turned to narrative methods, which seemed to bend more easily to the processing of emotional and embodied experiences. Thus, I started to write plenty of reflections in the margins of the (printed) field notes, commenting and sometimes elaborating on what was written in the original note. In addition, I experimented with writing expressive and emotive narratives and poems, which are also sometimes incorporated into published autoethnographies (see e.g. Bochner & Ellis, 2002; Spry, 2011). While most of this kind of narrative writing remained unpublished, I also processed my understanding of the materials through writing drafts and revisions of the actual Articles (cf. Richardson, 2000). All the while engaged in these different forms of writing, I tried to search for cultural themes, I analyzed my relationships with other people mentioned in the field notes, and I tried to identify connections between the materials and existing research literature in different disciplines (see Wolcott, 1994).

As is made clear from this description of the different methods with which the research materials have been processed, their analysis involved several layers of recontextualizations and translations – both literally from Finnish into English, and metaphorically from lived experience to field note or from recording to research text. Clearly, “[l]et the data speak for themselves’ does not tell the truth of the ethnographic process” (Chang, 2008, p. 126). The findings are not “there” for the researcher to “find,” but they are “formulated in a researcher’s mind” (p. 127), in a process of active meaning-making and interpretation – through the means of writing (Clifford & Marcus, 1986). Therefore, the analysis and interpretation of the research materials used in the study rely heavily on myself as the researcher (see also Section 5.4.1 below on the researcher-as-instrument).

## 5.4 Principles of Autoethnographic Research

In this section, I provide an overview of the principles of autoethnographic research that have guided my research process and influenced its outcomes. First, in a discussion of situatedness, I describe the ways in which the study depends on the “field,” on temporality, and on myself as the researcher-as-instrument. Second, I move on to describe the principle of reflexivity and the way it pertains to the study. Third, in the final subsection, I discuss the ethical considerations relevant to the dissertation.

### 5.4.1 Situatedness

The notion of situatedness is used here to highlight the particularistic perspective that is gained with autoethnography. Autoethnographic fieldwork and, importantly, the knowledge acquired through it are situated in the sense that they are dependent on (at least) three different factors: (1) the socio-cultural context of research (the “field”), (2) temporality, and (3) myself as the researcher-as-instrument.

First, the dependency of autoethnography on the socio-cultural context in which the researcher operates reflects the notion of field in traditional ethnography. The aim of ethnography, and autoethnography as its extension, is to do research among some (more-or-less) defined group of people in order to understand and explain the meanings they attach to their practices and the world around them (Hammersley & Martyn, 1995; Tedlock, 2000; Delamont, 2004). Thus, the perspective gained through autoethnography is “emic” and not “objective” in the sense of coming from outside the social context. Rather, the researcher interacts with a certain (finite) number of people in the social context, which also means that every possible view may not be equally represented in the study (see also Behar, 2003). As discussed in Chapter 3 above, the field of the study is Pentecostalism and two churches representing Finnish Pentecostalism.

Second, autoethnography is situated and provides situated knowledge in terms of temporality. Fieldwork is conducted at a certain point in time, for a certain amount of time, and the people and the contexts having been a part of the research most likely move on and change – sometimes even before the findings have been published. For this dissertation, I conducted fieldwork in the Tampere church during the winter of 2009 to 2010 and in the Seinäjoki church from 2011 to 2014. During these five years from beginning fieldwork in one church to ending it in the other,

both churches have witnessed changes: the interpreting coordinator has changed, some interpreters have moved on to other tasks, and others have started as new interpreters. In other words, the object of inquiry in autoethnography is constantly in flux, and its findings are to a large extent anchored in the past.

Third, autoethnography is situated in terms of the researcher doing the fieldwork, analysis, interpretation, and representation of the findings in writing. Ethnographers are often characterized as the main instrument of research (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 19; Conquergood, 1991, p. 180; see also Koskinen, 2008, pp. 51–57). In other words, by using the person of the researcher as the research instrument in doing fieldwork, ethnography relies on the body of the researcher, as affirmed by Conquergood (1991, p. 180):

[D]oing fieldwork . . . requires getting one’s body immersed in the field for a period of time sufficient to enable one to participate inside that culture. Ethnography is an *embodied practice*; it is an intensely sensuous way of knowing. The embodied researcher is the instrument. (Emphasis in the original.)

While embodied and sensuous knowing may be difficult to put into words, it can be analyzed for cultural meanings (Uotinen, 2010, p. 88; Willis, 2000, p. xii; Liimakka, 2011; Cerwonka & Malkki, 2007, pp. 33–36), and it has been suggested that autoethnography, as a first-person research methodology, may be particularly well suited for this kind of investigation (Uotinen, 2010; Spry, 2001, p. 716; Coffey, 1999, p. 131).

## 5.4.2 Reflexivity

In this section, I will shortly explain what I mean by reflexivity and comment on my position as an “insider” researcher in the present study. While ethnography generally acknowledges reflexivity in that we are inevitably a part of the social world we study (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995, p. 21), this kind of reflexivity is at the core of autoethnography, as the subject of research is simultaneously the object of research (Ellis & Bochner, 2000). Thus, autoethnographers “have an ongoing conversation about experience while simultaneously living in the moment” (Herz, 1997, p. viii; see also Article IV). The practice of methodological reflexivity entails “constant (and intensive) scrutiny of ‘what I know’ and ‘how I know it’” (Herz, 1997, pp. vii–viii). This scrutiny flows from an understanding of the research “findings” being interpretations constructed by the researcher, who him/herself is constructed by social contexts (Alvesson & Sköldbberg, 2009, p. 269). Therefore, in addition to

examining my interpretations of the experiences and observations I have studied, I have kept in mind this second level of “construction,” as well, and focused on how my interpretations have been shaped by my memberships in several social worlds – Pentecostalism and professional translation/interpreting being the most relevant for the present study (Chang, 2008; see also Article IV).

One could say that I am an “insider” researcher. It is clear that I have both a spiritual and a social investment in my object of study: I am committed to the church both in terms of its beliefs and the social connections it has provided for me. However, it has been noted that the position of an insider or outsider should not be seen as a fixed category in the study of religion (Ganiel & Mitchell, 2006). Rather, the researcher’s religious identity as an insider or outsider interacts with his or her other social identities in a variety of ways (p. 18). Over the course of the study, and especially when moving more solidly into autoethnography as “autobiographical ethnography” (see Section 5.1 above), my identities as a Pentecostal and as an interpreting researcher have certainly been in interaction, sometimes even in conflict. For example, when I tried to observe my religious experiences while interpreting at church, I noticed how the ulterior motive of my researcher role to analyze my spiritual role created a tension and sometimes prevented me from engaging in the service fully. At first, this tension made me intermittently repulsed by the entire research project and highly unmotivated to keep a regular field journal. Therefore, I had to negotiate between my identities when interpreting in the booth; because I could not be both the observing researcher and the completely surrendered Christian in service to God, I decided to give more room to the Christian in me. Thus, what I may have lost in terms of field notes written in the booth (which could not have been very extensive in any case due to the task of simultaneous interpreting), I gained not only in the sense of fulfilling my purpose as a church interpreter, but also in the sense of maintaining the experience I tried to study as intact as I could.

Regarding “insider” research into religious groups, some may have concerns over whether the researcher is able or willing to see unflattering or unwanted results. In the present study, I have been adamant regarding the importance of respecting the experience of Pentecostals, and have not wanted to reduce religious phenomena and explanations merely to social ones (see also Hufford, 1995 on reflexivity within faith studies). However, while some may see this as bias, it is not a very radical stance in the field of religious studies, whether conducted by an insider or not (see e.g. James, 1902/1981; Miller & Yamamori, 2007). Furthermore, my insider position is an essential element in the autoethnographic research design of the study and its aims, since the experiences of Pentecostals and their religious explanations are core

elements of the study. Naturally, there have been some negative experiences or less than perfect solutions observed during the research, and while I have not wanted to discount them, I have given careful consideration as to how, where, and even if to publish them. Thus, these have been, most importantly, questions of ethics, which are discussed in further detail in the following sub-section.

### 5.4.3 Ethical Considerations

In any research involving human beings and social groups, but especially in studies conducted in identifiable settings, ethical considerations are paramount. In this sub-section, I draw on the guidelines given to ethical research by Sarah J. Tracy (2010) in a discussion of quality in qualitative research. Making use of her concepts of procedural, relational, and exiting ethics, I discuss the ethical decision-making underlying the present study, and I conclude this methodological chapter by describing the different groups and individuals whom I have considered in connection to the ethical design of the study.

In Tracy's discussion (2010, p. 847), procedural (or categorical) ethics refers to ethical conduct dictated by larger institutions or governing bodies, and includes principles such as informed consent. Before starting fieldwork, I explained my research plans to the church boards (pastors and elders) in Tampere and Seinäjoki and asked for their consent to conduct research on church interpreting. Both churches gave their consent. In addition, when conversing with other church interpreters, I explained my research plans and asked for their permission to discuss church interpreting with them for research purposes. Because the churches I have studied are identified by name, I have changed the names and other personal information of the participants, or chosen not to refer to them by name, in order to guarantee some level of anonymity.

A second category of ethical conduct in quality qualitative research given by Tracy (2010, p. 847) is relational ethics, which refers to interdependence and intimacy between the researcher and the participants. Relational ethics also underscores the importance of nurturing respectful relationships with the participants and inviting them to define the rules of the research process. In the middle of present study and again towards its completion, I asked one of the pastors in Seinäjoki if he or the church board were interested in reviewing and commenting one of the Articles before its publication. However, he did not find it necessary, instead highlighting the fact that the church did not have anything to hide, but even welcomed any

suggestions for improvement I might give. Furthermore, he emphasized the importance of my position as a trusted church member. Knowing me was sufficient for them. Arguably, then, it has been easier for me to gain access to the settings and the trust of the pastors and elders than it might have been for an outside researcher.

The final category of Tracy's ethics in qualitative research I would like to discuss here is that of exiting ethics. This type of ethical conduct refers to the way in which the researcher leaves the scene and returns to share results. While I have not been in close contact with the church in Tampere after completing fieldwork there, in Seinäjoki, I have not "left the scene," but continue to attend services, volunteer in the church, and cultivate personal relationships with church members and leaders. However, I do plan to compile some of the results of the study in a concise form to share with both churches.

Finally, autoethnography as a methodology has partly determined the groups and individuals whom I have considered throughout the research process. Traditionally, any research based on actual human behavior has at least two interested parties: the readers of the research report and the research participants. Giving ethical consideration to the first group, I have aimed at rigor in collecting and analyzing the research material as well as transparency in reporting my research methods and findings. Considering the second group, consisting not only of the churches and its members, but also of others who may be more indirectly implied by my research (friends and family, professional interpreters, my former interpreting teachers), I have aimed at protecting individuals' anonymity and ensuring that the study or its results would not cause them harm.

In addition to the two groups mentioned so far, autoethnography requires the researcher to give ethical consideration to herself (see Doloriert & Sambrook, 2009). How do I use my person for the purposes of research? How much do I want to or need to reveal? Even though transparency may sometimes be painful, I have made sure that I am able to live with whatever information I have chosen to divulge in the published research reports. Clearly, what is a comfortable level of openness in research varies between individuals, and equally clearly, not every researcher would find the openness required in autoethnography appealing.

## PART II

## 6 Results

This chapter summarizes the main results of the study. It provides a description of the simultaneous interpreting practice in Finnish Pentecostalism, structured around two of the main concepts of the conceptual framework of the study: Christian service and religious experience. The third main concept in the framework – the church interpreter’s involvement – runs through the description as a whole. Sections 6.1 and 6.2, then, respond to the first, main research question, examining the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous church interpreting in light of service and religious experience, respectively. The secondary research question on the functioning of autoethnography is addressed in Chapter 7 in connection to the evaluation of the study’s methodology. Nevertheless, Section 6.3 begins the discussion of the study’s results in methodological terms, as it examines the interface between my social selves as a church interpreter and a professionally trained translator and interpreter. Thus, the present chapter is concluded in a meta-level discussion on the results of the study as well as on my position in the two social worlds that have played a part in the production of these results.

### 6.1 Interpreting to Serve God

Pentecostalism has been characteristically prone to avoid systematical theological thinking, which is why the concept of service is not formally theorized within the movement. Nevertheless, service is an important part of Pentecostal worldview and practical church life, and it is often talked about in teachings. In this section, my aim is to answer research question 1a):

*How is the concept of Christian service reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism?*

The results of the study indicate that anything a believer does voluntarily in the two Pentecostal churches studied can be placed within the conceptual context of Christian service, including church interpreting. In other words, the vocabulary of

service is used to construct understandings and explanations about these practices among church members.

*This [simultaneous interpreting] has been my way to **serve** the church.* (Minna, 24 January, 2010 / Field notes, Tampere; emphasis added)<sup>16</sup>

*Ministry in the performing arts is for everyone who is willing to . . . **serve** other people and God by doing their best.* (Church website, emphasis added)

As discussed in Chapter 2, service can be characterized as “God-regard.” This means that the interpreters’ work is not solely directed towards the primary speakers and listeners, or even the church as a “commissioner,” but also, and most importantly, towards God (see also Hild, 2012). In other words, within the framework of service, God is seen as the ultimate recipient of the interpreter’s work. This notion is highlighted in many passages of the Bible that are used in the churches to teach about and explain service (see also Tangenberg, 2004). One such passage is a parable told by Jesus that is recorded in Matthew chapter 25, verses 31 to 43. In this parable, the Son of Man (referring to Jesus) will separate the people who are brought before the judgment seat at the end of times according to the kindness they have shown others: did they feed the hungry, did they invite the stranger in, did they clothe the poor, did they look after the sick, did they visit the prisoner? The parable makes a point of how these good deeds were, in fact, done to Jesus, himself: “[W]hatever you did for one of these brothers and sisters of mine, you did for me” (verse 40). This notion is further established by the Apostle Paul, who writes (when addressing slaves): “Serve wholeheartedly, as if you were serving the Lord, not people” (Ephesians 6:7), and “Whatever you do, work at it with all your heart, as working for the Lord, not for human masters. . . . It is the Lord Christ you are serving” (Colossians 3:23–24). These and other similar portions of Scripture inform to a great extent the two churches’ understanding of service.<sup>17</sup> When placed within the context of service, the church interpreter, too, is “working for the Lord.”

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<sup>16</sup> In these extracts from the research material, the source is indicated in parentheses after the direct quote (see Section 5.2 for a description of the different research materials). The quotes are my translation from Finnish originals. Participants’ names have been changed.

<sup>17</sup> This is visible in the textual research material, especially in the course material on service, which is explicitly constructed around passages of Scripture and their explanation, but also in the day-

In addition to being the ultimate recipient or reason for service, God is also seen as the source of service. Thus, church interpreters not only interpret *for* God but also *with* God, in the sense of being empowered by the Holy Spirit and having received the necessary “gifts” for the task from God (Article I; see Section 2.2). Here, gifts may refer to natural talents, skills acquired through training or experience outside the church, or what are known as spiritual gifts (such as healing, prophesying, or speaking in tongues), although this last category is not directly relevant to church interpreting.<sup>18</sup> In addition to being equipped with the necessary skills to interpret, the church interpreter works together with God also in the sense of relying on the Holy Spirit in order to accomplish the task (Articles III and IV). For example, the interpreter may pray before starting to interpret. Thus, the notion of partnership with God in interpreting may assure the interpreter that He is able to help and to multiply whatever skills the interpreter has to offer in the act of service (Article I).

*[Relating to ministry in the performing arts.] You don't need great talent; God Himself will give you content for the performances and make sure they touch people. (Church website)*

*[Before I come to the service to interpret,] I pray that the Holy Spirit would help me and use me as He sees best, to serve my listeners. (Personal experience, 8 December, 2013 / Field notes, Seinäjoki)*

*I leave home [to go interpret at the service] feeling miserable. . . . I feel bad about myself, and I have a headache. . . . I don't see how tonight's interpreting could be any good. Or that I would personally receive anything from the service. . . . Then I realize what goes through my head and almost stop half-way to the car. . . . Did I forget the hope that we have in Jesus? That it's not about me? That I have a Helper and a Comforter, and it only takes the blink of an eye for everything to change? [As I drive to church,] I start to pray. I sing along [a worship CD] and I sing in tongues. . . . I surrender myself again into God's hands. As I pull over to the church parking lot, I feel a little better. At least my focus is now less on myself and more on the act of service I am here to perform. (Personal experience, 23 April, 2014 / Field notes, Seinäjoki)*

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to-day construction of theological understandings on key areas of Christian living, occurring in sermons and testimonies.

<sup>18</sup> As discussed in Article I, whenever someone speaks in tongues, it is regarded as a gift of the Spirit. Thus, if and when these tongues are rendered into Finnish, it is regarded as also requiring a gift of the Spirit called ‘explaining tongues’ (*kielten selittäminen*). Whether or not church interpreters have received such a gift is not seen to be connected to their task as an interpreter.

Furthermore, God is regarded as being the source of service in the sense of preparing all the tasks in the church as specific “places of service,” with designated believers designed to carry out these tasks (Article I). This notion is derived from a concept that is central to Pentecostalism (as well as other Protestant denominations) and known as the “priesthood of all believers” (see e.g. Kärkkäinen, 1999; Miller & Yamamori, 2007; see also Chapter 3). The priesthood of all believers means that every member of the church is seen as having both the ability and the responsibility to “build up the church,” without heed to their position as ordained minister or layperson. This notion is often illustrated by the biblical metaphor of the church as a human body (e.g. 1. Cor. 12:4–11). According to the Pentecostal understanding, a healthy church is one in which all members function in the place God has meant for them with the gifts He has given, so that the entire body can benefit (Miller & Yamamori, 2007, p. 189).

*You are needed! Your effort is important. You do not have to be the same as someone else. On the contrary, it's your difference and your different talents that make the Body of Jesus work. (Course material)*

For some members, their place of service is to function as a church interpreter, and they use whatever skills they have as interpreters for the collective good (Articles I and III).

Based on the discussion so far, church interpreting as service could be characterized as having both a social and a personal aspect. The social aspect highlights the way church interpreting is aimed at providing, literally, a service for the church and for the international congregation who require English interpreting of what is said in the gathering in Finnish. Thus, the church interpreter’s function is to help the church to welcome this audience to its fellowship by enabling multilingualism in the collective services. In addition, the church interpreter’s function is, naturally, to serve the listeners of interpreting. The interpreter opens a linguistic access to the sermon, prayer, and other genres in the meeting. Moreover, parallel to this linguistic access, the interpreter helps to enable a spiritual access to the service for his or her listeners (Article II). With the help of the interpreter, the listeners are able to participate in the collective worship. This notion is further explained in the following section (6.2) in relation to the church interpreter’s function as enabling religious experience for the listeners.

In addition to the social aspect of church interpreting as service, the discussion in this section has indicated that when church interpreting is understood as Christian service, it demands a strong personal aspect, as well. Since service is service “for the

Lord,” the church interpreter is required to have a personal relationship with God. In the two Pentecostal churches studied, the general practice was to recruit interpreters from the congregation, which effectively excluded “non-believers” from functioning as interpreters (cf. Balci Tison, 2016). From the perspective of the individual church interpreter, then, interpreting at church is embedded in his or her personal spirituality or “walk with God” (Article III). When interpreting a prayer, the interpreter may participate in the prayer; or when interpreting a sermon, the interpreter may tune in to hear what God wants to say to him or her personally (Article II).

*I start to pay more attention to the lyrics of the song [that I am interpreting]. I join in them from my heart, as a prayer. “I can rest before You, You take all my burdens away.” I feel at peace and close to God. (Personal experience, 19 February, 2012 / Field notes, Seinäjoki)*

The notion of the interpreter’s personal engagement with the interpreted event is further elaborated below in Section 6.2 regarding the interpreter’s personal religious experience.

To summarize, the simultaneous interpreting of services in the two Pentecostal churches studied is embedded in the conceptual context of Christian service, which can be described as “God-regard.” The vocabulary of service gives the interpreting practice a spiritual meaning for the participants and closely attaches the interpreter’s interpreting practice with his or her personal spiritual life, thus encouraging interpreters to be involved with the interpreted service. Furthermore, when interpreting is understood as Christian service, the interpreter not only functions as an intermediary between primary speakers and listeners, but also as an intermediary between the listeners and God.

## 6.2 Interpreting to Experience God

Religious experience is widely recognized as a defining feature of Pentecostalism (see Chapter 3), and it can be defined as an “encounter” with God (see Section 2.3). Furthermore, as discussed in Section 2.3, religious experiences may be collective or personal and they can involve not only the mind but also the body and emotions of the believer. In this section, my aim is to continue tracing the influences of the social context on the church interpreting practice under study by answering research question 1b):

*How is the prevalent role of religious experience reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism?*

As discussed in the preceding section, a part of the church interpreter's social function is to act as an intermediary between the listeners and God. However, a further clarification may be in order, since Pentecostals do not believe that Christians necessarily need another person in order to encounter God. Rather, they believe that every person has full access to the presence of God because of Jesus' atoning sacrifice. Nevertheless, according to the metaphor of the church as the Body of Christ often employed in Pentecostalism, the members cannot survive by themselves, disjointed from the fellowship. Rather, it is thought, each member benefits and is "built up" in their spiritual life when individuals' gifts are put in collective use through serving acts. When members of the church use their gifts to benefit others in collective gatherings (by teaching, praying, prophesying, or singing, for example), these "servants" help build the framework within which God, through the Holy Spirit, can encounter the attendants (Article I). The same can be said of the church interpreter: the interpreter participates in building a framework for the listeners' religious experience.

*During the last few worship songs Rachael brings some of the headsets to me in the booth and says thank you for the interpreting. She says I was good because I didn't just interpret, I preached it. (Personal experience, 19 January, 2012 / Field notes, Seinäjoki)*

The function of the church interpreter to enable the listeners' religious experience affects the expectations placed on church interpreters. What is most important is that the interpreter is spiritually "aligned" in a proper way; in other words, that he or she has surrendered to God's use (Articles I and II). In the Pentecostal churches studied, this means that the interpreter should be a "born-again" Christian who is filled with the Holy Spirit (see also Section 3.2). Furthermore, as the expression of "surrendering" implies, the church interpreter is expected to give his or her entire person to God and the task of interpreting.

In addition to enabling others' religious experience, the interpreter may also have personal religious experiences while interpreting. As implied in the previous section (6.1), the interpreter may participate in the speech genres he or she interprets:

*When I notice that my only listener puts his headset on, I start to interpret – in the middle of prayer. It takes a few sentences before I get into the prayer. I feel there is a shift from interpreting speech to interpreting prayer. (Also, a shift from interpreting to praying myself.) (Personal experience, 23 April, 2014 / Field notes, Seinäjoki)*

*Seppo [the preacher] speaks fast and fiercely and the message is simple. It captures me; I forget that I'm here to collect research material and that I'm supposed to write field notes (although not during the sermon, of course). After the sermon Seppo prays for a long time. I join in that prayer. (Personal experience, 23 April, 2014 / Field notes, Seinäjoki)*

Thus, the interpreter not only interprets the sermon, but receives it; her or she not only interprets prayer, but participates in it (Articles II, III, and IV). Therefore, the simultaneous church interpreter is prepared to encounter God even while working in the booth. That the practice of church interpreting is thus closely related to personal religious experience highlights, again, the way this interpreting practice is embedded in the interpreter's personal spiritual life (see also Section 6.1). A regular interpreting "assignment" at church may involve highly emotional experiences and serve as a platform for the interpreter to encounter God (Article IV):

*I don't remember ever interpreting in such a powerful spiritual experience as today. . . . At the end of the service, [the preacher] prayed for the pastors and other workers who were on the stage. When he prayed for the worship leader, I felt that same power of the Holy Spirit upon myself. I started to cry. It was difficult to speak clearly. I felt the power of God even in my body [almost like electricity]. I didn't pay much attention to interpreting or to the people around me. My eyes were closed; I was praying [the message that I interpreted]. (Personal experience, 23 July, 2013 / Field notes, Seinäjoki)*

To summarize, the centrality of religious experience within Pentecostalism affects the perceived purpose of church interpreting, the expectations placed on interpreters, and the experience of the church interpreter. The purpose of church interpreting is to help enable religious experience for the listeners, which is thought to require a "surrendered" interpreter. Furthermore, the centrality of religious experience in Pentecostalism shows in the interpreter's involvement – in an openness to encounter God even while interpreting, rendering the task of interpreting as potential "holy ground" on which the church interpreter may be in contact with the divine.

### 6.3 Interpreting at the Interface between the Church and the Profession

In this final section of the chapter summarizing the results of the study, I discuss the interface between my position in the two social worlds that have most affected my experience of interpreting at church: the social worlds of Pentecostal Christianity

and professional interpreting. The discussion makes use of the opportunities provided by autoethnography and focuses on my identifications and disidentifications with the two social worlds, in order to illustrate how cultural understandings related to different social universes are embodied in an individual's lived experience.

The results of this dissertation discussed above (in Sections 6.1 and 6.2) portray a church interpreter who is wholly involved in the interpreted event and personally committed to the beliefs and values of the social context. This portrayal is in line with previous studies on church interpreting, which were discussed in Chapter 2. The church interpreter, whose tasks include both listening to and producing a rendering of the primary speakers' message, engages personally and spiritually in both of these tasks. First, the interpreter receives the message like any other attendant might, and second, with his or her rendering of the original message, the interpreter serves the listeners in a manner similar to the speakers and musicians (Articles II and III).

However, the church interpreter's personal involvement stands in contrast with the professional interpreter's ethics of impartiality (Article III; see also Balci Tison, 2016). This contrast was one of the reasons I began to study the topic, since it manifested in an internal conflict. In the beginning of the research process, I was unsure about how to tease out professional practices and mindsets from the (very much embodied) routine of simultaneous interpreting, so that I could interpret as well as I could at church without what I felt to be unfitting and unnecessary requirements for my conduct as a church interpreter (Article IV). Regardless of this uncertainty, my choice was to identify with the church context rather than professional standards, because a disidentification with the church's understanding of the purpose and function of interpreting would have rendered my "service" futile (Article IV; see also Boéri, 2012).

Interpreter involvement *vs.* impartiality is a macro-level issue that brings to bear on a number of practical aspects regarding the way interpreting is (or should be) arranged and practiced in different contexts, and in this issue, my identifications with professionalism and Pentecostalism are in clear opposition. However, the influences of these two social worlds in my church interpreting practice are not always revealed in such fundamental questions leading to a need to choose sides. To take a slightly smaller aspect of an interpreter's work, I will next focus on the practice of preparation in church interpreting, in order to show somewhat subtler differences in the "ways of seeing" common to the two social worlds in question (see Goodwin, 1994).

Preparation is an important part of a professional interpreter's work (e.g. AIIC, 2015; Jiang, 2013), but it is also an important aspect of service and religious experience (Article III). For example, professional interpreters are encouraged to require for the material to be discussed in an event beforehand and to make glossaries before an assignment. In church, it is believed that in order to serve others and to help others encounter God in the services, believers should have prepared themselves spiritually by having spent time in prayer and worship and having read the Bible, so that they would be open to the guidance of the Holy Spirit (see also Brown, 2007a). Clearly, then, while both social worlds value preparation, the word carries a very different meaning in them. In church, and therefore in church interpreting, preparation is first and foremost spiritual; its goal is to make the church interpreter attuned to the Holy Spirit in the interpreted service. Of course, this does not exclude practical preparation, such as asking for the portions of scripture that the speaker will refer to in the sermon (Article III). However, practical preparation *in expense* of spiritual preparation mixes poorly with the aims of the religious event (Article IV). This would, in effect, override the primacy of the spiritual meaning of church interpreting and lead to doubts as to whether or not such an interpreting practice could fulfill its ultimate function (see Sections 6.1 and 6.2).

Even though the professional ethics of impartiality is upheld in much discourse about interpreting (Diriker, 2011), some elements of personal involvement that have been shown to mark church interpreting may not, after all, differ greatly from professional interpreting practice. For example, as briefly mentioned in Chapter 1, research of professional interpreting has shown that interpreters bring their self into the interpreted interaction (Angelelli, 2004a, p. 10; Diriker, 2004) – including their emotions. In fact, dealing with the emotions present in an interpreted event and in the actual content of the message has been shown to be an important but often neglected part of an interpreter's work (Valero-Garcés & Abkari, 2010; Bontempo & Malcolm, 2012). Regarding healthcare interpreters' vicarious trauma, Karen Bontempo and Karen Malcolm (2012, pp. 112–113) highlight how interpreters are empathically affected when interpreting their clients' narratives involving traumatic experiences: “Given that interpreters effectively ‘coexperience’ the information exchange in a traumatic interpreted event, an empathic response by the interpreter as a result of this transmission is natural and human.”

Therefore, I would argue, both professional interpreting and church interpreting are embodied practices that involve the interpreter's emotions, although, possibly, the accepted level of involvement may differ. The professional interpreter can be said to “coexperience” the emotions present in an interpreted event due to the nature

of interpreting, such as the use of the first-person voice when relaying (someone else's) traumatic narratives (Bontempo & Malcolm, 2012, p. 111). In contrast, the church interpreter not only "coexperiences" the emotions present in a service, but explicitly aims to experience them personally, as well. Furthermore, and importantly in the Pentecostal context, the interpreter not only coexperiences God, but explicitly aims to experience Him personally.

To return to my position in the social worlds of professional interpreting and Pentecostalism, it may be noted that the two do not have an exclusively conflicting relationship in my church interpreting practice. In fact, my training and experience of professional interpreting may partly enable my ability to immerse in (and reflect upon) the spiritual aspects of church interpreting. Due to my five-year education in English translation and interpreting as well as whatever professional experience I have acquired, there are arguably elements in simultaneous interpreting that I do not need to explicitly focus on. I have acquired a routine in simultaneous interpreting so that, even in the case of an intense religious and emotional experience, I can continue to interpret, be it through tears, as exemplified in the final extract of the previous section.

To conclude, simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism receives its *raison d'être* from the meanings and values the denomination attaches to Christian service and religious experience. The interpreting practice is deeply and inextricably embedded in the worldview of the churches, even though it may not stand in contrast to professional interpreting practice in every respect. Nevertheless, be it preparation or the management of emotions, every part of church interpreting is affected by the religious meanings given to the practice and the interpreted event. This discussion has revolved around the concepts of service, religious experience, and interpreter involvement, highlighting the interdependent nature of all three concepts. Thus, church interpreting is a personal expression of the interpreters' faith as they give themselves to God in acts of service in order to help their listeners to encounter Him and in order to encounter Him, themselves.

## 7 Discussion

In this final chapter of the dissertation, I discuss the contributions and limitations of the study. First, in Section 7.1, I return to and answer the first, main research question presented in the introduction. In addition, I contextualize the findings of the study with existing research on church interpreting and discuss what the present study has to offer for the wider field of Translation and Interpreting Studies. Then, in Section 7.2, I move on to answer the secondary research question with a methodological discussion of autoethnography. I focus on how the methodology worked and what challenges it posed to the research process. In Section 7.3, I examine the limitations of the study and in the final section (7.4) I sketch some possible avenues for future research opened by the present study.

### 7.1 Theoretical Contribution

The aim of the dissertation was to explore and explain the social meaning and subjective experience of volunteer simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism, on the one hand, and autoethnography as a methodology for Translation and Interpreting Studies, on the other hand, as explained in the introduction (Chapter 1). The methodological research question is examined in Section 7.2. The first two research questions were the following:

- 1a) *How is the concept of Christian service reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism?*
- 1b) *How is the prevalent role of religious experience reflected in the social meaning and subjective experience of simultaneous interpreting in Finnish Pentecostalism?*

The summary of the findings of the study, given in Chapter 6, suggested that within Finnish Pentecostalism, the notion of Christian service provides a conceptual context and vocabulary for explaining and making sense of simultaneous church interpreting. The notion also comes to bear on the interpreter's experience in a variety of ways, because when understood as Christian service – or God-regard – the interpreting practice intermingles with interpreters' personal spirituality; their “walk

with God.” When regarded as service, the practice of interpreting connects to fundamental issues in Pentecostalism, such as those concerning the interpreters’ position before God (whether they are “saved” and “Spirit-filled”), their purpose in life (what God has designed them to do), and even their fate in the afterlife (whether they will be rewarded for being reliable servants). Therefore, regarding an activity as service to God has great personal relevance for Pentecostals, leading to the intertwining of church interpreting with the interpreter’s personal spirituality. This also enables personal religious experience, which is much emphasized in Pentecostalism, to permeate the practice of simultaneous church interpreting, making it potential “holy ground” on which the church interpreter may encounter God.

Furthermore, the concept of service is reflected on the social significance of church interpreting. For the church, interpreting not only enables multilingualism in the services, but also represents one part of the “Body of Christ”: one task that individual believers are designed by God to perform. In addition, church interpreters’ task is not only to mediate a message to their listeners, but to enable their listeners’ spiritual participation in the services and their religious experience.

The results of the present study support many of the key findings of previous studies of church interpreting (see Section 2.1). First, the church interpreter not only *is* involved in the social context and the interpreted event itself, but is *ideally* so (cf. Rayman, 2007; Balci Tison, 2016; Vigouroux, 2010; Karlik, 2010; see also Tipton & Furmanek, 2016). In other words, the ideal is that the church interpreter is an involved participant. Second, church interpreters’ task is not only to mediate between primary speakers and listeners, but between their listeners and God, due to their position as His servants (cf. Hild, 2012; Downie, 2014).

The present study also has much to contribute to existing literature on church interpreting. First, the study focuses on a new combination of social, geographical, and denominational contexts where church interpreting is practiced. It is a noteworthy observation that for example Methodists in the Gambia, Protestants in Korea, and Pentecostals in Finland tend to have similar understandings about interpreting practices in religious settings. Second, the present study offers an explicit focus on simultaneous church interpreting, whereas much of the previous work has studied the consecutive mode. In church, the simultaneous interpreter is (literally and figuratively) not center-stage, unlike the consecutive (sermon) interpreter, but his or her work is equally defined by the religious context. Third, this study explicates the notion of Christian service, which can be assumed to be a factor in the interpreting practices of also other denominations in addition to Pentecostalism.

Fourth, the present study deepens our understanding of church interpreters' involvement as regards their emotions and personal religious experiences. The study shows how the activity of simultaneous interpreting can move in rhythm with personal encounters with God.

Even though much of the argumentation in the present study implies the specificity of the religious context and its influence on interpreting practice, the study also contributes to the wider field of Translation and Interpreting Studies. First, by focusing on a volunteer interpreting practice, it widens our understanding of how one social context conceptualizes simultaneous interpreting without *a priori* definitions and norms related to professional interpreting. Thus, the study approaches interpreting in the spirit of Brian Harris' "natural" interpreting, in that it focuses on the way interpreting is molded by the everyday life of bilinguals, understood here as people commanding more than one language so that they are able to function as interpreters. Second, the examination of interpreting in a religious context has brought to the surface many issues that are important in many other interpreting practices, as well. For example, there is not a great deal of research on the interpreter's embodied experiences, such as emotions. Such research is potentially valuable, given that the traditional ideals of neutrality and impartiality, often circulated in professional discourse of interpreting practice (and research), may lead to a "dehumanizing" of interpreters (and their researchers) (Bontempo & Malcolm, 2012; Bahadır, 2004; Diriker, 2011). In order to make interpreting research more accurately reflect reality, there is a need to give a stronger focus on interpreting as both a social activity and as a subjective experience (cf. Cronin, 2002). More specifically, the present study has pointed to the potential in using practicing interpreters' personal journals in the sociological examination of emotions. When emotional experiences are narrated, even to oneself, the process of narration always draws on culturally available storylines and vocabularies (Holstein & Gubrium, 2000; see also Article IV and Hokkanen & Koskinen, forthcoming).

## 7.2 Methodological Contribution

In this section, I discuss the methodological contribution of the study and return to the secondary research question given in Chapter 1:

- 2) *How does autoethnography function as a methodology (in Translation and Interpreting Studies)?*

As was defined in Chapter 5, the study uses autoethnography in the double sense put forward by Deborah Reed-Danahay (1997): first, as “the ethnography of one’s own group” and, second, as “autobiographical writing that has ethnographic interest” (p. 2). The first sense, ethnography of the researcher’s own group, does not represent an entirely new approach in the study of translation and interpreting, given that ethnographies have been done before in our field and at least some of them by researchers who are translators or interpreters themselves. For example, Kaisa Koskinen had been previously employed as a translator for the European Commission and later returned to Luxembourg to study the group of translators she once belonged to, being “partially an insider, partially an outsider” (2008, p. 8). A somewhat similar application of ethnography (even if explicitly naming the study as partially autoethnographic) was employed by Balcı Tison (2016), who used a multi-method approach to study sermon interpreting as a complete-member researcher in her case church. While being a fellow interpreter and a member of the church she studied, Balcı Tison did not focus on her own interpreting experience and preferred to conduct participant interviews via email in order to avoid impacting the respondents’ replies. Thus, Balcı Tison describes her position as “a primary participant/subject and also an observer who was already an insider” (p. 84). Thus, the ambiguities inherent in (auto)ethnographic research as well as the ensuing need for reflexivity has been discussed previously (Koskinen, 2008; Tymoczko, 2007; Bahadır, 2004).

What the present study can contribute to the field of ethnographic research on one’s own group within Translation and Interpreting Studies, however, is a detailed examination of such a double-bind position. The study takes the position of the researcher as an integral part of the knowledge-production process and discusses the implications of the situatedness of the researcher – how we construct our objects of study even as our social surroundings construct ourselves. Furthermore, it highlights the embodied nature of ethnographic fieldwork, taking seriously the notion of the researcher-as-instrument. Thus, it points to the opportunities provided by the explicit analysis of the researcher’s emotions and other embodied experiences as part of an ethnographic research design.

A more significant methodological contribution of the study comes from the second meaning of autoethnography mentioned above: that of autobiographical writing that has ethnographic interest. Even though the term autoethnography has featured in the methodological discussions of our field previously, if shortly, (Hale & Napier, 2013, pp. 114–115), and even though interpreting has been studied before with explicitly naming the methodology employed as autoethnography (Balcı Tison,

2016; Hurd, 2010)<sup>19</sup>, to my knowledge, there have not been systematic discussions of autoethnography as first-person research – that is, in the sense of *autobiographical writing that has ethnographic interest* (the second meaning given in Reed-Danahay, 1997, p. 2). Thus, the present study contributes to the repertoire of methodologies within Translation and Interpreting Studies. Autoethnography as an integration of autobiography and ethnography is a potentially useful methodology within our field for a number of reasons. First, it is common for researchers in our field to have (had) personal experience of their object of study (Shlesinger, 2009). A recent survey by the European Society for Translation and Interpreting Studies showed that as many as 95 percent of the scholars responding to the survey had practiced translation or interpreting regularly (EST, 2014). This personal experience and its influence on research could be explicated and examined in more detail with methodologies such as autoethnography. Second, autoethnography could be useful for our field because it brings to the fore issues such as embodiment and emotions, which are fundamental aspects of human life but relatively rarely the topic of translation and interpreting research.<sup>20</sup> Finally, autoethnography is a useful methodology in our field and especially in translation sociology, because it brings into the same view the self and the social. Thus, by incorporating the concept of reflexivity in the research methodology, scholars can analyze the multiple construction processes inherent in all research of the social world: how the researcher (co-)constructs the social context being studied as well as the research materials and results, and how the social context(s) of the researcher construct him or her. As a further contribution of the present study, then, the double-bind position of the translator-researcher or interpreter-researcher is widened to include any number of “binds,” as the researcher is simultaneously a member of and, thus, shaped by multiple social worlds.

To return to the secondary research question, the study has identified several aspects of autoethnography that come to bear on how it functions as a methodology. As already mentioned, the aspects of reflexivity and situatedness, including

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<sup>19</sup> Interestingly, Hurd (2010) is an autoethnographic study on volunteer medical interpreting, but it is not in any way contextualized within Translation Studies; for example, the author does not refer to any Translation Studies literature. Even so, it focuses on a current issue within our field: the role of the non-professional interpreter.

<sup>20</sup> Important exceptions include Robinson (1991), Risku (2010), Risku and Windhager (2013), Koskinen (2012), Hubscher-Davidson (2013a; 2013b), Baraldi and Gavioli (2007), and Bontempo and Malcom (2012). See also the studies reviewed in Valero Garcés (2015).

a dependency on the “field,” on temporality, and on the researcher-as-instrument, give shape to the research process and the findings produced. These aspects were discussed in detail in Chapter 5 together with ethics, which is also an integral cog in the workings of the methodology.

Autoethnography proved to be useful in examining cultural meanings and subjective experiences, which were also incorporated into the main research questions as the study progressed. In addition, autoethnography proved to be fruitful in combining the perspectives of the social context and the subjective actor. However, autoethnography also proved to require a researcher who is willing to engage in prolonged introspection and self-questioning, to blend some of the boundaries between personal life and research, to cope with the ambiguity of living in the moment while observing it, and to be transparent in research. While none of these issues became major obstacles in the present study, they are worth considering for future autoethnographers. Nevertheless, autoethnography as a methodology has also been personally rewarding. It has increased my self-knowledge (cf. Ellis & Bochner, 2000), in itself a worthy goal, but it has also helped to solve the inner conflict that gave rise to the present study in the first place (see Section 1.1). With autoethnography, I was able to analyze the threads with which that conflict was weaved and to trace them back to the social contexts in which they originated.

### 7.3 Limitations of the Study

Autoethnography relies on the person of the researcher, and while this dependency offers plenty of fertile soil for the translation sociologist to work on, it also has some limitations. Here, I do not refer to generalizability, however. As was discussed in the introduction (Section 1.2.3), autoethnography along with other qualitative methodologies does not aim towards the external generalization of research findings across different contexts. Rather, the generalization of the findings is left for the reader of the study, based on whether or not they are able to transfer the findings into their respective situations (Tracy, 2010). After all, ethnographic traditions rely on the meticulous and in-depth examination of one or a very small number of contexts (Hammersley & Atkinson, 1995), without any systematic selection of “samples” from the population being studied (see Behar, 2003; Maxwell, 2005).

By limitations deriving from the methodology’s dependency on the person of the researcher I refer, rather, to the specific case of church interpreting as an object of study for a professionally trained translator/interpreter. Throughout the research

process, I kept returning to questions of interpreter neutrality or impartiality, even though in the social world of Pentecostalism, such questions are almost a non-issue. In addition, these questions have already been discussed fairly extensively in interpreting research (e.g. Diriker, 2004, 2011), as well as in church interpreting research (Balçı Tison, 2016). Even though these topics were personally relevant due to my position in the social worlds of professional interpreting and interpreting research, and despite the fact that they do provide a point of contact with previous work in interpreting research, it was at times frustrating to notice an inability to detach myself from thinking and writing in terms of neutrality and impartiality, since, as mentioned, they were not deemed relevant in the church.

In addition, the methodological choice of autoethnography naturally limits the variety of subjective experiences to be taken under study, and thus influences what has been called the “internal generalizability” of the study within the social setting (Maxwell, 2005). Even though other church interpreters’ experiences and views were consulted over the course of fieldwork, they did not constitute the main source of research material. Thus, the portrayal of church interpreting given in the study cannot and does not attempt to represent every participants’ experience and be generalizable to each church interpreter in the two settings. This limitation is again, however, present also in many other ethnographic research designs (Behar, 2003). Resources would rarely allow for an extensive study of the life histories and subjective experiences of each member in a given social group. In addition, even if researchers would have such resources, not every member is willing to participate in such studies. However, what autoethnography and the present study lacks in representing a variety of experiences, it gains in being able to analyze the interplay of a variety of social memberships with subjective experiences over the course of a lifetime.

It has at times been pointed out that ethnographic studies would be more suitable as monographs, as opposed to article-based dissertations, such as this. Nevertheless, I do not find that the structure of the study limited the amount or depth of ethnographic description to be included. What shortcomings may be identified in the study’s ethnographic descriptions derive, rather, from my learning process in producing such descriptions. This, naturally, also applies to the study as a whole. Be that as it may, the form of the dissertation effectively documents the learning process, because the first articles were published in the very beginning of my doctoral studies. In retrospect, I would make different, hopefully better, decisions in some

parts of the articles<sup>21</sup>, but I would not choose a different dissertation format had I the chance to choose again. After all, whenever lived experience is transformed into writing, it undergoes a fundamental change of mode and must submit to the structures and conventions of (academic) writing. Whether the page limit is shorter or longer seems to me to be a secondary issue.

## 7.4 Implications for Future Research

The research materials gathered for the present study were by no means exhausted in the four articles of this dissertation; rather, they can potentially shed light on additional topics not focused on in this study. One such topic is the complex relationship between Pentecostal Christianity and embodiment, which was not comprehensively investigated here. Embodiment has a complicated history within Christianity (Robinson, 1991), but it is directly related to religious experience, and it could well be applied more robustly in the further examination of the research materials gathered for the present study, such as the field notes collected both in Tampere and in Seinäjoki. Also excluded from the present study was a (linguistic) micro-analysis of the recordings I took of my church interpreting, which could be examined for aspects relating to interpreting performance. Indeed, a detailed analysis of interpreting output might well have provided useful further insights for the present study, but it was excluded due to restrictions in time and available resources.

The scope of the study was limited to simultaneous church interpreting, which means that consecutive interpreting as well as sign language interpreting were not addressed. Both could be studied in the future within Finnish Pentecostalism. Especially the study of sign language church interpreting in the Finnish context would provide an interesting point of contrast to existing literature on church interpreting, because in Finland, sign language interpreters are professionals who have assignments in churches only occasionally. How do they approach the religious

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<sup>21</sup> One example is the theoretical framework I used in Article I. The paper mentions norms of interpreting but lacks a thorough theoretical discussion of the concept. In the early stages of the research process, I considered using norms as a main element in the conceptual framework of the study later on, but eventually became convinced that the wider concept of social understanding and its interplay with personal experience might allow for a much more nuanced description of interpreting within its social context than a rule-based approach might yield (see Alasuutari, 2004, pp.35–36).

setting and does it differ from their other working environments? As was discussed in Chapter 2, church interpreting is a relatively new field of study, and much is yet to be explored.

Among the topics that warrant further examination in the field of church interpreting, pointed out by the present study, is also the influence of other types of cultural climates on church interpreting practices in different religious communities. As has been made clear throughout this thesis, the cultural climate within Pentecostalism strongly emphasizes personal religious experience, which affects the ways in which church interpreting is understood and experienced. Is the experience and cultural understanding of church interpreting different in a religious community that emphasizes other factors beyond personal experience, such as tradition? Would such a community find it acceptable that the interpreter displays personal emotional reactions while interpreting? Or, does a religious community that de-emphasizes the priesthood of all believers but finds it important to have highly educated and ordained ministers set more requirements on the skills and possible educational background of interpreters, as well? Furthermore, how would the experience of church interpreting be different from the descriptions provided in this study in religious communities that openly accept more ambivalent expressions of spirituality than Pentecostalism, which makes a clear distinction between those who are saved (born-again) and those who are not?

In addition, the present study points to areas inviting further exploration in Translation and Interpreting Studies in general. As mentioned in Section 7.1, the concept of embodiment opens interesting avenues for research, in that it allows for the inclusion of both cognitive and affective aspects of human activities (see e.g. Risku, 2010; Koskinen, 2012; Robinson, 1991; Hokkanen & Koskinen, forthcoming). Indeed, the subjective experience of interpreting or translating, including all of these aspects, has not been at the core of many research endeavors. Nevertheless, both translation and interpreting clearly involve more than mechanical data-processing, but what exactly that “more” is in any given social context and how it behaves needs to be studied further.

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## Part III